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ETHNICITY DID NOT MATTER
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*A Study of Identity in
Pre-Nationalist Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia
in the Medieval and Early-Modern Periods*

JOHN V. A. FINE, JR.

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*For their love and support for all my endeavors,
including this book in your hands,
this book is dedicated to my wonderful family:
to my wife, Gena, and my two sons, Alexander (Sasha) and Paul.*

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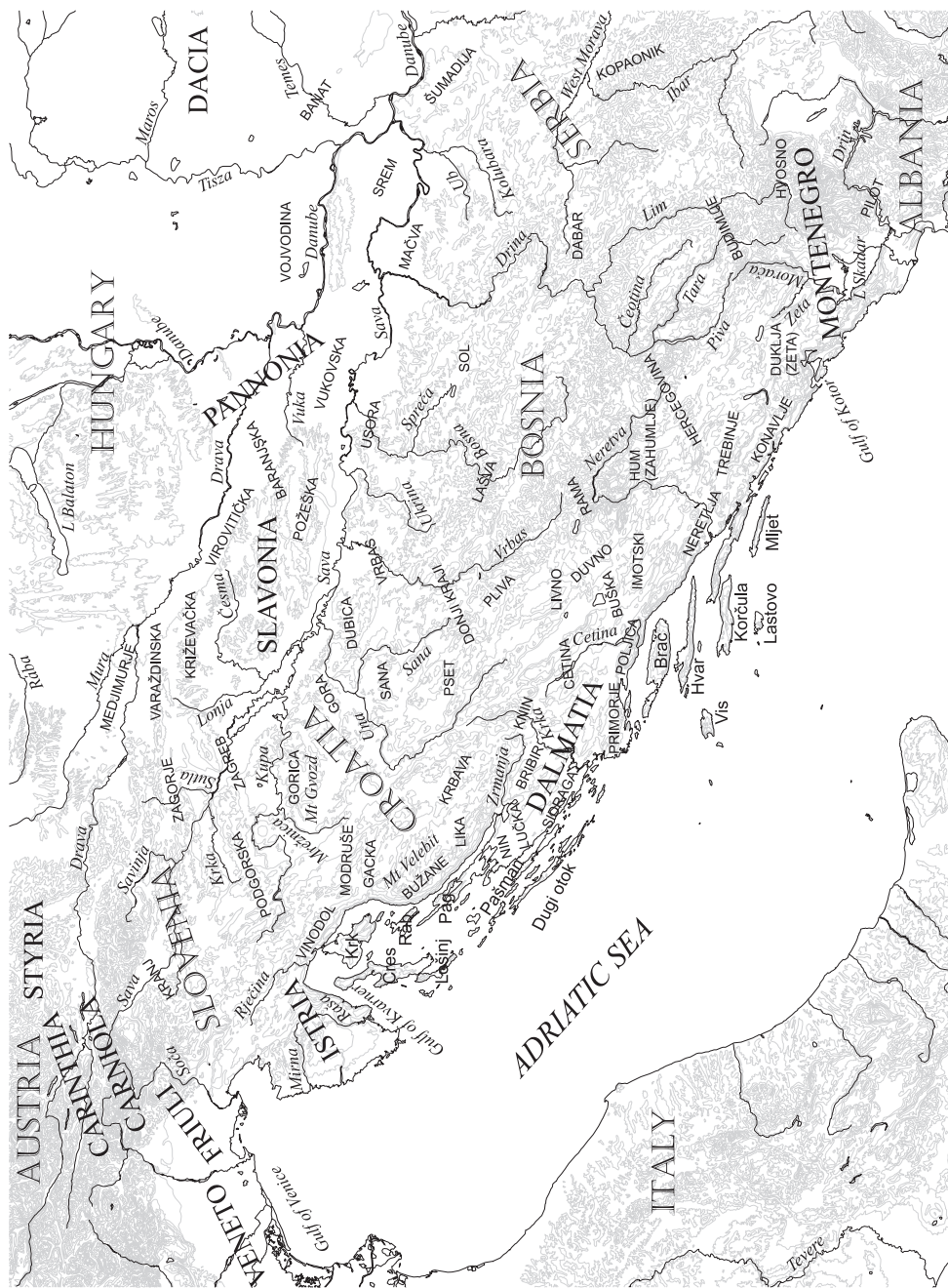
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Introduction



This study will concern itself with the question of who lived in what is now Croatia and how these people identified themselves and were identified by others during the Middle Ages (roughly 600–1500) and the early-modern period (1500–1800). Did most/some/any of the population of that territory see itself as Croatian? If some did not, what other communities did people there think they belonged to? Were the labels attached to a given person or population fixed or could they change? And were not many people members of several different communities at a given moment? Since, as we shall see as the study progresses, there were many seriously competing identities—though usually the so-called competition was not stiff, for such matters were not issues of priority for most people—then did certain names dominate in certain areas? If so, which identities held sway in which particular regions?

To explore these questions, I shall investigate the identity labels (and their meaning) employed by and about the medieval and early-modern population of the lands that make up present-day Croatia. Religion, local residence, and narrow family or broader clan all played important parts in past and present identities. This study, however, shall ignore such categories (except for clans) and concentrate chiefly on broader secular names that reflect attachment to a city, region, tribe or clan, a labeled people (possibly, if we can show that such existed, to an ethnic group or nationality), or state. This focus may lead the reader to expect this study to be about *ethnic* identities. However, this is an unwarranted assumption; for, whether ethnic-type identities even existed among the medieval Balkan peoples is a major issue requiring study, and this book will contribute to that problem as well. But in any case,

we shall examine any ethnic-type identity that emerges and shall try to determine what lay behind it.

In my text I shall seek out the terms that the pre-nineteenth-century people in the territory under investigation used about their own identities as well as the terms used for them by their neighbors, and then I shall try to determine what these terms meant. In other words, if someone was called a Croat, was he someone who could truly be said to be an ethnic Croat, or was he merely a member/subject of a state under a ruler of Croatia? This issue is important, for it seems to me that most Yugoslav historians (and those of the successor states) consider anyone labeled in a source a Croat (or a Serb or whatever), simply by being so named, to be an ethnic one. Such categorizing of people as ethnics should, at least, limit itself to given individuals labeled "Croats" in sources rather than, as is often the case, including people labeled Croats simply by their serving in an army or in some other institutional body of Croatia. In the latter case such individuals bear a political label, which says nothing about their own feelings of identity. Thus, by the attached label, they are merely "political" Croats. Further information on them, should it exist, might show that a political Croat was also an ethnic one. But, without specific evidence that that was the case, we certainly cannot assume it.

What do I mean by an ethnic? By an ethnic (e.g., Croat) I mean one who feels that he belongs to a community with others of his kind, and believes that he and these others are truly members of a community (even when they do not know each other), bound by common ingredients, usually common language, territory, history, and a feeling that those who share this history, language, and other valued ingredients are somehow related and members of a larger common family. In the few early Balkan sources we have that touch on such a feeling, a common family (the Slavic family, the Bulgarian family) is one of the first ingredients to be expressed. Thus, for one to be called an ethnic Croat, it is not enough merely to live in a territory called Croatia or to serve the King of Croatia. Such people, bound together only by sharing in a territorial state or serving it, can be Croats in a geographical or political sense but not in an ethnic one. And in fact such political "Croats" (or Serbs or whatever) may, as we shall see, have actually identified themselves as "Slavs."

Ethnicity requires these extra just-mentioned ingredients, and in particular it demands a feeling of community that transcends state borders. Thus people living inside but near the frontiers of Croatia and under its king may be referred to, in a political sense, as Croats; but if their territory is conquered by Hungary—and they now are subjects of the King of Hungary—they would by a statist definition (and one used by many medieval authors) come to be labeled Hungarians. This change might not cause difficulties for a non-ethnically-oriented individual, who would now carry out his duties toward his new ruler. But if these incorporated individuals feel that they are still part of a Croat community even though they now live beyond the borders of a Croat state and that they are, therefore, Croats—and in this example not Hungari-

ans—then they are on the way to acquiring an ethnic identity. Such feelings, or at least evidence of them, as we shall see, were very rare in the Middle Ages; thus I shall argue that most South Slavs mentioned with specific national-type names in our sources were such by political affiliation, namely that the individuals so labeled served the given state's ruler, and cannot be considered ethnic Croats, Serbs, or whatever.

When one examines the sources about Balkan populations from the seventh through the eighteenth centuries, one of the first things that strikes the examiner is the fact that the labels denoting peoples change frequently. This fluidity is possible because none of the identities is inherent in a person or in a community, but all the identity labels have been invented and often subsequently reinvented. By “invented” I mean that the identity is a matter of choice. People are not inherently ethnically anything. In fact many people and whole societies have had no ethnicity at all.

The creation of an ethnic identity goes through two stages (with the second stage often accompanying the first). In the first step people who share some attributes and are in some way a community (be it by common speech, residence, religion, or whatever) and who perhaps share a particular name (drawn from a locality or political entity) acquire a feeling of being a common community, usually at the instigation of intellectuals; they usually keep the existing community name but take on the just-mentioned ethnic baggage, or possibly they may assume a new name. The community at that time acquires ethnicity and, once having gained it, will probably permanently have some sort of ethnic identity. The second step, which usually accompanies the first, is the particular identity label (Croat, Serb, etc.). This second step need not be permanent, and both label and size of community included in it can change; it can become greater in size and more inclusive, going from, say, Croat to Yugoslav; or it can shrink, going, for instance, from Slav to a particular community within it, Croat. And one can keep the same community, or a part of it, and simply move from one label to another, from Illyrian to Croat, for example, or from Bulgarian to Macedonian. Such choices, however, are constructed—at least by a particular generation—and that is what I mean by “invented.”

Usually the creation of an ethnicity (both the acquisition of a need to define oneself in such a communal way and the specific communal label to be taken) is a modern phenomenon. It begins within a small circle, usually of politically minded intellectuals, and then its creators push it upon the surrounding community, which may be receptive, in which case the community becomes a particular ethnic community. Later on, another group may decide upon a new ethnic definition and push that, and the new identity may or may not be accepted. Thus over the past century Slavs in Macedonia, for centuries members only of a religious community (the Orthodox millet), acquired this new concept; many acquired the concept along with a Bulgarian label to specify it. In time some of these so-called “Bulgarian” ethnics decided they were not Bulgarians at all, but Macedonians, and became a new ethnic group.

In seeing ethnicity as constructed, I shall reject a common and popular view of inherent ethnicity. This theory (common in the Balkans) goes roughly as follows, and I will take a Macedonian as my example, since his is an ethnicity that clearly has emerged in very modern times: Okay, says my Macedonian, I grant you that there are no sources mentioning Macedonian ethnicity before some point in the nineteenth century. (Of course, some ultra-nationalists would not even grant me this.) I am, however, a Macedonian and speak Macedonian. My ancestors and I have lived in this village from time immemorial. How can I be a Macedonian and my great-to-the-nth-degree grandfather, living in the same village and speaking, I will grant, an archaic version of what I speak, not be a Macedonian too? My answer to this commonly seen view is that maybe a time-travelling anthropologist would have categorized that ancestor through academically chosen criteria in a particular ethnic group, but since the current Macedonian's ancestors were not conscious of being Macedonians or being part of any ethnic group, I will not so classify them. The argument that they were not Macedonians, because they did not feel Macedonian, is important, for if the Treaty of San Stefano had held up and the Russians had succeeded in imposing their solution to the Eastern Question in 1878, then Macedonia would have gone to Bulgaria. And if that situation had stood up—as it well might have—then all the Slavs in Macedonia—who now fervently see themselves as Macedonians—would at present be Bulgarians, and the Macedonian straw man of this paragraph would be wondering why I was refusing to admit that his great-grandparents were Bulgarians.¹ This example, I believe, demonstrates why ethnicity cannot exist without awareness of it.

Linguists studying texts from Macedonia several centuries back may find linguistic features that they do not want to call Bulgarian. If they want to argue that pre-twentieth-century Macedonian was already a distinct language, to the degree that they can prove it, that is fine. But that does not prove a Macedonian nationality existed at that time. In addition, the language should

1. And, of course, other Slavs, who were potential Macedonians, in the Former Ottoman Province of Greece (henceforth FOPOG) chose to or acquiesced in themselves and their children being hellenized and are now Greeks. For many examples of this, see A. Karakasidou, *Fields of Wheat, Hills of Blood: Passages to Nationhood in Greek Macedonia, 1870–1990*, Chicago, 1997. Karakasidou also notes the importance of there being actual “national consciousness” at a given time for one to speak of ethnicity. Criticizing certain historical trends, she writes: “Much of the evidence that national historians have marshalled to support their respective claims rests on implicit assumptions of the preservation of a ‘national consciousness’ through the centuries.” Calling such scholars authors of “looking-glass histories,” she writes, “They search backwards over the hills and valleys of historical events to trace the inexorable route of a given (or ‘chosen’) population to the destiny of their national enlightenment and liberation. They transform history into national history, legitimizing the existence of a nation-state in the present-day by teleologically reconstructing its reputed past. Pedigrees of national descent are constructed, refined, and lengthened, and ancestors of a ‘nation’ become a vehicle for majority-group legitimation. . . . Yet perhaps we are looking through the wrong side of the metaphoric looking-glass. The insights such histories offer are often far removed from material realities, but they do illustrate how contemporary national identity may distort our visions of the past” (pp. 17–18).

be labeled that of such and such a district of Macedonia or possibly proto-Macedonian (paralleling the way I use proto-Serbo-Croatian for early versions of that language whose users would usually have called it Slavic or possibly Croatian, Serbian, Bosnian, or by some other more narrow label).

Now this principle must be applied to proto-Serbo-Croatian. Thus, even if the medieval Slavs in regions of Croatia were writing something linguists can label a “Croatian”—as opposed to “Serbian” or “Bosnian”—dialect, if those writing it did not call their language (or anything else about themselves) “Croat,” then they did not have Croat consciousness and thus were not ethnic Croats.

Considerable work has recently been done on the relations between Slavs and Latins in Dalmatia, which, by studying toponyms and personal names of people found in these towns, shows that many Slavs moved into the old Roman towns and that there was a symbiosis of cultures in them. The Yugoslav scholars who have dealt with this issue have seen it as a Latin-Croat symbiosis and speak of a process of Croatization. However, the data presented provides no evidence as to whether these Slavs, be they new arrivals or residents of several generations, felt Croat, Slavic, or identified with the particular city. This material is exciting, because it shows the intermixing of people of two language groups, but owing to the fact that these studies provide place and personal names alone with no elaborations on matters of identity, we can make no use of this work in our study.²

Non-ethnic communities, clearly, can and do exist; thus a community based on a state may be nothing more than people owing service to a ruler. So, identity labels have usually preceded ethnicity. In these cases various labels usually co-existed, and through some sort of historical selection certain labels had staying power, while new ones emerged, and others fell by the wayside. I believe “ethnicity”—which I have defined above—is a recent phenomenon in the Balkans. Thus many labels were floating around when the symptoms of ethnicity infected people in the nineteenth century. Many of these new ethnics kept older labels and simply added baggage to them. For example, Serbia and Croatia were medieval state names, and subjects of the rulers of those states could be and were called Serbs and Croats. In the nineteenth century, people in the regions of these former states acquired the baggage of ethnicity and came to link it with these historical names.

Religion had provided a basis for community for much of medieval and Ottoman southeastern Europe. In the modern era, groups often made the move from a religious to a nationality-type identity. In so doing a religious denomination could keep its faith community but redefine what was central to the community by also utilizing its language; for example, by separating Serbo-Croatian speakers from Slovenes. But at the same time, the faith could be retained

2. For work on place and personal names, see titles of Petar Skok and Vesna Jakić-Cestarić in the bibliography.

as a major ingredient by including in the new community only those of the given language's speakers who were religiously correct. In this form of repackaging, which became common in the nineteenth century, Bosnian Catholics (retaining their actual religious community membership) began to call themselves Croats and Bosnian Orthodox took on the name Serb. But back in Croatia, while some Croats felt Croat (not including in their community the non-Catholic but same-language-speaking Serbs), others were seeking to identify themselves as Yugoslavs and were perfectly willing to include in their community those Orthodox (i.e., the Serbs) who spoke the common tongue.

Despite a common language and many common interests, perceived cultural and religious differences can, at least temporarily, triumph,³ and many of those who might have been Yugoslavs or Serbo-Croatians, stirred up by Croat or Serb chauvinistic or opportunistic leaders, have at present decided that narrower ethnic identities are so important that they must emphasize them above all else and split into Croat and Serb states, and like it or not, their Bosnian neighbors must do so too. Yet in other circumstances common language (even with dialectical differences) can overcome religious differences, as Catholic, Orthodox, and Muslim Albanians in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century all became a single Albanian nation. A century and a half earlier the Muslim Albanian speakers would have seen themselves simply as part of the greater Islamic community and would never have conceived of seeing themselves in ethnic terms or belonging to the same community as the "lesser breed" Christians.

Thus, people speaking different dialects of the same language can split into two or more grouplets and become two or more peoples, or they can merge and standardize their language and become one, and even if they do sensibly unite, later they—or part of them—can become something else. After all, if Yugoslavia had found a way to make being Yugoslav into a primary loyalty, something more than a state name, the Croats and Serbs might have blended into becoming ethnic Yugoslavs (keeping their Croat and Serb aspects as regional affiliations like regional pride among Americans), just as the different tribes who populated what became France and Germany eventually allowed themselves to become Frenchmen and Germans. With a different location and history, the South Slavs might long ago have been able to achieve this. After all, the various Croatian and Serbian dialects were no more different from one another than the various French and German dialects that were overcome to create those two states. And under different circumstances this might still have happened to South Slavs in the twentieth century too.

Moreover, turning to America, it is important to make a distinction between feelings of patriotism and ethnic identity. Americans are patriotic but not ethnic, although when challenged, they behave as an ethnic group; that is,

3. In nationalism "perceptions" often play a stronger role than actuality.

America can always provide excellent examples of jingoism. Thus, patriotism can unleash much the same behavior as nationalism can. In this context it is evident that citizens of Dalmatian cities were as patriotic as they could be, but usually they saw themselves not as Dalmatians but as people of particular cities, Ragusans, Zadrani, and so on. Thus, while recognizing patriotism, we must ask whether at any moment in the history of the medieval kingdom (or subsequent banovina) of Croatia there were also any recognized broad ties that linked certain people (as opposed to others also living amongst them) to behave as a particular people rather than as a variety of communities living in a particular geographical area. Thus, when an enemy (e.g., the Turks) struck, did people fight back as “Croats” rather than as Christians or as subjects of the Hungarian crown (or any other “nationality” label one might propose)? If one cannot provide an argument that people stood up as “Croats,” then one can argue that, while patriotism or Christian ideology may have been present, a particular Croat patriotism or ethnicity was lacking.

Since, as I shall argue, there is no evidence to show such “Croat feeling,” on any scale, at any time in the Middle Ages, it is important to realize the artificiality and ephemerality of all these chosen identities. Some labels (and by labels, I do not assume any ethnic attachment is involved) have lasted longer than others, and some of these longer-lasting ones have had a very long continuity, while other peoples have lost a label only to regain or re-invent it centuries later. But longlasting or not, the labels are all invented (or taken on for a time), and common language does not make things any more secure. Just look at Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia, and Montenegro now. (And if, after the Fourth Crusade, the Morea [Peloponnese] had remained under Latin rule until, say, the nineteenth century and the Greeks there under Frankish influence had all become Catholics, even if they continued speaking a Greek dialect, they probably would now be a separate nationality with a separate state.)

This point deserves emphasis, for we shall see that the present-day Croats had a choice of various possible identities, which therefore makes the Croat identity a chosen one. Thus when we examine medieval sources, we should not assume we are simply finding the Croats who were there. If we throw away that assumption, we will be in a position to see, to the degree possible with limited sources, what actually happened when the Croat tribes in the seventh century arrived in an area where there also were living remnants of an indigenous population plus the Slavic migrants who had been arriving over the previous century. The presence of these other people meant that in what is now Croatia, these various people provided various competing identity labels. Were the Croats numerous and dominant enough to overthrow all previous identities, or were they in such a position only in certain particular places? The answer to such a question is clearly not self-evident. Thus, we should throw away all preconceptions and look with an open mind at what the sources say about the various people present. When one does this, it immediately becomes

clear that “Croat” was only one of several potential identities. And it certainly had no characteristics that destined it to become the primary identity in the territory under study. Indeed, I shall argue that by the end of the Middle Ages it had not become such, nor had it even become so by the end of the eighteenth century. Thus winning over the large Slavic population to a Croat label and identity was in no way preordained or even probable from what our medieval observers left behind for us, be they from the eleventh, thirteenth, or fifteenth centuries; other choices—be they simply other names or even options as to who else might be included in the community—were possible.

When we approach our sources with no screen or preconceptions but with an open mind, as I shall do in this book, then we can see that from an ethnic standpoint medieval Croatian history is totally different from what it has been assumed to be. The Croatian state existed, but in a smaller territory than is often assumed; moreover, much of the population living in its nominal territory and amidst its institutions did not see themselves as Croats at all.

I shall also argue that ethnicity was rarely to be found in the Balkans in the Middle Ages, including in Croatia. The reason for its absence is that ethnicity is not a natural or inherent quality for people to have. To exist it needs conscious creators and propagandists, and in medieval times there was no one to push it. Medieval states centered around rulers. The states were all dynastic states; none were yet nation-states. Duties were owed to the ruler (as lord). As Vrioli puts it in terms of the West (but it was also true for the Balkans): “Vassals and knights who fought and died for their lords were sacrificing themselves *pro domino*, not *pro patria*, to honor a bond of fidelity or faith (*fidelitas* or *fides*), not to discharge a civil duty.”⁴ Thus warriors died for Tomislav or Dušan and not for Croatia or Serbia nor for fellow Croats or Serbs. The state ideology centered on the right of a given ruler (dynasty) to rule. With such a focus there was no possibility of national movements, since such states did not draw the population into membership in the state institutions. In the Middle Ages rulers (and their circles) were elitist; they did not want to share their position with members of society; they were high above society. So, it was in their interest to advance the glories of their family/dynasty and not to advance an idea of a community of, say, Croats. As a result, there were no propagandists pushing this sort of nationalist thinking.

Only later in the nineteenth century, and for some peoples the twentieth century, when movements tried to draw in a whole population through membership in a Croat (or some other) nation, does one find an ideology that focuses on being a Croat or Serb and being of Croat or Serb ethnicity. Then, propagandists of that later day created and tried to convert a population into their enterprise, and with that action, there arose the chance for nationalism and the development of a nation-state. But without such an ideological at-

4. M. Vrioli, *For Love of Country: An Essay on Patriotism and Nationalism*, Oxford, 1995, p. 21.

tempt, there is little chance for a feeling of ethnicity, the idea that all of a very large given group belong to a common community, to develop.

In this matter Croatia resembled the rest of Europe for, in the pre-modern period, when the focus was on dynasty or state, there rarely was a sense of community among a broad populace. The people were bound to the ruler but not—in a state-wide sense—to each other. Thus, there was a state but no nation. As one of my colleagues stated in another context—about the Caucasus—“In the pre-national period, there is no national story.” So, historians working on the pre-nineteenth-century western Balkans can write histories of the territory that would subsequently become modern Croatia, or more sensibly histories of parts of it, that may have had some commonality, like Dalmatia or Slavonia. But they cannot write histories of the Croats, for such a nation did not yet exist; thus that whole subject is simply an anachronism.

My research on the Balkan peoples in the Middle Ages indicates that an identity label like “Croat” or “Serb,” when we do find it in medieval texts, was drawn from the geographical region or more frequently the state name in which the identified person lived. Thus a Croat or Serb was an inhabitant of a Croat or Serb state and not necessarily one who thought his identity was tied up with some inherent Croatness or Serbness. It might be more accurate to say a Croat or Serb was a subject of the Croat or Serb ruler, owing him service and taxes. Being his subject, therefore, made one a Croat or Serb. And in the majority of passages in medieval sources being the subject of or serving the particular ruler is what made one a Croat, Serb, or whatever.

Moreover, as Anastasia Karakasidou points out, many scholars in defining ethnicity have followed F. Barth, whose definition “implies a social aggregate that demonstrates a consistent pattern of acting, conceiving, and portraying their collective membership in a group on the basis of diagnostic cultural criteria. [And] Barth stressed the process of boundary construction and maintenance in the formation, development, and definition of ethnic groups.” The reader should note, in reading the material in the chapters that follow, that such a perceived collective or aggregate did not exist in what is now Croatia, nor did any generally accepted boundary construction appear. Karakasidou also points out that, in terms of Macedonia (but, we shall see, it is equally true of Croatia), “members of an ethnic group, whether self-proclaimed or externally ascribed, also distinguish among themselves on the basis of material interests or idiomatic notions of identity other than ethnicity.”⁵ Thus, the reader should focus on the evidence to be presented that argues that very few people in what is now Croatia before the nineteenth century exhibited an identity (regardless of any label that it was connected to) that could be called “ethnic.”

Despite this absence of ethnicity, however, much has recently been written about medieval ethnic or national (or some similar) development. Some

5. A. Karakasidou, *Fields of Wheat*, p. 19.

of it can be attributed to modern historians swept up by nationalism. But non-nationalists, probably frequently unconsciously, have also fallen prey to it. Such writers seem to see ethnicity as inherent, and someone labeled a Croat or Serb in 1400 is presented as being akin to a present-day Croat or Serb. Such an equivalency is almost never argued, it is simply asserted and assumed.

Much has contributed to this practice. First, the sources do talk about Croats, Serbs, Bulgarians, and so on. For many studies (e. g., an examination of land tenure) the use of such labels is fine, for whether the people called Croats or Serbs feel ethnically or not probably does not much matter in a study of their relations to land ownership. Moreover, a historian has to give some label to a people he is writing about, and since a state is called Croatia or Serbia and members of the state are called Croats or Serbs by local and foreign sources, why should the historian not call these people by these labels? This has commonly been done. I myself have done it regularly, including in my general history of the medieval Balkans. At the time that I wrote that work, ethnicity was not a major concern for me, so I did it naturally. After all, those fighting for Tsar Dušan or King Tomislav or paying taxes to them were sometimes labeled and were in some way Croats or Serbs. This practice might have been fine, except that too many modern people, seeing the national/ethnic labels, began to read things into them and came to assume that one labeled a Croat or Serb in a discussion of the Middle Ages had all the qualities and ethnic consciousness that a modern one does. And when that happens, history becomes anachronistic and skewed.

Many historians have followed such a pattern, usually unconsciously: One is writing on Croatia; there is a Croatian king; his armies are called Croatian; so, the scholar feels free to call the people Croats. He goes ahead and does this, and these figures gradually become in the author's mind actual Croats, even though many of the individuals being described probably had no sense of being Croats at all. Though serving in the Croatian army, they might have been Vlachs, Italians, or, if proto-Serbo-Croatian speakers, people who would have called themselves Slavs or *Splicani* (people of Split). Moreover, the modern historian enjoys hindsight. There were Croats in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries and people so labeled in the Middle Ages. The modern historian assumes them to be the same people. After all, are not today's Croats descended from their so-named ancestors? Thus there must be continuity, and with that one naturally projects backwards all sorts of the present-day ingredients of ethnicity. Most historians have sinned in this way, myself included; we do so particularly when identity/ethnicity is not the issue being focused on in a given monograph. Calling people residing in a state Croats or Serbs was a fine shorthand to use; but now that I have become aware of the identity question (and the lurking pitfalls behind it), I have realized that such usage can be very misleading, for it creates a screen through which one unconsciously looks at one's subjects. When Nada Klaić or I call people in Dubrovnik (who would have called themselves Ragusans) Croats, it conveys a mis-

leading message to the reader that these people were Croats and therefore, by extension, thought of themselves as Croats; and to most unwary readers this image automatically makes the subjects under discussion into something akin to twentieth-century Croats.

Moreover, historians, even able ones, looking at medieval Croatian sources and not finding Croatia/Croatian enough, often, it seems, simply assume the vocabulary in the text suffers from vagueness and is in need of added precision. As a result they begin substituting the word "Croat" for the "Slav" that stands in the text, or if they retain the word "Slav" from the source, then they add "Croat" afterwards in parentheses to explain what sort of Slav was intended. Even as able a historian as Nada Klaić has been guilty of this practice.⁶ I hate to appear to attack Nada Klaić, for she is one of the truly great medievalists (on a European scale) of the twentieth century, and one of the great regrets of my life is that our paths never crossed. But I assume that she was brought up as were other Croats who became medieval historians, from early childhood to believe that in a broad given area the population was Croat; so, if one was looking at sources on that area, a "Slav" mentioned there was naturally a "Croat." And thus one would never stop to think that if a "Slav" in place X was really a Croat, why, then, did the source say he was a "Slav"?

Such substitutions of "Croat" for "Slav," however, mislead the reader into believing something the sources do not tell us and which we really cannot know. For those Slavs living beyond the walls of Split, about whom the word "Croat" has replaced or been attached to the label "Slav" found in the source, may truly have considered themselves Slavs and not Croats at all. Thus, one must ask, as I do in this book: did the man labeled a "Slav" really see himself as a Croat?

Ivo Goldstein in his fine recent history of early medieval Croatia exhibits this flaw frequently, and we find him saying, for example, when he refrains from adding his parentheticals, "these people [the Neretljani] are not yet Croats, but by the eleventh century, they will be." But will they really be? And in describing the late ninth century (moving on from a period where references to Croats have been very sparse), he informs the reader that from this time with economic advances the state will now penetrate society more, and the people will more and more become incorporated into its institutions and become Croats. This assertion is not demonstrated at that moment in the text or later. It may possibly be true, but it is an assumption, and the sources that exist certainly do not demonstrate it.⁷

6. See, e.g., Nada Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u ranom srednjem vijeku*, Zagreb, 1971, pp. 248, 250.

7. I. Goldstein, *Hrvatski rani srednji vijek*, Zagreb, 1995: "Indeed the Neretvani very early affirmed themselves as an independent entity, receiving as a result a particular name: Mariani (coastal people), Arentani (Neretvani), Pagani. Neretva history in the early medieval period can be considered part of Croatian history because from the end of the eleventh century this area very rapidly was to be incorporated into the body of Croatia" [!] (p. 196). Or, "It surely is not coincidental that Christianization and ethnogenesis [of Croats] occurred parallelly. [But did the latter

And Goldstein is a moderate; one can, for example, find such claims as the following by M. Suić, "However, archaeological and linguistic studies indicate that the end of the 8th century can be considered as the latest date [!] by which the early medieval Croats had assumed all the essential characteristics of an autonomous people, with all the attributes inherent in the concept of 'People' within a given historic[al] frame[work] of reference."⁸ Here it is worth pausing to note that, as we shall see, no source has even mentioned the word

really occur at all?] . . . With the creation and strengthening of the Church organization, . . . it is logical that the Croatian name directly spread more easily among the Slavs in the area." Then Goldstein goes on to say that the spread of the Croatian name is shown by inscriptions (p. 262). However, it turns out that only one of seven cited inscriptions actually mentions the Croatian name. And for a final specific example, Goldstein (p. 388) quotes Peter Krešimir in 1062, who (using a royal "we") said that he was "expanding our kingdom along the sea coast" and later refers to "our Dalmatian Sea"; then, Goldstein comments, "[T]his is the first time a source explicitly speaks about expanding *Croatian* territory" (italics mine). Peter Krešimir was King of Croatia, so one might possibly say the quotation implicitly refers to Croatian territory, but the text certainly says nothing explicitly about expanding anything *Croatian*.

One can see the flawed assumptions in his conclusion (which is verbatim the same as his "English Summary," from which I quote): "[I]t was in the Early Middle Ages that the ethnic conditions developed upon which the modern Croatian nation was to be created. . . . This was a time of very intense ethnogenesis, of the formation of the Croatian nation. The process culminated and finally matured during the 'second period of prosperity' in the second half of the eleventh century. . . . We may conclude that the Croatian ethnic region was established in the seventh century and has remained basically the same until the present, and during the Early Middle Ages culturally diverse areas within the Croatian ethnic region gradually fused into a region of an integral Christian civilization, retaining some special sectional features that remained for a long time, some of them until the present" (pp. 459–60). As the reader will see in my text, there is no strong evidence that any of this really happened; "Croatian" does not seem to have been a primary identity for the population of most of what we today think of as Croatia. And those called Croats, on the whole, seem to have been no more than members of a political unit. Only three or four references from the entire Middle Ages clearly point to the label "Croat" meaning something akin to ethnicity. Thus, clearly no ethnogenesis occurred on any scale.

A reader of Goldstein's book, if he ignores Goldstein's signposts and just looks at the sources Goldstein quotes, will reach the conclusion I have. Goldstein, I am sure, sincerely believes the statements I have cited, but he seems to have reached them owing to the screen through which he looked at his evidence: there was a Croatian state out there, and thus his subjects were Croats, even though they called themselves Slavs. Before leaving Goldstein, lest I leave a negative impression, I want to say that if one removes this "Croatian superstructure" what remains is a very fine study of the territory now included in the Republic of Croatia in the early medieval period, and I recommend the work highly.

Once again to bring home a semantic point: Goldstein seems to be using the term "Croatian ethnicity" whenever actors are described as "Croats" in a source, whereas I have a much narrower and stricter definition, as outlined at the start of this introduction. But even by what I take to be Goldstein's definition, we shall find only a very small number of cases that could possibly fall into the looser definition of ethnicity utilized by him and other Yugoslav scholars.

8. M. Suić, "Some Reflections on the Question of the Ethnogeny of the Croats," in N. Budak (ed.), *Etnogeneza Hrvata*, Zagreb, 1995, pp. 195, 196. I want to also note here, as I have on Goldstein above, that M. Suić seems to have been carried away; in other scholarship he has shown himself to be a serious and critical scholar (see bibliography) and the collection in which his work appears is on the whole a collection of serious essays well worth reading and edited by one of the ablest and most objective (by any standards) of the younger generation of Croatian scholars.

“Croat” by the end of the eighth century. He continues, “[W]e [I, i.e., Suić] believe that the relatively long process of Croatian ethnogenesis *was completed* [italics added] by the end of the ninth century, that the Croats entered the historical scene in the ninth century with an already established state of their own, with its territory and its hierarchy at the level of the whole ethnos [!].” Suić at least is right to include in his definition of ethnogenesis that phenomenon’s penetration to all levels of society. However, as I shall show, there is no evidence that such penetration occurred at any point in the period of native rulers (to 1102), and evidence exists of it penetrating only one or two individuals (besides a small number of nobles from a few particular families) by 1500. Shortly thereafter, a few intellectuals emerged showing signs of Croat ethnicity, but a larger number were “Slav” ethnics, and there is little evidence that “Croatness” penetrated beyond the intellectuals in most areas of what is now Croatia or that most of the few calling themselves “Croats” saw themselves as an ethnos, part of a “Croat people.” My study will argue that what Suić is claiming for the eighth century had not even been achieved by the beginning of the nineteenth century. Croatian ethnogenesis was a long process, the first steps of which were the melding of the pre-Slavic population with the Slavs, and then of both populations with the Croats (should the Croats have, in fact, been a second migration after the initial Slavic one). The conversion to Christianity brought another feature of what would much later be Croat identity. But almost none of the people so mixed left any sign that they felt they were Croats, and all the cultural items absorbed could equally well have been providing ingredients for a Slavic or Illyrian identity.

Before leaving the issue, it is important to make a semantic point, lest my differences with Goldstein and others seem to be solely matters of terminology. I have defined above what I mean by “ethnicity”; many Yugoslavs seem to use the term “ethnic” whenever a people (or given individuals) is labeled by a national/ethnic (e.g., Croat/Serb) name. I believe that even by the Yugoslav definition, if we exclude clearly political unit references, we have, as shall be demonstrated in my text, only ten or so references from the Middle Ages in what we think of now as Croatia that could be called ethnic; if we use my definition, we have only a Novi Vinodol priest from 1493 and then, even in the sixteenth century, only a few intellectuals. However, though the Middle Ages are as clear as can be as to the nonexistence of a Croat ethnicity, the issue becomes more complicated after 1500, as the reader will see in the last two chapters.

To avoid falling into the previously mentioned anachronistic trap, I decided to throw the screen away. I have looked at the Balkans region by region—in the case of this book at what is now Croatia—not assuming anything. I went through a mass of published sources (see sources section of bibliography) and noted what they actually said about the people they mention. Thus, I started by assuming that in Croatia no particular people were necessarily there; and then I allowed the sources to speak for themselves. By

this process I was able to uncover, and subsequently in my text simply to present, who was actually said to be there.

The results of my survey turned up fewer Croats than I had expected. So, let me now make two major points. First, my results are based on printed sources. These are obviously only a portion of existing sources. I want to get this text off my desk, to move on to other things, thus I shall not take the years to go through the archival material. However, I have been through masses of published documents from each region and from each century. Probability makes it highly unlikely that the vocabulary of published documents would vary significantly from those that are as yet unpublished. But, as a result, this is a tentative study. I invite others to start looking at the documents in archives, and to see if their contents support, modify, or overturn what I say. Thus, I see this project as a preliminary step in a major investigation that will involve many scholars over many years. I hope that my work provokes interesting responses from many, particularly those who will want to argue otherwise. I hope my critics will treat this book as a serious but preliminary study and realize that I myself may come to repudiate parts of its contents on my own, should the further evidence uncovered lead me up a different path. For no scholar should ever become wedded to any conclusion he reaches, and we all must realize that no work will ever be definitive. But though my text may not stand up as broadly as I am presenting it, my thesis has the merit of being provocative, and I look forward to participating in whatever debate it stirs up.

Second, I say Croat (and all other Balkan nationalities) are invented; I have explained what I mean by that term. Today's Croats need not have ended up as Croats at all; they could have been absorbed by a much more broadly encompassing South Slav identity, or have broken themselves up even more narrowly into Dalmatians and Slavonians or whatever. Thus, how groups of people sort themselves out, once they become conscious of the ethnic category, is a matter of invention or choice (at least by an intellectual or political elite) and historical factors. These factors may change, so the Slavs or Illyrians of the eighteenth century could and did turn into the Croats of the twentieth century who may become South Slavs (Yugoslavs) or even Istrians, Dalmatians, and Slavonians in the twenty-fifth century. However, particular identities when they burst out are strongly felt and for a given time are real. Thus, as I have argued elsewhere, the Macedonians, even though they are a new twentieth-century nationality that lacks a long heritage, are every bit as real and legitimate a nationality as those that are much older, including the Greeks. If a people believe they are a people, with common characteristics and distinct from their neighbors, they are a nationality. Thus the fact, which I argue here, that the Croats are a relatively new "ethnic group/nationality" emerging as such during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in no way suggests that they are not a legitimate nationality today. There is no doubt that most present-day Croats strongly identify with being Croat and, as such, they are every bit as legitimate a nationality as they would have been had they

in great numbers identified themselves this way for a thousand years. One may regret that they did not identify themselves as part of a wider community, for they and their neighbors would have been spared much tragedy had they—and the other Yugoslav peoples—so felt.

But a serious historian must see the evidence and see what the case is. And the history of an ethnic group and its strivings should be based on accurate material. There is no justification to falsify history to support ethnic ambitions. The Croats and their Balkan neighbors have done this in a major way. My effort here is to show that much of Croatian history has been advanced in distorted terms; I would hope, though I do not believe it will happen, that as a result the false history might be discarded. Croats have not struggled for independence or their own state for a thousand years; this striving emerged for most people there in the late nineteenth century. Moreover, I believe that the falsification of history is unnecessary; for the Croats would be as legitimate a nationality if they had emerged like Venus from the half-shell in A.D. 1950 as they would have been had they emerged ethnically conscious in 1950 B.C.

Finally, even if the doctored history were accurate, ancient facts cannot justify present strivings. Serbs may have a host of reasons from the Middle Ages to attach Kosovo to Serbia, but when that region at present has 90 percent Albanians and 10 percent Serbs, then all the history that Serbs advance, no matter how accurate, is totally worthless to support a present-day cause. Thus, the employment of history for political aims is an abuse regardless of whether the history is accurate or not. Only the most recent events (such as overcoming the ethnic cleansing of Bosnians from parts of Bosnia by Serbs and Croats or of the Serbs from the Krajina by Croats in the 1990s) should have a bearing on current decisions.

However, as a historian, I would like to see a people's history presented as accurately as possible, or as Karakasidou writes, "[W]hen nationalist authoritarianism threatens to disrupt violently the peaceful coexistence of peoples, it is time we participant observers [or, in my case, scholars] in this charade of modern chauvinism make an effort at dismantling boundaries rather than raising them."⁹ Hence this book.

One other result emerging from my method of starting with sources to see what they show is the absence of the clear framework, found in most historical works, that appears to give coherence to an area. However, such a framework and the coherence it provides is, in fact, imposed by the author and, as the sources are made to fit into it, may distort what the sources are really saying. So the framework can easily produce a false impression. In the pre-modern world much that is contained in these imposed structures never existed, and even could not have existed. A ruler's authority and power were felt where he actually was at a given moment and at various other centers where he had loyal and powerful supporters. If one travelled to villages fifty miles

9. A. Karakasidou, *Fields of Wheat*, p. 237.

away from these centers, any central (and maybe even regional) authority was frequently more or less absent. Thus society was, in fact, much more fragmented than is usually depicted. So, though the reader may feel that parts of this book are too fragmented, these scattered pieces, I believe, better portray reality; for in a pre-modern entity there was no general society, but many and varied smaller societies within a given region. At times within a given region certain peoples may have shown a degree of community, like the elite of various Dalmatian towns, but most communities generally continued to remain very locally focused. Only modernization, bringing telegraph, telephones, mass media, transportation, co-ordinated school systems and central authorities (and sometimes force), made it possible to bring together large numbers of people into a broad coherent society (as opposed to a state). This fragmentation of the pre-modern period was also a major factor preventing the creation of ethnic-type identities. Isolated communities, having limited communications with others, are not likely to produce joint identities with people about whom they know little or nothing.

So, let us now shed our screens and assumptions and open our minds to a vast array of possibilities, and let us not assume that at various times in the past all, many, or even any people in any given part of what is now Croatia felt themselves to be Croats. Just as one could imagine, say in 1965 or 1980, within the Republic of Croatia in Tito's Yugoslavia, that though some people (as we know) clearly did feel Croat, others bought into Yugoslavia and felt Yugoslav, and some others might have remained or even then come to be provincial and felt Dalmatian or Istrian. And in times past all such possibilities were even more likely, for before 1918—or if we want to include Zadar and Istria, then before 1945—no Croatian state had ever existed that had placed all of Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia together.¹⁰ Thus, in the past, prior to 1918, there should have been a greater variety of possibilities, and we might expect that many of the earlier existing views would have been narrowly or locally focused; so, it should be easy to imagine that many people in what is now Croatia prior to 1800 had no attachment to any broad ethnic category. Instead they may have defined themselves by their religion, by their city/county, or even by their extended family. And other more idealistic souls, some of whom might even have acquired some sort of ethnic consciousness, may have seen that ethnicity broadly and have dreamed of greatness, seeing themselves as belonging to a community that included, perhaps, all the South Slavs, or maybe, reaching for the moon, one that took in all Slavs. So, let us now shed all our "Croatianist" assumptions and, with a mind open to all possibilities, turn to the actual sources and see what we find.

10. I exclude the two brief periods when the three territories were united in much larger empires: 1358–82 under Hungary and 1815–1918 under Austria-Hungary. On both occasions the three regions did not share a common administration and thus underwent no integration.

ONE

The Setting, Including the Slavic and Croat Migrations



Croat nationalists today proclaim that the Croats have at last fulfilled a one-thousand-year ambition by their establishment of independent statehood.¹ As with much of the so-called history that is trumpeted forth by twentieth-century

1. For Tudjman on the supposed 1000-year quest of Croats for independent statehood, see F. Tudjman, *Horrors of War*, p. 333, and M. Glenny, *The Fall of Yugoslavia* (rev. U.S. ed.), New York, 1994, pp. 37–38. For a detailed presentation of the dictator and alleged historian's fantasies about the Croatian past, see G. Uzelak, "Franjo Tudjman's Nationalist Ideology," *East European Quarterly* 31, no. 4, Winter 1997, pp. 449–72. For a discussion in which he cannot make up his mind whether it is a 900-year or 1000-year dream, see p. 454; throughout all this time of oppression, he asserts, the Croats preserved their "self-essence" (p. 469).

For other versions of such an alleged Croatian goal featuring a 900-year quest tied to the legends about King Zvonimir, see I. Zanić, "The Curse of King Zvonimir and Political Discourse in Embattled Croatia," *East European Politics and Societies* 9, no. 1, Winter 1995, pp. 90–122.

Subsequently, the dictator-alleged historian found an even greater past for Croats (though it is not clear whether or not he came to see the Croatian struggle for independent statehood as a 3800-year process). On a visit to Turkey, he was struck by the checkerboard decoration on an ancient pot in a museum. In a speech teletaped back home for his state-controlled TV station, Dr. Tudjman, seated next to the ancient pot, stated, "The Croats were around this area [Anatolia] in 1800 B.C. The question now is, what role did they play? Were they servants or masters?" He left it for others to discover the invention of chess and checkers by ancient Croats, but he did enlighten the Turks by informing them that thirty Ottoman Grand viziers had been Croats! To follow up this awesome presidential discovery a team of Croatian scholars was sent to Turkey to investigate the influence of ancient Croats on pre-Christian Hittite civilization. (C. Hedges, "Croatia's President Polishes a National Myth," *New York Times*, 28 June 1999, p. A9.)

Croat nationalists (until recently exemplified by the pseudo-historian and most Balkan of all the 1990s strong-men of that region, Croatia's dictator Franjo Tudjman), this statement is sheer nonsense. At most this goal is no more than 150 years old and, in the nineteenth century, it was the goal of only a few intellectuals. In fact through most of the thousand "stateless years" the majority of the ancestors of the current Croat nationalists did not even conceive of themselves as Croats.

OVERVIEW OF THE MEDIEVAL HISTORY OF THE WESTERN BALKANS

The Slavs, the ancestors of today's Serbo-Croatian speakers, migrated into what was to become Yugoslavia in the second half of the sixth and early seventh centuries. The Byzantines called them "Slaveni" (Slavs). A survey about the empire's neighbors, conventionally referred to as *De administrando imperio*, was written by tenth-century Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus. If we can believe this survey, then a second migration brought Croats into parts of northwestern Yugoslavia during the reign of Emperor Heraclius (610–41). Constantine was writing some 300 years after the event. He clearly utilized earlier documents, though their nature and accuracy are unknown. Thus, his text is not an ideal source, but unfortunately, we have no other sources that speak of the arrival of the Croats. Constantine also makes many errors in his depiction of later Croatian events, about which we do have other sources. However, despite these drawbacks, most historians, admitting that Constantine may have erred in details, have now come to accept him as reliable for a general picture. The main reason for this acceptance is the fact that twentieth-century scholars have found confirmation of a White Croatia, whence he says the Croats came, beyond the Carpathians.² However, it is worth emphasizing that no source confirms his data on the actual Croat migration. Thus, we must keep in mind that some or even much of what he says may be inaccurate.

Constantine, combined with other Byzantine writers, provides a picture of a large-scale migration which brought Slavs into all of what became Yugoslavia, whereas he alone describes a later Croat migration into certain parts of it. These Croats, then, in at least part of the area they settled, made themselves overlords/rulers over territory on which also lived the Slavic settlers, who had arrived earlier.

What were the relations between these two groups? Nineteenth-century Croat historians focused on the Croats and basically described a process by

2. For a brief account of the Slavic migrations, Croat migrations, and Constantine Porphyrogenitus as a source, see J. Fine, *The Early Medieval Balkans* (hereafter referred to as Fine, EMB), Ann Arbor, 1983, pp. 25–42, 49–59. For a more detailed presentation of the Croat migrations and the various ways they have been interpreted, see the following discussion in chapter 2 of the present study.

which the Croats imposed their rule and identity upon the Slavs. As a result, territory that fell under Croat rule gradually became ethnically Croat. For most of these historians, simply having people come to call themselves “Croats” was enough to make them ethnic Croats. But, as we shall see, it is not at all certain that people in the Croat state did come to call themselves “Croats.”

Moreover, some of these nineteenth-century historians also decided that the real Croats, though a minority, made themselves, as conquerers, into a ruling elite. Thus the noble families of Croatia were depicted as descendants of the elite of the Croat tribes. However, as we shall see, people referred to as Slavs remained numerous in this area throughout the Middle Ages.

Thus it seems that many Slavs did not come to consider themselves Croats. So, in the study that follows, we shall assume nothing and leave the issue open in order to see what the sources tell us about the relations between these two people. Did these later migrants within the state of Croatia continue to use the name “Croat” (derived from the tribal name they arrived with), or did they come to think of themselves as “Slavs”? Did the Slavs under the rule of a leader who called his state “Croatia” actually come to call themselves “Croats,” or did they remain “Slavs”? In this mixing, we must recognize that the process was probably not monolithically one directional, so some may have changed their identity labels (and presumably some to “Croat” and some to “Slav” depending on where they lived) while others did not. In any case, we shall let the sources provide the data rather than start with any sort of preconceived assumptions; and at the end we shall base our conclusions on the basis of the evidence to the extent that this is possible given our sparse sources. We shall discover, needless to say, that things were much more complex than a one-way process of Croat ethnogenesis.

It also needs repeating that to most Yugoslav (including Croat) scholars the acquisition of ethnicity simply means the picking up and using of a given, in this case “Croat,” name. I shall note the use of this and other names as they appear, but shall use the much stricter and complex standards for “ethnicity” that I laid out in the introduction. And, to look ahead, I can tell the reader right now that we shall turn up almost no ethnic Croats by that stricter standard. However, even if one uses the general Yugoslav/Croat standard of proclaiming ethnicity simply when one finds people labelled by what might be an ethnic name, one still finds many fewer Croats than these scholars have consistently claimed. Thus, even by their standards, one would be hard put to argue that a process of Croat ethnogenesis occurred anywhere in what is now Croatia during the Middle Ages, and, I would argue, employing whichever definition, before the nineteenth century.

Before moving on, I think one more point of clarification of my position is needed. I believe people could call themselves “Croats” or “Slavs”—and surely some used both terms for themselves—and still not have an ethnicity. One can live without ethnicity, just as most Byzantines did and as most Americans do

now. So, the mere acquisition of a “Croat” identity label in itself may be of no *ethnic* significance. I may move to New York City—God forbid—and call myself and be referred to by others as a “New Yorker,” but this label will not reflect anything essential about the way I view my own identity. And, I believe the evidence bears out the conclusion that in most examples provided by our sources the use of a specific identity term for an individual in Croatia, Serbia, Bulgaria, or elsewhere was no more significant to that individual than my example of acquiring the “New Yorker” label.

In any case, the word “Croatia” became a name, though not an exclusive one, for the state lying between the Cetina River and Istria, which the Croat migrants set up, and the term “Croatian” came into use for people under their rule. It was particularly commonly used for people in northern Dalmatia and the hinterland behind this coastal territory. This area consists of a triangle extending along the coast from Zadar to Istria, and inland to include (south to north): Lika, Gacka, Krbava, Modruš, and Vinodol. Since the Velebit range runs through this area, I shall coin the term “Velebitia” for this general area in the discussion that follows. “Velebitia” coincides closely with the principality, later kingdom, of Croatia; but to call the region “Croatia” introduces too much ambiguity as to whether it is the state or a territory under discussion. Thus, it makes sense to make use of this coined geographical term, when speaking simply about the general territory.

In the ninth century there were two states called by modern scholars “Croatian,” one in Dalmatia and one (with a prince at least called “Croatian” by Constantine Porphyrogenitus) in the interior, between the Drava and Sava rivers, including what is now Zagreb. This latter territory is often referred to by scholars as Pannonian Croatia. However, it should be noted, Constantine is the only medieval author to use the term “Croatian” in connection with Pannonia. Thus perhaps during the Middle Ages only one of these two territorial entities (the Dalmatian one) should have the name “Croatia(n)” applied to it.

The Dalmatian state included most of the northern coastal territory, but scattered within it were a certain number of walled cities that had not been conquered and remained under the nominal control of the Byzantine Emperor: Split, Trogir, and Zadar. To the south, Dubrovnik and Kotor held out against the undifferentiated Slavic invaders. In medieval sources, the term “Dalmatia” may refer to just these Byzantine cities (as was Byzantine usage), the whole geographical area, or various other political units assembled in parts of this territory. Traditionally, scholars have claimed that the two so-called “Croatian” entities were united early in the tenth century into one state by Tomislav, who by 925 had allegedly received a crown from the pope and become King of Croatia.

Recent scholarship has questioned much about the reign of Tomislav, and some scholars date Croatian kingship to the following century and also raise

doubts about the union of the coast and Pannonia. After all, our sources, many of which are later narratives or later copies of charters, make a complete jumble of rulers' titles; a sixteenth-century source cites an alleged papal letter which calls Tomislav king, but the documents about his successors, most of which come in unsatisfactory late copies (often containing interpolations, if they are not outright forgeries), call these individuals kings, dukes, or counts. For our purposes it does not matter how glorious the title was; what matters is what one is "ruler" of (e.g., Croats or Slavs) and that the given document gives us confidence about its authenticity and accuracy. Second, it is not at all clear that Tomislav really united Dalmatia and Pannonia. From our assortment of often unreliable documents it is evident that in the tenth and eleventh centuries, the Pannonian territory—or parts of it—seems to have been sometimes under Hungary and sometimes under the Croatian rulers operating out of Dalmatia. Who held what and when, owing to the absence of clear sources, is most controversial. Nada Klaić has concluded that from the third decade of the eleventh century, Slavonia was more closely tied to Hungary than to Croatia. And we shall see that the Archbishop of Split, Metropolitan for Dalmatia and Croatia, did not extend his authority over what was to become Slavonia. In any case, the area controlled by the rulers of Croatia for the pre-1102 (or early-medieval) period was Velebitia, much of northern Dalmatia, and whatever territory the rulers could maintain in Pannonia/Slavonia; with various ups and downs this state survived until 1102, when it was annexed by Hungary.³

After the annexation the Hungarian king retained Croatia as a unit, continuing to call it the Kingdom of Croatia, and adding that phrase to his ever-lengthening title. The king appointed a governor (called the Ban of Croatia), whose territory included "Velebitia" and whatever parts of the Dalmatian coast the Hungarians held. Thus the name "Croatia," as a territorial one, was perpetuated in this area. Whether the inhabitants of this region, who from time to time appear in sources calling themselves "Croats," saw the term as being anything more than a territorial label that described their region of residence or a reflection of their status as being subject to this ban, as we shall see, is not clear. What scholars refer to as "Pannonian Croatia" or, as it was called in the Later Middle Ages, "Slavonia," remained under Hungary for the rest of the Middle Ages. The Hungarian king appointed a separate ban, the Ban of Slavonia, for this territory.

The Dalmatian cities had a different history. Their populations remained centered in and around the various cities, administering themselves as individual city states, under the suzerainty of one or another frequently changing overlords. The cities were marked by civic patriotism, and people usually referred to

3. On the early history of the Croats from the ninth century to 1102, see Fine, *EMB*, pp. 248–88.

themselves by the names of their cities: Zadrani, Splicani, Ragusans (Dubrovčani), and so on. We shall examine later whether and to what extent they also came to consider themselves Croats.

The interior remained under Hungary for the rest of the Middle Ages. At the end of the fifteenth century and during the early sixteenth century, part of the interior was conquered by the Ottomans. The Venetians assumed overlordship over all the Dalmatian cities in the course of the fifteenth century, except for Dubrovnik (Ragusa), which managed to keep its autonomy as an Ottoman tributary. The Ottomans lost most of their "Croatian" lands to the Habsburgs in 1699; Venice kept its colonies until 1797.

THE MIGRATIONS

A variety of Byzantine sources—including Constantine Porphyrogenitus—refer to raids and eventually to settlement by Slavs or Slavs and Avars in the sixth and seventh centuries; these texts emphasized the traumatic fall of Salona, the Roman capital of Dalmatia, in 614. This date is also becoming a matter of controversy, but it does not matter for our study. These events, which I have discussed elsewhere,⁴ need only be noted here to indicate that Slavs were operating in large numbers in most parts of the future Yugoslavia prior to the migration of Croats and Serbs during the reign of Heraclius, described by Constantine. Thus, throughout the area into which these two incoming tribes migrated, large numbers of Slavs were already present, presum-

4. Fine, *EMB*, pp. 33–35. A dating of Salona's fall in or around 614 was long accepted and still has not been refuted. Recently, however, various scholars have been advancing dates to the early 620s or even as late as 640. The major reasons used to justify this later dating are post-614 Byzantine coin finds, including a few from as late as 630–31, late in the reign of the Emperor Heraclius (610–41). See I. Marović, "Reflexions about the Year of the Destruction of Salona," *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 77, 1984, pp. 293–314. Marović also asks: if the city fell in 614, then why would the papacy have waited until 641 to send a legate (Martin) to save the relics of Salona's martyrs and to ransom off captured Romans from the Slavs? Would captured Romans from 614 still have been in captivity in 641? Thus Marović argues for a date nearer to 640. However, all these arguments can be met, which, it must be stressed, still does not settle the issue. But we should keep in mind that the attack upon Salona and the elimination of its Roman garrison does not necessarily mean that the city became deserted. There was no other coinage in the area, so Roman survivors or even Slavs who may have moved into the city could still have made use of Byzantine coins (possibly taken as booty) after the fall of the city. The number of coins from the reign of Heraclius are far fewer in number than those from the sixth century. As for Martin, conditions could have been so dangerous that the papacy did not dare send an envoy before 641. Moreover, in that year John IV, a native of Dalmatia, became pope. As a Dalmatian he may have had much greater interest in the relics of the Salona martyrs than his predecessors. The slaves that the envoy ransomed off need not have dated back to the fall of Salona but could have been acquired in any number of later raids. Ivanka Nikolajević also argues, supported by archaeological evidence, that the events, which in the literature are called the "fall" of Salona, did not necessarily cause all the indigenous inhabitants to desert their town. Thus, she believes a 614 "fall" could coincide with the existing evidence. See I. Nikolajević, "'Salona christiana' u VI i VII veku," *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 72–73, 1979, pp. 151–70, esp. p. 164.

ably speaking a proto Serbo-Croatian. They had taken control of most of Dalmatia, except for the already-noted walled cities that held out and remained Roman or Byzantine: Kotor, Dubrovnik, Split, Trogir, and Zadar. Many islands also were initially unaffected, but subsequently the Slavs began over time to penetrate most of those as well.

CONSTANTINE PORPHYROGENITUS

The only source on the arrival of the Croats in the Balkans is Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus' *De administrando imperio* written by the emperor ca. 950.⁵ At first Constantine presented the Avars or the Avars and the Slavs as masters of Dalmatia. In this context "Dalmatia" is the old Roman province, which was a broader territory than that which we now think of as Dalmatia; it included most of present-day Dalmatia's hinterland with Bosnia as well. Constantine then goes on to describe an invasion by Croats. "After they had fought one another for some years, the Croats prevailed and killed some of the Avars and the remainder they compelled to be subject to them."⁶ Those subjected, of course, included the large number of Slavs (in the given area) who had been living under Avar rule prior to the Croats' arrival. In the next chapter, 31, Constantine dates these events to the time of the Emperor Heraclius (610–41), who is said to have summoned them,⁷ thus providing a basis for Byzantine claims of suzerainty over the Croats and the territory they had assumed control of. Elsewhere Constantine reports that the empire suffered reduced influence in this area, particularly during the time of Michael II, the Amorion (820–29), and that "the inhabitants of Dalmatia became independent, subject neither to the Emperor of the Romans nor to anybody else, and, what is more, the nations of those parts, the Croats and Serbs and Zachlumites [people of Zahumlje, later Hum], Terbuniotes [people of Trebinje], Kanalites [people of Konavljje] and Diocletians [Dukljans, in present-day Montenegro] and Pagani [whom we shall meet as the Neretljani], shook off the reins of the empire of the Romans and became self-governing and independent, subject to none. Princes, as they say, these nations had none, but only 'župans,' elders, as is the rule in the other Slavonic regions."⁸

The Byzantines prior to Michael II had exerted little authority in most of this area; either Constantine was ignorant of this fact or wanted it to seem that Heraclius and his successors had actually exercised overlordship there to

5. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, *De administrando imperio* (hereafter referred to as DAI), text edited by Gy. Moravcsik, English translation by R. Jenkins, *Dumbarton Oaks Texts*, vol. I, Washington, D.C., 1967.

6. DAI, pp. 142 (Greek text) / 143 (English translation); hereafter the double references will be given simply as pp. 142/143, with the Greek reference first.

7. DAI, pp. 146, 147/148, 149.

8. DAI, pp. 124/125.

make it appear that these tribes had been in legal subordination to the empire. Moreover, since Byzantium was fighting for its life against Persia for much of Heraclius' reign and thus in no position to arrange matters in the Balkans, most scholars have rejected any involvement on the part of Heraclius and have concluded that the Croats simply moved in on their own. However, the very weakness of Byzantium in the west might have given it all the more reason to seek allies and to encourage others to oppose the Avars, which Byzantium was in no position to do. Thus it is perfectly possible that Byzantium, from a position of weakness, invited the Croats in and offered them territory to settle on as federates, if they could take it from the Avars. The Croats could well have found such an invitation attractive, particularly since the Byzantines were too weak to enforce any control over them. And, if the Balkans had advantages over the Croats' existing White-Croatian homeland beyond the Carpathians, then why not accept? Even if there was nothing to stop their arrival, other than the Avars, it would certainly be preferable to come with Byzantine acceptance than otherwise. R. Katičić, it may be noted, has argued that this is in fact what did happen.⁹

Out of all this western Yugoslav territory, the Croats controlled only certain regions. As time passed, princes emerged in two adjacent territories. Constantine goes on to say, "From the Croats who came to Dalmatia a part split off and possessed themselves of Illyricum and Pannonia; they too had an independent prince, who used to maintain friendly contact, though through envoys only, with the Prince of Croatia [i.e., in Dalmatia]."¹⁰ Having described the stormy relations between Croats and Franks and some early Christianizing missions, Constantine reports, "[T]heir [the Croats'] country was divided into eleven zupanas, viz. Chlebiana [Livno], Tzenzina [Cetina], Imota [Imotski], Pleba [Pliva], Pesenta [Pset], Parathalassia [the Primorje, the coast], Breberi [Bribir], Nona [Nin], Tnina [Knin], Sidraga, and Nina [?]; and their ban possesses Kribasa [Krbava], Litza [Lika], and Goutziska [Gacka]."¹¹ Constantine then lists where the other Slavonic regions lay, eventually reaching the Croats again, "From the River Zentina [Cetina] begins the country of Croatia and [it] stretches along, on the side of the coast as far as the frontiers of Istria, that is to the city of Alburnum [Labin], and on the side of the mountain country it encroaches some way upon the province of Istria."¹²

Thus we find that the Croats and Serbs took over parts of the area settled by the original Slaveni. The Serbs were to be found along the southern coast (or Upper Dalmatia), inland into what is now Kosovo, the Sandžak, and Macedonia. The Croats, by Constantine's time and according to him, con-

9. R. Katičić, "Filološka razmatranja uz izvore o začetima hrvatske države," *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* ser. III, 16, 1986, pp. 90–91.

10. *DAI*, pp. 142/143.

11. *DAI*, pp. 144/145.

12. *DAI*, pp. 145, 146/147, 148.

trolled eleven župas/županijas or counties, giving them dominance over a territory from the Cetina River north to the head of the Gulf of Kvarner (Quarnero), extending inland as far as the upper Vrbas River, with the župas of Pliva, Livno, and Imotski bordering on Bosnia. Large parts of what was to become Yugoslavia remained outside the rule of these two dominant tribes, presumably simply under units or tribes of the original Slaveni. These areas included Bosnia and Duklja (Montenegro).

However, since sources are scanty and since Constantine, writing from distant Constantinople, is not an ideal source, it is always possible that some Croats were settled beyond his eleven županijas, and also that the Croats, who clearly shared the eleven županijas with the earlier arriving Slavs, were a minority in parts or even much of the territory they allegedly controlled. This assumption is borne out by what we know of the nature of medieval nomadic tribes.

A tribe was not an ethnic group, but the constituency or following of a chief.¹³ A large tribe was composed of a series of different unrelated groups, who were conquered by or else voluntarily associated themselves for material reasons with this chief. The resulting tribe was usually named for the clan of the chief. Thus the Scythians, Sarmatians, Huns, Avars, and so on, were all composed of bands of horsemen drawn from many language groups—Iranians, Turks, Huns—who collectively bore the name of the dominant group at a given time. The Croats, when they invaded the Balkans, presumably headed such a confederation, and thus provided only some of the so-called Croat migrants.

Linguists have noted that the name “Croat” and also the names of the five brothers and two sisters who allegedly led their migration are not Slavic. Probably a majority have concluded that their names are Iranian, though recently some have argued that they are Turkish.¹⁴ Yet since the large tribes of the time tended to be the following of chiefs and thus drawn from many groups, there is no reason why certain names could not be Turkish and others Iranian. However, the conclusion that these names are not Slavic does not mean that the Croats had not already been Slavicized when living beyond the Carpathians; after all, the Antes, originally an Iranian tribe, were already Slavicized when they appeared beyond the Danube in the fifth and sixth centuries. Even if the Croatian leadership had still spoken an Iranian (or Turkish) dialect at the time of arrival, it does not mean that that leadership did not have many, and possibly even a majority of, Slavs in its forces. The fact that the incoming “Croats” were so quickly to be described in sources as Slavs suggests that the Croat core was already Slavicized or, if still Iranian (or Turkish), comprised only a small minority of the total population of the tribe. If it is true that the majority of

13. On the nature of a medieval tribe, see the important study by R. Lindner, “What Was a Nomadic Tribe?” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 24, no. 4, 1982, pp. 689–711.

14. On the language issue and, in particular, arguments for a “Turkish” claim, see L. Margetić, “Neka pitanja etnogeneze Hrvata,” *Radovi* (Zavod za hrvatsku povijest, Filozofski fakultet, Sveučilište u Zagrebu) 28, 1995, pp. 38–41.

the Croat following was in fact Slaveni/Slavs, then we can see why the sources about areas supposedly under Croat control almost universally called the people in these areas simply "Slavs," and not "Croats." Constantine is excepted, but he clearly directed his attention to the leadership.

The composite nature of a tribe removes the significance of the Iranian-ness/former Iranian-ness of the Croats, something that has appealed to some Croat nationalists in the twentieth century. Since personal and tribal names often survive long after overall linguistic change, the Croat leaders may already have been Slavicized prior to arrival (and thus their Iranian qualities may have already faded away). Moreover, the bulk of their following was, in any case, probably Slavic; thus the "Croat" leadership, Iranian or not, would have been a tiny minority, which we know was assimilated by the Slavic mass very quickly, and certainly by the beginning of the ninth century. Thus the migration in the long run merely produced a few new leaders, who rapidly came to speak Slavic; they retained the Croat name and provided the leadership (or some of the leadership) of the political entity that emerged bearing the name "Croatia." It is also evident that Croat culture in the years after the tribe's arrival in the Balkans had little or nothing Iranian about it. Thus, if any Iranian features were still to be found among the Croats in the seventh century, those features certainly had no lasting impact. A more important matter to address would be to determine the size and strength of the actual Croat nucleus of the migration and to find an explanation for why, if the Croats in fact provided the leadership of the migration, they produced so little evidence subsequently of their presence as a people in Dalmatia and Pannonia.¹⁵ Of course, if the name "Croat" was derived from Crobatu, whom Constantine mentions, and thus was based on a family/dynasty, like the Ottomans (subjects of Osman), then that question ceases to have any ethnic significance.

In any case, scholars have concluded that the Croats came to rule over some Slaveni in parts of Dalmatia and its neighboring hinterland and, if we can believe Constantine (who is confirmed by no other source), also over others in parts of Pannonia. In the years that followed, the Croats—to the degree that they were not already Slavicized—were assimilated into the general Slavic-language community. But they created in northern Dalmatia and "Velebitia" a state which bore the name of Croatia.

As this process was taking place, what names did people in the area use for themselves? Did the initial Slavs who fell under Croat rule come to feel themselves to be Croats? Or did the Croats, or at least many of them, lose their distinctive Croat identity in the general and undefined Slavic community? And who did foreign observers believe was operating and living in the previously mentioned region? These are questions we shall address in the chapters that follow.

15. Fine, *EMB*, pp. 56–58.

TWO

Croats and Slavs to 1102



BRIEF HISTORICAL SUMMARY

To understand the sources and the context in which they were written, it is important to provide a brief historical framework for the events and peoples they describe. In my summary, I shall follow Constantine Porphyrogenitus' account of the migratory process. Variant theories are discussed in a special section later in the chapter. According to Constantine, the Slavic invasions came in two waves. First came a long (and more gradual) one between the mid-sixth and early-seventh century, whose participants were simply called "Slavs." This put an end to Byzantine administration in the western Balkans, except for a limited number of walled cities that held out. This first wave was tied to a Turkic tribe, the Avars, who were the overlords of some or most of the incoming Slavic tribes. Thus, much of the western Balkans was under direct or indirect Avar rule. Subsequently, Constantine proposes that there was a second invasion of Croats, who at the time of Heraclius (610–41) invaded and defeated the Avars and took up rule over some of the western Balkans; presumably, if the Avars were thoroughly ousted, other areas fell under the control of local Slavic leaders. The Avars, however, remained a power in Pannonia (in what is now Hungary) and in much of Slavonia (in what is now Croatia).

At the end of the eighth century, the Franks began expanding into this area. In 778 they annexed Istria, already heavily settled with Slavs. In 796 they finished off the Avars, barring them from any subsequent role in Slavonia. In their campaign they were assisted by at least one local Slavic prince.

The Franks put this border region, and the vassal Slavic leaders allied to them, under the administration of a Marchgrof of Furlandia. The Franks then turned their attention to the Adriatic, and began pressing into Dalmatia. Here they presumably disturbed some of the local Slavic figures, but certainly the Byzantines, who were trying to keep at least some control over their Dalmatian cities. Warfare followed, ending in the peace of Aachen (812), by which the Byzantines retained Venice and their Dalmatian towns and the Franks got the Dalmatian hinterland and Istria. In this period three Slavic principalities emerged in this area, all named geographically: a principality of Pannonia, a principality of Dalmatia and Liburnia—both under Frankish suzerainty—and a principality of Slavs centered around the lower Neretva River, whose people came to be called the Neretljani. We do not know how consolidated these “principalities” were, or how much territory they controlled or even whether parts of their apparent territory remained under local chiefs with varying degrees of independence. During all this time, the word “Croat” never appears in the contemporary sources. Its earliest appearance in a surviving source is found in a charter issued by Trpimir Dux of the Croats, dated to 852. We do not have the original charter but a copy from several centuries later. Trpimir was presumably the heir—whether in a family sense is unknown—of the previously mentioned Prince of Dalmatia. It should be noticed that Trpimir’s successors did not exclusively call themselves rulers of the “Croats”; they also called themselves rulers “of the Slavs.” Meanwhile Frankish vassal princes ruled in Pannonia, where the term “Croat” never made an appearance.

The next major event was the arrival of the Hungarians/Magyars into present-day Hungary in the late 890s. They immediately began raiding into Slavonia and soon put an end to the “Pannonian” principality when they defeated and killed in about 898 its last Prince Braslav, whose capital had been Sisak. These Hungarian activities threatened Dalmatia. A Prince (who at some point may have taken the title King) of the Croats, named Tomislav, went to war against the Hungarians and had some success. He temporarily eliminated the Magyar threat to Dalmatia and asserted his control over part of Slavonia, including the fortified town of Sisak. At a minimum the Bishop of Sisak seems to have been under his patronage at the Church Council of 928 in Split. Most of Slavonia remained up for grabs, for it had no truly defensible border against the Hungarians, who presumably held much if not most of it for the rest of the period prior to 1102.

Since the Slavs did not write before the middle of the ninth century, most early descriptions about them come from foreign sources, most importantly from the Byzantines, Franks, Venetians, and Latinized Dalmatians (in particular from Split). It must be emphasized that the terminology used in them is that of these foreigners. Though at times they may be calling the populations of the western Balkans by the names used by their contacts among these

people, we cannot assume that the terminology of these foreigners represents the nomenclature of the natives.

THE SOURCES ON THE WESTERN BALKANS PRIOR TO 1102

Constantine Porphyrogenitus

We have examined Constantine Porphyrogenitus' data on the arrival of the Croats in the seventh century; he has further data about them down to his own time in the middle of the tenth century. He continues to refer to this people and the political entities they established as "Croat/Croatian."

Under Emperor Basil I (867–86) a campaign was launched in 871 against the port of Bari in Italy, then held by the Saracens (Arabs). "The King [of the Franks] and the Pope accorded to the Emperor's request, and both of them came with a large force and joined up with an army sent by the Emperor and with the Croat and Serb and Zachlumian chiefs and the Trebijans and Konavlans and the men of Ragusa and all the cities of Dalmatia (for all were present by imperial mandate); and they crossed over into Lombardy, and laid siege to the city of Bari and took it."¹ "Dalmatia" here refers to the imperial cities. The Croats were just one of several peoples occupying coastal territory who sent help. They presumably came from the coast between Istria and the Cetina River, where Constantine has elsewhere specifically located them. In any case, Constantine lists others—the Zachlumians and Trebijans—from the territory south of the Cetina.

After this success, Basil tried to put things in order on the east side of the Adriatic as well. He decided to smooth out relations between the Byzantine cities and the newcomers by allowing the cities to pay the tribute owed to the emperor to the "Slavs" instead. Here "Slavs" is a general category, used to cover all the various Slavic entities. Constantine reports: "Now after the said Slavs had settled down, they took possession of all the surrounding territory of Dalmatia; but the cities of the Romani took to cultivating the islands and living off them; since, however, they were daily enslaved and destroyed by the Pagani [a tribe of Slavs on the Neretva, whom I call the Neretljani], they deserted these islands and resolved to cultivate the mainland. But they were stopped by the Croats, for they were not yet tributary to the Croats, and used to pay the military governor all that they now pay to the Slavs. . . . Basil ordered all that was then paid to the military governor, they should pay to the Slavs. . . . And from that time all these cities became tributary to the Slavs." Constantine then provides a list of cities. He concludes with Dubrovnik (Ragusa), which was situated between the two countries of Zachlumi and

1. *DAI*, pp. 128/129.

Terbounia. Having vineyards in both countries, the Ragusans paid fees to the princes of both places.² Thus Constantine does not mention tribes calling themselves “Croats” in the vicinity of Dubrovnik, but has the tribes there calling themselves by local territorial names.

Constantine also makes observations about the Croats’ relations with Bulgaria. Though he provides no geographical sign-posts as to where these particular Croats lived, he makes it clear that a powerful Croat state existed. Speaking about the mid-ninth century, Constantine reports, “Nor has the Bulgarian [prince] ever gone to war with the Croats, except when Michael Boris, Prince of Bulgaria, went and fought them and, unable to make any headway, concluded peace with them, and made presents to the Croats and received presents from the Croats.”³ Shortly thereafter, he contradicts himself by describing further warfare between the two peoples. Discussing Symeon of Bulgaria’s activities in the mid 920s, Constantine mentions the flight of a Serb prince named Zaharije to the Croats. As a result, as Constantine and a Byzantine chronicler, George Hamartolos, report, the Bulgarians invaded Croatia and were defeated.⁴

Constantine’s next important pieces of information for us are set in the present tense, so presumably he is describing conditions in his own day, the mid-tenth century. “In baptized Croatia are the inhabited cities of Nona [Nin], Belgrade [Biograd], Belitzin [Velicin, possibly modern Belica], Skordona [Skradin], Chlebena [Livno], Stolopom [Stupin], Tenin [Knin], Kori [Karin], and Klaboka [Klobuk].”⁵ Thus, once again he presents the Croats as living along the northern Dalmatian coast, and he locates Split as lying in the midst of Croatian territory: “The country in which the Croats settled themselves was originally under the dominion of the emperor of the Romans, and hence in the country of these same Croats the palace and hippodromes of the emperor Diocletian are still preserved at the city of Salona, near the city of Spalato [Split].”⁶

Finally, Constantine comments on the meaning of certain names such as “Croat.” His definitions are not always plausible, but what is important is his manner of expounding them: “Pagani” means unbaptized in the Slavonic tongue (Sklavon glossan); “Croats” in the Slav tongue (Sklavon dialekto) means “those who occupy much territory,” and so on. He provides several other examples as well, each time calling the language “Slavic.”⁷ Thus Constantine leaves us with a picture of many individual groups of Slavs, some of

2. *DAI*, pp. 146/147.

3. *DAI*, pp. 150/151.

4. *DAI*, pp. 158/159.

5. *DAI*, pp. 150/151. For identifications of the towns, see I. Goldstein, *Hrvatski rani srednji vijek*, pp. 172, 178 and the commentary to *DAI*, edited by R. Jenkins, et al., London, 1962, p. 129.

6. *DAI*, pp. 148/149.

7. *DAI*, pp. 126/127, 146/147.

whom had particular names, but all speaking the same (or a similar) language, Slavic.

Vatroslav Jagić thinks this is significant. To understand Jagić's argument, which shall follow, it must be noted that he did not accept Constantine's two-stage invasion. Jagić sees a massive long-term migration of Slavs in the sixth and seventh centuries, which comprised many tribes including the Serbs and Croats, and he believes Constantine should be used, and used with caution, only for events closer to his own time. According to Jagić, when Constantine speaks of the Croats, and their actions or territories, he is thinking only in political terms. Thus, "Croat" was only a political designation, and the Croats are merely those following the leaders of that entity. Jagić then argues that language is basic to one's identity and thus is related to ethnicity. Thus, Jagić discerns in the sources a massive Slavic invasion, which was made up of various tribes, some of whom, like the Croats and Serbs, bore names that were to be lasting. In this large region settled by Slavs, all of whom spoke the same or nearly the same language, certain political entities emerged, and that is all that they were, merely political entities. The Slavic populations inside and outside the borders of an entity were the same, and all spoke Slavic. So ethnic Slavs (by Jagić's definition) inhabited a huge territory and were divided among various political entities, and one should not link their identity or ethnicity to a political entity without a concrete reason for doing so. The fact that the language continued to be called "Slavic"—and, as we shall see, it remained so for centuries—should make us hesitate to look upon a portion of the Slavic population as ethnic Croats. The fact that these people themselves were also to be called and to call themselves "Slavs" with regularity for many more centuries provides further support for Jagić's position.⁸

Now I want to leave the specific information Constantine provides and turn to his work as a whole. In his *DAI* he recounts the arrival of the Croats twice; in chapter 31 he focuses on the role of the Emperor Heraclius in summoning the Croats against the Avars. But in chapter 30, he makes it seem a voluntary migration of the tribe, led by Chrobatus and his four brothers and

8. V. Jagić, "Jedno poglavlje iz povijesti južnoslavenskih jezika" [1895] in his *Izabrani kraći spisi*, Zagreb, n.d., p. 295. The argument Jagić advances is, of course, that the Slavic invaders (including the Serbs and the Croats) were all one people. A bit later he cites on this matter Vuk Karadžić, who had said, "thus very easily the Serbs and Croats, when they arrived here, were one people under two different names." And Jagić comments that, as one can see, Vuk's common-sense judgment is right on track (p. 300). Jagić then goes on to argue that the Serbs and Croats still speak the same language, and he freely calls it Serbo-Croatian (pp. 300–303). I strongly urge modern Croat philologists to read the texts left by this great Croat, who laid the groundwork for all subsequent work on philology in Croatia. He even pointed out the danger of following the path his 1990s successors have taken. "Philology is entirely separate from politics. And if the philological discipline is used for this or that political cause, then it is no longer philology but politics. . . . And the relations between Serbs and Croats are something that a philologist in his research should not concern himself with" (p. 302).

two sisters. Scholars have almost unanimously agreed that Constantine has recorded two traditions, in chapter 31 the Byzantine records (or propaganda) he wanted to advance and in chapter 30 the oral traditions of the Croats themselves. Presumably, Constantine planned to synthesize the two accounts in a re-editing, but never got around to it. What is relevant to us now is: where did the Croatian tradition come from? Ivo Goldstein reasonably argues that it came from the Croats through a Byzantine official in Dalmatia, presumably in Zadar or Split. The next question is, when was the tale brought to Constantinople? Without pondering the issue, I had assumed, when writing my history of the early-medieval Balkans, that traditions about the early events, in particular those about the seventh century, had been collected at some earlier time and that Constantine discovered them along with other chancellery material which he worked into his chapter. However Goldstein, very plausibly but unfortunately without proof—and proof will probably never be available—suggests that all or almost all of the Croatian material in chapter 30 was actually passed on to Constantine from a Byzantine official in his own lifetime, that is, in the mid-tenth century.⁹ Though it cannot be demonstrated, such a suggestion is very reasonable, for Constantine, full of intellectual curiosity, very likely was seeking all such information his officials could come up with. And thus, if Goldstein is correct, it means that the Croatian account was available in some circles in the second quarter of the tenth century, three centuries after the tribe's migration. This would also mean that some people who felt that they were Croats at that time believed that knowledge of these early events was important to preserve. Thus, for whatever reason (again assuming that Goldstein's theory is correct) some Croats in the tenth century may have been concerned about their past, if only to justify dominance over some community in their own time. And this would suggest that some people in that century possessed and valued an identity (of some sort) as Croats. This is a tantalizing and important suggestion that deserves further thought. However, much of what he—and I in my elaboration here—have suggested is mere speculation. And, if the Byzantines had recorded the

9. The stimulus for my discussion of when the tradition was collected, which goes beyond Goldstein's, comes from his remarks in *Hrvatski*, p. 392. However, the whole argument depends on chapter 30 of *DAI* being based on a living oral tradition current in the tenth century. Considerable doubts on this have been expressed. For an article (with references to the various views in the controversy) on the balance in chapter 30 between documented and oral tradition, see N. Klačić, "Najnoviji radovi o 29, 30, i 31 poglavlju u djelu De administrando imperio Cara Konstantina VII Porfirogenita," *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* ser. III, 15, 1985, pp. 31–58. For an interesting discussion on the specific but very different oral traditions behind the three major early sources (Constantine Porphyrogenitus' *DAI*—with two traditions—and the Chronicles of the Priest from Dioclea and Thomas the Archdeacon of Split), see N. Budak, "Tumačenje podrijetla i najstarije povijesti Hrvata u djelima srednjovjekovnih pisaca," in N. Budak (ed.), *Etnogeneza Hrvata*, Zagreb, 1995, pp. 73–78. The same points are made in N. Budak, *Prva stoljeća Hrvatske*, Zagreb, 1994, pp. 55–70, especially pp. 62–67.

story in their archives in the seventh or eighth century, the tradition would then have no value as evidence of Croatian identity or some sort of awareness at a later time. But, if Goldstein's suggestion is correct, then some people, presumably in Dalmatia, had retained a Croatian tradition.

To summarize: Emperor Constantine used the term "Slav" in an inclusive sense, covering all the tribes, but, when examining a particular region, he usually specified the particular tribe active there. The Croats were identified in this way and given credit for having a powerful state whose territory was set out, for the time, in quite precise terms.

The Lombards, Franks, Venetians, Papacy, and Dalmatian urbanites are much less precise and regularly merely say "Slavs"; one must wonder whether it is a question of their being imprecise because they did not care or whether that was how their contacts in these regions described themselves.

The Lombards

The Lombard chronicler of the late eighth century, Paul the Deacon, reports an attack in 642 by Slavs, certainly from somewhere in Dalmatia, against the Italian coast. The "Slavs" came with many boats, and, after a battle, a Lombard named Radoaldo negotiated with "the Slavs in their own language" and thereby effected their departure.¹⁰ Thus, despite the appearance of Croats in part of Dalmatia, Paul the Deacon simply uses a general category and calls these invaders "Slavs". We, of course, do not know whether the attackers came from areas under Croat control, and, in any case, the Lombards may well have been ignorant of differences among the Slavs or felt it to be a matter of no import.

The Franks

The Franks also regularly called the newcomers Slavs, and only distinguished among them by territorial names. Nada Klaić points out that Frankish annals do not use the term "Croat" at all.¹¹ Since the Franks had active dealings with

10. F. Rački (ed.), *Documenta historiae Chroaticae periodum antiquam illustrantia*, Zagreb (JAZU, MSHSM 7), 1877, p. 276; N. Klaić (ed.), *Izvori za hrvatsku povijest do 1526. godine*, Zagreb, 1972, p. 2 (from Paul the Deacon, *de gestis Langobardorum*). English translation by W. Foulke, Paul the Deacon, *History of the Lombards* (E. Peters, ed.), Philadelphia, [1907] 1974; 642 attack, p. 199.

11. N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 16, fn. 1. I. Goldstein, *Hrvatski*, p. 170, makes the same point: "The Frankish sources do not mention Croats at all, nor speak about Croatia. This is similar to other sources (papal and other Italian ones) for practically the whole ninth century." Goldstein suggests this is not significant, and tries to explain it away, "The reason for this probably is owing to the fact that they made use of the old, ancient names—Dalmatia, Pannonia, Liburnia, Tarsatica." However, this explanation simply does not hold up. We shall see very shortly within this chapter that the Frankish annals in describing events of 819–22 mention Serbs several times, including Serb envoys sent to a council in Frankfort, also attended by Czechs, Moravians, and Avars. Needless to say, these were current, not ancient, labels. R. Katičić presents strong arguments

the region of Pannonia and northern Dalmatia, this silence may be significant. Very likely the princes they dealt with did not call themselves "Croats," but in their titles took on the name of the territory they ruled (e.g., Prince of Dalmatia or Prince of Lower Pannonia).

Shortly after taking Istria in ca. 788, the Franks convened a local council in Rizan around 804. This council provides much evidence of tensions between the long-time inhabitants and the new arrivals, who throughout are simply called "Slavs." It is clear that the local duke had encouraged their settlement, surely for purposes of defense, in the tradition of Roman federates and/or to encourage the reclamation of abandoned land. But their presence proved burdensome for the indigenous inhabitants, who complained of "Slavs on our lands" or of "Slavs causing damage to the lands of their neighbors." The local Istrians also complained that the money they had to pay to the pagan Slavs should have been going for their Church tithes, and they wanted the Slavs to stick to the particular lands they had settled on and to leave the lands of others alone.¹²

In the 790s the Franks launched an offensive against the Avars; among their allies, according to the Frankish annals, was a Slavic prince in Pannonia, Vojnimir the Slav (Wonomyro Sclavo in Pannonias).¹³ The attack was successful, and the Franks next began penetrating into Dalmatia, where they came into conflict with the Byzantines.

Next, in 812 Byzantium and the Franks concluded the Treaty of Aachen; Byzantine possession of its Dalmatian cities was recognized, but the "Slavs" who held the territory all around them remained under Frankish overlordship. Shortly thereafter Charlemagne's successor held a council at Paderborn to which came "the leaders and envoys of the eastern Slavs."¹⁴ The boundaries between the respective territories determined by the Treaty of Aachen were not entirely clear, and the Frankish annals report that in 817 Byzantine Emperor Leo V sent an embassy to Aachen to clarify the borders in Dalmatia. The Frankish ruler believed that required the participation of both Romans (presumably the citizens of the Roman/Byzantine Dalmatian cities) and the Slavs (Romanos et Sclavos). As a result the Byzantine envoys and various Frankish officials went to Dalmatia to delimit the borders on the spot.¹⁵

Soon thereafter the Frankish annals provide a fairly detailed account of

against the position taken by Goldstein, demonstrating that the Frankish annals used current terminology. (R. Katičić, "Filološka razmatranja uz izvore o začetima hrvatske države," *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, ser. III, 16, 1986, p. 78.)

12. N. Klaić, *Izvori*, pp. 11–13. Also, see discussion in L. Margetić, *Rijeka Vinodol Istra: Studije*, Rijeka, 1990, pp. 121–30, esp. 126–28.

13. Cited by L. Margetić, "Konstantin Porfirogenet i vrijeme dolaska Hrvata," *Zbornik Histojskog zavoda (JAZU, Zagreb)* 8, 1977, pp. 50–51.

14. F. Rački, *Documenta*, p. 316. Discussed by I. Goldstein, *Hrvatski*, p. 147.

15. F. Rački, *Documenta*, pp. 317–18. Discussed by N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u ranom*, p. 206.

warfare among various Slavic princes in the region that was later to be included in Tomislav's Kingdom of Croatia. In 819 a prince named Borna, called either Dux of Liburnie and Dalmacie or the Dalmatian prince clashed near the Kupa River with Ljudevit the Prince of Lower Pannonia. In 822, after the Franks sent troops to Pannonia, Ljudevit fled from the town of Sisak to seek asylum with the Serbs, "a people who occupy a large part of Dalmatia" (ad Sorabos, quae natio magnam Dalmatiae partem obtinere dicitur). It is odd to find Serbs in this area, since the Byzantine sources make no suggestion that they had settled here; according to Constantine, their settlements were limited to the southern coast. Of course, these Serbs may not have been a state-like entity, but simply a tribe or group of small tribes settled amidst other tribes in the area. The Franks may also have exaggerated the amount of territory these Serbs held. However, it is interesting—and we shall see a further example of this—that the Franks knew of Serbs as a people in this area, but did not know the name "Croat." This suggests that the local leading Slavs (those usually called by scholars "Croats") did not call themselves that.

The Franks, meanwhile, held a council at Frankfort to which came envoys from "all [italics mine] the eastern Slavs, namely the Bodrica, Serbs, Ljutica, Czechs, Moravians, Braničevci, and Avars." (The last were those Avars living in Pannonia.) All these tribes sent gifts to the king. In listing the tribes who sent envoys, the chronicler states—possibly incorrectly, of course—that these were "all" the tribes of Slavs in the area, and he does not mention Croats. It is also important to note that the Franks, unlike many Byzantine authors, used contemporary names. Thus there is no chance that people calling themselves "Croats" were hidden under some classical term. If the chronicler did not use the term, presumably the tribes the envoys represented did not use it. It is interesting that once again Serbs are noted and play a role in this area's politics.

Word of the death of Ljudevit, the previously mentioned Prince of Lower Pannonia, reached this council. He had left the Serbs and sought asylum with Borna's uncle Ljudemisl in Dalmatia. After spending some time there, he had been killed through trickery.¹⁶

In 827 the Frankish Annals again report on Pannonia; on this occasion Bulgars wreaked destruction with fire and sword upon the Slavs who lived in Pannonia.¹⁷ So in the account of these events, we find two Slavic entities in what is now Croatia; each is identified geographically or territorially (Lower Pannonia, Pannonia, or Dalmatia) and not by a people. The term "Croat" does not appear at all in these sources. Is any modern scholar, then, justified in projecting a "Croatian" label upon either state? This is particularly questionable when the sources ignore that term, but freely refer to

16. F. Rački, *Documenta*, pp. 320–28; N. Klaić, *Izvori*, pp. 16–18 (from Frankish Annals, *Annales regni Francorum*).

17. F. Rački, *Documenta*, p. 333.

"Slavs," who we know had overrun both areas in large numbers in the sixth and seventh centuries.

A couple of decades later (in the 840s) a Frankish heretic on the run, named Gottschalk/Gotescalcus, stopped at the courts of the Dalmatian and Pannonian princes. At his subsequent trial, Gottschalk calls the Dalmatian Prince Trpimir, whom the Byzantines called the Prince of Croatia, King of the "Slavs" (*rex sclavorum*).¹⁸ The word "king" is surely inappropriate, for there is no evidence at all that any Croat or Slavic ruler had a royal title yet. Thus, surely he was actually a prince or duke of the Slavs. But in any case, in a specific sense, the Franks continue to use the term "Slav."

In 871 Emperor Louis, writing the Byzantine Emperor Basil I, about his campaign against the Arabs in Bari in Italy, refers to support from "our Slavenia" (*Sclavenia nostra*);¹⁹ in other words, this Slavenia was under Frankish suzerainty. He was referring to Domagoj's state. Clearly, the Franks knew who their vassals were, yet Louis chose to call Domagoj's state, not Croatia, but Slavenia.

Rački points out that after the Croatian state ceased to recognize Frankish suzerainty in the late ninth century, Frankish sources cease to mention under any label the Croatian/Slavic entity in Dalmatia. Rački goes on to say that no German source from the tenth century mentions it either. Nor were things to change in German sources of the eleventh century.²⁰

Things were still the same when the French, participating in the First Crusade (1096), travelled through this area. William of Tyre (ca. 1127–90) in his chronicle of that crusade mentions the crusaders landing in Istria and marching through Dalmatia, which he identifies as the region lying between Hungary and the Adriatic. He reports that Dalmatia had four cities: Zadar, Split, Bar, and Ragusa. The inhabitants outside the cities differed from those inside by customs and language. These Slav Dalmatians used the Slavic language and wore barbarian clothing. And Raymond of Aguilers, an actual participant in the First Crusade, reports that when they entered the Slavic land, they suffered much misfortune owing to the cold. The Slavic land was underpopulated, not traversable, and mountainous. He refers to the people there throughout simply as "Slavs." It took forty days to get through the Slavic land. The crusaders then

18. N. Klaić, *Izvori*, pp. 19–20, 22. Gottschalk's heresy consisted of a slight extension of Augustine's dubious (but not condemned) views on Predestination.

19. F. Rački, *Documenta*, p. 362. Discussed by F. Šišić, "Genealoški prilozi o hrvatskoj narodnoj dinastiji," *Vjesnik Hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva* n.s. 13, 1914, p. 27.

20. F. Rački, "Scriptores rerum Chroaticarum' pred XII stoljećem," *Rad (JAZU)* 51, 1880, p. 187. Rački notes that the only exception to his conclusion on the eleventh century is a letter of a German cleric to the Bishop of Worms in 1035, which "in one unclear passage mentions 'Cruwati.'" (Rački, "Scriptores," p. 188). Rački notes as well (also p. 188) a sixteenth-century German chronicler's mention of an eleventh-century war between Zvonimir and Vojvoda Leopold of Carinthia (Koruška), an event that that chronicler probably found in a Hungarian text.

reached Skadar and the Slavic king,²¹ that is, the ruler of Duklja. Thus to these Frenchmen, the local inhabitants, whether they lived in territory that belonged to the state of Croatia or Duklja, were simply Slavs. Possibly they used this terminology, since they could not communicate with the inhabitants to learn other terms. But they could, of course, have discussed these people with the Latin speakers in the Dalmatian cities. However, when we examine further sources, particularly from post-1102 Dalmatia, we find the term “Slav” so commonly used for the inhabitants of this area, that it seems likely that most of the Slavs the crusaders met called themselves exactly that. Thus they may well have not taken on as their own identity label the name of the state they inhabited or of the elite that ruled them.

The Venetians

The Venetians conform to the same pattern. The most detailed source emerging from Venice was “The Chronicle of John the Deacon.” John, who was a secretary for the ruler of Venice, the doge, died in 1009. He also did not use the term “Croat” in his account of the ninth century, but called all the various Slavs along the coast with whom Venice had dealings simply “Slavs.” He clearly based his chronicle on many earlier documents. Thus, we may presume that “Slav” was the term used in his sources. However, in this period there was a fairly powerful and active state in northern Dalmatia, which the Byzantines called “Croatia.” The Venetian chronicler even knew enough about its ninth-century history to provide the names of several rulers. Surely the Venetians, upon whose writings John relied, knew what the state called itself. John knew that in his own day the state called itself “Croatia,” and he uses the term for events in the 990s. One might have expected that he would have changed some of the “Slavs” to “Croats” during his editing for clarity’s sake. However, he does not. Again, we may wonder how widespread the term “Croat” was among the peoples with whom Venice had dealings along the coast.

John’s focus is on two groups of Dalmatian Slavs, the pirates who lived around the mouth of the Neretva and those to the north who would unite the non-Byzantine territory in northern Dalmatia into a principality and later a kingdom, known to the Byzantines as “Croatia.” First, on the Neretva Slavs: Slavs from the Neretva isles sent envoys to Doge John (829–36). Shortly thereafter (Goldstein dates it around 834) Slavs from the Neretva enslaved some Venetians returning from Benevento, and Doge Peter (836–64) responded, in 839, by sending warships against the Slavic lands (Sclavenia). Soon thereafter, in 840, a treaty (the so-called *Pactum Lotharii*) was concluded

21. F. Rački, *Documenta*, pp. 461–64; N. Klaić, *Izvori*, pp. 84–85. The Chronicle of the Monastery of Cassino’s account also has these crusaders going through Sclavonia and the land of the Slavs (F. Rački, *Documenta*, p. 464).

between Venetians and Franks, obliging the Venetians on Frankish request to help against their common enemies, the Slavic tribes (generationes Sclavorum inimicas).²² The treaty did not put an end to Slavic plundering, for in ca. 846 Slavs plundered the fortress of Carolea only sixty kilometers from Venice. The activities of the Neretljani provoked the doge in 887 to send troops against the Slav Neretljani; landing at "Slavic Hill" (mons Sclavorum), the Venetians put the Slavs to flight.²³

In his early data on the principality being established in northern Dalmatia, the Venetian chronicler reports that after the death of Doge Peter (in 864), the new Doge Urso hastened to lead his sailors against the Slav ruler Domagoj. After they had set out for Istria, Slav pirates, who had hidden themselves in the harbor of Punta Salvore (Silvodis in the Gulf of Piran), attacked them. In the battle many Slavs were killed, but in the end the same Slavs seized a Venetian ship.²⁴ In the period that followed, the worst tribes of Slavs and Dalmatians began to plunder the Istrian region. In descriptions of this warfare, the enemies are always referred to simply as "Slavs." But after the death of Domagoj, the worst prince of the Slavs (Sclavorum pessimo duce), the doge was able to make peace with "the Slavs."²⁵ (The chronicler adds that no peace, however, was made with the Neretljani, against whom more troops were sent.) Presumably, this peace with the first group of "Slavs" was in the form of a written treaty and the chronicler based his statement on it or a Venetian record of it; it is only natural to expect John to have called those making peace by the words used in the treaty itself. Thus presumably in the treaty the Slavs of the late Domagoj's state answered to the name "Slav." A later Venetian chronicle (Dandolo's) from the fourteenth century, but presumably based on earlier written records, has the warfare against Istria continued by Iliko, Prince of Slavonia (Yllicus Sclavoniae princeps).²⁶ Iliko was presumably Domagoj's heir, who was to succeed him briefly. In any case Dandolo or his source also refers to the state as Sclavonia.

John the Deacon then returns to the northern Dalmatian principality to report that at this time Sdeslav (Zdeslav) from the family of Trpimir came from Constantinople with the emperor's support and, driving Domagoj's son into exile, seized the principality of the Slavs.²⁷ Zdeslav was not able to establish

22. F. Šišić, *Priručnik izvora hrvatske historije* I, no. 1, Zagreb, 1914, pp. 181–82.

23. F. Rački, *Documenta*, pp. 334–36, 363, 374–75; N. Klaić, *Izvori*, pp. 19, 29.

24. F. Rački, *Documenta*, pp. 364–65; N. Klaić, *Izvori*, pp. 24–25.

25. F. Rački, *Documenta*, p. 366; N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 25.

26. F. Rački, *Documenta*, p. 366. Discussed by F. Šišić, "Genealoški prilozi," p. 39. M. Dinić doubts that a prince by the name of Iliko (or some such) ever existed; but in any case, the source, whose authenticity is not in doubt, does clearly mention a Prince of Slavonia. See M. Dinić, "O hrvatskom knezu Iljku," *Jugoslavenski istorijski časopis* 4, nos. 1–2, 1938, pp. 77–86.

27. F. Rački, *Documenta*, p. 373; N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 26. Though the text says "Sclavorum," for some reason in the narrative of her history, *Povijest Hrvata u ranom*, p. 248, Klaić says the "principality of Croats." However, in fn. 91 on p. 248 she correctly provides the Latin, "Sclavorum."

himself, for John next tells us that in those days (ca. 879) a certain Slav named Brenamir (Branimir), having killed Zdeslav, conquered the principality.²⁸

John may have called the so-called “Croat” state the principality of the Slavs on the basis of local information. Several inscriptions have survived from this Duke Branimir, who took power in about 879. In three inscriptions he provides himself with titles and names his subjects. In two inscriptions he speaks of “Slavs,” and in only one does he say “Croats.” I cite only the relevant phrases of the three inscriptions: (1) “Domno B[ra]nnimero dux Sclauoru[m]” (Lord Branimir Duke of the Slavs); (2) “[Br]animero duces Clavitinoru[m]”—Goldstein is certainly correct to read the third word as “Sclavitorum” (thus again, Branimir Duke of the Slavs); and (3) “Branimiro Com[es] . . . Dux Cruatorum” (Branimir Duke of the Croats).²⁹ Thus, the ambiguity we find in the foreign sources existed domestically as well. Possibly the political entity of these Dalmatian Slavs did not have a fixed name. This ambiguity may also reflect the problems Branimir faced in asserting himself over his would-be subjects. Some may have been descended from Croat tribes and been willing to so consider themselves, while others in the area may not have seen themselves as “Croats” at all, answering instead to the term “Slavs.” If this was the case, then Branimir may well have varied his title depending upon whom he was dealing with and where he was. It is also worth noting that the thirteenth-century Split chronicler, Thomas the Archdeacon, whom we shall turn to shortly, also links Branimir to an entity called Slavonia, calling him Duke of Slavonia (ducis Sclavonie). Venice continued having trouble with the Neretljani, sending ships against the Neretljani Slavs (Narrentanos Sclavos) in 887, as noted above, and also in 948.³⁰

Having reached his own times, John the Deacon becomes aware of the term “Croat”: Doge Peter II Orseolo in 998 freed his people from the pressure placed upon them by the “Slav Croats,” at this time under a Prince of the Croats (Croatorum iudex).³¹ But he does not stop using the term “Slav,” for he goes on to say that at this time hatred between the Venetians and Slavs reached a peak and in the region only the Zadrani (people of the Roman walled city of Zadar) accepted the doge’s suzerainty. Because of that the Croatians and Neretljani launched attacks against Zadar.³² Here, the general term “Slav” is appropriate, for it includes both Neretljani and Croats. The Neretljani captured forty Zadrani, and almost all the Dalmatian people (i.e., from the walled Byzantine

28. F. Rački, *Documenta*, p. 374; N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 27. Again, in this case on p. 250 of *Povijest Hrvata u ranom*, Klaić in her narrative substitutes the word “Croat” for the word “Slav” in the source. Once again, in fn. 94 on that page, she supplies the Latin, “Sclavus.”

29. Texts of the three inscriptions about Branimir are given in I. Goldstein, *Hrvatski*, pp. 262, 264, 266. See also Ž. Rapanić, “Bilješka uz četiri Branimirova natpisa,” *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* ser. III, 11, 1981, pp. 179–90.

30. F. Rački, *Documenta*, pp. 399–400.

31. F. Rački, *Documenta*, p. 424; N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 48.

32. F. Rački, *Documenta*, pp. 425–26; N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 48.

city-states) met and sent envoys to Venice asking Doge Peter to send troops to help free them from the oppression of the Slavs.³³ Shortly thereafter the doge visited Osor (the major town on the island of Cres), and not only its citizens but also people from neighboring castles, both Roman and Slavic, gathered for the honored guest.³⁴ The doge was supported by both people, (his) Venetians and the Dalmatians, but the King of the Croats remained opposed to him. And the Biogradjani (the citizens of a Slavic town) remained loyal to their lord, namely the Slavic ruler, until forced to submit to Venice.³⁵ Biograd, it should be noted, was a town erected by the Slavs, and thus was not part of "Dalmatia" as that term is being used here. In the year 1000, as Venice received these submissions, its doge upgraded his title to "Doge of the Venetians and Dalmatians" (Veneticorum atque Dalmaticorum dux).

John continues, however, to prefer using the term "Slav" when discussing the rulers of Croatia. Surinha was the brother of the Slav king; Stjepan was the son of the Slavic king.³⁶ Vladimir Koščak has made a count of John the Deacon's vocabulary: John uses "Sclavi/Scavi" in fourteen passages; "Sclavenia" in two; "Neretva Sclavi" in four passages including a long one in which he also calls them just "Slavs"; "Neretljani" alone in three; "Sea folk" (Mari-ani) in one; "Croati Sclavi" once, and "Croati" alone in four (we have noted the references to "Croats" earlier).³⁷

To close out the discussion on Venice: a fourteenth-century Venetian chronicler named Andrew Dandolo, who was presumably using earlier sources in describing events of 1018, calls Krešimir the ruler in the Kingdom of Croatia.³⁸ But, near century's end, in 1088, a Venetian sailor named Dedo Colbani sailed his ship home from Constantinople via "Slavonia,"³⁹ showing that Venetians could still describe Dalmatia with this term at the end of the eleventh century. In the next chapter, we shall see that things were not to change with the Hungarian annexation.

Venice's use of the term "Slavonia" was very similar to the Byzantines' use of the word "Sklavinia."⁴⁰ The Byzantine term literally meant "where the Slavs are." The term was used to describe territory which had been imperial and to which the empire still felt it had title, but which had been occupied by Slavs to the extent that imperial administration had ceased to function. This term was

33. F. Rački, *Documenta*, p. 425; N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 48.

34. F. Rački, *Documenta*, p. 426; N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 48. Presumably these Slavic castles were manned by Slavs loyal to the authorities in Osor.

35. F. Rački, *Documenta*, pp. 426–27; N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 49.

36. F. Rački, *Documenta*, p. 430; N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 51.

37. V. Koščak, "O nekim pitanjima hrvatske povijesti u ranom srednjem vijeku," *Historijski zbornik* 37, no. 1, 1984, p. 222, fn. 57.

38. F. Rački, *Documenta*, p. 431; N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 53.

39. Cited by I. Goldstein, *Hrvatski*, p. 446.

40. On Byzantine and Western medieval use of the term "Sklavinijas/Slavonias" see S. Antoljak, "Naše 'Sklavinije,'" [1964], in his *Hrvati u prošlosti*, Split, 1992, pp. 739–43.

used for much of the Balkans, especially Thrace and parts of mainland Greece, in the seventh and eighth centuries. When something that could be called a state emerged on such territory, for example, when a new state's administration managed to impose obligations on the people settled on its lands, then Byzantine sources replaced the term "Sklavinia" with the state name. Thus, recognition of the state of Bulgaria meant use of the name "Bulgaria" and reference to its people as "Bulgarians." But in areas under tribal chiefs or county lords, where a consolidated state had not been established, then it remained a "Sklavinia."

What was Croatia and its environs to the Venetians? Except for the Roman cities that did not fall to the Slavic invaders, Croatia (and other interior regions) was an area settled by Slavs as opposed to Romans. The fact that the Venetians could usually omit naming the political entities there, namely Croatia and the sea-coast state of the Neretljani, suggests that these political entities had not built firm foundations or established binding ties upon large parts of the population. At times Venice had to deal with local political figures, but their entities had not reached the level of true states, and those settled in the area certainly had not become integrated enough into the state of Croatia to become Croatians; they simply remained Slavs in Slavonia. If the political entities had actually integrated their subjects into their states, then Venice's vocabulary would probably, at least on occasion, have changed to reflect that. Thus, the Venetians' consistent use of the "Slav/Slavonia" terminology, which continues throughout the Middle Ages, is evidence that the Croat leadership had not created a political unit with which its subjects identified; the only true Croats were those descendants of the Croat migrants who had entered into the state's elite or establishment. Their subjects, whether compliant or not with the establishment's wishes, continued to see themselves and to be regarded by their neighbors as Slavs, and as such the area (excluding the Roman walled towns and maybe, here and there, some royal forts) remained Slavonia or a Sklavinia.

It is also worth noting that in the eleventh century two major roads through Istria were each named "Via Sclavorum," the highway of the Slavs; presumably the roads had been named by the Venetians. One went from Poreč to Baderna, where it split, with one branch going toward St. Lovreč and the other to Pazin. In 1030, for example, the Bishop of Poreč gave the Benedictine Monastery of St. Michael's near Pula some property, which included lands lying on the Slavic road (*viam Sclavani*), which went on to Pazin. The second road of this name went from Pula in the direction of Gračišće i Pićan.⁴¹ Furthermore, a section of the town of Pićan in the tenth century was named "Sclavinia."⁴²

41. V. Bratulić, "O vremenskom kontinuitetu na naseljenosti Slavena u srednjoj Istri," *Jadranski zbornik* 1, 1956, pp. 103, 106; I. Ostojić, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj*, III, Split, 1965, p. 117.

42. V. Bratulić, "O vremenskom kontinuitetu," p. 104. It is also worth noting that outside of Zadar a stream known as Drage potok ("potok" means stream) flows into a small bay known as "Porto Schiavina." (Noted in passing by M. Klarić, "Obrovac sredovječnih isprava [od X-XIV

The Arabs in Sicily and Spain

Between the ninth and the first half of the eleventh century, when the Saracens controlled Sicily, a certain amount of commerce was carried out there with undefined "Slavs" ("Sakaliba" in Arabic). However, logistics make it clear that these Slavs must have been coastal ones, which limits them to those from Dalmatia and Istria. They were numerous enough to have had a quarter in Palermo known as the "Harat as Sakaliba" or Quarter of Slavs.⁴³

The Slavs were even more prominent in Islamic Spain. There we find many serving or being sold as slaves (either there or being sent to North African slave markets); particularly valued were Slavs who had been captured and castrated by the Franks and then sold as eunuchs to their Muslim neighbors. Others served as soldiers, and Slavic bodyguards had an important place at the courts of various Muslim rulers. Once again, these "Sakaliba(s)"—Slavs—were undefined, but one can suspect that most would have come from coastal areas where they could have been captured in raids or in battles at sea. As we have seen, the Franks were active in Dalmatia and Pannonia; thus, most surely came from Dalmatia, Istria, or Pannonia. But despite the particular region of their origins, they were never specifically defined, but simply went by the label of "Slav," just as they did with their Christian neighbors.

In Andalusia, some of the Slavs became quite prominent. We have a document that attests the medical expertise of a ruler's "Slav." A man named Habib, who was also a Slav, wrote a work in Arabic entitled "In order to convince those who do not recognize the virtues of the Slavs." When the Berbers in the 1090s put an end to the emirate of Granada, whose emir had had a prominent Slavic guard, the Berbers butchered all the Slavs they could catch; the Slavic commander of the bodyguard corps, Mujāhid, with his surviving men, migrated and established his own principality on the coast, which was to survive for nearly a century. The leader, and possibly most (or all) of his men had converted to Islam; he supported his princely enterprise through piracy.⁴⁴

The Papacy

How did the papacy see the population and rulers on the east side of the Adriatic? The papacy did not express awareness of any particular entity in what is now Croatia before the third quarter of the ninth century, when it began to take some notice of "Slavs" across the Adriatic. Pope John VIII, writing in

vijeka], "Vjesnik Hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva 16, 1935, p. 45.) Clearly it was so named because it was used by Slavs near Zadar. Unfortunately, Klarić does not provide any information as to when this name might have been assigned to that bay.

43. J. Andrassy, "Slaveni u Španiji prije hiljadu godina," *Narodna starina* 7, no. 16, 1928, p. 85.

44. J. Andrassy, "Slaveni u Španiji," pp. 86, 92–93.

874 or 875, refers to Domagoj (ca. 864–76) in a letter to that ruler's subjects as Duke of the Slavs (*dux Sclavorum*).⁴⁵ Papal envoys, returning from the Council of 869 in Constantinople, were robbed of everything they had by some Slavs. As a result the Byzantine emperor Basil I sent a fleet to the Adriatic, which destroyed some Slav castles. In reacting to these events, the Frankish ruler says that he is sure "his Slavs" were not among the criminals, since they were fighting along with his armies to regain Bari from the Arabs.⁴⁶ What is important here is that the Westerners are referring to everyone in the region as "Slavs." Most likely the brigands were Neretljani, and the ones allied with Louis were from the state of Croatia, but regardless, they were all simply considered "Slavs." The "*Liber Pontificalis*" takes up this event too; it claims that a papal embassy returning in 870 from the council in Constantinople fell into the hands of Domagoj in Slavdom (in *sclavorum deducti Domagoi manus*).⁴⁷ This version contradicts the alleged innocence of Croatia, since Domagoj was the prince of that state. We have no way to resolve the discrepancy (though Nada Klaić doubts the evidence of the "*Liber Pontificalis*") but it is still noteworthy to see the term the ninth- or tenth-century editor in Rome chose to use.

In 879 Pope John VIII wrote to his "dear son Zdeslav, glorious prince of the Slavs."⁴⁸ Later that same year, on 10 June after Zdeslav's overthrow, the same pope, praising (or, according to N. Klaić, actually seeking to bring about) the local Church's submission to Rome, addresses a letter to several named clerics, starting with the Bishop of Zadar, and concluding with "all the clergy and leading people, and inhabitants of Split . . . and Zadar and other cities." He goes on to say that if anyone, whether Greek or Slav, questions their return to Rome, he, the pope, will defend them.⁴⁹

Other Church material from Italy and Istria also refers to those across the Adriatic as "Slavs." The Monte Cassino chronicle from these years has several notices about that monastery's daughter house, the Benedictine monastery of St. Mary's in Rožat near Dubrovnik "in Slavonia."⁵⁰ At the

45. F. Šišić, *Priručnik*, p. 201. Discussed by N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u ranom*, p. 244.

46. F. Rački, *Documenta*, pp. 361–62. Discussed by N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u ranom*, p. 246.

47. N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u ranom*, p. 51.

48. F. Rački, *Documenta*, p. 7; N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u ranom*, p. 49.

49. F. Rački, *Documenta*, pp. 10–11. Discussed by N. Klaić, "Ivan Ravenjanin i osnutak splitske metropolije," *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 65–67, 1963–65, pp. 227–32; and in N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u ranom*, pp. 50, 255. On p. 50, Klaić misleads the reader by stating within quotation marks that the letter was addressed to "the honorable clergy and all the population in Croatia." If true, we would possess a very early and unusual mention of Croatia by Rome. However, the passage does not contain the word "Croatia" or even mention that state, for the letter was addressed to the clergy and population of the Dalmatian cities, and the phrase she misquoted simply says, "all the clergy and leading people and inhabitants of Split, Zadar, and the other cities" (*omnibusque sacerdotibus et senioribus populi, habitatoribus Spalatensis civitatis atque Zadarensis ceterorumque civitatum*).

50. Cited by I. Ostojić, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj* II, Split, 1964, p. 432.

beginning of the eleventh century a Benedictine reformer, Romuald of Ravenna, spent three years in Istria. According to the "Acta Sanctorum," his suite included the son of a "Slavonic" king named Budislav (Sclavonici regis filius).⁵¹ It is not clear who Budislav was, or what he ruled over, but in any case the author saw his realm simply as "Slavonia."

Croatia Itself in the Ninth Century

If we have found nothing about Croats in foreign sources from the time of their alleged arrival in the second quarter of the seventh century until the tenth century, what about their own sources? First, from the Dalmatian cities, we have nothing contemporary; later material about the early period exists, and we shall turn to it momentarily. As far as people calling themselves "Croat" are concerned, we have nothing prior to the mid-ninth century. However, we have three sources from the ninth century that use the Croat name, two Latin-language charters and a Latin inscription. The charters are of dubious authenticity, but purport to be from that century. The first is dated 852 and issued by Trpimir and the second, dated 892, was issued by Mutimir; both refer to the grantor as Duke of the Croats (Dux Chroatorum).⁵² Both charters exist in copies from 1568. Our third source is the inscription, mentioned earlier, referring to Branimir by the same title. We also noted above that though one inscription did call Branimir "Duke of the Croats," two others had him calling himself "Duke of the Slavs."⁵³

Though it would be nice to have the two charters in the original, most scholars believe that the copies are more or less accurate. Though the chances that the charters are forgeries or at least contain interpolations are strong, I

51. Cited by I. Ostojić, *Benediktinci* III, p. 70.

52. For the two charters see, F. Šišić, *Priručnik*, pp. 192–97.

53. We also have an inscription allegedly dating itself to 845 from a church in the village of Tukljača near Biograd built by an admiral Mikula Mogorović "in the time of Mioslav, Duke of the Slavs" (ducis Slavorum). (For text of the inscription, see L. Kos, "Pašmanski kanal—njegova uloga i značaj za Vranu," in G. Novak & V. Maštrović [eds.], *Povijest Vrane*, Zadar, 1971, p. 486, fn. 15.) The inscription seems to have been very difficult to read, and differing opinions exist about its contents among those who saw it. Moreover, B. Gušić, present at its discovery, disagrees with the reading he attributes to Mate Klarić, who first published it in 1932. In his study of the Mogorović family, Gušić notes only what he was certain of in the text, which does not include any reference to Duke Mioslav/Mislav. Having run down Klarić's article, I find that Klarić does not mention the duke in his reading either; that name actually comes from a still earlier reading by the local parish priest, S. Perković. (B. Gušić, "Prilog etnogenezi nekih starohrvatskih rodova," in G. Novak & V. Maštrović [eds.], *Povijest grada Nina*, Zadar, 1969, pp. 471–74. For the inscription's initial publication, see M. Klarić, "Važan neopaženi natpis iz hrvatske prošlosti na nadvratniku crkve bl. Gospe u Tukljači," *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 50, 1932, pp. 200–226; for Perković's imaginative reading, see Klarić's article, p. 223, fn. 7.) Thus, I think great scepticism should be applied to this text. In any case, should Perković's reading be correct, the inscription shows a local figure from around Biograd referring to his ruler as "Duke of the Slavs" rather than "of the Croatians."

have no particular criticisms of the given texts that would compel me to reject them. So, since I do not want to be accused of discarding inconvenient texts that refer to "Croatia/Croats," I shall deal with them as if authentic.

A number of scholars have noted that these early dukes/princes refer to themselves as rulers of "Croats," rather than of a territory, Croatia. Lording it over people, however, seems natural for a leader of a tribe or confederation in transit or recent settlement, as the early Croats were. This sort of lordly title for a ruler was very common, found, for example, among the early Franks as well as various peoples of the Caucasus. Moreover, one would expect that considerable time would have passed before territorial borders were established. Very likely in the ninth century, the duke or prince still stood over groups of families, all of whom, along with the prince himself, were in competition with earlier inhabitants and other Slavs; thus, borders or even the idea of a territorial entity (state) may not have existed. What mattered was the ruler's following and, for us, the name that was used for it; and it seems in these cases the duke labeled his followers as "Croats."

N. Klaić ties the name "Croats" to the elite, the future nobles—maybe we should say the clan heads. The duke led this elite, and together they tried to assert dominance, collecting tribute and military levies from others settled in the regions in which they had established themselves. Thus it was a political unit (based upon people) with very loose territories. Therefore, in this early period, as Klaić puts it: "Hrvati" (Slavic for Croats) = "Croati" (Latin for Croats) = "Croatia" = land or state of the Hrvati.⁵⁴ Margetić noted that the leader could be called the Duke of the Croats; however, in the majority of inscriptions—not to speak of all foreign sources—he is called Duke of the Slavs. Margetić concludes: "The first title [Croats] specifies obviously [!] the ruling elite, the second [Slavs] the whole people."⁵⁵ His conclusion gibes with Klaić's; my inserted "!" expresses amazement at how anything about the early history of Croatia, or of any Balkan Slavic people, could be "obvious." If Margetić is correct on the significance of the two titles the Croat dukes used, then we can see how the status differentiation would work against the spreading of the Croat name into society and the development of any sort of Croat ethnos. For, if the elite were the "Croats" and had privileges, it is certain that they would not have wanted to share them; as a result, they would have worked against the inclusion of larger numbers of people as Croats. From this it follows that at the time, the term "Croat" would have represented a social layer, not an ethnicity. And thus the ruler was both Prince of the Croats and Prince of the Rest of Society, that is, Prince of the Slavs. This view, which would explain the two separate titles used by the duke and not make him seem schizophrenic, is a

54. N. Klaić, "O problemima stare domovine, dolaska i pokrštenja dalmatinskih Hrvata," *Zgodovinski časopis* 38, 1984, p. 261.

55. L. Margetić, "Bilješke u vezi s nastankom hrvatske države u 9 stoljeću," in N. Budak (ed.), *Etnogeneza Hrvata*, Zagreb, 1995, p. 147.

tempting one. If the bulk of the population was discouraged from becoming “Croats,” it would explain why local sources are so consistent in their use of “Slav” throughout the Middle Ages.

A similar view is taken by E. Peričić (following B. Gušić). He notes that the term “Croatia” is found most frequently describing the territory behind Zadar. This territory, as we shall see, contained the major lands of the twelve nobles allegedly representing Croatia in 1102, who subsequently depicted themselves as the twelve noble families of Croatia. Thus, Peričić and Gušić argue that these great families, whom they see as part of the initial Croatian invasion, came to dominate this territory. Tracing their dominance of the area to their Croatian tribal origins, these nobles depicted this region as “Croatia” to strengthen their position and to distinguish themselves and their rights from the general mass of Slavs.⁵⁶

That this dichotomy lasted throughout the Middle Ages has been proposed by at least one scholar. N. Klaić has argued that Margetic’s conclusion that only the inner core of noble henchmen were really Croats remains true for the entire medieval period. When she turns to the late-medieval nobility (the major twelve families, allegedly of 1102, though she dates them from the fourteenth century), she argues that, even then, they were the only “Croats,” a privilege which they would not share with lesser beings. Thus even in the fifteenth century, a “Croat” was a member of a small group of accepted noble families; the population at large were still “Slavs.”

Not surprisingly, in the late ninth century and the period that followed, and influenced by the neighboring empires—the Byzantine and Frankish, which were very much concerned with borders and territories—the Croat leadership was compelled to assert territorial rights, define borders, and assume various characteristics of a state. Thus, by the eleventh century it was normal for the ruler of Croatia to refer to himself as the King of Croatia.

The Dalmatians (Split)

How did Dalmatian writers view these new arrivals? Unfortunately, we have no early narrative sources, but Thomas the Archdeacon of Split, writing in the middle of the thirteenth century, put together a chronicle, which made use of many earlier sources of varying degrees of reliability. He was a very patriotic citizen of Split and represented the elite Roman culture, taking a dim view of the Slavs who lived in and around his city. Thomas did not understand the migration process that had occurred and had led to the destruction of Salona, a major event in his chronicle. He mixes the Slavs with the Goths—who truly had been active in the Balkans in the fourth and fifth cen-

56. E. Peričić, “Nin u doba hrvatskih narodnih vladara i njegova statutarna autonomija,” in G. Novak & V. Maštrović (eds.), *Povijest grada Nina*, Zadar, 1969, p. 114.

turies—and does not realize that the Slavs arrived only after the Goths had departed. Instead, he has the Croats (Curetes) settle in a wide area in the western Balkans including Dalmatia or its vicinity, and then the Goths migrate in from Germany while seven or eight tribes of Slavs arrive from Poland. It is implied that the Slavic leaders were subordinate to the Goths and that the Goths came to dominate most of the western Balkans, thus subjugating the Croats/Curetes as well. Then the Goths with the Slavs (and presumably the Croats too) destroyed Salona. These three groups eventually merged and became a single people, the present-day Slavs.⁵⁷ We may note that Thomas chose to make “Slav” the prevailing name for this mixed group. However, in his account of the period into the eleventh century, Thomas, though usually calling these people “Slavs,” off and on continues to call them, inappropriately, “Goths.”

Thomas' information in its essentials resembles, with major distortions, Constantine Porphyrogenitus' story of the Croats arriving from White Croatia beyond the Carpathians. Thus, we have further evidence that traditions about the Croat migration existed in Dalmatia. But the traditions are presented here in greatly distorted form, and it is now the Slavs who have come from Poland and not the Croats. Whether Thomas found this information in older documents or in surviving oral traditions is, of course, unknown. In either case, in Thomas' version of the legend the Croats have become less central. Does this suggest that other traditions, more Slavic-focused ones, were rising in importance and eclipsing the earlier traditions recorded by Constantine? If so, this would suggest that whatever Croat ethnogenesis had occurred before the mid-tenth century was being diluted and the past of the “Slavs” was becoming of more interest to the Slavic speakers in and around Dalmatia.

In any case, Thomas has three peoples as actors and continues using all their names for the peoples active in and around Split throughout his text. As noted, he still refers to “Goths” as late as the eleventh century, though it is evident that he uses the term then as a synonym for “Slav” and presents the Goths and their language as Slavic, though he had not always done so for the early period. After the fall of Salona, Thomas describes the Gothic and Slavic attack on Split (the site of Diocletian's fortified palace where some of the survivors from Salona had sought refuge), the peace made between Split and the Slavs, and subsequently the conversion of the Slavs to Christianity. Thomas makes his city of Split heir to Salona, especially its bishopric, which had been

57. Thomas Archidiaconus, *Historia Salonitana* (F. Rački, ed.), Zagreb (JAZU, MSHSM 26), 1894, pp. 24–26 (henceforth cited as Thomas, HS); Toma Arhidjakon, *Kronika* (V. Rismondo, ed. & trans.), Split, 1960, p. 19; N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u ranom*, pp. 23–24, 120, 137–38, 192–93; N. Ivić, *Domšljanje prošlosti: Kako je trinaestostoljetni splitski Arhidjakon Toma napravio svoju Salonitansku historiju*, Zagreb, 1992, pp. 84–88. Illustrating his belief that the Croatians (Kureti) were indigenous, Thomas has Pompey defending Salona with a force of Kureti, Dalmatians, and Istrians against Caesar in the first century B.C. (Thomas, HS, p. 6; Toma, *Kronika*, p. 12).

the Metropolitan for all Dalmatia. Thus the bishop in Split called his see “Salona” to justify his claims to primacy in Dalmatia. Thomas wants his readers to believe that this primacy went back almost to the establishment of Split. He writes that the pope sent the legate John of Ravenna to visit the regions of “Dalmatia and Croatia” in order to restore the churches of “Dalmatia and Slavonia,” ordain bishops, and spread the Christian message among the barbarized population. (The geographical terms are cited as Thomas employs them.) Thomas implies that John was a seventh-century figure; most scholars reject this and date his mission to the late eighth or early ninth century. However, S. Gunjača presents an interesting and plausible case that John really was active ca. 640, but also that his activity was fully focused on re-establishing Salona’s Church (then temporarily based in Split but with Rome expecting to return its bishop to Salona as soon as possible). Thus John’s activities were entirely for the benefit of the Roman Christians there and had no bearing on the conversion of the Slavs/Croatians in the hinterland, which was to occur a century and a half later.⁵⁸ The mission, Thomas claims, was a great success and John was made Archbishop of Split, upon which see the pope bestowed all the rights and privileges that had previously belonged to Salona. Some scholars believe there is no truth to this tale; but even among those who accept John’s mission and appointment as bishop some doubt that he was appointed archbishop and that Split acquired the rights and privileges that had belonged to Salona. These last two awards, many believe, came only as a result of the 925 Split council, to be discussed below. Thomas also tells us that the Princes of Slavonie (as he chooses to call the rulers of Croatia here) held the Church of Split in great veneration.⁵⁹

Thomas’ terminology was also influenced by contemporary usage: for example, he describes a seventh-century papal envoy visiting the regions of Dalmatia and Croatia,⁶⁰ as this area was called in the Hungarian king’s title in his own time. In referring to early Croatian rulers, he mentions that a certain Bishop Martin of Split held office at the same time as the Prince of Slavonia Branimir,⁶¹ but then he uses the language of the thirteenth century to say that

58. The dating of John of Ravenna’s mission to ca. 642 appears throughout S. Gunjača’s two-volume collection of essays, *Ispravci i dopune starijoj hrvatskoj historiji*, Zagreb, 1973; for example, see his study, “Obnavljane života u Dalmaciji poslije pada Salone,” in volume II, pp. 35–73.

59. Thomas, *HS*, p. 35; Toma, *Kronika*, p. 25. On Thomas and John of Ravenna, see V. Novak, “Pitanje pripadnosti splitske nadbiskupije u vrijeme njezine organizacije,” *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 46, 1923, pp. 41–78. Novak makes a good case that Thomas did not invent the account, but based it on sources he found; but then Novak assumes that the sources were accurate. Since we do not know what these lost documents were, we cannot in any way assume they were reliable. For a very stimulating and sceptical evaluation of Thomas here, see N. Klaić, “Ivan Ravenjanin i osnutak splitske metropolije,” pp. 209–47, and also her *Povijest Hrvata u ranom*, pp. 22–28, 122–25.

60. N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 14.

61. Thomas, *HS*, p. 36; Toma, *Kronika*, p. 25; N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 38.

the heirs of Držislav were Kings of Dalmatia and Croatia.⁶² Moving on to the tenth century, he describes how the Archbishop of Split cleansed the princes of the Goths and Croats of the Arian heresy.⁶³ Thomas, in describing the ninth and tenth centuries, on occasion mentions Goths, whom, as we have seen, he identifies incorrectly with the Slavs. It should be noted that no evidence exists to suggest that Arian heretics existed in Dalmatia that late; the real Goths, however, back in the fourth century, had accepted Arianism, and it is possible that the bishop of Split's predecessor in Salona had won them away from heresy. Thomas then goes on to say that other bishops beside the Dalmatian ones were established in Slavonia.⁶⁴ Here he was either referring to Pannonian Croatia as Slavonia, employing the terminology used in his own day, or else was using the term "Slavonia" to mean Slavic areas, and was making a distinction between the Dalmatian bishops (those in the old Roman cities) and the bishops established in the Croatian state. Thomas then describes the ecclesiastical organization of Dalmatia and adds that the Croatian kings wanted their own bishop and sought one from the Archbishop of Split. He obliged by establishing a bishop called "Croatian," with a seat at St. Mary's church near the Knin castle.⁶⁵

An Early Czech Source

A certain John, son of a King of Croatia, appeared in Bohemia and became a hermit there at the time of Duke Borivoj, which if true, dates his appearance to the last quarter of the ninth century. The earliest surviving copies of the text are in Latin (fifteenth century) and Slavonic (seventeenth century). We know that a state, sometimes called "Croatia," existed in the ninth century, so the state name causes no trouble; however, we have no evidence that any Croat ruler was called "king" before Tomislav. Thus the title of the hermit's father is problematic. The title may have become inflated as texts were copied, particularly since Croatia was later to have rulers called kings; and since to be a king's son is more impressive than to be a duke's son, we can see why the inflation might have occurred in a hagiographic work. In the *vita* of John, the hermit-prince once says, "I am John the Croat" (*Ego sum Joannes Chroatus/Az' esm' Ivan*) Korvackoj).⁶⁶ He adds nothing that would allow us to say whether this definition is ethnic or not, but a son of a ruler of Croatia would likely define himself in such terms, and, of course, he, through his father, was descended from one of those leading the initial Croat tribal migration, assuming the *vita* to be authentic.

62. Thomas, *HS*, p. 38; Toma, *Kronika*, p. 25; N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 38.

63. Thomas, *HS*, p. 35; Toma, *Kronika*, p. 25; N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 38.

64. N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 41.

65. Thomas, *HS*, p. 45; Toma, *Kronika*, p. 27.

66. F. Rački, *Documenta*, pp. 377–78.

Late References to Croats Produce Alternative Theories

We have seen thus far that in the period prior to 900, the overwhelming majority of references to people in the area that is now Croatia are to "Slavs." In fact the early sources are unanimous in this respect; all references to "Croats" in the seventh and eighth centuries come from later sources like Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who wrote in the mid-tenth century. The fact that no source from those two centuries ever mentions "Croats" has recently led one Croat scholar, L. Margetić, to reject the Heraclian dating of Constantine's migration account and to postulate instead that the Croats arrived in the western Balkans not in the seventh century but the late eighth.⁶⁷ Though Margetić's was a tempting explanation for the lack of mention of Croats in the earliest sources, scholars at first took strong exception to his theory.⁶⁸ However, toward the end of her life Nada Klaić, the doyenne of Croatian historians, who had at first rejected Margetić's view, was converted and produced her own version of this thesis.⁶⁹ In her later view the Croats did migrate into the Dalmatian area in the late eighth century, but their migration was not from beyond the Carpathians, as Constantine had stated and Margetić had retained; instead, she believes that by that time they had already migrated to and been settled for a period in Carinthia, in present-day Slovenia-Austria.

For the purposes of my study, it is not particularly important whether the migration occurred ca. 630 or ca. 790. As we have seen, there are no references from that time to Croats being present before 800. A late-eighth-century migration would explain why. But since no ninth-century references to Croats exist before the 852 charter either, the problem of why not remains; one simply has to deal with the enigma for a shorter period, starting at a later date.

The major difference the new view entails is a century and a half more of Avar rule/overlordship over the western Balkans and, thus, presumably more Avar influences upon Balkan society. If the Avars kept their rule that long, then presumably they were a stronger power in the period after 630–40 than scholars have hitherto thought. This now adds the enigma of why no source touching on Dalmatian and Slavic affairs mentions them in this long period, for the Avars are never mentioned until the Franks finish them off in the 790s, the campaign that Klaić believes brought the Croats into the region and led to their installation there.

Another set of theories, emerging among some Austrian scholars and ac-

67. L. Margetić, "Konstantine Porfirogenet," *Zbornik Historijskog zavoda* (JAZU, Zagreb) 8, 1977, pp. 5–88; L. Margetić "Još o dolasku Hrvata," *Historijski zbornik* 38, no. 1, 1985, pp. 227–40; L. Margetić "Još o pitanju vremena dolaska Hrvata," *Zgodovinski časopis* 42, 1988, pp. 234–40.

68. N. Klaić, "Najnoviji radovi," with further references included.

69. N. Klaić, "O problemima stare domovine," *Zgodovinski časopis* 38 1984, 253–70; N. Klaić, "Srednjovjekovna Krbava od Avara do Turaka," in M. Bogović (ed.), *Krbavska biskupija u srednjem vijeku*, Rijeka-Zagreb, 1988, pp. 1–3.

cepted (in one version) in the 1990s by Margetić, depicts the Croats as a class rather than as a tribal group. This theory considers the word “Croat” a military term and sees the Croats as some sort of military unit (be they praetorians, border troops, or whatever) serving the Avars in Carinthia. Thus, we should discard any idea of migrations from beyond the Carpathians. Second, as a military unit, there was nothing ethnic about them. They were a political unit, or better, a military class. They may have all been of one language group or they could have been mixed. Whether the term covered all members of the unit or just its officers does not seem settled among proponents of this view. At some point they turned against the Avars and, if they were not already in service under the Avars in some part of what is now Croatia, they migrated there at the time of their revolt and took over some or all of the area that Constantine Porphyrogenitus assigns to them. When this occurred is also not agreed upon among supporters of this theory.

Constantine believed in a “migration,” in which Hrobatos led his “people” (laos). However, if they were a military unit, “laos” might, as Margetić suggests, be better translated as his men or retinue. In this case, the “Croats” could have been a relatively small group of men, particularly if only the officers bore this label. Moreover, if they arrived as a military force, probably few came with wives, so they would have settled down with local women. Since mothers have a major influence on the language of their offspring, over the next couple of generations, regardless of whether the military unit was a mixed one of Slavs, Turks, and/or Iranians or a single-language group, their descendants would have quickly been Slavicized, acquiring the language of the Slavs settled in that area. Since the “Croats” were the conquerors and leaders of this enterprise, they had reason to retain their name. Thus, “Croat” came to refer to the dominant class, the elite who through ancestry had a right to rule and to enjoy various privileges. Such a possibility fits well with the theories of Margetić and Klaić that the term “Croat” denoted only a small elite, who stood over a mass of subjects who retained the label “Slav.” Thus, it is not at all surprising that Margetić, a proponent of this narrow meaning of the word “Croat,” is now coming to adopt this military-class meaning for the word “Croat.”⁷⁰

The Byzantine sources, as noted, had much to say about the Slavic migrations of the mid-sixth to early seventh century. But other than Constantine—and the late garbled story from Thomas—no source mentions a second migration. Of course, this second migration could have got lost in the shuffle, but the lack of sources has led other scholars to postulate that there was no specific later Croat migration. Instead, the Croats were one of the various tribes of Slaveni who arrived during the Slaveni migrations. This view then

70. This theory and the history of its development (including the various scholars who have contributed to it) are presented by L. Margetić, “Neka pitanja etnogeneze Hrvata,” *Radovi (Zavod za hrvatsku povijest, Filozofski fakultet, Sveučilište u Zagrebu)* 28, 1995, pp. 19–55.

has the Croats asserting themselves over the populations of a particular region at a later date. Perhaps the Croats emerged as allies of the Franks, rebelling against the Avars at the time of the Frankish campaigns of the 790s and becoming the Franks' choice of vassal rulers at the completion of the campaign. This view has recently been advanced by H. M. A. Evans.⁷¹ Evans is an archaeologist and, not surprisingly, gives particular weight to the evidence of his discipline. What he emphasizes is that there is no sign of a new people or culture appearing either in the second quarter of the seventh century or at the end of the eighth. Thus he thinks it unlikely that a migration of any size occurred at either time.⁷² The only archaeological evidence of migration comes from the large-scale Slavic one of the mid-sixth to early seventh century. Thus he thinks it makes sense to conclude that if a new people appeared upon the Balkan stage in the ninth century, then they must have emerged from a pre-existing population.

Evans has no explanation as to why Croats still receive so little mention after their emergence. But he does give support to the thesis that I have been advancing, namely that the basic population of the western Balkans was simply Slavic (undefined), for Evans' summary of the archaeological findings from this whole area reveals a single Slavic culture. The only difference found is that between pre-Christian and post-Christian societies. Thus, in terms of material remains, nothing distinguishes the Croats from their fellow Slavs.⁷³ And, according to Evans, there is certainly nothing to substantiate nationalistic claims that the Croats brought Iranian elements with them.

Should Evans' view be correct, it still does not explain why, after the Croats emerged, there still is so little source mention of them. All three views leave us with a picture of a small elite of Croats, asserting themselves at some point between ca. 620 and ca. 820 over the population of a limited part of the western Balkans (presumably what Constantine defines as Croatia, for regardless of his possible errors on Croatian origins, he presumably knew where their state lay). Whether as recent migrants or part of the much earlier large migra-

71. H. M. A. Evans, *The Early Mediaeval Archaeology of Croatia A.D. 600–900*, Oxford (BAR International Series 539), 1989.

72. H. M. A. Evans, *Early Mediaeval Archaeology*, p. 157: "[T]here is virtually nothing in the archaeological record of the seventh to ninth century indicating such a nomad group [as the Croats depicted by Constantine] that can not be accounted for by the presence of the Avars. . . . On that basis both the early and late nomadic migrations can be dismissed, leaving the early and late Slavic arrivals and the possibility of no Croat migration."

73. H. M. A. Evans, *The Early Mediaeval Archaeology*, p. 113: "This [what has been labeled by Croatian scholars *Starohrvatska*/Old-Croatian culture] is the main archaeological culture of Dalmatia and Istria, with some finds also coming in the Pannonian area. Although it is, implicitly by name, and specifically by doctrine, supposed to represent the material culture of the Croats, that need not be wholly accepted. . . . It is sufficient to say that the *Starohrvatska* culture is the surviving material culture of the Dalmatian Slavs and the surviving late-antique inhabitants. The consequence of this admitted mixture is a Slavic culture which, in its pottery and jewellery in particular, displays antique influence."

tion, the Croats were not culturally or linguistically distinct from the mass of Slavs (at least in the ninth century when we begin to get specific data on them). Their limited numbers and the fact that the Croats were not distinct from the general mass of the Slavs under them and in the territory all around them presumably led to their neighbors' failure to distinguish them (and the state they created) from the other Slavs. Moreover, it is probable that most of the Croats' subjects, to the extent they concerned themselves with identity, probably saw themselves as Slavs, and this identification presumably did not bother the Croats who ruled over them, as is seen by the fact that the Croat rulers as often as not called themselves dukes or princes of the "Slavs."

In any case, I shall continue to follow Constantine's presentation in this work. If the picture from limited archaeological excavation of no cultural change occurring ca. mid-seventh century holds up, then it may simply mean, as Evans suggests, that there was no significant cultural distinction between the Croats and the Slavs who, according to Constantine, preceded them.

This issue has a second dimension, that is the relationship between the pre-migration populaces and whatever newcomers arrived in the sixth to eighth century. It is clear that some of the indigenous population were killed or fled, but surely not all of them suffered this fate. Were those who remained numerous? What sort of proportions in given regions existed between old-timers and newcomers? Did they usually maintain separate settlements? Or did they mix, and if so, did the mixture occur in both towns and villages? How did the respective cultures interact?

Much recent scholarship suggests that a larger part of the indigenous population remained in what is now Croatia and thus had greater impact on the newcomers than had been presupposed earlier. However, though this issue is important, sources are so scanty that we really can do little with it. Since what historians deal with is culture, we can, with our limited data, focus only on what language(s) people ended up speaking and how they came to define themselves in given places. Moreover, we must think with more sophistication than before. Many may have arrived, but they surely did not completely settle an area; we know that Romans remained in the walled cities, but maybe, if sufficiently numerous, old-timers remained concentrated in certain rural areas as well. If many Slavs arrived in small groups, they probably sought out areas that were relatively unoccupied. Thus, perhaps, we should see the Slavs (and later the Croats, if in fact they came in a second migration) settling only in certain regions and gradually (with new migrations and internal movements) expanding during a period of several centuries. However, we cannot resolve these issues from the written sources; hopefully, archaeology may be able to uncover some data to answer some of these questions. But it is important that we do not assume too much or produce models of one people totally replacing another or whatever.

Finally, we should make note of the question of the borders of the Dalmatian cities that held out at the time of the Slavic invasions. Most of these

cities, as Roman colonies, had rights to their “ager” or “territorium” (surrounding territory) beyond the walls as farmland for their support. By the eleventh century, surviving towns like Zadar had title to more or less the same ager that they had had prior to the invasions. Though surely control of this territory had been lost at the time of the migrations, the original towns were able to restore their authority over it. New towns had to create from scratch an ager beyond their walls. Suić shows that this was the case for Split, which was a new town; Thomas’ claim that it had inherited the rights to Salona’s ager was a fabrication.⁷⁴ It would be plausible to see this recovery as a result of the negotiations carried out between Basil I’s representatives and the Slav princes, who agreed that the towns’ tribute, formerly going to the Byzantines, should now go to the Slav princes instead. Quite likely the towns recovered their rights to their ager at this time. This does not mean that many Slavic settlers did not continue to farm land in this territory, but they simply would have acquired obligations to the respective towns. Thus, presumably, the ager had a mixed population of old-timers and newcomers. As far as I can tell, no distinction was made in the towns’ “ethnic” vocabulary between Slavs in their territory and those in the neighboring Slavic state/banovina of Croatia. Both tended, as we shall see, to be called “Slavs.”

ISSUES OF LANGUAGE

The Church in Dalmatia and Its Language

The major concerns of the Church of Split in the tenth century were the organization of the Dalmatian hierarchy and the language of the liturgy for the recently converted Slavs, since the Slavonic of Cyril and Methodius had reached and become popular among the Slavs in Dalmatia. Major councils on these questions took place in Split in 925 and 928. These councils raised the Bishop of Split to Archbishop (if he did not already hold that rank) and made him the Metropolitan of Dalmatia, thereby putting him over the Church in both the Byzantine cities and Croatia, for example, the territory Tomislav held in “Velebitia” and along the coast but not in any part of what we now think of as Slavonia. Since Thomas believed or wanted his readers to believe that Split had always had this position, derived from the pre-Slavic Metropolitan bishop in Salona, he makes no mention of either council. However an expanded re-working of his history, existing in manuscript from the sixteenth century and known as the *Historia Salonitana maior* (HSM), has long descriptions of the two councils. It is impossible to determine the age of the texts about the councils utilized in this work. In any case, the perceptions or labels

74. M. Suić, “Ostaci limitacije naših primorskih gradova u ranom srednjem vijeku,” *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* ser. III, 5, 1956, pp. 7–19.

about identity in the *HSM*, to the degree they were not taken from earlier documents, represent views from no earlier than the late thirteenth century, and possibly even the fourteenth, fifteenth, or sixteenth.⁷⁵

HSM reports: "In the region of Croatia and Dalmatia [using post-1102 language] ruled King Tomislav . . . the above-mentioned King of the Croats." The author goes on to speak of Christian missions laboring in the Slavic lands, presumably in territory broader than just the Croat state. The Church hierarchy wanted divine services in the land of the Slavs to follow the custom of the Holy Roman Church (i.e., to be in Latin). The papal agent summoned to the council a number of bishops from the area as well as the Croatian ruler and his nobles. *HSM* then includes a letter from Pope John X to Tomislav—a text not preserved elsewhere—calling him King of the Croats and also addressing all the people in Slavonia and Dalmatia. Presumably the latter lived in geographical Dalmatia, with "Dalmatia" referring to the Byzantine city states and "Slavonia" (or the Slavic lands) designating all the territory between them under the various Slavic chiefs. The pope goes on to refer to the Slavs of the kingdom of Tomislav, who celebrated the Mass in barbarian or Slavic language. Later he mentions bishops on their way to the council passing through the Dalmatian cities and convening in Split with the Serb and Croat nobles. Representatives of Michael of Zahumlje were present, which would account for the "Serb" nobles.⁷⁶ The Croat nobles can be understood

75. On *Historia Salonitana maior* (*HSM*), see N. Klaić's introduction to her edition of *Historia Salonitana*, Beograd, 1967 (henceforth cited as Klaić, *HSM*); N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u ranom*, pp. 22–28; and Fine, *EMB*, pp. 250–51, 267–73. Though I accept N. Klaić's explanations for *HSM*, others differ. For example, S. Gunjača, throughout his two volume *Ispravci i dopune*, argues that *HSM*, which he likes to call "the draft" (*Koncept*), was a first draft of the text we now associate with Thomas and thus was put together by Thomas himself in the thirteenth century. Though Gunjača's views (which have not persuaded me) are worth serious consideration, they would require modification because the section on the death of Zvonimir clearly was drawn from myths circulating in the fifteenth to sixteenth century. (On later accounts of Zvonimir, see chapter 4 of this study, which deals with the period after 1500.) Gunjača does not seem troubled by the appearance of this anachronistic material. However, it is always possible that this account was added by the sixteenth-century copyist of the text.

76. S. Gunjača points out that the sixteenth-century copy we have of the text of *HSM* (the original of which he, but few other scholars, attributes to Thomas himself) actually says "Urborum" (be it the word used by Thomas or the later copyist). Gunjača criticizes Rački, who noted the incorrect Latin (for "urbium") and amended it to "Serborum" in his edition of the text. Thus, Gunjača believes that the text says "urban (i.e., the Dalmatian cities) and Croatian nobles." Rački's interpretation, according to Gunjača, not only does not give any significance to the incorrect Latin (which, however, Rački does point out), but also allows the use of an unusual term for the Dalmatian cities (for which "civitas" rather than "urbs" was normal). Either body (Serb nobles or Dalmatian ones) could have stood in the text, but since our focus is on the Croats, we can simply note the issue—an important one deserving examination—without having to come to a conclusion about it. See S. Gunjača, "Značenje izraza 'urborum' u zapisu splitskog nadbiskupa Ivana III," in his *Ispravci i dopune*, II, Zagreb, 1973, pp. 255–67. Gunjača believes that the material on the two councils in the 920s was drawn from a write-up of them by the Archbishop of Split at the time, John III, whose report was included more or less verbatim by Thomas

in one of two ways, that is, either they considered themselves to be Croats or they were nobles in a political unit of Croatia.

HSM makes further reference to the Slavic language. Since what was at issue was the Mass and since the Church language, prepared for the Slavs in general, was called Slavonic, it is surely that language referred to. Thus, since it was not a question of the vernacular, *HSM*'s "Slavic" is the most appropriate label for the pope to use for the language in this context. The pope then addresses the hierarchical question and makes reference to the Bishop (singular) of the Croats.⁷⁷ At this time, as far as we know, there was only one bishopric in the Croatian state, that of Nin. Thus the pope was making a distinction between the Bishop of Nin and the other bishops in the Roman Dalmatian cities. So *HSM* (or the tenth-century pope if the letter is conveyed accurately) sees the population under the Nin bishop as Croats, be they a people or, as is more likely, members of the Croat political unit.

HSM also describes the 928 council. The author mentions the peace recently concluded between the Bulgarians and Croats. We know from Byzantine sources, noted earlier, that warfare had occurred between the two states. The author mentions the Croat ruler and then reports that the pope wanted the Archbishop of Split to have authority in the land of the Croats; the bishop's authority cannot end at the town walls. *HSM* also reports that Grgur of Nin was bishop in the land of the Croats.⁷⁸ Nin was in the state of Croatia; presumably then Grgur was perceived as the bishop for those living within that state.

The 928 council, according to *HSM*, also placed Sisak under Split. Since the councils aimed to place the churches of both Dalmatia and Croatia under a single authority (Split), the assignment of Sisak suggests that it belonged to Tomislav; thus, his expansion into Pannonia went at least as far as that important city.

The issue of Slavonic in services arose again in the third quarter of the eleventh century, when Pope Nicholas II issued an edict (surviving in Pope Alexander II's confirmation from the 1060s) which threatened with excom-

in *HSM*. Even if Gunjača's version of what *HSM* was is incorrect, it is still possible that the source used by the sixteenth-century compiler (postulated by N. Klaić) was still a report from the same (Arch)bishop John III.

77. F. Rački, *Documenta*, pp. 187–94; N. Klaić *Izvori*, pp. 30–34 (from *HSM*). See also discussion and analysis of sources in N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u ranom*, pp. 294–304. Though this dispute is usually, and on the whole correctly, presented as Latinophile opposed to Slavophile clergy, things were more complex than that because certain Churches, in particular that of Zadar, for a long time, including the whole period covered in this chapter, used a Greek liturgy. However, since this language usage did not affect feelings of identity, I shall ignore the supporters and opponents of Greek services in this study. For those interested in following up this fascinating question, see V. Novak, "Neiskorišćavana kategorija dalmatinskih izvora od VIII do XII stoljeća," *Radovi* (Institut [JAZU] u Zadru) 3, 1957, pp. 63–70, and esp. fn. 56.

78. F. Rački, *Documenta*, pp. 195–96; N. Klaić, *Izvori*, pp. 36–37 (from *HSM*).

munication anyone who ordained as a priest a Slav (sclavos) who did not know Latin.⁷⁹ Though Thomas the Archdeacon of Split, in his original text from the thirteenth century, had ignored the councils of the 920s, he picked up the issue of Slavonic when it arose again in the following century, and he was very much opposed to its use liturgically. He writes, "In the time of Archbishop Lovre (1060–99) who was greatly honored by the kings and rulers of Slavonia there arose in the kingdom of Dalmatia and Croatia a crisis. All the prelates of Dalmatia and Croatia condemned the Mass in the Slavic language. And no one of that language might enter holy orders. There had been, they say, a heretic [!] named Methodius who wrote in this very Slavic language many lies about the Roman Catholic Church. When these regulations against Slavic were proclaimed all the Slavic priests were very unhappy. And all their churches were closed and they could no longer carry out their accustomed services."⁸⁰ Thomas goes on to write, "And it then happened in the Croatian regions that a priest named Vulfo, bringing gifts from the Croatians, went to Rome to appeal and get the pope to restore the former position of the churches and priests in the Slavic kingdom. He told the pope he was from the Dalmatian regions. After his visit, he returned to the 'Goths' [!]." (Recall that Thomas previously had equated Slavs with Goths.) The pope eventually decided against the Slavists and sent an envoy, Cardinal John, to extinguish the flames of godless schism in the Slavic regions.⁸¹ Despite the papal decision, Slavonic (using the Glagolitic alphabet) continued in fact to be used in large areas of what we now think of as Croatia, in particular in the region of Istria, the Gulf of Kvarner islands, Senj, and Vinodol.

N. Klaić has shown that political divisions greatly facilitated the continuation of the Slavonic Mass in certain places, a fact that was to guarantee its survival. First, the rivalry for the papal throne between the reform pope, Alexander II, (who opposed Slavonic) and the anti-pope, Honorius II, to whom Vulfo turned and who, needing support, accepted Slavonic and its supporters. Second, the political territorial divisions at various times prevented uniform enforcement of papal latinizing policies: between Byzantine areas (whose administration tolerated Slavonic), the Croatian state (often lined up with the reform papacy), and various temporary entities such as the short-lived March of Croatia and Dalmatia in the second half of the eleventh century, which included much of Istria, Senj, and its hinterland, including some

79. Thomas, *HS*, p. 49; Toma, *Kronika*, p. 29; S. Ritig, *Povijest i pravo slovenštine u crkvenom bogoslužju, sa osobitim obzirom na Hrvatsku I*, Zagreb, 1910, p. 156.

80. Thomas, *HS*, p. 49; Toma, *Kronika*, p. 29; F. Rački, *Documenta*, pp. 204, 206; N. Klaić, *Izvori*, pp. 60–61. For discussion see N. Klaić, "Historijska podloga hrvatskoga glagoljaštva u X i XI stoljeću," *Slovo* 15–16, 1965, pp. 259–60.

81. Thomas, *HS*, pp. 49–54; Toma, *Kronika*, pp. 29–32; F. Rački, *Documenta*, pp. 206–9; N. Klaić, *Izvori*, pp. 61–62. The vita of Cardinal John (later canonized) has him sent to Slavic parts, as well (F. Rački, *Documenta*, p. 449).

of the islands. Since the March of Croatia and Dalmatia was under a German noble family, which supported Henry IV against the reform papacy in the Investiture controversy, it is not surprising that it did not oppose the use of Slavonic in the March.⁸²

It is clear that by this time in the eleventh century, the papacy was well aware of the state of Croatia, but basically saw the general population of the region, including that of Croatia, as being simply “Slavs.”

The Language Spoken in Croatia and Dalmatia

It is also interesting to examine how people described their spoken language, for in recent times language has become an important factor in questions of ethnicity and/or nationality. We noted previously the importance the great Croatian philologist Jagić placed upon language. We saw earlier that up to 1102 foreigners universally called the language spoken by all the Slavs in this area “Slavic.” Thus, our sources on spoken language, like William of Tyre and Constantine Porphyrogenitus, speak of “Slavic.” We find that the locals did too. In a charter of 1059 Peter Krešimir says “the island which in the vulgar Slavic is called ‘Vera’” (*insula que in vulgari sclavonico veru nuncupatur*) and in a second charter of 1070 he states “the castle of Murula is called in Slavic ‘Stenica’” (*a castro latine Murula vocitato sclavonice Stenice*).⁸³ This second charter has been shown to be a forgery serving the interests of the Church of Rab, most probably done in the fourteenth century.⁸⁴ However, since it sought to deceive, it may well have been based on a text closer to its alleged date. In any case, it reflects either how someone on medieval Rab called the language or else how he believed or knew that people in the eleventh century would have called it. B. Gušić also cites a charter of Krešimir from ca. 1070 (incorporated in a confirmation charter from 1183) that refers to a location called in vulgar Slavic (*vulgari sclavonice*) Dobra Gora.⁸⁵ We have no evidence that in the period prior to 1102 any of the Slavic speakers in and around Dalmatia called their language anything but “Slavic.”

82. On these factors: the effects of the struggle between reform pope Alexander II and his rival, Honorius II, papal reformers and secular rulers, and the short-lived, so-called March of Croatia and Dalmatia, see N. Klaić, “Historijska podloga hrvatskoga glagoljaštva,” esp. pp. 258–79.

83. V. Klaić, *Hrvati i Hrvatska: Ime Hrvat u povijest slavenskih naroda*, 2nd ed., Zagreb, 1930, p. 46, fn. 62. Full text of 1059 charter—which Šišić dates as just being prior to 1 September 1069—in F. Šišić, *Priručnik*, pp. 252–54, particular passage, p. 253. Šišić identifies “Vera” with modern “Vir” (p. 253, fn. 1).

84. N. Klaić, *Vinodol od antičkih vremena do knezova krčkih i Vinodolskog zakona*, Pazin-Rijeka (Historijski arhiv Pazin–Historijski arhiv Rijeka, Posebna izdanja 9), 1988, pp. 63–64.

85. Cited in B. Gušić, “Starohrvatsko naseljenje Ravnih kotara,” in G. Novak and V. Maštrović (eds.), *Povijest Vrane*, Zadar, 1971, p. 182. For 1183 text that incorporates Kresimir’s grant, see T. Smičiklas (ed.), *Codex Diplomaticus* (henceforth Smičiklas, CD) II, Zagreb (JAZU), 1904, p. 185.

EARLY ACCOUNTS OF THE DEATH OF KING ZVONIMIR

The next major event in the Croatian area to receive wide attention was the extinction of the Croat dynasty. Legend has the nobles of the kingdom revolting against King Zvonimir, who died as a result; in some late accounts he was killed in battle against them. The circumstances of his death (ca. 1089) are impossible to uncover. He had no heir, but left a widow, the sister of the Hungarian king. Much disorder and fighting occurred after King Zvonimir's death, and his widow appealed to her brother. He intervened once; things did not improve, and the king intervened again, this time annexing all Croatia. We shall discuss the actual conquest and annexation of 1102 in chapter 3.

However, during the process of taking over Croatia/Slavonia, prior to 1102, the King of Hungary, Ladislav, wrote to the Abbot of Monte Cassino saying that he was now the abbot's neighbor since he had just acquired almost all of "Sclavonia."⁸⁶ Whether he had in mind the region that Hungary was going to call Slavonia, or whether he was including under the heading of "Slavonia" parts of Croatia as well, and simply saw the whole area as Slavic territory/Slavonia, is not entirely clear. However, the image he uses of becoming neighbors with the Italian world suggests he had in mind at least some coastal territory, and that would have been included in Croatia, for the banovina of Slavonia that was to appear in the next century did not include any coastland at all.

Since we have already spoken of Thomas the Archdeacon of Split, it makes sense to note here his brief account (written ca. 1260) of these events. Thomas refers to the troubles following the death of Zvonimir, whom he calls the last King of the Croats. As a result of the unrest, some nobles of Slavonia sent a mission to Hungary to persuade the Hungarian king to intervene. The king did and after battling many nobles of Croatia gained the victory.⁸⁷

A MISCELLANY OF (MOSTLY) DOMESTIC SOURCES

Croatia Proper (Eleventh Century to 1102)

Now that we have examined the narrative sources, we have a bit of context for the handful of briefer local documents that survive from the pre-1102 period. Most of them, however, though possibly copied from earlier texts, appear in late-medieval or even early-modern copies. A fourteenth century cartulary from St. Peter's in Selo, a monastery founded in the 1080s by Peter the Black,

86. F. Šišić, *Priručnik*, p. 316; J. Stipišić & M. Šamšalović (eds.), *Codex Diplomaticus* (henceforth Stipišić & Šamšalović, CD) I, Zagreb (JAZU), 1967, pp. 197–98. Discussed by I. Goldstein, *Hrvatski*, p. 438, and F. Šišić, *Priručnik*, esp. p. 298, where he clearly shows "Slavonia" here means "Croatia."

87. Toma, *Kronika*, pp. 32–33; F. Šišić, *Priručnik*, pp. 319–20; N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 82.

a wealthy aristocrat from Split, provides a list of Croatian rulers: "These were the bans in Croatia from the tribes of the Croats from the time of King Sve-topeleg to the time of Sveimir [Zvonimir] King of the Croats." A broken and seemingly very inaccurate list follows and the author then concludes: All these were bans in Croatia.⁸⁸ This text also refers to the consecration ceremony of the church of Peter's monastery attended by many Splićani and Croats (plurimi Spalatinorum Chroatorumque virorum),⁸⁹ making a distinction between the urban population and those from outside, seen as Croats. Whether Peter the Black called these people "Croats" because they were subjects of the King of Croatia, as is likely and as the cartulary's English translator, S. J. Tester, concluded ("a great number of men of Split and Croatia came"),⁹⁰ or whether Peter, unlike many of his fellow Splićani, considered anyone speaking Slavic as a Croatian, is not clear. Later, the settlement of a land dispute was attended by a certain Jacob, Duke of the Marini (Jacobum Marianorum ducem), which shows how Peter and quite likely the Duke himself then defined the Neretljani.⁹¹

In discussing this monastery, N. Klaić observes: "It is not unimportant to note one fact which historiography often forgets. The lands which Peter the Black purchased for his newly founded monastery were in three totally separate political entities: in Neretva—in which the newly founded monastery lay—in Croatia (Solinsko polje), and in Split. If to that one adds that Peter the Black was maybe by origin a Croat [n.b., the term is Klaić's], then we are able to see to what degree . . . in the early Middle Ages ethnic or 'national' belonging was [un]important. The mixing among peoples and their mutual influences were thus able to erase ethnic, or more exactly linguistic, borders in such a way that a defined [political] territory was sometimes in fact divided only by social and economic categories, town and village."⁹² In any case, the text shows that the Church and its property were respected by members of these various entities—at least by the eleventh century—and that the Church was able to cut across borders (and help its parishioners do so as well) and usually to protect its property regardless of where it lay. (We shall see an exception to this later when the Slavs of the Neretva murdered an Archbishop of Split in a property dispute in 1180.)

A codex preserved on the island of Korčula, but not necessarily compiled there (the compilation may well have been carried out in Split), contains bits and pieces of many historical texts, mostly classics of Roman or Church history (e.g., Josephus, Eusebius, the *Liber Pontificalis*). Since the latest refer-

88. N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 86.

89. F. Rački, *Documenta*, p. 127; N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 76.

90. *The Cartulary of the Benedictine Abbey of St. Peter of Gumay (Croatia)*, 1080–1187 (E. Pivčević, ed.), Bristol, 1984, p. 41.

91. F. Rački, *Documenta*, p. 128.

92. N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u ranom*, pp. 483–84.

ences from the *Liber Pontificalis* date from the later twelfth century, the codex seems to have been compiled at about that time. It also has brief mentions of Croatian history, taken from the *Liber Pontificalis* and referring to the peace made in 926 between Croats and Bulgarians, the Croats in Dalmatia submitting to the eternal authority of Rome, and the Croatian ruler Krešimir (or Kresimir, Cressimiro Chroatorum princepe). In the last case the pope had objected to Krešimir taking the throne because the pope believed he had obtained it by murdering his brother. Krešimir cleared himself by taking an oath as did twelve of his župans. The codex also cites a passage about a legate being sent by Pope Gregory VII to Svinimir (Zvonimir) of Sclavonia, Croatia, and Dalmatia, and crowning him king in Salona.⁹³

In the first half of the eleventh century Peter Damian wrote of Gaudentius, a contemporary bishop of Osor, later to be canonized, that he had left his bishopric and sailed from the Slavic kingdom (de Sclavonico regno) to Ancona.⁹⁴ By the eleventh century, however, it was normal for the ruler of Croatia to refer to himself as the King of Croatia or of the Croats, and for the Bishop of Knin to be referred to as the Bishop of Croatia. Though almost all, if not all, these eleventh-century documents exist in later copies, and though many of them are forgeries or have interpolations, there is no reason to doubt the accuracy of these titles. One example that survives is an inscription about the Croat King Držislav (969–97), mentioning also a Duke of the Croats (Dux Hroatorum).⁹⁵ Another example is a letter to the pope in 1075 in which Zvonimir refers to himself as by grace of God Prince of Croatia and Dalmatia.⁹⁶ At the time of writing, Zvonimir had not yet received his royal crown.

But despite these references to “Croatia,” institutions in that state continued to use the term “Slav” throughout the period of native rulers. For example, in a document recording a property transfer dated to 1076, the monastery of St. John in the major Croatian royal city of Biograd notes after the date that it was recorded during the Apostolate of Pope Gregory VII and the reigns of Emperor Michael [VII] of the Greeks and Svinimir (Zvonimir) of the Slavs.⁹⁷ We also have mention in a charter from ca. 1070 to land in the village of Goriza near Biograd that had belonged to a certain John the Slav (Johannes Sclavus).⁹⁸

93. N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 55. See also V. Foretić, “Korčulanski kodeks 12 stoljeća i vijesti iz doba hrvatske narodne dinastije u njemu,” *Starine* (JAZU) 46, 1956, pp. 23–44; Foretić supplies the relevant Latin texts, pp. 30–31. See also N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u ranom*, pp. 16, 350–51.

94. F. Rački, *Documenta*, p. 443.

95. N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u ranom*, p. 325.

96. F. Rački, *Documenta*, p. 103; N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 68.

97. F. Rački, *Documenta*, p. 109.

98. B. Gušić, “Starohrvatsko,” in G. Novak & V. Maštrović (eds.), *Povijest Vrane*, p. 170. Text, Stipišić & Šamšalović, CD I, p. 148. In another donation from 1000 to a church in Solin, one of the donors was referred to as “a certain Slavic man named Sidica” (quodam homine Slavonico nomine Sidica) (*ibid.*, p. 51).

Other sources refer to how certain Dalmatians regarded the Neretljani. In one case we are told that nobles from Split invited thither “the commander of the Neretljani.”⁹⁹ Showing more imagination, a cartulary of 1050 from the monastery of St. Mary in Tremiti refers to the Neretljan prince Berigoj as King of the Coastal people (*rex marianorum*); later in the text he is referred to as judge of the Coastal folk (*iudex Maranorum*) and at the end of the document several witnesses appear listed by their personal names and followed by “all the Coastal folk witnesses” (*omnes maranos testes*).¹⁰⁰ We have noticed earlier that the Venetians, when not referring to the Neretljani and its rulers simply as “Slavs,” tended to call the people Neretljani and their ruler the prince/dux or whatever of the Neretljani (e.g., *princeps Narentanorum*); thus both Venetians and locals, when seeking more precision than “Slavs,” focused on geography rather than on ethnicity. N. Klaić and others have noted that when looking at political units, including the bans and župans, within the state of Croatia, titles almost always were tied to territory (e.g., Krbava or Bribir) and not to a people or a tribe. Had the people been the focus, there might have been more encouragement for ethnic development, at least for the simple name-use sense of the term “ethnicity,” as Yugoslav historians use it.

In the South

“The Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclea” (Duklja), composed in the middle of the twelfth century in what is now Montenegro, refers to Croats in southern Dalmatia.¹⁰¹ A few Byzantine sources also confirm the Croat name in this area. F. Rački and V. Klaić think these Croats may have operated not only along the coast but inland as far east as what is now Kosovo, intermixed with Serb or other Slavic tribes.¹⁰² For the early post-migration period, the Chronicle, which normally refers to the people in this whole area as “Slavs,” apparently basing itself on oral tradition, divides the coastal territory into two entities, Red and White Croatia. White Croatia roughly corresponds to the Croatian territory to the north already discussed (particularly Dalmatia). Red Croatia extends south into what is now Albania and into the interior of Montenegro. The traditions about Red Croatia are so vague as to be useless to a

99. N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 77.

100. N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 54. See also N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u ranom*, p. 477. The island of Tremiti, on which St. Mary's lay, also had a harbor named Slavic (Schiavonesca), which again shows the broad view at the (unknown) time during the Middle Ages of its being named (I. Ostojić, *Benediktinci II*, p. 374).

101. *Ljetopis Popa Dukljanina* (V. Mošin, ed.), Zagreb, 1950. See also the edition, producing various manuscripts and commentary, edited by F. Šišić (Beograd-Zagreb, 1928).

102. V. Klaić, *Hrvati i Hrvatska*, p. 34: “Until recently these [passages] have been interpreted as concerning the Dalmatian-Croatian (White Croatia) kingdom of Krešimir II and Gojislav; but after the basic research of Rački it has become clear that these ‘Croatian rulers’ resided along the Rasa and Lim rivers, and that this information does not concern at all the Kingdom of Croatia.”

historian. I shall note only that they do preserve a tradition that Croats operated in this territory, which is reinforced by Byzantine sources.¹⁰³ Thus, I think it quite likely that some Croat tribes were active here early on, and that traditions of their presence still existed in the twelfth century. However, we find no references to them thereafter.

CONCLUSIONS (UP TO 1102)

In the period prior to 1102, the overwhelming majority of references to people in the area that is now Croatia call these people “Slavs.” In fact, all the early sources do so, and references to “Croats” in the seventh and eighth century come from later sources like Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who wrote in the mid-tenth century. This absence of early evidence, as noted, even led one Croat scholar, L. Margetić, to reject Constantine’s migration account and to postulate that the Croats arrived in the western Balkans not in the seventh century but the late eighth.

In any case, a state of Croatia emerged, whether in the seventh, eighth, or even early ninth century, and there are numerous references to it as “Croatia.” Most of the references we have to “Croats” are connected with the actions of subjects of this state; thus the term “Croatian” usually refers to members of a political unit, which exerted authority over a fairly large area. How efficiently it exerted that authority, and whether people twenty miles beyond a garrison were aware of the “state” authority, is, of course, unknown. Thus for

103. V. Klaić (*Hrvati i Hrvatska*, pp. 29–37) provides the following notices in Byzantine sources about Croats living in southern Dalmatia and the interior behind the southern coast. Skylitzes claims that in 1073, after the Byzantines captured Bodin (the son of the ruler of Duklja), his chief commander, Petriilo, managed to escape to Duklja, but those following him were captured in Croatia and sent in chains to the [Byzantine] emperor. Nicephorus Bryennius has the Croats and Dukljans rebelling against the empire in 1075. Zonaras, speaking about the same rebellion, reports that in the third year of Michael VII’s rule (in 1075) the Croat people, whom some also call “Serbs,” rose up to take Bulgaria. Choniates reports that in 1169 Stefan Nemanja (of Raška), a restless spirit, attacked his neighbors and conquered Croatia and the province of Kotor. An item from a Venetian chronicle fits into this picture. In 912 a Venetian ambassador, returning from Bulgaria, passed through some Croatian regions before reaching the territory of Michael *scavorum duces*—namely Michael of Hum (F. Rački, *Documenta*, pp. 388). This passage suggests that some Croatian lands lay between Bulgaria and Hum. These references all seem to pertain to territory far south of the Croatian state, so if they contain a core of truth (rather than Byzantine confusion over who was a Croat and who a Serb), it suggests, as F. Rački and V. Klaić argue, that Croats (and maybe even a political unit under a Croat leader) existed in the interior behind what we think of as the Montenegrin coast, extending possibly as far inland as Kosovo. If so, these items might be seen as confirmation of the Priest of Dioclea’s state of Red Croatia in this area. Whether there was anything like a Croat political unit as late as the eleventh century cannot be confirmed. In any case, if there were tribes still defining themselves as Croats as late as Nemanja’s attack upon them in 1169, they were to disappear from the sources in the years that followed. Since they are not to have any lasting impact upon the issue of Croatian identity, I have relegated them to a footnote.

two centuries our “Velebitia” and parts of the Dalmatian coast, in and around the separate and autonomous old Roman cities, found themselves under a state utilizing the Croatian name. But a basic question, whose answer truly remains unknown, must be to what degree was there a “Croat” people? Did those who were levied into the Croatian state’s armies and who rendered taxes to it come to identify with the state name and feel themselves at some level to be Croats, or did they accept the fact that they were subject to the Croat king, rendered to him their obligations when forced to, but in their own minds remained separate from him as Slavs, Dalmatians (or citizens of particular cities), or whatever else.

Members of this Croatian political unit, as we have seen, are far more frequently called “Slavs” than “Croatsians.” Thomas the Archdeacon’s terminology aptly illustrates this point, as do our other narrative sources. Constantine Porphyrogenitus is an exception. Describing the incoming tribe, activities of its members, and the state it eventually created, Constantine freely uses the term “Croat” as meaning a people. Croats are one of several different Slavic tribes or political units that he mentions, all seen as parts of a greater Slavic nation. His Croats are clearly members of a tribe and later of a state. One would assume, if he described matters accurately, that many of these Croats were aware that they were Croats. This conclusion would be further strengthened, if, as Goldstein posits, the traditions about the Croat migration into the Balkans were collected in Dalmatia in the mid-tenth century. This awareness, at least among some of them, suggests that they may have been approaching the Yugoslav scholars’ definition of achieving Croat ethnicity. But even the data from Constantine does not demonstrate that the name meant anything more to them than membership in a political unit. Moreover, if Constantine was accurate and such an awareness was in the process of development, then why do we see so few signs of the Croat label in this area in the years after 950? Was Constantine too free in his use of labels, implying more self-awareness than was in fact there, or did memory and use of that tribal identity with which they had arrived decline after the 950s?

The form the tradition took, in the garbled way Thomas renders it, might be evidence that memory did fade considerably—at least with a Croat (as opposed to Slav) emphasis—after Constantine’s writing about it around 950. Though it is mere speculation, one might conclude, from a comparison of Constantine’s version of the legend with Thomas’, that for those propagating the migration story later on, being a Croat was declining in importance and the general category of “Slav” had become more important. A comparison of the frequency of use of the two terms in our other sources also bears out the prevalence of “Slavic” over “Croat.” This is not surprising as there were many more Slavs than Croats, and whole areas (like the Neretva region) existed where Croats do not seem to have settled at all or at least to have made any lasting impact. Most people in Croatia would not have iden-

tified with a dynasty, so the dynasty's Croatness would have had minimal importance in the identity of the populace; it seems in fact to have had minimal importance even for the rulers themselves, since they used the term "Slav" in their titles more often than they used the term "Croat." Thus, possibly, in place of the process of Croat ethnogenesis, which Croat scholars want to find, a de-ethnogenesis was in fact occurring.

According to such a view, the Croat traditions had been strongest at the time of the migration and then declined thereafter, with Constantine's description—which may well reflect the seventh century more than the tenth—representing a relatively high point. Then, as time passed, Croat traditions gradually faded. Those Croats who had been tribal leaders obtained the banships and županates hereditarily and came to compose a Croat establishment, the kernel of the Croat state, which preserved the Croat name in the state context. But for everyone else (including descendants of the general mass of Croats from the migrations), there was nothing to be gained from Croat associations, and thus, in time, they were gradually absorbed into the general category of Slavs. The garbled traditions of Slavs, Goths, and Croats, which Thomas preserves, certainly attests the mixture of peoples and stresses the activities of the Slavs over those of the Croats.¹⁰⁴

The possibility that some, however, had an awareness of being Croat might be reflected in two texts: first the *vita* of John the Hermit who called himself John the Croat. Though he seems to have been a ninth-century figure, our texts, as noted, are no earlier than the fifteenth century. Thus, we are faced with many problems about the dating of the original text—and thus, its possible accuracy—and, if the text truly has a contemporary basis, then we must consider what changes may have occurred in its wording along the way. Our second relevant text is the cartulary from St. Peter's in Selo. Unfortunately, we do not know whether the Croats it mentioned lived in the territory of Split or beyond Split's borders and under the ruler of Croatia. But this text at least leaves room for the possibility that its author considered the Slavs in the vicinity of Split as being Croats, regardless of the political community they were included in. This would clearly be the case, if they resided in territory belonging to the city of Split. But even if the cartulary's author so labeled them, we cannot draw conclusions as to how they saw themselves. In all sources the spoken language of these Slavs/Croats is called "Slavic."

104. N. Klaić believes that Thomas' account has a literary basis. See N. Klaić, "Najnoviji radovi," p. 50. If she is correct, the whole "oral tradition" argument that I use falls by the wayside. However, Thomas' story is so garbled that it must contain at least some oral elements. The whole question of oral and written sources for Thomas and for chapter 30 of *DAI* deserves a great deal more study, and N. Klaić's various works on *DAI* (which express doubts about the extent to which chapter 30 of *DAI* has an oral basis) are a fine starting point for one undertaking this project. She has erred on occasion, but, in my opinion, no finer mind has ever addressed itself to the history of medieval Croatia. In addition, readers interested in this topic should also look at the exciting thoughts of N. Budak, cited in note 9 of the present chapter.

Thus, one can conclude that the future Yugoslavia, during the period from the eighth to the twelfth century, was home to a broad population of Slavs. Some of them came to find themselves living within the newly created Croatian state. And since, in spite of the name of that political unit, they generally continued to be called simply "Slavs," it is not at all clear that many, or even any, of them acquired a new identity as Croatians.

THREE

Slavonia, Dalmatia, and “Velebitia” after 1102



THE EVENTS OF 1102

After the extinction of the native dynasty upon Zvonimir's death in about 1089, unrest erupted in Croatia against his widow, the sister of the King of Hungary. That king then intervened. The official account, though unfortunately appearing in texts no earlier than the second half of the fourteenth century, has the twelve leading noble families of Croatia (referred to as the twelve nobles of the twelve tribes/clans of Croatia [XII nobiles sapientiores de XII tribus Chroatie]), meet the King of Hungary at the Drava, submit to him, and establish a dual monarchy in the so-called Pacta Conventa of 1102.¹ The twelve families came from a very small area (centered in our so-called Velebitia) with lands between the Gvozd mountain and the Cetina River. Only the Kačići, also active in the Neretva mouth, had enterprises south of the Cetina River, and the Kačići were also operating around that river as well. Thus the twelve came from a rectangle with the top short side marked by the Gvozd mountain and Kupa River, stretching west to the coast at the top of the Gulf of Kvarner, south along the coast to the mouth of the Cetina and then east

1. F. Rački, *Documenta*, p. 482; Smičiklas, CD II, p. 8. The text, in addition to calling them the twelve noble families of Croatia, also simply calls them “the Croatsians.” For discussion, see Fine, *EMB*, pp. 283–88; S. Antoljak, *Pacta ili Concordia od 1102 godine*, Zagreb, 1980; N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u ranom*, p. 32.

into the Bosnian Krajina, roughly as far inland as the Una River and including the župas/županijas of Imotski, Duvno, Livno, Bribir, Cetina, Lučka, Krbava, Bužane, Gacka, Lika, Vinodol, and Modruš. We may also note that the eleven “županijas” mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus basically fall into the same area. In the midst of this area lay three old Roman coastal cities: Zadar, Split, and Trogir.

The twelve families were: (1) the Kačići (though active at the Neretva mouth, they had lands in and around Omiš and Zadar); (2) the Kukari (in the Lučka župa, Zadar, Berkovac, Šibenik area, Skradin, Nin, Bribir, Sidraga); (3) the Šubići (in the Lučka župa, with their center at Bribir); (4) the Karinjani (in the Lučka župa, originally known as the Lapčani, active around Zadar and the territory south of Velebit, especially around the town of Karin, whence came the later name Karinjani); (5) the Jamometi (in the Lučka župa, and in and around Nin, Krbava, with territory between the Una and Sava rivers) (Thus four families were centered in the Lučka župa); (6) the Snačići, or Svačići and their descendants, the Nelipčići (in Knin and the Cetina župa); (7) the Mogorovići (in Biograd, Zadar, and Lika); (8) the Gušići (with land in the region of Biograd, Sidraga, and south of Velebit near Zadar; at the end of the twelfth century part of this family moved to Krbava); (9) the Poletičići (in the Buška župa centered around the town of Perušica); (10) the Tugomerići (in the Podgorska župa below Velebit and along the coast opposite Pag); (11) the Čudomirići (a little-known family, a member of which witnessed a charter at Zadar); and (12) the Lasničići, about which we have no territorial data.²

The copy of the Cartulary of the Monastery of St. Peter in Selo, which so far has been impossible to date, but is probably from the fourteenth or fifteenth century,³ also provides an account of these families: “Once there were in Croatia seven bans who chose the king when a king died without male heir. These [bans] were of Croatia, Bosnia, Slavonia, Požega, the Podrava [along the Drava River], Albania [?], and Srem. And the twelve families chose from among six particular tribes/clans of Croatians (sex generibus

2. On the twelve families, see, V. Klaić, “Hrvatska plemena od XI do XVI stoljeća,” *Rad (JAZU)* 130, 1897, pp. 1–85; F. Šišić, *Priručnik*, pp. 498–503; and more recently, S. Antoljak, “Izumiranje i nestanak hrvatskog plemstva u okolici Zadra” [1962], in his *Hrvati u prošlosti* Split, 1992, pp. 323–83. Also worth noting is M. Barada’s study (“Historicitet imena Svačić,” *Vjesnik Hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva* 16, 1935, pp. 137–41), which argues that early scholars (starting with Lucius) misread an “n” as a “v” and thereby created this incorrect reading; a Svačić family never existed. Moreover, Barada concludes, almost everything stated about this family (under either name) is pure legend, including the common statement that Nelipac and the Nelipčići were descended from the Snačići.

3. V. Klaić, on the dating of this passage, writes, “In my judgment this excerpt dates from the second half of the fourteenth century, from the time of King Louis I [of Hungary], and in any case after the golden bull of 1356 of the German-Czech king Charles.” (V. Klaić, “Hrvatski bani za narodne dinastije,” *Vjesnik Kr. hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog zemaljskog arhiva* 1, no. 2, 1899, p. 72.)

Croatorum) the bans in Croatia and from among the other six tribes/clans the župans in the Croatian županijas. The most important are the Kačići, Kukari, Svačići, Čudomerići, Mogorovići, and Šubići and they competed among themselves to see upon whom the honor of being ban should fall." Later on, the text lists the Croatian bans drawn from the families of Croats (de genere Croatorum) starting with an alleged king named Svetopeleg and ending with Zvonimir. Nada Klaić thinks this information is false, but the text does illustrate how the elite wanted to present itself in a later period, be it the fourteenth or fifteenth century.⁴

Thus, most of these families were centered in the greater area of so-called Velebitia, and in their territory, as we shall see, are to be found the greatest number of references to Croatia and Croats. Of course, in the discussion that follows we shall have to remember that in their midst in the former Roman cities very different traditions had become entrenched, and the urban aristocrats were chiefly drawn from old Latin families, whose primary identities and loyalties were to their towns.

Many modern nationally inclined Croatian historians have seen 1102 as bringing the loss of Croatian independence and the beginning of 900 years of foreign rule. However, as Nada Klaić points out, such a view is false. All that happened was the extinction of a local dynasty and its replacement by a new one that happened to be Hungarian. However, Croatia and Dalmatia retained great autonomy, and the local nobility continued to play a dominant role: "It is completely excessive and unhistorical to demand of the Croat peasant or Croat nobleman some sort of consciousness about the existence of a Croat state in the sense . . . that its dynasty had come from its midst. These nobles also under the Arpadovići [Hungarians] retained their autonomy and to their peasants the Hungarian king was as unknown as had been the Trpimirovići before him. [The events of] 1102 did not signify the end of the Croatian state. It was simply a change of dynasty, an event which in neighboring states both to the east and west was a normal occurrence. There is no reason to look at these years as some sort of national catastrophe or the end of the Croat state."⁵

4. F. Rački, *Documenta*, p. 486. For discussion, see N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u ranom*, pp. 33–34. Rački believes "Albania" means Croatia alba, which he identifies with Lower Dalmatia (p. 486, fn. 3). An alternative interpretation might be "Alpa" to refer to the Velebit range (and whatever environs might have been included with it). "Albensis" was the normal Latin form for the important royal city of Biograd (White City), but since a Ban for Croatia is provided in the list, in whose territory Biograd was an important city, I do not think Biograd a possible interpretation; for the same reason I reject Rački's White Croatia, which would merely be a synonym for the already accounted for "Croatia." A final possibility, but again one not making much sense since the location is a constituent part of Lower Dalmatia, is Rab, in Latin Arbensis. In rare cases an "r" to "l" switch has led to Arbensis being rendered Albensis. Presumably "Bosnia" made the list, since at the end of the thirteenth century and beginning of the fourteenth, the Šubići, one of these twelve families, held the title "Ban of Bosnia."

5. N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u ranom*, p. 533.

The Croatian state had been a very loose one up to this point. It rarely had had control over the Dalmatian cities, whose aristocrats with their high culture had looked down upon the Slavs around them; and it had not been able to assert lasting control over Slavonia in Pannonia or over any of the territory south of the Cetina River under the Neretljani. The documents we have seen—and the terminology in them—give the impression that this state had had quite limited influence upon the population in areas it supposedly controlled. Certainly it had had very little influence upon the population's self-awareness, as most people seem not to have become Croatians, but to have remained Slavs. Moreover, as Klaić stresses throughout her impressive study, this was a feudal period, and the nobles were out for themselves. They were interested primarily in lands and privileges, which they preserved under the Hungarians, or at least many of them did. Thus their lives did not change after 1102. They had never seen themselves as part of a community with the peasants and shepherds in their provinces, regardless of whether or not they spoke a common language, and this situation did not change after 1102. Some of the nobles had acquired a "Croatian" label, but no evidence exists to suggest that that label reflected ethnicity. These nobles continued to live as they had before, as did the peasants, who continued to see themselves as "Slavs." And in a localized feudal society, where class differences set the tone, one can see very well why no ethnic consciousness had developed among either the upper or lower class, and why the two classes did not feel themselves to be part of a single community.

From 1225, though possibly regularly only from the 1260s, the Hungarians divided what scholars now call their "Croatian territory" between two bans, a Ban of Croatia and a Ban of Slavonia.⁶ The Ban of Croatia ruled roughly the territory of the twelve nobles noted above, but when possible his banovina extended south beyond the Cetina toward the Neretva, further east into the interior beyond the Una to the Vrbas, and included whatever Dalmatian cities Hungary had suzerainty over at the time. The retention of the name "Croatia" for the banovina, surely, helped preserve and even, in some cases, gave substance to a "Croatian" identity label. The interior territory between the Drava and Sava, extending east to Srem, was included in the banovina of Slavonia, an area much more tightly held by Hungary and more integrated into the Hungarian kingdom and its administrative system than was Dalmatia.

So what do we make of the account of the events of 1102? The earliest text concerning the alleged agreement comes from the second half of the fourteenth century, and various items in that text seem anachronistic. However, the anachronisms could be additions to and reworkings of a text of an actual agreement. It also is a fact that Slavonia, which was conquered, was ad-

6. On these bans, see J. Fine, *The Late Medieval Balkans* (hereafter referred to as Fine, LMB), Ann Arbor, 1987, p. 22.

ministered differently from the far more autonomous Croatia, allegedly submitting voluntarily. Nada Klaić has argued that around the middle of the fourteenth century an alliance was made among these twelve noble families, all of whom she argues had at least some of their lands in the Lučka župa. These families wanted to give more substance to the alliance and also to have a legal base to assert their authority over others in Croatia and thus, Klaić argues, they produced this legal fraud. As we will see, King Louis of Hungary in the mid-fourteenth century found it useful to have the twelve families as allies in consolidating his authority in the region, and thus, fooled or not, recognized them as "the twelve Croatian noble families." Klaić notes that these twelve families were all from this small area around Zadar. Other branches of the same families who lived elsewhere were never included in the "twelve noble families of Croatia," such as the Kačići around Omiš, while the only branch of the Lapčani so categorized were those from Karin, the only part of the family with lands near Zadar. As a result they replaced the Lapčani name with Karijani, which tied them to Karin in the Lučka župa and distinguished them from the other Lapčani. But, Klaić asks, if all these families were from this tiny area, how could they have represented all Croatia and negotiated on behalf of Croatia with the Hungarian king?⁷ In any case, we do not know whether there really had been some sort of agreement in 1102, which produced the text we have or one (now lost) that was slightly or even greatly altered, or whether there merely was a tradition about some sort of agreement, which a forger from among the twelve exploited, or whether a Hungarian campaign had simply conquered Croatia.

J. Lučić makes a strong argument that Hungary did not simply conquer Croatia, for if that had occurred, King Koloman would not have granted the nobles of Croatia exemption from taxes. Since at no point in the Middle Ages, not even in the 1340s and 1350s, when Louis the Great himself was operating in and around Croatia with significant armies, did a Hungarian monarch ever demand taxes of these nobles, it is evident that some sort of negotiated submission (including this tax exemption) had occurred between the king and these nobles in 1102 or shortly thereafter.⁸

SLAVONIA, 1102–1400

As we saw in the previous chapter, Pannonia in the period prior to 1102 had its own specific history. Only Constantine Porphyrogenitus even hints at any

7. N. Klaić, "Postanak plemstva 'dvanaestero plemena kraljevine Hrvatske,'" *Historijski zbornik* 11–12, 1958–59, pp. 121–62, esp. pp. 155, 157, 162.

8. J. Lučić, "Na kraju razgovora o Qualiteru," *Historijski zbornik* 25–26, 1972–73, pp. 483, 481. Lučić also notes that we do not know that all twelve families were connected with the Lučka župa as Klaić claims, and points out that no documentary evidence associates the Snačići (whom Klaić [and I earlier] called the Svačići) with that county.

sort of *Croatian* influence in this region; he states in *DAI*, “From the Croats who came to Dalmatia a part split off and possessed themselves of Illyricum and Pannonia; they too had an independent prince, who used to maintain friendly contact, though through envoys only, with the Prince of Croatia [i.e., in Dalmatia].” This statement is the only suggestion in Constantine that any entity in Pannonia used a “Croatian” label. No other pre-1102 source, local or foreign, uses the term “Croatian” about Pannonia at all.

Pannonia was to become officially known as Slavonia after the Hungarian annexation. However, other areas were also referred to as Slavonia. Thus, a reader must be alert whenever that name is used by a source that does not provide a specific context.

In the tenth and eleventh centuries Slavonia was not a clear-cut entity, and varying amounts of its territory, changing over time, were ruled by Hungarians or Croats. Other than the passage from Constantine written ca. 950 and quite possibly referring to tenth-century conditions, the term “Croatian” was never used in connection with the population of Slavonia. Nada Klaić wonders: since no trace of the “Croatian” name can be found, did one part of the Dalmatian Croats really move into this region as Constantine claimed?⁹ She also points out that from the 1020s, Slavonia had been much more closely tied to Hungary than to Croatia. Thus, the only change introduced in 1102 was the subjection of the entirety of Slavonia, whereas before only large parts of it had been controlled by Hungary.

When we examine Slavonia—the inland area that lies north of the Sava to the east of the territory that was under the Ban of Croatia—we do not find its people calling themselves “Croats.” They called themselves “Slavs,” and their region’s name was so derived: Slavonia. As E. P. Naumov summarizes matters, “It is not unimportant to witness the gradualness of ethnic consolidation during the tenth and eleventh centuries in regions of the contemporary [i.e., twentieth century] Croats . . . for the ethnic term ‘Croat’ serves only to indicate the Dalmatian Croats. Meanwhile, the Slavic population of the northern part of the kingdom of the Trpimirovići, i.e., Pannonian Croatia or the Posavina, are until the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries in the sources regularly called ‘Slavs’ and the territory, Slovinia or Slavinia [Slavonia].”¹⁰ Nau-

9. N. Klaić, *Povijest hrvata u ranom*, p. 140.

10. E. P. Naumov, “Voznikovenie etničeskogo samosoznaniia slavyanskikh rannefeodal’noj horvatskoj narodnosti,” chap. 8 in *Razvitie etničeskogo samosoznaniia slavyanskikh narodov v epohu ranнего srednevekovija*, Moscow (Akademija Nauka SSSR/USSR), 1982, p. 176. The able Croat scholar N. Budak also recognizes this: The specific situation of the Slavs between the Drava and Sava led to no one imposing an ethnic name on them. So, when the Arpad dynasty established an administrative district there, they called it “Slavonia” and the inhabitants “Slavs” or “Slavonians.” “It is only in the sixteenth century (though there exist a few earlier and sporadic examples of the existence of Croat collectives north of the Sava), with the migrations provoked by the Turks, that the Croat name makes an appearance in Slavonia, which with time eventually became the sole ethnonim/ethnos.” See N. Budak, *Prva stoljeća Hrvatske*, p. 62. Unfortunately, Budak does not tell us what these few

mov believes that the incorporation of this area into Hungary and its administrative system must have had a negative effect on the development of Croatian consciousness. Our findings support Naumov's conclusions entirely.

Turning to the documentary evidence: Zagreb, which is to be our first subject, actually consisted in the pre-1102 period of two separate legal entities, the kaptol or bishop's town, and Gradec, the commercial town. In 1198 Andrew, by "Grace of God Herceg of Dalmatia, Croatia, and Hum," who had been assigned Hungary's South Slavic territories as an appanage, issued a charter of privilege to the Zagreb kaptol. He confirmed with his seal that the Bishop of Zagreb had authority over three named resident populations: the Hungarians, the Latins (Italians and Western European colonists), and Slavs.¹¹ In 1217 Andrew II issued a charter confirming the rights of Zagreb's Church; he stated that King Ladislav (in the 1090s) had subjected the land or Banovina of Slavonia to the Hungarian crown and "had converted it from idolatry to Christianity."¹² Whether many Slavonians were pagan in name that late may be doubted, though that possibility finds confirmation in an account of a French prince and traveller, William of Angoulême, who in 1026 passed through Hungary and Slavonia on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. The chronicle reporting the trip notes that before William no one took that route because Christianity in Hungary and the Slavic territory (presumably Slavonia) was still in its infancy.¹³ We should note that William did not differentiate between the inhabitants of Hungary and Slavonia. In any case, Andrew II's statement illustrates the attitude of the Hungarian court and higher clergy toward the faith of the Slavs to the south, an attitude that lay behind Hungary's strong efforts to subordinate the Church in Bosnia and Croatia to Hungarian ecclesiastical authority, which they were able to achieve successfully only in Slavonia. The Hungarian king responded in 1201 to a request from the Bishop of Zagreb to confirm his bishopric's landholding; one of the borders in question was marked by the "graves of the Slavs" (*sepulturae Sclavorum*) in Vaška near Virovitica.¹⁴

Vukovar received urban privileges similar to those of Zagreb in 1231 from

pre-sixteenth century examples are. Does he mean the village names derived from the word "Croat" noted by S. Pavičić (which I shall discuss later)? It also is unfortunate that he does not give a date for when he thinks that the term "Croat" became the sole ethnic name in Slavonia. I assume he means at some point in the late-nineteenth century; but, was there really any time that "Croat" became the "sole name"? For in recent times, were there not always some potential Croats, who identified themselves as "Yugoslavs"? And even now, after the breakup of Yugoslavia and the creation of an independent Croatia, some individuals with whom I have had discussions, who had been "Croats"—though not nationalistic ones—when citizens of Yugoslavia, now, upset by the policies of Tudjman's HDZ, think of themselves as "Dalmatians," and definitely not as "Croats."

11. N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 105.

12. F. Rački, *Documenta*, p. 159. For discussion see, N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u ranom*, p. 497.

13. Cited by P. Matković, "Putovanja po balkanskom poluotoku za srednjega veka," *Rad (JAZU)* 42, 1878, p. 68.

14. Smičiklas, *CD III*, p. 11; V. Klaić, *Opis zemalja u kojih obitavaju Hrvati I*, Zagreb, 1880, p. 158.

Koloman, “by Grace of God King and Herceg of all Slavonia”; in the charter Koloman recognized four groups of resident citizens: Germans, Saxons, Hungarians, and Slavs.¹⁵ N. Klaić points out that this charter did not establish matters, but was confirming already existing arrangements. She notes that established chartered communities, such as those of German colonists, could well have dated back several centuries; thus labels in the document may well have nothing to do with languages spoken in 1231. However, privileged communities received labels at the time of their initial privileges that needed to be retained in order for them to continue to enjoy the privileges.

Vocabulary remained the same in Church sources. In 1198 Pope Innocent III asked the King of Hungary to put pressure on the Slavs (Sclavi) to pay their tithes to the Archbishop of Kalocsa. Subsequently, in the 1230s, that archbishop wrote the pope about ways to bring into the Roman Church greater numbers of Orthodox “Slavs and Greeks” from the region of Srem and beyond.¹⁶

These terms did not change in the fourteenth century. Pavičić cites a fourteenth-century reference to a minor nobleman in the village of Trpinja who was called a “Slav” (Sclavus).¹⁷ Already, by this time, the king had established the ban’s authority in Slavonia. We can illustrate the language used in connection with this institution from a 1325 text, which is couched in legal rather than any sort of nationality terms: “Mikac Ban of the same kingdom of Slavonia . . . the honor of [being] Ban of all Slavonia . . . all nobles in Slavonia.”¹⁸ Similar phrases were used when in 1351, after a period of civil unrest, the ban’s authority was re-established over Slavonia. “The Slavonian nobles” returned under the ban’s županija administration. . . . There have happened many changes in the “Kingdom of Slavonia.”¹⁹ Thus, the nobles are defined by location and administrative unit.

The region of Slavonia had certain customs on which legal decisions could be based. In November 1325 the Bishop of Čazma confirmed a land judgment for one noble family that had been reached according to the standard and customs of the land of Slavonia (*secundum modum et consuetudinem terre Sclavonie*).²⁰ As we shall see below, such a formula was used with some frequency in the territory of Croatia as well.

In the 1340s texts dealing with Slavonia contain numerous references such as the following: from 1343, “in the land of Slavonia (in terra Sclavonie) be-

15. Smičiklas, *CD III*, p. 346; N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 122.

16. For the 1198 letter, Smičiklas, *CD II*, p. 306; for the 1230 letter, N. Klaić, *Crte o Vukovaru u srednjem vijeku*, Vukovar, 1983, p. 30.

17. S. Pavičić, *Vukovska župa: U razvitku svoga naselja od XIII do XVIII stoljeća*, Zagreb, 1940, p. 141.

18. N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 186.

19. N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 215.

20. Smičiklas, *CD IX*, p. 582.

tween the River Drava and the Gvozd";²¹ from the same year, "the nobles and commoners of the kingdom of Sclavonie" (ab nobilibus et ignobilibus regni Sclavonie);²² from 1344, "in regions of Slavonia in the county of Zagreb" (in partibus Sclavonie in comitatu Zagrabiensi);²³ from 1346, "the privileges of the nobles in the regions of Slavonia."²⁴

In the fourteenth century, we also learn of "communities" in Zagreb's other district, Gradec. The magistrature that ran the town under royal charter was divided, by 1377, according to four language communities. Nada Klaić insists with good reason that the four should be differentiated by "language," not "nation." They were Latin, Hungarian, German, and Slav ("lingua sclavonicali, lingua Latinorum," etc). Below the magistrature were group councils, including those of Slavs (viječnica Sclavorum), Hungarians, Germans, and Franks (Gallicorum). Again what is important is that the term used was "Slav." Each council, presumably having its own notary, dealt with its own community in its own language, and provided representatives to the judicial magistrature, whose presidency—to give it a modern term—is believed to have rotated. Even though the Slavs, whose "elite" consisted chiefly of craftsmen, had less prestige than the other groups, they too on occasion held the chief judgeship, for example, in 1377 and 1385. In 1382 we learn that the magistrature consisted of twenty-four members, four councilmen and two judges from each community (one of whom was the just-mentioned "presiding" one). It also is certain that the number of twenty-four members did not remain constant. Klaić notes that in 1461 there were nineteen, and in 1465 as many as thirty-three.²⁵

In addition to the four communities and the governing institution of the magistrature, there were also a number of fraternal organizations in Zagreb's Gradec. Most were professional (e.g., butchers) or ecclesiastical (such as the group known as followers of the Blessed Apostle Peter), but one, mentioned in 1355, was called the Brotherhood of Slavs (confraternitas Sclavorum). There is also documentation about a Fraternity of Germans (confraternitas Teutonicorum).²⁶ We would like to know a lot more about these brotherhoods, their goals and activities. But whatever they did, these Slavs organized themselves under the label of "Slavs."

It is also worth noting that in the middle of the fourteenth century the Hungarian king, in order to break up concentrations of power by the leading noble families in the Banovina of Croatia, confiscated from some of them fortresses and land in Croatia and compensated them with lands in Slavonia.

21. Smičiklas, *CD XI*, p. 62.

22. Smičiklas, *CD XI*, p. 75.

23. Smičiklas, *CD XI*, p. 155.

24. Smičiklas, *CD XI*, p. 310.

25. N. Klaić, *Zagreb u srednjem vijeku*, Zagreb, 1982, pp. 224–29.

26. N. Klaić, *Zagreb u srednjem vijeku*, pp. 292–93.

By this time, as we shall see when we turn next to “Velebitia,” the term “Croatian” had come to be used at least on occasion by the twelve leading noble families of Croatia; and if anyone was then a Croat, he would have been a member of one of these families. In 1347 Juraj (George) Šubić had to give up his Croatian lands for Zrin in Slavonia, and his branch of the family thereafter was known as Zrinski. At the end of that century King Sigismund granted lands in Slavonia to a member of the Nelipčić family and we hear of Nelipčiči with lands in Slavonia throughout the fifteenth century.²⁷ The Nelipčiči and Šubići were the two leading families of Croatia, to whom, as we shall see, the term “Croat” was attached with some regularity, and certainly with more frequency than to any other families in Croatia. One might expect that these nobles would have brought some feeling of Croatness with them to Slavonia; but there is no sign that they did so, and the term “Croat” appears in no document from the Middle Ages about these figures and their descendants or their lands in Slavonia.²⁸ Though it is an argument from silence, one might conclude that Croat had not been an important part of the identity of these nobles and that their Croatness had been associated only with the political entity of Croatia and their former lands there. Once in Slavonia, they adapted to the local environment and, as they had also done previously, focused on family interests and their relations with the Hungarian court.

In the last century Vatroslav Jagić reached conclusions similar to those advanced by E. P. Naumov and myself. Jagić noted that in his time (1895) people focused on the two dominant names, “Serb” and “Croat,” and assumed that all the lands with people speaking Serbo-Croatian (a term Jagić freely used) were inhabited by one or the other of these two peoples. They forgot, however, that wide zones and regions existed where neither of these names was used or identified with, and where people went by other local geographical labels or by, what he called, the general “ethnic” term, “Slav.” Thus, the region of Slavonia was in Slavic called “Slavonia” (the land of Slavs) or in Hungarian “the Slavic orsag,” and thus was the land known all the way to the borders of Styria. Knez Krsto Frankapan wrote in 1526 (on the eve of the Battle of Mohacs) to the Bishop of Senj that he was going to Dubrava to meet the Bishop of Zagreb, where he would round up the Slavic troops and await the king’s command. In other parts of the letter Frankapan also used the following phrases: “with the Slavic lord-

27. On the Šubići/Zrinjskis, see V. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata od najstarijih vremena do svršetka XIX stoljeća* [1899], II, Zagreb, 1982, pp. 118–19; on the Nelipčiči and Slavonia, see V. Klaić, “Rodoslovje Knezova Nelipčića od plemena Svačić,” *Vjesnik Hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva* n.s. 3, 1898, pp. 1–17, esp. pp. 16–17.

28. Though these nobles from Croatia proper did not introduce in Slavonia the Croatian name in the Middle Ages, Margetić claims that the name “Croat” or “Croatia” spread in Slavonia owing to the settlement of Croatian nobles in the sixteenth century. (L. Margetić, “Nekoliko napomena o etnogenezi jugoslavenskih naroda,” *Rad [JAZU]* 451, 1990, p. 5.) I have come across little evidence to support this claim; and, Margetić, writing a summary-type article, unfortunately, provides no citations to support it.

ship from [our] side of the Drava . . . and . . . in order to gather the lords and noble Slavic [or possibly "Slavonian," the original word is "Slovince"] people into our units. . . ."²⁹

As elsewhere the spoken language in Slavonia was called "Slavic." For example, a 1209 property confirmation by King Andrew II marks a border by a pit "called in Slavic, Kalicha."³⁰ A 1240 charter from Koloman Duke of all Slavonia, in delineating a property near Petrinja, designates a copse of trees, "called in Slavic (slavonice) ozkurus."³¹ A second property document from Bela IV concerning the Vesprimiensis Cathedral Chapter (kaptol) refers twice to mountains with Slavic names: "called in Slavic (slavonice) Gradich" and a second "called in Slavic Apni."³² A text from 1352 locates a mine in a valley "the Slavs call Vodochak."³³ A further document spelling out dues owed to the bishopric of Zagreb from 1356 has a basket as a measure, which "in the Slavic vulgar is called a korosnya" (que in sclavonico vulgari korosnya nuncupantur).³⁴ Another example from May 1358 in Slavonia defines a property as extending "to a tree called in vulgar Slavic iwa [?]."³⁵ In October 1362 another land settlement in Slavonia refers to a mountain "called in Slavic (Slavenon) Oak (Hrast)."³⁶ In a document drawn up in Zagreb in July 1367, a property border was a thicket called "in vulgar Slavic glogougrun [?]" (vulgo slavonice glogougrun vocatam).³⁷ From the Bosnian bishopric, in Djakovo in Slavonia, we have a document from 1374 that mentions a valley called "Zuhodol in Slavic" (slavonice Zuhodol dictam).³⁸ In 1377 authorities for the county of Zagreb settled a property dispute; in the document two different valleys (Wodol and Mlaka) were mentioned according to how "they were called in Slavic" (e.g., que dicitur slavonico Wodol).³⁹ And Ivan, the well-known Archdeacon of Gorica, refers to Gorica as "vulgar Slavic for mountains" (Goriche vocantur in wlgari sclavico montes).⁴⁰ The same

29. V. Jagić, "Jedno poglavlje iz povijesti južnoslavenskih jezika" [1895] in his *Izabrana kraći spisi*, Zagreb, n.d., p. 298.

30. I. Kukuljević (ed.), "Regesta documentorum regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae saeculi XIII," *Starine* (JAZU) 21, 1889, p. 250.

31. I. Kukuljević (ed.), "Regesta documentorum regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae saeculi XIII," *Starine* (JAZU) 24, 1891, p. 206.

32. I. Kukuljević (ed.), "Regesta documentorum regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae saeculi XIII," *Starine* (JAZU) 26, 1893, p. 202.

33. Cited by I. Degmedžić, "Požega i okolica—Studije o razvoju naselja," in *Požega 1277–1977*, Slavenska Požega, 1977, p. 104.

34. Smičiklas, CD XI, p. 285.

35. Smičiklas, CD XII, p. 478.

36. Smičiklas, CD XIII, p. 257.

37. Smičiklas, CD XIV, p. 65.

38. Smičiklas, CD XV, p. 89.

39. Smičiklas, CD XV, p. 295.

40. Cited by I. Tkalčić, "Ivan, Arcidjakon gorički, domaći pisac u XIV vijeku," *Rad* (JAZU) 79, 1886, p. 89.

author also mentions “a village being called Ves in Slavic” (*villa in slavico wes vocatur*).⁴¹

The only possible sign of Croatians in medieval Slavonia are the names of three villages, two named Hrvati (one near present-day Mikanovac, not far from Djakovo in the Vukovska county; the second near the junction of the Drava and Danube) and the third, Hrvatka, on the upper Povučje near the village Koprivna.⁴² The first of these villages bore its name in 1238 when part of it—“ten plow’s worth in Hrvati in the Vukovska župa” (Croat . . . de Walkoy)—was included in a grant to the Knights of Saint John (or Hospitalers).⁴³ The names show that the villages had been settled at some point by people conscious of being Croatians. But we have no way of knowing how long such consciousness lasted. For, as noted earlier, all references to people in the whole of Slavonia defined them as “Slavs.”

We should also note here the nickname, at times becoming a surname, “Horvat” (and variations), such as that held by the important Horvat brothers, active in the civil war of the late 1380s. V. Klaić believed that their name was derived from the previously mentioned village, and their family, in fact, did have possessions in the area. However, we cannot be sure that they derived their name from the village, and since there were other families so named, a single village of origin cannot explain them all. Nada Klaić points out that such a name counters any claim that the population among which the name occurs felt an ethnic or national identity; the name was a marker to distinguish the immigrant to whom it was given from locals. Thus the name would have been used for immigrants in Slavonia, Hungary, and so forth from Croatia proper, the region so named between the Gvozd and the Adriatic.⁴⁴ Because

41. Cited by N. Klaić, *Zagreb u srednjem vijeku*, p. 412.

42. S. Pavičić, *Vukovska župa*, pp. 19–22, especially p. 19 (where the three villages are listed). For a detailed discussion of village Hrvati near Mikanovac—though without discussion of the name’s origin—see pp. 166–76. These three village names, by themselves, say nothing about an extended feeling among their inhabitants of Croatness, any more than the place-name “Croat,” found in Slovenia and Austria, or the fortress town of Srb in Croatia. The northern Croat place names just noted may merely represent way-stations of the tribe’s migration, as also could the three Slavonian locations Pavičić presents. Two cases where the name remained but consciousness of ties disappeared are the village of Hrvati on Lake Ohrid in Macedonia and the village of Harvati near Argos in the Peloponnesus in Greece. (Both cases are discussed in P. Skok, *Dolazak Slovena na Mediteran*, Split, 1934, p. 94.) These examples show that place names may appear and even be lasting but have no significance in terms of an identity existing among later residents. These village names simply suggest that when the Croats arrived in the Balkans, certain clans did not remain with their fellow tribesmen in what is now Croatia, but continued their migration further south, where they presumably established themselves briefly before being assimilated by other populations.

43. N. Klaić, *Crtice o Vukovaru*, p. 44.

44. N. Klaić, *Crtice o Vukovaru*, p. 102. To confirm that the name referred to place of origin/family origin, Lopašić notes that the last-name/nickname “Hrvat/Horvat” was most commonly found in Slavonia, where people from Croatia would at first be strangers and thus differing in that respect from others in Slavonia. For example, Lopašić notes Hrvat Januša found in the

these people were different, the Slavonians chose to call them by their place of origin—a name, which if it stuck, could become one that continued over many generations. But the name “Horvat” meant an immigrant from Croatia, and in itself had nothing ethnic about it.

We also find village names in Slavonia derived from the word “Slav.” For example, Slovenska Trpinja and Slovenski Lovas are referred to in sixteenth-century texts.⁴⁵

DALMATIA AND “VELEBITIA,” 1102–CA. 1340

Setting the Scene: The Different Actors and Their Perceptions of Who Was Who up to ca. 1340

In the period after 1102, do labels of identity change? Let us now turn to Dalmatia and what we are calling “Velebitia” and examine the terminology used by both locals and foreigners.

King Koloman Establishes Hungarian Rule and the Terminology of the Hungarian Administration to ca. 1340

Koloman, after annexing what was to become Slavonia (between the Drava and Sava and east to Srem), received in 1102, in one way or another, the submission of the leading nobles of Croatia and was crowned that same year in Biograd “King of Croatia and Dalmatia.” Soon thereafter (the exact year is debated), he appeared with troops in Dalmatia to receive submissions from the old Roman cities. According to one text, “The Life of St. Christopher,” which tells how St. Christopher (acting from the beyond) saved Rab from conquest, a Hungarian army under a count named Sergius had already received submission from a good part of “Slavonia” before moving against Rab.⁴⁶ Since the context includes Rab and various other islands, it is clear that “Slavonia” refers not to official Slavonia but to Croatia/Velebitia. And, in fact, the text elsewhere calls the region “Croatia.” Previously this text had also said that the king had given orders to his dux, whom “the Slavs would call a ban” (*quem Sclavorum vulgus banum vocat*).⁴⁷ Šišić dates the text to 1308, and so, if based on oral rather than written sources, its vocabulary would reflect fourteenth-century usage rather than twelfth.⁴⁸ On this occasion, Rab held out.

Blagaj urbar of 1486 from village Breza in Zagorje. (R. Lopašić [ed.], *Hrvatski urbani*, Zagreb [JAZU, MH-JSM 5], 1894, p. 63, with fn. 2.)

45. S. Pavičić, *Vukovska župa*, pp. 141, 208.

46. F. Šišić, *Priručnik*, p. 624. Discussed in N. Klaić, *Vinodol*, p. 38. For full (relevant parts) of the text, see F. Šišić, *Priručnik*, pp. 622–26.

47. F. Šišić, *Priručnik*, pp. 585, 623.

48. F. Šišić, *Priručnik*, p. 587.

Meanwhile the king entered Zadar, where he put up an inscription (dated 1105) referring to himself as “King of Hungary, Dalmatia, and Croatia.”⁴⁹ Koloman also issued a charter to Zadar, guaranteeing the city the previously enjoyed liberties of Dalmatia, stating that the region of Dalmatia under him would now be secure.⁵⁰ He then issued a charter to Trogir, from Koloman “King of Hungary, Croatia, and Dalmatia to you Trogirani.”⁵¹ Thus, he used, as we would expect, urban names for the citizens of towns.

Until part of these Slavic lands fell to the Ottomans, the King of Hungary held Slavonia (tightly integrated with the rest of Hungary) and the more autonomous Croatia, except when parts of it were controlled by rebel nobles, supporting rival claimants for the Hungarian throne. The old Roman Dalmatian cities, retaining their autonomies, only occasionally found themselves under Hungarian suzerainty, as other states, in particular Venice, tried, often successfully, to control them as overlords. Along with the old Roman towns, certain Slavic cities, like Šibenik, shared this history of changing masters.

The King of Hungary soon divided his Slavic territory between two bans, one of Croatia (including whatever parts of Dalmatia Hungary held) and Slavonia. As a result, “Croatia” remained an administrative term denoting a particular region, and the king, of course, had “Croatia” in his title. One frequently finds references to “nobles from the kingdom of Croatia” (*nobilibus regni Croatiae*), often shortened to “nobles from Croatia” or “Croatian nobles.” Records from a twelfth-century land dispute brought before the Archbishop of Split included in the Peter the Black cartulary (discussed in the previous chapter) provide a good example of this usage. One witness in the course of his testimony stated, “For that is where St. Domnius’ and St. Martin’s and St. Gregory’s have lands and where in addition there are other lands belonging to the Croatian nobles and commoners (*de nobilibus chroatensis et ignobilibus*) moreover, and [to] the prior Valiza.”⁵² The land of interest to us is that of the “Croats.” It clearly lay in the territory of the Croatian kingdom/banovina and belonged to various private individuals who were called “Croats” owing

49. M. Marković, “Dva natpisa iz Zadra,” *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* (Beograd, SAN) 2, 1953, pp. 99–114; N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 87. For a long time the source for the inscription was I. Lucius’ edition of 1666. As a result there was much discussion about it, and Šišić, who wanted to date Koloman’s campaign to 1107, questioned its authenticity; moreover, since Lucius had the date MCV ending a line, could “II” have chipped off? (F. Šišić, “Dalmacija i ugarsko-hrvatski Kralj Koloman,” *Vjesnik Hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva* n.s. 10, 1908–9, pp. 50–59.) However, the inscription was rediscovered in 1951; it is clearly authentic and the date appears in the middle of a line. Thus, Koloman had Zadar’s submission by 1105. The story of the inscription’s rediscovery and authenticity, with a corrected reading, are all in Marković, see esp. pp. 99–101.

50. N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 89.

51. N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 89.

52. *Cartulary of . . . St. Peter of Gumay*, p. 87. Discussed in J. Dusa, *The Medieval Dalmatian Episcopal Cities: Development and Transformation*, New York, 1991, p. 92.

to their place of residence. This passage is also one of the very few from the Middle Ages to link any non-nobles with the name "Croatian."

A more common context in which to find the term "Croatian" was the army; troops levied in Croatia could be and were called "Croatian troops." For example, we have from 1193 a reference to the Prince of Krk (an Adriatic island) commanding "Croatian troops" (*exercitus Chroaticus*).⁵³

In this context, we should note the use of the term "Croatian" in connection with the civil strife that broke out in Hungary between rival families during the ineffective reign of Ladislav IV. Opposition was particularly directed against the most powerful minister at court, Joachim Pektar; in the course of this struggle, in the second half of the 1270s we find Joachim's brother briefly appointed as Ban of Croatia, only to be ousted on behalf of his predecessor, Paul Šubić, in 1277. In order to confront the opposition in Croatia and parts of Slavonia, Joachim then secured for himself the position of Ban of Slavonia in 1276. Needless to say, he encountered armed resistance in both Slavonia and Croatia. Joachim was supported by Petar knez (prince) of Pakrac, who as a result received privileges from King Ladislav for services "in repressing the Croats and Transdrava men who were trying to separate themselves from the jurisdiction of the king" (in *compescendis Croatis et hominibus Transdravanis, qui se de iurisdictione regia volebant alienare*). Having briefly suppressed the uprising in Slavonia, Joachim and Knez Petar then moved south against the banovina of Croatia to assert control over the "ferocious Croatian people" (*ad coerendas seu compescendas ferocitates Croaticae gentis*).⁵⁴ I think it safe to conclude that "Croatian" in this context refers either to the noble families of the political entity of Croatia or to the forces supporting Paul Šubić as Ban of Croatia. Thus these references are akin to the "*exercitus Chroaticus*" seen in the previous paragraph.

The term "Croatia" (and "Croats" for its servitors) was used commonly by the Church and neighboring states in dealing with official matters. For example, confirmations of the far-flung holdings of Dalmatian city monasteries could refer to lands "in various parts of Croatia" (e.g., in 1198, 1200, 1210) or could identify a group of witnesses as "from Croatia" (e.g., 1194).⁵⁵ In 1219

53. F. Šišić, *Priručnik*, p. 509; N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 104. For other examples of the phrase "Croatian army" (*exercitus Croaticum/Croaciam*): from 1251, Smičiklas, *CD IV*, p. 444; from 1345, Smičiklas, *CD XI*, pp. 205, 207.

54. I. Kukuljević (ed.), "Regesta documentorum regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae saeculi XIII," *Starine* (JAZU) 28, 1896, pp. 104, 112; events discussed in V. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata I*, pp. 280–87, esp. p. 286.

55. For example, monastic lands "in various parts of Croatia" were confirmed by Hungarian officials in 1198 (Smičiklas, *CD II*, p. 293), in 1200 (Smičiklas, *CD II*, p. 358), and in 1210 (Smičiklas, *CD III*, p. 100). Occasionally a text on a monastery's holdings, when the lands were to be found in the territory of a town (and also farther afield) in the entity of Croatia, would divide its witnesses between town (and monastic) locals and "witnesses from Croatia," who turn out to be nobles from the banovina or former kingdom (e.g., a case from 1194, see Smičiklas, *CD II*, p. 268). On each occasion "Croatia" is the political entity in which the lands lay.

Andrew II issued an award to Poncius de Cruce of the Templars of the territory in Croatia called Gacka (terram quandam in Croacia . . . Guezke nomine).⁵⁶ In 1243 a peace treaty between one of the Babonići and the town of Senj was witnessed by various nobles of Croatia.⁵⁷ In about 1292 Charles Martel of Naples, campaigning for the Hungarian throne with the help of the Šubić family, recognized Paul Šubić as Ban of Croatia and Dalmatia and confirmed all the family's lands in Croatia and Dalmatia.⁵⁸ In 1298 three members of the Gušić clan sought a judgment concerning the županija of Krbava from Ban of Croatia, Paul Šubić. It was decided upon in the presence of all the noblemen of the kingdom of the Croats (coram nobilibus viris regni Chrovatorum).⁵⁹

On 10 April 1318 at Visočane (near Zadar) Mladen II Šubić as Ban of Croatia settled a property quarrel between two noblemen, according to the "customs of Croatia" (secundum consuetudinum Croacie), and later in the text, according to the "customs of the homeland" (consuetudo patrie). Thus, he based his decision on the customary law of the region rather than of some city or the Hungarian code, and he made his judgment with the advice of the leading men of Croatia (de consilio nobilium et procerum Croacie).⁶⁰ Mladen issued a second legal decision at about the same time from Bribir, and once again he did it with the assistance of the nobles of Croatia (cum multitudine nobilium Croacie nobis assistencium).⁶¹ In 1324 King Charles Robert of Hungary confirmed the property of a number of nobles from historical Croatia, referring to them as nobles of Croatia (nobiles de Croacia).⁶² All these examples—whether place of meeting, the location of the land being adjudicated, or the residences of "Croatian nobles"—concern a small area, our "Velebitia": Senj, Krbava, Gacka, Bribir, and the hinterland around Zadar. In all these references "Croatia" refers to the territory under the ban or to the entity in which particular places were located or to where the "Croatian" nobles resided.

King Koloman also, at least in the eyes of thirteenth- and fourteenth-century writers, had confirmed in 1102 the privileges or rights (libertatibus) of the twelve noble families. For example, on 7 April 1299, Ban Paul Šubić writes that a relative of his should enjoy the rights/privileges of the Croatian nobles (libertate nobilium Choruatorum).⁶³ Thus, we find the political name "Croatia" employed by both the Hungarian king and his bans (governors) on the ground.

But during the same period, when the names "Croat" and "Croatia" were being employed with some frequency, the name "Slavonia" for the Croatian

56. N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom srednjem vijeku*, Zagreb, 1976, p. 373.

57. N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom*, p. 375.

58. N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom*, pp. 417–18.

59. N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom*, p. 376.

60. F. Šišić, *Priručnik*, p. 487; Smičiklas, CD VIII, pp. 497–99. Discussion in N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom*, pp. 445–46.

61. N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom*, p. 447.

62. N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom*, p. 377.

63. F. Šišić, *Priručnik*, p. 526.

territory and even the political entity continued to be used by these same figures. In 1180, for example, representatives of King Bela III's court came to Zadar and consulted with the župans of Sclavonia (*de consilio iuppanorum Sclavonie*).⁶⁴ In 1183 the Ban of Croatia made a judgment in favor of the monastery of St. Krševan in Zadar with the advice of all the župans of Slavonia.⁶⁵ The presiding figure and the location of the case clearly show that the župans of Slavonia were from the area around Zadar, hence our "Velebitia." A text (cited by Farlati) describes the difficulties faced in 1208 by Zadar and one of its monasteries, owing to the violence directed against it by the powerful of Slavonia (*potentes Slavoniae*).⁶⁶ In 1291 the previously mentioned Charles Martel was trying to acquire the Kingdom of Hungary and sought the support of the Slavic/Croatian nobles; he issued a permit allowing the export of goods from Naples to parts of "Sclavonia and Dalmatia," namely to the castles of his supporters (various Šubići), lords of all "Sclavonia and Dalmatia." Charles Martel died in 1295, and his cause was continued by his son Charles Robert, who eventually, after the death of his rival, Andrew III, triumphed in 1301. In July 1300, to support his relative's campaign, Charles II of Naples sent more grain to his allies "in parts of Dalmatia or Sclavonia,"⁶⁷ which shows that Naples saw "Sclavonia" as a synonym for "Dalmatia." On various occasions the two Neapolitans called Paul, "Ban of Slavonia."⁶⁸ That the Šubići were the addressees shows that the Neapolitans were using the term "Sclavonia" for what was officially Croatia. As his campaign progressed, in 1298 Charles Robert confirmed Juraj (George) Šubić of Croatia (*de Croacia*) in his possession of all his castles, villas, goods, and vassals "in regions of Sclavinia" (*in partibus Sclavinie*). A Neapolitan document from July 1300 even refers to his Šubić ally as Count George of Sclavonia.⁶⁹ And in a 1300 letter to Venice, Charles Robert refers to Juraj's properties "in regions of Slavonia" (*in partibus Sclavonie*).⁷⁰ Again "Sclavinia/Sclavonia" refers to Croatia, for that is where the Šubić family held its lands.

64. N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom*, p. 409.

65. Smičiklas, *CD II*, p. 185; N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom*, p. 363. For a repeat of the same situation and terms in 1184, see Smičiklas, *CD II*, p. 189.

66. I. Kukuljević (ed.), "Regesta documentorum," *Starine* (JAZU) 21, 1889, p. 244.

67. F. Šišić, "Studije iz historije anžuvinske dinastije," *Vjesnik Kr. hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog zemaljskog arhiva* 3, no. 1, 1901, p. 9.

68. N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom*, p. 417. See also S. Antoljak, "Ban Pavao Bribirski 'Croatorum Dominus,'" *Radovi* (Institut [JAZU] u Zadru) 19, 1972, p. 44.

69. F. Šišić, "Studije iz historije anžuvinske," p. 9.

70. For both references, S. Antoljak, "Ban Pavao," p. 16. There are innumerable references to "Slavonia/Slavs" from the rulers of Naples. To cite a few more: 1275, trading grain to parts of Sclavonie, i.e., Zadar, Dubrovnik, Split, etc., for wood (Smičiklas, *CD VI*, p. 125); 1276, 1291, concern expressed about Slavs as pirates (Smičiklas, *CD VI*, pp. 170, 172; *VII*, p. 58); 1279, discussion of trade with Dubrovnik of Sclavonia (Smičiklas, *CD VI*, p. 309); 1299, a ship being sent to Slavonia to the city of Split (Smičiklas, *CD VII*, p. 356). Thus, we see that both the banovina of Croatia under the Šubići and the Dalmatian cities constituted "Slavonia" for the Neapolitans.

In 1312 at Solin, three sons of Paul Šubić, Ban of Croatia, issued a land grant witnessed by “various noblemen of Slavonia” (*viris nobilebus de Sclavonia*);⁷¹ both the context and the fact that one of the witnesses was Budislav Kurjaković show that “Slavonia” here means territory in “Croatia,” and not the territory of former Pannonia. Though it made for confusion, Ban Paul even at times referred to himself as “Ban of Slavonia,” when he meant Ban of the territory of Croatia, for example, in a charter issued to Zadar in 1283, and he had at least two seals (both preserved to the present) calling himself, “Paul of Bribir, Ban of all Sclavonie.” As far as we know he never was Ban of Slavonia proper, and he used the seal at times when we know others were bans of Slavonia proper.⁷² Paul clearly meant by “Sclavonia,” “Croatia.” Possibly he used the term because parts of Croatia were still called “Slavonia” by those who lived there; if so, it made sense to use the local terminology. (Needless to say, he had another seal calling himself “Ban of the Croats,” *Banus Croatorum*.)

Two final examples of this usage of “Slav/Slavonia” show that even something as integral to a political entity as law, which we have seen explicitly linked to “Croatia” in the April 1318 text, can also be tied to “Slavs.” A land dispute in Klis was settled in 1178 by a judgment based on “Slavic custom” (*usanza schiavona*) and an October 1251 document’s decision was reached, in all probability in Knin, “according to the law of the Slavs” (*secundum legem Sclavorum*).⁷³

Despite the frequent use of the term “Croatia” in the period between 1102 and about 1340, I have found no references to “Croat” as an ethnic identity during this time in any of the documents issued by the Hungarian rulers or their servitors, the local bans.

The Dalmatian Cities

Throughout the Middle Ages the Dalmatian townsmen habitually referred to themselves by their city’s name, thus basing identity upon citizenship. Thus,

71. Smičiklas, *CD VIII*, p. 309; N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom*, p. 376.

72. For the 1283 charter, see S. Antoljak, “Ban Pavao,” p. 9; for the seals, see S. Antoljak, “Ban Pavao,” pp. 26–27. For an example, accompanying a complete charter, see M. Sporčić (ed.), “Dvje izvorne povelje bana Pavla od plemena Šubić,” *Vjestnik Kr. hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog zemaljskog arhiva* 1, no. 1, 1899, p. 59.

73. For the 1178 reference, see Smičiklas, *CD II*, p. 158; see also L. Katić, “Veza primorske Dalmacije kroz kliški prolaz od prethistorije do pada Venecije,” *Starine (JAZU)* 51, 1962, p. 273; for the 1251 reference see F. Šišić, *Priručnik*, p. 526; Smičiklas, *CD IV*, p. 461. The 1178 document is a very rich one for our purposes, for it also refers to “Slavs of the Kurkari” (*Schiavone de Cucari*). The Kurkari were one of the twelve noble families of Croatia with extensive landholding (described at the beginning of this chapter) in the Croatian banovina. The document has as witnesses as many noble Slavs (*Schiavoni*) as *Splićani*, and the former group of witnesses are listed as “Slavs” (Smičiklas, *CD II*, pp. 156–58). Smičiklas (*CD IV*, pp. 91–92) provides another example of two similar phrases “ways/customs of the Slavs” (*secundum morem Sclavorum/secundum consuetudinem Sclavorum*) in a land case from Rab from 1239. That document also notes that the jurors were divided among Latins and Slavs.

one was, for example, a Ragusan, just as in Italy one might be a Venetian or Genoese. It was common for others to use urban names in this manner as well. For instance, wars were fought between Splićani and Trogirani. This sort of urban identity is even attested for towns established by the Slavs. For example, in 1205 Hungary recognized Nin as a free royal city, giving it the same privileges enjoyed by old Roman/Byzantine cities like Zadar. As with these older cities, the locals of Nin adopted a civic identity, becoming Ninjani or citizens of Nin.⁷⁴

As Nada Klaić notes, "In the cultural life of Dalmatia in the fourteenth century [in reality true for the whole Middle Ages], because of the political fragmentation, there was no common cultural movement or even program. . . . Each town lived more or less for itself."⁷⁵ Furthermore, in providing an explanation of medieval urban and feudal society, she points out: "It would be a great mistake to assume that a city in the Middle Ages would be conducting any sort of 'national' politics, i.e., acting in the interests of any sort of ethnic (narodna) collective. Collective interests of [urban] citizenship erase ethnic differences, and a city as a whole inclines—of course, to the degree that it is able—to that leader who will best serve its economic welfare."⁷⁶ Thus, it is hardly surprising that the citizens identified with their cities, and not with any broader or national group. I shall not bother documenting the use of these urban identity labels, for such references are countless. These cities, in any case, with their traditional privileges and autonomy were, at the beginning of the twelfth century, being put under the same Hungarian ruler as the territory all around them. It would be up to Hungary, though, to try to retain these cities against challenges from Venice and Byzantium.

In the texts from the Dalmatian cities, the dominant term for the peoples of the hinterland (even when that hinterland consisted of the banovina of Croatia) was "Slav." For example, a 1229 document from Split complains that the bishop of that city found himself unable to consult his suffragan bishops because the Slavs were raising havoc in all of Dalmatia.⁷⁷

As time went on, these cities sought to maintain their Latin/Italian character. Thomas the Archdeacon reports that the people of Split were attracted to Latin forms of administration (*regimen Latinorum*), that is, the system utilized in the Italian cities. As a result they acquired in 1239 a *podesta* or *potes-tas* of Latin origin, Gargano de Arscondis of Ancona. Under him a new set of regulations was drawn up on the Italian model.⁷⁸ This new set-up led Split into

74. N. Klaić, *Izvori*, pp. 109–10.

75. N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom*, p. 216.

76. N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom*, pp. 61–62.

77. I. Kukuljević (ed.), "Regesta documentorum," *Starine (JAZU)* 21, 1889, p. 294.

78. Thomas, *HS*, pp. 117–18; Toma, *Kronika*, pp. 65–66; N. Klaić, *Izvori*, pp. 128–29. Interestingly, Thomas, though not doing so with Slavs/Croats, can make the Latins into a "people." He refers to a certain Adrian from Tarvisio as being a Latin by race (*Latinus gente*) (Thomas, *HS*, p. 61; Toma, *Kronika*, p. 34). And in this case, the Splićani sought a *podesta* of Latin race (*de gente latina*) (Thomas, *HS*, p. 118; Toma, *Kronika*, p. 65).

difficulties with Hungary and even into a war with Trogir, and Bela IV of Hungary soon put an end to it. But Split did, in 1312, place an article into its statute stating that its podesta must be a foreigner, for the local patricians wanted him to be above local politics and factions. They also ruled that he could not be from Slavonia or from the region of Dalmatia (*de partibus Scлавonie nec de provincia Dalmatie*).⁷⁹ So, even another Dalmatian was viewed as being too likely to get drawn into local factions. "Slavonia" here presumably means any of the Slavic lands in the area, for some in Split felt that they had been treated badly by Ninoslav of Bosnia and Peter of Hum, who had briefly been princes of their city.

A second article in the statute (bk. 3, chap. 8) states that in a civil case a Slav may not testify against a citizen of Split.⁸⁰ Slavs, however, could also be seen positively; for Split, often short of grain and food supplies, found that the Slavs in its hinterland were a valuable source of these necessities. Thus, the same law code had an article (bk. 3, chap. 114) forbidding anyone from injuring any Slav (*slavos*) who entered Split to convey grain. Indeed, in such a case, the testimony of Slavs would be admitted in court.⁸¹

Another chapter (bk. 2, chap. 45) of the code defines the means of transportation and *per diems* provided for Split's ambassadors to various places, specifying a *per diem* amount granted to an envoy to Bosnia, and a different sum for one going to Dalmatia or Slavonia, unless that person were going to Trogir, Šibenik, Omiš, or the islands. Chapter 43 of book 4, in regulating the bearing of weapons in the city, decrees that Slavs entering Split should leave their weapons in the care of the city's rector. And finally, chapter 39 of book 5 prohibited the purchase of grain in Slavonia by any citizen of Split. Since this last article appeared at a moment when Split lay under Venetian rule, we can assume that the Venetians, by this ban, were looking out for their own grain sales.⁸²

Venice acquired control of Split in the fourteenth century, and a new statute was issued under the Venetian Count (*knez*) of Split in 1333, with subsequent chapters added thereafter. In chapter 15 of this text, dated 1351, *Splicani* were prohibited from lending money or selling goods on credit to any Slav or Bosnian. One could carry out such transactions only with Latins or Dalmatians or other persons (including/excluding Slavs?) under the lordship of the king (i.e., with citizens of Dalmatian towns under Hungarian rule). A set of customs regulations issued in November 1358, on the eve of Venice's loss of Split to Hungary, defined various policies, one item of which dealt with salted

79. J. Hanel (ed.), *Statuta i leges civitatis Spalati*, Zagreb (JAZU, MH-JSM 2), 1878, p. 30 (bk. 2, chap. 18); N. Klaić, *Izvori*, pp. 184–85.

80. J. Hanel (ed.), *Statuta i leges civitatis Spalati*, p. 70.

81. J. Hanel (ed.), *Statuta i leges civitatis Spalati*, pp. 120–21. This article is discussed by G. Novak, *Povijest Splita II*, Split, 1978, p. 773.

82. J. Hanel (ed.), *Statuta i leges civitatis Spalati*, pp. 42, 154, 204.

pork brought to Split by Slavs.⁸³ Thus, these laws spoke of Slavonia, Slavs, Dalmatians, and Bosnians, but never Croatia or Croatians, even though the persons just mentioned as being under the lordship of the king presumably lived in the so-called kingdom of Croatia under its ban.

Let us now turn to the account of Thomas the Archdeacon of Split, who, the reader may recall, died in 1268. In recording Hungary's annexation of Croatia, Thomas says Koloman conquered the remaining parts of Slavonia that Ladislav (his predecessor) had neglected.⁸⁴ "Slavonia" here clearly means the Slavic areas of Dalmatia, rather than places in Pannonia that were to become Slavonia soon thereafter. Referring to the people of Split's dealings with the king, he calls them "Splićani." In fact, on one occasion he tells us that a tenth-century Archbishop of Split named Martin who was a native son was a "Split national" (*Spalatinus natione*).⁸⁵ Thus, again, an urban name. So the elitist Thomas here sees the cities as separate entities, usually, if discussed individually, denoted by city name or, if collectively, then as Dalmatia, while the countryside and smaller new towns lay in Slavonia.

Thomas' terminology emerges clearly from the following passages: At some point a Dux of the Croats (*dux croatorum*) named Reles (Relja or Hrelja in Slavic) aspired to become the Prince of Split. The title "dux" seems unlikely for the post-1102 period, and most Yugoslav scholars translate "dux" here as "vojvoda," a military commander. So, we will let him be the leader of some Croats near Split. The Splićani resisted, according to Thomas, because they had no desire to be under any Slav. A skirmish followed, and in his description Thomas referred to the Splićani as "Latins;" "bravery began to fire up the heart of the Latins;" "and the Slavs, having seen that the Latins against their normal custom came out from their shelters. . . ." In the end, the Splićani were not only victorious but returned with Reles' head.⁸⁶ Grgur Novak associates these events with the warfare between Byzantium and Hungary in the late 1160s and has Vojvoda Relja, a local "Croatian" leader, supporting Hungary against Byzantine-held Split.⁸⁷ In 1180 Rainer the Archbishop of Split went to Mosor, under the Kačić Prince of Omiš, to try to regain some Church property which the "Slavs" held. Angered, many "Slavs" threw stones at him. Seeing them thus infuriated, the bishop tried to flee, but in vain.⁸⁸ Thomas also speaks of two heretical goldsmiths, Matthew and Aristodius, who were literate in both Latin and "Slavic" (*sclavonice litterature*). In 1241 the Tatars, having swept through Hungary, appeared in the western part of the future Yugoslavia. Thomas reports that they killed only a few Slavs since most were

83. J. Hanel (ed.), *Statuta i leges civitatis Spalati*, pp. 245, 269.

84. Thomas, *HS*, p. 58; Toma, *Kronika*, p. 33; F. Šišić, *Priručnik*, p. 626; N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 87.

85. Thomas, *HS*, pp. 36–37.

86. Thomas, *HS*, pp. 69–70; Toma, *Kronika*, pp. 38–39.

87. G. Novak, *Prošlost Dalmacije I*, Zagreb, 1944, p. 117.

88. Thomas, *HS*, pp. 73–74; Toma, *Kronika*, p. 41; N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 96.

able to withdraw into the hills and forests as the Tatars swept over the Croatian lands (presumably in a territorial/political sense). The Tatars sent a herald to a bridge outside of Trogir who cried out in the Slavic language to those behind the walls. The Tatars spent a month in Croatia and Dalmatia and then departed, releasing many captured Hungarians, Slavs, and others, who were now allowed to return to their homes.⁸⁹

Describing a war in the 1240s between Trogir and Split, (in which both opponents were defined by their urban names), Thomas mentions an occasion when the Trogirani allied with some "Slavs."⁹⁰ Thomas has other examples of the people of the hinterland carrying out acts of hostility against Split or its property. At some point around the 1220s some "Croats" (Toljen and Vučeta, sons of Butkov, with their relatives) attacked the village of Ostrog, which belonged to the Archbishopric of Split.⁹¹ The podesta from Ancona, Gargano, brought security to the city, for even the "Slavs" who tirelessly struggled against it accepted agreement and peace.⁹² But, a little later, a quarrel broke out between Hungary and Split, and the Hungarians along with some "Croats," who were from the castle of Knin, reached the walls of Split with the intention of plunder.⁹³ Later, in warfare in 1243 between Zadar and Venice, Thomas notes that Zadar was supported by some strike units of "Slavs" and Hungarians.⁹⁴ Dionisius, the (Hungarian) Ban of Slavonia and Dalmatia, collected in 1244 a large army of Hungarians, Dalmatians, and "Slavs" and set up camp at Salona.⁹⁵ The Hungarian queen paid a visit in 1261 to Dalmatia and established herself at Klis. She brought a large armed force with her of Hungarians, Cumans, and "Slavs."⁹⁶ Thus, Thomas, though recognizing a Croatian territorial political unit, usually prefers the term "Slav" for the people who inhabited it. For, of the three references we have just seen to "Croats," two are official: Reles bore the title "Dux of the Croats" (yet when the fighting started, his supporters are called "Slavs"), and the Croats from the Knin castle were almost certainly an official garrison serving under the command of the Ban of Croatia. Only in one case—that of the two sons of Butkov attacking the village of Ostrog—do we have people labeled "Croats" acting in their own right. Even

89. Thomas, *HS*, pp. 176–77; Toma, *Kronika*, pp. 86–87; N. Klaić, *Izvori*, pp. 137–39.

90. Thomas, *HS*, p. 193; Toma, *Kronika*, p. 96; N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 146. V. Klaić (*Opis zemalja u kojih obitavaju Hrvati II*, Zagreb, 1881, p. 112) points out that the word "Slavs" in Thomas here refers to the Šubići and their clients.

91. Thomas, *HS*, p. 104; Toma, *Kronika*, p. 57. V. Klaić (*Opis zemalja*, II, p. 111) notes that this village of Ostrog was a long-term issue of contention between the two towns. It lay within Trogir's ager/territorium and had thus belonged to Trogir, but in 1103 King Koloman of Hungary had awarded it to the Archbishopric of Split.

92. Thomas, *HS*, p. 121; Toma, *Kronika*, p. 67.

93. Thomas, *HS*, pp. 182–83; Toma, *Kronika*, p. 90.

94. Thomas, *HS*, p. 184; Toma, *Kronika*, p. 91.

95. Thomas, *HS*, p. 197; Toma, *Kronika*, p. 98.

96. Thomas, *HS*, p. 209; Toma, *Kronika*, p. 105.

so, it is not evident that ethnicity is involved; the "Croat" label attached to the two sons could easily signify that they were "from Croatia." In any case, the non-Romans are usually simply called "Slavs" and speak "Slavic"; for the language reference is clearly to the vernacular, it being hard to imagine a Tatar herald calling out in Church Slavonic.

There also exists an ecclesiastical text in Latin about the translation of the relics of saints Dujam and Anastasia. There is considerable scholarly controversy over this work's authorship and date, but Nada Klaić believes it preceded Thomas' chronicle and was in fact used by Thomas. If so, it might belong to the eleventh or twelfth century. Describing the situation after the seventh-century sack of Salona, it states, in the usual manner, that the Christians were afraid of the Slavs (*Sclavis*), and thus did not want to leave the relics in Salona but brought them to Split.⁹⁷ The only reference to "Croats/Croatia" in the Latin text is a claim that the Bishop of Split was, at some unspecified point, endowed with the privileged position of Metropolitan of Dalmatia and Croatia,⁹⁸ the actual title utilized from the tenth century and based upon those two political entities. The work was translated into Slavic at an unknown date, possibly as early as the fifteenth century. The earliest text we have, however, comes from the mid-sixteenth century and was discovered in the library of the Franciscans in Dubrovnik. The text's translator used the word "Croatia" not only in the Metropolitan's title, but also mentioned "Croats" a second time; whereas the Latin text said that the Christians were afraid of the "Slavs," the translator writes that they feared the "Croats."⁹⁹ Thus early on (in the fifteenth or sixteenth century), someone, possibly a Ragusan Franciscan, believed that the Slavs who sacked Salona had actually been Croats (not necessarily ethnic ones, but at least members of an entity or tribe so named) and thus made the change. In the next century we shall meet some Ragusans who thought this way, while others from their city continued to use the term "Slav" or else the newly introduced term "Illyrian." It would be valuable to know more about the circumstances of the translation, but it does not pay to wander off into the world of speculation.

The term "Slav" rather than something more specific (like "Croat" or "Serb") was standard along the eastern coast of the Adriatic. In 1129 the Monastery of St. Stjepan near Solin, in a document defining the borders of its lands, stated that no Slavs (*Schiavoni*) could molest/trespass against the monastery.¹⁰⁰ According to a document that is probably a forgery (but a medieval

97. "De quarta translatione s. Domnii." The Latin text, taken from Farlati's edition, was republished by H. Morović, "Istorija svetoga Dujma i Stasa," in V. Gligo & H. Morović (eds.), *Legende i kronike*, Split, 1977, p. 54.

98. "De quarta translatione s. Domnii," p. 56.

99. The Slavic translation is provided by H. Morović, "Istorija svetoga Dujma i Stasa," in V. Gligo & H. Morović, *Legende*, pp. 34, 36.

100. Smičiklas, *CD II*, p. 39.

one) and preserved in two variants, one dating itself 1039 and the other 1151, a monastery on Lokrum was awarded Babino polje on the island of Mljet. The donor, a certain Protospatar Ljutovit, declared in the donation charter that no one, neither Ragusan, nor citizen of Ston, neither Latin, nor Slav, could impede the carrying out of the donation.¹⁰¹ A document from 1198 recording a sale of land to a monastery in Split declared that no Slav (alcuno Schiavone) could interfere with the transaction.¹⁰² Our Peter the Black cartulary provides a record of a land dispute from 1176. "It came about that at the time previously mentioned [1176] certain Slavs of Adrianiki, namely Prodan and his Slav kinsmen, and certain Latins, namely James of Aprizo . . . and all their kinsmen rose up against the monastery of St. Peter of Gumay and began to demand the lands which are in the place known as Stilpiza."¹⁰³ Adrianiki lies in Poljica, thus in territory under the Neretljani.

M. Kos also cites two texts from Dalmatia, dated 1179 and 1182 respectively, where land cases were settled by gathering witnesses on the disputed territory itself to determine the property's past. In these two cases, the procedure was described as a custom of Slavonia (*consuetudo terre, all'usanza schiavonia*).¹⁰⁴

P. Skok also notes that in Dalmatia it was normal in legal documents to distinguish between Latins and Slavs, and the two were regularly denoted as "Latini" and "Sclavi." He cites examples from lists of witnesses from Dubrovnik in 1151, Split in 1176, and Zadar from 1188 and 1189.¹⁰⁵

In 1242, providing an example from the following century, all the clerics of Šibenik, both Latins and Slavs (*tam latinis quam sclavis*), issued a complaint

101. For the 1039 version, see Stipišić & Šamšalović, *CD I*, p. 73; for the 1151 version, see Smičiklas, *CD II*, p. 68.

102. Smičiklas, *CD II*, p. 292.

103. *Cartulary of . . . St. Peter of Gumay*, p. 89.

104. M. Kos, "Pet istarskih razvoda iz XV stoljeća," *Jadranski zbornik* 1, 1956, p. 189 (citing Smičiklas, *CD II*, pp. 152, 180).

105. P. Skok, "O simbiozi i nestanku starih Romana u Dalmaciji i na Primorju u svijetlu onomastike," *Razprave* (Znanstveno društvo za humanistične vede v Ljubljani) 4, 1928, pp. 25–26, fn. 5. See also K. Jireček, *Romani u gradovima Dalmacije tokom srednjega veka*, in *Zbornik Konstantina Jirečeka* II, Beograd (SAN, Posebna Izdanja 356, Odeljenje društvenih nauka, n.s. 42), 1962, p. 53. Jireček also cites a case from Trogir from 1189, and dates one of the Zadar texts to 1187. He also finds the same usage (*testes Latinos et Sclavos*) in fourteenth-century Dubrovnik. See also two further cases provided above in note 73 of this chapter. I append a few more examples here to show how common the custom was both to list witnesses by national group, as well as to label those from the Croatian entity as "Slavs": witnesses on the part/behalf of the Slavs (Zadar, 1146, Smičiklas, *CD II*, p. 61); witnesses from (among) the Slavs (Zadar, 1166, Smičiklas, *CD II*, p. 107); in the midst of names in a witness list, a text says "and from the Slavs" (*de Sclavis*) and goes on to list more names (Split, 1171, Smičiklas, *CD II*, p. 131); having noted the presence of many men from Slavonia around Knin, a document about a land dispute subsequently goes on to list many Slavs who were present (Zadar, 1172, Smičiklas, *CD II*, p. 132); another land case stated that among the witnesses/jurors there were to be as many Slavs as Latins (Zadar, 1188, Smičiklas, *CD II*, p. 218); a group of witnesses that included many nobles of Zadar and people drawn from among the Slavs, who went to the site of a disputed piece of land (Zadar, 1240, Smičiklas, *CD IV*, 117).

against the Bishop of Trogir.¹⁰⁶ Otherwise, relations between the towns of Šibenik and Trogir were smooth at this time, for in a treaty signed by Šibenik, that town stated that if someone from Slavonia, that is in the kingdom of Hungary—that is, in the banovina of Croatia—shows himself as an enemy of Trogir, the town of Šibenik would consider him an enemy also.¹⁰⁷ In 1275, however, Šibenik lined up with Split against Trogir, and the Hungarian ban reported that the two towns had been joined by the nobles of Slavonia.¹⁰⁸ In 1251 a quarrel was adjudicated by the Bishop of Krbava between representatives of the commune of Rab and a local župan from the mainland opposite named Nemanja (not to be confused with the famous Serb of that name). Nemanja and his relatives were from "Sclavonia."¹⁰⁹ Since Nemanja, as Nada Klaić shows, was from Bužane (or the Buška župa), clearly "Sclavonia" was being used to denote a territory within Croatia. A similar example, involving Rab again, occurred seventeen years later. In 1268 peace was made between the island city and a župan from the family of Černoslav from the mainland after a Rabljanin had killed a member of that family. The agreement was said to be in keeping with the customs and statutes of Rab and also of the law that ruled in "Sclavonia."¹¹⁰

Venice, overlords of Zadar in 1273, approved, though under certain conditions, a specific marriage between a citizen of Zadar and a Slav.¹¹¹ This approval was mandated by a law of 1247 which forbade any inhabitant of Zadar from marrying a Slav (cum aliquo Sclavo) without the express permission of the Venetian authorities.¹¹² The context of this order will be discussed later when we turn to Venice. Here, let us note only that the Slavs in question were almost certainly people from outside Zadar's territory. However, the text's phrasing shows that Venice viewed the Slavs around Zadar simply as "Slavs," and it seems that Zadar shared this terminology. In July 1289 the town reached an agreement with the Ban of Croatia, Paul Šubić, and his brother; subscribing to it were twenty nobles from Zadar and twenty nobles from "Sclavonia," who, as servitors of Šubić, were clearly from Croatia.¹¹³ And in November of that same year a Zadar registry document records a sale of cloth acquired in "Sclavonia."¹¹⁴ An early-thirteenth-century charter from Zadar refers to a schism between "the

106. Cited by A. Šupuk (ed.), *Šibenski glagoljski spomenici*, Zagreb (JAZU), 1957, p. 9.

107. Cited by N. Klaić, *Trogir u srednjem vijeku* II, no. 1, Zagreb, 1985, p. 154.

108. Smičiklas, CD VI, p. 119; N. Klaić, *Trogir*, p. 163.

109. Smičiklas, CD IV, p. 450; N. Klaić, *Vinodol*, p. 60.

110. I. Bojničić [signed as B.] (ed.), "Neki hrvatski župani sklapaju mir sa Rabljani," *Vjestnik Kr. hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog zemaljskog arhiva* 1, no. 2, 1899, p. 121.

111. N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijanom*, p. 58; I. Kukuljević (ed.), "Regesta documentorum," *Starine* (JAZU) 27, 1895, p. 124.

112. K. Jireček, *Romani u gradovima Dalmacije*, p. 111.

113. Smičiklas, CD VI, p. 662; L. Jelić (ed.), "Zadarski bilježnički arkiv," *Vjestnik Kr. hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog zemaljskog arhiva* 2, no. 1, 1900, p. 14.

114. L. Jelić (ed.), "Zadarski bilježnički arkiv," *Vjestnik Kr. hrvatsko . . .* 3, nos. 3-4, 1901, p. 250.

powerful [men] of Slavonia,"¹¹⁵ referring to the power struggle between Prince Domald and Grgur Šubić of Bribir. The Archbishop of Zadar, Nicholas Matafar, who was a native of the city, wrote a manual on the canons and liturgy in the 1350s; in a colophon in the published edition, he describes himself as Archbishop of Zadar in Slavonia (*Archiepiscopi Jadrensis in Sclavonia*).¹¹⁶ Thomas the Archdeacon of Split, as noted, defined the Slavs around Split in the same way. We do find one exception to this generalized terminology of "Slav/Slavonia" in the Zadar register. In November 1289 a citizen of Zadar sold some land in the region of St. Elia to a certain Bratoslav Croatin. Later in the text he is called "Crevatin."¹¹⁷ It is unknown why this individual was identified as a "Croat," unlike his many contemporaries who called themselves or were labeled "Slavs," even though they came from territory under the Ban of Croatia.

The term "Slav" in the previously mentioned marriage law for Zadar and the Split statute of 1312 suggest something more than mere impressions by contemporary urbanites. Legal documents seek to be clear to all who might be faced with their force; does it not suggest, then, that the Slavs being affected called themselves "Slavs"? For if they had, with any frequency, called themselves "Croats," the vagueness of the law's wording would have allowed for all sorts of circumvention. And if the Slavs around Zadar, lying in the center of the former Croatian state, called themselves "Slavs" and not "Croats" in the 1270s, it seems clear that the term "Croat" had not penetrated the consciousness of the Slavic population. Our Bratoslav seems to have been quite exceptional; it is a pity we have no further information about him, but possibly he took the nickname "Croat" to distinguish himself from another Bratoslav known by the marker "Slav." A second law code from the thirteenth century, this one from Koper (Kopar) in Istria, also utilizes this general vocabulary, referring to "Slavic" peasants (*rustici Sclavi*).¹¹⁸ Thus, no more specific definition had come to be applied to these people.

Trogir, while usually calling its own citizens "Trogirani," also tended to see the population outside its walls and in Croatia as "Slavs." In 1264 a certain Dragan of Knin sought to collect a debt registered in Knin from Rados of Trogir. Rados claimed that he had made a trip to Slavonia (in *Sclavoniam*) to pay the debt.¹¹⁹ Whether Rados told the truth or not about the repayment does not concern us, but it is noteworthy that this Trogir merchant, who had considerable dealings

115. Smičiklas, *CD III*, p. 66; N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom*, p. 410. A second text from Zadar (this one from 1181) mentions many noble men of Slavonia (Smičiklas, *CD II*, p. 172).

116. N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom*, p. 219.

117. L. Jelić (ed.), "Zadarski bilježnički arhiv," *Vjestnik Kr. hrvatsko* 3, nos. 3–4, 1901, p. 245.

118. Cited by M. Kos, "O starejši slovanski kolonizaciji v Istri," *Razprave* (Slovenska Akademija Znanosti i Umetnosti) 1, 1950, p. 66.

119. M. Barada (ed.), *Monumenta Traguriensia/Trogirski spomenici I*, no. 1, Zagreb (JAZU, MSHSM 44), 1948, p. 86. The case is discussed in M. Ančić, "Knin u razvijenom i kasnom srednjem vijeku," *Radovi* (Institut JAZU u Zadru) [now entitled *Radovi Zavoda za Povijesne znanosti H[sic]JAZU u Zadru*], 38, 1996, pp. 82–83.

with the Slavic hinterland, saw Knin, the major castle of Croatia, as being in Slavonia. In drawing up an alliance in April 1322 with Paul Šubić to oppose Mladen Šubić, Trogir refers to its troops going out into Slavonia against Mladen, and its ally Paul was referred to as the Lord of Slavonia.¹²⁰ Shortly thereafter Trogir's prince reported to Venice that Ivan Babonić, the Ban of Slavonia (i.e., Slavonia proper in Pannonia), had marched into regions of Slavonia (*partes sclavonie*), here referring to Croatia.¹²¹ And in a document from that summer on its military preparations, the town refers to the "Slavs and other inhabitants of Trogir,"¹²² showing that it did not perceive the Slavs in and around itself as Croats.

A couple of years later, in May 1324, Trogir, instructing some envoys who were to discuss regional affairs with Zadar and Šibenik, states that the citizens of those towns, "as we are, are all Dalmatians."¹²³ This represents an example of the inhabitants of the old Dalmatian towns identifying themselves collectively and choosing the name "Dalmatian" to do so. In 1326 Trogir, discussing the rebellion of Nelipac and George Mihovilović against the King of Hungary, calls them barons of Croatia, but referring generally to them and their followers calls them "Slavs."¹²⁴ The Trogir Statute in one article does mention "Croats" (though accompanying it with "Slavs"), as article 43 of the fifth book (1332) forbids giving loans to or receiving them from "Slavs, Bosnians, and Croats." Possibly the law listed all three names to avoid loopholes. Later on in the same article it bans individuals sending agents to any Slavic nobleman, presumably in the hinterland.¹²⁵ The term "Slav"—though not "Croat"—appears in other articles of the statute. For example, article 4 (of the original 1322 text) says that the prince is not to carry out legal or criminal proceedings against Slavs without the participation of the town council.¹²⁶ Article 5 of the second statute book talks about legal proceedings against foreigners, vagrants, and Slavs.¹²⁷ Thus, even though Trogir could recognize a political entity called "Croatia" (which in connection with the Šubići it called "Slavonia"), the inhabitants of that entity were almost always called "Slavs," not "Croats."

In examining the vocabulary used in these documents by Dalmatian cities under Venetian rule (or by Venice when it oversaw the cities), as Trogir was in the 1320s, we must be aware of the very active correspondence between the cities and their overlord. Not surprisingly, the vocabulary used by one in a report was often repeated by the other in its response. Thus, at times, regardless of which side drafted the document, the choice of vocabulary may have

120. Smičiklas, *CD IX*, p. 61.

121. Cited by F. Šišić, "Miha Madijev de Barbazanis," *Rad (JAZU)* 153, 1903, p. 39.

122. Smičiklas, *CD IX*, p. 67.

123. Smičiklas, *CD IX*, p. 194.

124. Smičiklas, *CD IX*, p. 305.

125. *Statut grada Trogira* (V. Rismondo, ed.), Split (Splitski književni krug), 1988, p. 206.

126. *Statut grada Trogira*, p. 10.

127. *Statut grada Trogira*, p. 71.

originated with the other. This may be particularly true when we move into the fifteenth century. In any case, the vocabulary used by Trogir and Venice in the fourteenth century about the inhabitants of the hinterland and of Croatia followed a very similar pattern.

Church Discussions on Slavonic

The debate over the use of Slavic (or more strictly Slavonic) as opposed to Latin for Church services continued. Bishop Philip of Senj represented the cause of Slavonic at the Council of Lyons in 1248, claiming the Slavic liturgy dated from Saint Jerome, who flourished ca. 400 before the Slavic invasions. Philip referred to the area where this service was in effect, surely centered in his own Senj, as being in Sclavonia. Pope Innocent IV accepted the St. Jerome story, referred to the location where such services were to be held as Sclavonia, and issued a special rescript allowing their practice in the diocese of Senj.¹²⁸

In this context the Benedictine monastery of St. Nicholas in Omišalj on Krk, found itself under Venice after the Venetians conquered the island in 1244. The new rulers imposed a ban on Slavic in the island's churches. As a result, the monks asked the pope to intercede, for as Slavs (Sclavi) they used Slavic letters (sclavicas litteras) and were simply not able to learn Latin. The Benedictines, like the Bishop of Senj, were successful and received a papal decree in their favor in January 1252.¹²⁹ Thus, a Bishop of Senj and Slavic monks from one of the islands in the Gulf of Kvarner saw their territory and "nationality" as Sclavonia and Slavs respectively, rather than as Croatia/Croats.

The Term "Dalmatian" as an Identity

Goldstein draws our attention to Herman from Dalmatia, a twelfth-century philosopher, astronomer, and translator from Arabic into Latin. He had been

128. Smičiklas, CD IV, p. 343; L. Jelić (ed.), *Fontes historici Liturgicae Glagolito-Romanae a XIII ad XIX saeculum*, Veglae (=Krk), 1906, section Fontes . . . XIII saeculi, p. 9.

129. Smičiklas, CD IV, p. 479; L. Jelić, *Fontes historici*, section Fontes . . . XIII saeculi, pp. 9–10; on the Benedictines' appeal to the pope, see N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijanom*, p. 401; see also E. Hercigonja, "Društveni i gospodarski okviri hrvatskog glagoljaštva od 12 do polovine 16 stoljeća," *Croatica* 2, no. 2, 1971, p. 35. For more on the Senj appeal, see V. Novak, "Paleografija i slovensko-latinska simbioza od VII–XV stoljeća," *Istorijski časopis* 7, 1957, p. 6. Though the origin of this role for St. Jerome may pre-date the thirteenth century, from that time on we find a number of texts expressing the belief that St. Jerome was the creator of Slavic letters. Others from the late medieval period correctly cast St. Constantine/Cyril in this role. One figure, Vinko Pribojević from the 1520s, expressed both views in different places in the same text. V. Novak plausibly argues that these two views need not have been contradictory, but that those expressing them saw Jerome as the creator of Glagolitic, and Cyril of Cyrillic. (V. Novak, "Paleografija," pp. 12–13.) I shall return to this issue in the fifteenth century later in this chapter, and, for the Renaissance, in chapter 4. Also for Pribojević in general, see the discussion in chapter 4.

born in Dalmatia (according to Katičić, somewhere in northern Istria) and then emigrated to make his career in southern France and Spain. He wrote under the name Dalmata Slavus, and sometimes called himself simply "the Dalmatian."¹³⁰ Thus, he felt strongly enough about his original homeland to base his *nom de plume* on it, and it is interesting that he identified with Dalmatia and with Slavs, but not Croats.

Documents frequently also use the term "Dalmatia" to specify the region in which the coastal cities lay. For example, the King of Hungary in 1360 located Zadar in the region of Dalmatia,¹³¹ as did the Zadar town council in 1366¹³² and two canons from Trogir, regulating Church property in the Trogir-Split region in the same year.¹³³ In the course of this volume, we shall continue to encounter many other examples of "Dalmatia" as the regional name used by both locals and foreigners and even further examples of "Dalmatian" as an identity.

Dubrovnik's Terminology

Dubrovnik, like Split, also used this general terminology. Dinić, for example, found an early-fourteenth-century reference to a "Slav priest" (*presbyter slavicus*) ministering in the surroundings of Dubrovnik.¹³⁴ He was almost certainly an Orthodox priest serving Slavs (nationally undefined) beyond the walls, for the Ragusan authorities did not tolerate Orthodoxy within the city's walls. This is made clear in its 1272 statutes (bk. 3, chap. 17) which, in announcing its ban, utilizes the same terminology of "Slavic priests from Slavonia" (*preter Sclavos de Sclavonia*).¹³⁵

The treaty concluded in 1186 between Dubrovnik and Stefan Nemanja, of the newly revived Serbia (*Raška*), grants the "Slavs" of the hinterland of Dubrovnik the right to move freely in and through the territory of Dubrovnik.¹³⁶ Thus, the Slavs living in and around Dubrovnik had acquired

130. I. Goldstein, *Hrvatski*, p. 449. On the name "Dalmatinac," Goldstein has him "affirming the Dalmatian (and thus the Croatian) name in Europe of that time." How he makes the extension to "Croatian" baffles me. For more on this figure, see R. Katičić, "Korijeni i pretpostavke hrvatske renesansne književnosti" [1979], in R. Bogišić, et al., *Izabrana djela*, Zagreb, 1984, p. 420; I. Ostojić, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj i ostalim našim krajevima* I, Split, 1963, p. 167.

131. Smičiklas, *CD XIII*, p. 86.

132. Smičiklas, *CD XIII*, p. 520.

133. Smičiklas, *CD XIII*, p. 516.

134. Cited by G. Čremošnik, "Postanak i razvoj srpske ili hrvatske kancelarije u Dubrovniku," *Anali Historijskoj instituta [JAZU] u Dubrovniku* 1, 1952, p. 79. A couple dozen references (usually with their names) to Slavic priests (*presbyter sclavicus*) in and around Dubrovnik can be found in A. Liepopili, "Slovensko bogoslužje u Dubrovniku," *Rad (JAZU)* 220, 1919, e.g., pp. 40–41, 44, 46–47.

135. V. Bogišić & C. Jireček (eds.), *Liber statutorum civitatis Ragusii compositus anno 1272*, Zagreb (JAZU, MH-JSM 9), 1904, p. 64.

136. Smičiklas, *CD II*, pp. 201–2; N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijanom*, pp. 78–79.

no specific name to define themselves. Moreover, the town's hinterland was generally referred to as "Sclavonia."

This conclusion is clearly supported by the town's 1272 statutes, which have several articles on Ragusan conflicts with foreigners: One article (bk. 3, chap. 50) mentions men from Šibenik, Trogir, Dalmisio, Split, and Hvar, and adds "other lordships/states of Slavonia" (de aliqua signoria Sclavonie). The following article (chap. 51) speaks about relations with Hum (Chelmo), whose people are called "Slavs" (aliquem Sclavum de Chelmo). Chapter 56 deals with relations between Dubrovnik and the lord of Slavonia (dominus Sclavonie), who turns out in the given article to be several lords: the King of Raška/Serbia, the Ban of Bosnia, and the counts of Hum and Zeta (present-day Montenegro). The next article simply talks about a Ragusan's dealings with a Slav (Sclavos), presumably considering Slavs in the vicinity, not subject to the four lords in chapter 56. It is worth noting that Zadar is distinguished from the above entities, receiving an entry in its own right (chap. 49). In book 8, chapters 50 and 51 prohibit Ragusans from selling, donating, or renting boats to Slavs (Sclavi), who might well use them for piracy against ships conveying merchandise to Dubrovnik (bk. 8, chap. 56; bk. 6, chaps. 72–73). Presumably, "Slavs" relevant to a prohibition on leasing boats would have known how to sail them and thus would have been Dalmatians or Neretljani. Chapter 73 (of bk. 8) deals with what clearly could have been a serious cause of conflict among hot-headed shepherds, Ragusans grazing animals in Sclavonia and Slavs in Ragusan territory. In this case, the Slavs/Slavonia in question must have resided/lain in the vicinity of Dubrovnik. Article 98 of the same book pertains to an agreement with Venice, which mentions Dubrovnik's rights in activities around Zadar and the Gulf of Kvarner, which are described as being in "Slavonia."¹³⁷ It is clear that the town fathers of Dubrovnik regarded the Slavs in Dalmatia all the way up to Zadar and the Gulf of Kvarner simply as "Slavs"; none in that area were called "Croats." Dubrovnik could also speak of "Dalmatians"; for example, book 3, chapter 19 deals with disputes between a Ragusan and a Dalmatian.¹³⁸ In this case the law is distinguishing between Ragusans and Dalmatians. We shall see, however, that on other occasions Ragusans could and did consider their city part of Dalmatia. Krekić also cites a subsequent law requiring a Ragusan or foreigner buying a slave in Dubrovnik from a Slav to pay a particular customs fee.¹³⁹

Dužanka Dinić-Knežević provides several more examples, drawn from various council decisions, of the terminology that indicates Ragusan conceptions of the town's neighbors. In 1303 the Small Council declared that Slavs who

137. V. Bogišić & C. Jireček (eds.), *Liber statutorum civitatis Ragusii*, pp. 75–80, 193–94, 197, 211, 228.

138. V. Bogišić & C. Jireček (eds.), *Liber statutorum civitatis Ragusii*, p. 64.

139. Cited by B. Krekić, "Contributions of Foreigners to Dubrovnik's Economic Growth in the Late Middle Ages," *Viator* 9, 1976, p. 384.

sought to immigrate to the town or district needed to find someone to guarantee that they would remain at least five years and pay rent to the community. That same year there were food shortages in the region, and a council allowed those importing grain to the region to set aside a quarter to sell to the Slavs. In a second lean year, 1319, the Small Council decreed that Slavs who in the course of the previous year had come to the town or district could receive shares of the grain distributed by the town only if the Slavs provided good evidence that they intended to stay in the town for at least five years. Obviously, many rural people had come to the town in this time of difficulty, for later that same year the Great Council discussed the expulsion from town of all useless (unemployed) Slavs who had immigrated in large numbers owing to the famine. In 1348, to prevent such an influx in another famine, the town chose four captains to guard the town from neighboring Slavs seeking refuge. In 1336 the Small Council forbade its citizens to hire Slavs who lived in the surrounding area to work their lands. In 1378 it was decreed that inhabitants of the district should not receive Slavs into their homes, and if they had already done so they had three days to evict them. Shortly thereafter, three citizens were appointed to investigate those who had arrived from regions of Slavonia and expel those who were unemployed. A few months later the captains responsible for the defense of the town were ordered to expel the Slavs who were continually coming into the town and to prevent the arrival of new ones. The town, though concerned about the influx of the hungry, was willing to give asylum to those fleeing from war zones, and in 1382 a council decreed that all Slavs who wanted to enter the town because of fear of war should be admitted. However, that same year the Small Council forbade ship owners from bringing any poor Slav or Vlach into the town.¹⁴⁰

A quick scan of published documents from Dubrovnik's archives on the region from where slaves and apprentices were drawn and/or whither they fled when dissatisfied, finds at least five cases referring to the region as Sclavonia.¹⁴¹

In 1235 Dubrovnik renewed a peace with the Neretva Kačići of the Slavs (Sclavorum Cazichorum).¹⁴² In 1292, in a treaty between Dubrovnik and Ancona, Dubrovnik granted Ancona duty-free trade of goods that originated in "Sciauonia";¹⁴³ the Slavic territory defined here probably was broader than just Dubrovnik's own hinterland and may well have included Bosnia and much else

140. Cited by D. Dinić-Knežević, "Migracije stanovništva iz bližeg zaledja u Dubrovniku u XIV veku," *Jugoslavenski istorijski časopis* 13, nos. 1–2, 1974, pp. 34–37.

141. *Monumenta historica Ragusina* IV (Spisi dubrovačke kancelarije: zapisi notara Andrije Beneše, 1295–1301), (J. Lučić, ed.) Zagreb, 1993, document nos. 189, 227, 337, 447. If one counts Bileća as being in the environs of Dubrovnik, then also, M. Dinić (ed.), *Iz dubrovačkog arhiva* III, Beograd (SAN, Zbornik za istoriju, jezik i književnost srpskog naroda, 3rd odeljenje 22), 1967, no. 233.

142. N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom*, p. 245.

143. Smičiklas, CD VII, pp. 85–89; N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom*, pp. 141–42.

besides. But once again it shows a tendency to throw Slavs far and near into a catch-all category of lesser importance, for that is how the urban elites of all the old cities perceived them. In a treaty of 1236, when Dubrovnik again submitted to Venice, it received assurances that goods from Sklavonia (presumably the whole Slavic interior, possibly even including Bosnia and Serbia) would have no duties.¹⁴⁴ Things did not change in the fourteenth century: in 1318 and 1319 we find discussions about duties on skins Dubrovnik had procured from Slavonia and was exporting to Venice;¹⁴⁵ we see the same terminology in two texts from 1372, one a trade treaty with Ancona, the other a list of customs' fees for merchants from that city. The first has several references to merchandise exported from Slavonia (Schiavine) or imported to Dubrovnik or "other regions of Slavonia" (ad altre parte de la Schiavinia),¹⁴⁶ while the second refers to the sale or transport of goods to and from various places that include "the coast of Slavonia" (ripa Sclavonie) down to Durazzo, sales in Dubrovnik and its Slavic district (in eius districtu Sclavis), and to mercantile transactions with Ragusans or Slavs (Sclavi).¹⁴⁷ Princes to the north tended to use a more politically oriented vocabulary. Thus, when Mladen Šubić of Bribir expanded his holdings, not only through a broad area of Croatia but also into Bosnia, he granted to all merchants from Split the freedom to travel, buy, and sell in his holdings of Croatia and Bosnia.¹⁴⁸

The Ragusan historian Junije Resti (1671–1735), making use of archival documents, reports a destructive fire in Dubrovnik in 1296; it so traumatized some of the city's inhabitants that they wanted to abandon Dubrovnik and move to various villages in the area. But wiser heads prevailed who pointed out to the fearful that if they moved to the neighboring villages, the Slavs, always restless and hostile, would fall upon them.¹⁴⁹

In the 1350s and 1360s Ragusan documents contain several references to "Slavic land" outside the town, some of which was being procured by the town and proclaimed "communal land." Ownership of some of this land became an issue for the courts in 1362 and 1363 when certain individuals challenged this categorization and claimed pieces of it as their own private property.¹⁵⁰ This is merely a small sampling from the countless references to "Slavs" and "Slavonia" from surviving Ragusan documents.¹⁵¹

144. N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 126.

145. V. Foretić, *Povijest Dubrovnika do 1808 I*, Zagreb, 1980, p. 69.

146. Smičiklas, CD XIV, pp. 449–50.

147. Smičiklas, CD XIV, pp. 473–74.

148. N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 177.

149. Cited by L. Vojnović, "Dubrovačko-gruške prodaje kuća i ulice staroga Dubrovnika (XIV–XVII vijeka)," *Rad (JAZU)* 196, 1913, p. 113.

150. V. Foretić, *Povijest Dubrovnika . . . I*, pp. 303–4.

151. For example, I have not cited any of the several dozen references to Slavs and Slavonia found in A. Solovjev (ed.), *Knjiga svih reformacija grada Dubrovnika*, vol. I of *Dubrovački zakoni i*

We also find, in Dubrovnik's historiography prior to 1500, that the city's neighbors and its own Slavic element are simply called "Slavs." Josip Lučić has shown that the earlier city of Epidaurus, if it was not destroyed—as it was in some accounts—by Saracens, was destroyed by "Slavs." If the old Romans were not the sole founders of the revived city of Dubrovnik, they were joined by "Slavs," as is pointed out by both a fifteenth-century anonymous chronicler and the chronicle of Nicholas Ragnina. They also both note that the name "Dubrovnik" is derived from Dubrava (oak forest) "in the Slavic language." The historian Ludovik Cerva Tuberon (1429–1527) referred to some territory in Dubrovnik's hinterland as "Slavic land." Local historians at this time were becoming interested in how Dubrovnik procured the Slavic district of Astarea and the island of Elafita. It was generally accepted that this procurement was granted by a Slavic ruler. Those who wanted to be more specific (like Nicholas Ragnina and the anonymous chronicler, who took into consideration the recent extension of the Bosnian state to the town's borders) made it a Bosnian king and even gave him a name and date, King Stephan in 817.¹⁵² Needless to say, this figure was entirely made up.

A Brief Byzantine Interlude (1143–80)

The Byzantines in the mid-twelfth century began to reassert themselves briefly in the western Balkans and from the mid-1160s to shortly after 1180 gained at least nominal control over the whole region after a series of wars with Hungary. Thomas the Archdeacon reports that all of Dalmatia and almost all of Croatia were under the authority of the Emperor Manuel I (1143–1180). Manuel sent his deputies and troops, and they administered the coastal towns and a good part of Croatia.¹⁵³ This is confirmed by the Byzantine historian John Kinnamos, who reports that in 1168 a general, John Ducas, marched through the Serb provinces and reached Dalmatia. There he attacked the Kačići and then Duklja. In his brief description Kinnamos mentions Dalmatia, Serb provinces, the Kačići, Duklja (presented as a city), and

uredbe, Beograd (SKA, Zbornik za istoriju, jezik i književnosti srpskog naroda, 3rd odelj. 6), 1936. See also, for example, I. Kukuljević (ed.), "Regesta documentorum," *Starine* (JAZU) 26, 1893: a letter from 1252 by an Archbishop of Dubrovnik mentioning J. de Cereva, whose surname is given in Slavic form (Junius de Cereva nomine Sclavae eum) and the prelate of Bar demonstrating his supervision of the Slavs (procuracionem Sclavae) (p. 217); a Venetian-Ragusan pact, also from 1252, mentioning "goods of Slavonia" (p. 219); and in *Starine* 27, 1895: another Venetian-Ragusan agreement (this one from 1279) mentioning "whatever lord of Slavonia" and "whatever lord or official of Slavonia" (p. 163). See also V. Makušev & M. Šufflay (eds.), "Isprave za odnošaj Dubrovnika prema Veneciji," *Starine* (JAZU) 30, 1902: a 1292 Venetian-Ragusan agreement discussing payment of goods from Slavonia (p. 340).

152. For this historiographical material, see J. Lučić, "Podaci o doseljenu Slavena u starijoj dubrovačkoj historiografiji," in N. Budak (ed.), *Etnogeneza Hrvata*, Zagreb, 1995, pp. 79–82.

153. N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 95.

several Dalmatian towns by name, but never the name "Croatia."¹⁵⁴ Manuel then set up two provinces, one in the north ruled in the name of the emperor by Dux Constantine Sebastus (Sevast Constantine) which included the entire kingdom of "Dalmacie et Croacie," and a second in the south under a "Dux Dalmacie et Dioclea" (Duklja).¹⁵⁵ Dux Constantine is also referred to in a charter issued in Split, which states that "over our city of Split and the whole of the kingdom of Dalmatia and Croatia rules Constantine Sebasto."¹⁵⁶ Another Byzantine dux was known as Roger "Sclavone." We have a Latin text (published by the seventeenth-century historian Lucius) of a letter, certainly written in Greek, by Emperor Manuel to his deputy in Dalmatia, which addresses him as "Rogerius Sclavoni." He was certainly a Norman, so the nickname probably arose from his appointment rather than place of origin.¹⁵⁷ More often, scholars have cited a grant that Roger issued to Split in 1180 in which he calls himself "Duke of Slavonia" (Sclavone ducas).¹⁵⁸ But in any case, whether Roger be Roger the Slav or the Duke of Slavonia, "Slav/Slavonia" was chosen over "Dalmatian" or "Croatian," which reflects how Roger, his colleagues, and possibly his subjects viewed the area under his jurisdiction.

Right after Manuel's death, Byzantium, at war with Venice and faced with difficulties at home, raised no objection to Hungary's reoccupation of the empire's holdings in Slavonia, Srem, and the Dalmatian coast. Hungary's recovery of this territory was announced in Zadar in 1181, when the city took cognisance that the Hungarian Count Palatine had arrived in Dalmatia to take command accompanied by many noblemen of "Slavonia," presumably referring at least in part to the nobles from Croatia.¹⁵⁹

The Arab Geographer Idrīsī

At roughly this time an Arab geographer residing at the royal court in Sicily named Idrīsī described the situation in this area in a text dating from 1153–54. He calls Dubrovnik "the last town in Croatia (Horwasia)." Thus, he extends Croatia from the north at Bakar in Vinodol, considerably beyond the Cetina and Neretva rivers. He also places in Croatia the islands of Cres, Rab, and Pag in the Gulf of Kvarner. If accurate, it suggests that the Emperor Manuel, in

154. John Kinnamos, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus* (C. Brand, ed. & trans.), New York, 1976, p. 187.

155. V. Klaić, *Hrvati i Hrvatska*, p. 36.

156. V. Klaić, *Hrvati i Hrvatska*, pp. 36–37, n. 43.

157. P. Magdalino, *The Empire of Manuel I Komnenos, 1143–1180*, Cambridge (UK), 1993, p. 223; text, Smičiklas, CD II, p. 165.

158. For example, V. Klaić, *Slavonija od X do XIII stoljeća*, Zagreb, 1882, p. 3; text, Smičiklas, CD II, p. 166.

159. Cited by N. Klaić, *Trogir*, p. 71.

dividing Dalmatia, extended the northern province to the south as far as Dubrovnik. Idrīsi places the territory below Dubrovnik, including Kotor, in the province of Slavonia (Isglawonia).¹⁶⁰ So, Idrīsi too uses this general term, though associating it with southern Dalmatia; Idrīsi's terminology is in accord with the terms used at that time for what is now Montenegro, for the term "Slavic/Slavonia" was regularly applied to that region and to the state of Duklja there. In fact we saw Raymond of Aguilers calling the ruler of Duklja, whom he found in Skadar, the Slavic king.

In terms of people settled there, Idrīsi notes Dalmatians, Slavs, and Laodacians; the last term refers to Albanians, since for him the Laodacians were the majority of the population of Ulcinj, even though he calls Ulcinj "a town in Slavonia." He has Slavs as the main inhabitants of Senj and Bar; thus, he too saw the proto-Serbo-Croatians as "Slavs," and reports that the populations of Zadar, Trogir, Split, Dubrovnik, and Kotor were Dalmatians, which has led Foretić to conclude that by a "Dalmatian" Idrīsi meant a Roman or Italian.¹⁶¹ Other writers, as we have seen and shall continue to see, used the term "Dalmatian" geographically and included under it anyone who lived there, whether a Roman or a Slav.

Smaller Regional Identities

Besides identifying themselves with large regions—Slavonia, Dalmatia, Croatia—people also identified with smaller regions within those large territories. We have already noted the civic identities along the Dalmatian coast. The most interesting regional reference was discovered by Vjekoslav Klaić, and is surprising both for its apparent ethnic nature and its early date, 1194. The document in question contains a list of noble witnesses among whom were Vratco and Ureneiz of the Hlivno people (Chlevliani nationem). The term "nation/people," as we immediately see, did not designate the whole population of the county of Hlivno/Livno but rather its leading family or tribe, who, as Klaić suggests, called themselves the Hlivljani. "Nation" in this document refers to tribe/family, as is shown by the fact that two other witnesses, who were members of the twelve recognized Croat noble families, also were labeled as being of or belonging to "nations" (Ugrinez Gusiki [Gušić] natione, . . . et Luboscus nationem Lapciani). It is interesting to find such an ethnically suggestive term used by a clan of mountaineers and two other backwoods nobles, even if the term bore the meaning of tribe/clan, at a time when the word "nation" was virtually absent in the whole area, including its urban centers. A second charter from this period (from 1207) preserves the regional identity

160. V. Klaić, *Hrvati i Hrvatska*, p. 37. See also N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom*, pp. 370–72.

161. V. Foretić, *Povijest Dubrovnika I*, p. 34.

label, but with “nation” omitted; this text simply calls them the Hliviljani or Hlivilnans (Chlevnanini).¹⁶²

Hauptmann has found two other examples from this period of the term for a people being used for a clan or tribe. He cites the Byzantine historian Kinnamos, who, in an entry under the year 1166, calls the Kačići a “nation” (to Katzikion ethnos). It is unknown whether this is a local perception Kinnamos adopts or his own manner of description. A second example from 1201 has the Lapčani clan being called a “nation.” Hauptmann also notes two nobles of Zadar listed in 1199 as being of the Zadar people, or possibly better, of the nobility (natione Jadrenses), and a lector of the Tuscan nation (natione Tuscus) with Florence as his fatherland (patria).¹⁶³ This final example, unlike the others, calls the people of a region a “nation,” which is akin to what we shall find in the early-modern period, while “patria” can still be attached to a territorial unit as small as a city.

Another example of local identity can be seen in the famous Vinodol Law Code of 1288. It refers to those under its jurisdiction as the people of Vinodol (ludi Vinodolski).¹⁶⁴ Needless to say, this statement is not suggesting an ethnicity or a people who are Vinodolians, but rather members of a political unit, those who were under the jurisdiction of the code. The “Miracles of St. Christopher,” discussed earlier, was written or compiled by Bishop Juraj of Rab in 1308. The text describes three miracles, all of which took place in the eleventh century, when the saint’s relics saved the city from various attacks. The first miracle occurred during the episcopate of a certain Bishop Domanus, whom Juraj describes as being of Osorian nationality (natione Absarensis), that is, from the town of Osor on the island of Cres.¹⁶⁵ Again, this probably should not be considered an ethnic identity, even if Bishop Domanus retained a degree of Osorian patriotism, but a geographical one, reflecting his place of origin.

Miha Mandijević, a chronicler from Split, in his “De gestis romanorum imperatorum et summorum pontificum,” mentions that in crises the Šubići of Bribir had regularly relied upon the Vlachs and Poljičani (people of the region of Poljica).¹⁶⁶ The Poljičani were overwhelmingly pastoral, divided up, as were

162. V. Klaić, “Gradja za topografiju i historiju hliviljske županije i grada Hlivilna,” *Vjesnik Hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva* n.s. 15, 1928, p. 24. More on the 1194 document appears in Lj. Hauptmann, “Podrijetlo hrvatskoga plemstva,” *Rad (JAZU)*, 273 1942, pp. 109–10, fn. 138. For the 1194 text, see Smičiklas, CD II, p. 268.

163. Lj. Hauptmann, “Podrijetlo,” pp. 109–10, fns. 137–38.

164. *Vinodolski zakon 1288* (J. Bratulić, ed.), Zagreb, 1988, p. 70.

165. L. Margetić, “O napadačima iz prvog čuda legende o sv. Krištoforu,” *Jadranski zbornik* 10, 1978, p. 105.

166. N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 183. On the social organization of Poljica in the Middle Ages, see N. Klaić, “Društvo u srednjovjekovnoj Hrvatskoj s posebnim obzirom na njegov razvitak u Cetinskoj krajini,” in Ž. Rapanić (ed.), *Cetinska krajina od prethistorije do dolaska Turaka*, Split (Hrvatsko arheološko društvo, izdanja 8), 1984, pp. 265–71.

the Vlachs, according to clan; holding annual assemblies, they managed their local affairs according to custom. They most certainly identified as Poljičani and derived their privileged autonomy from that identity. Though not an ethnic identity, one could well argue from what will be seen about these people in the early-modern period, that their identity as "Poljičani" would almost certainly take precedence over any ethnic identity that might be advanced in their region.

Venice's Terminology

Byzantine rule faded rapidly after Manuel's death. Hungary returned to its former role, but found itself strongly challenged by Venice in Dalmatia. The towns there continued to see themselves as autonomous entities, and in 1188 Zadar concluded a peace with Pisa. The Prior of Zadar referred to himself not only as prince of the town but also added "princeps" of Dalmatia,¹⁶⁷ shades of Zadar's former position as capital in the ninth and tenth century of the Byzantine theme of Dalmatia (i.e., the Byzantine walled cities).

The Venetians were angry at the Hungarian recovery of Zadar in 1180 and reconquered it in 1202 by utilizing the knights of the Fourth Crusade. Villehardouin, a crusader, reports that the Venetians told them, "The King of Hungary has taken from us Zara [Zadar] in Sclavonia." Like Venice and the earlier crusaders, Villehardouin continues to see the area in this way in his description of events: he has the crusaders arrive before Zadar in Sclavonia on St. Martin's Eve. Then the following spring after the crusaders had taken the city, he reports that "[a]nother company escaped [from continuing on the crusade] by land, and thought to pass through Sclavonia; and the peasants of that land fell upon them, and killed many. . . ."¹⁶⁸ Shortly thereafter, in 1208, the Venetians in assigning property around Osor (and on some small isles nearby) refer to the property as being in Slavonia.¹⁶⁹

The Venetians also continued to regularly call the political entity of Croatia "Slavonia" and the inhabitants of the whole area, "Slavs." In 1262 the Venetians praised the "Slavs and Latins" on the island of Korčula for submitting to the prince Venice had sent.¹⁷⁰ And in 1267 a pirate, Dragan from Omiš, managed to capture a Venetian official somewhere "in the waters of Sclavonia."¹⁷¹ During that same decade a Venetian named Nicola Blondo was robbed in "Slavic waters," while at roughly the same time another pirate, Petar the Slav of Zadar (Sclaf de Jadre), captured a Genoese galley off the

167. N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 100.

168. G. Villehardouin & De Joinville, *Memoirs of the Crusades* (F. Marzials, ed. & trans.), New York (Dutton paperback ed.), 1958, pp. 16, 19, 25.

169. S. Ljubić (ed.), *Listine* (henceforth, Ljubić, *Listine*) I, Zagreb, 1868, pp. 24–25.

170. Smičklas, *CD V*, p. 237; N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenoj*, p. 83.

171. Smičklas, *CD V*, p. 420; cited by V. Klaić, *Opis zemalja II*, p. 130.

coast of Ancona.¹⁷² In April 1307 Venice issued an order that its citizens “not export goods procured in Istria and Slavonia wherever they liked, but only to Venice.”¹⁷³

We saw earlier, in the section on the Dalmatian cities, that in 1273 Venice approved under specific conditions a particular marriage between a citizen of Zadar and a “Slav.” On the same day that this approval was given, a general ban on marriages between Zadar citizens and Slavs (*cum sclavis*) was reissued.¹⁷⁴ Since much of the population of Zadar was Slavic, it seems the law must have been directed at those Slavs who were not Zadar citizens, either those living under Hungary in Croatia or transients from there. Questions of loyalty and property were of great concern to Venice, particularly since Zadar, unhappy to be under Venice, revolted frequently, sometimes with the support of nobles from Croatia. Presumably this law was directed at people from Zadar who had ties to Croatia’s nobility. Therefore, it is significant that, with that concern in mind, the term “Slav” was used rather than what we would think of as the more relevant term “Croatian.”

In addition, Nada Klaić has shown there was much contact and movement between Zadar and the Slavs from the hinterland. In fact she shows that not only did many of these people settle in the city, but they even included people from the elite of Croatia, some of whom became aristocrats in Zadar and retained lands in Croatia. Such people were fairly rapidly integrated into Zadar society, but when they were still new arrivals, where would their loyalty have lain? This was a particularly important issue at those times when Hungary was asserting itself in the area, and enrolling in its cause the Slavic/Croatian nobles in the nearby interior. This was the context in which Venice issued its ban on marriages between a Zadranin and a Slav (*cum Sclavis*) without the permission of the doge, as well as legislating in 1273 that a girl from Zadar could marry a Slav (*Sclavus*) only if she brought no landed dowry with her and had approval from a series of Venetian authorities, and, if approval was given, she was banned from inheriting property from her Zadar father.¹⁷⁵ Given the context, I think it is clear that these laws that speak only of “Slavs” and do not specify their specific origin are directed at Slavs from Croatia. A similar worry was expressed by Venice in 1290 when it cautioned Zadar about entering into relations with Split, if Split had a prince from Sclavonia, clearly referring to a prince drawn from the nobility

172. For Blondo, see N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom*, p. 489, and I. Kukuljević (ed.), “Regesta documentorum,” *Starine* (JAZU) 27, 1895, p. 78; for Petar the Slav see, K. Jireček, *Romani u gradovima Dalmacije*, p. 336.

173. V. Makušev & M. Šufflay, “Isprave za odnošaj Dubrovnika prema Veneciji,” *Starine* (JAZU) 30, 1902, p. 345.

174. Ljubić, *Listine* I, pp. 106–7.

175. Ljubić, *Listine* I, pp. 70, 104. Discussed in N. Klaić & I. Petricoli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku do 1409*, Zadar, 1976, pp. 190, 205, 209.

of Croatia.¹⁷⁶ One other reference from Venice, again focusing on these Zadar-Slavic relations, is worth noting here for its vocabulary: in 1411 Venice allowed Zadar citizens to buy land in Sclavonia.¹⁷⁷

In the years that followed, Venice continued to worry about ties between Zadar and the hinterland of Croatia. In 1424, the Venetian government ordered its rector in Zadar to forbid the local aristocracy from having "Slavic" wives or concubines. In 1428 the rector was ordered to dismiss all "Slavs" from the Zadar garrison, and the town was forbidden to accept into the garrison any peasants, surely meaning peasants from Croatia.¹⁷⁸ Similar concerns were still being voiced in 1451, when Venice, worried about a possible Hungarian attack on Vrana, ordered all foot-soldiers who had Slavic wives (*uxores sclavas*) to be expelled from the Vrana fortress and replaced.¹⁷⁹ From the context of these orders, the term "Slav" in these cases has to mean people from territory under the Ban of Croatia.

In 1323 Venice noted, in reference to certain nobles from Croatia, that an alliance had been created by the "Slavs" against the Hungarian king, Charles Robert.¹⁸⁰ A decade later, in 1332, worrying about Hungary and its allies among certain nobles in the Croatian banovina, Venice convoked a conference and formed a short-lived alliance with the powerful nobleman Nelipac, whose main fortress was Knin, and with three Dalmatian towns, Split, Trogir, and Šibenik. Each city was to contribute a specified number of soldiers, who could be used by Venice to fight only in Sclavonia, which here clearly referred to the Croatian banovina.¹⁸¹ In 1357, in a document reassigning the vessels of its fleet, Venice refers to ships in Slavonia being sent to Istria and other lands of Slavonia.¹⁸²

Vinko Foretić and Neven Budak in separate works have studied commercial interactions between Venetians and people from Croatia and Dalmatia. Their research unveiled, for example: a merchant named Michaelus Sclavus who in 1173 was involved in a trading partnership with an Italian; a certain slave named Bratemira, of Slavic origin, who was sold to the Bishop of Chioggia in 1199; a trade agreement from 1200 among Venetian merchants to cross the Adriatic and operate "in Sclavinie partibus"; trade and credit documents from 1206 to 1226 regarding a certain merchant's activities in Zadar and all of Slavonia; and an entrepreneur freebooter named Dominicus Sclavo, who in 1296 led three galleys in an attack upon Genoa and four years later bore the

176. Cited by N. Klaić, *Trogir*, p. 173.

177. N. Klaić & I. Petricoli, *Zadar*, p. 411.

178. Cited by S. Antoljak (ed.), "Zadarski katastik 15 stoljeća," *Starine* (JAZU) 42, 1949, p.

373. His source is Ljubić, *Listine* VIII, pp. 126, 136.

179. V. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata* III, p. 299.

180. Cited by F. Šišić, "Miha Madijev de Barbazanis," pp. 40–41.

181. Smičklas, *CD* X, p. 7; V. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata* II, p. 74.

182. Ljubić, *Listine* V, p. 316.

title of captain.¹⁸³ But their most interesting case concerned a slave named Dobramir, who in 1125 was freed by a wealthy Venetian named Peter Stanjari and given a liberation gift of five pounds of gold. Dobramir, most unusually, was identified as of “Croatian origin” (ex genere Hgroaticorum), rather than as a Slav; Budak notes that all other people like him without exception were called “Slavs” in Venetian sources. Budak wonders whether he could have been a captive who belonged to one of the twelve noble families of Croatia. Dobramir remained in Venice engaging in business, at times with his former master. In his business dealings, he sometimes attached the nickname “Dalmatian” to his name; there were to be no further references to his being a “Croatian.” His son joined him in his commercial affairs and was also called “Dalmatian” at times, but the son also added the surname of his father’s former owner, and in the third generation the family had dropped any recognition of Dalmatia, and simply went with this Italian surname of Stanjari.¹⁸⁴

Cathar and International Catholic Terminology

An interesting usage of the general term “Slavonia,” rather than “Croatia” or “Dalmatia,” is found among the dualist (Cathar) heretics. In 1250 the inquisitor Rainer Sacchoni listed the sixteen Cathar Churches he knew of, which included a Church of Sclavonia.¹⁸⁵ This Church was almost certainly to be found in the cities of Dalmatia, for in the thirteenth century heretics are mentioned in Zadar and Split. “Sclavonia” here seems to have been a general term encompassing several cities, for if only one city had been intended, then, presumably, its heretics would have been referred to by that city’s name as was commonly done in Italy. Interestingly, even though those cities were Latin in character, their location was given as Slavonia; presumably the large Slavic population in and around the towns was the source of the name “Sclavonia” in this case.

The Catholic Church continued to employ its time-honored vocabulary. Pope Alexander III in 1177 sent a legate to “Slavonia” to settle a dispute between the churches of Split and Zadar. He also sent a letter in 1180 to the clergy and people of “Dalmatia and all Slavonia” (per Dalmatiam et total Sclavoniam).¹⁸⁶ Pope Urban III in 1186, confirming some Templar estates in the Dio-

183. V. Foretić, “Hrvat Dobramir i još neki naši ljudi kao pomorski privrednici u Mlecima u 12 i 13 stoljeću,” *Pomorski zbornik* 1, 1963, pp. 400–404; N. Budak, “Kako je hrvatski rob mogao postati mletački patricij ili neke vijesti o ranim hrvatsko-mletačkim trgovačkim i drugim vezama (11–13 st.),” in [Lj. Boban], *Spomenica Ljube Bobana*, Zagreb, 1996, pp. 74–76, 77 (fn. 26), 79.

184. V. Foretić, “Hrvat Dobramir,” pp. 404–10; N. Budak, “Kako je hrvatski rob,” pp. 79–81, 84.

185. A. Dondaine (ed.), *Un traité neo-manichéen du XIII siècle: Le Liber de duobus principiis*, Rome, 1939, pp. 64–78. On this dualist Church, see also J. Fine, *The Bosnian Church: A New Interpretation*, Boulder & New York (East European Monographs, vol. 10), 1975, pp. 55, 118–21.

186. 1177 reference, Smičiklas, CD II, p. 147; 1180 event provided by I. Mužić, *Podrijetlo Hrvata: Autohtonost u hrvatskoj etnogenezi na tlu rimske provincije Dalmacije*, Zagreb, 1989, p. 114.

cese of Nin, referred to the land as lying in Slavonia.¹⁸⁷ In 1189 Pope Clement III, presumably in the interests of the reform movement, sent Odo of Novara to Zadar "in Sclavonia."¹⁸⁸ Pope Honorius III wrote Split in 1221 about the problem of pirates, whom he calls "Slavs and Dalmatians."¹⁸⁹ He was concerned with the Kačići from Omiš. In 1255 Pope Alexander IV referred to the Church of Šibenik as being in Slavonia.¹⁹⁰ In 1300 Peter, Abbot of St. Stephen's "of Slavonia" (de Sclavonia), received permission to import some grain from southern Italy. Ostojić locates this monastery at Sustjepan near Split.¹⁹¹ A document from the time of Pope John XXII (1316–34) mentions the Church taxes due from a monastery in Senj, referred to as St. George's "in Sclavonia."¹⁹²

In the late-thirteenth century the Franciscan order established its province of Slavonia, and we have two texts, from 1321 and 1322 respectively, referring to Šibenik as being in that province,¹⁹³ which shows that the Province of Slavonia referred to Dalmatia. In 1325 a Franciscan named Fabian was assigned as an inquisitor in the Province of Slavonia.¹⁹⁴ In April 1327 the territory in which the Franciscans were to operate was defined as Dalmatia, Sclavonia (how distinguished from Dalmatia is unclear; Croatia proper, perhaps), and Bosnia.¹⁹⁵ The Dominicans challenged the authority in the region given to the Franciscans, and in July 1327 the pope divided this broad area between the two orders. He gave the Franciscans "Sclavonie" defined as Serbia, Raška, Dalmatia, Croatia, Bosnia, and Istria (including the bishoprics of Durazzo, Bar, Dubrovnik, Split, and Zadar), while he gave the Dominicans Hungary and Sclavonie. In his clarifications about the Dominicans' territory, the pope mentions the bishopric of Zagreb, showing that by the same term "Slavonia" he meant, in his assignment to the Dominicans, Slavonia proper. Subsequently, in his text, he specifically mentions that the Dominicans are to have Transylvania, Bosnia, and Slavonia (i.e., Slavonia proper).¹⁹⁶ Whether Bosnia was at this point up for grabs, or some partition of it was defined elsewhere is not clear. In any case in the 1340s the Franciscans won exclusive rights to Bosnia.¹⁹⁷ That "Velebitia" remained part of the Franciscan province of Slavonia is seen in a text of January 1354 which describes land in the district of Senj being given to the Franciscans of the Province of Slavonia.¹⁹⁸ In 1393 the Slavonian Province

187. Smičiklas, CD II, p. 199.

188. Cited by I. Ostojić, *Benediktinci* II, p. 46.

189. Smičiklas, CD III, p. 191; discussed in N. Ivić, *Domišljanje prošlosti*, pp. 34–35.

190. Smičiklas, CD IV, p. 589.

191. Cited by I. Ostojić, *Benediktinci* II, p. 313.

192. Cited by I. Ostojić, *Benediktinci* II, p. 206.

193. Smičiklas, CD IX, pp. 37, 99.

194. Smičiklas, CD IX, p. 234.

195. Smičiklas, CD IX, p. 337.

196. Smičiklas, CD IX, p. 348.

197. J. Fine, *The Bosnian Church*, pp. 180–87.

198. Smičiklas, CD XII, p. 217.

(sometimes also called Dalmatian) had four custodias, Dubrovnik, Zadar (including Split), Rab (including Cres, Krk, Senj, and Modruš), and Istria.¹⁹⁹

Perhaps the fact that the Franciscans called their province Slavonia explains the vocabulary of an anonymous travelogue written by a Franciscan from Seville in the second quarter of the fourteenth century. The Franciscan refers to Zadar lying in Esclavonia, and goes on to utilize that name several times for the region that we would think of as Croatia, Dalmatia, and Bosnia. However, of those three regional names, he uses only the name "Bosnia." He also claims that Slavonia and Bosnia had the same coat-of-arms, which he reproduces, and the shield bears a strong resemblance to the coat-of-arms of the Frankapans of Krk and Senj (though with incorrect colors), a design documented from a later period. Though the Frankapans had nothing to do with Bosnia, Bosnia had shortly before been briefly linked to Croatia, when part of it was controlled by the Šubić family, who held the banship of Croatia and, as we have seen, frequently referred to themselves as Bans of Slavonia.²⁰⁰

The Templars' field of operations in Hungary, Slavonia, and Croatia/Dalmatia had its headquarters in Vrana. It bore the name Province of Hungary and Slavonia. After the outlawing of the Templars, their holdings in this territory were turned over to the Hospitaller Knights of St. John, who called their province by the same name. The leader of both knightly orders was a prior, for example, "Prior hosp. per Hungariam et Slavoniam."²⁰¹

The papacy continued to see the region of Dalmatia/Croatia as Slavonia too. In April 1331, a papal letter lists various churches in the diocese of Trogir in "the region of Slavonia" (*Slavonie partes*).²⁰² Papal legates did so as well. A document from December 1353 deals with the selection of an abbot to collect dues "from regions of Slavonia" (*in partibus Sclavonie*); though the text does not define the territory denoted by this term, the text showed up in a Split archive, suggesting it included Split.²⁰³ This conclusion is supported by a 1356 text in which a papal legate collecting Church income is working in regions of Slavonia, in the territory of the archbishops of Split, Dubrovnik, Bar, and Zadar.²⁰⁴ A 1359 text states that a bishop, settling land claims for the Churches of Split and Zadar, was laboring in the ecclesiastical province of Slavonia.²⁰⁵ Later, in January 1367, Pope Urban V wrote the town of Zadar that he was sending the rector of a church from the Diocese of Biograd to "the region of

199. E. Hoško, "Franjevci u krbavskoj biskupiji," in M. Bogović (ed.), *Krbavaska biskupija*, Rijeka-Zagreb, 1988, p. 86.

200. J. Smodlaka, *Zemlje južnih Slovena i njihovi grbovi oko god. 1330 u 'Putu oko svijeta' jednoga španjolskog fratra*, Split, 1931 (supplement volume to *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*), pp. 3, 6–8, 23–24.

201. I. Kukuljević-Sakcinski, "Priorat vranski sa vitezi templari i hospitalci sv. Ivana u Hrvatskoj," *Rad (JAZU)* 81, 1886, pp. 11, 37, 44.

202. Smičiklas, CD IX, p. 558.

203. Smičiklas, CD IX, p. 214.

204. Smičiklas, CD IX, p. 337.

205. Smičiklas, CD IX, p. 593.

Slavonia" (ad partes Sclavonie) to settle various ecclesiastical matters.²⁰⁶ Clearly, since the pope wrote to Zadar, this official was to operate in and around Zadar and thus "Slavonia" denoted a region in that part of Dalmatia. In 1390 the Vatican was concerned about the taxes owed by a Benedictine monastery in the "Kr̃k (Veglensis) diocese in Slavonia." And in 1411, Pope John XXIII, noting that the bishopric of Senj in Sclavonia was vacant, proceeded to appoint someone to it.²⁰⁷

These documents from 1102 to about 1340, which we have examined, contain many references to Croatia and to its nobility; but I have not uncovered a single clear reference to "Croat" as a possible ethnic label, unless one should construe in that way Thomas' mention of the two sons of Butkov, who attacked the village of Ostrog.

DALMATIA, CROATIA, AND SLAVONIA FROM THE
MID-FOURTEENTH CENTURY, AND THE
VENETIAN-HUNGARIAN RIVALRY, UP TO THE
OTTOMAN CONQUEST

Setting the Scene, 1340s to ca. 1500

In 1348 a major plague swept through much of the Mediterranean and had a devastating effect on the population of the Dalmatian coast. P. Skok notes that a whole series of Latin/Italian names, which had been common until then, disappear from the sources. The deceased were in large part replaced by Slavs from the interior, with a smaller number of Italian-speakers migrating from Venetian territory. But though there was a change in population, the Italianate elite and its language still maintained its priority in these towns.²⁰⁸ Presumably, more Slavic was heard in the streets, but the demographic change in the Dalmatian towns, as we shall see below, does not seem to have led to changes in identity. Civic identity and patriotism remained prominent, and the Slavs, though presumably more frequently included in those identities, were still regarded collectively as "Slavs" from a cultural or linguistic point of view. Skok argues persuasively that bilingualism increased and he notes the increasing symbiosis in names. But Latin/Italian remained the language of public life and official documents, while Slavic dominated in family life, as well as in regular day-to-day public commerce.²⁰⁹ Skok points out that Venetian control of most of these cities up to 1358 and then once again from the years between 1409

206. Smičiklas, CD IX, p. 5.

207. 1390: V. Štefanić, "Opatija sv. Lucije u Baški i drugi benediktinski samostani na Krku," *Croatia sacra* 6, nos. 11–12, 1936, p. 31 (with fn. 114); 1411: M. Sladović, *Povjesti biskupijah senjske i modruške ili krbavske*, Trieste, 1856, p. 98.

208. P. Skok, "O simbiozi," *Razprave* (Znanstveno društvo za humanistične vede v Ljubljani) 4, 1928, pp. 6–7.

209. P. Skok, "O simbiozi," p. 22.

and 1420 (dates varying with the particular city) up to 1797 guaranteed that Italian remained the language of the administration.²¹⁰

In the mid-fourteenth century, after a period of relative marginalization, Hungary began asserting itself again in Dalmatia. This became possible because the most powerful nobleman in Croatia, the independent-minded Nelipac, died in 1344, and Hungary was able in 1345 to obtain the submission of his son Ivaniš Nelipčić, forcing him to turn over to Hungary the strongest fortresses in the region behind northern Dalmatia.

The people of Zadar still saw themselves as a separate people and not as "Croats," even though they lived in the midst of a territory sometimes called "Croatia." We see this feeling in the statement in a charter issued in February 1358 to Zadar by Louis of Hungary: "Between them [the Zadrani] and the Croats and other foreigners, let them draw up an agreement."²¹¹ The phrasing clearly separates the Zadrani from the Croats, who are put in the same category as other foreigners. Presumably the term "Croat" denotes people from nearby Croatia, surely the source of the largest number of foreigners coming to the town. If so, the term should be taken to mean no more than people from the territory under the Ban of Croatia. But, in any case, the document does identify some people as "Croats."

Hungary campaigned in the area from 1346 to 1348. An eight-year peace treaty was signed between Venice and Hungary in 1348, but warfare resumed again when it expired. Finally in 1358 Hungary prevailed and a treaty was signed giving Hungary all of Dalmatia from the headlands of the Gulf of Kvarner to the border of Durratio/Dyrrachium (Durrës in modern Albania), as well as a series of islands.²¹² In a subsequent letter to Florence, Louis announced that Venice had renounced all Dalmatia and title to "Dalmatia and Croatia."²¹³ Thus as Venice's successor to all these places which were recognized as being in Dalmatia and Croatia, it was important for Hungary to perpetuate these two legal names and include them in its king's title.

Dalmatia and Croatia

The Vocabulary Used by Venice (1340s–1500)

The vocabulary used in documents leading up to the 1358 treaty is of interest. Venice regularly saw this coastal territory as Slavonia. In December 1327 Trogir, Split, and Šibenik were drawn into an alliance under the protection of Venice, and the document drawn up in Trogir refers to the Venetian communities in the

210. P. Skok, "O simbiozi," p. 21.

211. Smičiklas, CD XII, p. 452; N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 232.

212. N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 234.

213. N. Klaić, *Izvori*, pp. 234–35.

regions of Sclavonia, a term that clearly designated Dalmatia.²¹⁴ When tensions began to escalate in 1345, the doge wrote Zadar announcing that the Hungarians had appeared in parts of Slavonia and then offering "you [Zadar] and the regions of Slavonia aid" (ad vos et ad partes Sclavoniae nostros provisos). Subsequent letters announced the sending of aid or called on the Prince of Zadar to prepare defenses in the region or land of Slavonia.²¹⁵ After some Hungarian successes, Venice sent a variety of embassies to discuss a regional settlement and restitution of territory in Slavonia or in the land of Slavonia, which was defined as Šibenik, Trogir, and Split on one occasion, and on a second occasion as the same three with the addition of Nin, Zadar, and Skradin.²¹⁶

In the decade before 1347–48, when tensions were growing between Venice and Hungary over Dalmatia, we find Venice consistently using the term "Slavonia" and occasionally "Dalmatia," with no references—if we exclude the doge's title—to "Croatia." In Ljubić's second volume the term "Slavonia" is used in document after document. Venice in 1339 allowed the nobleman Nelipac to buy weapons in Venice and import them to his part of Slavonia (p. 42). In 1344, after his death, Venice was afraid that the fortress of Knin might fall into unfriendly hands and, writing its rectors in Slavonia and its coastal cities, referred to Knin as the key to entering coastal Slavonia (clavis Sclavonie) (p. 217). In 1345, worrying that the Slavs serving Venice in the Gulf of Kvarner were not very proficient with weapons, Venice wanted them replaced on its galleys (p. 237). In 1346, Venice, seeking peace in Slavonia, wanted Mladen Šubić to maintain peaceful relations with the Ban of Bosnia and other Slavs [i.e., Slav nobles] (p. 407). And in 1347 Venice was worrying about leaving the defense of Zadar to Zadrani or Slavs (p. 455). Venice frequently referred to its land in Slavonia (in 1340, p. 65, and in 1343, specifically referring to Trogir, Split, and Šibenik, p. 204), to its cities of Slavonia (in 1343, p. 191), to its islands in Slavonia—referring to Rab, Hvar, and Brač—(in 1344, p. 219), and also to the rectors of its Slavonia (in 1344, p. 219). Venice also referred to the local Slavic nobility in and around Dalmatia as the barons of Slavonia (e.g., 1340, p. 65, and in 1344 specifically naming Ivaniš Nelipčić and the Kurjakovići, p. 225). In 1341 Venice sent an ambassador to parts of Slavonia; he had assignments regarding Trogir, Šibenik, and Prince Nelipac (p. 128). Venice used the term "Dalmatia" more rarely. Some examples refer to those faithful to us in regions of Dalmatia (in 1342, p. 154), our land in Dalmatia (in 1346 and 1347, pp. 330, 457), in Zadar and other land in our parts of Dalmatia (in 1346 and 1347, pp. 360, 426), and the rectors of our Dalmatia (in 1347, p. 439). The absence of the term "Croatia" is worthy of note, particularly since that name appeared in the doge's title.

Things did not change in the next decade as matters heated up. In

214. Smičiklas, CD IX, p. 372.

215. Smičiklas, CD XI, pp. 203, 210, 216–18.

216. Ljubić, *Listine* V, pp. 279, 289.

hundreds of documents published by Ljubić (in vol. III of his *Listine*), covering the critical period from 1347 to Hungary's victory in 1358, Venice consistently called the territory "Slavonia"; the term continued to be applied both to the territory held by the Venetians and to the hinterland held by Hungary under the name of "Croatia" and managed by the local Slavic nobles, as well as to the southern coast between Kotor and Albania, and even at times to Serbia. We find numerous references such as the following: our territory and other parts of Sclavonie (in 1347, p. 5), security of our Sclavonie (in 1347, p. 21), our rec-tors of Sclavonie, at one point specified as extending as far down as Dubrovnik (in 1347, p. 31), creation of a commission of Sapientes Sclavonie to advise on these local affairs (in 1347, p. 33),²¹⁷ our councils and faithful of Sclavonie (in 1347, p. 38), the sending of a mission to Zadar and our other lands of Sclavonie (in 1348, p. 68), our land of Sclavonie (in 1349, p. 127), our councils of Sclavonie, namely of Trogir, Split, and Šibenik (in 1349, p. 137), election of four provisors and one sapiens for Slavonia (in 1350, p. 185), listing of a Cap-itaneus generalis for regions of Sclavonie (in 1353, p. 148), sending reinforcements to the captain of our peasant (militia) of Sclavonie (in 1356, p. 321), suspicion of disloyalty and plotting against Venice in Zadar, the islands, on Pag, and in other lands of Sclavonie, namely Šibenik, Trogir, and Split (in 1352, p. 233). At the same time, Venetian territory was plundered by armed bands under nobles loyal to Hungary and its ban from Croatia. Venice referred to this as plundering by Slavs and Hungarians (in 1347, p. 26). Later Venice noted again that this plundering was being done by Hungarians and other Slavs, adherents of Hungary (in 1347, p. 45) and that there was an army of Hungarians and Slavs in the castle of Klis (in 1355, p. 298).

Although on occasion the name "Dalmatia" was employed, the Venetian documents well into 1356 almost never use the name "Croatia" for the disputed territory, even though the doge (John Delfino) was claiming the title of "by grace of God Duke of Venice, Dalmatia, and Croatia."²¹⁸ The one common exception, when the name "Croatia" appears, was in the doge's periodic protests to the King of Hungary claiming Dalmatia and Croatia in his title, which the doge saw as his titular right, (in 1347 and 1348, pp. 39, 62–63). I have found only one other use of the name "Croatia" other than its appearance in the negotiations with Hungary to be examined in a moment. This reference comes from a document of 1349, when Venice appointed a captain for Sclavonia, who was to be called the capitaneus Dalmatie, and who would be responsible for local defense in all the cities and other locations of "our Dalmatia and Croatia."²¹⁹

217. N. Klaić points out that Venice frequently formed ad hoc commissions to deal with particular issues, whose members were normally called "sapientes" (wise men). N. Klaić & I. Petricoli, *Zadar*, p. 195. In the course of this war, several such commissions were formed to deal with Hungary's intervention in Dalmatia, and elections and re-elections to them were frequent.

218. For examples, see Ljubić, *Listine* V, pp. 278, 289–90, 294; for an example of the doge's title, see p. 298.

219. Ljubić, *Listine* III, p. 129.

In October 1356 Hungary, using its preferred vocabulary, agreed to the proffered truce in the regions of Dalmatia and Croatia, not using the term "Slavonia."²²⁰ This seems to have provoked Venice in its reply to refer to Zadar and other places in Dalmatia.²²¹ Then in the document confirming the truce, Venice entirely picks up the Hungarian vocabulary mentioning "Istria, Dalmatia, and Croatia."²²² But in council discussions and instructions to envoys, Venice continued to call the territory "Slavonia," as it also did in its selection of distinguished representatives (*sapientes*) from the disputed territories of Tarvisio, Istria, and Slavonia.²²³ Furthermore, in a letter to Milan in 1356, Venice writes that "a large Hungarian and Slav force" (*magnus exercitus Hungarorum et Sclavorum*) was ravaging "our parts of Slavonia" (*nostro- rum parcium Sclavonie*).²²⁴ And in writing to its colonies Split and Trogir in July 1357 in the context of this warfare, Venice referred to its league in regions of Sclavonia.²²⁵

Venice continued to use the terms "Slavonia" and "Slavs" even after Hungary, which tended to call the region "Dalmatia" and "Croatia," assumed possession of it. For example, in 1360 Venice carried out negotiations with the Ban of Croatia on the effects of the settlement with Hungary. The Venetian envoy refers to various property settlements that had taken place, one with the advice of the Slavs, and a second "according to the customs of the Slavs" (*secundum mores Sclavonicos*).²²⁶ In 1363 the Venetians were hiring soldiers for a campaign on Crete. These included Slavs, and several were named: *Marincius de Pago Sclavus*, *Johannes de Modrusia Sclavus*, *Georgius de Ysagabria Sclavus*, and *Paulus de Segna Sclavus*.²²⁷ Despite the fact that some came from Croatia proper, the Venetians considered people from Pag, Modruš, Zagreb, and Senj simply as Slavs. In 1364 Venice was preparing a ship of soldiers (both horsemen and footmen) drawn from many nationalities (*plurium nationum*), namely Germans, English, Hungarians, Slavs (*Sclavi*), Italians, and those from beyond the Alps.²²⁸ In 1365, five hundred Slav horsemen entered Venetian territory after negotiations conducted at Senj.²²⁹ That same year four boats of Slavs attacked a Venetian ship at Rovinj.²³⁰ Instructions to a Venetian embassy to Hungary in 1379 referred at one point to Kotor and Šibenik in the

220. Ljubić, *Listine* V, p. 296.

221. Ljubić, *Listine* V, p. 297.

222. Ljubić, *Listine* V, p. 300.

223. For examples, see Ljubić, *Listine* V, pp. 306, 319, 321, 324, 327, 333–34.

224. Cited by V. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata* II, p. 141.

225. Smičiklas, *CD* XII, p. 424.

226. Ljubić, *Listine* IV, pp. 17, 19.

227. Cited by B. Krekić, "Trois fragments concernant les relations entre Dubrovnik (Raguse) et l'Italie au XIVe siècle," *Godišnjak Filozofskog fakulteta u Novom Sadu* 9, 1966, p. 25, with fn. 30.

228. Ljubić, *Listine* IV, p. 69.

229. Ljubić, *Listine* IV, pp. 82–85.

230. Ljubić, *Listine* IV, p. 79.

regions of Slavonia.²³¹ And Bariša Krekić turned up a Venetian document from 1394 on the Nelipčić family that refers to “Count Nelipčić, lord of Cetine in the region of Slavonia” (Comes Neliptius dominus Citine partium Sclavonie).²³² In 1408 the doge presented trade conditions to the prince of the island of Krk and referred to goods from Senj or any part of the territory of Venice, Puja (Pula?), or Slavonia (Schiavonia).²³³

In 1409 Venice took active measures to reassert itself in Dalmatia, during a civil war for the Hungarian throne between Ladislav of Naples and Sigismund of Luxemburg. Ladislav had early on gained much support from the Slavic nobles in Bosnia and Croatia and had established a firm foothold there. But by 1409, owing to his hesitancy, his cause was slipping and Sigismund had begun to win support from various of these noblemen. Faced with ultimate defeat, Ladislav in July 1409 sold “Dalmatia” (his holdings and the rights he claimed to the rest of it) to Venice. By 1420 Venice was in control of most of the Dalmatian cities, except Omiš and Dubrovnik.

Superficial analysis has often granted this sale a great deal of erroneous significance for modern affairs. According to Marcus Tanner, who as an Englishman should be immune to emotional Balkan nationalism: “For the Croats it was a disaster. The sale of Dalmatia opened a breach that was to last for centuries. Even when Dalmatia and Slavonia were united under the Habsburgs in the nineteenth century, they were not permitted to unite into one administrative territory. Reunion [sic!] had to wait until 1939, and the formation of the autonomous Croatian banovina in royal Yugoslavia.”²³⁴ This is an anachronistic fantasy, for no one from either area in the Middle Ages ever expressed the idea that the subjects of the two areas were a single people, or that they had some commonality (other than simply being Slavs), or that they ought to be in the same state! After all, when in the Middle Ages was Slavonia ever united with Croatia by itself, as opposed to both areas belonging to different administrative units in a large decentralized Hungarian state? It is not even certain that Tomislav really united the two regions; large parts of them—often excluding the Dalmatian cities—may well have been briefly joined, but Slavonia was more often under Hungary than under any Croatian entity. If one believes in the Yugoslav ideal, as I do, one can regret anything that divided any two parts of the Serbo-Croat people. But there is no more reason for Dalmatia to have been linked with Slavonia, than with what was to become Montenegro, or Slavonia with Dalmatia rather than with Serbia—unless we want to make religion a standard. There was no common feeling between Slavonia and Dalmatia in 1409; their experiences under Hungary had been very different—as they

231. Ljubić, *Listine V*, p. 343.

232. B. Krekić, “Jedan mletački dokument o Nelipčićima,” *Historijski zbornik* 19–20, 1966–67, p. 414. See also Ljubić, *Listine IV*, p. 335.

233. Ljubić, *Listine V*, p. 125.

234. M. Tanner, *Croatia: A Nation Forged in War*, New Haven, 1997, p. 27.

were after 1358 and would be again in the nineteenth century under their different administrative authorities. That people in Slavonia and Dalmatia now see themselves as a single Croat nation does not mean that they were that in the Middle Ages or even in the early-modern period that followed. In fact in 1409 there was no reason why Slavonians and Dalmatians, with separate histories so far, should not have continued separately and produced two different nineteenth- and twentieth-century nationalities.²³⁵

Moreover, was it really a disaster for the Croats as Tanner claims? Had Venice not taken Dalmatia, the other alternative was Hungarian overlordship, as it had been after 1358. But if Hungary had still been in possession of Dalmatia in the last quarter of the fifteenth century, then the Ottomans, who had trade reasons not to antagonize Venice but lacked such motives toward Hungary, would without doubt have conquered all of Dalmatia before 1500. We cannot know what the results of such an event would have been, but one might ponder the likely fate of Istria and the bit of Croatian coast around Senj—and maybe parts of Italy itself—had this happened, as well as the possible Islamization in the Dalmatian hinterland; and then, would many nineteenth- or twentieth-century Dalmatians have come to feel that they shared an ethnicity with those in Slavonia, who in such circumstances would most likely never have come to accept a "Croatian" label?

But let us return to Venice's vocabulary. In August 1409, right after its deal with Ladislav, Venice ordered its supporters in the area not to attack the land/territory of Sclavonie held in the name of Sigismund.²³⁶ In 1411 Venice could still describe Zadar as being situated in Sclavonie;²³⁷ in August 1417 Venetian authorities, taking measures for the security of Šibenik, were concerned with "Morlachs [Vlachs] and other Slavs" from the hinterland.²³⁸ In February 1421 Venice noted that many Dalmatians and other similar Slavs from regions of Slavonia were being transported to slave markets in Apulia.²³⁹

Venice could also use, with a precise meaning, the term "Croatia." In 1411 it sought to purchase the fortress of Ostrovica, described as being situated in Croatia (Crovacia), to which state it belonged at that particular moment.²⁴⁰

235. A similar anachronistic fantasy can be found regarding the period of the native rulers before 1102 in J. Lučić, "Hrvatska na jadranskom i podunavskom prostoru u IX i X stoljeću," *Starine* (JAZU) 58, 1980, p. 10. He refers to the "two parts of Croatia," an anachronism for the time, for even if Tomislav did unite all of Slavonia to his realm, it was short-lived. The Slavonians left no sign of feeling "Croat," for the term was never used by or for anyone in Slavonia in the whole Middle Ages. Lučić then goes on to say (also p. 10) that the major goal of the rulers of the native dynasty was to unite "both Croatias." Not only was Slavonia not called "Croatia," except for whatever parts of it were at a brief given moment in the Croatian state, but we do not have a single document that mentions such a goal for any Croatian ruler.

236. Ljubić, *Listine* VI, p. 3.

237. Ljubić, *Listine* VI, p. 202.

238. Ljubić, *Listine* VII, p. 237.

239. Ljubić, *Listine* VII, p. 278.

240. Ljubić, *Listine* VI, p. 147.

Presumably, once acquired, the Venetians would have described Ostrovica's location as Slavonia. Thus, when a Slavic territory being discussed was under Sigismund, it made sense for Venice to use the more precise political term "Croatia"; and we see this in a second case, when Venice, responding to a Trogir embassy, refers to a certain Michael being given the fortress of Varhirci (Vrlika?) in Croatia to command.²⁴¹ But for the more general area in and around Dalmatia, as opposed to a politically important fortress, the general vocabulary was continued. Thus, the Venetians reported that Sigismund had assigned this same Michael three hundred peasants, levied in Sclavonia near Trogir.²⁴² In 1422–23, Venice was concerned with salt from Slavonia, and specified the region it meant by adding "namely, Split, Trogir, and Kotor."²⁴³ Back in control of Zadar, Venice sought as much income from the city as possible, and soon was claiming that according to ancient custom it could slap a large duty on animals from the interior, defined as "de partibus Sclavonie," which were grazed on Zadar land before being shipped out for export.²⁴⁴ We also find that Venice referred to people at the market of Senj in 1455 as being from Schiavonia, among other places.²⁴⁵

At some point prior to 25 June 1458 the Venetians ordered the dismissal of all Slavs serving in the administration of Zadar. Almost certainly all of these Slavs were people from "Sclavonia" and the order would not have affected Slavs who were citizens of Zadar. The cause of this action is unknown, but could be owing to an epidemic or security concerns; at least we know of occasions when Venice banned Slavs and Albanians from entering cities in what is now Albania, owing to epidemics. In any case, the document, which we have, sought to make an exception to this rule for one Michael of Modruš the Slav (Micaelem de Modruxa Sclavonum). The document goes on to specify him as a Slav, but states that this should not be an obstacle to his continuing in the town's service.²⁴⁶ Besides, Venice's rectors and military servitors in its Dalmatian cities often had local wives. On several occasions in and around 1424 Venice either provided stipends for, or expressed security concerns about, these wives or concubines, "whether Slav, Dalmatian, or Hungarian" (Sclavas, Dalmatinas vel Hungaras).²⁴⁷ Presumably the distinction between "Dalmatian" and "Slav" was based on whether or not the women were from a Dalmatian town, but in any case "Croat" was not a category listed.

Venice certainly did have security concerns about locals serving in its garrisons in Dalmatia, as Šunjić makes clear in his study about Venice's various

241. Ljubić, *Listine* VIII, p. 105.

242. Ljubić, *Listine* VIII, p. 106.

243. Ljubić, *Listine* VIII, p. 135.

244. N. Klaić & I. Petricoli, *Zadar*, p. 452.

245. Ljubić, *Listine* X, p. 64.

246. Ljubić, *Listine* X, p. 128.

247. Ljubić, *Listine* VIII, pp. 126, 136, 272–73.

military forces. In 1413, when Venice was recruiting for the Šibenik garrison, the order went out that neither Dalmatians nor any Slavs could be hired. It was also a regular matter to exclude those peoples as well as Albanians from Dalmatian service. Presumably the use of "Dalmatian" was geographical, banning anyone from Dalmatia whether Slav or Italian, while "Slav" would have referred to those from Croatia and the hinterland. Clearly, there were recruitment difficulties, for in 1460 we learn that there were Slavs and Dalmatians in the Šibenik garrison, whom local authorities said they could not fire, presumably because there was no one to replace them; but Venice insisted that that had to be done anyway. In 1486, Venice praised the Knez (prince, mayor) of Split for obeying orders to rid his local forces of Slavs.²⁴⁸

Wives and concubines of garrison members also posed concerns. This seems to have been with reason, since the Venetian loss of the fortress of Ostrovica appears to have been owing to the actions of a Slavic woman, and Venice wanted to avoid any repeats. In 1413 Venice decreed the firing and replacement of any member of the Šibenik garrison who was married to a Slav. This order was apparently not carried out, and soon thereafter there seems to have been a plot involving a Slavic spouse in Novigrad. Venice responded by demanding that all knezes in Dalmatia fire garrison soldiers with Slavic wives, unless the soldiers divorced them. The orders went on to say that no soldier could be accepted into service with a Slavic, Dalmatian, or Hungarian wife. Thus, Venice, and it seems rightly so, questioned the loyalty to itself of local subjects and of people from neighboring regions. However, it is noteworthy that in all these orders, the terms "Dalmatians" and "Slavs" were used, but never "Croatian," even though some of the neighboring territory was under the Ban of Croatia. As late as 1473, when Venice was hiring Greek and Albanian mercenaries for Dalmatia, the Venetian administration reiterated that such mercenaries could not marry Slavs.²⁴⁹

It should be noted, however, that Venice was willing to hire Slavic or Dalmatian soldiers to be used elsewhere, particularly in Italy. In major offensive naval campaigns in the Adriatic, local Dalmatians and Slavs could be found among the sailors of such fleets. For example, the Florentine Matteo Boiardo (1441–94) mentions, in the context of a visit to Padua, "Dalmatians and Slavs" serving in Venetian forces.²⁵⁰

In 1480 Venice established town captains for its Dalmatian towns, choosing a man from Kotor to serve in Split. His main tasks were to keep track of outsiders entering the town, to counter counterfeiters, and to organize and manage the town guard. Before naming the town captain, the city's administration was

248. M. Šunjić, "Stipendiarii Veneti u Dalmaciji i Dalmatinci kao mletački plaćenici u XV vijeku," *Godišnjak Društva istoričara Bosne i Hercegovine* 13, 1962, p. 278.

249. M. Šunjić, "Stipendiarii," pp. 279, 283.

250. M. Šunjić, "Stipendiarii," pp. 280–81; M. Deanović, "Talijanski pisci o Hrvatima do kraja 17 vijeka," *Analitički historijski institut [JAZU] u Dubrovniku* 8–9, 1962, p. 125.

to determine the candidate's ability in Slavic (la lingua schiava), which was deemed particularly necessary, and his knowledge of popular local customs.²⁵¹ That same year, 1480, they gained Krk through negotiations and sent out a herald to proclaim the new situation in Slavic (in lingua schiava).²⁵²

In connection with Venice, we should note Schiavone Sebastiano (1420–1505) from Rovinj in Istria, a talented Benedictine wood-carver, who made his career in Venice and carved much of the furnishing of the Church of St. Helen there.²⁵³ It is worth noting that he or his Venetian colleagues chose to identify him as a Slav. A contemporary of his, the sculptor Juraj Dalmatinac (ca. 1400–73), who was born in Zadar and won fame for his work in the Šibenik cathedral, chose the Dalmatian alternative.²⁵⁴ And “Dalmatian,” it should be noted, could be attached either to people from the coastal cities ruled by Venice or to those of the narrow coast of Croatia above Zadar. Putanec cites a nicknamed individual from each region, the Franciscan Matheus Dalmatinus de Ossero (from Venetian-controlled Osor) and a printer active ca. 1500, Gregory (Grgur) Dalmatinus from Senj.²⁵⁵

Venice itself also had a Slavic quarter (contrato s. Silvestro), where many merchants, in particular Ragusans and other Dalmatians, resided. A Venetian official, entitled “Supervisor of the Slavs” (curia slavorum), was the quarter's overseer, keeping it under surveillance and arbitrating disputes. Among its residents was a Ragusan Vita de Goče, who was honored by Venice for his services in trading with regions of “Sclavonie.”²⁵⁶ Dančević notes that a section of

251. G. Novak, *Povijest Splita* III, p. 1304. Besides the towns in Dalmatia proper, Venice had had officials dealing with Slavs in Istria for over a century. Throughout the period from the thirteenth to the seventeenth century, Venice settled large numbers of outsiders—chiefly South Slavs but also some Albanians and Greeks—in Istria to work the land left abandoned by deaths and departures. Though ruthless landlords had a role in causing flight, the major causes of depopulation were the numerous plagues that hit Istria throughout this period (with particularly devastating effects on the towns) and malaria in rural areas. Those settled (if not Greeks, Albanians, Vlachs, etc.) were invariably simply called “Slavs.” In 1349 the Venetian Senate established a special Captain of the Slavs (Sclavorum), based in Koper (Kopar), to oversee the settlement of newcomers and protect the lands of the old-timers from encroachment by the immigrants, who were often greatly resented. Pius II, prior to becoming pope in 1458, had been the Bishop of Trieste in Istria (1447–58). While bishop there, he had written that Istria as a whole was then “Slavic.” Though the Italian language was still predominant in the coastal cities, he noted that even in the cities the urban population knew both languages. On the Istrian situation, see N. Žic, “Seobe Hrvata u južnu Istru,” *Hrvatska prosvjeta* 25, 1938, pp. 60–75; for Koper Captain of the Slavs, p. 63; for Pope Pius II's information, p. 66.

252. V. Klaić, *Krčki knezovi Frankapani*, Zagreb, 1901, p. 283.

253. I. Ostojić, *Benediktinci* I, p. 292.

254. On Juraj Dalmatinac, see M. Kurelac, “Paladije Fusko—Palladius Fuscus: Život i djelo,” the introduction to Paladije Fusko, *Opis obale Ilirika* (B. Kuntić-Makvić, ed.), Zagreb, 1990, p. 20.

255. V. Putanec, “Problem predsenjskih tiskara u Hrvatskoj (1482–1493),” *Jadranski zbornik* 4, 1960, pp. 92–93. Gregory Dalmatinus, also known as Gregory of Senj, was actually named Gregory Kraljić. For further information on him, see E. Hercigonja, *Srednjovjekovna književnost*, Zagreb, 1975, p. 213.

256. S. Stuard, *A State of Deference: Ragusa/Dubrovnik in the Medieval Centuries*, Philadelphia, 1992, pp. 172–73. On Vita de Goče, see Ljubić, *Listine* III, pp. 224–26.

Venice's docks, which carried on trade with Dalmatia, was known as the Bank of the Slavs (Riva degli Schiavoni) and near it a School (scuola) or better a Congregation or Brotherhood of Dalmatians (Scuola dei Dalmati) was founded by 1451, where Dalmatian sailors gathered when they came to Venice and where they had a church, with a brotherhood attached. It seems that there were two such bodies or else a single one was renamed since we have references to a Congregation (scuola) of St. George of the Slavs (scuola di S. Giorgi degli Schiavoni) and also a Dalmatian Congregation (Scuola Dalmata) of Saints George and Trifon.²⁵⁷

On one occasion, interestingly enough, in 1440, Venice decided to free some people living outside Zadar from Church tithes, owing to recognition of local custom, which was defined as being "according to the customs of Croatia" (secundo usanza de Crovattia).²⁵⁸ Moreover, when the inhabitants of Šibenik's hinterland, under the Hungarian Ban of Croatia, caused trouble, the terms "Croatia/Croat" came into use, presumably because the Croatian banovina was involved. Thus, in the summer of 1448 when there was warfare around Šibenik directed by the Ban of Croatia, Šibenik complained to Venice about Morlachs (i.e., Vlachs) and Croats (Crovati) subordinate to the ban,²⁵⁹ a relationship which clearly shows them as agents of the Croatian political unit. In 1450 Šibenik was still having trouble with the depredations of these same people, who were described as bad lots and plunderers living in the town's vicinity. The issue was raised by Šibenik in March of that year as to whether the Morlachs and Croats (Hervatis, Chervatos) should be allowed safe conducts into the city; Venice ruminated on this issue, using the term "Croats," in its replies in September and October 1450.²⁶⁰ Two other mentions of Croats/Croatia from Venetian documents are worthy of notice: In 1456 mention is made of some gifts, gilded in the manner of Croatia.²⁶¹ In 1462 the doge gave a certain merchant permission to sell merchandise to the Croats living in the vicinity of the fortress of Ostrovica or to trade goods for lands held by Croats in territory under Venetian jurisdiction.²⁶² The legal context, which stressed jurisdiction, may have warranted the term "Croat" to emphasize the tie of those individuals to the Croat political entity.

In the fifteenth century, however, Venice, which regained all the Dalmatian cities except Dubrovnik, was coming more and more to refer to this region as "Dalmatia"; in fact, early in that century "Dalmatia" became its standard

257. L. Dančević, "Maritimno-političke prilike na Jadranu početkom XVI stoljeća," *Radovi* (Institut za hrvatsku povijest, Filozofski fakultet, Sveučilište u Zagrebu) 10, 1977, p. 188, including fn. 18. E. Hercigonja (*Srednjovjekovna književnost*, p. 399), without giving a source citation, has the Venetian residence called "scuola di Schiavoni."

258. Ljubić, *Listine* IX, pp. 134–35.

259. Ljubić, *Listine* IX, pp. 277–79.

260. Ljubić, *Listine* IX, pp. 322–23, 354, 358–60.

261. Ljubić, *Listine* X, p. 99.

262. Ljubić, *Listine* X, p. 220.

term.²⁶³ The Venetians even went so far as to call the local inhabitants “Dalmatians” with increasing frequency. We noted earlier some Slavs on the Apulian slave markets as well as wives and concubines of Venetian servitors being called “Dalmatians.” In 1419, taking measures against local unrest, Venice referred to “our hostile Dalmatians.”²⁶⁴ Two 1420 documents, bestowing privileges on the islands of Korčula and Brač, mentioned “our faithful Dalmatians.”²⁶⁵ In 1421, in response to a letter from Šibenik, Venice decreed that “other Dalmatians” should be able to carry out their affairs in that town without hindrance.²⁶⁶ A second response from Venice, this time to Hvar, laid out how much wine was to be given to “the below-listed Dalmatians.”²⁶⁷ Many other examples can also be cited.²⁶⁸

Hungary's Vocabulary, ca. 1350–1450

In the 1340s, as noted, Louis of Hungary began to take a more active role in Dalmatia and “Velebitia.” Nada Klaić believes that it was then that the association of the twelve leading families of Croatia (who allegedly made the 1102 deal) was actually created. It was a quid pro quo as the king enhanced the credentials and the local authority of these particular families, who in return gave him local support and also, by reviving (if not inventing outright) the text of the alleged 1102 agreement, provided a locally accepted basis of legitimacy for the Hungarian monarch's rule over “Croatia.” The term “Croatia” was regularly used for these twelve families, both when the king referred to them collectively and when they referred to their collective rights. They were officially “the twelve noble families of the Kingdom of Croatia” (*nobiles duodecim generacionum regni Croacie*), which kingdom was a possession of the Hungarian king and regularly included in the title used by him.²⁶⁹ So now we find documents with phrases such as: “lands outside of Zadar in the Croatian kingdom”; “liberties and privileges which are enjoyed by the twelve families of the Kingdom of Croatia; nobles of the twelve noble families of Croatia.”²⁷⁰ In this context we find Louis sending envoys “to the prelates and barons of our kingdom in the Dalmatian region, and especially Zadar” to discuss the restructuring of the Kingdom of Dalma-

263. See many documents dealing with Dalmatia in Ljubić, *Listine*, vols. VI–X.

264. Ljubić, *Listine* VII, p. 281.

265. Ljubić, *Listine* VIII, pp. 48, 55.

266. Ljubić, *Listine* VIII, p. 67.

267. Ljubić, *Listine* VIII, p. 79.

268. For other examples between 1422 and 1465, see Ljubić, *Listine* VIII, pp. 154, 190, 241; IX, pp. 27, 75, 94, 96–97, 218, 288–89, 417, 418–19; X, pp. 148, 173, 175, 333. Calling people “Dalmatians” was not entirely new for the fifteenth century. Venetian documents from between 1381 and 1402 provide earlier examples. See Ljubić, *Listine* IV, pp. 127–28, 235, 259, 383, 463.

269. N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom*, p. 60.

270. N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 238.

tia and Croatia. Particularly important in this project were the nobles of the twelve clans of the Kingdom of Croatia.²⁷¹

The Croat nobles, not surprisingly, took advantage of this support to seize greater power for themselves. At one point in 1430, according to M. Ančić, some of them tried to set up a "para-state league or brotherhood" to defend Croat laws and customs against threats to them. (We shall see shortly that these laws and customs were recognized in various legal disputes.) In 1430 Ivaniš Nelipčić and two members of the Kurjaković clan of Krbava met in Knin to draw up a charter for this league. Ivaniš and the Krbava princes agreed to meet annually when necessary on St. Michael's Day at St. Bartol's church in Knin to deal with "matters, liberties, and customs of the said Kingdom of Croatia." Ančić claims that the main purpose of the league was to defend the Croat leaders' authority against a challenge from the Vlach clans that were then migrating into this region. He notes that we have no sources about any subsequent meetings of the league; thus, we do not know whether or not it ever went into effect.²⁷² In any case, two of the leading twelve families were trying to take advantage of their status and of the customs and institutions of the Croatian state in order to advance their regional power. Since they were utilizing institutional traditions, we have no way of knowing whether they saw themselves as anything more than representatives of these institutions associated with the Croat state.

In looking at the nobles, just as she did with the citizens of the Dalmatian cities, Nada Klaić notes that there was not—and could not be—anything national or ethnic about them. The context of the quotation that follows is "Slavonia," but her conclusions pertain equally to Croatia proper, as is indicated by her citation of the Šubići. Reacting to much of the Croatian scholarship—about the civil war that ranged over much of Hungary and Croatia after the death of King Louis of Hungary in 1382—Klaić bemoans the nonsense written on the question of which nobles were "ours" (Croats) and represented "us," and which were foreign and represented Hungary.

They did not feel, nor could they feel, political borders in the way that current historians do. . . . The homeland of the great nobles (*velikaši*) was where their properties were and, looking out for their class interests, it was all the same to them whether [the properties] lay in the Vukovski, Sremski, or whichever other county. We see that the Gorjanskis and Korogis, like the rest of the great nobles, had extensive lands on both sides of the Drava, that is, in Slavonia and in Hungary; and this pertains equally to the ecclesiastical holders of extensive estates. Thus it is going much too far, and is irrelevant, to pose questions of the "national

271. N. Klaić, *Izvori*, pp. 241–42.

272. M. Ančić, "Knin u razvijenom i kasnom srednjem vijeku," pp. 71–72.

belonging" (nationality) of the great nobles in the Middle Ages. Regardless of whether he was a supporter of the court and ruler or an opponent, the great noble in the Middle Ages was a multi-lingual internationalist, as was the lay-out of his property. Nothing could be simpler [i.e., the underlying principle, not their lives or activities]. It is all the same whether we take as our example the Bribirci [the Šubići] of the fourteenth century or their descendants the Zrinskis in the seventeenth. They were "ours" as much as they were "theirs," [Hungarian], and vice versa. One of the clearest examples that refutes the simple-minded way national belonging is presented [she says "in the Middle Ages," but her example is a later one] are the brothers Petar and Nikola Zrinski. . . . One brother, Nikola, whom the Hungarians claim as theirs, wrote and poeticized in the Hungarian language, while the other, Petar, translated his brother's work into Croatian.

Klaić then says that things were different for the lesser nobility or gentry (plemstvo/plemići), whose lands all lay in a limited area. Thus, instead of spending half their time at the king's court, they spent most of it in their own localities. Their motives were completely different from those of the great poo-bahs. Outside their own county (županija) these gentry types counted for almost nothing.²⁷³ However, even though they possessed a local orientation, they still fought for their position in society, that is, their class interests. They were localists or regionalists, and in their local goals, they did not see—or at least act—beyond those; thus they did not—and, as Klaić would say, could not have—become Croats or representatives of any broad ethnic-type collective. At the most they could become Livno-ans or Krbavians.

To return to the common interests of the Hungarian crown and the twelve great families: not surprisingly, we find many references in Hungarian documents from this period to "Croatia." Almost all are political or administrative references: the king in 1351 granted a knight named Novak several villages in Lika . . . which are said to be in the Croatian kingdom.²⁷⁴ A document about collecting taxes in and around Knin in 1353 lists the following regions and titles in its text: We, Nikola Ban of all Slavonia and Croatia . . . Stephen Herceg of all Slavonia, Croatia, and also Dalmacia . . . all nobles in the said kingdom of Croatia.²⁷⁵ And in judging a land dispute in April 1359 concerning the village of Draginić, the king refers to the village as being in the land of Croatia.²⁷⁶

Interestingly, it seems that Croatia developed some particular (unspecified) legal customs that played a role in the previously mentioned judgment charter

273. N. Klaić, *Crtime o Vukovaru*, pp. 100–101.

274. N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 217.

275. N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 220.

276. Smičiklas, *CD XII*, p. 567.

from 1318. In the post-1340 period we have a significant number of documents referring to such customs: for example, John, the son of Stephen of Bribir, left a will in 1348 stating that there were no obstacles of any sort (to its stipulations) from the customs of Croatia (*nec obstante consuetudine aliqua Chroatorum*);²⁷⁷ a land sale, also from 1348, in the village of Draginić, too was carried out according to the mores and customs of Croatia (*secundum morem et consuetudinem Chroatorum*);²⁷⁸ and a second judgment from 15 September 1361 by a certain Ban of Croatia and Dalmatia named Nicholas Szechy—who, it may be noted, unlike most of his predecessors, was Hungarian and not a local—says that a given judgment should not follow the customs/rights of the Croats and Dalmatians but the law and customs/rights of the Hungarians (*non more aut secundum consuetudinem Croatorum an Dalmaticorum, sed iuxta legem et consuetudinem Hungaricalem*).²⁷⁹ In a second document from 13 June 1379, officials under this same ban adjudicated a will of a local nobleman from the Lučka župa before a council of Croatian nobles according to the law of Croatia (*iura croatorum*).²⁸⁰ L. Jelić also discovered and published a text about a settlement between the Frankapan princes of Krk, Modruš, and Senj and the Bishop of Skradin concerning the tithes paid by various peasants settled on the princes' land. The agreement took place in Zadar in 1434 before the Ban of Croatia and Dalmatia and in three places in the text it is stated that matters were settled according to the law of Croatia (*zachon hervacchi/zakon hervaschi*).²⁸¹ In 1460 a court decided that a land sale near Klis was carried out properly according to the ways of Croatia (*more croatico*).²⁸² And finally, among the documents from the monastery of St. Mary in Zaično is a will from 1492 leaving property to that institution: "[N]o one in any way may break this will according to Croatia's just justice and law" (*s pravom pravdom hrvackom in zakonom, mrtvih tastamente razbiti . . . nima ni more*).²⁸³

Moreover, at some point in the fourteenth or fifteenth century (no date is given by Ančić) a judicial body was set up in Knin to deal with cases from all over Croatia in the absence of the Ban of Croatia, whereupon the Župan of

277. Smičiklas, *CD* XI, p. 454.

278. Smičiklas, *CD* XI, p. 439.

279. F. Šišić, *Priručnik*, p. 489; Smičiklas, *CD* XIII, p. 188. Šišić dates the document to 15 September, whereas Smičiklas lists it as 15 November. For other examples of "customs of Croatia": from February 1322, Smičiklas, *CD* IX, p. 52; from December 1354, Smičiklas, *CD* XII, p. 260; from 1380, "customs of the realm of Croatia," including a list of "Croats" as witnesses (drawn from leading nobles of Croatia), Smičiklas, *CD* XVI, p. 126; from Split, January 1429, V. Rismondo (ed.), "Iz knjiga splitskih srednjovjekovnih notara," *Gradja i prilozi povijest Dalmacije* 9, 1977, p. 224; from 1447, I. Bojničić [signed simply as B.] (ed.), "Jakov Bribirski od plemena Šubić," *Vjestnik Kr. hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog zemaljskog arkiva* 1, no. 2, 1899, pp. 92–93; from 5 November 1459, Ljubić, *Listine* X, p. 146.

280. F. Šišić, *Priručnik*, p. 493; also Smičiklas, *CD* XVI, p. 28.

281. Text provided by L. Jelić, "Hrvatski zavod u Rimu," *Vjestnik Kr. hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog zemaljskog arkiva* 4, no. 1, 1902, p. 15, fn. 3.

282. L. Katić, "Veza primorske Dalmacije kroz kliški prolaz," p. 322.

283. E. Hercigonja, "Društveni i gospodarski okviri," *Croatia* 2, no. 2, 1971, p. 75.

Knin would judge jointly with “Croat elders expert in the law of Croatia” (in iudicio castri et sedis Tininii [Knin], ubi iuta Crohatorum convenienter red-duntur et clarius lucidantur, per homine antiquos Crohacie in talibus expertos).²⁸⁴ Thus, there seems to have been, at least at times, an observed custom in this dual monarchy to use in Croatia the customary local law, rights, and customs, which differed in some ways from those of the Hungarians. This is, after all, what could be expected in a loose legal system in which so much was based on charters and individual privileges. This court in the capital of Croatia was called the Knin Court (Stol Tninski). Šurmin published a decision made by that court in 1451. A dispute had been brought before its three judges, one of whom was the deputy of the Ban of Croatia and Dalmatia (banovac Dalmacie i Hrvat). The three judges represented the noble Croats (sudci rotni plemenitih Hrvat stola tninskoga). At the court, with many noble Croats (s mnozimi plemenitimi Hrvati) in attendance, the judges meted out justice in the matters brought before them. The judges based their decision on justice and the Croatian law (zakonu hrvacckomu).²⁸⁵

Customary practices, it may be noted, could also operate on a more local scale. A document recording a 1350 house sale in Senj was drawn up according to the customs of Senj (secundum consuetudinem Segniensem).²⁸⁶ We have several texts with such phrasing from Zadar, for example, one from 1367 according to the customs of Zadar and another from 1368 according to the statutes and customs of that town.²⁸⁷ In the notarial records of Trogir, references to the customs of the town of Trogir are common.²⁸⁸ And finally a land sale from 1372 in Dubrovnik was carried out “according to our ancient customs.”²⁸⁹ Other places also expected their ancient customs to be observed.²⁹⁰

But even in this period, when the name “Croat/Croatian” is fairly frequently employed, the name “Slavonia” for the Croatian area continues. We even find the just-discussed phrase “according to the customs of” continued,

284. M. Ančić, “Knin u razvijenom i kasnom srednjem vijeku,” p. 69.

285. Dj. Šurmin (ed.), *Hrvatski spomenici*, I, Zagreb (JAZU, MH-JSM 6), 1898, p. 193.

286. Smičiklas, CD XI, p. 581. For a second example of “customs of Senj” from September 1353, see Smičiklas, CD XII, p. 199.

287. Smičiklas, CD XIV, pp. 101, 130. For other references to decisions made according to Zadar’s customs (as opposed to its laws), see N. Klaić & I. Petricioli, *Zadar*, pp. 333, 407, 467, 477. For a case from 1385 following statutes, ordinances, and customs of Zadar, see Smičiklas, CD XVI, p. 552.

288. For customs of Trogir: from notarial records of 1270–71, see, e.g., M. Barada (ed.), *Monumenta Traguriensia/Trogiški spomenici* I, Zagreb (JAZU, MSHSM 44), 1948, pp. 105, 110, 115, 117, 125, 127–28; from 1379, see Smičiklas, CD XVI, p. 23.

289. Smičiklas, CD XIV, p. 425.

290. For examples from other places: Korčula (in 1328, 1359, 1388, 1417), V. Foretić, *Otok Korčula u srednjem vijeku do g. 1420*, Zagreb (JAZU, *Djela* 36), 1940, pp. 296, 275, 207; for Split (in 1275, 1290), L. Katić, “Četiri poljičke isprave iz XIV stoljeća u splitskom kaptolskom arhivu,” *Analitički historijski institut [JAZU] u Dubrovniku* 2, 1953, p. 88, and for Split in May 1412, V. Rismondo (ed.), “Registar splitskog notara Jakova de Penna (1411–1412),” *Gradnja i prilozi za povijest Dalmacije* 8, 1974, p. 46.

specifying "Sclavonia" instead of Croatia. A 1384 property inventory from Zadar includes among other things animals, and mentions that some were pastured in Tukljača (in the banovina of Croatia, but near Zadar) according to the customs of Slavonia (*secundum morem Sclavonie*).²⁹¹ We have just seen that Venice and the Dalmatian cities most frequently referred to Croatia as "Slavonia." Naples also continued to think of Croatia/Dalmatia as "Slavonia" well into the fourteenth century. In a document from April 1322 Naples was exporting grain to Hungary, to the land of Split of the Province of Slavonia.²⁹² In February 1330 Naples recorded a shipment of goods to Juraj Šubić of Sclavonia.²⁹³ In May 1331 the King of Naples referred to his nephew as the Hungarian King Charles Robert and his subjects of the regions of Slavonia (which surely includes all his Slavic regions, Slavonia and Dalmatia/Croatia).²⁹⁴ In 1337 Charles Robert referred to Šibenik as being in Sclavonie.²⁹⁵ And in 1344 we find Joanna of Naples importing wood from Buccari and Senj in the regions of Slavonia (*de partibus Sclavonie*).²⁹⁶ Ancona also, in discussing its commercial affairs with the Dalmatian cities in the 1380s, consistently referred to the region as "Sclavonia."²⁹⁷ Messina, in granting Dubrovnik freedom from customs duties in 1383, described it as being in the region of Sclavonie.²⁹⁸ Finally, in 1382 or 1383 the papacy (Urban VI) referred to the Adriatic island of Lastovo as being in the region of Sclavonia.²⁹⁹

Even in a legal context, the Hungarians and their local bans frequently employed the term "Slavonia" rather than "Croatia." In September 1358 King Louis chose the more general term "Slavonia" to describe the region near Zadar where some land was disputed between a noble family and a Zadar monastery.³⁰⁰ In a second land case from the same year, Nicholas Széchy, the Ban of Croatia, in Zadar at the time, told the individual who made the complaint that since the land in question lay outside the territory of Zadar itself, he would have to consult with the Slavs (*cum Slavis*).³⁰¹ Thus, despite his title

291. J. Stipišić, "Inventar dobara zadarskog patricija Grizogona de Civalellis iz 1384 godine," *Zbornik Historijskog zavoda* (JAZU, Zagreb) 8, 1977, pp. 383, 404.

292. Smičiklas, CD IX, p. 189.

293. Smičiklas, CD IX, p. 498.

294. Smičiklas, CD IX, p. 559.

295. Smičiklas, CD X, p. 303.

296. Smičiklas, CD XI, p. 148.

297. Smičiklas, CD XVI, pp. 133, 139–40, 159.

298. Smičiklas, CD XVI, p. 351.

299. Smičiklas, CD XVI, p. 432.

300. Smičiklas, CD XII, p. 513.

301. This case was cited by D. Gruber, "Dalmacija za Ludovika I (1358–1382): I. Dio (1358–1367)," *Rad* (JAZU) 168, 1907, p. 170. This particular case is fascinating. The plaintiff (Marin Karnarutić), who had been pro-Venetian and thus was at a disadvantage given that the Zadar Peace had awarded all Dalmatia to Hungary, complained that the citizens of Zadar were so angry at him for seeking the particular property that they had deprived his son of his Zadar citizenship. The Zadrani pointed out to the ban that Karnarutić had been awarded Venetian citizenship for both himself and his heirs, and thus they saw him as a Venetian and not a Zadrani; and since

of Ban of Croatia and the fact that he was consulting with noblemen subject to him in Croatia, the ban called these noblemen "Slavs." The same Ban of Croatia and Dalmatia, Nicholas Széchy, in the very 1361 document cited earlier that refers to the laws and customs of Croatia and also to the nobles of Croatia as "faithful Croats," turned around and mentioned a mountain called Gomiljak near Vrana, a town lying a short distance south of Zadar, as being "in the land of Sclavonia" (in terra Sclavonie).³⁰²

Possibly akin to the expression "customs of Croatia" was the language used about local land measurements. Fisković noted that land-holding artisans lacked the time to farm and therefore rented out or sharecropped their lands; he examined the surviving contracts on such arrangements in the districts around Zadar. These contracts usually specified the amount of land under contract and defined it as "according to the Croatian measures" (ad mensuarum Croatica) or "the Slavic measures" (ad mensuarum Sclaborum); presumably the two were the same, as we shall see from the term "gognal/gonayos/gonyaya" below. Moreover, it was often also said that the arrangement was according to Croatian custom (more Croatico). Unfortunately, Fisković does not cite examples of the measures, but does cite one of Croatian *custom* in this context, when a deal in 1438 involved land to "the measure of 32 gognali-s according to quality as defined by Croatian custom" (ad mensuram triginta duorum gognalium pro qualitet sorte more Croatico).³⁰³ A document from 1338, discussing the division of some Gušić lands in the Lučka župa, refers to four gonayos of land "by the measure of the Slavs" (mensuram Sclavorum).³⁰⁴ V. Klaić provides an undated example (I assume from the 1290s) from a grant by Paul Šubić to a monastery of John the Baptist near Skradin. The grant was measured in scachicarum (which Klaić renders in Slavic as "šačicama") according to the measure of the Croats (mensura Charuatorum). At the moment the land was granted it was free land according to the customs or privileges of the Croatian nobles (more seu libertate nobilium Charuatorum).³⁰⁵ Lopašić cites a grant recorded in Nin in 1395 of 30 gonjaja of land in the village Prašćevica in Croatian measure (ad mensuram Croatam).³⁰⁶ Sladović presents a further ex-

this was the case, they asserted, Karnarutić should not be allowed to live in Zadar. So, could they not expel him from the town? The ban, having no love for Venice and probably happy to be rid of a complicated property case, was quick to oblige (Gruber, op. cit., pp. 173-74).

302. F. Šišić, *Priručnik*, p. 489; Smičiklas, CD XIII, p. 186.

303. C. Fisković, *Zadarski sredovječni majstori*, Split, 1959, pp. 68, 168 (fn. 412). It is worth noting that measures were also labeled after other peoples in the area as well. A Zagreb episcopal record from 1446 mentions Hungarian and German measures (I. Tkalčić [ed.], "Izprave XV vieka iz 'crvene knjige' zagrebačkoga kaptola," *Starine* [JAZU] 11, 1879, p. 26, fn. 1).

304. Smičiklas, CD X, p. 373.

305. Cited, unfortunately without reference, by V. Klaić, *Bribirski knezovi od plemena Šubić do god. 1347*, Zagreb, 1897, p. 70.

306. Cited by R. Lopašić in his introduction to Urbar no. 1, in R. Lopašić (ed.), *Hrvatski urbari*, Zagreb (JAZU, MH-JSM 5), 1894, pp. 2-3.

ample of the will of Martin Frankapan from 1431, which left to a monastery near Trsat land defined as "in prima meta supradicta cum terra et latitudine cannarum seu stangarum croatarum mensura."³⁰⁷

Further evidence that the term "Croat" was not used as commonly as is sometimes thought, even in parts of the northern coastal area, comes from documents regarding Hrvoje Vukčić Hrvatinić. In the 1390s, after involving himself in a civil war over the Hungarian throne, this great Bosnian nobleman and lord of the Donji kraji took for himself a great chunk of Dalmatia stretching from Omiš and Split up to Zadar. His subjects were referred to by their individual city names and as "Dalmatians." Out of the thirty-two documents issued by or to Hrvoje that Stojanović published,³⁰⁸ if we exclude a reference to the Hungarian Ban of Croatia and another to some Croatians serving under the ban³⁰⁹—which, of course, did not pertain to Hrvoje's extensive Dalmatian holdings—we have only one reference to anything Croatian regarding Hrvoje's lands and subjects. That reference comes in a letter to Hrvoje from Dubrovnik of 22 October 1406 and simply refers to "your [Hrvoje's] Croatian towns."³¹⁰ In this case, the term "Croatian" is clearly referring to a territory or geographical region, separating these towns from those lying in his Bosnian (or Donji kraji) lands. Ladislav of Naples, who in the first years of the fifteenth century laid claim to the Hungarian throne, made Hrvoje his deputy for this Dalmatian territory, calling him his Vicar General for the regions of Slavonia (in partibus Sclavonie).³¹¹ Thus, like Venice, the Neapolitans still considered the region simply "Slavonia," and Hrvoje seems to have had no objections to the nomenclature.

On the subject of Hrvoje, V. Klaić mentions (without reference) a traditional story about Paul (Pal) Čupor, who had no love for Hrvoje. While at the Hungarian court, Čupor insulted the Donji-kraj lord by saying, "A Slav is not a man, [as] a pogača is not [real] bread." The Hungarian word for "Slav" used in the passage is "Thot." The editor of the 1982 edition of Klaić's history notes that this citation repeats an actual proverb, which says "Toth" rather than "Thot." The editor goes on to say that "Toth" is a derogatory word for a Slovak—which, of course, would not apply to Hrvoje—but the editor adds that the word could also be used in a broader sense to designate any Slav.³¹² Thus,

307. M. Sladović, *Povjesti biskupijah senjske*, p. 239.

308. Lj. Stojanović (ed.), *Stare srpske povelje i pisma I*, no. 1, Belgrade, 1929, pp. 446–74.

309. Lj. Stojanović, *Stare srpske povelje i pisma I*, no. 1, pp. 471–72.

310. Lj. Stojanović, *Stare srpske povelje i pisma I*, no. 1, p. 467.

311. Ljubić, *Listine V*, p. 93. None of the Venetian documents published by Ljubić sees anything "Croatian" about Hrvoje's lands and subjects.

312. V. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata III*, p. 79, fn. 4, for the editor's comments. Čupor also amused the Hungarian court by mocking Hrvoje's stocky stature and hoarse voice by imitating a bull whenever Hrvoje entered a room. Hrvoje got his revenge when he and his Ottoman allies took Čupor prisoner in a battle near Doboj in Bosnia in 1415. Hrvoje had his tormenter sewn into an ox-hide and then said to him, "If you bellowed like a bull when in human shape, now you have

to the degree that this tale has a factual foundation, Čupor saw his rival Hrvoje's identity as a Slav.

In fact, in the fifteenth century the word "Toth" is found with some frequency in Hungarian texts for Slavs. For example, many miracles came to be attributed to the Franciscan John Capistran (1386–1456), who died in the unsuccessful defense of Beograd against the Ottomans. He was buried in nearby Ilok in Slavonia, a city with a Hungarian majority at the time, but also having many Slavs. In the second half of the fifteenth and early-sixteenth century six differing manuscript collections describing these miracles, many taking place in connection with his grave, appeared. In the various texts several individuals called Sclavus or Sclavo are mentioned, a Matthew, a Nicholas, a George, a Fabian, an Ilija. S. Andrić takes it as a surname but wonders whether "Slav" was the actual surname or was a translation of the Hungarian term "Toth," which he thinks would have been the more likely surname given in such a community. Moreover, George Sclavus de Temesvar (Timișoara) in one manuscript appears as George Thot in a second. We may note that the form "Thot" is the same rendering as given in the Hrvoje story. Andrić argues that in medieval Hungary "Toth" did not designate a Slovak but more often someone from Slovenia, but in this case most probably a Slavonian (if not simply a Slav). To confirm the fact that "Toth" and "Sclavus" are synonyms (or better one a translation of the other) is the fact that in one manuscript a certain Ladislao Sclavo and Fabiano Sclavo become Ladislao Thot and Fabiano Thot in a second. Later on we find the same pattern between manuscripts of a certain Martin, George, and Thomas.³¹³ And we know that "Toth" was to become a normal Hungarian last name, just, as noted above, as "Horvat" (Croat) did. As in the case of "Horvat," presumably "Toth" identified a Slav who had moved into a majority Hungarian community in order to distinguish him from others there with the same first name.

We can also find documents using the two terms "Croat" and "Slav" together. The epitaph of Mladen III Šubić, who died in Trogir in 1348, refers to him as the shield of the Croats (*clipeus Croatorum*), but also says that his death was owing to the sins of the Slavic people (*Slavonie gentium*) and calls upon the Slavs to cry (*Flete, Slavi*).³¹⁴ Nada Klaić is almost certainly correct in saying that the epitaph's author was a Trogiranin.³¹⁵ If so, the terminology would presumably reflect the views of a Trogir intellectual and not necessarily those of the deceased.

the shape of an ox with which to bellow." Hrvoje then had Čupor pitched into a river. (J. Fine, *Bosnian Church*, pp. 235–36; tale drawn from Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum* [1488], Budapest [Monumenta Hungarica 1], 1957, pp. 92–93.)

313. S. Andrić, *The Miracles of St. John Capistran*, Budapest, 2000, pp. 45–46, p. 55 (fms. 34–36), p. 105.

314. *Hrvatski latinisti I*, Zagreb, 1969, pp. 58–59.

315. N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom*, p. 595; and N. Klaić, *Trogir*, p. 244.

References to Communities Possibly Labeled Ethnically:
Croats and Vlachs

In all these cases, the term "Croatia/Croat" has been used exclusively in a legal or political sense. However, in a charter of 1345 issued by King Louis to Ivaniš Nelipčić after the death of the latter's father, specifying which fiefs the heir was to control and which he was to surrender, we have a brief reference that suggests more a nationality than a political category. The document lists several fiefs "with their inhabitants or people, Croats and Vlachs."³¹⁶ Though it was issued by the king, I suspect the description came from the locals. The Vlachs, whom we shall meet in this and other areas of Croatia and Dalmatia, were descendants of a pre-Slavic Romance-speaking people. Many were shepherds, and the term also acquired that particular occupational meaning, sometimes making it unclear what is meant by the term "Vlach." For example, in Serbia, Dušan's Law Code (1349) refers to "Serbs" and "Vlachs," and though at first sight this might seem to be an ethnic distinction, more detailed examination of the code shows that it was in fact occupational; Dušan was separating the Serb agriculturalists from the Vlach pastoralists, since their differing lifestyles required very different tax policies.³¹⁷ However, there seems little reason to see an occupational distinction here in Nelipčić's case, and, as we shall see, in many areas of the western Balkans the Vlachs had their own institutions of self-government and thus were separate legal communities. Combining Croats with such Vlachs also does not seem territorial/political, since there was no equivalent to Croatia "Vlachia" here. Thus, I think it likely that in this passage the Croats are seen as a particular people. This also is one of the very rare occasions when the term "Croat" is applied to the general population rather than to just the nobles of this very small area. One clearly cannot have an "ethnicity," if the only "ethnics" are a dozen or so clans of nobles. Furthermore, I, of course, would strongly argue that there is not a single document to even hint that any of these nobles labeled "Croat" could be considered an ethnic Croat.

A statement similar to that of the 1345 charter appears in two 1412 documents issued by King Sigismund of Hungary. The first concerns Vlachs and

316. Smičiklas, *CD XI*, p. 250; N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 203. D. Švob ("Krnji ljetopis splitski," *Vjesnik Hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva* 17, 1936, p. 212, fn. 12) claims that the usual forms of this name (Nelipčić or Nelipić) have "no basis in the fourteenth-century writing of the name. The [actual] name means an ugly (nelijepa) aim from a wish, that is, do not be for anyone an evil eye (ne budi mu uroka). One can write Nelip'c, Nelep'c, Nelipac, Nelipec, Nelepac, Nelepec, but never Nelipić." Though the name of the family founder, Nelipac, is rendered correctly, the surname of his descendants is not. I have no way of knowing if Švob, who was a brilliant and critical young Croatian scholar who met his death in 1944 in an Ustaša concentration camp, was correct in this case; thus, I have used the form of the name traditionally used by scholars, but I thought it worth calling the reader's attention to this linguistic issue.

317. Dušan's Law Code is available in English translation; "The Code of Stephan Dušan" (M. Burr, ed. & trans.), *Slavonic and East European Review* 28, 1949–50, pp. 198–217, 516–39.

Croats bringing merchandise into “our [Hungary’s] Dalmatian cities.”³¹⁸ The second allowed Ivaniš Nelipčić to give as a dowry to his daughter Katarina all his family property: Sinj, Travnik on the Cetina, Knin, and so on, together with all the Croats and Vlachs (cum universis Croatis et Vlahis) therein.³¹⁹

Later on, Vlachs (noted in the 1345 and 1412 royal texts) continued to appear as a separate community with special rights in this area. A document from 1433 drawn up to define relations between a group of Vlachs and the property of the Church of St. Ivan in Lika provides a long list of named Vlachs (including a vojvoda [clan or tribal chief] and Vlach judges) and then refers to others by the phrase “all good Vlachs in Croatia.” The document also mentions a Vlach judicial court (stola vlaškoga) and then goes on to state that “not one Vlach among us brother Croat Vlachs will carry out any evil on the said property.”³²⁰ Thus these Vlachs from Gori in Lika saw themselves as a special community of Croat Vlachs, presumably meaning Vlachs in Croatia. A second charter from 1436 from Cetin, thus pertaining to the descendants of Nelipčić’s Vlachs or their neighbors, is even more interesting. It was issued to “good Vlachs” by Hans Frankapan, Prince of Krk, Modruš, Cetin, and Klis (from where this charter was issued) and Deputy/Commander of Dalmatia and Croatia. The Vlachs receiving these privileges were to serve under him and would not be put under a Croatian commander. They would be commanded by a Vlach “who would be appointed in agreement with our prince. . . . Moreover, if there were problems involving Vlachs in the town of Sinj, they would not be judged by a Croat prince or judge. . . . The prince of Cetina may also not appoint the Vlachs’ vojvoda (commander) and no Croatian judge may judge them.”³²¹ The term “Croatian” is used here in an official sense, meaning an appointee from the administration of the Croatian ban. Thus, the Vlachs, as a privileged community, were to administer themselves and fight for the prince as a unit under their own commanders. So, the Vlachs were a community with both ethnic characteristics (clearly recognized as a separate people) and also legal ones with special and separate rights.

Croatians and Vlachs were also distinguished in a note inserted in 1431 in the so-called Pašman Breviary as two peoples/groups being enslaved in Turkish raids.³²² Though the Breviary is from the island of that name, it is likely that the victims were from the mainland. Croats were also paired with Vlachs (cor-

318. Ljubić, *Listine* VI, p. 213.

319. Cited by V. Klaić, “Rodoslovje knezova Nelipčića od plemena Svačić,” *Vjesnik Hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva* n.s. 3, 1898, p. 13.

320. Dj. Šurmin, *Hrvatski spomenici*, p. 132; N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 278.

321. Dj. Šurmin, *Hrvatski spomenici*, pp. 432–35; N. Klaić, *Izvori*, pp. 280–81. It should be noted that the river and the county (župa) were called “Cetina,” and thus the local ruler was “Prince of Cetina,” while the fortress was called “Cetin.”

322. Dj. Šurmin, *Hrvatski spomenici*, pp. 431–32; discussed by S. Traljić, “Vrana i njezini gospodari u doba turske vladavine,” in G. Novak & V. Maštrović (eds.), *Povijest Vrane*, Zadar, 1971, p. 344.

vati et morlacchi) as quarrelling parties in the late 1480s in Dubašnica and in a Poljica (not the one near Split) in the territory of the Bishop of Krk, Donat. The same groups were referred to in 1504 as owing tithes to the cathedral church, listed as: "every Christian, nobleman and peasant, Vlach or Croat" (morlaco over crovato). In the text a certain Radac was mentioned, who was called a "Croat" or "Slav" but not a "Vlach" (corvato cioe schiavon, et non murlaco, lo qual haveva nome Radaz). Crnčić, who presents these references, does not provide full texts, and he notes that in the tithe documents, Croats are referred to several times as *crovatinus* or *crovatus* and even as the Croatian people/nation (*natione crovatus*).³²³ Some of the "Croats and Vlachs" from Frankapan territory on the mainland had been moved by Count Ivan Frankapan to Dubašnica on the island of Krk, and we find in 1490 some Croats (*Crovati*) paying tithes to the Church of St. Apollinaris in Dubašnica.³²⁴ Presumably the label "Croat" was used to distinguish between the newcomers from Frankapan's part of Croatia and the other residents of the Dubašnica area.

Other Significant Fifteenth-Century Mentions of "Croats/Croatia"

In 1386, after the murder of Charles of Naples, who had been seeking the Hungarian throne, civil war erupted all over the kingdom, in which the South-Slav nobles took an active part. At one point in his description of these events, the mid-fifteenth-century Hungarian historian Thuroczy (1435–90) refers to the expulsion of the Hungarian court by a wave of "wild Croats."³²⁵ One might read nationality into this phrase, but it could equally well mean that the attacking unit was undisciplined and from the Kingdom of Croatia, and thus "Croat" was being used in the sense that it regularly had, when we found the Prince of Krk commanding Croatian troops, that is, those levied in Croatia.

Similar significance could be given to a passage in "The Chronicle of Paul Pavlović of Zadar" (*Memoriale Pauli de Paulo patritii iadrensis*), covering the period 1371 to 1408. In addition to the usual references to the Croatian entity and its ban and one reference to Croatian nobles, Paul, in an entry under the year 1400, notes the arrival (somewhere, Trogir? Zadar?) of several named nobles of Split and Trogir with many Croatian cavalymen (*cum multis equitibus Croatorum*), i.e., those from Cetin and Klis along with other Dalmatians, i.e., Šibenčani, among whom had been three [named] individuals killed by the Splićani and left behind in the city [of Split], along with some of the Croatians, that is some Cetinjani, whose corpses had lain in the square of

323. I. Crnčić, *Najstarija poviest krčkoj, osorskoj, rabskoj, senjskoj, i krbavskoj biskupiji*, Rome, 1867, pp. 137–38, including footnotes.

324. V. Štefanić, "Opatija sv. Lucije u Baški i drugi benediktinski samostani na Krku," *Croatia sacra* 6, nos. 11–12, 1936, p. 15 (including fn. 57).

325. N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 252.

the said city of Split for over two days.³²⁶ Since Cetin and Klis were major centers of the Croatian banovina, I believe that we can see these cavalymen as an official unit sent by the rulers of Croatia to aid their Dalmatian allies.

Though people from the interior who came into the Dalmatian cities were usually from Sclavonia, C. Fisković has turned up two unusual exceptions. Two builders in Zadar, one in 1432 and the other in the second half of the fifteenth century, took on as apprentices (respectively) Paul, son of the late John of Croatia (Paulum quondam Johannis de Crobacia), and Jurislav, son of Juraj from Slucanco in Croatia (de Slucanco de Croatia).³²⁷ Though the references do not identify them as Croats, but merely as individuals from the territory of Croatia, it still is unusual to hear of Croatia without emphasis upon its status as a political unit. Runje found a will, registered in Zadar, of a Glagolitic priest named Dionizije, who was the son of the late Radosa from Croatia (de Croatia).³²⁸ Of course, Croatia need not be associated here with Zadar; the late lamented Radosa may well have come to Zadar from the Croatian banovina. A second will registered in Zadar, this one in 1437, states on the outside/backside: "I dom Juraj the priest Zubina of Croatian book (hrvacke knige) wrote my testament with my own hand."³²⁹ I assume this odd phrase means that the priest knew (probably exclusively) Croatian letters and used such books; thus, it signifies that he used the Slavic rather than Latin rite. In any case, unlike the authors of most of our sources, Zubina called the language "Croatian" rather than "Slavic."

We also have two Czech references to "Croatian." The first is a tract on Church Slavonic written by a Czech Benedictine, Jan z Holešova. He identifies certain words in the hymn "Hospodine pomiluj ny" as being "Croatian." Then he goes on to claim that the Czechs (Bohemians) and their language originated in Croatia and from the Croatian language (charvaticum ydioma). His views were presumably influenced by either the Čeh and Leh migration story, in which a Prince Čeh migrated to Bohemia from south of the Danube to found the Czech nation, or by the fact that Charles IV, in his attempt to revive Cyril-Methodian Slavonic monasticism in Prague, invited some Benedictines from Croatia to come to Bohemia to establish a monastery with Slavonic services, which might have made Croatia seem to Jan the source of Slavonic, and thus possibly of Slavic itself. The second reference is in a Biblical codex of 1416 from Charles' Emaus monastery in Prague, which mentions "a Croatian writer/scribe" (pisarzi harvatsky).³³⁰ The phrase by itself does not

326. Paulus de Paulo, "Ljetopis Pavla Pavlovića patricija zadarskoga" (F. Šišić, ed.), *Vjestnik Kr. hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog zemaljskog arhiva* 6, no. 1, 1904, p. 32.

327. C. Fisković, *Zadarski sredovječni majstori*, pp. 20, 179 (fn. 498).

328. P. Runje, "Veze krbavsko-ličkih glagoljaša s Dalmacijom u 15 stoljeću," in M. Bogović (ed.), *Krbavska biskupija*, Rijeka-Zagreb, 1988, p. 114.

329. Dj. Šurmin, *Hrvatski spomenici*, p. 146.

330. E. Hercigonja, "Mjesto i udio hrvatske književnosti u književnom procesu slavenskog srednjovjekovlja," in A. Flaker & K. Pranjić (eds.), *Hrvatska književnost u evropskom kontekstu*, Zagreb, 1978, pp. 126–27, 132–33; I. Ostojić, "Benediktinci glagoljaši," *Slovo* 9–10, 1960, p. 38.

allow us to conclude whether or not "Croatian" should be taken as reflecting an ethnic identity as opposed to a place of origin. After all, unlike the papacy and the Venetians, who simply called people in Croatia "Slavs," the Czechs, being Slavs themselves, could not use such terminology to distinguish people from Croatia from themselves. Thus, to make a distinction, they were driven to find a specific term, and the most natural one was geographical/regional. Therefore, I think we have geographical markers of identity in both references.

The problem of the significance of the word "Croatian" arises also in the cases of two figures found by Foretić in two documents from 1473 and 1474. The first document, a grant of trading privileges from 1473, which was written in Slavic and Cyrillic, states, "We Croatian Damjan (Hrvat Damjan) of Litva Ban of the states (rusagov) of Dalmatia, Croatia, and the Slavonian land." In the second text "Ban of Croatia Damjan Hrvat" was simply passing on a document for the King of Hungary through a subordinate who was similarly identified as Djura Hrvat, the Castellan of Klis.³³¹ Not too long thereafter, in a November 1486 excerpt from a register from Senj, among the people involved in a dispute over land was a certain Martinus Croata from Rakovica.³³² The chief of the garrison defending the city of Krk in 1480 on behalf of Ivan Frankapan was called Petar the Croat (Crovachiani) or Petar the Krbavian.³³³ Petar's two nicknames are clearly based on his geographical origin, one fairly broad and the other more specific. The same is very likely the case with the other individuals mentioned in the paragraph as well.

A Venetian report also provides an ethnic reference (at least one in the looser Yugoslav sense, as defined in the introduction, but with no detail to support its being included or not under my definition). In this report, written in 1481 at the conclusion of his term as a commissioner on the island of Krk, the Venetian Antonio Vinciguerra referred to Count John (Zuane) (Ivan Frankapan), then head of the family of Krk princes, as being of Croat nationality (de natione Crovata).³³⁴ This, of course, is a late text, and a Venetian in previous centuries, judging from the many Venetian texts we have, would certainly not have described John in this way. However, the Frankapan family, as we shall see, was active in commanding armies levied in Croatia against the Turks, and John may well have picked up a feeling of being "Croat" in some way which he passed on to the Venetian. It is a pity that we do not have more information on what John (or the Venetian) believed was necessary for one to be included in the Croat "nation."

We also have three ecclesiastical texts, one from an unknown location and

331. V. Foretić, *Povijest Dubrovnika I*, pp. 294–95.

332. V. Klaić (ed.), "Dubrovačka vlastela Žunjevići u Senju i Vinodolu od god. 1477–1502," *Vjestnik Kr. hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog zemaljskog arkiva* 3, nos. 3–4, 1901, p. 238.

333. V. Klaić, *Krčki knezovi Frankapani*, p. 281.

334. S. Ljubić (ed.), *Commissiones et relationes Venetae I*, Zagreb (JAZU, MSHSM 6), 1876, p. 48.

two from Senj. The first is somewhat mysterious, in that I have not been able to find any reference to where it has been published, nor have I seen the full passage. However, V. Štefanić and E. Hercigonja (dating it to 1460) and B. Zelić-Bučan (dating it to 1360, surely a typo) refer to a Breviary in which a certain priest named Mavro referred in a margin to Cyril and Methodius, something of a rarity owing to the emphasis on St. Jerome in the western Balkans. Mavro states that the brothers came from Solin (in Dalmatia) rather than the correct Solun (Slavic for Thessaloniki) and that they translated all the Croatian books (vse knjigi hrvatske stlmacise). It would be nice to know if there is more in the passage than what these scholars have quoted, and particularly where Mavro lived.³³⁵ The second text is a Glagolitic Breviary (a service book) printed in Venice in 1493; it has a colophon stating that “this Croatian Breviary (brvieli hr’vackih) was published in Venice and overseen by Blaž Baromić,” a canon of the Church of Senj.³³⁶ And, third, around this time two Senj archdeacons, Petar Jakovčić (d. 1496) and Silvestar Bedričić, translated an Italian work, fra Robert Caracciola’s *Quadragesimale*, from Latin into “Croatian” and asked that readers not criticize too strongly their errors in the translation for “we were born Croats, and our Latin learning is rudimentary.”³³⁷ Senj, of course, lies within the general region where use of the term “Croat” occurs most frequently.

Typical Vocabulary Used in Croatia and Dalmatia

The vocabulary in Croatia and Dalmatia continued to conform to the previous patterns, which we have been examining. V. Foretić cites an example from 1417 in which Franko de Luca of Korčula was travelling to “Slavonia,” by which he meant the hinterland of Dubrovnik.³³⁸ Later on in his fine study on Korčula, Foretić notes that up to 1420 all sources, whether from abroad or from the island itself, when not calling the islanders “Korčulans,” refer to them only as “Slavs.” This statement does not suggest that things changed in 1420; that is simply the year of the Venetian conquest with which Foretić closes his study. In fact, he goes on to say that the earliest references to “Croats” in connection with the island come in the sixteenth century, in correspondence between the

335. Cited by V. Štefanić (ed.), *Hrvatska književnost srednjega vijeka*, Zagreb (Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti 1), 1969, p. 7; E. Hercigonja, “Hrvatska književnost srednjega vijeka (do kraja 14 stoljeća),” *Zbornik Zagrebačke slavističke škole* 1, 1973, p. 65; B. Zelić-Bučan, “Narodni naziv hrvatskog jezika tijekom hrvatske povijesti,” *Jezik* 19, no. 1, 1971, p. 4.

336. B. Grabar, “Tiskani glagoljski Baromićev brevijar,” *Slovo* 34, 1984, p. 159.

337. Cited by V. Štefanić in his Introduction to V. Štefanić (ed.) *Hrvatska književnost srednjega vijeka*, Zagreb, 1969, p. 38. This text is the same one referred to by Ante Split (Hrvatski naslov u našoj starijoj književnosti, Split, 1897, p. 24), who has the work being published in Senj more than a decade after Jakovčić’s death in 1508. See also E. Hercigonja, *Srednjovjekovna književnost*, p. 234.

338. V. Foretić, *Otok Korčula*, p. 302.

Ragusan writer Nikola Nalješković and the Korčulan nobleman Ivan Vidali, whom we shall turn to in the next chapter.³³⁹

Not only did Dubrovnik still refer to its hinterland as Slavonia, so did Split. Two contracts from Split notary books, published by Rismondo, from 1369 and 1370 respectively, define what local merchants may not do in Slavonia. In the first case, a joint-venture arrangement, one of the two individuals involved promises not to give credit to anyone in Slavonia; in the second case, the active trader in a similar arrangement promises not to use the money provided in Slavonia and Bosnia.³⁴⁰ Nin employed the same terminology as well; in 1368 two men, Ivan and Juraj, sons of a certain Ciprian "de Sclavonia," were granted property that had belonged to the town's commune.³⁴¹

We may also note various people active in the environs of Dalmatia who bore the nickname "Slav": first, a Venetian naval captain, known as Antun the Slav, attacked Rab in 1409;³⁴² second, the noted painter and wood-carver Juraj Čulinović-Schiavone, who was born in 1435 in Skradin in Dalmatia and worked (among other places) in Turin, Dresden, and London, had the appellation attached to his name;³⁴³ third, a glass worker from Zadar active in Venice in 1423 was known as Allegretus Sclavus;³⁴⁴ fourth, Foretić mentions a well-known fifteenth-century sculptor known as Nikola Slaven of Dubrovnik;³⁴⁵ fifth, a builder and sculptor, Jacob Statilić, from Trogir, who worked at the Hungarian court of Matthias Corvinus late in the fifteenth century, was also known as "the Slav" (Giacomo Schiavone).³⁴⁶ Again it is worth noting that the five chose, or were given, the designation "Slav," rather than several other possibilities.

Cardinal Ivan Stojković (b. ca. 1390), who was from Dubrovnik, identified himself on occasion as "Sclavus." He was not only in favor of Church reform and bringing dissenters back into the fold, but he also felt a commonality among the Slavs, seeing the Czechs as the same people as the South Slavs. On one occasion he said of the Czechs, "I am your co-national by language and nationality" (conterraneus vostre sum lingua et natione).³⁴⁷ The cardinal's signature (Johannes de Carvattia) emphasized his Croatian origins.³⁴⁸ Though this is a

339. V. Foretić, *Otok Korčula*, p. 323.

340. V. Rismondo (ed.), *Pomorski Split druge polovine XIV st. notarske imbrevijature*, Split (Muzej grada Splita, Izdanja 5), 1954, pp. 57, 88.

341. E. Peričić, "Nin u doba hrvatskih narodnih vladara i njegova statutarna autonomija," in G. Novak & V. Maštrović, *Povijest grada Nina*, p. 140.

342. V. Klaić, *Krčki knezovi Frankapani*, p. 199.

343. M. Jezina, "Šibenik u kulturi XV vijeka," *Magazin severne Dalmacije* 2, 1935, p. 78.

344. L. Čoralić, "Zadrani u Venicije od XIV do XVIII stoljeća," *Radovi* (Zavod za Povijesne znanosti [JAZU] u Zadru) 35, 1993, p. 114.

345. V. Foretić, "Hrvat Dobramir," p. 399, fn. 1.

346. V. Gligo (ed.), *Govori protiv Turaka*, Split, 1983, p. 126.

347. M. Franičević, *Povijest hrvatske renesansne književnosti*, Zagreb, 1983, pp. 62, 191.

348. M. Franičević, *Povijest*, p. 191.

geographical rather than ethnic formulation, it is still interesting to see someone from Dubrovnik identifying that city in the fifteenth century with Croatia.

A. Strgačić cites a host of references to things “Slavic” from Zadar: seven priests who wrote in Slavic (*de littera sclava*) from 1356, 1396, 1401, 1426, 1445, 1488, 1491. He also notes (without citing specific cases) that there are several references to such priests at St. Peter’s in fifteenth-century Zadar. He goes on to mention that at some point in the second half of the fourteenth century the Zadar town council established a Slavic scribe (*scriba in lingua sclavica*) for official dealings with the Slavic hinterland and discovered a case of a man in 1491 leaving a sum of money to every Slavic priest in the Zadar diocese. He also came across two Slavic priests (*presbiter sclavicus*) in Dubrovnik, whom sources noted were from Zadar (*X de Zara* or *de Jadra*) from 1387 and 1391.³⁴⁹

The Skradin Law Code is a fourteenth-century compilation which, like several other codes, prohibits (in chap. 36) a Slav or other foreigner from testifying against a citizen of Skradin in a civil case. The code also has an article (chap. 46) which states that if one buys an animal or other item from any Slav (*Sclavo*) or foreigner, and the item turns out to be an illicit one, the purchaser is to name the seller, and if he does not know his name, then he is to swear that he did not believe that the item he had purchased was an illicit one.³⁵⁰

Split used similar vocabulary. Various court decisions from that city refer to “Slavic customary law” (*mos slavonicus*). Other texts, for example one from 1470, note that government orders were proclaimed to the people in Slavic (in *sclavum*).³⁵¹

We also have two chroniclers from Split writing in the second half of the fourteenth century, Miha Madijev de Barbazanis,³⁵² whose chronicle survives

349. A. Strgačić, “Hrvatski jezik i glagoljica u crkvenim ustanovama grada Zadra,” in *Zadar zbornik*, Zagreb, 1964, pp. 394–95, 398, 401. Jelić’s documents note one of these individuals, Radovan de Zara presbyter schlavichus, in 1391 and 1392, as well as a Petrus with the same Slavic designation but with no place of origin supplied (L. Jelić, *Fontes historici*, Fontes . . . XIV saeculi, p. 11). E. Hercigonja (*Srednjovjekovna književnost*, p. 250) notes another priest serving in Dubrovnik from somewhere in northern Dalmatia (his city is unspecified), who was called Mihovil Dalmatinus.

350. S. Ljubić (ed.), *Statuta et leges civitatis Buduae, civitatis Scardonae, et civitatis et insulae Lesinae*, Zagreb (JAZU, MH-JSM 3), 1882–83, pp. 129, 131.

351. I. Kukuljević-Sakcinski, “Marko Marulić i njegova doba,” his introduction to M. Marulić, *Pjesme*, Zagreb (JAZU, *Stari pisci hrvatski* 1), 1869, p. vii. Kukuljević then notes, “Except for some Italian settlers, there were no other inhabitants [in Split] other than true and pure Croats or as our foreigners of that time called them, Slavs [Slovinacah].” Though this phrasing might seem to imply that the locals, therefore, called them “Croats,” neither Kukuljević nor any other author produces any texts (with a mere handful of exceptions which we have discussed or shall discuss) that would show that. The locals throughout Dalmatia almost universally called the Slavic speakers in that region “Slavs” too.

352. D. Švob (“Krnji ljetopis splitski,” *Vjesnik Hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva* 17, 1936, p. 215) argues that Madijev was not the author of the chronicle but was responsible for copying the draft of it that we have. Since he was not the author, we cannot know which of the several known Miha Madijevs of Split was the individual involved. The fourteenth-century dating I provide in

only in part for the years 1290–1330, and A. Cutheis. Madijev's chronicle deals with both local and European events; his local coverage has few identity markers. According to Madijev in 1313 Mladen Šubić collected an army of Slavs and Germans; this army was made up of both supporters (presumably Slavs) and mercenaries (presumably Germans). Šubić brought this force before Zadar.³⁵³ Under the year 1322 Madijev mentions a group of Croatian nobles who turned against Ban Mladen and joined up with Venice.³⁵⁴ The leading figures involved in this rebellion, members of the Kurjaković clan, were from Krbava in Croatia. In 1334 Madijev recounts that Juraj Šubić mobilized a group of these nobles, drawn, as he says, from Slavic regions like Livno, from the Bosnian banovina, and from Poljica. Advancing on Knin, they were met and defeated by Nelipac; Juraj was captured and the other "Slavs" (Sciavoni) fled.³⁵⁵ Thus, Madijev does on one occasion use the term "Croatian," applying it to those from Croatia; but the term he favors, when he does use identifying markers, including people from Croatia, is "Slavs."

Cutheis tends, as do all Dalmatian chroniclers, to call people by city name, but he also uses the term "Dalmatian," when he speaks of people from more than one city. Thus, the Splitsani and all Dalmatians found themselves under the protection of Venice;³⁵⁶ but soon the Dalmatian cities turned against Venice, for the Dalmatians had come to loathe Venice owing to the Venetians' mercenaries and soldiers.³⁵⁷

Others also used the term "Dalmatian" with some frequency. Around 1409, warfare erupted between the Frankapans and Venice over the island of Rab. In the course of the fighting, the town council of Trogir voted to send forty men in four small boats to Rab's aid, if the other Dalmatians (i.e., cities) did the same.³⁵⁸

Other people had "Dalmatian" (Dalmata) attached to their names as identifying markers. Two late-fifteenth-century bishops of Modruš, Brother Antun Dukan of Zadar, a Dominican who was elected in 1481, and a certain Jacob, who held that position in the century's final decade, were referred to as Antun Dalmata and Jacob Dalmata, respectively. Antun, prior to his appointment, had been a chaplain at the Hungarian court. Also at that court for a while was

my text is from F. Šišić, who, taking Madijev as the author, chose the one he thought most likely. Clearly one part of the text does date from the fourteenth century (which, therefore, justifies my placing the text in this chapter), but Švob argues that the existing text is in at least three parts (probably from three different authors), and we have no way of knowing when Miha Madijev put the pieces together. In fact, according to Švob, the compiler could have been living as late as the seventeenth century.

353. Madijev in V. Gligo & H. Morović (eds.), *Legende i kronike*, Split, 1977, p. 163.

354. Madijev in V. Gligo & H. Morović, *Legende*, p. 173.

355. Madijev in V. Gligo & H. Morović, *Legende*, pp. 179–80.

356. Cutheis in V. Gligo & H. Morović, *Legende*, p. 196.

357. Cutheis in V. Gligo & H. Morović, *Legende*, p. 198.

358. V. Klaić, *Krčki knezovi Frankapani*, p. 198.

the Dominican poet and theologian (author of "Commentarios super XII prophetas minores," from 1460) Julio Dalmatin. One can also note a priest from Hvar, who published a work on the Holy Cross in Venice in 1477, the title page of which bore the name "Simonis Dalmatae Praesbyteri ex civitate Pharensi." Furthermore, a Venice-based printer active in the 1480s was known as George (Juraj) the Dalmatian.³⁵⁹

In the late fifteenth century, under the influence of Humanism and its Classical affectations, the term "Illyria/Illyrian" emerged to refer to the South Slav lands and their population. The true Illyrians, a pre-Slavic population, were not Slavs at all.³⁶⁰ Nevertheless, intellectuals from Dalmatia, as we shall see later, were not very clear on this point. In any case, in 1470 Antonio Marcello from Cres wrote a description of the "Illyrian coast."³⁶¹ Shortly thereafter, in 1487, the most famous "Illyrianist" from this period, Juraj Šižgorić, published his work on the region of Illyria and city of Šibenik. I shall discuss this author and his text in the next chapter. Jerolim Vidulić (†1499), a notary in Zadar, devoted a poem in Latin to St. Jerome, hailing him as a splendor of the Illyrians (*decus Illyricorum*) and crediting him with giving his compatriots the opportunity of writing in the vernacular, "in litteras Illiricis." Vidulić also addressed him as the Dalmatian (Dalmata) Jerome.³⁶² Another writer, Koriolan Cipiko (Cippico: 1425–93), who was born in Trogir, used the term "Illyrian" for all the Slavic people, in particular for those from Dalmatia. Antoljak cites Cipiko saying that in his own time people seen as Illyrians were Slavs (possibly in the sense of Slavonians), Bosnians, Dalmatians, Croats (Croaci), Istrians, and Carniolians.³⁶³ According to Gligo, however, Cipiko's favorite term was "Dalmatian," with "Illyrian" definitely in second place.³⁶⁴

The term "Illyrian" was to spread rapidly and become common by century's end. Nicholas, Bishop of Modruš, was a papal legate working in Bosnia and Hungary to bring about common action against the Turks. He regularly used the term "Illyria" for the Slavic area he covered; for example, in one text he spoke of the difficulties peoples were now facing because of the Turks, especially the Illyrian people (*natio Illyrica*).³⁶⁵ The Ragusan Ilija Crijević (born in

359. M. Sladović, *Povjesti biskupijah senjske*, pp. 144–45; I. Kukuljević-Sakcinski, "Marko Marulić i njegova doba," his introduction to M. Marulić, *Pjesme*, Zagreb (JAZU, *Stari pisci Hrvatski* 1), 1869, pp. xv–xvi, xviii–xix.

360. On the true Illyrians of antiquity (to some degree a catch-all term for a number of different peoples with apparent similarities settled across much of the Balkans), see J. Wilkes, *The Illyrians*, Oxford, 1992.

361. On Marcello, see M. Kurelac, "Paladije Fusko," p. 49.

362. V. Valčić, "Jerolim Vidulić najstariji hrvatski pjesnik Zadra," in *Zbornik*, Zadar (Institut za historijske nauke u Zadru, Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu), 1955, p. 89.

363. On Koriolan Cipiko, see M. Kurelac, "Paladije Fusko," p. 28; S. Antoljak, *Hrvatska historiografija do 1918 I*, Zagreb, 1992, pp. 28–29, esp. p. 28, fn. 79.

364. V. Gligo, *Govori protiv Turaka*, p. 29.

365. M. Franičević, *Povijest*, p. 298.

1463) referred in his poetry to Dalmatia or Dubrovnik as being in Illyria; on the occasion of the death of the poet Ivan Gučetić (1451–1502), Crijević referred to the deceased as "an Illyrian poet" and spoke of his "Illyrian nectar."³⁶⁶ Other individuals came to have "Illyricus" appended to their name, for example, the theologian and travelling preacher, Thomas of Osor.³⁶⁷

In 1495 a Lectionary was published in Venice under the name of Archbishop Bernardin of Split. A Lectionary is a text which simplifies the work of priests, by providing the readings from the Gospels, Epistles, and other Biblical texts required for each church service through the calendar year. A colophon to Bernardin's text, which provides the date, notes that the text was in Illyrian (*lingua ylliricha*). The bishop did not do the translation, but it is stated that he carefully examined and corrected the text.³⁶⁸ Thus, basically, he provided a stamp of approval. The work was to go through several editions and, as we shall see, the name of the language into which it was rendered was to change.

We should not see the term "Illyrian" simply as Humanist antiquarianism. For, most of those using the term, particularly over the next two or three centuries, believed that the Illyrians were Slavs and thus that there was a real continuity between the two. They truly saw it as an appropriate historical name, which one could identify with. Other texts attributed by scholars to the fifteenth century are problematic.³⁶⁹

Humanism also revived other terms. Franciscus (Franje) Niger was born in 1452 in Venice, but his father had come there from Senj. Niger hauled out the classical name for that region, "Liburnia." He wrote of his father as a Liburnian and he himself sometimes signed documents as "Liburnus." He also saw "Dalmatian" as a category, claiming that all Dalmatians glorify St. Jerome and that "slava" in the Dalmatian language means "glory."³⁷⁰ We also find a very early connection postulated between Sarmatians and Slavs. Giovanni Mario Filelfo, a peripatetic Italian Humanist teacher, wrote a historical sketch in the mid-1450s about Dubrovnik, which goes into detail about its origins; the key

366. F. Rački (ed.), "Iz djela E. L. Crievića, Dubrovčanin," *Starine* (JAZU) 4, 1872; references to "Illyria/Illyrico," pp. 173, 176; to the poem on Gučetić, p. 198; see also M. Franičević, *Povijest hrvatske renesansne književnosti*, pp. 25, 174.

367. I. Kukuljević-Sakcinski, "Marko Marulić i njegova doba," p. xix.

368. J. Fučak, *Šest stoljeća hrvatskoga lektionara u sklopu jedanaest stoljeća hrvatskoga glagoljaštva*, Zagreb, 1975, p. 204; L. Jelić, *Fontes historici*, *Fontes . . . XV saeculi*, p. 29.

369. For example, V. Spinčić (*Crtica iz hrvatske književne kulture Istre*, Zagreb, 1926, p. 10) reports that in 1445 a deacon named Luke prepared for a priest named Grgur in Vrbanje a work (to be found in the Vatican Library in 1926) with pastoral contents entitled, "Zrcalo [Mirror] seu Speculum Illyricum." 1445 seems extremely early for the term "Illyrian" to have hit the Kvarner islands; moreover, it is not clear to me whether the title Spinčić gives was provided by the text itself or whether it was added at some point over the following centuries by someone in Vrbanje or even by a Vatican librarian. It would be worth investigating this text, either to eliminate the title or, should it really date from 1445, to highlight it as one of the earliest uses of "Illyrian" in a South Slavic context that we have.

370. M. Franičević, *Povijest*, p. 321.

ancestor was a certain Trifone, King of Scythia, whom Filelfo also calls King of the Sarmatians. The Sarmatians and Scythians were to him a single people; and, as was already being claimed among the West Slavs (particularly the Poles), the Sarmatians were Slavs. After an unsuccessful war against the Medes, Trifone fled with his nephew, Rago, and his people, and settled in the borderlands of Pannonia, Bosnia, and Dalmatia, where he built a fortress on a hill called Trifonia. He successfully defended his settlement against the Bosnians who opposed his activities. He then died and was succeeded by Rago, who finally defeated the Bosnians and established Dubrovnik (i.e., Rago founded Ragusa). After founding his new city, Rago decided not to marry and, by leaving no heirs, paved the way for Dubrovnik to become a Republic.³⁷¹

Church Matters

Along with certain Benedictines and the Order of St. Paul, the Third Order Franciscans carried out their activities in Slavonic, writing in Glagolitic. From time to time they ran into difficulties from hierarchs and secular authorities for that reason, though until the nineteenth century, they were able to maintain this custom. We have several documents written by them or about them from the fifteenth century. At some point after 1765 a Franciscan in their monastery of St. John the Baptist composed a summary of documents from the monastery's archives. In one of them, a letter from the Archbishop of Zadar to a member of the Third Order Franciscans in 1439, he found mention of a certain priest, Paul of Slavic language (Paolo della lettera sclava).³⁷² Late in the fifteenth century a translation was made of a 1445 grant by Ivan Frankapan to a church on the isle of Krk; the translation was made from Slavic (ex sclavo) into Latin;³⁷³ in a will from Cres in 1479 reference is made to a Brother Matthew of "litera sclava;"³⁷⁴ and in 1486 a document concerned with the same will mentions the Franciscan, Brother Matthew of Zadar of the Third Order Franciscans of Illyrian language.³⁷⁵

In the same period we find a Zadar archbishop mandating in 1460 that priests of Slavic or Illyrian letters (*littera slava seu Illyricis*) could serve Mass in only two Zadar churches and only on specific days; for any other occasions

371. R. Picchio, "Povijest Dubrovnika prema interpretaciji humaniste Giovana Maria Filelfa (1426–1480)," *Zbornik Zagrebačke slavističke škole* 1, 1973, pp. 15–22, esp. pp. 18–19.

372. S. Ivančić, *Povjestne crte o samostanskom III Redu sv. O. Franje po Dalmaciji, Kvameru i Istri i poraba glagoljice u istoj redodržavi* II, Zadar, 1910; vol. II consists of collected documents; items cited here, pp. 4, 212. (Henceforth these documents are cited as S. Ivančić, *Povjestne crte II* [prilozi]. A Latin version of this text is provided by L. Jelić, *Fontes historici*, Fontes . . . XV saeculi, p. 6.)

373. S. Ivančić, *Povjestne crte II* (prilozi), p. 5.

374. S. Ivančić, *Povjestne crte II* (prilozi), p. 23.

375. S. Ivančić, *Povjestne crte II* (prilozi), p. 34.

in these churches or for other churches they needed his (or his vicar's) special permission.³⁷⁶

In 1480 Venice acquired the island of Krk. A Venetian decision in 1481, passed on to the providura of Krk, called for the expulsion of some Slavic brothers (*fratres sclavi*) who celebrated the Mass in Slavic (*celebrant Divina offitia more sclavo*) from a monastery. This decision ordered their replacement by Latinists.³⁷⁷ As we shall see, the Venetians changed their mind about this policy, and we have a document from the Franciscan vicar of Dalmatia and Istria (Venetian territory), written in 1494, permitting the Franciscans to use Slavonic (*lingua sclavonica*) in their services.³⁷⁸

Identity in Dubrovnik in the Fifteenth Century

Vinko Foretić has extracted much interesting data from the official records of Dubrovnik on how city officials regarded the city and its citizens in relationship to the wider world around them. We noted earlier in this chapter that Dubrovnik saw its surroundings—both coastal lands and the interior—as Slavonia. That did not change in the fifteenth century, at least for its immediate environs and the interior. In fact, a German traveller to the town in the 1490s said Dubrovnik lay in Slavonia, one province of the Kingdom of Croatia. The last part of this statement is false, since Dubrovnik was never part of the Croatian kingdom. An Italian from Milan, Peter Casola, in 1494, however, saw Dubrovnik as a city of Dalmatia.³⁷⁹

Fisković has also found in contracts of Ragusan goldsmiths an assignment in 1397 to make earrings in the Slavic manner (*cerzellorum sclavorum, cercelli sclavonici rotundi*).³⁸⁰ Stuard turned up an order for eight pairs of Slavic bangles (*cercellis schlavoneschis*).³⁸¹ Another customer in the thirteenth century sought a Slavic silver belt, which probably meant one decorated with silver, for Fisković notes another order from the fifteenth century for a Bosnian

376. S. Ivančić, *Povjestne crte II* (prilozi), p. 163; J. Fućak, *Šest stoljeća hrvatskoga lekcionara*, p. 97; A. Strgačić, "Hrvatski jezik," pp. 399–400, and p. 400, fn. 292. The issue did not go away, and Strgačić points out that the same prohibition (with the same two churches excepted) was repeated at two synods in the next century, in 1566 and 1594. The 1460 document, saying only "Slavic" (*de Littera Sclava*) and omitting the "or Illyrian," is also found in L. Jelić, *Fontes historici*, *Fontes . . . XV saeculi*, p. 15. I suspect Jelić's version is correct, but when the permission was subsequently repeated, "Illyrian"—a term that became popular after 1460—was then added. The two churches that were affected were Holy Trinity and St. Mary's.

377. S. Ivančić, *Povjestne crte II* (prilozi), pp. 163–64; L. Jelić, *Fontes historici*, *Fontes . . . XV saeculi*, p. 21.

378. S. Ivančić, *Povjestne crte II* (prilozi), pp. 164; see also L. Jelić, providing a 1490 date, *Fontes historici*, *Fontes . . . XV saeculi*, pp. 28–29.

379. V. Foretić, "Godina 1358 u povijesti Dubrovnika," *Starine* (JAZU) 50, 1960, p. 260.

380. C. Fisković, "Dubrovački zlatari od XIII do XVII stoljeća," *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* ser. III, 1, 1949, pp. 185, 216. See also K. Jireček, *Romani u gradovima Dalmacije*, p. 102.

381. S. Stuard, *A State of Deference*, p. 182.

belt decorated with silver.³⁸² Whether “Slavic” and “Bosnian” were synonyms for one style or two different styles is unknown. Presumably the sought-after style was not Ragusan or Dalmatian, for it would probably have been so named; thus the term referred to something developed in the Ragusan hinterland, populated by people seen in Dubrovnik as “Slavs” in general.³⁸³

Ragusans could also use the term “Slavic” for their own customs—though presumably such customs had been adopted from their neighbors and had been consciously perceived as such. In 1383 Dubrovnik captured some pirate ships, whose crews included some Frenchmen. After imprisoning them for eight months, the town decided to send them (under guard) to the French king, dressed in the garb of those who had captured them. This included Slavic caps (*la baretta sciacona*).³⁸⁴

But if their neighbors remained “Slavs” inhabiting a broad “Slavonia,” how did the people of Dubrovnik see their own town’s location and character? In 1382, the town entered into a league with other Dalmatian cities against Venice, which the town council found reasonable because “we are all towns of Dalmatia.”³⁸⁵ Philippus de Diversis de Quartigianis from Lucca, who had already lived in Dubrovnik for about ten years as the first principal of its high school, gave several orations around 1440 to the town’s citizens. He saw the town as part of Dalmatia and also as part of Hungary; in fact, he saw all of Dalmatia as part of Hungary or of the Kingdom of Hungary.³⁸⁶ He also stated that Dubrovnik lay in Illyria which they (the local Ragusans) called “Slavonia.” But he never mentioned Croatia, even though part of Dalmatia was in Hungary’s Kingdom or Banovina of Croatia.³⁸⁷ In 1446 Dubrovnik sent an embassy to Barcelona objecting to having to pay a customs tax borne by “Italians.” The city wrote, “We are amazed and puzzled by this for several reasons. First, because we believed that not only you but the whole world knew that Ragusans are not Italians nor located in Italy, but as much by its

382. C. Fisković, “Dubrovački zlatari,” p. 186.

383. S. Stuard, in her *A State of Deference*, p. 197, fn. 13, notes that “Slavic fashions were generally in vogue [in Venice] in the late-thirteenth and early-fourteenth centuries. Both *le schiavine* (fabric) and *le rasse della Rascia* [Raška] were in style.” Smičiklas (CD VI, pp. 514–15) publishes a text from 1284 in which a Ragusan merchant was robbed “in Slavonia” of a variety of goods including four measures of “sclavinas” worth sixteen gross.

384. Cited by I. Degmedžić (“Požega i okolica,” p. 110) from the oldest (and anonymous) Dubrovnik chronicle.

385. V. Foretić, “Godina 1358,” p. 257.

386. Dubrovnik at the time was still under Hungarian suzerainty (dating from the Peace of Zadar in 1358) and alone among the central and southern Dalmatian cities was to escape the clutches of Venice.

387. F. de Diversis de Quartigianis, “Opis položaja, zgrada, državnog uređenja i pohvalnih običaja slavnog grada Dubrovnika” (I. Božić, ed. & trans.), *Dubrovnik* 2 (16), no. 3, 1973, p. 1; discussed by V. Foretić, “Godina 1358,” p. 277. We soon find others in Dubrovnik picking up the idea of Illyria. We noted previously the Ragusan Ilija Crijević, who wrote later in the fifteenth century.

language as by its [geographical] position are Dalmatians and belong to the region of Dalmatia."³⁸⁸

The same view was expressed in 1445 when Dubrovnik officially adopted St. Jerome as the official protector of Dalmatia, noting that it was doing so "like the other Dalmatians."³⁸⁹

Vocabulary Used about Dalmatia/Croatia in Italy

We have already examined the vocabulary used by Venice about the western Balkans, an area in which it was very actively involved. And, in that examination, we saw that Venice tended to see the population of that region simply as "Slavs," and occasionally as "Dalmatians." The rest of Italy had a similar view.

F. Gestrin's study of Dalmatians who migrated to Italy in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries shows that these individuals were usually referred to in documents from Italian towns (e.g., Pesaro, Ancona) as "Slavs" (*Sclavus* or *Sclavonus*), sometimes as being "from Slavonia" (*de Sclavonia*), and less often as being "Dalmatians" or being "from Dalmatia" or "from Illyria" (*Dalmaticus*, *de Dalmatia*, *de partibus Illirie*). It was also common to combine descriptions of general nationality (Slav) with a given town or the region (*de Sclavonie*), for example, *Georgius sutor Sclavus de Zara (Zadar)*, *Domina Simona Sclava filia olim Hieronimi Sclavi de partibus Sclavonie*, *Polus de Curzula (Korčula)* *Slavus*, *Nicholaus Georgij de Cherso (Cres) Sclavus habitator Ancone*, and so on. Gestrin finds that the language they spoke was either *lingua sclavonica* or *dalmatina*. Since many of these immigrants were slow to learn Italian, documents report on others interpreting for them in the form of the following example: The Slav Grgur, son of Stojan, who knew well both Latin and Slavic languages, was interpreter for the Slav Staniša, son of Jacob from Zadar. Though Gestrin has uncovered people from Croatia proper, for example, from Senj, Modruš, Ogulin, Krbava, Knin, and also from Slavonia, he has no examples of anyone being labeled a "Croat."³⁹⁰ C. Verducci has also noted the presence of large numbers of Slavs and Albanians in and around Fermo from the fifteenth through seventeenth century. For example, during a plague epidemic in 1463, Slavs (*Sclavi*) and Albanians were not allowed to enter the town.³⁹¹

Many of the Catholic Slavs from the western Balkans came to Rome for shorter visits (pilgrimages) or longer periods of time. Some of the more long-term ones were associated with the Honorary Brotherhood of Slavs of the settlement of St. Peter (*Venerabilis Societas Confallonorum Slavorum Burghi S.*

388. V. Foretić, "Godina 1358," p. 258.

389. V. Foretić, *Povijest Dubrovnika* I, p. 279.

390. F. Gestrin, "Migracije iz Dalmacije u Marke u XV i XVI stoljeću," *Radovi* (Institut za hrvatsku povijest, Filozofski fakultet, Sveučilište u Zagrebu) 10, 1977, pp. 395–404, esp. 397–401.

391. C. Verducci, "Uloga Ilirskog kolegija u odnosima sa balkanskim pokrajinama," *Godišnjak Društva istoričara Bosne i Hercegovine* 28–30, 1979, pp. 296–97.

Petri). This organization, which probably dated from the first decades of the fifteenth century, is documented as existing in 1441. The brotherhood carried out various charitable functions on behalf of poor and ill members of the Slavic community. This organization became the basis for the Slavic guesthouse and hospital of St. Jerome that was founded by Pope Nicholas V in 1453.³⁹² This institution will be discussed in detail in chapter 5 of our study.

As for higher education in the region, Padua had a major university dating back to the thirteenth century. A number of Catholics from the western Balkans attended, particularly many from Dalmatia from the fifteenth century on, when Venice took control of this region, but Hungarian and later Habsburg Slavs also attended, like Janus Pannonius, whom we shall discuss shortly. The different faculties (e.g., law and medicine) had slight differences in organization, but basically the students were divided into domestics/locals (*citramontani*) and foreigners (*ultramontani*). Each of these categories were further subdivided into “nations,” defined geographically. Thus, for example, the law faculty had thirteen domestic nations, one of which was called “Dalmatian.” The Hungarian South Slavs were foreigners and included in the Hungarian nation. Later, in the Habsburg period, depending on whether a region was administered by Hungary or Austria, South Slavs found themselves parts of the Hungarian or German nations respectively. Thus, one can see that these were not ethnic bodies, but people (regardless of native language) were included in an administratively defined community under the so-called nationality label of the dominant people/language. So, many of those from Slavonia, under Hungary, had “Hungarian” attached to their names, for example, Petrus clericus Kapronczansis Ungarius (Hungarian from Koprivnica) from 1480. Petrus, by the way, had a Slavic name, for the register records that he was the son of Matthew Parczich.

Each of these nations had its own organization with officers, including the “Dalmatian nation”; thus one could be a consiliarius of the Dalmatian nation. Owing to this labeling, we find many students with “Dalmata” attached to their names, some of whom had a double label, for example, Pharensis Dalmata (Hvar Dalmatian). A certain number of others were labeled Istrian (*Hystrius*). This practice, begun at least in the fifteenth century, continued through the sixteenth and most of the seventeenth century. In these labelings an interesting exception was noted by Grmek. In 1472 we find recorded Gregory, son of George Slavković, Doctor of Sacred Theology, from Zadar from Croatia (*de Iadra, de Croatia*). Of course, this is not an ethnic label, but it is unusual to associate Zadar with Croatia; possibly the father had been an immigrant to the port city from the Croatian banovina.³⁹³

392. J. Magjerec, *Hrvatski zavod sv. Jerolim u Rimu (Collegium S. Hieronymi Illyricorum in Urbe)*, Rome, 1953, pp. 13–16.

393. Information in the previous two paragraphs is based on M. Grmek, “Hrvati i sveučilište u Padovi,” *Ljetopis (JAZU)* 62, 1957, pp. 339–44, 355.

A writer, Lodovico Aristo (1474–1533) of Ferrara, in a poem referred to the Adriatic as "the Slavic Sea" (Mare schiavo), and Dante in the *Divine Comedy* refers to a northeasterly wind in Italy as "the Slavic wind" (venti schiavi). Dante's teacher Brunetto in an itinerary describes in sequence Venice, Istria, and then Esclavone, and a fourteenth-century commentator on Dante, Benedetto, more or less repeats this when he says that Istria borders on Schiavonia. Boson de Rafaelli da Bubba (†ca. 1377) has a character in a story travel via Ancona to Schiavonia. Tommaso Guardeti of Salerno (†ca. 1475) posthumously published in 1476 a collection of stories called "Il Noveli," in one of which he developed the Romeo and Juliet theme. In it he has a Korčulan, whom he calls a Slav (Schiavone). A Florentine poet and Humanist, Angelo (Ambrogini) Poliziano (1454–94) had a Slavic shepherd (pastore schiavone) in one of his works; Poliziano also wrote his friend Ivan Gučetić, expressing, in Humanist vocabulary, his amazement that one of Illyrian origin could write such excellent Latin verses.³⁹⁴ Another Florentine, this one the author of a chronicle covering 1366–97, refers to some slaves being purchased in Florence and notes seven Russians, three "Schiavone," and two Bosnians. In this case, the author distinguished Bosnia from the coast, something many other Italians did not do. Another Florentine, the merchant and writer Franco Sacchetti (1330–1400), wrote a poem entitled "In Schiavonia," expressing a very low opinion of the area. Three Franciscans writing in the fourteenth century about St. Francis refer to the saint at one point in his career as being blown off course and stranded on the coast of Skiavonia. Further, an Italian chronicle from Padua, describes a war in 1372 between Padua and Venice; Hungary sent assistance to Padua, and one of the leading knights in the unit sent was Ivan of Paližna a famous figure from a noble family in Slavonia, who was to become Prior of Vrana (in Croatia proper) and a major figure in the civil war after King Louis' death in 1382. There are at least two versions of this chronicle; one refers to Ivan as John of Polisna Slav and the other as John the Dalmatian of Poliza. Elsewhere in the text he is called a noble Hungarian cavalier, and, of course, he was an officer in the army sent by the Hungarian king.³⁹⁵ M. Deanović noted that it was common for Italian writers, wanting to have a character who spoke Italian poorly, to make him a Slav; and Deanović presents several examples of this phenomenon.³⁹⁶

German visitors had similar vocabulary to that of the Italians. A certain Felix Faber, a Dominican from Ulm, travelled along the Dalmatian coast in

394. M. Deanović, "Talijanski pisci o Hrvatima," pp. 119 (fn. 17), 121, 127, 132.

395. N. Budak, "Ivan od Paližne, Prior vranski, vitez sv. Ivana," *Historijski zbornik* 42, no. 1, 1989, pp. 65–66.

396. All the examples in the paragraph come from M. Deanović, "F. Sacchetti (1330–1400) o 'Schiavoniji,'" *Gradja za povijest književnosti hrvatske* 8, 1916, pp. 365–74. Deanović presents the full text of Sacchetti's poem and also provides further examples of Italian authors' use of the term "Slav/Slavonia."

about 1480 and described the island of Korčula as being in Dalmatia, which is a Slavic land.³⁹⁷

Growth of the Zvonimir Legend in the Fourteenth Century

Hungarian historical works of the fourteenth century began to address the events that followed the death of Zvonimir (in ca. 1089). A fourteenth-century Hungarian-Polish chronicle says that in the kingdom of Slavonia and Croatia the leaders (firsts) of Croatia and Slavonia fought an eight-day battle in which they killed their king. After the death of this king (in this text called Kazimir) there was no one to inherit the kingdom of the Croats. The King of Hungary intervened to avenge Zvonimir, and many Slavonians (possibly Slavs) and Croats were killed. Thus, the Hungarian king conquered Croatia. Afterwards many Hungarians married Slavonian (Slav) and Croat women. Even King Koloman took a wife from Croatia. Thus paralleled with "Slavonian" as one from Slavonia, "Croat" seems to indicate someone from Croatia, as these were the two entities mentioned at the start of the account.³⁹⁸ Nada Klaić's verdict on this text is that critical historians have rejected it because it is not known when the chronicle was put together nor who its author was. She also sees the account of the battle and wife-acquisition as legend with no historical basis. It is, she concludes, a very clumsy mixture of different tales centered on one fact, the death of the last Croat king. Pointing out that the chronicler called the Croatian king by the Polish name Kazimir, Klaić reasonably concludes that the chronicle should not be used as a historical source for this event.³⁹⁹ But in it we find the introduction of a new element, namely that Zvonimir did not die a natural death but was killed by rebellious subjects.

The "Chronicon pictum Vindobonense [Vienna]" from 1358, whose author Nada Klaić sees as coming from a Hungarian milieu,⁴⁰⁰ reports that after Zvonimir's death, the King of Hungary cruelly avenged the injustices imposed upon his sister, Zvonimir's widow, and returned to her all of Croatia and Dalmatia, which he subsequently subjected to his own authority, giving to his state permanent right to Dalmatia and Croatia.⁴⁰¹ Nada Klaić concludes that like the Hungarian-Polish chronicle's account, the Vienna chronicle is without historical value. Both served merely to legitimize Hungarian rule over Croatia, since Zvonimir had no heir and the King of Hungary intervened to avenge his death and to protect his widow. As the widow was the Hungarian

397. Cited by P. Matković, "Putovanja po balkanskom poluotoku za srednjega veka," *Rad (JAZU)* 42, 1878, p. 178.

398. F. Šišić, *Priručnik*, p. 359; N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 73.

399. N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u ranom*, p. 49.

400. N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u ranom*, p. 48.

401. F. Šišić, *Priručnik*, p. 318; N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 82.

ruler's sister, she provided a justification for his intervention and the subsequent annexation of Croatia.

The matter is also discussed by an anonymous chronicle from Split. Though this chronicle has at times been considered to be a fourteenth-century work, I believe it was in fact compiled after 1500 (or at least that the account of the aftermath of Zvonimir's death is an interpolation from that time). Thus I discuss this text along with various other texts from after 1500 in chapter 4. At that point, we shall see how the Zvonimir legend is to develop even greater complexity.

Slavonia in the Fifteenth Century

The most famous "Slavonian" of the fifteenth century was Ivan Česmički (1434–72). Born near the junction of the Drava and Danube in Classical Pannonia, he was also known as Janus Pannonius. He was a prominent intellectual at the court of King Matthias Corvinus of Hungary. A classicizing Humanist, he usually called his homeland "Pannonia" and so labeled himself. But he did clarify his Classical terms: from that part of Pannonia now called "Sclavonia"; that part of Illyria which is now Bosnia. Since he was the subject of much comment, we also have the ways others viewed his place of origin. Pope Pius II wrote that he was of Slavonian origin (*de origine Slavonica*). His biographer and friend Vespasiano da Bisticci said that he was of Slavic nationality (*di nazione Schiavo*). A second Italian, Ronsano of Palermo, said Janus Pannonius was of the Dalmatian nation (*di nazione Dalmata*). M. Franičević, in citing Ronsano, notes that many Italians saw all "Croats" as Dalmatians. And Ludovik Tuberon Crijević, writing of Pannonius, says that he was born a Slav (*genere itidem Sclavenum*) in that part of interior Dalmatia that lies between the Sava and Drava.⁴⁰²

Janus Pannonius was not the only Slavonian referred to as "a Dalmatian." A certain Martin from Križevci in Slavonia studied at a Husite school in Prague in 1402. He worked with Hus himself, who stated that Martin was from Dalmatia, which had a direct border with the Turks.⁴⁰³ Whether the source for the label was Hus, who may have had a misunderstanding of geography, or Martin himself, who for some reason may have had a broad concept of Dalmatia, is unknown. It is not impossible that Martin had had his origins on the coast and subsequently moved to Križevci, and, despite the move, retained an attachment to Dalmatia.

It should be noted here, and kept in mind for the early-modern period in chapters 4–6, that the word "Slavonia," derived from the word "Slav," simply

402. M. Franičević, *Povijest*, pp. 64–65, 107, 292, 296, 307; for Crijević text, see *Hrvatski latinisti* I, p. 327.

403. J. Šidak, "Jedan nov prilog poznavanju hrvatsko-českikh odnosa u husovo doba," *Slovo* 9–10, 1960, p. 199.

meant a land of Slavs. However, after that name had become established for this province, it also acquired a certain specificity. Thus, a certain ambiguity was emerging by the fifteenth century. Is a "Slovinac" in Slavonia "a Slav" (in general) or a "Slavonian"? In other words, was his identity still general or had he acquired some sort of attachment to his specific homeland? And later, after various people had come to associate language names with place, as they were to do in the early-modern period, was a book that was translated into "Slovin-ski"—or one of its variant spellings—translated simply into "Slavic" (as was that term's meaning in Italy, Dalmatia, etc.) or was it translated into "Slavonian"? The latter could be specific, meaning the dialect of Slavonia (or of a part of it) as opposed to something that was simply "Slavic." As we shall see, some writers used the term one way and some the other.

In the territory to the northwest of Slavonia, including regions we might think of today as Slovenia or Burgenland, there were various short- or longer-lived German entities, under princes or march lords. In these regions we find the same sort of vocabulary as in Venetian Dalmatia and Slavonia, as is indicated by a reference in 1341 to a certain Andreas of the Slavic March (*de Marcha Sclavanesca*), which, according to M. Kos, was centered around Metlika.⁴⁰⁴

The Turkish Threat (1493–1526)

The First and Only Pre-1500 Clearly Ethnic Croat

The Turkish victory over the Christian forces at Krbava in 1493 elicited the following comment from a priest named Martin in Novi Vinodol, writing that same year in Glagolitic in his Breviary: "The Agari [Turks] have conquered all Greece, Bulgaria, Bosnia, Rabania [Albania] and are now imposing themselves upon the Croatian nation/people." He uses the term "jazik," literally "language," but as I have argued elsewhere in regard to Bulgaria and Serbia, the term can have the sense of a nation, a language-speaking community. This is the earliest use of the term "jazik" with this meaning that I have come across in Croatia. Thus, Martin was well on his way to some sort of ethnic consciousness, seeing the Croats as a common-language community. He goes on to say, "[A]nd thus was enslaved the land of Croatia and Slovinske (Slavonia) to the Sava and the Drava."⁴⁰⁵

404. Cited by M. Kos, "Studija o Istarskom razvodu," *Rad (JAZU)* 240, 1931, p. 155.

405. The full text of Father Martin's chronicle inscription from his Breviary is given in M. Valjavec, "O prijevodu psalama u nekijem rukopisima hrvatsko-srpsko i bugarsko-slovenskijem," *Rad (JAZU)* 98, 1889, pp. 1–3. Reprinted in V. Štefanić (ed.), *Hrvatska književnost srednjega vijeka*, pp. 82–84. Croatian ethnic feeling does not play a major part in his brief text. In its approximately two pages, as printed in *Rad*, the text provides only the one cited ethnic-type reference to Croatian language/nation. Besides that, the word "Croatia/Croatian" appears only four other times: in the also-cited passage to the land of Croatia and Slovenia being enslaved, two references to the Ban of Croatia, and one to Croatian lords.

It is worth noting that Novi Vinodol was very near the site of the meeting in 1288 that produced the Vinodol Law Code, which (as we shall see shortly) referred to the local language as "Croatian." It was also a Frankapan center, and the Frankapans in the fifteenth century were often bans of Croatia and in this position in the second half of the fifteenth century often leading "Croatian" forces. Thus, this territory seems to have been the birthplace and a subsequent center for Croatian feeling penetrating the general populace. In this, this region was quite exceptional.

In this period between the battles of Krbava (1493) and Mohacs (1526) we have many other references to "Croatia" and "Croats," but these are couched in the usual political-state administrative form. Right after the Battle of Krbava, Juraj Divnić, Bishop of Nin, wrote Pope Alexander VI about the catastrophe. In his letter, which he signs Juraj the Dalmatian, he speaks of the poor Croats and also of what until then had spared the Croats and Slavonians.⁴⁰⁶ The phrasing in the latter case, by having the people labeled by Hungary's two administrative entities, suggests there was nothing ethnic in his terminology. Emperor Charles V wrote Ban Petar Berislavić in ca. 1516 about the collapse of Croatia saying, "[W]e must give the Croats help."⁴⁰⁷ An abbot from Topusko writes to the Bishop of Zagreb in about 1522, mentioning the Turks conquering the towns in the interior of Croatia.⁴⁰⁸ A Ban of Croatia's letter describes the difficult straits Croatia found itself in and compares present and past income from Croatia and from Croats.⁴⁰⁹ Bernard Frankapan spoke before a German council at Nurnberg in 1522 seeking help, mentioning: "Croatia . . . neighbors of Croatia . . . the need to defend Croatia . . . how awful for Christendom if Croatia falls . . . Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia . . . if the Turks pick off Croatia. . . the Croats must either submit to the Turks or flee." The oration was soon published under the title "Oratio pro Croatia."⁴¹⁰ A papal envoy writing from the council of Križevci just before Mohacs worried about the Turks drawing Croatia to their side . . . about the council of Croatian lords. The legate noted a prince of Krbava's suggestion that Croatia be put under Venice.⁴¹¹

But all these references to Croatian soldiers or Croats in the context of this warfare are clearly non-ethnic. They refer to people in the territory of Croatia or soldiers levied from that territory and serving under the Ban of Croatia. They are equivalent to the numerous references to "Slavonians" or "Slavonian soldiers" or to "Styrians" and "Styrian units," when people or units from these

406. V. Gligo, *Govori protiv Turaka*, pp. 313, 320.

407. N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 370.

408. N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 372.

409. N. Klaić, *Izvori*, pp. 372–73.

410. The full text of the oration is provided by V. Gligo, *Govori protiv Turaka*, pp. 343–44; it is excerpted in N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 381.

411. N. Klaić, *Izvori*, pp. 381–82.

places are in question. And we should no more take such references as having ethnic significance when the name "Croatian" is involved than we do for people labeled by these other regions.

Nada Klaić points out that in this critical period, when Croatia proper was under this intensive Turkish threat, the Slavonian nobles were oblivious to Croatia's plight, carrying on their own affairs and petty warfare and sending no aid at all. As she concludes: "The Slavonian nobles did not see it as their duty to provide aid to save Croatia."⁴¹² Vjekoslav Klaić's detailed history provides concrete examples of what Nada Klaić writes of. In 1494, the year after the Battle of Krbava, the ban, at that moment governing Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia, called upon the Slavonian nobles to provide a unit for his army to defend not only Slavonia, but also Croatia or even places further away where they were needed. When the ban tried to enforce this policy, the Slavonian nobility sent two envoys to Buda to complain to the king about this outrageous innovation. They were successful, and the king wrote the ban forbidding him to make Slavonians fight beyond the borders of Slavonia. In 1515 the Slavonian diet, meeting in Križevci, declared that by ancient custom the Slavonian nobility was obliged to defend only their kingdom (Slavonia), for they had no obligation to cross the Sava and shed their blood for Croatian cities on the frontier.⁴¹³ Thus, clearly by the early sixteenth century no feeling of commonality had developed among the Slavonian nobles for Croatia.

WHAT LANGUAGE DID PEOPLE SPEAK IN DALMATIA AND "VELEBITIA," 1102–1500?

What do we know about labels for the spoken language? "Slavic" as a label continues. We have already seen in this chapter's sections on Slavonia that there the language was called "Slavic" without exception throughout the Middle Ages. "Slavic" remained by far the most common name as well in Dalmatia and Croatia proper. It was consistently used by foreigners, whom we shall turn to first. Pope Alexander III visited Zadar in 1177, and the crowd that awaited him sang/chanted for him in their Slavic language (*cum immensis laudibus et canticis altisone in eorum sclavica lingua*). He then departed for Venice by way of the islands of the Slavs (*per Sclavorum insulas*).⁴¹⁴ This

412. N. Klaić, "Lika u srednjem vijeku," in *Arheološka problematika Like*, Split (Hrvatsko arheološko društvo, izdanja), 1975, p. 124.

413. V. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata* IV, pp. 236, 309.

414. N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 95. For some reason Klaić's translation renders it "Croatian language," but she supplies the phrase (which I quote) in the Latin original which says "Slavic language." See also the very patriotic article by A. Strgačić, "Papa Aleksandar III u Zadru," *Radovi* (Institut [JAZU] u Zadru) 1, 1954, pp. 153–87. For Boso's text, see pp. 163–65. In the course of the article, Strgačić cites the key phrase many times within quotation marks; each time he cites it in Latin, he correctly renders the language as "Slavic"; but each time he renders the phrase in Serbo-Croatian, despite the quotation marks, he says, "Croatian"!

description comes from a biography of that pope by Cardinal Boso, a papal secretary. Thus, it is his label and not a local one, but from everything we have discussed and shall shortly examine, it seems likely that the people of Zadar, like their contemporaries in Split, would have called it "Slavic" as well. We still find international Churchmen calling the spoken language "Slavic" at the end of our period. For example, in 1494 the deputy for the Franciscan order in Dalmatia empowered a fra Stjepan Belić to teach sacred theology in the Slavic language (*lingua sclavonica*) to those priests who regularly use that language.⁴¹⁵

A Venetian document from 1346 also refers to the people of Zadar speaking Slavic (*lingua sclavonica*).⁴¹⁶ In the course of Venice's siege of Zadar that same year, Venice ordered a public proclamation to be addressed to the besieged in the city in "*lingua sclavonica et latina*."⁴¹⁷ An amusing fifteenth-century Venetian archival document cited by Marko Šunjić, unfortunately without a specific date or place of occurrence, complains of unemployed people gathering after Sunday lunch in their accustomed place and loudly complaining in Slavic about forbidden matters (*loquentem alte circumstantibus ydiomate sclabonico*).⁴¹⁸ Venice sent an ambassador with knowledge of Slavic (*lingua slava*) to the island of Lošinj in 1442 to collect money for the defense of Osor. This linguistic ability was necessary, for the islanders did not know other languages.⁴¹⁹ In 1469 a Venetian report about defining the border between Venetian Dalmatia and Hungarian Croatia in the vicinity of Zadar mentions a roadway "called by the Slavs Colnich."⁴²⁰ A report on the island of Krk from 1481 by the Venetian commissioner for the island, Antonio Vinciguerra, has the island's population getting together and drafting a letter in Slavic (in *lingua schiava*), as was allowed for all the communes and castles. The text's editor, S. Ljubić, notes that Venice recognized "Slavic" as the official language for the island of Krk.⁴²¹ In a separate text, a letter to a friend, Vinciguerra confirms this usage by saying, "Vegla, which in the Slavic language is called Krk" (*la quel in lingua Schiava si chiama Cherch*).⁴²² In instructions to Vinciguerra's successor, Francesco Barbo, the new commissioner is told that in certain monasteries on the island Slavic brothers celebrate the Divine Offices in Slavic.⁴²³ In this last case, as opposed to the previously mentioned Venetian

415. E. Hercigonja, "Društveni i gospodarski okviri," p. 9.

416. V. Jakić-Cestarić, "Etnički odnosi u srednjovjekovnom Zadru prema analizi osobnih imena," *Radovi* (Institut [JAZU] u Zadru) 19, 1972, p. 164.

417. Ljubić, *Listine* II, p. 374. Discussed in N. Klaić & I. Petricioli, *Zadar*, p. 308.

418. M. Šunjić, *Dalmacija u XV stoljeću*, Sarajevo, 1967, p. 201.

419. S. Ljubić, "Borba za glagoljicu na Lošinju," *Rad* (JAZU) 57, 1881, pp. 152, 155.

420. Ljubić, *Listine* X, pp. 424, 427. That same roadway also noted as "called in Slavic colnic" (*que sclavice colnic dicitur*) appears in two charters from 1197 (Smičiklas, CD II, pp. 283, 287).

421. S. Ljubić, *Commissions* I, p. 63.

422. S. Ljubić, *Commissions* I, p. 92.

423. S. Ljubić, *Commissions* I, p. 107.

examples that clearly refer to popular speech, the language in question is the Church one, Slavonic.

A German traveller, Arnold von Harff (a knight from Cologne), writing about Dubrovnik in 1496 was no different, stating that the language of everyone there was "Slavic."⁴²⁴

Though the local language spoken in what were to become Croatian areas was usually labeled "Slavic," it occasionally was called "Croatian." We have already examined five such cases (the will of the priest Zubina of "Croatian book," the Czech Benedictine, the mysterious priest Mavro, the Baromićev Breviary, and the two archdeacon translators from Senj). Besides these five, we have four more texts to discuss. First is the famous Vinodol Law Code of 1288. This text uses the word "Croat" (hrvatski) twice, each time in a language context. Article 1 refers to a particular type of Church deacon, "called in Croatian (hrvatski) malik" and in Italian "Macarol."⁴²⁵ Article 72 repeats the term with "whose envoy in Croatian (hrvatski) is called arsal."⁴²⁶

The spoken language is also described as "Croatian" in three other local texts. First, in 1347 the convent of St. Mary in Nin wrote the local Dominican vicar, requesting inclusion in his order. At one point in discussing the nuns' need for better supervision, reference is made to a prioress, whose title in the Croatian idiom is "opatica" (croaticum ydioma vocentur opatice).⁴²⁷

Second, we have the well-known Istarski razvod, which was a collection of documents allegedly put together to demonstrate the borders of properties held by the family of Pazin knezes (princes). The existing text states that it had been produced in 1325 in Pazin in Istria; a team of local dignitaries had allegedly spent a little over two weeks travelling around the holdings of the prince demarcating borders. The text claims that three notaries, each writing in a particular language (Latin, Croatian, and German), accompanied the team and wrote down the border markers on the spot. Thus, there supposedly were three originals, since each was said to have been produced on the spot at the time. After the original(s)—be it legitimate or a fraud—was prepared, it was copied over several times during the following centuries and certain sections were expanded, including later Italian texts, the latest of which was prepared in 1717. None of the originals have survived; the earliest text we have is a mid-sixteenth-century Latin text, which claims to be based on a Croatian copy by a notary named Jakov Križanić in 1502. From that non-extant text other copies were made in Croatian, as well as in Latin and in Italian translations. Thus, we do not have the purported Latin original (or even its text) but a Latin transla-

424. Cited by E. Haumant, "La Slavisation de la Dalmatie (un problème ethnographique)," *Revue historique* 124, 1917, p. 296. Also cited by P. Matković, "Putovanja po balkanskom poluo-toku za srednjega veka," p. 181.

425. *Vinodolski zakon*, p. 72.

426. *Vinodolski zakon*, p. 102.

427. Smičiklas, *CD XI*, p. 406.

tion of the 1502 Croatian copy. No text in German (neither a later copy nor translation) has ever been found. The text has many obvious flaws, the most glaring of which concerns its two leading characters. The Pazin Prince Albrecht (the fourth prince of that name as shown by Kos) was in office from 1342 to 1374 and the Patriarch of Aquileia Raymond served in that post from 1273 through 1299. Kos, in a superb detailed study of the document, concludes that the text is a compilation of various border demarcations done at various times, with various interpolations, put together at some later time to justify property holdings at that moment. He proposes that the compilation was assembled around 1457 (but in any case between 1374 and 1502) by these forgers on the basis of various authentic texts (with interpolations) and assigned the date 1325. Kos believes this now-lost original compilation was done only in Croatia, which provided the basis for sixteenth-century (and later) translations into Latin and Italian. For our purposes, it may be noted that the forgers (or one of their original texts) spoke of the local Slavic as "Croatian." The only problem we have with that statement, if we accept Kos' plausible verdict, is when did the reference to "Croatian" appear? But, in any case, either a medieval text (probably from the fourteenth century) incorporated into the document had it or else the later forgers, hoping to make their document as believable as possible, in the fifteenth or sixteenth century (in which last case, this item belongs in the next chapter), chose to call the local language "Croatian."⁴²⁸ Although the proto-Serbo-Croatian copies surviving call the language "Croatian," the surviving Latin texts call the language "Slavic" and the later Italian-language copies call it sometimes "Illyrian" and sometimes "Slavic."⁴²⁹

Third, both "Croatian" and "Slavic" were used to describe Slavonic, the Church language, by Georgius de Sclavonia (ca. 1355–1416). George grew up in what is now Slovenia, spent time in Krbava in Croatia, and then went off to France. He received his Masters from the Sorbonne and ended his career as a cathedral canon in Tours, where he died in 1416. The necrology of his Tours church referred to him as a priest from Slavonia. Since his Slavic past encompassed a large area, only part of which constituted Croatia, Sclavonia made

428. Text in Dj. Šurmin, *Hrvatski spomenici I*, Zagreb (JAZU, MH-JSM 6), 1898, pp. 10–74. Šurmin, though without discussion as to why, dates this assemblage of materials to the even earlier date of 1275. However, the text he publishes (p. 74) is a copy from 1546. See also N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 293. For discussions of this complex text, see especially, M. Kos, "Studija o Istarskom razvodu," *Rad* (JAZU) 240, 1931, pp. 104–203 and also his "Pet istarskih razvoda iz XV stoljeća," *Jadranski zbornik I*, 1956, pp. 189–202.

429. For the text of the later Latin and Italian versions, see S. Ljubić (ed.), "Razvod Istarski u latinskom i talijanskom jeziku," *Starine* (JAZU) 6, 1874, pp. 169–255. For one of many examples of the Latin calling the language "sclava" and the Italian "illirico" and "schiavo," see pp. 172–73. The texts also have several examples of border markers called "X" in "Slavic." For a Latin case, see p. 206. For Italian examples: called in "Slavic," see pp. 185, 236; called in "Illyrian," see pp. 219, 237. In the last case, for each term the vocabulary change occurs in the same sentence. Was the change of vocabulary done for stylistic reasons? The Latin version of the variable Italian sentence simply gives the place names and does not indicate that the names were Slavic ones.

sense for his place of origin. In one of the manuscripts he left, he reproduced the Glagolitic alphabet and stated that it was called "Croatian" (*Iste alphabetum est chrawaticum*). George also described the dioceses of his homeland and depicted the Bishop of Krbava as the first bishop of Croatia (*Crowace/Chrawacie*). He said the holder of that office was as skilled in Latin as in Croatian (*qui scit utrumque ydioma tam latinum quam chroaticum/chrawaticum*) and celebrated the Mass in either of these languages. George claimed that "Istria was in the same way a Croatian homeland" (*Istria eadem patria Chravat/Chrawati*). George also made some marginal notes on a manuscript of St. Jerome's letters. In one letter to a colleague, Jerome refers to translating the Psalms. St. Jerome does not specify the languages involved, but clearly it was Greek into Latin. However, George's marginal comment was that the text was speaking of Jerome translating the Psalter into Slavic (*in linguam sclavonicam*), and later George writes, "into my language."⁴³⁰ Thus, the myth of the fourth-century saint's creation of Slavic letters had taken deep hold, and the believer here was not some backwoods rustic but a magister from the Sorbonne. But, as we have seen and shall see further in this text, Slavs in Dalmatia were not well informed about their origins and thus some expressed the view that the Slavs (or only some of them) were indigenous while others saw some (or very rarely all) of them as late migrants. By 1700 the overwhelming majority of intellectuals in what is now Croatia had come to believe that the Slavs were indigenous. Thus, the obvious anachronism between Jerome's dates and those of the Slavic migrations was not apparent to them. George also freely used both "Croatian" and "Slavic" as terms for Church Slavonic. Of course, the label for Glagolitic could also have pertained to the vernacular, since the alphabet was used for both languages. In any case, the reference to Istria referred to contemporary people being called "Croats."

Though the language spoken in Dalmatia and Croatia is sometimes referred to as "Croatian" and on at least two occasions even as "Bulgarian,"⁴³¹ this was

430. On George of Slavonia, see F. Šanjek & J. Tandarić, "Juraj iz Slavonije (oko 1355/60–1416): Profesor Sorbonne i pisac, kanonik i penitencijar stolne crkve u Toursu," *Croatica Christiana periodica* 8, no. 13, 1984, pp. 1–23, esp. 2–3, 6–7; V. Novak, "Paleografija i slovensko-latinska simbioza," pp. 10–12; N. Žic, "Seobe Hrvata u južnu Istru," *Hrvatska prošvjeta* 25, 1938, p. 64; J. Bratulić, "Glagoljica i glagoljaši na području krbavske biskupije," in M. Bogović (ed.), *Krbavska biskupija*, Rijeka-Zagreb, 1988, p. 110. The variant spellings of "Croatian" in single texts are owing to differences in the way different scholars cite the word; not having the manuscript, I obviously cannot know which spelling is correct, though I am almost certain that Šanjek and Tandarić's "chraw" forms are the accurate ones.

431. The local Slavic was on at least two occasions called "Bulgarian," possibly through some sort of association with Cyril, Methodius, and Cyrillic. However, in these cases the documents would most likely have been written in the alphabet normally used for written Slavic in that region, namely Glagolitic. But Glagolitic, though truly the creation of Cyril and Methodius, was usually credited in this area to St. Jerome. Thus, we may assume that for some reason these two texts were actually written in Cyrillic. In any case and for whatever reason, in 1498 the Bishop of Skradin issued a document which discussed property left earlier (in 1456, according to

not, as we shall see, to become common in either region; in both places the language was consistently called "Slavic" throughout the Middle Ages.

Bariša Krekić has produced a fine study on language usage in Dubrovnik/Ragusa in the Middle Ages. He notes that four languages were in use in the city: First, Latin was the official language, which over time died out as a spoken language of daily use. Second, Old Ragusan, a Romance language of Latin origin, which was used internally, became obsolete and was replaced by Italian. Krekić calls it a degenerate form of Latin, known as "Dalmatian Romance." The first principal of a Ragusan high school in the 1430s, Philippus de Diversis de Quartigianis from Lucca, states that in their courts and government bodies they use Latin, "but this Latin of theirs is [such] a peculiar crude speech that we, Latins, cannot understand. Only a few understand it. . . . It is for us an unknown language." The Ragusan poet laureate Ilija Crijević (Aelius Lampridius Cerva, 1463–1520) remembered "having known as a boy several old men who still spoke the language then called 'Ragusan,' which now has disappeared." The third and fourth languages were Italian, which became more and more common, and the Slavic language used with the people of the interior, many of whom moved into the city of Dubrovnik.

Dubrovnik, as Krekić explains, had two chancelleries for drawing up documents, a Latin chancellery and a Slavic one (*cancellaria sclavica*) used for affairs concerned with the Slavic lords of the interior. The Slavic chancellery wrote Slavic with Cyrillic letters. For example, Smičiklas publishes a text in

the document's editor) to a monastery of St. Anthony in a will "written in Bulgarian" (in ideomate bulgarica) by Jacob Šubić. (For this text, see I. Bojničić [signed simply as B.], "Jakov Bribirski od plemena Šubić," *Vjestnik Kr. hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog zemaljskog arhiva* 1, no. 2, 1899, pp. 87, 94.) L. Katić ("Veza primorske Dalmacije kroz kliški prolaz," p. 324) cites a second text from 1462 drawn up in Klis that was preserved in a Latin translation of a Bulgarian original (in litteris et lingua bulgarica). Katić, on the alphabet used in the originals, says "Bulgarian" refers to Glagolitic or Bosančica. Since the alphabet was called "Bulgarian," the original should have been in Cyrillic, which was used in Bulgaria. Katić's calling the alphabet "Bosančica" provides us only with a semi-"appropriate" name for that alphabet, since "Bosančica" is Cyrillic. The minor differences between Bosnia's Cyrillic and that of Serbia/Bulgaria would not in any land, other than one infected with nationalist politics, have been sufficient to conjure up a new label. In fact Russians, Bulgarians, and Serbs—each of whose alphabets have a few letters not shared by the other two—are happy to use Cyrillic as a common term. However, the Austrians, when they occupied Bosnia in 1878, wanted to show that the Bosnians had nothing in common with their fellow Orthodox Slavs; thus, they picked up the local term for Bosnia's Cyrillic script and gave it official sanction. However, this local Bosnian usage was parochial through ignorance, and had no more nationalist basis than the local names Serbian, Bosnian, or Croatian used by peasants of those regions for the common Serbo-Croatian they all spoke and still speak. Should either or both originals have been in Glagolitic, the most widely used alphabet for Slavic in the region of Skradin and Klis, calling it "Bulgarian" was very odd. Bulgarians had not used Glagolitic since early in the tenth century; thus there was no reason anyone around these places should have called "Glagolitic" that. Since "Bulgarian" is a name very rarely used in connection with language in Croatia, we would expect it to have been used only to describe something unusual, and since Cyrillic was much rarer around Skradin and Klis than Glagolitic, it makes sense to assume Cyrillic originals in both cases.

which a letter from the Serbian king was received in 1340 in Dubrovnik, where the Slavic text was rendered into a Latin copy (*Hoc est exemplum copie privilegii slavoneschi reducti in latinum*) by the Slavic notary (*notarium slavonescum*).⁴³² Town criers made announcements in Latin and Slavic (in *lingua latina quam in slavonesca*). Later, Italian replaced Latin for this function. In 1451, after the Ragusan city council had put a price on Herceg Stefan's head, they sent out trumpeters to call out this fact in the Italian and Slavic languages in several public places.⁴³³ The Slavic spoken language was invariably simply called "Slavic." Krekić cites a host of passages that illustrates the consistent use of the term "Slavic," as opposed to "Croatian" or any other term. Occasionally, as the town became more and more Slavicized in the late-fifteenth century, Slavic was called "our language." Latin was normally simply called "Latin," but Krekić presents documents saying "Ragusan Latin." One document, trying to prohibit Slavic in the Senate, says no language was allowed there other than "the Ragusan." But by the 1490s keeping Slavic out of official councils had become a lost cause. As to the language of books, Krekić cites a list of books from a 1389 will: they were either in "littera sclava" or in "littera latina."⁴³⁴ Philip-pus de Diversis provides a good closing illustration: "He [an official] is called in Slavic 'knez' and in Latin 'comes' or 'rector'."⁴³⁵

Though Cyrillic documents were sometimes described by Ragusans as being written in a specific Slavic, namely Serbian (which may well refer to the Cyrillic script rather than the language itself), the same documents rendered in Latin call the language "Slavic." Thus, Čremošnik cites a charter between Dubrovnik and King Uroš of Serbia as being prepared in "Slavic and Latin."⁴³⁶ Even if the Slavic/Cyrillic text refers to people as "Serbs" (to settle a dispute one needed a Serbian and a Ragusan judge), the Latin translates "Serb" as "Slav" and sets up a "Slav" and a "Ragusan" judge.⁴³⁷ Another case involved a property sale from 1367 in which a logothete (official scribe) named George drew up a document in Slavic (in *slavonescho*) about the sale, which was sent on to the rector. Following the Slavic text, a document is appended referring

432. Smičiklas, *CD X*, p. 523.

433. V. Foretić, *Povijest Dubrovnika I*, p. 221.

434. The preceding two paragraphs provide a summary of the linguistic aspects of B. Krekić's important article, "On the Latino-Slavic Cultural Symbiosis in Late Medieval and Renaissance Dalmatia and Dubrovnik," *Viator* 26, 1995, pp. 321–32.

435. F. de Diversis, "Opis položaja . . . Dubrovnika," p. 32. Philippus de Diversis exclusively uses the term "Slavic" for the local language: judicial decisions were rendered exclusively in Latin, neither in Slavic nor our Italian (p. 35); noting the existence of notaries or scribes who work in either Italian or Slavic (p. 38); that what is called in "Latin" *cercelli* is called in "Slavic" *oboci* (p. 48); people wearing shoes which in "Slavic" are called *opanci* (p. 55). He can also speak of a proverb in use among the "Slavs," when a rabbit being pursued by a hunter seeks a safe place, it heads for Dubrovnik (p. 66). The proverb refers to Dubrovnik's willingness to give asylum to all political refugees.

436. G. Čremošnik, "Postanak i razvoj srpske ili hrvatske kancelarije," p. 78.

437. An undated text from King Milutin (1282–1321), provided by Smičiklas, *CD VI*, p. 154.

to there being a copy in Slavic letters and that the document was translated from the Slavic language into Latin.⁴³⁸ Another document dated 14 August 1372 from Dubrovnik registered a monetary deposit made by a certain Miloš in the presence of certain chancellors and witnesses of Latin and Slavic (*Latino-rum et Sclavorum*).⁴³⁹ A century later the Ragusan Senate, feeling the nobility's Latin/Italian was being engulfed by the language of the increasing number of Slavs entering the town, decreed that Slavic (*lingua sclava*) was to be prohibited as a language of debate in the city's councils, with a one *perpera* fine for those who slipped into it. The measure passed 18 to 15.⁴⁴⁰

The Ragusans consistently called these languages "Latin" (occasionally exhibiting local feeling by calling it "Ragusan Latin" or "Ragusan") or "Slavic." Krekić does not mention a single case of the language being called "Croatian." This is not surprising since the "Ragusans" identified themselves as Ragusans and not as Croats.

A similar situation existed in Split. Petar Skok, examining place names in Split and environs, finds the term "Slavic" used with great frequency and cites no examples of use of the term "Croatian." An 1178 document distinguishes the Latin names for property designations from those of the Slavs (*della Schiavoni*).⁴⁴¹ Skok cites examples (mostly taken from documents published by Smičiklas) from 1144, 1176, 1178, 1191, 1338, and 1397 of texts providing a Latin place name to which is added and called "X" by the Slavs or in Slavic.⁴⁴²

438. Smičiklas, *CD XIV*, pp. 7–8.

439. Smičiklas, *CD XIV*, p. 428.

440. C. Jireček, *Romani u gradovima Dalmacije*, pp. 116, 139.

441. P. Skok, "Postanak Splita," *Analni Historijskoj instituta [JAZU] u Dubrovniku I*, 1952, p. 20 (taken from Smičiklas, *CD II*, p. 157).

442. Four examples from 1144: (1) "exinde [i.e., from Trstenik] autem sursursum in parte aquilonis ad grippam que est iuxta agro in quo sunt petre que sclavonice brus nuncupantur" (P. Skok, "Postanak Splita," p. 41, taken from Smičiklas, *CD II*, p. 56; IX, p. 212); (2) "locus qui sclavonice lingua Pot Cilco nominatur" (Skok, p. 44); (3) "sursum ad agro, que in modum velis, qui sclavonice Jedro vocatur" (Skok, p. 45, taken from Smičiklas, *CD II*, p. 56); and (4) "terra que Godimirscina sclavonice nuncupatur" (Skok, p. 50, taken from Smičiklas, *CD II*, p. 56). Example from 1178: "dalla pietra che in schiavon si chiama Smicamic" (Skok, p. 52, citing Smičiklas, *CD II*, p. 157). Example from 1191: "ubi nobis omnibus viventibus propria manu quoddam antiquissimum signum sub terra discoperuit quod signum sclavonice Vranova noga, latine vero dicitur pes cornicis" (Skok, p. 52, taken from Smičiklas, *CD II*, p. 250). Example from 1338: "locus qui sclavonice Lipcat nominatur" (Skok, p. 54, taken from Smičiklas, *CD X*, p. 396). Example from 1397: "Arcuzo quod sclavice dicitur Na Luzaz" (Skok, p. 31, taken from Farlati, *Illyricum sacrum*, III, 1765, p. 355). To Skok's Split list can be added an example from 1158 "que dicuntur sclavice Gomille Lipe," Smičiklas, *CD II*, p. 86.

Two other examples are found in a document drawn up by the Archbishop of Split in 1397 on the property of that Church: "that in the Slavic language is called Podmorsiza (qui lingua Slavgonica Podmorsiza vocitatur) . . . up to the location which is named in Slavic Lipcat (qui Lipcat Slavonice nominatur)." (Text of 1397 given in full in J. Stipšić, "Tragom jedne bilješke Ivana Luciusa o jednoj hrvatskoj vladarskoj ispravi," in *Zbornik Historijskog instituta [JAZU, Zagreb]* 6, 1969, pp. 92–96, with the two mentions of "Slavic" appearing on p. 96.) Katić cites another example (called in Slavic [slavice] Podvornica) in a land settlement case from 1350 from the Split cathedral archives. (L. Katić, "Četiri poljičke isprave," p. 93.) Fancev refers to a 1435

Šunjić provides several more examples, one of which, a fifteenth-century Split archival document (with specific date not provided), I cite here: in this text, reference is made to a town crier in the Split square making his proclamation in Slavic (proclamasse slabonico ydiomate).⁴⁴³ We noted previously that “Slavic” was the term used by the Split chronicler, Thomas the Archdeacon, as the language used by the Tatar herald. Thomas also discusses two heretical goldsmiths from Zadar, Aristodios and Matthew, who knew both Slavic and Latin. In 1435 an archpriest named Lovren died in Split; among his effects was a book in Slavic (*libro uno pizolo in lettera sclava*).⁴⁴⁴ In the settlement between Split and Trogir over village Ostrog in 1277, it was decided to let those living in the village retain their lands; these people were called in the Slavic language “*dediçi*.”⁴⁴⁵ Like Dubrovnik, Split also had a Slavic chancellery (*cancclarius littere sclave*), referred to in a text from 1460.⁴⁴⁶

Zadar was no different. A land confirmation from 1183, in defining borders, has the land stretching to a place called in vulgar Slavic (*sclavonico*) *Do-bragorra*.⁴⁴⁷ A priest, *Dražoja* of Krbava, active in Zadar between 1385 and 1407, is referred to as being of Slavic letters (*de littera sclava*).⁴⁴⁸ Nada Klaić cites an inventory of the property of a merchant from Zadar named Damian; it includes an itemized list of his books which are described as being in Latin or in Slavic (*in littera latina* or *in littera sclava*), as the case may be.⁴⁴⁹ Stipišić mentions the existence of others noted as writers in Slavic in the surviving records of the town, citing from, among others, “*Presbiter Stephanus de littera Sclava*” and “*Petrus dictus Petar scriba in lingua Slavica*.”⁴⁵⁰ A will of a man defined as a Slavic-language priest (*presbyt. Paulus de littera sclava*) was deposited in Zadar in September 1477.⁴⁵¹ Fisković found three contracts for

inventory of possessions of Split’s Archbishop Lovre that listed a Book of the Epistles in Slavic (*in letera Sclava*) and archival documents from Split from 1449 referring to a Slavic priest named Ilija (*presbyter sclavos*), presumably serving the Slavic-speaking lower classes. One mention calls him *Illya* de Croatia, a rare reference to a man from the interior having come from Croatia as opposed to Slavonia. (See F. Fancev, “*Latinički spomenici hrvatske crkvene književnosti 14 i 15 v. i njihov odnos prema crkvenoslovenskoj književnosti hrvatske glagoljske crkve*,” introduction to his *Vatikanski hrvatski molitvenik i Dubrovački psaltir: Dva latinicom pisana spomenika hrvatske proze 14 i 15 vijeka*, Zagreb [JAZU, *Djela* 31], 1934, pp. xxxix–xl.)

443. M. Šunjić, *Dalmacija*, p. 286, n. 195.

444. I. Ostojić, *Metropolitanski kaptol u Splitu*, Split, 1975, p. 199.

445. Cited by N. Klaić, *Trogir*, p. 167; text found in introductory documents of I. Strohal (ed.), *Statut i reformacije grada Trogira*, Zagreb (JAZU, MH-JSM 10), 1915, p. lxix, and Smičiklas, CD VI, pp. 208–9.

446. M. Šunjić, *Dalmacija*, p. 270.

447. Smičiklas, CD II, p. 185.

448. P. Runje, “*Veze krbavsko-ličkih glagoljaša*,” p. 114.

449. N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom*, p. 222, and fn. 634 on that page; N. Klaić & Petricoli, *Zadar*, p. 347.

450. J. Stipišić, “*Inventar zadarskog trgovca Mihovila iz arhiva sv. Marije i njegovo značenje za kulturnu povijest Zadra*,” *Zadarska revija* 16, nos. 2–3, 1967, p. 191.

451. R. Jelić, “*Grgur Mrganić*,” *Radovi* (Institut [JAZU] u Zadru) 6–7, 1960, p. 487, fn. 1.

priests living in or near Zadar to copy Missals for various individuals in Zadar into *littera sclava*, and a fourth document acknowledging receipt of one such, from 1455, 1457, 1460, and 1462.⁴⁵² In 1448 and 1449, moreover, records from Zadar note a member of the Lasinčić and of the Mogorić families, respectively, as priests of the Slavic language (*de litera sclava*) in villages in the district of Zadar.⁴⁵³ In 1462 we also find the monastery of St. Krševan in Zadar putting up a notice in Slavic (*idiomate Sclavonico*) on the door of the Zadar cathedral, complaining about damage done to some of its landed property.⁴⁵⁴ A visitor to Zadar, Jan Hasištejnský from Lobkovic, in 1493 reports that while some of the town's citizens spoke Italian, the majority spoke Slavic (*ale vetši dil slovensky*).⁴⁵⁵

Trogir and Šibenik employed the same vocabulary. An 1189 property list for the monastery of St. Peter in Klobučac near Trogir, in describing localities that made up borders, mentions a place, which is called in Slavic (*sclavonice*) *Puteć* and also a place in the Slavic language (*sclavonica lingua*) called *Dominici Drazie*.⁴⁵⁶ In 1322 when the Trogir prince received an important letter from the Venetian doge, he summoned the town crier and had him announce the contents in both the Latin and Slavic languages.⁴⁵⁷ We have from Šibenik a reference to a hermit in 1415 selling a Slavic Breviary (*de lingua sclavonica*), and a Slavic Missal (*in lingua sclava*) being left in a will from 1481.⁴⁵⁸

When we turn to Croatia proper the same terms are used. A fifteenth-century register from Zadar cites a 1377 document from Krbava referring to a vineyard called "*in vulgar Slavic (in vulgari sclavorum) gognalia*."⁴⁵⁹ A 1382 land settlement near Klis, in describing borders, followed a stream up to "*Sitan-sham*" or as called in the Slavic language (*seu sclavonicho ydiomate*) *Meye*.⁴⁶⁰ V. Klaić presents further examples from Croatia. In the first, a land dispute settled in the *župa* of Pset in 1395 was, at the locals' request, confirmed by the Ban

452. C. Fisković, *Zadarski sredovječni majstori*, pp. 104, 189 (fms. 587–90). In case it has bearing on the terminology—which I seriously doubt—the scribes were from the village of Jasenovo in the district of Nin; from Zadar, though the copier was originally from Modruš (contracted for two texts); and from the island of Izo, though the copier often resided in Zadar.

453. Noted by S. Antoljak, "Izumiranje i nestanak hrvatskog plemstva u okolici Zadra," in S. Antoljak, *Hrvati u prošlosti: Izabrani radovi*, Split, 1992, pp. 351, 356.

454. Cited by A. Strgačić, "Zadranin Šime Vitasović i kulturno-povijesno značenje njegovih djela," *Radovi* (Institut JAZU u Zadru) 2, 1955, pp. 70–71.

455. M. Šunjić, *Dalmacija*, p. 283.

456. Smičiklas, CD II, p. 240.

457. Cited by N. Klaić, *Trogir*, p. 248; see also I. Strohal, *Statut i reformacije grada Trogira*, Zagreb (JAZU, MH-JSM 10), 1915, in the documents that he collected as introductory material for the statutes, p. lxxiv. Strohal, however, dates the event as 1325.

458. E. Hercigonja, "Društveni i gospodarski okviri," pp. 54–56; A. Šupuk, *Šibenski glagoljski spomenici*, pp. 10, 11–12.

459. From Zadar katastik text, S. Antoljak, "Zadarski katastik 15 stoljeća," *Starine* (JAZU) 42, 1949, p. 395.

460. L. Katić, "Veza primorske Dalmacije kroz kliški prolaz," p. 297.

of Croatia Nicholas Gorjanski during a visit to Knin in 1397. The ban first confirmed it in Slavic (*litteris sillabis sclavonicalibus conscriptum*) and then in a Latin translation done by a notary described as being expert in that Slavic language (*in ipsa litera sclava expertum*). In the second, he presents a charter describing a property in the Cetina župa that was called in like matter in the Slavic language (*sclavicum idioma*) *Util kami* or *Ulta stina*.⁴⁶¹

Senj provides four more examples from Croatia. First is a document from 1371 translated from Slavic (*de sclabonico*) that records a gift of a vineyard to the Church of Sv. Spas in the nearby village of Baška.⁴⁶² Second, in 1378 the Bishop of Senj approved a church for the Franciscans outside a city gate known in Slavic (*in ydiomate slavico*) as the *Rumena Vrata*.⁴⁶³ Third, a Missal in Slavic letters (*in littera sclava*) is recorded as belonging to a church in Lesac near Senj in 1413.⁴⁶⁴ Fourth, we have a notation in a Senj register from 1481 noting a grant by Sigismund Frankapan that had been made in 1437; it had been written in Slavic (*in littera sclavonica*) and transcribed in Latin.⁴⁶⁵ Turning elsewhere in Croatia, we have a reference from 1445 to a priest of Slavic letters in Bužane.⁴⁶⁶ Fisković found a contract for the building of a church that was drawn up in *lingua sclava* in Karlobag from 1453.⁴⁶⁷

Rijeka and environs in Istria were no different. In 1437 a priest in Rijeka took on the obligation to teach Slavic letters (*docere litteram sclabonicam*) in a year to the son of a man from Bihać. From the region around what is now Rijeka in Istria we learn of an attempt to purchase a new Breviary in Slavic (*de littera sclava*) in 1443.⁴⁶⁸ Ekl provides the following examples from Rijeka: in 1438, in court proceedings, a party to a dispute presented a document “in sclabonico scriptam”; in 1439 two kapetans and three representatives of a landlord testified about a document that had been written in Slavic (*in lingua slava*); in 1445 chancellor Reno Kastvo wrote that he had translated a will from Slavic (*de litera Sclava*) into Latin; and in 1453 the same chancellor stated that a canon had written a will for a certain individual in Slavic (*in sclabonico*).⁴⁶⁹

461. V. Klaić, “Županija Pset (Pesenta) i pleme Kolunić,” *Vjesnik Hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva* n.s. 15, 1928, pp. 4, 5 (fn. 3).

462. E. Hercigonja, “Društveni i gospodarski okviri,” p. 22.

463. Smičiklas, CD XV, p. 366.

464. P. Runje, “Veze krbavsko-ličkih glagoljaša,” p. 117, fn. 29.

465. M. Magdić (ed.), “Regesta važnijih i znamenitijih izprava senjskih arkiva,” *Vjestnik Kr. hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog zemaljskog arkiva* 1, no. 4, 1899, p. 245; Dj. Šurmin, *Hrvatski spomenici* I, p. 143.

466. P. Runje, “Veze krbavsko-ličkih glagoljaša,” p. 117, fn. 32.

467. C. Fisković, *Zadarski sredovječni majstori*, p. 74.

468. V. Štefanić, “Glagoljica u Rijeci,” in *Rijeka zbornik* (J. Ravlić, ed.), Zagreb, 1953, p. 401; E. Hercigonja, “Društveni i gospodarski ikviri,” p. 34.

469. V. Ekl, “Dvije nove glagoljske isprave iz Rijeke,” *Jadranski zbornik* 1, 1956, pp. 226–27, fn. 4; V. Štefanić, “Glagoljica u Rijeci,” p. 418. Štefanić also provides a second example from 1437 of evidence in a court case being provided by a document written in Slavic script (*scripturam sclabonice*, *sclabonice scripta*).

The islands present a similar picture. A late twelfth-century listing of the properties of the monastery of St. Silvester on Bisevo includes land on the island of Vis. In describing the property on Vis, in three different places the document gives a location's name and then adds and in "Slavic" called "X," providing the Slavic names Ubrus, Dračevo polje, and Rasoha.⁴⁷⁰ An undated item in a statute for the island of Hvar follows this common pattern, noting that Illisse grande was called in Slavic (sclavonice) Vele Zesvine.⁴⁷¹ In 1390 the island of Brač submitted to the protection of Bosnia; King Tvrtko issued a charter to define their relations, one in Latin and one in Slavic (idiomate slavico). Though we cannot determine whether the Bosnians or islanders provided this wording, we learn that Brač's envoy was called Michael Petrullis in Latin and "in Slavic Mixa or Nixa"(chiamato in Slavo Mixa o Nixa).⁴⁷² Moreover, we have a thirteenth-century text concerning monastic property around Povalj on Brač mentioning the place Furca called in Slavic (sclavonice) Rasocha.⁴⁷³ In an ongoing case on Krk, a friar named Thomas of Senj on orders from the Bishop of Krk in 1419 was to help a scribe named Ivan translate from Slavic (ex littera Slavonica) into Latin what had been written a little before by a Bašćanski scribe named Stanac in Slavic.⁴⁷⁴ A charter from Pag from 1292 refers to a site called in sclavonice Nyza Yama.⁴⁷⁵ Šunjić found among fifteenth-century archival documents from Rab a Slavic Breviary (unum breviarium littere sclavonice) priced at twenty-two ducats⁴⁷⁶ and a 1477 reference to the Slavic vulgar (tongue) (vulgo sclavonico).⁴⁷⁷ Also from Rab is a 1475 inventory mentioning two Missals in Slavic (due messali alla schiavo).⁴⁷⁸ For Korčula, Foretić uncovered documents about an ongoing dispute between 1414 and 1416 between Dubrovnik and Korčula, when the island resisted receiving a Ragusan prince despite the fact that its overlord, King Sigismund of Hungary, had at Dubrovnik's pleading agreed to that prince. At a Korčula council meeting the Ragusan envoy read the king's (Latin) letter in "Slavic," so that all the islanders could understand. The Korčulans still resisted and later, in 1416, when Dubrovnik received another letter from Sigismund reaffirming his position on the prince, the city officials

470. Smičiklas, CD II, pp. 363–64. Discussed in G. Novak, "Otok Vis u srednjem vijeku," *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* ser. III, 3, 1954, p. 108.

471. S. Ljubić, *Statuta et leges civitatis Buduae, civitatis Scardonae, et civitatis et insulae Lesinae*, Zagreb (JAZU, MH-JSM 3), 1882–83, p. 204.

472. M. Vrsalović, "Prinos iz bračkih starina," *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 50, 1932, pp. 274, 289 (fn. 3).

473. Cited by I. Ostojić, *Benediktinska opatija u Poveljima na otoku Brača*, Split, 1934, p. 46.

474. I. Crnić, *Najstarija poviest krčkoj, osorskoj*, pp. 127, 161.

475. Cited by P. Skok, "Prilozi k ispitivanju srpsko-hrvatskih imena mjesta," *Rad* (JAZU) 224, 1921, p. 121.

476. M. Šunjić, *Dalmacija*, p. 271.

477. M. Šunjić, *Dalmacija*, p. 286.

478. I. Ostojić, *Benediktinci II*, p. 125.

ordered its envoy who was heading for Korčula to explain the letter's contents to the Korčula council in "Slavic," so that the members would understand.⁴⁷⁹ Šunjić turned up similar items for Korčula a couple of decades later. The records of town council meetings there, written in Latin in 1439–40 by the notary Petar de Qualis, off and on note that comments by certain individuals were "said in Slavic" (*dicens in sclavonico*).⁴⁸⁰ He also found a document from a 1456 Korčula council meeting in which a letter in Latin from the doge was translated by a Slavic interpreter (*interpretarum sclavonice*), for some did not know Latin.⁴⁸¹

Very likely the other originally Latin cities throughout Dalmatia also consistently used the terms "Slav" and "Slavic" for those they shared the region with and for the language these people spoke. If these Slavs had called themselves "Croats," presumably on some occasion that term would have appeared in the surviving texts from these cities. This seems strong indication that the Slavs, when not referring to themselves by village or other narrow place name, probably called themselves "Slavs." One may wonder whether the term "Croatia/Croat" was used at all for themselves—at least after the twelfth-century "Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclea"—in areas much south of the Cetina River.

In the fifteenth century other names emerged for the language in the Dalmatian cities, but "Croatian" was not one of them. First was the term "Dalmatian." Though from time to time some Italian scholars have tried to argue this term referred to a local variant of Italian or neo-Latin, Marko Šunjić demonstrates conclusively that "Dalmatian" was a synonym for "Slavic." His best evidence comes from a trial over a will in Split before a Split court in 1459. The trial concerned the accuracy of a text drawn up by a notary from Italy who did not know "Dalmatian" and a dying woman from Split who did not know "Latin." Various witnesses commented, one saying the woman spoke Slavic (*slabonice*), while a second witness reported the notary was ignorant of "Dalmatian or Slavic" (*ignorat linguam dalmatam sive slabonicam*).⁴⁸² V. Putanec cites an archival document from Bakar in Istria that refers to a will from 1445 of the late Tomaso Partinich drawn up in Dalmatian (*nella lingua dalmatina*).⁴⁸³ A German chronicle, "The Liber Cronicarum of 1493," written by Hartmann Schedel of Nurnberg, noted that the citizens of Prague complained that the Emperor Sigismund was hostile to the Dalmatian language (*dalmacie lingue*), presumably a misnomer for Czech by the German author.⁴⁸⁴

479. V. Foretić, *Otok Korčula, u srednjem vijeku do g. 1420*, Zagreb (JAZU, *Djela* 36), 1940, pp. 193–95.

480. M. Šunjić, *Dalmacija*, p. 286.

481. M. Šunjić, *Dalmacija*, p. 283.

482. M. Šunjić, *Dalmacija*, pp. 281–83 (esp. hearing summary with quotations provided in fn. 178).

483. V. Putanec, "Problem predsenjskih tiskara," p. 92.

484. Cited by O. A. Posinković, "Jedna starodrevna štampana knjiga (*Liber cronicarum* iz 1493)," *Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor* 4, 1924, p. 133, fn. 1. The chronicle also has a

The term "Illyrian" for "Slavic" also emerged in the fifteenth century. Šunjić found in a fifteenth-century archival document from Split (for which he provides no specific date) reference to the widow of a local nobleman who in dealing with an official document needed it to be translated from Latin into Illyrian (*de latino in illyricum*). That this label denotes "Slavic" is shown by the fact that Šunjić found in the same documents numerous references to translating "from Illyrian or Slavic into Latin" (*ex illirycō seu schlabonico sermone in latinum sermonem*) and vice versa.⁴⁸⁵ For this terminology we can also cite Nikola Bengier, a chronicler of the Paulician Order, who in his text under the year 1475 refers to the order's rules and constitutions being put into the monks' "own Illyrian language at the Gvozd monastery."⁴⁸⁶ Thus, Šunjić concludes that in the fifteenth century, "Slavic," "Illyrian," and "Dalmatian" were all being used as synonyms in Dalmatia.

T. Raukar is incensed at Šunjić's sticking carefully to the language of his sources: "It is incomprehensible why the author [Šunjić] consistently avoids the term 'Croatian' for the language of the Croats [sic!] in Dalmatia in the fifteenth century and for their ethnic identity, just because the Croatian language was concealed by the amorphous terms 'our' or by the broad and imprecise term 'Slavic.' To follow Šunjić's terminology simply makes [the reader] inquire what sort of Slavic language did the inhabitants of Zadar speak in the fifteenth century?, when there is [used] a clear and precise [term/phrase] 'cum la littera Chrivazia' [Cyrillic] (literally 'Croatian writing,' [?] that is, Glagolitic or Cyrillic), why translate it 'our language?'" Admitting that in the early Middle Ages one could use an undifferentiated term like "Slavic," Raukar concludes, "but we dare not do that for the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth century when Croatian language was already the specific name for the language of poetry (Marulić in 'Judith,' published in 1520, finished in 1501). Because of this I believe the author's (Šunjić's) terminology is not justified, and thus not comprehensible."⁴⁸⁷

But that, of course, is the whole point of my argument. Šunjić, unlike many of his careless or dishonest colleagues, was carefully following the language of his sources. It would be admirable for others to follow this practice. I cannot speak for Šunjić's motives, but I will respond to Raukar from my own standpoint. I call the language "Slavic," because that is how these people along the coast, whom Šunjić was citing, refer to it. And, even if the Slavic they were

descriptive section (pp. 137–41) about the lands in and around Croatia, and freely uses the term "Slav/Slavic" for the people and their language. The people are then subdivided into those from given regions/entities, e.g., Croats, Dalmatians, Bosnians, and Carinthians. However, this section is not original, but copied word for word from the writings of Pope Pius II (p. 137, fn. 1).

485. M. Šunjić, *Dalmacija*, p. 285.

486. Cited by M. Ivanković, "Pavlini u krbavskoj biskupiji," in M. Bogović (ed.), *Krbavska biskupija*, Rijeka-Zagreb, 1988, p. 101.

487. T. Raukar, "O nekim problemima hrvatske povijesti u XV st.," *Historijski zbornik* 21–22, 1968–69, pp. 544–45.

speaking was a proto-Serbo-Croatian, they did not choose to call it that, and most probably, therefore, did not see the language as “Croatian” or “Serbian.” At least they have left no evidence that they did. Marulić, as we shall see in the next chapter, did indeed call the language at times “Croatian,” and he was not alone among sixteenth-century figures to do so. However, larger numbers continued to call the language “Slavic” (or “Illyrian”) all the way into the nineteenth century. Thus, Marulić’s practice does not mean that the name “Croatian” was established in this region for the language. Our sources clearly show that it was not. And there is not the slightest hint in the sources which Šunjić cites that his Dalmatians would have made the word choice that Marulić did. To alter terminology of sources as Raukar expects Šunjić to do is to make it appear that people felt attached to a particular identity, for which there is no evidence that they really did. Moreover, to call the language “Croatian” because of the label “Cyrillic,” a term derived from an alphabet, which, as Raukar notes, some Dalmatians did use on occasion, is completely unwarranted. A non-ethnic term derived from the name of a saint applied to an alphabet says nothing about feelings of Croatness or Serbness. Thus, Raukar’s complaints, typical of many nationalist historians, are simply off the mark; he wants a muddying of the evidential waters to make it appear that people believed themselves to be something that the evidence does not allow. Throughout this chapter on the later medieval period, we have seen clearly that almost no fifteenth-century proto-Serbo-Croatian speakers in Dalmatia visualized themselves (or their language) as Croatians (or Croatian).

Somewhat more intriguing is an argument advanced by B. Zelić-Bučan. She argues that all the Slavic-language documents prior to 1500 which give the local language a name call it “Croatian,” and therefore that was what all the Slavs in what is now Croatia called the language. Turning to the documents that call it “Croatian,” which we have provided in the course of this chapter, she says, “for example” and then lists more or less the sum total of the documents, which implies there were many more. She should, of course, have said that she is listing the sum total of them. She also includes texts that we cannot be sure belong to the pre-1500 period. For example, as we shall see in the next chapter, there is a sixteenth-century Slavic text of “The Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclea” that uses the word “Croatian.” The original text of the chronicle, of course, is far older than 1500, but we have no Slavic text from before that date; thus we cannot know if the term “Croatian” was substituted by the sixteenth-century individual, who stated he had copied the document, or whether he had found it in the earlier text. In any case, we have so few references to “Croatian” as a language name in the surviving Slavic documents that we really have too small a sample to make the huge generalization that she does. Moreover, most of these documents calling the language “Croatian” come from a very small area—Senj, Vinodol, Istria. Thus even if the language was commonly called “Croatian” in the vernacular in this area, it does not mean that that was

a practice elsewhere. Zelić-Bučan does admit that most of the local Slavs, when writing in Latin or Italian, call the language "Slavic." But she attaches this to education and notes that later on there were to be many cases of people calling the language "Croatian" when writing in Slavic, and "Illyrian" or "Slavic" when writing in Latin or Italian. That, of course, as we shall see, is true for some people. However, while some individuals varied the language-name with the language they were writing in (and some will use "Slavic" when writing in Slavic and "Illyrian" in Latin/Italian), only some people did this; many others used their favored word in both languages. Thus, even in the later period, we cannot generalize and make such a practice into any sort of rule. And we certainly cannot do so in the pre-1500 period, for we do not have a single example of a given individual doing this. Except possibly for the difficult-to-date *Istarski razvod*, we have no Latin/Italian texts from any of the authors of the Slavic documents that call the language "Croatian."⁴⁸⁸

CONCLUSIONS (1102–1500)

When we stop to examine the period 1102 to ca. 1500, we find very little to suggest that people saw "Croat" as an inherent identity or as anything more than their membership in a Croatian state. In fact, in this period we have only six mentions of Croats (one of which has several documents of the same content) that may go beyond membership in a political unit. First, we have Thomas the Archdeacon's reference to some Croats led by the two sons of Butkov attacking the village of Ostrog; second (a very questionable one in this regard) is the Hungarian king's reference in 1358 to Zadar dealing with Croats and other foreigners; third, we have the several texts (including those from 1345 and 1412), associated with Cetina and the Nelipčić family which refer to "Croats and Vlachs." Though these Croats may have acquired this label from membership in the banovina of Croatia—as most likely those in the Hungarian king's 1358 statement did—the phrasing suggests they have adopted "Croat" as an identity and make up a separate category from the Vlachs, who also live in Croatia but are not seen as Croats. But despite the fact that the people in these three examples are referred to as "Croats," we cannot say that they have yet acquired many elements that we would associate with ethnicity. Fourth, we have the 1481 statement that Ivan Frankapan was of Croat nationality, which seems a step toward some sort of ethnicity. Moreover, in the four examples just cited, the authors are talking about other people as Croats. They do not so identify themselves, though it is possible that the Venetian description of Frankapan was derived from that individual's own expressed views. Possibly Damjan Croata, Ban of Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia from 1473 (and the handful of others noted along with him bearing the nickname "Croata")

488. B. Zelić-Bučan, "Narodni naziv hrvatskog jezika," pp. 1–18.

could be included as well, but it is not clear whether he (and the others) conceived this label in some sort of ethnic way or was simply using the term, as some others had, to indicate that he came from Croatia. Only the individuals discussed next clearly identified themselves as “Croats,” although if Damjan or any of the others labeled “Croata” had more than geography in mind, they could be considered part of this group as well.

To turn to these self-identified “Croats,” the first is the fifth instance in our overall list, namely the two Senj archdeacon translators, who together are the translators that hoped their errors would be forgiven them since they were “born Croats.” And finally, in the sixth entry on our list, ethnic ingredients do mark the comments of Martin the Priest from Novi Vinodol in 1493, who sees the Turks threatening “the Croatian jazik” (language or nation). This wording separates the Croats as a people from state boundaries, and sees them as a people bound together by their language or ethnicity. Martin’s views are unique for his time, but show him to be well on his way toward achieving an ethnic consciousness as a Croat. Such awareness, as we shall see, shall be acquired by a small number of Dalmatian intellectuals in the sixteenth century. In fact, a number of intellectuals from that period will acquire an ethnic or national awareness. However, those identifying the nation as “Croat” will be a minority among them; the majority will allow their Croat/Dalmatian-ness to be incorporated into a broader ethnic category, namely the family of “Slavs.” It is also interesting to note that examples four through six of those identified as “Croats”—along with the Vinodol Law Code which called the language “Croatian”—all come from the region of Senj-Vinodol, and have associations with the Frankapans. Thus, this small region may possibly have been idiosyncratic and also the cradle of a “Croatian” identity; but even in this region other labels continued to be used in this era and will still be used throughout the early-modern period.

In this period the term “Slav” continues to be widely used for the people in all of what we now think of as Croatia. In fact, as noted, the word “Slav” is the only term used in Slavonia, where people are never called “Croats” during the whole Middle Ages. The language spoken by the Slavs who lived in what we now consider Croatia was also usually called “Slavic.” However, we do in this period have the previously mentioned nine cases of the language itself being called “Croatian.” These nine examples describing the spoken language as “Croatian” may possibly be seen as a sign of a Croat awareness that transcends membership in a political unit. It may be no coincidence that the region of Vinodol, where the language was officially called “Croat,” was the home of our ethnically-aware priest. But a language name is a marker of identity, what a given person calls what he speaks. It is significant that in almost all our documents people spoke and wrote “Slavic” or, in the case of old-timer Dalmatian citizens and various Church figures, Latin. Thus, regardless of the political entity one lived in—Croatia, Slavonia, or a Dalmatian city-state—Slavic speakers over-

whelmingly saw their language identity as "Slavic." Though many Dalmatian Slavic speakers came to accept a particular urban citizenship and patriotism, almost none by language name or any other form of expression left any record of feeling they were Croatian. Croatia was simply a geographical region and a political entity some Slavs lived in, but while doing so they remained Slavs.

The conclusions I have come to are similar to those reached by the Croat scholar Milan Šufflay in the 1920s. To paraphrase him: As Rešetar, Jagić, Oblak, and Jireček have shown, there existed from the twelfth to the sixteenth century from the Drava to Zeta (Montenegro) a broad belt in which it was not customary to use the "Croat" or "Serb" names, but only the general ethnic term "Slav" (Slovenski). This affected, particularly in the north, all of old Slavonia between the Drava and the Gvozd; in the south "Slavonia" was understood as the region between the Neretva and the Drin and Bojana rivers in Albania. This was what remained of the huge Slavonia of the seventh to tenth centuries that included all the territory between Zadar, Thessaloniki, and the Rhodope Mountains in Bulgaria.⁴⁸⁹ Thus, the only part of present-day Croatia which Šufflay left out of this "Slavonia" inhabited by "Slavs" was the territory from the Gulf of Kvarner south to the Neretva, with its hinterland. But even in this region, as we have seen, the terms "Slav/Slavonia" still greatly predominated over "Croat/Croatia."

Thus, lest we give too much emphasis to the few idiosyncratic individuals, who did in one way or another express themselves in ways that suggested "Croatian" was an aspect of their identity, we are left with a clear conclusion. In large parts of what is now Croatia, we have found no people (even simply with a state name connected to them) called "Croats." Sources on Slavonia (except the one early and vague reference from Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus) never mention Croats. In the territory between the Cetina and Neretva, where the Neretljani were active, no mention is made of Croats, nor (excepting Cardinal Ivan Stojković) do we find any mention of locals being "Croats" as we move south toward Dubrovnik. Therefore, it makes no sense to write histories of Croatia in the Middle Ages—if these histories cover this broad territory. One can write a history of the Croatian state (up to 1102) if one includes in it only a small area. Since Croats are found so rarely, whether before or after 1102, any medieval history of the Croats (as a people rather than a state) must also be confined to a very small area. It would also be limited to a small collection of people, basically to the officially sanctioned twelve noble families of Croatia, to whom might be added the "Croats" under Nelipčić, who was, of course, from one of these twelve families. Thus, those who would write about this area should write histories, not of Croats or Croatia (if one has a broad area in mind), but about given regions (and not "regions of Croatia") but simply of

489. M. Šufflay, "Hrvati u sredovječnom svjetskom viru," in *Sveslavenski zbornik*, Zagreb, 1930, pp. 221–22.

the regions themselves, for example, of the Neretva (or of the Slavs of Neretva) or of Slavonia, or about families—the Frankapans or Šubići, and so on, whose territories do in fact include references to things Croat in a legal or political sense. But in the world view of these families, a “Croat people” had no place. A nobleman was motivated by the interests of his family (or a particular branch of it, since there were intense family feuds within all the families we have any data on) and by the family’s relations to land and its subject populations (as human units, providing taxes and service) or to greater powers (such as Venice and Hungary). Though members of the twelve great families might identify with “Croatia” as a legal community, from which they derived a special status, they did not identify with Croats or even Slavs. Some in the fifteenth and even more in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries went so far as to derive their families from ancient Roman senators, as the Babonići did from the family Ursinus; the princely family of Krk took on in 1430 the name Frankapan, from the Italian Frangipani; and the Gušići of Krbava claimed descent from the Torquata-Manlia family.⁴⁹⁰ The Split chronicler Miha Madijev de Barbazanis, writing in the 1350s, has the ancient Split nobility descended from refugees from Troy.⁴⁹¹ Such an emphasis on family and glorious foreign descent ran counter to the development of a national feeling among the nobles themselves and certainly cut them off from the mass of peasants and pastoralists. And, of course, claims of Roman descent also separated them from any sort of Croatian identity.

Things were similar in the cities and islands (Zadar, Split, Rab, etc.), where politics reflected economic and other issues important to an urban elite. Thus, the various city/regional/family territories each had a specific local focus and saw the populace around them in very local—urban or regional—terms. Most never defined themselves as being Croat or from Croatia, and the few who did (e.g., an individual from one of the twelve Croat families) still gave “Croatia” a relatively low priority as compared to other irons in the fire.

The Croats followed the Slavs into the Balkans as the Scandinavians did in Russia and the Bulgars in what was to become Bulgaria. The Croats as a military elite got control and a leadership role in certain specific territories. They were probably already Slavicized when they arrived, but Slavicized at the time or not, they were rapidly assimilated culturally and dialectically and absorbed by the Slavic mass, just as the Scandinavians and Bulgars were in their respective lands. Like the Bulgars in Bulgaria, although in the Croat case

490. N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom*, p. 343; M. Kurelac, “Prilog Ivana Luciusa-Lučića povijesti roda Zrinskih i njegove veze s Banom Petrom Zrinskim,” *Zbornik Historijskog zavoda (JAZU, Zagreb)* 8, 1977, pp. 111–12.

491. F. Šišić, “Miha Madijev de Barbazanis,” *Rad (JAZU)* 153, 1903, p. 16. S. Stuard (*A State of Deference*, pp. 18–19) also notes that members of the sixteenth-century Ragusan nobility created genealogies linking their families with heroes of classical Greece.

in a smaller region, the leading families took a dominant role in a state and provided "Croatia" as a name for the state. But whereas the Bulgars were successful in providing a name for a large territory and succeeded in imposing their name over the population of a large area as well—though probably in a political-unit sense and not an ethnic one—the Croatian leadership got control over a smaller area, provided a state name for it (e.g., in Velebitia and northern Dalmatia), but did not create a common community or identity with the bulk of the population under them. Thus, the population of most of what is now Croatia (Slavonia, the Neretva, southern Dalmatia, etc.) did not come to feel Croat at all—and no source says that in the Middle Ages these people ever did. In the area under the Croatian state (and later under the Hungarian-appointed Ban of Croatia), if we go beyond a tie with a state name—where people served in a Croatian army or paid taxes to a Croatian king, and hence were referred to as "Croats"—only a tiny number came to see themselves as "Croats" (even in the loose category envisioned by Yugoslav historians). The majority lived through the Middle Ages and entered the early-modern period simply as "Slavs."

Many of the references to "Slavs" were clearly to a people, rather than to mere residents of a territory or servants of a state. In fact, many of these cases contain the ingredients of "ethnicity" used by Yugoslav scholars. Thus, using that definition, one could make a case that Slavic awareness (name of language, so labeling oneself), separate from ties to a particular state, was present, which, it might be argued, could mean that a Slavic "ethnicity" existed in the Middle Ages in much of what is now Croatia. This leads to the conclusion that the foundations existed for the development of a Slavic ethnicity, and it had a far broader foundation than that which existed for the development of a Croatian one. It also provided the possibility of a much larger community, since many of those who were subsequently to become Serbs in southern Dalmatia and what was to become Montenegro were at the time calling themselves "Slavs" as well. Since they all spoke the same language, it would not have been odd for the people of these areas to become a single people, and many of the Dalmatian Humanists saw them as one people, be the people called "Slavs" or "Illyrians." It took specific historical events in a much later period to cause these people to sort themselves out as two separate people, Croats and Serbs. But there was nothing there as late as 1500 to provide a serious stumbling block for the ancestors of today's Croats and those of today's Montenegrin Serbs from becoming a single nation, under a name that ignored both the Croat and Serb label. Thus, by 1500 the ethnogenesis of a Croat people had clearly not yet begun.

In our examination of the Renaissance in Dalmatia and the western Balkans, which we turn to next, we shall see, as noted earlier, that, though the term "Croatian" was to find wider usage, most writers in the Dalmatian cities

of the sixteenth and seventeenth century would also generally use broad terminology for the local Slavs, calling them either “Slavs” or “Illyrians.” (The latter term, despite the fact that the real Illyrians were not Slavs, came into regular use along the Adriatic at this time to denote the South Slavs in general.) And some of these broadly conceived identities will then start acquiring features that I would call ethnic.

FOUR

Perceptions of Slavs, Illyrians, and Croats, 1500 to 1600



BRIEF HISTORICAL SURVEY

One of the main arguments of this book is that there are no innate or inherent Croats, Serbs, Bosnians, or Bulgarians. There was no inevitability that the particular groups of Slavs who are the present-day Croats would in the nineteenth century come together and form what was to be a winning national community. With different circumstances, the Dalmatians might well have not united with the Slavonians; instead they might have united with the present-day Montenegrins and formed a smaller and different coastal community, or united with the Bosnians in the territory behind them and formed a community with that group. Many things worked against the Slavs who make up the present-day Croats from uniting into a single national community. First, the Slavs in the territory of Croatia spoke three quite different dialects: Štokavian, Kajkavian, and Čakavian. Without a broad acceptance of the nineteenth-century standardization—or with a different winner in the standardization—the speakers of the three dialects there might never have merged into a single people; and if a particular one of the other two dialects had been chosen, then its speakers might have merged with the Slovenes, leaving speakers of the other two dialects outside the community.

History also had been little help. Despite frequent assertions by national-

ists, and historians who should know better, Slavonia and Croatia/Dalmatia had no significant common history prior to the twentieth century—even though political leaders in the nineteenth century began arguing for a commonality of the two populations. In the Middle Ages the two areas were rarely together politically, and neither had a common name for an ideal territory or the people—except for the vague words “Slavonia/Slav,” which also took in the Slovenes, Serbs, Montenegrins, and so on. The word “Croat,” as we have seen, had occasional usage in Croatia/Dalmatia in the Middle Ages, but never in Slavonia. Moreover, Dalmatia and Slavonia were rarely in a state together. Tomislav may have briefly conquered some of Slavonia in his warfare with the Hungarians, but for most of the period from the seventh century to the end of the eleventh century, the two areas were not in a single state; and after the arrival of the Hungarians these newcomers usually held most of Slavonia—even though the majority of the population seems to have been Slavic speaking. After 1102, most of the small area of Croatia proper or our Velebitia was in a state together with Slavonia. However, Dalmatia (including the Slav-founded towns there) more often than not was not part of that state. Venice held Dalmatia, for far longer periods of time than Hungary did. Even when Hungary held Slavonia, Croatia, and Dalmatia, the three areas were never integrated, but Slavonia had its own ban, legal system, and administration, separate from Croatia. Slavonia was far more integrated into Hungary than the areas of Croatia proper, which had much more autonomy. So, despite a common king, Slavonia and Croatia were administered separately and were never conceived of as belonging to any sort of unity. Thus, in the nineteenth century when the young nationalists wanted the two areas united and were unhappy because Croatia and Slavonia were under Hungary and Dalmatia under Austria, this division was nothing new—although where some specific territories fell was new.

In 1500, in the regions that in the twentieth century were to become Croatia, we find the population speaking earlier versions of three quite different dialects. The history of their two largest areas—Slavonia and Dalmatia—had little in common, except for brief moments when they shared a common Hungarian monarch. Some of the people of each area also shared a common dialect, but, of course, that dialect was spoken by other South Slavs, who never became Croats.

Moreover, little in 1500 existed to encourage the union of Slavonians (and most of the people there saw themselves as Slavs) and people from Croatia/Dalmatia (a few of whom were coming to call themselves “Croats,” though more, as we shall see, saw themselves as Slavs or Illyrians). So the people of the two regions were without a specific common history and common name. In addition, many of the citizens of the Dalmatian towns still identified themselves by city.

Furthermore, these people living in what was to become Croatia found themselves under different administrative units. The Dalmatian coast between Dubrovnik and Istria was almost entirely under Venice. The Venetians, on this go around, started with the purchase of Zadar and a couple of other cities in 1409, then took advantage of further Hungarian civil war and their own armed forces to pick up most of the rest of the coastal area by 1420, acquiring the last pieces—Omiš and environs in 1444 and the island of Krk in 1480. Croatia (under the Hungarian king) had salvaged of the coast only Senj and environs up to Rijeka, and Dubrovnik had retained an independent status, saved by accepting Ottoman suzerainty, a suzerainty that for the city's internal affairs was entirely nominal. So, throughout the early-modern period (until 1808) Dubrovnik was to be a separate republic, and its people, Ragusans. Venice held the rest of Dalmatia—excluding Senj and Rijeka.

However, all this Dalmatian territory had never been and still was not united, as the individual cities had their own city governments, though all were (after ca. 1420) governed by a heavy-handed Venetian administration under a general *Providur* for Dalmatia. In addition, Venice was not able to save all this territory; the Turks penetrated to the coast, and in 1499 took Makarska and its surroundings. Thus Dalmatia was in no way a single coherent whole. In addition the Ottomans, who conquered all Bosnia and Hercegovina in the second half of the fifteenth century, picked off much of Dalmatia's hinterland, which had been part of Croatia proper—the Croatian *banovina* in the Middle Ages. Knin fell to them in 1521, Klis in 1537. So, for a while these territories were separated from any sort of Christian administration.

After the fall of Bosnia, the Ottomans moved against Hungary and, after the Battle of Mohacs in 1526, were in a position to take much of it. To add to the Hungarian subjects' difficulties, after the king's death at Mohacs, civil war broke out for control of Hungary, Slavonia, and what was left of Croatia proper between the Habsburgs and John Zapolja, a Transylvanian nobleman. Here again we see the division, noted in the last chapter, between the nobles of Croatia and those of Slavonia. The Croatian diet met and voted to support Ferdinand Habsburg, while the Slavonians decided to support Zapolja. So each region went its own way and the warfare over the next decade contributed little to bringing the nobles of the two regions together. Moreover, the warfare allowed the Ottomans to push into and through Slavonia, culminating in their conquest of Buda in 1541. By this time they had conquered over half of Slavonia—most of east and central Slavonia. Thus, Slavonia was to be divided from this point until the 1690s between the Ottomans and the Habsburgs. This was preceded by the Peace of Varazdin in 1538, giving the Habsburgs the South Slav lands and Zapolje Erdelj (roughly Transylvania), and then by the death of Zapolja that followed shortly thereafter in 1540. The Habsburgs were to be successful in solidifying their control over the territory

that did not fall to the Ottomans by 1541.¹ But despite this peace and the general acceptance of the Habsburgs in the Slavonian-Croatian remnants, the two territories (though undergoing some border changes) remained distinct entities. Nada Klaić criticizes a tendency among many modern historians to make Croatia identical with Slavonia, thereby erasing the individuality of the two provinces.²

Though they controlled a wide area, the Habsburgs did not have a unified regime/administration. Their territory along the frontier included the area they salvaged in Croatia proper around Senj, which had come under the direct control of the monarch in 1469 when King Matthias Corvinus had seized the town from the Frankapans. This territory was put under a special military administration. Thus, the people there were mobilized for military service and answered to the Habsburg military; among these organized groups was a semiautonomous bunch of freebooters called the Uskoks. They were based in and around Senj, in theory answerable to the Habsburg military authorities, but often not, and equally often these military authorities did not care what the Uskoks did. In addition, the inland frontier region was divided into two separate frontier regions under Austrian officers, one centered in Karlovac, labeled the Croatian frontier, and the other administered from Varaždin, called the Slavonian one. The remaining parts of Slavonia and Croatia proper were put under the governance of the ban and from 1537 a single diet (*sabor*) of the nobility of the two regions.

It should be noted as well that changes also occurred as to which territories were included in Croatia and which in Slavonia. In the early fifteenth century, Croatia proper included the four *županijas* of Lika, Lučka, Knin, and Poljica. The last was taken over by Venice in 1444, and soon the Turks were threatening and absorbing much of its territory. As a result territory that had been considered Slavonia beyond (roughly north of) the Gvozd mountain up to the Kupa, Sava, and Lower Una rivers was now added to Croatia, and thus the Croatian label for people and soldiers in this territory started coming into use. Moreover, this territory being transferred to Croatia included parts of the Zagreb *županija* south of the Kupa and Sava. Nada Klaić observes that the diet of 1560, in reference to these parts of the Zagreb *županija*, noted that they were now said to be in the Kingdom of Croatia (*que nunc regnum Croatiae vocatur*).³ This change was reinforced by the appearance in this area of nobles and peasants from Croatia proper (who had been geographical Croatians previously) fleeing the Turks. Cities like Bihać, Krupa, Zrin, Toplica (Topusko),

1. A clear presentation of the relationship between Habsburgs and Croatia can be found in F. Šišić, "Politika Habsburgovaca spram Hrvata do Leopolda I," *Rad* (JAZU) 266, 1939, pp. 93–148.

2. N. Klaić, "'Ostaci ostataka' Hrvatske i Slavonije u XVI st. (od mohadžke bitke do seljačke bune 1573 g.)," *Arhivski vjesnik* 16, 1973, p. 253.

3. N. Klaić, "'Ostaci ostataka,'" pp. 260–61.

Steničnjak, and Dubovac, which were formerly in Slavonia, by the end of the fifteenth century were included in Croatia. According to a document of 1469 this changing Croatia was, at least briefly, divided into two parts, Upper and Lower (Superior and Inferior) Croatia. Upper Croatia went from the old border in Dalmatia (much of it actually Dalmatian hinterland, since Venice held the coastal towns) at the Cetina River up to the Gvozd, while Lower Croatia included the territory around Modruš and then, as they were administratively transferred, the territories up to the Kupa River. What remained with Slavonia was the territory between the Drava and Sava rivers, down to the Kupa and basically included four županijas: Zagreb (which lost territory), Varaždin, Križevci, and Virovitica. But Slavonia's nominal territory expanded to the east, as the Vukovska županija along with that of Požega and much of Srem came to be considered Slavonia, even though these three territories were often administered partially by other officials like the Vojvoda of Usora or the Ban of Mačva. Of course, many of these changes were carried out to try to establish a more effective defense against the Ottomans, and in the course of the sixteenth century large chunks of this Slavonia fell to the Turks.⁴

The Military-Border Territory was originally established in 1522 and organized into two units, the Croatian border (Krabatische Granitz) and the Slavonian; the military district names were derived from the administrative territories out of which they were created. In 1588 the districts were renamed after two main cities; the Croatian border region was named after the newly erected fortress of Karlovac/Karlstadt and the Slavonian one after the city of Varaždin. (This city, despite serving as the military zone's name, it should be noted, was not included in the military district, but remained under civil administration.) However, despite the name change, throughout its existence the Croatian-Karlovac military district was usually spoken of by the authorities, as the Croatian one, and its militia as Croatians. This name was used despite the fact that a majority of the militiamen were drawn from Orthodox refugees from territories occupied by the Ottomans and their descendants. Originally these refugees were uniformly called Uskoks, but in time this name came to be used chiefly for those in and around Senj, who were as active at sea as on land. The Senj Uskoks, unlike the inland land-based military frontiersmen, were overwhelmingly Catholic, for most of them were of Dalmatian origin. However, it should be noted, Catholic families settled in the inland territory co-opted for the military zones were also recruited into the border forces. The soldiers were settled on plots of land, and given various privileges, the chief of which was their independence from the nobility and all feudal dues. The frontier was marked by a series of fortified villages, under the command of a Habsburg appointee, who usually was a German officer. Each of the two frontier districts was under its

4. V. Klaić, "Hrvatsko kraljevstvo u XV stoljeću i prvoj četvrti XVI stoljeća (1409–1526)," *Vjesnik Hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva* n.s. 8, 1905, pp. 133–34, 144.

own colonel, and in 1553 a colonel commandant was placed over both districts and their colonels. The districts' financial support was made an obligation for the Austrian estates, which had been worried about their futures should this territory in Croatia fall to the Ottomans. Carinthia and Carniola were responsible for the financing of the Karlovac district, and Styria for Varaždin's. Throughout their existence, these zones were resented by the Croatian nobility and the administration of the Ban of Croatia, and frequent attempts were made, always unsuccessful, to either abolish the military districts or to subordinate them to the Ban of Croatia rather than the Austrian military administration. However, this was one more institution, whose original name remained in popular parlance after its name change, that perpetuated the word "Croat," though, of course, this term was based on nothing ethnic, but on geography and administrative terminology.

Thus, by 1541, we have Dubrovnik as an independent republic (under nominal Ottoman suzerainty); the Habsburgs holding some of Croatia proper and western Slavonia under a ban and managing the Slavonian and Croatian Military Frontiers under their military authority; the Venetians holding most of the rest of Dalmatia and Istria; and the Ottomans holding the Makarska coast, much of the Dalmatian/Croatian hinterland, and over half of Slavonia. This was not likely to encourage people who had not had a common history to get together and decide they were one people.

Such divisions had more or less always been the case. But despite this fact, many Croatian scholars see it anachronistically and instead of focusing on how this division would simply have placed all sorts of obstacles in the way of Dalmatians, Ragusans, Slavonians, Croats, and other groups coming together, they depict the situation as a departure from some Golden Age. Ivo Banac, noting the flight of various west Balkan Catholics and the immigration into what is now Croatia/Dalmatia by Orthodox Vlachs (and Serbs), cites Šidak, who says these demographics "forever shattered the integrity of the Croat people's ethnic territory."⁵ But had there ever been an integral Croatian ethnic territory? And since no such community had ever existed, how would the immigration of some Orthodox who spoke the same language interfere with some future ethnic development? The only way this statement could be accurate would be to base it in terms of a future definition that says Croatian ethnicity must be tied to Catholicism. But who says an ethnicity must share a single religion? That certainly is not true of the Albanians. This emigration/immigration could have strengthened the integrity of ethnic Serbo-Croats or Yugoslavs. Such a mixed ethnicity was not in fact to emerge, but it well could have. In fact, this migration was to be a great boon to the Catholic

5. J. Šidak, "Hrvatsko društvo u Križanićevo doba," in R. Pavić (ed.), *Život i djelo Jurja Križanića*, Zagreb, 1974, p. 21; discussed by I. Banac, "The Redivived Croatia of Pavao Ritter Vitezović," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 10, nos. 3-4, 1986, p. 493.

South Slavs, for these Serbs and Vlachs were excellent warriors and beefed up greatly the Christian border with Islam. Thus, the cited Šidak statement is completely anachronistic.

Banac himself expresses the same skewed perception: "The steady fragmentation of Croat lands, conquered and torn apart by various alien rulers whose cultural and religious values were often totally different from those of the Croats, produced in the Croats a marked and lasting regional character."⁶ The word "fragmentation" implies that there had been a unity which broke up or was broken up. But when was there such a unity? What was to become Croatia was always fragmented and based upon regional units. Moreover, Banac implies a commonality of Croat culture by stating that the culture and values of alien rulers were different from Croatian ones, but it should be clear to my readers that a common culture had never existed among the Slavic speakers of what was to become Croatia. Moreover, I would say that at the time the flight away from Turkish expansion began, there were not yet any Croats to speak of, even in Croatia proper.

The origin of this misperception of some Golden-Age Great Croatia, when all the present-day Croats were basking in the glory of some unified state with some sort of common culture, is all mixed up with the myth of the so-called Triune Kingdom of Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia. This kingdom, if it ever existed, would have to have occurred in the pre-1500 Middle Ages. Somehow, in my detailed examination of the Middle Ages, I never found any evidence of its existence (unless mere possession of bits and pieces of each of these three areas at a given moment is what constituted it). The underpinning of the myth may be visual—for where it is most vividly expressed is in maps; and these maps appear in the readers children are provided with during their early years. Maps with bright colors make a vivid impression; they seem factual, and thus only a brief examination can provide Croatian children with a secure belief in something that no mere written text (or texts) can. Such maps mean that before an older student starts high school or university, he has a definite context in which to fit his sources, and it will be very hard (without

6. I. Banac, "Main Trends in the Croatian Language Question," in R. Picchio & H. Goldblatt (eds.), *Aspects of the Slavic Language Question I*, New Haven (Yale Russian and East European Publications, no. 4-a), 1984, p. 189. When historians (and Banac and Šidak, who are two fine historians on most matters, have enormous company from their colleagues) can write such unsupported fantasy, it is not surprising that nationalists and the general public take their claims seriously. To give one example, the Croatian author S. Novak can feel he has a "scientific basis" to write such drivel as the following about some perceived horrors (though D. Ugrešić points out that he is writing in a "Croatian hygienic euphoria"): "Croatia is cleansing itself of Yugo-unitarist and Great Serb rubbish which has been spread all over it for a whole century. Croatia is simply being restored to its original form [! When was its territory ever a land of 'Croats'?] and returning to its true self. If today it has to make painful incisions in its language, history, scholarship, and even the names of its towns and streets, that only shows the extent to which it was contaminated and how polluted were all the facets of its life and all segments of its corpus." (Cited by D. Ugrešić, *The Culture of Lies*, University Park, Pa., 1998, pp. 64-65.)

conscious direction) to change that foundation. So a new university history student possesses a rock-solid (and completely unfounded) belief (to him, knowledge) that Tomislav's Croatia (and that of other major native dynasts) encompassed half the Balkans. Then, with that basis, when he sees maps of later periods which show what he thinks of as Croatia small and split up among various other states, then it can only mean fragmentation.

Such nationalist map-making is now in full swing, well illustrated by the J. Lučić and F. Šanjek historical atlas (*Hrvatski povijesni zemljovid*) from 1993.⁷ The Croatia of Tomislav is pictured (p. 11) as having all Slavonia as far as Vukovar, and south of the Sava all of Bosnia to the Drina, and along the coast all the lands to the Neretva. Our sources on the tenth century are not reliable ones, so it is not impossible that Croatia actually held all this territory then and conceivably it might have had even more. But roughly a third of this perceived Croatia is entirely speculation and thus fiction. To turn to specific evidence: If we can believe the much-later compilation of *HSM*, then in Slavonia, Tomislav possessed Sisak (above the Kupa and just on the Sava); if we can believe the Byzantine scholar-emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, then in the north of what became greater Bosnia, Croatia extended east sufficiently to have the Plivska župa (which lay on the Vrbas River). And if Constantine knew what he was talking about, then along the coast Croatia reached the Cetina River, and not the Neretva. Croatia may well have had more territory, but there is no specific evidence to show it. In addition, the two sources giving Croatia what I have just laid out are not good ones. *HSM* is distant in time from what it states, and Constantine distant in space. Due to these constraints they may have been over-generous and Croatia could conceivably have had less than the two-thirds of the Lučić-Šanjek map, which I am not contesting here.

Thus, over a third of what Lučić and Šanjek claim belonged to Croatia is fiction, in that there is no source support for it whatsoever. Moreover, it must also be noted that much of what Tomislav acquired seems not to have been retained for long and whatever he ruled represented a brief moment in history. In any case, who controlled this eastern land (a third of so-called Tomislav's Croatia) is unknown, thus *terra incognita*; and that is how it should be depicted on maps. It is possible that Croatia really did have some of it, but Bulgaria may have had much of it; early Serb entities may have had some of it, not to speak of various župans and other local Slavic lords who in any serious way answered to no one. If the last supposition is (to any degree) true, then parts of this territory would not have been held by any "state." Somewhere, probably in this *terra incognita*, Symeon's attacking forces were defeated by

7. Published in Zagreb. A magnificent study showing how maps can be distorted and used to advance political goals is by H. R. Wilkinson, *Maps and Politics: A Review of the Ethnographic Cartography of Macedonia*, Liverpool, 1951.

Tomislav's. But we do not know where the armies met, or whether Tomislav's forces waited at home or went out to meet Symeon. Major battles can take place in a no-man's land between states, as occurred between the Serbian and Turkish forces at Marica in 1371.

In a time of nationalist emotions and hysteria, historians must be voices of reason; they must stick to actual evidence. Grandiose visions of what the past might conceivably have been can only stir up passions and unreasonable claims, and history of previous centuries really cannot justify any claims. As noted above, it does not matter what Croatia (or any state) possessed a thousand years ago; present territorial claims must be based on present-day populations and their perceptions and needs.⁸ Thus, the reader is warned not to

8. As Eric Hobsbawm (*On History*, New York, 1997) states, "Ernest Renan observed more than a century ago, 'Forgetting, even getting history wrong, is an essential factor in the formation of a nation, which is why the progress of historical studies is often a danger to nationality.'" For, as Hobsbawm notes, "[N]ations are historically novel entities pretending to have existed for a very long time. Inevitably the nationalist version of their history consists of anachronism, omission, decontextualization and, in extreme cases, lies. To a lesser extent this is true of all forms of identity history, old or new" (p. 270). Noting the threat nationalism poses to historians caught up in times when this disease is rampant, Hobsbawm notes, "For history is the raw material for nationalist or ethnic or fundamentalist ideologies, as poppies are the raw material for heroin addiction. The past is an essential element, perhaps the essential element, in these ideologies. If there is no suitable past, it can always be invented. . . . The past legitimizes. The past gives a more glorious background to a present that doesn't have much to celebrate. . . . I used to think that the profession of history, unlike that of, say, nuclear physics, could at least do no harm. Now I know it can" (p. 5). And he aptly remarks, "Bourgeois parvenus seek pedigrees, new nations or movements annex examples of past greatness and achievements to their history in proportion as they feel their actual past to have been lacking in these things" (p. 21). And finally, relevant here, Hobsbawm observes, "Zionism, or for that matter any modern nationalism, could not conceivably be a return to a lost past, because the sort of territorial nation-states with the sort of organization it envisaged simply did not exist before the nineteenth century." Thus, "[G]etting history wrong is an essential part of being a nation." Hobsbawm puts well the point I am making here about this atlas (and many straight historical works hitting the Croatian bookstores at present): "It is the professional business of historians to dismantle such mythologies unless they are content—and I am afraid national historians have often been—to be servants of the ideologists" (p. 26).

Renan's original article, "What Is a Nation?" is reprinted in G. Eley & R. Suny (eds.), *Becoming National: A Reader*, Oxford, 1996, pp. 42–55; the passage cited by Hobsbawm appears on p. 45 (though the wording of the translation here is different from that of Hobsbawm). Renan then goes on (p. 52) to argue that the two ingredients that underlie a nation are a legacy of memories and present-day consent, or as he also phrases it the desire of people to live together and perpetuate the values of the national heritage. Neither of these ingredients were to be found on a significant scale in the three regions that now make up Croatia at any time in the period prior to 1800; nor are what Renan brings out as reflecting a national heritage, i.e., a cult of ancestors and a heroic past. As we have seen and shall see further, the three regions that were to come to be seen as Croatian lands at some point in the nineteenth century had no common past or common heroes (seen as belonging to all three regions). Dalmatia might admire the heroics of the Zrinskis against the Turks, but they were not seen as ancestors of the Dalmatians or their own heroes. Renan also saw nations as constructed, stating that a nation's existence is a daily plebiscite and that nations are not something that is eternal (p. 53).

give serious consideration to the maps of any Balkan state without inquiry into who made them and upon what evidence the maps were based. The Lučić-Šanjek map on Tomislav is an irresponsible fabrication to support current Croatian nationalist goals. Such maps, absorbed by schoolchildren, become part of their underlying perceptions on their nation's history. They grow up, and if they become historians of later periods, they may continue, without thinking to question this underpinning, to believe in these images of the earlier past, and thereby to accept uncritically the myth of (in this case) this earlier Triune Kingdom and its obvious accompaniment, namely, that what is found in the fifteenth or sixteenth century must be territorial loss and fragmentation.

But returning to the actual situation: other things kept these ancestors of the citizens of the far-in-the-future Republic of Croatia apart. Even though the Habsburgs and Venetians were both Catholic, Venice had a very tense relationship with Rome. Moreover, we should note that people from Dalmatia tended to move around Dalmatia, and when they went abroad, particularly to study, they went to Italy. Those from Habsburg Slavonia tended to stay within the empire. There was much movement, including that for study, to Ljubljana in what is present-day Slovenia, and higher study tended to be in the Habsburg capital of Vienna or Graz. Thus, beyond Latin—the language of the educated shared by both Venetian and Habsburg subjects—the people living in the territory of what was to become Croatia were also to be divided by second languages, German for the Slavonians and Italian for the Dalmatians. It should be noted, however, that this division was not rock solid. Slavonian intellectuals read and referred to the works of Dalmatian writers, and we have references to occasional visits of Dalmatians to Slavonia. And, of course, the members of the two populations mixed on visits to Rome, especially at the St. Jerome guest house there. Some Dalmatians also did find careers in the Habsburg empire, and there were young men who studied in both worlds; for example, Antun Vrančić, whom we shall meet in the course of this chapter, was born in Šibenik, studied in Hungary and at Padua in Italy, and went on to have a Church and diplomatic career in Hungary. However, such a pattern was not usual; thus, these already-mentioned different regional histories, followed by the different foreign and general cultural experiences, were not conducive to the creation of a common community among the intellectuals of the two areas. We must recall that these were not national territories. Though the overwhelming majority of Dalmatians were Slavic-speaking Slavs, Italian was dominant among the elite, and many of the Church and intellectual elite were actual Italians. So, regardless of what local interests (their town, Dalmatia, or some wider Slavdom) these Dalmatian intellectuals had, through their education and culture, they were also part of the broad Italian/Latin cultural world which gave

them a whole series of values that took them well beyond any nascent parochial identity they may also have had.

At the same time, much of the elite in Slavonia was not Slavic, but German and Hungarian. The dominant language in many Slavonian towns also was German. Moreover, those Slavs who were wealthy landowners and had their eyes on the main chance found more in common with these so-called “foreigners” of their own class than with the mass of peasants who spoke their language. In fact, as Georgijević points out, many of the noble heroes on the battlefield against the Turks, at the same time outrageously exploited the lower classes, including their own serfs. Moreover, many in Slavonia felt strong loyalty to the Habsburg monarch, a tie that also did not encourage separate communities along language-group lines. In addition, none of the elite felt a common bond with the lower classes, or saw them—even if they shared a language (and many did not)—as part of one’s community. And the common people, lacking education, were not drawn into the issue at all.

This also was not a national period. Class may have drawn the elite to Italian or German/Hungarian circles, but the Church was also a powerful attraction for elite intellectuals, who entered into a “Latin” world and took assignments in Italy and elsewhere, regardless of where they came from. Identity as a “Christian” was a major one that took precedence over regional/ethnic ones for many. This was particularly true at this time, for Christianity was on the defensive against Islam; so, were those being subjected and led off to Turkish captivity fellow-Slavs (or read some specific type of Slav) or fellow-Christians? At least from the contents of the anti-Turkish orations of the time, it seems that in this situation the common bond was most often seen as “Christian,” something that cut across so-called ethnic lines and made one’s heart go out for Greeks and Albanians, as much as for Serbs and for fellow Catholic South Slavs, whatever one wanted to call them.

In addition and adding to the chaos was the large number of refugees fleeing into both Habsburg and Venetian territory from areas falling to the Turks or moving around within these territories to escape war zones. These people were not “ethnics,” so they were not adding broad identities to any equation, but they were new populations, often with different dialects. Sometimes, when a sufficient number settled in one area, the dialect of an area—or parts of it—changed. The resulting dialectical changes in parts of Slavonia have been well demonstrated by the studies of S. Pavičić, listed in the bibliography.

However, a few things did encourage people to think in larger terms. In the Habsburg empire the number of people being educated increased, and those who were attained broader horizons. They learned about and met other Slavic peoples, which was to encourage among some pan-Slav feelings. In addition Slavs from what was left of Slavonia—at least the elite—more

frequently met Slavs from what the Habsburgs salvaged of Croatia proper and Slovenia. Thus, there were more contacts to cut across older geographical lines. Finally in 1537 the diets of Croatia and Slavonia, made up of each region's nobility, were merged—and generally referred to in popular speech as the Croatian diet—and soon came to meet in what had previously been termed Slavonia.⁹ At the same time separate bans of Croatia and of Slavonia disappeared to be replaced by a single ban to head the two (and if one tosses in the bit of Dalmatia retained by the Habsburgs, then three) territories. There was little reason not to merge these territories since so little of any remained after the Turkish conquests in this area, and what was left by about 1541 were only three *županijas* (Zagreb, Varaždin, and Križevci). The ban, despite a comprehensive title, also was frequently simply called "Ban of Croatia." This terminology was to advance the name "Croatia," and since what had been Slavonia and not Croatia became the home of this "Croatian" diet, it made the term "Croatia" relevant to Zagreb and to the rest of Slavonia. But though these entities were to a considerable extent merged, they

9. Until the sixteenth century the diets of Croatia and Slavonia met irregularly (usually only when convoked by the relevant ban). They were not ethnic but territorial, and Hungarian landowners living in Slavonia, for example, attended the Slavonian diet. The two diets, being for a given entity, were entirely separate bodies. However, at the beginning of the sixteenth century some Croat nobles, seeking aid from Slavonia against the Turkish danger, began showing up at the Slavonian diet. Soon thereafter, on occasion, the king, trying to assert greater control over these two entities and get his choices accepted as bans, began, first in 1524, summoning Slavonian and Croatian nobles to joint assemblies. This set a precedent and Krsto Frankapan called a joint diet in early 1526; a second one, also with Frankapan having a major role, was convoked at Koprivnica after the disaster at Mohacs. But the post-Mohacs joint diet was not a success, as the nobles of the two entities favored different candidates to succeed Louis II (who had perished at Mohacs). In separate assemblies in late 1526 and early 1527 the Croatian assembly accepted Ferdinand of the House of Habsburg and the Slavonians supported the nobleman John Zapolja. However, changing sides was a feature of the civil war that followed, and some Slavonians defected to Ferdinand; in 1533 a joint diet was held by the Croatians and those Slavonians supporting Ferdinand. After Ferdinand's victory, as noted, the two diets were merged in 1537, regularly meeting in Slavonia, most frequently in Zagreb. Only once thereafter did a diet of Croatians alone take place; that one occurred in 1558 in Steničnjak. In this period the diet no longer met irregularly, called only when the king or ban thought it necessary, but met annually (sometimes twice or thrice a year), usually still convoked by king or ban, but occasionally by the local nobles themselves. Despite the merging of diets and bans, the Habsburgs, however, continued to see the two entities as separate kingdoms, referring to them as the kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia (*regnum Croatiae et Sclavoniae*). On the diets (*sabors*), see V. Klaić, "Hrvatski sabori do godine 1790," in *Zbornik Matice hrvatske: O tisućoj godišnjici Hrvatskog kraljevstva*, Zagreb, 1925, pp. 247–310.

Klaić also points out that in this period some people began using the name "Croatia" for parts of what had been Slavonia for other reasons. As some nobles from Croatia, withdrawing from areas taken or threatened by the Turks, began settling in the region between the Gvoz mountain and Kupa River, they brought the territorial name "Croatia" with them, and from the end of the fifteenth century many called the territory south of the Kupa "Croatia." Klaić also notes that Bihać, a town in Slavonia, after the fall of Knin in 1522 more and more often came to be referred to as a city in Croatia (Klaić, *op. cit.*, p. 263).

were not considered a unity by the Habsburgs, who all the way up to 1918 referred to them as the kingdoms (plural) of Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia.

And, as we shall see, peoples in all these different areas had different, and sometimes multiple, identity labels; in most areas three to four different ones were to be found. Moreover, though some of the identities might appear to be of an ethnic nature, others continued to be linked to geography and the political situation. But it should be noted that whatever the core of one's identity, we/they feelings (often with no ethnic-type label for the "we") were expressed. Often it was Christians versus Muslims, or "we" against the Turks, but it also could be political within an entity. For example, various Habsburg Slavs in Croatia and Slavonia often felt that help to defend their frontier lands against the Turkish onslaught was insufficient, and they resented the patronizing airs of the Hungarians. Thus in 1595 the Croatian Diet met in Zagreb, at a time when the post of ban needed to be filled, and demanded that a son of the homeland be chosen ban; they would not accept a general of a foreign nationality (*nul-lius externae nationis generali parituros*) and would not go to war under such a person's command.¹⁰ A couple of decades later some representatives from Croatia persuaded the Hungarian diet to demand that, for ease of understanding, captaincies of the Military Frontier (in the Krajina) be filled only with local people and that half the vacancies in the honorary ranks/positions on the frontiers (both in Croatia and Slavonia) be filled with sons from that homeland.¹¹ Such demands could arise out of ethnicity, but they also could emerge from a regional feeling, that "outsiders" and those with court connections were getting advanced over the heads of those doing the actual fighting and that these foreign (e.g., German) commanders did not know the local language.

This background, I trust, will provide sufficient context for the various individuals who lived in one or another of the regions just described and who will be discussed in this chapter, which examines the perceptions of identity among the people of these different areas in the period ca. 1500 to ca. 1600. In this and the subsequent chapters, certain people will be said to have had ethnicity or at least ethnic ingredients, feelings, and so on. The reader is reminded that what I mean by "ethnicity" is explained in detail in the introduction to this book (especially the first few pages), where an assortment of key ingredients of that phenomenon are laid out: that is, a sense of community with others of one's "kind" (even if those sharing in the community do not know each other), bound by such shared ingredients as a common language, territory, history, or particular values, which make those in the group somehow related and members of a perceived larger common family, membership in which can transcend existing state borders.

10. V. Klaić, "Banovanje kneza Nikole Frankopana Tržackoga (1617–1622)," *Rad (JAZU)* 211, 1916, p. 97.

11. V. Klaić, "Banovanje kneza Nikole Frankopana," p. 139.

THE "CROAT" IDENTITY CAMP

*Five Sixteenth-Century Authors Find Ethnicity in
Connection with the Croats*

In the period right after the fall of much of Croatia to the Turks, some early writers seem to have followed in the footsteps of the Novi Vinodol priest by expressing a developing Croatian ethnic feeling, in particular Ivan Tomašić, a Croat author of a chronicle, *Chronicon breve Regni Croatiae*, in 1561. Similar reflections appear by a sixteenth-century editor from Split of "The Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclea" and by the sixteenth-century editor and expander of Thomas the Archdeacon's history of Split, the author of *HSM*. To these three literati, I have added two other figures: George (Juraj) Drašković, at the time an official from Požunj, whose letter of praise to a successful officer from Croatia in 1556 expressed feelings similar to the three writers, and a poet from Zadar named Petar Zoranić.

However, though these works, which we shall turn to in a moment, put an emphasis on Croatia and, some, particularly in Tomašić's case, even exhibited a Croatian consciousness, other writers of this period depicted things from a general Slavic or South Slavic perspective. This broad Slavic current was the stronger one and by the seventeenth century had eclipsed to a considerable degree the Croatian current that hit its pre-nineteenth-century peak in the sixteenth century.

We shall now turn to our five sixteenth-century "Croatianist" authors and see how they perceived and cast some of the events we have discussed above. Particular focus was directed at the death of King Zvonimir, which put an end to the native dynasty, and at the incorporation of Croatia into Hungary.

Our continuator of "The Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclea" writes that the nobles revolted against Zvonimir "because he was not for the Croats but for himself. . . . But cursed and unfaithful Croats, . . . Zvonimir was killed . . . and as a result the Croats no longer had a lord from their language but were subordinate to a foreign language." Here again, we find an author making language equivalent to nation. The nation consists of those of a given language community. Thus, this author is well on his way to visualizing a Croat national consciousness. Our author continues, "[A]nd the Croats were subjected to the Hungarian king . . . and the cursed and unfaithful Croats for their sins lost their good King Zvonimir . . . and [ended up] not having a king of their nation."¹² Clearly ethnic consciousness is creeping in, and, while it was not for his predecessors, it was important for this author that ruler and people be of the same nation. Yet though it is probably a national consciousness, Nada Klaić wonders how strongly it is a Croat one, as guilt for Zvonimir's death is placed upon "unfaithful Croats." Noting that the addition of this story was the

12. N. Klaić, *Izvori*, pp. 71–72.

work of a writer from Split, she implicitly suggests a continuation of the dichotomy between Dalmatians with their long and proud heritage and the Croats. She argues that the Split editor can place blame on Croats and see that blame falling upon the general mass of them and not upon the citizens of Dalmatia. Thus, the Croats were recognized as a people, but as a people to which the author does not belong, for the author does not appear to see himself as one of them.

N. Radojčić presents a very detailed analysis of this account, and the other sixteenth-century ones as well. He notes that this version of the chronicle omits much material from the earlier version, thus presenting an altered version of the first twenty-three chapters; but its author also adds items (about Croats and Croat kings) not in the earlier version. The reviser/editor has, as does our earliest version, the Goths defeating Christians, but then adds an anachronism by saying and thus “the Croats were beaten.” The editor continues thereafter to toss in the Croatian name where it had not been present in the original. For example, he adds to certain “Slavic” kings mentioned in the original that they were Croats. He also feels it necessary to make a genealogy for Zvonimir. Thus, he inserts several Croat rulers and makes Zvonimir into a member of the actual Croatian dynasty, rather than the outsider ban that he was. However, other than throwing in a Krešimir (made to be Zvonimir’s father), the names of the Croatian dynasty bear no resemblance to the figures who actually ruled. Then, turning to Zvonimir’s reign, he makes it a Golden Age, full of bounty and riches. But lurking in the background are the evil Croats, dissatisfied with their blessings. They had revolted on behalf of a bad Prince Časlav against his father, the good King Radoslav. And now with Zvonimir, they want to ignore their duty to Christianity and the pope (rejecting the call to crusade). Radojčić believes all this material was inserted to be an introduction to the culminating addition, the legend of Zvonimir. He sees this tale as a myth, not historical, but moral/ethical. And he argues that the later author is making a Biblical parallel and comparing the Croats with the Jews, who also lost their “state” and became subjected to foreign peoples. And, in fact, the author states this explicitly, “And they [the Jews] have had to serve foreigners, because they turned their ruler, Jesus Christ, over to his death. And thus the Croats paid for their evil. The cursed and unfaithful Croats, for their sins, lost their good lord King Zvonimir just as the Jews lost their lord Jesus Christ.”¹³

The ideal of rule by natives was also held by the editor/expander of Thomas the Archdeacon of Split. The author of *HSM* writes, “At this time King Zvonimir, King of the Croats, ordered all the knights and warriors of his kingdom to gather in the place that in the Illyrian language [a term commonly

13. N. Radojčić, “Legenda o smrti hrvatskoga kralja Dimitrija Zvonimira,” *Glas* (Beograd, SKA) 171 (2nd razred fil.-fil. drustv. i ist. nauke 88), 1936, pp. 59–68.

used in the sixteenth century to mean Slavic or South Slavic, thus a broad term] is called Kosovo [n.b., near Knin and not the famous Kosovo of the Serbs] at, they say, a church of St. Peter. . . . The king was killed at the council. He had already lived in his kingdom of Croatia for 35 years and had no heir . . . and after him the Croats had no more kings. . . . His widow, a Hungarian, called on her brother, the King of Hungary, to avenge the death of her husband . . . and he obtained the Kingdom of Croatia.”¹⁴ We may note in this text that, though there are people called Croats, their language is denoted by a broad term, “Illyrian.”

Ivan Tomašić, a Franciscan, composing a chronicle in 1561, writes in the same vein: Under the entry for the year 1057 (an incorrect date, for Zvonimir's death probably occurred in 1089) Tomašić tells us that King Zvonimir (whom he calls Zorobelus) wanted to go on a crusade to liberate the Holy Sepulchre, but the Slavs (slavi) because of their women and children opposed the commands of the king. . . . They killed the king. Dying, he made a prophecy, beginning with “O unfaithful Slavs ‘Slovinci.’” Tomašić provides the two names here, and Slovinci is how he usually refers to the Slavonians. Thus he says, “O Unfaithful Slavonians, you, who were always unfaithful and rebellious toward my crown, have killed me. . . . O faithful brothers, my Croats and Dalmatians, who have always served me faithfully. . . . I'll be your last king . . . for, from now on you will always be subjected to foreign kings and rulers” (ex nunc alienis regibus et principibus subjecti eritis). The chronicler then provides his own observations, “O unhappy Croatia which has lost so great a king; and for many years after this Croatia and Dalmatia were weeping.” And, Tomašić closes with the results of the murder: since Zvonimir had no heirs, King Ladislav of Hungary took the kingdom of the Croats and subjected it to his authority, a situation which has lasted to this day.¹⁵ N. Klaić believes that Tomašić exemplifies a full-fledged Croat nationalist, or Croat patriot, for, in picking up the legend and viewpoints recounted here, he does not want to have the Croats blackened. So, instead of having “unfaithful Croats,” as the editor of the Croatian edition of “The Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclea”

14. N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 74. This Croatian “Kosovo polje” (and in this context also a second label attached to the location of Zvonimir's murder, “Petrovo polje”) should be taken to mean Kninsko polje—the plain of (below) Knin. (On the identification, see S. Antoljak, “Knin u doba hrvatskih narodnih vladara,” in *Kninski zbornik*, Zagreb [Matica hrvatske], 1993, p. 52.) In one of these later accounts the scene of the alleged murder is attached to a location with five churches. Various recent scholars, including S. Gunjača, have found archaeological evidence of five churches in the Knin plain. However, this evidence merely confirms the accuracy of identifying the plain as a site of five churches and shows that the later sources accurately describe a geographical location. But this fact has no bearing on events that have been said to have occurred there. Thus, the accuracy of the description of the location does not contribute at all to whether Zvonimir was murdered (be it there or elsewhere) or died naturally in his bed somewhere else.

15. Ivan Tomašić [Joannis Tomasich], *Chronicon breve Regni Croatiae* (I. K. S., ed.) *Arhiv za jugoslavensku povjestnicu* 9, 1868, pp. 13–14; N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 75.

does, he shifts the blame to the Slavonians, and then specifies that the Croats were faithful.¹⁶ It is also evident that Ivan Tomašić does not see the Slavonians as Croats, or true Croats. It also should be noted that the story of Zvonimir hoping to go crusading is entirely fictitious; Pope Urban did not call the First Crusade until 1095.¹⁷

16. N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u ranom*, p. 488.

17. A fourth account, also mentioning "Croats" but lacking the ethnic elements, is an anonymous chronicle from Split. Originally dated by Praga to the fourteenth century, it exists in a late-sixteenth- or seventeenth-century copy. Since it has Zvonimir calling a council to organize a crusade for the Holy Land and then has him murdered by rebellious nobles, I think it evident that this story dates at least from the sixteenth century. According to this text: Zvonimir summons the Croats to a great synod in a field called Petrovo polje, where they are ordered to appear in three months armed for the campaign. But the Croats refuse, excusing themselves by their lack of money for the voyage by sea. Zvonimir is not impressed and proposes travelling overland; as a result, some Slavs (so the two terms appear to be synonyms) then fall upon and fatally wound Zvonimir. The dying king summons a notary and commits his realm to the protection of the King of Hungary in order that the king punish/take vengeance against the Croats for his death. Then, after his death, the Croats carried out many evil and violent deeds and fought amongst themselves and perpetrated a great deal of hardship and violence upon the coastal cities. As a result, the citizens of Split, after holding a council, sent an embassy to the Hungarian king. That king asked where the envoys were from, and they replied that they were White Croats and they then invited the king to establish order and rule over Split and all Croatia. This then led to the King of Hungary invading Slavonia, where reaching the River Drava he came to Croatia. And the Croats and Slavs (possibly Slavonians, Crovates et Sclavi) were preparing to resist him. So the king sent an envoy to them and then follows an account of the 1102 agreement with the twelve noble tribes among the Croatians. (Text published by M. Kurelac, "Povijesni zapis nazvan 'Anonimna kronika' u rukopisu Naučne biblioteke u Zadru," *Historijski zbornik* 23–24, 1970–71, pp. 369–74.) In this text the Croats are clearly members of Zvonimir's kingdom, if not the nobles of his kingdom, who are also twice referred to as "Slavs," a term frequently used by the Splićani for their neighbors in the entity of Croatia.

We noted in a previous chapter that Thomas the Archdeacon in his original account (the short version of the 1260s) presented a couple of these elements. He noted that after the death of Zvonimir, the last king of the Croats, there followed many troubles. As a result the nobles of Slavonia sent a mission to Hungary to persuade the Hungarian king to intervene. The king did so and, after battling many nobles of Croatia, gained the victory. Thomas thus had the mission, not from Split, but Slavonia, which in his usage could, and probably here does, mean Croatia. Thomas also ignored (maybe because he did not know of the tradition) the peaceful resolution of the conflict between the king and the nobility that resulted in the pact of 1102; instead Thomas had the king winning Croatia through conquest. (Toma, *Kronika*, pp. 32–33; F. Šišić, *Priručnik*, pp. 319–20; N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 82.) However, it seems that the two authors from Split were working at least partially with the same material, but had the embassy to Hungary initiating from different places. Thomas may have been seeking to clear his city from any accusation of meddling, by saying that the envoys represented the population of the hinterland (Slavonia). N. Klaić believes that the two accounts are not independent from one another, but that the "Split Anonymous" is based on Thomas. (N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u ranom*, p. 35.) Whether the Anonymous' identification of the envoys being from White Croatia entered the picture at the time the chronicle was compiled (ca. 1500–1600) or was contained in some earlier now-lost text is not known; however, it draws upon a name used about the Croatian state in Dalmatia in various early texts. The term was probably already anachronistic by the end of the eleventh century, but whether an earlier text about the embassy actually used it or whether the anonymous author simply thought this was the term an envoy was likely to have used, the Anonymous does have citizens of Split claiming a Croatian identity.

Thus these three, to varying extents, ethnically-conscious authors felt it important that people (and in the specific case those whom they see as Croats) and ruler be of the same nation.

Tomašić reflects a feeling of national identity elsewhere in his text. First, he describes Louis of Hungary's conquest of Dalmatia. Though the actual campaign lasted from 1346 to his victory in 1358—with an eight-year truce in the middle—Tomašić assigns the campaign to 1340. He tells us that Louis put together a large army of Hungarians, Germans, Croatians, and those of other nations (*et congregato valde magno exercito Ungarorum, Alemanorum, Crovatorum ceterumque nationum*).¹⁸ Thus, he sees these participants as representing communities of people or nations, and he sees his actors as Croats rather than Slavs, Illyrians, or some such. On the subject of these other names, it is interesting to note that he does use the term "Illyrian," but he uses it to refer to Zeta/Montenegro, describing Žabljak as a city of Illyrica (*urbis illyrici*) and in 1481 having the sultan take a wife from Illyria (*ex Illiria*), the daughter of Despot Gregory [*sic. George*].¹⁹ Later Tomašić reports the Battle of Krbava. He describes the mobilization of the army, with several references to the Croat units; one might see these Croats ethnically but they were at the same time units that had been levied in Croatia and served under a commander tied to Croatia. The Croat commander, John, Count of Cetina, having experience fighting the Turks, made recommendations to his superior, the ban, about how to fight the Turks. The ban rejected his sensible advice, saying in proto-Serbo-Croatian, "Ha, Croats, you are always afraid" (*ha hrvate vazda ste bily strasliviche*). John of Cetina replied, again in Slavic, that the ban's policy would be the first step in the ruin of Croatia (*zachetak raspa harwacke zemle*). The forces that faced the Turks were divided up into commands/armies. The first were the Slavonians (here called *sclavinos*) who lived between the Drava and Sava, led by Ferdinand Berisburchus. The second unit, that of the Croats (*Crovatas*), was commanded by Count John of Cetina, and the third unit was under Bernard Frankapan and Nikola Terzacchi (*Tržački*). The text does not say from where its troops were drawn. The forces suffered major defeat, and thus the break-up of the kingdom of Croatia began, and in the battle most of the Croatian nobility perished.²⁰

Later on in conjunction with Mohacs, Tomašić has the Hungarian generals awaiting the arrival of the Croats, a warlike people (*expectamus corvatas viros bellicosos*). Thus, Tomašić sees the Croats as being more than mere members of units drawn from Croatia, but as a people possessing the characteristic of being particularly brave fighters.²¹ Such stereotyping is an ingredient in the creation of an ethnicity. Unfortunately, we know almost nothing

18. Tomašić, *Chronicon*, p. 15.

19. Tomašić, *Chronicon*, pp. 18, 21.

20. Tomašić, *Chronicon*, p. 23; N. Klaić, *Izvori*, pp. 359–60.

21. Tomašić, *Chronicon*, p. 28; N. Klaić, *Izvori*, p. 384.

about Tomašić, other than his being a Franciscan. However, from internal evidence, which is very scanty, the editor (Kukuljević-Sakcinski, who identifies himself as I. K. S.) “guesses that he [Tomašić] was born in the present-day Senj-Modruš bishopric and that he was in some way beholden to the Frankapan family.”²² Though far from certain, this guess, if true, would locate Tomašić’s origins in the Vinodol region, where lived our Priest Martin and where as early as 1288 the authors of a regional law code were calling the language “Croatian.” This region seems to have been one of the very few in which some people had acquired a feeling of “Croat” identity. Thus, it would not be surprising if Tomašić came from this region.

Our fourth author, George (Juraj) Drašković, holding a magister’s degree, was a state official who eventually became Ban of Croatia (a position he shared with a Frankapan) and Bishop of Zagreb (1563–78). Also a man of letters, he wrote a theological tract on Transubstantiation. His father came from Lika and subsequently served the Frankapans; thus, George grew up at a court where Croatian feeling was expressed. The text I am presenting here was simply a letter, written 14 August 1556, to congratulate a captain, Marko Stančić, about the successful defense of Szeget in that year, noting his pleasure that the action was led by a Croat. Most sixteenth-century texts, like those cited in the last chapter about the warfare with the Turks up to 1526, have the usual references to Croatian soldiers, units, and such, which simply refer to where they were levied and served. Unlike these texts, however, Drašković’s letter expresses an ethnic dimension: “[Y]ou are a flower of our nation, which is Croat. I celebrate your great deed but not just for myself but for all us Croats.”²³

Petar Zoranić, a poet from Zadar, was born in 1508. His most famous work, from which all of his “Croat” references come, was “Mountains” (Planine), written in 1536. To avoid footnotes, the page numbers for my citations from “Mountains” shall follow the passages in my text. The passages are drawn from the Yugoslav Academy edition of the poem.²⁴ In the poem Zoranić tells us that his family had been living in Nin, but emigrated to Zadar owing to the large number of refugees who had poured into their town, whom they described sarcastically as “Croatian and Krbavian lords” (*hrvacke i krbavske gospode*) (p. 28). But, though the snobbish parents may have had a low opinion of Croats, the son did not. He dedicated “Mountains” to a churchman from Nin, whom he described as “a good fellow-resident and honest Croat” (*dobar bašćinac i Hrvatina poštovan*) (p. 4). In the preface to “Mountains,” he referred to people being gaudily dressed according to “Croat custom” (*po običaju hrvackom*) (p. 3). And in an important section (chap. 20, pp. 84–87) he enters a garden of eternal

22. I. K. S., introduction to Tomašić, *Chronicon*, p. 10.

23. Cited by V. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata* V, p. 263; Latin text, pp. 730–31. Seven years earlier, Drašković had called himself a “Croat” in a list of students at the University of Vienna, V. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata* V, p. 307.

24. P. Zoranić, *Djela* (P. Budmani, ed.), Zagreb (JAZU, *Stari pisci hrvatski* 16), 1888, pp. 1–95.

glory, where he meets a group of four “vilas” (nymphs/fairies) who are named after the feminine genders of peoples, but it becomes apparent that their names are associated with the languages of those people: Latinka, Grkina, Kaldejka (Chaldean), and Hrvatica (Croatian). The Greek and Latin women have numerous and fragrant apples on their laps. But Hrvatica is seated, looking sad, with a few small unripe apples on her lap. Two bear the titles of earlier works of Zoranić and a third bears the name “Petar Zoranić” with the beginning of the title “Planine” upon it (p. 86). Thus, it is evident that the women represent inspiration and the languages poets chose to write in. The poet depicts himself as one of the few (in fact, in the given scene it seems more accurate to say the only one) who opted for Croatian, while Latin and Greek were overflowing with poetry. The vilas criticize the Croats for their indifference to their Croatian language (nehaju jezika hrvackoga!). And the poet goes on to say “for I know that my Croats are not [just] one or two [people]” (znam da Harvat mojih ne jedan ali dva). But many [Croats] are wise and educated, and along with their language are deserving of praise. But they are ashamed to write and sing in it, and, instead, write and sing in a foreign tongue (p. 87). And, in this way, it is implied, they keep the Latin vila busy and leave little Hrvatica forlorn with her pathetic little apples.

Elsewhere Zoranić refers affectionately to Croatian as “our language.” In writing about Marko Marulić, whom we shall turn to next, Zoranić says that as long as Marulić lives, Marulić will stand tall for the Croats—literally, be of “Croatian height” (bude harvacki stas).²⁵ His ethnic feelings tied to “Croats” speak for themselves (though it is not clear how far into what is now Croatia his community extends—e.g., does it take in Slavonia?). However, his poem does have a local focus. Thus, the area the poet claims to have travelled in does not take in all Dalmatia, but focuses on the region around Zadar and Nin. Zoranić states that he wrote the work to celebrate his home region, which Ravlić claims is visualized narrowly. And Ravlić, following Antoljak, argues that the term “baščina” does not refer to all Croatia or Dalmatia, but rather to one’s home locale, that is, Zadar, Nin, and environs. Zoranić also did not call his language “Croatian” at all times; in a Latin marginal note by him discovered by Ravlić, Zoranić states that the town was called “Nin” in the Dalmatian language (in lingua dalmatica), but “Enona” in Latin. Moreover, it may be noted that he was also capable of expressing broad Slavic feelings; Franičević notes that he named one of his shepherds “All-Slav” (Sveslovinac).²⁶

These five recognize a Croatian ethnicity and three of them (Tomašić, Drašković, and Zoranić) have what I would consider Croat ethnic conscious-

25. M. Franičević, *Povijest*, pp. 112, 114, 178, 225, 414–16, 424.

26. J. Ravlić, “Odrzi domaće stvarnosti u staroj hrvatskoj književnosti: Petar Zoranić i njegove ‘Planine,’” *Zadarska revija* 8, no. 1, 1959, pp. 25–57. Items noted in my text, pp. 28, 36, 52–53; M. Franičević, “Odrzi pučke svijesti u hrvatskoj renesansnoj književnosti,” *Radovi* (Institut za hrvatsku povijest, Filozofski fakultet, Sveučilište u Zagrebu) 10, 1977, p. 411.

ness. They come from a fairly limited region: the two anonymous editors/expanders of chronicles presumably came from Split; and the three nationally-conscious Croats include one individual from Zadar, and two (assuming Kukuljević's plausible view on Tomašić is correct) from the territory of the Frankapans.

Other Sixteenth-Century Figures Advancing the "Croat" Name

Now let us turn to other sixteenth-century figures who depicted themselves or others on the one hand and/or their own or a neighbor's language on the other as "Croats/Croatian." Two things should be noted at the outset: first, most of these individuals do not give evidence of what one can call a Croatian ethnic/national consciousness, despite the patriotism exhibited by many; and second, most of them were not rigid in their vocabulary, and thus, at one moment they chose the term "Croat," while at others using "Illyrian" or "Slavic." However, in this section I focus on those who seem to have either used the term "Croat" primarily or else with at least equal frequency to other terms. Moreover, at times some of them used "Croat" as a synonym of the other words, and at others their choice of terms depended on distinctions they wanted to make. Thus, one might freely use the term "Slavic," as people had regularly up to now for one's language (proto-Serbo-Croatian), but if that person was thinking broadly about Slavs in general, then that term—and "Slavic" was the major one for this meaning—suggested the general Slavic family of languages. Thus, to use it could lead to ambiguity, so if one wanted to specifically refer to his own particular language, another term was needed. That term often was "Illyrian." However, "Illyrian" too was used broadly, often for all South Slavic languages (which might include Bulgarian) and on occasion, as "Slavic" was, for all the Slavic languages. Thus, "Croatian," by being a limiting term, had the advantage of clarity, though we shall find a few people also giving "Croatian" a broad general meaning.

Goldstein sees the core of the legend, Zvonimir cursing the Croats and blaming them for bringing about a ruler of foreign language, as a phenomenon from the fifteenth century. "At this moment some Croats (primarily intellectuals) came to feel the importance of a popular (*narodnog*) language and national (*narodnog*) identity, and this happened in the period of Humanism and the Renaissance. The bearers of these ideas were among others Marko Marulić (in *Judith*), Stjepan Posedarski, Šimun Kožičić Benja, Tomo Niger, Trankvil Andreš, Bernardin, Kristo and Vuk Frankapan and others, who feared foreign rule, and all of them participated in a common battle against the Turkish and to a lesser degree the Venetian danger."²⁷ It is significant to

27. I. Goldstein, *Hrvatski*, pp. 432–34. On Tomo Niger, Gligo notes that he expressed equally strong feeling for the narrow "Croat" identity and for the broad "Slavic" family. Niger also at times was referred to as "the Dalmatian" (*Dalmatinac*). See V. Gligo, *Govori protiv Turaka*, p. 52.

highlight here that all of Goldstein's names were Dalmatians—and Kozičić, though Bishop of Modruš (which itself, of course, had Frankapan associations), was raised in Zadar.

The great poet Marko Marulić was born in 1450 and was from Split. The 1521 edition of his *Judith*, published in Venice, stated on its title page that it was rendered in verse in Croatian (harvacchi). However, despite his referring to "Croatian" on the title page, Marulić, in his only reference to the language in the text itself, calls it "Slavic," referring to "Slavic words" (slovinjska čtit slova).²⁸ It has been noted by various scholars that, when writing in proto-Serbo-Croatian, Marulić called the language "Croatian" (harvacki), but when writing in Latin, he called that same language "Illyrian." Thus, commenting in Latin on *Judith*, he spoke of Illyrian rhymes (rithmis Illyricis).²⁹ However, the citation from *Judith* on "Slavic words" shows he was not averse to using the term "Slavic" when writing in proto-Serbo-Croatian. He also spoke elsewhere of Slavic words (Slovinjska slova), stating that he wrote Croatian verse with Slavic words (slovinjskim slovima verse harvacki).³⁰ The word "slovo" usually means "letters"; had Marulić written his Croatian in Glagolitic or Cyrillic, translating it "Slavic letters" would make sense. But since Marulić wrote his Croatian in the Latin alphabet, he could not have used "slovo" in this sense. We also find Marulić, using the term "Croatian," when he says the Italian word "cilici" in Croatian is "vričišće."³¹

Marulić also exhibited strong patriotism for his city, Split; his region, whether Dalmatia (referred to on occasion as "our Dalmatia") or Croatia; and his people, whether Croats, Illyrians, or Slavs, all of which terms he used. He was strongly opposed to the Turks, whom he describes as ravaging Illyria and hammering the cities of Croatia. In his "Prayer against the Turks" he lists those warring against them by name: Croats, Bosnians, Greeks, Latins, Serbs, and Poles.³² He reacted strongly to the claim of an Italian, Jacob Philip from Bergamo, that St. Jerome was an Italian and insisted that he was an Illyrian.³³

It is likely that Marulić was also the compiler of a life of St. Jerome exist-

28. M. Marulić, *Pjesme* (I. Kukuljević-Sakcinski, ed.), Zagreb (JAZU, *Stari pisci hrvatski* 1), 1869, pp. 1, 66; T. Maretić, *Istorija hrvatskoga pravopisa latinskijem slovima*, Zagreb (JAZU, *Djela* 9), 1889, p. 11.

29. M. Franičević, *Povijest*, p. 212. A similar but different alteration was noted by L. Jelić, who, recognizing that Marulić called the language "Croatian" when writing in Croatian, found that when writing in Latin, Marulić sometimes referred to the language as Dalmatian (Dalmatico idiomate compositum). Jelić provides as examples two citations. See L. Jelić, "Hrvatski zavod u Rimu," p. 16. Later in this chapter we will discuss an author thought to be Marulić writing marginal notes in Latin and calling the language "Slovine."

30. Franičević, *Povijest*, p. 177.

31. Franičević, *Povijest*, p. 138.

32. F. Fancev, "Dubrovnik u razvitku hrvatske književnosti" [1940] in M. Rešetar, et al., *Izabrana djela*, Zagreb, 1983, p. 190.

33. M. Franičević, *Povijest*, pp. 114, 222.

ing in two manuscripts in Latin which state, "St. Jerome was our Dalmatian, he is awesome, honored, glorified, and shining—the crown of the Croatian language."³⁴ Štefanić also believes that Marulić was the likely author of a handwritten gloss (written in what Štefanić sees as an early-sixteenth-century hand) in a text of the life of St. Jerome printed in 1485 in Senj. This gloss states that Jerome was from Stridon, which lay in the region between Dalmatia (clearly used in a broad sense), namely, that part now vulgarly called Curetia or Croatia, and Pannonia, which is now called Slavonia and not Schiavonia (which term he clearly disliked for its link to the word "slave"). The author of the gloss points out that the term "Slavonia" means glorious land (from *slava* = glory) and the language is called "Slovine," derived from the River "Slava." This association of the River Sava with Slava is almost unique. His use of the form "Cureta" is unusual, used elsewhere only by Thomas the Archdeacon, Trankvil Andronik the Younger, and, as we shall see later, by Juraj Šižgorić.³⁵ The author of the gloss then goes on to say that Jerome was from an Illyrian family, which means he was a Dalmatian or a Croat—a glorious man produced by a glorious land.³⁶ In this text, whether by Marulić or a contemporary, "Croat/Croatia" shares billing with things Slavic and Dalmatian.

Marulić also translated the Croatian expanded version of "The Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclea" back into Latin. This version had been translated from Latin into Slavic (with additions about Croatia) at some point in the

34. V. Štefanić, in his introduction to "Hrvatska pismenosti književnost srednjega vijeka," pp. 43–44; and V. Štefanić, "Glagoljski transit svetoga Jeronima u starijem prijevodu," *Radovi Staroslavenskog instituta* 5, 1964, p. 149.

35. We shall see in chapter 5 that the Franciscan Franjo Glavinčić (1586–1650) made (derived from Marulić?) the same Sava/Slava association. On the term "Kureta": Two anti-Turkish orations by Trankvil Andronik the Younger also used the term "Kureta." In both cases he was listing the people and regions conquered fully or partially by the Turks and in both he was using outdated Classical names. One suspects he found the term in Thomas the Archdeacon, and thought (as Thomas used it) that the Kureta were an ancient people and thus utilized it. It is not clear whether Trankvil thought that the Kureti were the same as the Croats of his own time. In the first oration, Trankvil has the Turks moving into "our regions" and conquering the Dardanians, the Tribali (Serbs), Moesia, and Illyria, and then plundering warlike Dalmatia and the fortified towns of "Kureta." Here the term "Kureta" is used as referring to an entity (V. Gligo, *Govori protiv Turaka*, p. 212). In the second use, Trankvil mentions how spread out those "of the Slavic family and language" were, living from the Baltic Sea to the Adriatic and from the Labe (Elbe) River to the Black Sea; in that space they hold a vast territory broken only by that which was seized by the Hungarians and that which was held by the Vlasi in lower Pannonia and Dacia. Trankvil notes that the Slavs carried out heroic deeds praised by the whole world. He then proceeds to list some of these people who remained free; when he reaches the Balkans, among those that were free, he notes "several fortified towns in Kureta, the Slavonians in fertile Pannonia," those of Kranj and part of Liburnia under Austria, the towns of Dalmatia under Venice, and Dubrovnik more or less. Then he says, and the others—the Skordites, the Dardanians, the Tribali, the inhabitants of both Moesias, of Thrace, and all Illyria—were subjected by the Turks. One thus sees the Classical context in which "Kureta" again was used (Gligo, p. 288).

36. For a discussion of this gloss, see V. Štefanić, "Glagoljski transit," pp. 144–52; for the text itself, p. 145.

late-fourteenth century. A certain Dmine Papalić had found this text (which Papalić called an “old book in Croatian writing”) in the Krajina and copied it word for word. He then gave the text to his friend Marulić to translate into Latin in 1510. This copy made by Papalić has subsequently disappeared, but we do have a copy made of that text in 1546 by Jerolim Kaletić.³⁷ This text claims that Constantine/Cyril created priests and Croatian books and translated the Croatian books from Greek. The text later describes a great council held at Hlivaj (Livno, though the author may actually have had in mind a legendary council associated with Duvno) and says that privileges were sent to the council from Rome for all the kingdoms and lordships of the Croatian language. The text also refers to books remaining among the Croats which are called (after Constantine’s brother) “Methodios”-es.³⁸ This text, moreover, includes the just-discussed version of the death of Zvonimir.

Interestingly, Marulić’s translation of the above into Latin employs the term “Slavic” instead of “Croatian.”³⁹ We do not know whether the initial non-extant fourteenth-century Slavic text, and thus the Papalić copy, said “Croatian” or “Slavic.” It is quite possible that the later copyist, Kaletić, in 1546, after Marulić had translated it, made the alteration from “Slavic” to “Croatian” in the process of copying the text. Hadžijahić notes that Kaletić was a careless copier of a late copy of the text, in the course of which he altered various names and introduced neologisms. “Croatian” could have been such a neologism.⁴⁰ However, we did note previously that Marulić tended to use the term “Croat” when writing in that language and the term “Illyrian” when writing in Latin. Though here the Latin says “Slavic” (not “Illyrian”), one might argue that the text he had did say “Croatian,” and Marulić, seeing “Croat” as a Slavic rather than Latin term, simply made a similar “translation,” though this time saying “Slavic” instead of “Illyrian.” However, if we think back to the contents of our fourteenth- and fifteenth-century sources (and the ways they used the term “Croatian”), it seems highly unlikely that the original Slavic translation of the fourteenth century could have used “Croatian” as the 1546 copy does. Thus, if Kaletić did not introduce the term “Croatian” in 1546, and I think it likely that he did, then presumably Papalić (or another late copyist) did.

Marulić also could use the term “Dalmatian” for his language. His published translation of a religious work which he thought was written by John Gerson (but was actually by Thomas à Kempis) was translated from Latin into “Dalmatian” (*de latino sermone in dalmatichum*). In addition, when he wrote

37. V. Štefanić, in his introductory note to “The Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclea,” in *Hrvatskog književnost*, p. 73. See also M. Kombol, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti do preporoda*, 2nd ed., Zagreb, 1961, p. 38.

38. Citations from V. Štefanić, *Hrvatskog književnost*, pp. 75, 77–78.

39. V. Štefanić, in his introductory note to “The Chronicle,” in *Hrvatska književnost*, p. 73.

40. M. Hadžijahić, “Kako su nastali najstariji naši ljetopisi,” *Dubrovnik* 28, no. 4, 1985, p. 74.

to Papalić about his translation of "The Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclea," he wrote that he translated the text composed in Dalmatian into Latin.⁴¹ Marulić certainly was a patriot; "Croat" was one of his identities—though not the only one—but whether he had achieved what could be called a Croat ethnic/national consciousness is a debatable point.

Seven others might belong on Goldstein's list: First is Julije Klović (Giulio Clovio), a talented and well-known sixteenth-century illuminator and miniaturist. He was from Dalmatia and made his career in Italy, and at the bottom of one of his illustrations is found, "Julius Crovata painted [it]."⁴² Ante Split has him signing a 1528 painting "Julius Clovius Croatus" and a second work with his name followed by "from Croatia or Slavonia" (Croatia iliti Schaivonia). Ante Split also notes that a contemporary, Bernardo Guidoni, called him "Giulio Clovio from Croatia" (a Crovattia) and his gravestone labeled him also as being from Croatia, Julio Clovis de Croatia.⁴³ All Ante Split's references, except for the 1528 one, clearly have Klović being from Croatia, and "Croatus" could easily have that meaning as well. Thus, we cannot read into the labels a clear ethnic message. Franičević, in addition to several other mentions of "Croat" in connection with Klović, has also found him referred to as "Illyricus." Though Franičević does not provide an Illyrian reference, unless there were several, it almost certainly is the one provided by Ante Split, which has Klović signing a 1575 picture "Don Julius Clovius Illiricus."⁴⁴ Whether Croatia was just an identifying mark, separating him from the many other Juliuses in Italy, or whether he took his place of origin as a serious or ethnic-type identity, of course, cannot be determined from signatures alone.

Second on our list is the Ragusan poet Antun Bratotsaljić, known as Sasin (born ca. 1520), whose epics, among other themes, dealt with the Turkish threat.⁴⁵ In his main anti-Turkish poem which describes seven Turkish assaults against Christian lands, he waxed eloquent over the defeat of the Turks under Hasan Pasha near Sisak. To minimize footnotes I mark the pages from the Yugoslav Academy edition of his works that the cited passages appear on. In the 1,820-line poem he describes the defenders variously, depending partly on which cities were attacked and who was defending them. On six occasions

41. Ante Split, *Hrvatski naslov*, p. 7; *Hrvatski latinisti* I, p. 257. Until recently scholars also shared Marulić's belief that the text was Gerson's. On Thomas à Kempis' authorship, see I. Slamnig, "Marko Marulić, kozmopolit i patriot," in A. Flaker & K. Pranjić (eds.), *Hrvatska književnost u evropskom kontekstu*, Zagreb, 1978, p. 156.

42. V. Novak, "Paleografija i slovensko-latinska simbioza," *Istorijski časopis* 7, 1957, p. 9. Franičević notes that Clovius also referred to himself as "Croata," "Croatus," and "de Croatia." M. Franičević, *Povijest*, p. 62.

43. Ante Split, *Hrvatski naslov*, pp. 6–7.

44. Franičević, *Povijest*, p. 62; Ante Split, *Hrvatski naslov*, pp. 6–7.

45. A. Sasin, "Djela," *Stari pisci hrvatski* 16, Zagreb (JAZU, 1888, pp. 97–198). The poem concerned with the subject of the standing up to the Turks from which all my citations come is found on pp. 173–97. On Sasin see, M. Franičević, *Povijest*, pp. 111, 518.

he mentions Croats, about an equal number of times Hungarians, occasionally Germans and Italians, and most often Christians/Christian armies. In his "Croat" references, he first expresses wonder at the way a few thousand "Croats" (p. 173) and, later on, the way the "glorious Hungarians and brave Croats" (p. 176) could defeat the whole Ottoman force. Later, as defenders against an attack, he mentions the Hungarian and Croat bans and princes (p. 189). He then describes how two forcibly Islamicized (poturčiše) Hungarians and two young Croats with them escaped from Turkish captivity to return to Christendom with information of an impending Turkish attack (p. 189); against this attack defenses were established in time and were made up of 3000 Hungarians, Croats, and Germans along the Drava (p. 190). And finally he mentions a large Turkish army not daring to attack a force of Hungarians, Croats, Germans, and Italians (p. 194). He also has a single reference to a road leading to the Croatian krajina (p. 179).

In all cases—except for possibly the two young Croats, though they presumably had been captured soldiers—Sasin is referring to Croatian armies, presumably fighting under their ban as Croatian units. In fact, he once even refers to the ban. Thus, he may not see these "Croats" ethnically at all; they may simply be units from Croatia, a political entity. In any case, the Croats, like the Hungarians, were a foreign people deserving praise as soldiers for Christendom. Sasin certainly never depicts himself as a Croat or sees himself as one of them. He simply admires them, just as he admires the Hungarians whose identity he clearly does not share. We should keep this fact in mind with each author we cite; a Dalmatian author may see the "Croats" as a people—whether an ethnic or territorial/political group—but still not see himself as sharing that identity.

Third on our list is Stefan Petrisso (Petrić) from Cres, who signed a Venetian document as "Stefano Petrisso, Croata de Cherso." His son, the writer Frane, studied at Padua, where he was twice elected to a student organization as a member of the Dalmatian delegation.⁴⁶ Whether the son shared his father's ideas on identity is not known, for, of course, others had already decided to define the student community as "Dalmatian."

Fourth on our list is Dmine Papalić from Split (fl. 1510), mentioned earlier in connection with Marulić's translation of "The Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclea." Papalić described the Slavic text of that chronicle as being an old book written in Croatian letters/language (pisane harvatskim pismom).⁴⁷

Fifth on our list is Samuel Budina (Budinić), who translated into Latin an anonymous account of the 1566 fall of Szeget. The original author, it has traditionally been believed, was Nikola Zrinski's page, Ferenac Crnko; Budinić describes this anonymous author in his introduction as being of the Croat lan-

46. M. Franičević, *Povijest*, p. 576.

47. M. Franičević, *Povijest*, p. 114.

guage (Croatica lingua) and on the title page it is stated that the work was translated into Latin from Croatian (ex Croatico sermone). M. Birnbaum, in describing this text, says almost nothing is known of either author or translator.⁴⁸ Thus, we do not know where either was from, and whether the word "Croat" was the choice of one or both. However, Djuro Novalić has made a strong case that Ferenac Crnko was not the author, but rather a nobleman, Bartol Gorički (in Hungarian, Berta Gereczy);⁴⁹ if this be the case, we still do not know which man chose the term "Croatian," but at least we would know where the original author was from, namely Gorica.

Sixth on our list is the poet Brne Krnarutić (Karnarutić) of Zadar, who had a career as a soldier and, though a Venetian subject, fought for a time as a captain in the Ban of Croatia's Croatian cavalry (capitaneus equitum Croatorum). He published (posthumously in 1584) a work on the Ottomans' taking of Szeget in 1566, in which the Croatian ban, Nikola Zrinski, died heroically. Krnarutić, then in his fifties, was not present at the battle (he had retired from soldiering in about 1546) but based his poem on the various accounts of the battle then in circulation, including the just-mentioned one of Ferenac Crnko or Bartol Gorički. Krnarutić dedicated the poem to Juraj Zrinski, the hero's son, referring to him as "my lord." The poet mentions Croatian lords and princes at the start of the poem and notes that the Croatians brought honor to his (Zrinski's) court. Krnarutić referred to the Croatian ban twice, once as "a Croatian defender/shield" (harvatski ščit), and later—in the only possible (though not necessarily) ethnic context rather than the above three references' political one—says that it is better that all the Croatian sons (again clearly soldiers of a Croatian force), obeying the lord from Zrin (i.e., the Croatian ban), resisted in knightly/heroic fashion rather than shamefully surrendering, for in that way they won eternal glory.⁵⁰ Thus "Croatian" here probably did not reflect ethnicity, but was drawn from the political name given the military force. Once again, Papalić, Budinić, Crnko or Gorički, and Krnarutić recognized some sort of Croatian identity, but they did not necessarily feel that they shared in that identity. However, having served in the Croatian cavalry in his youth and feeling great admiration for Ban Zrinski and probably his whole family, Krnarutić did refer to Juraj Zrinski as his "lord," but the phrase may reflect a subject and his lord/commander rather than a common ethnicity.

48. M. Birnbaum, *Humanists in a Shattered World: Croatian and Hungarian Latinity in the Sixteenth Century*, (UCLA Slavic Studies 15), Columbus, Ohio, 1985, pp. 310–11, 386, fn. 6.

49. Dj. Novalić, "Grof Bartol Baboneg—Pisac 'Povesti Segeta grada,'" *Kaj* 4, no. 9, 1971, pp. 89–95.

50. For relevant passages of the Szeget poem, see R. Bogišić (ed.), *Zbornik stihova XV i XVI stoljeća*, Zagreb (Petstoljeca hrvatske književnosti 5), 1968, pp. 258, 259, 264, 266; discussed by M. Medini, *Povjest hrvatske književnosti u Dalmaciji i Dubrovniku I (XVI stoljeće)*, Zagreb, 1902, pp. 266–69. And one item—"Hrvate bihu njegova dvora čas" (R. Bogišić, p. 266)—discussed by B. Vodnik, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti I (Od humanizma do potkraj XVIII stoljeća)*, Zagreb, 1913, p. 189.

Seventh on our list is the Ragusan poet and Benedictine Mavro Vetranović (Vetrančić, 1482–1576), who in an anti-Turkish patriotic poem, “Pjesanica slavi carevoj,” called attention to Klis, at the time alone holding out against the Turkish onslaught. He addressed the defenders once as “glorious Croats” (Oj slavni Hrvati).⁵¹ A few lines later, he addresses “glorious Klišani” and “dear Klišani.” Elsewhere, though in the context of armies from Croatia and thus not necessarily in an ethnic sense at all, Vetranović complains that no longer are there any Croats or knights from Bosnia (nije veće Hrvatin ni od Bosne vitez) nor brave Dalmatians, Ardelci (Transylvanians), and Ugrovlahs (Hungarian Vlachs) to take on the Turks; and a few lines later he notes that after Kosovo and Krbava there are even to be no more battlefields of Croatian glory (hrvatske slave).⁵² In a second poem he notes that the Ragusans exceed all Dalmatians in glory, indeed, not only Dalmatians, but all the Croats taken/gathered together.⁵³ Thus, here the Dalmatians were a category within the larger group of Croats. He elsewhere writes that Dubrovnik was not just the most glorious city in Dalmatia, but in all Croatia.⁵⁴ Thus, what/whom he considers Croatia/Croatian extended down to Dubrovnik and he situates independent Dubrovnik in a larger context, as part of a larger unit. He expresses such a view elsewhere when he states that “only you [Dubrovnik] are governed by yourself and not by foreigners.”⁵⁵ And Dubrovnik alone was self-governing, while the rest of the South Slavs were under the Ottomans, Habsburgs, or Venetians. But even though which larger unit Dubrovnik stood alone in—all South Slavs, all Croats, all Dalmatians—is not expressed here, Dubrovnik’s citizens were still part of some larger unit. Thus, in these citations, Vetranović shows himself to be a patriotic Ragusan, and also to share qualities (and maybe some sort of identity) with the other Dalmatians and even with the Croats. Foretić notes that in a poem on the occasion of Marin Držić’s death in 1567, Vetranović says that people will mourn all the way up to the Danube, Sava, and Drava, once again showing that Vetranović saw the community that was reached by Držić as extending to the Slavonian-Hungarian border, thus including the whole proto-Serbo-Croatian-speaking community in what is now Croatia.⁵⁶

51. For text, see R. Bogišić, *Zbornik stihova*, pp. 203–4; M. Vetrančić-Čavčić, *Pjesme I* (V. Jagić, ed.), Zagreb (JAZU, *Stari pisci hrvatski* 3), 1871, p. 46; discussed by L. Katić, “Veza primorske Dalmacije kroz kliški prolaz,” *Starine* (JAZU) 51, 1962, p. 329.

52. M. Vetrančić-Čavčić, *Pjesme I*, pp. 55–56; F. Švelec, “Mavro Vetranović,” *Radovi* (Institut [JAZU] u Zadru) 4–5, 1959, p. 193.

53. For text, see R. Bogišić, *Zbornik stihova*, p. 241; discussed by F. Fancev, “Dubrovnik u razvitku hrvatske književnosti,” p. 209.

54. Cited by V. Foretić, *Povijest Dubrovnika II*, p. 380.

55. M. Medini, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti I*, p. 173.

56. This poem (and several of the others discussed earlier) is discussed in V. Foretić, “Politički pogledi Mavra Vetranovića,” *Filologija* 10, 1980–81, pp. 291–301. For lines on Držić’s death, see p. 293.

In writing to Hektorović on literary matters, Vetranović on one occasion turned “particularly to the Croatian, that is the Slavic (Slovinski), language.” In a poem written for and sent to Hektorović, Vetranović wrote, “You rule where the Croatian language circulates” (A navlaš kud jezik hrvatski pro-hodi). We have just seen Vetranović use the term “Slavic” for the language. He did it elsewhere as well. His obituary for Nikola Dimitrović mentioned celebrating Slovinski, your (the deceased’s) language.⁵⁷ Vetranović also translated the tragedy “Hecuba,” written by a Venetian named Luigi Dolce, into “Slovinski jezik.”⁵⁸ Thus, he used two terms as synonyms for his own language. In writing Hektorović, he also referred to Hektorović’s “Slavic region (slovinjski kotar) and the other countries/regions (države) of our language.”⁵⁹

These seven individuals, like those on Goldstein’s list, were all Dalmatians. This group stretches further south with two from Dubrovnik; however, Dubrovnik was an intellectual center and its writers had close contacts with writers in Split and other parts of Dalmatia.

Vatroslav Jagić, who, as we shall see, realized that the “Croatian” attachment was just one, and a minority one, among several other attachments, can be cited to further supplement Goldstein’s list: “[T]he noted ‘Pistula’ of Bernardin was rendered into ‘Arvatski’ language, and Lucić [Lucius] and Hektorović knew the name Croatian, that Nalješковиć sang . . . ‘Don’t Croats (Hrvati), don’t cry,’ and his contemporary Vidali sang ‘Croatian, a proud and glorious language,’ and Zlatarić rendered the Greek of Sophocles’ ‘Electra’ into Croatian, etc.”⁶⁰ But Jagić correctly went on to note that though the name Croat did not cease, mentions of Croatian language become rarer in literary works as Croatia and Dalmatia were divided among the different political entities, Hungary, Venice, and Dubrovnik as an independent city state.

The Bernardin noted in Jagić’s summary is Bernardin Frankapan, who was on Goldstein’s list. The previously mentioned Lucić was Hanibal Lucić, who was born on Hvar in 1485. In 1519 he sent a friend named Martinčić a translation of Ovid that he had carried out from the Latin into “our Croatian” (našu hrvacku). Elsewhere in that dedication he called his tongue simply “our

57. For the poem to Dimitrović, see R. Bogišić, *Zbornik stihova*, p. 223. The whole poem is given in M. Dimitrović & N. Nalješковиć, *Pjesme* (V. Jagić & Gj. Daničić, eds.), Zagreb (JAZU, *Stari pisci hrvatski* 5), 1873, p. 106. The same poem with the name “Maro” replacing Dimitrović’s “Niko” is printed in M. Vetranović-Čavčić, *Pjesme* I, p. 197. Whether Vetranović used the same poem on separate occasions for two different individuals or whether one of the two provided names is incorrect is not important for our purposes, which are simply to note Vetranović’s phrase celebrating the individual’s “Slavic language.”

58. Cited by F. Rački, “Životopisi,” introduction to M. Bunić-Babulinov, M. & O. Mažibradić, & M. Burešić, *Pjesme*, Zagreb (JAZU, *Stari pisci hrvatski* 11), 1880, p. viii.

59. Material for the whole preceding paragraph from M. Franičević, *Povijest*, pp. 109, 178, 181, 340, 350; V. Foretić, *Povijest Dubrovnika* II, p. 319. One might note here that Hektorović was from the island of Hvar.

60. V. Jagić, “Iz prološti hrvatskoga jezika” [1864], in his *Izabrani kraći spisi*, Zagreb, n.d., p. 45.

language.” Franičević implies that at times, Lucić also called the language “Slavic,” *Slovinski*.⁶¹

Vjekoslav Klaić presents further information on two others, Nalješković and Zlatarić. Nikola Nalješković (1510–86), a Ragusan poet, once called for a contest with the Korčulan noble Ivan Vidali as to which would bring more honor to the Croatian name. Nalješković also referred to Croats in letters to Petar Hektorović and Hortensio Bartučević (Brtučević).⁶² In the letter to the first, he referred to all Croats weeping (*nemoj svi hrvati da na te plaču sad*) and he called Bartučević honored and a glory of all Croats (*pošteni, slavo svih Hrvata*).⁶³ Bartučević used similar expression in his poetry, referring to the Croats as already honored or glorified from the Battle of Szeget (A Segetom si steć hotil zlatu krunu/ Kom će Harvati već časni bit).⁶⁴ Foretić cites from Nalješković’s correspondence with Vidali:

Tim Narod Hrvata vapije i viče
da s’ kruna od zlata kojom se svi diče

And Vidali replies:

Časti izbrana Niko i hvala velika
hrvatsoga diko i slavo jezika
Hrvatskih ter kruna gradov [Dubrovnik] se svih zove.⁶⁵

Dominko Zlatarić (1558–1603), another Ragusan poet, noted by Jagić, refers to “Croatian” in two of his books; in these works he was rendering Classical (i.e., Greek and Roman) legends from Classical languages into Croatian (*harvatski*). Koščak notes that Zlatarić dedicated one of these two works to Juraj Zrinski, the one published in Venice in 1597. This 1597 text was an anthology that included among other things the tragedy *Electra*;

61. H. Lucić & P. Hektorović, *Skladanja izvarsnih pisan razlićih*, Zagreb (Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti 7), 1968, p. 133; P. Hektorović & H. Lucić, *Pjesme* (S. Ljubić, F. Rački, & S. Žepić, eds.), Zagreb (JAZU, *Stari pisci hrvatski* 6), 1874, p. 185; M. Franičević, *Povijest*, pp. 178, 364, 367. Interestingly, in a poem in praise of Dubrovnik, Lucić says Alexander the Great was a Serbian king (“Aležandar, ki bi od Srbliji kralj”) (P. Hektorović & H. Lucić, *Pjesme*, p. 264).

62. V. Klaić, *Hrvati i Hrvatska*, p. 48.

63. M. Franičević, *Povijest*, pp. 114, 178, 427, 436.

64. Text of poem, R. Bogišić (ed.), *Zbornik stihova*, p. 462; discussed by M. Franičević, *Povijest*, pp. 114–15.

65. Text of poem, R. Bogišić (ed.), *Zbornik stihova*, pp. 463–64; discussed by V. Foretić, *Otok Korčula*, p. 323. All the Nalješković and Vidali phrases cited in the paragraph can be found situated in the complete texts in N. Dimitrović & N. Nalješković, *Pjesme*, Zagreb (JAZU, *Stari pisci hrvatski* 5), 1873, pp. 333–35, 351–52. Though Nalješković’s references to “Croatian” people and language need to be highlighted, one should not exaggerate their significance. The term “Croatian” appears only in four out of some fifty surviving verse-letters (including obituaries). The normal term which he uses for his own language is “our language.”

it said that it was rendered from “ancient foreign languages into Croatian.”⁶⁶ Though “Croatian” was the word Zlatarić usually—if two works justifies this term—used for the language into which he was translating, Franičević notes that his earliest translation, of “Aminta,” was done into Slavic (u jezik slovinski).⁶⁷

Moreover, even if Zlatarić wanted to call his language “Croatian,” others commenting on his writing thought otherwise. Saro Crijević, in the eighteenth century, made a list of Zlatarić’s published works (noting eight of them) and said they were in Illyrian.⁶⁸ Furthermore, Zlatarić, as noted, dedicated the anthology that included *Electra* to Zrinski, who had hosted him shortly before its publication; yet in Zrinski’s thank-you letter, which has survived, Zrinski thanked him for a work written in “Dalmatian” (Dalmatico idiomate).⁶⁹ I am not a specialist in these individuals, so my interpretation may be way off the mark, but as I perceive it: Zlatarić from Dubrovnik (in Dalmatia) had travelled through the banovina of Croatia and stayed with Zrinski, its ban, whose generous hospitality earned him the book’s dedication. Why Zlatarić chose to call the language “Croatian”—to please Zrinski?—I do not know, and I do not know whether Zrinski had ever referred to any form of his spoken or written language as “Croatian.” However, upon receiving his gift and looking at the text, Zrinski saw it was in a dialect different from that which he spoke. Thus, Zrinski concluded that it did not resemble what was used in his territory—Croatia proper—and thus it could not be called “Croatian.” As a result, in his reply he called it “Dalmatian,” for, after all that was where Zlatarić came from and presumably this geographical base was the source for his language peculiarities. If I am close to the mark, then obviously no “ethnic-school” interpretation has any bearing at all on these choices of labels. But regardless of what Zlatarić or anyone else called the language, Zlatarić clearly strongly wanted his work to be accessible to his audience, for he stated in the text’s preface that he did not want the way he put things in his “Croatian language” to seem foreign or strange to his readers.⁷⁰

To the above figures, I can add a chronicler, Priest Andrija of Istria. Writing around 1520 in Glagolitic, he stated that “this book [his chronicle] was translated from grammar [!] into the Croatian language” (Ke knjige jesu

66. Title-page citation, see D. Zlatarić, *Djela* (P. Budmani, ed.), Zagreb (JAZU, *Stari pisci hrvatski* 21), 1899, p. 1. On Zlatarić and the issues under discussion, see Budmani’s introduction to the just-cited text; V. Klaić, *Hrvati i Hrvatska*, pp. 48–49; V. Koščak, “Korespondencija dubrovačke vlade s Nikolom Frankopanom i Petrom Zrinskim,” *Zbornik Historijskog instituta* (JAZU, Zagreb) 1, 1954, p. 213, fn. 32; T. Maretić, *Istorija hrvatskoga pravopisa latinskijem slovima*, Zagreb (JAZU, *Djela* 9), 1889, p. 45.

67. M. Franičević, *Povijest*, p. 655.

68. P. Budmani, introduction to D. Zlatarić, *Djela*, p. xxvi.

69. P. Budmani, introduction to D. Zlatarić, *Djela*, p. xxv.

70. D. Zlatarić, *Djela*, p. 5.

istumačene iz gramatike na jazyk harvaski).⁷¹ His “grammar” presumably refers to a formal and non-spoken language, probably Latin, but conceivably Church Slavonic. We may also note here that Antun Vrančić, who probably most frequently used the term “Illyrian,” also with some frequency employed the term “Croatian.” I discuss him later in the chapter under the “Illyrian” heading.

Finally, we should consider an anonymous author (probably better described as a free-wheeling translator into Slavic) of a life of St. Jerome, which is based on the previously mentioned Latin text of such a life. This Slavic-translated text Jagić dates to the sixteenth century and the original Latin text (as we saw earlier) Štefanić considers contemporary and associates with Marulić. The anonymous author chooses, in a very mixed-up passage on St. Jerome and languages, to call the language “Croatian.” The Slavic text states, “[A]ll of his life, day and night, he [Jerome] labored for fifty years and six months, translating the Old Testament from Chaldean and Jewish (židovski) into Latin, and the New Testament from Croatian (hrvaskoga) [!] into Latin, that means the whole Bible. Jerome is our Dalmatian; he is glorious, honored and famed and the holy crown of the Croatian (hrvatskoga) language.”⁷² Shortly thereafter, the anonymous author credits Jerome with creating a papally accepted Divine Office/service. But interestingly he does not make it a Slavic one, even though the tradition was already widespread among Catholic South Slavs that Jerome had created the Slavic letters (Glagolitic) and the Slavic Mass. The “Life” (at least this text) makes his service a normal Latin one: “The pope, knowing that Jerome was wise in languages, [knowing] Greek, Latin, and Jewish, begged him to make up an office. . . . And after he had created the Office, he sent it from Bethlehem to Rome to the holy father, the pope, and the pope with all the cardinals [!] confirmed it and commanded that the Office of the Christian faith be said in the way that the blessed Jerome had drawn it up; and from that day to this the [Sacred] Office is said as the blessed Jerome drew it up.”⁷³

Once again the individuals just discussed are all from Dalmatia, the Frankapan lands, or, in one case, Istria.

71. I. K. S. (ed.), “Kratki ljetopisi hrvatski,” *Arhiv za jugoslavensku povjestnicu* 4, 1857, p. 45. Akin to the idea of translating from “grammar” into Croatian is a reference from the isle of Brač which refers to two copies of a charter of privilege, one in the literary language and the other in Slavic (alterum idiomate literali, alterum vero idiomate slavico). The editor without question put after “literali,” “i.e., Latin.” (See M. Vrsalović, “Prinos iz bračkih starina,” *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 50, 1932, p. 289, fn. 3.) Thus, the idea of study (grammar, literateness) may have lain behind one’s perception of a formal written language, and thus calling “Latin” by terms like “grammar” or “literary language” might not have struck a semi-educated sixteenth-century priest as an oddity, worth provoking modern editors to put in explanation points or “sics.”

72. “Život svetoga Jerolima,” in V. Jagić, “Ogledi stare hrvatske proze,” *Starine (JAZU)* 1, 1869, p. 230.

73. “Život svetoga Jerolima,” in V. Jagić, “Ogledi stare hrvatske proze,” p. 231.

The term "Croat" also appears as the language name for four early-sixteenth-century printed Glagolitic Missals. First, Ante Split notes that a certain Grgur of Senj published in 1507 in that town a "Misal hrvatski."⁷⁴ Second is a Missal entitled "Misal Hrvachi," known as "The Missal of Paul Modrušanin," thus Paul of Modruš. It was printed in Venice in 1528. He was a Franciscan who, according to the colophon, corrected the text according to the law/rules of the Roman (papal) court. The colophon also notes that the text had been copied from a Croatian Missal (i[z] misala hrvackoga).⁷⁵

Third is a Missal also entitled "Misal Hrvachi," printed in 1531 in Rijeka, under the supervision of the Bishop of Modruš, Šimun Kožičić; hence this Missal is known as "The Kožičićev Missal." Its colophon notes that it was rendered into the Croatian language (hrvackago ezika) in order that the word of God could be understood. A colophon at the end repeats the term "Croatian" in saying that the bishop had corrected and copied the Croatian Missal (misal hrvacki) word for word.⁷⁶ Kožičić also that same year published a work on the lives of Roman hierarchs and emperors (knižice od žitie rimskih arhiereov i cesarov). In writing about Cyril the Slavic apostle, Kožičić remarks that Cyril converted many Moravians and many other Croats to the Christian faith (i mnogi ini hrvatski narodi obrnu u Krstienskuju veru) and then goes on to say that Cyril was able to complete a Croatian-language Mass (hrvackim ezikom misu).⁷⁷ In discussing Cyril, Kožičić, in the first case, is using the word "Croat" in the sense of Slavs in general, for the phrase means "the Moravians and other Slavic peoples;" and "Church Slavonic" in the second. At least that was the language of Cyril's Mass. Interestingly, Kožičić credits the Mass to Cyril and not Jerome, who was widely credited with this feat, especially in the region, where Kožičić was active.

Kožičić was, moreover, a patriot and in 1513 delivered two orations before Pope Leo X, one entitled "The Wasteland of Croatia" (De Corvaciae Desolatione), focusing on the devastation produced by the Turks. Interestingly, despite this oration's title and the repetition of the title phrase once in the opening sentence of the text, the name "Croatia" is not used otherwise in either oration. The term "Croat" for a people appears not at all.⁷⁸ Kožičić also was not

74. Ante Split, *Hrvatski naslov*, p. 21. We have met this individual, Gregory Dalmatinus or Gregory Kraljić, in the previous chapter.

75. J. Vajs, *Najstariji hrvatskoglagoljski misal*, Zagreb (JAZU, *Djela* 38), 1948, p. 49; also see V. Putanec, "Pjesnički pokušaji Pavla Modrušanina (1528)," *Slovo* 15–16, 1965, p. 208.

76. J. Vajs, *Najstariji*, p. 51. On Kožičić, see also P. Kolendic, "Zadranin Šimun Kožičić i njegova štamparija na Rijeci," *Magazin severne Dalmacije* 2, 1935, pp. 95–107; for the full inscription, referring to "Croatian," see p. 102. It probably would not be amiss to note that Kožičić was originally from Zadar.

77. A. Benvin, "Zamisaio liturgijskog jezika u Šimuna Kožičića," *Slovo* 34, 1984, p. 208, fn. 17.

78. For Kožičić's text, see V. Gligo, *Govori protiv Turaka*, pp. 331–34. Though in neither oration does he ever use the term "Croat," in the other oration, he once refers to Dalmatians, and in that text he twice refers to Illyria (Gligo, pp. 323, 324).

averse to Humanist vocabulary and in his poem "U smrt" he speaks of the past glories of Illyria and its present tragedy.⁷⁹ It is also worth noting that both these Missals (i.e., those of Paul of Modruš and of Kožičić), the first on the second page and the second on the title page, have portraits of St. Jerome, who, we have noted, was believed to have invented the Glagolitic letters in which both these books were written. In fact, one hand-written Glagolitic Missal from 1435 has a Latin note that that text was written in the characters of St. Jerome (in carathere Sti Hyeronimi), showing that some called the Glagolitic alphabet by his name.⁸⁰ It is worth noting that Kožičić also used his press to bring out a Slavic translation of Enea Piccolomini's "Bohemica historia." In the original Latin the author had Cyril and Methodius bringing Christianity to the Slavic people and in the Slavic language; in the printed translation the term "Slavic" on each occasion was rendered as "Croatian" (*hrvacki narod/hrvackim ezikom*).⁸¹

Finally, the fourth Missal is known as the Brožićev one, after the "župnik" (parish priest) of Omišalj on the island of Krk who oversaw its text. This text, printed in Venice in 1561, refers to the text being translated into Croatian (*hirvackih*) and printed in Venice.⁸² It is worth noting that all four of these texts (as well as the Baromićev Breviary from 1493 noted in the previous chapter) were edited in one region, encompassing Modruš, Senj, and the isle of Krk, territory then or formerly under the Frankapans. This is the region in which the largest number and most significant signs of Croatian feeling occur, for example, Priest Martin and the Vinodol Law Code. Thus these Missals are further evidence that in this one particular region, Croat feeling seems to have, for at least some, sunk in deep roots.

Protestants

Protestant teachings spread from Germany into Hungary and parts of what is now Croatia in the 1550s. Various Croat intellectuals, especially some with Catholic clerical educations from northern Dalmatia and Istria, were attracted to the new teachings. A Protestant center emerged in the area of Bijela kranjska and Metlika, territory under the Ban of Croatia. As they did elsewhere, Slavic Protestants believed it was important to have the Scriptures and other religious texts in native languages. Thus Anton Dalmatina and Stipan Istrian wrote in the preface of a New Testament translation that they were trying to present the texts in the simple, understandable, general everyday contemporary language which Croats, Dalmatians, and other Slavs and Kranjcis (i.e., people of Kranj) usually employ in their speech. Projects for translations and

79. M. Franičević, *Povijest*, pp. 62, 64, 107.

80. J. Vajs, *Najstariji*, p. 24.

81. A. Benveniste, "Pitanje predložaka kožičićevih izdanja," in M. Bogović (ed.), *Krbavska biskupija*, Rijeka-Zagreb, 1988, p. 155.

82. J. Vajs, *Najstariji*, p. 54.

printing were soon underway. Owing to harassment from Catholic and Habsburg authorities, the major press that turned out Slavic texts was established in Urach near Tübingen. The Protestants' use of identity labels followed an interesting pattern. First, none, as far as I know, called himself a "Croat"; as we shall see, several prominent Protestants from what is now Croatia, who made careers in the German lands, took the identifying marker of "Illyrian" (Illyricus), while two others, both of whom were actively involved in translating took the label "Dalmatian," Anton—who translated into proto-Serbo-Croatian—and George—who translated into proto-Slovenian.

However, despite their personal labels, the term "Croatian" was regularly used for the language in which they wrote. For example, a 1562 Cyrillic edition of the Articles (the Augsburg Confession) was translated from Latin, German, and Krainski (proto-Slovenian) truly into Hrvacki by Anton Dalmatina and Stipan Istrian.⁸³ Stipan Istrian was also known as Stipan Konsul. Six years later a Postila (which is a Lectionary to which is added a commentary on the readings for Sunday and Feast Day Church services)—this one printed with Latin letters—was rendered by the same two translators into Harvaczki yazik.⁸⁴ The preface to another Postila translated by the same pair, printed with Glagolitic letters, begins "We beg from Jesus all good things to all good God-loving Croat Christians" (hrvackim kristianom).⁸⁵ Another work, this a Glagolitic New Testament, says the text was "translated from the best Latin, Vlaški (Rumanian), German, and Krainski into Hrvacki jezik. . . . You should know that with our translation people of all Slavic languages will be able to make use of it, first you Croats and Dalmatians, then likewise Bosnians, Bezjakians [Kajkavian speakers between the Drava and Sava, i.e., in Slavonia], Serbs, and Bulgarians."⁸⁶ Franičević cites from Stipan Istrian's preface to one of

83. F. Bučar, *Povijest hrvatske protestanske književnosti za reformacije*, Zagreb, 1910, pp. 218, 239.

84. F. Bučar, *Povijest*, p. 91. B. Vodnik (*Povijest Hrvatske književnosti* I, p. 199) explains that the word "Postila" is derived from "post illa verba."

85. F. Bučar, *Povijest*, p. 215.

86. F. Bučar, *Povijest*, p. 216; for definition of Bezjakians, see J. Fučak, *Šest stoljeća hrvatskoga lekcionara*, p. 218. Some, like the seventeenth-century lexicographer Juraj Habelić, used it more narrowly for those around the city of Varaždin (V. Klaić, *Život i djela Pavla Rittera Vitezovića* [1652–1713], Zagreb, 1914, p. 107). A fascinating detailed study of the Bezjakians was produced by M. Gušić ("Etnička grupa Bezjaci," *Zbornik za narodni život i običaje južnih Slavena* [JAZU] 43, 1967, pp. 7–124). As her title indicates, Gušić believes the Bezjakians once were a specific ethnic group within this region. Originally speaking something else, possibly a Germanic tongue if one associates them with the pre-Slavic Gepids, they eventually became Slavicized, speaking a Kajkavian dialect. Gušić then speculates about the origin of the name. I am no linguist, but I would like to make the following suggestion: Germans were regularly called by the Slavs "Nemci" (from the word for "dumb/mute"), because they did not speak their language. Could not the same thought process explain the origin of the name "Bezjak"? In this case the original name given them by their Slavic neighbors would have been Bezjazik (Without language)—the same meaning as "Nemec." And then over time the name lost a syllable, the "zi," to become "Bezjak." The loss of the syllable would have been facilitated by the fact that, as the Bezjaki were Slavicized, the original meaning would have lost its *raison d'être* and have come to make little sense.

his editions of the New Testament, in which he writes that he had worked using the advice of learned men with good understanding of Latin and Croatian and the language of Croatian writers; moreover, he had examined old Croatian editions of Breviaries and Missals.⁸⁷ Two early Slovene translations, done by the same printers, also used the term "Croat." One 1567 Slovene Postila noted that it had many Croat words mixed/added in, so that even Croats would understand the Postila; and George Dalmatinac's translation of the whole Bible had attached a thirteen-page glossary comparing Kranjski words with Slavic, that is "Bezjačkohrvatsi," words.⁸⁸

The two Illyrianists, Anton Dalmatina and Stipan Istriian, also had further linguistic comments in a preface to their short work on doctrine, "Kratki razumni nauci," which Olga Nedeljković cites: they state that they do not seek to serve the Russians, Poles, Czechs, or Muscovites who have their own (various) languages, which are foreign and unintelligible to modern readers. Their aim was rather to serve "you Croats, Dalmatians, Istriians, Bosnians, Serbs, Bulgarians and all those who with the languages of the *named lands* [*italics mine*] speak."⁸⁹ The two translators may very well have perceived of their constituents as being a single people (Illyrians or whatever), and have seen "Croatian" as a major language name, but the Croatians as a people are simply one of many people covered by the broader (Illyrian) name. Moreover, as they explicitly state, the names of the people listed were derived from their "lands," that is, geographically.

In 1563 one of the Slavic translations was given to a certain Anton Bočić of Modruš, who was then living in Metlika, to evaluate. He first states that he, a former servant and scribe for Bernard (Frankapan), had, owing to his knowledge, been given to look over a Croatian book (*knjige hrvacke*), printed in Tübingen. "I saw that it was correct, clean, true Croatian language (*hrvacki jezik*) with correct words."⁹⁰ Thus, any Croat could easily understand the translation. Bočić clearly liked this, for he adds that people had wanted the Word of God in "our" Croatian language, so that they could understand the Old and New Testaments.⁹¹ A German printing house, Kraft's, bragged that it had both

87. M. Franičević, *Povijest*, p. 598.

88. F. Bučar, *Povijest*, pp. 220–21. M. Kombol (*Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, p. 205) cites two other examples: first, Antun Dalmatina and Stipan Istriian state in a Postila published in 1568 that they are writing from the German land in the face of papal persecution to make known God's truth in the Croatian language; and second, another Protestant translator with the surname of Cvečić, who was active preaching in Kranj, referred in the preface to one of his translations making its contents available in understandable Croatian language.

89. This paragraph is drawn from citations from various prefaces by O. Nedeljković, "Illyrian Humanist Ideas in the Works of the South Slavic Protestant Publishers in Urach," *Slovene Studies* 6, nos. 1–2, 1984, pp. 135–36.

90. F. Bučar, *Povijest*, p. 213, fn. 1.

91. K. Georgijević, *Hrvatska književnost od 16 do 18 stoljeća u sjevernoj Hrvatskoj i Bosni*, Zagreb, 1969, p. 31.

Glagolitic and Cyrillic print and went on to list seven “alphabets,” which beyond the two mentioned included Croat (Croatice) and Muskovite.⁹² The differences the printer noticed between Glagolitic and Croat or Cyrillic and Muskovite were not spelled out, but in any case, he too, probably through association with the Slavic Protestant translators, was making use of the word “Croat.”

Even the most prominent Protestant theologian from what is now Croatia, who added to his own name “Illyricus,” Matija Flacius (Vlačić), used the term “Croatian” for the Catechism he prepared in 1566, “Katechismus Hervatski.” Along with it he includes a Catechism in Slovenian, which he calls “Katechismus Kranjski.” Inside he has a guide to Slavic phonetics, which he calls “Alphabetum Slavonicum.” He chose a Latin script; presumably he used the broad term “Slavic” here, since he was using the same phonetics for the two Slavic languages.⁹³

The leading South Slav Protestant in what is now Slovenia was Primož (Primus) Trubar. I cite one of his prefaces for his use of the word “Croatian”: “Dear Slovenes, . . . [O]ur Slovene (possibly Slavic) text is translated from Latin into Krovaska written with Croatian characters” (Krovaskimi puhstabi). If he was writing for Slovenes, the Kajkavian dialect of Zagreb bears many similarities to Slovenian. And the “Croatian” label may have been attached to this sort of speech already. Thus he may well have seen “Slovene” and “Croatian” as synonyms for the language being employed. Jelić, the document’s editor, concludes that the Kajkavian text was written in Glagolitic.⁹⁴

92. F. Bučar, *Povijest*, p. 203, fn. 1.

93. K. Georgijević, *Hrvatska književnost*, pp. 18, 21–22.

94. L. Jelić, *Fontes historici*, Fontes . . . XVI saeculi, p. 21. Olga Nedeljković argues persuasively that there was a major difference between “Slovene” views of language, which were influenced by German Humanism, and “Croatian” views, which were in the Illyrian tradition and influenced by Italian Humanism. The “Slovenists” were seeking to speak to “Slovenes” and were seeking a proper “Slovenian” to communicate with a small group of people, whereas the “Croats” were “Illyrianists” seeking to communicate with a whole South Slavic/all Balkan South Slavic community and were trying to work out a common language/dialect to communicate with all. The latter thus were not looking for the most proper version of a dialect, but for a mixture, a conglomerate, that would be intelligible to as many people as possible. As Nedeljković puts it: their approaches had the “Illyrians insisting on a unified linguistic synthesis and Slovenes insisting on preserving and catering to dialectal diversity” (O. Nedeljković, “Illyrian Humanist Ideas,” *Slovene Studies* 6, nos. 1–2, 1984, p. 133). This desire to reach all those in Slovenia, writing as clearly as possible for this limited group, as opposed to a broader mixed language, was to continue through the nineteenth century, when Croatia’s nineteenth-century version of Illyrians would take a broad approach to language, in an attempt to bring in as many Habsburg South Slavs as possible, only to be rebuffed by Slovenes with their small community approach. Needless to say, late twentieth-century Croats, hopefully temporarily, have adopted the Slovenian approach to language.

Nedeljković later concludes: “The further development of Protestantism among the Slovenes demonstrates most clearly that the ideas of the Illyrian Humanists were never truly accepted in Slovenia. If they had been accepted in the sixteenth century, during the period of the Reformation, the Slovenes would have shared a common language with the Croats. They would have accepted the current ‘Illyrian’ idiom which attempted to unite all the peoples of the Balkans and

Some Slovenes, Protestant nobles of Kranj, confirmed that according to some experts certain texts were good, but they noted the underlying linguistic problem. These texts, they said, could easily be read by Istrians and Dalmatians [presumably Čakavians]; but Croats and Bezjaci [presumably Kajkavians] will find them more difficult, but with some practice they ought to be able to read them too.⁹⁵

One cannot help wondering why these South Slav Protestants consistently used distinct terms for the two different contexts: "Croatian" for their language but "Illyrian" for their own identities. Though it is sheer speculation, I might suggest that the words "Slav" and "Illyrian" had for them broad South Slavic connotations, but possibly "Slavic" suggested Church Slavonic. The Protestants sought to bring the Scriptures to people in the vernacular, so their translations were rendered into a spoken dialect. Thus, in labeling their translations, they may have sought a word for the locality from which the spoken dialect they were using came, and so selected the term "Croatian" because the chosen dialect was spoken in Croatia. However, although this term was a precise one for the language they were writing, it still did not fit their own sense of identity, which remained at the broader, more inclusive level of "Illyrian."

The Catholic Response

Not surprisingly, at this time (the 1550s and 1560s) the Catholic Church became very worried about the influence of Protestants from Biješe krajine, a region, as noted, under the Ban of Croatia; these Protestants had also set up a school there, where students were taught "Cyrillic," that is, the local language written in Cyrillic rather than in the more common Glagolitic. To oppose this threat, the Catholics saw the need for Catechisms and other tracts in the vernacular. A congress was held in August 1559 to review the quality of various translations. One of the most important translators and editors/supervisors was Petar Krajačić of Ozalj, who in 1563 reported to his superiors that there had been brought to him one book of the Catechism and other books written with Croatian words (*druge knige hrvackimi ticmi pisane*) and that he along with other Croatian clerics (*z drugimi hrvackimi djaki*) had looked at them;

[including those under] the Turks as far as Constantinople. In this light it becomes clearer why Vergerio [a pan-Slavic Illyrianist] was trying to convince Trubar [the ultimate narrow "Slovenist"] to accept this common Illyrian language which was being used throughout all of the Slavic South. He wanted Trubar to break with his own Slovene language which was used only along the border of the Balkans in Carinthia, Carniola, and Styria. Not only Trubar, but also later generations of Slovenes, did not understand Vergerio's plan to unite, by means of the Illyrian language, all the Slavic Balkans, and eventually [this sort of idea grew to include] all of the Slavic East (Križanić). Indeed it was not a sense of realism on Trubar's part that led him to reject Vergerio's 'fantastic' plan about the introduction of a Slavic 'artificial' idiom, which would have been understood by all the Slavs" (O. Nedeljković, "Illyrian Humanist Ideas," pp. 137–38).

95. K. Georgijević, *Hrvatska književnost*, p. 31.

and “we recognized that they [contained] pure and correct words so that we were able to cleanly and correctly understand.”⁹⁶ Thus, the local Catholics, opposing the Protestants, had the same terminology. Was it general regional usage? Or was it owing to the terminology used on the title pages of the Protestant texts? In the Vatican it was different; there a commission referred to a Protestant Bible, written in Čakavian and printed in Tübingen in 1563, as being in vernacular Slavic (*vernacula Slavonica lingua*).⁹⁷

Some Catholics were also worried because the Protestants were printing their texts in current spoken languages; at least, in theory, all Slavic Catholic Biblical and service-use texts in the Balkans were supposed to be in Church Slavonic. Needless to say, the Protestant texts were much more accessible, at least to those speaking the dialect being utilized for the texts. Thus, Catholics were under pressure to respond in kind, and there were Catholics who did not approve of the Church’s conservative policy and now acquired fuel for their arguments. Thus, the Church found itself sporadically quarrelling over this issue, which became increasingly heated in the following two centuries. Interestingly, as Fućak has pointed out and we shall discuss later, many observers seemed unaware that there was a question of two languages, and in reports, by using the same word for language of Mass and for what priests preached in or the people spoke, implied that there was no language difference. Possibly in some cases, it was a matter of Italian-speakers not detecting differences, but in others it may have been true that the Slavic clergy—despite various papal bans and a ban in the Tridentine decrees (1563)—were actually using everyday language for services. It was made increasingly easy to do this, since “šćavets,” service books or Lectionaries in the spoken language, were appearing with increasing frequency in this period, and we find certain educated Italianate (and usually Italian) bishops waging a campaign against these texts. Many others realized that these service texts were valuable, helping priests understand matters and explain things to their flocks; bishops of this persuasion, therefore, approved of these texts, but, if aware of High-Church policy, simply insisted that priests not use them for the Mass, but rather use Church Slavonic texts for that. Very often it is not possible to tell from brief references which of the two—spoken or Church—languages is being referred to in a source.

So, if one knew what official Church policy was and wanted to follow it, then one utilized a Church Slavonic Lectionary, or what was supposed to be one, for the Church Slavonic of early-modern authors was often odd. But, at least in theory one used a text approved by Rome. This approval became increasingly official after the Council of Trent, which in allowing “Slavic,” insisted it meant Church Slavonic and banned all vernacular

96. E. Hercigonja, “Društveni i gospodarski okviri,” *Croatica* 2, no. 2, 1971, p. 91.

97. J. Radonić, *Štamparije i škole rimske kurije u Italiji i južnoslovenskim zemljama u XVII veku*, Beograd (SAN, Posebna izdanja 149, Odeljenje društvenih nauka 58), 1949, p. 49.

Slavic services.⁹⁸ A few years later, in 1568, Pope Paul V, in approving a Breviary that followed the Council of Trent, declared that all others were not to be used. He made an exception for those over 200 years old, which he believed, probably correctly, were actually in Church Slavonic. In 1570 a similar decree was issued that dealt with Missals.⁹⁹ This policy was carried out with more rigor and supervision after the creation of a new institution, the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, in 1622. However, one might wonder how much a bishop supervising many rural areas, if he cared about the religion's contents and his flock, would have wanted to act on these regulations. Few, if any, of his priests would have known Latin and probably most did not really know Slavonic. Seminaries teaching Slavonic were few and often at great distances, and many priests had neither the time nor money to go to one. If a priest had a *ščavet* and was somewhat literate, he could understand something of the service and could give some sort of, hopefully, valid explanations to his parishioners. After all, he and they did understand the everyday language. If one took the *ščavets* away, then what would happen? Was it not best to leave them alone? Some Catholic clerics even noticed that Protestantism spread much more poorly in areas where Slavonic services and texts were widely used.

Prior to these reforms many texts implied that Roman approval stood behind them, by insisting, as they did on their title pages, that the texts were according to the Roman rite and rule. However, this could mean and often did mean that the text produced an accurate rendition of the Mass' proper content as defined by Rome, rather than it being in the proper language.

The most widely used and respected of these Lectionaries or service texts in sixteenth-century Dalmatia (that used the Latin alphabet) was that which was issued under the name of Archbishop Bernardin of Split, which we discussed in the last chapter, for it was issued in 1495. When it first appeared, the language into which it was rendered was called "Illyrian." In its two sixteenth-century editions, the work's second and third (1543, 1586), it was said to have been translated into Croatian, *harvasco* in the second edition and *Harvatschim yazichom* in the third. The change in terminology from first to subsequent editions should probably be attributed to the editors of the revised editions; the two editors, Benedict Zborović for the 1543 edition and Marko Andriulich (properly Andriolić) for the 1586, were both from Trogir, though Zborović had also taught Classics for a period in Šibenik. In his introduction,

98. On the Council of Trent's ban on Slavic, see L. Jelić, *Fontes historici*, *Fontes . . . XVI saeculi*, p. 28. In various letters and reports discussing Trent, when the possibility was open, or at least hoped for by some, that the vernacular might be permitted, we find the language referred to as Slavic, Dalmatian, Slavic or Dalmatian, vernacular (in *lingua vulgari*); and Church Slavonic as the Dalmatian language of the sacred books of Jerome or Old Slavic (*Schiava antica*). Jelić, pp. 24–28.

99. J. Fućak, *Šest stoljeća hrvatskoga lekcionara*, p. 65.

Zborović also makes use of the term “Slavic” (*slovignscho*), when he spoke of the language into which he was translating the various listed Biblical books.¹⁰⁰ Thus, since he used both terms, “Croatian” and “Slavic,” for the language the text appeared in, he clearly saw the two terms as synonymous. Andriolić in 1579 had published in Venice a guide or textbook on Catholic doctrine for children and others of Croatian language in Dalmatia (*Nauka katoličanskog za dicu i ostale harvatskoga jezika po Dalmaciji*). This work enjoyed a second edition, under a slightly different title—but with “Croatian language” retained—in 1585.¹⁰¹

Though I would like to know more about them, the ultra-Croatian patriot Ante Split provides three further references. Without providing any context he mentions a chaplain, the *glagoljaš* Andrija Vulković, at Blokano kod Cirknice, who in 1597 wrote that he knew no language other than Croatian.¹⁰² Ante Split also mentions a Glagolitic text (content unspecified) from Ozalj dated 1541, which was one of several copies of texts filed together; it was translated from Latin letters into the Croatian language. And then at the bottom of the text (and seemingly of several other texts as well), dated 1549 is a (notary’s?) stamp, noting that the document was in paper in the Croatian (Croatico) or Glagolitic language, and later that the original had been in Latin and translated into the same Croatian or Glagolitic.¹⁰³

Though “Croat” as used in the just-mentioned Lectionaries was, as we shall see, less common than “Slavic” and “Illyrian” in sixteenth-century Church terminology, the term was used on occasion. Tkalcíč notes that a Church council held in Zagreb in 1570 at least twice made reference to the Mass being chanted in “*Croatica lingua*” in its articles; the Bishop of Ljubljana, Joannes Tautscher (Tavčar), noted that a particular individual, who was later to serve in Zagreb, had sufficient knowledge to read the Mass in “*Croaticum idioma*” in 1589; in 1598 a Church council in Zadar forbade priests to wear a certain military sort of coat called “Croatian” (*croaticas appellant*); and in 1583, Franjo Valentić, a parish priest in Kamno in today’s Gorička diocese, noted in his Missal that Bishop Vidamski had visited his church and sung/chanted the Mass in Croatian (*hrvacki*). He signed the note Francesko V(a)lentic Dalmata od (from) Rab.¹⁰⁴ Thus, here we have another example of an individual attaching the identifying marker “Dalmatian” to his name. In this case the priest, living in what is now

100. J. Fućak, *Šest stoljeća hrvatskoga lektionara*, pp. 205–10.

101. M. Franičević, *Povijest*, p. 567; P. Vitezović, *La prima visita apostolica postridentina in Dalmazia (nell'anno 1579)*, Rome, 1957, p. 27.

102. Ante Split, *Hrvatski naslov*, p. 20.

103. Ante Split, *Hrvatski naslov*, pp. 26, 30.

104. L. Jelić, *Fontes historici*, *Fontes . . . XVI saeculi*, pp. 31, 51, 59 for documents about the first, second, and fourth items. For discussion of the Zagreb council and Tautscher, see I. Tkalcíč, *Slavensko bogoslužje u Hrvatskoj*, Zagreb, 1904, p. 78; for the 1598 Zadar council, see V. Jagić, “*Gradja za slovensku narodnu poeziju*,” *Rad (JAZU)* 37, 1876, p. 46, fn. 1; for Valentić, see also J. Fućak, *Šest stoljeća hrvatskoga lektionara*, pp. 115–16.

Slovenia, identified himself by the region his island of origin lay in. We shall meet more such individuals later on in this chapter.

The sixteenth century does not lend itself to separating Slavonia from Dalmatia/Croatia proper (Velebitia), as we have up to now. After all, some of the Protestants active in Slavonia and Kranj, because Hungary was more tolerant of that faith than Venice, were emigrés from Dalmatia. It would make no sense for my text to split the two regions into two separate sections, particularly since the Dalmatians surely were influenced by people in their new surroundings. Moreover, certain Dalmatians—Antun Vrančić, whom we shall meet shortly, is a prime example—made careers in Austria-Hungary. So, where would they belong? But I do want to, at least, highlight here that the just-noted 1570 Church Council was held in Zagreb; thus the reference to “Croat language” in its articles shows the penetration of that term into Slavonia, at least into its Church circles. At the time the previously mentioned (“Croat”-oriented) Juraj Drašković was Bishop of Zagreb. In addition, most of the “Croat” and “Slav” students at the University of Vienna, whom we shall meet very shortly, also came from Slavonia.

Items Labeled “Croatian”

We might also note that an inventory from 1562 of the estate of the Humanist from Trogir, Ivan Statilić, who had died twenty years before, among other things lists some necklaces crafted “in the Croatian way.”¹⁰⁵ What these looked like is not known, but there seems to have been some distinctive decoration associated with the territory of Croatia or with artisans considered Croats. Fisković also found in a will deposited in Split from 1597 of a gentleman named Paul from Bar (Antivari), who left to his heirs his purple Croatian gown (sue veste crovata) and two garments of Croatian material (de pan[n]o crovate).¹⁰⁶

University Registers and “Croats” Elsewhere

Ferdo Šišić has delved into records of students at the University of Vienna between 1453 and 1630. As was the case in Western Europe, students were divided up into “national” groups. At Vienna there were four of these so-called “nations,” the Austrians, Saxons, Czechs, and Hungarians. These were not truly national or ethnic divisions—at least in modern terms—since they had included within them people of other “national” groups. Thus, Slavs from the Balkans found themselves included in the “*natio hungarica*.” Šišić went through the surviving records of the university, to extract, particularly from rosters of memberships, those “Hungarians” who came from what is now

105. Noted by V. Gligo, *Govori protiv Turaka*, p. 127.

106. C. Fisković, “*Splitska renesansna sredina*,” *Mogućnosti* nos. 3–4, 1976, p. 362, fn. 40.

Croatia. Out of these, nineteen have “Croata” attached to their names, while two others are said to be “from Croatia.” Did this variation in phrasing indicate some difference in perception or meaning? Or did “Croata” usually/always mean “from Croatia”? Thirteen others have “S(c)lavus” following their name, one from 1549 has “Slavonus” (Slavonian), and an individual in 1560 from Trogir has “Dalmatian” (Dalmata). The earliest Croat, from 1514, is identified as being from Senj, a center in the region, where we have found the name “Croat” used with the greatest frequency. The listed Croats appear in: 1514, 1519, 1546, two in 1547, three in 1549, one in both 1550 and 1552, three in 1555, two in 1625, one in 1626, and three in 1629. Most have left no record of city/regional origin. However, of those that do, besides Senj, mention is made of Mikuljev (Mikulov?), Tharnoczy, Medjimurje, Busin (Bužin?, Buška župa?), Somoliensis (a second individual from here is identified as a Slav), Bukocz, and Senkviciensis (Senj?). Three “Slavs” came from Varaždin; other “Slavs” identified with place names came from Zagreb, Požega, Rokonogh, Novaki, Somoliensis, Glogovica, Capruncensis (Koper? Koprivnica?), Ivanychensis (Ivanić), Dombrensis, and Medjurečki.¹⁰⁷ Since these names with identity markers were extracted from lists, we have no evidence as to what “Croat” or “Slav” meant to the individuals identified by them. Thus in themselves they cannot be taken to indicate ethnic feelings.

A similar, though slightly more mixed, variety of terms was used in the records of the University of Graz, which opened in 1586. Here were to be found people from what is now Croatia listed as Croats, Slavs, and Illyrians. Fancev argues that which term was chosen seems random, since each could be used for any particular region of origin; thus the three words were complete synonyms. Indeed, in 1587 three named students from along the Sava were registered differently, one as a Slav, one as an Illyrian, and the third as a Croat. In fact, some individuals were listed one way when they first registered and differently when they graduated. Fancev gives as examples two students from Sisak listed as Croats on arrival and as Illyrians in the end; two others’ labels reversed this order, with individuals going from Illyrians to Croats, and he noted that cases existed of others being registered as Slavs and graduating as Croats. The “Croat” label was the one most frequently used. In all Fancev noted that eighty-five individuals from Croatia, Dalmatia, Bosnia, and Dubrovnik were registered

107. All the data in this paragraph is found in F. Šišić, “Hrvati na bečkom sveučilištu od god. 1453–1630,” *Vjesnik Kr. hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog zemaljskog arhiva* 5, nos. 2–3, 1903, pp. 161–71. V. Klaić notes that George Drašković, who expressed Croat ethnic feeling in the 1556 letter congratulating Marko Stančić, discussed earlier in this chapter, had listed himself as a magister and Croat (Croata) at the University of Vienna in 1549. See V. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata* V, p. 307.

We might also note a student in Cracow discovered by N. Budak. The individual was registered there in 1556 as Ivan Ljubić, Križevčanin (from Križevci) “de Croacia.” Though being recorded as “from Croatia” does not indicate feelings of identity, what is interesting is that Križevci lies in Slavonia, and the student in question regarded that region as Croatia. (N. Budak, “Križevci u srednjem vijeku,” *Historijski zbornik* 45, no. 1, 1992, p. 175.)

as Croats between 1587 and 1616. The examples he cited from this number included people from Zagreb, Blagaj, Tržac, Šibenik, Komor, Varaždin, Zabok, Turapolje, Sisak, Rijeka, Konjščina, Domanjkuš, Trakosciano, Brega, and Križevci. However, a look at the towns in his list shows the great majority are from Croatia proper or Slavonia; and in fact, up to 1616, of the Croats listed with a town mentioned, only one, Antun Vrančić (whom we shall discuss at length later) from Šibenik (in Dalmatia) does not come from Slavonia or Croatia. Then in 1620 we pick up three registered under double markers, two as Croata Bosnensis and one as Raguseus Croata. After that we do not find another individual from Dalmatia called a "Croat" until 1709 when a native of Makarska is so labeled. So, the early randomness really focused on alternative possibilities in labels for those from Istria, Croatia proper (particularly Senj), and Slavonia.

For this same period Fancev provides seventeen students registered as Illyrians, from several of the same towns as the just-noted Croats were said to have originated in: Zagreb, Varaždin, Sisak, Zabok(o). And he then goes on to list fourteen examples of Slavs who came from the towns of Sisak, Varaždin, and Zagreb, as well as from Ran and Nedeljišće.¹⁰⁸ After the first two to three decades of the seventeenth century, according to Fancev, the term "Illyrian" disappeared from the Graz registers to be replaced by "Croat" and on some occasions, for stu-

108. F. Fancev, "Ilirstvo u hrvatskom preporodu" [1937], in M. Rešetar, et al., *Izabrana djela*, Zagreb, 1983, pp. 213–14. Fancev also provided his raw data in a separate study (F. Fancev, "Hrvatski djaci gradačkoga sveučilišta god. 1586–1829," *Ljetopis [JAZU]* 48, 1936, pp. 169–209). The first article cited above deals with the period 1586 to 1616. His data (provided in the second title) starts with 1587. If one breaks matters down for his period up to 1616 to pre-1600 and post-1600: one has for 1586/7–1601 eleven Slavs, ten Croats, seven Illyrians, and three Dalmatians. So, despite a large number of Croatians, they do not top the list yet. Things changed amazingly with 1602. 1602 has nine Croats, one Dalmatian, and one Hungarian. The period 1602–1616 (to end where Fancev's article does) has seventy-six Croats, eleven Illyrians, five Slavs, four Dalmatians, one Istrian, and one Istrian-Dalmatian. In 1607 "Slavs" cease to be a category, and in 1616 we have our last Illyrian and Dalmatian. Except for an occasional Hungarian and an even more rare Italian, all the labeled individuals are Croatians thereafter until a Dalmatian reappears in 1636. Between 1636 and 1654 we have seven Dalmatians, then others appear as follows: one each year in 1662, 1669, 1676, 1685 (said to be from Senj), 1688 (Split), 1696 (Split), 1700 (Split), and two in 1702 (one from Senj and one from Trogir). Slavs reappear in 1641, and we have single Slavs in that year, 1654, 1667, 1669, and 1685. Only the last has a place of origin given, Oštervicens. In addition (which Fancev does not note in his cited study) a certain number of individuals have no geographic/ethnic label at all. Between 1586/7 and 1599 there are five such; 1600–1616 has ten. Between 1617 and 1700, over one hundred individuals had no broad labels at all, though some did have towns noted, towns which, in many cases, provoked labels for other individuals. In certain years, people lacking broad geographical/ethnic labels dominated: in 1668 all eight registered were without such labels, in 1691 three lacked them and the fourth regisTREE was called a Bosnian, and in 1695 there were seven unlabeled and two Croats. The early randomness suggests either there was no policy (so students declared themselves) or several registrars worked in a given year, each with his own ideas. If the former was the case, then (as Fancev notes) several students changed their ideas of their own identities, in that they were differently labeled in different years. Things start to get more varied again in 1724 (though Croatians will continue to dominate). I shall pick up the Graz data from 1724 in chapter 6.

dents from Dalmatia by "Dalmatian." However, "Illyrian" returned to the registers again in the eighteenth century, and he notes examples of "Illyrian" students from Osijek and Požega in Slavonia and from Kostajnica in Croatia proper.¹⁰⁹

As a result of Ottoman pressure, refugees from parts of what is now Croatia fled north; some of them ended up in Slovakia. In 1562 a witness at a trial in Bratislava was a certain Michael Gwzyth-Croata. He noted that his parents had arrived (not saying from where) in the Slovak town of Zahorska Bystrica in 1529. An official Catholic Church visitor to that town in 1561–62 noted that a "populus Croaticus" with its own Glagolitic priest existed there.¹¹⁰

Ottoman Terminology

A second sort of register also has many listed as "Croats." In this case we have the rolls of the Turkish Balkan forces on the eve of the Battle of Mohacs in 1526. Most of the individuals in these lists, all of whom have Muslim names, are labeled either "Bosnian" or "Croat." Indeed, there are more than 250 individuals labeled "Croat." The editor of these rolls, Ahmed Aličić, says these labels indicate from where the individuals were drawn; thus Murat Croat means Murat from Croatia. He points out that in the Ottoman context these Croats came from the Croatian vilayet, the province that took in the territory the Ottomans had expanded into beyond the borders of their Bosnian vilayet. This territory, he says, was south of Velebit and west of the Dinaric range, and included the towns of Sinj and Knin, and had Skradin as its administrative center. In fact, Aličić claims that the Skradin kadiluk and the Croatian vilayet were identical. The number of Muslims called "Croats" also shows that islamization occurred among these newly conquered people at a much more rapid rate than was heretofore believed. Aličić furthermore notes that the Ottomans' use of the term "Croatian" gradually but relatively quickly fell out of use.¹¹¹ Ottoman usage of the term "Croat" for individuals was not limited to the rank-and-file. The Ottoman Grand Vizier Rustem Pasha, active in the 1570s, bore the nickname "the Croatian"; he had been born in Skradin in Dalmatia.¹¹²

Official Habsburg Terminology

Various references to things "Croat" from officials of the Habsburg state also have survived. Ban Petar Keglević in 1523 bought some property and signed

109. F. Fancev, "Ilirstvo u hrvatskom preporodu," p. 225.

110. K. Kučerova, "Migracije Hrvata u Slovačku u XVI st. i Slovaka u Slavoniju od 1730 do kraja XIX st.," *Historijski zbornik* 47, no. 1, 1994, p. 53.

111. A. Aličić, "Popis bosanske vojske pred bitku na Mohacu 1526 godine," *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju* 25, 1975, pp. 171–202, esp. 176–77.

112. L. Katić, "Granice između Klisa i Splita kroz vjekove," *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* ser. III, 6, 1958, p. 208.

the deed in Požunj in what a marginal note (written presumably by a notary) calls “Croatian characters” (*characteribus croaticis*).¹¹³ In 1547 a property settlement in the region of Bihać was recorded in a document “in Croatian language and in Croatian [Glagolitic] characters” (*idiomate croatico, litteris croaticis*). Thus, we see “Croatian” could be used for both a language and a script. In 1565 a captain in Krupa sent off an SOS that was described as being a “Croatian letter” (*khrawatische offnen Briefff*) about the dangerous situation faced by his forces from a Turkish attack.¹¹⁴ In December 1542 a letter from a military frontiersman in the Krajina, written in “Croatian” (*crabatischer Sprache*), was translated into German. The following year a list of named individuals and the number of men under them, who were to be enrolled for various types of service in Styria, was compiled; it seems to have been an agreement between the frontier command under the Austrian military administration and a listed number of those called by Lopašić “the Croatian captains.” Among the forty-one listed individuals were six marked “Croat”: for example, Ivan Hrvat. Since all forty-one were called “Croat” captains—unless that is an ethnic-type term introduced into the prefatory summary by Lopašić rather than a term from the not-provided full text—I assume the designation does not simply repeat that fact in a few random cases; presumably it meant simply that the six were from Croatia. Since these units may well have been based in Styria, then quite possibly only a portion of the enrolled captains were from Croatia proper.¹¹⁵ In 1582 we find a Habsburg official in Bihać referring to Cyrillic as “Churulik oder chrabatische Sprache.”¹¹⁶

Nicholas Kolunić was the military Captain of Senj in 1495–96 and in 1502 was Master of the [Hungarian] Royal Cavalry. Documents refer to him both by his name and also as Nicholas the Croat (*Nicolaus Horvath/Horwath* or *Nikolao Crovato/Croato*).¹¹⁷ We do not know what this identity label meant to him. However, it is worth noting that Senj, where he served and where he may well have grown up, was a center in which “Croat” identity was expressed.

The Uskoks

Senj from the 1530s became the center of the famous Uskoks, irregulars, who began congregating in numbers there after the fall of Klis (where many had served in its garrison) in 1537. They were registered as members of the Mili-

113. R. Lopašić, *Bihać i bihačka krajina: Mjestopisne i poviestne crtice* [1890], 2nd ed., Zagreb, 1943, p. 124; M. Kombol, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, p. 22.

114. R. Lopašić, *Bihać i bihačka krajina*, pp. 136, 174.

115. R. Lopašić (ed.), “Prilozi za poviest Hrvatske XVI i XVII vieka iz Stajerskoga zemaljskoga arhiva u Gradcu,” *Starine* (JAZU) 17, 1885, pp. 177, 179.

116. R. Lopašić, *Bihać i bihačka krajina*, p. 52; M. Kombol, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, p. 23.

117. V. Klaić, “Županija Pset,” *Vjesnik Hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva* n.s. 15, 1928, p. 11.

tary Frontier and put under the overall command of Austrian officers. They were active raiders against the Turks, both on land and at sea, and as corsairs, they attacked Venetian ships almost as regularly as they did Turkish prey. Their activities soon attracted others, and like the Ukrainian Cossacks, the Uskoks soon consisted of those who were officially registered as Border forces and others who were not. Austrian authorities often had little control over their activities, and, for much of the time, they did not much care what the Uskoks did. The term "Croat" was used with some frequency about the Uskoks, who after all were a part of the Croatian Military Frontier.

The Venetians, who detested the Uskoks, regularly wanted action taken against them, and despaired of support from their own Dalmatian citizens, owing to sympathy felt by Dalmatians toward the Uskoks, which was owing, in Venetian eyes, to common nationality. Interestingly, in this case the Venetian documents, cited by Wendy Bracewell, have the Venetians sometimes calling this nationality "Croat," despite the fact that the Venetians usually called the Dalmatians "Slavs." For example, in the 1590s a Venetian official on the coast writes back to Venice that Venice "will never be well served against the Uskoks by the Croats, since both the one and the other are of the same nation (*Crovati della medesima nazione che gli uscocchi*), and they share interests born of friendship, dependence, and kinship, and therefore will never resolve to offend their own blood." There are also a few, but not many, specific references to this feeling in action, often with no nationality name used. For example, when Venice was taking action against an Uskok harambaša (commander) near Trogir, the Trogirani did not wish to capture him, for the "Uskoks are Christians and our brothers." Bracewell notes that common hatred of the Turks, with whom Venice generally wanted peaceful relations, may have been the basis of the bond rather than a perceived common nationality between Uskoks and the people of Venetian Dalmatia.¹¹⁸

The Uskoks themselves on at least one occasion used this same terminology; in jail and awaiting execution, an Uskok Vojvoda named Ivan Vlatković in 1612 referred to himself as a "poor imprisoned Croat soldier."¹¹⁹ Bracewell presents a handful of other examples of usage of the term "Croat" by others about the Uskoks, and I, in listing them, am assuming that she is strictly following the wording of her original documents, which she does not cite in the original Italian. She notes a Venetian describing a Muslim, captured by the Uskoks, who decided to join them, speaking Albanian and a bit of Croatian; Filippo Pasqualigo, a Provveditore Generale of Dalmatia, recommended that the Venetians not recruit "Croats" for their military service; and a Habsburg report noting that many of the Germans in the garrison did not understand

118. C. W. Bracewell, *The Uskoks of Senj: Piracy, Banditry, and Holy War in the Sixteenth-Century Adriatic*, Ithaca & London, 1992, pp. 52–53, 230–31.

119. C. W. Bracewell, *Uskoks of Senj*, pp. 53, 280.

Croatian.¹²⁰ Of these references to Croatians, those from Habsburgs are in the normal military context of the Croatian frontier, and thus are of little or no ethnic significance; the Venetian comments are interesting, in that Venice usually used other terms; however, again they too may be based on the context of the garrison and its Croatian label. Only one reference, that from Vlatković, is from an Uskok himself.

In discussing “identity” among the Uskoks, Bracewell notes that “nationality was only occasionally an aspect that observers found relevant to their interpretations of Uskok behavior. More often, contemporary sources dwell on state jurisdiction or citizenship.” And “citizenship” here often means ex-citizenship, since the non-Habsburg ones had migrated to Senj from other lands. Bracewell goes on to cite the Venetian rector of Šibenik, who noted that the Uskoks were of three nations or jurisdictions: “Imperial [Habsburg] natives of that area; second, Turkish subjects; and third, [Venetian] subjects of Your Serenity.” The thought was repeated by Provveditore Generale Almo Tiepolo in 1593: “Uskoks are three sorts of men [Habsburg, Venetian, and Ottoman subjects] of the same nation and language, mixed together in these depredations.” Another Provveditore Generale, Cristoforo Valier, made the same distinction with the terms “natives of Senj, Croatians, and Morlachs from Turkish parts.” Thus, Bracewell points out that recognizing that the Uskoks were subjects of different states but sharing a common background does “not entirely satisfy twentieth-century definitions of the concept” of national identity and “should not be accepted uncritically. The first problem is that the criteria shaping these characteristics are rarely specified. Such terms as ‘Croat’ vary in meaning, and, even, when it is possible to determine a precise meaning from the context, the perceptions of these outside observers are not evidence of the sense of identity felt by the Uskoks themselves. Again, this subjective sense of identity is not made entirely plain by the national terms the Uskoks used—infrequently—to describe themselves.” Bracewell raises the question of what Vlatković meant by calling himself a “poor Croat,” and goes on to note that observers also called the Uskoks “Slavs” and “Morlachs,” and that Habsburg references to “Croats” were frequently to contrast them with Germans, who were entitled, as subjects of Inner Austria, to a certain number of places in the garrison. This probably is the context for a papal nuncio, who in 1619 noted that the few soldiers in the Senj garrison are “for the most part Croats.”¹²¹

However, Bracewell does show that the Uskoks had a we/they feeling about Venice. They opposed Venice’s attitude that the Adriatic was “its sea” and asserted a right “to defend and to hold our Adriatic Sea which the Venetians rule by force.” She claims that they referred to Dalmatia as “our homeland” which had previously been part of the Croatian-Hungarian kingdom

120. C. W. Bracewell, *Uskoks of Senj*, pp. 74, 81, 123.

121. C.W. Bracewell, *Uskoks of Senj*, pp. 52–53, 84, 295.

but which “for the time being [is] in [Venice’s] power.” Possibly this statement (other than having Dalmatia their homeland) should be seen as the view of a particular individual, or group of individuals, rather than a general one. In her overall judgment, Bracewell concludes: “Nor can the uskoks be seen to have contributed much to national liberation—as soldiers of the Habsburgs they made war on their fellows under Venetian and Ottoman rule, contributing to the development of what in Istria Miroslav Bertoša has called a ‘squadron’ mentality, by which subjects identified themselves primarily with the banners of their lords, dividing the population into ‘Imperials’ and ‘Venetians’ (and ‘Turks’), regardless of their common ethnic origins.”¹²²

Travellers

To the list of people employing the term “Croatian” can be added certain Habsburg envoys who travelled through the Balkans en route to Constantinople. First, there was the Austrian envoy Kuripešić, who travelled across Serbia en route to Constantinople in 1531 and noted that the people sang songs in “Croatian” (in *krabaten*) about the Battle of Kosovo. Did Kuripešić choose this

122. C. W. Bracewell, *Uskoks of Senj*, pp. 209, 300–301. Following up Bracewell’s useful reference to M. Bertoša (*Jedna zemlja, jedan rat: Istra 1615/1618*, Pula, 1986), I find that Bertoša well describes the phenomenon that Bracewell translates as a “squadron mentality,” “Banderijski mentalitet” in Bertoša’s Serbo-Croatian. Bertoša makes use of the term “ethnic” but in the Serbo-Croatian sense and he downplays its relevance for Istria. Referring to “Croatian” naval units, he states, “These bands are called Croats in the Venetian sources because they come from the Croatian regions under Austria. Even if they in fact refer to Croats, this term in the contemporary documents does not signify ethnic but state belonging (ne označava *etnicum* već državno pripadništvo)” (p. 73). Turning to his “squadron mentality,” Bertoša (looking from outside at his subjects) notes that in the Uskok War of 1615–18, the subject of his fine book, this mentality meant that people of the same ethnic belonging, of the same (or very similar) language, and the same (or very similar) culture were drawn into fighting one another (p. 12). In other words, what, if any, ethnic feelings these bandsmen had was very weak compared to their squadron-mentality loyalties. He brings the point home dramatically in his conclusion: “They err who try to tie the Uskoks of Istria to manifestations of any ethnic belonging” or who see the Uskok’s bitter war against Venice as advancing so-called pan-ethnic (*svenarodne*) Croatian–South Slav loyalties or as being an open struggle against foreigners or who see the battle for the free use of the Adriatic as a centuries-long Croatian/Slavic liberation struggle. The Uskok war on Istrian soil did not have any such features. On the contrary, archival study of Istrian circumstances at the time of this warfare documents and supports a thesis that in the clash between Austrians and Venetians “a squadron (*banderijska*), and not an ethnic, consciousness was dominant; this was no sort of progressive struggle against foreign rule but an unfortunate manipulation of our people by foreign camps,” which subordinated the local warriors “to the interests of foreign powers and pushed the Croatians (and to a lesser extent Slovenes and Italians) into a brutal brother-killing-brother war.” Bertoša goes on to condemn the Romanticizing of the Uskoks in various constructs as Croatian/Istrian/Slovene freedom fighters by writers of the period of Croatia’s National Awakening (p. 98). Bertoša has good reason to oppose such Romanticizing, for in the warfare of 1615–18: 30–50 percent of Istria’s inhabitants were killed or hauled off as captives, 90–99 percent of the livestock was destroyed, 60–90 percent of the houses were burned or destroyed, and 90–98 percent of the land was abandoned (p.96).

label since he, from what is now Slovenia, had previously heard these songs sung in Croatia?¹²³ Second, there was Anton Vrančić, who is discussed below.

Third, there was Mark Antonio Pigafetta (originally from Vicenza), who went on a Habsburg embassy in 1567, Vrančić's second one. Pigafetta's vocabulary may well have been influenced by Vrančić. There also is a second possible influence. At the start (when they arrived in separate parties at the Ottoman border, which then lay within what we think of today as Hungary), they asked whether they could do without a Croatian interpreter. The choice of the word "Croatian" might have been Pigafetta's (owing to conversations with Vrančić?) or he may have had a particular individual in mind who so referred to himself, possibly because he was a Habsburg subject from Croatia. The Turkish authority (a certain Ali Pasha) replied (and whether the "Croatian" label he was said to have employed was his or simply a repeat by Pigafetta for clarity of narration is obviously unknown) that usually one did not use a Croatian dragoman since few officials in the empire knew that language. Next, Pigafetta came to an island in the Danube (Čepel) where a number of Croatian captives (people from Croatia) had been settled by the Ottoman authorities. In fact, there were a number of such "Croatian" settlements in the area. Possibly with this language labeling and experience in mind, the word "Croatian" became for the Italian, who at the start knew no Slavic language, the term for any Slavic tongue. In any case, on his return trip and reaching the Rhodope Mountains, in what we think of as Bulgaria, he says that a bridge was called "most Mustafin" in Croatian. Next, which could have reinforced this language name, they ran into a convoy with some 150 "Croatian" captives.

But things now get interesting; after all, Pigafetta is travelling through Bulgaria, where no Bulgarian spoke "Croatian." He soon turns to saying something-or-other is called "X" in Bulgarian. He tells his reader that in this region everyone does not speak Greek, but many speak "Bulgarian." After close to a dozen references to things being called this or that in Bulgarian, Pigafetta then, showing his growing confusion about languages, tells us, "Bulgaria is a very beautiful country, full of lovely hills. . . . The inhabitants speak Croatian (Croato), and that is their natural language, though it is becoming broken. These Bulgarian people (whose name incorporates the Serbs, Rascians, Bosnians, Croats, Slovenes, and others of the same language) came from Scythia around 670 [i.e., roughly the time the Bulgars actually entered what then became Bulgaria]. . . . And after defeating the Byzantine Emperor Constantine IV, they forced him to surrender territory to them in Moesia and Pannonia." Thus, Pigafetta has the Bulgarians getting to not only Moesia (Bulgaria), but also Pannonia (part of which included Habsburg Slavonia), which, unless he

123. Cited by V. Jagić, "Gradja za slovinsku narodnu poeziju," *Rad (JAZU)* 37, 1876, p. 114. See also a summary of Kuripešić's account in P. Matković, "Putovanja," *Rad (JAZU)* 56, 1881, p. 177.

was thinking of Srem, the Bulgarians, in fact, did not get—though they had brief periods of expansion into parts of it. Thus, here Pigafetta decided that, because the Bulgarians allegedly expanded over this whole area, their name should be the broad one used (for South Slavic). And he, therefore, concludes: “[A]nd so these various tribes [understand Slavic ones] divided and settled this land, which today [the different parts] are named for those particular people settled on them, all using one and the same—though with little differences—language.” So, “Croatian,” which at the start, seemed to have represented a broad category for Pigafetta, has by this point become one of the distinct sub-categories of “Bulgarian.” Interestingly, Pigafetta never tries to find a broader category than that of individual peoples, even though “Illyrian” and “Slavic” were out there. In the end, almost home, he comes to a hilly area, which he tells us was called “Fruška gora in Croatian.” Was he wavering again, or did he see this name as reflecting a local usage?¹²⁴

Fourth, there was Stephan Gerlach and his colleagues who went to the Ottoman court in 1573 and returned only in 1578. Gerlach did not go through Croatia, but via Ottoman Serbia and Bulgaria, and spoke of both Serbs and Bulgarians, but oddly noted that the Bulgarians spoke “Croatian.” He later (covering his return journey) spoke of seeing seventy chained and enslaved “Croats.” He subsequently speaks of priests using Slavic (sclavonischer) or Illyrian for the divine services—the first term being most appropriate for Church Slavonic, but then notes that a particular Bulgarian village was under the Metropolitan (*sic* Patriarch) in Peć, but the majority of village children went to Sofija, where there was a Croatian (Crabatische, presumably referring to the language used) school. A bit later he speaks about Bulgarian schools and the service being in Bulgarian. He returns to priests having their scriptures in Slavic, which one can also call “Illyrian,” repeats his statement on the Croatian school in Sofija (whereas one of his colleagues on the mission referred to this school as “Dalmatian”) and says this time that divine services were in Croatian, which the people (Bulgarians) did not understand. The names of the apostles in the Church of St. George were also written in Croatian (mit crabatischen Buchstaben), which he then identifies with Cyrillic—which the names surely were written in. Matković, who summarizes Gerlach’s account, thinks the confusion over the different South-Slavic languages was probably owing to the fact that Gerlach did not know a Slavic language, and thus he presumably could not distinguish among them.¹²⁵ The favoring of “Croatian” as a term was probably owing to the fact that that term was particularly in use at the time. Having conquered Bulgaria and Serbia, the Ottomans were at that

124. Pigafetta’s account has been published: P. Matković (ed.), “Putopis Marka Antuna Pigafette u Carigrad od god. 1567,” *Starine (JAZU)* 22, 1890, pp. 70–194; it is also summarized by P. Matković, in “Putovanja,” *Rad (JAZU)* 100, 1890. Items cited in my text are from *Starine*, pp. 89–90, 173–75, 179, 184, and from *Rad*, pp. 89, 92, 115, 117, 119, 121–23, 125, 140.

125. P. Matković, “Putovanja,” *Rad (JAZU)* 116, 1893, pp. 13, 38, 41, 46–48.

time in the sixteenth century warring against Croatia and Hungary; thus the bulk of Slavic captives and slaves then in Istanbul were from Croatia, and those from Croatia were getting attention as the Slavs that were then resisting Ottoman expansion. With the exception of the first cited comment, all the "Croatian" references were drawn from the account of his return after he had spent five years in Istanbul, where the Croatians as slaves were probably the most visible Slavs and the ones most discussed owing to the ongoing warfare.

A fifth diplomatic traveller, Salomon Schweigger (in 1577), also used the term "Croatian" for the language in three citations given in Matković's summary. In each case the traveller was giving variant names for a place and said that "in Croatian" (*krabatischen*) it was called something: *Wischigradt* (*Visegrad*), *Comoniza*, and *Czarigrad* (the general Slavic word for Constantinople).¹²⁶

A Habsburg envoy who visited the Porte in 1579, Wolf Eitzing, described the pasha in Buda (who later became Begler-beg of Greece) as a "Croat," a term he also used for a slave child he met later on his journey. One may guess the term referred to their places of origin.¹²⁷ Another such emissary, Vratislav from Mitrovica, carried out his journey in 1591. He used "Slavic" as a broad category: the Bulgars spoke "Slavic." But he also made subdivisions within Slavic, as he just did with the people of Bulgaria. In listing the population of Beograd, he notes Turks, Greeks, Jews, Hungarians, Dalmatians, Erdelians (Rumanians), and others. Since Ragusan merchants were conspicuously present, presumably he chose the term "Dalmatians" to convey that presence. He also used the term "Croat" as a label for particular people, probably because they came (or he believed them to have come) from the *banovina* of Croatia. Vratislav notes Caspar Gratiana, a confidant of Ali Pasha of Buda, whom he calls "a Croat and a Christian." He also notes that one particular pasha (whose name was not given), who had the sultan's daughter as a wife, was a Croat and that a second individual, Ibrahim Pasha, was also a Croat. Then he explains the Ottoman custom that envoys coming to kiss the hand of a sultan had a servant on each side holding their arms, because many years before a Croat had killed Sultan Murat to avenge the death of Despot Marko Kraljević, his Serbian lord. The story is false since it was a Serb, Miloš (K)obilić, who killed Murat, and he did so prior to the Battle of Kosovo in which his lord, Knez Lazar (and not Marko), was to meet his death. In any case, though a false tale, Vratislav does give his assassin a Croatian label.¹²⁸

It must be noted that, excluding the diplomatic and military individuals named, all of these just-discussed figures of the sixteenth century who were using the Croatian name, and on occasions articulating seemingly ethnic elements, were intellectuals. Presumably, this name was prominent in certain

126. P. Matković, "Putovanja," *Rad (JAZU)* 116, 1893, pp. 76, 94, 107.

127. P. Matković, "Putovanja," *Rad (JAZU)* 129, 1896, pp. 21, 43.

128. On these citations, see P. Matković, "Putovanja," *Rad (JAZU)* 130, 1897, pp. 148, 126, 128, 160, 167.

circles, though at times competing with a “Slavic/Illyrian” rival. But the presence of such views among certain intellectuals of the Renaissance provides no reason to think that such a concept penetrated society at large. Furthermore, a majority of these individuals came from Dalmatia, including the islands, a region where there was close contact among Humanist writers; Istria (also under Venice); and the Frankapan lands, which had hosted a degree of Croat feeling/awareness since at least 1288. The Protestants are harder to locate since most were emigrés, but once again the leading lights we have data on were from Dalmatia, Istria, or Frankapan territory. The university listings Šišić presents are harder to categorize, since many individuals gave no place of origin and some of the places of origins for those that did are so garbled that it is hard to know what they refer to. However, the earliest “Croat” noted in these lists is from Frankapan Senj, and once such a declaration was made, others might have simply followed in that individual’s footsteps or those of others like him. At Vienna, the center of an empire with many other Slav subjects (Czechs, Slovaks, Poles), maybe many South Slavs wanted to distinguish themselves from these northerners, which the term “Slav,” though accepted by some of their colleagues, failed to do. Thus, “Croat” provided a specific alternative. Why none of these Vienna students were “Illyrians,” which would also have made this distinction, is an interesting question to pose, which I cannot answer.

However, many other individuals in what was to become Croatia, a majority in fact, chose to call their community not Croatian, but used one of two (if not both) broader, more inclusive terms, i.e., “Slav” or “Illyrian.” We shall turn now to the intellectuals who followed this path.

THE “SLAV,” “ILLYRIAN,” OR “DALMATIAN” IDENTITY CAMP

The Slavist Camp in the Sixteenth Century

Vinko Pribojević

In 1525 Vinko Pribojević, a Dominican from the island of Hvar, gave a speech on the glories of the Slavs to his fellow islanders: He did this, for he wanted them to know the ancient deeds of their nation (*natio, generis*).¹²⁹ His major focus was broad and on the Slavs, to whose ranks he added all sorts of non-Slavic peoples; such as, the ancient Macedonians, Goths, Thracians, Illyrians, etc. He then broke the Slavs down into sub-categories (e.g., Illyrians and Dalmatians) and then even further to a local level (e.g., people of Hvar). It is

129. Vinko Pribojević [Vincentius Priboevius], *O podrijetlu i zgodama Slavena* (De origine successibusque Slavorum), edited with introduction and notes by G. Novak, Serbo-Croatian translation by V. Gortan, Zagreb (JAZU), 1951, p. 159.

noteworthy that “Croat” was not employed as a major sub-category. He dedicated the speech to Peter the Patrician, a Hvar aristocrat, known among all Dalmatians for his wealth and glorious ancestry.¹³⁰ “I want to speak of the glory of Slavic, and because as a Dalmatian and therefore as an Illyrian and finally as a Slav, I have decided to hold a speech before Slavs about the destiny of the Slavs. I shall speak in the first place on the origin and glory of the Slavic nation (*natio*), and then about the history of Dalmatia, which is an important part of Slavdom.”¹³¹ Valuable gifts were given to the Slavic nation (*natio*) in ancient times. Pribojević derived this nation from a descendant of Noah in Genesis. The particular descendant of importance was a certain Tyras. His heirs settled in the regions making up Croatia, Dalmatia, Bosnia, Rasa, Dardania, Serbia, Moesia, and Bulgaria. “See the power and widespreadness of the Slavic family (*generis*),” exults Pribojević.¹³²

The flavor of his talk can be seen in some of his specific points: Looking to neighboring Istria and wanting to show its essence to be Slavic and not Latin, he insists that the inhabitants of Trieste and Gorica and elsewhere there use among themselves only Slavic speech. He states that St. Jerome, who was from Istria, was not an Italian but a Slav.¹³³ (That Jerome was Slavic, as we have seen earlier, was a widespread belief among many Dalmatians and Istrians.) Pribojević claims that we (his audience) should all learn from that Dalmatian (Jerome). He asks how can one put the Thracians, Mysians, and Illyrians among the Greeks and Epirotes, from whom they differ in language and customs?¹³⁴ He further points out that Illyrians, Thracians, and (ancient) Macedonians then as now are of the same family (*natio*) and language.¹³⁵ Novgorod (in Russia) is bigger than Rome; its inhabitants belong to the Greek rite as do all the people of Moscovy, and they do not know any language other than Slavic.¹³⁶ The name “Slav” is derived from “*slava*” meaning glory.¹³⁷ Petar Hektorović besides his other works translated broad wonders into the Illyrian language.¹³⁸

Interestingly, as Grga Novak notes in his introduction to the text, Pribojević lists various glorious Slavs including some Czech and Polish rulers, but he includes none of the medieval Croatian kings.¹³⁹ His vision was broad and laid out in terms of the Slavs as a whole; and in his subdivisions, his focus was directed at the Illyrians (South Slavs as a whole) as a people, and in particu-

130. V. Pribojević, *O podrijetlu*, p. 160.

131. V. Pribojević, *O podrijetlu*, pp. 162–63.

132. V. Pribojević, *O podrijetlu*, p. 166.

133. V. Pribojević, *O podrijetlu*, pp. 169–70.

134. V. Pribojević, *O podrijetlu*, pp. 170–71.

135. V. Pribojević, *O podrijetlu*, p. 171.

136. V. Pribojević, *O podrijetlu*, p. 172.

137. V. Pribojević, *O podrijetlu*, pp. 173–75.

138. V. Pribojević, *O podrijetlu*, p. 191.

139. G. Novak, introduction to V. Pribojević, *O podrijetlu*, p. 19.

lar at the region of Dalmatia. The Illyrians, though the inhabitants of Dalmatia, were a people whose places of residence spilled out beyond Dalmatia (and Pribojević's Dalmatia was the ancient Roman province that included Bosnia and much of Croatia). And, as the South Slavs were a single people, one was justified in calling their language "Illyrian."

Despite his Slavic patriotism, Pribojević wrote his speech in Latin. A sea captain named Malaspalli translated the text from Latin into Italian, and the translation was published in Venice in 1595. Malaspalli asks forgiveness if he made errors in his translation, for he was a man by nationality Slav and by occupation a sailor.¹⁴⁰ Thus, the national community to which he felt he belonged was the broad Slavic one being celebrated by Pribojević.

Pribojević also was responsible for calling attention to another pan-Slavic text, "The Donation to the Slavs of Alexander the Great," a Latin version of which he published in 1532 along with his speech's Latin text. Pribojević claimed the document had been discovered in Constantinople and translated from the Ancient Greek. According to the document, Alexander, lord of the world (*dominus mundi*), in the twelfth year of his reign, pleased with the faithful service his Slavic troops had given him in his campaigns, issued to them from his court in Alexandria a donation charter, awarding them most all of Eastern Europe from the Danube to the North Sea. The territory is interesting, since it more or less excludes the South-Slav lands; but the reason for this is not hard to find, since the earliest version of this text appears in a thirteenth-century Polish chronicle and it found its way into a fourteenth-century Czech chronicle. Thus, the territorial assignment was expressed to suit the needs of these West Slavs. Many others would make use of this text, including Orbini, whom we turn to next, who published an Italian translation in his major work on the Slavs. Moreover, as we just saw, Pribojević, in depicting the ancient Macedonians as Slavs, implied Alexander was one. And that belief was to be explicitly stated by various Renaissance writers: Hanibal Lucić, Dinko Ranjin, Dominiko Zlatarić, and Ivan Gundulić.¹⁴¹

140. G. Novak, introduction to V. Pribojević, *O podrijetlu*, p. 41.

141. H. Morović, "Legenda o povelji Aleksandra Velikoga u korist Slavena," in H. Morović, *Sa stranica starih knjiga*, Split, 1968, pp. 109–24. Though scholars have accepted the northern (or West Slav) origin of the Alexandrian Donation, Morović, on the basis of circumstantial evidence, advances good reasons to suggest a so-far undocumented South Slavic provenance for it. After all, Macedon lay in what became South Slavic territory; surviving Classical sources on Alexander noted that he had Illyrians as his allies; and already by the thirteenth century, the Illyrians were being depicted by Catholic South Slavs as Slavs (the whole St. Jerome complex). The earliest extant reference to the Donation was in thirteenth-century Poland, but Morović argues it would be plausible to postulate a slightly earlier origin among the actual people who perceived themselves as descendants of those who were the recipients of Alexander's Donation, for the grant has that ruler honoring those Slavs who had been his faithful military supporters. Moreover, the mid-thirteenth century was the time when the Bishop of Senj had got the pope to recognize the Slavonic liturgy in his diocese, because it had been created by the Illyrian-Slav St. Jerome. And finally, Morović notes that the earliest Czech reference to the Donation is in a document found in the

Mavro Orbini and a Brief Note on Jacob Luccari

Shortly after Malaspalli's translation of Pribojević's Oration, this same general Slavic or South-Slavic vision—as opposed to a focus on any particular people within that group—was the theme advanced by the much better known and just-mentioned author Mavro Orbini, who published his well-known history of the Slavs in 1601, a work he wrote (as he himself states) out of his love for his own Slavic nation.¹⁴²

Orbini nicely, but incorrectly, solved the Illyrian-Slav problem. He made the Illyrians into Slavs and then after mentioning the Slavic invasions was able to present a mixing of old Slavic inhabitants (Illyrians) and the Slavic newcomers. Unlike many of his Humanist-influenced contemporaries, however, Orbini preferred the term "Slav" to "Illyrian." Thus, Orbini spoke consistently of the Slavs, the Slav nation (*la nazione Slava*), and the Slavic language. The language received particular emphasis, for as he stated in his work on the Slavs: "[T]he unity of speech generally demonstrates the unity of a people."¹⁴³ Throughout his work he emphasizes the common speech among the different Slavic peoples.

Orbini lays out his views in the first two chapters of his *Kingdom of the Slavs* (*Il Regno de gli Slavi*). We have met several of the stranger items in them already in Pribojević's historical vision. According to Orbini, the Slavs were descended from Japheth, Noah's son, whose progeny migrated to Scandinavia. From there they spread out and conquered many lands and peoples. One of the first places many settled was Sarmatia, their second homeland; from there they moved out in several different directions. The ones in Sarmatia were the Russians, and back in Roman times some of them settled Illyricum. The indigenous people of the Balkans, the Thracians, Dacians, and Illyrians, all spoke the same Slavic language, as did the Goths. Though it is clear that the Goths were from Scandinavia, it is not clear when they appeared in the Balkans. But, in any case, in the seventh century those labeled the Slavs arrived there. These Slavs laid waste to Illyricum in company with the (Slavic) Goths. Many say that before this seventh-century migration the people in Dalmatia spoke Latin and Greek, but this is not true. The people in Illyricum always spoke Slavic. The (Slavic-speaking) Illyrians were overrun by the

Slavonic monastery of Na Slovanech in Prague, which was resurrected in that period and had close associations with Glagolitic monks from what is now Croatia. Thus, these monks could easily have been the source for the Czech tradition. Should Morović's speculation be correct, one could postulate that the earliest version of the Donation would have had a more southerly territorial assignment, but that that section had been altered for local interests by the Polish chronicler. (On these very reasonable speculations, see Morović, p. 118.) However, despite plausibility, no early South Slav text has been uncovered.

142. M. Orbini, *Kraljevstvo Slovena* (S. Ćirković, ed.), Beograd, 1968.

143. M. Pantić, "Mavro Orbini—Život i rad," introduction to M. Orbini, *Kraljevstvo Slovena* (S. Ćirković, ed.), Beograd, 1968, p. lxviii, and passage cited in fn. 109 on that page: "... unita del parlare si suol provar largamenta l'unita della nazione."

Goths and Slavs and this may have affected their original Slavic speech. But for all practical purposes, the language spoken in Illyricum remained the same after the Slavic invasions of the seventh century. The only Latin speakers on the east side of the Adriatic were the Romans who had occupied certain Dalmatian cities. This can be seen by the fact that St. Jerome, who lived two hundred years before the (later) Slavic invasions, spoke Slavic and created the Slavic liturgy. He could not have done this had he not been a Slavic speaker. Thus Jerome's Slaviness had become a major established fact, able to be used to prove other things, such as the Slaviness of the Illyrians.

Orbini then repeats much material, emphasizing these relationships. In Scandinavia all the Slavs had been called "Goths." Particularly important in this Slavic-Goth confederation were the Vandals, who moved south toward the Mediterranean. To the Vandals belonged the Muscovites, Russians, Poles, Bohemians, Circassians, Dalmatians, Istrians, Croats, Bosnians, Bulgarians, and Rassiani. Moreover, the Scandinavian origins of the Slavs allowed Orbini to make the original Normans into Slavs as well. The Avars, too, were Slavs, and so were the Macedonians of Alexander of Macedon and even the Amazons. He also states, though it is hard to figure out when this occurred, that two large companies of Croats led by the brothers Čeh and Leh moved north (from Croatia?) and founded two new Slavic states, Bohemia and Poland. Thus, whether they could be logically fitted together or not, Orbini was determined to utilize as fact all the varied legends and stories about the Slavs in circulation. He also, to clarify any confusion between the two great "Slavic" saints, Jerome and Cyril, explicitly explains that the first Slavic letters (literally letters, i.e., Glagolitic) had been worked out long ago by St. Jerome, whereas St. Cyril had later created a second alphabet, Cyrillic. This briefly sums up the main points of his theories of origins.¹⁴⁴

In the text itself Orbini then deals with the various Slavic states. His own area, Dalmatia, gets no original treatment as his chapter on that region is merely an Italian translation of the sixteenth-century Croatian version of "The Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclea." And though he devotes long chapters to the Serbs, Bulgarians, and Bosnians, he has only the briefest of chapters on the Croats of Croatia proper. He lists several of the pre-1102 kings and presents a brief account of the Hungarian annexation. Next, he claims the Croats (almost his only reference to them in what might be a non-state sense) did not want Hungarian-imposed bans over them nor Hungarian rule, so they chose a ruler from their own ranks; they first had one and then another self-elected ruler until the time of Ban Paul (Šubić). He follows briefly Paul's successes, then reports that after his death Ban Mladen succeeded him, but thereafter

144. I have merely extracted the highlights most relevant to our study from F. Barišić's fine summary of Orbini's far more detailed (and quite confused and confusing) presentation. See F. Barišić, "Kratak sadržaj prvog i drugog poglavlja Orbinova dela," in M. Orbini, *Kraljevstvo Slovena* (S. Ćirković, ed.), Beograd, 1968, pp. cxxxix-clii.

power in Croatia fragmented among the various noble families of which Croatia was full, with each nobleman ruling his own region. Among them was Prince Nelipčić and his brother Kurjaković and the Čubranovići, and many others, whom Orbini does not describe because he does not consider them significant. This fragmentation allowed the Hungarians, under King Louis, to reassert their authority in Croatia, and also over Dalmatia. Then Croatia and Dalmatia were united and put under the authority of a single ban. Orbini notes that the border between Croatia and Hum (Zahumlje, subsequently western Hercegovina) was the Cetina River.¹⁴⁵ As can be seen here, his focus was on nobles and state entities, and that was what he stresses about the other Balkan Slavic states as well. He did not have peoples with identities as actors, but focused on the leaders. And when he refers to people labeled "Croats" and "Serbs," and so forth, he means the followers of the Croat and Serb leaders. Orbini also, when discussing the people, could on occasion call them "Slavs"; twice in one passage about a Hungarian war against the Serbs, Orbini calls the Serbs "Slavs": "Thus the Hungarians avenged the insult which the Slavs had done [to them]. . . . Meanwhile the Slavs were not able to attack his kingdom. . . ."¹⁴⁶

Orbini's text was also the first to print the claim that the famous sixth-century Byzantine emperor, Justinian, was a Slav (Fu etiando Slavo Giustiniano primo). The leap was an easy one to make; Justinian came from Illyria (Orbini was not sure whether from Prizren or Ohrid), the Illyrians were Slavs, therefore Justinian was a Slav.

The idea was immediately repeated by Jacob (Giacomo) Luccari in his history, printed four years later. Luccari added a great deal of embellishment, with a variety of projected Slavic relatives and in-laws for Justinian. Luccari, following the old formula, says, "in the Slavic language Justinian [etymology with justice] is . . . called Vpravda."¹⁴⁷ Antoljak (following Foretić) concludes that Luccari perceived himself not only as a Ragusan but also as a Slav; Luccari was convinced that all the South Slavs were of one origin with the other Slavs in Bohemia, Poland, Russia, and so on, and that these others were derived from the blood of the Balkan Slavs whom foreign writers called Goths, Vandals, Sarmatians, and Scythians. As a result, Luccari concluded that the lands where the South Slavs lived are what earlier writers meant when they referred to Scythia Minor and Sarmatia.¹⁴⁸ So, Luccari, like Orbini, belonged to the "Slav" camp, which we can also see in specific remarks. Writing about a ruler of the Neretl-

145. M. Orbini, *Kraljevstvo Slovena*, pp. 195–98. This brief section is his only concentrated discussion on Croatia. The extreme lack of attention to Croatia suggests that Orbini, a native of Dubrovnik, did not have any particular feeling for Croatia, but truly identified as a "Slav."

146. M. Orbini, *Kraljevstvo Slovena*, p. 37.

147. N. Radojčić, *O tobožnjem slovenskom poreklu Cara Justinijana*, Beograd (Glas, SKA, 184), 1940, pp. 9–10, 19–20.

148. S. Antoljak, *Hrvatska historiografija do 1918 I*, p. 87. In fact, the evaluation of Luccari and the way it was phrased goes back before either Antoljak or Foretić; see V. Mažuranić, "Izvori dubrovačkoga historika Jakova Lukarevića," *Narodna starina* 3, no. 8, 1924, p. 122.

jani, Luccari reports that the Ragusans kept the memory of that illustrious Slavic commander (*illustri capitani slavi*). And when Stefan Dušan, the Serbian tsar, began dreaming (Luccari had him actually setting out on a campaign) of getting Constantinople, Luccari says that he sought to transfer the empire of Constantine the Great to the Slavic nation (*nela natione Slava*).¹⁴⁹

It is worth noting that, for his emphasis on rulers who were not of the Catholic faith, Orbini's text rapidly was placed on the Church's index of forbidden books. Even though this probably made the text harder to find, it never ceased to be a widely read book among intellectuals.

Orbini also translated from the Italian into his Slavic a religious work entitled *The Spiritual Mirror*, which was printed, after his death, in Venice in 1614; on the title page, though, instead of his usual terminology of "Slavic," he showed much more local roots, saying it was translated from Italian into Dubrovnik-ese (*Dubrovački*).¹⁵⁰ Its supporters expressed the work's value for edifying the Slavic nation, and when it was republished in 1620, the Venetian government, in approving the new printing, referred to it as a work translated from Italian into Slavic (in *lingua schiavona*).¹⁵¹ Thus, regardless of Orbini's lighter touch about a Dubrovnik language, the Venetians saw the language, in their usual way, as "Slavic." Orbini had been encouraged to do the translation, and some of the costs had been picked up, by a Ragusan aristocrat named Rada Sladović. Orbini's letter of thanks to Sladović from 20 April 1606 has been preserved. In it Orbini notes that the translation had been done from Italian into *Dubrovački* for the use of those who speak *Slovinski*, and he refers to Sladović as being of Slavic ancestry.¹⁵²

Others in the "Slavic Camp"

Another Humanist historian who looked broadly at the Slavs as one people and also denoted them by the general term "Slav" was the Ragusan Benedictine

149. On the Neretljan prince, see V. Mažuranić, "Izvori Dubrovačkoga historika," pp. 125–26, and S. Ljubić (who cites the actual passage), "Prilog Jagićevoj razpravi 'O gradji za slovinsku narodnu poeziju,'" *Rad (JAZU)* 40, 1877, pp. 131–32; on Dušan, see V. Mažuranić, *op. cit.*, p. 123.

150. M. Pantić, "Mavro Orbini," p. xci, fn. 146. Orbini was not alone at the time in calling his language "Dubrovački." An anonymous author of a guide to serving the Mass for priests that appeared in 1592 on its title page states in proto-Serbo-Croatian that the text was translated from *Vlaški* into *Dubrovački* (*u jezik dubrovački*). Normally "Vlaški" would denote the language of the Vlachs; however, in this case Rešetar shows that it was an odd way to say Latin. In fact, at the very end of the manuscript right after the "Finis," it states in Latin that it was translated from Latin into Illyrian. In any case, the author sees his language as Illyrian or *Dubrovački*; whether he saw Illyrian as the Latin translation of *Dubrovački*, or vice versa, cannot be determined from the single use of each term in the text. On this manuscript, see M. Rešetar, "Doslije nepoznata štampana knjiga od god. 1592," *Gradja za povjest književnosti hrvatske* 3, 1901, pp. 44–45, 65.

151. M. Pantić, "Mavro Orbini," p. cv, and fn. 151.

152. Letter published by M. Stojković, "Bartuo Kašić D. I. Pažanin (1575–1650): Prilog za njegov život i književni rad," *Rad (JAZU)* 220, 1919, p. 261.

Ludovik Tuberon Crijević/Cerva (1459–1527). According to him, the Slavs, who originated in Russia, conquered Illyricum around 600 and in time absorbed the indigenous population, who along with the victors now came to be described under the name of “Slav.” Thus, unlike many of his contemporaries, Crijević did not make the Slavs indigenous to the Balkans. Except for certain Dalmatian cities, the new language, Slavic, of the victors triumphed as well. So all the way to the Drava, the population speaks the same language; thus, the Dalmatians are not only part of Slavic Illyria, but part of the broad Slavic world.¹⁵³ In a passage cited by V. Klaić, Crijević, in describing Hungary and Croatia before the 1526 Battle of Mohacs, writes, “From the Dalmatian coast, which borders the Adriatic Sea, to the River Drava live the Illyrian people (*gentes Illyricae*), whom the Hungarians call in part the Croats (*Crovatos*), in part the Slavs (*Sclavenos*) [from the context certainly referring specifically to Slavonians] and [in part] the Rasciani.”¹⁵⁴ Here Crijević uses “Illyrians” as a broader term for at least some of the South Slavs, that is, those inhabiting Croatia and Slavonia, including the Serbs there. In a second work, a commentary on his times, in which he focuses more on his own part of the Slavic world, Crijević uses vocabulary in a specific and similar way. According to Foretić’s summary, for the work itself is unavailable to me, Crijević defines Croats, Dalmatians, and Slavonians as follows: he uses the name “Dalmatia” for all of Croatia from the Drava to the Sea, and the term “Dalmatians” for Croats in general. The names “Croatia” and “Croat” are used for the land and people of the narrow northern region of Croatia proper, and he uses “Slav” for Slavonians. If he wants to specify Dalmatia along the coast, he calls it “Coastal/Maritime Dalmatia” (*marittima Dalmatia*). When describing the Battle of Krbava, he calls the commander (who was the Ban of Croatia) the head of Dalmatia. And when he mentions the Croatian nobles, he has in mind the narrow group (the twelve families) from Croatia proper. This narrow Croatia proper he calls “the region of Mediterranean Dalmatia” (*mediterraneae Dalmatiae regio*) or

153. B. Kuntić-Makvić, “Tradicijska o našim krajevima u antičkom razdoblju kod dalmatinskih pisaca XVI i XVII stoljeća,” *Živa antika* 34, 1984, p. 158. I. N. Goleniščev-Kutuzov (*Ital’janskoe vozroždenie i slavjanskoe literatury XV–XVI vekov*, Moscow, 1963, p. 110) reports that Tuberon claimed that the language in Illyria resembles Russian in almost every regard.

154. Cited by V. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata* V, p. 32. I. Pervol’f, paraphrasing what is obviously the same passage, states that Crijević says that in the Kingdom of Hungary there live various *Slavic* people; having named them in the same way that Klaić does, Pervol’f has them all speaking a common language, Illyrian. Pervol’f then has Crijević go on to say that the Czechs and Poles believe that all the Slavic people had their origins in Dalmatia; and this theory undoubtedly comes from a common language, for it is known that the Czechs, Poles, and Dalmatians all speak the same language. Then Crijević provides a second theory, which according to the authors cited in fn. 153 he himself favored, that the Poles, Czechs, and “Slovini” (i.e., South Slavs) all migrated out of Russia. Crijević, Pervol’f tells us, compared climates (the wonderful one of Dalmatia and the harsh one of Russia) and wondered why anyone would migrate to Russia. But Crijević does note that the language used in Illyria does not differ that much from Russian. (I. Pervol’f, *Slav-jana ih vzaimnyja otnošenija i svjazi* II, Warsaw, 1888, pp. 225–26.)

"Lower Dalmatia" (inferior Dalmatia).¹⁵⁵ In the first passage above and in another one cited by Lučić, in which Crijević says that the Ragusans can be considered Dalmatians,¹⁵⁶ we find that this historian could also identify the people on the coast more narrowly as Dalmatians.

The great poet from Hvar, Petar Hektorović, also chose the term "Slavic," even when addressing Marulić, by whom, he said in his masterwork "Ribanje," the Slavic language (jezik slovinski) had been decorated.¹⁵⁷ Hektorović used the term "Dalmatian" as well; in his will he left to his granddaughter "all his books, those printed and those copied by hand, in our Dalmatian language" (in lingua nostra Dalmatina).¹⁵⁸ Hektorović, moreover, could exemplify a broad South Slavic or general Slavic feeling without using a specific term. An example of the way he expresses this commonality is his reference to the Serb hero Marko Kraljević and his mother as being "ours." An example of his expressing pan-Slavic feeling is his statement that "our language" among all others is the most widely used in the world.¹⁵⁹

Marin Držić, the noted Ragusan dramatist, also fits Hektorović's pattern. In the front matter (preface/dedication) to his drama "Tirena," he refers to its language both as "Dubrovački" and "Slovinski." In "Dundo Maroje" a character speaking in Italian refers to a woman as a "Schiavona," while in "Arkulin" another character speaking in Italian asked if someone knew how to speak "Slavic" (saver parlar schiavon?).¹⁶⁰ In "Dundo Maroje" the title character calls an individual from Kotor "our neighbor" but later says that when he heard the Kotoranin speak he knew he was "one of ours." Various characters in this play (as well as those in a second play, "Arkulin") refer to the language regularly as "ours" (naški, na našku) or as "our language." Držić also depicts people as Dalmatians, on one occasion in the same play referring to a woman

155. V. Foretić, "Godina 1358," *Starine* (JAZU) 50, 1960, pp. 261–62.

156. J. Lučić, "Prilog povijesti veza između Šibenika i Dubrovnika u srednjem vijeku," *Historijski zbornik* 21–22, 1968–69, p. 341.

157. P. Hektorović & H. Lucić, *Pjesme*, Zagreb (JAZU, *Stari pisci hrvatski* 6), 1874, p. 25.

158. M. Medini, *Povjest hrvatske književnosti* I, p. 94.

159. For the two citations, P. Hektorović & H. Lucić, *Pjesme*, pp. 18, 55. Another prominent early poet, Dinko Ranjina, expressed similar broad feelings, but also avoided a term for the people/language. He notes in a preface to a book of poetry that the Greeks and Romans wrote in their own languages, and not in that of foreigners, so we should do the same. In the discussion in which he praises two of his contemporaries for doing this, he refers to his language as the "domestic language" (domaći jezik) and as "our language" (našega jezika). See D. Ranjina, *Pjesni razlike* (M. Valjavec, ed.), Zagreb (JAZU, *Stari pisci hrvatski* 18), 1891, pp. 5–6. Like Hanibal Lucić, cited above, Ranjina also oddly refers in the same preface to Alexander the Great as a Serb (op. cit., p. 2). Though Ranjina seems to have avoided an ethnic-type name for the language, another poet named Marko Marinović in a poem praising Ranjina refers to Ranjina's poems being in "slovin-skoga od jezika." (Cited by M. Valjavec in his introduction to the just-mentioned collection of Ranjina's poetry, op. cit., p. xix.)

160. M. Držić, *Djela* (F. Petračić, ed.), Zagreb (JAZU, *Stari pisci hrvatski* 7), 1875, pp. 62–63, 346, 382.

as a Dalmatinka, who was nursed on Dalmatian milk.¹⁶¹ The publisher of Držić's "Tirena," in 1607, Maroje Vodopija, dedicated the work to Silvester Cardinal Aldobrandini, who, stated Vodopija, knew how to speak Slavic, and thereby the Slavic language acquired great honor and respect.¹⁶² Another writer who used the term "Slavic" for proto-Serbo-Croatian was Frano Lucari (Lukarević) of Dubrovnik, who in 1594 translated a tragi-comedy of the Italian writer G. Battista Guarini from Italian into "Slovniski."¹⁶³

There was also the peculiar figure Bartol Georgijević (Georgievits), who was captured by the Turks, probably at Mohacs in 1526, and, after many adventures in Turkish lands, escaped. Returning to the West, he wrote several volumes about life in Turkey and on strategies to defeat the Turks. He, or his publishers, used a variety of nationality-type labels to identify him. The 1544 edition of his best-known "Turcken Buchlin" lists him as a Hungarian (Bartholomeo Georgii Hungaro); the 1553 edition lists him as from Croatia (Bartholomaeo Georgievicz di Croatia); and the 1555 German translation calls him a Polish nobleman. The publisher of the German translation said that he had been able to contribute to the translation because fortunately he spoke "Slavic." The work also contains what the author calls a Schlavonian dialogue on God between an Italian and a "Sclovack." Georgijević also produced a set of questions and responses on salvation in "linguae Sclavonicae," to which one edition, printed in Rome, appended a special "Vocabula Sclavonica." Thus, regardless of Georgijević's identity, his language seems to have been defined simply as "Slavic." He elaborates on that language in a note to his readers:

It seems to me, dear readers, that it would be worthwhile to add a few words about Slavic to enable you to see that Slavic speech differs from the Persian that serves the Turks. And it is very important that you know that among those who speak this language one must list [the people] of Croatia, Dalmatia, Russia, Wallachia, Serbia, Cheska, and Poland, which lands, owing to the great territory they take up, in some of their words and in pronunciation differ from one another as the Italians differ from the Spaniards and the Germans from the Flemish. And let it further be not unknown that the Ruthenians and Serbs use this language for their divine services. It [here thinking of Cyrillic] has thirty-four letters, which are not much different from the Greek. However, in Croatia the [Glagolitic] letters are much different in shape. Moreover, it is impossible to use Latin letters to convey correctly the

161. M. Držić, *Djela*, pp. 245–46, 296, 319, 384.

162. Cited by I. Pervol'f, *Slavjane ih vzaimnyja otnošenija i svjazi* II, p. 355.

163. Noted by F. Rački in his introduction to F. Lukarević-Burina, *Djela* (F. Rački & S. Žepić, eds.), Zagreb (JAZU, *Stari pisci hrvatski* 10), 1878, p. x. Two years before (1592), as we shall see later, a translation of F. Lukarević (Luccari) was rendered into "Illyrian."

proper pronunciation of their words. And the Turks even make use of this language at the court of their emperor [sultan].

With the great variation in the labels identifying him, we may suspect that Georgijević did not identify particularly with any nationality, and the labels were drawn from geography, and possibly chosen from the perspective of the moment on what would advance sales of his books. Most scholars believe that his native language was a proto-Serbo-Croatian and that he originally came from somewhere within Croatia proper.¹⁶⁴

The term "Slavonic nation," combined with an interest in opposing the Turks, is found in a letter to the pope from 1594 by two brothers, whose family was originally from Klis (at that time in Turkish hands). The brothers were Ivan Alberti, a military figure, and Nikola, archdeacon of the cathedral in Split. In offering their services for the recovery of Klis, they stated, "The Slavonic nation demands a cardinal of its own language as a reward for its support in this dangerous venture." They went on to hint that Nikola Alberti would be an excellent choice for that role, but the pope did not respond to the suggestion.¹⁶⁵

Lazar from Korčula, active at the turn of the fifteenth to the sixteenth century, wrote some verses about a Slavic boat (*barzellete et alcune stanze a la schiavonesca*). Dživo (Giovanni) Pavlović, born ca. 1490 in Dubrovnik, wrote in Italian a heroic-comical poem about a certain Serdito (angry) Rado. When Rado was killed, his body was taken back to the Slavic land for burial. And Pavlović's own last will and testament in 1540 was written "*alla schiavonesca*."¹⁶⁶

Kukuljević published an anonymous chronicle, written in Italian during the sixteenth century and covering the period 1522–63. The work mentions "Croatia" as a place under Turkish attack and mentions nobles of Croatia, but does not have Croats acting as a people. It refers to thousands of "Slavs" fighting for the Turks, probably needing the general term since the Turks had enrolled into their forces a variety of Slavic peoples; but on the one occasion, when it mentions people in Dalmatia, it refers to them as "Slavs of Dalmatia" (*li schiavi de Dalmazia*) rather than by some more specific term.¹⁶⁷

164. Č. Mijatović, "Bartolomije Georgijević, Hrvat, pisac šesnaestoga veka," *Rad* (JAZU) 44, 1878, pp. 109–10, 116–17; M. Birnbaum, *Humanists in a Shattered World*, pp. 182–206, esp. pp. 186, 194, 197, 199. Matković also notes that in one text Georgijević described going down the Adriatic from the Tyrol, via Schiavonia, Albania, etc. (P. Matković, "Putovanja," *Rad* [JAZU] 62, 1882, p. 129, fn. 1).

165. Cited by G. Rothenberg, "Christian Insurrection in Turkish Dalmatia, 1580–1596," *Slavonic and East European Review* 40, no. 94, December 1961, p. 142.

166. Lazar and Pavlović are reported by I. N. Goleniščev-Kutuzov, *Ital'janskoe vozroždenie*, pp. 75–76.

167. Ivan Kukuljević-Sakcinski calls this text simply "Cronaca del secolo XVI." He edited it and several other chronicles under his initials. See I. K. S., "Kratki letopisi hrvatski," *Arhiv za povjestnicu jugoslavensku* 4, 1857; this particular chronicle, pp. 50–62, reference to Slavs of Dalmatia, p. 62.

Other intellectuals fall into the “Slavic” camp. We may note that the painter Andrea Medulić, who was born in Šibenik in 1522 and worked in both Venice and Florence, was referred to in a Venetian document from 1563 as “Andreas Sclabonus (the Slav) dictus Medola.”¹⁶⁸ Jezina believes that Medola was the artist Andrea Schiavone, also known as, Andrew the Slav, who was well known in Italy in this period. Antoljak, however, notes that we cannot be certain that the two artists were the same individual.¹⁶⁹ But, in any case, one or both received the marker “Slav” rather than some other label. Giannfrancesco Fortunio from Split, who published in Jaquino in 1516 the first grammar of the Italian language, was also known as Schiavone.¹⁷⁰ Franičević notes that the poet Martin Benetović intentionally chose the name “Slav,” in the form of Slavko, for his illegitimate son.¹⁷¹ In 1578 a short Catechism was published in Venice; it was an anonymous translation of a work by an Italian, Jacob Ledesma. The work’s title page, which is in Italian, notes it was translated from the Italian into the Slavic (in lingua Schaiva).¹⁷²

Alexander Komulović (1548–1608), a Splićanin, published in the everyday language in Rome in 1582 a work entitled “Christian Doctrine for the Slavic People in Their Own Language” (Nauch Charstianschiza Slovignschi narod, v vlasti iazich). The Slavic stands at the top of the title page, and below that the title is repeated in Italian. In the Italian, “Illyrian” replaces the “Slavic” that identified the people in the Slavic-language title; the Italian has it, “Dottrina Christiana per la natione Illirica nella propria lingua.” In 1603 Komulović produced a translation (the first of many translations of this work into one form or another of Slavic) of Roberto Bellarmina’s “Short Catechism,” with a title page only in Slavic, which was phrased differently, specifying that the work was in Slavic language and executed on the order of Cardinal Aldobrandini, protector of the Slavic people/nation. The title page also has added to it in hand a request for God’s mercy/blessing for having produced a work to teach doctrine to Your (God’s) Slavic race (Vaš slovinski roj), signed A. C., the translator’s initials in Latin.¹⁷³ The work made a hit, and the Split poet Jerolim Kavanjin in his verses on prominent Splićani commented

168. S. Antoljak, “Novi podaci o slikarima Markantoniju i Andriju Zadranima” [1957], in *his Hrvati u prošlosti*, Split, 1992, p. 530.

169. M. Jezina, “Šibenik u kulturi XV vijeka,” *Magazin severne Dalmacije* 2, 1935, p. 78; S. Antoljak, “Novi podaci o . . . Andriju,” p. 535.

170. M. Šrepić, “Hrvat prvi gramatik talijanskoga jezika,” *Rad (JAZU)* 140, 1899, p. 2. Besides “Schiavone,” Fortunio was also known as “Dalmata” (I. Kukuljević-Sakcinski, “Marko Marulić i njegova doba,” introduction to M. Marulić, *Pjesme*, Zagreb (JAZU, *Stari pisci hrvatski* 1), 1869, p. xxvi).

171. M. Franičević, “Odrazi pučke svijesti,” p. 411.

172. V. Štefanić, “Mali kršćanski nauk J. Ledesme u hrvatskom prijevodu od g. 1578,” *Vrela i prinosi* 11, 1940, pp. 69, 73. In 1583 a Cyrillic edition of Ledesma’s catechism was printed, also in Venice; on this occasion the title page stated the text was translated into Dubrovački language. (M. Vanino, *Isusovci i hrvatski narod* II, Zagreb, 1987, p. 87.)

173. V. Štefanić, “Bellarmino-Kolumovićev Kršćanski nauk,” *Vrela i prinosi* 8, 1938, p. 33.

that Komulović brought Christian doctrine into Slavic better than anyone up to now.¹⁷⁴ A Venetian report from 1594 refers to Komulović as Alessandro Schiavone, while a Vatican document from 1591, discussing this work and a second basic Church text by the Zadar canon Šima Budinić which also appeared in 1582, referred to Komulović as “Alessandro Dalmata.”¹⁷⁵ Thus, here we find one more Dalmatian given this marker; whether this was a nickname Komulović himself had used or simply an identifying marker provided by these Vatican clerics is unknown.

Komulović later served as a papal diplomat in the 1590s, and actively worked to build up a coalition of Slavs (including Russia) for an anti-Turkish crusade. He believed that all the Slavs belonged to one nation and spoke various dialects of a single language. He thought, therefore, that these facts predisposed them for a single state and a single religion, which, not surprisingly, in his view was Catholicism.¹⁷⁶ Of course, he was using the term “Slav” at its broadest level, but that is how he seems to have thought that one should view this people, that is, one should focus on the people as a whole, rather than on one of its component parts.

Near the end of his life Komulović drafted a will in Italian leaving money for the Illyrian Academy in Rome to set up a printing press to publish books in “lingua illirica.” His use of terms here was most likely derived from the official name of the academy as well as the usage of the Church officials who would be executing his will.¹⁷⁷

If Karlo Horvat is correct in attributing an anonymous report written for the Vatican in about 1593 concerning the Balkans to Komulović, then we have further evidence of Komulović’s broad focus, for the report lists the various peoples who could be mobilized against the Turks. Noting the Hercegovinians, Slavonians, Croatians, and Dalmatians, the report says that, excluding the Italians and Greeks among them, they are all of the Slavic nation (*tutti della nazione Schiavona*). Komulović then goes on to list Serbia, Moesia, Bosnia, Rascia, Požega, and Timișoara, where there are Christians of both the Latin and Greek rites, and he notes again that almost all of the inhabitants of this area are of the Slavic nation.¹⁷⁸

174. I. Ostojić, *Metropolitanski kaptol u Splitu*, p. 255, and photograph inset facing p. 264.

175. For “A. Schiavone,” see K. Horvat (ed.), “Monumenta historica nova historiam Bosnae et provinciarum vicinarum illustrantia,” *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja* (Sarajevo) 21, 1909, p. 17. For “A. Dalmata,” see A. Strgačić, “Neobjavljena književna djela zadrana Šime Budinića,” *Radovi* (Institut [JAZU] u Zadru) 2, 1955, p. 364.

176. Z. Zlatar, *Our Kingdom Come: The Counter-Reformation, The Republic of Dubrovnik, and the Liberation of the Balkan Slavs* (East European Monographs, vol. 342), Boulder & New York, 1992, p. 180.

177. T. Trstenjak, “Četiristota obljetnica katekizma Aleksandra Komulovića,” *Vrela i prinosi* 13, 1982, p. 172.

178. K. Horvat, “Monumenta historica,” p. 15; text (also attributed to Komulović) provided by O. Pirling & F. Rački (eds.), “L. Komulović izvještaj i listovi o poslanstvu njegovu u Tursku,

A similar view was expressed by the Ragusan Marin Temperica (Temparica), who had been a merchant travelling all over the Balkans before becoming a Jesuit in 1582. Participating in the discussion about producing texts in Slavic after the Council of Trent, he wrote in 1582 to the general of his order, expressing his belief in the unity of the Slavic (scalavona) language, which was spoken all over the Balkans and in the need to draw up a grammar and dictionary of that language for use in the college that was to be established in his native Dubrovnik.¹⁷⁹ His various memos to Church officials regularly called the language "Slavic"; in one memo, having noted how widespread the use of Slavic was, even being used at the sultan's court, Temperica thought it outrageous that Slavic was taught neither in Rome nor in any seminary or college outside of Rome. Considering the breadth of the area of its use (with an implied variety of dialects) the Dalmatian tongue (dialect) was not sufficient, just as a given Italian dialect did not work throughout Italy. Temperica went on to note that the Bulgarians, Muscovites, and Serbs all used the same literary version (i.e., Church Slavonic). He also stated that just as it was true in the West, it was not enough to know a vernacular, but one needed Latin, so in the Balkans one needed to know literary Slavic, and that was not even taught to the pupils of the Illyrian College in Loreto, an institution we will discuss in detail in chapter 5.¹⁸⁰

Šima Budinić, born in Zadar around 1530, who became a priest in that town and published in 1582 an edition of the Psalms, translated into "Slovignski iazich." Shortly thereafter, later in 1582 and in 1583 respectively, he published two other translations, both labeled as being from Latin into Slovinski. The first translation was a guide to hearing confessions and the second was Canisius' *Summa* on Christian theology.¹⁸¹

Strgačić discovered that Budinić also did a translation of the Catechism into his native proto-Serbo-Croatian. The text, possibly actually printed, but certainly completed in manuscript form, has not survived, but much discussion occurred about it. Those discussing it, bishops of Zadar and various people at the Vatican, tended to describe it as being in Illyrian. One of the

Erdelj, Moldavsku i Poljsku," *Starine* (JAZU) 14, 1882, p. 86. In their introduction the two editors note that Pope Clement VIII sent Komulović to Muscovy in 1594; in his letter of introduction to Tsar Feodor for the envoy, the pope referred to Komulović as an Illyrian priest (p. 85).

179. V. Štefanić, "Bellarmino-Komulovićev Kršćanski nauk," *Vrela i prinosi* 8, 1938, p. 11.

180. M. Vanino, *Isusovci i hrvatski narod* I, Zagreb, 1969, p. 47; on Temparizza, see also J. Jurić, "Pokušaj 'Zbora za Širenje Vjere' god. 1627 da kod južnih Slavena uvede zajedničko pismo," *Croatia sacra* 4, no. 8, 1934, pp. 143–44, who also provides Temparizza's 1582 memo in full, pp. 155–58.

181. M. Franičević, *Povijest*, p. 547. S. Ljubić considered Budinić the author also of a Slavic work, bearing an Italian title, published in Venice in 1597. This was a brief guide to learning in Serbian characters (Cyrillic) and Illyrian language (il carattere serviano e la lingua Illirica). More recent scholars have doubted that this text was Budinić's. (On this, see A. Strgačić, "Hrvatski jezik," in *Zadar zbornik*, Zagreb, 1964, p. 404.) In any case, we should note the terms this anonymous author used.

problems to be considered by those preparing such a work was what alphabet to put it into. In 1581 a Vatican document speaks about the “Zadar canon” (i.e., Budinić) preparing a translation in Serbian language (*nella lingua serviana*). The “Serbian” label was common in Dubrovnik and the central Church for things in Cyrillic, and the Vatican’s publications tended to favor that script for Slavonic. A second Vatican document from 1591 mentions the text by canon Simeone being completed. This text is described as being in Slavic in Serbian characters (*in lingua schiavona e lettere serviane*). However, the clergy around Zadar used Glagolitic and felt strongly that Slavic texts should be in that script. It is not clear what script Budinić used in his version; it is possible that the Vatican in 1591 had not seen the manuscript and simply assumed it was in Cyrillic, for what follows suggests that the manuscript had been prepared in Glagolitic. Budinić died in 1600, and discussion of his Catechism continued after his death. We find that a Zadar synod in 1607 stated that Pope Gregory XIII had ordered Budinić to produce a Roman Catechism in Illyrian language and characters (*in idioma et characterem illyricum*). Here we see that among these Zadar clerics, Illyrian characters meant Glagolitic. It is not clear that Pope Gregory had actually ordered any particular script. The Zadar synod knew that he had ordered a text and they had a manuscript in Glagolitic. The synod may simply have assumed that it was so ordered, and the Vatican may have simply assumed all along it would be in Cyrillic. That there had been a papal order to do the task (in some way) is confirmed by a letter to the Vatican from Zadar’s archbishop in 1626 stating that Pope Gregory had summoned Budinić to Rome about translating the just mentioned Canisius Catechism into Illyrian language and characters. The archbishop said the Catechism had not been published, but he had found the unfinished manuscript and had had it completed. Now he sought assistance from the Vatican in publishing it. From the above, we do not know whether Budinić had deviated from his instructions or, without any instructions about alphabet, had simply done what he thought proper. The Zadar synod of 1607 had referred to a manuscript of the Roman Catechism translated by Canon Budineo into Illyrian (*in Illirico*) and implied that the text was completed. Yet, subsequently in 1626, an archbishop claimed that the text had not been finished; was that the case or had some pages been lost between 1607 and 1626? We do not know, nor do we know whether the text was ever printed; references to it follow over the next century, but they could be to manuscript copies. Before leaving Budinić, it is interesting to note that a Vatican document of 1582 refers to him as “Simeone Dalmata.”¹⁸² Thus, here we have someone else called a “Dalmatian.” Whether Budinić, who spent a couple of years (1581–82) in Rome, had so called himself or whether this was just descriptive terminology arising among the Vatican clergy is not known.

182. A. Strgačić, “Neobjavljena književna djela zadranina Šime Budinića,” pp. 359–71.

The people in general, like many of the intellectuals, along the Adriatic also continued to refer to proto-Serbo-Croatian as "Slavic." In 1502 the priest of St. Mary's de Castello, Luke Radovanović, left in his will, among other things, books in Slavic (*libri . . . de lettera schiavi*),¹⁸³ as did the Ragusan canon, Nikola Šarac, in 1525.¹⁸⁴ In 1507 a notary on Rab certified the translation of a document from Slavic (*de sclavonicho*) into Latin.¹⁸⁵ In 1516 in Split a knez of Poljica recognized before a Catholic Church official that he was aware of the Church's position, because a priest from Split had translated a papal letter from Latin into "Slavic" (*interpretata de latino in sclavonicum sermonem*).¹⁸⁶ A priest on Krk had been ordered by his bishop to avoid a series of misdemeanors, such as swearing by God's name and playing cards, and in 1525 the priest listed in proto-Serbo-Croatian the sins and the accompanying fines in a Glagolitic Missal. At the bottom of the list he wrote in Latin that the list, "written in Slavic (in lingua sclava interpretatas) was by his [the bishop's] command."¹⁸⁷ In a will dated 1526, a priest from a village near Šibenik left a Slavic service book of calendrically ordered Gospel readings (a *Slavenski Evandjelistar*) to another priest.¹⁸⁸ Also in 1526, some of the major statutes of Vrbanje (on Krk) were confirmed, and the confirmation was translated from Slavic (*sclavo*) into Latin.¹⁸⁹ The vocabulary on the island remained constant, and in 1565 we find Krk's Bishop Petar Bembo carrying out his first visitation of his diocese. Concerned with the Protestant threat and the forbidden texts they produced, he inquired about books possessed by his clergy. Štefanić, who summarizes the inquiry, notes several books either "in schiavo" or "in carattere schiavo." Bishop Bembo's successor, Ivan Turrianus (or a Turre), carried out his first visitation in 1590; he took inventories of church and monastic possessions, and again among the items noted were books in Slavic characters.¹⁹⁰

A chancellor named Rasiza from Trieste noted that a will in Italian in his files from 1527 had originally been written in "Slavic" (*litteris sclabonicis*).¹⁹¹

183. B. Krekić, "Miscellanea from the Cultural Life of Renaissance Dubrovnik," *Byzantinische Forschungen* 20, 1994, p. 144.

184. I. Ostojić, *Benediktince u Hrvatskoj* II, p. 484.

185. S. Ivančić, *Povjestne crte*, II (Prilozi), Zadar, 1910, p. 39.

186. L. Katić, "Imbrevijature splitskog notara de Salandis (1514–1518 godine)," *Starine (JAZU)* 47, 1957, p. 179.

187. I. Crnčić, *Najstarija poviest krčkoj, osorskoj*, p. 141.

188. A. Šupuk, *Šibenski glagoljski spomenici*, p. 13.

189. F. Rački, V. Jagić, & I. Crnčić (eds.), *Hrvatski pisani zakoni: Vinodolski, poljički, vrbanski a donekle i svega krčkoga otoka, kastavski, veprinački i trsatski*, Zagreb (JAZU, MH-JSM 4), 1890, pp. 174–75.

190. V. Štefanić, "Knjige krčkih glagoljaša u XVI stoljeću," *Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor* 15, 1935, pp. 9–10, 14. The inventory also uses the term "Illyrian," "*libros aliquos idiomae et Illyrico caractere scriptos*," p. 16.

191. V. Ekl, "Dvije nove glagoljske isprave iz Rijeke," *Jadranski zbornik* 1, 1956, p. 227, fn. 4.

Three notarial documents, one from 1566 and two from 1591 drawn up by the Illyrian notary on the island of Lošinj, refer to a region or district on the island, involved in different land transactions, as being in Slavonia or the region of Slavonia (v kuntradi v Slavinah/na Slavoninah).¹⁹²

In 1545 a Rijeka notary translated four documents which had been written in "lingua Slabonica." Records of a disputed land case in Rijeka from 1584 refer to documents in Slavic (in schiavo) with Italian copies; these records also make reference to a copy written in Slavic (in lingua schiava) and mention a witness referring to two other documents written in "Slavic."¹⁹³ G. Novak cites a description of a popular celebration in Split in 1574, which took place owing to joy at receiving food supplies from Venice during a time of shortage. At this celebration the people sang [a song] about King Marko in Slavic (in schiavone).¹⁹⁴ Fisković also found in the Ragusan history of Serafin Razzi, published in 1595, that in celebrating St. Blasius' Day in Dubrovnik, peasants from the surrounding area arrived and sang their own "Slavic" songs.¹⁹⁵

In 1582 the Archbishop of Dubrovnik complained to the pope about a chaplain who, because he did not understand Slavic well, should not be allowed to preach.¹⁹⁶ An Archbishop of Zadar espoused the same opinion; in 1597 Minuccio Minucci, an Italian, writing a friend about his first impressions in his new position as bishop, stated that not knowing the Slavic language was very irritating and greatly increased the difficulty of his doing successful work.¹⁹⁷ Fućak, providing little or no context, presents several more citations that used the word "Slavic" (in one form or another) from Church texts in this period: Cardinal Hosius at the Council of Trent in 1562 mentioned the Slavic or Dalmatian language (Sclavorum aut Dalmatarum linguam); a Church synod held in Koper in 1595 referred to something being "in schiavo"; and a synod in Ogalj (= Aquileia) in 1596 provided both of the most common words, saying "Illyrica ovvero Slava lingua" in mentioning the language, in which Missals, Breviaries, and Catechisms were appearing.¹⁹⁸ Both terms were also used at a popular assembly in 1579 in the settlement of Nerežišći on the island of Brač. The male descendants of the founder of the monastery of St. John there were trying to regain or assert their rights of patronage over their particular church from the Catholic Church hierarchy owing to a crisis. The

192. L. Košuta (ed.), *Glagoljski lošinjski protokol notara Mikule Krstinića i Ivana Božičevića* (1564–1636), published as vol. IX of *Radovi Staroslavenskog zavoda*, Zagreb, 1988, pp. 28, 93, 96.

193. V. Štefanić, "Glagoljica u Rijeci," *Rijeka zbornik* p. 419; V. Ekl, "Dvije nove glagoljske isprave," pp. 224, 226.

194. G. Novak, *Povijest Splita II*, p. 1013 and p. 1191, fn. 2389.

195. C. Fisković, "Iz renesansnog Omiša," *Gradja i prilozi za povijest Dalmacije* 6, 1967, p. 20.

196. I. Ostojić, *Benediktinci II*, p. 27.

197. A. Strgačić, "Zadranin Šime Vitasović," *Radovi* (Institut [JAZU] u Zadru) 2, 1955, p. 69.

198. J. Fućak, *Šest stoljeća hrvatskoga lektionara*, pp. 115–16. L. Jelić (*Fontes historici*, *Fontes . . . XVI saeculi*, pp. 48–49) publishes a Latin text from this 1596 council that simply calls the language "Illyrian" throughout (omitting Fućak's "or Slavic").

assembly complained that recently—under Church patronage—there had been appointed unsatisfactory abbots, who were neither Dalmatians nor Illyrians (ne Dalmatino ne Illirico), who did not know the mother tongue, who were not even priests, and who, instead of doing their duties as an abbot should, had simply stolen the monastery's possessions. The assembly passed a series of regulations, one of which—the third—declared that in the future, abbots must be clerics who are native and speak “Slavic” (lingua Slava) and thus be capable of hearing confessions.¹⁹⁹ We also may note that a grant of twelve villages and a forest was given to establish a benefice for priests who served the Mass in Slavic (vulgari sclavonica, which if taken literally meant in common speech) in a village called Breznik. The grant was made in 1550 by Catherine Tržacki; she was a Frankapan and wife of Ban Nikola Zrinski.²⁰⁰

Three Slavonian Writers

Anton Vramec (Vramčev, 1538–1587/8) was born in Styria. After study in Italy, where he also was a chaplain at the St. Jerome guest house, he settled in Slavonia; he soon became an archdeacon in Varaždin and a Zagreb canon. In 1578 he published the world chronicle for which he is famous; it was the first popular historical work written in a South-Slavic vernacular in the Habsburg lands. Printed in Ljubljana, the title page says the text was rendered into Slavic (Szlovenzkim jezikom). But Vramec was not a stickler for the term “Slavic”; V. Klaić in his fine introduction to the chronicle says that Vramec called the spoken language now Slavic, now Illyrian. Indeed, Vramec twice in his Latin introduction used the word “Illyrian” for the language he was employing, noting that he was publishing it in Illyrian since no similar chronicle existed in that language. Almost a decade later, in 1586, he produced a *Postila*. Published in Varaždin (in Slavonia), the title page also has this work produced in Slavic (Postilla szpravljena szlovenszkim jezikom). In his Latin introduction, in a justification for the *Postila*, he complains that in our Illyrian or Slavic (language), we lack the cultural and religious works other nations have. He also notes that he prepared the work for our Illyrian or Slavic nation (nationem hanc nostram Illyricam sive Sclavonicam). But his chosen term in that introduction is “Slavic,” also mentioning the Slavic language of our homeland, the Slavic populace, and his Slavic works.²⁰¹

199. I. Ostojić, *Benediktinska opatija*, pp. 81–82; also I. Ostojić, “Povaljska opatija,” *Narodna starina* 9, no. 22, 1930, pp. 170–71.

200. I. Tkalčić, *Slavensko bogoslužje*, p. 77.

201. V. Klaić's introduction to A. Vramec, *Kronika*, Zagreb (JAZU, MSHSM 31) 1908, pp. xviii–xix, xxxii–xxxiii, and p. 1 of the text (i.e., the introduction itself); J. Fućak, *Šest stoljeća hrvatskoga lekcionara*, pp. 260–61; Franičević, *Povijest*, pp. 147, 616, 618. M. Franičević (p. 147) takes the ambiguous term “Slovinski” which in this period can be either Slavic or Slavonian to mean “Slavonian,” rather than the “Slavic,” I, following V. Klaić, have chosen. Franičević also, on the same page, cites a passage somewhere in the *Postila* (without reference) that has the text

The chronicle is an odd text, with most dates considerably off and many other errors. Moreover, it is also odd from the viewpoint of his own stamping ground. To avoid a plethora of footnotes, I am putting the dates Vramec supplies and the page numbers of Klaić's JAZU edition with each item. His first item of interest, for what is now Croatia, comes under A.D. 429, when he has St. Jerome "the Slavic (zloven) doctor" dying at the age of ninety-one; Jerome was born according to Eusebius (!) in Strigove;²⁰² he wrote many books in the Church language and he invented and corrected Glagolitic books and letters (p. 26). Shortly thereafter, in 446, Vramec has Ragusa or Dubrovnik founded (p. 27). After that, many years pass, until 1080, without references to his broad homeland. He uses "Slavic" during this period a couple of times, and it is clear that he uses it in the broadest possible way. For example, under 683, he refers to a certain Slavic (Zlovenzki) and Bulgarian King Trebelin (p. 29). The name he wants is Isperikh (Asperukh), but he mixes him with a Tervel from the following century. Vramec found nothing about Croatia under its native dynasty worth recording. Croatia first appears in 1080 (not 1102) when it and Dalmatia are joined to Hungary (p. 35). Events in what is now Croatia are few and far between in the chronicle before the fifteenth century. Vramec mentions warfare among Byzantines, Hungarians, and Venetians over Dalmatia under the year 1161 (p. 36). Dalmatia receives several other notices with nothing Croatian about it suggested: under 1235 he mentions a Hungarian king constructing an upper town in Zagreb which is given privileges and liberties (p. 40); in 1342 after the death of a Hungarian king, unrest follows in Croatia and Dalmatia (p. 43); and in 1386 an Ivan, Ban of Croatia, is mentioned (p. 44).

It is only with the appearance of the Turks that Croatia begins to receive fairly frequent notices. And when "Croats" are referred to, the term, as should be clear from the passages I cite, is derived from the political entity of Croatia: under 1455 he mentions that Hunyadi's army which marched against the Turks included Hungarians, Slavs/Slavonians (Szlovenzci), Croats (Horvati), and so on (p. 48); the death of the Bosnian king (Stefan) Tomaš in 1461 (a correct date!) was a severe loss to the Croatian state (orszag) and the other lands around the Croatian lands (p. 49); in four subsequent entries the Turks enslave Croats (1468), invade the Croatian state (orszag) and Dalmatia and take prisoners (1476), do much devastation and take many prisoners in Croatia and Kranj (1478), and again invade the Croatian land and Kranj (1484) (pp. 50–52). Next, in 1500, people came to Croatia from foreign lands and joined the Croats (i.e., their army) below Kamengrad (p. 53). In 1511 the Croats are beaten at a place rendered as Chervivicze (p. 53). Vramec gets the

prepared "for the homeland and Slavonian people" (na . . . domovine i narod slavonskog), which, if the actual context does not suggest something else, would make more sense as "Slavonian." The chronicle page numbers that follow in my text are from Klaić's just-cited edition.

202. Eusebius, it may be noted, died before the real Jerome's birth.

date of Mohacs right, 1526, and notes that many Hungarians and Croats were killed (p. 55). In 1537 a general named Ivan Koczian and Emperor Ferdinand opposed the Turks in the land of Slavonia (Szlovenzki orzag), and the Turks defeated Koczian and the soldiers with him (p. 57). In 1538 Vramec notes the appointment of new bans of Croatia and Slavonia (p. 57). In 1542 he reports the creation of an anti-Turkish army that included soldiers from Croatia and Slovenia; he also mentions a plague in Zagreb, with no national references in connection to city or victims (p. 58). In 1543 the Turks defeated a force of Croatian nobles, in 1545 enslaved many from Slavonia (p. 58), in 1552 took many of the remaining towns in Slavonia (p. 59), and in 1556 devastated the Croatian land and Slavonia (p. 60). In 1570 Vramec notes a famine and in 1573 a peasant uprising in Slavonia (p. 63). In 1575 the Bosnian beg defeated Auersperg in Croatia (p. 63). Next, in 1576, the Turks took Bužin and Cazin, and they moved against the Croats on that side of the Una (p. 63). And last, in the chronicle's final year, 1578, Vramec mentions some appointments for the Croatian and Dalmatian krajina (p. 64).

Our second Slavonian author, Ivanus Pergošić, was active both in Zagreb and Varaždin. He printed in 1574 a translation of Verböczy's "Tripartitum" (a legal text for Hungary, advancing the interests of the lesser nobility, and having included them, then supporting the whole resulting nobility). The translation was in Slavic (slovenski jezik), bearing the title "Decretum"; but, in its preface Pergošić said that he intended the work for "Slavs [Slavonians?] and Croats," for it was important that they have books in their language.²⁰³ Georgijević has no doubts at all that for Pergošić, "slovenski" means Slavonian. I assume, by "Slavonians" (assuming Georgijević is correct) and "Croats," Pergošić has in mind people from the two administrative regions rather than any sort of ethnics. But, in any case, he does distinguish two groups. Georgijević, speaking generally, says that Pergošić used for the people there one of two terms, "Slavonian" or "Illyrian." Subsequently, Pergošić published in Ljubljana in 1578 a "Short chronicle rendered into Slavonian (Slavic) language" (slovenskim jezikom).²⁰⁴

Our third writer from Slavonia is Blaž Skrinjarić, who was also active in Varaždin and printed in 1587 a mystical work on the Lamb of Easter. Dedicating it to Vramec, Skrinjarić noted how negatively the Slavonian people had reacted to Vramec's work (his) Postila rendered into Slavic (sclavonica).²⁰⁵

The Jesuits in Slavonia

The territory of Slavonia produced some very early Jesuits. The earliest of them, Tomo Zdelarić, who was said to have been born between the Sava and

203. M. Franičević, *Povijest*, pp. 147, 615.

204. V. Vrana, "'Dušni vrt' o. Baltazara Milovca (1664)," *Vrela i prinosi* 12, 1941, p. 193; K. Georgijević, *Hrvatska književnost*, p. 52.

205. B. Vodnik, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti* I, p. 210 (with fn. 1).

Drava, entered the order in 1554 during the lifetime of Ignatius of Loyola. Jesuit records refer to him as [Zd]elaritius Sclavus and Thomas Sclavus. He was referred to by the name Thomas Sclavus in a 1558 letter and again in 1561, when Jesuit records in Vienna refer to him composing a dialogue or tragicomedy. Vanino says that Thomas also called himself "Illyrus." We have a Jesuit roster from 1566 listing Thomas Scleritius Illyricus as a professor of logic.²⁰⁶ Another who joined the order the same year as Thomas was Petar Sclavus, whom a Jesuit record notes by that name as entering the order in the footsteps of Thomas Sclavus. Petar Sclavus is also mentioned in 1557 as the Vienna Jesuit residence's gatekeeper, and a record from 1559 in Italian, in mentioning an ailment in one of his legs, calls him Pedro Schiavone. He also is referred to in Jesuit records as Petrus de Chiasira Illyricus. He seems to have been born in the Zagreb diocese.²⁰⁷

Another early Jesuit was Grga Ganić, who also listed his nationality as Sclavus.²⁰⁸ Vanino also turned up a George Nikulić or George Dumbrensis (Dubrava in Slavonia), called Georgius Niwlich Sclavus. Listed with him in 1562 as fellow novices were George Waradiensis (Varaždin) Sclavus, the just mentioned Gregorius Ganich Sclavus, and Martinus Walycijtch Sclavus. Along with them were four described as Carniolians. Martin, whose surname was probably Valesić, is also referred to several other times. We learn he was from the Zagreb diocese and on one occasion he declared that he was of the Slavonian nation (natione Schlavonica). In addition to several mentions of George Nikulić, he is once, assuming the person referred to simply as Niculich refers to him, called Niculich Hungarus in a Jesuit register from Prague.²⁰⁹

Grga Tkalčić from Samobor appears in Jesuit records between 1561 and 1566 also as Sclavus. He also is once listed as being of Slavonian nationality (nationis Slavonicae).²¹⁰

Vanino also turned up another Thomas Sclavus, this one Negalić, in 1564. One Jesuit document about him from 1566 says, "Thomas, nationality Slav, surname Negalić."²¹¹ The same scholar also found a Marko Pitačić Illiricus, mentioned in documents from 1566, 1567, and 1569, who registered his nation as Slav; this individual was born in Sisak.²¹² And finally Vanino discovered the Jesuit, Magister Gregory Kalčić Samoboriensis (Samobor) Slavus.²¹³ Interestingly, Jesuits from these same places a century later will usually be called "Croats."

206. M. Vanino, "Prvi Hrvati Isusovci," *Vrela i prinosi* 4, 1934, pp. 48–53.

207. M. Vanino, "Prvi Hrvati Isusovci," pp. 54–56.

208. M. Vanino, "Prvi Hrvati Isusovci," p. 56.

209. M. Vanino, "Prvi Hrvati Isusovci," pp. 58–60, for both Nikulić and Valesić.

210. M. Vanino, "Prvi Hrvati Isusovci," p. 59.

211. M. Vanino, "Prvi Hrvati Isusovci," p. 61; M. Vanino, "Dopune članku 'Prvi Hrvati Isusovci,'" *Vrela i prinosi* 4, 1934, p. 149.

212. M. Vanino, "Prvi Hrvati Isusovci," pp. 62–63.

213. M. Vanino, "Dopune," p. 148, fn. 13.

Even this early, two studying in the Jesuit college in Vienna in 1562 were called “Croats,” one with the German name of Michael Wolfflinger. Were he and his colleague from Croatia proper? Three others, among the two’s colleagues, whom Vanino believes came from what is now Croatia, were called “Slavs.”²¹⁴ This college is not to be confused with the University of Vienna discussed earlier in this chapter. But at that university from 1514 on, many students did identify themselves as “Croats,” probably geographically. Could the university’s practice have influenced the two at the Jesuit college? Besides this early college in Vienna, the Jesuits sought to establish a college (residence and school) in “Slavonia.” Vanino is certain that this desire was answered by the college established in Dubrovnik in 1555, which we shall meet again in the next chapter.²¹⁵ If so, the Jesuits were still calling Dalmatia “Slavonia.”

Foreigners Define Their Neighbors

Foreigners also continued to use the term “Slavic” about the inhabitants of the Dalmatian coast. Not only, as we have seen, was the area in which these people lived generally called “Slavonia” (or some form of that word), but a promontory on the island of Cres which lies in the Gulf of Kvarner was called “Capo di Schiavonia.”²¹⁶ The Venetians continued in the early-modern period to see the Slavs across the waters as “Slavs,” with no more precise definition, even in areas under their rule.

As noted, earlier, Venice followed up on its purchase of Zadar in 1409, with the forcible acquisition of the rest of Dalmatia, acquiring most of it by 1420. The area around Omiš held out until 1444 and the island of Krk to 1480. Hungary managed to hold on to just a tiny bit of coast around Senj, and Dubrovnik retained its independence (though secured by accepting Ottoman suzerainty). Venice maintained its colonial empire in Dalmatia and also in Istria until its collapse in 1797. Its chancellery that dealt with its Slavic subjects was known as the Slavic chancellery (*cancelier di lettere slave*). Besides the chancellery in Venice itself, the Venetians could establish smaller-scale chancelleries for the Slavic language in individual Dalmatian towns like the *cancelier de littera sclava* in Zadar which provided interpreters to enable the Venetian governing officials (who operated solely in Italian) to deal with the local Slavic-speaking population.²¹⁷

214. M. Vanino, “Prvi Hrvati Isusovci,” p. 57, fn. 32.

215. M. Vanino, “Prvi Hrvati Isusovci,” p. 63.

216. Mentioned by a mid-sixteenth-century anonymous Venetian traveller, possibly Marin Cavalli. See P. Matković, “Dva talijanska putopisa po balkanskom poluotoku iz XVI vijeka: Putopis Catarina Zena od 1550 god. & Bezimeni putopis oko god. 1560,” *Starine (JAZU)* 10, 1878, p. 249.

217. R. Jelić, “Stanovništvo Zadra u drugoj polovici XVI i početkom XVII st. gledano kroz matice vjenčanih,” *Starine (JAZU)* 49, 1959, p. 359.

Immediately upon acquiring control of the island of Krk, Venice tried to Latinize the Church there, and it issued orders to drive from the churches the clerics using Slavic (slavo).²¹⁸ This policy was rapidly reversed and, from then on, until Venice lost Krk in 1797, it tolerated the Slavic Church there. So, in 1543 we have a letter from the Venetian authorities in Zadar to the Third Order Franciscans of the Slavic language (de lingua schiava).²¹⁹

In 1520 the Venetian doge offered a relative of the Bishop of Skradin (in Dalmatia) a choice of positions, either to be the director of a hospital or to be a Slavic-language interpreter (vel interpretis lingue slave).²²⁰ In May 1530 the notary in Venetian Koper, Germanus de Germanis, translated a letter into Latin from the Slavic language (ex linguae sclabonicae) and the Venetian potestat of Koper then authenticated the fact that the document had been translated from Slavic (sclabonica).²²¹

A Venetian named G. B. Giustiniani wrote in 1553 his "Itineraria," a description of Dalmatia. He refers to the clothing worn by "Slavic" Splitsani and says the women of Šibenik dress in "Slavic" fashion (alla schiava). In fact, the dress, speech, and manners of the inhabitants of Šibenik follow Slavic custom. Then turning to Trogir, he notes that its inhabitants follow "Slavic" custom and, though its citizens use a Romance language in town, at home they all speak Slavic because of their wives. He also reports that the inhabitants of the town of Krk on the island of the same name speak Slavic, but have their own special dialect (un idioma proprio). Moreover, their manners/customs are much better than those of the other Dalmatians. He also notes that a fortified town on Krk was called in "Slavic" Omišalj. He calls Krk a province in Illyria and places Senj and Fiume (Rijeka) in Croatia, which, of course was the entity in which these two places lay. Other than such political references to Croatia, Giustiniani uses the term "Croat" only for members of the Venetian militia, in particular the Croatian cavalry. Giustiniani also noted that some of the nobles of Zadar would prefer to be under the Habsburgs, which worried Venice; as a result the Venetians found the nearby presence of the Turks useful, for the locals, hating the Turks even more, were forced to co-operate with Venice.²²²

In 1556 a Venetian official in Dalmatia reported to his superiors back home that a certain priest in Labin in Istria had sent to a certain doctor in

218. M. Bolonić, *Otok Krk—Kolijevka glagoljice*, Zagreb, 1980, p. 19.

219. S. Ivančić, *Povjesne crte . . . II* (Prilozi), p. 65.

220. R. Jelić, "Grgur Mrganić," *Radovi* (Institut [JAZU] u Zadru) 6–7, 1960, p. 497, fn. 70.

221. V. Štefanić, "Glagoljaši u Kopru, g. 1467–1806," *Starine* (JAZU) 46, 1956, p. 224. Full document given, pp. 246–47.

222. G. B. Giustiniani, "Itinerario," in S. Ljubić (ed.), *Commissiones et relationes Venetae II*, Zagreb (JAZU, MSHSM 8), 1877. Cited references to things "Slavic": pp. 215, 205, 208, 261–62. References to "Croatians" as soldiers, cavalry, pp. 196, 204, 262. This source discussed by V. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata I*, p. 12; K. Jireček, *Romani u gradovima Dalmacije*, p. 89; J. Ravlić, "Odrazi domaće stvarnosti," p. 30.

Zadar a package of books, some in Latin and some in Slavic (schiava), which were against the Catholic faith. The volumes were Protestant texts.²²³

In the last chapter we met the Brotherhood (scuola) of St. George and St. Trifon, which served South Slav Catholics living in Venice. Also simply called the Brotherhood of the Slavs (Scuola di Schiavoni), it carried out a variety of charitable functions over several centuries, among other things providing dowries for poor Slavic girls living in Venice. Its existence and activities show a sense of community among these people, some of whom had permanently settled there while others were more or less passing through. But it is worth noting the name which this community utilized to describe itself.²²⁴ In 1505 Antonius Suriano, Patriarch of Venice and Primate of Dalmatia, referring to the members as belonging to the school/collective of Slavs (schuola di Schiavoni), banned having the Mass and Sacred Offices in churches of that congregation in Slavic/Slavonic language (lingua Schiavona). This ban was not to last, and already in 1510 we find Suriano's successor, Antonius Contareno, repealing it. Contareno's vocabulary also differed, but it makes sense to finish the story here, rather than include now only those using the term "Slav." He referred to the members of the brotherhood as being of the Dalmatian nation (Nationis Dalmatiae), and informed them that they were free to have the Mass in Latin or Dalmatian (aut Latino sermone aut Dalmato). He repeated his permission in 1511 adding that the Dalmatians were free to hear the Mass in the language of their Illyria (audiendo missam in idiomate et lingua sua Illirica). In 1514 a Venetian military figure, presumably responsible for law and order in the part of Venice where the brotherhood's church lay, also made clear that they were free to use their language for the services. This military figure referred to the Dalmatian language and Dalmatian nation.²²⁵ Others, in referring to the dispute in 1518, reverted to Suriano's vocabulary, referring again to Slavic (in lingua seu sermone Sclavo).²²⁶

A similar pattern can be found on the Venetian island of Chioggia off the coast of Venice. Here many emigrés from Dalmatia settled. The overwhelming majority were referred to as Slavs, often with the town of origin added, for example, Antonio Schiavon or X Schiavon de Zara (Zadar). A small number had instead the marker of Dalmatian or Istrian. These added names lasted across generations, occasionally as many as four, even though the majority concluded marriages with the people already established there.²²⁷

In the next chapter we shall discuss Venetian military defenses and their

223. Cited by B. Vodnik, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti* I, p. 212.

224. The activities of this brotherhood are discussed briefly by L. Čoralić, "Zadrani u Veneciji," *Radovi* (Zavod za povijesne znanosti [JAZU] u Zadru) 35, 1993, pp. 93–94.

225. L. Jelić, *Fontes historici*, Fontes . . . XVI saeculi, pp. 5–10.

226. L. Jelić, *Fontes historici*, Fontes . . . XVI saeculi, pp. 11–12.

227. L. Čoralić, "Hrvati u Chioggii od 15 do 18 stoljeća," *Radovi* (Zavod za hrvatsku povijest, Filozofski fakultet, Sveučilište u Zagrebu) 28, 1995, pp. 72–73.

militias in our region, and there deal with sources from the whole period, from both the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Here we may simply note that the captain of these forces in Istria was entitled the Captain of the Slavs. His equivalent in the region around Zadar, surely a result of needing a different name, was the Captain of the Croats. And, without providing specific dates, L. Dančević provides two Venetian military references to Slavs from early in the sixteenth century. In the first case a naval officer, speaking of the weakness of the fleet, blamed it on recruiting too many Italians from Lombardy and talked about the superiority of strong and fearless Slavs (*Schiavoni*) in long and dangerous operations; in the second case, occurring around 1513, a time of social revolt on Hvar and much Turkish activity in the Adriatic, the Venetians were simply planning to assemble a fleet to attack a Slavonia (*schiavonía*).²²⁸

A Venetian official active in Dalmatia and the Levant named Marino Sanudo/Sanuto left a long diary which has been published from its beginning in 1496 through 1533.²²⁹ Sanudo regularly calls the language "Slavic," and mentions writing or speaking in or translating from "Slavic" (*schiaivo*: translating from Slavic into Latin, 1497, 8, p. 7; letter written in Slavic, 1499, 5, p. 59; 1504, 6, p. 274; speaking in or word in Slavic, 1499, 5, p. 89, examples of other similar references, 1509, 6, p. 383; 1527, 12, p. 298; 1532, 24, p. 193). When Sanudo needs to generalize, though sometimes saying "Dalmatia," he most frequently calls the region "Slavonia" (*Schiavonia*: Kotor in S., 1496, 5, p. 3; a bark from Slavonia, 1516, 6, p. 461; the Slavonian [*Schiavonescha*] March Carniola, 1521, 8, p. 125; Srem as a province in Illyria or Slavonia, 1523, 8, p. 167). Sanudo can call people "Slavs" (e.g., a *Schiavon* from Šibenik named Jerome with five good Croat cavalymen, with "Slav" the identity and "Croat," as we shall see, the military unit name, May 1516, 6, p. 461; speaking with a Slav, and a company of the said Slavs, 1527, 12, p. 298; some

228. L. Dančević, "Maritimno-političke prilike," *Radovi* (Institut za hrvatsku povijest, Filozofski fakultet, Sveučilište u Zagrebu) 10, 1977, pp. 182, 195.

229. Sanudo's diary for the years 1496 through 1527 was published in serialized form. M. Sanudo, "Rapporti della Republica Veneta coi Slavi Meridionali (brani tratti dei Diari manoscritti)" (J. Valentinella, ed.), *Arhiv za povijest Jugoslaviju* 5, 1859, pp. 1–160; 6, 1863 (continuous pagination from vol. 5), pp. 161–467; 8, 1865, pp. 1–256 (divided between 8, pt. 1 & pt. 2; keeping continuous pagination at the cost of duplicating page numbers in the same journal volume); 12, 1875, pp. 257–336. Various items were skipped, particularly for the later years, and these were printed by M. Mesic, "Gradja mojih razprava u 'Radu:' Listine i izprave," *Starine* (JAZU) 5, 1873, pp. 109–288. Then Rački brought out the last years of the diary down to its end in 1533: F. Rački, "Izvodi za jugoslavensku povijest iz dnevnika Marina ml. Sanuda za g. 1526–1533," *Starine* (JAZU) 15, 1883, pp. 177–240; 16, 1884, pp. 130–208; 21, 1889, pp. 133–83; 24, 1891, pp. 161–203; 25, 1892, pp. 103–33. To keep the number of footnotes down I have placed references in my text itself under year, vol. number, and page number of *Arhiv* and (since the earliest relevant *Starine* vol. is 15, higher than the last *Arhiv* vol., which was 12) of *Starine*. Thus citations up through vol. 12 refer to *Arhiv* and from vol. 15 and beyond to *Starine*. V. Spinčić (*Crte iz hrvatske književne kulture Istre*, p. 57) cites an earlier text by Sanudo, his "Itinerario" from 1483, which states that in Labin in Istria, the whole population was made up of Slavs (*Schiavoni*), and they did not know Latin.

footsoldiers and a cavalry of Slavs, 1529, 16, p. 153). He also calls people “Dalmatians” (Dalmatini) (e.g., Dalmatians and Polizani [from Poljica], 1509, 6, p. 386; Dalmatians from Trogir, Split, and Šibenik, 1517, 8, p. 24; the majority of Dalmatians are [members] of the nation of Slavs [di nation schiava], 1532, 24, p. 197). He also notes people with “Dalmatian” as a surname, presumably because they called themselves that rather than as a label from Sanudo (e.g., Hercules Missolus Dalmatus, 1528, 15, p. 191).

Sanudo uses the term “Croat” (Corvat, Crovat) fairly frequently, almost always in the sense of a military unit, often in reference to a Croatian cavalry or a cavalryman. Some examples are a captain who led an incursion followed by Martolozi and other Croats on the named territory (1508, 6, p. 203); Croat cavalry(men) (1509, 6, p. 315; 1514, 6, p. 411; 1516, 6, p. 461; 1518, 8, p. 46; 1520, 8, p. 86); and in the context of cavalry companies, made up here of Germans and Croats, noting that the Germans were not willing for a particular count and the Croats to lead them, reflecting rivalry between units (1521, 8, p. 96). Sanudo also talks of a Croat company (of soldiers) (1513, 6, p. 406); and a company made up of good Croat men (1519, 8, p. 56). People are also called “Croats,” for example, Count Zarko (Xarcho) Croat, who led a Croat company (1513, 6, p. 404); a count Croat who was from Krbava within the borders of that [Croatian] kingdom (1520, 8, p. 85); Paul, a military figure, a Croat from Skardona (1521, 8, p. 109); a certain “Damiano Clococich, Corvato,” who was in the service of Venice (1532, 16, p. 190); a count, head of the Croats (1523, 8, p. 155); Croats and Slavs (again soldiers) of Christopher (Krst) Frankapan (1527, 12, pp. 298–99). Those called “Croats” presumably came from there (and possibly some like Clococich actually bore the term as a nickname). This conclusion that what counted was the point of origin of these “Croats” is supported by a list Sanudo provides of three: “Joanni Cech di nation todesco [i.e., German], Ludovico Pecri Crovato, and Paulo Bachij [=Pavao Bakić] di natione turcho” (1528, 15, p. 194). Bakić was an Orthodox South Slav, who departed from his home in Ottoman territory to take service with John Zapolja. If Sanudo was using “nation” to refer to something akin to ethnicity, he would have called Bakić “a Slav” or maybe “a Serb”; that he calls him “a Turk” shows that he was labeling, at least in this passage, according to place of origin. Sanudo can also use the term “Croat” in referring to a nobleman who was a nobleman of Croatia (1520, 8, p. 72; altri nobeli Croati, 1532, 24, p. 197); this was a common usage when referring to the nobility, for they were noblemen of given entities.

Sanudo is still saying “Slavic” in the 1530s when speaking of people in general, as opposed to a defined and named unit. For in August 1531, Sanudo mentions Slavic (Schiavoni) pirates from the region of the lower Neretva attacking a ship bearing Turkish merchants from Dubrovnik to Italy.²³⁰ In the

230. Cited by B. Hrabak, “Uskočke akcije Krajišnika na ušću Neretve (1482–1537),” *Historijski zbornik* 29–30, 1976–77, p. 189.

next chapter, when we discuss Venetian military units, for the whole period ca. 1500–1797, we shall demonstrate that, excluding geographical markers (from Croatia, thus a Croatian), the Venetians used “Croat” solely for these military units recruited in a specific area. Thus, Sanudo’s use of words and perception of the area and its people follow the pattern that the Venetians had been following and were to continue to follow in the centuries ahead.

In 1589 a Venetian governor for Istria, based in Koper, in a report to Venice stated that the territory around Koper was inhabited entirely by Slavs and by no one else (*tutto quel territorio habitato da persone schiave et non da altri*).²³¹

In Siena a theatrical organization, La Congrega dei Rozzi, was founded in 1531. Among the twelve founders was Jerome, son of Giovanni delle Bombarde di Saghabria (Zagreb) in Slavonia.²³² And a certain Ciro Spontone (in his dialogue “Bottringero,” published in 1589) noted that a poet Franjo Patricij was born on the island of Ossero (Osor) in “Ischiavonia.”²³³

We also find Pope Julius II in 1504 referring to the Slavic-Glagolitic-using members of the Order of St. Paul in the northern Dalmatian littoral as “brothers of the Slavic language” (*lingua sclava*).²³⁴ The papacy sent a missionary in 1582 to bring back to the faith Protestants in Illyrica and Dalmatia; the Protestants were said to be circulating books in Slavic and in Cyrillic (*in lingua schiavona et Ciurula*).²³⁵

Ivan Crnčić excerpted material from a series of registers of the Brotherhood of the Holy Spirit in Rome from 1478 to 1520. This brotherhood was separate from that of St. Jerome, which primarily served those from Venetian Dalmatia; that of the Holy Spirit catered particularly to Hungarian and later Habsburg South Slav Catholics. However, it did not do so entirely, for people from the Dalmatian cities appear in its books. The individuals registered until 1500 were listed simply by town of origin, and thus were given no broader identity markers, for example, X of the Zagreb diocese. Then in 1500 a group was listed as being from “Sclavonia, Zagreb diocese,” so the term here probably refers to Slavonia proper. However, a priest is listed separately as coming from “Slavonia,” with no town or diocese provided. But then after a gap of nineteen years with only three names, all simply from Ragusa, eleven names are given for 1520. I simply provide the identifying markers, so it is X of . . . (a) Šibenik, Sclavona; (b) Sclavus; (c) of Serimace (Srem?) Sclavona; (d) Dalmatina de Zara (Zadar); (e) of Corvatia; (f) of Narbi (?) Schiavona; (g)

231. V. Štefanić, “Glagoljaši u Kopru,” p. 322, fn. 2.

232. B. Vodnik, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti* I, p. 160.

233. Cited by M. Šrepel, “O Patricijevoj poetici,” *Rad (JAZU)* 108, 1892, p. 65. Osor, the reader may remember, is not an island, but a town on the island of Cres.

234. Text presented by M. Sladović, *Povjesti biskupijah senjske*, p. 217; discussed by M. Bolonić, *Otok Krk*, p. 47.

235. J. Radonić, *Štamparije*, p. 5.

Sclavona de Chers (Cres); (h) again of Narbi Schiavona; (i) Count of Krbava (comes de Cerbavia); (j) of Corvatia; (k) laici Dalmatini. In the list Slav and Dalmatian were used at times as identity markers, but the two with a marked "Croatian" connection were simply "from Croatia."²³⁶

We also noted that the patron of the 1603 edition of Alexander Komulović's "Kršćanski nauk," was Cinzio Cardinal Aldobrandini, who on the work's title page was entitled "Protector of the Slavic People" (protechtura naroda slovinskogo). Štefanić points out that this position should not be confused with the Cardinal Protector of the Brotherhood of St. Jerome of the Illyrians (and its guesthouse), which looked out for "Illyrians" living for longer or shorter periods in Rome. This office for protecting the Slavic people dates from 1567, and the holder was elected to it for life. Štefanić notes that at times the two positions might be held by the same individual, but need not be; and Štefanić provides examples both of the same individual holding both positions and also of two different individuals holding the two positions at the same date. Štefanić believes that in 1603 Aldobrandini held both posts. The phrasing of these titles also could vary: The Protector of the Slavic People(s) could also be called "Protettore della nazione illirica" and the Protector of the Guesthouse (usually associated with Illyrians) could also be called "Protettore del Hospitale et nazione Slavona."²³⁷

Earlier in the chapter, we met a variety of travellers (most of whom were diplomats) who used the term "Croatian," at least some of the time, for certain South Slavs and their language. There were others who tended to call these people simply "Slavs" (occasionally breaking down the classification into more specific names geographically). Luigi Bassano visited the Ottoman court in about 1550 and wrote up his travels. He noted that while many rulers needed to use multiple languages, the sultan needed only two—his own and Slavic. Slavic was spoken by so many people: in Dalmatia, Syria (Styria?), Bosnia, Albania, Bulgaria, Thessaly, Thrace, the Peloponnesus, Wallachia, and among the Germans. It was also spoken by the Kranjci, in all of Poland, the Czech lands, and Russia. Slavic was a language particularly valued in Turkey, being that the sultan was of that race. Bassano goes on to note that Rustem Pasha and various other pashas, sandžak begs, begler-begs, janissaries, and agas were of Slavic origin. He points out that since Slavic was so widely used, there was not a more useful language in the world than Slavic for one who would travel widely. Later on he speaks of Slavic writing and notes that even Turkish clerics used Slavic writing/letters, that is, what the Slavs call Bukvica and Cyrillic. The term "Bukvica" meant Glagolitic, for Bassano notes that some people associated that alphabet with St. Jerome, while the latter

236. I. Crnčić (ed.), "Nekoliko južnih Slovenja zapisanih od 1478 do 1520 godine u bratovštinu sv. Duha u Rimu," *Starine* (JAZU) 15, 1883, pp. 175–76.

237. V. Štefanić, "Bellarmino-Komulovićev Kršćanski nauk," *Vrela i prinosi* 8, 1938, p. 12.

came from the Greek St. Cyril, for most Cyrillic letters resembled the Greek. Bassano also could divide the Slavs into various peoples, Serbs, Croats, and Illyrians, as when he notes which people provided the Janissaries.²³⁸

Jacob Soranzo, travelling in 1575 from Venice down the Adriatic coast and describing his arrival in Pula in Istria, reports that from here on, one hears Schaivona lingua. He notes that the Zadar garrison was made up of Albanians and Croats, but, of course, that was following the terms the Venetians used officially for these units. On Dubrovnik he reports that the women spoke "Dalmatian," the language spoken in Dalmatia. The men were able to speak Italian with foreigners but spoke "la sciava" among themselves. And lest his readers might conclude the men and women of Dalmatia did not share a language, he explains a few pages later that Slavic is the same language as Dalmatian.²³⁹

Various editions of travelogues by the Italian Gioseppo Rosaccio appeared in the last quarter of the sixteenth century. There is a serious question about his authorship since large chunks of his works are simply lifted from earlier travel accounts. Matković discusses some of these issues in his summary of Rosaccio, but the originality issue does not greatly concern us, for what is important is how his popular and widely circulated texts depicted those across the Adriatic. Having reached the island of Pag, he has entered Schiavonia, which includes Croatia and Dalmatia, and which is inhabited by the Slavic people. Slavonia runs from Istria down to the River Drin (in Albania). Rosaccio calls Dubrovnik the most significant and richest city in the Slavic lands. The inhabitants of that Slavic country ("territory" would be a better term) are most diligent in naval pursuits. The Albanians have their own language, which is different from Slavic and Greek.²⁴⁰ Lorenzo Bernardo, another Italian, who made a similar coastal journey en route to Constantinople in 1591, brought with him a certain V. Pitković, as a Slavic translator.²⁴¹

The term "Slavic" was also used for the language spoken by the general population of Zadar, as noted by a series of foreign visitors: by J. Hasištejnský Lobković in 1493; by F. Faber in 1494; by Ramberti in his "Viaggima" published in 1543; and in reports by G. B. Giustiniano (just mentioned) and A. Dieda, both in 1553, and by G. Erizza in 1559.²⁴² The just-mentioned Ramberti also had the Ragusans speaking Slavic.²⁴³ The Humanist Lodovico Beccadelli (1501–72), who served for five years as Archbishop of Dubrovnik, referred to that city as lying in Slavonia and called the Adriatic "the Sea of Slavonia"

238. Cited by P. Matković, "Putovanja," *Rad (JAZU)* 62, 1882, pp. 131–32.

239. P. Matković, "Putovanja," *Rad (JAZU)* 124, 1895, pp. 15–16, 19, 25.

240. P. Matković, "Putovanja," *Rad (JAZU)* 136, 1898, pp. 7–8.

241. P. Matković, "Putovanja," *Rad (JAZU)* 136, 1898, p. 18.

242. Franičević, p. 412.

243. M. Deanović, "Talijanski pisci o Hrvatima," *Anali Historijskog instituta [JAZU] u Dubrovniku* 8–9, 1962, pp. 124, 125; see also K. Jireček, *Romani u gradovima Dalmacije*, p. 364. Jireček notes that Ramberti went on to say that almost all the women of Dubrovnik spoke Slavic.

(Mare di Schiavonia). Giovanni Botero, a Vatican official, referred to the territory along the Adriatic as inhabited by Slavs.²⁴⁴ In addition, an Italian from Rome, Giovambattista Palatino, in 1545 turned out a book on writing and alphabets; in it he lays out both Cyrillic and Glagolitic. In his introduction to Slavic letters, he states that “the Illyrian people, or in truth the Slavs” (che gli Illirici Popoli, o vero Schiavoni) have two types of alphabet. He associates Cyrillic with St. Cyril and the eastern South Slavs, and Glagolitic, which he calls “Bukvica” (Buchvica), with St. Jerome. Each, he states, is unlike any other alphabet in the world.²⁴⁵

Deanović notes that “lo schiavonesco” denoted a character-type in Italian comedy in the sixteenth century. Deanović then cites the following examples from Italian theatre of that century: A verse play by the Venetian Antonio Salvazo, written in 1512, contained a dialogue between a Slav and a porter from Bergamo. The Venetian Zuan Polo de’ Liomparadi (fl. ca. 1525) made fun of the Italian spoken by Ragusans; he had a buffoonish character in hell putting the devil in good humor by singing a sweet song in Slavic, and he expressed admiration for a Ragusan who mastered/loved Dante and Petrarch to such an extent that one would never have guessed he was a Slav. Andrea Calmo (1510–71) had a Ragusan merchant and his servant speaking different languages, the master “Dalmatian” and the servant “Slavic.” Deanović also provides several non-theatrical literary examples: Annibale Caro (1507–61) notes that when speaking Italian, Slavs tend to put adjectival pronouns after the noun they modify (e.g., madre essa); and Tasso (1544–95) noted the same habit of “Slavs.”²⁴⁶

The French also made observations about the Balkanites. The great essayist Michel de Montaigne (1533–92), in writing about ancient Dalmatia at the time of Emperor Claudius I—in other words prior to the Slavic invasions—called the region “Sclavonia,” showing that this identification of Dalmatia had spread and put in roots as far away as France.²⁴⁷ This conclusion is confirmed by the vocabulary used in travel accounts by two French diplomats who visited Constantinople: by Jean Chesneau in 1546 and Pierre Lescaplier in 1574. Both travelled along the Dalmatian coast. The first refers to Zadar, Šibenik, and so forth, as being in the country of Slavonia (pays d’Esclavonie). Lescaplier describes Trieste as “an attractive and fortified town in Istria on the border of Sclavonie”; in discussing the Gulf of Kvarner,

244. M. Deanović, “Talijanski pisci o Hrvatima,” pp. 121–23.

245. F. Ilešić, “Slovensko pismo u jednoj talijanskoj knjizi 16 stoljeća,” in *Zbornik A. Beliću*, Beograd, 1921, p. 234.

246. M. Deanović, “Talijanski pisci o Hrvatima,” pp. 127–32.

247. *Essays* 2.35. I thank Anthony Kaldellis for this reference. Kaldellis also called my attention to the fact that the same anachronism, i.e., using the later term “Slavonia” for the Classical period, was employed by Machiavelli in *The Prince* (chap. 19), when he referred to Septimius Severus (then commanding along the Danube) as “Captain of Slavonia” at the time he had himself proclaimed Roman emperor.

he notes that Vergil called it the Gulf of Illyria; but today Illyria is called "Sclavonie," which borders on one side with Istria and on the other with Macedonia; and when he reached Zadar, he described it as strongly fortified and the principal city of Sclavonie.²⁴⁸

Another French traveller, André Thevet d'Angoulesme, published in Lyons in 1554 his *Cosmographie du Levant*. He spoke about the customs of the Slavs (Esclavons) along the coasts of Istria and Dalmatia and later spoke about Istria and Esclavonie. He noted that the Slavs tended to be tall; and later, noting that they ate and drank a lot, spoke of the Slavs being tall with heavy-set bodies. Their language was difficult, but many different lands spoke Slavic. Most of them were subjugated by the Turks; thus most of the Janissaries came from that region; in fact the pashas of Cairo and Damascus were Slavs. He reports what to him was a fact: because so many Slavs were taken as slaves, the latter word was derived from "Slav." He notes further that there has been a tendency in the past as well as the present to write disparagingly about the Slavs.²⁴⁹ Another Frenchman who visited the Adriatic coast, among other places, was Jean Palerne, whose travels occurred in the early 1580s. He describes Dubrovnik as being on the shore of the Adriatic in Esclavonie and reports that the common speech of the Ragusans was l'Esclavon.²⁵⁰

Austrian travellers also could fall in with this vocabulary; the diplomat Cornelius Schepper spoke of Narenta or Venetian Gabela being called in Slavic "Driva" or "Drjeva" (Drijeva).²⁵¹ Information about the Turkish threat was passed on to the papal secretary Cardinal Aldobrandini by Baron Johannes Kobenzel of Graz. His reports refer to Slav troops (e.g., Hungarians and Slavs, Slav cavalry and infantry). In the context of the frontier of Slavonia and Croatia, Kobenzel could be more specific, as to the origin of units, for example, mentioning a Croat light cavalry.²⁵²

Interestingly, Djuro Sremac, a priest from Srem, in noting the nationalities living in Buda, finds ten groups. He totally ignores Catholic South Slavs, since none of the ten terms provided could possibly denote them. The groups are Scythian Magyars, Ismaelites (Turks), Thracians (Bulgars?, possibly Serbs?), Germans, Spaniards, Tatars, Bosnians, Greeks, Albanians, and Persians. The

248. For Chesneau, see P. Matković, "Putovanja," *Rad (JAZU)* 62, 1882, p. 71; for Lescaplier, his text (with comments) is provided by M. Šamić, "Opis putovanja Pjera Leskalopjea kroz naše zemlje 1574 godine," *Glasnik Arhiva i Društva arhivista Bosne i Hercegovine* 3, 1963, pp. 332, 334. Having moved further east to the borderlands between Serbia, the Sandžak, and Bosnia, the Frenchman notes that the monks at the Orthodox monastery of Mileševo all spoke "Slavic" (esclavon) (*ibid.*, p. 342).

249. Cited by P. Matković, "Putovanja," *Rad (JAZU)* 62, 1882, pp. 76–77, fn. 2.

250. Cited by L. Vojnović, "Jedan francuski putnik po našim zemljama pod kraj XVI vijeka," in *Šišićev zbornik* (G. Novak, ed.), Zagreb, 1929, pp. 355–56.

251. P. Matković, "Putovanja," *Rad (JAZU)* 62, 1882, p. 65.

252. K. Horvat (ed.), "Kobenzelovi izvještaji (1592–1594) kardinalu Cintiju Aldobrandiniju, državnomu tajniku paper Klimenta VIII," *Starine (JAZU)* 32, 1907, pp. 186, 212, 214, 222.

same priest served John Zapolja, who was allegedly descended from Ban Borić of Bosnia. The priest referred to his master on one occasion as being from the nation of Slavs of Bosnia and on another occasion as being of the race of Slavs (*ex genere Sclavorum*).²⁵³

In noting the terminology used about those in the western Balkans by foreigners, who, as we have seen, turn out to be mainly Italians, I think it useful to examine how such Italians saw their own identity. After all, this might cast some light on the connotations they attached to identity words used about the Balkanites. Moreover, many Balkan intellectuals, particularly those from Dalmatia, read Italian works and thus these works may have influenced their own views on identity. Like Dalmatia, Italy consisted of a large number of city-states, which drew people's primary loyalty. Florence, for example, was one's "patria" (fatherland). However, as Ilardi shows, many intellectuals were also aware of belonging to a larger historical or cultural group, a feeling that had been developing since the time of Dante and Petrarch. Far narrower and less dominating than nineteenth-century nationalism, this awareness was often called "Italianita," the recognition of having a common language (despite dialects), literature, manners, traditions, history (especially common descent from ancient Rome), and living in a more-or-less defined geographical region called Italy. However, how much of Italy was included in the views of those exhibiting "Italianita" varied. For example, Machiavelli believed that Italy consisted of only five regions (Lombardy, Romagna, Tuscany, Rome, and Naples). Venice, Piedmont, Liguria, and Sicily in his view were not part of Italy. According to Ilardi, feelings of "Italianita" were held by a socially-important minority of inhabitants of the Italian peninsula. This minority of upper-class intelligentsia was able to transcend the mental and physical barriers of localism and conceive of a larger cultural and geographical entity. This broader feeling, however, was nearly always secondary to the feelings directed toward one's city-state or patria. Italy became such a person's "provincia." So, for example, worried about a much-divided Italy facing the invasion of 1494 by Charles VIII, Panfillo Sasso wrote a poem predicting disaster, and urged the coming together of the various rival city rulers because "the Italian people are one." Machiavelli can write about the need to revive virtue (martial ardor) among Italians, but despite such expression, most of these intellectuals did not seek a politically united Italy. They were attached to their present city-states. And many, like Francesco Guicciardini, feared a united Italy would be the result of one city's prince asserting himself over the others, which would lead to the oppression of the other cities.²⁵⁴

253. Cited by I. Kukuljević-Sakcinski, "Priorat vranski sa vitezi templarii hospitalci sv. Ivana u Hrvatskoj," *Rad (JAZU)* 82, 1886, pp. 55 (fn. 2), 23.

254. The material in the preceding paragraph is all taken from V. Ilardi, "'Italianita' among Some Italian Intellectuals in the Early Sixteenth Century," *Traditio* 12, 1956, esp. pp. 339–40, 342–44, 347, 359, 362, 364.

Those Who Chose the Term "Illyrian"

Others rejected the term "Slav" in favor of "Illyrian"; many of these people still thought broadly in terms of those we would call South Slavs, but did not express interest in the other—East and West—Slavs. Such a figure was Juraj Šižgorić of Šibenik. He put together a collection of "Illyrian" proverbs (*proverbis Illyricus*).²⁵⁵ But his major work, published in 1487, was devoted to Illyrica and the city of Šibenik. The people from Bohemia to the Adriatic and Black seas down to Epirus speak the same language, Illyrian. Dalmatia is the most noble province of Illyria. The author called himself at the beginning of his text Juraj Šižgorić Šibenčanin Dalmatian, suggesting that when he identified himself above and beyond his town, he did so as a Dalmatian. The Dalmatians and the Kureti (Croatians), along with the Istrians, Liburnians, and various others, are counted among the people of Illyrian language, which in the Dalmatian region is the vernacular tongue. He noted that the Kureti lived in the north of Dalmatia and were now called "Croatians" and their region "Croatia." Šižgorić disliked the term "Slav" and avoided it both for the people and the language spoken. He used it only in citing other authors, especially the Italian Galeotto, whom he notes called the Illyrians "Slavs" and reported that the Slavs came from Scythia. To avoid saying "Slav," Šižgorić coined local names; thus the Slavs along the Sava were the Savinians.²⁵⁶ In comparing Šižgorić with Pribojević, Kuntić-Makvić says, "For Šižgorić the contemporary Slavs in Illyrica are made into part of the one-time Illyrians; for Pribojević the old Illyrians have become part of the Slavic world of his time."²⁵⁷ But in both cases, it should be noted, the unit of interest was broad, and there was little or no interest at all in the particular territory of Croatia or even in the Croatian name. These individuals did not think of themselves as Croats.

Another of the "Illyrian" school was Antun Vrančić (Antonius Verantius, 1504–73), who was born and raised in Šibenik. On occasion he appended "Sibenicensis Dalmata" to his name.²⁵⁸ He, however, entered the service of the Habsburgs and was appointed Bishop of Pecs. It was basically a titular position, since most of his diocese lay under the Turks and thus was inaccessible to him. While holding this position, in 1553, he participated in a diplomatic mission to the sultan; he left an account of his travels from Buda to Adrianople (Edirne). In writing up his arrival in Beograd at the junction of the Sava and

255. M. Franičević, *Povijest*, p. 278. Šižgorić also refers to Illyrian proverbs in his major work on Šibenik and Illyria. J. Šižgorić [Šibenčanin], *O smještaju Ilirije i o gradu Šibeniku* (De situ Illyriae et civitate Sibenici) (Latin text and Serbo-Croatian translation V. Gortan, ed. & trans.), Šibenik (Muzej grada Šibenika, Izdanja 8), 1981, pp. 52–53.

256. Items in my discussion taken from his text, J. Šižgorić [Šibenčanin], *O smještaju*, pp. 12–13, 18–19, 24–25, 54–57.

257. B. Kuntić-Makvić, "Tradicija," pp. 157, 159.

258. V. Vratović, in introductory essay to selections from Antun Vrančić, *Hrvatski latinisti I*, p. 601.

Danube, he writes, "The local inhabitants who speak the Illyrian language call it Slavni Biograd, which means 'renowned' or 'glorious,' because of the bravery of its soldiers and officers who after the fall of Smederevo and the Serbian state were able to hold out so long in its defense. The younger/more recent writers already call it Belgrad because of the closeness of its name to the Illyrian word 'Biograd.' It is important in this place to note that the Illyrian tribes/peoples normally by this name honor the capitals of their rulers." He goes on to give examples which include Biograd on the Dalmatian coast, a residence of the native kings of Croatia.²⁵⁹ Vrančić later says that Raznji (n.b., should be "Ravno"), the name he gives for the town of Čuprije on the Morava, is an Illyrian word;²⁶⁰ that "the Thracians, Bulgarians, and others who speak the Illyrian language" call Philippopolis, Plovdiv;²⁶¹ and having noted that a particular river had three names, he provides an incorrect Greek name for it, but concludes that in Turkish it is the Meric (Mericz) and in Illyrian the Marica.²⁶² Thus this highly educated Dalmatian saw the word "Illyrian" as encompassing all the South Slavs, those of Croatia/Dalmatia, Serbia, and Bulgaria.

Vrančić, however, was not averse to the word "Croatian." Franičević notes that Vrančić recognized that he himself belonged to the Croatian nation (*nationi Croatae*). In writing about the Bishop of Varaždin and Cardinal Juraj Utišenić/Utiešenović (Georgius Utissenius), Vrančić stated that Utišenić, who was born in Croatia to an old family of that nation, came from a small place near Skradin called Kamičac, which in Croatian (*Croata lingua*) means "kamenčić" (pebble). Elsewhere in that same text Vrančić noted that he was omitting the names of various towns and villages in Dalmatia owing to the difficulty of pronouncing these "Illyrian names." To return to his use of "Croatian": he divided the Bosnians between the country's Turkish conquerors and the locals who were of the Croat nation (*nationis Croatae*). Vrančić, in his capacity as Bishop of Pecs, also directed a letter in 1559 to Hasan the sandžak-beg of Hatvan, whom he flattered by calling him a good neighbor. Then Vrančić went on to say that most importantly, he and the beg were close because the beg belonged to the same Croatian people (*nationis Croatae*) that Vrančić (the bishop) belonged to. Referring to Christian peasant unrest in the beg's territory, Vrančić appealed to the sandžak-beg for mercy toward the peasants in the name of their neighborly status and of their relationship through their Croatian family/race (*gentis Croaticae*).²⁶³ Citing a reference by Vrančić

259. A. Vrančić [Antun Vrančić Šibenčanin], "Putovanje iz Budima u Drinopolje," in A. Fortis, *Put po Dalmaciji* (J. Bratulić, ed.), Zagreb, 1984, p. 125.

260. A. Vrančić, "Putovanje," p. 129.

261. A. Vrančić, "Putovanje," p. 139.

262. A. Vrančić, "Putovanje," p. 145.

263. M. Franičević, "Odrzi pučke svijesti," pp. 409–10; texts of letter to the sandžak-beg, *Hrvatski latinisti* I, pp. 636–39 and of description of Utisenić, p. 663; also citations from his work on Utišenić, in O. Utiešenović, "Životopis kardinala brata Gjorgja Utiešenovića, prozvanoga Martinusius," *Rad (JAZU)* 53, 1880, pp. 9, 18. Two manuscripts (one Italian and the other by a

to "the utilization of Illyrian names (Illyricorum vocabulorum enunciationem), Franičević concludes that the bishop used "Croat" and "Illyrian" as synonyms.²⁶⁴

Vrančić also used the terms "Slav" and "Dalmatian" in a list of John Zapolja's councillors in 1536. Here he referred to Bishop Stjepan Brodarić of Vacs as being of the Slavic race (*genere slavo*) and called Ivan Statiljić, Bishop of Erdelj, a Dalmatian from Trogir. He also referred to the prefect for the Bishopric of Zagreb, a certain Franjo Ketzer, as a Slavic (possibly Slavonian) noble (*nobilem slavum*).²⁶⁵

Another "Illyrianist" writer was Paladije Fusko (Palladius Fuscus, 1450–1520). Born in Padua, he spent extended periods of time teaching in Šibenik, Trogir, Zadar, and Koper. On the basis of his reading and direct knowledge, he wrote in the course of the early sixteenth century his *Description of the Coast of Illyria* (*de situ orae illyrici*), which was not to be published until 1540, twenty years after his death.²⁶⁶ In the text, he consistently called the region "Illyria" (e.g., the Illyrian coast; Zadar is the most famous Illyrian town).²⁶⁷ He also called the spoken language "Illyrian" (e.g., a place which in the Illyrian language is called Vrana; that Illyrian word means . . .).²⁶⁸ Another member of the Crijević/Cerva/Cervinus family from Dubrovnik, the poet Ilija (Aelius), also called the language "Illyrian." But, as a supporter of Latin, he looked down upon Illyrian, referring to it as the Illyrian solecism (*stribiligo illyrica*) and calling it a Scythian language.²⁶⁹ He referred to a poem in that language as "worthless monkey versification," and about one writer (Marin Bunić) Ilija said it would be easier to walk through a wall than for him to unlearn "Illyrian."²⁷⁰ Ilija's hostility to Illyrian as a literary language did not, however, prevent him from being both a Ragusan and an Illyrian patriot. He wrote an ode to Dubrovnik, which he refers to as his "patria," and in a second work on his town he claims that it was superior to Rome. In this work, he also was one of the first to advance a motif that we shall see repeated many times in the early-modern period, namely the unity of the Slavic people, who (he calls them "the Slavic empire") inhabited the huge territory from Illyria to the Baltic and from the

certain Thuanus) refer to Cardinal Utišenić as a Croat of a not ignoble family and as of the Dalmatian nation (*Natione Dalmata*), of noble family (see O. Utišenić, "Životopis," p. 8, fns. 4–5).

264. M. Franičević, *Povijest*, pp. 65, 108, 611.

265. First item cited by O. Utišenić, "Životopis kardinala brata Gjorgja Utišenića, prozvanoga Martinusius," *Rad* (JAZU) 53, 1880, p. 37; the second (on Ketzer) by M. Mesić, "Banovanje Petra Berislavića za Kralja Ljudevita II," *Rad* (JAZU) 3, 1878, p. 33 (with fn. 1).

266. M. Kurelac, "Paladije Fusko," pp. 5–76.

267. Paladije Fusko, *Opis obale Ilirika* (B. Kuntić-Makvić, ed.), Zagreb, 1990, pp. 86/87, 90/91.

268. Paladije Fusko, *Opis obale Ilirika*, pp. 92/93, 102/3.

269. D. Budisa, "Humanism in Croatia," in A. Rabil (ed.), *Renaissance Humanism: Foundations, Forms, and Legacy*, vol. II, *Humanism beyond Italy*, Philadelphia, 1988, p. 271.

270. B. Vodnik, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti* I, p. 82.

Black Sea to Moscow. And everyone knows, he says, that Illyria (i.e., this empire, and we see how in midstream Ilija moves from referring to the Balkans to all Slavdom) is the broadest land and largest population in the world. Ilija goes on to claim that a series of Roman emperors (Claudius, Diocletian, Aurelian, Maximus, Constantine, Justinian) and classical heroes (including Orpheus) were of Illyrian blood (*Illuriciano sanguine*).²⁷¹

The Hungarian historian Nikola Istvánffi (1538–1615), a user of Humanism's classical vocabulary, according to Fancev, in his history of Hungary exclusively called the Croatian kingdom and its people, "Illyria" and "Illyrians" respectively. For example, on one occasion Istvánffi noted that with a couple of named exceptions all the Illyrian elite (meaning those of Croatia and Slavonia) rallied to the support of Ferdinand Habsburg against John Zapolja.²⁷²

Franičević provides several more writers who favored the term "Illyrian." The Ragusan poet Damian Benešić (born 1477) in his poems worried about what the Turks would do to his "Illyria."²⁷³ Jakov Bunić, who was born in Dubrovnik in 1469, was a merchant and diplomat. At various times he referred to himself as "a Ragusan," "a Dalmatian," and "an Illyrian." He referred to another poet, Juraj Dragišić—a Bosnian refugee in Dubrovnik and a contemporary (who should not be confused with a seventeenth-century Split writer and churchman of the same name)—as "the great glory of Illyria." In his poetry Bunić spoke of "Illyrian muses." He wrote Cardinal Caraff in the name of the town of Dubrovnik, a city which he called "the throne of Slavdom" (*slavenstva*); in his letter he had the "Dalmatian" (himself) feeling, made reference to "the Illyrian coast," and then went off into mythology and the Nereids, one of which was named "Dalmaticus." He was admired by Ivan Polycarp Severitan, who called Bunić "an Illyrian splendor." In the early-eighteenth century a collection of his verses "in Latin and Illyrian" was published.²⁷⁴ Stjepan Benesa in the second half of the sixteenth century published a collection of popular sayings and proverbs under the title "*Adagia Illyrica*."²⁷⁵ Ludovik Paskalić, born in Kotor around 1500, in his poems sang of the Illyrian muses, spoke of Illyria's woods and hills, called upon Italy to hear Illyrian voices, and saw Dubrovnik lifting its head high above all the Illyrian towns on the Adriatic.²⁷⁶ Ante Split notes that in 1592 Frano Luccari

271. Summarized by I. N. Goleniščev-Kutuzov, *Ital'janskoe vozroždenie*, pp. 45–46 (including fn. 77).

272. F. Fancev, "Ilirstvo u hrvatskom preporodu," pp. 215, 219. For "Illyrian" elite, see O. Utiešenović, "Životopis," *Rad* 53, 1880, p. 27, fn. 1.

273. M. Franičević, *Povijest*.

274. M. Franičević, *Povijest*, pp. 62, 64–65, 315, 317. An example of Bunić identifying himself as a Dalmatian is found on the title page of a poetical work: "Jacobi Boni Epidaurij [the Classical name for Dubrovnik] Dalmatae De Raptu Cerberi Libri tres." See Dj. Körbler, "Jakov Bunić Dubrovčanin, latinski pjesnik (1469–1534)," *Rad (JAZU)* 180, 1910, p. 86.

275. M. Franičević, *Povijest*.

276. M. Franičević, *Povijest*, pp. 62, 64, 457; actual texts, *Hrvatski latinisti I*, pp. 591, 593.

(Lukarević) translated G. B. Guarini's "Faithful Shepherd" into "Illyrian."²⁷⁷ Fisković cites a property inventory of the Splićanin Jerolim Geremio from 1570 which listed a book containing various compositions in *lingua illyrica*.²⁷⁸ That same year a notary in Rijeka authenticated a document from 1371 copied from an old Illyrian manuscript book of the cathedral chapter.²⁷⁹ Both Orbini and Jacob Luccari mention a writer from Split with the surname of Baldassare, who, they claimed, wrote "Illyrian works." Whether or not the term "Illyrian" was his or their choice, one of these texts was translated into Italian by Marko Alandi, who chose to entitle his translation "About the Affairs of the Illyrian Nation" (*nazione illirica*).²⁸⁰

We should also note Petar Gučetić (1493–1564), who was from Dubrovnik. A teacher both at the Sorbonne and in Louvaine, he was known as Doctor Illyricus.²⁸¹ Several others, noted in the footnote that follows, also bore the Illyricus identity marker.²⁸²

The two terms ("Slavic" and "Illyrian") could even go together. On Rab in 1539 a priest from the island of Pag contracted the town notary of Rab to copy for him three named literary works, each of which was noted as being in Slavic Illyrian verse (in *versi schiavi illyrici*).²⁸³

Church "Illyrianists"

Church sources also used the term "Illyrian." Early in the sixteenth century, the Archbishop of Split, Foconio de Sarafinis, who was a Venetian, wrote his

277. Ante Split, "Kako su naši stari zvali svoj jezik?" *Hrvatska* (Zadar) 12, no. 18, 1897, p. 275. Two years later (1594), according to Rački and as we have seen, this Luccari had rendered another Guarini play into Slavic. J. Ravlić also reports that Luccari in 1583 translated the just-cited Guarini "Good Shepherd" into "Dubrovacki." It is doubtful that Luccari did two translations; possibly one scholar provided an incorrect date (and the translation, as was sometimes the case, had two title pages, one in Italian and one in Slavic with different names for the language in the different languages) or possibly the work went through two printings, with different language names provided on the respective title pages.

278. C. Fisković, *O splitskom književniku Jurju Dragišiću de Caris*, Split (Muzej grada Splita, Izdanja 12), 1962, p. 6.

279. V. Štefanić, "Glagoljica u Rijeci," p. 400.

280. Noted by S. Antoljak, *Hrvatska historiografija*, I, p. 48.

281. D. Budisa, "Humanism," p. 273.

282. M. Franičević (*Povijest . . .*) notes several others who were associated with the name "Illyricus." Aloysius Aligrettus Giorgirius, sometimes called Ghiurasceovich Ilirsko, was born at the beginning of the sixteenth century (p. 467). Thomas Illyricus or Toma Ilirik (1450–1508) was a theologian and author of sermons. We do not have any further names associated with him, except for the addition of "Slav," Thomas Illyricus Sclavus (pp. 54, 62). (This individual should not be confused with the early Jesuit Thomas Zdelaritus, who was discussed earlier.) Frane Trankvil Andreis or Tranquillus Parthenius Andronicus Dalmata "the elder," who died on a visit to Poland in about 1502, had written on his tombstone there that he had been born in the Illyrian region (p. 331). Trankvil, as one sees, was also called "Dalmatian."

283. A. Strgačić, "Hrvatski jezik," in *Zadar zbornik*, 1964, p. 393 (with text quoted in fn. 219 on that page).

vicar that he had forbidden "Illyrian" priests to have chapels in towns in which Latin services were held. In 1511 his successor Bernard Zano forbade priests, of whatever rank or order, to translate the Sacred Scriptures into Illyrian (in lingua illyrica) except for scriptural readings (the Gospels and Epistles), confessions, and so on. In 1535 Andrew Cornelo, also Archbishop of Split, forbade any Illyrian priest from being a member of the Cathedral chapter.²⁸⁴ In 1566, following up on the orders of the Council of Trent, Archbishop Callini held a synod in Zadar, which, among other things, decreed that if priests were going to read the Gospels and the Epistles to people in Illyrian, then they had to have the (proper) translation with them, that is, the permitted Slavonic.²⁸⁵ The word "Illyrian" was here doing double duty, for most probably the normally-read Illyrian was the popular speech, either read from ščavets (service books) or memorized from them, and here the bishop was insisting on the priests having the approved texts in hand to read in proper Illyrian.

An official Church visitor, Bishop Augustine Valier, travelled around Dalmatia, including several islands, in 1579. He commented on the fact that most people in the region did not know Latin, and therefore they all celebrated the Mass correctly according to the Roman rite, but in the Illyrian language.²⁸⁶ He reported that the priest at St. Peter's on Brač delivered his sermons in Illyrian (illirico sermone) because he did not know Latin, but on ecclesiastical doctrine the priest was not ignorant.²⁸⁷ The Brotherhood of the Holy Spirit on Hvar, he reported, carried out its prayers in no language other than Illyrian, the use of which had been approved by the bishop.²⁸⁸ Valier also reported that the nuns of St. Mary's in Zadar did not know Italian; therefore they read the rules of their order and the lives of the saints in Illyrian.²⁸⁹ But for many other vital matters and for the general public, more texts in Illyrian were needed, especially Catechisms. The need for Catechisms in Illyrian was quickly attended to and a couple of years later a Vatican visitor was reported, in a Vatican archival document, distributing Catechisms in Bar in "dalmatico diomate," which term means "Illyrian" and was on occasion used as a synonym for it.²⁹⁰

Later in 1579, at the conclusion of his travels, Valier held a council in Zadar, attended by all the Dalmatian bishops. It called for Catechisms and preaching in Illyrian and again brought out the need, noted during Valier's visits, for Catechisms in Illyrian. The council recommended that Illyrian

284. J. Fučak, *Šest stoljeća hrvatskoga lekcionara*, p. 101; I. Kukuljević-Sakcinski, "Marko Marulić i njegova doba," p. xi.

285. A. Strgačić, "Hrvatski jezik" in *Zadar zbornik*, Zagreb, 1964, p. 408.

286. P. Vitezović, *La prima visita*, p. 22.

287. E. Hercigonja, "Društveni i gospodarski okviri," p. 39, fn. 127a; P. Vitezović, *La prima visita*, p. 24.

288. G. Novak, *Hvar kroz stoljeća*, Hvar, 1960, p. 125.

289. I. Ostojić, *Benediktinci II*, p. 78.

290. P. Vitezović, *La prima visita*, p. 27.

should be integrated into Church services. Moreover, in the interests of encouraging greater understanding of the faith among nuns, most of whom were ignorant of Latin and Italian, the council decreed: let different holy books, kept in the convents for spiritual nourishment, be translated into and then read (aloud) to the nuns in the Illyrian colloquial language; let the bishops be responsible that their nuns hear the word of God in Illyrian; and let the rules of Saints Bernard and Francis and works of the Church fathers, in particular St. Bernard's "To the Sisters" and St. Ambrose's "On Virginity," be translated into Illyrian.²⁹¹ In their search for religious texts, other visitors were seeking out existing works in the local language. In 1582 two works in Illyrian language in Latin characters were sent to an official visitor, Bishop Augustin Quinto, Bishop of Korčula.²⁹²

Other examples of "Illyrian" can also be found. A Franciscan born in Vrana in Dalmatia, who spent most of his life in France and was noted for his polemics against Luther, was known as Thomas Illyricus.²⁹³ In a quarrel in 1593 with their bishop and the local archdeacon, who wanted to replace vernacular services with Latin, citizens of Rijeka (represented by the town council) several times referred to the language of their Church services as "our maternal Illyrian language" (*nostra materna lingua Illyrica*). When the clergy ignored the town's protests, the council voted to reduce the amount of tithes and other payments to the Church until they resumed services "in our maternal Illyrian language, which had been employed from olden times in the parish church."²⁹⁴ We saw previously that a Church council in 1596 in Ogalj (Aquileia) spoke of various Church service books being "in Slavic or Illyrian." In 1595 Caesar de Nores, the Bishop of Poreč in Istria, informed the pope that in Istria and other neighboring regions where the population spoke Illyrian, there was a need for Slavic liturgical books because all the priests in his bishopric used Illyrian (*Illyrica lingua*). The following year Bishop Caesar complained that there were an insufficient number of Illyrian priests in his diocese and asked permission to bring in friars who knew Illyrian. His successor, Ivan Lipomen, had less sympathy for Slavic services and, having noted that many in his diocese were Illyrians and had Missals and Breviaries in that language and not Latin ones, threatened not to ordain any more priests who did not know Latin. This rebellion was short-lived if in fact this threat was carried

291. A.-R. Filipi, "Hrvatski govorni jezik u Zadru prema dokumentu iz godine 1603," in *Zadar zbornik*, Zagreb, 1964, p. 436; P. Vitezović, *La prima visita*, pp. 41, 44; excerpts from documents from this synod in L. Jelić, *Fontes historici*, *Fontes . . . XVI saeculi*, pp. 33–34.

292. V. Štefanić, "Bellarmino-Komulovićev Kršćanski nauk," *Vrela i primosi* 8, 1938, p. 6.

293. V. Gortan & V. Vratović, "The Basic Characteristics of Croatian Latinity," *Humanistica Lovaniensia* 20, 1971, pp. 59–60.

294. J. Fućak, *Šest stoljeća hrvatskoga lekcionara*, p. 116; V. Štefanić, "Glagoljica u Rijeci," pp. 405–6; L. Jelić (*Fontes historici*, *Fontes XVI saeculi*, pp. 41–46) provides several documents about the Rijeka events; in all of them the term "Illyrian" is used.

out, for in 1612 Bishop Leonard of Poreč reported that he carried out the Mass and much of his pastoral work in villages in Illyrian.²⁹⁵

The Church could use “Illyrian” more broadly. In 1585 Cardinal Galli wrote to two legates in the Balkans, ordering them to visit Illyrian Derstor (Drustur, Silistra) on the Danube (in present-day Bulgaria). In its vicinity were twelve villages of Paulicians (a local Christian sect of controversial origin) who spoke the Bulgarian or Illyrian language. Thus the cardinal’s use of the term “Illyrian,” in including Bulgaria/Bulgarian, denoted all the South Slavs and their languages. One of the legates, Toma Raggio, replied in due course, noting that in the vicinity of Sofia—nowhere near Drustur—there were twenty villages of the people calling themselves Paulicians, all of whom spoke the Slavic language (*di lingua schiavona*); Raggio then proceeded to discuss the sect’s various Christian peculiarities.²⁹⁶

In 1592 Peter Cedolini, Bishop of Hvar, wrote to congratulate a newly elected pope, Clement VIII, “in the name of all the kingdoms and provinces of the Illyrian language.” The bishop then stated that the Illyrian language was used in thirteen kingdoms or broad regions, which he proceeded to name: Thrace, Moesia, Macedonia, Bosnia (once true Illyria), Dacia, Pannonia, Croatia, Istria, Kranj, Bohemia, Poland, Russia, Noricum (or present-day Austria), and all that which stretches between the Alps and the Danube, all the way to its source and all the way to the Adriatic, along whose coast is found Dalmatia.²⁹⁷ This bishop, unlike most of the others whom we have seen in this chapter, had a very broad definition of Illyria, making it the equivalent of “Slavdom,” and he believed that all these Slavs had a common language, Illyrian. In that same year, 1592, the recipient of that letter, Pope Clement VIII, wrote to the clergy and laity of Dubrovnik, Kotor, and “other places of the Illyrian language.”²⁹⁸

Protestants

Also worthy of note in the “Illyrian” context were various Protestants from what is now Croatia, who were active in Germany. The most prominent one was Matthias Flacius (in Slavic, Vlačić) Illyricus (1520–75). Born in Labin (Albona) in Istria and educated in Venice, he went off to Germany and became a leading follower of Luther and a major Protestant theolo-

295. I. Ostojić, *Benediktinci* III, p. 77; V. Spinčić, *Crtice*, p. 40.

296. M. Vanino, *Isusovci*, I, pp. 61–63.

297. L. Jelić, *Fontes historici*, *Fontes . . . XVI saeculi*, pp. 39–40. See also Z. Zlatar, *Our Kingdom Come*, pp. 240–41; J. Fućak, *Šest stoljeća hrvatskoga lekcionara*, p. 113. In a second letter also to Pope Clement VIII, from roughly the same time, Cedolini notes that the language of the Muscovites is similar to and close to the “Illyrian or Slavic” language (V. Gligo, *Govori protiv Turaka*, p. 385).

298. L. Jelić, *Fontes historici*, *Fontes . . . XVI saeculi*, p. 40.

gian.²⁹⁹ Franičević notes that in one of his commentaries he stated that he was an “Illyrian.” He also collected etymologies of the four major languages, which he saw as Greek, Latin, German, and Illyrian.³⁰⁰ At one time the famous Protestant, Melancthon, polemicizing against Vlačić, called him “an Illyrian snake.”³⁰¹ Vlačić also thought of, but never realized, founding an Illyrian academy in Regensburg. He also condemned the Catholic Church’s policy of trying to force an exclusive use of Latin in the churches in Illyria and Slavonia.³⁰² According to Antoljak: “In his writing Vlačić consistently called himself [an] ‘Illyrian,’ that is an inhabitant of Illyria by nationality and language. This same term he used for the Dubrovčani and for the Croats of the Vojvodina, for the Croatian Church and language.”³⁰³

A second important Protestant was Matija Grbac/Grbić (1510–59), who most probably was also from Labin. He also was known as “the Illyrian,” Matthias Garbitius Illyricus.³⁰⁴ We may also make mention of Ivan Drugnić Illir (Johannis Drughnyczy Illyricy) and an anonymous Protestant writer, almost certainly Primož Trubar (1508–86), who took the pseudonym “Philopatridus Illyricus.”³⁰⁵ Moreover, two western Balkan Slavs who matriculated from German universities were listed as “Illyrian” in the university records: Juraj Cvečić from Wittenberg in 1552 and Leonardo Mercerić from Tübingen in 1571.³⁰⁶ Significantly, the surnames these men adopted reflected their homeland identity, which they saw as Illyrian. We have seen previously that a significant number of their colleagues, dealing with printing the spoken language—which many of their contemporaries including Vlačić referred to as “Illyrian”—thought otherwise and generally called it “Croatian.” But even in this matter we have an exception. Another Protestant, Paul Skalić, when called upon to comment on Stipan the Istrian’s translations, said that he [Stipan] wrote in the dialect which only those of Kranj, Carniola, and Styria would know, which the populations of upper Hungary and other nearby countries would not know, and which Poles, Russians, Czechs, Moravians, Illyrians, and people around Zagreb would understand even less. Bučar notes that

299. For Matthias Flacius (Vlačić) Illyricus, see *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (11th ed.), New York, 1910, vol. X, p. 453; Z. Puratić, “Lingvističko-filološki rad Matije Vlačića Ilirika (1520–1575) na latinskom jeziku,” *Živa antika* 34, 1984, pp. 171–79.

300. M. Franičević, *Povijest*, pp. 569, 576.

301. F. Bučar, *Povijest*, p. 62.

302. M. Kombol, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, p. 206.

303. S. Antoljak, *Hrvatska historiografija*, I, p. 53.

304. D. Budisa, “Humanism,” p. 287. One document lists him as Garbitius Matthias, Slavus. (Dj. Körbler, “Humanista Matija Grbić [Mathias Garbitius Illyricus],” *Rad [JAZU]* 145, 1901, p. 73.) Körbler also lists four others with the appendage “Illyricus,” who registered at the University of Tübingen at this time: Joannes Dragoieus Illyricus, from Steničnjak in 1541; Jacobus Volcamerarius Illyricus, 1543; Michael Zegeiner, from Widpavia/Vipachiensis, 1543; and Balthasar Seprecht Illyricus, 1556. (Körbler, op. cit., pp. 100–101.)

305. F. Bučar, *Povijest*, pp. 34, 52, 71.

306. F. Bučar, *Povijest*, pp. 108, 126.

Skalić, unlike many of his colleagues, was approaching the issue from a single all-Slavic language perspective.³⁰⁷

“Dalmatianists”

In addition to “Slavic” and “Illyrian,” “Dalmatian” could occasionally be used to label the spoken language in Dalmatia or its population. We may note that many of those choosing this option also made use of the other more popular terms as well. We have noted some of these figures, like Hektorović, in passing earlier when discussing them in the context of another label. They were not alone. Ostojić found mention of Juraj Jeronimov, who served as a canon of Split from 1506 to 1517 and was a translator from “Dalmatian” into Latin (*de Dalmatina in Latinum*).³⁰⁸ We also noted previously that Venetian Patriarch Antonius Contareno in 1510 and 1511, when lifting a ban on Slavic, referred to both language and people affected as “Dalmatian,” and his vocabulary was repeated in 1514 by a local militia figure.³⁰⁹ Strgačić found in the archives of Zadar a mid-sixteenth-century document signed by some Bosnian refugees in Bosančica (basically Cyrillic), to which someone at the time appended a note that they had signed with “lettera Dalmata.”³¹⁰ M. Kombol also cited the poet Ludovik Paskalić (Paschale, ca. 1500–51) from Kotor (whom we have met previously) who, despite frequently using the term “Illyrian,” praised the new “Dalmatian lyrics” of Hanibal Lucić.³¹¹

In 1595 Faust Vrančić, a native of Šibenik, published in Venice a dictionary of the five most noble languages of Europe, including among them “Dalmatian.”³¹² The work’s title was *Dictionarium quinque nobilissimarum Europae linguarum: Latinae, Italicae, Germanicae, Dalmaticae et Ungaricae, with an appendix, Vocabula Dalmatica, quae Ungari sibi usurparunt*. In his preface he stated that originally he had intended to provide only Slavic (Slavonicum) and Hungarian words for the Latin terms, but then he decided to add the other two languages. He then goes on to speak of how the Slavic languages were spread over much of Europe from the Adriatic Sea to Asia, and so on. He then calls Dalmatian (*lingua dalmatina*, which was his own native dialect) the best of all Slavic languages, which he compared to Tuscan among the various Italian dialects. Franičević labels Vrančić’s “Dalmatian” Čakavian-ika-vian. Identifying a former and larger Dalmatia with the South Slav lands (in-

307. F. Bučar, *Povijest*, p. 141.

308. I. Ostojić, *Metropolitanski kaptol u Splitu*, p. 241.

309. L. Jelić, *Fontes historici*, *Fontes . . . XVI saeculi*, pp. 5–10; J. Fućak, *Šest stoljeća hrvatskoga lekcionara*, p. 115.

310. A. Strgačić, “Hrvatski jezik,” p. 410, fn. 401.

311. M. Kombol, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, p. 174.

312. Vrančić’s five languages were Latin, Italian, German, Dalmatian, and Hungarian. On his text see V. Dukat, “Rječnik Fausta Vrančića,” *Rad (JAZU)* 231, 1925, pp. 103–36; also, T. Maretić, *Istorija hrvatskoga pravopisa*, p. 39.

cluding Bulgaria), Vrančić notes that both St. Jerome and St. Cyril thought up their Slavic letters there, and that Orthodox Dalmatians used Cyril's letters. Vrančić also notes that both the Poles and Czechs drew their origins from this broadly conceived Dalmatia. Šišić observes that Vrančić was the first South Slav to mention the Čeh-Leh story (noted earlier in our discussion of Orbini, whose book, however, appearing in 1601, was six years after Vrančić's). The story had been repeated in several Czech and Polish texts from the previous centuries, one or more of which were accessible to both these Dalmatian writers. In his preface Vrančić merely stated that the ur-homeland (place of origin) of the Czechs and Poles was Dalmatia/Croatia, because from that place their first princes Čeh and Leh had migrated northward.³¹³

Faust Vrančić's dictionary provided the core for two other dictionaries that appeared very shortly thereafter. The first was that of Jerome Megiser, a German, published in Frankfurt in 1603 and the second was one published by Peter Loderecker in Prague in 1605. Megiser had already produced a four-language dictionary in 1592 in Graz, the missing language being Hungarian. This work called the South-Slavic language "Illyrian (which is vulgarly called Slavic)." The language he basically used was a proto-Slovenian, but he included a certain number of words drawn from Croatia, which he labeled in his text "Croatian." His new work of 1603 was expanded to include Hungarian and thus now had four Slavic languages, his original Slovenian (which he calls here "Sclavonico"), Dalmatian (Dalmatice, which mainly was derived from Vrančić, and was chiefly Čakavian), Czech (Bohemice), and Polish (Polonice).

Loderecker's dictionary had seven languages, three of which were Slavic. He called these three languages Dalmatian, Bohemian, and Polish. He had a preface in each language, with six of them containing the same text. The one exception was the preface in Dalmatian. This last preface is preceded by the heading "Faust Vrančić Šibenčanin." Since Vrančić had been to Prague and shared a lexical interest with Loderecker, the two probably had had contact. So, it makes sense, as Dukat argues, to consider Vrančić the author of this "Dalmatian" preface. If the heading itself were not sufficient evidence, Dukat also notes that the language of the preface and that of a vita of St. Nicholas written by Vrančić are identical.

In that preface the author states that no language in the world is as widely spoken as "Slovinjski." Having discussed various Slavic nations, he states that Dalmatia now extends from Istria to Macedonia and from the Sea to the Drava. "This [with no clarifying noun] began in the time of St. Gregory [I] the Pope, as he and other writers describe; thus for a thousand years the Slavs (Slovinjci) have ruled this land, retaining their language, which is said to be purer than that now spoken in Poland and Muscovy, which anyone can judge

313. On the preface, see V. Dukat, "Rječnik," pp. 103–4, 109. On Vrančić and Čeh, Leh, etc., see F. Šišić, "Ideja slovenske pradomovine u Podunavlju (Biologija priče o Čehu, Lehu i Mehu)," *Godišnjica Nikole Čupića* 35, 1923, p. 42.

who understands these languages." He goes on to note that Dalmatian, Croatian, Serbian, or Bosnian are all one language, even if they have some differences in vocabulary, and all these languages emerged from the old Dalmatian language, just as Latin produced French and Spanish.³¹⁴

Faust also, in other works, used other terms. He published in 1606 a short historical work "On the Slavs (Slowinis) or Sarmatians" and left behind a manuscript on the History of Illyria and the Statutes of the City of Šibenik.³¹⁵

"Dalmatia" continued to be used as a regional name, to which some people were particularly attached. For example, a certain Ivan Policarp Severitan (born in Šibenik in 1472) wrote in the first quarter of the sixteenth century, a *History of "Dalmatia"* (*Historia Dalmatiae vel de laudibus Dalmatiae*).³¹⁶ Very patriotic, Severitan wrote, "Dalmatia is my home. I love it, not because it is great and glorious—as it once was—but chiefly because I am able to call it mine." Polemicalizing with Italians, who saw Istria as Italian, Severitan wrote that Istria was an Illyrian land whose (present) people are called "Croats" (*Croati*).³¹⁷ Thus, Croats were one of the people making up the population of Illyria.

Antoljak notes that the sculptor Ivan Duknović, who worked in Trogir from 1490 to 1508 and then moved on to Ancona, was known as Johannes the Dalmatian and that the intellectual Marc Antonio de Dominis was recorded in a membership book for the Society of Jesus with "Dalmatian, Rabljanin [from Rab], age 30" following his name, showing the city and regional identity markers that he chose to list himself under.³¹⁸ Sanudo's diary, under 1530, notes that the commander of a group of sailors from Poljica was "Versaicho Dalmatin."³¹⁹ Moreover, one of the most important early Third

314. On the Megiser dictionary, see V. Dukat, "Rječnik," pp. 114–21; on the Loderecker dictionary, pp. 121–32; text of its Vrančić preface, p. 124. There seems to be an apparent contradiction in the two views that Vrančić expresses; earlier he had Dalmatia the ur-homeland of the Slavs from where Čeh and Leh set off for Bohemia and Poland and in the preface he implies a migration of Slavs (at least the presence of the Slavic language is so dated) to a broadly conceived Dalmatia in the time of Pope Gregory I in the second half of the sixth century. Possibly his views changed over time or possibly he thought Čeh and Leh migrated north after the time of Pope Gregory. Pervol'f has Vrančić actually describing Slavic migrations from Russia to various areas, including Dalmatia and Bohemia, at the time of Pope Gregory (with no reference here to Čeh and Leh). Pervol'f says this description comes from an article, which I assume is "On the Slavs and Sarmatians," published in 1606 and noted later. (I. Pervol'f, *Slavjane* . . . II, pp. 227–28). If that is the case, then perhaps Vrančić came to lose faith in the tale of the brothers' migrations.

315. M. Franičević, *Povijest*, p. 675.

316. M. Kurelac, "Paladije Fusko," p. 26.

317. M. Franičević, *Povijest*, p. 328. Antoljak notes that when in exile in Italy, Severitan regularly insisted that he was a Šibenčanin and a Dalmatinac (S. Antoljak, *Hrvatska historiografija*, I, p. 36).

318. S. Antoljak, "Novi podaci o trogirskim kiparima Ivanu Duknoviću i Jakovu," in his *Hrvati u prošlosti*, Split, 1992, p. 519; and S. Antoljak, "Arhivske zabilježbe i marginalije o Markantunu de Dominisu," in his *Hrvati u prošlosti*, Split, 1992, p. 554.

319. Cited by I. Pivčević, *Povijest Poljica*, Split, 1921. (Supplement volume to *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*.)

Order Franciscans was Matteo Bošnjak (ca. 1420–1530), whose Franciscan activities were centered in Zadar; besides the marker noting his Bosnian origin, he was known most frequently as Mattheo Dalmatino, but also on occasions as Mattheo of Zadar or Mattheo of the Illyrian language or Mattheo of the Slavic language or even as Mattheo of the Third Order Franciscans of the Illyrian language.³²⁰ Petar Keglević, the Hungarian general who successfully defended Jajce against the Turks in 1521, also at times had “Dalmata” appended to his name. A series of others, noted in the footnote that follows, had the marker “Dalmatian” attached to them.³²¹

A German Protestant envoy to the Ottomans in 1587, Reinhold Lubenau, who knew Polish and some Czech, had no trouble speaking with the local inhabitants after he crossed the Danube (into Bulgaria), for the Slavs over the whole territory of Poland, Russia, the Czech lands, Serbia, Bulgaria, Dalmatia, Illyria, and so on, spoke a single language, which he called “Slavic” or “Dalmatian.”³²² Moreover, a certain Georgius Hus from what was recently Czechoslovakia—he ended his life in Bratislava—was captured by the Turks in 1532, and later, after his escape, wrote up his adventures, ending his account with Italy and Rome. There he describes an encounter he witnessed in

320. S. Ivančić, *Povjesne crte*, I, p. 16, and II (Prilozi), pp. 23, 26, 34.

321. Among those not noted elsewhere in my text and whom M. Franičević (*Povijest*) mentions as having “Dalmatian/Dalmata” attached to their names are a latinist from Kotor, Helije Trifun Bizanti, also known as Trypho Dalmata (p. 191); Simon Aretophylus Tragurinus Dalmata (p. 331); Simun Hvaranin or Simon Dalmata Pharensis (p. 331); Alessandro Cortese from Zadar, called both “Pannonius” and “Dalmata” (p. 333); Tranquillus Parthenius Andronicus Dalmata “the Elder,” also known as Frane Trankvil Andreis, mentioned in fn. 282 of this chapter, who wrote on the Slavs in general and died in the first decade of the sixteenth century in Poland (pp. 62, 453–54); Frane’s brother, Mate (p. 62); Trankvil Andronik “the Younger,” whom we shall meet shortly; Jakov Baničević or Jacobus Bannissius Dalmata, who was born on Korčula in 1466. He also identified with Illyria, mentioning “my Illyria” in his letters (p. 326); and the Protestant, Leonardo Mercerić, mentioned earlier and identified as an “Illyrian” at Tübingen in 1571, was also called “Dalmata” (p. 606). V. Gligo (*Govori protiv Turaka*, pp. 128, 320) provides two more examples. The diplomat and later Bishop of Skradin and then of Trogir, Tomo Niger (1450–1531) was also called “Dalmata”; in fact, he was referred to that way—alongside recognition of the city identity of Split—on his tombstone, “Dalmata Thoma Niger Spalatensis” (G. Novak, *Povijest Splita III*, p. 1431). The Venetian official Marin Sanudo also referred to him that way in his diary under the year 1522, “Thomaso Negro Dalmatino” (M. Sanudo, “Rapporti della Republica Veneta coi Slavi Medridionali,” *Arhiv za povjestnicu jugoslaviju*, 8, 1865, p. 153). Juraj Divnić, Bishop of Nin, at the very end of the fifteenth century, signed a letter to Pope Alexander VI, Juraj Dalmatinac. Furthermore, Matković believes that a librarian for Matthias Corvinus at the end of the fifteenth century, Felix Ragusinus Dalmata, can be identified with Felix Petančić, who served as a diplomat for the Hungarian ruler in the second and third decades of the sixteenth century (P. Matković, “Putovanja,” *Rad [JAZU]* 49, 1879, pp. 109, 112). And finally, Kukuljević notes a series of individuals connected to the law school in Padua who had the nickname “Dalmatian” attached to their names: Šimun Roza (in 1492), Marin de Hungaris (Ugrinović? 1508–17), Marin Solon (1531), Natal Salernitan (1533), Vinko Pelegrinović (1536), as well as an editor of a book on trade in 1573 named Franjo Patritio I. (Kukuljević-Sakcinski, “Marko Marulić i njegova doba,” pp. xxxv–xxxvi).

322. Cited by M. Todorova, *Imagining the Balkans*, New York & Oxford, 1997, pp. 67–68.

St. Peter's: "And then a pitiful poor little Dalmatian entered the church, and said that he had arrived there from far away, begging on his way, and carrying the weight of his sins in his heart, and turned to one of the confessors, who was also a Dalmatian, of the Minorite Order [i.e., a Franciscan]." The story ends with the confessor refusing to hear him, because he could offer no payment. But the point for us is that Hus, if he did not take the term from the individual "sinner" in question, saw "Dalmatian" as an identity, though unfortunately he does not specify—and he may not have known—the towns from which the two came.³²³

G. B. Giustiniani—whose "Itineraria" we discussed earlier for its use of the term "Slavic" for the people, customs, and language used in particular Dalmatian towns—saw a commonality among the various "Slavic" townsmen of that area and freely referred to the Dalmatian nobility (*nobilita dalmatina*). He also made a series of statements comparing the customs of people in particular places—e.g., the islanders from Krk or Rab—with those of other "Dalmatians."³²⁴

Tkalčić, in a discussion to demonstrate that Slavonic services and the Glagolitic alphabet were used to a considerable extent in Zagreb, cites a list of Zagreb clerics from 8 March 1574 according to particular church. He cites only those records relevant to his argument and lists eleven priests, six of whom had "glagolita" after their names and five of whom had "dalmata" (e.g., Mathias dalmata) after theirs. Tkalčić seems certain that the five "dalmata-s" were all glagoljaši; it is not clear to me whether the term "dalmata" was definitely (possibly?) used at this time with this language significance or whether the five came from Dalmatia (hence the name) and Tkalčić was making a linguistic assumption.³²⁵ In any case, if "dalmata" and "glagolita" both meant glagoljaši, it makes no sense to call half by one name and half by the other. Thus, I think it safe to assume that some distinction was meant between the two terms, even if we cannot now discover what the distinction was.

Finally, to the east of Slavonia in Bačka we hear of "Dalmatians." Many of these people seem to have really been from Dalmatia, individuals from the Sandžak of Klis, some 10,000 of whom were settled in Bačka by the Turks in the first quarter of the seventeenth century and Sekulić notes that in references to the sixteenth century the Franciscan chronicle from Subotica, com-

323. M. Birnbaum, *Humanists in a Shattered World*, p. 208.

324. Cited by F. Dujmović, "Nin i Šibenik," in G. Novak & V. Maštrović (eds.), *Povijest grada Nina*, Zadar, 1969, p. 622. Other examples from preface in G. Novak (ed.), "Jedan anonimni rukopis iz 1775/6 godine o Dalmatinskim zagorcima (Morlakima), primorcima i otočanima," *Narodna starina* 9, no. 21, 1930, p. 24.

325. I. Tkalčić, *Slavensko bogoslužje*, p. 78. The same list (with no additional priests) was published also by L. Jelić, *Fontes historici, Fontes . . . XVI saeculi*, p. 32. Full list published by I. Tkalčić (ed.), "Prilog za povjest zagrebačkih sinoda u XV i XVI vieku," *Starine (JAZU)* 16, 1884, pp. 126–27.

pleted in 1692, does not speak of inhabitants there, other than “Dalmatians.” We continue to hear of these people as “Dalmatians” over the next two centuries, particularly in the sources from the Bosnian Franciscans who ministered among them after the Turkish conquest, with a reference as late as 1759 to five “Dalmatian” preachers there and the need for more, since most of the local preachers were Hungarian-language ones. And a comment from 1762, in discussing the role of the Hungarian ones, notes that the majority of Dalmatian inhabitants were usually not able to receive the teachings of their faith in their own language. Also the Franciscan chronicle from Subotica describes “Dalmatians” fleeing from the warfare between Habsburgs and Ottomans in that region in 1686.³²⁶

City Identities and Regional Ones (Other than “Dalmatian”)

We continue in the sixteenth century to find local patriotism, particularly in Dalmatia, for individual cities. We have noted some of these references earlier in this chapter and shall find many more in the centuries that followed in the next chapter. We have noted previously that Orbin and Frano Luccari (among others), in particular works chose to call the language of a given text Dubrovnik-ese (*dubrovački*). We also have one example of “Zadar language” (*Iadren. Idiomate*). This label appears in a letter written in 1577 by a Venetian official in that town, Ioannes Hieronymus Albanus, who was recommending a certain nobleman, Natale Veniero, for the vacant position of Archbishop of Zadar. Albanus begins by referring to the city of Zadar as being in Sclavonia and soon turns to the qualifications of his candidate for the post; in the course of spelling these out, he noted that he had preached to the clergy and congregation of a particular church in the Zadar language.³²⁷

Such feelings of urban patriotism could also be expressed in semi-ethnic terms, as we find some envoys to England from Dubrovnik in 1558 calling themselves a “nation.” In trying to get around certain trade restrictions England had imposed on various Italian cities, these envoys stressed Dubrovnik’s independence and its differences from the Italian towns. Referring to themselves as being “of the nation of Dubrovnik,” the envoys noted that their nation had nothing to do with Italy, which they pointed out can be seen in matters of language, for, as everyone knows, their language was as different from Italian as English was. In addition their territory was separated from Italy by a body of water, the Adriatic. Their city neighbored with Dalmatia, which

326. On the “Dalmatians” of Bačka, see A. Sekulić, *Narodni život i običaj bačkih Bunjevaca*, Zagreb (JAZU, *Zbornik za narodni život i običaje južnih Slavena* 50), 1986, pp. 59–80, esp. pp. 64–65, 67, 79–80. They also could be called “Slavs”; a census from Sombor from 1715 notes forty landholders, all of whom were “Slavs” (p. 72).

327. M. Premrou, “Notizie archivali riguardanti la storia della Dalmazia,” *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 45, 1922, p. 41.

bordered on Hungary, a land far from Italy.³²⁸ The envoys presumably counted on English ignorance, for though their geographical statements were not exactly false, they were misleading—for Dubrovnik's Dalmatian neighbors were all colonies of Venice, and Dalmatia, while bordering on the east with Hungary, also had a direct border with Venice.

We can also turn up city loyalty in Slavonia, though it may be significant that our example came from an Italian family. A certain Giovanni Pastori of Florence emigrated to Zagreb, where he produced a family, including a son, Ivan/John. This son, though he travelled a great deal (at times in the service of Ferdinand I of the House of Habsburg), identified with the town of his birth, where he also spent much of his adult life. Ivan called himself a Zagrebčanin and frequently signed his letters (Ioannes Pastor de Zagrabia). On one occasion he wrote King Ferdinand: "Let your majesty remember that we Zagrebčani were the first in the Kingdom of Slavonia to come over to the side of your majesty to fight against Vojvoda John [Ferdinand's rival for Hungary/Croatia, John Zapolja]."³²⁹

Though, he may not have used it as an identity and probably was merely reflecting the comedown in his life, Juraj Frankapan, after losing his lands in Croatia proper and retaining only his estates in Kranj, wrote in 1602 to the Vice-Ban of Croatia that he was a "Poor Kranjac."³³⁰

GENERAL THOUGHTS ON THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

Ante Kadić, writing in general about these Dalmatian Humanists like Pribojević, stresses that they all focused on this utopian idea of Slavic solidarity. Kadić argues that they created the idea out of political necessity but with either an astonishing ignorance or disregard of the real facts. An interest in antiquity had been stirred up among Italians who stressed their descent from the Romans. These Dalmatians countered this by asserting that they were descended from the Illyrians who had so bravely and for a time successfully fought the Romans.³³¹ Kadić concludes, "The 'Illyrian' or pan-Slavic movement remained so strong among the Croats [*sic*; intellectuals in Croatia] from the fifteenth until the nineteenth century that even in the 1830s their national revival movement was designated by this ancient and all-embracing name."³³² In other

328. Cited by V. Foretić, *Povijest Dubrovnika* II, pp. 44–45.

329. Cited by B. Krnic, "Ivan Pastor Zagrebčanin, politički agent kralja Ferdinanda I," *Rad (JAZU)* 201, 1914, pp. 68–69.

330. Cited by V. Klaić, "Banovanje kneza Nikole Frankopana," *Rad (JAZU)* 211, 1916, p. 117.

331. A. Kadić, "The Slavic Idea among Croatian Writers of the Renaissance," *Slavic and East European Journal* 23, no. 3, Fall 1979, pp. 435–39.

332. A. Kadić, "The Slavic Idea," p. 439.

words, even as late as 1830 many intellectuals in Croatia saw themselves not as part of a narrow Croat community but as members of a much broader Illyrian nation.

In those we have examined above, and regardless of which term they favored, we find some who expressed ethnic elements with that label and some who did not. Ethnic-type feelings did not even need a label, for commonality could be expressed without one, as in the case of a late-sixteenth-century Prince of Split, bearing the surname of Correr. He was not receptive to Venice's calls for action against the Uskoks, who, besides their anti-Turkish endeavors, also enjoyed plundering Venetian ships. The reason he gave was that the Uskoks belonged to the same nation/people as those of Split.³³³

In addition, we find examples of a we-they feeling expressed in terms of we-foreigners or our language–foreign language also without the “we” getting a specific label. As an example I provide a condensed paraphrase of a section of the preface to a collection of poems published in 1563 by Dinko Ranjina of Dubrovnik. Our first poets, Sismundo and Gjore (Menčetić and Držić) saw that the languages used for literary expression were those inherited from the old Greek and Latin poets. Yet each (of the Classical poets) used his own language. This fact led the two just-mentioned poets to decide to write in their own native (*domaći*) language, which, as their own and not a foreign one, suited them better in their service to love (i.e., in their love lyrics). Ranjina goes on to say that they did not want to allow foreign lands (cultures, models) to guide their thoughts, which would support or help those foreigners. Presumably, he had in mind either Venice, in asserting its leadership in Dalmatia, or, more probably, Italianate culture over one's own. In any case, this practice was unnecessary and undesirable and would give nothing to one's own culture; but, moreover, the other (the foreign culture) would gain the resulting honor. But, it is better to have small fame among one's own than to lose one's self among foreigners. So, Ranjina shall follow Sismundo's and Gjore's path, for they were the first shining lights of our language, which a large part of the world speaks.

There is strong underlying ethnic-type feeling expressed here, even if it remains unlabeled. It starts as just “we,” speakers of domestic/ours, with a certain hostility to theirs, with their Latin/Italianate culture; but his argument ends in an unlabeled pan-Slavism, by noting that a large portion of the world speaks “ours.” This we-they feeling appears with some frequency among Dalmatian writers (and later on, with Slavonian ones too); sometimes the “we” was to be given a name (Slavic, Illyrian, Croat, Slavonian), but often it remained unlabeled beyond a simple “we” or an “our language.” We shall meet several more examples of this pattern in the next chapter, and, since poets

333. Cited by V. Gligo, *Govori protiv Turaka*, p. 30.

read each other, expression of this idea was often a later figure's borrowing from his predecessors.³³⁴

In this vein we also have patriotic feelings expressed without attachment to anything ethnic, but to a given individual's particular community, his birthplace, and his own people. Paul of Rovinj, during a visitation to the region of Imotski in 1640, met a Franciscan there who had studied in Italy. Asked why he had returned to the region of Imotski and the dangers and restrictions on freedom imposed by Turkish rule, the Franciscan replied, "[It's] my homeland."³³⁵ We have seen this theme—love of patria, be it a town or a region, unattached to a "nationality"—among some of our sixteenth-century poets, and will see further examples of it over the following two centuries in the next chapter.

But we also have noted many who gave no signs of ethnicity in the traces they have left behind and used the potentially ethnic terms only in political or geographical ways. We can also find examples of people who were explicitly above such mundane and limiting matters as ethnicity. A fine example of this attitude can be found in Trankvil Andronik Dalmata the Younger (Trankvil Andronicus Dalmatus, 1490–1571), who, we may also note, is another example of one to whose name "Dalmatian" was attached. Originally from Trogir, he spent most of his life abroad on various diplomatic assignments, and on one occasion, in 1545, when he was in Poland he delivered an address to the Polish nobility. In it he stated:

But even though from chance I was not born in your land, all of us re-born through holy baptism by which we are implanted with Christ the Savior must be of one race, of a single people, not so much through being related but through choice. Indeed how uncomfortable it is to look upon as foreigners those who through Christ are brothers and co-residents with Christ himself. To be a Pole or a German—the difference is only in the names, for we are not differentiated in the holy company among Christians. How awful it is to differentiate by birth and country and to look upon as foreigners those whom Christ Himself has bound together by Christian law and who in love should be one. It is not important that one is born in this or that particular land; we are inhabitants and citizens of one homeland, where soon we shall all be [namely,] in heaven. That is why the renowned Socrates, who is looked upon as being the wisest among men, in answering someone's question as to who he was, replied that he was not a Greek, nor Athen-

334. Medini, who cites the passage, notes that the views expressed may have been true for Ranjina, but, despite the poet's claim, they do not accurately represent the views and work of his two cited predecessors. (M. Medini, *Povjest hrvatske književnosti* I, pp. 175–76.)

335. Cited by A. Ujević, *Imotska Krajina*, Split, 1953 [1954], p. 79.

ian, but indeed a citizen of the world, and by this he let it be known that the world is the common home for all.³³⁶

It is also interesting to turn to the orations by Humanists and clerics about the Turks. Here, we would expect that, in bemoaning the plight of the victims of the Turks, whether those killed or the others carried off into captivity, focus would be on people and collective names for them. This is partly the case, since there are a great many references to “Christians.” And in these orations, the majority of which were directed at the pope—often by bishops—one would expect religious labels to predominate (i.e., “Christians,” not “Croats”). However, one would expect, since “national” labels and territorial names did make appearances in these texts as well, to find references to “Croats.” The surprising thing, however, is that in the texts of the thirteen authors (six of whom are from Croatia proper and five from Dalmatia) whom Gligo presents, we find only four references to Croats. Two are by the Bishop of Nin, Juraj Divnić, and one is by Bernard Frankapan; all three of which I argued in chapter 3 (when I presented the texts) were derived from the territorial name. One reference from 1523 by Krsto Frankapan is to “unfortunate Croats,” which he makes after a series of references to the administrative unit of Croatia,³³⁷ which also suggests that he derived “Croat” from the territorial name. Occasionally, with some authors, the absence might be attributed to the classicizing of names; however, this is often clearly not the case, since “Croatia” as a place, though not mentioned as often as one might expect, is used with some frequency, as also is, though less frequently, I may add, “Illyria.” Thus, it seems that identity as a “Croat,” and particularly one with a feeling for such as an ethnic identity, was missing—at least at the time these men wrote their texts—in all of these figures. And they, I might add, included two figures placed in the “Croat” camp at the beginning of this chapter: Marko Marulić and Šimun Kožičić.

It is also worth emphasizing the new connotations that some attached in the sixteenth century to the word “Slav” and that a few, having in mind the same meaning, gave to “Illyrian.” In the Middle Ages most of the people in what is now Croatia, about whom we have documents, used the term “Slav” for themselves and their language. They had a local perspective and, using “Slav” as an identifying marker, simply employed it in a local context without thinking about what all it entailed. The great powers, in particular Venice and Byzantium, had a broader perspective and used the term for any and all Slavs—usually in the context of South Slavs, since those were the ones they had most of their dealings with; and, with their great-power arrogance, the

336. Trankvil Andronik Dalmatinac, “Opomena poljskim velikašima,” in V. Gligo, *Govori protiv Turaka*, pp. 286–87.

337. V. Gligo, *Govori protiv Turaka*, p. 356.

two states did not usually bother to distinguish among them. A Slav was a Slav, and what did it matter if he lived within a kingdom called Duklja or one called Croatia. And, as we suggested earlier, the Slavs themselves, though without the disparaging aspect held by the powers, seem to have felt the same way, all were Slavs regardless of what political unit they found themselves in.

But now in the sixteenth century the horizons of some of the Balkanites grew, and, having been absorbed into or better integrated into empires—the Habsburg or Ottoman—they realized that there were many other Slavic regions and peoples. So, some came to see themselves and their identity—ethnicity for some—in this large category, the Slavic family, which was a concept advanced by Cyril and Methodius in the ninth century. This concept was retained to some degree by Bulgarian churchmen, but generally lost fairly rapidly by everyone else. As a result, now, for some in the sixteenth century, instead of merely being a Slav, whose Slavic world included a stretch of the Dalmatian coast, one was part of a people whose populations stretched to the Baltic Sea and the ends of Russia. For some, probably since most of them had little contact with the distant Slavs and thus no realization of the communication problems which they would have had were they to try speaking with them, there was one Slavic language. But for those realizing the considerable differences among the languages of the Slavs, a new term was needed if they wanted to distinguish their specific tongue from the general. Some chose for this “Illyrian,” though we have seen earlier that others, like Bishop Cedolinni, used “Illyrian” in an all-Slav context. Some others came to choose “Croatian” or “Dalmatian.” Thus, this realization and the new meaning for “Slavic” which came with it would contribute to the appearance and greater usage of other narrowly defining words.

Moreover, a second distinction in “Slavic” was being uncovered, namely the difference between Church Slavonic—the language supposed to be used in the Church services—and the spoken language. Of course, as noted, with the production of spoken-language service books, in many places that distinction disappeared as the spoken language took over in both places. But as the Church became more and more aware of this creeping vernacular and the papacy demanded action, more bishops responded, seeking to reform the language of the service and surely making more people aware that there was a question of two languages and, if one wanted precision, a need for two terms. However, Fućak shows that, despite the need and the variety of terms available—Slavic, Slavonic, Illyrian, Dalmatian, Croatian—all the terms were regularly used for either or both of the two languages.³³⁸ Thus, though the possibility for distinction was there, it was not taken advantage of by most. Surely, in many cases people remained unaware that there were two languages: the uneducated, particularly if their priests went on using the vernac-

338. J. Fućak, *Šest stoljeća hrvatskoga lekcionara*, pp. 113–20.

ular, and the numerous Italian bishops, many of whom never learned Slavic well and probably thought anything they heard with those funny sounds was the same language, Slavic (or Illyrian).

However, already in the sixteenth century and in particular for the period to come—the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries—among various intellectuals distinctions became more necessary, not only between our “Slavic” and that spoken in Bohemia or between what “I speak” and what is used for Church services, but also within the region I lived in. If one was writing Slavonic, in theory—if one really knew the language—it was the same whether one was in Moravia, Bulgaria, or Croatia. But the Protestants, seeking to use the vernaculars, hit snags right away. What was the vernacular? For there were a variety of dialects, three major ones in Croatia alone, not to speak of various deviant forms of each and certain mixtures among them in contact areas. In addition, it was noted that certain dialects were fine for particular areas but unintelligible or almost so in other places. This fact was to lead to the problem of trying to pick out the best dialect, the first step in a long process that really resolved itself only in the nineteenth century with the standardizing of the language. It also might require more names, for if one used “Illyrian” for his own language—one of the three dialects—could that term also be applied to all dialects? If not, then one needed to use “Illyrian”—if one retained it for something fairly narrow and did not want to apply it to all South Slavic or even all Slavic languages—for one dialect and find other terms for the other ones. Or maybe one should drop “Illyrian” as a term for anything specific and come up with three new terms. We shall see in the sections that follow that all these paths were taken, and since the intellectuals were split up among different states (Venice, Austria-Hungary, Dubrovnik), causing all sorts of communication problems and ignorance about what people elsewhere were writing and thinking, people tended to go their own separate ways, with all sorts of different solutions co-existing. Moreover, people, who were developing ethnic feelings and attaching them to language—often even among those who would consider one another as being in the same community—would come up with different names for that community; and, of course, there was often no agreement as to who belonged in a given community anyway. Some had larger communities (e.g., all South Slavs), some smaller (those of Dalmatia), and the smaller communities could overlap with others in different ways (e.g., if one had some sort of Croatian community, was Istria included? And were people from Kranj a part of it?) Needless to say, as we shall see in the next chapter, different people came up with many different answers to these questions.

FIVE

Perceptions of Slavs, Illyrians, and Croats in Dalmatia, Dubrovnik, and Croatia Proper, 1600 to 1800



INTRODUCTORY REMARKS

At the outset, it should be noted that in the sections of this chapter, certain people will be classified as choosing to describe themselves and/or others as “Slavs,” while others are categorized as preferring the term “Illyrian.” For many, this distinction makes sense, for they consistently used one term or the other; for example, two figures discussed in the last chapter: Orbini, who strongly preferred “Slavic,” and Šižgorić, who was a committed advocate of “Illyrian.” However, there were others who used the terms as synonyms, many of whom used the term “Slavic” when writing in proto-Serbo-Croatian and “Illyrian” when writing in Latin or Italian. To put such people in one or the other of the two categories clearly makes no sense. Yet, since the distinction is a real one for many individuals, particularly for those seeing them as covering different (broader and less broad) communities, I have decided to break matters down and categorize according to this division. As a result, those using the terms as synonyms are arbitrarily placed in one or the other section, but, I trust, their double usage is clear, through the comments I make about them.

We should also remain aware of the fact that there were many who used one or both of these terms as well as others for specific communities, but did

not include themselves in that designation. Thus, many Dalmatians wrote about Croats—some clearly seeing them only as a geographical/entity group, while others made them seem a people—and yet did not see themselves as Croats. Some tri-lingual Dalmatians truly felt they had nothing to do with the yokels from Slavonia, and particularly not with the illiterate brigands, even if Catholic, who manned the Military Frontier. Thus, the lands that now make up Croatia, housed for some people all of a large Illyrian community, while for others merely a part of that community. For yet others, these lands were home to several different peoples of whom an author might identify with only one. Moreover, to some the term “Croat” denoted anyone from Croatia proper. The Jesuits in particular made use of this geographical definition; thus, for example, a German speaker from Croatia could be labeled a “Croat.” Furthermore, language was not necessarily a key ingredient for a person’s identity. For some people “Croats” spoke “Croatian,” and some stating this said it without any evidence of ethnic feeling. In that case, a Croat could simply be one from a particular region/banovina. Thus, frequently it was a geographical/political term of identity. And if a person came from there, some might say he spoke “Croatian,” the language of that region. For others, the term “Croatian” for a language was tied to a particular dialect, “Kajkavian” for some, “Čakavian” for others. Each of these dialects was found in parts of Croatia, and the regional name of where a language was spoken seemed a logical way to denote a dialect. But if one was using the labels according to dialects, then if that person saw “Čakavian” as “Croatian,” and the person he was speaking about lived in Croatia proper and spoke “Kajkavian,” then that person could be called a “Croatian,” but his language might well be called “Kranjski.” And, in such a case, there was absolutely nothing ethnic involved. For others, however, a person could be a Croat but speak Illyrian, or an Illyrian who spoke Croatian.

So, all the way up to 1800, and for many well beyond that date, the use of terms was still to be greatly mixed. Narrow terms (“Dalmatian,” “Slavonian,” “Croat”) would continue to be used for people, often with only a geographical or political meaning. Thus, these three labels could all be found for people in different parts of what is now Croatia. Each of these terms on occasion was applied by some to people from all over the territory of contemporary Croatia. “Slav” can refer to all Slavs or various sub-groups. One might be a “Dalmatian,” ethnic or otherwise, but infer that a person was a Slav as opposed to being an Italian. “Illyrian” could be anything; for a few authors the term could cover all Slavs, including even Russians, or maybe only all the South Slavs (including Orthodox Serbs and, depending on who is speaking, maybe Bulgarians too). For others the term “Illyrian” might denote all Catholic South Slavs (or some narrower group among these Catholics). There even were some Habsburg officials, most often not Slavs themselves, who applied the term “Illyrian” specifically to the Serbs. So, these terms had no set meanings and were employed in wide varieties of ways depending on who was

using them. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the broad terms had many more users than the narrower ones (though who was included or excluded varied from individual to individual), and some of these users attached to the broad terms some ethnic baggage. By this phrase I refer to those ingredients associated with an ethnic consciousness laid out at the beginning of the introduction.

Each term also had users who applied them to language in various ways; “Croatian” or any other term could be applied to all South Slav languages or to a particular dialect. A Jesuit who was particularly interested in language, Bartol Kašić, whom we shall meet in this chapter, sought to find/produce a general South Slavic language understandable to all. At the start of his career he attached the term “Illyrian” to his first attempt at a universal dialect, a form of Čakavian. Soon, seeing that Štokavian was more widely used, he turned to trying to translate texts into that. But having attached “Illyrian” to Čakavian, he needed a new term, and thus called his Štokavian “Slavic.” But still, off and on he needed a broad term for all dialects, and he had given the two most obvious words—“Illyrian” and “Slavic”—specific meanings; so he took the term “Dalmatian,” which he had sometimes also used for Čakavian and made that term his all-purpose word, a usage of “Dalmatian” few followed. We shall see that “Croat” came to be used, depending on who was using it, for people from Croatia proper, but within that population it could be used more narrowly to denote either Čakavian speakers from the Senj area or else Kajkavian speakers from parts of Slavonia around Zagreb. Thus, the word “Croatian” when applied to a language, depending on who used it, could refer to either one of the two dialects, while for still others it might pertain to all proto-Serbo-Croatian dialects.

But, be this as it may, one thing must be emphasized. If there existed, or even was merely perceived, a definite community that was recognized by most area residents to include all those living in present-day Croatia, but people simply differed on what word to apply (“Illyrian,” “Slav,” “Dalmatian,” “Slavonian,” “Croatian”) to such a clearly defined community, then one could fairly argue that these people were already Croatians, though they had not yet decided on a name. But such a claim requires that scholars advancing it show that our source authors, regardless of term, were defining the same community. And that is exactly what does not happen, for users of each of these terms (including the word “Croatian”) used the terms to denote a wide variety of different communities. As late as 1800, as we shall see, there still was no broad agreement as to who “we” referred to, and, since that was the case, there was as yet no actual ethnogenesis of Croats. For as long as many in the given territory believed that their community included the whole Slavic Balkans, while many others saw the community as consisting only of people from the region around Senj or Istria—with all sorts of variants in between—

the particular collection that now makes up “Croatsians” was not yet a community. Moreover, though many were coming to identify broader or narrower communities with ethnic-type labels, many still did not attach anything political to that community; thus, you could be part of an Illyrian/Slav/Croatian community and have no belief that that particular unit should have its own state or even merely be united within the same greater empire. As a result, therefore, although many ingredients needed for the coming ethnogenesis of the Croats were in place, the actual ethnogenesis of people labeled “Croats” who saw their community as containing those (or those Catholics) of what is now Croatia—as opposed to other larger or smaller communities of people or territories bearing other labels—was still not underway.

It is also worth pointing out that certain themes get repeated almost verbatim from author to author. Clearly, authors read one another and took ideas that fitted their “ideology” from their predecessors. But each, even when presenting a lifted passage, takes that passage seriously and integrates it into his thinking. Thus, these derivative ideas really do reflect the views of the given author, and thus show how he integrates them into his views on language and personal identity is important. As a result, there will be considerable repetition of ideas, but where they show up and in connection with what other ideas illustrates how particular individuals were coming to grips with these issues and, as these ideas spread, we can see how certain ideas became basic to a growing number of people’s views on their language and how they fitted into narrower or broader worlds. So, now let us examine region by region our different categories of identity. A few outsiders (particularly Italians) who spent long periods of time living in Dalmatia will be included with the native Dalmatians.

As the reader may recall from the introduction to chapter 4, Dubrovnik throughout this period was an autonomous city-state under Ottoman suzerainty. The Adriatic coast between Senj and Rijeka was retained by the Habsburgs, with the region around Senj belonging to the Military Frontier. The territory in between Dubrovnik and the Habsburg possessions belonged to Venice (except for the Poljica-Makarska region, which in 1499 was taken by the Ottomans, who held it until Venice recovered it in 1683). Venice’s rule over Dalmatia was ended by the French conquest of Venice in 1797; then, following a period of warfare between the French and the Habsburgs, Austria assumed permanent (i.e., until World War I) control of both Dubrovnik and what had been Venetian Dalmatia in 1815. Venice during the long period of its rule had kept tight control over its Dalmatian cities, having rewritten their statutes and installed Venetian garrisons and administration in the towns. However, much contact existed among intellectuals of Dubrovnik and the other Dalmatian cities. Thus, citizens of each jurisdiction visited and at times worked in the other, and intellectuals of one read works written in the other.

THE DOMINANT “SLAVIC” AND
“ILLYRIAN” CAMPS

Vjekoslav Klaić notes that from Makarska to Kotor, the inhabitants called the people and the language in use “Slavic” (Slovinski or Slavenski). As examples of this usage, Klaić cites: Ivan Nenadić from Perast (1768), Joseph Matković from Dobrota (1775), the Hercegovac Marian Lekušić from Mostar (1730), and Andrija Kačić (Miošić) from Brista (1759). All of these individuals called their own people and language “Slavs/Slavic.” The majority of writers from Split north to the islands in the Gulf of Kvarner also called their people and language “Slavs/Slavic,” and Klaić cites as examples: from Split, Alberti (1617) and Dražić (1715); from Zadar, Budineo (1583) [*sic*, 1582] and a second Baraković (1656); and from Lošinj, Buterin (1725).¹

Let us now look at some of these individuals and a host of others who do not appear in Klaić’s brief list.

Dalmatia’s “Slavic” Camp

Juraj Baraković

Juraj Baraković (1548–1628) from Zadar is a fine example to start with. In 1614 he published his most famous work, the long poem, “Vila Slovinka” (The Nymph [named] Slovinka, which is feminine for “Slavic”); Baraković regularly called the language he wrote in “Slovinski.”² He called the people of that language “Slavs” as well and advanced a broad-minded view of his “Slavs,” saying that the Serbs were people of our language.³ Franičević does not provide the quotation from which he derives this statement, but I assume, unless Baraković expressed such a thought more than once, that Franičević drew it from a passage in which Baraković refers to the Serb Despot as “that well-known person, a neighbor of my language.”⁴ To reduce footnotes I shall cite passages from Baraković’s work by the page numbers of the Yugoslav Academy edition of his works.⁵

Baraković had strong affection for his language, which he often called “our” (e.g., p. 60) or “my” (e.g., p. 209) language. He also had strong feelings that people should use that language. In “Vila Slovinka” Baraković argues the point,

1. V. Klaić, *Hrvati i Hrvatska*, p. 46. The dates in parentheses after authors’ names are the dates of particular major works by these individuals.

2. V. Jagić, “Iz prošlosti hrvatskoga jezika,” p. 46; T. Maretić, *Istorija hrvatskoga pravopisa*, p. 55. Franičević presents the lines on the conditions of “our poetry”: “Bih nigda doparla na vrime Marula / Latinkam do garla i glas njih taknula / Opet sam padnula, zač jazik Slovinski / Vaš nauk od skula promini u rimski” (M. Franičević, *Povijest*, p. 638).

3. M. Franičević, *Povijest*, pp. 643–44.

4. Passage cited by M. Medini, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, p. 258.

5. J. Baraković, *Djela* (P. Budmani & M. Valjavec, eds.), Zagreb (JAZU, *Stari pisci hrvatski* 17), 1889.

without on this occasion giving the language a name: "Brought up on Latin, we are made to be ashamed of our own language, and people are expected to speak 'foreign,' but I shall speak mine [my language] to everyone. . . . I am not able to speak another, other than that which God gave me from my birth" (p. 12). In a later passage—this time calling the language "Slavic"—he returns to this thought, which I paraphrase in condensed form: He first notes that at the time of Marula (Marulić) people were thorough Latin users and one's natural Slavic language was turned into "Roman" (that is, Latin) for learning in school. Yet, he observes, Greeks and Latins (feminine forms, for he has the speakers represent the relevant vilas) embrace theirs (their languages) and even Germans and Poles bear theirs with honor, but his fellow countrymen (zemljaci) cannot stand his. And all the families (of his countrymen) are ashamed of their language, which, however, is fit to be used with pride before whatever other peoples. But his people stick to using the "foreign" (p. 113).

M. Medini notes that Baraković, for his time—the late sixteenth to early seventeenth century—was a rare example of a writer who possessed a fine Classical education and yet chose to use Slavic for all his literary works. Or, as Medini in 1902 dramatically, and like Baraković himself, puts it: Baraković "to his last breath remained faithful to his own people," while others of his time saw it as being useful to estrange themselves from their people and express themselves in "foreign."⁶ Moreover, Baraković had a pan-Slavic perspective and was proud of the fact that the Slavic language was heard over such a broad area: "from east to west, in speech everywhere is heard even now Slavic (slovinski) types of words" (p. 104).⁷ This passage comes at the end of a long story sung by his vila Slovinka.

A gathering of vilas occurred on the peak of Mount Velebit, which included his vila Slovinka, all dressed up (pp. 60–61). All the vilas gladly listened when Slovinka spoke about the origins of Zadar (p. 87). Here we see the author's patriotism. At the poem's start he had spoken of his love for his hometown (bašćine), Zadar (p. 12). And now, in the account of Zadar's founding, he makes it a founding legend for the Slavs as a whole, in which Zadar's place is central. Zadar was raised up by Neptune for the daughter of an eponymous heroine Nin (for the town of Nin), who had arrived in Dalmatia after the collapse of the Tower of Babel. This daughter, Plankita, had a son by Neptune, Slovan, who is the eponymous ancestor of the Slavic people. The story revolves around Slovan, to whom the gods present all sorts of gifts, which make Zadar strong and beautiful. Then, after building up Zadar, Slovan enjoys all sorts of glory (p. 101).

In descriptions, kept at the level of Slavs, Baraković provides various references to things like "Slavic honesty" (p. 102) and "Slavic society" (p. 126).

6. M. Medini, *Povjest hrvatske književnosti* I, p. 246.

7. M. Komol, "Zadar kao književno središte," in *Zadar zbornik*, Zagreb, 1964, p. 592.

Next, we learn that the Slavic language was named for Slovan, just as Rome was for Romulus (p. 103). In fact, God (*Bog* in Slavic—here written with a capital “B”), that is, the Christian God, slips in among the (lower case) gods of Classical mythology who had been active up to this time, a fact showing the importance to Baraković of the gift that is to come, for God gave the name “Slavic” to the people and knowledge of the language as well, a language which had been unknown until then (p. 104). And then, the vila goes on, as mentioned above, to say how widespread that language became (p. 104). Not only does the poet call the language “Slavic” throughout “Vila Slovinka,” (for example, pp. 68, 113), but we may note that on the title page of another long poem, “Jarula,” Baraković writes that it had been composed in “Slavic” (Slovinski jazik) (p. 247). But, returning to his “Vila Slovinka,” other peoples/ states ganged up on the Slavs and broke up their unity, and then, unfortunately, Slavdom became many separate peoples/entities, able to be subjected by neighboring powers. Medini emphasizes Baraković’s significance here, and sees him and the historian Orbini, met in the last chapter (whose history of the Slavs appeared in 1601), as being pacesetters, who paved the way for the more widespread pan-Slavism of Ivan Gundulić and others of the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In fact he sees Baraković’s pan-Slavism as fully grown with all the features seen in these later Dalmatian “pan-Slav” writers.⁸

Despite his emphasis on the term “Slavic,” Antoljak notes that Baraković referred to himself as a “Vlach.”⁹ Baraković also did not ignore the term “Croat.” It crops up about ten times in the 246-page “Vila Slovinka.” Sometimes the context suggests an entity/state viewpoint: Zadar, at some early point in its history, driving out the Croats (p. 27); and later on, in the context of fighting the Turks under their ban, he speaks of Croatian blood, as the pedigree of these heroic soldiers from whom the ban will form a knightly militia (p. 230). And elsewhere “the honest voice” of his vila Slovinka, after praising Zadar and Kotor, goes on to praise the sacrifices of Croatian warriors with the phrase, “pure dead Croatian blood” (p. 242). In one of his scenes, Baraković says, “[A]nd on you [priest Matija] on Mt. Parnassus is placed a wreath; of maple [leaves? branches?] in our [Slavic] way, with the agreement of the Croats (u slozih Hrvackih), or so I think, and with Slovacki [I assume a variant meaning “Slavic,” rather than anything to do with a specific people] songs” (p. 241). He also makes two references to the oft-mentioned “Croatian caps,” which we have met before and shall meet again (pp. 24, 173).

Later, in a confusing passage, Baraković uses for the only time in his collected works the term “Croatian language.” I think, using odd phrasing, he

8. M. Medini, *Povjest hrvatske književnosti* I, p. 253.

9. S. Antoljak, “Prilog biografiji hrvatskog pjesnika Jurja Barakovića” [1952], in his *Hrvati u prošlosti*, Split, 1992, p. 517.

means in the passage to contrast the Čakavian dialect of Marulić (Split) and the Štokavian of Bosnia, represented by a “pop” (priest), Ivan Bošnjanić, whom Kombol identifies as Ivan Tomko Mrnavić. Baraković states, “Another individual, another ‘broj’ [literally ‘number,’ but I think it means here ‘version’] of the Croatian language (Hrvatskim jazikom) . . . and the Croatians ponder this [contrast] and I do not know, nor am I able to know, to which of the two poets [Marulić and the Bosnian priest, but I believe it is more accurate to say ‘which of the two’s dialects’] of Croatian books to honor” (p. 245). I should note here that Kombol takes the passage not in the sense that I do, but as truly raising the issue of which man deserves first place in Croatian letters, Marulić or Mrnavić.¹⁰ However, it is hard for me to imagine that a poet, with a sense for language as Baraković demonstrates he has, could possibly consider the poetry of Mrnavić to rival that of the extraordinarily talented Marulić. But one could certainly argue that Mrnavić’s Bosnian Štokavian as a language had greater versatility than the Dalmatian Čakavian of Split, and that issue would certainly be one of concern for Baraković, who was from Zadar and thus grew up with Čakavian.

Other than possibly the fact that Baraković makes himself into an insider and a judge between the two poets (or dialects), none of these passages link Baraković to the referred-to Croatians in any way. The Croatians are simply from a Slavic region, just as the people from Šibenik, Kotor, or wherever are; all these people exist as Slavs. Baraković (and those from his beloved Zadar), the Croatians, and the Splićani are all part of the Slavic family and share an identity as Slavs; but the only specific identity—or the only one narrower than “Slav”—that Baraković attaches to himself is that of a Zadranin.¹¹

Mate Alberti

V. Klaić’s section-opening reference to Alberti is to Mate (Matija) Matulić Alberti (1561–1623) of Split, who in 1617 published in Venice a Service to the Blessed Virgin Mary. Alberti was long thought to be a cleric, an archdeacon; however, recent scholarship shows that he was not a Churchman at all, but a layman. The work’s title page informs the reader that the text was “accurately translated from Latin into the Slavic language” (iz latinskoga sada u

10. M. Kombol, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, p. 231, fn.

11. Baraković may have already seen his identity as “Slavic” as early as 1582. D. Berić (“Nekoliko podataka za biografiju Jurja Barakovića,” in his *Iz književne prošlosti*, Split, 1956, pp. 42–45) notes that Budinić’s book of Psalms from 1582, written in “Slavic,” contained in its prefatory material a poem to the honor of the city of Zadar, signed “IBS.” Berić argues plausibly that “IB” stood for “Iuraj” (which can be written with an “I” or a “J”) Baraković, and that the “S” stood for “Slav,” in the way such identifying markers were often attached to names. Berić also notes how in “Vila Slovinka” Baraković frequently used “Slav” as an identifying marker, particularly to make a contrast with a “Latin.”

slovinski jazik virno prenesen).¹² Then follows a note from the censor who approved the book. This individual, however, used other vocabulary, saying the text was written in Illyrian with Illyrian characters. Following this comment is an approval from the general inquisitor in Venice, also saying the text was in the Illyrian language.

After all this comes Alberti's preface. In this the author sticks to his preferred word "Slavic," referring twice at the beginning to his text using "our Slavic language" in one place and "Slavic words" in another. He then talks about his intended audience: "I sat and thought of the different countries of our Slavic family/race/kin (svoga roda slovinskoga), who once [found themselves] under Alexander the Serb [? Aleksandrom Sarbljaninom, but means Alexander the Great], who gave law to all the world . . . and [which people], who [now] find themselves spread out over such a large area with there being so many different countries of our people, who today have their own language from antiquity." He goes on to list the city of Dubrovnik, and "our noble Poles" who have a king of their own race (pleminiti našega naroda Poljaci imaju svoga roda kralja). Whether Alberti was intentionally making a contrast between the contemporary Poles and the Croats after the death of Zvonimir is impossible to determine. In any case, he shows a somewhat ethnic perspective in that he feels a native ruler is fitting, and he has a broad pan-Slav perspective since he calls the Poles "our Poles" and includes them in "our family/race" (rod). He then addresses Dubrovnik, which though a separate republic, is part of his narrower homeland, Dalmatia (though he does not refer directly to Dalmatia). In addressing that city, he calls it the true crown/wreath of our wonderful language. He therefore dedicates his text to the citizens of Dubrovnik and, in narrowing his all-Slav perspective, calls these citizens the only ones of our language who have remained free, and hopes that God will preserve the Ragusans in their lordship (self-rule) until the end of time for the eternal glory and wonder of our Slavic language. And it is made very clear, as Milčetić notes, that Alberti singles out the Ragusans for honor and praise because they are the only free Slavic (read "South Slavic," for Alberti himself had noted the Poles with their own king) people. Alberti goes on to talk about rendering the Virgin's service in Slavic, and that previously it had not been possible to honor the Lady in glorious Slavic and among the Slavic people. He next talks about orthographic problems in rendering "our Slavic words" in Cyrillic and Latin letters. He emphasizes the fact that the reader can see from his text that it is

12. The material on Alberti's text that appears in this section comes from I. Milčetić, "Splječanin Matija Alberti Dubrovčanima" (pp. 314–20) which is part 4 of his longer piece, "Manji prilozi za povijest književnosti hrvatske," *Gradja za povijest književnosti hrvatske* 7, 1912, pp. 305–66; and from D. Berić, "Splitski jezikoslovac Matija Alberti," in his *Iz književne prošlosti*, Split, 1956, pp. 49–63. On Alberti not being a cleric, see Berić, p. 51; on the contents of the preface to his office, see Berić, pp. 56–59. On Alberti, see also I. Ostojić, *Metropolitanski kapitol u Splitu*, p. 186.

possible to render our Slavic words in Latin letters. Alberti soon moves on to briefly note the problems of vocabulary and dialect which result in a need, when writing pure Slavic, to use words that are not everywhere customary but which can be found in Slavic Missals and Breviaries.

Thus, throughout the preface, Alberti uses one term exclusively for the language, "Slavic." In so doing, he comes (according to the definition provided in my introduction) very close to being an ethnic Slav, whose community is conceived both broadly (all Slavs, or possibly all Catholic Slavs, since he does not mention Russia) and more narrowly (Split/Dubrovnik, with how much more territory included—all Dalmatia, all South Slavs—unspecified).

On the title page of his office is a fancy presentation reflecting the pan-Slavism he expresses in his preface. Prominent are pictures of St. Cyril and St. Jerome, the creators—as was believed—of Cyrillic and Glagolitic; and in these respective alphabets each greets Mary. And beside these two saints are depicted the patron saints of his own town, Split (St. Dujam), and Dubrovnik (St. Blasius/Vlah), which city, as we have seen, he singles out for praise in his preface.

Fancev has also published a letter of Alberti written in 1607 to Alexander Komulović, whom we met in the last chapter, about problems of Slavic orthography, in which Alberti again refers to the language as "Slavic" (*schiaivo*).¹³

Jerolim Kavanjin

Alberti received notice from the Split poet, who focused on prominent Splićani, Jerolim Kavanjin (1643–1714). According to Kavanjin, Alberti turned into Slavic the words of the Office (the Church service) (*u slovinsku e obratio rič oficij*).¹⁴ On Marko Marulić, discussed in the last chapter, Kavanjin wrote, "Marko Marulić, our Splićanin, into our Slavic words (*u slovinska naša slova*) made [available] worthwhile knowledge for the people."¹⁵ The word choice of "Slavic" for these verses belongs with Kavanjin, the author. Kavanjin's major work "Poviest Vandjelska," which includes the two quotations just cited, is a hodgepodge of religious and historical tales, chiefly on the Slavs and especially the South Slavs.¹⁶ To save on footnotes, page numbers from the Yugoslav Academy edition of his works follow citations. His title page says that the poet wanted to write on the history from the beginnings of his own fatherland (*otacbine*) Dalmatia and of all the other states (*država*), regions, and the

13. F. Fancev, "Hrvatska književnojezična pitanja u pismu Splićanina Mateja Albertija iz god. 1607," *Vrela i prinosi* 6, 1936, p. 11.

14. H. Morović, "Stari splitski bibliografi," in H. Morović, *Sa stranica starih knjiga*, p. 16.

15. H. Morović, "Stari splitski bibliografi," in H. Morović, *Sa stranica starih knjiga*, Split, 1968, p. 17.

16. J. Kavanin [Kavanjin], *Poviest Vandjelska* (J. Aranza, ed.), Zagreb (JAZU, *Stari pisci hrvatski* 22), 1913. Page references in my text are from this edition.

remaining Illyrian peoples (prior to p. 1). Kavanjin also hoped that the work would be useful to “our people.” Since his emphasis—when dealing with Illyria and its history—was a broad one, on the Slavs as a whole, presumably “our people” means all South Slavs, or possibly all Slavs. Of South-Slav regions, he speaks most about Dalmatia, his own area, and shows particular affection for it, for example, calling it, as he does on the title page, his “fatherland.” In the text he speaks of the long tradition of bravery in the world of Dalmatians, of heroes (p. 236). He also picks up the story of the three brothers—Čeh, Leh, and Rus—who migrated from a common homeland to found the Czech, Polish, and Russian nations; Kavanjin makes them “young Dalmatians” (p. 254). He proudly makes Emperor Constantine the Great “of right Dalmatian birth” (p. 266), though it is not clear in this passage that in Constantine’s case, “Dalmatian” necessarily meant a Slav. But in another verse he directly states (as we shall see shortly) that Constantine was of the same race as Peter the Great; he also claims that the Hungarian kings Stjepan and Vladislav were Slavs (*vedri kralji ruke slavske*). And he is horrified that the crazed Latins could think that the word “Slav” was derived from “slave.”¹⁷

But, as I have noted, Kavanjin’s emphasis is on the level of Slavs/Slavic, and this emphasis dominates his eleven historical chapters (6 through 16). We have just spoken of the “Slavic” stress in his comments on Alberti and Marulić; he also commented on Alexander Komulović, whom we met in the last chapter, saying that Komulović made Christian doctrine available in Slavic better than anyone before him (p. 99). He speaks about the Slavic (Slavonic) Church Mass raising up our beautiful language (p. 94); and, it should be noted, that he frequently and with affection refers to the language as “our language.” Later on in the text, he provides a list of great past figures born of the noble Slavic family (*plemito slavske plemo*) including the Illyrian kings, Philip and Alexander, Zvonimir, and (Stefan) Nemanja and points out that they were all called “Slavs” (p. 266). I do not think the “called” suggests he had doubts about the pedigree of the names heading the list. Speaking about the time of the mythical kingdom of King Krunislav, Kavanjin claims that then only Slavic was spoken by everyone from this soil (Dalmatia) to the Ice (Baltic) Sea (p. 228).

Kavanjin’s “Slavism” also at times reveals features that coincide with what my introduction advances as important ingredients of ethnicity. Addressing Peter the Great (and interestingly he calls Peter that in ca. 1710 [p. 262]), Kavanjin writes, “You know that Constantine was great and of your stock/race

17. T. Matić, “Hrvatski književnici mletačke Dalmacije i život njihova doba,” in T. Matić, *Iz hrvatske književne baštine* (J. Pupačić, ed.), Zagreb, 1970, p. 192. In at least two other passages, however, Kavanjin makes clear that he saw Constantine as a Slav: in one case he produces a list of great men including Alexander the Great and Constantine and states that all were of “Slavic blood” and he also in addressing Peter the Great notes that Constantine was “of your race” (*traga*). Cited by I. Pervol’f, *Slavjane* II, pp. 367, 384.

(tvoje trage)" (p. 264). Pervol'f also states, in a passage given with no reference, and which I could not find in "Poviest Vandjelska," that Kavanjin in one of his lists that included Alexander the Great and Constantine goes on to say that they were all of "our Slavic blood."¹⁸ I did find a second passage in this vein; here he has Achilles, a son of Illyria, and Mars, the god of war, being of "our powerful Slavic blood" (jesu naše krvi sile, slavske) (p. 268). Even if these figures are mythical, the passage clearly illustrates Kavanjin's sense that the Slavs were of one ethnos or family. In addition to these references in his "Poviest Vandjelska," Kavanjin also left an unpublished and more personal text which Ć. Čičin-Šain has entitled "Baštinici," in which he speaks of there being a national style of coat worn by the Dalmatian gentleman. He goes on to speak of two nations residing there: the Italians and the "Slavs who call themselves [for the word] 'glorious.'"¹⁹

Besides this pan-Slavism, which produced in him the identity that came closest to being ethnic, Kavanjin exhibited the noted "Dalmatianism." This local "Dalmatian" identity was the only competitor "Slavic" had. And, after all, as he said, Dalmatia was his homeland. And two such identities could easily co-exist and both could have "ethnic" ingredients. After all, Americans can feel part of two communities, that of the whole United States and one within it, say Texas, the South, or New England. His affection for Dalmatia is also seen in the attention he gives to its various cities, and we can find in the work city identities. For example, we saw above that he called Marulić "our Splićanin"; the "our" here might seem a city-patriotic remark since Kavanjin too was from Split. However, showing his broader Dalmatian feelings, he refers to Bartol Kašić as "our Pažanin" (i.e., from the island of Pag). But I do not think that any of these local identities can be called ethnic. But he does like to give images to identify the character of these localities, for example, the fishing on Korčula, the wine of Hvar.

Kavanjin has several mentions of "Croatia/Croatians." Most of them are historical and thus the mentioned "Croatians" are associated with a Croatian state: Budimir of Cetina and his brother Vuleta of Croatia (p. 226). Thus, of two brothers, one is identified by his county, the other by his state. Kavanjin lists a bunch of names, labeled "Croatian bans" (Kroaski bani) (p. 227). Zvonimir was done in by Croats (i.e., his subjects) (pp. 241, 297). As a result, Croatia was divided up and others (Hungary/Habsburgs and Venice) ruled over it; and the cause was division and strife among the Croats. Later, in a brief section on various Dalmatian towns, Kavanjin notes that they had been Roman and after that they had been for a time called Croatian (Arvasna) (p. 160). For a time the towns had actually been under the ruler of Croatia, and

18. I. Pervol'f, *Slavjane* II, p. 367.

19. Ć. Čičin-Šain (ed.), "J. Kavanjin: Baštinicima," in *Izdanja* (Muzej grada Splita) 3, 1952, p. 31.

thus were Croatian in that sense. Kavanjin also calls Grgur of Nin “a Croatian” (p. 169). Grgur, until he was removed by the Council of Split, had been the “Croatian bishop,” that is, for the territory of the Croatian state. Kavanjin states that the Croatian land (the former state, I assume) is now in pieces (p. 276), in other words divided, as it was in ca. 1700, among various states. Kavanjin also shows hostility to major members of the nobility in the Croatian banovina: the Šubići (Paul and Mladen), with their ambitions supported by no legal claim, seriously interfered with the established order of the Dalmatian cities (and the local Church as well), as did Hrvoje Vukčić’s rule of Split. Kavanjin did not even like the Frankapans; they tyrannized the island of Krk leading to Venice’s successful take-over of the island. Thus, he establishes a clear-cut dichotomy between Croatia and Dalmatia and saw the Croatian nobility’s interference in Dalmatia as a danger to the rights of a different and separate society.²⁰ Kavanjin also discusses Slavonia, mentioning that it lies between the Drava and Sava, and since the people’s bravery shines in Slavonia, the Slavs are glorified (p. 277). He also refers to some military action of the brothers Jurijević, when the Croats participated in a battle between Venice and Liguria (p. 182). Again it is an institutional (army) reference.

I see nothing ethnic in any of these references to Croats. There had been a Croatian state, and there still was a Croatian entity and Croatian military units. In each of the above passages the “Croatian” name, it certainly can be argued, was derived from one or another of these Croatian institutions. Kavanjin gives no sign of seeing a Croatian identity attached to a group of people, who of themselves could be called “Croat.” But in any case, even if one wants to dissent from my interpretation and argue that Kavanjin did recognize a Croatian people or people with a Croatian identity, it is evident that he did not share that identity. The Dalmatians were not Croats, and the Croatian nobility’s activities in Dalmatia in the Middle Ages was unwanted outside interference. Kavanjin, though sharing a language with them—a language he called “Slavic”—was not a Croat.

Andrija Kačić-Miošić

The Andrija Kačić mentioned by Klaić is in fact better known as Andrija Kačić-Miošić (1704–60). He was a Franciscan from his mid-teens, who began and ended his career at the monastery of Zaoštrog, near his birthplace. He also spent a decade teaching in Šibenik. In 1756 and 1759 respectively he published in Venice two editions of his *Pleasant Conversations of the Slavic People* (naroda Slovinskog). Much of the text was in verse, as Kačić-Miošić “improved” the historical folk epics of the guslars (epic singers) by replacing

20. T. Matić, “Hrvatske književnici mletačke Dalmacije i život njihova doba,” *Rad* (JAZU) 231, 1925, p. 193.

folk versions with “historical facts,” many of which were drawn from various historical works such as Orbini.²¹ My summary of his views is chiefly drawn from the two editions themselves in Matić’s edition—with Kačić-Miošić’s first edition, pp. 1–96, and the material added in the second, pp. 97–616—and from the excellent introduction Matić provides with the texts. Page citations that follow in my summary, when in Arabic numbers, are from the texts themselves and, when in Roman numbers, are from Matić’s introduction. The second edition was a greatly expanded version of the first, with some of the first edition’s material reworked. Most of the historical material appeared for the first time in the second edition. At the end of the section, I briefly examine a second work, “Korabljica,” which appears in Matić’s second volume of Kačić-Miošić’s *Works* (*Djela*). Page citations for “Korabljica” appear in my text with the page numbers following a “II,” representing the second volume of Kačić-Miošić’s works.²²

Kačić-Miošić’s work, like Orbini’s, treated the Slavs in general and as a single people. Thus this broad level was the “ethnos” which counted. He not only discussed the glories of those who had lived in what was to become Yugoslavia, but the Bulgarians as well.

On the 1756 title page, following the title itself, he writes; “in which is shown the beginning and heights of the Slavic kings who for a full era ruled all the Slavic states (Slovinskim državam) with different songs about the kings, bans, and Slavic knights, drawn from various Italian books and put together in the Slavic language” (pp. 1 & xvi). Though worded slightly differently, the 1759 title page says the same things (p. 97). His Slavic preface keeps the same general Slavic tone: “Other peoples have many books about their shining lights, but we do not.” So, he was writing to serve those people who other than Slavic did not know any language. He particularly wanted to bring this world of heroes to the common people, the peasants and “Slavic shepherds.” And so he has “brought to light this book collected from various Italian books and rendered in the Slavic language, so that the people may see the kings, bans, and Slavic knights, their wars, their heroism, and all their actions good and bad” (pp. 5 & xviii). He elaborates a bit on this in the 1759 preface, which clearly had behind it further research, for now he claims to have drawn material from Latin, Italian, and Croatian (rvatski) books. He mentions songs among his sources, and he clearly had drawn upon many oral epics (pp. 101–2 & xviii).

Despite the fact that Kačić-Miošić used “Croatian” books (unspecified, though he clearly used “The Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclea”), Croats receive no more attention than the other South Slavs; however, he does extend

21. M. Pantić, “Mavro Orbini —Život i rad,” introduction to M. Orbini, *Kraljevstvo Slovena* (S. Ćirković, ed.), Beograd, 1967, p. lxxxi.

22. A. Kačić-Miošić, *Djela* (T. Matić, ed. & author of introduction) I, Zagreb (JAZU, *Stari pisci hrvatski* 27), [1942] 1964; II, Zagreb (JAZU, *Stari pisci hrvatski* 28), 1964.

the medieval Croatian kingdom way up into Slovenia to include Carniola, Carinthia, and Styria (pp. 232 & xxiv). In the first edition "Croats" are mentioned only three times, in three descriptions of people in battles. Usually he refers to his warriors by town, or small region (Lika, the Neretva), but occasionally they are presented on the level of Hercegovina, Montenegro, and Croatia. The three occasions are: in a poem on the contributions of Šibenik to a Venetian war against the Turks, he calls one warrior (the only one out of several named), Rakitić Gavrane, "an awesome Croat" (Rvat) (p. 40); a second awesome Croat, this one from Kotor, fought in the same war (p. 51); and he notes twenty thousand Croats—clearly a Croatian unit—fighting for Hungary in a Habsburg war (p. 72). We also find occasional references to "Slavonians" (Slavonca) (e.g., p. 73).

In the second edition, Kačić-Miošić devotes much attention to history. It is chiefly pitched at the "Slav" level. This may not be odd since two of his major sources, Orbini and "The Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclea" did the same thing. As did many of his sixteenth-century predecessors, he has the Slavs being indigenous and also has various other peoples who passed through the Balkans be Slavs as well, for example, Goths and Avars.

Kačić-Miošić starts with a chronology. I will give a bit of it for the flavor and, in so doing, I provide each early mention of "Croats." In many cases it is not clear where the Slavic state (*slovinska država*) was located; he gives the impression that it floated about the Balkans. In the year 3606 from creation (which occurred in 5508 B.C.) he has the ruler of the Slavic state (*slovinska država*), King Bradilo, a Slav (*Slovinac*), fighting in a vicious war against Philip of Macedonia, Alexander's father, which Bradilo won, forcing tribute upon Philip. However, Bradilo's sons and successors were subdued by Alexander. Then in the year 3784 (from creation) the Slavs and Macedonians, as allies, faced a Roman invasion of Dalmatia, which defeated them, forcing them to submit to Rome. In A.D. 57 St. Paul preached in the Slavic state. In 244 the Slavic state was ruled by King Svates, a Slav. These Slavs then called themselves Avars. In 350 the king over the Croats (*Rvati*) was Suring. In 401 the Gothic Slavic King Alarik conquered Rome and Italy. In 417 the Goths Slavs conquered the Spanish state (*orsag*). In 453 Attila, previously called a Hungarian, conquered Dalmatia, but the Slavs won their own back against Attila's son in 457. In 493 Theodoric, Slav king, killed Odovacar and became King of Italy. The king at this time (526) in Dalmatia and the Croat land (*rvatskoj zemlji*) was Selimir. In 564 some other Slavs, the Avars, appeared from the other side of the Danube in the Slavic land and conquered much of it. (Kačić-Miošić does not seem to have noticed that he already had the Avars active in 244.) Their leader was called a ban, and from this, Slavic dukes or vojvodas are often called bans to this day. In 639 the Avar Slavs overwhelmed Dalmatia, destroying many towns, including Salona. In 639, also, the Croats came from Babine gore. (They also had been mentioned as present before, in 350

and 526.) They drove out the Slavs in residence, and the Croats settled the land, and they (the settlers) called themselves “Croats” from the name of the Croat ban, who ruled them.

In 688 the Franks made themselves rulers of the Croatian land, and the Croats went into great decline. Under 819 he reports on (taken, though without mention of his source, from the Frankish annals, using those annals’ geographical terms) Borna King (should be Prince) of Dalmatia and Ljudovit Ban (should be Prince) of Slavonia. In 827 the Dalmatian Slavs threw off Rome’s and Constantinople’s rule. In 829 in Dalmatia and the Croatian land, Tomislav reigned. This, of course, is a century too early for Tomislav. Then in 832 he says that in the other Slavic state the king was Gostumil. Here he is relying on the Priest of Dioclea and has Duklja in mind. In 837 he has Trpimir as King of Dalmatia and Croatia. Then he lists under various years, approximately correct, the various ninth-century Croatian rulers mentioned in Venetian and other sources, like Branimir and Domagoj, sometimes erroneously terming them “kings” but each time—as the Venetians did—calling them rulers of the Slavs or of Dalmatia. In 936, ten years too late, he has the Croats defeating Symeon of Bulgaria, and then in 946 he mentions two non-existent rulers of Croatia, Primislav and Boleslav. Shortly thereafter, in 966, the Neretva Slavs defeat the Turkish Saracens in Latin land. Then in 1059, and going back to real Croat kings, Kačić-Miošić has Krešimir king over the Croats, followed in 1065 as King of the Slavic state by his son Stjepan. But after the removal of Zvonimir, King of Croatia, he stops referring to kings who were either Croats or in Croatia, and has the kingship of the Slavs move to the Serbian land, having the first such king be Michael, who actually was in Duklja. Then he has Dukljans as the rulers until 1171 when things move to Serbia itself, but his terminology is still in keeping with his concept of a general Slavic kingship, leading him to have Nemanja in 1171 be the Slavic king. The kings of the Slavs that follow are members of the Serbian dynasty (pp. 108–15). Interestingly, in his biographical sketches of the Slavic kings, he ignores the Croat rulers entirely and has the pre-Nemanjić rulers all be Dukljans taken from the priest’s chronicle.

Later on, Kačić-Miošić returns to this period, giving biographical sketches of the various kings of the Slavs. And here, as just noted, he starts with those of Duklja—many fictitious—taken from the Priest of Dioclea’s chronicle and then, without directly stating it, having the kingship pass on to the Nemanjići, with paragraph-long biographical sketches of members of that dynasty, much of it taken from Orbini. All the kings, whether Dukljan or Serb, are called “Slavic kings” (pp. 132–85). Even though his subjects in the later years are kings of Serbia, Serbs, as people, are rarely mentioned. In fact, one of the rare occasions they make it into this section occurs when Marko Kraljević comes to the Battle of Marica with his “Serbs” (p. 185). But the source for this label is the epics. Even Prince Lazar (Tsar in the epics), the martyr of Kosovo,

when addressing his men on the eve of the battle calls his nobles "Slavs" (p. 187). Kačić-Miošić follows his royal biographies with paragraph-long biographical sketches of the last Serbian rulers, the Balšić rulers of Zeta, the Bosnian kings, and the Bulgarian rulers.

After this, Kačić-Miošić finally reaches, "A short conversation on the heads of Croatia or Kranj." We might expect Kačić-Miošić to have identified more with the Croats than with anyone else, but this section (pp. 232–34) does not take up a full two pages. Whereas he had paragraph-long biographies of all the rulers just mentioned, he devotes merely two or three lines to each Croat, except Zvonimir, who does rate a paragraph. It is in this section (p. 232) that he extends the Croat kingdom north to include what is now Slovenia. He also presents a derivation of how the Croats came to be called "Croats," which is anything but ethnic, and fits perfectly with my own political definition. His definition seems to be drawn from the period under Hungary when Croatia had bans: "And all this state (*država*) was governed by the ban or duke of Croatia, who for a very short time had been called a king. . . . And all of them, who were subjected to him, were called 'Croats,' because of the land/territory of Croatia or Hrvatia, and [that is] because of their ban about whom I have a short conversation . . ." (p. 232). He then proceeds to the page and a half "conversation" on bans/kings from Porin through Zvonimir—listing none of the bans under Hungary after 1102.

But whereas Kačić-Miošić consciously avoids any sort of "Croat" identity or ethnicity, he has strong feelings for a Slavic entity. In between his chronology and royal biographies, he has a variety of lists. First is a list of twenty-four Roman emperors who were alleged to be Slavs; he often includes after their names the particular sort of Slav they supposedly were. All ruled prior to the Slavic invasions and included such leading figures as: Maximin (a Bulgarian from Adrianople), Diocletian (a Dalmatian), Constantius Chlorus (a Dalmatian) and his son Constantine the Great, Jovian (a Slav from Srem), Justin (a Bulgarian from Adrianople), and Justinian, his nephew (a Slav from Rasije [=Serbia]). When we note that here uncle Justin and nephew Justinian received different labels, it becomes apparent that Bulgarian and Serbian/Raskan have nothing to do with ethnicity, but were based on geography, simply marking the regions where Kačić-Miošić believed the two were born. He then lists three Slavic popes, and then turns to a long list of Slavic saints. It starts with ten Dalmatians, including Pope Kaja, who were said to be members of Diocletian's family. Then follows a list of others who preceded the Slavic invasions, of course including our friend Jerome, until Kačić-Miošić finally reaches later saints who truly could be Slavs, though he includes in their ranks people like Cyril and Methodius who were Romans. Only three, and these were beatified rather than sainted individuals, all post-medieval, are called by the name "Croat": Marko Krizin, born in the Croatian land, and martyred by heretics in 1619; Nikola Ratkaj, Croat (Hrvačanin) of the Jesuit order, a mis-

sionary in India; and Martin Borković, Croat (Hrvat) of the Order of St. Paul, first a hermit, and later Bishop of Zagreb, who died in 1697 (p. 126). Following these lists Kačić-Miošić comes up with a beautiful poem about Constantine the Great's mother, St. Helena (called Jela), whose excavations in Jerusalem turned up the True Cross in the third decade of the fourth century. He says that some say she was a Bulgarian raised in Sofia and others that she was a Slav (Slovinka) born on the island of Brač; but it does not matter, for Bulgarian or Bračkana, she is a Slav (p. 127)! Vodnik also notes that Kačić-Miošić referred to Dubrovnik as the "Slavic Athens." And as that scholar puts it: Kačić-Miošić always had before his eyes the whole Slavic race; he did not recognize the ethnic idea (*narodne ideje*) in "today's" (1913) sense. To Kačić-Miošić the Slavonians, Ličani, Dalmatians, Bosnians, and so forth were different peoples belonging to a single Slavic language (family). What was important for him, as Vodnik notes, was not a people/ethnos (*narod*) but the language.²³

In the second edition, in his poems, most of which concern fighting the Turks, Kačić-Miošić also tends to identify his people by city or small region, if not by their broad Slavic identity (e.g., when in olden days kings of Slavic family [*Slovinskog roda*] ruled) (p. 430). But he does have several references to Croats, the largest number of which occur in two particular war poems. The first deals with Hungarian and Croatian knights fighting the Turks over two centuries from 1441 to 1641. Here we find Frankapans and Zrinskis (called Zrinovičes) as Croatian bans, and since the Croats in action in the poem are forces serving under Croatian bans, "Croatian" has this official/institutional sense. But in this poem we have, for example, Croats falling on the Turks (p. 459) and Turks being driven from "Ostrošćem" by strong Croat heroes (p. 464). In the second poem, which concerns the wars over Candia and Vienna, we find: shot for the Turks to defend themselves from the Croats; knez Perisilac, Croat, an acclaimed knight; the knight Stjepan Vojinović from the Croatian land; the falcons, Croats, children of the Emperor; and two officers (heads/*glavara*) called two Croats (*Rvačanina*) (pp. 469–71). But again the Croats are warriors and as the Croatian bans Nikola Zrinović and Erdoly are mentioned, we can take these as military-unit or geographical references; in this vein should also be taken the poem's reference to other forces being Posavci (from along the Sava River) (p. 472), hardly an ethnic identity. In fact, he has a whole poem about the hero Sekul, Vojvoda of Kobas of the Posavje, in which the identifying word "Posavci" is used twice (pp. 473–74).

Other examples of the term "Croat" are: in a poem about knights from Šibenik, the phrase "two nobles, two Croats" about two named knights (p. 492); in a poem about taking Novi near Kotor in 1687 we find the Turks attacking Croat footsoldiers and horsemen (p. 571); and a second poem has some awesome warriors from Croatia with the knightly hearts of heroes and a reference

23. B. Vodnik, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti* I, pp. 335, 337.

to those from the border (krajišnici) and Croats (pp. 583–84). Elsewhere his poems mention: a Frankapan rounding up Croat heroes for battle (p. 357); and the awaiting on the eve of the Battle of Mohacs of 15,000 heroes from Croatia (p. 366). Both of these fall into the category of official forces under the Ban of Croatia. And finally, in a poem about the alleged ancient noble family of Bergelić, in the context of Bosnia in the fourteenth century (which he refers to as the “Slavic period,” i.e., the period of independent Slavic states), he says there “quarrelled/fought Croat heroes, Dalmatians, and Bosnians” (p. 409). Here he had in mind, not ethnics, but the nobility from these three regions who warred constantly over land and hegemony during that period. Ante Split also cites two other passages: in the first, he notes that in the Slavic people (singular, *narodu Slovinskomu*) bravery rules, but strength and fortune are found in the Croatian soldier (*u vojniku hrvatskomu*). And elsewhere he asks in a complimentary way what is to be said of the dear brothers, or blood-brothers (*po-bratime*), who bear the Croatian name.²⁴ Here, though expressing affection for Croatians, Kačić-Miošić still provides them with a separate identity, granted a closely related one, making them brothers rather than part of “us.” But references to Croatians, when we consider how many poems were included in this long work, are rare and often missing where we might expect them: for example, from the poem about Nikola Zrinski’s suicidal failed defense of Szeget (pp. 368–71) or the poem on the Turkish raid on the island of Korčula in the 1571 Venetian war (pp. 372–74).

So, as Vodnik notes, Kačić-Miošić used the term “Croatian” for the people in Croatia, but the name “Slav” stood way above the term “Croatian.”²⁵

Kačić-Miošić also gave great attention and sympathy to the Orthodox Slavs. “I don’t know why one speaks evil of the Orthodox [Slavs], who are from our much honored and glorious language and people” (p. xxvi). He greatly regretted the schism and hoped for its end, but put all the blame for the break upon the Greeks. Moreover, he wanted to have, and needless to say he did have, the Serbian St. Sava as a hero and recognized saint. Knowing that St. Sava was a schismatic and consecrated as Serbian archbishop by the Greek patriarch, Kačić-Miošić adds a made-up validation. Namely that the Greek patriarch was acting on the orders of the great pope to whom the Greek was subjected (p. 131).

This fiction got Kačić-Miošić out of the elaborate explanations provided a century earlier by the Bishop of Bosnia, Ivan Tomko Mrnavić. That imaginative writer dated the break, not to its actual time in the mid–eleventh century, but to the ninth-century quarrel between Pope Nicholas I and the Patriarch of Constantinople, Photius. Upon the latter, needless to say, all the fault

24. Ante Split, *Hrvatski naslov*, pp. 66–67.

25. B. Vodnik, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti* I, p. 337.

lay. Though, in fact, the Photian-Nicholite break was short-lasting and completely healed, it was convenient to date the schism back to the 850s, for that period pre-dated the conversion of the Slavs, and thus put all blame fully upon the Greeks. Mrnavić found a different but also easy way to make Sava a respectable figure for Catholics, for Sava's appointment as Serbian archbishop, in 1219, occurred during the time of Latin rule of Constantinople. Of course, Sava actually received his appointment from the Greek patriarch residing in exile in Nicea. However, Mrnavić had Sava receive his credentials from the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople, which was respectable and allowed him to include Sava as a saint (p. xxvi).

In addition to the figures mentioned above, Kačić-Miošić also included among his Slavs the fifteenth-century heroic non-Slav Skenderbeg. Indeed, Kačić-Miošić devotes more attention in the second edition (pp. 234–322) to Skenderbeg than to any other figure. In all the prose and poems of his heroic war against the Turks, he never hints that this Skenderbeg was a Slav. But later, in a list of princes and nobles of Slavic nationality (*naroda slovinskoga*), he includes the Kastriot family, naming Skenderbeg specifically (p. 384).

Kačić-Miošić also picked up on Alexander the Great. Many Slavic Humanists of the early-modern period made Alexander into a Slav. However, I found no evidence in the text that Kačić-Miošić did. He merely made, as others had before him, the Balkan Slavs contemporary to Alexander and had these Slavs admired by him. In any case, Kačić-Miošić has the Macedonians and Slavs interacting and being allies. And he does buy into the myth of Alexander's Donation to the Slavs. He wrote:

And bravery ruled in the Slavic people, the strength and reliability
[found] in the Croat warrior
Alexander, great king of all the world, witnessed the deeds of the noble
Slav knights (*slovinani vitezovi*)
and therefore called them a glorious and strong people.
And so before he died, he left them a great gift for their heroism
and he left them the territory from the Latin Sea [I assume the Adriatic or Mediterranean] and all the territory up to the Baltic ice.
And this was to be theirs and from old times so it was and no one was
to take it from them, for such was Alexander's wish.

And then the poet goes on to list the lands included in this gift, and he does not have the grant start at the Danube (as the Polish and Czech version did). Rather he includes the Balkans as well: "All of Great Sarmatia, Bosnia, Dalmatia, the Illyrian land, Muscovy, Poland, Bohemia, Hungary, all of rich Slavonia, and knightly Bulgaria, all these are Slavic lands. And Ligonía, Alania, Lika, Krbava, Albania, Pomerania, Gorija, Kranj, Serbia, Russia, Tataria,

and Prussia" (pp. 105–6).²⁶ Here we may note, not only that his emphasis is on the level of the Slavs, but also that in this list he omits Croatia, which suggests that it did not play a major part in his thinking.

A year later, in 1570, Kačić-Miošić produced a similar work, "Korabljica" ("The Ark," in the sense of Noah's boat). This text, printed in Venice, unlike its predecessor, was entirely in prose; it also devoted much more space to Biblical history; however, it did have a brief chronicle at the end, based upon Vitezović's chronicle, which Kačić-Miošić recognizes on the title page as having been written in the "Bosnian language" (II, p. 1). Like the first work, Kačić-Miošić treats ethnicity at the level of Slavs (focusing on those, of course, of the South), with emphasis upon the Dalmatians. Thus, the identity marker "Dalmatian," is found throughout the chronicle, and often an individual is referred to as a "Slav Dalmatian" for example, Diocletian (II, p. 256). The Goths were seen as "Slavs," "the referred-to Goths were of Slavic language and people" (II, pp. 259–60), so we also find the expression "Slav Goths" (II, p. 254). The word "Croatian" is rarely found and in all cases in reference to the political entity of Croatia; and in most cases "Croats" who act are troops serving the Ban of Croatia.

Most of Kačić-Miošić's sub-dividing the Slavs is based upon an individual's place of origin: thus, in his list of servants of God of "our glorious language and people," along with Dalmatians and people from specific places (e.g., Bosnia, Slavonia, Croatia, etc.) he has two individuals (Nikola Rattkay, a missionary, and Martin Borković, a Bishop of Zagreb) referred to as "Croats" (II, p. 251). He also reports the Croats' arrival in the Balkans in the only passage that could be construed ethnically (though the Croats here seem to be more a warrior band named after its leader than an ethnic group): "In 640 the Croats (Rvati) came from Mount Babina to Dalmatia and drove out the old settler Slavs and settled the Croatian land (rtvatsku zemlju) and called themselves Croats (Rvati) from their ban whose name was Rvat" (II, p. 264).

One can illustrate well Kačić-Miošić's basing ethnic-type terms on place of origin from his list of Slavic emperors (none of whom were actually Slavs): "Cesari Slovinci: Maksimin Bulgarin Drinopolac. Decius born in Srem in Slavonia. Flavius Klaudius, Slovinac Dalmatin. Aurelius Valerius from Srem or (as some want) a Dalmatian. Diocletian Dalmatian, etc." (II, p. 319).

But more important is the level upon which Kačić-Miošić bases "ethnicity," as is seen in the heading of his servants of God (noted earlier), and also seen in such later headings as "[There] Follows Princes and Nobles of the Slavic People," the text below which discusses Bosnians, Serbs, Zetans, and so on (II, p. 290) or "If you want to know who among our language and people were popes and emperors, I will tell you" (II, p. 319). There then follows a list

26. H. Morović, "Legenda o povelji Aleksandra Velikoga u korist Slavena," in H. Morović, *Na stranica starih knjiga*, p. 120.

of those he believed to be Slavs from all over the Balkans. He also has a category of knights and heroes of the Slavic people (also from the whole Balkans) followed by a single long sub-category "Dalmatini" (II, pp. 314–15).

Kačić-Miošić also got his Slavic patriotism into the Biblical part, associating, as was common among the learned of his time, the Slavs with Noah's son Japheth; and he provides a long list of Slavic peoples: Muscovites, Poles, Amazons, Bohemians, Moravians, Slovaks, Toti, Kranjci, Istrians, Croatians (Rvati), Slavonians, Serbians, Rasijani or Serbs, Vlachs, Moldavians, Bulgarians, Bosnians, Dalmatians, upper Skenderci, and many others (II, p. 12). And out of the host of languages that emerged after Noah, he says, three stood out as glorious languages, namely, Slavic, Greek, and Latin, the languages in which one served the Mass . . . and the other (languages) were not permitted for this. He goes on to tell his readers not to be ashamed of speaking their glorious language, just as Greek and Latin speakers are not ashamed of theirs. He says that

if you are asked "to what people do you belong (koga si naroda)?" don't say, as you have been taught, "I am a 'Scavon,'" for that means according to our words "I am a servant" or even worse "I am a slave," which would be to your shame, but say, "I am a Dalmatian, Croat, Bosnian, or Slavonian, because we are from ancient times glorious" (od starine slavni), and called neither Scavi nor Scavoni (suggesting servitude).

And Kačić-Miošić goes on to note, as many others before him had, that Slavic was more widespread than any other language and he provides a long list of states/regions where it was used (II, pp. 13–14). Not surprisingly, as S. Peričić concludes, the verses of Kačić-Miošić and of a second poet, Filip Grabovac (to be discussed later), did a great deal to awaken feelings of "Slavicness" (Slovinstvo) among broad levels of Dalmatia's general populace.²⁷

Ivan (Dživo) Gundulić

Ivan (Dživo) Gundulić (1588–1638), a Ragusan poet and dramatist, spoke of his people as "Slavs" and regarded all Slavs as being one great whole, a single people. In 1637 when Ferdinand II of Tuscany, to whom one of Gundulić's relatives taught Slavic, was married, Gundulić wrote a poem to honor the event. He noted that all the Slavic people (Slovenski narod) honor you on this occasion. He exulted that the Slavic people and their states stretched from the

27. S. Peričić, *Dalmacija uoči pada mletačke republike*, Zagreb, 1980, p. 233. An anonymous collection of verses entitled "Slavic Poems [Popjevke slovinske] Collected in 1758 in Dubrovnik," therefore also favoring the term "Slavic," included items from Kačić-Miošić's first edition. On this text see G. Bujas, "Kačićevi imitatori u makarskom primorju do polovine 19 stoljeća," *Gradja za povijest književnosti hrvatske* 30, 1971, p. 13.

region of Dubrovnik to the frozen Ice [Baltic] Sea and in verse refers to “a hundred kingdoms” where one hears the Slavic name expressed.²⁸ He notes that the Slavic peoples (literally, states/regions, *Slovinskih svih država*) make up the bulk of the “world” (“svit,” but he presumably means Europe/Eastern Europe). He claims that in this “world” they speak one common language.²⁹ But Gundulić also clearly saw the Dalmatians, both Venetian and autonomous Ragusan, as a collective. Like several other Dalmatian writers, he emphasizes the fact that alone of “our coast” (*primorja naša*), only Dubrovnik governs itself (*Dubrava sama ona vlada se po sebi*). He continues later in the poem to speak of how the rest of Dalmatia suffers under the yoke of foreign governance.³⁰ In his allegorical pastoral “Dubravka,” which name stands for the free Republic of Dubrovnik, Gundulić provides a ringing hymn to celebrate that freedom.³¹ Thus, along side of his “pan-Slavism,” which I now return to, he has strong patriotism for his city. For elsewhere, he writes, his neighbors are suffering under the Ottomans or Venetians, but in his major work, “Osman,” he takes hope from recent Polish successes. Now, maybe all our Slavic people will unite in a single struggle of Cross against anti-Cross (the Ottomans). Thus the Slavs from the north (the Poles) as liberators of the Slavs of the South can represent both Christianity and Slavdom; and he calls on Poland’s King Vladislav to take up the challenge and with it the throne of Tsar Dušan.³² Again, we see the emphasis is on the Slavs; the Poles are part of our people, and it would be perfectly fitting for a Pole, as a Slav, to sit on the throne in Constantinople.

D. Fališevac thinks it very significant that Gundulić thought of addressing an epic, as he did with his “Osman,” to so broad a group as “our Slavic people” (*našemu slovinskomu narodu*) and to celebrate the victory of a Polish king. But she goes on to argue that his Slavdom, like that of many of his contemporaries, was all tied up with Catholic renewal. In fact she claims this link was far stronger than has often been thought. And thus, though these writers were impressed by the great expanse of Slavs (that included the Russians), they mourned the Church schism. Thus, like Komulović in the last

28. I. Gundulić, *Djela* (A. Pavić, ed.), Zagreb (JAZU, *Stari pisci hrvatski* 9), 1877, p. 276; M. Kombol, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, p. 239; M. Pantić, “Mavro Orbini,” p. lxx; A. Barac, *A History of Yugoslav Literature*, Ann Arbor (ACLS/SSRC, Joint Committee on Eastern Europe Publication Series 1), n.d., p. 46.

29. I. Gundulić, *Djela*, p. 276; M. Kombol, p. 247; B. Vodnik, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, pp. 232, 241. Gundulić also brings in Serb heroes from the past, real and epic ones, to contrast former glories with present-day subjection. Interestingly he makes Alexander the Great, whom we have seen at times depicted as a Slav, into a Serb (Serbljaninom). (See I. Gundulić, *Djela*, p. 313, discussed by F. Švelec, “Epika u hrvatskoj književnosti 17 stoljeća,” *Zbornik Zagrebačke slavističke škole* 2, 1974, p. 25.)

30. M. Kombol, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, p. 242.

31. B. Vodnik, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti* I, pp. 229–30.

32. B. Vodnik, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti* I, pp. 232, 245.

chapter and Križanić and others, whom we shall meet later, Gundulić's vision of Slavdom was tied up with Church Union as much as with driving back the Turks. She emphasized Gundulić's phrase, "Cross against anti-Cross," and that theme is completely intertwined with his "Slavdom." The Polish victory near Chocim in 1621, celebrated in the epic, is a Slavic-Christian (should one say Slavic-Catholic Christian?) one over Turkish-Islam.³³

A second writer, sharing the views but not the talent of Gundulić, was Petar Kanavelović/Kanavelić from Korčula. He also celebrated the Polish delivery of Vienna from the Turkish siege of 1683: "Among the ranks of Slavic states/regions (*država*) and of the Slavic language, that will always sing the praises of the glorious Polish king . . . and with Slavic songs I will sing to celebrate your [the king's] glory." Having cited these lines, Pervol'f goes on to provide a passage in Italian (from the poet's preface?) that Kanavelović wanted to present (his text) in the native Illyrian language of the great king (in *lingua illirica*, *nativo idioma di qual grande rege*), who has been so celebrated by "Slavic muses" (*musa slava*).³⁴ In this poet's view, both "Illyrian" and "Slavic" were broad terms that included, besides the South-Slav tongues, Polish and presumably other West- and East-Slav languages as well.

Tadić notes that Gundulić's views of Slavdom were shared by some/many of his contemporaries in Dubrovnik. Without specific citations (though many phrases seem to have been taken from diplomatic material), he notes that Ragusans referred to Bosnian Muslims as being "ours" or "of our language." Orthodox South Slavs were described in the same way, and Tadić notes two Orthodox monks described in 1608 as being "of our language." At this particular time, when Venice was threatening Dubrovnik, the Ragusans were looking to the Ottomans as defenders, and the Ottomans were to be most helpful. Discussions between Ottoman officials (many of whom were of Slavic origin) and Ragusan envoys were frequently carried out in "our language" (proto-Serbo-Croatian), and both sides (these particular Ottomans and the Ragusan diplomats) expressed at times to each other the view that they were from the same language/people. When the Ragusans went to thank the Ottomans for pressuring Venice to return in 1606 the island of Lastovo, which Venice had briefly seized, an envoy commented in his report that the Grand Vezir was "[one of] ours." Tadić also found Ragusan references to "our Halil Pasha," and to a certain Hasan Pasha, who was called "ours" and later called a "Serb."³⁵

Non-Ragusan visitors to the Ottoman court also noted the widespread use there of proto-Serbo-Croatian, which they invariably called "Slavic." A Czech visitor in 1688 noted that "Slavic" played the role there that French and Italian

33. D. Fališevac, "Ivan Gundulić," in A. Flaker & K. Pranjić (eds.), *Hrvatska književnost u evropskom kontekstu*, Zagreb, 1978, pp. 270–71.

34. I. Pervol'f, *Slavjane* II, p. 379.

35. J. Tadić, "Dubrovnik za vreme Dživa Gundulića," *Srpski književni glasnik* 56, 1939, pp. 278–80.

did at Western European courts. A second visitor in 1702 said that among the Ottomans, one was not considered educated if he did not know Slavic.

Other terms (though not "Croatian") were used on occasion for the Slavic at the Ottoman court. A Dubrovnik captain and envoy in 1622 brought a letter for the admiral Halil in Illyrian language. Vinaver cites several examples of the language being called "Bosnian" and notes that on one occasion, in 1634, the Ragusans reported that a particular official was "of our language, Bosnian." And a Vali/Vizir of Bosnia conversed pleasantly with a Ragusan embassy in 1639 "in Bosnian."³⁶

We will return to this issue from the Ottoman perspective in the appropriate section later in this chapter.

Frano, the son of Ivan (Dživo) Gundulić, participated on a diplomatic mission to Moscow in 1655 and in his diary/private account noted that the Russian tsar, Alexei, was very happy that one of the leading envoys named Allegetti was of the Slavic language (*od slovinskoga iesika*) so that he could speak his own language without the use of an interpreter. The account is chiefly in Italian but with short sections off and on in proto-Serbo-Croatian. In this case the cited three-word Slavic phrase was inserted in the midst of an Italian sentence.³⁷

Andrija Zmajević's Church Chronicle

Andrija Zmajević's (1624–94) ancestors came from Montenegro to the southern Dalmatian coast, where he was born in Perast. A Catholic, he served as Bishop of Bar and completed in 1675 a Church chronicle, which also had much secular history in it. Written in proto-Serbo-Croatian for "his own Slavic people" (*svomu slovinskomu narodu*), its focus was on the Slavs (namely the South Slavs) whom he saw as a single people, including in his community the Orthodox Serbs as well; and he hoped that all the Slavs and especially the Serbs would become united in the Roman faith. Indeed, he greatly praised the Serb St. Sava, though Zmajević depicted him incorrectly as being faithful to Rome. Zmajević started with the Slavs' earliest history, taking that back to the Ancient World and seeing the Slavs as autochthonous in the region where they now live. He saw the Emperor Claudius as a "Slovinjanin" from Dalmatia and credited St. Jerome with "the wonderful and glorious Slavic language of our Dalmatia." And he praised Orbini for bringing to light so much about the old and new (history) of "our Slavic people." He also reported that when Queen Christina of Sweden came to the Collegio Urbano in Rome, while he was a student, she was greeted in twenty-six languages, including in "our

36. V. Vinaver, "Bosna i Dubrovnik 1595–1645," *Godišnjak Društva istoričara Bosne i Hercegovine* 13, 1962, pp. 210–12, 215.

37. M. Deanović, "Frano Dživa Gundulić i njegov put u Moskvu 1655 g.," *Starine* (JAZU) 41, 1948, p. 41 (the actual text), and discussed in Deanović's introduction, pp. 24–25.

Slavic language,” and he notes the earthquake of 1667 that hit “Slovenskoj Dubravi” (Dubrovnik).³⁸

Junius Palmotić

The Ragusan dramatist Junius Palmotić (1606–57), in his four plays on domestic subjects—“Pavlimir,” “Captislava,” “Bisernica,” and “Danica”—all of which were full of fantasy about the Slavic past, consistently and frequently employed the terms “Slav” and “Slavic.” Occasionally he mentioned “Dalmatia” and “Dalmatians,” but the term “Illyrian” was entirely absent, and the term “Croatian” nearly so. Writing on language, Palmotić noted that the Slavic language (*linguam slavam*) was spread out over many lands and was spoken by many who by origin were not Slavs.³⁹ In one of the manuscripts of his “Kristijada,” he states “I dedicate to you [Queen Christina of Sweden] these my Slavic (Slovinske) poems.” In the text he presents the commonly seen view of widespread Slavdom: with Slavic (Slovinski) the language from the Adriatic to the Frozen (Baltic) Sea.⁴⁰

In his dramas Palmotić regularly used the term “Slavic.” In “Danica,” he refers to Ragusan nobles speaking the Slavic language (*slovinskoga jezika*) and lists a variety of Balkan leaders by name, and then concludes with, “and all the Slavic lords.” In his fantastic play on early Slavic history, “Captislava,” he has a woman named Slava who was the mother of the Slavic (*slovinskoga*) folk, and a Krunoslav, King of all Slavs or of the Slavic lands, who imposed upon those of Epidaurus (the pre-Slavic settlement near or at what was to become Dubrovnik) the duty to take up the Slavic language. This king commanded that the Muscovites, Russians, Poles, Pomeranians, Vandals, Czechs, Serbs, Bosnians, and the other Slavic folk all speak Slavic. In all four of what I call his domestic-subject plays, he refers to the “Slavic language,” at times clearly using the term for what was spoken in Dalmatia.⁴¹

38. The material in the preceding paragraph is from G. Škrivanić, “Crkveni Letopis iz XVII veka barskog nadbiskupa Andrije Zmajevića-Perastanina,” *Istoriski zapisi* 7, no. 10, 1954, pp. 312, 315–16, 319, 324, 326–27, 329–30. See also P. Butorac, “Pisma ruskog admirala Matije Zmajevića,” *Starine* (JAZU) 41, 1948, p. 63.

39. V. Jagić, “Iz prošlosti hrvatskoga jezika,” pp. 47–48, and fn. 38.

40. Gj. Palmotić, *Djela* III, p. 223; his works appear in four volumes of the series *Stari pisci hrvatski* (JAZU) 12–14, 19, Zagreb, 1882–84, 1892; vols. I–III edited by A. Pavić and vol. IV by I. Broz. On Palmotić, see I. Broz’s introduction to Gj. Palmotić, *Djela* IV, Zagreb (JAZU, *Stari pisci hrvatski* 19), 1892, and for the issues just discussed in my text, see that introduction pp. xi, xxxvi. This thought, i.e., that all Slavic states speak Slavic from the Adriatic to the Frozen Sea, also appears in his “Pavlimir” (*Djela* I, p. 111). The text of “Kristijada” was brought out thirteen years after the author’s death by his brother Djordje, who added, for his part, a dedication to a cardinal in which he referred to Slavic people and populace and to Illyrian language and songs. (A. Pavić, “Junije Palmotić,” *Rad* (JAZU) 68, 1883, pp. 69–70.)

41. For “Danica” reference, Gj. Palmotić, *Djela* I, pp. 343–44; for “Captislava” citation, *Djela* II, pp. 161–62.

One may note the absence of Croats in this Ragusan's list of the peoples commanded to speak Slavic. However, Croatia is not entirely absent in Palmotić's work. Croatia is included in another long list in "Bisernica"; this passage lists the lands from where the Slavic knights at the Hungarian court were drawn. Again, however, what is important are the facts that the knights are Slavs and that a large number of places have Slavic populations to provide these knights. In "Danica," Palmotić refers to Hrvoje as Ban of the Croats (Od Hrvata ban Hrvoje) and to him ruling the Croatian lands; the real Hrvoje Vukčić was never Ban of Croatia. Palmotić also has a certain Jerina, wanting to rule with Hrvoje over the Croatian state (Da s tobome banovati/hrvatskijeh ću vrh država). However, all of Palmotić's "Croatian" references are to lands far to the north in Croatia proper. These references are to a place or political entity, and never are combined with the ingredients associated with ethnicity as laid out in the introduction. Palmotić certainly does not consider himself or the population of Dalmatia to be "Croatian."⁴² We see this in "Pavlimir," in a context where one might expect reference to "Croatians" had Palmotić so thought. The playwright notes in this play that Dubrovnik was renowned above all Slavic cities (slovinske gradove), and he has a character returning by boat to the Slavic kingdom where his grandfather had ruled. The boat seeks refuge in a storm at Gruž (near Dubrovnik) where today the Slavic people there remembered a certain Ilarov. In this drama Palmotić also states that the Slavs are a warrior people and mentions Goths and Slavs, a Council of Slavs, Slavic state/kingdom/regions, and Slavic lords.⁴³

Palmotić, it may be noted, chose Bosnian (a variant of the Štokavian spoken in his native Dubrovnik) as the purest Slavic dialect.

Jacob Mikalja

Also considering Bosnian as the purest Slavic dialect was Palmotić's contemporary, the Italian Jesuit from Apulia (almost certainly from a family of refugees from Dalmatia) and linguist Jacob Mikalja (Micalia, Micaglia, ca. 1600–1654). Having spent much time as a missionary in and around Dubrovnik, he called Bosnian the most beautiful of all the Illyrian dialects. He was one of the first to state explicitly that the languages (dialects) of Bosnia and Dubrovnik were for all practical purposes the same language. Mikalja published two works in 1649: first an Italian grammar and study guide to Latin "in Slavic" (zlovinski) and second, a dictionary, with bilingual title, having "On the Treasures of the Slavic language" (Blago jezika Slovinskoga) in Slavic and "Thesaurus of the Illyrian language or Illyrian Dictionary" for

42. "Danica" references, Gj. Palmotić, *Djela* I, pp. 291, 338, 379.

43. Gj. Palmotić, *Djela* I, pp. 4–5, 11. Palmotić's plays are discussed by A. Pavić, "Junije Palmotić," *Rad* (JAZU) 70, 1884, pp. 32–56. That Dubrovnik wore the crown of those places using the Slavic language is also stated at the very beginning of "Danica." (Gj. Palmotić, *Djela* I, p. 289.)

the Latin (*Thesaurus linguae Illyricae sive Dictionarium Illyricum*).⁴⁴ The apparatus at the start (including Levaković's approval as censor) was rendered in both languages. In the Latin, the language is once again called "Illyrian," while in Slavic it is "Slovinski."⁴⁵ Thus, like various others whose works utilized the two languages, Mikalja varied his terminology depending on which language he was writing in. It may be noticed that he consistently followed this pattern; Vanino publishes twenty of Mikalja's letters as an appendix to his study. These letters, written in Italian and Latin, consistently use the term "Illyrian": for the Illyrian nation (three times), Illyrian words, Illyrian language, Illyrian vocabulary, in vulgar Illyrian, Illyrian dictionary, Illyrian confessor (priest to hear confessions in that language), Illyrian works (sense of books), and so on. In one letter he refers to his published translation into Illyrian of seven Psalms.⁴⁶ Mikalja in his missionary work served in many Balkan places and had contact with Bulgarian speakers. He called their language "Bulgarian."⁴⁷ It is also worth noting that he compiled a work on Christian doctrine, much of it translations from the Italian. The work, as far as Vanino could discover, was never published, but it passed three censors, all graduates of the Illyrian College in Loreto and each of the three appended to their names "Illyricus."⁴⁸ Whether the three regularly utilized that marker, or merely added it here to show their qualifications to judge a work in "Illyrian," or were using it to signify that they were graduates of that college is unknown.

Mikalja noted that languages had various dialects, which he illustrated by noting the major differences in Italian between the speech of Tuscany and Rome; so it is with Illyrian with its many different dialects (literally ways of speech, *li modi di parlare*), but everyone says that the Bosnian language (*la lingua Bosnese*) is the most beautiful of all the Illyrian (dialects).⁴⁹

Discussions on What Slavic Language/Dialect to Use

A Bosnian Franciscan, fra. Stipan Margitić (Stjepan Margitić-Markovac, †1730), disagreed, however, on the superiority of Bosnian, objecting to the

44. M. Vanino, "Leksikograf Jakov Mikalja, S.I.," *Vrela i prinosi* 2, 1933, pp. 1–25 (with appendix publishing twenty of Mikalja's letters, pp. 26–43); see also, T. Maretić, *Istorija hrvatskoga pravopisa*, p. 102. On Mikalja's origins, see J. Jernej, "Podrijetlo Jakova Mikalje," *Zbornik radova* (Filozofski fakultet, Sveučilište u Zagrebu) 1, 1951, pp. 613–28. Jernej notes that in one of his prefaces, Mikalja refers to the language not by a name but as "our language" or simply "ours" (*naški*), which suggests that he saw that language as his own, thereby indicating his own Slavic heritage (see Jernej, "Podrijetlo," p. 624).

45. M. Vanino, "Leksikograf," p. 21.

46. M. Vanino, "Leksikograf," pp. 26–28, 35–36, 39; J. Radonić, *Štamparije*, pp. 87–88.

47. M. Vanino, "Leksikograf," p. 37.

48. M. Vanino, "Leksikograf," pp. 42–43; Franciscus Segny Illyricus, Bernardus Dulcus Illyricus, and Antonius Pidotti Illyricus.

49. V. Jagić, "Iz prošlosti hrvatskoga jezika," p. 50.

corruption of what he called “the Bosnian language also called Illyrian”; he noted the many Turcisms found in Bosnia, but he immediately went on to note the Italianisms on the coast. He continues, “[A]nd so it is in our Bosnia, there is no agreement on language; [when speaking] our language each town has its own words and special pronunciation. Thus, one cannot write or translate into the Bosnian language a book that everyone will agree on its being done nicely.” In the end, he concluded that “the pure Dubrovnik language, when compared to Bosnian, is the most exalted among the Slavic [tongues].” Though Margitić used the term “Illyrian,” “Slavic,” as he also wrote here, was, according to V. Jagić, his favored form. However, Margitić did use “Illyrian” as well as the criticized “Bosnian” in titles, writing in the first decade of the eighteenth century his “Christian Confessional” in “Bosnian or Illyrian” (u jezik bosanski aliti illirički). His “Fala ot sveti,” published in 1708, was written in “jezik illirički.”⁵⁰

In this context it is worth noting that another Bosnian, Ivan Ančić, who was from Duvno (often called Dumno), at times called his own language “Dumanski” (Duvno-ian) while at others using the broader term “Illyrian,” which in his mature years was his usual term of choice. In his youth he had called the spoken language, when writing in Slavic, “Slavic,” while using the term “Illyrian” when writing in Latin. Georgijević cites from an Ančić poem that speaks of “Slavic wisdom” (slovinske mudrosti). Ančić referred to the “Cyrillic” the Bosnians used as “Illyrian letters” (Ilirisko slovo). He also called the people “Illyrians,” while at times referring to himself as a “Dumljanin.”⁵¹

Jagić cites another seventeenth-century author, the Bosnian Matija Divković (1563–1631), who was born in Bosnia, educated in Italy, and then became a Franciscan back in Bosnia; Divković, though usually calling the language “Illyrian,” at times called it “Bosnian.”⁵² Georgijević disagrees, saying he usually called the language “Bosnian,” “Slavic,” or “ours” and goes on to cite a passage: that Divković had translated (a work) into Slavic language, in the way that in Bosnia they speak the Slavic language. Moreover, Ravlić provides excerpts from Divković’s “Beside varhu evandjela nediljnih priko svehga godišta” (Venice 1614), including the whole dedication to Makarska Bishop Bartol Kačić (spelled Kadčić by Divković). In that dedication Divković twice

50. Material on Margitić, including citations from the preface to his “Christian Confessional,” come from V. Jagić, “Iz prošlosti hrvatskoga jezika,” pp. 48, 51; and M. Iovine, “The ‘Illyrian Language’ and the Language Question among the Southern Slavs in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries,” in R. Picchio & H. Goldblatt (eds.), *Aspects of the Slavic Language Question I*, New Haven (Yale Russian and East European Publications, no. 4-a), 1984, pp. 113, 124. Unless the work appeared twice, Iovine is sloppy, once saying the work was published in 1704 and in another place 1707; Iovine also provides variant spellings of the title “Ispovid Krtjanski” and “Ispovid karstianski.”

51. V. Jagić, “Iz prošlosti hrvatskoga jezika,” pp. 50–51; K. Georgijević, *Hrvatska književnost*, pp. 164–65.

52. V. Jagić, “Iz prošlosti hrvatskoga jezika,” p. 51.

refers to the language he is employing; both times he calls it “Slavic” (Slovenski jezik). Divković also used the term “Slavic,” at times for the people involved; Kombol notes that he published in Venice, in 1611, a work entitled “Christian Doctrine for the Slavic People” (Nauk krstjanski za narod slovenski). In its preface, he stated that he wrote for the Slavic folk in correct and true Bosnian language. Georgijević also notes that he referred to the Bosnian Cyrillic, which he wrote in, as Serbian letters.⁵³ Another seventeenth-century Bosnian Franciscan, Pavao Papić, also chose the term “Slavic,” stating on a title page that a translation of his was rendered into “glorious pure slovenski jezik.”⁵⁴

A more complex description of language names appears in a letter written by the Istrian-born Franciscan Franjo Glavinić (1586–1650) to Rome in 1626. He had served in Bosnia, Croatia, and Kranj and noted the need for communication in the Illyrian language (l’idioma Illirico); however, he points out that there are different variants of this language over which individuals have strong preferences. Croatians (i.e., according to Putanec, those of the Croatian coast, Lika, and Krbava), Slavs (!), Istrians, Kranjci (Slovenian speakers), and Bezjaci (according to Putanec, Kajkavian Croats and Slavonians) reject the Dalmatian and Dubrovnik language; at the same time the Dalmatians and Istrians reject the works of Bosnians, Slovenians, and Bezjaka. As representative of the Dalmatian-Dubrovnik language, Glavinić cites the Illyrian Missal published in 1531 and drawn up according to the Roman rite under the supervision of Bishop Šimun Kožičić, the works of Marulić (i.e., “Judith,” first edition 1521), and Budinić’s edition of Psalms published in 1582. His breakdown is not particularly accurate, since Bosnians do not write Kajkavian or Slovenian, and the Istrians appear in both camps. But it is interesting to note the number of different peoples he comes up with, and the very narrow region from which he is willing to draw Croats.⁵⁵ We shall return to Glavinić’s text (a letter) and the context in which he was using terms later. But before leaving this talented Franciscan, it is worth noting that he bought into the Donation of Alexander the Great legend. His discussion appeared in a religious text, “Czvit szvetih, to yeszt sivot szvetih, od kih rimska crkva cini spomenak, prenesen i slozen na hrvatski jezik” (The World of Saints, That Is, Lives of the Saints, whom the Roman Church Recognizes, Translated and Arranged in the Croatian Language), published in two editions in Venice, in 1628 and 1657. Glavinić included in his preface a discussion on the origins of the Slavs (od izhoda naroda slovenskoga) and, citing Orbini (who published an Italian

53. K. Georgijević, *Hrvatska književnost*, pp. 150, 158; M. Kombol, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, p. 226; B. Vodnik, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti* I, p. 223; J. Ravlić (ed.), *Zbornik proze XVI i XVII stoljeća*, Zagreb (Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnost, 11), 1972, pp. 165–66. The original for the last-cited phrases: “za narod puoka Slovenskoga” and “u pravi i istiniti jezik bosanski.”

54. B. Vodnik, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti* I, p. 223.

55. V. Putanec, “Problem predsenjskih tiskara,” *Jadranski zbornik* 4, 1960, pp. 64–65.

translation of the Donation) as his source, provided his readers with the first translation of the text into Slavic; yet oddly, in this particular book, he called its language "Croatian." Glavinić, however, in the context of this discussion of Slav origins, which of course is a pan-Slav one, uses the term "Slav" for the people involved. Glavinić provides many of the old themes, like linking the Slavs with the Sarmatians, who were Japheth's descendants. They migrated up to Scandinavia and then poured out to settle most of Eastern Europe and Eurasia, where they eventually came into contact with Alexander, receiving his Donation as a reward. He then goes on to break the Slavic people down into sub-groups, under different lords. He provides all sorts of explanations for their names, sometimes folk ones: Poljaci (Poles, from field, "polje"), or Croats (Hrvati) from Croatia (Hrvatska), Bosnians from the River Bosna, Dalmatians from the plain of Dulma (Duvno), the Slavonians from the River Sava (reviving this odd view found in Marulić). But since this river is so long and many people under different lords settled along it, they acquired different names; some are called "Savinci," while others are called "Slavoni" or "Ščavoni," terms derived from "slava/glory." Thus we have a hodgepodge of familiar themes. Glavinić, then, moves on to talk about the Slavic language and St. Jerome. This leads to mention of the different alphabets, and here the term "Croatian" makes a return appearance.⁵⁶

Textbooks on Language/Geography, Dictionaries

A manuscript survives of a three-language dictionary by Ivan Matijašević from 1751, which is entitled "Dizionarietto italiano-slavo-moscovito." In his diary Matijašević refers to his own language both as "Slavic" (*linguaggio slavo* and *schiafone*) and as "Illyrian" (*lingua illirica*).⁵⁷ A Serb, Jovan Mladenović, who helped Matijašević with his text, referred in a manuscript of his own to his language as "Slovenskii dialekt" and to the Orthodox territories as Serbia, Bulgaria, and all of Illirika.⁵⁸ Ivan Matijašević also kept a diary in Italian, which utilizes both the words "Slavic" and "Illyrian" for proto-Serbo-Croatian. He speaks of losing some of his facility in the Slavic (*slavo*) language after spending two and a half decades in Italy. He also referred to knowing the three languages that made up his dictionary, calling, in this case, his own Slavic tongue, "Schiafone." He refers to a translation into Slavic of a work

56. H. Morović, "Legenda o povelji Aleksandra Velikoga u korist Slavena," p. 119. See also J. Ravlić (ed.), *Zbornik proze*, pp. 228, 231, 233–35, 239. Ante Split also claims that Glavinić wrote in the preface of another work, "Svitlost duše verne" (Enlightening the Faithful Soul), published in Venice in 1632, that he had written the book for the sake of his order and for the use of the brothers employing the Croatian language. (Ante Split, *Hrvatski naslov*, pp. 64–65.)

57. M. Deanović, "Talijansko-hrvatsko-ruski rječnik iz godine 1751," *Zbornik radova* (Filozofski fakultet, Sveučilište u Zagrebu) 1, 1951, pp. 570, 573–74.

58. M. Deanović, "Talijansko-hrvatsko-ruski rječnik," pp. 576–77.

on Christian instruction by Michael Pavlović. He also refers to his three-language text as a three-language vocabulary, using Illyrian for his own language. He follows the standard pattern: “finco in Italian is bitakaviza in Illyrian and Spino in Greek,” while elsewhere noting that an island was called “Lopud” in Illyrian.⁵⁹

Klement Grubišić published in Venice in 1766 a work on the origins and history of the Slavic Glagolitic vulgar Jerominian alphabet entitled “In originem et historiam alphabeti Slavonici glagolitici vulgo Hieronymiani.” Ravlić notes that Grubišić also wrote a now-missing text on the origins of the Slavic (slavonica) language.⁶⁰ In 1788 a Glagolitic alphabet book, entitled “Bukvar slavenskij,” was published in Rome.⁶¹

In 1612 a certain Kalapinov published a dictionary of new languages in Venice; the work had as an appendix an Italian-Latin section in which the island of Pag was identified as an island in Slavonia (Schiavonia), showing the continuing sense that Dalmatia was Slavonia. Filip Ferrarius assembled a geographical dictionary, which went through four editions between 1605 and 1627; that work placed Pag in Illyria.⁶²

Other Texts

The Split canon and poet Ivan Dražić (1655–1739) published in Prague in 1715 a translation in “Slavic verse” (u versih slovinskih) of a prayer by Eugene of Sabaudi. In a previous poem of 1702, Dražić referred to Dubrovnik as a “Slavic garden” (perivoja slovinskoga). Dražić saw Dubrovnik’s language as the model to follow. In 1713 he dedicated a poem to the nobility of Dubrovnik, referring to Dubrovnik as the temple of writers and noting that we would have lost (the use) of the Slavic language if these nobles/Dubrovnik had not kept it going. Dražić also used the term “Illyrian”; in 1725 he sent his translation of a book of Church hymns, which he described as “Illyrian verses,” to a Ragusan for his opinion in the hopes of it being published.⁶³

Following a common pattern, Antun Kadčić’s work on moral theology, published in Bologna in 1729, had a bilingual title calling itself an Illyrian guide in the Latin (manuductor illyricus) and a Slavic one (rukovod slovinski) in the proto-Serbo-Croatian. In the preface, addressing his readers as

59. M. Deanović (ed.), “Dnevnik Iva M. Matijašević,” *Analitički historijski institut [JAZU] u Dubrovniku* 1, 1952, pp. 286, 293, 296, 321.

60. M. Kombol, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, p. 333; J. Ravlić, *Makarska i njeno primorje*, Split, 1934, p. 191. Ravlić has the work on Jerome’s alphabet dated 1776.

61. Jelić, *Fontes historici*, *Fontes . . . XVIII saeculi*, p. 92.

62. V. Putanec, “Kašićev etnonim ‘Curictensis,’” in [B. Kašić], *Zbornik radova o B-u Kašiću*, Zadar, 1994, p. 48.

63. V. Foretić, *Povijest Dubrovnika* II, p. 318; M. Deanović, “Odrzi talijanske akademije ‘degli Arcadi’ preko Jadrana,” *Rad (JAZU)* 250, 1935, p. 17.

"Slavs" (Slovinjani), he informs them that he wrote the book for the good of their souls.⁶⁴

We may also note Paul Andreis' history of Trogir, from 1676; in the medieval part he uses a varied vocabulary, which is derived from the language of his sources. Thus, in speaking of the migrations, Andreis, following Constantine Porphyrogenitus, speaks of "Croatsians" and "Serbs"; when talking about early coastal events, following John the Deacon and Thomas the Archdeacon, he speaks of "Slavs" and occasionally of "the Neretljani." For example, he mentions the coastal towns' fear of (attacks from) Slavonia. He also refers to certain events of 1171, which he says were described in a life of Bishop St. John written in the Slavic language (in lingua slava) by his (St. John's) successor, Treguano. When Andreis speaks of an event affecting people from many Dalmatian cities, he speaks of "Dalmatians," for example of the "poor Dalmatians" suffering from Saracen and Slavic raids. Since much of his text discusses interaction of the various Dalmatian towns, he naturally speaks of Splićani, Trogirani, Šibenčani, and so on. His most concrete references to Croatsians are tied to the entity of Croatia. Thus in speaking of 1102, Andreis speaks of the Croatsians getting good and honorable conditions in the agreement; speaking of pirates in the 1220s, he mentions Croatsians from Senj; and on one occasion, in speaking of the Trogirani refusing a demand of Paul Šubić, Ban of Croatia, he says that the townsmen predicted the "anger of the Croatsian," referring, of course, to the Croatian ban. He then goes on to speak of the ban's troops as Croatsians. And finally, speaking of the Croatian nobles, at one point Andreis calls them powerful "Slav Croats." None of these references seem ethnic to me, unless the final phrase (Slav Croats) is taken to mean Slavs of Croatia and the reader wants to see ethnic implications in the term "Slav." Interestingly, when Andreis gets to the early-modern period (including his own time), he does not feel a need to use the terms "Croatian" or "Illyrian" at all, and I found the term "Slavic" used only once, when he stated that Slavic was the language of the Trogir town council.⁶⁵

Ivan Ivanišević (1608–65), born on Brač, referred to Dubrovnik as a Slavic parnassus.⁶⁶ Bare Bettera (1645–1712) of Dubrovnik wrote a poem in praise of the Slavic language (U pohvalu jezika Slovincskoga), and he calls the language "Slavic" again in the opening line of the poem. On another occasion, after the just-mentioned Ivan Dražić had visited Dubrovnik, Bettera dedicated a poem to him, in which he said, "[A]nd you will be the one who chooses from the Slavic language (od jezika slovincskoga) the correct one [di-

64. Jelić, *Fontes historici*, Fontes . . . XVIII saeculi, p. 87; see also, J. Ravlić, *Makarska*, p. 188.

65. P. Andreis, *Povijest grada Trogira*, 2 vols., Split, 1977, 1978. Citations for my references (all from vol. I): pp. 19–21, 23, 27, 33, 69, 83, 373. The language of the saint's biography is cited by M. Ivanišević in his introduction to "Život svetoga Ivana Trogirskoga," in V. Gligo & H. Morović (eds.), *Legende i kronike*, Split, 1977, p. 63.

66. M. Kombol, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, p. 268.

alect] upon which to feed.”⁶⁷ The term “Slavic” also appeared on two other Bettera title pages. His “Otranta iz Čipra,” published in 1699, was translated from Italian into Slavic (Slovinski) and his “Thoughts about Saint Augustine” (1701) was a translation from Latin into Slavic. Bettera also used the term “Illyrian,” publishing in 1667 a collection of Illyrian songs/verses (*Carmen Illyricum*) and in 1702 a collection of translated Psalms which he speaks of as being in Illyrian. He uses the term “Illyrian” as well in at least one epigram.⁶⁸ Since all the “Illyrian” examples appear in Latin texts, possibly Bettera, like several others, used the term “Slav” when writing in Slavic (as our example has it) and “Illyrian” when writing in Latin.

Jagić presents two other authors in the “Slavic” camp: In 1662 a certain Radovčić of Split rendered in the “Slovinski” language his interpretation of the Symbol. Andrija Vitaljić Visanin from Komiza on Vis also called the language “Slovinski” on the title pages of his translation of the Psalms (Salter Slovinski), published in Venice in 1703, and of a work on God’s love published in the same city in 1712.⁶⁹ That same year a second Splićanin, Petar Macukat, published a translation, of the “Life of St. Josafat, whose title page states that it was rendered from Italian into “Slovinski yezik.”⁷⁰

Simun Zlatarić, the son of Dinko, whom we met in the last chapter, translated Psalm 50 into Slavic (Slovinski) and wrote in praise of the just-mentioned Ivan Gundulić that the Slavic name was decorated by him.⁷¹

A Miscellany of Uses of “Slavic”

Various other publications to be noted next (all by Ragusans) appeared in the “Slavic language”: In 1629 fra Raimond Giamagna (Zamagna, Djamanjić, Gjamanjić) published in Venice a work on how to write words well in the Slavic language (*rieči jezika slovinskoga*) in Latin (letters), which was to serve Ragusans and those of all Dalmatia. Petar Toma Bogašinović (Bogascinovich)

67. M. Deanović, “Odrzi talijanske akademije ‘degli Arcadi’ preko Jadrana,” *Rad* (JAZU) 248, 1933, p. 80; 250, 1935, p. 123; M. Kombol, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, p. 290; I. Ostojić, *Metropolitanski kaptol u Splitu*, p. 289.

68. For two citations from Bettera poems referring to “Slovinski” or “Slovinski jezik,” see F. Fancev, “Dubrovnik u razvitku hrvatske književnosti,” in M. Rešetar et al., *Izabrana djela*, Zagreb, 1983, pp. 194–95; see also M. Deanović, “Odrzi talijanske akademije ‘degli Arcadi’ preko Jadrana,” *Rad* (JAZU) 248, 1933, p. 75, 80; 250, 1935, p. 123; M. Kombol, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, p. 304; the examples of his use of “Illyrian” come from Saro Crijević [Serafin Marija Crijević] [Seraphinus Maria Cueval], *Bibliotheca Ragusina* (S. Kراسић, ed. & author of introduction) I, Zagreb, 1975, pp. 140–41.

69. V. Jagić, “Iz prošlosti hrvatskoga jezika,” p. 46. On Vitaljić, see also G. Novak, *Vis*, Zagreb, 1961, p. 179.

70. D. Berić, “Život i književno djelo Splićanina Petra Macukata,” *Analitički historijski institut [JAZU] u Dubrovniku* 3, 1954, p. 437. Also discussed in E. Hercigonja, *Srednjovjekovna književnost* (=vol. II of *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, Zagreb [Institut o književnosti Filozofskog fakulteta, Sveučilište u Zagrebu]), 1975, p. 296. However, Hercigonja dates the publication to 1708.

71. Ante Split, *Hrvatski naslov*, pp. 11, 50.

Dubrovčanin (the Dubrovnikite) published in Linz in 1685 a work of poetry in “jezik slovinski” on the Polish victory in 1683 breaking up the siege of Vienna by Sultan Mehmet and Grand Vezir Kara Mustafa. His poem noted that fighting in the Pole Sobeiski’s forces were two Ragusans and from the Croatian state/region (hrvatske države) others of the Slavic language. Bogašinović then goes on to note that Dubrovnik, which is so proud of (this fact), will be praised in the Slavic tongue. We also note that Bogašinović, besides his “Slavic” terminology, also attached to his name an identity label associated with his town. A Ragusan priest, Nicola Marci, published in Dubrovnik in 1791 a life in verse of St. Mary of Egypt in “jezik slovinski.”⁷² Antun Gledjević (1659–1728), a Ragusan dramatist, twice referred to the Slavic (Slovinski) language in his play, “Zorislava.”⁷³ And two Ragusan residents, both originally from Italy, also belong to the “Slavic” camp. Džankarlo de Angeli (1685–1750) in the 1720s produced a translation into proto-Serbo-Croatian of the Franciscan Francis from Salesa’s “Introduction to a God-loving Life”; in his preface he referred to the language he was translating into as “our Slavic language” as it is usually spoken in “our Dubrovnik.” And Dominic Bianchi (1687–1723), according to Saro Crijević, translated a work entitled “From the Love of Jesus . . .” in 1722 into the Slavic language.⁷⁴

Several Ragusans residing in Rome (Baro Bošković, Djuro Bašić [soon to return to Dubrovnik], Djuro Matijašević, Sabo Zamagna, and others) created there a small Accademia della lingua Slava for the study and advancement of their language. It existed only briefly, 1718–25.⁷⁵ A seventeenth-century manuscript from the island of Hvar containing religious dramas has one by a certain Don Sabić Mladinić, about whom nothing is known. The play opens with St. Jerome saying, “Greetings, my Slavic folk!” (Zdravo puče slovinski moj).⁷⁶

To close out with two nonliterary examples, in 1741 a member of the Ragusan furriers’ guild of St. Blasius/Vlah, named for the town’s patron saint, at the end of two chapters of decisions in Latin from guild meetings, wrote at the end of the second: “[L]et all record books (matrikula) be in Slavic (Slovinski).” The linguistic patriot then wrote the next two decisions in Slavic. However, his successor, writing in 1743, reverted to Latin.⁷⁷

72. K. Vojnović, “Prilozi k arhivalnijem pabircima dubrovačkijem,” *Starine* (JAZU) 28, 1896, pp. 36, 39; on Giamagna (though dating the work to 1636), see Ante Split, *Hrvatski naslov*, p. 9; on Bogašinović, see also I. Pervol’f, *Slavjane* II, p. 381.

73. A. Gledjević, *Djela* (P. Budmani, ed.), Zagreb (JAZU, *Stari pisci hrvatski* 15), 1886, pp. 178, 230.

74. M. Deanović, “Odrzi talijanske akademije ‘degli Arcadi’ preko Jadrana,” *Rad* (JAZU) 250, 1935, pp. 102 (incl. fn. 416), 113.

75. M. Deanović, “O talijansko-jugoslavenskim odnosima u 18 vijeku,” *Analiz Historijskog instituta* [JAZU] u *Dubrovniku* 10–11, 1966, p. 284.

76. S. Mladinić, “Prikazanje Navišćenja Pričiste Divice Marije,” in M. Valjavec (ed.), *Crkvena prikazanja starohrvatska XVI i XVII vijeka*, Zagreb (JAZU, *Stari pisci hrvatski* 20), 1893, p. 138.

77. K. Vojnović (ed.), *Bratovštine i obrtne korporacije u Republici dubrovačkoj od XIII do konca XVIII vijeka* II, Zagreb (JAZU, *MH-JSM* 7, no. 2), 1900, pp. xxxvi (fn. 1), 131.

Ostojić cites a manuscript providing the text of a song sung in 1756 for the installation of a new Bishop of Rab by some nuns from Rab:

Mnogo hvala Bogu i slava,
Slovinskomu ki plemenu
Dike i časti umnoživa
Prid Narodu latinskomu.⁷⁸

*[Many thanks to God and glory
to the Slavic tribe
increasing its pride and honor
before the Latin people.]*

Ragusan Broad Pan-Slavism in the Eighteenth Century

The tendency to see oneself as part of a large Slavic community had a longish heritage in Dubrovnik. We examined the views of Orbin in the last chapter and then discussed its seventeenth-century manifestations in our discussion earlier in this chapter of Ivan Gundulić and Junius Palmotić. Representatives of this view were still very visible in the eighteenth century. A Ragusan embassy to Russia in 1709 reflected a feeling of broad pan-Slavism. This embassy pointed out to Peter the Great the close ties between their language and Russian and saw themselves and the Russians as being of one nation (*di questa Republica [of Dubrovnik] e de suoi nazionali*).⁷⁹ At the time a man of Hercegovinian origin named Sava Vladislavić, who referred to himself as an “Illyrian nobleman” (*ilirskim plemicem*), was in Peter’s service. This Sava was trying to persuade Peter that the peoples of the Slavic lands under the Turks would rise up in the event that the Russians brought their forces into the Balkans. Peter, having won a victory over the Swedes, wrote back thanking the Ragusans for their good will and announcing his Baltic victory. He, responded in the same “pan-Slav” vein, calling the Ragusans “sincere friends belonging to our nation/people and language.”⁸⁰ Not too long thereafter, in 1717, Sava Vladislavić showed up in Dubrovnik as Peter’s envoy. He called Peter the brightest light of the Slavic people and of the Slavic language, and said that Peter sought permission to build an Orthodox church in Dubrovnik, something the Ragusans were always very much opposed to.⁸¹ Needless to say

78. I. Ostojić, *Benediktinci* II, p. 119, fn. 4.

79. J. Radonić, *Štamparije*, p. 528.

80. V. Foretić, *Povijest Dubrovnika* II, p. 201.

81. V. Foretić, *Povijest Dubrovnika* II, p. 208. On Dubrovnik’s refusal to allow Orthodox churches in its territory, including traditions that Dubrovnik’s republic would last until such time as an Orthodox church was erected within its confines, see N. Milas, *Pravoslavna Dalmacija*, Novi Sad, 1901, pp. 212–13.

nothing came of these initiatives, but the commonality expressed between Russians and Ragusans is worth our attention.

At the same time, similar hopes and feelings of Moscow's/Peter's coming role in leading a crusade against the Turks showed up in an anonymous poem written in Dubrovnik about Peter. Though Moscow is named, and in one section various Balkan peoples are named (Serbs, Bulgarians, Wallachians, Moldavians, Bosnians, Hercegovinians, people from Trebinje, and Albanians, but noticably not Croatians or Dalmatians), the poem is couched in terms of Slavs in general, and that identification category appears in seven different verses. (Verse 1): "From the clear-skyed east the light of the sun stands as a marvelous decoration of glory over the Slavic regions" (Slovinskih vrh država). (V. 5): "The Slavs, a glorious people, carry in their hands a hundred crowns to crown his (Peter's) head." (V. 19): "And you, glorious Slavs, follow all his steps, when your mother Slava (Majka Slava) leads him to your land (k vašoj strani)." (V. 26): "The Slavs, who await your (Peter's) command, place in you all their hopes for liberation." (V. 38): "And they will never lose their loyalty, and you will look out for (but written as an imperative, 'gledaj') the sacred crown for these Slavic regions (Slovinske ove pokraine)." (V. 49): "And the Slavs will rise up with speedy winged arrows . . ." (V. 63): "And when all this has happened, Peter will be shown to the Slavs in the lap of Majka Slava."⁸²

Items Called "Slavic"

This might also be the place to note that in this period certain items from the western Balkans also acquired general names derived from the word "Slav." A specific sort of goat-hair covering cloth was called a "schiavine."⁸³ A particular type of sword, common in the mid-sixteenth century, with a hilt in the shape of a kosarice, was known in Dalmatia and Venice as the "spada schiavonesca" or "spada sciavona" or occasionally as the Dalmatian sword (*armatus ense dalmatina*). "Slavic" swords are documented in the sixteenth century in Omiš, Trogir, Dubrovnik, and on Korčula. For example, two "spada schiavoni" are found in the inventory from 1558 of the possessions of the Trogir-jan Ivan Statilić.⁸⁴ D. Božić-Bužančić, in her study of private life in eighteenth-century Split, also notes several other items mentioned in various inventories "alla schiavona," namely a type of knife, a type of bodice or waistcoat (*kami-*

82. Text of the poem given in P. Lavrov, "Dubrovničkaja poema o Petre Velikom," in *Sveslavenski zbornik*, Zagreb, 1930, pp. 26–30.

83. D. Božić-Bužančić, "Inventara arhiva obitelji Ivana Petra Marchija osnivača Ilirske akademije u Splitu," *Gradja i prilozi za povijest Dalmacije* 10, 1980, p. 85.

84. C. Fisković, "Iz renesansnog Omiša," *Gradja i prilozi za povijest Dalmacije* 6, 1967, p. 13. In another work (*Zadarski sredovječni majstori*, p. 131), C. Fisković, without giving any examples, says these swords were also occasionally called Croatian swords. It is in this work (p. 205, fn. 809) that he provides the Statilić inventory citation.

zola), and a velada as well as a musket “in the Slavic manner.”⁸⁵ In the course of the 1615–18 war between Austria and Venice over the Uskoks and Istria, the Austrians in 1616 arrested and interrogated an Istrian village woman named Jela Medešić from Karojba who was described in the official report as wearing a rough village dress according to Slavic custom.⁸⁶

The Continuation of the Term “Illyrian” in Dalmatia

In the preceding paragraphs, we have noted examples of the continued usage of the term “Illyrian” along with “Slavic.” It was the favored term for many in Dalmatia.

Serafin/Saro Crijević

The early-modern period finds another Crijević, this one the Dominican Serafin/Saro (Seraphinus Cuerva) (1686–1759), achieving great prominence. Though an occasional diplomat, Saro spent most of his career in the Ragusan Dominican monastery. His major work was a four-volume encyclopedia on prominent Ragusan intellectuals, *Bibliotheca Ragusina*. To save on footnotes, I shall cite in my text the page numbers from the recent four-volume edition produced by S. Krsić. I do not provide pages for the references to individuals, since Saro’s work is arranged alphabetically—though by first names.⁸⁷

Saro’s primary interests/loyalties were to his Church/Dominican Order and city. He never, I believe it safe to say, felt any sort of broad ethnic identity. His Ragusans wrote “Illyrian,” a language shared by at least all Dalmatians. The people in Dubrovnik spoke/wrote somewhat differently from their contemporaries in Zadar, but it was still one language (II, p. 178). Despite the fact that he wrote in Latin, he respected, even admired, talents in “Illyrian.” He noted that even though the Ragusan officials and nobility spoke Italian or Latin, when they got home they spoke with their wives and servants in “Illyrian” which everyone understood. And despite his use of Latin, he believed that Ragusans should use their native tongue, which he said they had imbibed with their mothers’ milk.⁸⁸

Though in his sketches he usually retained the terms on original title

85. D. Božić-Bužančić, *Privatni i društveni život Splita u osamnaestom stoljeću*, Zagreb, 1982, pp. 45, 59, 73, 93. A whole series of other items which Italians referred to with various forms of the word “Slavic,” from a type of grape to various items of clothing, are provided by M. Deanović, “Talijanski pisci o Hrvatima,” pp. 118–119. Unfortunately, he does not provide dates of usage for many of them.

86. Report provided by M. Bertosa, *Jedna zemlja*, p. 56.

87. Serafin Crijević, *Bibliotheca Ragusina* (S. Krsić, ed.), 4 vols., Zagreb, 1975–80. On Crijević, see M. Franičević, *Povijest*, pp. 473, 704; M. Rešetar, introduction to I. Gjorgji, *Djela*, Zagreb (JAZU, *Stari pisci hrvatski* 25, no. 2), 1926, p. cxxxii. Additional citations to his work, *Hrvatski latinisti* II, Zagreb, 1970, pp. 293, 297, 299, 301, 303.

88. Cited from a letter of Crijević by S. Krsić in his introduction to S. Crijević [Cerva], *Bibliotheca Ragusina* I, pp. lxxvi–lxxvii.

pages—thus Orbini's work was a history of "the Slavs"—throughout the work, when he is describing things, the term for the language (in over a hundred cases) is "Illyrian." Thus, many wrote "Illyrian verses:" for example, Antun Kastratović, Anton Krivonosić, the Cardinal Aldobrand Vodopija, Andrija Čubranović, Šiško Menčetić, and Marin Držić. Saro goes on to note that Gjorgji considered Menčetić first among Illyrian poets and the second Boccaccio of Illyrian poetry. One finds Saro explaining that the Bosnian town Srebrenica is so called because in Illyrian silver is called "srebro," and that a particular individual named George Benignus when Illyrian was in use was called Dobrotić (II, p. 98). In fact, in the case of Ignacio Gjorgji, Saro labels Gjorgji's work "Psalterii Illyrici" (II, p. 191), rather than "P. Slovinski" as Gjorgji had it. In Saro's biographical sketch of this Gjorgji, who will be discussed later, Saro called Gjorgji "Illyrian" and in listing his works put all Gjorgji's Slavic titles under an Illyrian heading. Saro's Humanistic antiquarianism is shown by his placing Gjorgji's Italian writings under the heading of "Etruscan" (II, p. 187). In fact, when he is not citing someone who said "Italian," Saro always refers to Italian as "Etruscan."

Saro rarely uses the term "Croatia/Croatian," and when he does in his *Bibliotheca Ragusina*, it always refers to the entity (or people from it) bearing that name. Thus the Frankapans' territory (Senj and Krk) with inhabitants are Croatia/Croatian as is the Franciscan province of that name, which province on one occasion is said to be for the "Croatian nation" (III, p. 359). "Croatian" never emerges as any sort of identity, and even his frequently used "Illyrian" seems to pertain chiefly to a language. Thus, on a rare occasion when he speaks of an "Illyrian nation"—someone at the Lateran church in Rome was the confessor for the Illyrian nation—it turns out again that Saro is using an established title (I, p. 29). Saro's loyalties were to an international Church, represented for him by his Dominican order, and to his particular city, which he clearly loved and served faithfully, when called upon as a diplomat. Krasić, in his introduction to *Bibliotheca Ragusina*, notes that Saro called his vernacular language "Illyrian," "Dubrovački," "Slavic/Slovinski" (usually, at least in this text, when citing others' usages), "vernacular," "domestic/homeland," or "our." Note the absence, which I can confirm, of "Croatian" and "Dalmatian" (though he can speak of people on the coast being Dalmatians). And it should be noted that Saro liked the local Ragusan "Illyrian," which he compared to the frequently favored Tuscan as the best dialect of Italian.⁸⁹

Ardelio Della Bella

An Italian missionary, the Jesuit Ardelio Della Bella (1655–1737), published a dictionary in Venice in 1728 entitled, "Dizionario italiano-latino-illirico."⁹⁰

89. For a statement on Saro's terms for his native language and his comparing Ragusan to Tuscan for Italian, see S. Krasić, introduction to S. Crijević, *Bibliotheca Ragusina* I, p. li.

90. Cited by M. Kombol, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, p. 290.

In it he also includes a short grammar of the “Illyrian language.” In the dedication he notes that his dictionary will take care of more than the needs of Dalmatia, for the Illyrian language is the most widespread language in Europe and his dictionary will be of use to all who speak Illyrian. In his preface he elaborates on this claim. Illyrian is the basic Slavic language. Thus, all the Slavic languages are dialects of this basic Illyrian language. He provides as proof of this claim that he could understand the confessions of Poles, Serbs, and Bulgarians. But for his dictionary, he chose Bosnian and Dubrovnikese as the best variants of the Illyrian language. (From this statement, we can see how he could, while seeing “Illyrian” as a broad term and while using only one variant of that broad whole, still call his dictionary “Illyrian”.) In the course of his preface, having for a change called the language “Illyrian or Slavic” (*la lingua illyrica o slava*), something he does more than once, he lists the various places where this language is spoken: Istria, Dalmatia, Carinthia, Carniola, Styria, Croatia, Moravia, Bohemia, Bosnia, Serbia, Bulgaria, Lower Hungary, Rascia, Transylvania, Wallachia, Russia, Muscovy, Podolia, Poland, and a good part of Thrace. According to Sironić-Bonefaccić, Della Bella repeats the idea that Illyrian is the basic Slavic language, which is spoken in a good part of Europe and Asia, several times in his dictionary.⁹¹ Brlek cites some of the dictionary’s definitions, which enable us to see how Della Bella saw terms: Under “Slav, Slavonia” (*Schiavone, Schiavonia*) he has, “see Dalmatian, Dalmatia.” For “Dalmatia,” he has “a province of Illyria.” He does not have the word “Illyria” (*Illirico*) as an entry at all, but he has “Language Illyrian or Slavic” (*Slava*) and provides the form *Slovinski jezik*.⁹² He also has a Slav (*Slavo*) being a native of Illyria and an Illyrian man being a *Slovin*.⁹³ In a description of Dubrovnik, Della Bella says the town is “the prettiest park/garden that decorates the Slavic lands.” In his discussion on orthography with Latin letters in the preface, like many before him, he complains of the numerous different ways “Illyrian” is written, claiming that there were as many ways of writing it as there are authors. He had used the term “Illyrian” from the start of his adult career; when he arrived in Dubrovnik for the first time in 1688, he wrote about coming there, for it was his ambition to master the Illyrian language and to use it for the salvation of souls. He achieved this mastery and wrote Rafael Gučetić, a friend, in 1694 that he had run into Rafael’s son in Italy and had tried to speak Illyrian with him, but the son was unable to reply in that language.⁹⁴

91. N. Sironić-Bonefaccić, “Ardelio Della Bella i prvo izdanje njegova trojezičnog rječnika iz 1728 godine,” *Rad (JAZU)* 446, 1992, pp. 32, 34–35.

92. M. Brlek, *Leksikograf Joakim Stulli (1730–1817)*, Zagreb (JAZU, *Djela*, Razred za filološke znanosti 60), 1987, p. 45.

93. J. Vončina, “Jezik Antuna Kanižlića,” *Zbornik Zagrebačke slavističke škole* 3, 1975, pp. 105–6, provides this final Della Bella definition.

94. N. Sironić-Bonefaccić, “Ardelio Della Bella,” pp. 6–7, 30, 41.

A second and expanded edition of the dictionary was published in Dubrovnik in 1785 by Pero Bašić. A purpose of the work, according to Bašić in his preface, was to enable readers to learn the language and orthography of Illyrian. He also sought to correct the many errors in the first edition, which were owing to the fact that Della Bella did not know Illyrian well enough and also to the fact that the text had been published in Venice and did not have an Illyrian corrector/proofreader. He speaks of Illyrian pronunciation and orthography and notes that when Slavs write, some use the Latin and some other Slavic alphabets. Noting that there were four such alphabets, he stated his preference for the Latin one, which, he claims, all Slavs know; and Bašić also expressed a liking for Gjorgji's phonetic writing system, which not only all Ragusans could understand, but also all Dalmatians and Italians. It is also worth noting that whereas Della Bella had a listing for "Zagreb," he did not have one for "Croatia." Bašić added to his edition the heading "Croato, Croazia."⁹⁵

Other Texts on Language

In 1637 an edition of Emmanuel Alvarez's Latin grammar was printed in Rome for the use of "Illyrians." Most of the work remained in Latin, but it had a preface and some examples translated into Illyrian for the use of Illyrians. These examples mention Illyrian words and note that Illyrian has six cases like Latin. (*Sic!* L. has five cases and I., six, assuming the vocative is excluded in both languages.) A few years later, in 1667, a Vatican catalogue lists as being for sale "Grammatica Emmanuelis latino-illyrica," Rome 1637, which was not the title on the 1637 edition's title page, but at least was consistent in continuing to use the word "Illyrian."⁹⁶

A whole series of dictionaries were to be written, and to exist only in manuscript, or to be planned in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries using the term "Illyrian" for the local Slavic language: In 1628 Gregory de Vitalibus completed in Rome a never-to-be-published dictionary of what he called the three noblest languages of Europe, Latin, Illyrian, and Italian;⁹⁷ Djuro Matijašević's "Dictionarium latino-illyricum" of 1715–16; the "Vocabolario italiano-illyrico" from the Ragusan Lorenzo (or Lovro) Cekinić, who died in 1752; and the "Vocabula italico-illyrica" of a second Ragusan Mato Klasić, who died in 1760.⁹⁸ To this list can be added the dictionaries of

95. V. Dukat, "Dubrovačko izdanje Dellabellina 'Dizionarija,'" *Rad* (JAZU) 237, 1929, pp. 235–39, 260.

96. V. Štefanić, "Prilog za sudbinu Alvaresove latinske gramatike među Hrvatima," *Vrela i prinosi* 11, 1940, pp. 15, 20–22.

97. I. Kukuljević-Sakcinski, "Juraj Habelić (r. 1609 †1678)," [1886], *Kaj* 7, no. 10, 1974, p. 70.

98. M. Deanović, "Talijansko-hrvatsko-ruski rječnik," pp. 568–69; K. Georgijević, *Hrvatska književnost*, p. 203.

Vitezović, Reljković, Adam Patačić, and Stulli which are discussed later in the sections in chapter 6 devoted to those authors. Much or all of the work on the four dictionaries to be discussed later took place in Slavonia, though Vitezović was originally from Senj and Stulli from Dubrovnik. To these dictionaries can be added other works on language: Sebastian Slade-Dolci's "*De illyricae linguae vetustate et amplitudine*," published in Venice in 1754 (which we shall discuss in some detail later) and Ivan Matijašević's "*Erbario italiano-illirico*."⁹⁹

Texts on Other Subjects

Authors of texts on other subjects also chose to call their language "Illyrian." For example, in 1638 Martin Rusić (Rosa) published his "Brief Compendium of All the Glorious Nations (nationis) of the Illyrian Language."¹⁰⁰

Jagić provides a couple of further eighteenth-century examples of this: Filipović of Rama, in his "Pripovidanje," published in 1750, used the term "Illyrian" throughout, both for the people and the language. And Mate Zorić, a Franciscan, translated a work entitled "Arithmetic" in 1766 into "the glorious Illyrian language." He also, in the preface, addressed his Illyrian readers on the importance of arithmetic and keeping accounts for trade and managing a house.¹⁰¹ Calling him Zoričić rather than Zorić, Ante Split also claims that in the preface to a religious work, published in 1764, Zorić states he was writing in the Croatian language for monks of the Croatian language and people.¹⁰² "Illyrian" was also the name used for the language by the Franciscan Lucas Vladimirović (1716–88), who wrote a number of historical and biographical works, with the underlying motive of glorifying the past, much of which he invented, of his family. One of these works was entitled *De origine linguae illyricae*. He also compiled a "Chronicon archivale," in which he listed his own compositions, which he noted were in Latin, Italian, and Illyrian. He also includes in the chronicle a biographical sketch of Andrija Kačić-Miošić, which refers to the "Illyrian language" three times in a brief paragraph.¹⁰³ And in 1791 a man named Botterini, writing in Split, said "From about 1720 they

99. M. Deanović, "Talijansko-hrvatsko-ruski rječnik," p. 572.

100. M. Pantelić, *Sebastijan Slade-Dolci dubrovački biograf XVIII veka*, Beograd (SAN, Posebna izdanja 288), 1957, p. 106. Pantelić also mentions, without date or further identification, a cardinal known as Peter the Illyrian, p. 113.

101. V. Jagić, "Iz prošlosti hrvatskoga jezika," p. 52, and, calling the writer Zoričić, Š. Urlić, *Crtime iz dalmatinskoga školstva od dolaska Hrvata do g. 1910*, Zadar (I dio, do godine 1814), 1919, p. 41.

102. Ante Split, *Hrvatski naslov*, pp. 12–13.

103. P. Knezović, "Vladimirovićev književni rad na latinskom jeziku," *Živa antika* 34, 1984, p. 152. For a passage using the word "Illyrico" three times for the language, see p. 150. See also G. Bujas, "Kačićevi imitatori," *Gradja za povijest književnosti hrvatske* 30, 1971, p. 87; and K. Eterović, *Fra Andrija Kačić Miošić*, Dubrovnik, 1922, p. 44.

[women here] began to use bodices (kamizola-s) down to the waist which they called in their corrupted Illyrian 'polachetta-s.'"¹⁰⁴

Nikola Muljačić, a writer and translator of the mid-eighteenth century, published a miscellany entitled "Continuation" (Proseguimento). In it he included translations into Italian of certain proto-Serbo-Croatian poems by Zacchary Guidotti, which Muljačić referred to as being "Illyrian odes or songs" (Oda o Canzone Illirica).¹⁰⁵ Although Muljačić wrote in Italian or Latin, he was a strong defender of Dalmatians writing in their native "Illyrian." Calling the language "Illyrian" or "our language," he stated that one's style would be better in Illyrian, for it was the mother tongue. Moreover, one could express one's thoughts in it directly and clearly. Our language is strict and logical, so one can express things precisely. And he thinks it wrong that so many of our people ignore our language and as a result are losing their ability to use it. He notes that some local ladies hold their stomachs when one sings/recites an Illyrian song/poem, and there are even some such urban ladies who cannot speak a word of Illyrian since they were so brought up.¹⁰⁶

Ante Split also provides two more titles, as usual with very little context: Savin Gozze translated David (the Psalms? particular Psalms?) into Illyrian; and in 1768 "Christian Doctrine According to the Customs of the Bishopric of Treviso," translated into the Illyrian language, was published in Venice.¹⁰⁷

A Miscellany of References to "Illyrian"

Early in the seventeenth century, an Oration on the Turkish war was directed to Pope Paul V (1605–21) by Martino Dobravio, "capitano illirico."¹⁰⁸ In that same year Mark Zubenić (possibly more correctly Zudenić), a native of Rab and a canon of the Church of St. Jerome of the Illyrians in Rome, wrote a poem of congratulations to Paul V on his becoming pope. Zubenić presented it as being from the "Illyrian nation" and since the pope's origins were from Dalmatia, the canon identifies him with both Illyria and Dalmatia.¹⁰⁹ Franjo (Nikolin) Divnić was the "Illyrian chancellor" (canceliere della lingua illirica) in Šibenik in 1638.¹¹⁰ A Ragusan, Dimitar Serratura, died in 1671 and left much of his property to the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in Rome for the spreading of the Catholic faith in the province of Illyria, including Bulgaria.

104. D. Božić-Bužančić, *Privatni i društveni život Splita*, p. 68.

105. Z. Muljačić, "Iz korespondencije zadarskih profesora 18 stoljeća, napose Nikole Muljačića," *Radovi* (Institut [JAZU] u Zadru) 11–12, 1965, p. 553.

106. Z. Muljačić, "Iz korespondencije," pp. 554, 560.

107. Ante Split, "Kako su naši stari," *Hrvatska* (Zadar) 12, no. 18, 1897, p. 275.

108. V. Gliga, *Govori protiv Turaka*, p. 57.

109. K. Horvat (ed.), "Prilozi za hrvatsku povijest iz arhiva rimskih," *Starine* (JAZU) 34, 1913, pp. 166–68.

110. F. Dujmović, "Nin i Šibenik," in G. Novak & V. Maštrović (eds.), *Povijest grada Nina*, p. 622.

Thus, Serratura had a broad all-South-Slavic vision of who made up the Illyrians.¹¹¹ We have reference from 1681 to a resident in Rome, Francesca Illirica (the Illyrian), who was described as the daughter of the late Michael of Bosnia Argentina (the name for the Franciscan Province of Bosnia). Amusingly, the document states that Bosnia Argentina lay in Scythia.¹¹² In 1719 a group of Ragusan writers discussed the creation of a private academy in Dubrovnik, which they referred to as the *Accademia privata sopra la lingua illyrica*. As far as we know, the institution never actually saw the light of day.¹¹³ D. Božić-Bužančić also found in a 1734 itemizing of a library in Split a text explaining the Gospels in Illyrian-Carniolian (*illyrico carnioli sermone*), an unusual combination, presumably done to call attention to the dialect employed.¹¹⁴ Vićentije Petrović (1677–1754), a Ragusan poet, wrote epigrams, one of which refers to “Illyrian speech.” He also included with his epigrams domestic proverbs beside each of which was the label “*Adagium Illyricum*.”¹¹⁵ At some time around the middle of the eighteenth century a Ragusan Didak Dubravica-Arboscelli, the nephew of Petar Bianchi whom we met earlier, left a manuscript of poems translated from Italian into Illyrian.¹¹⁶

Julio Bajamonti (1744–1800), who served as a doctor in both Split and Hvar, regularly called the language “Illyrian.” For example, he spoke in a letter to Alberto Fortis, whom we shall meet, about compatriots cultivating the Illyrian muse (*muse illiriche*). He refers to the “Illyrian” Sea, coast, shore, language, alphabet, and letters (*epistles*). He also refers to a certain individual as a potential “Illyrian Homer.” He greatly liked “Illyrian” and also referred to it as “our language.”¹¹⁷ In a second letter written from Hvar in 1790 he notes that many Italianisms have been affecting the purity of the Illyrian language. He points out that the Dalmatians of *terra firma* (the mainland) claim to possess an Illyrian language more pure and perfect than the Dalmatians of the islands. But, according to Bajamonti, the linguist Matija Sović, noting the influence of the Morlachs, believes that the Illyrian of the mountains and the littoral is less pure than that of the islands. Bajamonti also commented on Sović being well versed

111. Cited in a footnote by D. Körbler in his edition of Stjepan Gradić's letters. See S. Gradić, “Pisma opata Stjepana Gradića Dubrovčanina: Senatu Republike Dubrovačke od godine 1667 do 1683” (Dj. Körbler, ed.), Zagreb (JAZU, MSHSM 37), 1915, p. 184 (fn. 1).

112. I. Crnčić (ed.), “Prilozi k razpravi: Imena Slovenjin i Ilir u našem gostinju u Rimu poslije 1453 god.,” *Starine* (JAZU) 18, 1886, p. 17, fn. 1.

113. Cited by M. Kombol, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, p. 290.

114. D. Božić-Bužančić, *Privatni i društveni život Splita*, p. 147.

115. Dj. Körbler, “Vićentije Petrović Dubrovčanin, 1677–1754,” *Rad* (JAZU) 186, 1911, pp. 242, 245.

116. Dj. Körbler, “Dubrovčanin Petar Bianchi i nećak mu Didak Dubravica-Arboscelli,” *Rad* (JAZU) 196, 1913, p. 33.

117. Letter to Fortis cited by M. Kombol, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, p. 325. V. Foretić, *Povijest Dubrovnika do 1808 II*, p. 318 notes that Bajamonti also used the term “Slavic.” Examples of “Illyrian” used with the other words, in I. Milčetić, “Dr. Julije Bajamonti i njegova djela,” *Rad* (JAZU) 192, 1912, pp. 110, 112, 184, 201, 233, 248; “Illyrian Homer,” p. 221.

in the Old Illyrian language. On another occasion Bajamonti credited the Ragusans with preserving the seeds of the Illyrian language, while the neighboring Dalmatians considered the local language primitive. Why not, he asks, develop Illyrian poetry and bring to life the Dalmatian heroes (eroi Dalmati)? Other examples of Bajamonti's use of "Illyrian": he praised the publisher and bookseller Carlo Antonio Occhi as being the first such printer in Dalmatia, and by supporting him Dubrovnik is a credit to the Illyrians; he speaks of the variations in the Illyrian language (*Della varietà della lingua illirica*); he refers to some Illyrian writing from 1365 (in a Statute from Split); he translated into Italian a "Canto illirico"; and he commented on the "Illyrian dialect" of Hvar.¹¹⁸

Bajamonti also used the term "Slav." He wrote a play about Lobel, one of the brothers of Hrobatos mentioned by Constantine Porphyrogenitus. In it Lobel says that he is a "Slav," while also calling himself and being called Prince of Croatia. According to Milčetić, the playwright says one should say "Slavo" and not "Schiavo," for the latter had the second meaning of "slave." It is not clear whether this statement appeared in the play on Lobel or elsewhere; for, it is worth noting that Bajamonti did utilize the term "schiavo" and other words derived from it: in some historical notes Bajamonti kept, Napoleon sent home from Venice 10,000 schiavoni; he referred to a girl on Lošinj as far from being a Slavic rustic (*schiavona rustica*); and he reported that a drought in Dalmatia caused suffering for the schiavoni.¹¹⁹

A versifying letter writer of the 1790s was Brno Džamanjić (Zamagna). In one poem to Džanluk Volantić, he refers to Illyrian lands and Illyrian poems.¹²⁰ Džamanjić, in his eleventh verse-letter to Volantić, seeks more translations into Illyrian because, owing to a long period of being away from home, he does not know enough literary phrases in his mother tongue, which language is gentle and strong, easily able to convey any sort of poetic need. As Vratović notes, it is a strange statement by a literary figure, who can both glorify and yet admit his incapacity to use what he calls his "mother tongue";¹²¹ maybe it is not strange that he wrote only in Latin.

Vicko Prodić of Brač wrote a "Chronicle of the Island of Brač" in 1662,

118. For text of Bajamonti's 1790 letter, see G. Novak (ed.), "Pismo dra Julija Bajamontija god. 1790," *Starine* (JAZU) 57, 1978, pp. 75–92, items I cite from pp. 82–83. See also, Z. Muljačić, "Iz korespondencije," pp. 554–55, fn. 36; I. Milčetić, "Matije Savića predgovor 'Slavenskoj gramatici,'" *Starine* (JAZU) 35, 1916, p. 398; and I. Milčetić, "Julije Bajamonti," pp. 97, 111 (for comments on the language); pp. 119, 122, 139, 166 (for examples of Bajamonti's use of the word "Illyrian").

119. I. Milčetić, "Julije Bajamonti," pp. 108–9 (on the play about Lobel); for examples of Bajamonti's use of "schiavoni," see pp. 161, 176, 198–99.

120. *Hrvatski latinisti* II, p. 557.

121. *Hrvatski latinisti* II, p. 557; V. Vratović, "Hrvatski latinizam u kontekstu hrvatske i evropske književnosti," in A. Flaker & K. Pranjić (eds.), *Hrvatska književnost u evropskom kontekstu*, Zagreb, 1978, pp. 145–46.

which twice uses the term “Illyrian” in connection with the language. He claims that “Splitska” (the adjectival form of the noun Split) in the “Illyrian language” means nothing more than “Mother Split.” Subsequently he notes that all Brač’s public documents are in Latin, but since the chancellors (Venetian officials) did not always know the Illyrian language, which was the mother tongue of the islanders, the Great Council chose a public translator.¹²² He also, when speaking in general about the people on the coast, used the term “Dalmatians.” Thus, in writing about the wars of Hungary along the coast in the 1350s, he speaks of the warfare between the Hungarians and Dalmatians as being tough.¹²³

The leadership of a Benedictine monastery at Rog (subsequently renamed Rogovi), not far from Zadar, also used the term “Illyrian,” employing it for their nation and for both their spoken language and Church Slavonic. In documents from 1640 and 1644 mention is made of the monastery employing the Illyrian language (*illyrico idiomate*); and in a register containing the letters of their comendatore from 1726 to 1741, we find him stating that the monks were of the Illyrian nation (*della nazione Ilirica*) and were Benedictines of the Illyrian rite (*di rito Illyrico*).¹²⁴ The phrase “Illyrian people” (*nazione*) suggests that the people from whom the monks were drawn, at least in the comendatore’s view, were coming to identify themselves to some degree as a people, and thus ethnically, and to have done so as Illyrians.

The Archbishop of Zadar, Matteo Karaman, whom we shall meet again in this chapter, said in 1744 that all the parish priests in his diocese were Illyrians and used the Slavic language.¹²⁵ In the environs of Šibenik we find reference in the seventeenth century to a priest having an Illyrian Missal and to a notary in 1665 translating a will from Illyrian into Italian (*o tradotto della letera il-liricha in italiana*).¹²⁶ And the writer Marko Dumančić (1628–1701) of Split referred to several “Illyrian” poems being written to honor the heroes of Klis.¹²⁷

We can also note the de Medicis in this context. The Jesuit Djuro Bašić, writing a history of the Ragusan Jesuits (1765), notes that Marin Gundulić, while residing in Florence in the 1630s, had tutored Ferdinand II in Illyrian. This linguistic interest continued into a second generation, for Ferdinand’s son Cosimo III also studied “Illyrian.” He had acquired several acquaintances “of the Illyrian language” and wrote in praise of that tongue, noting “the dignity of the Illyrian language.”¹²⁸

122. V. Prodić, “Kronika otoka Brača,” in V. Gligo & H. Morović (eds.), *Legende i kronike*, Split, 1977, pp. 234, 240.

123. V. Prodić, “Kronika otoka Brača,” p. 249.

124. L. Jelić, “Povjesno-topografske crtice o biogradskom primorju,” *Vjesnik Hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva* n.s. 3, 1899, pp. 85–87.

125. L. Jelić, “Povjesno-topografske crtice,” p. 40 and fn. 4 on that page.

126. A. Šupuk, *Šibenski glagoljski spomenici*, pp. 13, 14, 132 (fn. 10).

127. M. Franičević, *Povijest*, p. 271.

128. J. Dayre, “Études Slaves à Florence au 17^e siècle,” in [M. Rešetar], *Rešetarov zbornik iz dubrovačke prošlosti*, Dubrovnik, 1931, pp. 469–71; M. Deanović, “Talijanski pisci o Hrvatima,”

Illyrian and Slavic Mixed in Dalmatia

Before turning to the discussion of people about whom we have much data, let me note several people—not mentioned elsewhere in my text—who refer to the language as “Slavic or Illyrian” (or in reverse order). The first two are presented by Ante Split, who as usual, presents them with no context: the Bosnian Pavao Posilović translated in 1647 “Cvjet od kriposti duhovni” into “jezik ilirički aliti slovinski.” Georgijević confirms Posilović’s title and language terms. In the preface of a second work, “Nasladjenje duhovno,” Posilović expresses his belief that the text will be useful for the Slavic people.¹²⁹ Ante Split makes the same either/or claim for these two languages for Budimac Pavić, whom Ante dates to 1778. These two individuals were not unusual.

Others seem to have used the two terms interchangeably. Marc-Antonio de Dominis was a bishop of Senj and later of Split, who rebelled against Rome, spent a period of exile in England, and then tried to make peace with the Catholic Church, only to fall afoul of it again and die in a Church prison in Rome; he was sufficiently individualistic to be placed in this section/chapter rather than in the one discussing views of the official Church. He freely used both terms “Illyrian” and “Slavic” without any seeming distinction between them, unless he evolved from using “Illyrian” to “Slavic,” since we find the former term used in 1603 (although possibly in 1603 he simply used the term preferred by a superior named Michael Priuli), and the latter in 1604 and after. He refers to a cleric as Gregorius Stipanović Illyricus and also to the Illyrian language twice in connection with Priuli’s official Dalmatian visitation (to be discussed later) of 1603; the following year he refers to Alexander Komulović (discussed in the previous chapter) as being of the Slavic nation (*di nazione schiavona*) and refers to his Catechism as being translated into “*schiavone*”; in a 1616 inventory of some 181 books in his possession compiled by the learned ecclesiastic, most of which were presumably in Latin or Italian, S. Ljubić (who does not provide the whole list) cites three titles, each of which had a notation beside the title, in two cases “*in lingua slava*,” and once “*in lingua schiava*.” The bishop also did not neglect the term “Dalmatian,” referring to a certain Franciscan as Daniel Dalmatino. Of course, the attachment of the identity labels to a name may have been the choice of the individual described rather than de Dominis’.¹³⁰

Fra Gašpar Vinjalić published in 1769 a compendium of the most memorable events in the history “of the Illyrians and Slavs in Dalmatia, Croatia,

p. 126. We noted earlier in this chapter that Dživo Gundulić wrote a poem to honor Ferdinand II’s wedding; rather than focusing on the “Illyrian language” that interested the de Medicis, Dživo’s effort gave emphasis to the “Slavic people.”

129. J. Ravlić (ed.), *Zbornik proze*, p. 247; K. Georgijević, *Hrvatska književnost*, pp. 160–61.

130. S. Ljubić (ed.), “Prilozi za životopis Markantuna de Dominisa Rabljanina spljetskoga nadbiskupa,” *Starine* (JAZU) 2, 1870, pp. 75–76, 86, 124, 156.

and Bosnia.”¹³¹ Shortly thereafter, in 1782, his fellow Franciscan Marko Dobretić published in Ancona a work on moral theology for the parishes of the Slavic (slovinskoga) people in the glorious Illyrian language. In the preface, from which Brlek quotes, Dobretić states that it is true that we are all of the (same) Illyrian language and people, but we do not all speak in the same way but have different dialects and words, each following the customs of where he is: we have many books written in our language and printed in Latin letters, but they are not written in the same way; but each writes as he likes, often making a work impossible to understand.¹³²

Miho Marija Milišić (1711–98) was a Ragusan with close ties to various intellectuals in Slavonia, including Baltazar Krčelić. He also served as the Austrian consul in Dubrovnik. He seems to have sought unification of the South-Slavic lands, and looked to the Habsburgs, who held the crown of Hungary and Croatia, to carry out this task, seeing an “Illyrian” alliance as the best way to solve the problems of his people; at least twice in the 1770s (1772, 1775) he sent memoranda to Vienna calling for an Austrian occupation of Bosnia. Milišić also left behind several historical manuscripts, including works on the kings of the Illyrians; a short history of the kings of the Slavs and of the Slavic church (which breaks down into sections on the kings of Zeta, of Croatia, on the Nemanjići of Serbia, and on Bosnia); and on the Slavonic church of the Eastern rite. Thus, Milišić had a broad conception of ethnicity, seeing the South Slavs as a single people (who could be called “Slavs” or “Illyrians”), who in the course of their history had created various separate political entities. But other than pro-Catholic sentiment and the hope placed in Austria to unite this people, he did not show particular interest in any specific smaller segment of them.¹³³

In a collection of documents about Pula in the seventeenth century, summarized by Bertoša, we find the terms “Illyrian” and “Slav” used about the South Slavs who moved into the area in this period. For examples of “Illyrian”: in 1637 complaint is made about a lack of clergy of the Illyrian language; and in a hearing occurring in 1690, what had been said in Illyrian was translated into Italian. For examples of “Slav”: A brotherhood existed in Pula from the late-fifteenth century called the Brotherhood of St. Mary of the Slavs, and, for example, in 1620 reference is made to a marriage taking place in the chapel of the Madonna of the Slavs (Schiavoni). Bertoša notes that the many immigrants into Istria and Pula from Turkish territory and parts of Dalmatia were regularly called “Slavs” (“Sclavus” in Latin and “Schiava” in Italian) or Morlachs in the period prior to 1600. After that, broad ethnic-type terms become very rare and he found only two individuals so labeled in

131. S. Antoljak, *Hrvatska historiografija* I, p. 286.

132. L. Jelić, *Fontes historici*, Fontes . . . XVIII saeculi, pp. 91–92; M. Brlek, *Leksikograf*, p. 70.

133. S. Antoljak, *Hrvatska historiografija* I, pp. 308–10.

the seventeenth century, Agnia Schiavona (in 1623) and Marin Schiavon (in 1626), both referred to as inhabitants of Pula.¹³⁴ It is worth noting, again, the absence of people called "Croats."

Another relevant seventeenth-century text emerged from the pen of an inhabitant of Rijeka. Its author was also an Italian, born in Italy; but since he spent his whole adult life, nearly fifty years, in and around Rijeka, one might suppose that his later surroundings had more impact upon his thinking than did his place of origin. He wrote in or shortly after 1621 a history of the Uskoks, who were based not far from Rijeka, and he had a great deal more sympathy for them than did most Italians. Unfortunately, his name is not provided in his manuscript. At the start, noting that the Uskoks were based in and around Senj, he describes their activities, using from time to time local terminology. So he is frequently saying things like "called in the Turkish language" or which "in Italian means." In this process he five times refers to something being called in "Illyrian" such and such, (for example, the pirates were called "Usocci" in the Illyrian language) and once has something being "ertu [rt]" in the Slavic language. He also, in referring to the Vlachs or Morlachs, has the latter term linked incorrectly to "Mortolos" (Martolozzi, local Christian militiamen under the Turks) in Slavic (in schiavonia lingua). He also refers to the Uskok sailors at times as "Dalmatians" (presumably denoting place of origin), for example, noting that about fifty Dalmatians served under a given captain. On another occasion he reports that a Venetian fleet dispatched against the Uskoks was made up of Italians, Dalmatians, and Albanians.¹³⁵

Johannes Lucius and His Circle

Johannes Lucius, rightly considered the first critical historian among the South Slavs—and quite possibly among all the Slavs—produced a series of historical studies as well as collected documents and saints lives. His most famous work was his *De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae*, published in Amsterdam in 1666. He also wrote a history of his native city, Trogir. Franjo Barišić concludes that at the bottom of his soul, Lucius was a Trogirian Dalmatian, attached to the Roman Dalmatia that survived the fall of Salona and which from the end of the twelfth century began to be swamped in the flood of Slavs. At this time, wrote Lucius, they gave up (their insistence on) the Roman language and between them and the Slavs there ceased to be a difference.¹³⁶

134. M. Bertoša, "Etnička struktura Pule od 1613 do 1797 s posebnim osvrtom na smjer doseljavanja njezina stanovništva," *Vjesnik Historijskih arhiva u Rijeci i Pazinu* 15, 1970, pp. 64 (fns. 51, 53), 68 (fn. 58), 71, 79.

135. F. Rački (ed.), "Prilog za poviest hrvatskih uskoka," *Starine* (JAZU) 9, 1877, pp. 173–75, 181, 190, 200, 203–4, 217.

136. F. Barišić, "Vizantijski izvori u dalmatinskoj historiografiji XVI i XVII veka," *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog instituta* (Beograd, SAN) 7, 1961, p. 240.

What should be noticed here is the fact that here and elsewhere, he tended to call the general population, as he did in the passage Barišić cites, "Slavs." However, there may well be a flaw in Barišić's "Trogirian Dalmatian" label for him, for the first edition of his *De regno* (in 1666) had numerous typos, and Lucius sent a long list off to Amsterdam to be corrected in a subsequent edition. One of the items that he objected to was the publisher's adding "Dalmatini" after Lucius' name, and when the new edition appeared in 1668, the author was listed simply as "Ioannis Lucii."¹³⁷ As far as I know, it is, unfortunately, not known why Lucius objected to attaching "Dalmatian" to his name.

In a preface that was omitted from the 1666 edition of his *De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae*, Lucius mentions Marko Marulić translating "The Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclea" from Slavic (ex idiomate Slavo) into Latin.¹³⁸ When Lucius brought into his text the work on Dalmatia of Girolamo Chialeto (Jerolim Kaletić) from 1546 he called it a history of Dalmatia (written) in Slavic (in slavo).¹³⁹ Furthermore, in the edition of Fusko's "Description of the Coast of Illyria," which Lucius edited and published, Lucius added notes; in one of them he refers to an island off the coast of Trogir, which in Slavic (Slavice) is called Drivenik.¹⁴⁰ Further Lucius showed an interest in word origins, and in his text he speculates on whether the region of Dubrovnik called Starea was derived from the Slavic word (parola Slava) "star" meaning old; in the end he decides the name was derived from neither Slavic nor Latin, but from Greek.¹⁴¹ Not only is the language Slavic, but so are the people. He breaks up Dalmatia into western and eastern parts, associating the former with the Kingdom of Dalmatia and Croatia and the latter with the Serbs; and from these political entities, the people within each could be called (as he does)

137. M. Kurelac, *Ivan Lučić Lucius: Otac hrvatske historiografije*, Zagreb, 1994, pp. 24, 59. Unfortunately the printer of this fine study reversed pictures of the title pages of the 1666 and 1668 editions, showing the 1668 title page first and labeling it 1666 and vice versa, pp. 62, 65.

138. I. Lučić, *O Kraljevstvu Dalmacije i Hrvatske* (*De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae*) [1666] (B. Kuntić Makvić and M. Kurelac, eds.), Zagreb (Biblioteka Latina et Graeca 7), Zagreb, 1986, p. 362. (Given as "slavonico idiomate" in a manuscript copy, see M. Kurelac, *Ivan Lučić Lucius*, p. 60, fn. 170.) Over a decade earlier, in a letter to his friend Valerije Ponte, Lucius had used the same terminology about the same text referring to the manuscript being in Slavic (in schiavo). (M. Kurelac, "Prilog Ivana Luciusa-Lučića," *Zbornik Historijskog zavoda* (JAZU, Zagreb) 8, 1977, p. 109, fn. 20.

139. I. K. S. [=Ivan Kukuljević-Sakcinski] (ed.), "Kratki ljetopisi hrvatski," *Arhiv za povjestnicu jugoslavensku* 4, 1857, p. 48.

140. Paladije Fusko, *Opis obale Ilirika*, p. 112/113, fn. 10.

141. I. Lučić [Lucius], *Povijesna svjedočanstva o Trogiru* (*Memorie istoriche di Tragurio ora detto Trau*) [1673], II (J. Stipišić, ed. & trans.; introduction by M. Kurelac), Split, 1979, pp. 1096–99; discussed by J. Lučić, "Povijest Dubrovnika u djelima Ivana Luciusa," *Zbornik Historijskog instituta* (JAZU, Zagreb) 6, 1969, pp. 118–19, fns. 21, 23. Lucius also discusses the point (still calling the language Slavic [Schiavona]) in a letter written in Italian in 1672 to his friend Valerije Ponte: see I. Lučić, "Pisma Ivana Lučića Trogiranina" (B. Poparić, ed.) *Starine* (JAZU) 32, 1907, p. 53.

“Croats” and “Serbs” respectively; but the underlying overall population out of which these entities were created were Slavs, who had migrated together into the Balkans in the sixth and seventh centuries. So he can speak of Dalmatia, Croatia, and Serbia being Slavic regions or of the post-migration Dalmatians (the original Latins) trying to keep the Slavs from the sea, where they might compete with Dalmatian interests, and at the same time speak of the northern Dalmatian towns paying tribute to the Croats, while Dubrovnik, in the south, paid it to the Serbs.¹⁴² He also, in his study of his native Trogir, focused on the Italian of his town. He notes that the pronunciation of the people there is more Slavic, and he goes on to speak of the Slavicization of their pronunciation (*che nella pronuncia schiavonizano*).¹⁴³ Unlike most of his contemporaries, then, Lucius saw the Slavs as migrants into the Balkans; thus, they were not autochthonous or able to be identified with the Illyrians. In fact, he notes that, though in recent times the language of the Croats and Serbs is customarily called “Illyrian,” it is so named after the ancient name of the region, Illyria (*antiquo nomine regionis Illyricae*).¹⁴⁴

As he did in the just-cited passage, Lucius, when focusing on a narrow area, freely used the more narrow identities, like “Croatian.” Thus, we find a section of his book devoted to the customs of the Croats (*de moribus Croatorum*), and he writes, for example, “And when the Croats came under Frankish rule . . .”; or notes that the Croats and people of Hum (*Chulmitae*) renewed piracy around Omiš; or that Venice tried to prevent good relations between its cities and the Croats, as in the case of an arbitration settlement between Rab and Nin that it issued; or in a section on recent customs among the Croats, he notes that the Croats had no sort of written law. But even in the midst of these sections specifically focused on Croatia, he continues to use the term “Slav.” Thus, in his section on Croatian customs, he lists various court offices and, reaching a position called the “*maverarius*,” he writes that it is not known whether it was a Slavic or Latin term. Thus, even though people from Croatia can be labeled “Croats,” their language remains Slavic.¹⁴⁵ That he uses the term “Croatia” geographically is seen by the fact that he also presents a section on customs of the Dalmatians (*de moribus Dalmatinorum*).

Lucius also, at least for contemporary (seventeenth-century) matters, could use the general term “Illyrian.” He had six maps drawn up, which were printed in the 1668 edition of his *De regno* called “Illyricum Today” (*Illyricum hodiernum*). The maps show, and a never-printed preface to the maps speaks of, what this term included: Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia (i.e., the Hungarian banate of Slavonia), and Bosnia. And just as his “Slavs” included Croats and

142. J. Lučić, “Povijest Dubrovnika,” pp. 117–18.

143. Cited by K. Jireček, *Romani u gradovima Dalmacije*, p. 90.

144. F. Fancev, “Ilirstvo u hrvatskom preporodu,” in M. Rešetar, et al., *Izabrana djela*, Zagreb, 1983, p. 221.

145. *Hrvatski latinisti II*, Zagreb, 1970, pp. 53, 61, 63, 65.

Serbs, his Illyrian population includes the Serbs in the given territory. Illyricum today, he writes, is Dalmatia, Croatia, Bosnia, and Slavonia. Now divided into (what is under) Christian jurisdictions: Hungarian: the regions of western Slavonia, Croatia, and Dalmatia; Venetian and Ragusan: the western parts of Dalmatia with the islands. And Turkish [jurisdiction]: the pashalik of Bosnia with the Sandžak including: Bosnia, Požega, Cernik, Bihać, Lika with Krbava, Klis, and Hercegovina. Shortly thereafter, in his description of his maps he says "Illyricum or Sclavonia [now used in the broadest sense]."¹⁴⁶ At the time he was preparing the maps, Lucius sent to Marco Forstal (to be discussed shortly) a text with the emblem of the Congregation of St. Jerome Illyricorum in Rome, on which appeared the coats-of-arms of what the congregation considered the Illyrian nations: Croatia, Dalmatia, Slavonia, and Bosnia.¹⁴⁷ Interestingly, Lucius' Illyricum, described in the preface to the maps, like that of this congregation and the Illyrian college to which it was attached and unlike that of Orbini and other Dalmatian writers, does not include Serbia proper. Lucius dedicated the maps to Petar Zrinski, the heroic nobleman and warrior, who was a symbol of the struggle against the Turks.¹⁴⁸

Lucius and one of his friends, Valerije Ponte, also visualized a new and joint project, a history of the bishoprics of Dalmatia, to be called "Illyricum sacrum." It was to be modeled on the recently published work "Italia sacra" of Ferdinand Ughelli. They got no further than some notes, but these notes and the whole project was, after their deaths, taken over and completed in the multi-volume work "Illyricum sacrum" of F. Riceputi (1667–1742) and D. Farlati (1690–1773). Again we may note the title.¹⁴⁹ One notebook, in which Riceputi collected material, was entitled "Communal Monasteries of Illyricum." In fact, Riceputi and Farlati's notes, regularly referred to Illyrian/of Illyricum martyrs, history, bishops, charters, people, etc. We have an attachment to a letter Farlati wrote in 1762, seeking information about the Church in Osor; in it he asks which parishes used the Illyrian language in celebrating the Divine Office.¹⁵⁰ Riceputi also put together a large library of manuscripts, his notebooks of copied documents, and printed books. The name he gave to the collection was "Illyrian Library."¹⁵¹ As their notes used it, the term "Illyrian" bore a geographical sense rather than an ethnic one. We also find local people referred to as "Dalmatians," and a reference in Riceputi's notes to having communications with

146. M. Kurelac, "Illyricum hodiernum' Ivana Lučića i Ban Petar Zrinski," *Zbornik Historijskog instituta* (JAZU, Zagreb) 6, 1969, pp. 151–52.

147. M. Kurelac, "Prilog Ivana Luciusa-Lučića," p. 125, fn. 63.

148. M. Kurelac, "Illyricum hodiernum," pp. 143, 153.

149. M. Kurelac, "Suvremenici i suradnici Ivana Lučića," *Zbornik Historijskog instituta* (JAZU, Zagreb) 6, 1969, p. 137.

150. V. Štefanić & L. Košuta, "Arhiv bivše osorske biskupije," *Starine* (JAZU) 43, 1951, p. 331.

151. H. Morović, "Riceputijeva 'Ilirska biblioteka,'" in H. Morović, *Sa stranica starih knjiga*, Split, 1968, pp. 125–40.

Dalmatians and Slavs.¹⁵² Ostojić noted that the authors of this work included in Illyricum much of the Balkan interior, including Serbia and Bulgaria, while excluding Istria.¹⁵³ This multi-volume work, most of whose volumes appeared in the last quarter of the eighteenth century, judging on citations from it, tended to favor the term “Slavic,” for the language.¹⁵⁴ Vanino cites Riceputi’s first edition of volume one saying that St. Jerome was fluent in the Illyrian language, which language Riceputi later reports was the same as “Slavicus” or “Slavonicus.”¹⁵⁵

Petar Zrinski and his predecessor as family head, Nikola Zrinski, were the objects of a panegyric written during the 1660s in the form of a Zrinski family history by a family hanger-on and secretary, an Augustinian friar named Marko Forstal. Though Forstal’s texts have no historical value, they are of interest for their vocabulary and views. He first depicted the Zrinskis as being descended from kings of the Goths or Slavs (*Gothorum seu Slavorum regibus*). He later, without dropping these ancestral kings, developed even grander things; turning to the Šubić ancestry of the Zrinskis, which he had initially ignored, Forstal decided that the Šubići were descended from the Roman family of Sulpitius, which had included the emperor Sergius Galba and which had migrated to Illyricum. He had a doctored version of Louis of Hungary’s 1347 charter giving Juraj Šubić the fortress of Zrin. Forstal’s charter had a prominent addition, the stating of the Šubić descent from Sulpitius (*ex Romano, ut fertur, Sulpitiorum sanguine oriundi . . .*) and also a notable omission, that the Šubići had been rebels and this charter recognized Juraj’s return to royal grace. Whether Forstal, who sent a copy of the document to Lucius, had made the changes himself (in which case, of course, without acknowledging it to Lucius, who was quick to point out the document’s flaws in his reply) or by some earlier enthusiastic family retainer is not known. Thus, this remarkable and noble Roman family had survived the barbarian migrations to re-emerge as Gothic or Slav kings and then to re-re-emerge as the most magnificent of the twelve noble families of Croatia, the Šubići. Forstal called “the Duke and Hero” Nikola Zrinski in his eight line/seventy-two word title “the Regent/Ban of the Illyrian Kingdoms” (*Illyricorum Regnorum Prorex*). I render “prorex” here as regent since it sounds better in English; however, “prorex” was the normal Latin for “ban,” when that term was translated rather than being left as “ban” as it usually was. Forstal noted that when

152. On the notes of the authors of *Illyricum sacrum* (especially those of Riceputi), see M. Vanino, “Illyricum sacrum i Filip Riceputi,” *Croatia sacra* 1, 1931, pp. 259–92; on “Dalmatians and Slavs,” p. 264.

153. I. Ostojić, *Benediktinci* I, pp. 393–94.

154. F. Fancev, “Latinicki spomenici hrvatske crkvene književnosti 14 i 15 v. i njihov odnos prema crkvenoslovenskoj književnosti hrvatske glagoljske crkve,” the introduction to his, *Vatikanski hrvatski molitvenik i Dubrovački psaltir: Dva latinicom pisana spomenika hrvatske proze 14 i 15 vijeka*, Zagreb (JAZU, *Djela* 31), 1934, p. xli.

155. M. Vanino, “Illyricum sacrum,” p. 273, fn. 25.

Venice extended its citizenship to one of the Šubići, it recognized him as the strongest figure in all of Illyricum and that the family ruled all of Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia (!), and Bosnia as absolute rulers. On other occasions, he spoke of the Zrinskis as being a glorious Slavic family. In any case, like Lucius, he had a broad vision of those to be liberated and did not focus on Croatia or the Croats.¹⁵⁶

Needless to say Lucius did not buy the Roman ancestry claims. In a letter which he wrote Petar Zrinski in September 1666, he avoided specific mention of the alleged Sulpitius-Zrinski connection, but tied a broader criticism to the alleged ancestors of other noble families of Croatia: "What they say about the Krbava princes being descended from the Torquatius family, I have found no evidence to substantiate, and I am not able to say that I have any confidence that the Croatians who expelled the old Romans from Dalmatia had any Romans among them."¹⁵⁷ We shall return to Petar Zrinski's own literary activities later in this chapter.

Lucius had a friend Stjepan Gradić (1613–83), originally from Dubrovnik but later a librarian at the Vatican, who assisted Lucius on many scholarly matters. Being permanently in Rome, he was able to serve as a lobbyist there for his native town. Gradić also wrote poetry and essays. In one poem dedicated to Palmotić, he refers to something reaching the ears of the Illyrian populace (*Illyridum populorum*); in an essay on the same Palmotić he refers to Palmotić translating a Latin tragedy into Illyrian verses. But later in the essay, Gradić moves to the language in a wider sense; then he utilizes the term "Slavic." People, he says, worry about their language being free of impurities, especially of foreign words. One must notice that the Slavic language, owing to the broad territory on which live those who speak it and the resulting differences, has come to be divided into various dialects. That in itself produces problems, but this becomes even more difficult when some of one's co-citizens are not by origin Slavs. And he notes that the regular contact of many with Italians and others leads a given group's language to become full of foreign words and phrases, like those the Bosnians use, (i.e., Turkish ones in this case). But even so their (the Bosnians') language is closer to Russian and Podolian than Czech or Polish. The Dalmatians and Croats (*Dalmatae Croatiaque*)—seemingly used in a geographical sense—or others of our people find in the speech of these others various things they do not have, and it is implied that they dislike these oddities. But, concludes Gradić, all Slavs (*Slavorum populorum*) can seize on the beauty of the poet's (Palmotić's) verses, as all

156. Material on M. Forstal in this paragraph taken from M. Kurelac, "Illyricum hodie," p. 147, and "Prilog Ivana Luciusa-Lučića," pp. 102–21. These two excellent and fascinating articles are marred by Kurelac's inconsistency in spelling; the first article spells two major figures as "Zrinjski" and "Forstal" and the second article uses "Zrinski" and "Forstall."

157. M. Kurelac, *Ivan Lučić Lucius*, pp. 120–21. Kurelac provides the full text of the letter, written in Latin, as well as a Serbo-Croatian translation.

Italians can forgo their individual urban speech patterns to adopt the divine words of Petrarch.¹⁵⁸

But, though Gradić may have seen an Illyrian or Slavic commonality, his own loyalty was to his town of Dubrovnik, and he referred in his letters to its people as “our nation.” For example, in 1677 he mentions the many colonies and privileges “our nation” has in the Balkans and Hungary, and in the following year he refers to his role in freeing some individuals of “our nation” who had violated a prohibition and been arrested in Naples.¹⁵⁹ In 1681 he wrote about the appointment of a cardinal to the position of “Protector of Saint Jerome of our nation” (*della nostra nazione*). He suggested that the town fathers write the cardinal expressing the town’s congratulations.¹⁶⁰ Now the nation which the cardinal protected, as was indicated in his official title, was the Illyrian one. That name does not appear in Gradić’s letter. So, it is not possible to determine whether Gradić here was identifying “our nation” with the Illyrian one, as Rome did; or whether he was still thinking about his town, and wrote thus because the cardinal was protector of the “Ragusan nation” too; for, after all, Rome classified Dubrovnik under “Illyria.”

Injacijo Gjorgji

The Ragusan writer and poet to whom we now turn finds his name spelled in a variety of ways, owing to differences between Italian and early Serbo-Croatian, to different forms of his given patronymic, and finally owing to variant orthographies of Slavic. With a surname meaning Georgeson, with the “George” part pronounced like the English name “George,” the “G,” depending on one’s orthography could be rendered “Gj” (or “Ć”) or “Dj.” Though “Dj” is what is used for the surname now, the Ragusan author usually used “Gj,” and that is the spelling that his modern editor, M. Rešetar, used for his edition of Gjorgji’s works. However, scholars in the twentieth century usually speak of him as “Djurdjić” (a form, Rešetar claims, he never used) or by a second form of his patronymic, “Djurdjević.” His first name of Ignatius (in Latin) also appeared in variants as well. Injacijo Gjorgji, as I, following Rešetar, shall call him, lived from 1675 to 1737. He was most famous for his “Saltijer Slovinski,” a verse translation of the Psalms, published in Venice in 1729.

Rešetar, providing a long introduction on the writer, has brought out the text of this Psalter and Gjorgji’s Slavic translation of the “Life of Saint Bene-

158. *Hrvatski latinisti II*, Zagreb, 1970, pp. 113, 117, 119, 121; A. Pavić, “Junije Palmotić,” pp. 70–79.

159. S. Gradić, “Pisma opata Stjepana Gradića,” (Dj. Körbler, ed.), Zagreb (JAZU, MSHSM 37), 1915, pp. 306, 319. Other examples of the phrase “our nation,” pp. 308, 399.

160. S. Gradić, “Pisma opata Stjepana Gradića,” pp. 438–39.

dict.”¹⁶¹ To save on footnotes, I shall simply add page numbers after the citations; Arabic numbers, following a Roman II, are from Gjorgji's prefaces to the two just-mentioned works and the Roman numbers refer to the pagination of Rešetar's introduction. As early as 1695, Gjorgji had written of a wish to translate the Psalms. At that time, in a letter to a friend, he had expressed the desire to render the Psalms in Illyrian lyrics (p. lxxxvi). The published Psalter has two prefaces, a Latin and a Slavic one. In the Latin one Gjorgji speaks of translating into Illyrian (II, p. 5), whereas in the Slavic one he calls the language “Slavic” (II, p. 23). In the Latin preface, in addition to using “Illyrian” as the language name of various other works (e.g., for Dominko Zlatarić's Illyrian songs; II, pp. 19–20), he also speaks of the “Dalmatian language” (*Dalmatico idioma*, e.g., in which, he notes, Zlatarić expressed his love of country (II, pp. 19–20). In his Slavic preface he speaks of translating into Slavic and wanting to enable his Slavic audience to taste the meaning of the Psalms, and he hoped that by putting the Psalms into Slavic, it would enable the nuns who recited them daily from their Psalters in Latin to understand what they were about (II, p. 23). Thus, it is evident that Gjorgji sees “Illyrian” as the Romance (Latin/Italian) word for “Slavic” in Slavic. On occasion, he did use the term “Slavic” when writing in Latin. For example in his biographical sketches of famous Ragusans, he includes criticism of Mavro Orbini, stating that it would have been fortunate if Slavic history (*Slavorum historia*) had found a historian who had read more. However, it is possible that he chose the term “Slavic” over Illyrian here, because it had been the term Orbini had used in both his title and throughout his text. Elsewhere in these biographical sketches, Gjorgji says “Illyrian”; for example, Andrija Čubranovic was a very renowned Illyrian poet, only some of Zlatarić's Illyrian poems have come down to us, and Zlatarić translated Tasso's “*Aminta*” into Illyrian.¹⁶²

Rešetar, in his biographical sketch of Gjorgji, stresses the poet's patriotism. He notes that Gjorgji pokes fun at the Dalmatians, who are Slavs but try to be Italians. For example he directed an epigram at Grilo the Dalmatian who Italianizes himself; and the first line says “You want to become an Italian, but you aren't but rather a Dalmatian, Grilo.” And it ends, “Why, Grilo, do you labor to change your homeland, for it is quite stupid if you leave behind your own.”¹⁶³ But Gjorgji does recognize problems in writing “Slavic.” In a Slavic

161. I. Gjorgji, *Djela II* (M. Rešetar, ed.), Zagreb (JAZU, *Stari pisci hrvatski* 25, nos. 1 & 2), 1922, 1926. Rešetar's introduction, “Što je ušlo u ovu drugu knjigu,” appears in vol. 25, no. 2 as pp. v–clii, whereas the texts of the two volumes have consecutive pagination, with the “*Saltijer Slovinski*” covering pp. 5–486 (which takes it into the second volume) and “*Život prisvetoga Benedikta*,” taking up pp. 487–719. As appendices to his introduction (pp. cxxx–clii) Rešetar includes texts of a series of contemporary or near-contemporary biographies and other documents about Gjorgji.

162. For the four citations from the biographical sketches, see *Hrvatski latinisti II*, Zagreb, 1970, pp. 233, 235, 239.

163. *Hrvatski latinisti II*, p. 213.

preface to one of his works, "Uzdaha," on Mary Magdaline, Gjorgji starts off by saying "We Adriatic coastalers (primorci) or Slavs (Slovinci) from Dalmatia" lack rules for orthography and so forth. And this difficulty as to what truly comprised Slavic led him to protest in a letter to Djuro Matijašević, whom we shall meet shortly, that his "Mary Magdaline" was written truly in Illyrian and not just "Dubrovački."¹⁶⁴ He discusses these problems of writing Slavic in the just-mentioned preface and then moves on to a favorite theme and emphasizes his love for his mother tongue and for his Adriatic-Slavic region.¹⁶⁵ In the Latin preface to the same work he praises the Illyrian language and sharply criticizes his peers who find a foreign language dearer than their mother tongue (p. lxviii). He then rendered the first book of his Magdaline into Latin, which he labeled as a translation from the "Illyrian Magdaline, book 1" (Magdalidos Illyrica). He said that he provided the Latin version to show foreigners what could be done in Slavic (i.e., this being a translation from a Slavic original) (pp. xcv–xcvi). Earlier in the preface he had called the language "Slavic" (slavonico) or "Illyrian." Moreover, in arguing for the versatility of Slavic, Gjorgji noted that one of his short poems rendered into Slavic was employing (and thus demonstrating Slavic's capability) a technique of varied meter within it which Pindar had employed (p. lxxx). And in so doing he wanted to enrich or broaden Slavic poetry by establishing new ways of writing it.¹⁶⁶

Gjorgji's collected short poems, contained in his "Various Poems" (Pjesni razlike), also regularly used the term "Slavic." Page numbers (accompanied by Roman I) after citations come from the Yugoslav Academy edition of this collection of poems.¹⁶⁷ Roman number citations continue to be to Rešetar's introduction to the other Gjorgji volume. Gjorgji praised his predecessor Alexander Komulović for translating into "slovinski" language a work on hearing confessions (I, p. 69); in a second short poem on Ovid, the chief purpose of which, according to Rešetar, was to praise the Slavic language, Gjorgji has Ovid learning to speak "Slavic," for Ovid claimed a speaking knowledge of "Sarmatian," and Gjorgji, like many of his contemporaries, believed "Sarmatian" was a Slavic tongue (I, p. 6 & p. lxxviii). In the poem on Ovid he several times refers to "Slavic" regions, and then provides a listing of where "Slavic" was spoken, in which, among several Slavic places, he refers to the geographical region of Croatia, stretching from the Drava to the Adriatic (I, pp. 7, 8, 10). He shows how important he thinks one's own language is by saying "you are born with your language; your language is your birthright" (I, p. 11). In a poem to a nobleman from Dubrovnik, he says

164. Cited by M. Kombol, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, p. 320.

165. I. Gjorgji, *Djela I* (M. Rešetar, ed.), Zagreb (JAZU, *Stari pisci hrvatski* 24), 1917, pp. 465, 467.

166. Cited by M. Kombol, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, p. 319.

167. "Pjesni razlike" appears in I. Gjorgji, *Djela I*, pp. 3–458. The reference about his poem following Pindar's technique noted above appears on p. 156.

“And in that town for centuries Slavic has been the language” (I, p. 15). And finally he renders into “Slavic” some poems from the Greek of the poet Gabrios (I, p. 283). He also, as mentioned, translated a “Life of Saint Benedict” into Slavic, for it was a shame that every other state (*država*), except our *slovinska*, is acquainted with this figure and his miracles and the ignored Slavs were the most widespread of peoples, spread from the Adriatic to the Baltic Sea (II, p. 493).

Gjorgji also wrote biographical sketches of famous Ragusans, first a brief text, contained in a letter written to Rado Miličić, ca. 1707, and secondly a longer work, “*Vitae illustrium Rhacusinorum*,” written most likely between 1712 and 1716. Both texts were written in Latin and include many poets writing in or translating into proto-Serbo-Croatian. The letter refers to the language as either “Slavic” or “Illyrian.” This text switches back and forth between the two terms, and when he notes the language twice for the same author, invariably he uses “Illyrian” once and “Slavic” the other time. Thus clearly, here, the two terms were complete synonyms, and one can conclude that he was switching back and forth for stylistic reasons, to vary his vocabulary. In the longer work, written five to ten years later, he seems to have been seeking consistency, for he uses the term “Illyrian” throughout.¹⁶⁸

A close friend of Gjorgji, a cleric named Dum Djuro Matijašević (1675–1728), after a clash with Dubrovnik’s archbishop, went into a long permanent “exile” in Rome, from where he and Gjorgji carried on an active correspondence—much of which has been preserved—about their literary interests. In these letters, written in either Latin or Italian, they frequently refer to their native tongue. Gjorgji, as in his work itself, tends to prefer the term “Slavic” and, for example, in letter no. 15 written in 1718, he refers to his “Psalter of David translated into Slavic rhyme.” His correspondent, however, regularly uses the term “Illyrian” for the language, referring to Gjorgji’s “Illyrian compositions” in letter no. 7 from 1697 and various other times to the language as well, including for Gjorgji’s just-mentioned “Psalter” in letter no. 18 from 1719. His correspondent’s usage is presumably what causes Gjorgji to refer to his “Illyrian psalter” in a letter (no. 17) written between 8 October 1718 and 1 September 1719. And the same (in reverse) is probably the cause of Matijašević referring to his friend’s “*Illirico or Slawonico Book of Psalms*” in letter no. 16 from 1718. Gjorgji also makes reference in 1728 (letter no. 26) to assistance received for printing his “Mary Magdalan” from an organization, *Eredito Amico Dalmatino*, which reflects sentiment among that group toward Dalmatia. Gjorgji refers to a man named Father Ardelio who at the time was

168. I. Gjorgji [title page has I. Djurdjević], *Biografska dela* (P. Kolendić & P. Pavlović, eds.), Beograd (SKA, Zbornik za istoriju, jezik i književnost srpskog naroda, drugo odeljenje 7), 1935. For the letter, see pp. 3–8; and on pp. 3–7, the reader will find examples of both language terms on every page. For “*Vitae*” see pp. 11–120. For examples of “Illyrian” language, poets, etc., see pp. 11, 16, 18, 22, 26–27, 45–46, 50, etc.

completing an "Illyrian" dictionary.¹⁶⁹ This individual was, of course, Ardelio Della Bella. Matijašević also mentions that he was taking excerpts in Illyrian out of books in libraries of Trieste for Della Bella, and in a description of Della Bella, in a letter to a different friend, Matijašević says that Della Bella was making great progress in "lingua Slava."¹⁷⁰ Matijašević also left behind an unpublished manuscript describing circumstances in Dubrovnik, written in 1714. In that text he refers to Dubrovnik's Church services having the Gospels in Latin, but other parts (the obligati) being sung in Illyrian, and to the monk Ignjat Gjorgji being very well versed in the Latin, Italian, and Illyrian languages, and to some books being in Illyrian.¹⁷¹ Only once, in the published texts, does Matijašević mention "Croatsians" (Gjorgji never does). In letter no. 16 from 1718, Matijašević refers to a comparison of religious observances among different peoples, which included Poles, Muscovites, Bohemians, Croatsians, and Dalmatians.¹⁷² Whether the terms are simply geographical—with presumably differences recognized between Orthodox Muscovites and the Catholics—or have ethnic elements is not clear from the brief notice. He certainly shows no signs of ethnic feelings in either his letters or his description of Dubrovnik, and one may note that he separates the Croatsians from the Dalmatians.

Gjorgji also planned a history of his native land, Illyria, which he never finished; in fact, he completed only certain sections of it. He divided Illyria into a Little Illyria and a Great Illyria, which, according to Rešetar, was an entirely original concept. Little Illyria consisted of the Dalmatian coast and Great Illyria the whole northwestern Balkans. Like many of his contemporaries he believed the Illyrians to have been Slavs and he accepted the whole myth of St. Jerome translating the Old and New Testaments into Illyrian (pp. cxvii–cxviii, cxxi). Gjorgji drew up various notes and outlines of the planned work. In them we find: a proposed section on Illyrian speech in Dalmatia at the time of St. Jerome; a statement that Illyrian, without doubt what we today call "Slavic" or "Slavonic," was then present in Dalmatia and used by the Illyrians; the statement that the wonderful Jerome wrote in Sarmatian or Slavic (not one or the other, but having the two terms synonyms); the claim that the Dalmatians Zechi (elsewhere Čeh) and Lechi crossed the Danube and migrated to Bohemia and Poland; the proposed inclusion of the Donation of Alexander the Great, which Gjorgji has the ruler addressing to the Northern Illyrian race of Slavs; the claim that the Goths were Slavs.¹⁷³

169. M. Rešetar (ed.), "Pisma Ignjata Djurdjevića (Djordjića) i Dum Djura Matijaševića (Mattei)," *Gradja za povijest književnosti hrvatske* 11, 1932, pp. 124–44 (esp. pp. 134, 137, 138, 139, 143).

170. N. Sironić-Bonefačić, "Ardelio Della Bella," pp. 9, 15–16.

171. Dj. Matijašević, "Dj. Matijašević o prilikama u Dubrovniku na početku XVIII v" (M. Deanović, ed.), *Gradja za povijest književnosti hrvatske* 11, 1932, pp. 145–60 (esp. pp. 152–53).

172. M. Rešetar (ed.), "Pisma Ignjata Djurdjevića," p. 138.

173. K. Vojnović, "Prilozi k arhivalnijem pabircima dubrovačkijem," *Starine* (JAZU) 28, 1896, pp. 67–69, 73.

The completed part, entitled "*Rerum Illyricarum*," has been published by I. Pudić. To save on footnotes, in this and the following paragraph, I include after cited items the numbers of the pages on which they appear in Pudić's edition.¹⁷⁴ The text is strongly focused on linguistics. Gjorgji states that after the world's "splitting into languages" (i.e., the Tower of Babel), a series of basic languages emerged which included "Thracian which today is called Slavonica" (p. 165). Subsequently, he sometimes calls this particular basic language "Sarmatian." In his discussion of word relationships he uses one of three terms for the current language: "Slavic" (e.g., in Slavic [Slavis] mother is "Matter, Matti") (p. 166); or "Illyrian" (e.g., *Rachusa illyrica voce dicitur Dubrovnik*) (p. 168); or "Dalmatian" (e.g., *sedes Dalmatis stol, Dalmatis vinograd vinea*) (p. 182). In one section he has St. Jerome translating Sacred Scripture into Dalmatian (p. 301). At one point he even says, "I am a Dalmatian" (*ego Dalmata*) (p. 180). In the course of this long text he uses each term, "Illyrian" or "Slavic" (sometimes joined with an "or"), well over a hundred times and "Dalmatian" less often, but still with considerable frequency.

Gjorgji argues that German is not a basic language but a mixed one growing out of various languages, including Sarmatian (and he says at one point *Slavice* or *Sarmatice*) (p. 174). He notes that the Sarmatians have kept their language faithfully up to today. Later he repeats the same idea that German is not a basic language but a mixed one which was formed out of Greek, Latin, Italian, and mostly from Thracian or Slavonice (p. 199). He later devotes a section to the Balkans being the homeland of all the Slavs. Čeh and Leh were from the Balkans. The Bohemians and Poles are of the same blood as the Dalmatians and Illyrians (p. 265). The Poles and Bohemians are of Dalmatian-Illyrian or Illyrian-Macedonian origin (p. 266). And he gives, besides several versions of the Čeh-Leh story that place their homeland in Dalmatia, one which has Mediterranean Croatia as the native place of the two (*loco natos Zechum et Lechum*) (p. 280). Later on he provides Constantine Porphyrogenitus' account of the arrival of the Croats and Serbs (p. 289). However, other than his rendering of that story as Constantine recounted it, Gjorgji pays little or no attention to the Croats. The language, though as seen, is given a variety of names in this text; "Croatian" is never one of them. And though at times some of the labels he uses may verge on the ethnic, "Croatian" never appears as an ethnic term.

Gjorgji planned various other works as well. He planned to publish in Latin a work in praise of "our Slavic language." He, moreover, was president of the Dubrovnik academy for several years, and a major project that he and some of the other academics were planning to carry out was a Latin-Italian-Illyrian

174. I. Pudić (ed.), *Rerum Illyricarum Ignjata Djurdjevića*, Sarajevo (ANiUBH, *Djela* 28, Ođj. ist-fil nauka 16), 1967.

dictionary.¹⁷⁵ Gjorgji also wrote (in Italian) about establishing, but never did anything serious about realizing, a private academy for the Illyrian language (Rešetar, p. lix). Thus, Gjorgji was a major writer in proto-Serbo-Croatian, who visualized his people and language as Slavic or Illyrian. Only once have I found him to use the word “Croat” in a language context. In writing Ignatius Gradić in Rome, he suggested that if a word did not exist in Illyrian, a writer of that language should look at other Slavic languages (and he names Polish, Russian, Bohemian, Croatian, Bosnian, and Dalmatian) rather than utilize a foreign term which would not be in keeping with the spirit of the Illyrian language.¹⁷⁶ His broad Slavic feelings are seen in his attitude to other Slavic languages, which we might call foreign; but he does not see them that way, for one can utilize them and retain the spirit of Illyrian. So Russian is not seen as foreign, while in that category he presumably would place Latin and Italian. Moreover, since he ends by listing people who represented the three dialects of proto-Serbo-Croatian, thus including all the Illyrian dialects, we should read his text as saying that if you cannot find a word in your Illyrian dialect (whichever one it is), then look to the other two, as well as to other more different Slavic languages, which by his phrasing are more or less seen as dialects as well. But, in any case, here “Croatian” was simply one of many dialects, the term he chose to use for Kajkavian, and was associated with people who lived in Croatia. But, he certainly shows no particular attachment to that dialect, which, of course, was not his. His two associates also followed the same approach, though Matijašević once did refer to a work comparing religious observances among a variety of people, including Croats and Dalmatians, but the terminology may have come from the other author he was citing.

Sebastian Dolci or Slade

In the eighteenth century a Ragusan Franciscan named Sebastian Dolci (or Slade/Sladković, 1699–1777), whose work on the Illyrian language we noted earlier, translated Gjorgji’s “Various Poems” into Latin, in a bilingual edition with the Slavic on facing pages. Dolci referred to the original language on the book’s title page as “Illyrian.”¹⁷⁷ Dolci used the term “Illyrian” regularly for the people in and around Dubrovnik as well as for their language. Thus, he calls his schoolteacher, the Franciscan John Chrysostom of Cavtat, “an exceptional Illyrian preacher.” Dolci’s most famous work, “*Fasti litterario-ragusini*” (Venice, 1767), provided biographical sketches of various prominent Ragusans, from which Pantelić presents a host of cases in which Dolci used the term “Illyrian.” I cite the following examples: Držić was called in Illyrian

175. I. Pudić, *Rerum Illyricarum*, p. 323, 16.

176. Letter cited by M. Brlek, *Leksikograf Joakim Stulli*, Zagreb (JAZU, *Djela*, Razred za filološke znanosti 60), 1987, p. 42, incl. fn. 125.

177. Noted by M. Rešetar in his introduction to Gjorgji’s *Djela* I, p. xlviii.

“Džore”; several times Dolci gives both Latin and what he calls “Illyrian” forms of names (e.g., Gocce, Guzetić); Dživo Gundulić was the “king of Illyrian poetry”; Šiško Gundulić wrote with unbelievable “elegance in the Illyrian language”; Benešić at the end of the sixteenth century dedicated to Saraci his Illyrian poems, besides which in verse he explained Illyrian proverbs; Bare Bettera translated into Illyrian the thoughts of the blessed Augustine. And finally one, which by noting a supposed national trait, even has an Illyrian ethnic aspect: “People of the Illyrian language are more accustomed to present an unusual action orally or to narrate it in a song than to describe it with the pen.”¹⁷⁸

Dolci’s other noted work (whose existence we have already alluded to) was his disquisition on the antiquity and widespread nature of the Illyrian language (*De illyricae linguae vetustate et amplitudine*), published in Venice in 1754. In this work he argues that mankind spoke Hebrew until the Tower of Babel crisis, when men were smitten with a plurality of languages unintelligible to one another. The languages appearing at that moment Dolci calls cardinal ones. Among them was Illyrian. He then brings in the sons of Noah and their descendants, and focuses on Tiras (whom we have already met in Pribojević) among whose sons was a certain Dodan, who was the father of the people later called “Illyrian.” All of this people spoke the same language, and Dolci goes on to name the subgroups of this people, Schythians, Thracians, Dacians, Sarmatians, and so on, and many other peoples related to the Illyrians, who received their name from Illyr, Kadmo’s son. This Kadmo had been in Egypt but migrated to our regions and came to rule over Konavljje, where his grave is. Their language spread out over a huge area, and it is (now) spoken by sixteen nations, which Dolci lists. The Slavs who settled this country (the western Balkans) in the sixth century spoke this language also and brought it with them in its most beautiful and elegant form.¹⁷⁹ Thus, like Orbini he had the pre-Slavic Illyrians speaking Slavic, and then these Slavs were joined by a new group of Slavic migrants in the sixth century.

Djuro Ferić

Djuro Ferić (1739–1820) was a Ragusan poet who normally belonged to the “Illyrian” camp. Thus, his collection of Illyrian fables, published in Dubrovnik in 1794, bore the Latin title “*Fabulae ab Illyricis adagiis disumptae*” and a second similar text, existing only in manuscript had the same choice: “*Adagia illyricae linguae fabulis explicata*.” However, an unpublished collection of his own Slavic poems translated into Latin bore the word “Slavic” in the Latin title: “*Slavica poematia Latine reddita*.” In the

178. M. Pantelić, *Sebastijan Slade-Dolci*, pp. 10, 50, 52–53, 63, 85, 143.

179. M. Pantelić, *Sebastijan Slade-Dolci*, pp. 173–74.

second decade of the nineteenth century he was to publish in Dubrovnik two further works in Slavic (Slovinski).

But the dominance of the term "Illyrian" can be seen in the following examples: Ferić put together a collection of short poems in praise of those Ragusan poets who wrote in the Illyrian language (*Illyrica lingua*); in its preface, he refers to Illyrian poems, and in short poems of praise he mentions Zlatarić translating Sophocles into Illyrian verses; he notes that the Greek language does not stand ahead of Illyrian; the phrase "Illyrian verses" again appears in a praise of Gundulić's "Osman"; in an encomium to Gjorgji he mentions rhythms pleasing to the Illyrian ear; and in one to Dinko Ranjina, he speaks of the richness of the Illyrian language, which a few lines down he calls "our language." He produced a similar collection of elegies to Ragusans who wrote in "Illyrian" in prose. In a letter to a certain Johannes Mueller, he speaks of the Illyrian language and of Illyria being a fruitful mother and nurturer/up-bringer of heroes; he goes on to claim that Illyria stretched from the lower Danube to Greece.¹⁸⁰ Thus, this major intellectual, whose writings stretched into the nineteenth century, continued to see his people and their language as "Illyrian"; and the community (as is shown in the last cited passage) was a broad one including all the South Slavs, for by saying "lower Danube" he clearly included the Bulgarians in his community.

Those Advancing a Dalmatian Category

The term "Dalmatian" continued to be the identity name used by a certain number of local people. It was employed in several ways. It is found as an identity name for people as a whole from the general area, including those from a number of cities; in this sense it could refer to the speech of the area. Used for language, "Dalmatian" could refer, according to perspective, to the Čakavian dialect of northern Dalmatia or the Štokavian found in the south. It also could be the identity term of choice (preferred as opposed to, e.g., "Ragusan," "Slav," "Illyrian," etc.) for an individual.

As an example of the first case, Venice could, in May 1628, in speaking of warfare in the Adriatic, refer to the behavior of Dalmatians.¹⁸¹ And a Venetian directive of 1652 says that the Illyrian language was spoken by almost all the Dalmatini.¹⁸²

180. *Hrvatski latinisti* II, pp. 614–15, 621, 625, 627, 629, 633, 657, 665, 667, 675. For the two nineteenth-century titles, see B. Vodnik, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti* I, p. 318. The phrases in the titles were "Pričice Esopove u pjesni slovinske prenesene" (Dubrovnik, 1813) and the subsequent "Prorečja jezika slovinskoga pričam istumačena."

181. V. Makušev & M. Šufflay (eds.), "Isprave za odnošaj Dubrovnika prema Veneciji," *Starine* (JAZU) 30, 1902, p. 248.

182. M. Premrou, "Notizie archivali," *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 45, 1922, p. 43.

In a language context, for example, the Hvar poet Marin Gazarović, writing a defense of the native spoken language in the dedication of a work he published in 1623, called that tongue “jazikom Dalmatinskim.” In one of his poems, Gazarović writes “Dalmatinski jazice lip,” which means the “pretty Dalmatian language.” In a preface to his “Murat the Pirate,” though without naming it, he shows his strong affection for that tongue, by saying, “for the love, believe me, of our language.”¹⁸³ Gazarović also produced at least three religious dramas; in these Gazarović shows an identity connected to his island of Hvar. At the head of all three he calls himself “Marin Gazarović Hvar nobleman.” One play opens with a greeting to his fellow islanders: “Dear people, oh Hvarani,” and a second one opens with a St. Jelina saying that for you (the audience), she is a Hvarane. However, in this second play, a 1631 text on the “Lives and Martyrdoms of Saints Cyprian and Justina,” Gazarović inserts stage directions that have Justina hearing from her window the Gospel in Croatian (A Justina s prozora sliša Vangjelje hrvaski).¹⁸⁴ There also exists in manuscript, probably from the seventeenth century, an anonymous dictionary of Čakavian, entitled “Slovo slov je dalmatinsko-talijansko.”¹⁸⁵ The Archbishop of Zadar Ottaviano Gazzadoro is quoted in a letter from 1628 as saying that almost all the people, presumably of his diocese, speak “Dalmato”; a few years later, a papal nuncio writing Venice from Dalmatia in 1638 referred to the populace speaking Dalmatian Slavic (la lingua Dalmatina, schiavona).¹⁸⁶ And finally, an Italian writer of the seventeenth century, William Postelli, referred to the Glagolitic alphabet as being the characters of St. Jerome or Dalmatian (Dalmaticis).¹⁸⁷ We shall have much more to say about “Dalmatian” as a language later on in this chapter.

As an individual identity marker: Antun Matijašević Karamaneo, a writer in Latin and Italian from the island of Vis—who dabbled in history, archaeology, and poetry—on the title pages of various publications between 1686 and 1712 appended “Dalmatian” to his name. A second example would be the pro-Venetian priest Dinko Andreassi Dalmatinac, cited by Ljubić as passing on information to the Venetians about Dubrovnik in 1617. If not a Ragusan himself, Father Dinko at least had Ragusan relatives.¹⁸⁸

D. Božić-Bužančić found in an eighteenth-century inventory three zipona(s) “alla dalmatina” from silk decorated with golden threads (galuna).¹⁸⁹

183. H. Morović, “Pjesme Marina Gazarovića u izdanju njegove ‘Ljubice,’” in H. Morović, *Sa stranica starih knjiga*, pp. 91, 103, 104.

184. M. Valjavec (ed.), *Crkvena prikazanja starohrvatska XVI i XVII vijeka*, Zagreb (JAZU, *Stari pisci hrvatski* 20), 1893, pp. 219, 238–39, 281.

185. M. Deanović, “Talijansko-hrvatsko-ruski rječnik,” p. 568.

186. M. Premrou, “Notizie archivali,” p. 43.

187. L. Jelić, *Fontes historici*, *Fontes . . . XVII saeculi*, p. 76.

188. G. Novak, Vis, p. 163; S. Ljubić, “O odnošajih medju Republikom Mletačkom i Dubrovačkom od početka XVI stoljeća do njihove propasti,” *Rad* (JAZU) 53, 1880, p. 152.

189. D. Božić-Bužančić, *Privatni i društveni život Splita*, p. 74.

Š. Urlić, in his biographical notes on B. Krnarutić, reports that the poet left to his daughters in his will of 1589 various sorts of clothing and vests “alla Dalmat.”¹⁹⁰ And Bartol Kašić (1575–1650), to be discussed later, in his autobiography makes mention of a Dalmatian shirt, worn by Ragusan merchants as they travelled in Turkish territory.¹⁹¹

In this section we might look within Dalmatia and include three others, two of whom Ante Split lists as advancing the term “Dubrovnik” language: a translation from 1693 by Stiepo Valović of a work in Italian by Jeremy Dreseli and a Ragusan named Bašić who in 1765 wrote that the pure Dubrovnik language is the same as systematized Bosnian, and among the Slavs the most noble of languages (dialects).¹⁹² The third is Jero Rafo Gučetić (Gocce), who in 1638 published a collection of prayers in Dubrovački jezik. He was not wedded to that term for the language, for in 1643 he published two Church offices and a collection of prayers in jezik slovinski.¹⁹³

Use of the Term “Croatian” in Dubrovnik and Venetian Dalmatia

The grave of Jelić Drživojević from 1630 stands in Omiš: its inscription describes him as a nobleman of Croatian Poljica (Drasoevic Croaticae Politiae).¹⁹⁴

Though the Ragusan poet Vladislav Menčetić (or Minčetić) (ca. 1600–1666) entitled a poem published in Dubrovnik in 1663, “The Slavic Trumpet,” he praised Petar Zrinski and the Croats as brave warriors. Events “raise you [Zrinski] to the height of honors in this world and elevate the nation of the Croatian people (Narod puka harvatskoga) [as well].” The second verse, too, addresses the Croats. This verse says that the waves of slavery would have overwhelmed Italy had the Croats’ shores not destroyed the Ottomans’ mastery of the sea (O harvackieh da se zalih / More Otmansko ne razbija).¹⁹⁵ Though clearly admiring these Croats, in the poem Menčetić never suggests that he himself was a Croat or shared in any way their identity. Menčetić could also use the term “Slavic” for his hero, Zrinski, calling him in “The Slavic Trumpet” a “Slavic Apollo and Mars.”¹⁹⁶ He also claims in “The

190. Š. Urlić, “Prilozi za biografiju Brna Krnarutića,” *Gradja za povijest književnosti hrvatske* 8, 1916, p. 362.

191. Cited by J. Vince-Pallua, “Autobiografija Bartola Kašića — Još jedan isusovački doprinos etnologiji,” in [B. Kašić], *Zbornik radova o B-u Kašić*, Zagreb, 1995, p. 207. Though as we shall see, in this work Kašić usually uses the term “Dalmatian” to refer to South Slavs in general, I think in this case we can assume the term to have a narrow meaning, and that it refers to a type of shirt found in particular place(s) along the Adriatic coast.

192. Ante Split, “Kako su naši stari,” *Hrvatska* 12, no. 18, 1897, p. 276.

193. M. Pantelić, *Sebastijan Slade-Dolci*, p. 103, fn. 61.

194. C. Fisković, “Iz renesansnog Omiša,” p. 24, fn. 16.

195. V. Koščak, “Korespondencija dubrovačke vlade,” p. 207.

196. M. Kombol, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, p. 265.

Slavic Trumpet" that the Ragusans saw Petar Zrinski as the most prominent poet among the Slavic folk (*puka Slovinskoga*) today.¹⁹⁷

A Glagolitic priest from Dobrinje on Krk named Ivan Uravić in 1721 copied (i.e., translated) into Croatian Slavic language (*harvatsko slovski jezikom*) for his church a service for the Virgin Mary from a Roman Breviary.¹⁹⁸ An Istrian dramatist, Matko Laginja, in a play entitled "*Šilo za ognjilo*," has an officer reacting to a young man, speaking a mixed language that was more Italian than proto-Serbo-Croatian; the officer states that the youth could not speak "*crovato*," for he had studied with the Jesuit fathers.¹⁹⁹

Two eighteenth-century authors called the language "Croatian." Lovro Sitović Ljubuškog (originally from Ljubuški in Hercegovina) was born a Muslim, taken captive by Dalmatians, and eventually became a Catholic and a Franciscan. While living in Makarska, he wrote "*Pisma od Pakla*," published in Venice in 1727 in what he called *Harvatski jezik*; in the preface he said his text was written for Christians and those folk who understand the *Harvatski jezik*.²⁰⁰ Previously, in 1713, he had published, also in Venice, a Latin-Illyrian Grammar (*Grammatica latino-illyrica*). But though he calls the language "Illyrian" in the title and also there says his book was written to aid the studies of young Illyrians, in the preface he says that other peoples, of whom he provides examples, are better able to study grammar than "we Croatians" and that he hopes his text will enable (readers) to understand the Croatian (system) of noun declensions and verb conjugations.²⁰¹ The second author, Dominic Ivan Pavičić from Vrbanje on Hvar, published in 1749 and 1754 two

197. M. Kombol, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, p. 274.

198. V. Štefanić, "Dobrinjski pjesnik-glagoljaš Ivan Uravić (1662–1732)," in *Krčki zbornik I*, Krk, 1970, p. 204.

199. V. Car Emin, "Osvrt na protuhrvatsku djelatnost Isusovaca u Rijeci," in J. Ravlić (ed.), *Rijeka zbornik*, Zagreb, 1953, p. 520, fn. 6.

200. V. Klaić, *Hrvati i Hrvatska*, p. 50. Lovro Sitović was also known as Lovro Ljubuški and Sitković from Bosnia. See V. Jagić, "Iz prošlosti hrvatskoga jezika," p. 52; also J. Ravlić, "Lovro Sitović i narodna pjesma," *Radovi* (Institut [JAZU] u Zadru) 20, 1973, pp. 189–209, esp. pp. 193–96, 205.

201. Ante Split, *Hrvatski naslov*, p. 72. There may be a question of the preface's actual terminology. Though Štefanić in a quotation translated into modern Serbo-Croatian also uses the term "Croatian" in terms of the declensions and conjugations, shortly thereafter he provides the phrase "*Modum conjunctivum exposui illyrice. . .*" (V. Štefanić, "Prilog," *Vrela i prinosi* 11, 1940, p. 24.) Would Sitović have called conjugations Croatian and conjunctions Illyrian? Or was Štefanić here careless, rendering, as so many scholars do, what he saw as an equivalent to "Croatian," i.e., "Illyrian," as "Croatian"? In any case, I do not have the original text, so I do not know which term Lovren Sitović Ljubuški actually used in the original; possibly he dealt with the issue twice, and used both words. As we get to century's end, in 1796, Tomo Mikloušić in reprinting Alvarez's grammar actually puts Croatian (in *croaticam linguam*) in his title. Previously, in 1726, another text, possibly prepared by Habelić or Jambrešić, had appeared in Zagreb in Illyrian or Croatian and Slavonian, making Illyrian a broad term to cover the languages of Croatia and Slavonia. On the 1726 and 1797 editions, see V. Štefanić, "Prilog," pp. 25–26.

works translated from Italian into Croatian (Harvatski).²⁰² He dedicates the second work to the archbishops and bishops of the Croatian countries (Harvaskih država), expresses his love for “my Croatian language,” which led him to translate this text from Italian into “ours,” and hopes that that which was well expressed in Italian will also be so in Croatian. He goes on to say that he saw the Italian book lying there of no use to the Croats and (realized) that Italian priests could make use of it, but not Croatian ones.²⁰³ However, despite this strongly expressed Croatian sentiment, in 1742 he completed a manuscript on Thomas à Kempis which was rendered into “Slovinski jezik.”²⁰⁴

An anonymous Habsburg agent wrote a description of Dalmatia for his superiors after two tours through the region in 1775 and 1776. He wrote in Italian; thus he presumably was a Habsburg subject from the Tyrol or region of Senj/Rijeka or else a hired Dalmatian. He refers to the people of the islands as being of the Dalmatian nation (*nazione Dalmatina*). He describes the local language as “Illyrian with many Italianisms” but sees a local type of cloak and the manner of wearing hats as ways of the Croats. Though he presumably is using the terms “Dalmatian” and “Croat” geographically, he recognizes that the people of the two entities are more or less a single people, since in the cap example he says they (with antecedent being the Dalmatian hillsmen or Morlachs) wear caps “like their Croat conationals” (*come i Croati connazionali*).²⁰⁵

Kombol cites a bishop’s defense in 1615 of some nuns in a Šibenik convent who had put on in their convent a play about the Three Kings and had been criticized for dressing in male costume “alla Croata.”²⁰⁶ But even though the Church defended the nuns (when putting on a play), a Zadar synod in 1598 objected to priests of that diocese, obviously in public, wearing military clothing called “Croatian” (*militares etiam vestes, quas croaticas appellant*).²⁰⁷ Vanino also notes that Jesuit officials at the Jesuit novice center in Trenčín (in modern Slovakia) were described on a ceremonial occasion in

202. V. Klaić, *Hrvati i Hrvatska*, p. 50.

203. Ante Split, *Hrvatski naslov*, pp. 76–77.

204. M. Šrepel, “Pavičićevo ‘Nasledovanje,’” *Gradja za povjest književnosti hrvatske* 2, 1899, p. 154.

205. G. Novak (ed.), “Jedan anonimni rukopis,” pp. 26, 30; discussed in G. Novak (ed.), “Dalmacija godine 1775/6 gledana očima jednog suvremenika,” *Starine (JAZU)* 49, 1959, pp. 73–74, 76. These hats must have been quite prominent and distinctive. They were also noted, as we shall see below, in a Church visitation to Poljica over a hundred years earlier in 1620 and even by a Turkish traveller, Evliya Çelebi. The latter commented on some local Muslims serving in the Ottoman fortress of Korlati, not far from Banja Luka, when he stopped there in 1660. Evliya states that on their heads they wore Croatian caps made from red material. The soldiers obviously were very attached to these caps, since they had to get special permission from the Šeriat judge to wear them. And just like the Church and Habsburg official visitors, the Turk, writing in Ottoman, also called these headpieces “Croatian.” (See Evliya Çelebi, *Putopis: Odlomci o jugoslaven-skim zemljama* [H. Šabanović, ed. & trans.], Sarajevo, 1967, p. 228.)

206. Cited by M. Kombol, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, p. 52.

207. T. Matić, “Hrvatski književnici mletačke Dalmacije,” p. 100.

1755 as wearing new clothing of Croatian tailoring (*nova veste Croatica ex integro vestitus*).²⁰⁸

The Russian Croatophile M. Filippov describes a ceremony found in Šibenik in the beginning of the nineteenth century which had the locals each year choosing and crowning on Christmas a “Croatian king.” All the citizens gathered in the town hall to carry out the election. Then the “king,” dressed in finery and with a crown on his head, was paraded with all sorts of noise and fanfare to a particular church. There he was seated on a throne to participate in a church service, where a cross and the Gospels were brought to him to kiss. Then they returned to the town hall, where he sat upon a throne with the crown on his head to receive the respect and gifts of his townsmen/subjects. He also was ceremonially given a key to the city. Thereafter he presided over a session settling disputes among the town’s citizens. The king, having been elected in a spirit of Carnival, then had absolute authority to “rule” in the town for the fifteen days that followed, surrounded by a group of people with various court titles (bans, captains, princes, župans, nobles, judges, and various court servitors like major domos) who had also been chosen for the occasion. Filippov assumes that this custom had originated in Biograd—where for a time the medieval Croatian kings had been crowned—and had been brought to Šibenik by Biogradjani who had subsequently migrated to Šibenik. Filippov saw this custom as a form of centuries-old Croat patriotism, reflecting nostalgia for their lost kings.²⁰⁹

Several decades later in 1930, Matasović discussed this ceremony, noting that it had attracted attention among Croatian Romantics in the nineteenth century. However, he shows that it has no ties to the old Croatian state, but goes back to the Ancient Roman Saturnalia, and the electing of a king, like other aspects of that festival, became mixed with medieval Carnivals. Matasović provides examples of electing popular kings in Trogir in 1272 and in Šibenik in the sixteenth century; in these cases the individual was chosen simply to be “king” for the festivities, with no suggestion that the chosen was King of Croatia or of any other historical entity. The alleged “Croatian-kingdom” ties are just the sort of thing patriots and schoolteachers in the nineteenth century were likely to have thought up or assumed; in fact such intellectuals have been known to create new ceremonies and “old traditions” for all sorts of purposes from ones to rally nationalistic support to attempts in recent years to create ceremonies to attract tourists. In any case, the French, during their brief rule in Dalmatia, put an end to the custom, which seems to have also existed in the second Dalmatian town of Sinj.²¹⁰

208. M. Vanino, *Isusovci* II, p. 546.

209. M. M. Filippov, *Horvati*, Petrograd, 1890, pp. 126–28.

210. J. Matasović, “Još o svečanostima ‘Biranih kraljeva’ u mletačkoj Dalmaciji,” *Narodna starina* 9, no. 22, 1930, p. 209. An example of false (though not created to deceive) traditions are the rumors in the nineteenth century of alleged Bogomil survivals and even Bogomil families in

The super-Croat patriot Ante Split lists the following additional works which he states were all translated into, or written in, Croatian language; unfortunately, little or no information is presented about the texts. I cite the page references to them, all from his *Hrvatski naslov*: the parish priest of Bribir Ivan Brozović, in 1600, translated or copied a translation from Latin of a religious work based on the Church fathers in Croatian (p. 22); an anonymous dialogue of St. Gregory was translated from grammar into Croatian, and three other anonymous works all published in Venice, in 1759, 1764, and 1767 respectively, were translated into Croatian, namely a work in honor of St. Pasqual Baylon, a book of treasures for children, and a Missal in Croatian letters useful for the translator's/copier's fellow Dominicans (p. 79); Marko Pavlišić of Split published in Venice in 1760 a revised volume of the rules of Saint Bernard from Italian into Croatian (p. 77); Baltazar Mataković published in 1770 a translation of some moral works of John Campadella from Italian into vernacular Croatian (in vernaculum vulgare Croaticum) (p. 77);²¹¹ Nikola Palikuca from near Šibenik in 1771 also published a translation into Croatian from Italian (p. 76); an anonymous work of poetry dedicated to the nobility of Makarska, who were of the celebrated Croatian people, was published in Venice in 1782 (pp. 79–80); Dominik Gianuzzi, in a 1792 publication in Venice, was happy to be able to write in the Croatian language a work on agriculture to explain how things are to the peasants (p. 76); a Dalmatian priest named Frano Farković was able to publish translations of works on the Sacraments and a work for the peasants of Dalmatia by Julius Parma of Zadar into Croatian in 1789 and 1795 (in his article on the use of the term "Croatian," Ante says 1793) respectively (p. 76); and at the end of the eighteenth century poems printed by Jure Jeličić from Muce referred sarcastically to some "little Croatian kings" of Muce and fantasized about an army from the north made up of our Croatian people arriving (p. 80). The same author also cites three works without providing any dates: a poem by Stipan Bobetić about the deaths of two heroes, which includes the line "two Croatian youths were killed" (p. 33); a work on doctrine from the saints translated into Croatian by a priest from the coast named Ivan Vrančić (p. 22); and a book of Catholic prayers translated from Latin into Croatian by the Franciscan Antun Teliterović (p. 78). It is worth noting that most of these works that are dated come from very late in the eighteenth century.

Ivan Akčić-Jurišić (1725–83), a secular priest, was a poet from Makarska.

Bosnia. In all cases, there was no substance to the rumors, which were derived from ignorance and misunderstandings of what semiliterate priests had told the villagers. On these nontraditions, see J. Fine, *Bosnian Church*, pp. 84–88. On traditions revived and elaborated upon to attract tourists, see C. Stewart, *Demons and the Devil: Moral Imagination in Modern Greek Culture*, Princeton, 1991, pp. 128–31.

211. A few details on this work beyond those which Ante Split provided came from T. Maretić, *Istorija hrvatskoga pravopisa*, Zagreb (JAZU, *Djela* 9), 1889, p. 260.

He left a manuscript of translations of some poems of Martial (Martelijanska) from Italian into “jezik rvatski.” He also is probably the author of an anonymous brief Italian-*proto-Serbo-Croatian* dictionary, published in Venice in 1737, with a bilingual title page, calling the language “Slavic” (Slavo) in Italian and “Arvaschi” in the Slavic. Moreover, he states in one of his verses that the aristocracy of Makarska belong to the glorious Croatian people (*makarska gospoda od arvatskog slavnoga naroda*).²¹² The Franciscan poet Frano Radman (1722–89), who was active around Makarska, in his *proto-Serbo-Croatian* verses on at least two occasions referred to “Croatsians.” In one use of that term he denoted the Makarani, the Slavs of Makarska: “Makarani for your honesty, you are, brothers, glorious among Croats” (*Makarani na vaše poštenje! Vi ste, braćo, dika od Rvata!*). In a second poem he comments that Latin girls can easily bewitch Croats with their eyes (*Latinke su oka hudoznoga, One lako ureku Hrvata*).²¹³ Thus, these two eighteenth-century contemporaries from Makarska saw the Slavs of their home region as Croats. It should be noted that Frano also used the term “Illyrian.” When writing in Latin about his brother Josip—also a poet—Frano reported that Josip wrote in Latin, Italian, and Illyrian.

In regions of Croatia (including the Karlovac Military Frontier), northern Dalmatia, and what was to become Slovenia a dry measure known sometimes as a “Zagreb pint” but also as a “Croatian pint” (*pinta Croatica* or *Polliceus Croaticus*) appears in documents in the late eighteenth century. The “Croatian” label appears in documents from 1771, 1772, 1779, 1785, 1787, and 1796.²¹⁴ That the “Croatian” measure was the equivalent of the “Zagreb” one suggests the term “Croatian” was drawn from the area where it was employed rather than from a people, who as an ethnic custom employed the measure.

Those Using “Croatian” along with Other Terms

Ivan Tanzlingher-Zanotti

An important figure whose works used all three words (“Croatian,” “Slavic,” and “Illyrian”) was Ivan Tanzlingher-Zanotti (Zanotić, 1651–1732), whose German father had married a woman from Zadar. Ordained as a priest in 1674, Ivan translated Virgil’s *Aeneid* into “Slavic (Slovinski jezik).” He spent years working on a never-published dictionary, entitled in manuscript “The Vocabulary of the

212. G. Bujas, “Kačićevi imitatori,” pp. 96, 98, 106.

213. G. Bujas, “Kačićevi imitatori,” pp. 36, 44, 80, 214. Radman could also call his fellow countrymen “Coastalers” (*Primorci*), e.g., in his poem “Od velike budalaštine i slave Primoraca i njiova junaštva.” In this medium-length poem, besides in the title, he uses this label four times; in fact it is the only broad identity term (besides town references) which he uses in this particular work (Bujas, pp. 195–96).

214. Z. Herkov, “Kupljenik—Stara hrvatska mjera,” *Vjesnik Historijskih arhiva u Rijeci i Pazinu* 16, 1971, pp. 217–19, 235, 249.

Three Noblest Languages: Italian, Illyrian, and Latin." His "Illyrian" was based on the Čakavian dialect.

He wrote an interesting preface, which unfortunately has not been published. Two scholars have presented long citations from it, which, by using quotation marks, suggest they are quoting the author directly, yet the passages vary somewhat. So unless Tanzlingher was very repetitive and varied his phrasing when restating things, one or both of the two scholars was careless. First, I present Strgačić's version: In his preface, Tanzlingher-Zanotti said he had worked on the dictionary for seven or more years providing definitions for Italian words in the Croatian and Slavic (Slovinski) language. The work was designed for the youth raised in the region of Dalmatia who were not able, even if (a youth) was a Croat person, to speak purely in their natural Slavic language without mixing in Italian words; and Tanzlingher noted that in their language there was an equivalent for every Italian word, (which, of course, his dictionary provided). In his dictionary one could harvest the flowers of the Croatian, Slavic language and show the falsehood of the Italians who claimed that Slavic was, and as many believed, a fruitless language; nay, it was every bit as rich as Italian as any one could see in this (his) book.²¹⁵ According to Urlić, he was preparing the work for Croatian Slavic youth, interpreting Italian words in our Croatian Slavic language. And later, in the harvest-flowers sentence, he calls the language the Liburnian, Dalmatian, Slavic, Croatian language which grows like wheat in all the Dalmatian and Liburnian regions. Presumably, the multiplicity of adjectives for the language is meant to take into consideration the various dialects that existed. Next, expressing his hope that one can avoid Italian words in conversation, he speaks of Croatian youth and a pure and natural Slavic language. Then he goes on to attack those who claimed one could not express all thoughts in Croatian without having to introduce Italian words.²¹⁶

Tanzlingher also expressed a concern for "Croatianism" in the preface to his Virgil translation. There he complained about all the different languages and ways of speech (dialects) in Dalmatia and concluded, "[A]nd though we are all 'Croats' we cannot in conversation understand each other."²¹⁷

Tanzlingher ended his life with the term "Illyrian"; his will, written in his final year (1732), mentioned that he had translated a Catechism word for word into Illyrian.²¹⁸ In that will he left all his manuscripts and books for the

215. A. Strgačić, "Hrvatski jezik," pp. 412–13; M. Kombol, "Zadar kao književno središte," in *Zadar zbornik*, Zagreb, 1964, p. 594; T. Matic, "Prva redakcija Tanclingerova rječnika," *Rad (JAZU)* 293, 1953, pp. 257–58.

216. Š. Urlić, "Ivan Tanzlingher-Zanotti i njegove pjesme," *Gradja za povijest književnosti hrvatske* 5, 1907, pp. 51–52.

217. A. Strgačić, "Hrvatski jezik," pp. 412–13; M. Kombol, "Zadar kao književno središte," p. 594.

218. A. Strgačić, "Neobjavljena književna djela zadranina Šime Budinića," *Radovi* (Institut [JAZU] u Zadru) 2, 1955, p. 365.

benefit of the Illyrian nation (della nazione illirica) to Zadar's new Illyrian seminary. The will also mentioned that he had prepared an Illyrian index for his dictionary. This was certainly needed for students at the seminary, for his three-language dictionary was alphabetized by the first language (Italian) and thus there was no way for a student native in Slavic and wanting an Italian word to look it up. Thus, for such students, a key with the "Illyrian" words in alphabetical order was needed.²¹⁹

His Virgil translation provoked much praise, forcing his contemporaries to express a name for the proto-Serbo-Croatian into which Tanzlingher had rendered the *Aeneid*. A Zadar canon and songwriter, Šime Vitasović, wrote a song for the occasion of the publication of Zanočić's (Tanzlingher's) translation of Virgil and calls on Slavic nymphs (Slovinske vyle) to bring on the javor (maple)—the equivalent in eighteenth-century Zadar of today's laurel branch—and claims that through them (these nymphs) the poet was able to spread out on his palm Virgil's pearls.²²⁰ A local abbot, Franjo Mazzarachius praised the same translation, writing in Latin, that now old Virgil re-lived in Slavic, while a poet from Brač, with a surname of Kalkane, praised him for rendering Virgil into our Illyrian.²²¹

Urlić believes that Tanzlingher was also the author of a 178-line poem on the taking of Klis, that appeared anonymously, first in 1699 and then once again in 1724, along with a work on a battle over Malta. The Christian side is described in many ways, most frequently as "Christians" with specific references to Uskoks, Vlachs, and people from specific places, like Senj, Split, Karlovac, and Poljica. Among these various terms the author twice refers to "proud Croats" (oholi Hrvati), once having them fall upon a large Turkish force.²²² This identification is not at all certain; Kombol has suggested that the author was Brne Krnarutić.²²³

Filip Grabovac

Filip Grabovac (ca. 1697–1749), a Franciscan from Vrlika, published in Venice in 1747 an informative book entitled "Cvit razgovora naroda, i jezika iliričkoga, alliti rvackoga" or in English, "The Flower of Discourse among the Illyrian or Croatian People and Language." It was in two parts, the first basically on the faith and the second on the peoples, history, and recent events of the Western world, which is then broken down to more local levels. Grabovac repeated the two terms (Illyrian and Croatian) in his brief introductory remarks to his readers. The censor, writing in Italian, called the language simply

219. T. Matić, "Prva redakcija," p. 256.

220. A Strgačić, "Zadranin Šime Vitasović," p. 53.

221. Š. Urlić, "Ivan Tanzlinger-Zanotti," pp. 46–47.

222. Š. Urlić, "Ivan Tanzlinger-Zanotti," pp. 74, 76.

223. M. Kombol, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, p. 167.

"Illyrian." To save on footnotes, I shall give, immediately after cited passages, the page numbers of T. Matić's 1951 JAZU edition of this work.²²⁴

The second, historical, part was entitled "About the Ages and Years of the World and Ancient Peoples; the Ruling of Kings and Kingdoms; About Croatian Origins and about Dalmatia and Other Places with Noted-down Events" (p. 179). The general history, though interspersed with excursuses, is in chronicle form. It omits most of the old legends, linking major world-figures (like Justinian and Jerome) with the Slavs. However, it does have the Čeh and Leh legend, though Grabovac calls the three brothers Leko, Zeko, and Ruso.

Grabovac also brings in the legends of the sons of Noah being dispersed, with Japheth's son Javan settling Greece, and then part of this group moving on to Albania, Dalmatia, Bosnia, Bulgaria, and Serbia. The chief name for all these people was "Illyrian." Shem's descendants split away to settle Tataria and Scandinavia, forming a number of different peoples. From these the Goths, Sarmatians, Avars, Lombards, and Croats (here, Krovati) emerged. The Goths, Sarmatians, or Slavs, then moved into the Balkans from Scandinavia or Scythia, battled with Alexander the Great of Macedon (thus Alexander is brought into play, but there is nothing suggesting he was a Slav); the Slavs also (in a great compressing of time) warred with the two empires (i.e., the Romans in West and East). The Slavs, Goths, and others, who were primitive and backward, overwhelmed Illyria, that is, Serbia, Bulgaria, Thrace, Raška, Bosnia, Dalmatia, Croatia (Krovacija), and so on, and where the Slavs settled is now called "Slavonia." Their first king was Selimir of Dalmatia; he had three brothers, Leko, Zeko, and Ruso, who, having got into trouble, fled from Illyria and settled Bohemia, Poland, and Muscovy. Interestingly, Leko (Leh), who in all other accounts about which I know, naturally founded Poland, here founds Bohemia, with Zeko settling in Poland (pp. 191–93).

Grabovac also in this section informs his readers that the Goths and all these (other) people have the same Illyrian language (p. 193). A little later on he has the Croats (Krovati or Rvati) being the last to leave Scandinavia; arriving in Dalmatia, they drove out the Goths, after which the Croats settled Dalmatia and Croatia. He then tells us that the language was called "Illyrian," "Slavic," and then, as today, "Croatian" (rvacki). Three are the names, but it is one and the same language. He then claims that the Croats soon submitted to the Catholic Church (p. 215). Elsewhere in the same text he notes that the Liburnians (those of Liburnia) had a bad reputation as thieves (we shall see this stereotyping of the Liburnians also in Jambrešić), but they also were very

224. F. Grabovac, *Cvit razgovora naroda i jezik iliričkoga aliti rvackoga* (T. Matić, ed.), Zagreb (JAZU; *Stari pisci hrvatski* 30), 1951. The odd comma and doubling of the "l" in "aliti," which I have in my actual text, are taken from the photograph of the actual title page, which Matić includes after p. 20. On Grabovac and his work, see T. Matić's introduction to F. Grabovac, *Cvit razgovora*, pp. 5–20; M. Kombol, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, pp. 356–57; V. Klaić, *Hrvati i Hrvatska*, p. 47; G. Novak, "Dalmacija god 1775/6," p. 32, fn. 46; G. Novak, *Prošlost Dalmacije* II, p. 258.

hospitable, and this custom (hospitality) was always extended by the Illyrian, Slavic, and Croatian (*rvackome*) people. And Grabovac tells us once again that the three all have the same language, there simply are three names for it (p. 199).

Grabovac thus saw "Croatian" as a synonym for the more commonly used "Illyrian," and thought it important enough to advance both terms in his title and to include the just-cited explanation. In all the history just presented, Croatia/Croatians was just one of a number of entities/people mentioned. There was nothing special or ethnic about them or any of the others. Grabovac also, when speaking of recent and current events, spoke of Croatian units (e.g., someone was a colonel of the Croatian cavalry) (p. 203).

Hostile to Venice, he did have patriotic feelings, and among his poems was one to celebrate Dalmatia ("Slava Dalmacije") (pp. 196–98). He speaks of Dalmatia, the crown of the world, slumbering; how were the Dalmatians? Everyone says that they are loyal/faithful (p. 197). Grabovac, earlier in his Franciscan career, had been a military chaplain with a "Croatian" unit. Then he had been upset at how many of his people serving in the military had renounced their dress and customs and accepted foreign ones. He had published in 1729 a small collection of poems, also in proto-Serbo-Croatian, but with the Italian title "Esortazione Amorosa" (pp. 212–14). In its very short Italian-language preface, he had referred to himself as a "Dalmatian," writing Illyrian verses to tell of the long tradition of heroism of the Illyrian nation (*nazione illirica*). This short text was incorporated into his "Cvita razgovora." In it he does exhibit Croatian feeling, while being very critical of the Croatian soldiers serving Venice. Having Italianized themselves, they (the Croatian soldiers) say we are not ours (*Kako koje Talju prohode/ učine se oni Talijaši/ ter govori mi nijesmo naši*). He goes on to write that they speak ill of Dalmatia, and see Croatia as a separate/foreign province. Thus, even though Grabovac saw a commonality for the people of the two provinces, obviously many others did not. "When you see a real Croat, you flee and hide yourself behind a door" (*kad vidite pravoga Hrvata / vi bižite, krije ze za vrata*). However, he singles out a certain Kastelan Antun Kumbat as an exception: He spilled his blood for Croatia (*prolio bi krvcu za Hrvata*) and the people did not have a better Croat than Vojvoda Antun Kumbata (*Što god princip imade vojvoda/ od hrvacke ruke i naroda/ ne imade boljega Hrvata/ nad vojvodu Antuna Kumbata*). And he called the Croat people handsome and glorious (*lipa dika hrvackog naroda*). In his later text Grabovac includes a short verse in which he gives qualities to Croats, calling them "srditi" (literally "angry," but perhaps "tough" is a better translation here) and charitable (p. 199). Such stereotyping obviously reflects ethnic elements in Grabovac's thinking.

Grabovac also had "Croatia" in the title of one poem, new to the 1747 volume, "The Character and Wonders of Croatia" (*Od naravi i čudi Rvacke*) (pp. 206–7). In this poem, he stresses that if the Croatians worked together,

they would not drink so much sorrow (Da b' Rvati skladni bili, ne b' ovako žalost pili). He goes on to stress the fact that Croats everywhere struggle and die for foreigners. One verse has: "And when the king wants to take / Then the Croatian is among the first / But when honors are doled out / Then they ask, where were you . . . ?" Maybe it is not surprising that the Venetians ordered his book burned (the Venetian order on the destruction of his book stated it was in "Illyrian")²²⁵ and that Grabovac ended his life in a Venetian prison.

Others

Various other people who at times used the term "Croatian" for a group of people or a language also used other identity words as well. Ivan Filipović (also known as Garčić) from Sinj published in 1704 in Cyrillic a book of poems in Venice. He sought the prayers of Jesus and various saints to protect our land, which he broadly conceived as Bosnia, Hercegovina, Croatia, and all of the celebrated Slovinski (Slavic) people (thus still visualizing a broad national community) and of the Croatian language.²²⁶

An anonymous service book from 1794 with Offices for particular major holidays was translated from Latin into Croatian (Harvatski jezik) for the glorious Slavic (Slovinskoga) people.²²⁷ It is worth noting here that this anonymous work employed different terms for a people and the language they spoke, showing, as was so often the case among the pre-modern South Slavs, that identity was not tied to one's spoken language. With a different pairing (in that case using Slavic for the people and Illyrian for the language), fra Marko Dobretić, mentioned a few pages back, also distinguished between the term he used for a people and that for their language.

Marko Kuzmić of Zadar put together a zbornik (collection) of sermons, Catechisms, and pastoral-theological texts in 1724 or 1725. In the work's preface he said it was necessary that there be such a work in our Croatian or Slavic language, that he had wanted to write in his own mother Slavic tongue since Slavic words are harder to present correctly in Šćavetanski (derived from the word "ščavet" for the service books we have talked about) than in Slavic, and he goes on to note that we Croats (Harvati) have more letters (than exist in the Latin alphabet), namely thirty-two, of which three are used in num-

225. K. Eterović, *Fra Filip Grabovac*, Split, 1927, pp. 52 (fn. 127), 114. Earlier in 1731 Grabovac had served as an instructor and "Illyrian" interpreter for abjuration (of heresy and schism, i.e. Protestants and Orthodox) hearings in Verona (K. Eterović, *Fra Filip Grabovac*, p. 115). Thus Verona, like Venice, used the term "Illyrian" officially for the language spoken across the Adriatic.

226. V. Klaić, *Hrvati i Hrvatska*, pp. 46–47.

227. L. Jelić, *Fontes historici*, Fontes . . . XVIII saeculi, pp. 91–92.

bers. Thus, the distinction he is making between Slavic and Ščavetanski is one of orthography, with “Ščavetanski” referring to Latin letters and Slavic to Glagolitic.²²⁸

Ivan Kraljić (ca. 1707–62) from the island of Krk studied in Venice, and returned home to be an “Illyrian priest” (*presbitero illirico*), in other words a glagoljaš. Unlike some of his colleagues, he was well educated and knew well both Latin and Church Slavonic. His first known publication, printed in Venice in 1734, was a prayer book based on a Roman-rite Missal (thus Vatican approved), translated from Latin into Slovinci. In its preface, he expressed the usual concern over his language’s lack of an established standard, complaining that every kingdom as far as Slavic language (*Slovincskomu jeziku*) went had its own individuality. The use of the term “kingdom” suggests that he was thinking in a pan-Slavic way. That his text was in the spoken language makes it evident that, at this point in his career, “Slavic” did not equal Church Slavonic. However, in 1754 he published a dictionary of Slavonic, Latin, and Croatian (*Slovník Slavjanskii, Latinskii, Harvatskii*). The work aimed at providing a dictionary of Slavonic for the benefit of his compatriots who did not know much Slavonic. He provided definitions in Latin and in the spoken language, proto-Serbo-Croatian. The preface for this work follows the pattern of his title, using “Slavjanski” for Slavonic, and “Croatian” (both *hervatski* and *harvatski*, possibly suggesting the word was new for him and therefore he was not comfortable with it) for the language of the apparatus.²²⁹ The intervening twenty years may have provided various reasons for him to call his spoken language “Croatian,” rather than “Slavic” as he previously had. But if this was the case, we have no information about it. However, his task, a dictionary of Slavonic, required him to come up with a term other than “Slavic” for the spoken language. The two obvious choices were “Illyrian” or “Croatian.” So, one could speculate that the cause of his utilizing a new (for him) term (which, for whatever reason, was “Croatian” rather than “Illyrian”) was simply the impossibility of having Slovinci do double duty in a dictionary involving both languages. But in any case, here is another author who came to call his language “Croatian”; and there is nothing provided in Štefanić’s description of the text or in the motivation which I perceive for him to see anything “ethnic” in his “Croatian-ism.”

228. E. Hercigonja, “Povijesni društveni i kulturnoambijentalni uvjeti nastanka i razvoja hrvatskoga glagoljaškog tiska,” *Slovo* 34, 1984, p. 45, fn. 74; E. Hercigonja, “Mjesto i udio hrvatske književnosti u književnom procesu slavenskog srednjovjekovlja,” in A. Flaker & K. Pranjić (eds.), *Hrvatska književnost u evropskom kontekstu*, Zagreb, 1978, pp. 88–89.

229. V. Štefanić, “Ivan Kraljić i njegov glagoljski rječnik,” *Gradja za povijest književnosti hrvatske* 15, 1940, pp. 151–81. The items noted in my summary (excluding the straight biographical details) are found on pp. 158–59, 164, 169–70. For the title page of his 1734 prayer book, see L. Jelić, *Fontes historici*, *Fontes . . . XVIII saeculi*, p. 20.

Fra Tomo Babić (ca. 1680–1750) was born in Skradin, became a Franciscan, studied in Buda, served in monasteries in Visovac and Knin, and died in Šibenik. He published in Venice in 1726 his most famous and popular work, “Flowers of different spiritual aromas” (*Cvit razlika mirisa duhovnoga*), which he described as being for the spiritual use of our Slavic people of the Croatian language. It went through three editions in his lifetime. In the preface Babić says that he felt an obligation to take up the pen for the spiritual benefit of the people and the glorious Croatian language. Some of the text was in verse, and he said that at times his poetry failed, having too many words or syllables. Babić goes on to speak about “our language,” and how a true Croat should react.²³⁰ In 1712 he had published, also in Venice, an edition of Alvarez’s Latin grammar for the use of Illyrian children. In its preface he speaks of how the Illyrian language serves many kingdoms, but in each one there is a difference in its speech; the differences at times are so great that one can hardly understand another. In Poland it is one way, the Croats have a different way, as do the Kranjci and Dalmatians. And Babić goes on to say how particular Illyrians take words from their neighbors, Poles from the Germans, Bosnians from the Turks, and Dalmatians from the Italians. This leads to a variety of words for the same thing. He notes that his book probably has many errors, but he says let those (readers) who know Illyrian correct what they find incorrect. It is clear that Babić, here speaking of Poles (and elsewhere he also refers in the same way to Muscovites), uses “Illyrian” in a very broad sense for all Slavic languages. And, despite the variations among the Slavic languages, he considers it basically one language, and its various speakers as members of a single people.²³¹

Petar Zgombić, a priest on Lošinj, produced a book of moral stories; at its end he wrote, “I, priest (pop) Petar Zgombić, translated [this work] from the Italian language into Slavic or Croatian in 1755.” Subsequently in 1782, writing in Italian in the Church Matica (the book listing births, Christenings, marriages, and deaths), Zgombić notes that according to ancient custom he had recorded all Christenings in the Illyrian language in Glagolitic characters.²³²

Josip Gjurić published in Venice in 1793 a grammar of Latin, Illyrian, and Italian for Slavic youth. In his preface he states that the word “grammar” was derived from a Greek word, and in Latin can refer to literature and in Croatian to the (proper) use of words. He provided two scripts, Glagolitic and Cyrillic, because Croats use both.²³³

230. M. Kombol, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, p. 347.

231. V. Štefanić, “Prilog za sudbinu Alvaresove latinske gramatike među Hrvatima,” *Vrela i prinosi* 11, 1940, p. 23; on both of Babić’s works, see also K. Georgijević, *Hrvatska književnost*, pp. 294–97.

232. Ante Split, *Hrvatski naslov*, p. 8.

233. Ante Split, *Hrvatski naslov*, pp. 13, 78.

FOREIGNERS' USE OF TERMS ABOUT DALMATIA

Italians

Official Venice

Now let us turn to the way the Venetians (and in particular the Venetian authorities) regarded the population (and particular the Slavic people) in the Dalmatian cities under their rule. It is, of course, somewhat artificial to separate Venice from the locals in Venetian Dalmatia since the locals interacted with the Venetian authorities and presumably influenced Venetian vocabulary.

Venice continued to frequently refer to Dalmatia and its population as "Slavonia/Slavs." For example, in 1606 Pula was said to be in Dalmatia and Schiavonia, and in 1608 we hear about a priest and two other Slavs travelling within Italy.²³⁴ In 1741, a report on Rovinj refers to a Slavic priest (*prete slavo*). An earlier report, it seems from 1596, from the same area notes a request made by a village nearby to have the Mass and other rites in Slavic (in Schiavo); and as the text elaborates on the request it also, making use of the Humanists' vocabulary, refers to having other sacred matters (carried out) in the Illyrian language (*con lingua Illirica*; elsewhere *lettura Illirica*).²³⁵ S. Ljubić also found on the island of Lošinj two sets of wills and other documents put together in 1520 and 1605 by two different Illyrian notaries (*illirico nodaro*) for that island. Having such a notary bothered some Venetians, under whom Lošinj, like the rest of Dalmatia, lay. In 1611 they insisted that official documents be in Italian and not in Slavic (in *italiano et non in schiavo*). Those of this viewpoint eventually got their way, and from 1636 on all notary documents were drawn up in Italian.²³⁶ However, since much of the population did not know Italian, Venice had to have such notaries in many other places and official translators at law courts. At the end of its rule Venice was still usually using the term "Illyrian" in connection with these figures. For

234. J. Tomić (ed.), *Gradja za istoriju pokreta na Balkanu protiv Turaka krajem XVI i početkom XVII veka I* (1595–1606, Mletački državni arhiv), Beograd (SKA, Zbornik za istoriju, jezik i književnost srpskog naroda 6), 1933, pp. 367, 511–12.

235. M. Bertoša, "Jedan prilog naseljavanju Istre u XVII stoljeću" *Historijski zbornik* 19–20, 1966–67, pp. 482–83. Bertoša does not make it clear when the report from which I quote is dated. He refers in the same paragraph to a document from 1596 allowing Church services in Slavic, and I am simply assuming the quotation comes from that document.

236. S. Ljubić, "Borba za glagolicu na Lošnju," *Rad (JAZU)* 57, 1881, pp. 185–86. The documents drawn up by these "Illyrian" notaries have been published by L. Košuta (ed.), *Glagoljski lošinjski protokoli notara Mikule Krstinića i Ivana Božičevića (1564–1636)*, published as vol. IX of *Radovi Staroslavenskog zavoda*, Zagreb, 1988. Ivan's nephew Matija also wrote up some of these official documents. He was a cantankerous village priest, involved in numerous law suits as both accused and accuser and active in the pursuit of women. In 1660 a Franciscan Stjepan from Nerezi described the then eighty-year-old Matija thus: "I saw him—the Veloselo parish priest—sailing by Osor in a small boat in the company of eight men, armed to the teeth, with two pistols in his belt and with a sword as [the company's] captain." (From L. Košuta's introduction to the just-cited collection of Lošinj protocols, pp. 21–22.)

example, in Makarska in 1790 reference is made to a public interpreter for the Illyrian language and letters (pub-co interprete della lingua e lettere Illiriche).²³⁷ Peričić does note that the term “Croatian” (arvatski) was used along with the usual “Illyrian” for two-language official notices (Illyrian/Italian), but he provides no usable citations, giving only archival references and a citation to an 1883 newspaper article.²³⁸ A few years previously in 1752 a Venetian commander (providore) had refused permission for a Serb from Hungary to open an “Illyrian-language school” (scuola di lingua illirica) near Zadar for non-noble children. The Venetians did allow, however, Skradin to hire an Illyrian-language teacher (un maestro di lingua illirica) in 1754 and a military school to be established in Zadar in 1781, which besides its technical subjects also taught both the Italian and Illyrian languages. A small-scale affair, the school had only thirty students in 1790.²³⁹

We also find an earlier Venetian providore for Dalmatia and Albania, Andrea Vendramin, in a 1644 report, stating that the people of Dalmatia spoke only the Illyrian language. But his successor in 1650, L. Foscolo, in a letter to his militia commander in Nin, referred to the need of translating orders into the local language, which once he calls Slavic (schiaivo) and once Croatian (croato).²⁴⁰ The use of “Croat” in this context is most unusual for a Venetian; probably, however, it can be explained by the fact that the term “Croat,” as we shall see next, was used for militias, one of which was commanded by the individual to whom the letter was addressed.

The Venetians, as noted, besides Dalmatia, governed Istria, and in the years before the Battle of Lepanto (1571), they prepared for the defense of Istria in the event of a Turkish attack. A key figure in these preparations was Antonio Sergo, Captain of the Slavs (Capitano di schiavi).²⁴¹ Though in Istria the Venetians had a captain over “Slavs,” they—presumably because they needed a term to distinguish offices in the two regions—were willing to use the term “Croatia” for military formations in and around Zadar. A set of regulations was issued in 1551 (revised in 1553) about the country of Croatia (Paese di Croatia) which geographically started in Zara (Zadar) and continued on to Nin. For defense purposes (primarily against Turkish raids) they organized the local males, from sixteen years old and up, into militias, which in the event of warfare were required to defend their own territories. They were organized into various specialties (e.g., riflemen, footsoldiers, horsemen, sailors) and received pay only if they were summoned beyond their own territories. Records of the militias from this area freely use the term “Croat” (Na-

237. S. Peričić, *Dalmacija uoči pada*, p. 39.

238. S. Peričić, *Dalmacija uoči pada*, p. 38.

239. Š. Urlič, *Crtice iz dalmatinskoga školstva*, pp. 60–61, 68–69.

240. L. Jelić, “Hrvatski zavod u Rimu,” *Vjestnik Kr. hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog zemaljskog arhiva* 4, no. 1, 1902, p. 14, including fms. 5 and 6.

241. M. Bertoša, “Jedan prilog naseljavanju Istre,” *Historijski zbornik* 19–20, 1966–67, pp. 477–78.

tion Croati, Croati a cavallo [cavalry], barche [boats] armate dei Croati). The captains who headed units of fifty or a hundred were responsible for seeing that they had arms and sufficient drill to be effective. The units were organized by county and commanded by a Captain of the Croats (capo dei Croati), whose title in time was upgraded to a governatore dei Croati.²⁴² The poet from Zadar, Brno Krnarutić, was for a time such a captain. Urlić has found documents about the poet's military career, one of which from the 1560s calls him a Cavalry Captain of Croatians: Bernardinus Carnaruti cap(itaneus) equitu(m) Croatoru(m).²⁴³ Tomić's collection of Venetian documents from 1596 to 1608 has the term "Croatian" used about a dozen times; every one of these references is in a military context.²⁴⁴ The administration of these units and their titles underwent many changes, which need not concern us; but by the eighteenth century Venice had created in Dalmatia a colonel for the Krajina (the [Military] Region) of Dalmatia below whom were district colonels on the scale of, for example, Knin. Under Venice's regulations the Knin colonel had to be a local who knew well "Illyrian" (la lingua illirica) and also could speak Italian.²⁴⁵ Thus, despite the use, at least in titles, of the term "Croat" in connection with the militia in Dalmatia, the language of these militiamen still was seen in general terms as "Illyrian."

Besides their militias for local defense, Venice also recruited in its Dalmatia volunteer units, who were sent to serve where needed, often outside of Dalmatia. These units were called after their major constituency, "Schivavoni."²⁴⁶ The individuals in these units were still called "Slavs" at the time of the collapse of Venice in 1797, when some ten to twelve thousand "Slavs" were returned to their homes in Dalmatia.²⁴⁷

242. L. Jelić, "Povjesno-topografske crtice," pp. 123–26. On these "Croatian" units operating under a command in Zadar, see also L. Kos, "Pašmanski kanal," *Povijest Vrane*, p. 490. Similarly named units were created in Split. Novak notes that there these "Croat" units, or at least the plan to have them, date back to November 1564, when the administration decided for the purpose of defending Split's territory to form a "compagnia di Croati," with a man from Split at its head. (G. Novak, *Povijest Splita* III, p. 1407.)

243. Š. Urlić, "Prilozi za biografiju Brna Krnarutića," *Gradja za povijest književnosti hrvatske* 8, 1916, p. 345.

244. For example, references to Croatian soldiers, ties of these (soldiers understood) Croats with the Uskoks, the Croats have relatives among the Uskoks, an armed bark of Croats, and similar. J. Tomić, *Gradja za istoriju pokreta*, pp. 72, 86, 104, 125, 194, 335, 461 fn., 516.

245. I. Grgić, "Postanak i početno uređenje vojne krajine kninskoga kotara pod Venecijom," *Starine* (JAZU) 52, 1962, p. 268. I. Grgić, speaking generally about the period 1759–79, refers with no specific citations to documents mentioning the Croatian cavalry (cavalleria crovata). Their officers were of the Dalmatian nation (di nazione dalmata) and had to be fluent in Illyrian (di possedere la lingua illirica). I. Grgić, "Jedno egzercirno pravilo u vojnoj krajini u mletačkoj Dalmaciji," *Zadarska revija* 7, no. 4, 1958, p. 337.

246. A. Ujević, *Imotska Krajina*, p. 100.

247. G. Novak, *Prošlost Dalmacije* II, p. 266; S. Antoljak, "Odjeci i posljedice Francuske revolucije (1789) u hrvatskim zemljama," *Radovi* (Zavod za hrvatsku povijest, Filozofski fakultet, Sveučilište u Zagrebu) 22, 1989, p. 248; S. Džaja, *Katolici u Bosni i zapadnoj Hercegovini na prijelazu*

In terms of Venice's vocabulary in Dalmatia Boško Desnica notes: "It is notable that all the Venetian documents, when they speak of writing or language use the terms 'Serviano' ['Serbian,' particularly when referring to the language of the Morlachs or Vlachs in Dalmatia] or 'Ilirico' or 'Ilirico or Serviano.' Language, idiom, characters/letters are always accompanied by the adjective Serb or Illyrian. When it is a matter of the military the word invariably is 'croato,' milizia (militia) croata, cavalleria [cavalry] croata, etc. For the population the term used is always 'Slav' (schiavona). Undoubtedly the Venetians did not differentiate among [the Slavic-speaking] tribes/peoples, and all these three terms were applied equally to one or another tribe."²⁴⁸ Thus, Desnica sees the Venetians not differentiating among what sorts of Slav they were dealing with, but used the various labels for all, differentiating only according to particular circumstance, that is, the military, the language, or the population as a whole. The documents he cites on the Venetian authorities' dealings with local Vlachs and Dalmatians support his contention: a 1654 set of regulations of a Vlach tribe, translated in the Venetian local Illyrian chancellery from Serbian; regulations being published in Illyrian (nell' idioma Ilirico) in 1677; mention of Slavs' (schiavina) dwellings and dress from 1687; an Illyrian priest (presumably referring to the language he employed for services) in 1678; and regulations translated into Illyrian in 1697.²⁴⁹ My findings basically agree with Desnica's, though I have found that Venetians were using the word "Slav/Slavic" more broadly than he suggests, for example, for language, priests, and in Istria even for militias. However, both of our findings bear out the rarity of the word "Croat" in contexts other than the military.

In 1712 Kristo Mazarović, a nobleman from Perast, published in Venice, after two Cyrillic editions, one in Latin letters, a text which was said to have been translated from the Latin language into the Illyrian or Slavic (Ilirički or

iz 18 u 19 stoljeće: *Doba fra Grge Ilijića Varešanina (1783–1813)*, Zagreb, 1971, p. 83. That same year another group of "Slavonians" associated with Venice made headlines. J. Spencer Smith, the British Minister in Constantinople, reported on a riot in Smyrna (Izmir, in Ottoman Anatolia) in 1797. He describes armed bands coming off Venetian, Russian, and Ragusan ships who played a prominent role in the plundering. Smith comments that these Slavonians did more damage than the Turkish rioters. He also mentions that refugee Venetian subjects of the most discreditable description (Slavonians, Zantiots, and Kefaloniots) earned "a precarious livelihood [there] by very equivocal means." After the events, a meeting of British merchants and agents convoked by the British consul there criticized the Ottomans for not enforcing a recent firman to disarm the Venetian "Slavonians" in Smyrna. Moreover, the Russian consul in that city (Joseph Franceschi) in writing his ambassador in Constantinople used the same vocabulary and called on his superior to persuade the Ottomans to exile the "Sclavons" from the Ottoman dominions. (On these events, see R. Clogg, "*Eide ston Tourko vasilevei i adikia kai i arpagi*": The Smyrna 'Rebellion' of 1797" [1985], in his *Anatolica: Studies in the Greek East in the 18th and 19th Centuries*, Ashgate, Hampshire [UK] [Variorum], 1996, article no. IX, esp. pp. 420–24.) These Venetian "Slavonians" were obviously from Venetian territory, and thus had to be of Dalmatian and/or Istrian origin.

248. B. Desnica, "Jedan krajiški statut i nekoliko priloga za proučavanje 'Lige,'" *Magazin severne Dalmacije* 2, 1935, pp. 24–25, fn. 6.

249. B. Desnica, "Jedan krajiški statut," pp. 25, 27, 29, 31, 42.

Slovinski) language. At the end of his book appears a bookseller's notice: A number of Croatian (hervaschih) books are in the shop of Bartol Okki (Occhi), book seller, located on the "Croatian shore" (na rivi od Harvatou). Earlier references to this shop had located it on the well-known "Slavic shore" (Riva dei Schiavoni). And it seems, though it is not entirely clear from Klaić's presentation, that the Mazarović notice (or at least the heading) also appeared in Italian which located the store, as was normal, on the Slavic shore. This change seems odd, for regardless of how an individual himself might treat the words "Slavic" and "Croatian," one would expect an established street name in Venice to keep its name in a single proper form. There then follows on the bookseller's notice a list of fifty-one titles. These titles are listed by themselves almost entirely without the authors' or translators' names included. In the list itself the older terminology, that is, "Slavic/Illyrian," dominates. We find a Psalter translated from Latin into Slavic language (slovignski yezih), the already mentioned "Villa [Vila] Slovignska," a guide for a Latin to study slovignski and a Croat (Hervat) to study Italian, and a guide to virtue recently translated from Italian into Illyrian (Illirico). A slightly earlier advertisement (from 1709) published at the end of another volume, written in Italian and locating the store on the Slavic shore, had only twenty-three titles. The list begins by saying "the books in Slavic language (lingua schiava) follow." The two works whose titles name a language both use the term "Slavic" ("Ventolli in Lingua Schiava" and "Vocabulario Italiano e Slavo" with a method to facilitate speaking [or pronunciation] "in lingua Slava & Italiana"). The titles seem to suggest that the bookseller and printers saw the language as "Slavic" but the people (or one of the peoples) speaking Slavic as Croatians. V. Klaić claims that the two renderings of the street name show that the words "Slav" and "Croatian" were synonymms to at least some people; one might modify this to say that this was certainly the case in certain contexts. He also noted that the fifty-book list included works of Ragusan authors, which indicates that the bookseller saw Ragusans as Croatians and thus included their works under "Croatian books."²⁵⁰

The Venetians also continued to use the term "Dalmatian" on occasion for the population of its coastal holdings. Tomić's collection of documents from 1596 to 1608 contains: April 1596 references to "other Dalmatians," a "certain Dalmatian (Dalmatino) from Trau [Trogir]," and a "Dalmatian returning to Rome." In 1602 a warning for the attention of the Dalmatians (Dalmatini) was issued. We also find two references, in 1605 and 1606 respectively, to the cavalier Bertuci Dalmatino and in 1608 to someone described as a "Serb Dalmatinac" (un Servian Dalmatino).²⁵¹

250. V. Klaić, *Knjižarstvo u Hrvata: Studija o izdavanju i širenju hrvatske knjige*, Zagreb, 1922, pp. 7–10; V. Klaić, *Hrvati i Hrvatska*, p. 47.

251. J. Tomić, *Gradja za istoriju pokreta*, pp. 30–32, 331, 342, 349, 507.

A Venetian envoy to the Habsburg court during the warfare of the 1680s named Contarini, however, freely used the term "Croatian." Of course, much of his context for the term were Habsburg military units called "Croatian" and under Bans of Croatia; thus, Habsburg terminology may well have been the source of his usage of terms. So, we find statements such as: a unit was ordered to meet up with the Croats under their ban. However, we find Contarini, in reference to a particular victory, stating that it was the most significant defeat that the Turks had ever suffered from the "Croat nation" (*della nazione Croata*). The context is still military, but the word "nation," it could be argued, looked at Croatians more broadly than just at the soldiers.²⁵²

Alberto Fortis and a Dalmatian's Response to Him

In the 1770s the Italian Alberto Fortis travelled through Dalmatia and in 1774 published his classic work on these travels. In the course of his text Fortis, who could speak the local Slavic, calls the inhabitants of Dalmatia and their language "Illyrian" or "Slavic" interchangeably, with an occasional use of the term "Dalmatian." Thus, for example, he says: Hvar, Vis, Brač, and the numerous other Illyrian islands (p. 253); in the Illyrian language "osveta" means . . . (p. 42); the Illyrian text which I provide with a translation (p. 59); Dubrovnik produced many poets, even poets of the Illyrian language (p. 59); found documents in the Bishop's archives about Illyrian history (p. 174); to speak the Illyrian language (p. 186); the Gypsy language is different from Illyrian (p. 197); a writer errs on Illyrian matters (p. 207); Illyrian priests (p. 281); an Illyrian proverb (p. 220); in Illyrian verses (p. 251); the word "korita" which in Illyrian means (p. 282). There are many other examples.²⁵³ Fortis makes use of the term "Slavic" frequently also; for example: X being proof of the antiquity of the

252. T. Smičiklas, *Dvjestogodišnjica oslobođenja Slavonije I dio: (Slavonija i druge hrvatske zemlje pod Turskom i Rat oslobođenja)*, Zagreb (JAZU, *Djela* 11), 1891, pp. 110–26; two specific references, pp. 111, 122 (fn. 6).

253. Page citations in the text are from A. Fortis, *Put po Dalmaciji* [1774] (J. Bratulić, ed.), Zagreb, 1984. Other examples of Fortis' use of the word "Illyrian": a type of forest which Illyrian calls "gluhi smric" (p. 15); the Illyrian language spread from the Adriatic to . . . (p. 34); which Illyrian calls "jasen" (p. 43); the Illyrian words which the Morlachs understand better (p. 58); young Illyrian priests (p. 60, fn.); "Topolo" is an Illyrian word for . . . (p. 70, fn); Peter Divić wrote several poems in the Illyrian language (p. 96); The Illyrian word "prvi" is equivalent to our word "primo" (p. 110); they call all spiders "pauk" in the Illyrian language (p. 164); a little hill called in the Illyrian language "glavice" (p. 180); a second example of Illyrian matters (p. 209); Illyrian Glagolitic priests (p. 215); Illyrian Glagolitic (p. 276); the Illyrian archipelago (pp. 8, 253); the Illyrian Sea (p. 244); the Illyrian coast (p. 254); another example of Illyrian islands (p. 244).

In 1781, seven years after his book appeared, Fortis wrote a brief article on Dubrovnik for an Italian journal. In this text he used the word "Illyrian" three times and exclusively: how Dubrovnik's walls preserved the freedom, nobility, and culture of Illyria; and two comments on Illyrian poetry, one of which notes that it flourished in Dubrovnik. Original Italian text provided in Z. Muljačić, "Jedan članak Alberta Fortisa u vezi s Dubrovnikom," *Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor* 34, nos. 1–2, 1968, pp. 86–88.

Slavic language in Illyricum (p. 18, fn.); X is a pure and proper Slavic word (p. 33); "konj" in Slavic means "equus" (p. 196); "Almissa" or "Omiš" as the Slavs call it (p. 206); the Slavs call it by a name meaning the same, the "Primorje" (p. 213); opposed to Slavic custom (p. 234); the Slavs call it "Hvar" in their language (p. 249); Slavic superstition (p. 277); and the people on Krk, especially in a village called Poljica, speak a mixture of Kranj-Slavic, Latin, and Italian (p. 283). Many other examples could be cited.²⁵⁴ Examples of the term "Dalmatian" are fewer, but examples are: Fortis hopes his travels will bring some benefit to the Dalmatian people (p. 85); it is strange that the Dalmatians do not understand . . . (p. 111); Dalmatian customs (p. 259).

It is interesting that, among the various language or national names which Fortis found employed in the area, "Croatian" is mentioned in only one of his letters that was concerned with a particular area, which he calls the "Croatian coast." This coastal strip, which, he says, extended from Brsec to Lukovo, included Rijeka and Senj. Thus, it was equivalent to the narrow region, long under the Ban of Croatia, where we have found the "Croatian" name used with the most frequency. In this particular letter he once refers to the native/natural language being "Croatian," though the people of both sexes speak good Italian; he refers to a hill which the Croats, Istrians, and people of the neighboring islands believed was placed there by an angel; he notes that in some matters the Croats were a good two hundred years behind us (the Italians); and mentions that the women of Senj do not look like Croatian women.²⁵⁵ In discussing the Dalmatian islands and the rest of the Dalmatian coast, except for an occasional historical reference (usually to a King of Croatia), he avoids the term "Croatian" entirely, and sticks to "Illyrian" and "Slav." I suspect, since the one region about which he uses the term "Croat" is the territory where the term was actually used with some frequency, that on the whole he adopted the terms of the given area he was discussing, which suggests that throughout the bulk of Dalmatia, the term "Croat" was rarely or never used by the people he had contact with.

Fortis' text provoked an Italian-educated Dalmatian, Ivan Lovrić (at the time living in Sinj in Dalmatia), to write his own travel book, entitled "*Osservazioni sopra diversi pezzi del viaggio in Dalmazia del signor abate Alberto Fortis*," which was highly critical of Fortis' approach. Published in 1776, it, as its title suggests, was in part a commentary on Fortis, in which Lovrić, as a native, set the foreigner straight. Lovrić's work, not surprisingly, received an annoyed

254. Page citations from A. Fortis, *Put po Dalmaciji*. Other examples of Fortis' use of the word "Slavic": according to the customs of the Slavic peoples (p. 18); many Slavic words are derived from Greek (p. 234); in Slavic regions (p. 39); sang of the deeds of Slavic nobles and kings (p. 60); "srebro" which means "argento" in all Slavic dialects (p. 84); or "jame" as the Slavs say (p. 235). In some cases, he clearly has chosen "Slav" since it can refer to all Slavs and thus include a larger group than just the Illyrians.

255. A. Fortis, *Put po Dalmaciji*, pp. 271-76.

response from Fortis. But Lovrić, patriot that he was, focusing on Dalmatia and Montenegro, also regularly used the two terms for his compatriots that Fortis did: "Illyrian" and "Slav." For example, he states that the Illyrian nation has its own Homer in Ivan Gundulić and that Illyrian metrics/poems do not yield place to the most beautiful Italian ones. Lovrić reports that a friend said that he should not be surprised that a learned man found mistakes in the Illyrian language in Fortis' book, for Fortis did not know the language as well as he should have.²⁵⁶ Then turning to the Morlachs (Vlachs), Lovrić states that, as everyone knows, they speak Slavic. He also notes that the name "Morlach" is pure Illyrian. (The "Illyrian" word "more" means "sea" in all dialects of the Slavic language, but "Mauro" [his context here is the term "Maurovlach"] is not an Illyrian word.) Lovrić, in his comments on these "Illyrian" words, notes that the Morlachs understood them far better than Fortis. Moreover, Lovrić criticizes Fortis, who, citing Lucius, had said that the name "Vlach" had shameful connotations for the Slavs, among whom it signifies people of the lowest status. But this is wrong, Lovrić states, for "Vlach" is a pure Slavic word and it means "strong." He goes on to cite Dolci, who reports that the Slavic language came with the sons of Japheth. Lovrić also complains that along the coast the many Italianisms creeping into the local speech were breaking up the singleness of the Slavic language. So, owing to this phenomenon, the Morlachs spoke better Illyrian than the Ragusans, for one's pronunciation is always better if one does not know a foreign language. Lovrić's claim that these wild hillbillies spoke a better dialect provides an amusing antidote to the snobbery exhibited by the Ragusans over the superiority of their speech. In different sections of his text Lovrić notes that the Muscovites are Slavs as we are and states that "'liche' [hair] in the Slavic language is called 'dljak.'"²⁵⁷

Like Fortis, Lovrić also, somewhat less frequently than the two noted terms, uses the word "Dalmatian"; for example, he praises the natural abilities of Dalmatians or the academic work of Dalmatians. And at one point he comments that (former Archbishop of Split) Marc Antonio de Dominis was "our Dalmatian." Finally, in a note, Lovrić comments, "How much better get along today's Dalmatians (I speak of those who are not ashamed of their Slavic surnames and who do not Italianize themselves) who do not change their last-names from father to son, but keep the father's surname from generation to generation."²⁵⁸

From the above it is clear that Lovrić felt himself to be a Slav (as seen in his statement about the Muscovites), an Illyrian, and a Dalmatian (de Do-

256. I. Lovrić, *Bilješke o putu po Dalmaciji opata Alberta Fortisa* (M. Kombol, ed. & trans.), Zagreb (JAZU), 1948, pp. 108, 123 (fn. 116). Passages discussed by I. Pederin, "Ideološka i književno putopisna pitanja Lovrićevih 'Osservazioni' 1776 god.," *Radovi* (Institut [JAZU] u Zadru) 27–28, 1981, p. 209.

257. I. Lovrić, *Bilješke*, pp. 58, 59, 60, 62, 63, 105, 86, 37.

258. I. Lovrić, *Bilješke*, pp. 137, 138, 149, 172–73 (fn. 176).

minis being “ours”). His text discusses only Dalmatians, Montenegrins, and Vlachs/Morlachs. And, of course, he believed the Vlachs to be Slavs, and he is not at all bothered by the fact that most of the Morlachs were Orthodox. These peoples to Lovrić are all Illyrians and part of his community. They were still part of his “we.” Whether or not he also felt a closeness with the peoples of Slavonia and Croatia does not emerge from his text.

Individual Italians

Since we have off and on been discussing travellers, let us quickly pause on one more, whose text has not been published but only summarized, namely Giacomo Concina from Friuli, who carried out his travels in 1804. Though the travels occurred just after our period ended, Concina presumably acquired his categories in the late-eighteenth century. When he reached Trogir, he notes that that is how the town was called, “in slavo.”²⁵⁹ Thus, even at the start of the nineteenth century, Italians were still using the general term “Slavic” for the language of the neighboring Dalmatians. Giusto Fontanini, an Italian writing on language, in an attack on the Apostate (Protestant) Matthias Flaccus Illyricus, described him as “a Slav from Labin” (Schiavone da Albona).²⁶⁰ We also may cite the terminology of three Italians. Francesco Serdonati (1540–1615) of Tuscany, who taught in Dubrovnik for twelve years, left a text in which he mentions a series of Balkan rulers, whose states he does not note but I provide in parentheses: Zvonimir (Croatia), Stefan Kosača and Sandalj Hranić (Bosnia), and Lazar (Serbia). Serdonati refers to those on his list as “Princes of the Illyrians or Slavs.” Traiano Boccalini (1556–1613) wrote a story using the term “voci Schiavone” for primitive vernacular words substituted for the proper Classical philosophical (Latin or Greek) terms. And Francesco Saverio Quadrio (1695–1756) commented on the way that Dalmatians and Slavs spoke in Venice.²⁶¹ The Italian writer Carlo Gozzi (1720–1806), who did military service for Venice in Dalmatia and later wrote his memoirs, refers to his three-year stint there as his “Illyrian three years” (triennio illirico) and, in discussing the area, speaks about learning to speak Illyrian, about Illyrian discourse (favella), and the Italianization of Illyrian vocabulary.²⁶² Carlo’s brother, Gaspare Gozzi (1713–86), writing in a Venetian newspaper *Gazzetta Veneta* in 1760, detailed events from the shores of Slavonia (riva degli Schiavoni).²⁶³

259. Z. Muljačić, “Jedno zaboravljeno djelo o Dalmaciji,” *Zadarska revija* 5, no. 2, 1956, pp. 94–95, 97.

260. Cited by S. Crijević, *Bibliotheca Ragusina* III, p. 442.

261. M. Deanović, “Talijanski pisci o Hrvatima,” *Analizni Historijskog instituta [JAZU] u Dubrovniku* 8–9, 1962, pp. 132, 134–35.

262. Z. Muljačić, “Iz korespondencije,” p. 546.

263. M. Zorić, “Hrvatska i Hrvati u talijanskoj lijepoj književnosti,” *Hrvatski znanstveni zbornik* no. 2, 1971, p. 21.

Other Italians wrote novels and poems with Dalmatia as a setting. Pace Pasini (1583–1644) from Vicenza published in Venice in the year of his death “Story of a Lost Knight” (*Historia del Cavalier Perduto*). In it the people in Dalmatia spoke “schiavo,” a character is described as being of Slavic nationality (*di nazione Schiavo*), and people wore the dress and followed the customs of Dalmatia or of the Slavs. Zaccaria Vallaresso (1686–1769) did not live to see the publication (a year after his death) of his epic “Biamonte Tiepolo in Schiavonia,” which involved the fourteenth-century Šubići and the Dalmatian towns. The dramatist Carlo Goldoni (1707–93) wrote a tragi-comedy, “The Dalmatian Girl” (*La Dalmatina*), first performed in Venice in 1758. In it the author employs most of the terms used about people on the coast, but “Croat” is not among them. We hear of the virtues/martial characteristics of the Slavs, the heroine is described as an Illyrian (*fem.*), and a hero cannot believe that a Dalmatian could lie. At one of its first performances, a whole corps of “Skavjona” (a Venetian unit drawn from Dalmatia) showed up with their swords. Showing that Goldoni believed some sort of ethnicity existed across the Adriatic, he wrote a Ragusan friend that a particular individual had brought glory to your renowned nationality. It is not clear whether the nationality was tied only to the Ragusans or to a broader group, like Dalmatians. Giovanni Greppi (1751–after 1827) had, in his play “A Dalmatian Hero and Aurangzeb, King of Siam,” a certain Captain Marković, “a son of the Illyrian land, a citizen of the Illyrian land, and a Dalmatian warrior” advise some conationals that if they wanted to be useful to their homeland, they should live in it, and not spend their time idly in foreign climes. And the famous Casanova in his memoirs mentions being on a ship in a storm in the Adriatic where a scared Slav priest (*un prêtre esclavon*) performs an exorcism against the storm.²⁶⁴

In 1782 Carlo Antonio Occhi, a Venetian and the son of the well-known bookseller in Venice, Bartol Occhi, appeared in Dubrovnik, hoping to set up a bookstore and printing press. In the initial plans laid out for his still-to-be-established press, in 1782, Occhi expressed an interest in bringing out an anthology of Illyrian poets (*poeti illirici*) and a second book on Illyrian ascetics. And when the former, his first publication, appeared in 1783, he noted at the work’s end that it contained all the best Illyrian poets. He then issued a sixteen-page catalogue for lovers of the Illyrian language. In it he switched vocabulary to note a collection of “Slavic” (*slovinskijeh*) poets, presumably the just-mentioned anthology of “Illyrian” poets.²⁶⁵ He soon turned out, in 1784, a *ščavet*, providing the text of the New Roman Missal in *jezik Slavenski*. The term clearly refers to the spoken language since a

264. The information in the preceding paragraph comes entirely from M. Zorić, “Hrvatski i Hrvati u talijanskoj lijepoj književnosti,” pp. 8–10, 19, 22–25, 31–32.

265. M. Breyer, “Prilozi povijesti dubrovačkog štamparstva,” in [M. Rešetar], *Rešetarov zbornik iz dubrovačke prošlosti*, Dubrovnik, 1931, pp. 342–43.

contemporary catalogue noted that the text was in “vulgar Croatian.”²⁶⁶ In 1785 he brought out a second edition of Della Bella’s Illyrian dictionary. In the book’s opening dedication to the Ragusan Senate, Occhi praised that body for supporting works that enriched and preserved the heritage of the “Illyrian nation.”²⁶⁷

In summarizing early-modern Italian usages of terms, Deanović notes that from the end of the Middle Ages Italians, when they spoke of people in Croatia, did not use the term “Croat” but “Illyrian,” “Schiavo,” “Schiavone,” and “Slavo.” “Croati” was then entirely a political name; “Schiavi” was the ethnic term used by Italians for those in greater Croatia. Deanović points out that in most cases this political usage for “Croatian” referred to military units, either Habsburg or Venetian, recruited in parts of greater Croatia. We have noted this usage in our discussion earlier on Venice, and shall return to it when we examine the Habsburg Military Frontier. And, in fact, such a military usage is the definition that appears in the seventeenth-century Italian dictionary, “Vocabulario degli Accademici della Crusca.” Indeed, a late-nineteenth-century Italian dictionary still defined “Croats” as cavalry troops serving Austria.²⁶⁸

Other European Observers

The word “Croat” for military units spread beyond the Italian and Habsburg worlds. In fact the French kings Louis XIII and XIV recruited Croat units; a particular group of them was known as the Royal Croats (Royal-Cravattes) and wore special uniforms including gaudy-neck clothes that came to be called “cravates,” a name that subsequently passed over into English.²⁶⁹

The just-mentioned Louis XIII sent an envoy named Dr. Hayes in 1621 to Jerusalem on a mission, and his route took him along the Dalmatian coast. He called Dalmatia “Esclavonie” and also used the term “Slav” for the locals. For example, he states that “Kilons” (*sic!* Ključ) in Slavic means “key”; that “Hercegovina” in Slavic means a dukedom; and that Old Illyria is also referred to as “the Slavic lands.” A French doctor, Jacob Spon, and his English traveling companion, George Wheeler, travelled along the Balkan coast to Constantinople in 1675 and 1676, and published an account of their travels in

266. V. Klaić, *Knjižarstvo u Hrvata*, p. 10. For the ščavet’s title page, though clearly its date is incorrect, see L. Jelić, *Fontes historici*, Fontes . . . XVIII saeculi, pp. 79–80. I have simply dated the ščavet to 1784. Jelić, who provides the citation, presents the Roman numbers on its title page as 1774. I presume he either overlooked an “X” or we have a typo in his text, since V. Klaić informs us that Carlo Occhi came to Dubrovnik in 1782.

267. V. Foretić, *Povijest Dubrovnika II*, p. 413.

268. M. Deanović, “Ime Croato u talijanskom jeziku: Historičko-semantički osvrt,” *Zbornik radova* (Filozofski fakultet, Sveučilište u Zagrebu) 3, 1955, pp. 167–69.

269. M. Deanović, “Ime Croato,” p. 168.

1678. They took an interest in the Morlachs in the hinterland and noted that they spoke "Esclavon."²⁷⁰

P. Tolstoy, a Russian, provides a good example of mixing labels. He travelled in 1697–98 in what he spoke of as "the Slavic land called Dalmatia." But though he used this general term to speak of the land, he claimed that the coast was settled with Croats (Hrvati) down to Perast (in Albania). In this southern area he also found many Serbs who had recently fled the Turks; they spoke the Slavic language but wore Croatian (hervatski) dress. Thus, he provided a mixed bag of terms, using the term "Croat" among others. He also reported that Dalmatia was settled with Slavs; they spoke the Slavic language, but they all knew the Italian language and were called Croats (Hervati) and held the Roman faith.²⁷¹

A "History of Old and New Illyria" appeared in Bratislava in 1746, under the alleged authorship of the famous early French Byzantinist Charles du Fresne dominus du Cange (1610–88) and financed by Count Josip Keglević. An anonymous author produced this work in three parts (only the medieval section being a reprint from du Cange). Šišić demonstrated that the author of the first section on Ancient Illyria and the third on New Illyria (whose section title spoke of "Illyria or Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, Bosnia, Serbia, and Bulgaria") was a Slovak Protestant named Ivan Tomka Szaszky, who was rector of a gymnasium in Djuro and subsequently of one in Bratislava. The text argued that all South Slavs were a single ethnic group, the Illyrians. The Illyrians then were broken down into the individual entities different groups of Illyrians formed, and the author freely used the entity names ("Croatsians," "Serbs," etc.) to speak of the people of these various regions. The author produces the Čeh, Leh, and Meh story and has the three brothers migrating out of Croatia; this may be the reason (or possibly the fact that Keglević was financing it) that the work exhibited particular sympathy for the Illyrians of Croatia.²⁷²

A Spanish Jesuit, Alfonso Carillo, in 1600 was serving as a rector of a college in what is now Slovakia. He saw the importance of teaching "Slavic" in Jesuit schools, but was uncertain as to which Slavic language should be taught. He sent out a general inquiry to various members of his order. A Jesuit named Theophil Crysteccus, working in Biecz in Poland but whose own nationality is not stated, responded by urging that "Croatian" (Croaticam) be the Slavic language taught.²⁷³

The vocabulary of two other foreign observers might be noted here. An

270. P. Matković, "Putovanja po balkanskom poluotoku XVI veka," *Rad (JAZU)* 124, 1895, pp. 21, 78–80; J. Spon & G. Wheeler, *Voyage d'Italie, de Dalmatie, de Grece et du Levant*, I, Lyon, 1678, p. 91.

271. V. Klaić, *Hrvati i Hrvatska*, pp. 51–52.

272. S. Antoljak, *Hrvatska historiografija* I, pp. 241–42.

273. V. Horvat, "Jezikoslovno djelovanje mladoga Bartola Kašića," in [B. Kašić], *Zbornik radova o B-u Kašiću*, Zadar, 1994, p. 67, with fns. 52–53.

engineer, working for an Austrian firm in 1783, drew a sketch of the town of Čabar; calling the place Čuber; he said the name was derived from the Illyrian word “ziaber” which means “a clearing.”²⁷⁴ Another engineer from about the same time, this one a Frenchman named Belin, chose the term “Slavic/Esclavon” as the language spoken by the Morlachs along the Gulf of Venice.²⁷⁵

Other foreigners continued to use the term “Illyrian” as well. A Dominican, Francis Van Rasest, in 1735 in a work on heresy, in attacking Matthias Flaccus, noted that the Protestant was of the Illyrian nation (*natione Illyricus*) from the fortified city of Albona (Labin). And an agent of Maria Theresa in the third quarter of the eighteenth century called Dubrovnik the Florence of the Illyrian language.²⁷⁶

A Frenchman, Marc Bruère (Bruerević) Deriveaux, in the late-eighteenth century, became an expatriate in Dubrovnik, and learned the local language well enough to write poetry in it. His poetry refers to speaking the Slavic language purely and to Croatian antiquities.²⁷⁷ Moreover, he published a collection of poems entitled “Poetry Composed in Italian, Slavic (Slavo), and Latin.” Vratović also refers to Bruère (with quotation marks) as a naturalized “Illyrian.”²⁷⁸ Whether this phrase was used by or about Bruère is not clear from Vratović’s sentence.

Another Frenchman also described Dubrovnik: Monsieur la Maire, French Consul in Koron in the Peloponnesus in Greece, wrote around 1766 a description of Dubrovnik in which he states that a group of Slavs created a settlement opposite Ragusa and notes that Dubrovnik’s name was derived from the word “dubrava” in the Illyrian language. Subsequently, he depicts the Ragusans as a particular people (*la natione Raguzoise*) with particular characteristics, the first of which he notes is hypocrisy in the way they practice their Catholicism.²⁷⁹

Later in 1796, a French official, trying to acquire books for an institution back in France, made out a report on his progress. He consistently uses the term “Illyrian” for texts written in the local proto-Serbo-Croatian.²⁸⁰

274. E. Laszowski, *Gorski kotar i Vinodol: Dio državine Knežova Frankopana i Zrinskih, mjestopisne i povjesne crtice*, Zagreb, 1923, p. 47.

275. D. Roksandić, *Vojna Hrvatska: La Croatie Militaire: Krajiško društvo u francuskom carstvu (1809–1813)* II, Zagreb, 1988, p. 109.

276. For Van Rasest, see Saro/Serafin Crijević/Cerva, *Bibliotheca Ragusina* III, p. 442; for the Habsburg agent, see M. Kombol, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, p. 324.

277. Ante Split, *Hrvatski naslov*, p. 16.

278. From V. Vratović’s introductory remarks to selections from Bruère in *Hrvatski latinisti* II, p. 880.

279. S. Ljubić (ed.), “Izveštaj gosp. la Maire, francezkoga konsula u Koronu, o Dubrovačkoj Republici,” *Starine (JAZU)* 13, 1881, pp. 42, 101–2.

280. I. K. Švrljuga, “Prinosi k diplomatskim odnošajem Dubrovnika s Franceskom,” *Starine (JAZU)* 14, 1882, pp. 74–75.

Ottoman Sources

I do not know Turkish or Ottoman and thus cannot seriously treat the sources from the Ottoman Empire, which would indicate how this major neighbor regarded its subjects and neighboring Habsburg subjects in what is now Croatia. However, a few Ottoman sources have been translated, and so it makes sense to bring them into the discussion, in the hopes that it will tempt scholars able to handle Ottoman to join my enterprise.

One of the most famous Ottoman authors is the traveller Evliya Çelebi, a prince who travelled in the middle of the seventeenth century through much of the empire (which in his day included much of Slavonia) and left a long account. To save on footnotes I shall place after the data I take from him the page numbers of Šabanović's Serbo-Croatian translation, which includes all Evliya's material on the Yugoslav lands.²⁸¹ As far as I can tell, when Šabanović's text says "Croatian," that is the equivalent of Evliya's Ottoman Turkish; I have found nothing to make me think that Šabanović has been substituting the word "Croatian" for some other Ottoman term for the sake of clarity for a modern reader as various Croatian scholars frequently do.

Evliya freely uses the term "Croatia." After all, a region by that name still existed. Thus, he says the region of Jasenovac lies in Hirvatistan (which is rendered as Croatia in the translation) (p. 217). He also says that most of the land between Zadar and Livno is called Croatia (p. 171). Much of the lands we associate with Croatia were at one point or another under a state/entity by that name, and the Turks conquered only some of it. So, Evliya mentions that many towns were built by Croatians or Croatian princes (e.g., Skradin, Obrovac, Vrana, Kamen, Virovitica, the fortress of Lika) and that many towns and fortresses were taken from or surrendered to the Turks by Croatians (e.g., Skradin, Cernik, Bihać, Kostajnica). He tells us that Nadin was taken by an Ottoman commander from the hands of its Croatian and Slavonian population (p. 160). These references can all be seen as political/institutional, or possibly geographical, rather than ethnic, as also are phrases such as "war with the Croatians" (e.g., p. 215), or when he lists a number of groups/nationalities in a Christian army against the Ottomans: Croatians, Slavonians, Korušians (Carinthians), Montenegrins, Albanians, and Uskoks (p. 200).

But interestingly, Evliya does not always change the name "Croatian" for subjects in areas the Ottomans took. Thus, after saying that Nadin was taken from Croatians and Slavonians, he notes that Venice briefly recovered it and that the Croatians and Muslims from Nadin sought refuge in the fortress of Knin (p. 160). Presumably these "Croatians" were the local Slavic-speaking Catholics, but it is interesting that Evliya calls them "Croatians" rather than

²⁸¹ Evliya Çelebi, *Putopis: Odlomak o jugoslavenskim zemljama* (H. Šabanović, ed. & trans.), Sarajevo, 1967.

"Catholics," which would have been the normal way for an Ottoman to categorize. He also at one point, in describing an Ottoman force, lists for one part of it Croatians, Bosnians, and Albanians (p. 368). The last two could easily be Muslims, and, though some people in regions of Croatia/Slavonia conquered by the Ottomans did convert to Islam, it would be interesting if the Ottomans continued to call these Muslims by the name "Croatsians." In any case, I suspect the term here has a geographical basis, people (probably Muslims) from former Croatia. It is also possible that the Croatsians in question were Vlachs, some of whom continued to serve the Ottomans without giving up their Christianity, whether Orthodox or Catholic. We saw in chapter 3 that certain Vlachs were referred to as "Croatian Vlachs," and Jurišić claims that some pastoralists were still referred to as "Croatian Vlachs" around Blato and Broćno in Hercegovina under the Ottomans during the bishopric of Marijan Lišnjić (1661–86).²⁸² Possibly the "Croatsians" in question were drawn from such a group.

Evliya then has another set of "Croatsians," who certainly are not called that because of a connection to an official Croatian institution. However, that name could denote their coming from the region called Croatia. First he notes that in Sarajevo most of the house slaves were Serbs, Bulgarians, and Croatsians—all given with the feminine form of those nouns (p. 117). In this regard it is worth noting that documents from the mid–sixteenth century issued by the kadis in Sarajevo had made mention of Croatsians and Dalmatians, former war captives, who subsequently found themselves as slaves in Sarajevo.²⁸³ Evliya also notes that near the fortress of Rinica was to be found the hideout of the "Croatian brigand Uskok Šarić" (p. 183). Possibly, to Evliya, Uskoks, since they were particularly associated with Senj in Croatia, were "Croatsians." He also notes that he changed his route to avoid some "Croatian evil-doers" near Pakrac (p. 233). He mentions as well warfare around the above-mentioned Rinica, in which he refers to the opponents including "Croatian heroes" (pp. 184, 187). The translation is written with the quotation marks. If some equivalent punctuation appeared in the original, Evliya may have sarcastically been using the local terminology, which he himself, of course, did not share.

Evliya also speaks of "Croatian language." He clearly does not use the term to mean "Serbo-Croatian" in general, since he calls "Bosnian" the language spoken by people in the regions of Sarajevo and of Banja Luka (pp. 120–21, 205). He notes that the town-name Jajce means "egg" in Bosnian, and that Gradiška in the Bosnian language means a "small fort/town" (pp. 205–6). But Evliya also speaks of "Croatian language." He provides a list of twenty-nine

282. K. Jurišić, *Katolička Crkva na biokovsko-neretvanskom području u doba turske vladavine*, Zagreb, 1972, p. 50.

283. S. Traljić, "Zadar i turska pozadina od XV do potkraj XIX stoljeća," *Radovi* (Institut [JAZU] u Zadru) 11–12, 1965, p. 208.

words and the first ten numbers in “Croatian language,” for the information of his readers (pp. 189–90). Later he states that the town-name Koprivnica in Croatian means “kopriva/nettle” (p. 490). He also mentions some 3000 Frankish prisoners of war from Koruška (Carinthia) who speak “German, Croatian, and [or?] Frankish” (p. 488). Thus it seems that he links the language with the place it was spoken, rather than with an ethnicity. However, he does say that the Venetians speak Italian (p. 202).

A study of Evliya’s original text by a scholar competent in Ottoman might resolve some of the issues discussed above and also find further material on the subject of identity. I hope very much that such a scholar will examine Evliya and other Ottoman texts from this angle.

Earlier in the chapter we talked about Ragusan views of Ottoman officials of Slavic origin. Now we can look at the views of these Ottoman courtiers, as recorded in Ragusan or Venetian records examined by Tadić. As background to what follows, it should be remembered that the Ottomans were the overlords of Dubrovnik and thus had legal obligations toward that city state, and so may have felt a stronger relationship to Dubrovnik than they would have with other South-Slav entities. It is also worth repeating that many Ottoman courtiers spoke proto-Serbo-Croatian and were of Balkan Slavic (particularly Bosnian) origin. Thus, many Ragusan diplomatic discussions at the Ottoman court were conducted in proto-Serbo-Croatian and these Ottomans were happy to use that language.

Our first example of an Ottoman’s views, however, is extraordinary and goes well beyond the call of duty. A certain Ibrahim Aga told a Venetian envoy in 1618/19 that he was concerned with Venetian threats to Dubrovnik and had spoken to “the pasha” about the situation. He made it clear to the Venetian that Dubrovnik had friends at the Porte, and he went on to say, “I want you to know that the Ragusans are of my blood, and by the laws and duty of one’s blood I must defend them, and I will defend them to the death.” Subsequently a Ragusan envoy brought a letter from the town authorities to Ibrahim; he was overjoyed and kissed the letter. A strong emotional attachment to Dubrovnik obviously existed in his case.

In 1631 a Ragusan embassy was received by the vezir of Bosnia, Murat Pasha, at his court. The official was from Čajnica in Bosnia. “It’s wonderful to talk with you,” he said, “for we are neighbors. We speak the same language.” In 1633 an Ottoman vezir at the Porte, Mustafa Pasha from Mostar, told a Ragusan embassy, “Don’t be afraid; I am your friend and from your neighborhood. . . . I work hard for your needs, for I am from your country/region.” Another official, this one from Zvornik, who, the Ragusans reported, “always spoke our language,” told an embassy, “I am always delighted to speak with you this language. Whenever we are in an audience together with His Highness [the sultan], don’t speak Italian but this Bosnian language.” And this they did. And when the sultan, usually above such mundane things as languages,

asked what language they were speaking, we [the Ragusans] answered "Lord, it is our Bosnian language."²⁸⁴

M. Kombol discusses the poet Hasan Kaimi Baba, who had the surname Zrin-oglu and among Slavic speakers in Bosnia was generally known simply as Kamiye. Living in the second half of the seventeenth century, he generally wrote in Ottoman Turkish. However, he wrote at least two poems in proto-Serbo-Croatian, one of which, written during the war against Venice over Candia on Crete and directed at Venice (which is the "you" in the text), stated: "Do not bet on thrashing (mлатiti) the Croats, you will pay with gold [lose a fortune] when Candia departs/is taken from you."

Nemojte se kladiti
a Hrvate mлатiti
zlatom ćete platiti
kad vam ode Kandija.

However, a second version of the text is somewhat different, and I have no way to know which text (if either) is Kamiya's original. This text says, interpreting the same first line a bit differently: "Don't count on success by burning out [paliti] the Croats; For this [that action] you will pay, when you lose Candia."

Nemojte se kladiti
a Hrvate paliti:
zato ćete platiti
kad vam ode Kandija.²⁸⁵

284. All items in the previous two paragraphs are from J. Tadić, "Dubrovnik za vreme Dživa Gundulića," *Srpski književni glasnik* 56, 1939, pp. 279–81.

285. First version cited by M. Kombol, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, p. 227. Second version cited by B. Zelić-Bučan, "Narodni naziv hrvatskog jezika," *Jezik* 19, no. 1, 1971–72, p. 17 and by K. Georgijević, *Hrvatska književnost*, p. 302. The second version has the verb at the end of line two "paliti" (burn out) rather than Kombol's "mлатiti" (to thrash). Zelić-Bučan (using version 2) interprets the poem as Venice attacking the Bosnian hinterland of its Dalmatia and burning out the "Croats." And, if the Christian Venetians were attacking "Croats" in Bosnia, then the Croats presumably were not Catholics but Muslims, and thus the Bosnian Muslim poet saw his people—Bosnian Muslims—as Croats. I suppose, if the Venetians were foolishly spreading themselves thin and attacking Bosnia, then they would thereby lose Candia, as the poet says, "therefore you will pay, when you lose Candia." In this case, the Croats would presumably not be military units but Ottoman subjects. Interpreting poetry (even English-language poetry) has never been my strong suit, but it seems to me odd for a Muslim author to refer to any Ottoman group/population as "Croats." Thus, I wonder if the "Croats" could possibly not be Ottoman civilian subjects in Bosnia, suffering raids by Venetian forces, as Zelić-Bučan wants; for it would make more sense to have the referred-to Croats be Venetian units, either defending Dalmatia or, less likely, serving overseas in Crete. The poet is telling the Venetians not to bet on the Croat units, paid with gold (should line 2 of version 1 be right, despite its absence in version 2), on thrashing or burning out/extinguishing [us/the Muslims], for these units' actions will not be sufficient to divert Ottoman forces from

The problem with both versions is that the Croats (whom one would expect to be with Venice) are being victimized by the Venetians. So, it would seem that the "Croats" are Bosnian Muslims, for there were no other proto-Serbo-Croatian speakers against whom the Venetians were warring. This, however, is a surprising way for a religiously oriented Muslim, a dervish leader, to refer to his own people. After all, the Islamic empire, to which he belonged, did not recognize ethnic groups, but categorized people by religious confession.

A mysterious Ottoman usage of "Croatian" was found in Istanbul itself. Between the 1850s and 1870s the elder (*starešina*) of the Montenegrins, who lived in Istanbul, was called the *Hrvat-baša* (the Head Croatian). One Serbian writer Mihovil Pavlinović, in the third (Zadar, 1876) edition of his "Conversation about Slavism, Jugoslavism (or South Slavism), and Serbo-Croatianism," has one of these Istanbul Slavs saying that all those from Boka Kotor, Montenegro, Zeta, and the (Zetan) Coast who have been in Istanbul for a considerable time fall under the name of "Croatsians." Though this term for the elder or those under him has not been established prior to the nineteenth century, Pavlinović's source suggests that the usage was not recent, and it is quite likely that it dates back at least to the eighteenth century. It would be worthwhile for Ottomanists, working in the Turkish archives, to search out the history of this term and discover how far back it dates. And, hopefully, the texts they find will also explain why and how this chiefly Orthodox population from the south of Dalmatia (none of whom had been referred to as "Croatian" since the twelfth century) acquired this label in Istanbul.²⁸⁶

Croatia Proper under Austria

The Military Frontier

In the last chapter, we saw that the Habsburgs created in the sixteenth century along their border with the Ottoman Empire two Military Frontier districts under special military administration: a Croatian (or Karlovac) one and a Slavonian (or Varaždin) one. Eventually, in 1783 all the military districts

Crete to the Balkan front. The weakness of my "logical" (?) argument is grammar (the noun-form being "Hrvate" rather than "Hrvati," thus grammatically the Croats are not doing but being done to); but if the actual verb used is in doubt, maybe the case ending "e" is also. In any case the Bosnian Muslim poet is clearly referring to some people as "Croats."

Interestingly, I have found this poem of Kamija cited rarely and only discussed (and always briefly) in the three cited works. No scholar, that I know of, has recognized that two versions exist, which would be the first step in deciding which (if either) is Kamija's original. Possibly the matter has been discussed in a specialized Islamic-literature journal. If so, I hope that someone will bring out that fact (and the study's conclusions) in an accessible format; if not, one may hope that a scholar familiar with Kamija will take up the matter and try to resolve both which text has the proper wording and how one should interpret the text.

286. V. Foretić, "Iz arhiva obitelji Vickovića u Zupcima kod Bara uz objašnjenje o Hrvat-baši," *Anali Historijskog instituta [JAZU] u Dubrovniku* 4-5, 1956, pp. 651-58, esp. pp. 653-54.

were to be joined into one command designated as the Croatian (Croatisches) General Command.²⁸⁷ According to Rothenberg, the troops from both were commonly referred to as “Croatsians” by contemporary writers,²⁸⁸ even though, as noted in the last chapter, there were more Orthodox than Catholics in their ranks. For example, Samuel Johnson mentions “the fierce Croatian and wild Hussar.” And in the eighteenth century, when the Habsburgs began using these troops for their European wars, their looting and rapine shocked Western Europeans. Rothenberg concluded: “Indeed, their brutality became proverbial and the term ‘Croat’ an epithet.”²⁸⁹ Roksandić concurs, stating that in the eighteenth century, especially in the military regions, a significant spread in the use of the “Croat” name occurred in the Croatian Krajina. This usage, he also noted, coincided with the use of the terms “Illyrian” and “Serb.” The term “Illyrian” could be used for either Croats or Serbs or both. Roksandić also notes, as Rothenberg had implied, that, though some used “Croat” and “Serb” to denote Catholic and Orthodox respectively, the term “Croat” was at times used for anyone regardless of faith in the border forces or even in the Croatian Krajina. Roksandić noted that this usage could be reversed; for example Vuk Karadžić called everyone “a Serb” who spoke Štokavian regardless of faith. And Roksandić cites Vuk speaking about Serbs of all three faiths.²⁹⁰

Soldiers from these Croatian forces were also hired as mercenaries and bodyguards abroad, and referred to in their places of service as “Croatsians.” R. Lopašić notes that in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries they served as mercenaries for the German emperor, for Venice, and for the papacy, and many served in the Thirty-Years War. A good example can be found at the courts of certain German princes, namely at Dresden in Saxony and at Potsdam in Prussia. In the first case, we have Emperor Leopold in 1659 granting permission for a certain Ivan Peranski and twenty “Croatian” cavalymen to go abroad to serve in the palace guard (which already had German and Swiss guardsmen) of John George II, Prince of Saxony. There they were called the Bodyguard Company of Cavalry of Croats (Leib-Compagnie zu Ross Croaten or Leib Gardie und Compagnie Croaten) and their commander, Ivan Peranski, was entitled Courtier and Captain of the Croatsians (Croatorum capitaneus, vicecollonellus et camerarius) or Supreme Captain of the

287. G. Rothenberg, *The Military Border in Croatia, 1740–1881: A Study of an Imperial Institution*, Chicago, 1966, p. 63.

288. G. Rothenberg, *The Military Border in Croatia*, p. 40. We find that frontier units and their members in the Krajina could be referred to not only as Croatian(s), but also as being of the “Croatian nation,” though the context hardly gives the word “nation” an ethnic sense. For example, in about 1613, we hear of a certain Wolfgang now being the Captain of the Ogulin [regiment] of the Croatian nation (nunc capitaneus Ogulinensis nationis croticae, Wolfgang). (V. Klačić, “Banovanje kneza Nikole Frankopana,” *Rad [JAZU]* 211, 1916, p. 135.)

289. G. Rothenberg, *Military Border in Croatia*, pp. 19–20.

290. D. Roksandić, *Vojna Hrvatska II*, pp. 150, 154.

Croats and Courtier (Croatorum supremus capetaneus et camerarius). In 1662 one of these cavalrymen, Tomaš Filipović, referred to as belonging to the company of Croats (kompanie Horvatov), was sentenced to death in Saxony. The Croatian guard remained in existence for the lifetime of the prince who hired them; but shortly after his death in 1680, for financial reasons the guard was abolished and its members returned to Croatia. By that time there were 74 Croatians serving the court. In the following century, described in a document from 1734, 230 Croats (Dalmatians, Croatians, and Illyrians) were serving King Frederick William I of Prussia. Of these 200 were Catholics and 30 of the Greek rite, who were said not to recognize the pope (i.e., were not Uniates). Thus, collectively the soldiers were Croatians (the normal term for military units from the empire's Military-Frontier area), and the Catholics were then broken down to their particular places of origin (Dalmatia and Croatia). The term "Illyrian" presumably designated the Orthodox. When these mercenaries began and ceased to serve the Prussian king is not known.²⁹¹

Despite this contemporary usage of the term "Croat/Croatian," I have found no evidence that the borderers saw themselves as such. In fact, a broad identity as borderer or grenzer (the basis for their privileges as freemen) seems to have taken precedence over any ethnic-type identity. In 1754, in one of the Catholic offensives to eliminate the Orthodox's freedom of religion, the Orthodox monastery at Marcsa (Severin) was turned over to the Uniates; Rothenberg notes that this action was "widely resented not only by the Orthodox but also by the Catholic grenzers, who suspected a threat to their cherished privileges."²⁹²

Various Habsburg military figures, whether or not from association with the border defenses, made use of the term "Croat." Baron Ernest (Kolonić), vice-captain of troops in the Hungarian province of Gjuru (Jaurinensis), was referred to in a document of the Hungarian diet from 1618 as "Ernest from Kollonich, in fact Croatia" (Ernestus a Kollonich, siquidem Croata). In a second document from the same year Ernest of Kollonich was called a privileged baron of old Croatian blood (Ernestus a Kollonits l(iber) b(aro) ex antiquo Croatiae sanguine).²⁹³ Later, in 1671, a general, Count Herberstein, informed the war office of the state of the defenses on the Croatian frontier, and he twice refers to the Croatian nation (croatische Nation), on both occasions in comparisons with the situation among the Wallachian nation; once he was speaking of Croatian villagers settled there as a source of manpower and the other time of

291. R. Lopašić (ed.), "Spomenici o hrvatskih gardah na dvorovih u Draždjanih i Potsdamu," *Starine (JAZU)* 27, 1895, pp. 169–93. This text consists of a descriptive study accompanied by twelve documents.

292. G. Rothenberg, *Military Border in Croatia*, p. 35.

293. V. Klaić, "Županija Pset," p. 12.

those manning the border.²⁹⁴ A further military example, though from Dubrovnik, also was connected to the Military Frontier. A letter written in May of 1618 by the city of Dubrovnik to an agent in Vienna asked him to recruit men for the town's defense forces; the recruits should be Croats of our language and Catholics (*siano Crovati de nostra lingua e catolici*).²⁹⁵ The men who were subsequently recruited came from around Senj, thus from the Croatian *banovina*'s military zone and from geographical Croatia. Senj was also the center of the Uskoks, who were celebrated fighters; thus the term "Croat" might indicate the place Dubrovnik wanted the men recruited. In a 1630 letter to the Habsburg emperor, Dubrovnik sought thirty mercenaries, who this time should be Hungarian or Croat Catholics.²⁹⁶ Ivan Gundulić's son, Frano, at the Habsburg court of Leopold I in Vienna in the 1670s offered a French diplomat there named Gremonville to recruit for the French king in his land (i.e., Dubrovnik) 3000 Croats and Albanians (*tri mille Cravates . . .*).²⁹⁷ The terms come from Gremonville's report to Louis XIV, so we cannot be certain whether the language was his or taken from Gundulić's offer. As noted earlier, "Croats" and "Albanians" were two categories used regularly by the Venetians for their soldiers employed along or recruited from the Adriatic coast.

Over a century later, in 1777, Count Ladislaus Erdody, who, along with his ancestors, had had extensive official dealings with Croatia and its armed forces, was putting the family archives in Eberau (Monyorokereka) in Hungary in order. Some of the preserved documents were in the local language, which he called "Croatian" (*croaticum idiomate*), and he had wanted and had found someone who knew Croatian to put these papers in order. His text uses the term "Croatian," and only that term throughout.²⁹⁸

But despite the use of the term "Croatian," the term "Illyrian" also made its way into Habsburg dealings with these militiamen and their so-called co-nationals. In 1737 hawkish advisors of the emperor, trying to persuade him to war with the Ottomans, claimed that an Austrian invasion of the Ottoman Balkans would lead to a massive Christian uprising, Ottoman rule would collapse, and the Austrians would emerge as protectors of the "Illyrian nation."²⁹⁹ Here, the term "Illyrian nation" clearly meant the South Slavs in general, and interestingly the German advisor, using "nation" in the singular, saw them as a single people.

294. R. Lopašić (ed.), "Nekoliko priloga za poviest urote Petra Zrinskoga i Franje Frankopana," *Starine* (JAZU) 15, 1883, pp. 138–40.

295. V. Koščak, "Korespondencija dubrovačke vlade," p. 190; text of letter given, p. 215.

296. V. Koščak, "Korespondencija dubrovačke vlade," p. 191; text of letter given, p. 215.

297. M. Deanović, "Frano Dživa Gundulić," *Starine* (JAZU) 41, 1948, pp. 14–15; Ante Split, *Hrvatski naslov*, p. 50.

298. E. Laszowski (ed.), "Vijest o hrvatskim izpravama u arhivu grofova Erdoda godine 1777," *Vjestnik Kr. hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog zemaljskog arkiva* 1, no. 1, 1899, p. 62.

299. G. Rothenberg, *The Austrian Military Border in Croatia, 1522–1747*, Urbana, Ill. (Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences 48), 1960, p. 118.

A special representation (under Habsburg appointees) was made for the Orthodox at court; it was created in 1744 and in 1747 named the Hochdeputation in Banaticis (the Banat), Transylvanicis, et Illyricis. The Illyrian part, though chiefly involving itself with the Orthodox in Slavonia and Srem, could be conceived broadly. In 1753 Count Königsegg-Erps, chairman of this body, stated, "Illyrian affairs include not only relations with the Ottoman and Russian Empires, but also the lands of the Hungarian-Croatian crown, including the Warasdin and Karlstadt Generalcies, as well as the military districts in Slavonia and Syrmia." The institution lasted until 1777, when it was closed as a result of Hungarian pressure.³⁰⁰ Moreover, in 1770 a set of regulations dealing with the Habsburg Orthodox was entitled the "Illyrian Regulation."³⁰¹ This was in keeping with the terminology used in 1751 when some Habsburg Serb officers, allowed to emigrate to Russia, were officially recorded by the Habsburgs as "Illyrian officers."³⁰² In addition, also in 1770, after a period of discussion, as a result of Russian books circulating among the Habsburg Orthodox, it was decided that if the Habsburgs printed texts in Cyrillic there would be less reason for their Orthodox to seek texts in Russia. As a result a Cyrillic printing press was established in 1770; and with a press, one needed a censor, a post created in that year, known by the name of the "Illyrian censor." With this context, many non-South-Slavic Habsburg officials came to associate the term "Illyrian" particularly with the Serbs. And subsequently an Illyrian Court Chancellery (focused particularly on the Serbs/Orthodox, though not exclusively) was to have a short lifetime, 1790–94. It was drawn into discussions about Stulli's Illyrian, Latin, and Italian dictionary (discussed later); in its discussions, chancellery members regularly referred, like Stulli, to the dictionary's Slavic component as "Illyrian." Emperor Leopold II, writing in 1792 to congratulate the chancellery for its preparations to publish Stulli's dictionary, also referred to it being in the "Illyrian language."³⁰³

In connection with the previously mentioned crisis of 1737, which led to war between the Habsburgs and the Ottomans breaking out in that year, Emperor Charles VI launched his forces into Bosnia. He sent with them a proclamation written in Latin but translated into "Slavic" (Slovinski).³⁰⁴ At the same time, his commanding officer, the Saxon duke, sought to print in Zagreb

300. G. Rothenberg, *Military Border in Croatia*, pp. 32–33.

301. G. Rothenberg, *Military Border in Croatia*, p. 58.

302. M. Brlek, *Leksikograf*, p. 69.

303. M. Brlek, *Leksikograf*, pp. 7, 15.

304. B. Babić (ed.), "Proglas cara Karla III (VI) na bosansko pućanstvo od g. 1737," *Vjesnik Kr. hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog zemaljskog arkiva* 2, no. 4, 1900, p. 250. This text provides good evidence of the absence of people bearing "Serb" and "Croat" labels in Bosnia at the time, for the emperor addresses them with the Slavic terms they used for the religious categories employed by the Ottoman administration: "kerstianom" and "riscianom," for Catholics and Orthodox respectively (p. 251).

his proclamations to the Bosnian Christians, and for effectiveness sought to print his Slavic texts twice using both what we would now call Latin and Cyrillic characters. In his order, he expressed this wish twice; the first time he stated that he wanted his text to appear in Latin characters and also in Illyrian or Cyrillic (*caractere Illyrico vel cherulico*); the second time he slightly varied his terminology and sought the same result by asking that the text be in Croatian or Latin letters (*litteris croaticis vel latinis*) and also in Illyrian characters.³⁰⁵ Thus, the German general, when thinking of alphabets, saw Illyrian as the equivalent of Cyrillic.

We can also note a mixed vocabulary with an "Illyrian" emphasis roughly a century earlier. In 1655 Emperor Ferdinand III confirmed a detailed order of Petar Mariani, Bishop of Senj and Modruš, to the clergy of Bakar. With the exception of the final item to be cited, most of the vocabulary presumably originated with the bishop. Reference is made to a Croatian ritual book, but also to the Slavonic-language Mass, other practices carried out according to Illyrian custom, and all of this being done for the glory of the people of Illyria. He ends by saying that all the orders in the just-cited text were issued for (the benefit of) our kingdom of Illyria (*regnum nostrum Ilyriae*).³⁰⁶ And, as we have noted earlier, the emperors used the term "Illyrian" for the Serbs in various privileges given to them.

Use of Term "Croatian" in and about Croatia Proper

A new Urbar (charter) for the town of Trsat in Vinodol was translated from German into "Croatian" in 1611 by an Austrian-appointed notary, Ivan Mikulanić.³⁰⁷ An Italian version also exists, which states that its text was translated from German into Illyrian and then from Illyrian into Italian.³⁰⁸ Thus, for these people "Croatian" and "Illyrian" were synonyms, possibly the former was used when writing in proto-Serbo-Croatian and the latter when writing in Italian.

Radonić reports that in Istria, Senj, and Vinodol in the 1630s Orthodox converted to Catholicism in relatively large numbers, and locals reported that these converts were no longer called "Vlachs," but "Croats" (*seque non amplius Valachos sed Croatas appellant*).³⁰⁹ We see that this description was applied to the Vinodol area, where we found in the Middle Ages some signs of Croat identity. It is also worth noting that the identity in this case was based entirely on religion. One shifted from "Vlach" to "Croat" with religious conversion; thus,

305. J. Horvat, "Zanimiva naručba za tiskaru zagrebačku god. 1737," *Vjesnik Kr. hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog zemaljskog arhiva* 13, no. 4, 1911, p. 282.

306. M. Sladović, *Povjesti biskupijah senjske*, pp. 378, 382–83.

307. E. Laszowski, *Gorski kotar i Vinodol*, p. 105.

308. R. Lopašić (ed.), *Hrvatski urbani*, pp. 153–54, 160.

309. J. Radonić, "Jeronim Paštrić, istorik XVII veka," *Glas (SAN)* 190, 1946, p. 72.

one was not a “Croat” by such things as history or ancestry that we normally associate with ethnicity.

One of the most prominent Frankapans of the seventeenth century was Nikola Frankapan Tržački (denoted by the control of the previously mentioned Trsat by his branch of the Frankapan family), for many years Ban of Croatia. He used a variety of terms for the local Slavic population. In 1619 he wrote King Ferdinand complaining of difficulties he was having with Prince Bethlen, then Ban of Slavonia and his “Slavs” (*Sclavis*). In his will, written in 1634 (though he did not die until 1647), Tržački left money to support a home in Zagreb for poor students especially of “our Croatian or Illyrian nation” (*nationis praesertim nostrae Croatiae vel Illyricae*). They were to be not only from Croatia and Slavonia, but there was also to be at least one pupil in the institution from Dalmatia. Tržački entrusted the finding of pupils of the Dalmatian nation (*Dalmaticae nationis*) to his friend Ivan Tomko Mrnavić, the Bishop of Bosnia. Thus, Frankapan included as Croatians or Illyrians young men from most (or possibly all) of what is now Croatia. The will specified that if by chance the Turks were to expel the Jesuits who would be running the institution from Zagreb, then let them move to Gradac (Graz) in Styria; but if that should happen, let them keep the institution’s name as “the Frangepaneum” and let them continue to take in pupils of the Illyrian nation (*nationis Illyricae*). His wishes were realized and the resulting student home was still functioning in the late-nineteenth century. Later in the will he speaks simply of the “Illyrian nation.” Thus, he saw the terms “Croat” and “Illyrian” as synonyms or else possibly saw the Croats as a geographical group, as the Illyrians living in Croatia. The Franciscan guardian Franjo Glavinić, writing in Trsat in February 1648, described Nikola’s funeral. He noted the large number of guests and the elaborate spread, which he called the custom among the nobles of Croatia and the Slavs (*l’usanza de grandi di Croatia e Slavi*) with much almsgiving for the soul of the deceased. He then noted that Gasparo Frankapan, son of the deceased and Captain of the Ogulin Army, accompanied by many Croat nobles and Slav soldiers (*accompagniato da molti nobili Croati e Slavi soldati*), participated in the procession. Whether the Franciscan was visualizing the classes as his medieval predecessors had, with the term “Croat” being reserved for a limited number of noble families while the rest of society was composed of Slavs, though implied, cannot be determined with certainty from the two passages.³¹⁰

A subsequent member of the same branch of the family, Count Juraj Frankapan, wrote a letter from Karlovac to thank the Franciscans in the Military Frontier for their good works that included providing services for both congregations of Germans and Croatians, showing that as the teaching orders

310. R. Lopašić (ed.), “Spomenici Tržačkih Frankopana,” *Starine* (JAZU) 25, 1892, pp. 204–5, 226, 248–49, 281; V. Klaić, “Banovanje kneza Nikole Frankapana,” pp. 253–57.

did so often, in this region, they provided Catechism, confessions, and so forth in more than one vernacular.³¹¹

Petar Zrinski (1621–71), the Ban of Croatia mentioned earlier in terms of other peoples' reactions to him, was not only a military leader but also a poet. He translated a drama written in Hungarian by his brother, Nikola, his predecessor as ban. Both brothers were fluent in Hungarian; in fact, their mother was a Hungarian. Under the title "Sirens of the Adriatic Sea," Petar's translation was published in Venice in 1660. Petar dedicated his publication to "the brave knights of Croatia and of the coastal region." These terms are clearly based on geographical entities and, by his not simply saying "Croatian knights," it is seen that he does not consider the coastals Croats. He then went on to say that he had translated the text from Hungarian into "our Croatian language" (na hrvacki naš jezik).³¹² He refers to their Grandfather Nikola, a major figure in the text, and his fellow-warriors as the defenders of Croatia against this danger to the Croatian home. And from time to time he refers to soldiers as "Croats," or even to Croatian heads being lopped off, which, does not necessarily have ethnic significance since they were fighting under the command of the Ban of Croatia, who is frequently mentioned, and in one place he mentions soldiers as "Croats and Hungarians." But he does have one of the defenders, the knight Radovan, crying out, "I am indeed Croatian, it is my secret name" (Ja sam pak Hrvatom, ni mi tajno ime).³¹³ This statement is clearly more than mere geography, and since Petar also called the language of his translation "Croatian," I think we can conclude that Petar Zrinski clearly felt his Croatianism/Croatianess fairly strongly; his brother Nikola, writing in Hungarian, clearly did not feel it so strongly. His "Adriai tengernek Syrenaja," the Hungarian title of Nikola's original, is, according to T. Matić, a work expressing strong Magyar patriotism, which Hungarians to the present consider their most significant epic from earlier times. However, as Matić also notes, even Nikola could also call himself a "Croat." In a 1658 letter to the Vice Ban of Croatia he stated that he was conscious of being a Croat and a Zrinski.³¹⁴

311. R. Lopašić (ed.), "Spomenici Tržačkih Frankopana," p. 290.

312. The text is to be found in Petar Zrinski, *Adrianskoga mora sirena* (T. Matić, ed.), Zagreb (JAZU, *Stari pisci hrvatski* 32), 1957. The dedication and statement naming the languages involved in the translation are drawn from the preface, p. 19. Once in the translated poem itself Petar uses the term "Slavic," referring to writing "Slovinski" words (p. 247). See also J. Vončina, "Ozaljski jezično-književni krug," *Radovi Zavod za Slavensku filologiju* (Sveučilište u Zagrebu) 10, 1968, p. 196.

313. The significant statement on Croatian as "his secret name" is found in P. Zrinski, *Adrianskoga*, p. 189. For other references to "Croats" in the persons of soldiers, see pp. 100, 105, 153, 197, 275. Petar also in a second work, his own poem about his grandfather's defense of Szeget, on occasion also refers to "Croats," when particular soldiers from Croatian units are meant, see pp. 348, 365, 376. See also M. Kombol, *Provizest hrvatske književosti*, p. 274.

314. T. Matić, introduction to P. Zrinski, *Adrianskoga*, pp. 7–8. Georgijević provides further examples of Petar's "Croatian" emphasis. Nikola associated his grandfather with a Hungarian

The business documents issued by the Zrinskis, which were published by Laszowski, three times mentioned the language used or to be used, twice as "Croatian" (Juraj Zrinski in 1600 and the abbess Judith Petronila Zrinski in 1690) and once as "Croatian or Dalmatian" (Nikola Zrinski in 1602).³¹⁵ Two other references to "Croatian" appear in these documents, which number 207: reference is made to a Croatian (from Croatia?) servant in 1624 and to someone in 1628 having property in the Slavonian or Croatian region/state (Slovenskom orsagu aliti harvatskom).³¹⁶ In 1669 and 1670 a manager (gouvernatore) of Petar Zrinski's property in Bakar in two official announcements stated that the texts had been translated from Croatian, in one case into Latin and the other into German.³¹⁷ A certain Ivan Budački Croat (Giovanni Budaschi Croato) commanded the Zrinski town of Bakar in 1616. At roughly the same time a nobleman from Topusko, Ivan Krušelj, an opponent of Ban Nikola Frankapan, was referred to in official documents as being of the Croat nation (natione Croata).³¹⁸

Petar Zrinski had two active associates who shared his literary interests, his wife Katarina Frankapan Zrinski and her brother Krsto Frankapan. In literary matters the three all wrote in a koine, combining all three Croatian dialects, and all three called the language "Croatian." Krsto Frankapan also was a close political associate of his brother-in-law and was active in the famous plot against the Habsburg emperor's centralizing policies, that resulted in both men being beheaded on the same day in 1671. Their deaths had great impact on the two families and on Croatia as well. Both families suffered confiscation of vast amounts of land. Neither family ever recovered from this loss; so 1671 marked the end of the major role which both families had had in Croatian affairs up to that point. Moreover, the destruction of the two greatest families among the Croatian nobility led to a general decline in the role of the Croatian nobility in the empire and even in Croatia. It also led to a deterioration in the influence of the two major Croatian institutions, the ban and the sabor. Consequently, in the eighteenth century almost all the bans of Croatia were to be Hungarians.

Krsto Frankapan, as noted, also used the word "Croatian." In his poem "Dijački junak" he has a Croatian knight/hero (Horvatjanin junak) riding his knightly horse across a field. Then he goes on to say that ever since people had appeared on earth there was no one dearer to him than this unknown/

mountain, Kezmark; Petar changed the mountain to Velebit. Petar adds a passage not in the Hungarian text at all about Zrinski defending Croatia and the danger posed to the Croatian homeland. (K. Georgijević, *Hrvatska književnost*, p. 95.)

315. E. Laszowski (ed.), *Gradja za gospodarsku povijest Hrvatske u XVI i XVII stoljeću: Izbor isprava velikih feuda Zrinskih i Frankopana*, Zagreb (JAZU), 1951, pp. 15, 22, 154.

316. E. Laszowski, *Gradja za gospodarsku povijest*, pp. 70, 73.

317. R. Lopašić (ed.), "Novi prilozi za povijest urote bana Petra Zrinskoga i kneza Franje Krste Frankopana," *Starine* (JAZU) 24, 1891, pp. 44, 46.

318. V. Klaić, "Banovanje kneza Nikole Frankopana," *Rad* (JAZU) 211, 1916, pp. 125, 168.

anonymous Croat (neznan Horvatjanin).³¹⁹ He also uses the term “Croatian” in a short play, “Jarne bogati.” However, here, the term has a state context, for first a character speaks of a gentleman from the Croatian banovina (z horvackega orsaga), and a couple of lines later a second character speaks of “that Croat.”³²⁰ The references from “Dijački junak” could from their context also be territorially based (the banovina) as well, though the text does not allow us to be certain.

Katarina Zrinski, Petar’s wife, who became a nun in later life after her husband’s execution, translated a prayer book from German into “Croatian” in 1661. In the work’s preface she noted that of all the languages of the world, one finds in “Croatian” the fewest books.³²¹

The Zrinski-Frankapan plot, particularly since it sought at one stage to get support from the Turks, not surprisingly was condemned by many in Croatia, including part of the aristocracy. The theme of Croatian fidelity to the emperor was a contemporary way to express this opposition. For example, Miklous Erdody is described in a poem as being faithful to his emperor. “I’d rather serve the emperor with a musket than to be a lord under the Turkish tsar. Croatian fidelity [to the emperor] is well known to all.”³²² In this period the image of Croatian success on the battlefield continued to receive recognition. A popular verse spoke of how the people of Kranj thought Croatia was nothing; however, it took twelve Kranjci to equal a single Croatian when it was a matter of swords. Where people battled and where the fires of war were to be found, there the Croat is first.³²³ The Slavonian Jesuit, Juraj Habelić (1609–78), to be discussed later, speaks of the military skills of the Slavonian and Croat lords, and goes on to compare traits of various peoples (English, Germans, Kranjci, etc.), ending with the Slavonian and Croatian knights being reliable and faithful.³²⁴ As we shall see, Habelić regularly distinguished between Slavonians and Croats according to their place of origin.

Drago Roksandić also points out that in this late period, just as it had been in the later Middle Ages, “Croat” or “Croat Nacija” could refer specifically to the Croat nobility.³²⁵ In this case, it was expressed by the Croatian sabor/diet and focused on the privileges, in theory going back to 1102, that the nobles had and used the diet to retain or expand. They saw themselves as the Croats,

319. Frano Krsto Frankopan, *Djela* (S. Jezić, ed.), Beograd (SKA, Posebna izdanja 108), 1936, p. 152; discussed by M. Kombol, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, p. 277.

320. Frano Krsto Frankopan, *Djela*, p. 209.

321. M. Kombol, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, p. 275; F. Rački, “Katarina Zrinjska, rođjena Frankopanka, pobožna spisateljica hrvatska” [1867], *Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti* 33, 1969, p. 33; J. Šidak, “Iz književne djelatnosti Petra i Katarina Zrinskih,” *Kaj* 4, no. 9, 1971, pp. 65–76, Katarina’s cited preface, pp. 75–76.

322. J. Matasović, *Iz galantnog stoljeća: Kulturnohistorijski fragmenti I*, Zagreb, 1921, p. 53.

323. J. Matasović, *Iz galantnog stoljeća*, pp. 56–57.

324. J. Matasović, *Iz galantnog stoljeća*, pp. 57–58.

325. D. Roksandić, *Vojna Hrvatska II*, p. 150.

and the diet as their body, and the mass of peasants as lesser beings who should be subjected to them as serfs.

The End of Venetian Dalmacia (1797)

After the French took Venice in 1797 they established a revolutionary regime in that city. The local establishment in Dalmatia became very concerned, the nobles for their hereditary privileges and the Church over the freethinking of the new French order. Though a few Dalmatians were sympathetic to the new ideas, most under the influence of tradition and the establishment were strongly opposed to them. They looked to the Catholic Habsburgs to move in and take over Dalmatia. Various proclamations were read out or posted during this period. Invariably they were addressed to "Dalmatians" (*Dalmatini*, *slavni narode dalmatinski*, etc.). But in the context, for the issue concerned the people of Dalmatia, such a geographical label was appropriate. The clergy, both Catholic (particularly the Franciscans) and Orthodox, got together and produced various joint requests for Austrian intervention that were sent to Vienna. The same policy was being pursued by the clergy of both faiths within the Habsburg empire, by Bishop Maximillian Vrhovac of Zagreb, Bishop Ježić of Senj, and by the Orthodox Metropolitan of Sremski Karlovac, Stefan Stracimirović. The Habsburgs soon obliged, occupying Dalmatia in 1797.

In the course of these requests and then following the occupation itself, there was much talk about the place Dalmatia would have under the Habsburgs. Many hoped for a formal annexation, but, if that happened, what constitutional status would this annexed territory have? The most active political current sought a union of Dalmatia with Croatia, and, since Croatia was officially a kingdom under the ruler in his person as King of Hungary, supporters of this union sought incorporation in this way. The arguments used were entirely historical, focused on the role in and rights to Dalmatia which the King of Hungary had had in the Middle Ages. No text from the time, that I am aware of, tried to justify the union of Dalmatia with Croatia by the "ethnic" argument, that the two territories should be united because the inhabitants of the two regions were a single people or because they spoke the same language. According to Katalinić, a contemporary author cited by Grga Novak, many Dalmatians did not even perceive this commonality. Describing the arrival of the Austrians, among whom many soldiers (and even the commander, Baron Matija Rukavina) spoke what we now call Serbo-Croatian, Katalinić writes, "There was great amazement when they [the locals] heard [these troops] speaking the same language that they did, and when they found that many [of the troops] had the same last-names as the Dalmatians. Under the Venetian government the population of the coast knew more about Africans and Americans than they did about the Ličani, even though the inhabitants of Zadar and Knin bordered on Lika. They [the Dalmatians] simply had had no

relations [with the people of the interior] and hardly knew that there were Slavs beyond the borders of Venice's territory."³²⁶

The Habsburgs obtained Dalmatia permanently (i.e., until 1918) in 1815 after the defeat of Napoleon. Needless to say, they did not then place Dalmatia and Croatia under a common administration; and when the monarchy was reincorporated into a dual one in 1867, Hungary was to have responsibility for Croatia and Austria for Dalmatia.

THE TERMINOLOGY USED BY THE CHURCH HIERARCHY AND RELIGIOUS ORDERS

It is somewhat artificial to separate the international Church from the locals and also from the various individual clerics whom we have discussed already in this chapter; for, after all, the locals interacted with the wider Church and presumably influenced its vocabulary. In addition some of the bishops and missionaries at work in the Balkans were natives of Dalmatia. Moreover, many of the writers, whom we have discussed previously in this chapter were clerics, including Franciscans. But what I am trying to do, though it is impossible to be wholly consistent, is to separate figures who represent the official Church from private actors. Of course, some of the private actors produced religious texts, like Alberti. However, since we focused on his preface which dealt with non-religious concerns (including language issues), it seemed fitting to deal with him as a private person. However, in this section we shall focus on others such as Bartol Kašić and Matija Karaman, who dealt with similar issues, but they were doing so, unlike Alberti, in an official Church capacity, though at times they too demonstrated idiosyncratic views.

Michael Priuli's Visitation of Dalmatia in 1603

A good place to start might be with the official Church Visitation in 1603 by Bishop Michael Priuli (Priola) of Vicenza that took in all of Venetian Dalmatia, including the islands. Except for a reference to the Franciscan province of Slavonia and a mention by the Paduan who was Bishop of Rab about preaching in Latin and Slavic (*schiaivano*), all the references to language and people, in the twenty-five-page collection of citations from the more than one-thousand-page Visitation text excerpted by K. Horvat, use the term "Illyrian." (Horvat makes no claim to be complete in his references to language from this long document; and, as we shall see, the full Visitation text contains many more than the two references to things being "Slavic," but nothing I have

326. G. Novak, "Pokret za sjedinjenje Dalmacije s Hrvatskom (1797-1814)," *Rad (JAZU)* 269, 1940, pp. 1-61. For a typical proclamation, see pp. 14-15; for Katalinić's observations, see p. 32.

come across in any study of it has any citation to anything being in “Croatian.”) Horvat’s excerpts provide well over one hundred mentions of “Illyrian” for the language of the Mass and Sacred or Divine Offices, for the language of Missals and Breviaries, and as a descriptive term for priests who carried out services in that language. On occasion the Visitation refers to Old Illyrian (*Illyricum antiquum*) which I would take to mean Church Slavonic, but Horvat, who, of course, has seen the full one-thousand-page manuscript text and thus has a much better sense of context, claims that “Old Illyrian” texts should be understood to refer to those done prior to the Council of Trent. Since he does not document his claim, I throw out both possibilities, but Horvat may well have been certain of what he says.

Horvat breaks down his excerpts diocese by diocese, and he has numerous references to “Illyrian,” at least one (and usually more) for each place noted within a diocese, which often include several (or most) of the previously mentioned language-connected items for the given place for the dioceses of Hvar (including the island of Brač), Zadar (including fifty to fifty-four—depending on whether similar names refer to same or different places—named villages under Zadar, that include the island of Pag), Šibenik (including at least eight villages under that bishop), Split (with at least five places—including Omiš), followed by numerous references to “Illyrian” language—items from summaries (clearly not complete) from the bishoprics of Nin and Rab.³²⁷

We shall return to Priuli’s text in a moment, but it is worth noting a second memorandum about Dalmatia sent to the Vatican the following year. Cardinal Alexander di Montalto, in a “Memorial,” discussed how important it was that bishops of the Dalmatian towns know the local language in order to carry out their pastoral duties and instruct their flocks. Moreover, they needed to know the language to be aware of and then to respond, by proper teaching in an understandable language, to the threats to their flocks from the Protestants (who used the vernacular), Orthodox (who used Slavonic), and Muslims. Throughout the memorandum the cardinal calls the people of Dalmatia and their language “Illyrian.”³²⁸

Zadar

Priuli visited Zadar, Venice’s capital for Dalmatia. He refers to the local language as “Slavic,” “Illyrian,” and occasionally “Dalmatian,” but never as “Croatian.” Other than in the cathedral, preaching is in Slavic; at the convent of St. Mary’s during meals someone reads prayers in Slavic; in the convent of St. Katherine’s at meals the Benedictine rules or saints’ lives are read in Slavic;

327. K. Horvat, “Glagoljaši u Dalmaciji početkom 17 vijeka t.j. godine 1602–1603,” *Starine (JAZU)* 33, 1911, pp. 537–64.

328. M. Vanino (ed.), “Dalmacija zahtijeva biskupe vješte hrvatskom jeziku (1604),” *Croatia sacra* 3, 1933, pp. 89–96.

the visitors had a Capuchin with them because he understood Illyrian well; the nuns at St. Nicholas', following the orders of Clement VIII, had had their rule translated into spoken Dalmatian (in vulgare dalmaticum idioma).³²⁹ Since it was the same language being referred to—popular speech—it seems that the variety of terms for it are explained by the fact that the Visitor's recorder took down the terms used by those questioned. If so, we see that all three terms—"Illyrian," "Slav," and "Dalmatian"—were in use at the time, probably with different individuals having different preferences.

In the 1620s the Archbishop of Zadar was seeking priests who knew Illyrian (la lingua illirica grammaticalmente).³³⁰ That was still a concern in the following century. In 1722 Archbishop Vicko (Vinko) Zmajević of Zadar told Rome that he who does not know Illyrian will always be a weak pastor, for he will not understand or be understood. He also pointed out that the Serb "heresy" (Orthodoxy) spread among ignorant villagers who knew only Illyrian. Shortly thereafter, we find him complaining about a newly appointed Bishop of Šibenik. He was a good man, but not a good choice, because he did not know Illyrian.³³¹ In 1723 we find references in documents from the Zadar Church about explaining the Gospels and Epistles in Illyrian to new converts.³³² Ostojić cites a 1741 manuscript entitled "Del Clero Illirico" from the papers of Archbishop Maupaso of Zadar about the Monastery of Saints Cosmas and Damian on Pašman having Benedictine monks of the Illyrian language and services in lingua Illirica.³³³ Ostojić also found these monks being referred to as "Cassino monks" (i.e., Benedictines à la Monte Cassino) of the Illyrian nation (monaci cassinesi della nazione Illirica).³³⁴ He implies, but does not directly state, that this phrase comes from the previously mentioned 1741 text. A second anonymous text, entitled "About the Illyrian Clergy and Slavic Schismatics," given the same date of 1741, has been published partially by Jelić and summarized in greater detail by A. Milošević. Despite the coincidence of date and title, it seems to be a different work from Ostojić's; the sections that

329. A.-R. Filipi, "Hrvatski govorni jezik u Zadru prema dokumentu iz godine 1603," in *Zadar zbornik*, Zagreb, 1964, pp. 432, 436–37.

330. J. Radonić, *Rimska kurija i južnoslovenske zemlje od XVI do XIX veka*, Beograd (SAN, Posebna izdanja 155, Odeljenje društvenij nauka n.s. 3), 1950, p. 28.

331. M. Bogović, *Katolička crkva i pravoslavlje u Dalmaciji za mletačke vladavine*, 2nd ed. 1993, p. 132.

332. M. Bogović, *Katolička crkva*, pp. 101, 104.

333. I. Ostojić, "Benediktinci glagoljaši," *Slovo* 9–10, 1960, p. 26, fn. 46; also Ostojić, *Benediktinci II*, p. 226, fn. 21.

334. I. Ostojić, *Benediktinci II*, p. 226. Ostojić's study on the Benedictines contains other relevant information, but unfortunately provides no dates. He informs us that a monastic manuscript states that the chaplain of Zadar's monastery of St. Mary's was obliged to read the Gospels and Epistles in the Illyrian language (I, p. 133); that a monastery at Tkon on the isle of Pašman was known as the Glagolitic abbey or the abbey of the Illyrian rite (abbazia di rito Illirico) (I, p. 160); and that official Church visitors allowed monks (place/region unspecified) to read the Church Fathers in Illyrian-language translations (I, p. 163, including fn. 7 on that page).

Jelić and Milošević provide have no mention of Pašman or Benedictines, but do have association with Zadar, insofar as the text mentions that town's bishop, Vicko Zmajević. This text also utilizes the term "Illyrian" for clergy and language. Illyrian, it says, is spoken in Bohemia, Poland, Moscow, and so on. Spoken Illyrian (*la lingua illirica parlante*) is related to Church Slavonic (*letterale slava*) as a son is to his mother, and Polish, Bohemian, and Muscovite are approximately its (the son's) sisters. The people of the confines of Illyria are in part Catholics, in part schismatics (Orthodox), and in part Turks, with a few Lutherans and Calvinists (thrown in for good measure). The Illyrian clergy are divided between Catholics and schismatics. The schismatic clergy celebrate the liturgy in literary Slavonic (in *lingua slava o letterale*), as in Moscow and Ruthenia. The Catholic clergy all follow the Roman rite and celebrate the Divine Offices, some in Latin, and the others in Illyrian, having their Roman Breviaries and Missals translated into literary Illyrian (in *lingua letterale illirica*) (in other words, into Church Slavonic and not the vernacular). Those Illyrians who celebrate the Roman Mass in Illyrian are distinguished by the name/title of Illyrian clergy (*Clero Illirico*). Several chapters later our anonymous author speaks of the college at Loreto and the new (i.e., proposed) *Seminarium Illirico* in Zadar which are for the Illyrian people/nation (*nazione Illirica*). The new seminary for that nation and for the Illyrian clergy, unlike Loreto where the classes are in Latin, will study in Illyrian.³³⁵ This text is interesting for its pan-Slavic connotations for the term Illyrian language, using it as many others do "Slavic." Thus, the Illyrian *language* is broken down into national sub-categories, like Polish. However, the Illyrian *people* seem to be conceived more narrowly as just the South Slavs, for the schismatics among them do not include the Muscovites and Ruthenians, but are "like" them.

In 1745, after the death of Vicko Zmajević, Matija Karaman succeeded him as Archbishop of Zadar. One of the reasons the papacy chose him was his "perfect knowledge of the Illyrian language."³³⁶ Karaman wrote a text on the Slavic-rite clergy, bearing the same title that we have just noted, "Del Clero Illirico." Japundžić dates this text to 1742, Bogović to 1746. Using the term "Illyrian" for language, clergy, parishes, and so forth, the work was organized into six parts: the numbers of Illyrian clerics, noting that they were found in greater or lesser numbers in all the dioceses of Dalmatia, except for Dubrovnik, Kotor, and Korčula, and describing, diocese by diocese, their position or role in each; the education of Illyrian clergy; their food and clothing; their pastoral role, with comments on their discipline and economic situation; their communal life and brotherhoods concerned with devotion; and the im-

335. For excerpts from what is probably a second anonymous text of the same date and title, see L. Jelić, *Fontes historici*, *Fontes . . . XVIII saeculi*, pp. 25–27 and A. Milošević, "Važan rukopis o Ilirskom kleru (del 'Clero Illirico')," *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 40–42, 1919–22, pp. 113–24, with citations in my text from pp. 114 and 124 respectively.

336. M. Bogović, *Katolička crkva*, p. 113.

portance or necessity of having Illyrian clergy.³³⁷ But though he supported “Slavonic,” Karaman wanted to keep it in its proper place. In 1750, he issued an order to prevent the arbitrary use of “Illyrian” songs in Zadar’s churches.³³⁸ The use of the word “Illyrian” in connection with church songs seems to have been normal. Strgačić cites two archival references, both in connection with Great Thursday in Zadar’s cathedral, to the singing of “Illyrian hymns” and also to the singing of an Illyrian Gospel reading before the ritual foot-washing. The Zadar choirmaster, Šime Vitasović, had prepared a song-collection of such passages in the spoken language, which in manuscript form was entitled an “Illyrian Gospel” (*Evangelium Illyricum*).³³⁹

In 1777 a certain Nicollo Alberto Piazza from Vicenza published Bishop Vicko Zmajević’s letter to his brother Matija, who was serving as an admiral in the Russian navy. In his preface Piazza referred to the late Archbishop of Zadar as one who had and who always would honor the Illyrian nationality.³⁴⁰

Isle of Krk

We have considerable documentation from the island of Krk which refers to Illyrian language, characters/letters, services, dioceses, and priests.³⁴¹ The island

337. M. Bogović, *Katolička crkva*, p. 116, fn. 15; Japundžić provides a summary (with numerous direct quotations) of the text. (M. Japundžić, *Matteo Karaman (1700–1771) Arcivescovo di Zara*, Rome, 1961, pp. 44–48.)

338. A. Strgačić, “Zadranin Šime Vitasović,” *Radovi* (Institut [JAZU] u Zadru) 2, 1955, p. 66.

339. A. Strgačić, “Zadranin Šime Vitasović,” pp. 52, 55.

340. M. Novak, “Prilog poznavanju rada i djelovanja Vicka Zmajovića—Perastanina,” *Radovi* (Institut [JAZU] u Zadru) 3, 1957, p. 320.

341. M. Polonijo, “Prvi uzmak glagoljice u krčkoj biskupiji,” *Radovi Staroslavenskog instituta* 2, 1955, p. 193; M. Bolonić, *Otok Krk*, provides in the course of his text countless references of this nature. Bolonić’s work provides a fine response to a recent language clash I had. At present, as some Croats are feeling their oats about having a separate Croat language from that of the Serbs, politically correct word lists are being supplied so that Croats can purge their speech of any Serbian words. In 1995 I asked a clerk at the front desk of a Zagreb hotel for some “hartija” (paper) to leave a message for someone. The nationalist clerk, following one of the recently published lists of what are and are not Croatian words, replied that he did not have “hartija” but did have “papir.” I was not aiming to use Croat words—and after all “papir” is no more a word of Slavic/Croat origin than “hartija”—since I believe there is one common Croat-Serb (and Bosnian too) language, and, thus, one should use as broad a variety of words as possible to keep enriched what was—and I hope will continue to be—one of Europe’s most expressive languages. However, it was heartening to see in Bolonić’s fine study that “hartija/harta” has an ancient Croat heritage and was the normal word for paper on the island of Krk: e.g., in a 1570 inventory of a church in Vrbnik, eight Breviaries “na živoi harti” and twelve Missals “na živu harte” turned up; and in a seventeenth-century codex a copier, pop Grgur Zasković, transcribed his text “z harti bumbazina na hartu bergamine.” (See M. Bolonić, *Otok Krk*, pp. 225, 228.) M. Sladović’s *Povjesti biskupijah senjske* is equally helpful in this regard. He cites a copy of a 1426 grant from the Bishop of Pula on “žive harte” (p. 193) and an undated reference in a Latin-language register of a church in the Krbava diocese to an old and large Breviary on parchment or (as called) “in vulgar harti” (p. 190). He also cites a grant from Nikola (Miklous) Zrinski, a towering figure in the Croatian pantheon, from 1612 to two members of the Starčić family written on “harti” (p. 88). We also

also had a school, already existing in 1655, to teach clergy of the Illyrian language from the island (la scuola delli chierici dell' idioma Illirico di quell'

find that in 1574 in carrying out a land survey in Vinodol that a dijak copied an earlier text from "old paper (hartije)." (See E. Laszowski, *Gorski kotar i Vinodol*, pp. 137–38.) And Kombol cites the poet Matejas Antun Kuhačević (1697–1772) from Rijeka, who in one poem mentions putting pen to paper (pero na hartu postavi). (M. Kombol, *Povijest hrvatske knji evnosti*, p. 361.) The sheer number of these mentions shows the absurdity of running the word "hartija" out of the Croatian language. CoArming that "hartija" has in fact been expunged from "Croatian" is its absence (with "papir" provided as the only Croatian word for "paper") in the most recent edition (20th, 1993) of Croatia's most prestigious English-Croatian dictionary, *Englesko-Hrvatski rječnik*, editor in chief Rudolf Filipović, Zagreb, 1993, p. 771.

Similar lists could be drawn up for Croatian usage of any number—probably even a majority—of other so-called non-Croatian words condemned by the language police. I shall note only one further example. More significant than "paper" is how one says "bread" in recent and present-day Croatia, and it is a distinguishing mark between so-called "Croatian" and so-called "Serbian," with the Croats saying "kruh" and the Serbs "hleb." In fact, at times Croatian waiters (less often waitresses) and bakery clerks pretend not to know what is sought if one asks for "hleb." This distinction may also not hold up. An early-modern scholar, Johannes Baron Valvazor, from what is now Slovenia, published a work about Kranj in 1689. In a discussion on linguistic variation among the Slavic dialects, he notes that the "Dalmatians" say "kruh" as do the "Slavonians," while the "Croats" say "hlib." (Cited by I. Pervol'f, *Slavjane II*, p. 249.) Valvazor was not unique; Pervol'f later quotes an earlier example. In 1584 Adam Bohorovič in Wittenberg published the first grammar of what we would now call "Slovenian." In a discussion on writing Slavic, Bohorovič cites the phrase "daily bread" from "The Lord's Prayer," in what he calls "Croatian Cyrillic" taken from a work of "Croatian Protestants." The Croatian Cyrillic had "hlib vsakdani." Bohorovič then quotes a second text, this one in "Croatian Glagolitic," with the same result (though variant spelling), "hleb vsagdanni." (I. Pervol'f, *Slavjane II*, p. 296.)

It might be noted here that such language games are not just playful nonsense. *Index on Censorship* (vol. 24, no. 5, September–October 1995, p. 175) reports: "A law due to come into force in September [1995] is intended to rid the Croatian language of foreign words. A new State Office for the Croat Language will inspect school textbooks and supervise the use of language in books, the press, media, theatre, and film. Proposed penalties for violating linguistic rules include fines and imprisonment up to six months."

R. Jenkins' comments on nationalist reactions in the British Isles ("Cards of Identity," *New York Review*, 23 April 1998, p. 51) are appropriate here for Croatia: "Admittedly, there is always likely to be an edginess in a nation whose reason for existing is not to be part of another nation (Pakistan suffers from a similar uneasiness): there seems a deep impulse to think ill of one's larger neighbor, and that sore spot may get further inflamed if the larger neighbor tries to be understanding. . . . The underlying reality is, nonetheless, that Irish culture is essentially a regional form of a diverse and plural British culture. . . . Ireland is indeed a different country from England, but so are Scotland and Wales, and most of what is shared between two or three of these countries is shared by all four." Jenkins provides an analogy for this sort of nationalist expression: "True love, after all, seeks to see the beloved object as it is: the kind of nationalism which shouts loudly to drown out the truth is really lust of country rather than love of it." And such oratory backfires, for, as he notes (p. 52): "One simple argument against heritage myths is that in the long term they do not work; you cannot fool people all of the time; you have to shout ever louder to obscure the voice of doubt, and the angeriness of much nationalist rhetoric is the angeriness of fear." Jenkins then remarks that many of the points that nationalists get so worked up over have no true bearing on their cause. Whether the Croats are a separate people or not is not going to be demonstrated or refuted by the inclusion or exclusion of words like "hartija." And the tragedy of the "'bad heritage' of chauvinistic self-assertion is that it foments anxiety and insecurity [over issues] for which there is no need or justification." "Ireland's story, like that of all ancient nations, is complex, and its people should

isola). The school will be discussed later, but we might note here that in 1732 the Venetian authorities told the local bishop that the Illyrian school (*scuola d'Ilirico*) would be allowed to knock two holes in the southern city wall for windows.³⁴² In 1627 we find the Bishop of Krk calling on the Vatican to print Catechisms and related materials in the Illyrian language and characters of St. Jerome.³⁴³ In 1700 another Krk bishop informed the Vatican that he was continuing to translate into Illyrian theological and pastoral works for the Illyrian priests.³⁴⁴ Shortly thereafter the local bishop, Peter Anton Zuccheri (1739–78), was accused of trying to put an end to the Illyrian language in the island's churches. What the truth of the charge was is unknown, but, under attack, he denied ever having sought this, for he said it would be impossible to do that in a place where the native language was Illyrian (in un luogo dove il nativo idioma e Ilirico).³⁴⁵ In 1786 we hear of a church celebration on the island in which songs were sung in Latin and then repeated in Illyrian.³⁴⁶ Amidst all the general references to Illyrian from the island, we should note one exception, a priest who carried out a Christening in 1611 was referred to as Matthew the Croat (*Mattio Crovato*).³⁴⁷ We shall return to Krk and Illyrian matters in our discussion of schools and the activities of the Third Order Franciscans, whom we turn to now.

Third Order Franciscans (Including Zadar and Krk)

Documents about the Slavic language/Glagolitic alphabet monasteries of the Franciscans of the Third Order in Istria, northern Dalmatia, and the islands

not be discouraged from the enjoyment of that complexity." We could substitute "Croatia" for Ireland here, and, as we have seen, the people of Croatia have had every bit as complex and fascinating a history as Ireland. That history is not a narrow one-directional tunnel from Crobato through the myths about Tomislav to Tudjman, but a tapestry of many peoples and influences interacting, and those parts of the story that do not support a so-called "millenium of struggle" to realize some Hegelian vision are some of the most interesting aspects of that history. It is tragic and outrageous to expunge these figures and their activities from Croatia's complex and colorful Duma-esque history—with its numerous plots and subplots running off in all directions by land and by sea—to sustain a narrow one-dimensional story that suits the purposes of a handful of unimaginative leaders trying to control an ephemeral moment in the 1990s of a history that has been and will again be multi-dimensional and multi-directional.

342. M. Polonijo, "Prvi uzmak," p. 196.

343. M. Bolonić, *Otok Krk*, p. 29.

344. M. Bolonić, *Otok Krk*, p. 29.

345. M. Polonijo, "Prvi uzmak," p. 202.

346. M. Polonijo, "Prvi uzmak," p. 196.

347. M. Polonijo, "Prvi uzmak," p. 199. We also might note a second reference which is geographical. A Church notarial book recorded the death in 1628 of Priest Vicenc Pilarić in the Croatian land (*na zemli harvackoj*). (M. Bolonić, *Otok Krk*, p. 274.) Since Pilarić served on Krk, at the time under Venice, should "Croatian land" reflect the notary's view of some particular territory on Krk, then this would be a significant passage, and might have ethnic significance. However, we do not know where the priest met his death; and it seems more likely that he died on the mainland opposite Krk, which would be historical Croatia.

in the Gulf of Kvarner, all territory under Venice, whether prepared by Venetian inspectors, Dalmatian bishops, local Franciscans or responses by Venetian officials and even by the pope, used the terms “Slavic” and “Illyrian” interchangeably. I turn first to the documents published by S. Ivančić. An official 1603 Church Visitation refers to the Third Order Franciscans as being Illyrians, having Illyrian-language Missals and Breviaries, and following the customs of Illyrica.³⁴⁸ In 1709 a Bishop of Koper also refers to the Illyrian language and Illyrian priests, and a canon from Nin in 1770 mentions the Illyrian language and Illyrian religious.³⁴⁹ A Zadar bishop in 1753 refers to the Latin rite in Illyrian language.³⁵⁰ An Istrian bishop in 1768 makes mention of the Illyrian language being used in the churches and for sacramental confessions for the Slavic inhabitants, and especially for the Illyrian-language soldiers.³⁵¹ Venetian documents refer to the Illyrian language, for example, in 1670, 1722, 1783, and in 1787 to the Illyrian or Slavic language in the ecclesiastical services;³⁵² they also spoke in 1608 and 1609 of printing Church texts in Slavic (*Schiava, schiavona*)³⁵³ and in 1774 of the need for the Illyrian language, because the whole population of the island of Krk is Slavic.³⁵⁴ A series of documents from 1781–82 (in praise of the Franciscans’ work and collected by a Franciscan), written by Venetians on the ground about the territory they administered, spoke of daily Offices in Slavic in some cases and in Illyrian in others, of people being Illyrian by nation and language, and in other texts of all being of the Slavic nation (*Slavonica nazione*), of the Illyrian people of Illyria, and of the language used by all the people of the Krajina being Slavic, and on one occasion of the populace being of the Dalmatian nation (*nazione dalmatina*).³⁵⁵ An official from the Vatican in 1609 wrote about printing Illyrian Missals and Breviaries and about translating the Catechism into Illyrian; and another Vatican official in 1789 wrote of the Illyrian language, of an Illyrian printing press, and of the Sacred Offices being in the literary Illyrian language in the characters of St. Jerome.³⁵⁶ The Franciscans themselves spoke in 1600 of the Mass being in the Illyrian language and, for example, made other references to the Illyrian language in 1736 and 1768, and to John VIII giving them the privilege of serving the daily ecclesiastical offices in their mother tongue of Slavonic letters (*madre lingua slavonica litterale*) and in the language of the Slavic community. And in 1781 the daily Offices were said to be in the Illyrian language or Slavonic and the text referred to the Il-

348. S. Ivančić, *Povjesne crte II* (prilozi), pp. 96–97, 100–101.

349. S. Ivančić, *Povjesne crte II* (prilozi), pp. 176–77.

350. S. Ivančić, *Povjesne crte II* (prilozi), p. 176.

351. S. Ivančić, *Povjesne crte II* (prilozi), p. 178.

352. S. Ivančić, *Povjesne crte II* (prilozi), pp. 110, 112, 130–31.

353. S. Ivančić, *Povjesne crte II* (prilozi), pp. 168–69.

354. S. Ivančić, *Povjesne crte II* (prilozi), p. 180.

355. S. Ivančić, *Povjesne crte II* (prilozi), pp. 180–91.

356. S. Ivančić, *Povjesne crte II* (prilozi), pp. 135–36, 170.

lyrian nation/people (dell'Ilirica Nazione). The following year, in 1782, a text referred to the inhabitants of the island (of Krk) as people of the Illyrian nation (abitata da popolo dell'Ilirica Nazione), to the inhabitants of the island as being all Illyrians, the necessity of Illyrian schools, and the mother tongue being the Slavic (Slavona) language.³⁵⁷ In 1792 a Third Order Franciscan curator referred to a particular monastery as laboring in the vineyard of the Lord for the Illyrian nation (Nazionali Ilirici) and also spoke of our Illyrian language.³⁵⁸ An Italian bishop spoke in 1607 of printing Missals and Breviaries in Illyrian and in 1726 another Italian bishop spoke of chanting the Mass in Illyrian.³⁵⁹

Notably these texts about or by the Third Order Franciscans almost never employ the word "Croatian." Ivančić's document collection uses the word "Croat"—I exclude mention of a fra Fabian from Croatia—prior to 1800 only once. That reference appears in a rather confused passage from a text written in Zadar in 1670. It refers to a certain priest and religious figure (Rev. Padre e Religiosi) named Misael Carzanin of Krk who served in a Greek (*sic*) church of the Old Illyrian or Croatian language (dell'Idioma Ilirico vecchio ovvero Crovato).³⁶⁰ So, even in this case, "Croatian" appears only as an option, and a second one at that. Moreover and oddly, it seems that "Croatian" was being used here to denote Church Slavonic. The exceptions from Štefanić's texts, excluding the name of the Franciscan province itself, *harvaska provincija*—derived from the territory—³⁶¹are a 1750 monastery inventory reference to Croatian Missals (*misali ervacki*) and a 1769 one to a Croatian (*arvacki*) Breviary and two references by Venetian officials to Croatians. The first of these is by the Potestat of Koper, Matthew Dandolo, in July 1788 who refers to these Franciscans serving the spiritual needs of the Croatians in Slavic which the monks exclusively use, and the other mention comes from two judicial investigators who that same year reported that the *glagoljaši* of the Third Order were much appreciated by the Koper Croatians as well as by the people's militia.³⁶²

357. S. Ivančić, *Povjesne crte II* (prilozi), pp. 116, 120, 122, 124, 126–27, 165, 193.

358. S. Ivančić, *Povjesne crte II* (prilozi), pp. 191–92.

359. S. Ivančić, *Povjesne crte II* (prilozi), pp. 114, 166–67.

360. S. Ivančić, *Povjesne crte II* (prilozi), p. 109. Ivančić discusses the remark in his actual monograph that precedes II, prilozi. See his text, p. 49, fn. 2.

361. V. Štefanić, "Glagoljaši u Kopru," p. 210. The province is referred to, depending on time or maybe who was describing it or speaking for it, also as Slavic (*Schiava*), Illyrian (or of the Illyrian nation), Dalmatian-Istrian, Croatian-Dalmatian, and Dalmatian. (See S. Ivančić, *Povjesne crte*, pp. 142–43 and II [prilozi], pp. 66, 125, 173.)

362. V. Štefanić, "Glagoljaši u Kopru," pp. 233, 235. For the actual text of the inventory with Croatian Missal reference, see p. 254. The same 1750 inventory also has two tables of accustomed shape, one Croatian (*harvatski*) and one Italian, see p. 252. Whether this means some sort of Croatian-style table or simply one from territorial Croatia is unknown. The cited Breviary comes from an inventory from February 1769 from St. Gregory's Church in Koper which mentions two Breviaries, one in Croatian (*arvacki*) and one in Latin (p. 292).

Jelić also provides a citation from one other Third Order Franciscan document that shows

To document further the regularly used "Illyrian/Slavic" terminology, I cite the correspondence summarized by V. Štefanić about preserving the Slavic privileges of the local monasteries which came under fire in the late-eighteenth century. In April 1768 the Franciscan monastery of Koper, reporting on its numbers and activities, stated that it taught young men the Illyrian language, free of charge. By the privileges granted by Pope John VIII, the monks carried out divine services every day in the literary Slavic language, (Church Slavonic) written in (St.) Jerome's letters. (By St. Jerome's letters is meant Glagolitic, which most of those employing it believed incorrectly St. Jerome had created.) They regularly used the Slavic language to preach the Christian faith and in schools for young people, which they held in their monasteries; that language was very useful since Dalmatians understood only that language. In the monasteries of their province they took in only Illyrian youths. In July 1774 the Bishop of Zadar reported on one of these Third Order Franciscan monasteries, that of Zadar: these monks were the only ones who preserved their mother tongue, the only who carried out the Mass in their pure mother Illyrian tongue and who strictly followed the rules of Glagolitic language (!) (e celebrano la S. Messa nella pura Madre lingua Illyrica, osservando rigorosamente li precetti del linguaggio Glagolitico). In August of that same year the Bishop of Rab reported that these Franciscans in their church on Rab held daily Divine Services in Slavic, especially for the benefit of the peasants who knew no language other than their native Slavic (la slava nativa).

At the same time the Bishop of Krk reported on the two Franciscan monasteries on his island; they served the liturgy in Illyrian because the population of the island was Slavic. Also in that same year the Zadar city commune praised these Third Order Franciscans for, among various things, their public good works (e.g., their leporisorium) and their holding services in the Illyrian literary language (in Iddioma Illirico litterale). In 1781 we find Father Antun Juranić, the Provincial for the Order, writing to defend the monasteries' privileges against attempts to abrogate them, writing to the Procurator in Venice that in their churches they carry out the Divine Offices in (their) mother Illyrian or Slavic tongue (Ecclesiastica officatura nella vera madre lingua Illirica o sia Slavonica Litterale). They were the only priests who taught the literary Illyrian language and thus were of the greatest value to the general public because of their use of the popular language. In another letter from 1782, Juranić refers to the populace as being of the Illyrian nation (da popolo dell' Illirica Nazione) and to the monks employing in Church an Illyrian liturgy and carrying out all (Church) practices in the mother tongue of Slavic (madre Lingua Slavona).

the province's concern in 1717 about one of its members residing on the island of Cres, fra Anton Kavranic, who did not know how to officiate in "Croatian" (harvaski). So, it was decreed that if he was to remain in the given province, he would not be licensed to read from the Epistles until he learned proper Croatian, nor from the Gospels until he was able to officiate in Croatian. (L. Jelić, *Fontes historici*, Fontes . . . XVIII saeculi, p. 12.)

One notes in all this material an emerging ethnic concept—in the Yugoslav scholarly sense, a feeling of a community bound together by language and label. These references to a “nation” are frequent in these just-cited documents from the seventeenth and especially eighteenth century by and about the Third Order Franciscans. (And in my text I have cited only a small sampling of these references; there are many more of the same sort that I have left unmentioned.) The nation in these documents is usually called “Illyrian,” but it can also be “Slavic.” On one occasion it is defined as “Dalmatian.” But not once is it called “Croat.”

The Franciscan Provincial received support from an official of the doge named Paolo Renier, who in December 1782 recognized the significance for the doge of serving the people in their own native Illyrian language (*dell' Idioma illirico loro naturale*). A second official agreed and said he would try to persuade the doge of the importance of the literary Illyrian language (*della lingua litterale illirica*). As a result in 1787 the Venetian senate recognized the service of these Franciscans, because they used in the Church services the Illyrian or Slavic language (*della Lingua Illirica ossia Slava*). Finally in 1789 we find these Franciscans writing the pope to appoint their provincial, Antun Juranić, as the censor for printed Illyrian books and advisor on matters of the Illyrian language. The Deputy Head of the Order concurred, praising Juranić because one of his greatest cares had been correcting and consolidating the literary Illyrian language in Jerome's letters (*Une delle maggiori sue cure e stata la Correzione e lo Stabilimento della lingua Illirica*). The pope, Pius VI, was persuaded and recognized that Juranić's knowledge of Illyrian Slavic (*ob tuam summam in lingua illirica Sclavonica*) had greatly benefited the Catholic faith.³⁶³

363. V. Štefanić, “Glagoljaši u Kopru,” pp. 213–17 and for the Italian, notes 29–41 on pp. 323–24. Subsequently, Štefanić presents many further examples of either “Slavic” or “Illyrian” as the language name in this area. In 1528 monastery officials empowered their provincial in Slavic language (in *lingua Sclavonica*) to act in a land sale (p. 224). A cardinal in 1594 wrote the Bishop of Koper to order the Slavic priests of the area to cease using the Illyrian language to celebrate the Mass, and Bishop Baltasar Corniani (whose see is not given) made a similar demand in 1656 (p. 328, fn. 68). A will from Koper of 1606 in an inventory from no earlier than 1775 has an explanatory note on the back from an unknown date, saying “according to a note in Illyrian . . .” (p. 272). A bishop of Koper, writing in 1633, speaks of the Koper monasteries being of the Illyrian language (p. 234). A second bishop in 1661 reports that the Franciscans used Illyrian language for their services (p. 234). Bishop Paul Naldini of Koper in a report to Rome in 1696 speaks of the Third Order Franciscans reciting in town Divine Services in Slavic (*Sclavinico idiomate*) and in 1709 he has them celebrating services around Istria in the Illyrian language (p. 234). In a book published in 1700, Bishop Naldini speaks of the Third Order monks as follows: “[I]f they are not Dalmatians by birth, they must be able to work in Slavic to serve the Slavic population who live in a town or its environs, especially the Dalmatian militiamen” (p. 233). Later in this text Naldini reports; “The Third Order Franciscans in their churches recite the Divine Offices and Mass in Illyrian. And as in all Istria and in this bishopric [Koper] are used Latin and Illyrian languages for the convenience of its two peoples, the Italians and the Illyrians.” And a bit later he adds, “Lucky are the churches of Koper, where the service of God reaches believers of different nationalities. As the Italians have their priests, who give them the Sacraments and serve

It is interesting to note in Ivančić's documentary collection that the vocabulary does not change in the nineteenth century, and the documents (including those by French authorities in the brief French Illyrian interlude) by and about the Third Order Franciscans continue through the first half of that century to speak of: the Illyrian cult, the Illyrian (and occasionally the Glagolitic-Illyrian) language, instruction in the Catechism in Illyrian language, spiritual assistance especially for the Illyrians, officiating in the Illyrian language for the Morlachs, edifying the Illyrian nation, Illyrian fathers of the Third Order, and as late as 1862 a reference by the administration of the island of Lošinj to the services of the Third Order that included use of Glagolitic, the language of the Slavic nation (*Slavo nazionale*).³⁶⁴ The earliest reference to "Croatian" (excluding the one exception from 1670 noted above) is a reference to Croatian language (*lingua croatica*) from a Third Order assembly in 1865.³⁶⁵

Hvar and Brač

Andre Jutronic has published a mass of data from Official Church Visitations to the islands of Hvar and Brač between 1559 and 1774. He cites from many of their reports, and his citations contain many references to Illyrian-language priests, books, Missals, and services; and two citations to priests using Slavic (*lingua schiava* and *ščavetom*). He provides no citations from texts which employ the term "Croatian."³⁶⁶ So, we can assume that that term was not used.

the Mass in Latin and teach them in Italian, so have the Slavs pastors who preach and serve the Mass and Sacraments in the Slavic language" (p. 235). A Third Order Franciscan inventory from after 1711 notes that some 1590 books were in Slavic (Glagolitic) letters and the Illyrian language (*con lettere Slavoniche in Idioma Illyrico*) (p. 279). An inventory of Glagolitic books from 1595 to 1757 refers to one being in Illyrian characters (p. 280). In 1752 a guardian of a Third Order Franciscan monastery resigned and the documentation refers to there being a copy of the Illyrian text being rendered into Italian (p. 256). In 1754 the Franciscans were seeking support from Venice for their Divine Services in Illyrian and noted that their order was established there for the needs of the Illyrian population and militiamen (p. 234). A record in an inventory from 1765 mentions two Breviaries, one in Illyrian and one in Latin (p. 290). Carlo Camuzio, Bishop of Koper, writing in July 1768, reports that the monks employed the Illyrian language in Church services and preached to the Slavic population who had moved into the town from the villages, especially the militiamen of Illyrian language (p. 233). Another text from 1768 describes these Franciscans as carrying out services in Illyrian and doing all sorts of charitable work for the people of Illyrian language who live in the town (of Koper) and its surroundings (pp. 233–34). And finally, we have an undated note, from around 1780, from a publisher backing out of publishing several Illyrian texts (p. 328, fn. 72).

364. S. Ivančić, *Povjesne crte II* (prilozi), pp. 140, 142, 149, 151, 158, 200, 204, 206–8.

365. S. Ivančić, *Povjesne crte II* (prilozi), p. 209.

366. A. Jutronic, "Visitacije u Arhivu biskupske kurije u Hvaru," *Starine* (JAZU) 51, 1962, pp. 113–221. For (a) general references to use of Illyrian language: the Visitor to Hvar in 1579 had an Illyrian speaker in his train (p. 118); in 1596 a Franciscan on Brač answered a questionnaire in Illyrian (p. 128). (b) "Illyrian" priests or "Illyrian-language priests": two in Povalj on Brač in 1645 and 1702 (p. 195, fn. 58); a Hvar-Brač bishop in the 1590s from Poljica who was an Illyrian-language cleric and mention of other Illyrian-language priests in his diocese (p. 198) and

L. Katić published summaries of Visitations by an Archbishop of Split, Stjepan Cupilli (1708–20). Cupilli mentions Illyrian priests (*presbyteri illyrici*), Illyrian texts (e.g., *evangelium in lingua illirica*), he himself or others preaching in Illyrian (*illirico sermone*), and an inscription in Illyrian over a church's door (*dell'inscrizione illirica sopra la porta*).³⁶⁷ The bishop also listed in church inventories many “šćavets,” which are books containing the Gospels, Epistles, and prayers in Slavic.³⁶⁸ The name “šćavet” was derived from “*schiaivo*,” Italian for Slavic. These texts were written in everyday speech, usually in Latin letters. Thus, Church authorities had mixed reactions to them, for at times priests used them in serving the Mass, which by rule could not be in the vernacular but had to be in Church Slavonic.³⁶⁹ Katić also published a summary of two visitations in 1757 and 1760 of villages in his diocese by Bishop Didak Manola of Trogir. Most of the churches in the villages had services in Illyrian, and many churches in their inventories had the just-mentioned “šćavets.”³⁷⁰ This vocabulary did not change as the century ended. In

reference to further Illyrian-language priests from Poljica in the 1620s and 1630s on Brač (p. 199); Illyrian-language priests on Brač in 1604 (pp. 205, 219); in 1590 a reference to priests of the Illyrian language in the Split diocese (p. 211); and Jutrović concludes his survey by producing a long list of Illyrian-language priests from between 1592 and 1764 on the two islands, of whom it was also said for some that they employed Missals and conducted services in the Illyrian language (pp. 220–21). (c) For “Illyrian” books/Missals: printing books during the seventeenth century in Illyrian (p. 160, fn. 8); a 1633 inventory of a Brač church that includes books in Illyrian (p. 183) and a second inventory from Vis in 1634 mentioning the Gospels and Epistles in Illyrian (p. 187); and an Illyrian-language Missal on Hvar in 1602/3 (p. 218). (d) For Illyrian services: serving Mass on Brač in Illyrian in 1579 and noting the priest was ignorant of Latin (p. 197); references from 1596 and 1604 to serving Mass in Illyrian on Brač (pp. 128, 204); and references to using the Illyrian language to administer the Sacraments on Hvar in 1602/3 (p. 218). For two references to priests using “Slavic,” see pp. 216, 220.

367. L. Katić, “Prilike u splitskoj okolici poslije odlaska Turaka,” *Starine* (JAZU) 47, 1957: priests (p. 237), texts (p. 238), preaching (pp. 249, 250), inscription (p. 262).

368. L. Katić, “Prilike u splitskoj okolici,” pp. 243, 245–47, 252–54, 256, 258. Ivančić notes that a 1747 Third Order Franciscan “Pravilo” (Rule) coins the word “Šćavetski”—i.e., in the way that it is written in a šćavet. Ivančić then comments that this term was used in places where later writers would begin to use the word “Croatian.” He notes that for these Rules three words were used in the eighteenth century: Šćavetski, Slovinski, and Hrvatski (Croatian). Ivančić goes on to note that in 1750 the word “Slovinski” became common for the language of the “Rule.” He cites a slightly later example from 1788 of a Rule of the Third Order Franciscans of Dalmatia translated from Italian into Slovinski. In the preface to this text, however, the translator, in referring to the language, says, “our Dalmatian language.” (S. Ivančić, *Povjesne crte*, p. 143.) The word “Šćavetski” was also used by a certain Franciscan Marko Kuzmić Zadrani in ca. 1724 when he gave preference to “Slovinski words” (*slovinskim slovima*) over “šćavetanskim” ones. Since they were dealing with words/alphabets, Jagić correctly notes that here “slovinski” referred to Glagolitic and “šćavetanski” to Latin letters. (V. Jagić, “Hrvatska glagoljska književnost,” in B. Vodnik, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti I*, Zagreb, 1913, p. 52.)

369. M. Bolonić, *Otok Krk*, p. 35.

370. L. Katić, “Povijesni podaci iz vizitacija trogirске biskupije u XVIII stoljeću,” *Starine* (JAZU) 48, 1958, pp. 274–330. Though Katić's text in Serbo-Croatian has services being in “Croatian,” the three places where he cites the original Latin have the word “Illyrian” instead: on services for the festival of St. Sebastian in Illyrian, p. 275; for the *Te Deum* being intoned in

1792 the Bishop of Hvar, Ivan Stratico, gave an "Illyrian" Missal to the abbess of the convent of St. Mary's in Zadar.³⁷¹

Bartol Kašić

An important missionary in the second decade of the seventeenth century was the Jesuit Bartol Kašić (1575–1650). Born on Pag, he attended school, first in Zagreb and then at the Illyrian College of Loreto (to be discussed below). In his autobiography he states that Pope Clement VIII especially recommended that he study "Illyrian" for his planned missionary career. One of his major ambitions, which he worked on throughout his career, was to develop a literary language and orthography for all the South Slavs. His first work, *Institutiones linguae illyricae*, was published in 1604; it was the first grammar of a spoken language in part of what is now Croatia. He addressed his preface to students of "the Illyrian language" and referred in that preface to the language as Illyrian throughout. He wrote it to be a guide for missionaries who would be working in the area. Employing Latin letters (as he regularly was to do), he designed a new orthography for the language. This was necessary since, unlike Glagolitic and Cyrillic, Latin with only twenty-three letters had no letters for sounds like š and č. The dialect he chose for his grammar was the Čakavian of northern Dalmatia; in writing about this period later on in his autobiography, he spoke of the Slavic he was then using as "Dalmatian." I do not know whether we have contemporary documentation for his actually using this term in this period. Several scholars, however, believe they do, and argue that an anonymous Dalmatian-Italian dictionary (*Slovo-slovje dalmatinsko-italijansko*), existing only in manuscript from around 1600, was the work of Kašić. It was in Čakavian.³⁷² The arguments provided are strong ones. If they are correct, then Kašić seems to have at this time also used the term "Dalmatian" for this dialect. However, if the dictionary was not by Kašić and his use of the term "Dalmatian" appears only in descriptions of this period in his autobiography, written much later, then I think another interpretation may be in order.

Around 1610, after Kašić had travelled more in the Balkans and had spent some time in Dubrovnik, he decided that it made sense to utilize the more widespread Štokavian dialect, employed in much of Dalmatia (including

Illyrian in the village of Drevnik, p. 287; and for the village of Mravnica's name meaning "ant" in Illyrian, p. 307. I assume this is the case throughout, but it would be worthwhile for someone to examine the unpublished Latin original of these reports to be certain. On the šćavets, see in passing throughout the article, and especially, p. 324.

371. A. Strgačić, "Kulturno-povijesno značenje samostana Benediktinki sv. Marije u Zadru u počecima njegova razvoja," *Zbornik "Kašić"* 2, 1969, pp. 51–52.

372. M. Stojković, "Bartuo Kašić," *Rad (JAZU)* 220, 1919, pp. 208–10; V. Horvat, "Jezikoslovno djelovanje mladoga Bartola Kašića," in *Zbornik radova o B-u Kašiću*, p. 62.

Dubrovnik) and Bosnia. Since he had already used the term “Illyrian” to refer to Čakavian, he needed a new word for Štokavian and chose “Slavic.” In his work “Način od meditationi i molitve” (The Way of Meditation and Prayers), published in 1613 in Rome, Kašić includes a section on the way to write Slavic well (*Nauka za dobro pisati slovinski*).³⁷³ His life of the Virgin, published in Venice in 1628, was rendered into Štokavian; thus he stated it was written in the Slavic language (*Slovinskiem jezikom*).

However, to make things difficult to systematize, in 1617 Kašić published a short work about the Holy Virgin’s house in Loreto. The myth about this house was as follows: the Holy Family had lived in a house in Nazareth, which, upset at finding itself in a land under infidel rule, had up and flown away to Christian climes. After a brief stop at Trsat near Rijeka, it for some reason became discontented and flew on to Loreto, where it became a major shrine. These perigrinations allegedly occurred at the end of the thirteenth century, in 1291 and 1294 respectively. To verify the miracle, papal agents went to Nazareth and discovered the foundations at the designated site to be of the exact dimensions of the recently landed house; thus the house was authentic. At Trsat where the house had briefly rested, Nikola Frankapan built a church which was to become very popular.

In any case, Kašić provided the first Slavic account of this amazing event, written in Štokavian. But its title page has it written in “Dalmatian.” If Kašić, in fact, was the author of the dictionary, based on Čakavian but calling itself “Dalmatian,” then he clearly has a new meaning for “Dalmatian” here, and his preface may provide us with a solution. In it he says that he wrote the work to awaken the faith of our Dalmatians and all the Slavic people. Then he goes on to speak of the terrible situation of the Slavic and Dalmatian regions now beaten into dust. “Where,” he asks, “are our glorious kings, dukes, bans, princes (*knezovi*)? . . . [W]here are the *vojvodas*, knights, and independent lords?” For all of us (our lands) only Lord Dubrovnik out of all the Dalmatian people remains free. The Turks have put under their lordship Hercegovina and most of Dalmatia. Clearly Kašić is using “Dalmatia” very broadly here, for the Turks had very little of geographical Dalmatia, while Venice held most. We then look back at the former rulers’ titles he provides for the earlier Slavs and Dalmatians, and it is not clear whether he is using the two terms here as synonyms or is covering different regions with the two terms. But it is immediately apparent that all the titles were to be found in medieval Croatia and Bosnia. At the same time, he includes in this broad region Dubrovnik, geographically in Dalmatia but never included in either the medieval Bosnian or Croatian state, though of course Kašić may have thought it had been. In any case, I think we may conclude from this passage that Kašić meant “Dalmatian” to include a

373. On “Meditation” see M. Vanino, *Isusovci* II, pp. 26–32, reference to “writing Slavic,” p. 29; M. Stojković, “Bartuo Kašić,” pp. 211–14.

broad group of South Slavs, possibly all of them, or possibly those in the four regions having significant numbers of Catholics: Bosnia, Croatia, Dalmatia, and probably Slavonia. And we shall find Kašić later in life using “Dalmatia” clearly in this way. So, I think it probable that in or around 1617 he is coming to use “Dalmatian” in this broad way. He is still hoping for a common South Slav language and also hoping that his Štokavian will be widely intelligible. He says it is written in Dalmatian, that is, the language of the South Slavs. In other words, Kašić now employed that term in the sense that many others were using “Illyrian,” but he felt, as noted, that he had forfeited that word by his applying it narrowly for Čakavian. He also, elsewhere in his “Loreto” preface, uses “Dalmatian” in this broad way for both language and people, saying at one point that he is giving this work on Loreto to my people of Slavic Dalmatian speech. In a letter written in 1625 he stated that he had rendered his book on the Virgin in the general language of the Dalmatian people and not in the language of the town of Dubrovnik, for that is not a general (language) except for the inhabitants of the town, while by “Dalmatian” is to be understood all the national regions.³⁷⁴ The phrase “national regions” suggests that Kašić meant “Dalmatian” here to denote all the various South Slavic dialects.

In 1617 Kašić also published in Rome some spiritual poems; on the title page, following his usage of that year, he said they were put together in Dalmatian by Bartol Kašić “Pažanin” (i.e., from Pag).³⁷⁵

Next, Kašić published in Rome a short Catechism or work on Christian doctrine (*Nauk Krstjanski kratak*). It went through at least two editions, the first in 1617, the second in 1633. The work was necessary since Komulović's Catechism, rendered in Čakavian, was unable to satisfy Štokavian speakers, including those of Dubrovnik. The text was based on Cardinal Bellarmino's Catechism of 1603. Kašić's title page (in Slavic) has his translation, according to Štefanić, rendered into “Slovinski.” Stojković's citation of the title page has it in “y jezik Dalmatinski.” Possibly the two editions called the language by different terms; if so, we cannot be sure whether the term chosen in each case was Kašić's or whether on one or the other occasion the publisher made the choice. The censors' material that follows, written in Latin, following Vatican usage, refers to the language as “Illyrian.” At the beginning of the work, in his pref-

374. M. Stojković, “Bartuo Kašić,” *Rad (JAZU)* 220, 1919, pp. 214–19; E. Hoško, “Kašićeva ‘Istorija Loretana’ u svjetlu loretske i trsatske historiografije,” in [B. Kašić], *Zbornik radova o B-u Kašiću*, Zagreb, 1994, pp. 157–60; R. Bogišić, “Čitajući posvete i predgovore u knjigama Bartola Kašića (1575–1650),” in [B. Kašić], *Zbornik radova o B-u Kašiću*, Zagreb, 1994, pp. 219, 227. For the 1625 letter, see J. Ravlić (ed.), *Zbornik proze XVI i XVII stoljeća*, Zagreb (Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti 11); 1972, p. 188.

375. M. Stojković, “Bartuo Kašić,” pp. 219–21. In the front material other terms are used. For example, Kašić presents a short glossary of terms whose title contains the term “Slavic” (*Slovinski spivalac*). Also, an aristocrat from Kotor, Maro Dragović, includes a short poem honoring the work's compiler, Kašić, in which Dragović refers to Kašić as “our Dalmatian of your Croatian race (Naši Dalmatini, i vaš rod Harvacki)” (op. cit., p. 220).

ace, Kašić speaks about the problems involved in deciding what Latin letters (or combinations thereof) to use to render into “slovinski” that language’s sounds. He presents a list or key to all his capital and lowercase letters. The linguist Štefanić’s judgment on the quality of language of the two works concludes: Komulović’s translation and especially his language is clearer and more precise, while Kašić’s language seems artificial and inconsistent. Constructing his own general/broad language, Kašić ended up being a variegated eclectic.³⁷⁶

During the 1630s Kašić continued to write in Štokavian and call the language he used “Slavic.” Thus, his “Mirror of Christian Doctrine” (Zrcalo Nauka Karstjanskoga) published in 1631 refers to “my Slavic people.” And his “Life of St. Ignatius,” published in 1638, was translated from Italian into “our Slavic.” He also wanted to make this life available to the “Narodu Slovin-skomu.” In this period we still find him also, at times, using “Slavic” in a broad way, akin to his use of “Dalmatian” in 1617. For example, in 1637 he produced a life of St. Francis Xavier (a missionary to India), which he hoped would be useful to “my Slavic people.” Thus, he uses “Slavs” and “Dalmatians” as synonyms for the people, even after he had linked “Slavic” as a language to Štokavian. It is clear that he had hopes that his Štokavian would come to be used by all the South Slavs, which, if it should happen, would allow them to be called Slavic as well. A bit later, in 1641, he published a translation of Thomas à Kempis’ *Imitation of Christ*; he wrote it in “Slavic” but signed himself as B. K. Dalmatin, which I think we should take in the given broad sense, rather than as indicating his origins on Pag. However, in a Latin dedication to this text, he falls into normal Church usage and calls the language and people “Illyrian,” as did his censor and a bishop in the work’s front matter.³⁷⁷

A year earlier, in 1640, Kašić had published in Rome a “Roman Ritual” translated from Italian. It had two title pages, one in Slavic, which had the Latin text rendered into “Slavic” (Slovinski), appropriate in his chosen terminology for the Štokavian he employed, and one in Latin which had the work rendered into “Illyrian,” presumably following the current usage of the Vatican. Interestingly, in the face of the Vatican’s and the Council of Trent’s insistence on using Slavonic and avoiding the vernacular in services, Kašić’s text was in the spoken language. Vanino can do no more than speculate on how this aberration not only came to be, but also on how it found approval from the Vatican and Jesuit censors. The censors, writing in Latin, commented that the Ritual was needed by Illyrian priests and, in speaking of the text, noted that it was rendered into the Illyrian language by Bartholomaeo

376. V. Štefanić, “Bellarmino-Kašićev ‘Nauk krstjanski kratak’ po izdanju od g. 1633,” *Vrela i primosi* 12, 1941, pp. 38, 40, 43, 45, 47; M. Stojković, “Bartuo Kašić,” p. 221.

377. M. Stojković, “Bartuo Kašić,” p. 233 (Mirror), pp. 225–26 (Life of St. Ignatius), pp. 234–37 (Life of St. Francis Xavier, where the front matter written by Church officials referred to the language as Illyrian and to the Illyrian nation), pp. 249–51 (St. Thomas à Kempis); R. Bogišić, “Čitajući posvete i predgovore,” in *Zbornik radova o B-u Kašiću*, pp. 216, 219–20.

Kašić Dalmata, spoke of the work being of utility for the Illyrian nation (*utilitati Nationi Illyricae*), and one expressed a hope that the text could also be brought out in “Dalmatian.” This suggests that one of the censors was not entirely happy with Kašić’s Štokavian and hoped the work could also be rendered into Čakavian, which the censor denoted in a common way, but a way which Kašić had abandoned.

In his introduction or preface, writing in Štokavian, Kašić says that he had long thought about and discussed the best way to write (and provide orthography for) our Slavic speech (*naša besidenja slovinska*). He notes that each (Slav) praises the speech of his own town, be he a Croat (*Haervat*), Dalmatian, Bosnian, Dubrovčanin, or Serb. He states that as the best (dialect) he had chosen “Bosnian” (as noted a Štokavian dialect). However, by this choice Kašić does not intend to forbid a Dalmatian from using the speech that he is accustomed to. Among his examples of Dalmatian words that follow, Kašić has “ča,” showing that by a “Dalmatian” here he has in mind a Čakavian speaker. Kašić also states in the introduction that having decided to render the Ritual into “ours” (*naški*), he had used the (employed) language with various people from different Slavic regions/countries (*slovinskih rusaga*) and had found such speech (i.e., dialect; *ovaka govorenje*) understandable when I heard it and people understood me when I spoke it, whether Catholics, Rasciani, Serb half-believers (Orthodox), or Turks (i.e., Bosnian Muslims). He goes on to say how fortunate and blessed will our Slavic people (*narod nasc Slovinski*) be, when Sacred Scripture (*Sveta Pisma*) shall be available in ours (*naški*). Kašić again lays out how he is employing Latin letters to render Slavic phonetics.³⁷⁸

Kašić also included some Latin verses in which, lobbying for the publication of his Biblical translation (to be discussed shortly), he uses broadly all three terms: he says that to the Slavs no honey is sweeter than the words of Sacred Scripture; thus, the Dalmatians were seeking that honey; and it was good that the Sacred Scriptures appear in the Illyrian language. Prior to the Ritual’s publication, during the 1630s, Kašić had corresponded about the work with Church authorities. Writing these letters in Italian, Kašić mentions the Catechism he had published in 1633, referring to its language as being Illyrian.³⁷⁹

Kašić also produced a translation of the New Testament in the spoken lan-

378. The text of Kašić’s introduction/preface to the Roman Ritual, provided in Kašić’s proto-Serbo-Croatian, can be found in J. Elliott, *A Description of the Language in Bartuo Kašić’s Translation of the Bible into (Serbo-)Croatian* (1625), Ann Arbor (Ph.D. diss., Slavic Department, University of Michigan), 1973, pp. 27–29. It is worth noting that the introduction is dated Rome, August 1636, whereas the Ritual was actually published only in 1640. See also M. Stojković, “Bartuo Kašić,” pp. 241–48. Stojković emphasizes that this preface demonstrates (regardless of its name) that Kašić believed that there was a single literary language for all South Slavs (op. cit., p. 245). In 1640 Kašić also published a Church calendar, which was rendered into “Slavic” (op. cit., p. 248).

379. M. Vanino, “Bartola Kašića ‘Ritual rimski’ (1640),” *Vrela i primosi* 11, 1940, pp. 98, 101, 103–8; M. Stojković, “Bartuo Kašić,” p. 242.

guage in Latin characters. The Archbishop of Dubrovnik, Tomaso Cellesio, gave it his approval, referring to it as a translation from Latin into Illyrian or Slavic. The bishop also notes that the translation would be useful for Catholic Illyrian priests. In his appeal to the pope, written in 1644, for the publication of this work, Kašić, writing in Latin, used the term "Illyrian" throughout. He said the text was based on "old Illyrian codices." The work was read for the Church, by among others Cardinal Constantine Gaetani, who, in writing to the Archbishop of Dubrovnik, referred to the text being in "Illyrian." A second Church reader labeled the text as being in "Slavic" (Slavonicum).³⁸⁰ The text soon sparked opposition. Ivan Agatić, Bishop of Senj, objected to it being in the spoken language, referring to it as being translated into vernacular Illyrian (in lingua illyrica vernacula). He noted also that it was inaccessible to many who spoke Illyrian and was primarily good for those of Dubrovnik. Thus, I think it safe to say, Agatić's problem was not with the New Testament in a vernacular, but his dislike of the particular vernacular (Štokavian, rather than the Čakavian of Senj). Kašić replied by insisting that it was not in a local Dubrovnik-ese, but in the language most widespread of my nation (della mia nazione), providing a more or less ethnic context.³⁸¹ Of course, by saying it was "most widespread," he identifies his chosen dialect as Štokavian, which the people of Dubrovnik, of course, used.

In addition to the three dialects, making whichever one chose problematic for speakers of the other two, there was, of course, the problem of script. For there were also three possible scripts, Glagolitic, Cyrillic, and Latin. Many literate people could read only one, and even among those who could handle several, there was strong feeling on behalf of the one a person favored. Croatia proper and northern Dalmatia were passionate for Glagolitic, which the Bosnians, led by the Franciscans there, would not even hear of. The Franciscans, as

380. M. Stojković, "Bartuo Kašić," pp. 205–6; M. Vanino, "Stjepan Roza o Evandjelistaru Bartola Kašića," *Vrela i prinosi* 3, 1933, p. 134; M. Šrepel, "O Kašićevu prijevodu sv. pisma," *Gradnja za povijest književnosti hrvatske* 2, 1899, p. 44, where the text of the Ragusan archbishop is provided. On the subject of the accusation against Kašić for writing in Dubrovnik-ese, it may be noted that in 1641 he published a combined "Pistule" and new Roman Missal in, as stated on the title page, "iesik dubrovački." (See J. Elliott, *Description of the Language in Bartuo Kašić's Translation*, p. 7.)

381. J. Radonić, *Štamparije*, pp. 43–47. It is worth noting that the mentioned Archbishop of Dubrovnik, Toma Celezije (Cellesio), like Kašić, saw Dubrovnik as a central part of a broader South Slavic world. In a letter from 1632 to Rome on creating schools, which he wanted run by the Jesuits, he noted Dubrovnik's ideal location as a center of Illyria and, in fact, of all Slavonia, thus continuing to give a broad meaning for the term "Slavonia" (J. Radonić, *Štamparije*, p. 126). Kašić was also accused of using Dubrovnik language by the printer of his 1641 *Pistule* and new Roman Missal, mentioned in the previous note. At the end, to explain or justify any typographical errors, the printing house declared the work was printed in unintelligible Dubrovnik language (R. Bogišić, "Čitajući posvete i predgovore," p. 220). Kašić also had, in his attempts to create a broad-based Štokavian, his problems with the Ragusans. He wrote in his autobiography that, whenever he wrote in the common language of the whole Dalmatian people (n.b., the broad usage), it did not please his Ragusan critics. "But the Ragusans deceive themselves if they think that only they speak honeyed words." (Cited by R. Bogišić, "Čitajući posvete i predgovore," p. 217.)

we shall see, associating Glagolitic with heretics, insisted on Cyrillic. Latin letters had not been standardized for Slavic phonetics, so those who used Latin letters wrote that script as they chose, and some of the combined letters to produce given Slavic phonemes could be almost impossible to figure out. Given all these difficulties, it was probably not odd that some threw up their hands and wanted to stick to Church Slavonic, which in theory was a single language, even though it, through people's ignorance of proper Slavonic, came in a host of variants, mixing to differing degrees with the spoken dialects. So, probably it is not surprising that Kašić's New Testament translation was never published.

Kašić operated as a missionary in most of the area that became the future Yugoslavia. Writing his autobiography late in life, in which he discusses his missionary work, he throughout the text calls the spoken language that he used "Dalmatian"; and he mentions preaching in Foča in Bosnia in Dalmatian (dalmatico idiomate) and speaking with officials in Ilok in Srem/Slavonia in that language (dalmatica lingua). In all these cases did he use the same dialect? Or, did he change from Čakavian to Štokavian, but continued to apply in his autobiography the same term, "Dalmatian," regardless of what dialect he was using? Thus, it would be nice to know whether "Dalmatian" was the term he used at the time or the descriptive term he chose to use much later when writing his autobiography.

On other occasions, in other texts, Kašić, as we have seen, called the language "Slavic." In the already mentioned preface to his Roman Ritual, he wrote about his thoughts on how best to write and speak our spoken Slavic, but he had observed a problem of local pride. "For every person praises the speech of his own town: be he a Croat, Dalmatian, Bosnian, Ragusan, or Serb. And they all write, as they choose, our language [naški, ours] . . . but as I traveled around the world and spoke with people having different forms of Slavic, I always understood them, and they me."³⁸² Vanino also cites from an unpublished report that Kašić sent back to the general of his order about conditions in Timișoara, where he was serving at the time, in which he referred to the local Catholic Serbo-Croatian speakers as Slavs (Slavoni) and the Orthodox ones as Rasciani.³⁸³

I now want to return, in more detail, to Kašić's fascinating autobiography. Once again to save on footnotes, I shall insert in my text the page numbers of one edition of the text, in this case Vanino's.³⁸⁴ Kašić, writing in the third person, frequently uses, in describing himself, the identifying nickname "Dalma-

382. The material in the two previous paragraphs was drawn from: J. Radonić, *Rimska kurija i južnoslovenske zemlje*, Beograd (SAN, Posebna izdanja 155, Odeljenje društvenih nauka n.s. 3), 1950, pp. 15, 18; T. Maretić, *Istorija hrvatskoga pravopisa*, p. 81; V. Jagić, "Iz prošlosti hrvatskoga jezika," p. 49, and fn. 39; L. Jelić, "Hrvatski zavod," p. 34; Z. Zlatar, *Our Kingdom Come*, pp. 229–30.

383. M. Vanino, "Leksikograf," p. 7.

384. B. Kašić, "Autobiografija Bartola Kašića" (M. Vanino, ed.), *Gradja za povijest književnosti hrvatske* 15, 1940, p. 1–144.

tian" (Dalmata), for example, "and in his place was chosen B. K. Dalmata" (p. 25). He even signed letters that way, Bartolomeo Cassio Dalmata (e.g., p. 126). He could speak of wearing a Dalmatian shirt (p. 36) and Dalmatian customs (p. 31), whether seen regionally or ethnically, and of his first two pupils being a Florentine and a Dalmatian (p. 33), and that he was assigned to go to Turkish territory where Dalmatian priests speaking Dalmatian were needed to firm up the Catholic faith (p. 34). Later he notes a Dalmatian priest for the Ragusan merchants in Beograd (p. 79). He could also refer to himself as an "Illyrian youth" (p. 21). He furthermore mentions a Father Jacob who worked with the Illyrian and Hungarian Catholics at Timișoara (p. 84).

This autobiography, thus, written near the end of his life, employs two terms for the spoken language, "Illyrian" (most of the time used in connection with Rome and its educational institutions) and "Dalmatian." The latter term is used over thirty times in the text. Though in covering the early period of his life, the term on occasion may mean "Čakavian," it soon comes to mean either the language as Kašić came to speak it (his Štokavian) or the language of the South Slavs in general. Thus, early on, he spoke to sailors in his "own Dalmatian speech" (p. 30), whether meant broadly as his dialect of the broad Dalmatian tongue or his own particular dialect (which at the time was still Čakavian). We also find him as Dalmatian confessor for the Illyrian language (p. 27). He also, in describing these early years, noted that his preaching in Dubrovnik, since he had not yet learned the dialect of that place, was in Dalmatian (here definitely Čakavian) which differed slightly from Dubrovnik speech, though it was still understandable (p. 33). He states that in 1606 he was to hear confessions from his own people who used Illyrian or Dalmatian, chiefly, but also those (using) Croatian (Crovaticao), Carniolian (from Kranj), and even Bulgarian (i.e., which he specifies as those from Thrace in the environs of Constantinople) (p. 27). Presumably the last three were specified to denote less common dialects (i.e., Kajkavian, Slovenian, and Bulgarian) of the broad Illyrian/Dalmatian language. Though his own experience had shown there were various dialects that might need different terms, his autobiography, other than the just-cited passage and references to complaints by Ragusans about Kašić's written "Dalmatian" (Štokavian), does not make such distinctions. "Dalmatian," at least in this text, is his normal term for what he spoke in the field. We find in it the medieval pattern: "Luka is in Dalmatian what portus (port) is in Latin" (p. 135). He also could use this formula for "Illyrian": The Ister or Danube is called in Illyrian the Dunav (p. 48). In this context he notes a priest speaking with an elderly villager in the Povuče region in Illyrian and Turkish (p. 48). Subsequently in Srem, Kašić mentions explaining the faith in Latin and Illyrian and a woman moving closer to hear him (speak) in her "local Illyrian tongue" (p. 73).

However, he does in the autobiography express (without utilizing terminology to differentiate) the difficulties of preparing texts in the vernacular

language. Much of this discussion centers around a work he composed in proto-Serbo-Croatian in Beograd, "The Garden of the Virgin" (Perivoj od Dievstva). A note by Kašić in the margin of the text, written in the spoken language, said that the text was composed (or maybe better to say translated from Italian with modifications) "in Serbian Beograd in our slovinskiem jezikom," which also was how the language was called on the work's 1628 title page (p. 103, fn. 128).³⁸⁵ However, in the Latin of his autobiography, he does not use "Slavic" for the language. Instead he has the work composed in "Dalmatico" (p. 103). But though he does not go into dialects and their possible names in this fascinating text, he does note that it is a major problem to come up with a language (idiomate) acceptable to the various South Slavs.

But, though Kašić's terms for people may often seem more geographical than ethnic, he does on occasion move in an ethnic direction in addressing the problem of how to communicate with the Dalmatian nation (*Dalmaticae nationis*) (p. 124). I suspect that here he is defining a nation, or people, by the language they speak; thus, if the proto-Serbo-Croatian language is called "Dalmatian," then the nation of its speakers has to be as well. And next, he raises, in an Italian-language letter (which he includes in his autobiography), the problem of communicating with the (whole) Dalmatian nation (*della nazione Dalmatica*) in the language of Dubrovnik, when by Dalmatia he means the whole province of the nation. If one wants to communicate in a language more widespread and understandable or intelligible for "my nation" than Ragusan, then one may have to correct or revise the language of his text on the Virgin, the subject behind his letter (pp. 125–26). But, once again, in his alternative terms "Croatian" plays no role. In fact it is used only twice in the autobiography. We saw earlier, that he once uses it geographically, to refer to individuals' towns where different peoples spoke various forms of "Dalmatian" (p. 113). Besides that, "Croatian" receives mention only one other time in the whole 128-page text of the "Autobiography." On that occasion, mentioned above, Kašić reports on whom he heard confessions from in Rome. In this context, he mentions that he heard them from the "nations/people of *Illyrica or Dalmatia*" (italics mine) and to explain who these were, he tosses in Croats, Carniolians, and Bulgarians from Thrace (p. 27), obviously just providing a few examples rather than a catalogue.

However, what is useful in this passage is that it clarifies what otherwise would be just a suspicion. Dalmatia/Dalmatian is not, at least in this text, used specifically; Dalmatia is a synonym for Illyria. Thus, his just-described use of the term "Dalmatia" for the language was meant, I believe, to cover South Slavs, all dialects—the way many others had used the term "Illyrian." Possibly he was doing this because he had early in life boxed himself in by using "Illyr-

385. M. Vanino, "Prvo izdanje Kašićeva 'Perivoja od dievstva' god. 1625," *Vrela i prinosi* 2, 1933, pp. 119–20; M. Stojković, "Bartuo Kašić," pp. 227, 229.

ian” for Čakavian and then “Slavic” for Štokavian. Thus, he had exhausted the two existing broad inclusive terms by applying them to dialects when he was young. Presumably he had done so on each occasion in the hope that his chosen dialect would be suitable for the broad group. But now, if he wanted his autobiography to gibe with his lifelong writings, what term did he have left for all the dialects? His solution seems to have been “Dalmatian.”

Certain facts that we have presented here might seem to belie this interpretation. So, I do not want to insist on it. But possibly we may be able to look at these facts in such a way as to allow this interpretation to hold up, and, of course, it rests on a belief (which I am certain is true) that his use of certain terms evolved over time. But to turn to these “difficult” facts: The reader may remember that Kašić had previously also used “Dalmatian” specifically or narrowly. If he was the author of that dictionary, then he had used “Dalmatian” for Čakavian around 1600. But, of course, that work was early and, never having been published, merely existed as a manuscript. Secondly, in the preface or introduction (written in 1636) to his Roman Ritual (published in 1640) he had used the word “Dalmatian” for Čakavian. But being short of terms and having used “Dalmatian” in this way in recent years only in passing—as opposed to the prominence given to “Illyrian” and “Slavic” on title pages—presumably Kašić thought that using it in a preface was not sufficient to prevent him later from employing the term “Dalmatian” in this all-inclusive sense. And, if this theory is correct, and if we keep in mind his hope for a universal South Slavic language, we can conclude that he had already come up with this use and concept by the time he produced his Loreto tale (from 1617); and so, as I argued above, hoping the language he used in that tale would be comprehensible for all South Slavs, Kašić chose the word “Dalmatian” for its language, with this wide meaning in mind.

Though in his various writings, Kašić, as noted, continued to use the broad term “Slavs/Slavic people” for the South Slavs, he did not in the autobiography. But here, at the end of his life (1649 or 1650), he seems to have thoroughly settled on his usage of “Dalmatian.” Moreover, he was then writing a single text in a short period of time, which was conducive to using a single term throughout.

Radonić, focusing on the period that Kašić was describing, took “Dalmatian” in the autobiography to be the term that Kašić had actually used in the period being described; but I do not think that the autobiography has to have utilized the term which he had used as a young missionary. It could well reflect a desire in Kašić’s later years to be clear and consistent. And if that is the case, depending on how early he came up with “Dalmatian” as a term in this sense, his calling himself “Dalmatian” may not have continued to refer to his origins on Pag, as one might at first sight think, but to have come to reflect a desire to identify broadly with all South Slavs. Thus, probably the significance of his nickname “Dalmatian” changed in the course of his life from his being from Pag to his being a South Slav.

But despite different dialects and the problems involved in producing a common written language, Kašić still is at pains to emphasize that South Slavic was a single language and these distinctions were matters of pride or aesthetics. Thus, he notes that he spoke Dalmatian (obviously in a particular dialect) in Beograd and people of both sexes there “understood me very well” (p. 43). He repeats the ease in understanding his “Dalmatian,” for audiences in various villages in the Beograd area (p. 47), along the Danube in the Vojvodina, all understood because the father spoke in Dalmatian (p. 87), and this was so even in Transylvania (p. 54). He also remarks that in the thirteen years he spent in Dubrovnik he wrote many books in the common language of the Dalmatians, Illyrians, Ragusans, Croats, and Pannonians (p. 113). In speaking of the language he wrote in, he called it the common language of the whole Dalmatian people, but noted that the Ragusan purists (Aristarsi) did not like it. He reports that he did not write his works in the language of Dubrovnik but in the common language of my people, which is understood, nevertheless in Dubrovnik (pp. 124–26).

Kašić also produced a “Life of St. Jerome.” He calls him: “Glorious Jerome, Doctor of the Church, Defender of the Faith, Crown of the Monastic Orders and of the Glorious Slavic Language.” Later on he writes that Jerome “wrote a lot and achieved a great deal, and produced in his maternal language a Missal, Breviary, and, as is said, several other books; . . . and taking his own ‘Slavic’ which he enabled, as no other language other than Latin is enabled, to become a language of the Mass in the Holy Catholic Church, which Pope Damasius [!] and the College of Cardinals [!] confirmed.”³⁸⁶ So, we see that the learned Jesuit bought the legend of St. Jerome and fell in with its early approval, by Pope Damasius in the fourth century (when it may be noted there was not yet a College of Cardinals) rather than Pope Innocent IV in the thirteenth.

Kašić was also actively involved in the publishing in 1613 of Orbini’s previously mentioned *Spiritual Mirror*. He described the work as a godly book for our Slavic people, and, in the printed edition, noted that it was rendered from Italian into Slavic. It was written in Kašić’s own orthography based on Latin letters; and he added several pages to guide his reader on the correct way to write well “our Slavic” (naški slovinski). This was necessary, he said, for there was no agreed way of spelling “the glorious Slavic language.” In his preface he dedicated the work to the Slavic nation (narodu slovinskom). The second and third editions, printed in Venice in 1621 and 1628 respectively, were noted on the title page as being translated from Italian into Slavic.³⁸⁷

386. J. Ravlić (ed.), *Zbornik proze*, pp. 213, 215.

387. M. Stojković, “Bartuo Kašić,” pp. 262–63; M. Pantić, “Mavro Orbini,” pp. xciv, xcvi; Z. Zlatar, *Our Kingdom Come*, p. 231. In noting orthography, Kašić referred to Cyrillic as “our Serbian letters,” which reflects his feeling of kinship with the Serbs (because they were South Slavs with a common language) even though they were Orthodox.

The Ragusan Church

An eighteenth-century text refers to the Archbishop of Dubrovnik having authority over Catholics in regions in "Slavonia," showing this general term for territory in which Slavs could be found was still used that late in southern Dalmatia. The Bishop of Trebinje, Toma Natalić Budislavić, left money in his will in 1608 to found a school in Dubrovnik for would-be clerics from his diocese in the hopes that they would learn Latin. The school was not to be founded until 1635 and survived only until 1648. In 1643 the Archbishop of Dubrovnik wrote Rome that Budislavić's school had six pupils who seem to have been Slavic priests, for the Archbishop of Dubrovnik stated that they would not be allowed to serve Mass in Illyrian (*celebrare lingua illirica missam*) unless they received approval for it from the Vatican. A document from around 1670 notes that the Bishop of Ston, a suffragan of Dubrovnik's archbishop, heard a civil case, in which the witnesses testified in Dubrovnik-ese. In 1690 some Benedictine novices made their profession of faith before the Bishop of Ston in Illyrian. In 1693 an accused in a sorcery case being tried by the Archbishop of Dubrovnik testified in Illyrian. In 1714 the Archbishop of Dubrovnik spoke of congregations singing and hearing the Gospel and Epistle readings in Illyrian according to the Illyrian ritual printed in Rome.³⁸⁸

Scattered Church Uses of "Slavic"

Needless to say, other Church sources also speak of items being in Slavic. A few more examples follow. A cardinal with pan-Slavic tendencies, Aldobrand Vodopija, in 1607 wrote in praise of the "Slavic" (*Slovinski*) language which he pointed out was spoken in a great part of Europe.³⁸⁹ Jacob Tommasini (1595–1654), originally from Padua, who was appointed Bishop of Novigrad, wrote in the seventeenth century a work on Istria; he reported that the majority of that region's inhabitants were Slavs. Moreover, since they were so widespread, Slavic became the common language for everyone to such an extent that the inhabitants of many villages did not know Italian.³⁹⁰ A Franciscan, Daniel Grozdek, dedicated a book of poetry he wrote to fra Rafael Levaković, whom we shall meet shortly, and referred to Levaković as a Slavic (*slovin-skomu*) bookman.³⁹¹ In 1668 an investigation took place about an event in a parish church on Cres. While a Franciscan was preaching a Lenten sermon in

388. The material in this paragraph is taken from K. Vojnović, "Crkva i država u Dubrovačkoj Republici," *Rad (JAZU)* 119, 1894, pp. 138–40, 142, with additional material on Budislavić from Š. Urlić, *Crnice iz dalmatinskoga školstva*, p. 48.

389. M. Franičević, *Povijest*, pp. 473, 704.

390. V. Bratulić, "O vremenskom kontinuitetu," *Jadranski zbornik* 1, 1956, p. 104; S. Antoljak, *Hrvatska historiografija* I, p. 275.

391. S. Antoljak, *Hrvatska historiografija* I, p. 103, fn. 491.

Italian, a secular priest, Gaspar de Lio, called the Franciscan “a priest for pigs.” Later, in his own defense, de Lio said it was not much of a scandal, for there were hardly any people in the church at the time because the Franciscan did not know our “Slavic” (Schiavoni) well and was preaching in a foreign language.³⁹² An eighteenth-century inventory from the monastery of St. Jacob in Opatija lists a Missal in Slavic (in lingua sclavona).³⁹³

In 1734 in Venice there appeared a book of prayers to be said before or after the Mass translated from Latin into Slavic (Slovinski). Two Catechisms (one called *Nauk kršćanski* and the other *Katekism rimski*) appeared during the eighteenth century. A Cyrillic one was done for the Slavic people (Slovinskemu narodu) in *Slovinski jezik* and was based on Cardinal Bellarmino’s original. The Cyrillic Catechism was published in Venice in 1745 by the Bosnian Franciscan Innocent Grgić, who was originally from Dubrovnik. The other, also based on Cardinal Bellarmino’s Catechism, was published in Venice in 1775 in the Slavic language (*Slavinski jezik*).³⁹⁴

In the seventeenth century, religious dramas—some for the general public on holy days and some performed within convents and monasteries—became popular. In 1615 some Benedictine nuns in Šibenik, briefly noted earlier, put on a dramatical version of “The Three Kings.” Their libretto was written in “Slavic” (*schiao*). The performance was a long one, lasting until after two A.M. One of the nuns, a thirteen year old, was described as being dressed in a Croatian way (*alla Croata*). Later in that century, in 1636, Juraj Zuvetić, a nobleman with lands in Split and on Brač, translated a work by Marulić on the suffering of Jesus from Latin into “Slavic,” and then made a twelve-syllable-line play of it.³⁹⁵

Split provides several more examples: Petar Gaudentius (1570–1664), originally from Split and subsequently Bishop of Rab, translated a work on interpreting the Symbol. He died in 1664 and shortly thereafter, in 1667, Rome published his work (*Istumačenje Symbola Apstolskoga*), on the title page noting it was translated into *Slovinski yazik*.³⁹⁶ Subsequently, as we shall see, he had translated a work on the good death into “Dalmatinski jesik.” In 1699 Mikula Bianković published a translation of the Regulations produced by

392. V. Štefanić & L. Košuta, “Arhiv bivše osorske biskupije,” *Starine* (JAZU) 43, 1951, pp. 306–7.

393. I. Ostojić, *Benediktinci* III, p. 181.

394. The 1734 text is noted in V. Spinčić, *Crtice iz hrvatske književne kulture Istre*, p. 28; the two catechisms cited by V. Štefanić, “Bellarmino-Komulovićev Kršćanski nauk,” *Vrela i prinosi* 8, 1938, pp. 3–4, 29.

395. For 1615, see K. Stošić, “Benediktinke u Šibeniku,” *Croatia sacra* 4, no. 7, 1934, pp. 7–8. Stošić notes that the nuns knew only Slavic, even though ten (in 1596) were from aristocratic families, and had to have readings from the Gospels translated for them in church. For 1636, see F. Fancev, “Hrvatska crkvena prikazanja,” *Narodna starina* 11, no. 29, 1932, p. 160. Only fragments of Zuvetić’s drama survive.

396. I. Ostojić, *Metropolitanski kapitol u Splitu*, p. 225, and picture facing p. 264.

Split's Archbishop Stipan Cosmi's 1688 synod into "Slovinski yazik."³⁹⁷ Julio Centofiorini, General Vicar to the Archbishop of Split, in a letter to the Vatican in 1643 noted that except for the nobles all the other (people in Split) spoke Slavic.³⁹⁸

Scattered Church Uses of "Illyrian"

In the seventeenth century the newer local Dalmatian term for South Slavs, "Illyrian," was coming more and more to be used by the Church. We have seen numerous examples of the term over the previous pages. Many more examples exist. In 1603 we have reference to Nicholaus Nicolcich of Poljica serving Mass in Illyrian (idiomate illirico) in Omiš.³⁹⁹ Various hierarchs found worrisome the ignorance of the "Illyrian clergy," especially about whether or not they even knew Church Slavonic. Fućak finds this concern expressed in synods held in Split in 1688, Poreč in 1733, and Koper in 1734 and 1779.⁴⁰⁰ A Bishop of Senj and Modruš named Pietro Mariani was accused in 1654 by Rome of wanting to ban the Illyrian or Slavic languages in Church services. He denied the charge and said that he had simply wanted these priests, besides Illyrian, to study Latin. Though the papacy had used two terms, Mariani used "Illyrian" exclusively in his reply.⁴⁰¹

Mariani was from Rijeka, and in his letter referred to both Illyrian and Latin being used there. Other churchmen from Rijeka and elsewhere in Istria also used the term "Illyrian." In 1604 a Bishop of Pićan reported that when he had come to his bishopric almost all the services had been held in Illyrian, but now almost all were in Latin. The Bishop of Pula, Cornelio Sozomeno, complained to the Archdeacon of Rijeka in 1611 about the use of "Illyrian" in Rijeka's churches and ordered, with a threat of Church punishment, that the Mass there should be in Latin according to the Roman rite. A similar episcopal order was issued in 1663, which, however, said it was all right to read the Epistles and Gospels in Illyrian. In 1640 the Bishop of Poreč complained that in many places in his diocese services were in a mixture of languages, in part Latin and in part Illyrian (*partim latino, partim illirico idiomate*). Franjo Glavinić, writing to Rome's Office for the Propagation of the Faith in 1626, noted that Rijeka lay in the center of the Illyrian realm. Elsewhere, in his own literary works (e.g., his history of Trsat, written in 1648) he used the term "Slavic," for example noting that the inhabitants of Rijeka are Slavs (*I nativi sono Slavi*); that Slavic is their language from birth; and

397. I. Ostojić, *Metropolitanski kaptol u Splitu*, pp. 277, 333, and picture facing p. 328.

398. J. Radonić, *Štamparije*, p. 100.

399. C. Fisković, "Iz renesansnog Omiša," p. 37, note 60.

400. J. Fućak, *Šest stoljeća hrvatskoga lekcionara*, p. 104.

401. J. Fućak, *Šest stoljeća hrvatskoga lekcionara*, p. 101. For the text of Bishop Mariani's letter, see L. Jelić, *Fontes historici*, Fontes . . . XVII saeculi, pp. 42–45.

that they celebrate the Mass in two languages, Latin and their natural one, Slavic (e Slavo loro naturale).⁴⁰²

In 1675 the Bishop of Trogir, Giaspaolo Garzoni, informed the Vatican that his clergy preached in their maternal language, which is Slavic, and read the Gospels throughout the year in Illyrian. Bishop Paul Naldini of Koper, in the 1690s reported that in all the rural parishes of his diocese his clergy served only in Illyrian or Slavonic (*lingua illyrica seu Sclavonica*) and that the Slav or Slavonic people (*Genere Slavi seu Sclavonici*) (there) did not know or speak any language other than Slavonic (*Sclavonicam*) or Illyrian. Bishop Martin Brajković of Senj and Modruš in 1701, seeking more Church books, said that in his bishopric he had no priests who knew Latin; they all served in Illyrian. The Archbishop of Zadar, Vicko Zmajević, speaking in 1725 of his Zadar diocese, noted that there were seventy parishes that used only “Illyrian.”⁴⁰³ This meant that all the parishes in the area used Slavic except for the town of Zadar itself. Zmajević wrote a tract on the “Illyrian clergy” (*del clero illirico*)—as he called the Catholic but Slavic-using *glagoljaši*—in which he stressed the importance of their use of the Illyrian language. He went on to note that there were also Illyrians of the Greek rite who called themselves Serbs.⁴⁰⁴ Thus, he used the term “Illyrian” for both Catholic and Orthodox speakers of proto-Serbo-Croatian. Zmajević also used the term “Illyrian” in a scurrilous tract against the Orthodox for the language the Serbs spoke, claiming that the Serbs referred in “Illyrian” to the Latins as pagans.⁴⁰⁵ Zmajević’s successor as Archbishop of Zadar followed in the same vein, noting that the (Serb) Orthodox monks knew no language other than “Illyrian.”⁴⁰⁶ But though there were language deficiencies in the rural areas and among the Orthodox, the Archbishop of Split in 1718, Stjepan Cupilli, praised the clergy of the city itself for their language knowledge, for not only did they know Latin, Italian, and Illyrian, but also (for many/some) German, Greek, and French as well.⁴⁰⁷

“Illyrian” as a term for the population was also found in the Church for the region around Makarska. Though under the Turks from 1499 to 1683, it was still tied to the international Church in those years through its Franciscan clergy. A report from Makarska Bishop Bartol Kačić (not to be confused with the Jesuit Bartol Kačić, whom we met in a previous section as a missionary and writer) from 1630 notes that in Podgora and Brela, along the Makarska coast, a few secular priests, who officiated in *illyrico* idiomate, served besides the

402. The material in the preceding paragraph is from V. Štefanić, “Glagoljica u Rijeci,” *Rijeka zbornik* (J. Ravlić, ed.), Zagreb, 1953, pp. 397, 408–9, 411–13.

403. J. Fućak, *Šest stoljeća hrvatskoga lekcionara*, p. 117.

404. N. Milas, *Pravoslavna Dalmacija*, 1901, p. 388.

405. Cited by N. Milas, *Pravoslavna Dalmacija*, p. 357. Elsewhere in the same tract, comparing Serbs and Greeks, Zmajević notes that the former knew no language other than “Illyrian” (also p. 357).

406. N. Milas, *Pravoslavna Dalmacija*, p. 375.

407. T. Matić, “Hrvatski književnici mletačke Dalmacije,” p. 108.

Franciscans.⁴⁰⁸ They were glagoljaši. That alphabet was little used in this diocese, which made use of Cyrillic, often called Bosančica. In fact a later Bishop of Makarska, Marijan Lišnjić (1664–86), who strongly disliked Glagolitic, claimed (incorrectly in all respects) that it came from the Chaldean alphabet, which he believed entered the Church through the influence of a seventh-century Alexandrian patriarch John the Almsgiver. In pushing Cyrillic, Lišnjić associated that alphabet, which he normally called the Bosnian alphabet, not only with Cyril and Methodius, but also with Jerome. As Lišnjić was a Franciscan, his views were adopted by many Franciscans in the region of Makarska.⁴⁰⁹ The term “Illyrian” was still being used in this southern region around Makarska at the end of the eighteenth century. Writing in the archival book of the Imotski Franciscan monastery in 1788, fra Simun Gudelj, describing the work of a sixteenth-century Franciscan born in Imotski, Mijo Runović, said that this individual not only brought glory to Imotski and the whole Bosnian (Franciscan) province, but also to the whole of our Illyrian nation (*Illirica nazione*).⁴¹⁰

The Bosnian Franciscans occasionally quarrelled with their Franciscan colleagues from Dalmatia, especially with those in Makarska, whose bishop was often seeking to reclaim ancient territory in Ottoman Bosnia by trying to establish missions. The bishops of Makarska were often Franciscans, but they were willing to use secular priests for missions, usually glagoljaši, since they knew proto-Serbo-Croatian (and in theory the Slavonic service) well. In addition, the Franciscan order at times assigned Franciscans from Dalmatia to serve in Bosnia. Such appointments at times led to tensions, as the native Bosnians were very possessive of what was theirs and the way they did things. For example, in 1803 fra Grga Ilijić Varešanin, the most prominent Bosnian Franciscan of his day, wrote Rome complaining that two of these Franciscans (fra Luka Dropuljić and fra Ivan Mirčeta) were causing difficulties, and in his list of grievances about them he called them foreigners.⁴¹¹ That a Bosnian Franciscan could see Dalmatian Franciscans (both of whom had Slavic names and thus were not Italians) as foreigners well illustrates the lack among some South Slav Catholics at the time of any feeling of community.

The Official Church Visitor Peter Massarechi (Masrek), who among other

408. K. Jurišić, *Katolička Crkva na biokovsko-neretvanskom području*, p. 141.

409. K. Jurišić, *Katolička Crkva na biokovsko-neretvanskom području*, p. 74.

410. K. Jurišić, *Katolička Crkva na biokovsko-neretvanskom području*, p. 110.

411. S. Džaja, *Katolici u Bosni i zapadnoj Hercegovini*, pp. 207–8. How well these glagoljaši really knew the Slavonic Mass might also be questioned. A second influential Franciscan on the Bosnian side, fra Augustin Miletić, said that they did not understand the liturgical texts (in theory in Church Slavonic) and merely mouthed excerpts from them like parrots (Džaja, p. 163). Fra Grga Ilijić Varešanin at other times did recognize some commonality among the various South Slavs, for he published in Dubrovnik in 1799 a text on the Virgin, whose title page stated that he produced it for all the Slavic people (*svemu puku naroda slovinskoga*) and especially for the true believers of Bosnia and Hercegovina (Džaja, p. 185).

places in 1623 and 1624 visited much of what was to become Yugoslavia and who could speak proto-Serbo-Croatian, usually, but, not exclusively, used the term “Illyrian.”⁴¹² To reduce the number of footnotes, I cite in my summary the page numbers of Draganović’s edition of his text. Massarechi noted that the people in this wide area used a variety of languages. The Catholics of Prizren spoke Albanian or Slavic (slavo); in Bosnia, Serbia, and Bulgaria they spoke in Slavic or Illyrian (pp. 11, 13); and in Hungary (under which he included Slavonia) Slavic and Hungarian (p. 11). Elsewhere for Prizren he used the form *schiacona* (p. 7). In Slavonia he noted in Ivankovo a talented Catholic priest of good life(style) who was from the Illyrian nation (*di Natione Illirico*) and also noted the presence in town of Calvinists who were Illyrians (p. 37). In Osijek he reported seven Catholic families of Illyrian language (p. 38) and then moving on to the Drava he noted three parishes of Illyrian language and nationality (*natione*), and he repeated these terms for specific examples there (p. 39). He also mentioned two Catholic priests with the identifying marker “Croat”: in Morović Michael Crovato and in “Zerna” John Croato (p. 37). Unfortunately, we do not know whether the term “Croat” was a descriptive one supplied by Massarechi or whether it came from the priests themselves. Nor do we know what it actually meant; was it used because the two were outsiders from Croatia proper? On a subsequent trip to Slavonia in 1626 Peter Massarechi reported twenty Illyrian villages of the Calvinist faith near Požega, where the Vuka flows into the Drava.⁴¹³ In contrast, a few years later, in 1628, another Official Church Visitor to Slavonia, Atanasij Georgijević, chose “Slavic” over “Illyrian,” noting around Djakovo those Catholics who speak Slavic (*che parlavano Slavo*).⁴¹⁴ The Church Visitor Sebastian Glavinić, Bishop of Senj, refers in 1691 to an Illyrian Breviary (*Breviaria Illyrica*) which had previously been printed in Kосinj, near Senj.⁴¹⁵

Split produced several other “Illyrian” cases. Though Archbishop Stipan Cosmi (1682–1707) did not want the Slavic Mass in Split itself, he allowed, in order to honor the population that used the worthy Illyrian language (*Illyrici idiomatis dignitatem*), preaching in that language.⁴¹⁶ Split also took notice, when in 1689 Pope Alexander VIII named Cardinal Petar Ottoboni to be the “Protector of our Illyrian nation in Rome” (*nostrae nationis Illyricae in Urbe protector*).⁴¹⁷ Split’s Archbishop Cupilli sought to establish a printing press in that town to publish books in the Illyrian language (*libri in lingua illirica*), but

412. K. Draganović (ed.), “Izvjeste apostolskog vizitatora Petra Masarechija o prilikama katol. naroda u Bugarskoj, Srbiji, Srijemu, Slavoniji, i Bosni g. 1623 i 1624,” *Starine* (JAZU) 39, 1938, pp. 1–48.

413. J. Radonić, *Rimska kurija*, p. 89.

414. Cited by J. Radonić, *Rimska kurija*, p. 95.

415. E. Hercigonja, *Srednjovjekovna književnost*, p. 212.

416. I. Ostojić, *Metropolitanski kaptol u Splitu*, p. 130.

417. I. Ostojić, *Metropolitanski kaptol u Splitu*, p. 134.

was prevented from doing so by the Venetian authorities. The same Cupilli mentions in a Visitation report the mission in Illyrian language of the Jesuit Della Bella.⁴¹⁸ And in 1723 the canons of the cathedral in Split unanimously followed the suggestion of the Bishop of Makarska that the feast of St. Kaja (Caius), a pope who had died in 296 and was allegedly born in Solin, become an obligatory saint's day in the archdiocese for the honor and glory of the Illyrian people (*per decoro e gloria della nazione Illirica*).⁴¹⁹ Several of these notices come close to seeing the "Illyrians" as an ethnic group.

In the 1640s a Franciscan named Marin Rusić, born in Ston and at the time a resident of Madrid, Spain, published a brief compendium of all the glorious peoples of the Illyrian language (*Breve compendium nationis gloriosae totius linguae illyricae*).⁴²⁰ Other Church texts had inscriptions noting that they had been rendered into Illyrian. One text was an undated manuscript of Genesis and Exodus whose inscription refers to it being Sacred Scripture translated into Illyrian (*illirico*), which Fancev plausibly ties to a Biblical project initiated by Bernardin Frankapan in 1521.⁴²¹ Another text was a prayer book which Bishop Bernardin Larizza of Dubrovnik (fl. 1640s), who was an Italian from Pula, gave to a cardinal in Rome with a handwritten inscription, which Fancev identifies as being in Bishop Bernardin's hand, saying that it was printed in the Illyrian language with Illyrian characters (*in Lingua Illirica stampato con carattere Il-lirico*).⁴²² In the 1660s we have many Church references in connection with the Dalmatian coast and/or Istria to needing Catechism books in the Illyrian language, to the reciting of the Pater noster, Ave Maria, and Creed in Illyrian, and to needing missionaries knowing the Illyrian language.⁴²³ The eighteenth century yields further examples of Catholic officials using "Illyrian" as the name of the local language.⁴²⁴

418. M. Kombol, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, pp. 288–89; N. Sironić-Bonefačić, "Ardelio Della Bella," p. 14, fn. 54.

419. I. Ostojić, *Metropolitanski kaptol u Splitu*, p. 134. Though Ostojić's "alleged" casts doubts on the third-century pope's Solin (Salona) origins, Dyggve has no trouble in calling him a Dalmatian, and cites a conference paper by a certain de Waal which concluded that this pope was a relative of Diocletian, which, if true, might even make the Salona origin likely. (E. Dyggve, *History of Salonitan Christianity*, Oslo [Instituttet for Sammenlignende Kulturforskning 21], 1951, p. 2.) However, Dyggve's conclusions have nothing to do with the Illyrian-Slavic trappings which the eighteenth-century Splicani have attached to the label "Dalmatian."

420. M. Pantić, "Mavro Orbini" p. lxxx.

421. F. Fancev, "Latinicki spomenici," p. xxxiv.

422. F. Fancev, "Latinicki spomenici," p. xxxi.

423. J. Radonić, *Rimska kurija*, pp. 199, 210, 213.

424. For example, in 1711 Bar's Bishop Vicko Zmajević (soon to be promoted to Archbishop of Zadar) was trying to publish his uncle's chronicle in the Illyrian language (J. Radonić, *Rimska kurija*, p. 361); in 1740 Jovan Nikolović, Apostolic vicar in Skopje, was seeking for his mission Illyrian "ABCs," as well as Breviaries and theological texts (J. Radonić, *Rimska kurija*, p. 567); in 1754 Pope Benedict XIV, in confirming the right of certain dioceses to use Church Slavonic, spoke of the language of St. Jerome being used for Missals and Breviaries printed in Illyrian characters or in those of St. Jerome (M. Bolonić, *Otok Krk*, p. 8). V. Spinčić, *Crtice*, provides five further

The Jesuits on the Adriatic Coast

The Jesuit mission for Venetian Dalmatia called itself the Illyrian-Dalmatian one (missionis Illyrico-Dalmaticae). In the 1670s and 1680s one of the “Illyrian missionaries” (missionarius illyricus) was Juraj Kraljić from Varaždin. One of its most active members, the Ragusan Bernard Zuzzeri (Zuzorić), in his reports for 1724–42 refers to the Illyrian language several times and once to Illyrian characters in reference to his work in and around Dubrovnik, Senj, and Otočac. He also once refers to Slavs of Carniolian language in the region of Gorica. Zuzzeri was probably also the author of a collection of hymns, published in 1729, in the local language, which seems not to have called the language by a name, but said that it was for the Slavic (slovinski) and Dalmatian countries (daržava).⁴²⁵ The “Slavic” half of that phrase (slovincijh deržava) was also used to describe for whom a book was intended on the title page of a 1765 work “Christian Musings/Conversations for Sundays and Holidays” (Besjede kerstjanske za nedjeljnjih i blažijeh dana) by the Jesuit Djuro Bašić.⁴²⁶

One of the Jesuits’ main centers, which included both a residence and school, was in Dubrovnik. In the eighteenth century, utilizing the house diary and other records, Simon Capitozzi put together a chronicle of the Dubrovnik College. He carried it from 1559 down to 1751; his work was subsequently continued by the just-mentioned Djuro Bašić. There are almost no broad identity references in the text; however, four times the language is mentioned, and each time it is called “Illyrian,” under 1677, 1695, 1727, and 1728.⁴²⁷ Whether the terminology was Capitozzi’s choice or reflected what stood in his documents is not known. Bašić, who was born in Dubrovnik and spent his entire career as a Jesuit working there, also wrote a collection of biographies of Ragusan Jesuits. In that text he frequently and exclusively uses the term “Illyrian.” He speaks regularly of the “Illyrian language,” in one case saying that the Jesuits’ work brought the Gospels not only to Dalmatia but to “the nations of the Illyrian

examples: in 1738 a liturgist named Merati wrote Rome that in Istria, Liburnia, and Dalmatia Divine Services were carried out in Illyrian (p. 36); in 1744 a clerical council on Istria wrote the Bishop of Pula that the conferees hoped services would be continued in Illyrian so as not to upset the Illyrians who take their customs very seriously (p. 40); the Bishop of Osor in about 1750 reported that he preached in Illyrian on the island of Cres (p. 37); Bishop Stratico of Novigrad at a diocesan synod in 1780 listed some books needed for his Illyrian priests (p. 26); and a priest named Bonaventura Botterini from Lošinj in 1791 produced a history of his island. In its preface he noted that he had written it for the use and honor of his homeland and the glorious Venetian Illyrian people (p. 30).

425. M. Vanino (ed.), “Izvjēšće Dubrovčanina Bernarda Zuzzeria o misijama 1724–1727,” *Vrela i prinosi* 6, 1936, pp. 74–75, 79, 82, 86, 107; M. Vanino (ed.), “Izvjēšće o. Bernarda Zuzorića o misijama 1727–1742,” *Vrela i prinosi* 11, 1940, pp. 134, 141, 145, 152, 169, 173–74, 176, 182. Reference to Juraj Kraljić from F. Fancev, “Dubrovnik u razvitku hrvatske književnosti,” p. 199.

426. M. Vanino, *Isusovci* II, p. 92, fn. 6.

427. [Dubrovnik Jesuits], “Ljetopis dubrovačkoga kolegija,” *Vrela i prinosi* 7, 1937, pp. 25, 40, 56–57.

language bordering on it"; two Jesuits were noted as being of "the Illyrian nation," and we also find "Illyrian regions," "Illyrian books," and discover that the previously mentioned Junius Palmotić had "Illyricus" appended to his name in a reference to him as a poet.⁴²⁸ In 1793 Džanluk Volantić (1749–1808) published in Dubrovnik a text entitled "Spiritual Conversations" (*Besjedde dohovne*), written by the previously mentioned Bernard Zuzzeri. In its preface Volantić raised the question as to whether Slavic (*Slovinski jesik*) was rich enough to be able to express all one's thoughts without the help of Italian, which Zuzzeri had sprinkled throughout his text. And unlike various other authors we have met, Volantić replied, "No, in truth."⁴²⁹

Another Jesuit, Lovro Camelli, served for thirty-four years in Dalmatia (1728–62) and almost certainly is the author of a history of the Jesuits' popular mission in Venetian Dalmatia, which covers the period 1703–62. The author frequently speaks of the language of the people there, which was also used by the Jesuits in their work there. He usually calls it "Illyrian," sometimes "Dalmatian," once "Dalmatian or Illyrian" and once "Slavic." And on occasion he refers to the local people as "Dalmatians."⁴³⁰

The Jesuits were also active in Rijeka. To stimulate repentance they regularly sponsored and directed processions, including flagellant ones. In descriptions of these processions from 1648, 1649, and 1650, reference is made to explanations being preached in Latin, Illyrian, and Italian; to a small performance staged in Illyrian; and to singing Illyrian songs about the sufferings of Our Lord.⁴³¹ At about the same time the local Jesuit gymnasium created an Internat to house poor pupils and "Illyrian" clerics. The latter were Glagolitic priests from the interior, whom the keeper of the gymnasium's annals said were so ignorant that they could not really read "Illyrian" beyond what they needed for services.⁴³²

Shortly thereafter a language dispute erupted in the Jesuit gymnasium in Rijeka. A major subject was, naturally, Latin and it was customary to teach it, that is, providing explanations for the pupils, in Italian. However, in 1698 the new Latin teacher, Juraj Sajić from Samobor in Slavonia, was deficient in Italian. When it was proposed that he provide explanations in Illyrian instead, objections were raised. The first protests came from the Istrian Marko Ljubičić. Referring to proto-Serbo-Croatian as "Illyrian," he argued that to use it required a study of reading or writing in it, and this in its various forms. This

428. Dj. Bašić, "Elogia Iesuitarum Ragusinorum" (D. Pavlović, ed.), *Croatia sacra* 3, 1933, examples from pp. 119–20, 127–28, 136, 181–82, 187, 197, 202. The only reference to anything "Croatian" in the text is to Croatia itself belonging to the Jesuits' Austrian province (p. 204).

429. Z. Muljačić, "Iz korespondencije," p. 556, fn. 41.

430. M. Vanino, "Lovro Camelli i njegova povijest pučkih misija u mletačkoj Dalmaciji 1703–1762," *Vrela i prinosi* 12, 1941, pp. 110–11, 118–19, 120–22, 127–28, 131, 144, 153–54, 172, 179.

431. M. Vanino, *Isusovci* II, pp. 174–76.

432. M. Vanino, *Isusovci* II, p. 265.

need arose from the fact that there were Croats, Kranjci, and Dalmatians, whose written languages differed from one another. Some wrote in a phonetic system like Poles, others like Latin, and even the professors in the Rijeka school wrote the language with differing systems, depending upon whether they were Coastalers (Maritimi), Croats (Croatae), Slavi (Slavonians?, Slovenes?), or Kranjci (Carniolae). Each wrote in his own dialect. In Ljubičić's usage, "Illyrian" referred to the overall language, inclusively to include all these dialects. For example, he noted that Rijeka found itself in Illyria, and the general language of the population was Illyrian. He then noted that in Ljubljana the popular language was Kranjski and in Dubrovnik Illyrian, but the language of instruction in the two places was German and Italian respectively. And that was because the clergy and aristocracy of the two places chose to use those two languages rather than the local mother tongue.

However, if people were from certain places, Ljubičić had no hesitation in calling them "Croats." For example, Ljubičić suggested turning the case over to a prominent Jesuit, Mijo Sikuten, a former rector in Zagreb and at the time rector for over twelve years in Graz; Ljubičić said that Sikuten was of the Croat nation (*natione Croata*). Sikuten had been born in Sasinovac. The other figure who objected, Rijeka's rector, Ferricoli, had similar concerns and vocabulary. If they used Illyrian, at one moment the pupils would have as their master a Croat (*Croata*), and at another a Dalmatian, then a Kranjac (*Carniolus*), and then a Slav (Vanino says Slovak, but I suspect a Slavonian). As a result the pupils would forget Italian and end up with a broken Dalmatian, and would make little progress with Latin. Ferricoli noted that Ljubljana, the chief town in Kranj, which was an Illyrian land, used German for instruction, and it was important to do so since it was the official language of the region, used by the courts. For the same reason German was the language of instruction in Koruška (Carinthia) and Styria, even though most people spoke "Slavonice." So, if German was used as the language of instruction in these regions, how would it hurt to use Italian in Rijeka, especially since Italian was closer to Latin than German or Illyrian. Ferricoli clearly also was aware that the town elite, who spoke Italian among themselves, would not put up with another language of instruction. And the Jesuit provincial there expressed his thoughts in similar language, stressing the importance for pupils to learn Italian in school, since Illyrian (*Illyrica vulgaris*) was the town's language, thus implying the pupils would learn that language at home but would end up deficient in Italian if they did not have to use it in school.⁴³³

433. M. Vanino, *Isusovci* II, pp. 177, 180–82, 186, 189–90. A similar language issue arose in the Varaždin gymnasium, though the premises were different. In this case the school had been using proto-Serbo-Croatian as the teaching language, and Vienna in 1769 wanted it changed to German. The Jesuit teachers, noting that many of the children did not know German, objected. This issue was not to be finally resolved, and the Jesuit order was banned by Maria Theresa four years later. Unfortunately, Vanino, who discusses the developing quarrel simply, as he does

Attached to the gymnasium-church complex was a priest and catechist, who preached and heard confessions. This figure's role from the 1630s to 1660s was discussed by Vanino. Unfortunately he only once cites the language from his sources used to label this position. On that occasion, the priest was called "Conciones Croaticae."⁴³⁴ Thus, on this occasion, "Croatian" rather than "Illyrian" was used. It would be worth looking at the archival documents to see whether this was the usual term or an exceptional usage. Similar figures in Slavic churches in Italy were regularly called "Illyrian" confessors or preachers.

Scattered Church Uses of "Dalmatian"

"Dalmatian" also continued to be used from time to time among Church figures. We noted that in 1603 the nuns of St. Nicholas in Zadar were using rules translated into vulgar or spoken Dalmatian. In 1628 the Archbishop of Zadar, who was an Italian from Vicenza, sought to retire from his post. A major reason behind this wish was the fact that he did not understand the speech of the locals or they his, for almost all spoke "Dalmatian."⁴³⁵ A papal nuncio to Venice in 1638 mentioned that many under Venice spoke Dalmato-Slavic (*lingua dalmata schiavone*).⁴³⁶ The previously mentioned Petar Gaudentius (1570–1664), whose translated interpretation of the Symbol appeared after his death in "Slavic," published a translation of a work on the good death in 1657 in Rome, shortly before his own (good, we hope) death in 1664; that text's title page had the work translated into "Dalmatinski yazik."⁴³⁷

In the mid 1620s the papacy was seeking a bishop for its see of Smederevo and hoped to find someone who knew Serbian and Hungarian. In addition, the Vatican did not want the individual to be a Ragusan, Bosnian, or Dalmatian. The terms are clearly used geographically, but it is interesting to note that the Ragusans were not considered to be Dalmatians. In 1653 a group of Albanian priests wrote Rome seeking that the vacancy for the Bishopric of Bar be filled, not by an Italian or Dalmatian, but by one knowing Albanian. Whether the term "Dalmatian" meant anyone from Dalmatia, with the Italians in question being from Italy proper, or whether Dalmatian meant Slavs from Dalmatia as opposed to Italians from there, is not clear.⁴³⁸

throughout his book, calls the language "Croatian" and never provides a single source citation to show what name the local Jesuits and their opponents from the government used to label that language (M. Vanino, *Isusovci* II, pp. 388–90). I urge someone with archival access to examine the documents of this dispute to turn up the linguistic categories used in it.

434. M. Vanino, *Isusovci* II, p. 280.

435. A.-R. Filipi, "Hrvatski govorni jezik," p. 437.

436. A.-R. Filipi, "Hrvatski govorni jezik," p. 437.

437. I. Ostojić, *Metropolitanski kaptol u Splitu*, picture facing p. 264.

438. J. Radonić, "Jeronim Paštrić, istorik XVII veka," *Glas (SAN)* 190, 1946, pp. 72, 89.

The Issue of Printing Church Books in Slavonic

Meanwhile in the second quarter of the seventeenth century considerable correspondence occurred over the need to print more Church books in Slavonic. Fermentdžin has published the surviving letters on this subject, written to one another between 1620 and 1648 by a series of leading Church figures: a cardinal, two papal nuncios, several bishops of Dalmatian cities, a prominent Franciscan, and a printer.⁴³⁹ The books were vitally needed, for as Franjo Glavinić, one of the correspondents, pointed out, Illyrian or Slavic was used for the Divine Services in much of Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, Liburnia, the islands, along the Adriatic coast, and everywhere in Vinodol (p. 10). The use of terms in this correspondence illustrates well how high levels of the Church saw things in Rome and on the spot. The cardinal once referred to a revised Missal and Breviary in Slavic (p. 2); a writer to the Mass being celebrated in Illyrian or Slavic (p. 10); the Franciscan to a heretical (Protestant) work in the Slavic language of Carniola in Latin letters (p. 27); and the papal nuncio in Vienna once referred to the letters of the nation of Dalmatians (*di natione Dalmatino*) (p. 6). Otherwise, the term used for the language by all those involved was “Illyrian,” though on occasion some writers, in referring to different dialects, spoke about sub-divisions of Illyrian like Bosnian, Dalmatian, Istrian, Croatian, and so forth. Thus, in the broader context of Illyrian Missals and Breviaries a papal nuncio can refer to a Missal in Bosnian and Latin characters that had been published in Venice (p. 16). This particular nuncio compared the Bosnian dialect favorably to Tuscan among the Italian dialects and urged its use. We also find a reference to an Illyrian Missal in the Glagolitic language of St. Jerome (p. 17). In the letters we come across: the Illyrian printing press (*stampa illirica*) (pp. 5–6, etc.), Illyrian Missals and Breviaries (pp. 14–15, etc.), Illyrian language (e.g., pp. 12, 18, etc.), Illyrian vocabulary (p. 12), Illyrian priests (p. 9), the Illyrian provinces (p. 8), the Illyrian nation (*natione*) (pp. 12–13, etc.), the Illyrian lands (*paese illirico*), whose linguistic variants (particular differences) made it necessary, in the eyes of Bishop Ivan Tomko Mrnavić, to consult a Dalmatian, a Croat, a Bosnian, and a Macedonian or Serb (p. 8), translating from Latin into Illyrian (p. 10), and celebrating the Mass in Illyrian (p. 10). The

439. E. Fermentdžin, “Listovi o izdanju glagoljskih crkvenih knjiga i o drugih književnih poslovih u Hrvatskoj od god. 1620–1648,” *Starine* (JAZU) 24, 1891, pp. 1–40. Most everything in the paragraphs to follow is drawn from Fermentdžin’s study. For further material from the 1620s (especially on the issue of which of the three alphabets—Glagolitic, Cyrillic, or Latin—to use), see J. Jurić, “Pokušaj ‘Zbora za Širenje vjere,’” *Croatia sacra* 4, no. 8, 1934, pp. 143–54, along with relevant documents, pp. 155–74. In Jurić’s material the word “Illyrian” for the language dominates (Illyrian language, Catechisms, characters) with an occasional “Slavic” (e.g., for Slavic priests) thrown in. When the term “Illyrian” is used for characters/alphabet (though on some occasions the context does not make clear which alphabet is referred to), it usually (and perhaps always) refers to Glagolitic, which characters are also called “St. Jerome’s letters.”

correspondents note the fact that there are two alphabets, that of St. Cyril (called Zuriliza) and that of St. Jerome called Glagolitic (glagoliza) (pp. 10–11). Thus, decisions had to be made on which of these two scripts, if not the Latin alphabet, was to be used.

In the discussion, Illyrian was broken down in various ways. We have just seen that Mrnavić wanted a commission of four to evaluate the work. The regions they were to come from each represented a different dialect: Dalmatia (Čakavian), Croatia (Kajkavian), Bosnia (Štokavian/Ijekavian), and Serbia (Štokavian/Ekavian). (The difference between Ijekavian and Ekavian is that Ijekavian has what we could call a “y glide” before the letter “e,” which Ekavian does not have. Thus, in the former the word “pretty” is pronounced [and written] “lijep,” in the latter “lep.”) Why Mrnavić mentions Macedonia is not clear, since the majority of people there did not speak Štokavian but a language closer to Bulgarian. However, perhaps Mrnavić had had contact with some Štokavian-Ekavian speakers from there. At one point Franjo Glavinić noted that the heretics (Protestants) in preparing a translation of the Bible had put together a commission of six: two from Croatia, one from Dalmatia, one from Liburnia, one from Istria, and one from Kranj (p. 13). Later in the same letter, Glavinić makes a three-fold division, insofar as he notes a need for three specifically qualified assistants to help with the project: a Croat, a Liburnian, and an Istrian or a true Slav (p. 13). (Fućak thinks what is meant here is “an Istrian or Slovene,” which makes sense since shortly before that, Glavinić had ended his six-fold division with “Istria and Kranj.”) The linguistic variations behind these divisions would take a bit of explaining, but what is important is that variants from Croatia or Croatian are seen as sub-divisions of a language; the basic language—and when it is stated, the people, the *ethnos* concerned—for all these writers, both Slavs from Dalmatia and Italians, is Illyrian.⁴⁴⁰

The term “Croat” was also used regularly in connection with one of the figures active in this project. The Franciscan fra Rafael (Levaković) (1597–1649) from the Order’s Province of Croatia, once in these discussions referred to himself as “di Croatia Minor Osserv.” (p. 23), but usually simply as “croato,” that is, *fratri Rafaeli Croato* or *fra R. L. croato* (e.g., p. 22, 35, etc.). I assume “Croat” was simply an abbreviated way of saying that he was from that particular province of the order, rather than an identification as a Croat. However, “Croat” may also refer to his place of origin, which was Jastrebarsko; the Jesuits were already using “Croat” for one from Croatia proper by this time. The same Franciscan also referred to the work of a Bulgarian Franciscan

440. A Dominican Provincial, Ambrose Lučić, also involved himself in the discussions, writing the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith from Split in August 1627. He described the work of Alberti, who had translated into “Illyrian, using the characters of St. Jerome (Glagolitic) and also Illyrian with Latin characters” (D. Berić, “Splitski jezikoslovac Matija Alberti,” pp. 60–61).

converting heretics (Calvinists), hearing their confessions, and giving them absolution in the land called "Sarfaz"(?) inhabited by Croats (p. 35).

There was considerable debate as to who should be responsible for editing the new Slavic Missal, which, as noted, was to be in Church Slavonic. In the end Pope Urban VIII selected this fra Rafael Levaković, then on the staff of the Vatican's Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, to revise the ecclesiastical books in Illyrian language (reformatior librorum ecclesiasticorum linguae Illyricae).⁴⁴¹ Before turning to the Missal, he produced two other works: first, a Catechism, sponsored by the Congregation, which appeared in Glagolitic in 1628 and Cyrillic in 1629. Entitled "Nauk karstjanski kratak," it was a translation of Bellarmino's Catechism into the vernacular. According to Iovine, who does not provide a full title, the work was said to be "in Croatian" (in Croaticum). Since Iovine puts the phrase in italics I am assuming that that language name appeared on the title page, though it is possible the expression was used by Levaković in a preface. Second, Levaković produced a short guide to Slavonic for the purpose of making the forthcoming Missal more accessible; this work, published in 1629, was entitled "Azbukividnik [alphabet guide] slovinski." It published the Glagolitic, Cyrillic, and Latin letters in parallel columns. In December 1631 the Roman Missal in Slavonic (slavonico idiomate) was issued. It appeared in what Levaković called the characters of St. Jerome, in other words, in Glagolitic. That same year, according to Spinčić, Levaković prepared for publication a second work, which was not to be published, a dictionary of Church Slavic words entitled in the two languages, "Vocabalarium Ecclesiasticum Slavicum" and "Slavenska slovnica."⁴⁴² The Glagolitic used for the Missal of course caused problems in the many areas where it was not used. The Archbishop of Dubrovnik wrote the Vatican in 1635, noting that his priests knew only Latin letters; they did not know what he called the characters of old Dalmatian (his name for Cyrillic) or those of St. Jerome.⁴⁴³ Moreover, as Tkalčić points out, the results were unsatisfactory, for Levaković did not know Church Slavonic well enough; thus, his edition contained many words from the spoken language. Moreover, one of Levaković's assistants, the Uniate Malorussian bishop Matthew Terlecki, brought various Russianisms (and Russian Slavonic variants) into the Slavonic. Levaković's Breviary followed in 1648 with similar but slightly different language problems, for as Jagić

441. E. Hercigonja, "Društveni i gospodarski okviri," p. 90.

442. V. Spinčić, *Crtice*, p. 31.

443. J. Radonić, *Štamparije*, pp. 53, 55; M. Iovine, "The 'Illyrian' Language," pp. 136, 142, 155 (fn. 57). It is also worth noting that Levaković, in a letter from 1642 to Bishop Vinković of Zagreb, refers to two scholarly works he was engaged in carrying out: one on the Illyrian nation (*De Illyrica natione*) and its true origins and one on the Ancient Illyrian language (J. Radonić, *Štamparije*, p. 64). Thus, we see that Levaković had scholarly interests and some more or less ethnic feeling (as expressed by the term "nation"), which he identifies with the term "Illyrian."

points out, the language of the Breviary differed to some extent from that of the Missal.⁴⁴⁴

But the pope did not realize the texts had these flaws and put his stamp of approval on the Missal; he said that in all churches using Slavonic it and no other was to be used. It enjoyed a second printing in 1648. However, the ban on other editions meant that many which were in use at the time—to the degree the pope's decree was known—had to be replaced.

Either insufficient numbers of Missals were printed or there were serious problems in distribution, for numerous letters came in to the Vatican, particularly from the Dalmatian coast and Istria, requesting copies. In 1685, in response to a letter from the Archbishop of Zadar, the Vatican expressed the need to send to Dalmatia more copies of the books, which it had printed in Illyrian, and expressed the need to print more.⁴⁴⁵ Other letters called for a new edition. One such letter appeared from Martin Brajković, Bishop of Senj-Modruš, in 1700. He not only spoke of the need for more books in his diocese, but also pointed out the poor quality of Levaković's edition. It had many errors and also lacked the service texts for many new saints; Brajković recommended an individual he thought capable of doing the corrections. The pope responded to the problem, but came up with his own choice to do the corrections, Ivan Paštrić, a Dalmatian from Split then serving in Rome. Paštrić produced a corrected edition entitled "A Roman Missal in Slavonic Language" (*Misal rimski u ezik slovenski*), which was published in Rome in 1706. Paštrić had already turned out in 1688 a Breviary of the Roman rite in Illyrian (*Breviarii, illyrici romani*) for the use of the Illyrian nation/people of Dalmatia (*utilitatem tum Nationis illyricae in Dalmatia*) and for the Glagolitic clergy.⁴⁴⁶

According to Tkalčić, this edition was a step backwards, since Paštrić knew even less Slavonic than Levaković. These poor texts continued in use

444. V. Jagić, "Hrvatska glagolska književnost," pp. 48–49; M. Japundžić, *Matteo Karaman*, p. 57. Between Missal and Breviary, Levaković published in Rome (in 1639 and 1640) three eulogistic poems entitled "Slavonicum epigramma," thus keeping the same general term "Slavic," but in the case of the poems using it for vernaculars. The first poem was in East Slavic (Russian/Ukrainian) in Cyrillic, the second in an Ikavian Serbo-Croatian in Glagolitic, and the third a mixed Slavic (with many East Slavic forms) written in Latin letters. For the poems, see I. Golub, "The Slavic Idea of Juraj Kržanić," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 10, nos. 3–4, 1986, p. 456. Thus, we see that Levaković varied both the versions of the language he employed as well as the alphabets used for the language.

445. M. Bogović, *Katolička crkva*, p. 109, fn. 17.

446. V. Jagić, "Glagolitica: Ocjena novopronđenih odlomaka," in his *Izabrani kraći spisi*, Zagreb, n.d., p. 268, fn. 173; M. Japundžić, *Matteo Karaman*, p. 57. At roughly the same time, in 1696, Bishop Sebastian Glavinić of Senj in a report on a visitation to Lika and Krbava notes the presence of Breviaries printed in Illyrian. Cited by V. Putanec, "Problem predsenjskih tiskara," p. 58. Ante Split claims that Paštrić stated that the Missal he brought out in 1706 was "for the use of Croatian priests." But he does not tell us where this thought was printed—in a preface to the work? In a letter to someone? (See Ante Split, *Hrvatski naslov*, p. 22.) However, most probably Ante Split simply translated "Illyrian" as "Croatian," since the Latin on the title page provided by Jagić says "Illyrian."

until Matija Karaman, who had been sent by the Vatican to Russia in 1732 to study Slavonic, was asked to produce a new edition. Karaman had been lobbying for a new edition; in a memo to the Vatican he complained that, in the absence of proper Slavonic Missals, too many priests were using texts written in the everyday language, which he called vulgar Slavic or Dalmatian (*lingua slavonica vulgari seu Dalmatina*). And he complained of Kašić's encouraging this sort of usage with his ritual and other Church books in "Dalmatian" language which, according to Karaman, was also inappropriately called "Illyrian."⁴⁴⁷ He, with the assistance of Archdeacon Matija Sović (whom we shall discuss below), produced a new edition, which, after being examined by four Ukrainians/Russians and declared satisfactory, was, as we shall see, published in 1741. However, this edition, though possibly having more Slavonic than the two previous tries, still had incorporated many non-Slavonic words, but this time also had many more Russian ones. This made it, of course, less accessible to proto-Serbo-Croatian speakers than the Levaković and Paštrić editions, which though also having Russianisms did have more local non-Slavonic words. Thus, it is no surprise, that, as we shall see below when we examine the linguistic controversy of the second half of the eighteenth century, there was further debate over the Karaman Missal, and a demand led by its major critic, Stjepan Ruzić (Rusić; Rosa/Rossi), to forego all pretense of Slavonic and to use the modern language in its best dialect, Bosnian-Ragusan.⁴⁴⁸ Karaman's 1741 Missal in Slavonic stated on the title page that the text was in Slavonic (in *sclavonico idiomate*).⁴⁴⁹ A decade later, in 1753, Karaman was to publish a work on Slavonic entitled "Considerations on the Identity of the Literary Slavic Language" (*della lingua litterale slava*), using the term "literary" to denote the Church language.⁴⁵⁰

Various Lectionaries and other Church texts were to appear in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. We have already commented on the various editions of the Lectionary of Bernardin of Split and on the various works produced by Bartol Kašić. Later on in the chapter, we shall turn to works of this category that to some extent saw themselves as being in "Croatian." Here we shall merely note those that continued the usual Illyrian-Slavic terminology. First there was the Lectionary produced by the Bosnian Franciscan Ivan Bandulavić, printed in 1613, that both on the title page and several times in the preface said that the work's language was "Slavic" (*slovinski yezik*).⁴⁵¹ The

447. J. Radonić, *Štamparije*, p. 71.

448. The material in this paragraph is a summary of the detailed discussion in I. Tkalčić, *Slavensko boguslužje*, pp. 112–15.

449. M. Bogović, *Katolička crkva*, illustration after p. 112.

450. M. Pantelić, "Glagoljski kodeksi Bartola Krbavca," *Radovi Staroslavenskog instituta* 5, 1964, p. 17.

451. J. Fućak, *Šest stoljeća hrvatskoga lektionara*, p. 220. For title page and preface, see L. Jelić, *Fontes historici*, *Fontes . . . XVII saeculi*, p. 81.

censor's approval, written in Italian, also called the language "Slavic" (Schiava).⁴⁵² Mate Alberti, in addition to his previously mentioned Marian service, printed in Split a Slavic (Slovinskemu) Missal and Breviary which was translated from Latin into Slavic;⁴⁵³ and in 1661 a work was printed in Vienna for services in Dubrovnik that had been translated from Latin into Slavic (Slovinski).⁴⁵⁴ Soon thereafter, in 1693, Archdeacon Brnja Sorkočević published a service book in Cologne, also translated from Latin into Slavic.⁴⁵⁵ Another Franciscan, fra Petar Knezević, who came from a village near Knin, published a Lectionary in 1773 that he said was translated into Slavic (slovinski jezik). In his preface he shows warmth by saying, "in our language, Slavic" (u jezik nasc slovinski) and said his (Slavic) was based on the language we speak in Dalmatia.⁴⁵⁶

Ivan Tomko Mrnavić

Ivan Tomko Mrnavić (Marnavić) (1579–1639), whom we have just met above as a member of the group of Church figures discussing the translation of Missals and Breviaries into Slavonic, was to use a broad mixture of identity terms for himself and his language. In 1612 or 1613 he published in Venice a translation of a saint's life of Margaret, a Hungarian princess, and in 1614 another hagiographical text in Rome. Both were said to have been translated from Vlach (meaning Latin) into Croatian (iz pisma vlaške u harvatsku). Despite Mrnavić calling his language here "Croatian," he identified himself, at least on the 1614 work's title page, as Ivan Tomo Marnavich Bošjanin (Bosnian), after his family's place of origin. (Mrnavić himself was born in Šibenik; it had been his grandfather who had migrated to the coast from Ottoman-ruled Fojnica in Bosnia.) Mrnavić's translation, published in Rome in 1627, of Cardinal Belarmino's work on Christian doctrine also stated that it was translated into Croatian, but his work "To Manda Budrisicka" was published in "the Illyrian language" in Rome in 1635.⁴⁵⁷ Despite the "Illyrian" in the title, the text of this long poem had many references to things Croatian. The dedication, to Mrnavić's mother, referred to his subject as a Croatian lady. The text of the poem itself continues in this vein: Manda was a Croatian maiden in the Croatian land, who was born on a steep mountain on the Croatian Sea. Left a

452. L. Jelić, *Fontes historici*, Fontes . . . XVII saeculi, p. 82.

453. F. Fancev, "Latinski spomenici," p. lxxvi.

454. F. Fancev, "Latinski spomenici," p. lxxxix.

455. F. Fancev, "Dubrovnik u razvitku hrvatske književnosti," p. 180.

456. J. Fućak, *Šest stoljeća hrvatskoga lektionara*, p. 248.

457. Mrnavić also wrote the long epitaph for Baraković's tomb at the church of St. Jerome in Rome; in it he refers to Pope Pius V being a promoter of Illyrian poetry. (See D. Berić, "Nekoliko podataka za biografiju Jurja Barakovića," in his *Iz književne prošlosti Dalmacije*, Split, 1956, p. 37); on some of his texts/translations, see S. Antoljak, *Hrvatska historiografija* I, pp. 72–79, esp. pp. 72, 75.

widow at sixteen, Manda entered a convent, following the example of the highly praised Croatian Jerome. When she was dying, Croatian folk mourned her and those who wept were from Turkish Bosnia, Hercegovina, the Croatian coast (Primorje), the Neretva, Velebit, Obrovac, Skradin, Bribir, and Knin. Though many of the places listed were in the historical Croatia of the twelve noble families, Mrnavić has expanded this territory to make Bosnians, Hercegovinians, and Neretljani into Croatian folk. However, in his correspondence within Church circles during the 1620s and 1630s (in other words during the same period the just-cited works appeared), on the proposed Slavonic Missals, he regularly referred to the language as "Illyrian." In connection with such a work, previous to the major Church project (back in 1614), a Venetian envoy in Rome, whether using his own vocabulary or the terminology of his source of information is not known, had written home that Mrnavić had arrived in Rome to publish a Missal and Breviary which he had translated from Latin into Slavonic (*schiacona*).⁴⁵⁸ After Mrnavić's death, a Catechism (*nauka krstjanskoga*), a translation of Cardinal Bellarmino's, was published in Rome in 1669 under Mrnavić's name in "yazik harvatski."⁴⁵⁹

In 1630 Mrnavić published a text on royal "Illyrian" saints (e.g., St. Sava), "Regiae sanctitatis illyricanae fecunditas." Those recognized in the text as "Illyrians" were true ancient Illyrians, South Slavs, and even Hungarians (e.g., St./King Stephen, Ladislav).⁴⁶⁰

Mrnavić, who believed that the Slavs were autochthonous in the Balkans and that the ancient Illyrians were Slavs, was also involved in historical works, including out and out forgeries. His most famous forgery was a life of Justinian attributed to a supposed tutor of the emperor in his youth. Šišić believes the work was produced in about 1619. To make matters harder to detect, Mrnavić's forgeries were usually presented as translations. Thus, this life of Justinian was said to be a Latin translation from the Illyrian. Mrnavić also at various times presented to the world in Latin translations from "old Illyrian" various alleged medieval Bosnian charters. Needless to say the Illyrian "originals" were never seen.

Mrnavić, as the Justinian biography's finder, also gave it an editorial apparatus. Many Slavic words appeared in the text, including Justinian's original name, Vpravda, of which "Justinian" was a translation. Again in his notes, Mrnavić each time refers to "X" being the Illyrian word for "Y"; for example, "Istok" (the alleged name of Justinian's father) was said to be "the Illyrian word for Orientem (east)." The source for much of Mrnavić's false material was a text (*Annali di Rausa*) published in 1605 by the previously discussed Ragusan Giacomo (Jacob) Luccari, who on various occasions embellished

458. Ante Split, *Hrvatski naslov*, pp. 12, 21, 68–71; E. Fermendžin, "Listovi o izdanju glagoljskih crkvenih knjiga," *Starine (JAZU)* 24, 1891, pp. 8–9, 14, 19, 23–24.

459. V. Štefanić, "Bellarmino-Komulovićev Kršćanski nauk," *Vrela in prinosi* 8, 1938, p. 4.

460. S. Antoljak, *Hrvatska historiografija* I, p. 75.

skeletal facts with imaginative additions. Luccari, it may be noted, had been a "Slavist" in vocabulary, referring to Istok as a Slavic baron and his spoken language as Slavic too.⁴⁶¹

We have already noted earlier that Mrnavić wrote a fanciful life of St. Sava, which had Sava receiving the charter to establish an autocephalous Serbian Church not from the Ecumenical Patriarch in Nicea but from the Latin Patriarch of Constantinople (for the event occurred during Latin rule of that city), thereby making Sava into a Catholic. In describing this alleged event, Mrnavić notes that Sava's newly created diocese used the Illyrian language.⁴⁶²

The South Slav Guesthouse in Rome

South Slavs, whether resident in or travelling through Rome, gathered at a hostel and made up the Congregation of St. Jerome of the Illyrians (Congregation s. Hieronymi Illyricorum).⁴⁶³ The reader will recall the widely held belief that Jerome was a Slav and inventor of the Slavic service, which made him an appropriate patron saint for these people's activities. But it is worth noting the identity name attached to him, "Illyrian." The Congregation had as its emblem a portrait of St. Jerome with the legend, "The Society of S. Jerome of the Nations of Illyricum" (Nationis Illyricorum) and the coats of arms of Croatia, Dalmatia, Slavonia, and Bosnia.⁴⁶⁴ Thus, to this "Congregation," from, as we shall see, the middle of the seventeenth century, Illyria meant these four regions, all of which had Catholic populations, or in the case of Bosnia, at least many Catholics. The church of St. Jerome connected to the guesthouse also held its services in "Illyrian." A document from about 1667, written by one of the directors of the guesthouse, Jeronim Paštrić, states that the Illyrian priests and brothers recited the Mass in the Illyrian language.⁴⁶⁵

The names attached to the guesthouse—and their significance—had undergone, however, an interesting history.⁴⁶⁶ It is worth emphasizing that at the

461. F. Šišić, "Kako je vizantinski car Justinijan postao Slaven," *Nastavni vjesnik* 9, 1901, pp. 225–26, 398, 402, 414, 563, 574.

462. N. Milas, *Pravoslavna Dalmacija*, 1901, p. 124.

463. M. Kurelac, "Suvremenici i suradnici Ivana Lučića," p. 139.

464. M. Kurelac, "Prilog Ivana Luciusa-Lučića," p. 125, fn. 63. A sixteenth-century portrait of St. Jerome with the four coats of arms belonging to the guesthouse is provided by J. Magjerec, *Hrvatski zavod sv. Jerolima u Rimu*, p. 20. The Society of St. Jerome also could be referred to casually as the Society of the Slavs. For an example from 1462, see I. Crnčić, "Prilozi," p. 20.

465. L. Jelić, "Hrvatski zavod," p. 27, fn. 2.

466. The six paragraphs that follow are based upon I. Crnčić, "Imena Slovanin i Ilir u našem gostinju u Rimu poslije 1453 godine," *Rad (JAZU)* 79, 1886, pp. 1–70. To Crnčić's material, I have also added, footnoted each time, some material from L. Jelić, "Hrvatski zavod." The main theme of Jelić's article is that the people who ran and used the guesthouse were from what is now Croatia, and thus were Croats. However, his geographically based argument is seriously flawed, since the individuals involved left no evidence that they considered themselves as such; with the exception of a handful of individuals, uncovered by Crnčić and discussed later, who signed in to

start the alternatives were “Slav,” “Illyrian,” and “Dalmatian.” The term “Croat” was never brought into play as an identity, except insofar as Croats, people from Croatia, were occasionally mentioned as a sub-category under one of these broader headings.⁴⁶⁷ The hostel had been founded by Pope Nicholas V in 1453; the original charter is lost, but a copy of it has it created for the Dalmatians “or Illyrians.” However, Crnčić argues that it had originally been established for Dalmatians “and Slavs.” He notes that papal documents prior to 1453 do not use the term “Illyrian” (Crnčić finds papal use of the term “Illyrian,” starting with Innocent VIII [1484–92]), that the hostel lay on Slav Street (via Schiavonia), and that the twenty surviving early documents (1454–85) associated with the house never use the term “Illyrian” but always “Slav.”⁴⁶⁸

the guesthouse as Croats, all the individuals, cited in the long studies by Crnčić and Jelić, who were involved in the house called themselves “Slavs,” “Illyrians,” or as coming from particular towns or local regions. Jelić at one point expresses his views on how terms were then used: “In the fifteenth century the Croatian land between the Drava, Sava, and Una was politically called Slavonia, while the Italians and Germans called the Croatian- or Slovenian-speaking people from Biograd to the Gulf of Kotor, and also from Medjimurje to the Adriatic Sea, Slavs or Illyrians. And that is why Croats, who sought refuge on Italian soil, called themselves Slavs” (L. Jelić, “Hrvatski zavod,” p. 4). However, we have seen, and shall see further, many cases of people in what is now Croatia calling themselves “Slavs” and “Illyrians” in a variety of contexts other than being aliens in Italy, simply picking up Italy’s vocabulary.

467. Crnčić cites five pilgrims who stayed in the guesthouse in 1610 who listed themselves as “Croats,” e.g., Urbano Crovata (I. Crnčić, “Imena Slovjenin,” p. 23). In 1618 a list of guests there mentions three Bulgarians and a Croat (Crovatto), who had fled from Turkish lands. (I. Crnčić, “Prilozi,” *Starine* (JAZU) 18, 1886, p. 109.) But usually documents did not refer to “Croats” (a people) but to people being “from Croatia”; e.g., a 1609 document states that the guesthouse provides an apartment for each Illyrian pilgrim, and every sick Illyrian can stay (there) and be cured. It has taken in pilgrims from Croatia, especially from Zagreb, and other Slavic (della Schiavoni) regions. Last year there were in its apartments countless pilgrims from Croatia (I. Crnčić, “Imena Slovjenin,” pp. 4–5). A second document from 1609, which took a broad view of who could be called “Illyrians,” also spoke of places: the guesthouse takes in Slavs from Croatia, from Ljubljana, from Bosnia, from Serbia, and from other regions where they speak Illyrian (I. Crnčić, “Imena Slovjenin,” p. 49).

468. The earliest papal reference to “Illyrians” found by Crnčić was from Pope Innocent VIII in 1486, who referred to the hostel of St. Jerome of the Illyrian nation (Illirice nationis) (I. Crnčić, “Imena Slovjenin,” p. 25). Examples from the twenty early documents, 1454–85, cited by Crnčić and their use of “Slav”: a title deed to a house belonging to Fran de Sclavonia; a will of a woman whose heirs (one of whom was from Split) and witnesses (one of whom was from Senj) were called “Slavs” (Sclavo); some of her money was also left to a Slavic society in Rome; in 1454, eleven months after Nicholas V founded it, Martin Petrov sclavo gave a vineyard to the St. Jerome hostel; a widow of P. P. Sclavo sells a vineyard to P. J. of Split Sclavo; Pope Pius II’s 1461 bull of confirmation refers to the guesthouse as that of St. Jerome of the nation of Slavs (hospitalis Sancti Jeronimi nationis Sclavonorum), and the pope specifies that the hostel was to help sick Slavs, and that when Slavs in Rome died intestate, the guesthouse should inherit their property; a will from 1462 of Jurje Ivanov of Senj in Sclavonia (de Signa de partibus Sclavonie) refers to the St. Jerome guesthouse and to a Slavic brotherhood (hospitalis et societas sclavonum urbis sancti Jeronimi); a list of witnesses, two from Senj, one from Šibenik, and one from Zadar as being from regions of Slavonia (de partibus Sclavonie); a document about property after the death of the widow of S. G. Sclavi, whose witnesses, one of whom was said to be from Senj, were from Sclavonia; a 1468 will of J. A. Slav from Dalmatia; a document referring to two from the

And Crnčić publishes a confirmation document for the institution by Pius II in 1461 that twice refers to the nation of Slavs (*natio sclavorum*).⁴⁶⁹ Jelić also notes that a confirmation from Pope Paul II, dated 1467 but surviving in a seventeenth-century copy, has the guesthouse established for the people (*nationes*) of Dalmatia and Slavonia.⁴⁷⁰ Jelić also has found documentation that the quarter of town, including Slavic street, where the guesthouse lay, was called “Schiavonia.” He also turned up one reference to it from 1496 as the New Illyrian settlement (*vicus novus Illyricorum*). In 1670 a text states that the institution lay in the district of the Slavs (*districtu sclavonibus*).⁴⁷¹

The term “Illyrian” came into use in connection with the house in the 1480s. At that time a certain priest, Anton Jurjev of Split of Sclavonia, wrote a will for a Bosnian who left money to the Illyrian hostel of St. Jerome of the Illyrian nation. Crnčić speculates that the new term may have come into use to clarify who had rights to reside in the house. “Slav” was a broad term that included the East and West Slavs as well; the Czechs already had their own guesthouse; thus calling it “Illyrian” would exclude these other Slavs and leave it for the exclusive use of South Slavs. But while the house more and more came to be associated with the “Illyrians” (though the term “Slav” for it did not disappear), the people associated with it continued to be called “Slavs,” as was the case with the just-mentioned priest, Anton Jurjev.⁴⁷²

Pope Sixtus V (1585–90) in a confirmation charter specified that the house was to be for Illyrians, people living in Italy from families of Illyrian origin, and those speaking Illyrian. In his confirmation charter Pope Urban VIII

diocese of Split in Sclavonia; and a will stating its author's wish to be buried in the St. Jerome church of the Slavic hostel (*hospitalis nationis sclavorum*) (I. Crnčić, “Imena Slovjenin,” pp. 13–19). Crnčić notes that none of the twenty documents mention Illyrians, and thus uses the twenty, only some of which I cite, to argue that the hostel originally was established for “Slavs.” Just as none of the documents mentions Illyrians, none mentions Croats either.

469. I. Crnčić, “Prilozi,” p. 16.

470. L. Jelić, “Hrvatski zavod,” p. 6.

471. For 1496 reference, L. Jelić, “Hrvatski zavod,” pp. 6, 25; for 1670 reference, I. Crnčić, “Prilozi,” p. 17, fn. 1. Also a 1515 text reports that the Society of St. Jerome of the Illyrians is housed in the region of the Field of Mars which is located in what is vulgarly called “Sclavonia” (I. Crnčić, “Prilozi,” p. 58).

472. In 1609 there was some question as to who administered the guesthouse, and four who had worked in it made depositions. One states that he knew that Pope Nicholas V established the Slavic guesthouse, and the witness went on to state that he himself was an Illyrian and never saw any sign that the guesthouse was under any authority other than that of Illyrians. Three of the four had Nicholas establishing a Slavic guesthouse; the fourth had it being an Illyrian one. But the fourth stated, as did the other three, that its function was to take in pilgrims or sick Illyrians, but added after “Illyrians,” i.e., those from the Slavic lands (*de Schiavonia*). Crnčić cites cases to support his conclusion that the term “Slav” continued to be used frequently for individuals connected with the guesthouse in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, after it had come to be normally called “Illyrian.” Some cases were of individuals from Šibenik, Senj, Bosnia, and Zagreb being referred to as “Slavs”; other cases were of the hostel still being called a Slavic guesthouse or of it being called a hostel for Illyrians and Slavs, or Illyrians or Slavs (I. Crnčić, “Imena Slovjenin,” pp. 30–33).

(1623–44) said that clergy in the church associated with the hostel had to be Illyrians, or descended from Illyrians, and speak Illyrian (*personas idoneas dic-tae Nationis Illyricae seu alias etiam origenis, eiusdem tamen Illyricae linguae et idiomatis*).⁴⁷³ We note that both popes' confirmations defined Illyrians as a people. Pope Urban VIII was seen by the members as a particular benefactor of the guesthouse and in 1630 they put up in the St. Jerome church a dedica-tory plaque to that pope because he had with fatherly feeling embraced the Il-lyrian nation, and later on in the text the Congregation specifically mentions Urban's role in printing Illyrian books and returning Illyrian pupils to the col-lege in Loreto.⁴⁷⁴ We shall discuss this college in Loreto in the next section. It is also worth noting that several of the prominent figures we have discussed in this text were buried in the guesthouse's cemetery: the historian Johannes Lucius, Ivan Paštrić, Junius (Djono) Palmotić, and Juraj Baraković.⁴⁷⁵

Controversy broke out in the middle of the seventeenth century, when a leading administrator of the house, a Dalmatian named Jeronim Paštrić, turned down a candidate as canon for the hostel's church because he was not an "Illyrian." The position had become vacant after the death in 1651 of Vin-cent Mazola Dalmata of the nation and province of Illyria, who was skilled in the Illyrian language.⁴⁷⁶ The would-be canon lived in Italy, but his family came from Ljubljana. Paštrić claimed that Ljubljana in Kranj was under Ger-man rule and thus German and not Illyrian. He also claimed that the would-be canon did not speak Illyrian. Ignorance of the language would have been sufficient to exclude him, but the candidate claimed he knew "Illyrian." We have no basis to judge that claim, but the other issue, that of what constituted an Illyrian, is an interesting one that was debated at length. Clearly, Paštrić was trying to narrow down those who could use the house; he wanted to limit it to Dalmatians, broadly conceived. By this he adopted the territory of the Roman province that included coastal Dalmatia, Croatia, and Bosnia, plus Slavonia (in Pannonia). Thus, unlike the popes in their charters, he defined Illyrians as those coming from specific territory, rather than as those of a na-tion or a people. Ljubljana lay in Kranj, which was under "German" rule, thus regardless of whether people from there spoke a South Slavic language or not, they were to be considered Germans and excluded. Let these people use the German guesthouse. The border of Illyria lay on the Rasa River; the Istrians living beyond that were Italians and the Italian guesthouse had been taking those people in. Paštrić admitted that many of the people from the excluded territories spoke Illyrian/Slavic, but he argued that if the house was to take in all who spoke Illyrian, then it had to accept Styrians, Kranjci, Czechs, Poles, Lithuanians, Russians, Muscovites, Bulgarians, Macedonians, Istrians, and

473. I. Crnčić, "Imena Slovincin," p. 39.

474. J. Magjerec, *Hrvatski zavod*, p. 29.

475. J. Magjerec, *Hrvatski zavod*, pp. 23–25.

476. I. Crnčić, "Prilozi," p. 91.

Furlanians (all defined as those from territories so named) because they all speak Slavic. But St. Jerome's was not established for Illyrians, but for those from Illyria. Gorica is not in Illyria, so those from Gorica are not Illyrians. However, Dalmatia is in Illyria, so all Dalmatians (even if they do not know Slavic) are Illyrians. This final statement is entirely based on territory and has no ethnic elements left in it.

Paštric's opponents objected to this and noted that in 1549 King Ferdinand I had written the pope referring to the Pićan bishopric in Istria as being in "Illyria." A Jesuit then wrote an appeal in 1652 on behalf of the rejected candidate. He argued that people from Kranj were true Illyrians or Slavs. The candidate had been born in Ljubljana, so he was an Illyrian or a Slav. That Ljubljana was ruled by a German was of no significance. Milan was under a Spanish king but that did not mean the Milanese were Spanish and not Italians, or that the Bosnians under the Turks were Turks.

The Slovene who sought to be canon at St. Jerome's had a defender or procurator, who on the basis of ten witnesses, put together in 1654 a statement on the question of whether Kranj was in Illyria. His witnesses, the document stated, said that "Sclavonia" consisted of the provinces of Styria, Croatia, Kranj, Istria, Dalmatia, and Bosnia and extended up to the Sava and Drava rivers. In Ljubljana people always did speak—and still do—Slavic and Illyrian (*idioma Sclavonicum et Illyricum*), (in a form) that differed very little from Dalmatian. Moreover, in the past, people from Kranj had always been received in the guesthouse as Slavs and Illyrians, as from the Illyrian nation (*Sclavones et Illyrici ex Illyrica natione*). In fact, the candidate's father was for many years received in the guesthouse as a true Slav and Illyrian. The ten witnesses who attested these facts all signed the document. A second witness at the 1654 hearing testified that in Rome there were many Slavs (*Schiavoni*) who believed that Kranj was one of the regions of Slavonia, and he noted the names of various of these Slavs. The officers of the hearing also received a statement signed by several noblemen from Kranj who were in Rome at the time. They stated that they had been born and brought up in Kranj and testified that the region of Kranj was a Slavic or Illyrian region, that the people who lived there were Illyrians and the language which they spoke in all the towns, markets, and villages was Illyrian, and that these people, excluding some German speakers of a particular region within Kranj, knew no other language. Thus, these noblemen testified that the mentioned region and its inhabitants looked upon themselves as and called themselves "Illyrians." The region might be under the emperor and assigned to a German administration, but that did not mean that its people were not Illyrian. If we take this statement literally, it would mean that the people of Kranj had an ethnic self-consciousness and attached it to the name "Illyrian."

The most prominent figure who entered the ranks on behalf of the Slovenes was Juraj Križanić, whom we shall discuss later. He (in one court

document referred to as Georgium Crisanium, Croata) also made a deposition in 1654. His testimony stated that the opponents of the would-be canon from Kranj recognize the Croats as Illyrians and receive Croat pilgrims in their guesthouse. However, the Illyrian college in Loreto has never taken a Croat and has no place for Croats. But the German college in Rome has two places for Croats, though under the name of Hungarians, whose kingdom is united to that of the Croats. So, should we say the Croats are Hungarians? For such is the way it is argued against those of Kranj. Paštrić's side had argued that not one atlas/geography of the time listed Kranj as a Slavic or Illyrian region. Križanić replied that also none of these works had said that Kranj was not and noted that a particular work (one by a certain Cluverius), in stating that Slavonia lies between the Drava and Sava, had in fact done so, since that was where both Kranj and Croatia were.⁴⁷⁷

In the course of this dispute, Crnčić believes, Paštrić put together a dossier to support his case, which contained copies of many earlier documents. Crnčić argues that, in doing this, Paštrić altered some of their vocabulary. Thus, he claims that Nicholas V's original foundation charter had established the hostel for "Dalmatians and Slavs"; in his copy Paštrić changed "Slav" to the current term "Illyrian," but also to support his case changed the "and" to "or" (for Dalmatians or Illyrians), thereby making "Illyrian" and "Dalmatian" synonyms and limiting the house to "Dalmatians," a broad Dalmatia, but still a narrow definition for Illyria. Paštrić won his case, at least as far as the particular canon was concerned. Moreover, the emblem for the hostel came to include, as noted above, the coats of arms of only the four regions Paštrić included as Illyrian or Dalmatian: Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, and Bosnia.

Now, of course, what motivated the definition was a specific quarrel as to who had rights to utilize the hostel, which clearly had limited space and resources. But frequently in creating a definition of a people, who gets included or excluded is a result of certain specific conditions. Paštrić spoke of Illyrian people, but he based his definition as to who they were on the territory they came from. The losers had a far more "ethnic" concept, since they ignored the territory one lived on or came from, but focused on simply being a member of a nation or a people.

Schools for Illyrians in Italy

In December 1622 Pope Gregory XV opened a college in Rome to train missionaries; one of its tasks was to teach the students the languages needed for their task. Among these was "Illyrian." This program nicely complemented

477. The material in the preceding two paragraphs is drawn from I. Golub, "Juraj Križanić i pitanje prava Slovenaca na Svetojeronimske zavode u Rimu," *Historijski zbornik* 21–22, 1968–69, pp. 236–40.

the Illyrian College in Loreto for South Slavs, opened by Gregory XIII in 1580, which was intended to provide education at any given time for forty young Illyrians.⁴⁷⁸ The number sought as well as the number of actual students, not surprisingly, was to show considerable fluctuation. The school was briefly moved to Rome in 1593; it was returned to Loreto in 1624, where it functioned until it was closed permanently in 1782.

This papal institution actually was not the first institution created to support education for Illyrians, for Paul Zondinus, a Bishop of Roznov/Rozsnyo in what is now Hungary, created a "college" in Bologna for Hungarians and Illyrians back in the 1550s. The so-called college was basically a student house for young men of those two nationalities, the existence of which would enable them to live in Bologna and attend that city's renowned university.⁴⁷⁹ This institution (and term "college") resembles a similar institution, to be discussed later, founded by a canon from Zagreb in 1624 to enable young priests from the diocese of the Bishop of Zagreb to have a residence in order to study at higher educational institutions in Vienna.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, besides that of Loreto, two other Illyrian colleges (actual colleges in the modern sense, i.e., educational institutions/schools), one in Assisi and one in Fermo, had been opened. The Fermo college functioned from 1663 to 1746. As was the case for Loreto, "Illyrian" in the name referred to the clientel, for the language of instruction in all three was Latin. Thus, the graduates were prepared on their return home to help the Latin clergy by teaching in Latin seminaries in Dalmatia or by becoming urban priests or canons in cathedrals. However, some of Loreto's graduates served in the "Illyrian" parishes. For example, on the island of Krk—a center for Glagolitic—graduates of Loreto both served as priests in Illyrian churches and taught in the "Illyrian" school on the island. The school in

478. The Collegium Illyricum was established in the small town of Loreto next to the shrine of the Virgin in 1580 by Pope Gregory XIII. Financed by donations to the shrine and taught by Jesuits, it was to educate forty young Illyrian novices, who would preach in regions threatened by Protestantism, Orthodoxy, and Islam. In 1593 the school, the number of whose students was reduced to twelve, was moved to Rome. In 1624 it was moved back to Loreto. In 1627 Urban VIII decreed that the Loreto college would educate thirty-six novices from Illyria; these thirty-six places were defined as twenty from Dalmatia (with twelve of the twenty reserved for students from the Dalmatian cities) and the other sixteen for students from the interior (e.g., Bosnia and Serbia). The local bishops had the patronage for choosing the students. Urban's decree stated that the students must be from Illyrian families, know the Illyrian language, and, if possible, Illyrian letters. Did this last condition simply mean being able to read their own language or did it represent a hope that they would know some Church Slavonic? Put on a sounder financial footing, the school now became a success and provided a steady stream of missionaries for the Balkans over the next century and a half. This sketch was taken from Z. Zlatar, *Our Kingdom Come*, pp. 227–28 and from M. Bolonić, *Otok Krk*, pp. 145–46.

479. For the Hungarian-Illyrian College in Bologna, see V. Klaić, "Pavao Zondinus i osnutak ugarsko-ilirskoga kolegija u Bologni (1553–1558)," *Vjesnik Kr. hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskega zemaljskoga arhiva* 14, nos. 3–4, 1912, pp. 186–220.

Loreto also had a priest assigned to hear confessions in Illyrian, known as the “Illyrian confessor.” Our Jesuit linguist, Jakob Mikalja, served in that position for seven years.⁴⁸⁰ Other institutions had “Illyrian confessors” (pro lingua Illyrica poenitentarius) as well; most prominent were the ones attached to the shrine at Loreto and to St. Peter’s in Rome. The confessors at these two shrines, and possibly at the Illyrian school as well, were usually Jesuits. Bartol Kašić, who was discussed at length above, held this position at St. Peter’s from 1635 to 1650.⁴⁸¹

Despite its return to Loreto in 1624, the Illyrian school was slow to revive and was down to twelve students. So in 1627 Urban VIII issued a bull calling for its revival, seeking to maintain thirty-six students from Illyrian families, who knew the Illyrian language and, if possible, also literary Illyrian. The pope defined Illyrian families as those from the bishoprics of Split, Dubrovnik, Zadar, Bar, Omiš, Budva, Šibenik, Krk, Hvar, Osor, Kotor, Ston, Trogir, Nin, Rab, Senj, Bosnia, Skradin, Smederevo, and Skopje.⁴⁸² Thus, by the inclusion of Smederevo and Skopje we see that the pope’s “Illyria” included Catholics from the interior, which went beyond the Illyria of the guesthouse and of certain prominent thinkers, like Johannes Lucius. In 1632 we find that the Loreto Illyrian College even had some Greeks among the “Slavs” (Schiavoni).⁴⁸³ However, interestingly and also unlike the guesthouse, the Illyrian college, as a sharp-eyed reader may have just noticed, did not take pupils from Habsburg Croatia (with the sole exception of the diocese of Senj on the coast) or Slavonia; thus, its clientel was basically drawn from Illyrians subjected to Venice or the Ottoman Empire (including its vassal city of Dubrovnik). South Slavs from Croatia or Slavonia who wanted to study in Rome went to the German-Hungarian institution there.

The Dominicans also had a short-lived and not very successful Illyrian college (like the others for Illyrians, according to its initial plans, “for Illyrian youths” [illyrici juvenes] and “Illyrian [Dominican] brothers” [illyrici fratres], rather than using Illyrian for classes) on Mt. Gargano in Apulia. Its purpose, in the plans that preceded its creation, was to prepare Dominicans for missions, in particular for those in the Illyrian or Slavic language (la lingua illyrica o sciavona). The college, called the Illyrian College of St. John Rotundo of Monte Gargano (Collegio illyrico di S. Giovanni Rotundo de Monte Gargano) for the education of brothers of the Illyrian nation (della nazione illyrica), opened in 1630; it had so many difficulties that the pope closed it in 1653. Reopened on appeal from the Dominicans, it vegetated, to use Rado-

480. M. Vanino, “Leksikograf,” p. 24.

481. J. Wicki & M. Korade, “Hrvatski penitencijari u Rimu od 1596 do 1773,” *Vrela i prinosi* 16, 1986, pp. 23–49.

482. F. Fancev, “Latinički spomenici,” p. ix.

483. J. Radonić, *Rimska kurija*, p. 96.

nić's term, until it finally closed for good in the last years of the seventeenth century.⁴⁸⁴

The Term "Illyrian" in Dealing with the Orthodox

In 1664 a Byzantine-rite "bishop" showed up in Zadar, allegedly from Venice, and Zadar's archbishop interrogated him in the Illyrian language.⁴⁸⁵ We know nothing further about this newcomer, but presumably he was Orthodox, and most likely of the Serbian Church.

In the 1690s some six hundred Orthodox, who had fled to the region of Makarska from Serbia during the Austro-Ottoman war at the end of the 1680s, were, according to the Apostolic vicar for Skradin and Makarska, won over to Catholicism and recited their profession of Catholic faith in "idioma illirico."⁴⁸⁶

In the 1690s Bishop Busović, an Orthodox cleric who was flirting with union with Rome, asked Rome to send him a text of the Confession of the Catholic faith printed in the Illyrian-Bosnian language (in lingua illirica bosnese).⁴⁸⁷ At about the same time, in 1694, the Bishop of Nin, at work at converting the Orthodox in his diocese, noted that the language of those he would convert was Illyrian.⁴⁸⁸

Active in efforts to convert the Serb Orthodox population, which had appeared in Dalmatia in flight from the Turks, was Matija Karaman, who in the early 1740s was working for the Congregation of the Propagation for the Faith in Rome and became in 1745 Archbishop of Zadar. In 1739 he printed a Cyrillic alphabet book. Though he called the language in the title "Slovenskij," he stated the book was for the use of our Illyrian priests. Shortly thereafter he drew up a report for Rome about the Orthodox problem in Dalmatia. Their language, he reports, is Illyrian. Illyrian is spoken in all of Istria except in Koper and Piran. One hears it in Kranj, Carniola, Styria, Croatia, and Slavonia and into Hungary. In Bosnia, Serbia, and Bulgaria, Illyrian is also spoken and one hears that language even in Thrace and at the court in Constantinople, as well as in Macedonia and Albania. In Montenegro, Hercegovina, and Dalmatia no language is spoken other than Illyrian. Karaman then distinguished this Illyrian from the Slavic of the Church. In Montenegro the schismatic clergy use Slavonic as in Russia, while some Catholics use Latin and others Slavic (Slavonic). He then noted that Illyrians of the Greek rite were generally called "Serbs" or "Srbijani."⁴⁸⁹

484. J. Radonić, *Štamparije*, pp. 97–99; K. Vojnović, "Crkva i država u Dubrovačkoj Republici," p. 56.

485. M. Bogović, *Katolička crkva*, pp. 39–40.

486. J. Radonić, *Rimska kurija*, p. 437.

487. M. Bogović, *Katolička crkva*, p. 44.

488. M. Bogović, *Katolička crkva*, p. 95.

489. J. Radonić, *Rimska kurija*, pp. 607–10.

Debate on Vernacular versus Church Slavonic in Texts in the Eighteenth Century

One of the major debates in Dalmatia during the seventeenth and particularly the eighteenth century was whether “Slavic” religious texts and services should be in Slavonic (which was traditional for the Orthodox) or in the spoken tongue, something Rome always frowned on and in fact regularly banned. Thus, when popes had allowed “Slavic” for places in Dalmatia, they had meant Church Slavonic and not everyday, spoken Slavic. In fact, as noted, the Council of Trent, in allowing Church Slavonic, had specifically banned vernacular Slavic. Since the *šćavet* service books were in the spoken language, many bishops—aware of or caring about this distinction—were concerned about them, for priests could and did use them to serve the Mass. But despite this regulation, Fućak’s fine study finds that language use in the western Balkans did not come up with distinct terms for the two languages. People, depending on their chosen vocabulary, used their favored term for both, and there was no term that was not used at some time or another for both languages. Frequently passages are unclear as to which language is meant. Moreover in places where the everyday language was used for services, no actual distinction even existed. Thus, use of the term “Illyrian,” for example, for a service does not tell us what language was meant. Fućak cites the Franciscan Ivan Foccanski as a rare example of one who made this distinction. In 1658 this Franciscan wrote the pope, asking whether in the services he was conducting in Bosnia, he could, after he had served the Mass in Latin, repeat it in vernacular Illyrian (*volgare illirica*). The Council of Split of 1688 also tried to make this important distinction, insisting that the Mass be in literary Illyrian (*Illyricum litterale*). Fućak states that as far as he knows, this text was the first to make the distinction by using the word “litterale.” That term would be added from time to time thereafter by those few who were concerned with this distinction.⁴⁹⁰

The main protagonists of the mid-eighteenth-century quarrel were Matija Karaman (for Slavonic), whose Missal, the third in a little over a century sponsored by the Vatican and discussed earlier, appeared in 1741; Karaman’s position was supported by Rome. Opposed to him was Stjepan Ruzić or Rusić (Rosa, Rossi: 1689–1770), a priest from Dubrovnik, who wanted the language based on the dialect of Bosnia (whose spoken dialect we have seen praised earlier) and of Dubrovnik (now being used by many talented writers). Ruzić was bothered by the Slavonic that was being approved by the Vatican for service books. After the Polish Ukraine was brought into Church Union, more

490. J. Fućak, *Šest stoljeća hrvatskoga lekcionara*, p. 119. The text of the Franciscan’s letter is in L. Jelić, *Fontes historici*, *Fontes . . . XVII saeculi*, pp. 47–49. The text of several of the articles of the Split Council of 1688 also appears in Jelić, pp. 61–64, which includes article 12 (with its *Illyricum Litterale*), p. 63.

Ukrainians and Russians showed up in Rome, and not surprisingly, with such large numbers involved, Rome wanted to produce Slavonic books for them. As a result of this project, and the work of East Slavs on these Church books, the Slavonic that Rome was producing was heavily Russianized. Ruzić does not seem to have been aware that this was the problem, but he certainly found the language of the books hard to understand, and he argued that since it was unintelligible, Rome should produce the texts in everyday language.⁴⁹¹

Ruzić left manuscripts of a translation of the Roman (approved) Missal, described in both Latin and Slavic as being in Slavic or Illyrian, a Latino-Illyricum manual of theology (with terms in alphabetical order), and also a translation of the New Testament into “Slavic” (in *lingua slava/u jezik slovin-ski*), which bore the date 1750. In the preface to his Missal, Ruzić says that he hoped it would be useful to Slavic Christendom and that he used only those Slavic words which he had heard employed by actual Slavs, and especially by Bosnians, or read in their books. Ruzić, noting the similarity of Bosnian and Dalmatian, goes on to state that he chose as the language of translation the Slavic or Dalmatian language, leaning upon the judgment of the learned Polish Cardinal Hosius who said that the Slavic or Dalmatian language was much more elegant than his (Polish) and also is the language from which his (Polish) originated because of St. Jerome. Ruzić goes on to say that this language evolved into today’s (language(s) of the) Dalmatian, Bosnian, Serbian, and other Illyrian regions. Ruzić then said that he was rendering his work not in Cyrillic nor Glagolitic but in Latin letters, since he preferred that alphabet and in the greater part of the lands of the Slavic language people did not use Cyrillic or Glagolitic. He also briefly discusses the way to render sounds with Latin letters, commenting on how Dalmatian writers have done it. He then goes on to speak of these (e.g., Bosnian, Dalmatian) as dialects of the Illyrian language. The New Testament manuscript, though never published, was reviewed for the Church by Bishop Antun Tripković of Nin in 1754. He noted that the language of the work was in the general Illyrian-Bosnian speech or that of Dubrovnik, which all understand and use. Ruzić also wrote out some notes on the manuscript of Kašić’s unpublished New Testament translation, which he referred to as being translated from Latin into Dubrovački (*linguam*

491. J. Fućak, *Šest stoljeća hrvatskoga lekcionara*, p. 120. Later on in his volume, Fućak has a most interesting discussion on Ruzić and his ideas about language and religious texts; see pp. 232–40. Ruzić left his own translation of a Lectionary, which unfortunately lacks a title page. Someone dealing with the text later wrote “Schavone” on the top page later. Very likely Ruzić did call the language “Slavic.” In his preface, he writes that the Slavic people are divided into many different groups; one calls Dalmatia the region between Hungary and the Adriatic. Bosnian is the purest dialect spoken by the population of Dalmatia and Bosnia. Ruzić also comments on others’ translations. He does not like Kašić’s “Pisciole” for “Epistles,” for it sounds “exotic to a Slav.” Ruzić prefers “Sctegne”; and for “Gospels,” he strongly prefers “Blagoviestje” or “Vangelie” to the Slavonic “Evangelia.” He also discusses problems of gender, e.g., resulting from the fact that the “Word/Logos,” is feminine in Slavic (Riječ) and neuter in Latin (Verbum).

Ragusinam). In his first comment Ruzić refers to the author choosing the Dubrovnik dialect (dialetto) because Kašić believed that it was the best of all those of the Slavs and that the Illyrian people understand and like it. Ruzić also refers to Kašić using Dalmatian Slavic (Dalmatica slavonitate). Thus, Ruzić uses the term “Dalmatian” to denote the Štokavian of his native Dubrovnik.⁴⁹² Ruzić therefore employed a variety of terms for the basic language and its dialects as well as for the people. As can be seen, “Croatian” is not one of these.

To return to the issue of Slavonic texts, Karaman, who had spent time in Russia, was not bothered by the quality of the new Slavonicists. Not surprisingly Rome supported Karaman and, in fact, eventually in 1754 issued a new ban on spoken languages in the liturgy.⁴⁹³ However, despite this edict, it is probable that many, if not most, areas in the western Balkans were little affected by it. Much of the clergy had been unaware that a problem existed. After all, as Fućak has noted, even bishops used the same term for spoken language and service language. And, if they did not make distinctions, surely the less-educated lower clergy, particularly those carrying out services on the basis of the everyday-language šćavets, were not even aware that a Church Slavonic existed. Surely the papal edict, after it reached the Catholic bishops in what is now Croatia, increased awareness among those whom the bishops had contact with. From this time on we find more references to Slavic or Illyrian “litterale” (or literary, the Church Slavonic). However, we find much evidence that the papal edict had little impact. For example, a certain Radovin, an official of the Zadar parish, commented in 1761 that the Third Order Franciscans used the same “Illyrian” language to converse and to carry out the Church services (*parlando et officiiando nell’Illirica lingua*). The Venetian doge noted in 1782 that the Third Order Franciscans carried out their services in Illyrian, their natural language (*idioma illirico loro naturale*).⁴⁹⁴

At times in the context of this debate a distinction was made between the spoken language and Church Slavonic, with either the former being called “vulgar” or the latter “literary.” A few people at times used “Illyrian” for the

492. M. Vanino, “Stjepan Roza o Evandjelistaru Bartola Kašića,” *Vrela i prinosi* 3, 1933, pp. 137–39; K. Vojinović (ed.), “Prilozi k arhivalnijem pabircima dubrovačkijem,” *Starine* (JAZU) 28, 1896, pp. 20–24; S. Antoljak, *Hrvatska historiografija* I, p. 306 (with fn. 1341). In criticizing his rival’s text, Ruzić also used the term “Slavic” for it: in correcting various errors in the “Slavic version” of the Roman Missal. For this passage, see L. Jelić, *Fontes historici*, *Fontes . . . XVIII saeculi*, p. 36. On Ruzić’s titles see, M. Japundžić, *Matteo Karaman*, pp. 97–98. According to Saro Crijević, Ruzić also wrote a work of sacred poetry, with the phrases “Illyrian songs” and “Illyrian verses” (*carmine illyrico, Illyrice versa*) utilized in its long title. (M. Deanović, “Odrzi talijanske akademije ‘degli Arcadi,’” *Rad* (JAZU) 250, 1935, p. 109.)

493. L. Jelić, *Fontes historici*, *Fontes . . . XVIII saeculi*, pp. 39–41. In this order Pope Benedict XIV thrice referred to the Illyrian nation. The language, however, he calls “Slavic”: *Slavum litterale* (for Church Slavonic) and *Slavo vulgari* (for the spoken proto-Serbo-Croatian).

494. J. Fućak, *Šest stoljeća hrvatskoga lekcionara*, pp. 123–26.

spoken language and “Slavic” for the Church language. However, we find both terms used for both languages so frequently that such a distinction clearly was not observed by many of those writing at the time, and most given individuals regularly used the terms completely indiscriminately.

The complaints about Karaman’s vocabulary did not persuade Rome to give consideration to Ruzić’s call for a vernacular text. But possibly because of the complaints, the earlier Paštrić Missal (with revisions by the Bishop of Rab, John Petar Galzigna) was republished with the approval of Pope Pius VI in 1791. The pope’s text refers to the language as Slavonico, the alphabet as the characters of St. Jerome, and the people for whom the text was produced as the Illyrian nation.⁴⁹⁵

Karaman, as noted, had assistance in producing his Missal from Matija Sović, an archdeacon from Osor and a firm supporter of Slavonic. Sović was also appalled by the ignorance of Dalmatia’s population about proper Slavonic, and he wrote a book about it “Reflections on the Ignorance of the Slavonic Language in Dalmatia” (*Riflessioni sull’ignoranza della lingua slava letterale* [literary Slavic, i.e., Church Slavonic] in Dalmacia), which was published in Venice in 1787, over a decade after the author’s death.⁴⁹⁶ In addition to supporting Slavonic for Church services, Sović had very definite ideas about what sort of Slavonic should be used. He was a firm supporter of the Russianized version, which version, of course, had a major impact on Karaman’s text.

Sović remained around the Vatican for several decades after his work with Karaman. In the early 1770s, shortly before his death in 1774, he wrote an undated memo on the language issue for the Vatican. In this text he made use of a variety of different terms for the languages. He referred to Kašić’s “Ritual” as being in the vulgar Bosnian language. He called the language of the vernacular šćavets “vulgar Slavic” (in volgare schiavo). We know Kašić’s “Ritual” was in Štokavian, possibly the šćavets Sović had in mind were in Čakavian, hence the change in vocabulary. He speaks critically of the Dalmatian Council of 1061 for its ban of the liturgy in the Illyrian language, clearly here using “Illyrian” to refer to Church Slavonic.⁴⁹⁷

In a second memo on the same subject (which made use of Sović’s memo) from the same period, this one dated 1777, Kamuzi, the Bishop of Koper, also used a variety of terms. He referred to “Slavonic” both as “Old Slavic” (*slava antica*) and as “Literary Illyrian” (*Illirica letterale*). He speaks of the everyday speech as “Dalmatian” and “Bosnian,” probably differentiating Čakavian from Štokavian. He emphasized the need for those translating the Mass and sacred

495. L. Jelić, *Fontes historici*, Fontes . . . XVIII saeculi, pp. 67–68.

496. S. Perić, *Dalmacija uoči pada*, p. 210; L. Jelić, *Fontes historici*, Fontes . . . XVIII saeculi, pp. 66–67. Despite Sović’s use of terms, his printer, Michieli Vitturi, attached a note to Sović’s book which made reference to Alberti’s Office for the Virgin being in the Illyrian language (D. Berić, “Splitski jezikoslovac Matija Alberti,” p. 50).

497. J. Radonić, *Štampanije*, pp. 77–78.

texts to know well both Latin and Slavonic, and blamed the failure of translators to know Slavonic well as the cause for the “Dalmatian idiotisms” that crept into these texts.⁴⁹⁸

Sović also translated into Latin the Slavonic grammar, “Grammatika slavenskaja,” from 1619 by the Russian Meleti Smotricky. In his preface to it, Sović expressed his belief that the Slavic vernaculars were corruptions of the ancient literary language of the Slavs (Church Slavonic). Seeking to recover this lost language, Sović recommended “the Russian recension of Church Slavonic as the purest and most authentic expression of literary ‘Illyrian.’”⁴⁹⁹ The preface was addressed to “Dalmatian Readers” (Lectori dalmatae). In it Sović also discusses issues concerning the spoken language. Though not completely consistent, he uses “Slavic” for the whole category of languages (Slavonic and, as he sees Slavonic as the ancestor of the various tongues now in use, all its current descendants). “Illyrian” at times may have the broad meaning of “Slavic,” but at others it seems to be the dialects of proto-Serbo-Croatian. He also speaks of the dialects of Illyrian or of vulgar Illyrian (vulgaris dialecti illyrice). These dialects are broken down and named according to the region where spoken. The dialect most dear to him is “Dalmatian” and not “Ragusan” nor “Bosnian.” Thus, here “Dalmatian” would refer to the “Čakavian” of his native Osor on Cres, as opposed to the “Štokavian” used in the other two places. He also speaks of an “Illyrian nation” and a (sometimes “our”) “Dalmatian nation.” It makes sense to conclude that Sović employs the same broader and narrower meanings for the people as he does for the languages; but whether the Dalmatian nation is limited to Čakavian speakers (as I think likely) or to all those living in Dalmatia is not entirely clear. In any case, though Sović uses a variety of terms for the language, “Croatian” is not one of them. That term appears only once in the preface, where he poses the question of which Illyrian dialect was purest and most like the original Slavonic. Considering “Bosnian” (which as we have seen was chosen in that role by several writers), Sović asks how could Bosnian be purest when so many peoples had overrun and ruled that land? Among the many he notes were Croats and Serbs (Crobatis Serblisque capta).⁵⁰⁰

Western Balkan Schools

Karaman had been enthusiastic about Zadar Archbishop Vicko Zmajević’s plan to open an Illyrian seminary in Zadar, where priests could be trained in the Illyrian language, a step forward from the Illyrian college at Loreto where

498. J. Radonić, *Štampanije*, p. 80.

499. M. Iovine, “The ‘Illyrian language,’” in R. Picchio & H. Goldblatt, *Aspects of the Slavic Language Question I*, New Haven, 1984, p. 145.

500. M. Sović, “Matije Savića predgovor ‘Slavenskoj gramatici’” (I. Milčetić, ed.), *Starine (JAZU)* 35, 1916, pp. 396–425 (text of preface, pp. 400–425).

the pupils were taught in Latin. In response to Karaman's report on the language situation, where he had noted Zmajević's ideas, a meeting was held in Rome in 1742, which took cognisance of how widespread use of the Illyrian language was, praised the plan for the Illyrian seminary, and noted the need to publish an Illyrian grammar, a service book for saints days, and a Catechism in Illyrian. The assembly agreed that an Illyrian-language teacher should be found for the Collegio Urbano in Rome.⁵⁰¹ In 1753 Karaman published a Glagolitic alphabet book, with explanations in Cyrillic, entitled in Latin "An Illyrian Alphabet [book]."⁵⁰²

In 1748, the brainchild of Vicko Zmajević, Zadar's Illyrian seminary, finally opened. Matija Karaman, Zmajević's successor as Archbishop of Zadar, who brought this about, laid out twenty-five rules on the way the seminary was to function. The rules decreed that students would study to both read and write Illyrian, in both Glagolitic or [St.] Jeronimski and Cyrillic characters and also to study literary Illyrian (Church Slavonic); they were to learn to understand the texts of both Missal and Breviary and each day they must listen to the Mass in Illyrian and read the Breviary in it as well.⁵⁰³ Though the terminology was not precise, Strgačić points out that what the rules entailed was a good knowledge of both Church Slavonic and their spoken language. Every day they were to hear the Mass which, as decreed by Trent and various popes, was to be in Church Slavonic; moreover, following Rome's rules, the Breviaries and Missals they used were also to be in Church Slavonic. Once a month they were also to go to the church in Zadar, where Zmajević was buried and there recite in Illyrian the Office for the dead. Though the term "Illyrian" was used for this service, Strgačić states that here Slavonic was meant. If not, the service certainly should have been in Slavonic. But everything else they studied and read—except their Latin classes—was in Illyrian, the everyday spoken language. The pupils were all drawn from rural areas, where Latin was not used in churches. The clientele of the school were people from Glagolitic areas, and the graduates were expected to return to serve as clergy in these places.⁵⁰⁴ Shortly after bringing the Illyrian seminary in Zadar to life, Karaman, since he was seen as an expert in Slavonic, was requested by Rome in 1754 to inspect the

501. J. Radonić, *Rimska Kurija*, pp. 607–10.

502. L. Jelić, *Fontes historici*, Fontes . . . XVIII saeculi, p. 36. The Latin title was "Matthiae Caraman Archiepiscopi Jadrensis in Alphabetum Illyricum Expositio." The Slavic title called the language "Slavic" (Bukvar slavenskij pismeni . . .). It provided two alphabets: Cyrillic (said to be of Cyril) and Glagolitic (said to be of Jerome) (M. Japundžić, *Matteo Karaman*, p. 52).

503. M. Bogović, *Katolička crkva*, p. 133. An incomplete text, with only some of the rules, is provided by L. Jelić, *Fontes historici*, Fontes . . . XVIII saeculi, pp. 31–33.

504. A. Strgačić, "Hrvatski jezik," in *Zadar zbornik*, Zagreb, 1964, pp. 415–16. An anonymous contemporary of Karaman in a text about the new seminary described it as being designed to serve students from the Illyrian nation and Illyrian clergy (di nazione Illirica e del clero Illirico). On this text, see A. Strgačić, "O uzgoju i naucima dalmatinskoga glagoljskog klera u prošlosti," *Zadarska revija* 5, no. 3, 1956, p. 182.

three Illyrian colleges in Italy and make sure that the Slavic literary language (Church Slavonic) was being taught in them.⁵⁰⁵

Excited about the new school and its recognition of Illyrian, “Illyrian” clerics (*clerici illyrici*)—who included the director and several teachers from the brand-new Illyrian seminary in Zadar—requested of the cathedral chapter in May 1748 the right to participate in cathedral services. It is not clear whether they wanted to have mixed-language services or whether they wanted to hold separate all-Illyrian services; in any case, the cathedral chapter was horrified and with the support of Venice turned the request down that June. The cathedral chapter stressed in its patronizing reply the precedent of two clerical tracks or orders, or as they said, two clergies, those who served in Latin in Zadar and those who served in Illyrian in Illyrian villages.⁵⁰⁶

For the elite, including Zadar itself, there was an older seminary, founded by Archbishop Bernard Floria in 1656 and therefore known as the *Seminarium Florianum*, which provided a Latin education and graduates to man the Latin-Mass churches, especially those in Zadar itself.⁵⁰⁷ But the local Latin clerics were expected to know the everyday Slavic language and to carry out various functions in it. For example, a regulation issued at a synod in 1664, which suggests that most of Zadar’s population was not really at home in Latin or Italian, ordered priests to listen to confessions in “Illyrian” and never in Italian.⁵⁰⁸ Moreover, a school for clerics had existed at the cathedral in Zadar prior to the 1656 opening of the *Florianum*, though this school was clearly a much less rigorous institution. Created at some point after the Council of Trent and its call for local seminaries, this school had room for twenty clerics, who were taught some grammar, singing, and doctrine. Unlike the later seminary, classes were conducted only in Illyrian up to 1607, when a new archbishop said that theological classes should be held not only in Illyrian but also in Italian. The students were also expected to have on-the-job training and to explain Christian doctrine in Illyrian at the town cathedral after Vespers. This practical experience continued after the opening of the *Florianum*; thus it was clearly seen as a necessary part of the education. The local parish priests were expected to show up for this training;⁵⁰⁹ one wonders whether this was to provide the seminarians with an audience and more meaningful training or did the archbishop think the parish priests ignorant and want them to learn more? In any case, these items show that the Church realized that much of the local population did not know Latin/Italian well. So, the Church taught in Illyrian

505. M. Bogović, *Katolička crkva*, p. 138.

506. A. Strgačić, “Hrvatski jezik,” p. 417, fn. 466.

507. A. Strgačić, “Hrvatski jezik,” pp. 415–16; L. Maštrović, “Povijesni pregled školstva u Zadru,” in *Zadar zbornik*, Zagreb, 1964, p. 491.

508. A. Strgačić, “Hrvatski jezik,” p. 409.

509. A. Strgačić, “Hrvatski jezik,” p. 407.

at the initial school, expected the students, then and even after the creation of the actual seminary, to be able to explain the faith to the faithful in that language, and realized they could not get meaningful confessions from most people in Italian or Latin. And, as we have seen in laying out the situation, the Church consistently used the term "Illyrian" for the local language, at times even misusing the term to denote Church Slavonic.

Shortly after Zadar's Illyrian seminary opened, Split inaugurated one of its own in 1750 in Priko near Omiš.⁵¹⁰ A synod in Split, as early as 1688, had worried about the ignorance of the Illyrian clergy of nearby Poljica and had called for the opening of a seminary for them.⁵¹¹ In 1788 one of its teachers, Mihovil Božić, received a request from Brač requesting him to transliterate a Cyrillic inscription found on the island that the finders could not read. He was asked to render the text in Latin letters or into our Illyrian or Slavic language, which presumably meant into Glagolitic.⁵¹²

Other Illyrian institutions were also created. An "Illyrian School" (*Scuola Illirica*), a high school for those planning to be clerics in the Illyrian parishes (*Parrocchiale Illirica*), was founded in the town of Krk on the island of Krk, probably in 1655 (or shortly thereafter). Teachers at the school were called Illyrian Masters (*magister Illiricus* or *maestro degli Illirici*). The students were taught in their everyday speech, called "Illyrian," but also learned both Church Slavonic and Latin.⁵¹³ Bishop Deodat Divnić (1779–88), who sought to create a similar school in Glavotok, wrote the Venetian administration about the need to set up a fund for teachers for his proposed Illyrian school (*Illirica scola*), which was necessary for the inhabitants, all Illyrians (*tutti illirici*), of this island who practiced the Catholic faith in their Slavic mother tongue (*nella madre lingua Slavona*).⁵¹⁴ In this statement we even see the term "Illyrian," in referring to the island's population, in an ethnic context. Krk was one of the major centers (if not the major center) for churches using Slavonic and for Slavic/Glagolitic texts, and Krk produced hundreds of surviving documents about its churches, clergy, schools, and texts. Bolonić's fine study cites large numbers of these texts, and with one exception, prior to the very late eighteenth century, the texts consistently call people, language, and institutions "Illyrian" (and occasionally "Slavic"), but never use the term "Croat." The exception is the three-language dictionary of Slavonic, Latin, and Croatian

510. M. Bogović, *Katolička crkva*, p. 134; S. Džaja, *Katolici u Bosni i zapadnoj Hercegovini*, p. 158. A leading Bosnian Franciscan (fra Augustin Miletić), whose Order had little use for the Glagolitic taught at Priko as well as for any rival priests in their province, in arguing against a mission from Dalmatia, stated in 1798 that the education at Priko was worse than pathetic (Džaja, p. 163).

511. J. Fućak, *Šest stoljeća hrvatskoga lekcionara*, p. 103.

512. I. Ostojić, *Benediktinska opatija*, p. 60.

513. M. Bolonić, *Otok Krk*, pp. 125–44.

514. M. Bolonić, *Otok Krk*, p. 139.

(Harvatski), discussed earlier in this chapter, by Priest (pop) Ivan Kraljić, published in 1754 and used by the students at the Krk Illyrian school.⁵¹⁵

Literati also founded academies for intellectual discussions and sought to bring out literary texts in the vernacular. In 1694 eighteen intellectuals in Zadar revived an academy that had had a brief life earlier between 1664 and 1678. They sought permission from Venice to print Latin, Illyrian (illiriche), and Italian works.⁵¹⁶

Ivan Petar Marchi (or Markić) was founder and first head of the Illyrian or Slavic (Ilirska ilitvan Slovinska) Academy established early in the eighteenth century in Split. D. Božić-Bužančić argues plausibly that it was founded in 1703 and defunct before 1731.⁵¹⁷ It was one of a series of such academies founded in this period in Dalmatia, Istria, and also in Ljubljana. In imitation of the Roman Academie degli Arcadi, these bodies sought to attract the cultural elites of their towns to further the causes of Catholic Church reform and renewal and of advancing Slavic letters, both through original works and translations. They hoped, as one of the founders wrote, to better spread and more prettily decorate the Slavic (slovinski) language.⁵¹⁸ Presumably this awkward phrase means that the group planned to work to make their language more attractive and to focus on questions of writing style. Liberating brother Slavs from Turkish rule was also a concern that found expression among the members. Marchi wrote in the preface to a Jesuit work he translated that he was bringing (the fruit) from this good and spiritual book in a foreign language into our own Slavic. And it was for this very purpose that in our town, where is spoken the most accomplished Slavic, (there has been created) the Illyrian or Slavic Academy.⁵¹⁹ In 1705 the secretary of the Split academy, Francesco Critton Segret, sent to a cleric in Zadar a letter accompanying four copies of a work, "Christian Thoughts for Each Day of the Month," which one of its members had translated from French into "Illyrian."⁵²⁰ One of the Illyrian Academy's supporters was Archbishop Stjepan Cupilli who, in a letter to Rome in 1713, praised the Academy and hoped that through its efforts the Illyrian language would become more shining and useful. And the bishop began to consider setting up a press to print books in "Illyrian" at his theological seminary.⁵²¹

This seminary had opened in Split, in 1700; it was a regular theological institution for would-be priests. Though it was for locals, whom the bishop calls

515. M. Bolonić, *Otok Krk*, p. 118. A second exception, a translation into "Croatian" by Anton Frank (a priest on Krk), is noted below.

516. M. Deanović, "Odrzi talijanske akademije 'degli Arcadi,'" *Rad (JAZU)* 248, 1933, p. 10.

517. D. Božić-Bužančić, *Privatni i društveni život Splita*, p. 124.

518. I. Ostojić, *Nadbiskupsko sjemenište u Splitu (1700–1970)*, Split, 1971, p. 14.

519. D. Božić-Bužančić, "Inventar arhiva obitelji Ivana Petra Marchija," *Gradja i prilozi za povijest Dalmacije* 10, 1980, p. 82; D. Božić-Bužančić, *Privatni i društveni život Splita*, p. 124.

520. Letter provided by Š. Urlić, "Ivan Tanzlinger-Zanotti," *Gradja za povijest književnosti hrvatske* 5, 1907, p. 44.

521. V. Klaić, *Knjižarstvo u Hrvata*, p. 29.

"Illyrian youth," classes were in Latin; Slavonic/Glagolitic does not seem to have been part of its curriculum. Founded by the energetic Archbishop Stipan Cosmi (bishop dates 1682–1707), its rules were dated 1707. There is debate as to whether these rules (which appear in a later copy) are Cosmi's or whether they have undergone subsequent revision. The text, regardless of possible re-editing, is a delight to read—though not to live by. But, of course, its clientele were on their way to becoming priests. It starts with an introduction, which (I believe scholars have agreed) can be credited to Archbishop Cosmi. We see that he is a firm "Illyrianist" in vocabulary. He starts off by explaining why such a school is necessary. He notes that in all of Europe there is no language as widespread as that of the Illyrians; but they have no schools, and no people need them so greatly because such a large number of Illyrians have fallen to heresy (Protestantism), schism (Orthodoxy), and Islam. He notes that Gregory XIII had created at Loreto a college for the Illyrian nation, for thirty students; and he comments on its various reductions, down to twelve and then its being upped to eighteen, but the eighteen were for all the Dalmatian churches and Mediterranean (though Slavic) lands. Such numbers were clearly insufficient for the Church's missionary work and for staffing the parish churches in this province (i.e., Dalmatia). So, the Church clearly required more people knowing both doctrine and the Illyrian language. Cosmi stresses the need for educated people to know the language—whether being able to speak the living language or being able to write books to explain the truths of the faith. Cosmi then argued that it certainly made more sense to teach Illyrians knowledge (he has theology in mind) than to teach Italians the Illyrian language. The answer, however, was not what had been tried so far, namely more schools for Illyrians in Italy. Like Bishop Juraj Drašković of Zagreb, Cosmi thought having to go away to school was not desirable. But whereas Drašković feared pollution from foreign ideas (Protestantism), Cosmi feared the brain drain. Illyrian youth went off to Italy to study, and then did not return where they were needed. Despite his concern for the small numbers heretofore being trained in Italy, his own school opened, according to the introduction, with just twelve pupils.⁵²²

What is relevant to our subject appears in the just-discussed introduction alone; and we have noted that the author throughout calls both people and language "Illyrian," and uses no other term for either. The rules themselves have little or no bearing on matters of identity, which is a pity, for, as noted, they are a delight to read. Here I shall simply note a few of them for their flavor: students were to address one another formally, thus with "vi" (you, plural) and not "ti" (you, singular). In school (and the implication is for all

522. For a brief discussion of the seminary in the eighteenth century, see I. Ostojić, *Nadbiskupsko sjemenište*, pp. 12–35. Ostojić provides a full text, in Serbo-Croatian translation, of the "Rules" for the school, pp. 129–44. The introduction which I summarize is found on pp. 129–31.

twenty-four hours per day) students were always to speak Latin. Cosmi also stressed the need to build a seminary library, for the text informs us that Split (in 1707) had neither booksellers nor private libraries. We know, however, that there were private libraries connected to the cathedral and to monasteries; is this an indication that those institutions were not willing to let students use their libraries, even if they were to be future priests? The rules were also concerned with personal appearance. Pupils should have haircuts every fifteen days; the hair should be cut short and identically styled for all students, whose ears must show. Prefects were to keep their eyes out for matters of cleanliness. And, of particular importance, no one should bring any sort of extra food to meals without permission; the students should be satisfied with what they were served, which was given to them with love and in moderation. Knowing the need for Latin, Archbishop Cosmi and his successor Stjepan Cupilli, at their own expense, procured for the students copies of Ardelio Dello Bella's *Dizionario Italiano-latino-illirico*; once again we may note the term chosen by the Italian compiler for the language.⁵²³

Use of Term "Croatian" in Church Sources

In Venetian Dalmatia

The term "Croat" was not entirely absent in Church affairs. We noted earlier that four sixteenth-century Glagolitic Missals identified themselves as being in "Croatian," and that Petar Krajačić examined Catechisms and other Church works in the 1560s, which he identified as being written in "Croatian." In the seventeenth century the term "Croatian" also occasionally found its way into official Church matters. We have mentioned previously the priest Mattio the Croat performing a Christening on Krk in 1611. Two Official Church Visitations occurred in Poljica in the seventeenth century, one in 1620 and one in 1688. Both were concerned with the local clergy. The one in 1620 noted the general ignorance and unacceptable behavior of priests and congregations alike. Several of the matters that were objected to centered around carrying weapons into church and various matters of dress. Among other things about dress was an injunction that clergy should not wear in church caps made in the Dalmatian or Croatian (*harvacki*) manner. The 1688 report was written in Latin and translated into Slavic. Interestingly, the Latin text refers to the clergy and services being in "Illyrian," but the Slavic version changes "Illyrian" to "Croatian" (*Harvacki/arvacki/hrvacke*). In the 1688 Visitation the lack of interest in reform was reflected by the fact that in the archdiocese of Split twenty-eight parishes (including Poljica) were privileged to use "Croatian" for the Mass (*privilee harvaskoga izgovora u misi*) while only eight

523. Items from the rules provided by I. Ostojić, *Nadbiskupsko sjemenište*, pp. 138–42.

parishes were Latin ones.⁵²⁴ Both versions referred to the Slavic service books, the *ščavets*, by that name (*schiavetto/ščavets*).⁵²⁵ Despite its appearance here, the term “Croat” was certainly not common in Visitations, and here it was used only in the Slavic translation.

Paul of Rovinj travelled down the Dalmatian coast to the Makarska region and then moved on into Bosnia on a Church Visitation in 1640. On the coast he met a Turk splendidly dressed in scarlet with brocade on his sleeves in the Croatian manner (*alla Croata*). Reaching Makarska, Paul visited a merchant dressed according to the customs of the country of the Croats (*vestirsi alla usanza del paese alla Croatta*) with a Turkish beret. Thus, the visitor associated certain dress with the Croats, and one can conclude that he conceived Croats here geographically as being from Croatia; for Paul once specifies the usage as being associated with the Croats’ “country.” But despite seeing certain dress as Croatian, Paul called the local language “Slavic” (*slavo*). He refers to two monasteries being called “in *slavo*” *Xivogosta* and *Zaostrogh* and later on to a certain Gregory saying something in Slavic.⁵²⁶

A church registry of Christenings between 1614 and 1655 from the village of Turanj near Vrana, has a marginal note in Glagolitic that states, “I, Don Bare Pifrović, have written in Croatian (*krvaski*), Cyrillic, and Latin [letters] but am unable to write in the Latin language because I never went to school, nor to the priests nor friars . . . but was able to study in my father’s house three books.” Following the note, he writes “amen” in all three of his Slavic alphabets.⁵²⁷ The priest here, therefore, was using the term “Croatian” to denote Glagolitic. Matrimonial registers from around Split from between 1611 and 1659 note the names of several priests celebrating the weddings. Three of the ten have identity markers attached to their names; in each case the marker was “Croatian” (*hervacanin* or *harvacanin*).⁵²⁸

In 1711 Ante Krcatović was chosen as a canon for Split; in the register he signed after his name “Croat” (*Hrvaćanin*).⁵²⁹ Strgačić also found in the convent of St. Katherine’s in Zadar, two handwritten translations of a decision, original in Latin, rendered to them in 1666 by Pope Alexander VII, one into “vulgar Italian” and the other rendered into “Croatian language” (*harvaschi*

524. V. Mošin, “Poljičke konstitucije iz 1620 i 1688 godine,” *Radovi Staroslavenskog instituta* 1, 1952, pp. 177, 191, 194, 196, 198–99; and E. Hercigonja, “Društveni i gospodarski okviri,” p. 100, fn. 304.

525. V. Mošin, “Poljičke konstitucije,” p. 197.

526. S. Zlatović (ed.), “Izvjestaj o Bosni god. 1640 o. Pavla iz Rovinja,” *Starine* (JAZU) 23, 1890, pp. 15, 20, 31.

527. Cited by A.-R. Filipi, “Biogradsko-vransko primorje u doba mletačko-turskih ratova,” in G. Novak & V. Maštrović (eds.), *Povijest Vrane*, Zadar, 1971, p. 538.

528. L. Jelić, *Fontes historici*, Fontes . . . XVII saeculi, p. 84.

529. I. Ostojić, *Metropolitanski kaptol u Splitu*, p. 287.

jezik). Unfortunately, he provides no date—and probably it is unknown—for the translation and its label.⁵³⁰

We also continue to find examples of service books using the term “Croatian,” though the use of the words “Slavic” and “Illyrian” continued to be more common. But in 1699 in Dubrovnik I. Paštrić made a handwritten copy of Bernardin of Split’s Lectionary in Cyrillic characters and Serbian, Croatian, or Dalmatian spoken language (character est Cyrillianus, lingua serviana vel Croatica vel Dalmatica vulgaris).⁵³¹ Of course, this text, in its sixteenth-century printed versions, had already said it was translated into Croatian. But, it is interesting to find Paštrić giving two alternatives to “Croatian.” Was it because someone might already have been touchy about language labels? In this category we can also place the Lectionary of D. Anton who is called Boxin from the village of Jezero on the island of Murter in the kotar of Šibenik and province of Dalmatia. This text, which was published in Venice in 1704, was compiled for “the use of my brother Croats” (ana korist moye bratye harvato).⁵³² The book also says that it could be purchased from Bartol Okki, a Venetian bookseller on the “Slavic shore” (riva de Schiavoni). We have come across this bookseller previously in connection with a text from 1712 written by the Perast nobleman, Kristo Mazarović.

Spinčić adds three more texts in this context. The first was a Glagolitic manuscript of the decrees of the Council of Trent translated from Latin into Croatian and copied in 1712 by a priest on Krk named Anton Frank. The second was a Constitution in manuscript from 1734 of the Third Order Franciscans, which was approved by Pope Clement XII rendered into Croatian by Father fra Ivan Krizostom Keršić from Cres. The third was a text printed in Venice in 1737 entitled “[Theological] Science for Young Priests who Are Beginning to Serve the Mass,” translated from Latin into Slavic by a monk of the Order of St. Francis for priests of Croatian letters.⁵³³

Continuing with publications; we meet the Dalmatian friar Josip Banovac (ca. 1693–1771), who grew up in a village near Skradin. One of his works from 1747 was rendered into the worthy Croatian language. He also addressed in the preface of a 1759 text his dear “Croatian brothers” (bratjo Harvačani) and then went on to say that there were many unintelligible books which are not for them, but he praised books in “harvaske” and stated that he was writing for you Slavs who know no books other than those in Croatian (Harvaski) language, written so that everyone is able to understand.⁵³⁴ His phrasing reflects a common view expressed by today’s Serbs about their language. Kom-

530. A. Strgačić, “Hrvatski jezik,” p. 410.

531. J. Fućak, *Šest stoljeća hrvatskoga lekcionara*, p. 206, fn. 23.

532. J. Fućak, *Šest stoljeća hrvatskoga lekcionara*, p. 247.

533. V. Spinčić, *Crnice*, pp. 28–29; on Anton Frank, see also L. Jelić, *Fontes historici*, Fontes . . . XVIII saeculi, p. 9.

534. V. Jagić, “Iz prošlosti hrvatskoga jezika,” p. 52.

bol cites him, presumably from elsewhere in the same 1759 preface, as saying that he prepared a book (on Christian teachings) for his brother Croatians of his (Franciscan) Order of Croatian Letters, that is, glagoljaši.⁵³⁵ In 1767 Banovac published a service book in two editions (one in Ancona and one in Venice), the first for Slavic priests (misnika slovinskih) and the second partially entitled “for services in Slavic parishes.” However, he had not forgotten his earlier attachment to the word “Croatian,” for in its preface he notes that he had been begged by Croatian priests (misnika harvačana) to prepare such a work for their needs and use.⁵³⁶

The Franciscan Bernardin Pavlović from Dubrovnik “truly translated” a Missal into harvaski, and his second corrected and published edition of 1747 was done “in Croatian language (harvaski jezik) for the use of the Croatian (Harvaski) people.”⁵³⁷ Jagić notes that a second work of his, printed in 1768, stated that it was written “in our worthy Croatian (harvaski) language.”⁵³⁸ Angelo della Kosta, a priest in Split, published a work on Church law in 1788 and throughout called the language “Croatian.”⁵³⁹ This book’s title has the Church law put together/compiled for the enlightenment of monks of the Croatian people. The preface states that the compiler has collected what in Latin are called “Jus canonicum” but in Croatian “Church Law”; such a work has not yet been seen in our language, but it will provide for the Croatian people (a presentation of) what the laws are. He mentions receiving help from a second individual in translating the laws into Croatian. And, in dedicating the work to the Archbishop of Split, he calls the bishop’s see the first in Dalmatia and all Croatia and the bishop the leader of all (Christians) in the Croatian state, and again expresses the wish to enlighten the monks in the bishop’s country and all the Croatian people.⁵⁴⁰ A Visitation report of Istria by Pompeius Coronini, Bishop of Petena (Petenensis), in 1628 reports that the populace of Istria used either vernacular Croatian (Croatam vulgo) or Italian.⁵⁴¹

In 1717, as noted earlier, the head of the Istrian-Dalmatian Province of the Third Order Franciscans, at a conference of the order, banned a Franciscan on the island of Cres, Antun Kavrančić, from officiating in Slavic-language services (slavica lingua), for he does not know harvaski, and he would not be licensed to perform such services until he could do the Epistles and Gospels

535. M. Kombol, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, p. 348.

536. L. Jelić, *Fontes historici*, Fontes . . . XVIII saeculi, p. 91.

537. V. Klaić, *Hrvati i Hrvatska*, p. 49.

538. V. Jagić, “Iz prošlosti hrvatskoga jezika,” p. 52.

539. V. Jagić, “Iz prošlosti hrvatskoga jezika,” p. 52. See also a brief excerpt in L. Jelić, *Fontes historici*, Fontes . . . XVIII saeculi, p. 91. Jelić, however, instead of 1788, dates the text to 1778. It is worth noting that Jelić’s text has many misprints on dates, so my instinct is to go with Jagić’s dating.

540. Ante Split, *Hrvatski naslov*, pp. 75–76.

541. L. Jelić, *Fontes historici*, Fontes . . . XVII saeculi, p. 22.

in Harvaski.⁵⁴² In 1788 a canon from the Church of Split published in Venice a work entitled, "For the Study of Doctrine and Enlightenment of the Monks of the Croatian Nation Translated into Our Language" (*Za naučenje i prosvitljenje redovnikov harvaskoga naroda istumačio je na nasc jezik*).⁵⁴³ And finally, in a survey of language use that simply lists forms of the various words, usually providing no context, Fućak adds the following three examples, which we have not met earlier. A priest from Split named Stjepan Jurjević said in 1611 that he served Croatians (*hervacani*); a second priest (location unspecified) in 1747 referred to his congregation as being of "Croatian letters" (*harvatskoga slova*); and a text from 1767 discussed "Misnici harvačani" (Croatian priests).⁵⁴⁴ The 1747 text is almost certainly a work published that year in Venice entitled "Doctrine for Young Priests," for Jelić's full title includes the phrase "for services by priests of Croatian letters" (*harvatskoga slova*); however, the title page also states that the work was translated from Latin into Slavic (*slovinski jezik*), showing that the translator used both terms.⁵⁴⁵ This list may seem impressive, but Fućak's lists have many more examples of Slavic/Slavonic and Illyrian than Croatian, and he notes that the usage of "Illyrian" was both the most frequent and employed over the longest period of time.⁵⁴⁶

We might note also that the word "Croat" finally made a debut at Zadar's Illyrian seminary. In 1777 Ivan Karsana, who succeeded Matija Karaman as Zadar's archbishop, wrote up seventeen chapters of rules of the Croatian language (*lingua Croatica*) to be used by those studying at the "Illyrian or Slavic seminary" in Zadar.⁵⁴⁷ In his decree, we see that the archbishop uses all three words.

From Habsburg Croatia

M. Sladović published sections of an anonymous description of Lika and Krbava written in 1696, almost certainly from a Church Visitation. More recently M. Bogović has published a translation of the full text. This text refers to eight houses of old Christians or Croats (*Croatis*); a part of Lika able to provide 120 of our Croats capable of bearing arms; and to some forty settlements of Croats in a village near the Kranj border.⁵⁴⁸ The same text, however, refers to an Illyrian Breviary, to St. Jerome being a Doctor of the Church and patron of "his Illyrian nation" (*Nationis Illyricae*), and to the *županijas* of Lika and Krbava being among the most beautiful regions in Illyria.⁵⁴⁹ Here I

542. J. Fućak, *Šest stoljeća hrvatskoga lekcionara*, p. 103.

543. I. Ostojić, *Metropolitanski kaptol u Splitu*, p. 302.

544. J. Fućak, *Šest stoljeća hrvatskoga lekcionara*, pp. 116, 124.

545. L. Jelić, *Fontes historici*, *Fontes . . . XVIII saeculi*, p. 31.

546. J. Fućak, *Šest stoljeća hrvatskoga lekcionara*, pp. 115–16.

547. L. Maštrović, "Povijesni pregled školstva," p. 493.

548. M. Sladović, *Povjesti biskupijah senjske*, pp. 33, 36–37; M. Bogović, "Takozvani Glavničev opis Like i Krbave iz 1696 godine," *Croatica Christiana periodica* 27, 1991, pp. 124–27.

549. M. Sladović, *Povijesti biskupijah senjske*, pp. 37, 38.

think it probable that “Croat” refers to a person from Croatia proper (but certainly one who is also a Catholic, for the frequently mentioned Orthodox Vlachs living there are clearly not counted as Croats); and “Illyrian” refers to a broader population, possibly to that of all of Dalmatia, if not to the whole area lived in by Catholics, as well as to the language.

Bishop P. Mariani of Senj-Modruš carried out a Church Visitation in Bakar in 1653, and on asking what Missals and other texts a church had, received a listing beginning with one new Croat Missal (*unum missale croaticum novum*).⁵⁵⁰ Church references to “Croatia/Croatian” from Slavonia will be treated in the section in chapter 6 on Slavonia.

Broad “Slavism” among Churchmen

The most famous Churchman from Croatia in the seventeenth century was Juraj Križanić (1618–83). He studied in Rome to be a missionary to the Slavic lands; though much of his study was under the Jesuits, according to Golub, he never entered the Order. At first his interests were centered on Church Union, that is, bringing the Orthodox into union with Rome. This interest was never to leave him. But, most scholars believe that he soon became equally swept up in a pan-Slavic (all Slavs in his case) vision that would liberate the Slavs from German and Turkish domination. It is worth noting that his hostility to the Germans was as strong as that which he felt for the Turks.⁵⁵¹ However, N. Škerović makes very strong arguments that Križanić never really became a pan-Slav—at least not a patriotic one with pan-Slav goals to be realized—and throughout Križanić’s career his interests remained focused on bringing the Orthodox into Church Union.⁵⁵²

In the usual view, Križanić sought liberation of those Slavs subjected by Turks and Germans. And, continuing with this view, what Križanić saw as the key to this liberation was the only independent Slavic power of his day, Rus-

550. A. Benven, “Zamisao liturgijskog jezika u Šimuna Kožičića,” *Slovo* 34, 1984, p. 208, fn. 17.

551. Križanić wrote of the Germans, “Seeing as the Germans are heretics, the inventors and forgers of every European heresy, seeing as they are of all nations the most arrogant, the most blasphemous, the most eloquent, and of all the most given to astronomy, alchemy, physiognomy, and all other services of the devil, seeing as they are the most untrustworthy in war, swindlers in trade, most poisonous libellers and slanderers in books, since they outstrip all others in lust, drinking, epicurianism, and sybaritism, since they are the most envious and the least hospitable, since they persecute our people with accursed, everlasting, and satanic hatred, since they have basely and enviously muddled our honor and name before all other nations, we must break off all associations with the Germans more completely than with any wolf, dragon, or devil.” (Cited by C. Simpson, *Pavao Ritter Vitezović: Defining National Identity in the Baroque Age*, London [Ph.D. diss., School of Slavonic and East European Studies, University of London], 1991, p. 226, fn. 41.)

552. N. Škerović, *Djuro Križanić: Njegov život, rad i ideje*, Beograd (SKA, Posebna izdanja 109), 1936. I reproduce Škerović’s argument and material from his book in the nine paragraphs that follow. The most important points (and references to Križanić’s works) are to be found on pp. 21, 28, 31, 35, 39, 60, 62–63, 66, 95, 98–99, 101–2, 106.

sia. He focused his attention there, not surprisingly getting into difficulties over his mixed agenda and ended up spending fifteen years in Siberia as an agent of international Catholicism.

Škerović believes that Križanić's interests in Russia were solely directed at Church Union, and his flattery of the tsar was not to further crusades against the Turks, but because Križanić, with a low view of the Russians, believed all one had to do was to win the tsar over and he would then bring his subjects with him into Union with Rome.

Regardless of whether Križanić had one or two goals, a fascinating issue deserving of further study, that which interests us here is how he perceived the Slavs and their various sub-groups. When in Jesuit school, as noted in our discussion of the St. Jerome guesthouse, he was registered as a "Croat," the usual Jesuit notation and based on place of origin. In his early applications for missionary work among the Orthodox he noted the languages he could use: Latin, Old Serbian (Church Slavonic), New Serbian (the spoken language among the Serbs of Slavonia), and "Croatian," which Škerović sees as specifying Kajkavian. This dialect, Škerović notes, was Križanić's idea of the purest "Slavic" tongue. In 1641 Križanić wrote a grammar, which he entitled as being one of "our language," to which he added bits and pieces from the "old language." "Our language" was the Kajkavian then spoken in parts of Croatia, whereas the "old" referred to Church Slavonic. Križanić thought that this mixture could legitimately be called "Slavic." In this same year, 1641, he wrote Bishop Vinković of Zagreb about his grammar, which he said was in "Illyrian," and he refers to the same text in a memorandum to Francesco Ingoli, Secretary of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, as being in "lingua croata." Thus, at that time, in 1641, he used those two terms as synonyms, and, as we have seen, he also called the language "Slavic." Golub notes, moreover, that in this period Križanić used the terms "Slavic" on one occasion to denote "Russian" and on another to denote "Croatian."⁵⁵³

Križanić started off in 1647 to get to Muscovy to carry out his mission; in his letters from the time he viewed the Russians as an inferior, backwards people, hardly the vigorous crusaders whose role was to liberate the enslaved South Slavs from the Turks (the view most attribute to him). In Poland he met a tsarist envoy, a meeting he describes in a letter to Levaković (whom we have met previously). Here Križanić claims he introduced himself to the envoy (a certain Duhtorov) as an Illyrian-Croat (illyrius Croata); he told him that his Illyrian nation was enslaved by the Turks, Germans, and Italians. He said that as a result of this, the Illyrians' language had become polluted, and therefore he wanted to go to Russia to learn and to correct his language. This is a complete contradiction from his earlier expressed view that his native tongue represented the purest Slavic, but Škerović shows that throughout his

553. I. Golub, "Slavic Idea," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 10, nos. 3-4, pp. 465-66.

career Križanić advanced whatever opinion he thought would serve him at a given moment. In Križanić's description of his discussion with Duhtorov, he said that he sought to learn all the dialects of Illyrian; and already he knew Croatian, Serbian, and Carniolian. (Here one might see Čakavian, Štokavian, and Kajkavian respectively, but, as noted, Škerović has argued, possibly incorrectly, that "Croatian" was used to denote Kajkavian.) Križanić had come to Poland to learn Polish, but above all he wanted to learn the Muscovite dialect. Thus, at this moment he was using "Illyrian," as most employed the word "Slavic," to denote all the Slavic languages. Križanić went on to flatter the envoy about how wonderful it was for the Muscovites to have a ruler of their own blood and to be able to use the national language in public life.

He briefly got to Russia as part of a Polish embassy, and there a memo by an anonymous Russian describes Križanić as a Jesuit of Slavic nationality, interested in correcting his Slavic language; whether the terminology is the Russian's or Križanić's is not clear. His visit was short and on his return West, he claimed that he had met the Russian patriarch and sought to write a Slavic Apologia in Old Illyrian (Church Slavonic) on the faith that would be understandable to Serbs, Bulgarians, and Muscovites. He says that such a text would be useful for members of the various Slavic tribes infected with the schism.

A decade thereafter, claiming to be a Serb fleeing the Turks, Križanić returned to Russia. To explain his knowledge of the West and ignorance of certain things a Serb would know, he claimed he had fled to the West as a youngster and had been educated in Italy. Thus, he knew Ancient and Modern Greek, Latin, and Slavic. Arriving in Russia in September 1659, he claimed he wanted to write a Slavic history, for the Slavs do not know their past and he wanted to respond to all the derogatory things said about the Muscovites, particularly the things said by Olearius. He then spoke of the need for a "Slavic" grammar book, because the Slavic language is in decline and nowhere is it spoken correctly. Since he is presenting himself to Russians, here "Slavic" refers to some sort of common Slavic. Škerović, describing Križanić's memoranda, notes that the plan was fantastic, for Križanić knew no Slavic language other than his own dialect, to which he added a bit of Church Slavonic and a bit of Štokavian (as spoken by Serb migrants into Croatia) to which he tossed in bits of the Russian, Ukrainian, and Polish he had picked up on his trip. Thus he produced an odd, mixed Slavic language, which represented nothing that existed anywhere and also, being arbitrary rather than thought out on the basis of study and knowledge of other Slavic tongues, had no scholarly value at all. Others have come up with much more positive assessments of Križanić's common Slavic. The nineteenth-century scholar Iosif Pervol'f points out that Križanić was the first to recognize that it was desirable and necessary for the Slavs to have one written, literary language, and Križanić clearly did want the Slavs to have a common written language. Usually he visualized a mixed one, like the one he produced, but

elsewhere (possibly advanced just to flatter the tsar), he said this common language should be Russian.⁵⁵⁴

To please his Russian hosts, Križanić now claimed that from the Russians emerged all the Slavic tribes (peoples), and therefore all their languages undoubtedly were born out of Russian. Thus, his written language, (logically from his statement but not true in fact), should be understandable to Russians and Slavs.

As previously noted, Križanić ended up in Siberia for fifteen years for his efforts; there he wrote a great deal, which has often been seen as reflecting a pan-Slav vision. But Škerović notes that Križanić's work was anything but that. Since his aim was to convert the tsar to Church Union—the means to bring all Russia around—he wanted to build up the tsar's ego by directing Russia into becoming an expansive power. But at the same time he wanted to cut Russia off from the influences that might hinder the tsar from accepting Catholicism. Thus, according to Škerović, Križanić sought to create a wall between Russia and Germany/Central Europe—infected with Protestantism—and to dissuade Russia from moving into southeastern Europe (an act that might have helped liberate South Slavs from the Turks), (but) where the Greeks, who could make a case for Orthodoxy and Schism, might influence the tsar. In fact, and surely because Križanić feared Greek influence on the Russians, Russia should not seek Constantinople. At one point in this text, he cries out “Oh Slavs, Slavs, what a bill of goods the Greeks have sold you.” Because of these religious rocks to the west and southwest, Križanić advises Russia to expand south and southeast toward the Black Sea and Central Asia and India.

The dominant term Križanić uses is “Slavic,” and he uses it in a somewhat pan-Slavic way to include all Slavs. But it is hardly any sort of patriotic pan-Slavism, since his view of the Slavs is highly negative: the Slavs are stupid and without imagination. This view, however, was critical for his theories on how to bring about Church Union, for it meant that since the Slavs could not think for themselves, all that the Catholic Church needed to do was convert the tsar, and then the tsar would bring his mindless sheep-like subjects around. Križanić goes on to say that in the present day the Slavic languages are crude, unpleasant, and in general the least suited for singing and for Church services, the least developed and most poverty-stricken of all languages. The Slavic people from every standpoint are inferior to the other peoples, and are especially marked by stupidity. Thus anyone can trick them and pull them by the nose. The Slavs have no place among the European peoples; their place lies among the Asiatic savages and barbarians. Though clearly stereotyping (a characteristic of ethnicity), such a negative depiction of his own people hardly makes Križanić a normal sort of ethnic. Thus,

554. I. Pervol'f, *Slavjane* II, pp. 332, 351.

Škerović concludes that associating Križanić with the idea of expecting Russia to liberate and unite the Slavs, as most scholars claim, is absurd, particularly since his blueprint for Russia's future takes that nation away from Europe's Slavs into the territory of the Asiatic savages.

Križanić certainly categorizes the Slavs as a large collective and analyzes them from that perspective. He also recognizes the particular Slavic peoples, but they clearly have little importance in his analysis. For example, he can say that beyond the Danube—here, writing from Russia, he means the South Slavs—the Slavs have lost their language and that rulers of the Slavic race (*vladateljev slovenskoga roda*) no longer exist except in Russia. This is a commonly expressed theme by South Slavs (who tend to frequently also note Dubrovnik from their region as an exception). We may also note that Križanić brings in the ethnic/racial/family term “rod” to note the commonality among the Slavs. He then, contradicting what he had been saying previously in the same work, goes on to say that you, honored tsar, are unique and must look out for your scattered children, liberate them from the yoke of foreigners (Turks and Germans), and gather them in. And the “they” is soon thereafter defined as especially those beyond the Danube, as well as the Poles and the Czechs.

This passage from the same work, “Politika,” does advance a positive pan-Slavism and does depict the tsar as a liberator and protector of other Slavs. Thus, one can see how different views of Križanić can emerge in scholarship. It does not matter too much for our study whether one or the other or a mixture of views is correct; it is clear that he does see a commonality and close kinship among the Slavs. He speaks here of a Slavic family and he speaks elsewhere of bringing what had allegedly been a single language (i.e., Russian, whether an actual belief of his or an idea tossed in to please the tsar?) back together again through means of a common Slavic language; and at times, maybe just to flatter, he suggests a Serbo-Croatian speaker can come to Russia to improve or correct his own destroyed language. The important level of analysis, in either case, is that of the Slavs; the individual nations have little importance, and all share in a series of negative characteristics. Russia because of its size (and not for any positive characteristics) does have a special status, and clearly would be a great catch for Catholicism. “Croatia” is a place from which its inhabitants can draw the label “Croat” for themselves and their dialect, but that region and its people had no particular appeal for him.

Moreover, there is a clear ethnic element in Križanić's perception of the Slavs. Not only does he call the Slavs a family, point to a one-time common language that he wants to re-create, and see an initial common history and homeland from which some of the Slavs were to migrate, but he also speaks of them now being divided, with most deprived of political independence, and under the rule of foreigners. Thus, Križanić certainly had a concept of ethnicity, but he attached it to the broad Slavic community.

Since most of his career—and the influences upon him—was spent far from Croatia, Križanić's idiosyncratic views do not reflect opinion of the region that is now Croatia. However, the fact that he started out with a general Slavic consciousness and vocabulary may well be traced to his upbringing. Up to 1665 (and Škerović would see no reason to stop with 1665) Križanić referred to this broadly conceived people, the East, West, and South Slavs, as "Slavs" and used the term "Russian" solely for the East Slavs. However, once he got tied up with things Russian, then, according to Golub, Križanić altered his vocabulary. Golub sees 1665 as the year of this change. In the grammar text Križanić produced that year, he uses the word "Russian" to denote all Slavs. Seeing the Russians as the original Slavs and Russia as the homeland from where the other Slavic peoples migrated, "Russian" now becomes his general name.

In the text Križanić argues that the Russians were autochthonous in Russia; there is no evidence that any other peoples preceded them there. The current Slavs were not descended from some other people, nor was their language derived from some other tongue. The Slavs originated in Russia, and in the sixth to seventh centuries some migrated from there; some of these crossed the Danube, hence he was now using the term "Trans-Danubian Slavs" for them (which term shows a perspective from Russia). These Slavs occupied the territory of Illyria, which now came to be called a Slavic land. In time they divided into three kingdoms—Croatia, Serbia, and Bulgaria—which were named after their leaders. Thus, and he states it explicitly, the stories about the Donation of Alexander the Great and so forth are all fairy tales and the ancient Illyrians were not Slavs; for there were no Slavs south of the Danube before the sixth century. Križanić then notes that other Slavs settled north of the Danube, Poles, Czechs, and such. He then returns to the Carniolians—whose Illyrianism, as noted, he had had two minds about during the guesthouse dispute. Now, he returns to his original view (which was Paštrić's) and claims that Carniola, Styria, and Carinthia had been lost to the Slavs (or in Paštrić's terms, Illyrians) as a result of Germanization. Križanić claims that there are now six Slavic dialects: Russian, Polish, Czech, Bulgarian, Serbian, and Croatian. The last three peoples, he repeats, are called "Slavs" or "Trans-Danubians." (I do not know whether anyone other than Križanić called these people by the latter term.) Križanić then concludes that the name of "Russian" is the oldest and the source of the others; so, "Russian" is the basic name and the Russian dialect is not the fruit, or better outgrowth, from a Slavic dialect, but Polish, Czech, and so forth are descended from the Russian language. The literary language (Church Slavonic) therefore should not be called "Slavic/Slavonic," but "literary Russian."

Križanić clearly stated this position in this text; but whether this was to become his general view or whether it was inserted to flatter the tsar is a question to be pondered. The Balkan or South Slavs in this context came to be

called the "Trans-Danubian Slavs" (but n.b., still a general category of Slavs that was basically identical with what went by the name of "Illyrians" for his contemporaries in Rome and Dalmatia). Moreover, I think that it can be argued that "Trans-Danubian" was a geographical label rather than a broader ethnic sub-category. Križanić was certainly willing to break down the Trans-Danubian Slavs into Serbs, Croats, and Bulgarians, and to speak of the development of various dialects among these people after they had migrated into their new homes from Russia. But he saw the necessity of bringing them back together through a revived and revised common language. But again was this gathering together to be political, putting them into some sort of great Slavic state, or was it a cultural hope, seeking the creation of a common language to bring them together to share texts and facilitate their coming together (regardless of political entity) in the common faith of Rome? Križanić, in any case, did go on to work out a common Slavic language and, according to some scholars, all sorts of grand plans for the Slavs to realize.⁵⁵⁵ But, as fascinating as these projects were, they were conceived by an individual far from and out of contact with people from his Balkan homeland; thus, other than the intellectual base they grew out of, they are not central to our study.

A similar broad view was expressed by Antonio Primojević, the Catholic Bishop of Trebinje, in a letter of 1673, which referred to the schismatic Patriarch of the Serbian Church of Peć as standing over the [schismatic] Illyrian people (*la natione illirica*).⁵⁵⁶ Thus, he saw the South Slavs as a single people, the Illyrian nation, divided into those who were Catholic and those who were schismatic (Orthodox).

555. I. Golub, "Slavenska ideja Jurja Križanića," *Historijski zbornik* 36, no. 1, 1983, pp. 33–40; I. Golub, "Slavic Idea," *Harvard Ukrainian Studies* 10, nos. 3–4, 1986, pp. 438–91. Golub makes a strong case for Križanić holding an activist pan-Slav position. On changes in Križanić's terminology in 1665, see "Slavic Idea," p. 474. For a summary of Križanić's views, which I cite, on the role of Russia in Slavic history and of Russian as the basic Slavic language, "Slavic Idea," pp. 477–81. Križanić, after providing the cited general linguistic history, then turns to the local language of his South Slavs (even returning to his old position about the purity of "Croatian"). He begins by noting that the Serbs and Croats have so lost their father's speech that except for domestic affairs (i.e., in a household), they cannot compose any worthwhile disquisition on any subject. He proceeds to quote "someone" who said that the Serbs and Croats speak any language and do not say anything. In their speech their first word is Russian, the second Hungarian, the third German, the fourth Turkish, the fifth Greek or Italian or Albanian. But though their speech is corrupted by this admixture of foreign words, they have preserved the grammatical structure. And nowhere is the grammar preserved so well, and thus so closely to the primeval Russian language, as among the Croats. Not everywhere among them, Križanić insists, but along the Kupa River in the area of Dubovac, Ozalj, and Ribnik. For, he claims, at the time of the Turkish invasions, the Croatian and Serbian nobility took refuge here. They remained isolated owing to the steep mountains, so there was little human traffic or trade; thus, few foreigners came into contact with them, and their grammar and pronunciation remained uncorrupted (p. 483). Golub also argues that Križanić did want the tsar to move south and liberate the South Slavs from the Ottomans (e.g., pp. 464, 489).

556. J. Radonić, *Rimska kurija*, p. 363.

*Lošinj's Troubles and the Crisis over Illyrian in
Churches, ca. 1802*

By 1802 Illyrian, among those using Slavonic in their churches, had, at least among some, taken on many features of an ethnic identity. This is seen in the dispute over the use of Slavonic on Lošinj that flared up in 1802.⁵⁵⁷ After the Austrians' assumption of power in Dalmatia, following the collapse of Venice in 1797, the Church hierarchy in Osor and Zadar, supported by local secular officials, returned to the attack on Slavic services. The Bishop of Osor ordered all churches under his authority, including those on the island of Lošinj, to adopt Latin as the language of church services. The islanders, led by a local monastery, appealed and found an ally in another long-time Slavic-using see, Senj, whose bishop, facing the same order for churches in his diocese, wrote both secular and high-Church officials on Lošinj's behalf.

The Roman Church had always opposed vernacular languages for services, so the Slavic services that had been approved for Lošinj were in Church Slavonic. Among the arguments used by the Latinist hierarchs was that the local priests and population did not know literary Illyrian/Slavonic (*lingua illirica letterale*). Of course, the local reply was that Slavonic bore similarities to the spoken language and that they knew even less Latin. Moreover, textbooks on Slavonic existed and there were also seminaries in Senj, Zadar, and Poljica, where it could be studied. In the debate, supporters of Slavonic regularly stressed the papal approval, going back to 1248, for Slavonic, noting such precedents as the Bishop of Senj sending them Illyrian Missals and Breviaries in 1527 that had been printed in Rijeka and approved by the pope.

Throughout the dispute, both sides (including Austrian officials and local administrators) called the language and liturgy in question "Illyrian." The defenders also stressed an Illyrian nation/people who had been granted these privileges. The most interesting exception to the dominant term "Illyrian" was their occasionally making use of the word "Dalmatian." This term sometimes appeared in insignificant ways, for example, these privileges were granted to the Illyrian nation, especially in Dalmatia. But on a couple of occasions, those issuing appeals referred to themselves as the Dalmatian nation: the existence of Catholic churches utilizing the Mass of St. Jerome, venerated by the Dalmatian nation (*all' esistenza della chiesa Cattolica, assista dal dottor massimo San Girolamo, onore della dalmata nazione*). Since Jerome was from Dalmatia and thus a Dalmatian—but not a Slav, though few recognized this second fact—possibly the mention of him was responsible for this particular wording. But a

557. The material in the following five paragraphs on this dispute comes from S. Ljubić, "Borba za glagoljicu na Lošinjju," *Rad (JAZU)* 57, 1881, pp. 150–87.

second reference had nothing to do with Jerome: the illustrious Dalmatian nation represented by Lošinj has used (this liturgy) for about five centuries. The other, and to be expected, exception to calling things “Illyrian” was an occasional mention of “Slavic”: the large population of the land in question, Slavs (slavi) by origin, has used solely the Illyrian liturgy; the vernacular language (there) is universally Slavic (Slavo) and the text goes on to mention on this occasion the Slavic liturgy (*la liturgia slava*).

But the term used consistently was “Illyrian,” for both the vernacular and for Church Slavonic, occasionally with “letterale” added for the latter. Moreover, the defenders saw themselves consistently as the Illyrian nation (*illirica nazione*); since this nation spoke Slavic, the pope had granted these special privileges to the Illyrian nation, and the Illyrian nation had been enjoying these rights for centuries. The glorious nation of the Illyrians has long been glorifying God in their own language. The Illyrian liturgy is a special privilege of that nation. The Illyrian nation does not know any liturgy other than the Illyrian. In his more learned appeals, the Bishop of Senj spoke in the same vein. Pope Innocent IV had granted these privileges to the Illyrian nation, and he spoke of the liturgy as both Illyrian and Slavic (e.g., of the Slavic rite for the Mass), and the use of the Slavonic language printed in the characters of St. Jerome (*di rito Slavo nelle messe . . . l'uso dell' idioma slavo letterale stampato nel carattere Gerolimiano*). The bishop noted the number of Church-sanctioned Breviaries and Missals in this language and concluded that use of Slavic was the key reason that heresy (Protestantism) had not penetrated this region in the sixteenth century.

A local assembly on Lošinj voted 156 to 18 to keep the Illyrian liturgy. But this “illegal” meeting did not change the thinking of either the bishops of Zadar and Osor or the civil authorities in Zadar. In 1804, appeals that were supported by the bishops of the two major Glagolitic centers (Senj and Krk) were sent off to the emperor in Vienna and the pope in Rome. However, before either of these high authorities came to a decision, Napoleon took over Dalmatia. The French, it seems, let the Latinist hierarchs have their way, for Skok notes that the Old Slavonic Mass was sung on Lošinj down to 1804.⁵⁵⁸ But it should also be noted that the French named the province they established in the western Balkans “Illyrian.”

What is significant for us, however, is the fact that, in defending their liturgy, the citizens of Lošinj and the Bishop of Senj saw the Illyrians as a people, and this Illyrian nation was described in ethnic terms. It was a clearly defined community, with a shared language and shared traditions and history.

558. P. Skok, *Slavenstvo i Romanstvo na jadranskim otocima: Toponomastička ispitivanja*, Zagreb, 1950, p. 45.

M. Bogović's Summary of "Identity" among Church-Oriented
West Balkanites

Bogović well sums up the identity question as it then stood:

At this time [the mid-eighteenth century] there still had not developed national consciousness among the South Slavic nations. Already they had achieved belief in the idea that all Slavs belonged to one and the same people, and that the names Czech, Pole, Serb, Croat, Russian, etc. were only tribal names. But they did not agree on the name of this [greater] nation; they spoke and wrote about Slavs and about Illyrians. This latter term was used for the Slavs [maybe a better use here is South Slavs] in general by the Croats [a misleading implication; better to say by people living in what is now Croatia], and the national awakening of the Croats in the last century [the nineteenth] went by the name of "Illyrian." They believed that all the Slavic tribes were descended from the old Illyrians.

Karaman and before him [Vicko] Zmajević were not only openly bearers but creators [better "developers"] of this mentality; even though you cannot say that Illyrianism among the Croats [*sic*] emerged from them. According to them, all South Slavs spoke one language which they called the Illyrian spoken language (*lingua illirica parlata*). Beside the spoken language there existed a literary (letterale) Slavic (or Illyrian) language from which the spoken language developed. The literary language was to be found in the liturgical books. From this fruitful mother evolved spoken Illyrian, Czech, Polish, Russian, etc. Thus, spoken Illyrian was to the literary Slavic as a daughter to a mother and to Polish, Czech, and Russian as sisters.⁵⁵⁹

559. M. Bogović, *Katolička crkva*, p. 130. Bogović's relationship analogy is drawn from an anonymous work (discussed at the beginning of this chapter) on the Illyrian clergy that appeared in 1741. For that text, see L. Jelić, *Fontes historici*, *Fontes . . . XVIII saeculi*, pp. 25–27, with the analogy, pp. 25–26.

SIX

Slavonia, 1600 to 1800



SETTING THE SCENE IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

Most of Slavonia was conquered by the Turks in the sixteenth century, and in Turkish Slavonia no signs of Croatian identity emerge in our European sources. The two leading towns of Habsburg Slavonia were Varaždin and Zagreb, whose populations in the eighteenth century, as supplied by Rothenberg without specific dates, were 4,800 and 2,800 respectively.¹ In this territory the term “Slavic” continues to be used frequently. In 1605 the papal nuncio in Gradac (Graz) wrote Cardinal Aldobrandini that, in opposing a rebellion in Hungary of heretical (Protestant) nobles, a major role was played by faithful Hungarians, especially Hungarian Slavs (Ungari Sclavi).² In Habsburg Slavonia we find a seventeenth-century Bishop of Zagreb ordering a Gospel translated for its Slavic population into the Slavic language and references to Gospels in Slavic among the possessions of churches in the Kormanički (1659–65) and Varaždin (1678–80) archdeaconates from Official Church Visitors.³ The same terminology was to be found in a Cyrillic translation of Peter

1. G. Rothenberg, *Military Border in Croatia*, p. 55.

2. K. Horvat (ed.), “Prilozi za hrvatsku povijest iz arhiva rimskih,” *Starine (JAZU)* 34, 1913, p. 165.

3. V. Jagić, “Jedno poglavlje,” in V. Jagić, *Izabrana kraći spisi*, Zagreb, n.d., p. 298; F. Fancev, “O najstarijem bogoslužju u Posavskoj Hrvatskoj,” in *Zbornik Kralja Tomislava*, Zagreb (JAZU), 1925, pp. 541–42, and for references to the Visitations, pp. 551–52.

Canissius' Catechism, rendered into Slavinski jezik published in Zagreb in 1696.⁴ Moreover, in two documents from 1639 and 1640 respectively, emerging from witch trials in Zagreb, we find the spoken language referred to as "Slavic/Slavonian." In both cases, the term is used in the familiar context of something referred to as being called "X" in Slavic: called "coperničko" (sorcery) in Slavic (slovenskem jeziku) and called in Slavic (sclavonico idiomate) "glog."⁵

However, we shall also find the presence and increasing usage in (and about) Slavonia of the other terms, "Illyrian," "Croatian," "Slavonian," and "Dalmatian." A few seventeenth-century examples follow. In 1621 Emperor Ferdinand wrote the Vatican about the need for Illyrian Missals (*missalia illyrica*) for those Catholic subjects of his who celebrated the Mass in Illyrian. He expressed a worry that without Catholic texts and services, these people would, for the sake of the language, attend the churches of the schismatics, that is, the Orthodox, whose services, of course, were always in Slavonic.⁶ Petar Petretić, Bishop of Zagreb, writing in 1650 to Varaždin to recommend a fund-raiser for the St. Jerome Guesthouse in Rome, refers to the institution being for the nations and regions and languages of Croatian, Slavonian (though possibly Slavic), and other Illyrians (*linguae croaticae, sclavonicae aliarumque illyricarum*). Later in the letter he refers to St. Jerome as simply being patron of the Slavonic or Illyrian language.⁷ The language was also called "Croatian" in a letter to Martin Borković, Bishop of Zagreb, from a provincial priest, Mihalj Brešić, in 1684. Describing Habsburg campaigns against the Turks in the vicinity of Szeget, Brešić speaks of a German major having to deal with a number of infirm soldiers who knew no language other than "Croatian."⁸ From 1653, it is believed—though no copies earlier than 1692 survive—that a Croatian calendar, "Meszechnik Hervacki," began to be issued in Zagreb.⁹

The term "Dalmatian" also was attached to individuals in Slavonia. Three Glagolitic priests, out of a far larger number, are mentioned as being "Dalmatians" (*Dalmata*) or in one case (1622) as being "of the Dalmatian nation" (*natione Dalmata*) in visitations of the Zagreb diocese: in 1622 in Kupinac, in 1672 in Kamenica, and between 1672 and 1683 in Maruševac respectively.¹⁰ One can also occasionally find a combined language name: Mihajlo

4. V. Štefanić, "Bellarmino-Komulovićev Kršćanski nauk," *Vrela i prinosi* 8, 1938, pp. 3–4, 29.

5. I. Tkalčić (ed.), "Izprave o progonu vještica u Hrvatskoj," *Starine (JAZU)* 25, 1892, pp.

5, 6.

6. M. Iovine, "The 'Illyrian Language'," p. 117.

7. I. Crnčić, "Još dvojce o slovjenkom gostinju u Rimu izopačeno," *Rad (JAZU)* 125, 1896, pp. 22–23.

8. R. Lopašić (ed.), "Slavonski spomenici za XVII vijek: Pisma iz Slavonije u XVII vijeku (1633–1709)," *Starine (JAZU)* 30, 1902, p. 69.

9. V. Klaić, *Život i djela Pavla Rittera Vitezovića*, p. 83.

10. L. Jelić, *Fontes historici, Fontes . . . XVII saeculi*, pp. 12, 34, 55.

Radnić from Baška produced in 1683 a text said to be in Slavic/Slavonian Bosnian (u jezik slovinsky bosansky).¹¹

Moreover, the names “Slavonian” and “Croatian” were coming to be used with increasing frequency for peoples from those two regions. Thus, in the late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth centuries, when Turkish rule and raids were still disrupting life in Slavonia and Croatia, peasants fled from both regions. They were often received by noblemen who then settled them on their estates. In documents establishing their settlement (which sometimes defined brief periods without feudal dues while they got settled) they were referred to as “Slavonians” or “Croats,” depending on their place of origin. For example, in the 1560s Petar Erdedi settled some one hundred houses (nuclear families) of Croats originally from the Una River region on his lands in the region of Okić near Zdenčina in Slavonia; some of their settlements became named for the dominant immigrant family with the identifier “Hrvat” attached, for example, Hrvati-Babići. For an example of “Slavonians,” in 1618 Juraj Zrinski gave newly settled Slavonians (referred to as Slovinci) a nine-year grace period on these dues in his village of Rakovac/Rakonak, not far from Križevci. A year later Zrinski settled more “Slovinci,” this time in his village of Lipi gaj with a ten-year grace period. And in 1623 Juraj Zrinski was settling further refugees, this time “Croats,” with a five-year grace period in the region of Vrbovac.¹² We also find the Emperor Leopold in 1689 extending his protection over such refugees, granting tax breaks for three years to Raškans, Croats, and Vlachs (Rascianos, Croatas, Vlachos) settled in the Virovitica and Požega counties. The emperor’s text then goes on to praise the military who were active in the region, including captains and vicecaptains of the Germans, Croatians, as well as the Hungarians—the usual way, as noted, of referring to these military units. Attached to the document is a note to issue it in the Latin and Illyrian languages as quickly as possible.¹³

JESUITS

The Jesuits were very active in Slavonia (as members of the Austrian province) and left numerous records. Among their records were lists of their members and of candidates for membership in the order; these individuals were regularly identified by town or region to which was often attached an identity marker. After long study of these records M. Vanino concluded that the Jesuits were interested in what languages a candidate spoke and understood. On the forms they filled out, the Kajkavian dialect was regularly called “Croatian” (*lingua Croatica*), and Čakavian and Štokavian were called “Illyrian” (*illyrica*); only

11. T. Maretić, *Istorija hrvatskoga pravopisa*, p. 135; Ante Split, “Kako su naši stari,” *Hrvatska* 12, no. 18, 1897, p. 276.

12. R. Lopašić (ed.), *Hrvatski urbani*, pp. 170, 181, 383, 391–92.

13. R. Lopašić (ed.), “Slavonski spomenici,” pp. 85–87.

once did someone answer “Croatica or Illyrica.” Proto-Slovenian was regularly called “lingua Carniolica,” though once “Windica” was used and once “Slavonica.” Vanino goes on to say that, in terms of nationality (*narodnost*), by the eighteenth century most of the territory of Slavonia was thought of by the Jesuits as Croatia; and what was important was where one was born. Thus, people with German fathers were called “Croats” if born in what was conceived of as Croatia. Those born in Medjimurje were “Croats.” Those born in Dalmatia, including Senj and Bakar, were “Dalmatians,” but those born in Rijeka and the rest of the coast included in Croatia proper (or coastal Austrian Croatia) were most often called “Liburnians” but sometimes “Illyrians.” Moreover, Štokavian speakers in this area were regularly called “Illyrians.”¹⁴ We shall see, in looking at the records given below, that some exceptions to these generalizations occur. But they highlight two important points. First, the choice of terminology usually belonged to the Jesuit record keepers. Thus, the terms normally would not reflect a given person’s feeling of identity. And second, place (in this case, place of birth) determined the label by which one was called, rather than one’s own feelings of identity. We will also notice in this chapter that on language labels some people used particular terminology consistently to denote a particular dialect (though what term was used for what dialect might vary among different individuals), whereas others used the terms without precision and did not take dialects into consideration.

Having set the scene with the above generalizations, Vanino then lists 108 candidates for the Jesuit order from 1728 to 1767 in the Austrian province, whom he considers to be from what is now Croatia. The majority were successful and admitted to the order. Of the 108, 44 from what is now Croatia (to which one more might be added, who was said to be “from Istria”) were provided with identity labels. Of these 44 a total of 25 were called “Croata”; 8 of these (including 3 with the German surnames Hinterholzer, Hohnebner, and Puechinger) were from Zagreb, with 3 others from Medjimurje (2 of whom had the Hungarian surname of Szentmartonyi), with 1 each from Ivanić, Karlovac, Klanjac, Kopriva, Križevci, Kutina, Legrad, Lobar, Lomnica, Lud-

14. M. Vanino, “Podaci o Hrvatima kandidatima Isusovačkoga reda gg. 1728–1767,” *Vrela i primosi* 4, 1934, pp. 66–67. Vanino also notes a major exception to his just-cited generalization. He notes that the Jesuit Petar Ljubić, born in Diosio in Hungary, was almost always called a “Croat” (and in his obituary as being of the Croat nation) in Jesuit records and only once as “Croato-Hungarus.” Then Vanino says, “[T]his is unusual, for one’s nationality is generally determined [by Jesuits] by the place in which one was born.” Vanino then notes, possibly as a way of explaining the anomaly, that Ljubić was by blood and certainly by language a pure Croat, and he never was able to learn Hungarian. (M. Vanino, “Petar Ljubić [1582–1645],” *Vrela i primosi* 3, 1933, p. 120.) I suppose it was also possible that Ljubić, unlike many/most other Jesuits, felt strongly about his Croatness and objected each time his colleagues tried to call him a Hungarian.

Elsewhere, Vanino reports a couple of “Croat” Jesuit professors in Zagreb with the Italian names of Solari and Zanetti. (M. Vanino, *Povijest filozofijske i teologijske nastave u isusovačkoj akademiji u Zagrebu, 1633–1773*, Zagreb, 1930, p. 7.)

breg, Petrinja, Pokupsko, Samobor, and Varaždin. Nine were listed as “Dalmatians,” 6 of whom were from Senj, with 1 each from Bakar, Dubrovnik, and Zadar. Another candidate from Senj was called “Illyrus.” Two others, both from Rijeka, were listed as “Dalmatian-Liburnians,” while 6 others, 5 from Rijeka, and 1 from Mošćenice in Istria, were simply called “Liburnians,” and 1 more was called “Liburnus nobilis Croatiae Dalmata.” The birthplace of this complex individual was not listed. (Others were also nobles, but I have not noted the fact since it is not relevant to the identity issue.) It is interesting that in these records the term “Slav,” which the Jesuits used in other contexts, does not show up. In terms of their languages, I cannot be precise because Vanino usually simply writes “Hrvatski” (Croatian for “Croatian”), so it is impossible to know what the original Latin text said. However, it is worth noting the few cases when he does provide the original terminology: A Hungarian from Sopron was said to have known “Croatian”; a second individual was said to have known his mother tongue, “Istrian”; another knew his mother tongue of “Illyrian” well; yet another knew “Illyrian,” “Croatian,” “Windica,” and “Sclavonica”—Vanino concluding that the “Illyrian” referred to Čakavian, and the “Croatian” to Kajkavian; a Carniolan was said to have known “Croatian,” “Italian,” and “Latin”; still another knew “Illyrian” or “Croatian”; while yet another knew “Illyrian,” “Croatian,” and “Carniolian.”¹⁵

A second scholar, Josip Predragović, studied Jesuit novices from 1656 to 1773 from what is now Croatia who went for their training to Trenčín in what is now Slovakia.¹⁶ That center was opened in 1655. This is a totally different

15. Data from M. Vanino, “Podaci o Hrvatima kandidatima,” pp. 68–83.

16. The information in this paragraph and the two that follow is drawn from J. Predragović, “Hrvatski novaci u Trenčinu (1656–1773),” *Vrela i prinosi* 5, 1935, pp. 140–61. His summary conclusions that I present are made on pp. 141–43. Predragović provides then a listing of all the individuals with their recorded identities and languages. Under my identity categories, I simply provide town and Slavic language(s) spoken. If I add an * after, it means that the same town produces others who will be listed subsequently under a different identity label. I start by listing in numerical order those that produce several novices, and end with an alphabetical listing of those producing only one. CROATS: Varaždin 13 (11 of whom spoke Croat, 2 Croat and Slavonica); Zagreb* 9 (8 spoke Croat, 1 Croat and Slavonica); Crisiensis (Križevci) 4 (3 of whom spoke Croat and 1 Croat and Slavonica); Karlovac 3 (all spoke Croat); Černomelje 2 (both spoke Croat); Krapina 2 (both spoke Croat and Slavonica); Petrinja 2 (one spoke Croat and one Croat, Slavonica, Rascianica); the Posavina 2 (both spoke Croat); Požega* 2 (both spoke Illyrian); Szelenicensis 2 (both spoke Croat). Towns with one Croat: Berdovicensis (Brdovac) (spoke Croat); Bistrica in Požunj/Posony (spoke Croat & Slavonica); Caproncensis (spoke Croat); Csaktornae=Čakovec (spoke Croat and Slavonica); Desasinovecensis (spoke Croat); Jandorffensis=Jandrovo (spoke Croat); Komoranj (spoke Croat); Krajensis (spoke Croat); Kuchenensis (spoke Croat); Littomeriensis (spoke Croat); Ludbreg* (spoke Croat); Moravicensis (spoke Croat); Muray Szombatensis=Murska Subota (spoke Croat); Okichiensis=Okić (spoke Croat); Pangartensis (spoke Croat); Pecs (Pecuh, Quinque Ecclesiensis)* (spoke Croat & Slavonica); County of Posony, town unspecified (spoke Croatian); Ribnicensis (spoke Croat & Slavonica); Rijeka* (spoke Dalmatian, Croatian, Slavonica); Samobor (spoke Croat); Stinkenbrun (spoke Croat); Stubnica (spoke Croat); Taborensis (spoke Croat); Turopolje (spoke Croat); Udvard (spoke Croat); Uyfalvensis (county Posony) (spoke Croatian & Slovak). ILLYRIANS: Požega*

set of individuals from those studied by Vanino, and discussed earlier. Vanino's novices had been trained in Vienna. Thus, there is no overlap between the two sets of individuals, even though they were drawn from the same territories. Predragović, like Vanino, recognized a pattern in how the novices were listed as to nationality, but since there were exceptions, he noted the possibility that in some cases the novices might have provided their own identifications. But the general pattern was as follows: Those from Croatia proper were regularly called "Croata," though twice individuals from there were called "Slavs" (one from Viniczensis [Vinica] in 1716 and one from Severinensis [Severin] in 1755) and four in 1751 were labelled "Illyrians" (Illyrus), one from Ludbreg, one from Ivanić, one from Zagreb, and one from Virjensis (Virje?). The language of these four was also "Illyrian." But "Illyrus" for the Trenčín registry was usually reserved for those from present-day Slavonia, for example, one from Virovitica in 1765. Those from Požega were regularly "Illyrians," with only two exceptions labeled "Croats," from 1761 and 1763 respectively. Also labeled "Illyrian" was one novice with a German name, from Zemun in 1771, and one from Beograd in 1703. Another from 1655 from Srem was called a "Dalmatian." Labeled "Liburnian" were individuals from Kastovo (Kastav?) in 1689 and Rijeka in 1658, while another from Rijeka in 1684 was called "Dalmatian" and one from 1744 (Josip Verneda) was labeled "Italus." One from Osijek in 1742 was labeled a "German." Ivan Peršić in 1690 from Szegediensis (which Predragović identifies with Segeta near Trogir) was called a "Dalmatian," and one from Zminje in Istria from 1676 was called an "Istrian."

But since a nationality-type label usually indicated where one was born, Predragović thought it unusual that people were labeled "Croats" from Bistrica in the županija of Požunj (1666), from Pecuh (1672), from Udvard (1732), and from Jandrovo, also near Požunj (1691). One Medjimurec from Čakovec in 1656 was also called "Croat," while a second Medjimurec from Legrad in 1755 was called an "Islander" (Insulanus). One from Stinkenbrun in Lower Austria in 1700 was also a "Croat," while a second from nearby Hoffe in 1686 was called an "Austrian," despite a Slavic surname. Two from Černomelje, somewhere, it seems, in the Zagreb diocese from 1668 and 1768, and one from Murska Subota in Prekomurje, also under Zagreb, in 1667, were also called "Croats." Those from territory under the Turks were not called "Turks" but "Hungarians," "Illyrians," or "Croats."

11 (all spoke Illyrian); Beograd (spoke Rascianica, Illyrian, Slavonica); Ivanić (spoke Illyrian); Ludbreg* (spoke Illyrian); Orahovica (spoke Illyrian); Pecs* (spoke Illyrian); Veroczensis (spoke Illyrian); Virjensis (Virje?) (spoke Illyrian); Zagreb* (spoke Illyrian); Zemun (spoke Illyrian). SLAVS: Severinensis (spoke Illyrian); Viniczensis (Vinica) (spoke Croatian). DALMATIANS: Brod (spoke Illyrian); Czetoviczensis (spoke Dalmatian & Illyrian); Rijeka* (spoke Dalmatian); Srem (spoke Dalmatian); Szegediensis, probably a Szeget near Trogir (spoke Dalmatian). LIBURNIAN: 2 from Castuanus (Kastav?) (both spoke Croatian); 2 from Rijeka* (one spoke Croatian and one Croat and Slavonica). ISTRIAN: Giminensis=Zminje (spoke Istrian, Croatian, Slavonica). Several others from Pecs were defined as Hungarians.

As for language: Kajkavian was normally called "Croatian," occasionally "Illyrian." But "Illyrian" was usually used for Štokavian, though twice Štokavian was labeled "Rascianica." The previously mentioned novice from Beograd, in being listed as speaking both Illyrian and Rascianica, obviously made some sort of distinction between the two—possibly utilizing two alphabets? One from Petrinja knew Croatian well and some Slavonian and Rascianica. Predragović wonders whether Slavonian, instead of referring to the speech of Slavonia, might here mean "Slovak." After all, he was registering in Trenčín where that language was spoken; moreover, though originally from Petrinja, this individual had been in school and entered the order in Trnava, also in Slovakia. So, Predragović suggests that "Slavonian" as a language for individuals from Trnava, Požunj, and Kosica might regularly refer to "Slovak." For Čakavian various terms were used: one called it "Istrian," a second "Dalmatian," and a third who had studied in Zagreb called it "Croa." And another individual whose birthplace is unclear knew well "Dalmatian," "Illyrian," and "Hungarian." Lacking knowledge of his origins, we have no basis to guess what dialects "Dalmatian" and "Illyrian" refer to. Our previously mentioned Dalmatian from Srem was listed as knowing one Slavic language, also "Dalmatian."

Predragović's people exhibited much more variety than Vanino's; maybe the registrars were less intrusive in Trenčín. Moreover, Vanino's people were all eighteenth century, and Predragović's go back to the 1650s. Vanino says that Slavonians were regularly called "Croats" in the eighteenth century. So, one might think the greater variety found by Predragović about Slavonians could partially be attributed to seventeenth-century novices, registering before this labeling had been solidified. However, Predragović's "Illyrians" (and otherwise labeled) from Slavonia continue through the 1700s. Thus, maybe the equivalency found with regularity by Vanino on Slavonian "Croats" depended on the categorization used by registrars in certain places that had not become generally accepted in the order. Both Predragović and Vanino agreed that, in terms of language, Kajkavian was most often called "Croatian" and Štokavian "Illyrian"; but Vanino's registrars tended to also call Čakavian "Illyrian," whereas Predragović's used so many different terms for Čakavian, no generalization can be made.

The Jesuits opened an academy or higher school in Zagreb in 1606. The school's name, after the city—Zagreb College—gave no "national" preference. The institution after 1773 was taken out of Jesuit hands and went through various metamorphoses, eventually becoming today's University of Zagreb.¹⁷ From its opening, one or another of its members kept a history of its activities. Its first historian, an anonymous Jesuit who covered the school's history through 1618, freely used all available terms. To cut down on footnotes, I shall simply

17. On the school and its subsequent metamorphoses into the University of Zagreb, see N. Klaić, *O postanku zagrebačkog sveučilišta*, Zagreb, 1969.

provide the page numbers for Laszowski's edition of the text.¹⁸ The author at the start notes that the language of the people (students/society in general?) is "Illyrian" (p. 161). Two individuals involved in the preparations for the school, Petrus Vragovitius and Stephanus Ratkaj are called "Slavs" (pp. 162–63). And later, in midstream (ca. 1611), the historian refers to the Slavic (I presume Slavonian) people or nation (*nationis Sclavonicae*) (p. 171).

The school opened in January 1606 and the author of its history provides each year a roster of its few faculty members and what they taught. He frequently gives an identity marker after names. Whether the labels reflect the viewpoint of the author or those asserted by the individuals named is unknown. But when one looks at the variety of places given as markers, as I provide them here, I think one can assume the labels indicate place of origin, not ethnicity. Thus "a Croat" would mean "from Croatia." This, of course, is the conclusion that Vanino reached, after his examination of the eighteenth-century Jesuit records, but I have no reason to believe that he was limiting his generalization to that century. Whether "Slav" (*Sclavus*), as just noted and which we shall frequently meet later, is generic or indicative of one from Slavonia I leave an open question. The initial faculty included John Vegius Transylvanian Saxon, Leonard Praesulus Slav, and Jacob Matthiadus Silesian (p. 166). In 1610 the faculty included Stephan Ratkaj, still called "Sclavus," Petar Magerle Carniolus (from Carniola), and Petar Lubich Croata (p. 168). In 1612 the historian notes again our Petar Lubich Croata, along with a new Carniolan colleague, Wolfgang Magerle Carniolus (p. 171). In 1613 we have another "Croat" in John Mislenović Croata (p. 171). This individual had as colleagues: Francis Segi Ungarus (Hungarian), Martin Matthiades Silesian, Lawrence Chrysogonus Dalmatian (Dalmata), Venceslas Raushar Bohemian (Bohemus), and Andreas Cobavius Carniolus (p. 172). The year 1614 provides more variety and I do not repeat the old names, which often reappear, since the institution presumably remembered them, with no location markers: John Spisak Sclavus, Daniel Bastelius Carinthus (from Carinthia), and Caspar Gorla Sclavus (p. 172). The year 1615 adds Stephan Varadj "Varadinensis Ungarus" (Varaždin Hungarian) (p. 172). The year 1616 adds John Czernekj Hungarus and Leonard Bagnus Istriensis (from Istria) (p. 173). I think it safe to conclude from the wide assortment of place-markers given that the author is thinking not in ethnic terms, but rather in terms of place of origin.

F. Fancev has published a collection (clearly somewhat condensed, though not so stated) of the school's documents in its years under the Jesuits from its foundation in 1606 until 1772.¹⁹ That he abridges is seen by the fact that several of the identifiers just noted in the 1606–18 text published by Las-

18. E. Laszowski, "Povijest zagrebačkih Isusovaca od g. 1608–1618," *Vjesnik Kr. hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskoga zemaljskoga arkiva* 15, no. 3, 1913, pp. 161–78.

19. F. Fancev (ed.), "Gradja za povijest školskog i književnog rada isusovačkoga kolegija u Zagrebu (1606–1772)," *Starine (JAZU)* 37, 1934, pp. 1–176; 38, 1937, pp. 181–308.

zowski are absent in Fancev's material for that decade. So, some of the data for the period 1619–1772, when I must depend solely on Fancev, may also be lacking. For example, his first citation to someone identified as a "Croat" comes in 1645 and Laszowski's text noted several such individuals in the first decade. Thus, possibly there were others between 1619 and 1645. Since the Jesuit "history" is a chronicle, listing events year by year, and since rarely does a year take up more than a page, I think that providing the year with an event is sufficient for reference to Fancev's text.

From Fancev's first reference to an individual with Croat identity in 1645 until the end, "Croat" is the most common identity label for the school's faculty members. And since place of origin is quite frequently provided, we also see that, at least by this time, many of the Croats did not come from Croatia proper but from Slavonia. In addition, several are not listed simply as "Croata," which can easily mean "de Croatia" (from Croatia) but of the Croat nation/nationality; this phrasing possibly suggests that a deeper identity may have existed for some of them (or for the chronicler at the time of the listing). However, as we shall see, this verdict might be taking things too far. I list the thirty-six Croats with date, way of identification, and place of origin (if given) from 1645 to 1771:

- PL, natione Croata, 1645
- IM, Croata oppidio Vinica, 1651
- NS, Croata natione, 1653
- J. Horvat, Croata Melnicensis, 1656
- NB, noble Croat Oboroviensis (Oborovac), 1656
- GR, Croata Carlostadiensis (Karlovac), 1659
- SG, Croata Varasdinensis (Varaždin), 1662
- FB, Croata Petrovina, 1666
- JT and AF, two "Croata" from Zagreb in 1668
- JL, Croata Krapinensis (Krapina), 1672
- GS, Croata Sasinovec, 1672
- GM, Croata Vinicensem (Vinica), 1675
- JJ, gente Croata, patria Ribnicensis (Ribnik), 1676
- BH, Croata, 1677
- SS, Nazione Croata, 1680
- GB, nobleman of Croatia, 1681
- MS, Varaždin in Croatia, 1685
- JD, Croata Krapinensis (Krapina), 1685—interestingly this same individual in 1659 had been listed as a "Slav," a change on his part or simply the views of two different chroniclers?
- SS, Croata Planinensis, 1694
- PB, of Krapina, Croatia, 1695
- GI, Croata Zagradiensis (Zagreb), 1700

PM, Croata Stinkensis (Stinkenbrun), 1703
 GV, Croata Stubicensis (Stubica), 1706
 PK, Croata, Samoborensis (Samobor), 1707
 TS, natione Croata, patria Ludbregensis (Ludbreg), 1708
 AS, Croata Petriensis (Petrinja), 1714
 NZ, Croata Sredickanus (Sredičko), 1722
 AK, Croata Carlostadiensis (Karlovac), 1724
 FP, Croata Berdovicensis (Brdovac), 1724
 ML, Croata Chernomlensis (Černomelje), 1725
 NM, Croata Carlostadiensis (Karlovac), 1749
 AM, Croata Zagrab (Zagreb), 1758
 MK, Croata Glin, 1759
 AN, Croata Ivanicsensis (Ivanić), 1763
 FXS de Sibenegg (Šibenik) Croata Zagradiensis, 1771

It is not clear whether the final individual had de "Sibenik" as a surname and was from Zagreb or whether his origins were in the first place and then he moved permanently to Zagreb. Another Jesuit who resided at the Jesuit residence at the school and then moved on to work in Varaždin was Nikola Laurenčić (1707–62) who, born in Zagreb, was listed in Jesuit records as "Croata Zagrebiensis."²⁰ A second Jesuit, active in Varaždin, was Petar Ljubić, who was recorded as a Croat from Srem (Croata Sirmiensis).²¹ Srem, of course, lying east of what we think of now as Slavonia, is thus not at all close to Croatia proper. Vanino, for the record, notes in his "History of the Croatian Jesuits" that this statement was incorrect, unless by chance it referred to ancestry, since, in fact, Petar Ljubić was born in Dioso in Hungary (though he knew no Hungarian).

The just-cited data mentions two individuals of Croat nationality as having their "patria" (literally "fatherland") being defined locally, namely by their city. We find another example from 1645 of an individual (DB) "natione Carinthus, patria Plaiburgensis." Thus, we find the Jesuits using "patria" to denote one's hometown. Jesuit documents rarely use the term "patria" for a broader area. We shall see one of those rare examples later, when Medjimurje is called Milovec's "patria." However, occasionally they refer to proto-Serbo-Croatian as the language of the patria (*lingua patria*, e.g., 1746). We also note from this citation—natione Carinthus/Carinthia—as we also saw in Laszowski's data, that the Jesuits used the term "natione" to go with regions that we would not normally associate with a nationality. Thus, unless they noted something they considered ethnic among Carniolans and Carinthians, per-

20. M. Vanino, "Nikola Laurenčić (1707–1762)," *Vrela i primosi* 6, 1936, p. 30.

21. M. Vanino, "Prinos povijesti varaždinske gimnazije XVII i XVIII vijeka," *Vrela i primosi* 2, 1933, p. 150.

haps we should not take “natione Croata” as meaning anything more than being from Croatia.

To return to identifying markers: “Slav” is the most common term used in the first decade and a half. We have: JZ and LP, each called *Sclavus Turocien-sis* in 1607, and SM with the same label in 1608. Then we have: CD, *Sclavus Zagrabensis* (Zagreb) 1609; MV, *Sclavus Zagreb*, 1611, and mentioned again, still as “Slav” at his death in 1638; GC, *Sclavus, Turopol.*, 1615; AH, *Sclav. Tyrnav.* (Trnava in Slovakia), 1618; MC, *Sclav. Zag. (Zagreb)*, 1619; BT, *Sclav. Capitulo Zag.* (the Zagreb Capitol), 1621; and JD, *Sclavus Krapiensis* (Krapina), 1659. We noted earlier that in 1685 he was listed and still associated with Krapina, as a “Croat.” But we must wonder whether 1659 really marked the last “Slav.” Just as we suspected, there were “Croats” lost by Fancev between 1613 and 1645, we must ask whether he may have ignored a few “Slavs” after 1659.

We also find three “Dalmatians”: LL, *Dalmata Spalatensis* (Split), 1608; IZ, *Dalmata Corcyrensis* (Korčula), 1724; and JD, *Dalmata Bribiriensis* (Bribir), 1756. I omit other “identities” from present-day Slovenia, listed, for example, as Carinthians, and the few listed simply by towns, which occurs most frequently for Ragusans; after all Ragusa/Dubrovnik was an independent republic, separate from the rest of Dalmatia. Occasionally that city was called by its Classical name, Epidaurus. Once, in 1706, amusingly, a man was referred to as coming from Epidaurus, vulgarly (in vernacular) called Ragusa.

The term “Illyrian,” though never used as an identity marker for an individual, was used off and on in the history. The Jesuit mission working to convert Protestants and Orthodox in the region was normally referred to as the Illyrian mission. In 1727 the Jesuits referred to their school as their “gymnasium in Illyrica.” The term was also used for the spoken language. In 1696 someone referred to Habelic’s dictionary (published in 1618) as being in Illyrian; in 1697 the chronicler made reference to one recruited for an army position who knew German and Illyrian well; their mission was functioning in 1739 in Illyrian and German; an individual was called fluent in Illyrian in 1746; and Illyrian language was again mentioned in 1755. Several mentions were made of Andrija Jambrešić’s Latin, Illyrian, German, and Hungarian dictionary (*Lexicon latinum interpretatione illyrica, germanica et hungarica locuples*), published in 1741 and used in the school. The work was an expansion of an unfinished dictionary manuscript by Fr. Sušnik. The book’s title is relevant to the Jesuits since they published it (and thus had input in the title), and the author, a teacher at the Zagreb school, was a Jesuit. But for one of its chapters the work made use of all three words: “Orthographia seu recta croatice (generali vocabulo illyrice seu szlavonice) scribendi ratio.” And a few years later, in 1745, the Jesuits published in Vienna a manual of orthography, whose title used only the word “Croatian.”

In the school’s chronicle the term “Croat” was probably the most frequently

used word for the language and people. Mention is made of an epitaph in both Croatico and Latin in 1639; Baltazar Milovec, who was the school's chronicler for much of the third quarter of the seventeenth century, was an advocate of using the vernacular, which he called "Croatian." Twice, in 1662 and 1669, he mentions delivering eulogies in Croatian (Croatico idiomate). And at Milovec's own funeral in 1678 his eulogizer referred to Milovec as the "Cicero of Croatia" (Ciceroque Croatiae). Vanino has published the full text of the obituary, and this is the only mention of "Croats" (or of any other ethnic term for that matter) in it.²² Mention is made of a book in Croatian (libellos Croatico idiomate) in 1667; a missionary and teacher was said in 1705 to have used Croatian in his spiritual work; a priest was called eloquent in both German and Croatian in 1741; in 1750 the chronicle refers to a priest who was effective in Croatian and to distributing church works in Croatian language. We also hear of a Croatian theatre in the seventeenth century, and the school put on several performances, sometimes with the word "Croat" in the title: for example, "The Croat Cyrus" in 1766, and "Croatian Stories" (fabula Croaticis) in 1767. And finally, we have general references to "Croats" as a people. Mention was made in 1647 of the population of Karlovac being Croatico and German; in 1711 the chronicle notes the Croats' particular loyalty toward Vienna; in 1726 a report on the mission's activities refers to the devotion of the Croats, singling out especially the devotion of Croatian women (devotus femineus sexus croaticus); and the Jesuit chronicler mentions in 1749 a presentation of the Chechus, Lechus, and Moschus story—the three brothers who set out from a common place to establish, respectively, the nations of Czechs, Poles, and Muscovites—and calls them three Croat princes.

The word "Slavic" (most often in the form "Sclavonica") was used with some frequency as well. An individual was knowledgeable in Slavic in 1616; in a festival's church service in 1646 Matins were held in Slavonic (not necessarily Church Slavonic) and Vespers in German. We also find members of the mission were being drawn from Hungarians and Slavs (Sclavis) in 1609.

The Jesuits also established a mission in Požega that went under a superior who was assigned for the Illyrian nation; a second Jesuit was assigned for the German nation. In calling for a school's establishment in 1698, the Austrian Provincial in Vienna stated that it was to be for the Illyrian people. It seems that it actually opened in that year. Suggesting a slow start is a comment from 1710 noting that when there were insufficient Jesuit teachers knowing Illyrian, the school drew upon secular clergy or the laity. In 1713, the school, by then hitting its stride, staged a public presentation in which angels (students) de-claimed Illyrian verses. A wealthy woman, the widow of Baron Juraj Pejačević, left money in her will of 1732 to build a home for needy youth of Illyrian na-

22. M. Vanino (ed.), "Nekrolozi Jurja Habelića i Baltazara Milovca," *Vrela i prinosi* 6, 1936, pp. 146–48. The author of the eulogy signed himself "Stephan Szaikovich."

tionality, so that they could attend the school. A decade later one of the school's teachers, a Father Sabalić, was called in the school's annals "our Illyrian Cicero," unlike his Zagreb colleague Baltazar Milovec who, as just noted, had been called a "Croatian" one. One of the most prominent teachers in Požega was Antun Kanižlić (whom we shall devote a section to later). The Požega institution's history called him in 1733 an Illyrian worker (*operarius Illyricus*) and in 1744 noted that he had convened an Illyrian festival. The history also refers (without naming him) to two works he was producing: a primer (an ABC) in the Illyrian language in 1735 and a work on Christian doctrine translated in 1770 from German into Illyrian. A school obituary from 1759 for the Jesuit Josip Milunović noted that the deceased had rendered lives of three saints into Illyrian. In the preface to his work "Šest nedilja" Milunović makes reference to many Illyrian knights/warriors (*ilirickih vitezova*) being killed in the recent warfare. In 1765, 1769, and 1772 reference is made in the school's records to theatrical performances in the Illyrian language. Meanwhile, in 1765 a second gymnasium was founded in Osijek, also for the Illyrian nation. Shortly thereafter we hear that that school put on a play in German, even though the pupils were Illyrians, because the empress, Maria Theresa, wanted the Illyrian people (*natio illyrica*) to master that language.²³

In 1760 the Požega Jesuits issued an Illyrian alphabet book (*Alphabeta illyrica adjunctis actibus theologicis*) for school use. In its preface, reference is made to the fact that in different books, symbols for the pronunciation of "Slavic words" differed. The history kept by the Požega school suggests that a similar work written in the Illyrian language dated back to 1735.²⁴ Such works, often combined with a short Catechism, were fairly common; one sponsored by Leopold Cardinal Kolonić, Archbishop of Ostrogon, rendered into "Slavinski" (Slavic? Slavonian?) language had been published in Trnava as early as 1697. The same bishop at about the same time gave the Jesuits permission to print books in "Slavic" for missions to the Orthodox.²⁵ However, the word "Croatian" does appear in Požega Jesuit records: a student departed from the Požega school for his Jesuit novitiate dressed in Croatian clothing (*vestis Croatica*). Thus, as in Italy and Dalmatia, some sort of clothing was associated with Croatia in Slavonia too.²⁶

Meanwhile, the Jesuits themselves were putting on theatrical presentations in Varaždin. The Jesuits who acted in these affairs on occasion were

23. K. Georgijević, *Hrvatska književnost*, p. 187.

24. The items on Požega in the previous two paragraphs were drawn from: T. Matić, "Isusovačke škole u Požega (1698–1773)," *Vrela i primosi* 5, 1935, pp. 7, 34, 41–42, 47, 49; M. Vanino, *Isusovci* II, pp. 554, 559, 562, 592, 602, 644 (fn. 9), 655; F. Fancev, "Isusovci i slavonska knjiga XVIII stoljeća," *Jugoslavenska njiva* 6, pt. 1, 1922, pp. 187, 189, 192–93, 367, 370–71. On the alphabet book, see also T. Matić, "'Abecevice' iz XVIII vijeka za analfabete u požeškom kraju," *Vrela i primosi* 8, 1938, pp. 103–7.

25. M. Vanino, *Isusovci* II, p. 645; I. Pervol'f, *Slavjane* II, p. 279.

26. M. Vanino, *Povijest filozofijske i teologijske nastave*, p. 31.

listed with national identifications; six of the seven, whose identifications Fancev provides from the period 1686–1712, were called “Croats” (followed by a notation of their towns, i.e., Tschakaturnensis, Brignensis, Karlovac, Nagy, Confinensis, and Rijeka) and one a “Bosnian.”²⁷ Vanino notes that in the plays presented by the Varaždin gymnasium, much less use was made of materials from Croatian history than was the case in Zagreb. Vanino thus sees Varaždin as much less “Croatian” than Zagreb, and he attributes the reason for this to the large German settlement found in Varaždin.²⁸ In fact, the first play known to have been presented by the school in proto-Serbo-Croatian, as opposed to Latin or German, was “Queen Tomarida” and produced as late as 1771. The language label used for it was “Croatico idiomate.” In 1723 the Varaždin Jesuits put on in Holy Week a procession, including a presentation, given in both Latin and “Croatian.”²⁹ Thus, despite its less Croatian character, the term “Croatian” had certainly penetrated the Jesuit school as a name for the language.

The scholar Vladimir Vrana notes that the previously mentioned Baltazar Milovec is quite prominent in Jesuit records. As labeled in the records cited above, he was regularly called “Croata.” However, Vrana notes two exceptions: in 1636 he was called “Sclavus Insulanus” (i.e., from Medjimurje) and in 1669 “Ungaro-Croata patria Insulanus.” Milovec published a collection of prayers in 1664 entitled “Dušni vrt,” which he spelled “Dussni vert.” The title page says that the text was rendered in the Croatian language (Hervatczki jesik), and in the preface he calls the language by that name several times. In his conclusions on the work Vrana states: Milovec, in calling the language

27. F. Fancev, “Prvi poznati diletanti isusovačkog školskog teatra u Varaždinu i u Zagrebu,” *Vrela i prinosi* 5, 1935, p. 130.

28. M. Vanino, *Isusovci* II, p. 421.

29. M. Vanino, *Isusovci* II, pp. 426, 435. Unfortunately, Vanino, who throughout the book calls the local language “Croatian,” regardless of what the source says, makes many references to “Croatian” in his discussion of the Varaždin mission and school. However, the only two places in which he provides the Latin term of his references are the two items I have cited. The most frustrating situation occurs when he discusses an inter-ethnic conflict in 1770 in Varaždin between the German community and the students (whom Vanino speaks of in modern terms as “Croats”) at the school. He had noted long-term tensions between the townspeople and the students, but then in 1770 an incident at a tavern led to the Germans mobilizing an attack upon the students; a full-fledged brawl followed and one student was killed. His few citations are all archival, and not once does he provide a quotation from a source in Latin, so that we might know how either school authorities, students, or German townspeople regarded, if they seriously did, the nationality of the Slavic students (M. Vanino, *Isusovci* II, pp. 378–80). It is possible that the brawl was really rowdy students against townspeople who happened to be German. But the summary suggests ethnic feelings may have had a part, even a major part. If that be the case, this event (were I to have had the documentation) would have received considerable treatment in my study, since ethnic feelings often develop in relationship to an opponent seen as different. I urge scholars with access to the Arhiv SR Hrvatske in Zagreb to delve into the sources on the brawl, to focus on how the two sides regarded themselves and the others, and to see whether ethnic consciousness was not present or whether it may even have set off these events.

"Croatian," is the first writer to call Kajkavian by that name. His fifteenth-century predecessors (such as Pergošić and Vramec) had called Kajkavian "Slovenski" (almost certainly with the meaning of "Slavonian"). Milovec wrote in Kajkavian, but it was a Štokavianized Kajkavian, enriched with vocabulary from Dubrovnik and Dalmatia. In this way, Vrana claims, Milovec regarded "Croatian" as a language for "all Croatia" encompassing a broader area than just that inhabited by Kajkavian speakers.³⁰ Georgijević notes that in the years that followed, more and more people came to call Kajkavian "Croatian."³¹ Needless to say, not all of them utilized an enriched Kajkavian, and not all of them saw Kajkavian/Croatian as the dialect that ought to become the language of all the "Illyrians." A Slavonian, now increasingly likely to apply the term "Slavonian" to Štokavian rather than Kajkavian, might well see Štokavian as the ideal language for "Illyrians" but also refer to Kajkavian as "Croatian." But even though "Slavonian" was increasingly used in Slavonia for Štokavian, "Illyrian" continued in use for Štokavian as well, and there were, of course, others in Slavonia and elsewhere who continued to use "Illyrian" to cover all three dialects.

A second "Croatianist" Jesuit who deserves note is Juraj Mulih (1694–1754). Born in Turopolje and recorded as a "Croat" by Jesuit registrars, he compiled (including original writings and translations) at least twenty-two devotional works. Of these, three had ethnic-type identities on the title page: two were translated into Croatian and one other was prepared for and dedicated to Illyrian children. But his prefaces and other dedications were consistent in "Croatian" as his term of choice. For example, in the preface to "Postel Apostolski" he states that because "our dear Croatians" lacked books in their language, he prepared books for our Croatian people (*narodu horvatskomu*). In the same preface he goes on to note that authors worried that their spelling/orthography was not correct "Croatian," for another would spell it differently. Mulih notes that often a particular choice would suit those of Zagreb and dismay those of Karlovac, Varaždin, or Požega. Olga Šojat notes that, being aware of this, Mulih spelled words differently depending on what part of Croatia or Slavonia he was carrying out his missionary work in. Therefore, she points out, it was not surprising that he was seeking a standard spelling, not only for the northern regions he was working in, but for all Croatian regions. For after all, such was a prerequisite for the development of any sort of Croatian literature in general. In another prefatory note to the same work Mulih speaks of how various improvements might strengthen his "dear Croatians" in their Catholic faith.³² Mulih also wrote verses; on one occasion

30. V. Vrana, "Dušni vrt," *Vrela i prinosi* 12, 1941, pp. 196, 198, 202–3, 205.

31. K. Georgijević, *Hrvatska književnost*, p. 188.

32. J. Mulih, "Izbor iz djela Jurja Muliha" [selected by O. Šojat], *Kaj* 16, nos. 5–6, 1983, pp. 58–59, 63–64. For discussion of these passages, see O. Šojat, "Juraj Mulih (1694–1754) kao kajkavski pisac i kulturno-prosvjetni radnik," *Kaj* 16, nos. 5–6, 1983, pp. 11, 29.

he notes that four were translated from Spanish into "Croatian," and as an introduction to a longish poem he commented that all Croatians knew the songs about Marko Kraljević.³³ But needless to say, others writing about him chose other terms; his contemporary and friend Baltazar Krčelić, describing one of his works, said it was prepared for the Illyrian people.³⁴

The Jesuits operated missions in both Slavonia and Croatia proper (with its center in Vienna) and had a second mission for Dalmatia. Each year Jesuits in the field were required to send a report back to their mother house; Vanino has published these reports, and page citations to follow come from this edition.³⁵ The Slavonian/Croat mission, called in 1649 the Mission to Illyricum, (1, p. 152) referred to the population and to the language of the population and that which the mission employed in its work as "Slavic," "Croatian," or "Illyrian." "Slavic" appears in reports from 1646 (1, p. 125), 1649 (1, p. 136), 1652 (1, p. 154), 1668 (2, p. 57); "Croatian" appears in those of 1647 (1, p. 125), 1649 (1, p. 139), 1659 (1, p. 157), 1664 (1, pp. 167, 168), 1726—in reference to Varaždin and Zagreb (1, pp. 111–12). "Illyrian" appears in those of 1669 (2, p. 57), 1716 (2, pp. 81–82). In a mission to the region of Zadar the term "Dalmatian" is used for the local language in 1660 (1, p. 160). And in 1718 a list of soldiers among whom the Rijeka college of Jesuits worked included Germans, Bohemians, Poles, Slavs (Slavonians?), Croats, Carniolans, and Galli (Gauls/French?) (2, p. 93).

SOUTH SLAVS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF GRAZ IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

In the eighteenth century South Slavs continued to enroll in numbers at the University of Graz (Gradac). The largest number by far called themselves "Croats." The "Croats" (for whom towns were given) mostly came from Slavonia, with a few from Croatia proper (e.g., Modruš, Karlovac, and Senj—though the majority of Senjani were labeled "Dalmatians"). Those from Dalmatia proper, over 150, were called "Dalmatians"; they were never called "Croats" (unless from Senj and sometimes Bribir). Of them, 15 were "Slavs" and 5 (with this designation beginning in 1740 after over a century-long absence) "Illyrians." There also were a couple of dozen "Liburnians" and a fairly large number with no identity labels. Our "Illyrians" attached to a town were

33. J. Mulih, "Izbor," pp. 141, 149. Discussed by O. Šojat, "Juraj Mulih," pp. 6, 23. The title for his translations from Spanish is "Zdihavanje Xaverianszko Prave Boga Lyubavi, iz Spanyol-szkoga na Horvatszko prenesseno." (Mulih's title provided by V. Dukat, "Prilozi za povijest kulture u Hrvatskoj u XVIII stoljeću," *Narodna starina* 7, no. 16, 1928, p. 20.)

34. J. Badalić, "Juraj Mulih (1694–1754)," *Vrela i prinosi* 5, 1935, pp. 102–3, 107, 116, 120, 122, 125–26.

35. M. Vanino (ed.), "Misijska izvješća XVII i XVIII vijeka," *Vrela i prinosi* 1, no. 1, 1932, pp. 106–82; 2, 1933, pp. 53–102.

from Osijek or Požega; these two towns also produced people labeled “Slavs,” “Croats,” and (despite Slavic names) “Hungarians.” People from Rijeka (Fiume) with Slavic names could be “Liburnians,” “Istrians” (rarely) or “Italians.” In 1707 we have a Croat Bosniensis. In 1724 2 Dalmatians and a certain George Čolić are labeled “Hungarian,” all from Senj. The following year brought a John Baptist Čolić, labeled a “Dalmatian.” And in 1726/27 we have 2 from Debusin, 1 labeled “Croat,” the other “Dalmatian.” And finally in 1725 a George Mirković is called an “Equestrian Hungarian, Dalmatian from the island of Pag.”³⁶

THE OSIJEK SCHOOL UNDER STATE SUPERVISION

After the abolition of the Jesuit order in 1773, the state took over the order's schools and drew up regulations for programs of study in them. Despite state management, the teachers often continued to be Franciscans or ex-Jesuits. One of the issues of debate among Vienna court officials, regional school inspectors, and the schools was what languages (other than Latin) should be taught. Should German become a regular part of the curriculum or the local vernacular, and as there were often more than one of these, then which one? So, in the 1760s through the 1780s we find pressure to make German the second language of the Osijek gymnasium, but the locals noted that German was not the language of the school population, the majority of whom were “Illyrians.” However, some Franciscan professors in 1778 argued that German still should be the language taught to these Illyrian youths. They argued that having classes in Illyrian would be easy for those who spoke it, but would put German students, who did not know Illyrian, at a great disadvantage. The state plan (*ratio educationis*), in discussing the second language for localities with Hungarians, Germans, and Slavs, notes the three peoples' languages, and calls the language of the Slavs “Slavonicam.” Worrying about schoolbooks in 1790, the Osijek school administration wrote the Hungarian administration to send textbooks not in Hungarian but in Slavic (*lingua slavonica*). By 1790, Matija Krčelić (not to be confused with the well-known Baltazar Krčelić) was school director of the Osijek school. Like his namesake not a supporter of local cultures and rights but an advocate of state centralization, he argued that the books should be in German and not “Sclavonica.” Whether the term denoted “Slavic” or, more probably, “Slavonian,” Krčelić used it throughout his memo.³⁷

The Franciscans (unlike their banned colleagues, the Jesuits from 1773 and the Paulists from 1786) continued to function as an order and to keep their schools. In 1775 the pupils of the Franciscan school in Osijek presented

36. F. Fancev, “Hrvatski djaci gradačkoga sveučilišta,” *Ljetopis* (JAZU) 48, 1936, pp. 185–98.

37. T. Matić, “Osječka humanistička gimnazija od osnutka do godine 1848,” *Rad* (JAZU) 257, 1937, pp. 8–9, 22, 28, 39.

in Latin "The Tragedy of St. Margaret of Cortonat" (a repentant sinner who entered a Third Order Franciscan convent), in which the Latin text had "German and Illyrian [language] interludes woven into it." And the pupils of the Franciscan gymnasium in Brod (now Slavonski Brod) around 1770 put on a comedy in Illyrian.³⁸

THE CROATIAN COLLEGE IN VIENNA

"Croatian" was the choice of name for an important residency in Vienna. In 1624 a Zagreb canon, Baltazar Dvorni (known as "Čiča," meaning Uncle) Napulje, founded a residency for young priests of the Zagreb bishopric studying at the Jesuit college or other institutions of higher learning in Vienna. This institution was called the Croatian College (Hrvatsko Collegyo). It was supervised by a canon from Zagreb who bore the title of College Rector.³⁹ I have no data on why the name "Croatian" was chosen over other possibilities, but we have seen above that more of the Slavs from what is now Croatia, studying at the University of Vienna between 1514—when identity labels began to appear—and 1630, for whom we have identity labels used "Croat" than "Slav." This included people from Slavonia, who through most of this period, back at home, continued to see themselves as "Slavs." Thus, the term "Croat," for some reason, had come to be used at this time in Vienna for a broader group of people than just those from Croatia proper. However, given labels may not have been from general usage or wide choice, but the individual wish of the founder. This hypothesis has some substance behind it. Baltazar Napulje had been a younger associate of Zagreb's Bishop Juraj Drašković. Drašković, as the reader may recall, was one of the five individuals mentioned at the beginning of the chapter 4 as exhibiting ethnic Croat feeling. So, Napulje could well have acquired this term from his superior. Moreover, Drašković was very anti-Protestant and had been one of the leading hawks at the Council of Trent against Luther and his followers. One of the dangers noted at Trent was the shortage of seminaries for young clergy, which led many to go abroad to study, where without guidance of known elders, they often were seduced by unhealthy ideas. The council called for the founding of seminaries in each diocese. One of the first, and of the few, to be created was that established in Zagreb by Drašković. Furthermore, when the bishop returned to Zagreb, he took active steps against the "heretics" in his diocese. He issued a set of strict regulations in 1567 which were then approved by the Croatian diet. That diet continued in the decades that followed to produce further strict anti-Protestant laws, including several in 1604, when one of the representatives to the

38. T. Matić, *Prosvjetni i književni rad u Slavoniji prije Preporoda*, Zagreb (JAZU, *Djela* 41), 1945, p. 110, 112.

39. V. Klaić, *Život i djela Pavla Rittera Vitezovića*, p. 45.

diet from Zagreb was Napulje. The Croatian laws were far stricter than those produced by the Hungarian diet.⁴⁰ Thus, for a zealous anti-Protestant like Napulje, "Croatian" also had, through the name of its diet and of the laws that that diet produced, strong positive associations, just the sort of connotations that a home away from home in Vienna for young Catholic clerics ought to have.

TERMINOLOGY USED BY THE
CHURCH HIERARCHY AND RELIGIOUS
ORDERS IN SLAVONIA

In the eighteenth century, as Hungary began to increasingly assert itself over Croatia, we find authorities in Croatia reacting to this assertiveness. In 1708, at a moment when the bishopric of Zagreb was vacant, five candidates (four Zagreb canons and the Bishop of Vacs, Emeric Esterhazy, born in Vaguhely in Hungary) were proposed for the position by various Church and lay officials. The ban and the Hungarian court supported Esterhazy, but Baron Baltazar Patačić raised the issue in the Croatian diet of whether a Hungarian could, or perhaps should, hold a bishopric in Croatia. He presented a document signed by eleven deputies that it was not the wishes of the Kingdom (of Croatia) that one of Hungarian nationality (*Hungarorum nationis*) be considered qualified to become the Bishop of Zagreb. The ban accurately replied that the Croatian diet had never previously opposed a Hungarian for bishop. Esterhazy ended up with the position.⁴¹ But the national feeling expressed by Patačić (and his ten colleagues) is worth noting.

Similar feeling had been actively expressed by members of the Paulist order in Croatia since at least 1684. This Esterhazy had for a time been general of that order for a combined Hungarian-Croatian Paulist province. In 1684 Croatian Paulist leaders began complaining to Rome and various other authorities that they no longer wanted their monasteries in Croatia to be under the same "cap" as those of Hungary but wanted their own separate Croatian province. The Croatians, led by Gašpar Malečić from Varaždin, finally won when a papal decision in 1700 resolved matters according to the wishes of the Croatians. At the quarrel's beginning, in 1684, Malečić, reflecting clear Croatian ethnic sentiments, had written, "If we do not obtain a separation from Hungary, woe are we and our monasteries. The Hungarians hardly allow us to improve ourselves; they constantly ride on our necks; even more than before they are filling our monasteries with Hungarians, and 'Croatians' are hardly accepted [for membership]; they put Hungarians in as the heads; they

40. F. Bučar, "Širenje reformacije u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji," *Vjestnik Kr. hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog zemaljskog arhiva* 3, nos. 3-4, 1901, p. 221.

41. V. Klaić, "Hrvatska pragmatička sankcija," *Rad (JAZU)* 206, 1915, p. 77.

are condescending towards us whenever they mention us, and when they do, it is to criticize or make fun of us. We as sons of our own nation and fatherland (nationis et patria) are not able to bear this any longer."⁴²

Other rivalries within the Church (in this case among South-Slavic Franciscans) existed as well. In the 1680s, as territory was being liberated from the Turks, claims and counterclaims for this territory were advanced by the bishops of Zagreb and Bosnia respectively. Much of this Slavonian territory had been under Zagreb prior to the Ottoman conquest; but the Turks, suspicious of the Habsburgs, had not allowed Zagreb to exercise authority in its territories, so the Bosnian Bishop had more or less taken it over. However, when the Christian offensive stirred hopes of liberation and then the treaty of 1699 restored all of Slavonia to the Habsburgs, Zagreb wanted its parishes back. Bosnian Bishop Nikola Ogramić (1671–1701) wanted to keep them. For example, in a letter to the Slavonian Franciscans from 1688, Bishop Ogramić called on the Franciscans not to allow into their parishes in a series of listed towns anyone subordinate to a bishop other than that of Bosnia, especially not those under the jurisdiction of the Bishop of Zagreb. They were to be particularly careful to keep out "Croats" (Harvata), especially their priests. Ogramić here probably meant by "Croats" priests from Croatia. He also used the standard generalized vocabulary. In the 1660s, when merely a Franciscan parish priest, Ogramić had asked the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith to send the Bosnian Franciscans an Illyrian and a Turkish dictionary.⁴³

The Zagreb bishopric also turned to the production of texts. Particularly important is what has often been called a Lectionary, though (as Fućak notes) it really is an Evandjelistar, prepared in Zagreb; this text became more "Croatian" as it went through a series of editions. The first edition, which was supervised, corrected, and approved by Petar Petretić, the Bishop of Zagreb, was published in Graz in 1651. It seems that the text was actually edited by Father Nikola Krajačević. It was translated into Slavonian (szlovenzkom szlovom) for the use of the Holy Church of Zagreb, Slavonia (Zagrebecska Szlovenzka). In the preface the bishop states that the book is for the use of all the clergy of the Slavonian state (vszem Szlovenzkoga Orszaga Czirkvenem Paztirom) of the Zagreb diocese. He then goes on to talk about the language question, stating that the text is in the correct Slavonian of Zagreb, in our proper Slavonian-Zagrebian words (na nasse pravo Szlovensko Zagrebecsko szlova) and in Slavonian language (Szlovenskem ezikom); he also uses the phrases, "Slavonian Gospels" and "Slavonian books," making the claim that this is the first time that all the Gospels had been translated

42. V. Klaić, "Hrvatska pragmatička," p. 78; I. Tkalčić, "O stanju više nastave u Hrvatskoj prije, a osobito za Pavlinah," *Rad (JAZU)* 93, 1888, pp. 97–98.

43. R. Lopašić (ed.), "Slavonski spomenici," p. 79. On the dictionaries, see S. Bäuerlein, "Fra Nikola Ogramić-Olovčić biskup djakovačka," *Croatia sacra* 22–23, 1944, p. 134. Bäuerlein also has a good discussion of the fight between the bishops of Zagreb and Djakovo, see esp. 139–45.

into Slavonian. But in a Latin exhortation at the end, he complains about the fact that our Croatian and Slavonian people (*nostra natio Croatica et Sclavonia*) lack common rules of grammar and orthography. Of course, he is taking the names of the territories rather than of the people. However, by saying our people/nation (*natio*, singular), he clearly sees the people of both entities as being one. And since they lack an elevated language, he has to stoop to a vulgar *Sclavonico Croaticoque*.

A second edition of this text appeared in 1694, and now the Church is called Slavonian-Croatian (*Slovenzko Horvaczka*). The third edition, which kept the same Church name and appeared in 1730, had a new Latin preface that complained about written Croatian having no rules and called the Croatian language the first-born son of Mother Illyria. The fourth edition of 1759 presented a new orthography and had the text issued by the glorious Croatian bishopric of Zagreb (*szlavne Horvatzke biskupie Zagrebachke*). And finally, in 1799, there appeared under the same auspices a school edition for the use of the people's schools of the Croatian kingdom.⁴⁴

The probable actual author of the *Evandjelistar*, Nikola Krajačević, had published a translation of a Latin prayer book "*Molitvene knysicze . . .*" in 1640. In its preface he had spoken of not translating the Latin into Slavic (Slavonian?) word for word, but trying to get the sense right. In the excerpts from the preface, which A. Šojat provides, Krajačević uses three times the term "*Slovenski*," and employs it exclusively for the language.⁴⁵

In testimony given in 1667 in Vienna in a confirmation hearing for Martin Borković's appointment as Bishop of Zagreb, the term "Croat" as one of identity was freely used. One witness, Ivan Babić, was described in the proceedings as a priest, a Croat from Samobor. Babić then proceeded to describe Borković as a Croat, of that patria, (as well as) of my own patria. A second witness was a deacon, Martin Schetari, described as "a Croat of Crisiensis" (Križevci).⁴⁶ I think, as we have seen, when we examined the labels used by the Jesuits and other Church orders, that the term "Croat" in these hearings denotes the official entity the individual came from.

Janez Zalokar, a parish priest from Vinica, which was in the Zagreb diocese, wrote his bishop in 1684 about (among other things) a member of the Order of Teutonic Knights whose high German was unintelligible to the local Germans, not to speak of the (local) Carniolans and Croats (*Croatis*).⁴⁷ A Paulist father, Johannes Vanouiczi, in 1669 noted "*Croatica lingua*" among

44. J. Fućak, *Šest stoljeća hrvatskoga lekcionara*, pp. 263–68.

45. A. Šojat, "Kratki navuk jezičnice Horvatske (Jezik stare kajkavske književnosti)," *Kaj* 4, no. 11, 1971, p. 79.

46. J. Borković (ed.), "Prilog povijesti biskupa Martina Borkovića i zagrebačke biskupije u drugoj polovici XVII vijeka," *Starine (JAZU)* 35, 1916, pp. 383, 386.

47. Text published by J. Barle, "Nekoliko podatkova za zgodovino Belo-kranjskih župnij," *Izvestja Muzejskega društva za Kranjsko* 11, nos. 3–4, 1901, p. 58.

the languages of Hungary and also noted that the heretical Lutherans and Calvinists used Latin and Croatian.⁴⁸

JURAJ RATTKAY

The historian and canon from Zagreb, Juraj Rattkay (1612–66), an advocate of the vernacular, called his language—which Šišić describes as a Zagora Kajkavian dialect—“Slavic” (Slovinski), a term he also used for the speech of Dalmatia and Bosnia. He declared that his heart ached because all peoples except the Slavs wrote in their own language.⁴⁹ In 1650 he published in Vienna his translation of a work on the Emperor Frederick II into, as he says on the title page, *Szlovinzkim iezikom*.

In his history, Rattkay, like Orbini, merges two traditions. Rattkay discusses the ancient Illyrians and notes that from them the Slavic language had its beginnings. He also reports that the Slavs greatly helped Alexander the Great in his conquests and in gratitude Alexander gave them the diploma of privilege, which we have discussed previously in connection with other authors. But Rattkay also claims that Noah’s son Japheth(?) travelled to Europe, and from his son arose the Slavs. In time that son’s descendants, Čeh and Leh, became the eponymous ancestors of the Czechs and Poles. Rattkay, as far as I know, is the first Slavonian to utilize this story. Moreover, he also noted that in Zagorje lay the fortress and town of Krapina, which Čeh and Leh came from. Though a Polish chronicler, Matija Mjehovski, writing in 1506, had already associated the brothers with Krapina, Rattkay clearly was the first writer in any part of what is now Croatia to associate the hometown of these brothers with Krapina in Croatia.⁵⁰ Rattkay also cites a Polish cardinal’s (Stanislav Hosius) belief that the purest Slavic language is found in Croatia and Dalmatia, which Rattkay sees as proof that in that place is to be found the Slavic homeland. And, if one believed that the Slavs had emerged from the Illyrians, then it was perfectly reasonable to seek the original homeland of the Slavs in the territory that had been inhabited by the Illyrians. In any case, with Rattkay we have a seeming pan-Slav, but one who felt Croatia/Dalmatia held a special place in the Slavs’ development. Moreover, as Šišić and Antoljak have noted, Rattkay, in his presentation of events in the Croatian banovina from the twelfth century (i.e., when Croatia was annexed by Hungary) on to his own time, had a strong tendency to have these events depending on the bans of Croatia rather than upon the Hungarian-Croatian kings. Šišić also noted that Rattkay’s emphasis for this same period was

48. Z. Velagić, “Toth Istvan Gyorgy (ur.), *Relationes missionariorum de Hungaria et Transilvania (1627–1707)*,” *Otium* 4, nos. 1–2, 1996, pp. 170–71.

49. F. Šišić, *Priručnik*, p. 45.

50. F. Šišić, *Priručnik*, p. 49; F. Šišić, “Ideja slovenske pradomovina u Podunavlju,” *Godišnjica Nikole Čupića* 35, 1923, p. 43; F. Fancev, “Ilirstvo u hrvatskom preporodu,” p. 219.

strongly on the territory between the Drava and Sava, while Dalmatia and the coast were ignored.

On the title page of his history Rattkay had young King Ferdinand IV (to whom the work was dedicated) seated on a horse risen on its hind legs, while on the opposite page were nine smaller pictures depicting St. Jerome, Pope Kaja (contemporary of Diocletian and believed to be an Illyrian), St. Cyril, St. Kvirina (a Bishop of Sisak), St. Augustine (not the Church doctor but a Bishop of Zagreb), three mythical Croatian kings (St. Budimir, St. Ivan [son of King Gostimil], and Godeslava), and St. Paul (the desert anchorite, for whom the Paulist Order was named). This illustration (with eight of nine individuals South Slavs) also clearly exhibited Rattkay's Slavic/Illyrian patriotism. And, as in the text, there was an emphasis upon the Croatian/Slavonian region, from where the majority of depicted Slavs came.⁵¹

However, interestingly, Rattkay's pan-Slavism excluded the neighboring Slovenes. When the dispute arose over who could stay in the Illyrian guest-house in Rome, which we have already discussed in detail, Paštrić wrote various prominent intellectuals to obtain their support in his battle to block people from Kranj from using that institution. Whether Rattkay replied to Paštrić is not known, but the letter he wrote to the well-known Juraj Križanić, who by this time had taken a stand on behalf of the Slovenes against Paštrić, has survived. Noting that he had received several letters on the subject from "our brothers among the Illyrian people/nation," Rattkay blames Križanić for falling into error and neglecting the debt he owed to his own people. He then goes on to insist that the people of Kranj, Styria, and Carinthia could not possibly be included among the Illyrian people. Thus, Rattkay clearly had a feeling for a people, whom he willingly called "Illyrian" and believed that he belonged to, but was not willing to include in that community the neighboring Slovenes, whose language was not that different from Rattkay's native Kajkavian. Whereas Križanić saw the Slovenes as "Illyrians" and one of us, Rattkay considered them foreigners. Rattkay clearly felt strongly about this, since he showered Križanić with insults for the position he had taken.⁵²

Rattkay also used on various other occasions the term "Illyrian." In fact, Fancev says Rattkay used it more frequently than the term "Slavic." In his history Rattkay tells us that Ban Drašković encouraged him to write his history to awaken in people love and concern for all the Illyrian lands, for all Illyria. And, to Rattkay, Illyria denoted a broad area, encompassing nine kingdoms: Dalmatia, Slavonia, Croatia, Bosnia or Moesia or Rama, Bulgaria, Serbia or

51. Most of the material in this paragraph and the preceding one is taken from Antoljak's fine sketch of Rattkay. See S. Antoljak, *Hrvatska historiografija* I, pp. 114–21, esp. pp. 118–21. Antoljak (p. 118) also describes Rattkay (on the basis of a surviving portrait): he was of medium height, with a ruddy face, a broad nose, burning eyes, a large and full beard, and a well-combed moustache.

52. I. Golub, "Juraj Križanić i pitanje prava Slovenaca," pp. 253–54.

Galicia, Rascia or Thrace, Dardania, Albania or Epirus. The people speaking this (Illyrian) language were a larger group yet; besides the Slavonians are the Dalmatians, Croatians, Bosnians, Bulgarians, Thracians, Istrians, Moravians, Bohemians, Albanians, Poles, Lusatians, Silesians, Lithuanians, Pruthians, Muscovites, Russians, Prussians (the original ones?), Scandinavians, and the inhabitants of the other regions under Constantinople down to the Turks.⁵³ Several of these alleged Slavic-speaking peoples are not that at all, but perhaps he simply meant that Slavic speakers lived interspersed with Albanians, Lithuanians, and so forth. In more specific examples, in his history he notes that among a group of Turkish war prisoners were Nikola Frankapan and many prominent knights with Hungarian and Illyrian names. Later on, in discussing a major flood in Zagreb, which he specifies lay in Illyrica, he notes that the flooding had not been limited to the Illyrian regions only.⁵⁴ In any case, Rattkay's identity was cast in broad terms, and Croats were merely one of several sub-categories of Illyrians/Slavs.

RECOVERY OF TURKISH SLAVONIA

Turkish Slavonia was liberated and incorporated into the Habsburg empire by treaty in 1699. This quickly led to quarrels as to which territories would be put under which administrative units. What was to be under the Military districts, what in Croatia (under its ban and sabor), and what in the Slovenian districts like Styria and Kranj, which were also advancing claims? In addition, Venice had got into the act and expanded its territory into the hinterland behind Dalmatia, including the historic Croatian seat of Knin. A treaty mediated by the pope allowed Venice to retain its gains. But in the course of the debates over the division of spoils, the authorities of Croatia (especially the sabor) wanted Croatia to get as large a piece as possible and began actively pushing Croatia's right to territories it had had in the past, that had been parts of the kingdom of Zvonimir and later of the "Croatia" of the kings of Hungary and Croatia. This brought history and the concept of Croatian territory—the name that had to be used to support these claims—to public view, and certain historians, in particular Paul Ritter Vitezović, to be discussed shortly, became very active in advancing Croatia's claims and publishing works on Croatia's past. This polemic, of course, affected intellectual public opinion and brought the word "Croatia" and "Croatians" (people of that territory) into broader public usage.

The recovery of this ex-Ottoman territory led to administrative actions and surveys, including a census. In structuring the newly recovered lands, ten-

53. F. Fancev, "Ilirstvo u hrvatskom preporodu," pp. 219–20; K. Georgijević, *Hrvatska književnost*, p. 118.

54. *Hrvatski latinisti II*, pp. 79, 91.

sions developed between the military and civilian administrators/commissioners as well as within the ranks of the civilians themselves. In December 1698 it was reported that three commissioners "Mileković, Sadeczki, and Hergović (Croats and Hungarians [Hrvati i Ugri]) beat the third [fourth?] imperial administrator, the German Hasslauer, so badly that he almost died." Further down in the report we find that in the search for a director of one judicial office the Croat Valšović was proposed. Having various concerns, the Croatian Estates (Hrvatski staleži) sent two envoys to Osijek to try to persuade the authorities to put this territory under the normal county administration system and to propose that a particular individual be appointed as the Great Župan of Virovitica and Požega. The commissioners on the ground disapproved of these suggestions, but we are told that "the Hungarian Court chancellery worked on behalf of the Croats" (za Hrvate radila).⁵⁵ In the last case, "Croats" signifies the official representatives of the Croatian banovina, the estates. It makes sense to assume that the commissioners noted above were appointed by the royal court as representatives of the various official communities (or institutions representing them), and it is evident that a balance was sought among them. Regardless of possible ethnic aspects to the names of these communities, the relevant language for these Croats did not become "Croat," for it was decreed that the decisions reached should be announced in German and Illyrian.⁵⁶ A note attached to another order, this one appearing in Latin, from earlier that year (namely, one to the inhabitants of Slavonia concerning the rival bishops of Bosnia and Zagreb from a commander [vojvoda] named Marin Hunalić), stated that it had been translated from Illyrian into Latin.⁵⁷ Early in the eighteenth century, regulations were drawn up for the administration of Osijek, which included the formation of a town council which was to consist of two Germans and one Illyrian (Illyrier).⁵⁸

The 1702 census of newly regained Djakovo noted that the town had five to six hundred Catholic Slav/Slavonian (Slavi catholicae fidei) inhabitants. Smičiklas published a Slavic text of the Djakovo survey. This version says Catholic Slovinci (and gives a figure of four hundred). Thus, presumably the Latin "Slavi" means "Slavonians," rather than "Slavs." This text also uses the term "Slovinci" in descriptions of over forty villages in and around Djakovo. On occasion the text says "Slovinci or Šokci." "Šokci," as we shall see later (in our discussion of Kanižlić), is a slang term, used in particular by the Orthodox, for Slavonians.⁵⁹ The recovery also enabled Slavonia to awaken

55. R. Lopašić (ed.), "Slavonski spomenici," *Starine* (JAZU) 30, 1902, pp. 143–44.

56. R. Lopašić (ed.), "Slavonski spomenici," p. 149.

57. R. Lopašić (ed.), "Slavonski spomenici," p. 140.

58. J. Bösendorfer, "Kako je Osijek postao kraljevski i slobodni grad," *Narodna starina* 8, no. 18, 1929, p. 35.

59. J. Bösendorfer, *Crte iz slavonske povijesti*, Osijek, 1910, p. 357; T. Smičiklas, *Dvjestogodišnjica oslobođenja Slavonije II dio: (Spomenici o Slavoniji u XVII vijeku (1640–1702))*, Zagreb

culturally, along with the pieces that had never been conquered, and books began to be printed there. Much of this culture was Church related. In the section on Church use of the term “Croatian,” we have mentioned some of these texts. Other works, to be discussed, continued to call the language “Illyrian,” “Slavic,” and “Slavonian.” One of the earliest writers, after liberation, in ex-Turkish Slavonia was the parish priest of Djakovo, Ivan Grličić; he called his language “Illyrian” or “Slavonski (Slavonian),” and on occasions “Bosnian,” as he did on the title page of his “Heavenly Path” printed in Venice in 1707.⁶⁰

PAUL RITTER VITEZOVIĆ

Of particular interest for the issue of terminology is another historian, Paul [Pavao] Ritter Vitezović (1652–1713). Most of the material—and some but not all of the conclusions, and I hope which conclusions belong to whom are clear—below is drawn from V. Klaić’s outstanding biography of Vitezović. Most of Vitezović’s printed texts are rare, and his surviving letters are mostly unpublished and to be found only in archives. I have drawn what I believe to be a representative sample of Vitezović’s use of terms from Klaić’s discussions and the selections published by J. Vončina in 1976.⁶¹ Klaić’s text provides many other similar examples for each term. To avoid a plethora of footnotes, I place the page references to Klaić’s biography in my text. I also provide a few citations from the Vončina edition, these are noted as “V plus page number.”

Born Paul Ritter, he added the name Vitezović (which I shall use throughout) in 1684. He had an active career as a historian; he also wrote poetry and in his last years was actively involved in printing. Born in Senj, he started with a typically Illyrian-ist (mixed with “Slav”) vocabulary, with Croatia (Hrvatska) freely used for the territory. He also exhibited patriotism, writing about his “patria” which was the territory around Senj (e.g., p. 24). Thus, in a poem “Two Centuries of Woeful Croatia,” he writes that “fortress Croatia is being diminished” (p. 11). He also linked his own title of nobility with the entity of Croatia, and thus was a *nobilis Croata* (p. 35). But if we turn to things like the language and the people, we find “Illyrian” and to a lesser extent “Slav” are favored. Thus, he mentioned in a poem (from 1687) that his mother was of the Illyrian nobility (p. 7). In other poems he speaks of writing

(JAZU, *Djela* 11, pt. 2), 1891, p. 308 (on Djakovo itself), pp. 310–36 (for the villages in and around Djakovo). Smičiklas also presents other surveys from around this time. A 1697 survey of the district of Osijek uses the term “Sclavis” for the village of Ladimirović (p. 38), while the village of Mitrovića in the district of Požega is said to have “Croatian Catholics” (*Croatae catholici*) in a 1702 survey (p. 149).

60. V. Jagić, “Iz prošlosti hrvatskoga jezika,” p. 53; T. Maretić, *Istorijska hrvatskoga pravopisa*, p. 167.

61. V. Klaić, *Život i djela Vitezovića*; P. R. Vitezović, *Izabrana djela: Zrinski, Frankopan, Vitezović*, (J. Vončina, ed.), Zagreb (Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti 17), 1976.

in Illyrian and notes that many Slavs live in Kranj, but they write in German and Latin (p. 22). He planned to finish a book which would be pleasing to the Illyrian folk (*Illyricis gratum gentibus*), which is shortly thereafter referred to as a little Slavic book (*Slavno sermone libellos*) (pp. 33–34). In a name-day poem written for Count Leopold Kolonić, he cited the addressee's Slavic origins (p. 42). He calls a Ban of Croatia the regent of Illyria (p. 45). And he refers to Nikola Zrinski, killed fighting the Turks at Szeget, as the “Illyrian Hector” (p. 57).

In 1684 Vitezović published a long poem on the battle of Szeget. He dedicates it to a Zrinski descendant of Nikola, and in the dedication says that he wants to show (the world) the heroes of the Illyrian land (V, p. 359). But, still in the dedication, he remarks that the poem is in “Croatian verses” (V, p. 360). Then in his preface he speaks about “the glorious Croatian language” and goes on to speak of phonetic difficulties in Slavic and moves on to the orthographic problems involved in rendering Croatian or Slavic words (in Latin letters) (V, p. 361). Otherwise, in the text, he refers frequently to “Croats” and exclusively so. But other than his Croatian muse or *vila*, at the very beginning (V, p. 363), the Croats in the context of the battle are Croatian units fighting under that ban. Not a single reference to “Croats” in this poem appears to be ethnic. And, in the same period, he asks a friend to send him one of his books of Illyrian verses (p. 51). He could also speak of Dalmatian language (p. 34).

In 1689 Vitezović published a long series of poems about those who would help Hungary in the struggle against the Turks. He divided the helpers up into five groups: Germans, Italians (and Greeks), Illyrians, Spaniards, and Sarmatians. From it we can see what he at the time considered “Illyrian”: and among the 86 places so categorized (all listed by V. Klaić, p. 80) we find Albania, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Croatia, Hercegovina, Dacia/Wallachia, Dalmatia, Epirus, Istria, Macedonia, the Ragusan Republic, Serbia, Slavonia, the Slavonian March, Thessaly, Trieste, the County of Zagreb, and Zeta (superior and inferior). The list also includes a variety of places within these broad headings, such as particular Dalmatian cities (e.g., Split, Trogir), various specific Adriatic islands, and regions of Croatia (Krbava, Senj). Thus, he sets up Illyria most broadly, having it take in more or less the whole Balkans, since he includes northern Greece. “Sarmatia” included Russia, Lithuania, Poland, Moldavia, and the Baltic. Interestingly, the “German” regions, which extended as far as England, also followed Habsburg administrative divisions and included the Slovenian provinces of Carniola (Kranj), Carinthia (Koruška), Gorica, and Styria (p. 80).

The successful campaigns against the Turks of the 1690s stirred up popular excitement about the lands being—and other lands hopefully to be—recovered. The current situation led to Vitezović's launching a series of historical projects. The first to appear was his “Martyrs and Hearths of Illyrica”

(Žrtvenici i ognjišta Ilira), published in Latin and the local language in Zagreb in 1696. He starts his preface to both editions by stating that Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, Bosnia, Serbia, Raška, and so forth, (are) of the glorious Slav or Illyrian nations . . . (pp. 101, 103).

He followed this text, also in 1696, with a world-chronicle from creation to 1690 in the local language; the title page gives no name to the language, though in his preface he calls it "Slavic" (Szlovenski jezik). He notes the problem caused by all the regional dialects. As a result, one writes this way and another that way, each according to his will. So one should not be amazed that sometimes you read (the dialect of) "Slovenski," and sometimes Majdački or Posavski or Podravski or Primorski (of the coast) or Kranjski; but it is all Slavic (slovenski), and each (dialect's user) helps himself to words from whatever foreign language he wants, be it Latin, German, or Hungarian. In so doing (these writers) abandon the correct Slavic writing used by the old Croats, St. Jerome, and the others (i.e., Glagolitic) and replace it with Latin letters, of which there are only twenty-three to express all the words (sounds) of the Slavic language (pp. 105–6; V, p. 433).⁶² For, of course, Glagolitic had the extra letters expressing č, š, ž, and so forth. In a postscript, in which he still worries about language issues, he speaks of all the places under the Slavic name, all the other states (orsage) under the Illyrian name, the current Slavic language, this land of the Illyrians or of the Slavic people, Slavs and Illyrians, our glorious Illyrian or Slavic language. He also speaks of Slavic as a general language category, providing a long list that includes Russians and Czechs as well as various non-Slavs (e.g., Lithuanians, Samoyeds). This discussion reflects a pan-Slavic patriotism, stressing the Slavic language's/people's predominance, through their numbers, over so massive a part of Europe (V, pp. 473–74).

The chronicle itself was in the same form as Vramec's, published in 1578 and discussed in chapter 4, and Vitezović utilized that chronicle for matters up to the 1570s. He acknowledged his debt to Vramec by saying that he followed him to a considerable degree. However, Vitezović did not copy from Vramec mindlessly, but reworked and rephrased much of his predecessor's material, omitting or adding various items. Thus, like Vramec, he believed Slavs were indigenous and both authors describe all sorts of interactions between "Slavs" and the family of Alexander of Macedon. He also makes the Illyrians into Slavs, including a certain Domitar who was King of the Illyrians or Slavs. He calls Domitar a native of Hvar and has Domitar and the Slavic Dalmatians active in the Adriatic prior to the birth of Christ. And under A.D. 244 he has a Slavic King Svateš, whose Slavs called themselves Avars. Vitezović also takes from Vramec, under 429, an obituary for St. Jerome, described as the creator of Glagolitic. Each calls Jerome a Slav, but in different places: in his

62. T. Matić, "Vitezovićev 'Lexicon latino-illyricum,'" *Rad (JAZU)* 303, 1955, p. 7; Z. Vince, *Putovima hrvatskoga književnog jezika*, Zagreb, 1978, p. 87.

obituary Vramec calls the saint a "Slavic doctor"; Vitezović omits that, but under 338, when he notes Jerome's birth (an item not found in Vramec), he calls him a "sainted Slav." Vitezović, however, adds to the notice of the coming to power of Justinian that Justinian was a Slav, to which he adds material from Mrnavić about the emperor's birth in Prizren. These items are not found in Vramec, but Vramec does note that Justinian's nephew and successor, Justin II, was a Slav. Vitezović also added totally new items. He believed, as many others before him, that the Goths were Slavs. Thus he added a certain Gothic Slav Ostrivoj as ruler of the Croatian and Dalmatian kingdom. Under 640 he has a condensed version of Constantine Porphyrogenitus' account of the arrival of the Croats (under the five brothers and two sisters), first into Dalmatia and then into Croatia and Slavonia. The name "Croatian" became established and has continued until today. He also, under 650, brings in the Čeh, Leh, Rus story and the brothers, whom he calls "Croatian lords," who founded Bohemia, Poland, and Russia. Under 688 he brings in material from Constantine Porphyrogenitus on the Croats' revolt against the Franks (V, pp. 346–48). The material from 1581 to 1690, when he brings his chronicle to an end, is naturally independent of Vramec. In these pages he speaks of both Slavs and Croats. However, all the Croatian references are to the ban, banovina, armies, nobles, and Croatian lands. Thus, all can be taken as political rather than ethnic.

Vitezović returned to the language issue in an undated work, dated 1703 by scholars, and published in Zagreb, "Pričnik [Proverbs] aliti razlike mudrosti svitje." In this work's preface, written in proto-Serbo-Croatian, he says readers may ask whether the work is written in correct Croatian language; he goes on to refer to using Latin letters for "our Croatian language" (*Hervatsskoga nasse jezika*) and also to "the pure glorious homeland (*domovine*) language, which was acquiring impurities from contact with Latin, Hungarian, and German, except among the upland Croats" (*gornjih Hervatov*) (V, p. 475).⁶³ Thus, we see that Vitezović here, as in so many other places, employed a variety of terms to label the language he spoke and the people who spoke it, including "homeland" language, used at least twice in that preface.

In 1697 Vitezović involved himself with the calendars being published in Zagreb. As noted above, they were already called "Croatian calendars." His calendars continued this tradition, bearing the title, "Zoroast hervacki aliti meszecsnik" (p. 117).

The successes in the wars of the 1690s against the Turks led to hopes of territorial annexation by the Christian powers, and overlapping claims were advanced by Venice and Austria-Hungary, and also by administrative units within Austria-Hungary. Vitezović became a great supporter of Hungary against Venice and of the Croatian banovina against claims by the commanders of the

63. T. Matić, "Vitezovićev 'Lexicon,'" pp. 7–8.

Military Frontier and by the “Slovenian” administrative entities. In 1699 Vitezović, owing to his reputation as one who knew the territory in question and its history, became—as such an individual would not have, if he had been a subject of a late-twentieth-century power—an advisor to the Habsburg negotiators with the Turks. This made his work more official, supporting Habsburg and Hungarian claims, by drawing on the history of Croatia. Now, and surely because of this legal need, Croatia—until then never absent, but certainly not emphasized—comes to have top billing in his writing. From 1699 on, for the next several years, he pushes the historical right of Leopold as the Hungarian king to all of what had been historical Croatia. A report he wrote in September 1699 has in its title the borders of all of Croatia (*ad limites totius Croatiae*), and soon he is urging the monarch to drop the specific names (e.g., Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia) from his title and replace them with “all Croatia.” Needless to say, since Vitezović wants as much of the Balkans as possible, his claims and that which he extracts from “history” are very exaggerated.

In this report Vitezović takes what he had always called “Illyria” before—but under which name no one had any historical title or right to any given territory—and calls it “Croatia,” which, he claims, can be divided into five parts: (1) Coastal, which had within it medieval Dalmatia (both Slavic and Roman towns) from Rijeka to Dubrovnik with the Adriatic islands and medieval Croatia (the territories of the so-called twelve noble families and including Senj, Vinodol, Krbava, and Knin); but he then expands this entity to include Hercegovina and upper and lower Zeta (i.e., what is now Montenegro) down to Shkoder in present-day Albania.⁶⁴ (2) Zagorska or interior Croatia, which includes the territory further inland behind Vinodol on to the upper Sava with the counties or *županijas* of Modruš, Gorica, Bužinska, Zagreb, and Gorska to the Una; to this he adds Bosnia to the Drina. (3) Savska (from the River Sava) Croatia, which includes the rest of Slavonia and stretches into Srem, including the counties of Celje, Varaždin, Zagreb (Klaić duplicates Zagreb in his summary), Križevci, Virovitica, Požega, Valpovac, and the Duchy of Srem. (4) Nearby Croatia (*citerior Croatia*), namely Istria and Kranj. (5) Croatia beyond (*ulterior Croatia*) which equals Serbia (pp. 134–36). Thus, as Klaić notes, those whom Ritter had seen as “Illyrians” (under which category he had included Slovenes and Serbs) were now proclaimed to be “Croats.” Surely behind this lay the needs of the moment. “Il-

64. V. Klaić, *Život . . . Vitezovića*, p. 156. It should be noted here that Vitezović justified the claim to Montenegro by utilizing “The Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclea,” who, as we saw in chapter 2, described, in a muddled description of the early history of the Slavs in the Balkans, a Red and White Croatia. Red Croatia, as we saw earlier, included Duklja (which was later to be called Zeta, and though Vitezović used the latter term, the region already in Vitezović’s time had come to be called Montenegro). In his historical justifications—at least at this period in his life—Vitezović saw anything that ever bore a Croat label, no matter where it lay or what the source, as legitimately part of Croatia.

lyria" gave no basis for claims; "Croatia" did. Clearly Serbia was not up for annexation now, but it might be. Moreover, there was still the question of where the territory Hungary did get was to go. It made sense, then, to make the Slovene regions sub-categories of Croatia, which would support Croatia by an argument that it, the superior region, had the better claim. Thus, there was reason to alter one's vocabulary, and presumably for this reason Vitezović made in 1699 a conscious change in his usage of terms.

Of course, the treaties of 1699 did not give Hungary all that it and Vitezović sought; Venice kept what it had occupied (including Knin), and all of Bosnia went back to the Turks. In 1700 Vitezović printed a small work dedicated to Leopold, the Monarch, entitled "Unredeemed Croatia" (*Croatia rediviva*) (p. 141). Though this work utilized the Croatian name it reflected old habits by having the coat of arms of Illyria on the title page—needless to say not an authentic coat of arms but what was believed to be (or better to say, used as) such at the time. In the work Vitezović suggests, as noted earlier, that the king drop from his title Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, Rama (a part of Bosnia and at the time considered a synonym for all of Bosnia), and Serbia (which the Hungarian king had added to his title in the beginning of the thirteenth century at a brief moment when he had asserted suzerainty over Serbia) and replace these with "all Croatia," for, as we have seen, Vitezović had included all five titular items under "Croatia" in his work of 1699 (p. 141). Thus, here he is using the term "Croatia" to mean all the South Slavs (or all of them minus Bulgaria, which is not mentioned), as he had employed the word "Illyria" previously. In this new work, he does use the term "Illyrian," but he provides it with a far broader definition, namely, all the Slavs. Illyria stretches from the source of the Danube to the Black Sea, from the Adriatic to the Baltic Sea (p. 142). Hints of this had appeared in his discursus at the end of his world chronicle. There he had used "Illyrian" and "Slav" as synonyms, at first in a South-Slav context; however, by the text's end he had become a patriotic pan-Slav, noting all the peoples called "Slavs" and specifically naming the various East and West Slav peoples as well.

But in this process, Vitezović did something else as well, for Hungary had a quarrel with Venice, after Venice had picked off Knin and a small but solid chunk of what had been medieval Croatia. This territory, clearly in Vitezović's mind, should have gone to Hungary; Venice had no claim to any part of "Croatia." Moreover, Venice already held most of Dalmatia, all of which at one time or another had belonged to the Hungarian monarch in his role as King of Croatia. The doge had title only to "Dalmatia." Thus, Vitezović decided to eliminate "Dalmatia" as a historical or legal term of any importance. He argues that the name "Dalmatia" was dreamed up late. Yes, there had been a Roman province of "Dalmatia"; but before that province had existed there had been an Illyricum, and, after the Romans had annexed the territory, then a "Dalmatian" province was created as a sub-division of the larger province of

Illyricum. Next, the Croats had arrived and set up their state. In this territory there was (soon to be) one people, and one could call them “Illyrians,” “Slavs,” or “Croats.” Observers can and do point out at present the different dialects between these Slavic/Illyrian peoples, but clearly they are basically all of one language and are one people. They, the Illyrians/Slavs, are what one should focus on. In the meantime, after the Croat/Slavic takeover, the name “Dalmatia” did not at once disappear, but it was simply used by the Romans (Byzantines) to cover the few cities they retained, lying in the midst of the Croats/Slavs. One finds the name still (in 1700) used only by a tiny remnant of this former province, chiefly by people in Zadar, Split, and Trogir. So, “Dalmatia,” a term Vitezović had used in his 1699 report, now falls by the wayside. Though Venice continues to claim its “Dalmatia,” that includes nothing more than several specific cities, which it now holds, and to which Hungary has a better claim; and it even more certainly gives Venice no claim to Knin and the rest of the “Croatian” interior, for there is nothing “Dalmatian” about them (pp. 143–46).

The flavor of this text can be well seen in the following passage: “That any one might think that the Croats were a different people (*nationem*) from the Slavs or Illyrians is a belief that I want to put an end to here. Namely it is found in old documents that the Croats both among themselves and [in documents] from/by the Dalmatians are called by the name of Slav, even though their princes and kings are called in their privileges/charters [those] of the Croats, and not of the Slavs as Lucius says. [*sic!* For we have seen that even in these documents the rulers with some frequency called themselves rulers of the Slavs.] And all the above-mentioned people in general call their language Slavic or Slavonian (*Slavam vel Slovinicam*), that is Illyrian, which serves all of them together, for example, the Croats in the narrow sense: our Croatian or Slavic language (*nostra Croatica sive Slavonica lingua*) or for the Carniolians, [in Slavic] our Kranjski or Slovenski language, or [in Latin] our Carniolica or Slavonica language, etc.”⁶⁵

Vitezović, next, in 1701 published in Vienna, a work on coats of arms, which reverted to the term, “Illyrian.” This volume had been in the works for some time, and maybe partially for that reason bore the old vocabulary. But he also needed a coat of arms for the whole area, and there existed a believed in (but false, of course) Illyrian coat of arms, and a series of others (many of which were also fictitious) for families and principalities within that region. And, in this context, “Croatia” was only a small entity within this larger whole. Even if all Illyrians were really “Croats,” only a few of them had so called themselves and had made it possible to associate them with a “Croat” shield. Under this Illyrian heading Vitezović presented fifty-six entities, all of which V. Klaić lists (pp. 153–54). Vitezović starts with the so-called all-Illyr-

65. *Hrvatski latinisti* II, p. 153.

ian shield and follows that by one for the [Serb] Nemanjić dynasty, and then continues with the others in alphabetical order. Here we find not only the Slavic Balkan states but also the non-Slavic Balkan entities (e.g., Greece, Albania, Wallachia), pre-Slavic Balkan regions (e.g., Liburnia, Pannonia), the other non-Balkan entities (e.g., Bohemia, Muscovy), and also relevant neighboring states active in the area, (e.g., Hungary, Austria, and Venice). Dalmatia, having had a historical role here, was brought back from oblivion to be included. As noted, many alleged coats of arms from earlier times had been circulating in pre-modern Europe; many, if not most of them, were false, but were accepted as authentic. Others had been drawn from sources like grave-stone carvings and seals and were taken to be reasonable reconstructions. Vitezović exhibited no critical talents here, simply presenting the emblems; in fact, he may not have been above thinking some up himself for the purposes of inclusion, for, I believe, some of them cannot be documented from any source prior to his work.

As in the just-mentioned work, Vitezović also continued to use the term “Illyrian” in his correspondence. In 1702 he wrote a friend that he had recently published a book in the Illyrian language (p. 172). This probably refers to a popular work he printed at about that time providing advice and popular wisdom, including many folk proverbs. He asks in that work’s preface whether the text was properly written, whether it was in “pravo [correct] hervatski?” He goes on to argue that, in fact, it is (p. 173). In 1703 he published a short work, “The Woes of Croatia,” which again in the preface shows concern about language and orthography and uses both terms, “Illyrian” and “Croatian,” in the discussion (p. 185). In the work itself he also uses the term “Slavic,” noting that Dubrovnik was the only free city in the Adriatic of the Slavs.⁶⁶

Soon Vitezović returned to history. In a new work, published in 1704, he argues that the Hungarian King Ladislav (1077–95), who was the brother of Zvonimir’s widow and began the campaign that led to the Hungarian annexation of Croatia, was in fact not a Hungarian of the Arpad family but a Croat, descended from the Croatian princely/royal family. According to Vitezović, Ladislav, whom he calls Ladislav, was born in Croatia on the southern Kupa River in the county of Gorica, in the very town of Steničnjak. His great grandfather, Michael, was the brother of Duke Géza, who was the father of the first Hungarian king (St. Stephen). This Michael was an Illyrian or a Croat (Illyr sive Croata). He also was the Michael noted in a Venetian chronicle, who around 920 was called “dux sclavorum” and whom the Priest of Dioclea mentions as the son of King Dobroslav. Moreover, the Bela who was Ladislav’s father was not Bela I (of Hungary) but a Bela who was Prince of Croatia. In the eleventh century, King Ladislav’s brother Géza had been Ban of Croatia for King Peter Krešimir and was the same individual as the Ban Goyzo,

66. *Hrvatski latinisti* II, p. 143.

mentioned in Peter Krešimir's charter, who had been the predecessor of Ban Zvonimir. The Hungarians, moreover, took both names, Géza and Ladislav, from the Illyrians. For the Illyrian word "goi" is the equivalent of the Latin "educare." In other words, [u]lgojiti/educare means to bring up or educate. Vitezović goes on to lay out nineteen arguments to show Ladislav's Croatian origin. His text ends with a hyperbolic hymn to Ladislav's birth-land (Croatia) and to the Holy King, for Ladislav was canonized as a saint. In his raptures, Vitezović hauls out the old Čeh, Leh, and Rus foundation stories (of the Czechs, Poles, and Russians respectively), which we have seen previously, and has the three of them heading off to their respective lands from Croatia. All this justifies an emotional conclusion: "From you [Croatia] are derived long ago the founders of three kingdoms! Hungary must thank you [Croatia] for your holy son! O you, Croatia, which has enriched Sarmatia [Russia], Europe [presumably Hungary], and Heaven [!] with such glorious sons of yours. . . and now you [Croatia] are the defense against the wrathful barbarians [The Turks]!" (pp. 191–92). So, Vitezović has come to exhibit what up to this moment are the heights of Croat patriotism.

Klaić also points out the argument's significance. Instead of having Ladislav, a Hungarian king, come to rule Croatia, Vitezović has made him a member of the Croatian royal family who became a King of Hungary. And thus, Vitezović finally came up with a way to overcome Zvonimir's curse; the Croats, in fact, did not find themselves under foreign kings. (Though, of course, they did, when Ladislav's dynasty died out.) Since the emphasis here was on members of the two dynasties and not on the respective peoples—Hungarians and Croats—this exercise need not be seen as an ethnic presentation. But clearly, his claim was an attempt to get around the tragedy of Zvonimir; moreover, his (or the Croats') seeing the Hungarians as foreigners who should not rule Slavs/Croats was driven by a we-they feeling that is certainly akin to ethnicity. Another scholar noted that elsewhere Vitezović complained that the local people preferred to write foreign Latin rather than the glorious language of the homeland, Slavic or Illyrian.⁶⁷

Soon thereafter Vitezović claimed a second saint as a Croat, namely Vladimir, the Orthodox ruler of Duklja (Dioclea, modern Montenegro), whose vita was incorporated into "The Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclea." Vitezović published in 1705 the text of his vita, calling it "The Life and Martyrdom of the Beatified [for Rome had not canonized him] Vladimir, King of Croatia[!]" (*Croatiae Regis*) (p. 196). He seems to have found saints' lives profitable, for he soon published "Illyrians of [Holy] Poverty or the Lives of Sainted Illyrians" (*Indigetes Illyricani sive vitae Sanctorum Illyrici*). One may

67. E. Despalatović, *Ljudevit Gaj and the Illyrian Movement*, New York & London (East European Monographs, vol. 12, *East European Quarterly*), 1975, p. 47. For other interesting observations on Vitezović, see F. Šišić, *Priručnik*, pp. 62–63, 66, 68.

note in this work his return to the word “Illyrian.” Was this reversal of any significance or did he simply see “Illyrian” and “Croatian” as synonyms and thus, when there was no political reason to choose one or the other as there had been in 1699–1700, able to be used interchangeably? I suspect that this was the case. Vitezović was a patriot. He identified with his birthplace, Senj, and sometimes signed his letters as PRV of Senj. He also clearly identified with Croatia, as in his work on Ladislav. But he had a sense of broad Slavic patriotism as well, and often included in his “we” the Orthodox Serbs. He had frequent and friendly contacts with Serbs including their bishops. And we have even seen signs in him of an over-all pan-Slavism. His works, providing a basis for historical claims, had had a reason to stress “Croatia,” and the context (and locations in the story) of his Ladislav the Croatian also justified the term “Croatia.” But since “Croatia” could, as it did in the Ladislav story, mean the narrow territory of the kingdom and later banovina, it was not the best word for a broad South-Slav theme and that is what the Illyrian saints’ text basically presented. This work was unoriginal in the actual lives, for it basically published the lives, as they appeared in long-existing texts, of saints who were “Illyrians” or who were celebrated in Illyria. But the work was original, for it included Serb saints like Stefan Nemanja and St. Sava, and even Greeks like John Chrysostom, who were celebrated widely in the South-Slavic lands. Thus the work needed in its title a term that clearly went beyond the narrow connotations of “Croatia” as many perceived that term. “Illyrian,” therefore, was the appropriate term. The work obviously was popular, for it soon appeared in a greatly expanded edition, whose new figures included, among others, many more Orthodox saints (e.g., various Serb bishops and the Bulgarian Saint, John of Rila) (pp. 207–9).

Vitezović’s broad-minded approach of bringing in all South Slavs, including the Orthodox Serbs, and even doing so in the religious context of saints’ lives, is worth emphasizing. He was also broad-minded in terms of language. As we noted above, he was deeply concerned with how one wrote Croatian or Illyrian, and wanted to include the language of as many people as possible and not to offend. In his last decade he was working on a two-way dictionary between Latin and Illyrian, which, never published, had over a thousand manuscript pages. Once again he chose the term “Illyrian” over “Croat.” Probably that was the term he preferred, but if he had wanted to attract Slovenes, clearly “Illyrian” was a preferable term. And he could well have hoped to attract them, for unlike the dictionaries discussed earlier, which each drew its equivalent words from one particular dialect, Vitezović purposely went out of his way to utilize all three dialects. Thus, under the definition for the Latin word “quid” (what), he has “ča, kaj, što, čto,” utilizing the word from each of the three dialects—in fact the words from which they were subsequently to be named Čakavian, *Kajkavian*, and Štokavian. Klaić’s description provides other examples of Vitezović’s inclusive use of the three dialects. And by doing this, Klaić notes, Vitezović was

arguing for the fact that the language, whatever one called it, was one language and thus all its speakers were a single people (p. 211).

We should point out that after the brief period (1699–ca. 1705), in which he emphasized “Croat,” Vitezović continued to employ all three terms, with no particular “Croatian” emphasis. In fact “Illyrian,” for whatever reason, returned as his term of choice. For example, we find him, hoping to be an official court historian, writing the monarch about the importance of the Illyrian lands and the right of the Hungarian crown to rule the Adriatic and other Illyrian regions (p. 219). In 1710 he was promising a count a work on the Illyrian bans (p. 260), an interesting choice of word, since the word “ban” was never used in terms of Illyria; but possibly Vitezović felt that “Illyrian,” being a broader term, did not limit itself to Croatia and could be thought to include Slavonia and Bosnia, and, too lazy to write three words, he employed it. Furthermore, in his last months, in 1712, he was working on a book on Serbia, for which he was looking for new print fonts that would be pleasing to our Slavic or Illyrian public; and in a second letter, he spoke of the work being in the Illyrian language (pp. 274–75). At the time, he was also planning a work on Bosnia, which he spoke of as the “heart of Illyria” (*srca Ilirika*) (p. 281).

So, we may conclude, that, although Vitezović used the term “Croat” less often than “Slav” and “Illyrian” in his early years, he came to employ it more frequently in his last fifteen or so years. During this period, he sometimes used all three words as synonyms for either the language or the people, but at other times he made distinctions among them, utilizing a particular word to convey a specific meaning. In his writings, Vitezović has a developing ethnic feeling, but it is usually inclusive, encompassing all the proto-Serbo-Croatian speakers. And though at times he used any one of the three terms to denote this broad group, the term he used most frequently was “Illyrian.” The reasons may be owing to the connotations of the other two words: “Croat” was often conceived very narrowly and “Slav” very broadly to include a much wider group than the South Slavs. His developing ethnic, or maybe better, pre-ethnic feeling was tied to strong regional patriotism and a loyalty to the Hungarian monarch and strong antipathy to the Turks and Venetians. Maybe we should simply see him chiefly as a patriot whose point of reference changed with circumstances, who identified with his city, his territory, his kingdom, and changing collectives of fellow subjects (depending on the issue), but who usually saw the need for as all-inclusive a “we” as possible, for that would improve the chances of driving back the hated Turks and Venetians.

IMPLICATIONS OF TERMS

In any case, when we look at the various writers who use the term “Croat” for a language or people, we must ask: Are those being cited using the term broadly, as Vitezović did on occasion (particularly as he did for all South Slavs

in his 1699 report), or are they using it narrowly to denote just those people living in all or in just some part of what we would now call Croatia? For what territory or people is meant may be what dictates what term is used. And for those scholars who say certain people are ethnic something-or-others, it is important to determine what sort of community these so-called ethnics think they belong to. For, two “Illyrians” may see their co-Illyrians differently, one including in his collective people of the four regions defined by the St. Jerome guesthouse, while the other sees himself as part of a community embracing all South Slavs. As we get to the end of the eighteenth century, we see that some who use these terms are more specific and precise than others, and moreover, that, even when several may be precise, they still may not agree among themselves as to who share a given community. As time passed, many western South Slavs, who had used the word “Illyrian” fairly narrowly (to denote Dalmatians, Croatians, Slavonians, and Bosnians), found that the term “Croat” was now coming to denote those four peoples; so, “Illyrian” came more and more—as it always had for some—to be a term for all South Slavs.

But when in the early-nineteenth century these two definitions, a narrower one for “Croat” and a broader one for “Illyrian,” stood before an individual, and that person was also acquiring feelings of ethnicity, of being part of a greater collective, then it becomes important what the community was that that person thought he belonged to. Did he see himself as part of a Croat, Catholic, South-Slavic language community (maybe of one dialect) from a small area or did his collective, be it called “Illyrian,” “Slavic,” or even “Croatian,” cover people of several dialects of a language, of one or more religions (maybe just Catholic and Orthodox, or perhaps including Muslims), and of how wide a territory? In some cases an individual might have felt part of both the narrow and broad collective, and, if so, then which pulled more strongly, and which, if either, pulled that person politically?

JURAJ HABDELIĆ, ANDRIJA JAMBREŠIĆ, AND
IVAN BELOSTENEC

Juraj Habdelić (1609–78) was a Jesuit, active in Zagreb. He published in Graz in 1670 a Slavonian/Slavic–Latin dictionary (*Dikcionar ili reci Szlovenszke*), which he produced, according to the title page, for the youth of the Croatian and Slavonian (*Slovenskoga*) people. His language was the local Kajkavian dialect. He also produced “*Zrcalo Marijansko*,” a work on the Virgin Mary for all the Christians among the Slavonian and Croatian people. In its preface he notes that in Greek and Latin, indeed in all languages, except our Slavonian/Slavic, there are books praising her. Then he goes on to speak about the variants of *Slovenski* (presumably Slavonian) *jezik* and how most published works are in neither correct Slavonian nor Croatian. He next notes that if one wants to write Croatian (*Horvatski*), then one makes certain changes

(from Slavonian), for example, “lehto” to “lahto.”⁶⁸ In the text itself he compares differences in facial hairstyles between Hungarians and Croats.⁶⁹ In a second work, “Prvi oca našega Adama greh,” he notes that Slavonians and Croats shared values on such matters as the Christian faith, having horses, weapons, and defending their homelands.⁷⁰ Thus, he was using the geographical/historical regions to label the inhabitants and to specify the different dialects.

In addition to his dictionary, Habdelić may also have compiled a now-lost work entitled “Sillabus Vocabulorom grammaticae Em. Alvari in Illyricam, sive Croatis et Sclavonibus.” The work is not extant and a non-extant work with a nearly identical title has been associated with Andrija Jambrešić. Both were said to have appeared in 1726. It is highly unlikely that two seemingly identical works appeared in Zagreb in the same year.⁷¹ Whether both men were involved in the volume, with Jambrešić revising the manuscript of the by-then-dead Habdelić, or whether the attribution to one of them is false is unknown. In any case the author for this occasion defined “Illyria” as comprising Croatia and Slavonia. Jambrešić certainly was not above putting only his name on the title page of what was actually a joint work, for Jambrešić also produced a co-written dictionary. Much, and probably most, of its contents was the work of an older Jesuit named Franjo Sušnik who died in 1739 before completing the work. Jambrešić then put the final touches on the work, making some clearly significant additions; but when the work appeared in 1742 only Jambrešić’s name was on the title page. In the preface to the work, Jambrešić does give some credit to an unnamed predecessor.

“Illyrian” was the chosen term for that dictionary, which appeared under the title “Lexicon Latinum interpretatione Illyrica, Germanica et Hungarica.” However, it is worth noting that a Jesuit report from 1740 notes that Jambrešić was working on a “dictionarii Croatici.” And, on the title page of the dictionary, Jambrešić is identified as a Jesuit “Croata Zagoriensis,” as he was frequently recorded in Jesuit records. In the preface to the Lexicon, Jambrešić mentions a Jesuit colleague who also assisted in philological projects, noting that love of “patria” had inspired him. Jambrešić then, if we can trust Vanino to have stuck strictly to the vocabulary used in the text, mentions the dictionary of his Jesuit predecessor Habdelić, which he claims had been very useful to Croatian youth. Georgijević and Dukat, however, say that the preface stated that Habdelić’s text was useful but prepared for the needs *not of Croa-*

68. M. Kombol, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, p. 218; O Šojat, “Juraj Habdelić (1609–78) i njegov književni rad,” *Kaj* 7, no. 10, 1974, pp. 8–9, 14; J. Habdelić, “Zrcalo Marijansko,” *Kaj* 7, no. 10, 1974, pp. 18, 23.

69. J. Habdelić, “Zrcalo,” pp. 20–21.

70. J. Habdelić, “Prvi oca našega Adama greh,” *Kaj* 7, no. 10, 1974, p. 34.

71. V. Dukat, “Habdelićev ‘Syllabus,’” *Gradja za povijest književnosti hrvatske* 7, 1912, pp. 101–2; O. Šojat, “Juraj Habdelić,” p. 15.

tian, but rather of "Illyrian" youth. Without the actual text I cannot say which term Jambrešić used. In any case, according to Georgijević, Sušnik and Jambrešić seem to have believed that Kajkavian and Štokavian were one language. And, according to Dukat, subsequently in the preface Jambrešić calls the attention of his young readers to a series of the book's features: these included descriptions of significant Hungarian and Illyrian regions and towns, since the dictionary's main purpose was to serve Illyrians and Hungarians; Jambrešić also provided articles for German words, since their incorrect usage, he claims, was the main fault of Illyrians and Hungarians when they spoke German; and he calls attention to dialectical differences within the Illyrian language.⁷² Jambrešić then goes on to say that the Slavic (Szlavica) language has become corrupted (as) Slavonian (Sclavonica), which the educated call "Illyrian," but which others call "Croatian," "Dalmatian," and so on.⁷³ He also speaks of orthography and, having noted that most Illyrian tribes use Latin letters, he points out that they (the Illyrians) also have their very own letters which were created by saints Jerome, Cyril, and Methodius. Glagolitic or Jerome's letters are noted and Jambrešić then, to provide an example of the printed "Illyrian" alphabet as it is used in (some) printed Illyrian books, goes on to present Cyrillic and to show how individual "Illyrian" (Cyrillic) letters are transliterated into Latin ones.⁷⁴ At the end of the dictionary he has a guide on how to pronounce German; here he refers to his Croatian reader, Illyrian orthography, and notes, for example, that a German "o" is pronounced between a Croatian "o" and "u." He also provided an index going from South Slavic to Latin, which he calls "Index Illyrico- sive Croatico-Latinum."⁷⁵ Jambrešić also turned out two other shorter works, both of which utilized the term "Croatian" (Croatica), a manual of Croatian orthography in 1732 and an index of Croatian and German words with a brief introduction to the Croatian language in 1738.⁷⁶

Jambrešić's dictionary included geographical names as well. Under his two-column long entry for "Croatia," he notes that all who love their native land mourn the fact that Croatia is broken up and subjected to three lords, the Turks, Venetians, and Habsburgs; and only under the Habsburgs, this Habsburg subject writes, have the Croats had their own local leaders (bans, župans, and sabor) and law.

Under "Illyricum," Jambrešić notes that it had been a state, a kingdom, and a great Slavic empire or kingdom, and within its territory lie various

72. V. Dukat, "Jambrešićev 'Lexicon latinum,'" *Rad (JAZU)* 162, 1905, p. 199.

73. K. Georgijević, *Hrvatska književnost*, pp. 199–200; V. Dukat, "Jambrešićev 'Lexicon,'" pp. 197, 204 (with fn. 2).

74. V. Dukat, "Jambrešićev 'Lexicon,'" pp. 205–6.

75. V. Dukat, "Jambrešićev 'Lexicon,'" pp. 208–9, 232.

76. V. Dukat, "Jambrešićev 'Lexicon,'" p. 196.

subsequent kingdoms or states (e.g., Croatia, Dalmatia, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Serbia, and present-day Slavonia). Then he goes on to write about the past of this Illyria. He identifies the Slavs with the Illyrians and notes that the Slavic or Illyrian language is the most widespread on earth, being spoken from times long past in Croatia, Dalmatia, Albania, Thrace, Bosnia, Serbia, Bulgaria, Slavonia, Istria, Kranj, Carinthia, Styria, Moravia, Bohemia, much of Hungary, Poland, Lithuania, Moscow, and Russia. Moreover, it was often used as the language of the Turkish court.

Šišić then notes that if a reader turns to the entry on “Krapina,” he learns that it is a noteworthy Slavic town in modern Croatia. That town, according to ancient tradition, flowered before Christ’s birth; it was a capital of the Illyrian kings. Furthermore, it was the home of the glorious princes Čeh and Leh who founded the kingdoms of the Czechs and the Poles, and some even say there was a third brother who founded Moscow. There are still ruins of the ancient city there.⁷⁷ Under the entry for “Liburnia,” Jambrešić chastises the people of Rijeka for preferring subjection to their own economic goals to being free citizens in Croatia. They will not even call themselves “Croats,” he claims, nor are they able to get intelligent people to believe they are Italians. And Kranjci they will not be, so that leaves them only the name “Liburnian”; and how that name was honored among the Romans anyone can discover in Juvenal’s fourth and sixth *Satires*, where one finds the Liburnians being notorious as pirates.⁷⁸

Official Jesuit records refer to Jambrešić as a Croata Zagoriensis or Croata Caesarvariensis (for Caesargrad, a fortress near Sutli).⁷⁹ Whether the usage of “Croat/Croatian” in these records came from Jambrešić or his Jesuit colleagues is unknown but, as we have seen, these labels tended to be based on one’s place of origin.

Habdelić was listed at least five times as “Croata” in Jesuit records between 1649 and 1675, twice associated with the town of Turopolje and three times with a village, presumably near Turopolje, rendered variously as “Csiche” or “Chiche.”⁸⁰ For several years he taught at the Jesuit gymnasium in Varaždin, and subsequently in 1660 opposed plans to move the school elsewhere. In his

77. The previous two paragraphs are drawn from F. Šišić, “Ideja slavenske pradomovine u Podunavlju,” *Godišnjica Nikole Čupića* 35, 1923, pp. 43–44. Šišić also notes that a Czech named Procop Sloboda, who was at the Franciscan monastery in Krapina, was quoted in a Zagreb publication of 1767. Sloboda claimed that a Czech mathematician and chronicler, Petar Codicil (1533–89)—whom Šišić says was a well-known math professor in Prague—dated to A.D. 278 Čeh’s arrival in Bohemia and that of the other two brothers in their respective lands. The three departed with their retinues and friends because they could no longer stand the depredations of the Romans (p. 48). Šišić stresses that the Čeh/Leh legend also added strong confirmation (to what was already recognized in the similarity of languages) to the idea that all the Slavs were related.

78. M. Vanino, *Isusovci* I, pp. 130–31.

79. M. Vanino, “Andrija Jambrešić (1706–1758),” *Vrela i prinosi* 4, 1934, pp. 100, 102–3.

80. M. Vanino, “Juraj Habdelić (1609–1678),” *Vrela i prinosi* 3, 1933, p. 106.

letter on this subject, he refers to "Croats," stating that the Croat people (Croatica natio) prefer books and weapons to the crafts.⁸¹

On the subject of dictionaries it is worth noting the work of the Paulist father from Pokuplje, Ivan Belostenec (1595–1675). He compiled a dictionary that mixed all three dialects, though Kajkavian was used most often. Never published in his lifetime, it was subsequently discovered in his Lepoglava monastery (in an area of Kajkavian speech) and after some editing by Andrija Mužar and Jeronim Orlić/Orlović (†1746), published in 1740. The title page called the work a Latin-Illyrian one.⁸² Belostenec began late in life to make his dictionary more useful by adding an Illyrian-Latin glossary. I do not know whether the language name in these titles was his or provided by a later editor or publisher. But, according to Vodnik, Belostenec in his dictionary called Slavonia, when writing in Latin "Sclavonia" and in his proto-Serbo-Croatian the "Slovenski orsag," while he referred to the languages in the respective languages as "sclavonica lingua" and "slovenski jezik." Vončina believes Belostenec's original title contained "Croatian" and the term "Illyrian" came from the eighteenth-century editors. The only evidence for this theory that Vončina produces is that the later Paulist father Ivan Krištolovec (Krištolovac), in speaking of Belostenec in his "Brevio relatio" from 1721, says that Belostenec had compiled a "Dictionarium Latino Croaticum et contra Croatico Latinum."⁸³ However, suggesting otherwise are the definitions the dictionary provides for two key words—assuming editors left Belostenec's original text intact. Under "Illyria," the dictionary provides Illyricum and then says "today Sclavonia, Szlovenszki orsag"; under "Illyrian" (m.) Belostenec has "Szlovenecz," and for an "Illyrian" (f.), he has only "Szlovenka." In neither does "Croatian" appear, and since Illyria was a broadly conceived region, presumably the definition means "Slav" rather than "Slavonian."⁸⁴ Furthermore, in a preface, he or his revisers speak of wanting the youth to know the proper Illyrian names for things. The only references which I know of to "Croatian" are tied to the entity of Croatia. Belostenec notes regularly in what area various non-widespread words are to be found, by denoting them as: "D" (Dalmatica), "Scl" (Sclavonice/Slavonia)

81. M. Vanino (ed.), "Dva priloga povijesti Isusovačkoga kolegija i gimnazije u Varaždinu," *Vjesnik Kr. hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskoga zemaljskoga arkiva* 19, nos. 1–2, 1917, p. 128; M. Vanino, "Prinos povijesti varaždinske gimnazije," p. 131.

82. I. Kukuljević-Sakcinski, "Juraj Habdelić," *Kaj* 7, no. 10, 1974, p. 70.

83. B. Vodnik, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti* I, p. 276; J. Vončina, "Pogled na hrvatski književni jezik u 17 stoljeću: Jezik ozaljskoga kruga," *Zbornik Zagrebačke slavističke škole* 2, 1974, p. 65. At the end of the century, Krčelić notes that Orlović edited a Croatian dictionary (dictionarium croaticum) under the name of Belostenec. (V. Dukat, "O kompoziciji i vrelima Belostenceva 'Gazophylacium illyrico-latinum,'" *Rad (JAZU)* 235, 1928, p. 1.) Since the dictionary did not have "Croatian" on the title page, we may assume Krčelić's note was simply descriptive and, as we shall see, Krčelić himself tended to call the language "Croatian."

84. J. Vončina, "Jezik Antuna Kanižlića," *Zbornik Zagrebačke slavističke škole* 3, 1975, pp. 105–6.

and "Cr." (Croatice). Under the entry "dictionary," having given a definition, the compiler goes on to add, "2. [T]his very book which you have in your hands, Latin, Croatian, and Slavonian (Horvatszkoga y Szlovinskoga) language students."⁸⁵ In any case, Belostenec considered proto-Serbo-Croatian a single language, composed of three what we would now call dialects, and he called the language, according to Tkalčić, either "Slavic" (derived from the people who speak it) or "Illyrian" (derived from the territory).⁸⁶ Dukat modifies Tkalčić's view, making things a bit more complicated. Dukat says that when the author(s) was writing in Latin, he usually used the term "Illyrian," and when writing in proto-Serbo-Croatian, he said "Slavonian/Slavic" or "Croatian," which two terms, as we have noted, were used also to denote localities where given words were found. For example, "outfitted in Horvatski or Slovinski = lat. ornatu croatico vel sclavonicis"; or "temelim is the Croatian word for funderati." For words broadly used, he often calls them Slavic "Slovinski," for example, noting that most languages have a four-letter word for God, he then gives examples, including "Slovinski: Bogh." The author/editor can also combine terms. Under "dominus" he notes that from that term Dalmatian Illyrians call a member of a religious order "dum Pero," "dum Franjo," "dominus Petrus," and so forth. But despite local variations, and the various terms used, the author/editors still considered it a single language.⁸⁷

Adam Patačić (1715–84), who ended his career as Archbishop of Kalocsa, produced a massive (1,146 handwritten pages) never-to-be-published dictionary called on its title page "Dictionarium Latino-Illyricum et Germanicum." The local dialect that formed the basis of his "Illyrian" was Kajkavian. As much an encyclopedia as a dictionary, Patačić aimed it at school-age youth. He was a patriot for his region, but does not seem to have precisely determined the geographical extent of that region or what its people should be called. Jonke notes that most frequently Patačić called his native language the "vernacular" or "mother tongue," and less frequently "Illyrian" (*illyrica lingua*) or "Croatian" (*croatica lingua*). Patačić also called it "our language" (*nostrum idioma*). His patriotic feelings can be seen in his preface. In response to someone who wondered why Croats (Croatae) needed to know about the plant world, Patačić replies; "[W]hy if such knowledge is useful for the Italians, French . . . and even the Persians, why not for us (et cur nos non)?" Elsewhere in the preface he expresses the often-seen view that our language (*Nostrum vero idioma*), and thinking of that language broadly here, extends from the Baltic Sea to the Caspian, and so on. Patačić is proud of Illyria, whose language has evolved into ten dialects (e.g., Polish, Czech, Kranjski, and "ours"). He notes that even the Czechs and Poles readily recognize that

85. V. Dukat, "Izvori Belostenceva 'Gazophylacium latino-illyricum,'" *Rad (JAZU)* 227, 1923, pp. 104, 109; V. Dukat, "Jambrešićev 'Lexicon,'" p. 205.

86. I. Tkalčić, "O stanju više nastave u Hrvatskoj prije," *Rad (JAZU)* 93, 1888, p. 96.

87. V. Dukat, "O kompoziciji i vrelima Belostenceva 'Gazophylacium,'" pp. 7, 23–24.

their language emerged from Patačić's part of Illyria. Later he states that Bohemian, Polish, Bosnian, and Carniolian all emerged from Illyrian roots. His use of language names like Kranjski and Carniolian suggests a geographical (regional) rather than ethnic basis for language names. However, there clearly was something special about his general area, the center of Old Illyrian from which these other dialects emerged. He also could perceive dialects (though he does not use the term here) more narrowly, for he notes the difference between the speech of Zagreb and of Varaždin, greatly preferring that of Zagreb. Zagreb's speech, he notes, is purer than Varaždin's, which has been corrupted by the neighboring speech of Slovenia.

The dictionary was organized around Latin entries. Then, following the Latin term, Patačić gives equivalents in other languages. Jonke's examples show that Patačić's equivalents were frequently labeled "Dalmatian": for example, "Mugil, vel Mugilis. . . .Germ. Harder. Dalmat czipal. . . ." In a second example, in addition to the German and Dalmatian equivalents, Patačić provides Bohemian and Polish ones as well. It is not clear whether these examples are typical (i.e., whether "Dalmatian" was used regularly for South Slav words or whether definitions were labeled regionally, and "czipal" [and the other examples Jonke provides] was simply a term found in Dalmatia). Since Patačić made use of Faust Vrančić's dictionary (which called the language "Dalmatian"), I suspect Patačić used the term "Dalmatian" generally, simply lifting it from Vrančić. Study of the manuscript could easily settle this question. Interestingly, since "Croatian" as a term plays little part in the preface (which Jonke publishes) and seemingly in the definitions, it is used in the headings for the indices. He provides a twenty-five-page *index latino-croaticus* and a twenty-three-page *index croatico-latinus*.

Jonke notes that elsewhere Patačić referred to himself as a Croatian noble (*Croata nobilis*), which was not strange and certainly not indicative of any ethnic feeling, since his nobility was attached to Croatia. The contemporary Hungarian historian István Katona (1732–1811) reports that when Patačić died, he was mourned universally by the Croat people, his birthplace, as well as by the Hungarians, from whom he received many honors. As Croatia as his birthplace was noted, very likely Katona used the term "Croats" as those from the territory of Croatia; and even if Katona intended a more ethnic meaning of a Croatian people here, that, of course, would reflect Katona's views rather than Patačić's.⁸⁸

A related text is Ignac Szentmartony's work on Croatian grammar for the local German population. The author drew upon the local Kajkavian dialect for his "Croatian." Published in Varaždin in 1783, the work was entitled

88. The above material on Adam Patačić is drawn from Lj. Jonke, "Dikcionar' Adama Patačića," *Rad (JAZU)* 275, 1949, pp. 71–175, esp. pp. 83–86, 92, 107, 111, 117, 122–23, 125, 138. Patačić's preface is printed in full, pp. 156–62.

“Slovnica horvatska za Nemce” or “Uvoda u horvatsku slovnicu”/“Einleitung zur kroatischen Sprachlehre für Deutsche” in the two languages. Szentmartony consistently used the term “Croatian” throughout the text in explaining the various grammatical points. The running text was in German, since he was explaining the “Croatian” of their neighbors to the local Germans. What does he mean by “Croatian”? In other words, was it a term for the particular dialect of Kajkavian or was it broader? In his preface Szentmartony notes that no European language has as many variants as Illyrian or Slavic. He then proceeds to list Russian, Polish, Czech, Slovak, Slovenian, Dalmatian, Bosnian, and Bulgarian. Having noted that French, Italian, and Spanish were more similar among themselves, for they were all derived from Latin, he returns to Slavic to note that he is the first to draw up a book of grammatical rules for that language, which is more correctly called “Croatian” (Kroatische) and which is used in Zagreb, Varaždin, and Križevci.⁸⁹

Szentmartony’s terms, at first sight, do not appear to be precise. “Illyrian” and “Slavic” here are used as synonyms and denote all the Slavic languages. Then he proceeds to suggest that this language should properly be called “Croatian.” But he also recognizes that what he calls “Croatian” is the language used in the three named cities. Now, of course, he chose the dialect of that locality, for the purpose of his text was to introduce the local Germans to the *local* Slavic. So, I believe that what he means is that the terms “Slavic” and “Illyrian” are used—as they were—to convey many different meanings, broad or narrow, from Slavic or South Slavic in general down to particular local South-Slavic dialects. I, he said, for your needs am going to give you the local Slavic, and that local version is properly called “Croatian.” Thus, I think that Szentmartony used the term “Croatian” to denote the Kajkavian variant of Slavic. And that is suggested also by the fact that in listing various Slavic languages previously, he omits “Croatian” there, presumably for the purpose of emphasizing it later, but includes other names to include the other Serbo-Croatian dialects: “Dalmatian” (presumably meaning Čakavian) and “Bosnian” (to denote Štokavian). This conclusion is reinforced by the fact that among Slavic languages he also omits “Serbian”; for, since that language was a dialect of Štokavian, he felt he had that dialect covered by his category of “Bosnian.”

MATIJA PETAR KATANČIĆ

The well-known Slavonian writer Matija Petar Katančić (1750–1825), like the previously mentioned Junius Palmotić, thought Bosnian the best dialect.

89. A. Jembrih, “Kajkavski apogej,” *Kaj* 16, no. 3, 1983, pp. 27, 29–30. Jembrih also notes that a second “Croatian” grammar (“Grunde der kroatischen Sprache”) was prepared at this time. Completed prior to Szentmartony’s, in 1779, by Ivan Vitković, it never was published. Since Jembrih notes this work only in passing in a footnote (p. 36, fn. 52), I do not know how one is meant to understand Vitković’s meaning of the term “Croatian.”

He referred to his own language frequently as “Illyrian,” and sometimes more precisely as “Slavo-Illyrian, with Bosnian pronunciation” (*izgovorom*), and in Latin as “the Slavo-Illyrian Bosnian dialect.”⁹⁰ He left a manuscript entitled “*Etymologicon illyricum, ad leges philologiae dialecto bosnensi exactum.*” A second manuscript he left behind was a translation dated 1803 from Greek into the Illyrian language of Ptolemy’s geography.⁹¹ Katančić wrote poetry in Latin, Hungarian, and Illyrian. The citations that follow are from Matić’s edition of his selected poems. His major poetry collection, “Fruits of Autumn,” was written, according to its title page of 1791, in Latin and Illyrian (p. 257); strictly speaking, the title should be with an “or” rather than the “and” since the particular poems were in one or the other of the two languages. The book included an essay on Illyrian (poetical) meter (*Brevis in prosodiam illyricae linguae animadversio*), and in the piece’s first sentence Katančić refers to Illyrian meter and later on to all Illyrian (folk) poetry being sung in trochaic verse (pp. 294–95).⁹² The poems also include references to Illyrians and things Illyrian (e.g., “and not one from all the Illyrians celebrate”; “Illyrian songs”). He also has the following couplet using the word “Slavonian” in a somewhat ethnic sense: “Isn’t that glorious knight a Slavonian (Slavonac)!/ That’s what I understand; his mother a Slavonka bore him” (p. 300).

Katančić dabbled in a host of scholarly disciplines and wrote several works on the origins of the Croats, one of which appeared in 1790 and a second in 1798. He saw the Croats as indigenous people in Pannonia and Dalmatia. The Illyrians were autochthonous and Slavs. Thus, he saw a continuity from the Illyrian-Slavs to the Croats, who, as we shall see, can still be called “Illyrians,”

90. V. Jagić, “Iz prošlosti hrvatskoga jezika,” p. 55.

91. F. Rački, “Matija Petar Katančić” [1881], *Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti* 33, 1969, pp. 83, 92.

92. *Hrvatski latinisti* II, pp. 732–35. Katančić was still using the same vocabulary several decades later, in 1817, when he published his “Booklet on Illyrian Poetry from the Point of View of the Laws of Aesthetics” (*De poesi illyrica libellus ad leges aestheticae exactus*). One of its chapters was entitled “The State of Poetry among the Illyrians.” In the preface to this work he talks about his “Fruits of Autumn,” including poems in Latin and Illyrian languages, and that he had promised in it to (later) return to the subject of Illyrian poetry. He goes on to say that he runs into people who are less familiar with Illyrian, which they could, however, (by working on it) employ usefully, but instead they are induced to translate the Illyrian into Latin. Subsequently, he talks about a work of Kanižlić being a worthy example of Illyrian literature; mentions the use of the tambura in Dalmatia, Croatia, Bosnia, Hercegovina, and other regions of Illyria where they sing of the deeds of various heroes of the Illyrian people (*heroum Illyricae gentis*); and spells out how things sound to the ears of an Illyrian man (*Hrvatski latinisti* II, p. 704, 737, 741–43, 747). He also used narrower regional terms, as, for example, when he calls Kacić-Miošić a “Dalmatian” (p. 747). That Katančić saw the Illyrian language broadly, and the language written in Slavonia and Dalmatia as basically being the same language, is brought out by Vratović in his introduction to *Hrvatski latinisti* II’s selections from Katančić (p. 702). Here Vratović notes that Katančić greatly admired the writing and style of Kanižlić (whom we shall meet next) and noted that Katančić saw him as being on a par with, if not superior to, the Ragusans and other Dalmatians. Vratović also lists five Dalmatian writers with whose works Katančić was familiar.

which he is perfectly happy to do. In this whole large Illyrian region, there lived only Illyrians, only Croats. "As the Serbs and Bulgars are descendants of the ancient Thracians, Dacians, Moesians, so the Croats and Slovenes are descendants of the ancient Pannonians. And all of them belong to the Thracian or Illyrian family." "The Croats are direct descendants of the old Illyrians and the old-time settlers in their present homeland." The language of the Croats is not north-Slavic or "Sarmatian" from the Carpathian region, "but Illyrian, and that dialect must be strictly differentiated."⁹³ "Thus, there exists ethnic continuity in the Balkans and in Pannonia from Roman days until today, and therefore the Croats are autochthonous in Pannonia and Dalmatia and not migrants." "We Illyrians, who live in Hungary, other than our mother tongue speak Latin, Hungarian, and German as the major languages of the land. . . . But, anyway, I think that no sensible person will take such an Illyrian for a Latin, a Hungarian, or a German. From our mothers we have drunk a single language which in a given people—particularly a numerous one like the Illyrians—no one is able to change."⁹⁴ Thus, though Katančić uses the term "Croat"—and it is in the title of his 1790 book—he sees it as a more recent name for "Illyrian," a term, with which, as the provided quotations suggest, he felt more at home.

ANTUN KANIŽLIĆ

Less famous but with more spelled-out ethno-lingual positions was the Jesuit Antun Kanižlić (1700–1777), who, late in life and residing in Požega, turned to the full-time writing of religious works. Earlier in life in 1735, while teaching, he had turned out various short works including a Catechism in the Illyrian language for boys and girls. The first of these later and more significant texts, published at his own expense, "Spiritual Milk, That Is Christian Doctrine" a gift (of his) to Illyrian or Slavic (slovinskoj) children, appeared in 1754. In the preface to his second work on the Virgin, printed in 1759, he expressed the common concern of proto-Serbo-Croatian writers, namely the number of different ways that were employed to write "our language," which shortly thereafter he refers to as "Illyrian."

But Kanižlić really gets going in the preface to his next heart-stopper, a work, published in 1760, on the love borne by Our Savior Jesus Christ and how to get closer to Him, which he noted on the title page was basically a

93. F. Rački, "Matija Petar Katančić," p. 84. These two works had "Croats" in the title: "Philological Investigations on the Ancient Homeland of the Croats" and "On the Origins and Ancient Locations/Settlements of the Croats." (See V. Vratović's introduction to selections from Katančić, in *Hrvatski latinisti* II, p. 702.)

94. On Katančić, the historian, see B. Kuntić-Makvić, "Podrijetlo Hrvata prema Matiji Petru Katančiću u njegovu opis Podunavlja (Budim 1798)," in N. Budak (ed.), *Etnogeneza Hrvata*, Zagreb, 1995, pp. 61–72, especially pp. 62, 66–67, 71. Also on Katančić, see T. Matić, "Život i rad Antuna Kanižlića, Antuna Ivanošića, Matije Petra Katančića," *Stari pisci hrvatski* (JAZU, Zagreb) 26, 1940, pp. lix–xc.

translation of a work originally in French and then in German, which he had rendered into Illyrian or Slavonian (Illyricski illiti Slavonski). In the preface he turns to problems in finding the right word when writing in "Illyrian." He notes that the Illyrian or Slavic language is a rich one and the very fruitful mother of the so many languages which are spoken in other kingdoms. And these other kingdoms are well served by it, so why should we not be? As an example of the language's richness, he notes how well Injacijo Gjorgji expressed theology and wisdom in the Illyrian language. In discussing his own lexicon he notes that he did not simply think the words up, but drew them from different Illyrian books. But he does note the lack of a foundation for rules of Illyrian grammar, so there definitely were a number of problems for a would-be writer in that language.

The first problem is the Turks who conquered Slavonia (which he chooses to date in 1544); as a result their language conquered our Slavic language. He lists various Turkish words now used in Slavonia's Slavic, which are not found in other areas of the Illyrian language where the Turks had not ruled. But we have old Slavic (Slovinske) words which we can bring back to replace the Turkish ones. So, the Slavonian/Slav (Slovinač) can take pride in his (ethnic/national) name. Thus, Kanižlić sees the Slavonians as one of the Slavic peoples. He next goes on to note how the Illyrian language is being mangled by a certain language (dialect would be better) called "Racki." This word, derived from Raška, Rascani (Serbs), was associated with the Orthodox (Serb) refugees who had migrated, with their speech patterns (heavily influenced by Turkish words), to Slavonia and Srem as a result of the Turks. Many in Slavonia (presumably these were Orthodox) want to call our language (the language in Slavonia) by this name. But Kanižlić will not put up with that, for the worst thing about this language is its custom, which he claims is left over from the Turks, to swear and to mock in a dishonorable way one's father, mother, the faith, soul, and the grave. Thus, there is no way that we can call our (Slavonian) language by this term "Racki." Then he goes on to speak of the various Germans (Austrians, Stryrians, Swabians) who have settled in Slavonia, bringing their language, with the result that a host of German words have got mixed into Slavonian. Next, he complains that the half-believers and heretics (i.e., the Orthodox) call the old-timers in Slavonia by the nicknamed Šokce, and call our faith (Catholicism) and language Šokacki. And some of them (the Orthodox) customarily say "I'd sooner poturčiti than pošokčiti" (rather become a Muslim/Turk than a Šokac/Catholic). Kanižlić finds this deplorable and will not put up with calling our faith Šokacki. (We saw earlier that a Habsburg survey of the region of Djakovo also used this term which Kanižlić finds so offensive.) Kanižlić then provides a folk etymology drawn from Hungarian for this term. But, with all these foreign elements infecting our language and with the various names for it, we do not know what words to use or what to call our language. He then concludes:

Our land is called Illyria (Ilirička, Ilirijanska), and can also be called Dalmatia in the old [and broad] sense taken from the Romans who first ruled Dalmatia, after which the Croatian and Slavonian states (države) conquered it; but all this land called by the name Dalmatia was part of the Illyrian land. One calls this land of ours also Slavonia, Slovinia, and our language Illyrian, Slavic (Slovinski), Slavonian (Slavonski) and its male people Illyrian (Ilirijanac), Slav (Slovinac) or Slavonian (Slavonac), and women Slovinica, Slovinčina, Slavonka [did he forget Ilirijanka here?]⁹⁵—names derived from “slava” (glory) and taken by our ancestors.⁹⁵

Thus, Kanižlić spells out the various choices of identity, and we find no sign of anything Croat in these various options. The Croats conquered part of Roman Dalmatia and created a state (država); possibly Kanižlić felt the people living in Croatia proper—as opposed to those living in Slavonia—could be called “Croats.” Unfortunately, he does not go into that question. But, in any case, even if there were Croats off beyond the Kupa River, that name and identity had nothing to do with the identity and language of those living in Slavonia, who clearly are a separate people.

In the preface to a second work (“Kamen pravi smutnje” from 1757) which deals with the Church schism, Kanižlić expresses his sympathy for the Orthodox Slavs, though he is extremely unhappy that they are in schism. He observes that Church Union would bring the related Slavic people closer together. He calls the Orthodox Slavs his beloved brothers (Poljubljena braco moja) and tells them that they are not Greeks by family/nationality (rod) nor language but noble and glorious Illyrians. But the Greeks have led you astray. And he concludes by quoting what he claims to have heard several times from people among you (the Orthodox): “May God kill those who divided us.”⁹⁶

Kanižlić’s religious poetry also had “nationality” references. His “Bogoljubstvo sv. Francesca” (St. Francis) calls on the saint not to cut short his blessed help to the Slavonian (Slavonskomu; possibly Slavic) people. He goes on to say: Let all know and sing about the help from your hands brought to all the Slavonian folk (Slavonskoga svega puka). He then proceeds, as he had done elsewhere, to derive the Slavonian/Slavic name from the word “glory.” In a poem to the Virgin Mary, he calls upon her to give to bloom gloriously the Slavic/Slavonian people (puku slovinskomu). He also devoted a poem to St. Ivan Nepomučen, a

95. My summary of Kanižlić’s views is taken from T. Matić, “Život i rad Antuna Kanižlića,” in *Stari pisci hrvatski* 26, Zagreb (JAZU), 1940, pp. xiii–xli. The preface from 1760 from the work on Jesus, which I summarize at great length, is presented by Matić with many paragraphs directly quoted in full, pp. xxiv–xxviii. See also T. Matić, *Prosvjetni i književni rad u Slavoniji*, pp. 39, 59; F. Fancev, “Isusovci i Slavonska knjiga,” *Jugoslavenska njiva* 6, 1922, pp. 365–80, who discusses many of the same issues and also has extensive quotations from that as well as other prefaces; and also J. Vončina, “Jezik Antuna Kanižlića,” *Zbornik Zagrebačke slavističke škole* 3, 1975, pp. 101–11.

96. F. Fancev, “Isusovci i Slavonska knjiga,” p. 380.

Czech, but says that St. Ivan is from one of the Slavic (peoples) with whom we are family. And he goes on to say that the saint was a gift from heaven, our glorious brother of the Czech people, (a people) of a glorious language. So, let our language (i.e., our people or we in our language) celebrate him as a flower from his "Slavnorumena" (glorious rosy [or red or pink]) roots.⁹⁷

On Kanizlić's own sense of identity, we also have various Jesuit records. Again, we do not know which were produced by him and which by his Jesuit colleagues. As to his "nationality," rendered as "patria," he is called a "Slav" (either Sclavus or Sclavo) from Požega (Poseganus) in records of 1723, 1734, 1749, 1763–64, 1767, 1770 and an Illyrian (Illyrus) from Požega in 1737, 1740, 1743, 1754, 1758, 1761.⁹⁸ As one can see, there is no evolution from one term to the other, nor is it a question of the language being used, since all these records were in Latin. Presumably he or the recorder saw the terms as synonyms; but in any case, while some Jesuits were recorded as Croats, Kanizlić was not. On one occasion in 1737 another Jesuit report has him acting as a priest/preacher in Osijek serving in Illyricus and Slavonicus.⁹⁹ The "and" suggests different languages; does it refer to two different dialects? It is also worth noting that in his will from 1777 he twice refers to books in Illyrian.¹⁰⁰ Here, at least, the terminology should be his.

ANTUN IVANOŠIĆ

A Slavonian priest who frequently travelled around the region was the poet Antun Ivanošić (1748–1800).¹⁰¹ He also never used the term "Croat" for himself or his fellow Slavonians, though he mentioned Croat forces in his poems on military events, in particular a poem about the heroism of the cup-bearer knight of the Ogulinski Regiment. His terminology was presumably owing to the fact that the Ogulinci were a unit from Croatia; right on the historic border between Croatia and Slavonia, Ogulin at this time lay in the Croatian Military Frontier, with its own fort and force led by its own captain. This captaincy, one of thirteen making up the Croatian Military Frontier, was often the most important of the lot, owing to Ogulin's critical location.¹⁰² In any case, Ivanošić, in this particular poem, has going against the Turkish snake not

97. F. Fancev, "Isusovci i Slavonska knjiga," pp. 378–80. I do not know why the flower's glorious "roots" should be "rumena," which means "rosy."

98. M. Vanino, "Ante Kanizlić (†1777)," *Vrela i primosi* 4, 1934, p. 89.

99. M. Vanino, "Ante Kanizlić," p. 87.

100. M. Vanino, "Ante Kanizlić," pp. 92–93.

101. My summary on Ivanošić is taken from the introduction to his work by T. Matić ("Život i rad Antuna Ivanošića," in *Stari pisci hrvatski* 26, Zagreb [JAZU], 1940, pp. xli–lix) and the selection of Ivanošić's poems which Matić publishes, *Pjesme . . . Antuna Ivanošića*, pp. 145–256. References in my text follow the citations, obviously with the Roman-numbered references coming from Matić's introduction and the Arabic-numbered citations drawn from the poems themselves.

102. V. Klaić, *Opis zemalja u kojih obitavaju Hrvati* I, pp. 121–23.

a foreigner but a noble home-grown (*domorodac*) Croat (*Horvat*) (p. 237). Here at least, with the Slavonian poet saying that the Croat is definitely not a foreigner, we see that he felt some bonds with the Croats. Prior to the battle, a hero speaks to his fellow warriors, calling them “my dear sons, Croats (*Horvačani*), and fierce *Ogulinci*,” and urging them with faith in Jesus to fall upon the Turkish unbelievers (p. 239). At the end *Ivanošić* added a “note” (an *opomena*), “*Dok Ogulinac tamburu slaže, turske nikoje riči bolje stranske srdcenima Horvatom horvačkim jezikom razlaže*” (p. 241). This is the only occasion, that I know of, that he uses the term “Croat” with language. Did he use it to refer specifically to a particular dialect they used? Interestingly, in a second poem, “Song Which a Slavonian Sings with His Tambura and a *Ličanin* Sings about the Taking of Turkish *Gradiške* or *Berbira-grad*,” *Ivanošić* places a note at the beginning similar to that which ended the *Ogulinac* poem. He keeps the word “Croat”—because of those from *Lika* I presume—but now says Illyrian language: “*Slazuc tamburu Slavonac nikoje turske i bolje stranske iliričke riči srdcenima Horvatom razlaže*” (p. 244). In the preface to his long poem on the all-powerful creator of heaven and earth he mentions various peoples: Germans, Hungarians, Croats (*Horvata*), Slavonians (*Slavonca*), Italians, French, Greeks, and Arabs (p. 192). He then goes on to say that it is natural for each of these peoples to love their nation (*naroda*) and language as part of themselves. He feels that there exists a certain mute closeness among the Illyrian peoples (*pl.*). And he hopes his small book will reach the territories where the Illyrian peoples of this world flourish.

Ivanošić’s normal term for the language he spoke was “Illyrian.” His first published work, from 1786, was a graveside poem about *Jozip Antun Colnić*, Bishop of *Djakovo* and *Bosnia*. In its preface he calls the language “Illyrian,” but notes that it lives in the Croatian and Slavonian lands. *Ivanošić* then notes that in his text he has used many non-“Illyrian” words, and he lists a variety of them (p. 146). *Georgijević* argues that these so-called non-Illyrian words are not what we would call foreign but rather *Kajkavian* ones.¹⁰³ Not being a linguist it is hard for me to judge *Georgijević*’s point, for some of the words are clearly of actual foreign origin (like “*kaldrma*”), but it is possible that certain particular foreign words (though not “*kaldrma*,” which exists in all Serbo-Croatian dialects throughout Yugoslavia) had taken hold in only the *Kajkavian* dialect of Serbo-Croatian. For, I find it hard to believe that the example I cite (which is two Greek words, come into Slavic as a single word through Turkish) did not first appear in the *Štokavian* of Serbia and Bosnia, territories long under the Turks. Two years later *Ivanošić* published a collection of songs, which, according to its title page, “a Slavonian (*Slavonac*) can sing with a tambura” (p. 1). And he also wrote, though never published, a Slavonian or Illyrian grammar (*grammatica slavonica seu illyrica*) (p. xlv).

103. K. *Georgijević*, *Hrvatska književnost*, pp. 261–62.

MATIJA ANTUN RELJKOVIĆ

Matija Antun Reljković (†1797), an army officer by profession, was an active writer and translator. His most famous work, which we shall examine in some detail, was "The Satyr or Wild Man," written in verse in "Slavonian" (Slavoncem). It went through two editions, one published in 1762 (location unknown) and a second expanded edition in 1779 printed in Osijek.

Reljković was a Slavonian patriot, and I would go so far as to say that he was an "ethnic" Slavonian. Upset by his native region's desolate state, which he blamed on the Turks, he believed that his duty was to enlighten the Slavonians. His title pages stated his works and translations were in "Slavonian" (in the case of one manuscript, "Slavonian or Illyrian"). His translations, all into "Slavonian," included both practical matters (sheep husbandry) and Classical works (e.g., Aesop's fables). He also published in 1761 a Slavonian prayerbook with discussion of Church doctrines, entitled "Slavonska libarica s lipimi molitvicami i naukom krstjanskim nakitite." The title page then informs its readers that the work was translated from French into Slavonian for the use of his dear Slavonians (dragim Slavonaczem). In the "Preface to the Slavonians" he stated that the whole army of the emperor sang religious hymns, and soldiers drawn from each nationality (narod) of the empire could turn to songs in their own language except for us Slavonians. Why aren't we like the Croats (Horvati), our nearest neighbors, who are able to use their own language to sing these hymns? To make up for this lack, therefore, Reljković made this translation from the French.¹⁰⁴ Thus we see that Reljković recognizes the Croats as a people with their own language; however, they are a separate people with a different language from the Slavonians, but are geographically close to the Slavonians. It is clear that Reljković sees himself as a Slavonian and not as a Croat. It is also clear that in this passage the Croats are defined geographically, that is, as people from the territory of Croatia. This passage might not seem sufficient to make a claim that Reljković saw Slavonians as an ethnic group. But when we look at his other writings, in particular "The Satyr," I think that we will be justified in saying that he did reach the conclusion that the Slavonians are a definite ethnic group with their own language and particular history, and a separate people from the Croats.

As noted, Reljković also did a grammar, noted as being a "Slavonian and German" one. In the grammar's preface Reljković discusses the various alphabets used and, turning to Cyrillic, states that at the present time the majority of "educated Illyrians" do not use their own Latin letters but Bosnian ones, by

104. Cited by A. Djamić, "Relkovićeve Slavonske libarice," *Gradja za povijest književnosti hrvatske* 33, 1991, pp. 98–102; see also M. Kombol, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, p. 367. B. Vodnik (*Povijest hrvatske književnosti* I, p. 348) notes that an anonymous translation into Kajkavian of Reljković's translation appeared in Zagreb in 1771, whose title page had this text being in "Croatian" (na horvatski prenesen).

which he means the Bosnian version of Cyrillic called "Bosančica." Among Catholics, this form of Cyrillic was regularly used by the Bosnian Franciscans (and therefore by most literate Bosnian Catholics) and during the period that most of Slavonia was under Ottoman rule and the Bosnian Franciscans were allowed by the Ottomans to administer Slavonian Catholics, that alphabet had spread into Slavonia. However, here Reljković seems to be using "Illyrians" as a broad term to cover all the South Slavs (Slavonians, Croats, Serbs, Bulgarians, etc.) and thus, in making Cyrillic (under an inappropriate name) the majority alphabet, clearly includes the Orthodox South Slavs in the Illyrian category. Kukuljević in the last century found evidence of Reljković also publishing in Vienna a two-way dictionary; in this sole case, instead of "Slavonian," the word "Illyrian" was used, possibly the choice of his publishers. Deanović, unless he is citing a second work, makes this a three-way dictionary entitled "Dictionarium latino-germanico-illyricum," whose publication he places in 1789.¹⁰⁵

We shall now turn to Reljković's "Satyr." The Jugoslavenska Akademija published it in an edition of Reljković's works with a useful introduction by T. Matić. To save on footnotes I shall place citations to his work in my text; Roman-number page references pertain to Matić's introduction, Arabic numbers to Reljković's texts.¹⁰⁶ "The Satyr" is a remarkable and very accessible work. First, it must be understood that his Satyr in no way resembles the Classical one. Instead of being a party animal, it is exactly its opposite, critical of wild and extended parties and also an advocate of Christian and what Reljković probably saw as "modern" urban values. Reljković responded to criticism for having the "Satyr" the mouthpiece for his criticisms of society, by noting in the preface to the second (1779) edition, that he chose a satyr because it was a free spirit, one able to speak its mind freely, talk from the heart and not be restricted by the restraints of society (p. 64). Thus, we should see it as some sort of "good fairy."

The Satyr meets a young Slavonian and presents a series of criticism of Slavonian society in song/verse. Throughout, the framework of the text is Slavonia, and many of the poem's chapters/sections have "Slavonia" or "X sung to the Slavonac" as headings. Also, throughout, Slavonian patriotism/ethnicity is reflected by, for example, a frequently repeated refrain, "My dear Slavonian, dear brother, and good hero (moj dragi Slavonac, dragi brate i dobri junak)," which can also be addressed to female Slavonians "my dear and sweet Slavonka" (both examples, p. 12). In the second edition this finds a variant in

105. M. Deanović, "Talijansko-hrvatsko-ruski rječnik," p. 569; on the use of Bosančica/Cyrillic among Illyrians, see T. Matić, *Prosvjetni i književni rad u Slavoniji*, p. 135.

106. M. A. Reljković, *Djela* (T. Matić, ed.), Zagreb (JAZU, *Stari pisci hrvatski* 23), 1916. On Reljković, see also T. Maretić, *Istorija hrvatskoga pravopisa*, p. 272; and for the Alexander the Great material, see H. Morović, "Legenda o povelji Aleksandra Velikoga u korist Slavena," in his *Sa strancima starih knjiga*, p. 121.

"My dear Slavonac, home-born and fellow countryman" (*moj dobri Slavonce, domorodce i dragi zemaljace*) (p. 78). Reljković wants, in addition to pointing out flaws, to awaken Slavonians to their state of living, for he thinks they are unaware of how badly off they are. As he writes in the preface to the second edition, "I was satisfied with what I had, thinking I lived in a well-ordered *vilayet* [province, and, as we shall see, it is ironic that he, probably unconsciously, chose a Turkish word]. But my fatherland, Slavonia, was not such, but I knew no better for I had never seen another [*vilayet*]" (p. 62).

Reljković's "nationalism" is also very different from that found in most early "nationalists'" works. For late eighteenth and early nineteenth-century German national works focused on the common people, the folk, and idolized folktales and folk customs. Not Reljković!

In the poem the Satyr is horrified at Slavonian backwardness. And I should note all the criticisms of Slavonian customs that follow come from the mouth of the Satyr. He believes that Slavonia had had a noble past (which I shall come back to), but the Turks had come in and destroyed its culture. Slavonia's language fell apart, as people forgot their language and acquired all sorts of Turkish words, examples of which he cites; and though the Turks were the cause, they were not the whole problem in the pollution of the language, for, as Reljković goes on to say, and don't let me have to speak about Latin, French, German, and Italian. And thus in "my Slavonia" its people do not know how to speak well (p. 5).

Moreover, Slavonia has no schools. To paraphrase and condense: After the Turks were driven out and Slavonia was resettled, it should have been put under a new order, but that was not possible, for it was so corrupted. For Slavonia does not allow its children to study their ABCs, but has attitudes like the following: "My father did not know how to care for me but only how to better drink. Our [pre-Turk] Slavonian elders may not have known how to write, but they stood better than we do." Oh Slavonia, you deceive yourself, when you answer so (i.e., thinking the illiterate pre-Turkish Slavonians were a model). In fact, the perceived illiteracy is untrue; our ancestors did read and write and know books. The Satyr goes on to tell them that the pre-Turkish Slavonians did have books, written in Serbian (one of the rare cases a smaller unit name gets attached to something like language, but here almost certainly signifying that the books were in Cyrillic). But now nobody reads and they all send their children to the *kafana* (*krčma*) rather than to school. The elders teach the young to swear by their mothers (p. 8). He then says that Slavonia, instead of "school," has various schools (p. 10), and he has a chapter on each. All reflect "folk ceremonies," in his eyes, dissipation. For example, he attacks the folk dance, the *kolo*, which he sees as originating with the Turks (p. 17). He attacks the elaborate marriage ceremonies, the arranged marriages, the captures of brides by large entourages, and all the feasting and carousing. Sensibly, he criticizes the huge expense, and notes that the poor thus cannot marry. But he also

opposes the folk traditions and ceremonies themselves, seeing much of it as also drawn from the Turks (p. 33). He ends by preaching this is all waste and dissipation; marriage is a sacrament (p. 47), a nice position for a satyr to take. Needless to say, Reljković's knowledge of customs is off, for the kolo and wedding customs are all pre-Turkish. But Reljković's goal was to do away with "folk" Slavonia and bring it into the modern world through schools; in this way, like the Germans, the Slavonians could be a worthy nation.¹⁰⁷

Reljković also bought fully into the Alexander the Great Donation legend. Before (in ancient times), you (Slavonia) had heroes as say songs and chronicles. And you always warred gloriously (slavno) from which you earned your name, Slavonci, from Alexander of Macedon. He gave you permission, or his blessing, just as it is said in the document (pismu) (the Donation charter) where is said that for always being faithful to us (the royal we) no one other than you may live in the kingdom (of Slavonia), and if others come to live among you, then take them as your kmets (dependent peasants) and collect "harač" (tribute) from them (p. 4). Here he again slips, using one of the Turkish words (harač) which were corrupting the language. We also in the passage see his local pride, deriving the name "Slavonia" from the word "glory." Leaving Alexander, the Satyr-historian continues, then you were enlightened, with all the "sciences," and yours was the mother of many languages—and he provides a list: Hungarian(!), Czech, Croatian (horvačkoga, his sole use of the term "Croatian" in the poem), Polish, Vandal(!), Moravian, and Muscovite. In the revised longer version of 1779 he expands the list of heirs to Mother Slavic, adding Slovak, Bosnian, Dalmatian, and Serbian (p. 73). And next he goes on to say, as noted previously, but then the Turks came in and destroyed the cities, and culture with them, and brought about the corruption of the language.

In the long version Reljković adds material between discussion of Alexander and the Turks, but before the listing of languages and while presenting a screwed-up order of events: a name change from "Slovinci" to "Slavinci," and then came Illyria and a Slavic kingdom (does he mean that of Duklja described in the priest's chronicle?), and then they were called "Illyrians," then came rule by the caesars from Rome, and Slavonia became Savska (from the Sava River) Pannonia, and at this point he launches into the just-mentioned variety of languages (dialects) that emerged from the single "Slavic" mother (p. 73). Then after listing all the so-called modern languages, he reverts to Cyril and Methodius and St. Jerome, noting that Slavonia then had sufficient books, which they begged from the Roman pontiff, and they then delivered the Mass in Slavonski and sang the hours in Slavonski. This (i.e., Slavonski in services) Dalmatia still has (pp. 73–74). Thus, I believe we can argue that

107. For the sort of "Europe" Reljković hoped his Slavonians would join, see J. Matasović, "Nekoji fragmenti historije XVIII stoljeća," *Narodna starina* 10–11, 1931, pp. 97–106.

Reljković depicts the Slavonians as an ethnic group. To him, they are a clear “we,” distinct from the neighboring Croatians, and have their own defined territory, history, and language.

TERMINOLOGY USED BY THE CHURCH
HIERARCHY AND RELIGIOUS ORDERS IN
EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY SLAVONIA

The eighteenth century saw a continuation in the publication of Lectionaries. Three of them were compiled by eighteenth-century Franciscans from Slavonia, all three were published in Buda. First was that of fra Nikola Kesić, which was compiled to be helpful for the Illyrian people (*narodu Illirickomu*). The second, compiled by fra Emerik Pavić (1715–80), stated that it was translated into Slovinci or Illyrian language. The third, by fra Marijan Lanosović and published in 1794, was entitled “*Evandjelistar Illiricki*.” It begins with a preface in which the editor bemoans the problems of our Illyrian writers (*nashe pisaoce Illiricke*). Who knows how to properly speak “ours” (*naški*) or Illyrian? His answer is no one. Our Slavs speak as they please; Dalmatians speak one way, Bosnians another; otherwise (speaks) the Slavonian, and differently the man of the coast (*Pomorac*) and the Croat (*Hervat*); and otherwise yet the Sremac and the Bunjevac. His peoples are named for the regions they come from, rather than ethnically, but he sees all the people who have these regional dialects making up a single community of “our Slavs.” Lanosović also published a grammar of the Illyrian language (*grammatika Illirskoga jezika*) and in 1778 a work in German on “Slavonian speech” (*slavonischen Sprache*).¹⁰⁸

Hilarion Gašparoti of the Order of St. Paul produced in 1752 a collection of saints lives for people of our Croatian or Slavonian regions (*našem hrvatskem iliti slovenskem orsagu*), rendered in our Slavonian (*Slovenski*) language. In his justification for the text, he refers both to it being in “our Slavonian (*slovenskem*) language” and then to it being in “our Croatian (*horvatskem*) language.” He expresses the hope that the text will be understandable for those neighboring the Croatian land, the Bosnians, *Primorci* (coastalers), and Styrians. In the text itself he refers to the lives at times as being translated into “*idiomate Sclavonico*” and at others into “*idioma Croaticum*.” His first censor, Josip Bedeković, refers to him making available the lives for the Sclavo-Croatici populace, and his provincial and another censor, Jerolim Tustiċ, has him doing it for the Croats. The chronicler of the order refers to Gašparoti’s saints lives being rendered into *idiomate Crovatico*.¹⁰⁹ Since Gašparoti has two *orsags*/regions

108. J. Fućak, *Šest stoljeća hrvatskoga lektionara*, pp. 241–46; Z. Vince, *Putovima*, p. 70.

109. F. Galinec, “Habdelićev utjecaj u Gašparotijevoj legendi ‘Cvet sveteh,’” *Vrela i primosi* 6, 1936, pp. 109, 112–14, 119, 122.

and the same two words for the language(s), I have concluded that “Slovenski” denotes “Slavonian” and not “Slavic.” Thus, he seems to have been giving equal time to the people of the two regions. The censor, Bedeković, however, has a “Slavic-Croatian” populace instead. Another member of that order, Ivan Krištolovec (†1730), produced a catalogue of Paulist monasteries in “Illyria.” He also translated Thomas à Kempis’ *Imitation of Christ* in 1710, dedicating the work to “the noble ladies of the Slavonian people.”¹¹⁰

Nicholas Benger (†1766), who in 1743 completed a major chronicle of the Paulist order, describes in it (under the year 1609) action taken against Protestants in the Illyrian regions. He also left a manuscript of the lives of Illyrian saints, “Menologium Illyricarum sive sylabu divorum ad Illyricum spectantium.”¹¹¹ Among Benger’s other works were “Nucleus annalium ecclesiastico illyricorum” and “Historica epitomes de regno et natione Illyrica spectatim de slavanico-croatica.”¹¹²

The monastery of the Order of St. Paul in Crikvenica had a large library and in 1761 its librarian catalogued the collection. Among the librarian’s twenty-four categories was “Croatian books (libri Croatici) and those of other [i.e., non-Latin] languages.” In the individual listings the term “Croatian” was used consistently, for example, Thomas à Kempis in Croatian (Thomas à Kempis Croaticus), *Rituale Croaticum*, *Liber Croaticus pro juvenine infirmorum*, *Evangelia Croatica*, *Liber Praecatorius Croaticus*. A supplementary inventory from 1782 lists an Illyrian Missal.¹¹³ An inventory from 1719 from the Paulist monastery in Novi Vinodol lists *Evangelia Croatica* and two Croatian items from a Capuchin father named Stephan.¹¹⁴ Thus, the Paulists living in this region, where strongest Croatian feeling has been noted, fell into this terminological pattern. We can also note a final inventory, this one from

110. I. Tkalčić, “O stanje više nastave,” p. 95; B. Vodnik, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti* I, p. 356. The other possible translation of his phrase “naroda slovenskoga” would have the noble ladies being of the “Slavic race.”

111. I. Tkalčić, “O stanje više nastave,” pp. 95–96.

112. Cited by A. Sekulić, “Šimun Bratulić i Mirko Esterhazy—istaknuti Pavlini i zagrebački biskupi,” *Historijski zbornik* 44, no. 1, 1991, pp. 82–83. Benger says “Regnis Illyricis,” which means “Illyrian kingdom,” but since the territory was not officially called that, Sekulić is justified in translating it “Illyrian regions.” Interestingly, however, the Habsburg Emperor Ferdinand III in an act confirming an order of the Bishop of Senj and Modruš in 1655 uses the very same phrase, “per regnum nostrum Illyriae.” (M. Sladović, *Povjesti biskupijah senjske*, p. 383.) For the titles of the noted texts, see S. Antoljak, *Hrvatske historiografija* I, p. 249.

113. M. Bošnjak, “Knjižnice Pavlina u Crikvenici i Novom Vinodolskom,” *Jadranski zbornik* 7, 1969, pp. 466, 469–71, 477. Bošnjak notes that one of the listed Gospels combined in its title Slavic and Croatian (“Sveti Evangeliumi z koterimi Szv. Sztolna czirkva Zagrebecka Szlovensko-Horvaczka chez letto po Nedelyah y zzvetkeh sive”). It was published in Zagreb in 1730 (Bošnjak, p. 474). The text he refers to is the third edition of the *Evandjelistar* originally issued by Bishop Petretić of Zagreb. The text, which I have discussed previously, actually in its title has combined with “Croatian” not “Slavic,” but “Slavonian.”

114. M. Bošnjak, “Knjižnice Pavlina,” pp. 488, 500.

1687 from the Paulist monastery in Lepoglava, which reports a gospel in Croatian (*liber evangeliorum croaticus*).¹¹⁵

The Capuchin monastery in Osijek kept a house log or diary. In 1718 that document refers to a certain Edward the Croat (*Eduardus Croata*) and then goes on to say that this Croat heard confessions in Illyrian and carried out other spiritual services for the Illyrian people (*nationi Illyricae*).¹¹⁶ Thus, the Capuchins, like the Jesuits, defined people by place of origin. So, here the keeper of the log used “Illyrian” as the general name for the people and their language and presumably saw Edward as an Illyrian from Croatia. The only other “ethnic-type” reference in the text comes under 1758 when it notes the conversion of an Illyrian schismatic (*Illyrica schismatica*) woman.¹¹⁷ We also have a diary of the parish priest of Osijek, Josip Turković, from the end of the eighteenth century. In it, he refers to German and Illyrian tailors, a life of St. Eustachius and the Congregation of Martyrs written in Illyrian, serving Illyrian congregations in some churches in the suburbs, and an Illyrian printing house doing a translation.¹¹⁸

Far more detailed than these two logs was that of the Franciscan Monastery of the Cross, also in Osijek, which from 1735 also ran a theological school. The friars were assigned particular duties for a term; one Franciscan (entitled *concionator illyricus*) regularly dealt with Illyrian congregations, while a second friar had the same role among the Germans. Individuals bearing the titles indicating these two positions are frequently listed in the text. Another assignment was to be the “historicus” or keeper of the log. Since these assignments frequently rotated, the type of information included differed greatly, according to who was “historicus” at a given moment. In the text (between 1743 and 1769) we hear of the conversion of a schismatic, who was a Dalmatian by origin; of saints lives written in Illyrian (*illyrico idiomate*); of an unmarried Croatian-Styrian woman (*mulier innupta Croato-Styra*) who had had an affair.¹¹⁹ In 1770, in speaking of the order, the *historicus* lists two groups in the fatherland (*patria*): the first are the Illyrians who include Slavonians (*Slavones*),

115. E. Laszowski, “Popis crkvenih dragocienosti bivšega pavlinskoga samostana u Lepoglavi,” *Vjesnik Kr. hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog zemaljskog arhiva* 3, no. 2, 1901, p. 493.

116. J. Bösendorfer (ed.), “‘Historia domestica’ konventa kapucinskoga u gornjem Osijeku,” *Starine (JAZU)* 35, 1916, p. 217.

117. J. Bösendorfer (ed.), “‘Historia domestica,’” p. 226.

118. J. Bösendorfer (ed.), “Turkovičev dijarij župne crkve unutarjega grada Osijeka, god. 1798–1806,” *Starine (JAZU)* 35, 1916, pp. 243, 245, 249–51. According to T. Matic (*Prosvjetni i književni rad u Slavoniji*, p. 167), Turković himself was the author (or more likely translator) of the text on the martyr Eustachius.

119. J. Bösendorfer (ed.), “*Diarium sive prothocollum venerabilis conventus s. Crucis inventae Essekini intra muros ab anno 1686 usque ad 1851*,” *Starine (JAZU)* 35, 1916, pp. 4–5, 12, 17, 21, 47. Later under 1777 the diary mentions a Bishop Emericus Kristovich, described as an Illyrus of Pest (p. 74). And under 1779 we meet a certain Vincentio Csubelich, an Illyrian priest, a “vulgo” Glagolitic (presumably denoting his use of vernacular rather than Slavonic) from the parish of Bukova gora (p. 87).

Illyrians of Hungary, Sirmians, and Croats (Croatae); the other group comprises the Germans of the patria. Outside the patria are the Hungarians and Slavs (Slavos). So in the first usage: "Illyrian" is a general category covering a host of South Slavs, who seem to be broken down according to the entity they reside in: Slavonia, Hungary, Sirmium, and Croatia. Since Illyrians of Hungary (the South Slavs living in that territory) are included here, "patria" refers to at least Hungary and the banovinas of Croatia and Slavonia; then presumably, those outside the patria would be residents of Austria. Probably the Slavs there would be of all sorts (those whose origins lay in the "patria" plus Slovenes, and very likely West Slavs [e.g., Poles and Czechs] as well).¹²⁰ The geographical basis of definitions is seen in an entry from later in 1770 when we hear of an individual with a Slavic name defined as follows: Sisskovich, natione Ungarus, patria Segediensis, parentibus Illyricis natus.¹²¹ So, here in the same year (with presumably the same "historicus"), the word "patria" has been diminished from meaning several kingdoms in the Habsburg empire to the level of a city; the term "nation" is used, as in various universities, for those of a given kingdom, and Szeget lay in the kingdom of Hungary; but he was born of an Illyrian family. Thus, here as in the early 1770 entry, "Illyribus" is the term used for ethnicity/language, and we see the author conceives that family in broad terms, all (or most) South Slavs. In 1773 two priests from the religion of the Nazarenes (religione Nazarenorum), founded by a Spaniard but not recognized by the Catholic Church, show up there; one is described as a priest who is Slavic (sacerdos natione Slavus) and the other as a German.¹²² Since no place of origin is given for the Slav, we can only guess that it is used in the broadest sense that would take in West as well as South Slavs. At least that was how "Slavos" was used in 1770 for the Habsburg Slavs beyond the "patria."

Under 1774 we learn that after dinner it was usual to have study of languages, geography, and (or?) physics, declaimed in (one of?) seven languages: Latin, Illyrian (presumably the local South Slavic speech), German, Hungarian, Slavonica (most likely Church Slavonic), Italian, and (or?) Gallic (French). On this occasion Fr. Petar Katančić (whom we have met previously) declaimed in praise of Slavonic.¹²³

Under 1780 we learn of an archive of the Illyrian nations of Greek rite (non-Uniate) in Sremski Karlovac; from 1787 of a guide to Catholicism written by Father Johannes Velikanović in illyrico idiomate; in 1791 of a book of Illyrian verses entitled, "Joseph Recognized by His Brothers" (Josip poznat od svoje brache); and in 1795 of a book of sermons composed in Illyrian.¹²⁴

120. J. Bösendorfer (ed.), "Diarium sive prothocollum," p. 48.

121. J. Bösendorfer (ed.), "Diarium sive prothocollum," p. 49.

122. J. Bösendorfer (ed.), "Diarium sive prothocollum," p. 57.

123. J. Bösendorfer (ed.), "Diarium sive prothocollum," p. 61.

124. J. Bösendorfer (ed.), "Diarium sive prothocollum," pp. 89, 112, 119, 126.

Similar logs were kept in other towns. For example, Ivan Josipović, the parish priest of Križevci, kept one from 1752 to 1759 entitled, "Liber memorabilium" for his parish. In describing his parish, the priest noted a significant number of Germans for whom the Croat language was not intelligible. Later, Josipović speaks of a December service with a litany and rosario in the Croatian language, going on to speak of a Croatian rosario, and the devotion of the Croats. Finally, noting the large numbers of Croats there, he states that the city and parish are basically one(s) of Croats.¹²⁵

Iovine notes that the Franciscan Djuro Rapić (1714–77), Petar Mandikić (fl. 1779), and the just-noted Fra Ivan Velikanović (1723–1803) compiled or translated their respective religious-didactic manuals into illirički jezik.¹²⁶ The text attributed to Velikanović, a long-term resident at the Osijek Franciscan monastery, presumably was his "Introduction to Catholicism Arranged as a Conversation" translated from French and Latin into Illyrian. He also published in Buda in 1787–1788 in three parts a translation from Italian into "Slavonian" (Slavonski) on the fourth-century martyr under Diocletian St. Suzana. It is not clear whether he translated faithfully or added various items to the text in order to stir up interest among his potential readers, but he called her a Dalmatian or Slav (Dalmatinka or Slovinka). He also produced a life of St. Theresa, published in Osijek in 1803, which was labeled as being a translation from Italian into Illyrian. Matić mentions only one work of the previously mentioned Petar Mandikić, a spiritual sermon of St. Augustine, published in Osijek in 1779. The sermon was labeled as being a translation from Latin into Slavonian (slavonski jezik), showing that, like Velikanović, Mandikić identified his language not only as "Illyrian," but also as "Slavonian." But we must be aware of the possibility that publishers may have been responsible for the variation in the names for the language.¹²⁷

We also find Church figures using, as was commonly done, the term "Croat" in a military context: for example, Leopold Cardinal Kolonić, the Archbishop of Ostrogon, in a 1704 letter touching on a series of news items to Bishop Martin Borković of Zagreb, praised the role of the "Croats" against rebels against the crown.¹²⁸

125. These as well as other similar references to "Croats" and the "Croatian" language are to be found in the diary, K. Horvat (ed.), "Zapisci od 1752–1759 Ivana Josipovića, župnika križevačkoga: Prilozi za povijest Hrvatsku u XVIII vijeku iz 'Liber memorabilium' župe križevačke," *Starine (JAZU)* 34, 1913, pp. 317, 329–33, 335. We also find in the diary reference to "Croats" as military forces, pp. 362–63.

126. M. Iovine, "The 'Illyrian Language,'" p. 126; M. Kombol, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, pp. 348–49.

127. On Velikanović see T. Matić, *Prosvjetni i književni rad u Slavoniji*, pp. 111, 167–68. On Mandikić, see T. Matić, op. cit., p. 154.

128. D. Vitković (ed.), "Patrijarh Arsenije III Crnojević u Pakracu," *Starine (JAZU)* 36, 1918, p. 184.

OTHER MORE SECULARLY MINDED SLAVONIANS

In addition to Church-related texts, Slavonian authors turned out accounts of the Habsburg wars. The Franciscan Joseph Pavišević wrote an account, published in 1762, of the warfare between Maria Theresa and Frederick II of Prussia "in prose and verse in Illyrian." His contemporary Josip Jakošić mentions a second battle account by him, published in 1779 in "Illyrian verse." Subsequently, a certain Šimun Štefanac of Slunj published in Osijek in 1780 "Pisma od Ivana Salkovića" which, the title stated, were memoirs of an Illyrian to all the Illyrian people (svemu narodu iliričkomu). A Slavonian Franciscan, Blaž Tadijanović, followed a similar path with his 1761 book "Svašto po malo" ("Everything in Small Doses or a Brief Compendium of Names and Words in Illyrian and German"), which was a short grammar and dictionary. Another Franciscan, Blaž Bošnjak, published in Osijek in 1792 a text entitled "[Subjects] for Conversation for the Illyrian people" (narodu iliričkom) in a longer work on Emperor Joseph II's Turkish war.¹²⁹ In 1785 a secular priest named Antun Vlašić translated an ascetic work of Pope Innocent III into "Illyrian poetry" (in carmen illyricum versus).¹³⁰ Shortly thereafter, in 1800, a Slavonian priest, Ivan Marević, put together a large collection of martyrs' lives for the "Illyrian people."¹³¹

"Slavonian" was, as noted, becoming a common term for the language of Slavonia; for example, in 1789 an anonymous work on the taking of what-had-been Turkish Gradishke was called "A Song Sung by a Slavonian with a Tambura."¹³² An individual of Hungarian origin, whose surname was (following Jagić) often said to be Wiegand, who lived in Slavonia and became attached to it, published a work in 1772 for the Slavonian youth in the Slavonian language, based on the Slavonian grammar by the well-known Matija Antun Reljković, whom we have discussed previously. But this writer warned users of the grammar that some words were better in Croatian (horvacki) than those used among the people of Slavonia and Srem. The distinction made seems to be between the vocabulary used in the dialects of the given regions. It appears in fact that Jagić erred in his description; Wiegand wrote his work in German and a second Hungarian (Ignatius Jablanczy) did the actual translation and wrote the preface in which the cited statement appears; however, the thought and terms used are what is important for us, regardless of which man made the statement.¹³³

When Reljković's "Satyr" was attacked by a conservative and anonymous

129. Z. Vince, "Književni jezik Matije Petra Katančića posebno u prijevodu Svetoga Pisma," *Zbornik Zagrebačke slavističke škole* 3, 1975, p. 88; B. Vodnik, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti* I, p. 342.

130. J. Bösendorfer, *Crtice*, pp. 422–23; T. Matic, *Prosvjetni i književni rad u Slavoniji*, pp. 168–69.

131. I. Bösendorfer, *Crtice*, p. 423.

132. B. Vodnik [Drechsler on title page], *Slavonska književnost u XVIII vijeku*, Zagreb, 1907, pp. 76, 81 (on Pavišević); pp. 77–78 (on Štefanac); V. Dukat, "Pater Gregur kapucin (Juraj Maljevac), kajkavski književnik XVIII vijeka," *Rad (JAZU)* 207, 1915, p. 191 (on the Slavonian with his tambura).

133. V. Jagić, "Iz prošlosti hrvatskoga jezika," pp. 54–55, and fn. 44.

Franciscan calling himself a “Slavonian tambura player,” among Reljković’s defenders was a politically-active Slavonian contemporary of his named Adam Tadija Blagojević. Writing in response (much in verse) to the friar’s criticisms, he stated that Reljković had been writing Slavonian truths; in what followed, Blagojević commented on “Slavonian” ways and customs and claimed that the Germans want to raise up the Slavonians. Blagojević also translated from German part of a work arguing in favor of Church Union by Antun Ružička. Rendered into what he in its preface called “Slavenski jezik,” the work appeared in two alphabets, Latin and Cyrillic, in facing columns.¹³⁴ The title pages of his three known translations (appearing between 1771 and 1774), all by the Illyrian Press in Vienna, stated, however, that the works were translated from German into the Illyrian language. One of these works was a translation of a German translation of a French work (“Chinki, histoire cochon-chinoise qui peut servir à d’autre pays”). In the dedication to Antun Zechenter of his translation of “Kinki,” Blagojević praised Zechenter for his interest in our (the Slavonian) people and noted that he, the German, even learned our language, thus for the love of my homeland he taught himself the Slavonian language. Blagojević also wondered as a “born Slav/Slavonian” why a second foreigner, and a Hungarian at that, whose language has nothing in common with ours had promised, while a notary in Požega, to translate into our language an agricultural manual written by a German named Wiegand, a promise the Hungarian, Ignatius Jablanczy (mentioned earlier), made good on.¹³⁵

M. Grmek found among the graduation records of the University of Padua under 1717 a certain Johannes Georgius Tauber, a noble Slav from Varaždin (nobilis Slavus Varasdinensis) of the “German nation.” (Padua’s division of students was usually according to place of origin.) But though he came from an area under military authorities assigned by Vienna, hence the “German nation” label, and his German last name, he called himself (or, less likely, the university for some reason categorized him so) a “Slav.”¹³⁶

The Slavonian Franciscan Emerik Pavić (1715–80), whose Illyrian or Slavic Lectionary was noted earlier, translated a part of Kačić-Miošić’s “Pleasant Conversations” into Latin under the title of “Descriptio soluta et rhythmica regum, banorum, caeterorumque heroum sclavinorum seu illyricorum.” It was published in Buda in 1764. Its title page goes on to say the text was written

134. K. Georgijević, *Hrvatska književnost*, pp. 253–54, 256; T. Matic, *Prosvjetni i književni rad u Slavoniji*, pp. 60–61, 65, 144. Matic notes that the Orthodox response to Blagojević’s translation stated that Blagojević had translated the text into Horvatskij and Slavenskij; since Blagojević had made a single translation, while providing its text in two alphabets, clearly the responder was referring not to two languages but two alphabets, Cyrillic and Latin. A second defender of Reljković was Vid Došen, who called himself a Dalmatian from the Sea of Velebit (Dalmatin od mora Velebitskoga).

135. T. Matic, “Adam Tadija Blagojević,” *Rad (JAZU)* 237, 1929, pp. 132–33, 147–48, 158 (fn. 1).

136. M. Grmek, “Hrvati i sveučilište u Padovi,” *Ljetopis (JAZU)* 62, 1957, p. 367.

by Andrea Cacics in the vernacular Illyrian language. Four years later Pavić published in his own language, this time in Pest, an informal work of pleasant tales/conversation about the chief events of the Slavic people (*naroda slovinskoga*). The title page goes on to say that the work was written to provide edification for Illyrians. This text ended with a poem about writing correctly in Slavic/Slavonian, entitled “Od slovoslozja slovinskog.” In that same year, 1768, Pavić also translated an Italian–Latin language medical guide put together by Joanne de Mediolano (Milan) into Illyrian or Dalmatian verses.¹³⁷ In any case, despite Pavić’s use of several terms, one notes the absence of “Croatian,” even though “Dalmatian” made an appearance. Then, in 1794 Aleksandar Tomiković from Osijek translated a life of Peter the Great from Italian into what he called “Illyrian Slavonian” (*ilirički slavonski*).¹³⁸

Štefan Fuček, a parish priest in Krapina, published in 1735 a collection of moralizing tales under the title of “Hištorije” (here best translated as “Stories”). The tales had a wide variety of settings, most in various parts of Europe. In the selections from it published by Olga Šojat, only one identity-type label makes an appearance. That occurs in his brief preface when he refers to the existence of many Croatian books, presumably meaning books in the Croatian language; it is not clear whether “Croatian” was a term he used to cover all three dialects or simply those works (like his) that were written in Kajkavian.¹³⁹ In 1758 a parish priest from a village near Sisak published a math text in Zagreb “Aritmetika horvatska,” which went through many printings and had long use in teaching Croatians the use of numbers.¹⁴⁰

Furthermore, in 1781 Katarina Patačić (born Keglević, who married Grof Franjo Patačić) compiled in Varaždin a collection (never to be published) of poems entitled “Croatian Poems” (*Pesme horvatske*). J. Skok notes that the term “Croatian” here was used to indicate that the verses were in Kajkavian. Thus, the term had no ethnic significance. Scholars debate as to whether she actually composed the poems, translated them from an unknown collection, or merely collected them.¹⁴¹ One of her husband’s ancestors, Baron Baltazar

137. M. Kombol, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, p. 366; J. Bösendorfer, *Crtice*, p. 420; V. Gortan, “Latinisti 18 stoljeća u sjevernoj Hrvatskoj,” *Zbornik Zagrebačke slavističke škole* 3, 1975, pp. 41–42.

138. J. Bösendorfer, *Crtice*, p. 423.

139. Š. Fuček, “‘Hištorije’ (izbor)” (O. Šojat, ed.), *Kaj* 5, no. 2, 1972, p. 82.

140. B. Vodnik, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti* I, p. 362.

141. M. Kombol, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, p. 347; on the term “Croatian” denoting Kajkavian, see J. Skok, “Varaždinska kontesa i poetesa Katarina Patačić,” *Kaj* 24, no. 1, 1991, p. 46; on which scholars have taken which position on whether she was the actual author or merely a collector of the poems, see D. Fališevac, “Pesme horvatske Katarine Patačić,” *Kaj* 24, nos. 5–6, 1991, p. 31. Katarina’s collection was dedicated to her husband’s cousin, Adam Patačić (1716–84), a theologian, who ended his clerical career as Archbishop of Kalocsa. At about the same time that Katarina was dabbling in poetry, Adam compiled a three-language dictionary, “*Dictionarium latino-illyricum et germanicum*,” which was discussed earlier. (J. Skok, “Varaždinska kontesa,” p. 49).

Patačić—whom we met earlier objecting to a Hungarian becoming Bishop of Zagreb—kept a diary, from which the years 1687 to 1690 survive. Though few identity terms appear in it, he does refer in 1687 to cavalry men, Germans as well as Croats, from the Varaždin prefecture battling the Turks—“Croat” in its typical military usage. Interestingly enough, in 1689 he refers to a figure officially entitled and usually called Ban of Croatia as the “Illyrici prorex,” possibly a literary affectation.¹⁴² Baltazar’s son Gabriel Hermann (Armin) Patačić, Bishop of Erdelj and in 1733 raised to Archbishop of Kalocsa, was a strong Magyarophile, and punished the Serbs, who were migrating into his diocese from Turkish lands, for not speaking Hungarian with a fine of two ducats or twelve blows with a cane for each Serbian word employed (I presume in his presence).¹⁴³

An anonymous imitator of Kačić-Miošić in “Uzdasi i plac Starca Milovana od rasuca Solinskoga,” published in 1790, poses the question of whether Split was not the capital/head of Croatia (Di si Splite, od Harvati glavo?).¹⁴⁴ In 1796 Juraj Franjo Dijanić (ca. 1749–99) finished a translation of a German work entitled “The Child’s Friend,” to which he gave the title “The Croatian Child’s Friend” (Horvatski dece prijatelj). The work was never to be published.¹⁴⁵ The term “Croatian” also could be used to describe certain items found in the market. A 1749 listing of market items with their prices from Varaždin includes “Croatian or Hungarian cheese” (Szira Horvaczkoga ali Vugerszkoga), presumably an item found in both regions and named for where it had originated. A second notice priced an uninspected “Croatian” bull and cow.¹⁴⁶

Adam Baričević (1756–1806), a priest from Zagreb, was noted as a letter writer. He also wrote several books, including a life of a professor of the humanities named Jerome Ferri. On the book’s title page Baričević appended to his name “Croata et Presbytero.”¹⁴⁷ His letters switch back and forth between the terms “Illyrian” and “Croatian.” In some cases, his choice may be based on terms used on title pages of works or the term used in his in-coming correspondence. For example, in one letter (with no date supplied) he refers to Raymond Kunić, who had translated Homer’s *Iliad* into Latin, as the Latin Homer, who delights the Illyrian people (Illyricae nationis). In a letter from 1791 to a correspondent in Dubrovnik he notes that the Zagreb Academy was thinking of bringing out a collection of your (Dubrovnik’s? Dalmatia’s?) Illyrian poets (poetis illyricis). In a letter from 1801 to Josip Voltić he mentions

142. B. Patačić, “Dnevnik baruna Baltazara Patačića od god. 1687 do 1690” (E. Laszowski, ed.), *Starine* (JAZU) 27, 1895, pp. 202, 206.

143. J. Matasović, “Prilog genealogiji Patačića,” *Narodna starina* 9, no. 24, 1930, p. 424.

144. M. Kombol, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, p. 413.

145. M. Kombol, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, p. 410.

146. J. Janković (ed.), “Dva cjenika za trg slob. i kral. grada Varaždina, 1658–1749,” *Starine* (JAZU) 26, 1893, p. 12, 9.

147. V. Dukat, “O književnom i naučnom radu Adama Alojzija Baričevića (1756–1806),” *Rad* (JAZU) 224, 1921, p. 76.

that he had heard his correspondent was working on an Illyrian dictionary. Voltić in fact brought out in 1803 in Vienna such a work entitled “*Ričoslovnik iliričkoga, italijanskoga i nimačkoga jezika*.” But Baričević also could call the language “Croatian” as he did in a 1790 letter in which he refers to heroic poems written in Croatian (Croatice scriptis). On one occasion, he described the language as Slavic and spoke of “Croatian” as a dialect of Slavic which was closely related to Kranjski (Slovenian), Russian [!], and all the southern dialects, but quite different from Czech and Polish. He also could refer to individuals and a vernacular as Dalmatian(s) and make reference to the Ragusan dialect.¹⁴⁸

Daniel Emir Bogdanić (1760–1802) from Virovitica sought to publish a newspaper for Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia. Though these are regions, rather than people, it shows that he conceived the three regions to have some sort of unity.¹⁴⁹ In 1789 a German-language newspaper “*Kroatischer Korrespondent*,” which was to appear twice weekly, began publication in Zagreb.¹⁵⁰ The language of the paper suggests that “Croatian” was derived from the place and did not denote a particular ethnic group.

The popular calendars which seem to have begun in the 1650s came out in far greater numbers in the eighteenth century. An important calendar, “*Calendaria Croatica*,” edited by a Capuchin, Father Gregory (Juraj Malevac/Maljevac), appeared in Zagreb in 1769–1800. One (possibly every) number stated it had additions in Croatian verses.¹⁵¹ Other calendars had different names; Georgijević cites one, without naming it, put together “for the use and entertainment of Slavonians” (Slavonaca). There were also two calendars entitled “*Illyrian Calendar*” (*Calendarium Illyricum*) running between 1743 (when the first one was founded by Dj. Rapić) and 1821. Among this calendar’s editors, whom we meet several times in this chapter, was Marijan Lanosović, who performed that task from 1778 to 1786. Emerik Pavić, whom we have also met in this chapter, edited a calendar in Buda from 1754 to 1780 with the same title but in proto-Serbo-Croatian (*Kalendar ilirski*); at some point around 1770 this second “*Illyrian Calendar*” began to be printed in Osijek under the editing of Ivan Martin Divald (1770–1806). He entitled his publication, which we have a copy of from the year 1792, “*New and Old*

148. *Hrvatski latinisti* II, pp. 439, 847, 853. V. Dukat, “O književnom i naučnom radu,” (using the term “Illyrian”) pp. 84–85, 91, (using the term “Croatian”) pp. 86, 89, 92; and V. Dukat, “Korespondencija Adama Alojzija Baričevića,” *Rad (JAZU)* 243, 1932 (using the term “Illyrian”) pp. 133, 140, 144, 149, 153–54, 160, 162–63, 165, 175, (using the term “Croatian”) pp. 132, 136, 140, 144, 148, 174, (using the term “Dalmatian”) p. 140, (using the term “Slavic”) pp. 161, 170, Ragusan dialect, p. 141. On Croatian as a dialect of Slavic, see V. Dukat, “Korespondencija Abrahama Penzela i Adama Baričevića,” *Narodna starina* 3, no. 7, 1924, p. 34.

149. M. Kombol, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, p. 414.

150. V. Klaić, *Knjižarstvo u Hrvata*, p. 22.

151. V. Dukat, “Iz povijesti hrvatskoga kalendara,” *Narodna starina* 2, no. 1, 1923, p. 37.

Saints Day [List] or Illyrian Calendar for the Year 1792 for the Use and Entertainment of the Slavonian Folk Compiled by One Born in Požega.”¹⁵² Another calendar attributed by Dukat to Ivan Matković, who was born in Požega, addressed his readers in that same year 1792 as “Domorodci” (or home-born) three times in the first two paragraphs of the preface for his readers and referred to the language of his calendar as “our Slavonian language” (u nashemu Slavinskomu jeziku). The first German-language calendar in Slavonia appeared only in 1777, but it also bore the name “Illyrien.”¹⁵³

The just-mentioned Capuchin, Father Gregory (Juraj Malevac) was almost certainly the author of a poem “Horvat Horvatom Horvatski Govori” (“A Croatian Speaks Croatian to a Croatian”), which appeared in a calendar (Novi kalendar) from 1800. It began: “All my dear Croats, if you still are Croats. . . .” The reason the clerical author feared that some Croats might no longer be such was the French Revolution’s perfidious influence on traditional Catholic values. But for us, what is important is his use and even emphasis upon the term “Croatian,” which he uses to address his readers several more times in the course of the poem. Fancev had attributed the poem to Tito Brezovački (to be discussed later), but Antoljak believes that Milan Ratković demonstrated conclusively that Malevac was the work’s author.¹⁵⁴

Father Gregory (Juraj Malevac)—or his publishers—also used a second term for his language. He published in “Slavonian/Slavic” in 1795 a religious text, “The Heavenly Pastor.” But “Croatian” seems (as suggested by the just-cited poem) to have been his term of choice. In 1800 he brought out his most famous work, “A Life of Christ for the Croatian people” (Horvaczka od Kristussevoga narodyenya vitta), usually referred to as “The Croatian Life” (Horvaczka vitta/Hovacka vitija). He also produced poetry describing the Habsburg wars against the Turks, and here he referred to the warriors as “Croats,” as was typical in describing the locally raised military units. Reflecting a certain attachment to his own territory, he referred to one commander, a certain Vojnović, as being from the Croatian homeland.¹⁵⁵

In 1795 a Franciscan Provincial named Josip Jakošić put together biographical sketches of forty writers from Slavonia under the title of “Scriptores Interamniae vel Pannoniae Saviae nunc Slavoniae.” One or more colleagues added further sketches off and on until 1830. The work remains in manuscript. In many cases in describing the writers or particular titles, Jakošić notes the language used. With the exception of a Bosnian Franciscan who wrote in “Jezik slovinski bosanski,” all the other writers who were assigned a language

152. V. Klaić, *Knjižarstvo u Hrvata*, p. 27.

153. K. Georgijević, *Hrvatska književnost*, p. 191; V. Dukat, “Iz povijesti hrvatskoga kalendara,” p. 36; V. Dukat, “Pater Gregur kapucin,” *Rad (JAZU)* 207, 1915, pp. 199–200.

154. S. Antoljak, “Odjeci i posljedice Francuske revolucije,” *Radovi* (Zavod za hrvatsku povijest, Filozofski fakultet, Sveučilište u Zagrebu) 22, 1989, pp. 259–60.

155. V. Dukat, “Pater Gregur kapucin,” *Rad (JAZU)* 207, 1915, pp. 141, 143, 153, 173, 224.

(thirty-one out of forty) used Illyrian (with one of these having Illyrian for all but one title). In many cases, "Illyrian" may have been the term of choice of the author or on a work's title page. However, as we have seen, Reljković regularly used "Slavonian" for the language he wrote in, but Jakošić, in every case (except for Reljković's Slavonian German grammar which had Slavonian in its actual title) that he mentions Reljković's language (nine other cases), has Reljković writing in Illyrian. However, on the one occasion Jakošić varies from the Illyrian pattern and describes a translation published in 1760 by Kanizlić from German into "Illyrian or Slavonian"; we find that in fact Kanizlić's title page phrased the language that way. However, Lanosović's "Introduction to the Slavonian Language," as described by Jakošić was, in fact, altered; for, as noted above, its actual title was "Grammatika Ilirskoga jezika," the same term which Lanosović used in another text, which I have also already cited, this one from 1794, that is, his "Illyrian [Language] Gospel Readings (Evangelistar ilirički) for each Sunday and Holiday throughout the Year." Jakošić, it may be noted, never calls the language "Croatian"; in fact, he uses that term only once: describing Bratislava, he notes that the town had besides its Austrians many Croatians and Slavonians.¹⁵⁶ This pairing suggests that the labels were derived from region of origin rather than ethnicity. Thus, I think it safe to say that this Franciscan, writing in 1795, saw the language of Slavonia as "Illyrian."

PETROVARADIN

Just east of Slavonia lies Srem, in which is found the town of Petrovaradin. Srem is a mixed Orthodox-Catholic area where the Jesuits were active. From at least 1705 and through the eighteenth century, the Jesuits supplied the town with at least two clergymen, one an Illyrian preacher and catechist, the other a German one. The town also had two elementary schools mentioned in 1755, an Illyrian one (Schola Illyrica) and a German one. A certain number of the Jesuits working here had identity labels which, as we saw earlier, tended to express birthplace rather than identity according to Vanino. Of the five mentioned, one was an Illyrus from Požega (became novice in 1747); three were Croata-s, one from Malunje in the župa of St. Jana (became novice in 1689), one from Novigrad (became novice in 1694), and the third from Kutina (became novice in 1738); and the fifth was a Slav (Sclavus) from Vinica (became novice in 1716), who was said to speak Croatian perfectly

156. J. Jakošić, "Jakošićev spis: Scriptores Interamniae," (M. Šrepel, ed.), *Gradja za povjest književnosti hrvatske* 2, 1899, pp. 116–44. The one reference to Croatians appears on p. 126. I omit the continuation since most (or all) of it was put together after 1800. However, its author(s) also used the term "Illyrian" (once "Slavonian Illyrian," p. 145) and even once referred to the "Illyrian nation" (p. 146). On Lanosović's "Evangelistar ilirički," see Z. Vince, "Književni jezik Matije Petra Katančića," p. 91.

(*Croatica perfecte*). And finally, the material mentions two local benefactors in the 1730s of the local church, one described as “Illyrus” and the other, a woman, as being of the “*natione illyrica*.”¹⁵⁷ Thus, Catholics, active in this town in Srem, made use of most of the available labels.

THOUGHTS ON LANGUAGE IN SLAVONIA

One question we have seen raised throughout our text was what to call the spoken language, and we have seen that individuals varied in their choice of label, and some used several terms as synonyms. However, others used different terms to make a distinction between different dialects. This is something we have already seen in the case of Bartol Kašić, who called Čakavian “Illyrian.” Thus, he needed another term for the Štokavian he had switched to and came to use the term “Slavic” for that dialect.

I have not concerned myself with the differences among dialects of what is now Croatia (Štokavian, Čakavian, and Kajkavian), for speakers of all three are represented among present-day Croatians. And, I, of course, have not been identifying people by their speech patterns or by categories they did not see as marking identity. But in Slavonia, where all three dialects could be found, individuals were not only concerned with which dialect should gain predominance, but also whether they should be called by the same name or different names, and, if the latter, then which term should be used for which dialect. Thus, Baltazar Milovec, a Medjimurec, whom we met in our discussion of the Zagreb College, attached the label “Croatian” to his own Kajkavian. At the same time M. Krajačević (from Sisak, born in 1582) described the Gospels being used in Zagreb as being in “*Slovenskom slovom, jezik slovenski*,” or in “*slovinski*.” He thus employed the term “*Slovenski*” for Kajkavian; and he called it by a separate name to distinguish it from “*Horvatski*,” which he used for Čakavian and Štokavian. He stated that he himself spoke “*Harvatski*.” Juraj Habdelić, making the same distinction, commented that he himself was not only able to understand his own language (Kajkavian) but also “*Horvatski*” (Čakavian and Štokavian). Matija Magdalenić from Turopolje, who spent much of his adult life in Jastrebarsko, said that his own books (of which only one, entitled “*Zvonac*,” is extant) are not written in correct Croatian (*pravo hervatski*) nor exactly Slavonian (*Slovinski*)—seeing the two dialects as two languages covered by different terms—but *Schlavonico-Croatice*.¹⁵⁸ Thus, we see that some authors did not pick a single term for their (proto-Serbo-Croatian) language, and possibly their identity, but made the terms that existed serve to highlight distinctions. Interestingly, these people, unlike Kašić, did not

157. J. Predragović, “Isusovci u Petrovaradinu 1693–1775,” *Vrela i prinosi* 9, 1939, pp. (in order of items in my text) 39–40, 46, 48, 14, 27, 29, 30 (fn. 75), 7.

158. For discussion of these four figures, see M. Franičević, *Povijest*, pp. 147–48.

have the term “Illyrian” serving a particular dialect. Thus, presumably, “Illyrian” could do duty as a term to denote the broader language, including all dialects, and also all the peoples—Slavonians, Dalmatians, and Croatians—using any variant of that language and living in any of the three regions (and possibly in an even broader area). Such usage would allow one to advance both a broader identity and a smaller regional one as well, and thus be an Illyrian (South Slav/Catholic South Slav) and a Slavonian.

On the subject of dialects, it is interesting to note that three dictionaries of “Illyrian,” as two of the three compilers called the language of their dictionaries, took different positions on the various dialects. The Italian Jesuit Jacob Micalia (Mikalja), whom we met previously, published in Loreto over the course of 1649–51 a “*Thesaurus linguae illyricae*.” The dialect he used was a Štokavian taken from Bosnia (la lingua Bosnese), for he found it the best dialect of Illyrian. A few decades later in 1670 another Jesuit, this one the previously mentioned Juraj Habelić from Zagreb, published in Graz his dictionary, “*Dictionar ili rechi Szlovenszke*.” His dialect was Kajkavian. And finally Paul Ritter Vitezović, discussed in detail earlier, compiled a never-published work, entitled “*Leksikom Latino-Illyricum*” in the early eighteenth century, which gave under the Latin entries the equivalents in all three Serbo-Croatian dialects.¹⁵⁹

V. Klaić also notes in this connection that Habelić in 1662, in discussing the various ways particular dialects marked specific regions, coined four terms for regional speech patterns: Bezjačko (around Varaždin), Majdačko (between the Kupa and Sava rivers around Jastrebarsko), Solarsko (or Sunny) (for the Adriatic coast), and Tukavsko (for Kranj).¹⁶⁰

These were not the only approaches. Kombol notes that not only did the previously mentioned Magdalenić have names for the languages of the two provinces, but consciously created a language blend. Ivan Belostenec went even further, producing a mixed language of all three major dialects, hoping it would be intelligible to all Croatians. Kombol points out that some Slavonians made the terminological distinction of calling Čakavian “Croatian,” and using the term for the language of the region south of the Kupa River, and calling Kajkavian and proto-Slovenian “Kranjski” (from the region of Kranj). The previously mentioned Belostenec and Baltazar Milovec, who taught at the Jesuit academy in Zagreb, tended, however, to call Kajkavian “Croatian” and see it as the regional language all the way up to the Drava, while using “Slovinski” or “Slovenski” for the language of the part of Slavonia recovered from the Turks with its Štokavian Slavonian.¹⁶¹

Moreover, in interpreting the vocabulary of all the Slavonians, we are faced with the problem of whether “Slovenski” (and its variants) means

159. On these dictionaries, see V. Klaić, *Život i djela Pavla Rittera Vitezovića*, p. 211.

160. V. Klaić, *Život . . . Vitezovića*, p. 107.

161. M. Kombol, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti*, p. 218.

“Slavic” in a broad sense or more narrowly “Slavonian.” In some cases the meaning is clear, namely when people like Habelić write a text “for the Croatian and Slovenski peoples.” Vodnik tends to take the term “Slovenski” when used by many of the major Slavonian writers to regularly mean “Slavonian” as opposed to “Croatian.” Thus, he sees these people using the terms geographically (to which, of course, are also loosely related particular dialects), with “Slavonian” being for the territory between the Drava and Kupa rivers and “Croatian” being from the Kupa on south. Those he lists as following this categorization are Vramec and Pergošić from the sixteenth century, and Krajačević and Habelić (with Magdalenić, who, however, used the term “Slovenski” instead) from the seventeenth.¹⁶² But, as we have just noted, since dialects did not strictly follow political boundaries, which dialect was seen as “Croatian” varied between Kajkavian or Čakavian (or mixtures of Čakavian with Štokavian), depending on the given writer, just as “Slavonian” could be used for Štokavian or Kajkavian.

THE DEBATE ON JOAKIM STULLI’S DICTIONARY

Joakim Stulli (1730–1817) was a Ragusan Franciscan who spent most of his life working on a trilingual dictionary, whose first part finally saw the light of publication in Buda in 1801 under the title of “Lexicon Latino-Italico-Illyricum.” However, he had been working on it for years and had a first draft completed as early as 1781. Having failed to get it published in Rome, he sought various patrons. In the relevant correspondence one can see how he then viewed the various terms used for identity. The page numbers that follow come from the collection of documents appended to Brlek’s fine study of Stulli. In 1781 Stulli wrote Frederick the Great to whom, writing in Slavic, he admitted that the Slavic (Slovenski) language, though noble, valuable, and useful was not on a par with Greek and Latin (p. 144). At the end of the letter he included a dedication to that monarch in all three of his languages. Like many of his predecessors, in the dedications he used “Illyrian” in the Italian and Latin versions and usually the word “Slavic (Slovenski)” in the proto-Serbo-Croatian one. Thus, in that version his dictionary was *Latinski, Talian-ski i Slovenski*. We find in the former “ab Illyrica natione” and in the latter “od Naroda Slovinskoga.” Nevertheless, in the proto Serbo-Croatian version, he once does speak of the Illyrian language (pp. 137–39). A Habsburg courtier wrote on Stulli’s behalf in German to a Vienna learned society, referring to the third language as Slavic (*slawonischen Sprache*) (p. 140). Stulli also wrote Catherine the Great in a version of Slavic; in this text he refers to his book being about the Slavic language and goes on to explain that the Slavs (Slovinnih) had been neighbors of the Russians. But then in about the sixth

162. B. Vodnik, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti* I, p. 276.

century they had migrated to the Illyrian lands. There they evolved the Illyrian dialect which is not that different from Russian (p. 143).

In the end Stulli finally got sucked into seeking the work's publication in Habsburg territory by promises from the monarchy's bureaucracy, suffering nearly twenty years of hassle before the publication of its first third. The hassle, as one might expect, was owing to the dialect he chose (Ragusan Štokavian) and the orthography he chose for the Latin letters he used to render Slavic phonemes. In all this discussion and polemic, all parties regularly used the term "Illyrian." "Slavic" made its presence felt as well, often, but not always, for the general family of languages that also included Russian and Polish. Moreover, "Slavic" more frequently appeared when the given text was written in proto-Serbo-Croatian. "Croatian" appeared as a term only when one referred to the specific form of language used in the banovina of Croatia. Thus, at one point in 1785, Stulli notes that the Croatian and Slavonian way of writing (Latin letter combinations) differed from that of Dubrovnik. But he also noted that those two also differed from each other. He went on to say that people basically had an idea of what was meant when one spoke of "Dubrovnik-ese," "Croatian," or "Slavonian." But the term "Illyrian language" covered all those Slavs, who used Jerome's (Glagolitic), Cyrillic, and Latin letters. Stulli noted that the Illyrian language was used by twelve (unnamed) kingdoms or provinces. He also launched into a disquisition on the variety of ways single Cyrillic letters were rendered into Latin letters. And since there were many fewer Latin letters, single Cyrillic letters needed two or three Latin ones to render certain sounds. In this Stulli stressed three basic and differing Latin-letter systems, those of the Croats, Slavonians (called "Slavi"), and Ragusans. He then uses the term "Illyrian" for all three, for example, how each renders a particular Illyrian pronunciation (e.g., p. 152).

Stulli's so-called "Apology" was met by a sharp rebuttal entitled "Vindicatio Orthographiae Illyrico-Slavonicae." This was from a priest, Jose (Joso) Krmpotić, originally from Lika but by this time an influential figure at court. Krmpotić was basically insisting upon the orthography that he was used to among the Habsburg South Slavs. Krmpotić used the term "Slavic" for the whole family of languages stretching up to the Baltic. In one poem Krmpotić provides a bunch of names (e.g., Slavonka, Ruskinja) for a vila who does not know what to call herself. He states that all those bearing these names of the various Slavic peoples were descended from Mother Pannonia (Majka Panonkinja). This mother could also be called Mother Slavonia or Illyria, for she is the mother of all the Slavs, from the Adriatic to the German Sea, and from the Frozen Sea to the Black Sea. Earlier she was called by one of the three names, "Slavonian," "Pannonian," "Illyrian," but now she is called by a hundred names. Krmpotić claims to love all the Slavs equally.¹⁶³ He referred

163. On Krmpotić's poetry, see also K. Georgijević, *Hrvatska književnost*, p. 257.

to the South-Slavic language as "Illyrian," and at times spoke about differences found in Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia. He refers to the speech or grammar of the Slavonians (Slavones) and Croats (Croatas), that is, those living in Slavonia and Croatia. As a name of a language "Slavonica" does double duty, sometimes referring to Slavic in general and sometimes to Slavonian (pp. 156–64).

In the just-mentioned poem about the Slavs, Krmpotić notes that the Slavs of old were brave, but now they are divided up into many groups and subjected by their enemies. But let the Slavs again unite so that they can crush the Turks. As he puts it: Mohammed holds in prison the Slavic kingdoms, Serbia, Croatia, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Albania, and others. Let all these peoples with one thought rise up, with sword and spear, let all these peoples whom a Slavic mother bore, together with the Hungarians and Germans march under Joseph (II Habsburg) and Catherine (the Great) and conquer Tzarigrad (Constantinople). Krmpotić, according to Dukat, hoped that this poem would awaken the Slavs to take up arms for their own liberation.¹⁶⁴

Stulli at one point in the debate refers to Krmpotić as a "Croat" (Croato) (p. 155), a term which (considering the general language use in the debate) almost certainly refers to the latter's origin in Lika. It may be noted that on another occasion Stulli called his opponent a "Slav" (Slavo) (p. 146). Stulli frequently provided himself with identity markers, usually simply Ragusan (Ragusinus) and occasionally Dalmata Ragusinus. Again, hardly likely to be anything more than noting his place of origin. On one occasion, in October 1787, Stulli tried flattering his enemy, who, as we have seen, also dabbled at poetry, addressing him in a letter as the principal Illyrian poet, who sought to awaken the Illyrians from their long sleep. Stulli linked their two places of origin, Lika/Slavonia and Dubrovnik, by speaking of "our Illyria" (p. 179).

The authorities decided to turn to an arbiter and chose Antun Mandić, a bishop and school inspector for the Slavic language schools for Croatia and Slavonia. He had published in Buda in 1779 a guide to correct Slavonian writing/spelling for the use of schools in the Kingdom of Slavonia. (A similar but anonymous work appeared for Croatian pravopis for schools in the state [orszaga] of Croatia the following year.) Clearly here, the terms for the languages were tied to the territories of their use. Mandić on the whole took Stulli's side. And I shall only excerpt parts, not for their place in his argument, but those that show how he used the various terms: Without any doubt Czech, Moravian, Slavic (almost certainly here meaning Slovak), Croatian, Slavonian, otherwise generally known, but mistakenly so, as Illyrian, Dalmatian, Kranjski, Styrian, Polish, and Russian are all parts of one single Slavic language, and vary one from another as different dialects. . . . If Stulli's dictionary cannot serve all the people who speak Slavic, it will still be of great value to

164. V. Dukat, "Pater Gregur kapucin," pp. 204–5; see also, I. Pervol'f, *Slavjane* II, p. 392.

Dalmatians and Slavonians, whose dialect is also used in the whole Military Frontier from the Adriatic to Beograd [in Serbia] including the parishes/counties of Požega, Virovitica, Srem, and Bačka, and even for the Croatians the dictionary will be useful. The Ragusans and Dalmatians have a basic orthography (that of Della Bella) which is based on Italian. The Croatians have another, similar to that of the Hungarians, and the Slavonians, who ususally claim to speak the Illyrian language, follow their own individual and different orthography. For these last two dialects, namely Croatian and Slavonian, . . . Priest Krmpotić is trying to force Stulli to adopt the Illyrian graphic system, used in Slavonia, which Krmpotić calls the most natural. However, since this dictionary will serve the needs of Dalmatians, Slavonians, and Croatians, each of whom, as I have already said, uses his own individual writing system, . . . one cannot tell an author that his dictionary should serve the Slavonians rather than the Croatians or Dalmatians. . . . and who is to say which of the three dialects is superior, certainly not I nor anyone else, for it is all a matter of prejudice. Thus, since no one can decree which of the dialects is to be used, then let the editor be free to choose whichever one he wants, for it is impossible to have the dictionary in all three (pp. 165–67).

However, the vote of confidence for Stulli did not end his difficulties, for the Habsburg authorities were unhappy with Italian being included, but not German. So they decided the dictionary should be redone as a four-language one, and they hired Marijan Lanosović, the Franciscan teaching at the Osijek high school, whose book of Gospel readings and grammar has been mentioned earlier, to insert German into it. Lanosović had also already published in proto-Serbo-Croatian an introduction to Latin for the benefit of Slavonian youth and a work in German for the Germans in Slavonia on “Slavonian speech.” Thus, basically, he was a Slavonianist, but, of course, his books were directed entirely at a local audience. Inserting German into the text proved an impossible task. In the interim, many years were to be lost before Stulli’s work—by then back to the original three languages, and after various individual attempts to also add Hungarian definitions or Cyrillic script (as well as the Latin) had failed—was to be, in part, published in Buda in 1801. The Cyrillic had been advocated by three prominent associates of the Illyrian Court Chancellery, Bishop Petar Petrović, Count Edlinger, and H. Hadrović, but most outspokenly called for by the director of a printing house, who in 1795 had stated that “Men of the Illyrian nation vehemently” wanted the Illyrian to be in Cyrillic as well as in Latin letters (p. 231). Was the director thinking of Serbs, whom, as noted, some non-Slavic Habsburg officials particularly associated with the term Illyrian?

In the course of his wait, in one letter to the Illyrian Court Chancellery in 1792, Stulli put his Illyrians in the context of a European ethnicity. He said that he wanted the dictionary to satisfy the Illyrian nation which desired to have a dictionary in its own language as the great(er) part of Europe already had (p. 215).

The second part of Stulli's dictionary was to appear in Dubrovnik itself in two parts in 1806; interestingly, the title page of the second part of part 2 replaced "Illyrian" with "Slovinski." And then the final part appeared in 1810 during the period of French rule, with the term "Illyrian" not surprisingly restored. According to Brlek, the three parts in their final printed form contained 4,800 pages.¹⁶⁵

Thus Stulli, and everyone else who was important in the debate, favored the term "Illyrian" for the language. But within the dictionary as a definition for "Illyrian" (Illirico), Stulli lists slovinski, hrovatski, horvatski, harvatski, illyricus. Thus here, though elsewhere he used "Croatian" in a local way, it appears (with three forms to choose among) as a legitimate synonym for "Illyrian" and "Slavic," with "Slavic" given precedence over "Croatian."¹⁶⁶ Foretić notes that in one of the dictionary's editions (passage not cited), Stulli explicitly (rather than implicitly as in the cited definition) stated that "Ilirski," "Slovinski," and "Harvatski" are one and the same thing. And, elsewhere, as noted—and probably the reason for his preferring the term "Illyrian" over "Slavic," when speaking of proto-Serbo-Croatian—Stulli stated that the term "Slavic" could take in all of Slavdom.¹⁶⁷

Joakim Stulli's circle, back in Dubrovnik, fits the same linguistic pattern, tending to use "Illyrian" when writing in Latin or Italian and "Slavic" (Slovinski) when using that language. Joakim's maternal uncle, Ivan Šumanović, who died in 1741, left a collection of spiritual entertainments translated from Italian into Slavic; Joakim's brother, Dživa, put together translated manuscripts of a work of Thomas à Kempis and of a life of St. Josafat, both in Slovinski; whereas his Franciscan colleague and a pharmacist, Ivan Evandjelist Lučić, compiled in the last part of the eighteenth century a work on medicinal plants in Italian as well as in Illyrian, and his younger colleague Franjo Appendini published in 1837 an Illyrian grammar.¹⁶⁸

HABSBURG TERMINOLOGY

In the Croatian sabor/diet of 1712, the Croats decided to support the Habsburgs, even though the throne would be passed on to a woman (Maria Theresa,

165. The above material on Stulli and the difficulties in publishing his dictionary come from M. Brlek, *Leksikograf Joakim Stulli*, pp. 1–103 (esp. pp. 1, 60–65, 69, 71–76). Citations to the original documents, published by Brlek as an appendix, are provided in my text itself. See also M. Brlek, "Joakim Stulli (1730–1817), dubrovački leksikograf: Prolegomena za monografiju," *Historijskog Instituta Anali* (Zavod za povijesne znanosti istraživačkog centra [JAZU] u Dubrovniku) 18, 1980, pp. 221–49, esp. pp. 239, 242.

166. For this and Stulli's other definitions of key terms and their variants (e.g., an Illyrian male, female, etc.) see M. Brlek, *Leksikograf*, footnotes on p. 36; V. Klaić, *Hrvati i Hrvatska*, pp. 47–48.

167. V. Foretić, *Povijest Dubrovnika* II, pp. 332–33.

168. M. Brlek, "Joakim Stulli," pp. 225–26, 231.

as it turned out to be). In the discussions among themselves and then subsequently with the Austrian authorities and the Hungarian diet, the Croats regularly called themselves and were called "Croats"; but this signified people of that kingdom. However, a sign of national feeling is a we-they opposition, and opposition to a "them" can bring about solidarity among the "we(s)." And we do find certain Croatian speakers in their diet, especially Juraj Plemić, arguing for the Habsburg plan, regardless of what Hungary (where opposition to the plan was to be found) thought. Plemić outlined various misfortunes that Croatia and the Croatian nobility had suffered owing to and during their long association with Hungary, and how the Hungarian authorities overtaxed the Croatian counties, and so forth.¹⁶⁹ In the course of the eighteenth century we have seen and shall continue to see examples of tensions between people in Croatia and the Hungarian state and its nobility, which in some cases did fuel in certain individuals strong Croatian patriotism and feeling, as we shall see at the end of the century in the poet Tito Brezovački.

In 1767 Maria Theresa, pushing state centralization to replace the Croatian sabor (which had not been convoked since 1764), created a smaller committee, a council (*vijeće*) of the Kingdoms of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia, which met in Varaždin and consisted of the ban, a prelate, a major nobleman, and three lesser nobles. It usually went by the abbreviated name of the Kingdom's Council or *Consilium Croaticum*.¹⁷⁰ Thus, here as with the title of the ban and diet, the council's name was popularly abbreviated to include only the first of the three names of the kingdoms. Hungarian pressure led to the council's abolition in 1779, and for a period Croatian matters found themselves subjected *de facto* to the Hungarian government. This situation became even more tension-filled, when the Croatian nobility, allied to the Hungarian aristocracy against Habsburg centralizing measures, agreed to the abolition of the Croatian sabor in 1790. After this, the Croatian delegates sat in the Hungarian diet, where as a small minority they, to the degree they cared, were unable to affect legislation, which allowed the Hungarians to administer Croatian affairs as they wished.

The Hungarians at once took advantage of the situation to try to push hard to have Hungarian replace Latin as the official language of the Hungarian lands. And so, the Hungarian diet in 1790 decreed that Hungarian was to be an obligatory subject in all Croatian and Slavonian gymnasia, academies, and at their university. Intellectuals and parliamentary delegates from Slavonia and Croatia strongly opposed the measure. The Croatian sabor (on the eve of its dissolution) responded by saying that students in Croatia (i.e., the territory under its jurisdiction) had to study also the "Illyrian language." Vra-

169. V. Klaić, "Hrvatska pragmatička," *Rad (JAZU)* 206, 1915, pp. 61–135; on Plemić, see pp. 81–82.

170. M. Vanino, *Isusovci* II, p. 388.

tović cites (without a footnote) what I take to be the same text stating that by the term "Croatia," it is to be understood now and forevermore the Kingdom of Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia.¹⁷¹ Of course, the Croatian sabor could not decree language use for much of the "Kingdom of Dalmatia," since Venice held most of it. But it is interesting that the parliament depicted what should ideally be included in "Croatia" as the territory that has in the twentieth century become Croatia, and also that the term for the language of that community was "Illyrian."

A good example of resistance to Magyarization, but also of the "nationality" issue is Josip Keresturi. Born in 1739 in Štrigova in Medjimurje, Keresturi became a Jesuit in 1754. Jesuit records from 1764 record him as a Croat Stridonienensis. In listing his languages, these records report that he knew Croaticum (idioma) bene, and also Latin, Hungarian, and German. Matić notes that the fluency of his Hungarian was referred to as middling (mediocriter). Thus, despite his Hungarian name, Keresturi's native language was "Croatian." At about this time, he left the Jesuit order, studied law, and in the career that followed became a councillor at the Habsburg court. In that position, he referred to himself as a Hungarian (Hungarus), though it is suggested by both Matić and Antoljak that he was a "political" Hungarian. But, in any case, with the merger of diets, officially anyone in the Hungarian lands was a Hungarian, and that is how many Hungarians saw things. However, Keresturi strongly opposed the Hungarian attempts to impose Hungarian as the language for all their lands. In a work written in 1791 under the pseudonym Eleutherius Pannonius (A Free Pannonian) he noted the variety of languages spoken in Hungary and the importance of retaining Latin as the state language. How, he asks, could one ask the Slavs, whose population extends from Siberia to the Adriatic and from the borders of Saxony and Bavaria to the Black Sea, to take up the Hungarian language? If the Hungarians were to allow into the state only those who spoke the Hun's language (hunnico sermone), a very derogatory phrase, then no Croatian, Dalmatian, Slavonian (sclavo), Serb, or Bosnian would have any wish to be part of the enterprise.¹⁷²

171. F. Rački, "Matija Petar Katančić," *Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti* 33, Zagreb, 1969, p. 82; V. Vratović, "Hrvatski latinizam," in A. Flaker & K. Pranjić (eds.), *Hrvatska književnost*, Zagreb, 1978, p. 142.

172. T. Matić, "Josip Keresturi i njegovi pogledi na političke prilike poslije smrti Josipa II," *Rad (JAZU)* 270, 1941, pp. 149–88, esp. pp. 151, 156, 180–81, 185; see also S. Antoljak, "Odjeci i posljedice Francuske revolucije," *Radovi* (Zavod za hrvatsku povijest, Filozofski fakultet, Sveučilište u Zagrebu) 22, 1989, p. 215. The language debate is discussed at some length by T. Smičiklas, "Obrana i razvitak hrvatske narodne ideje od 1790 do 1835 godine," *Rad (JAZU)* 80, 1886, pp. 11–72. In the debate the South-Slav opponents argued that their lands were not part of Hungary, but a separate "Kingdom of Croatia" that accepted under that condition to have the King of Hungary also their king. For eight hundred years this has been the situation and Latin has been the language of government and parliament. The Hungarians were now repeating the despotism they had so strongly objected to in Habsburg centralizing measures and in the demanded use of the German language (pp. 18–20). The Grand Count (veliki župan) of Zagreb stated, "We

Despite the use of the name "Croatia" for official bodies, the Habsburgs did not use that term for the local language. In 1773, for example, the Austrian government was writing the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith for "Illyrian" books, including the most recent edition of a Missal in Illyrian or Slavonic (Illirco o Slavonico) in Jerome's characters for the empire's Uniate subjects, that is, former Orthodox who had accepted papal supremacy but retained their rite and Slavonic language. A few years later, in 1779, the government decreed that the Serbs could use Cyrillic and Slavonic only for Church matters, but when dealing with other matters they were to use the vernacular, vulgar Illyrian, with Latin letters.¹⁷³ In the 1770s there also existed a government-sponsored press known as the Illyrian Press (Illireska Shtampara) and sometimes as the Illyrian and Eastern Shtampara.¹⁷⁴

BALTAZAR ADAM KRČELIĆ

The Zagreb canon and historian Baltazar Krčelić (1715–78) was anything but a nationalist. He was closely tied to the Habsburg court and supported its centralizing policies. In fact, he referred to King Ladislav of Hungary, who intervened in Croatian affairs after the death of Zvonimir and started the process of Hungary's annexation of Croatia, as "founder of this [Zagreb's] Church and father of the whole Croatian land" (ove cirkve početnika i vse Horvacke zemlje otca).¹⁷⁵ His view was directly opposed to that of many others in Croatia about Zvonimir and the effect his death had upon the Croatians. But Krčelić regularly used the word "Croatian," though I think it clear that he usually used the term to refer to inhabitants or nobles of, or parliamentary delegates or military units from, the Kingdom of Croatia rather than to a people who were somehow inherently Croatian. And that is how I take his remark about himself (written in 1764) that he was a "nobilis Croata Berdoviczensis" (Brdovac, the town near the village of his birth), that is, born in the entity of Croatia.¹⁷⁶ In my brief summary of his terminology, I, to save on footnotes, will insert into my text the page numbers of Gortan's edition of Krčelić's *Annuae*, or history of his times from 1748 to 1767.¹⁷⁷

Croats will never accept this law; we shall oppose it forever" (p. 21). Maximillian Vrhovac, the Bishop of Zagreb, stated that if this proposed law passed, the Croatians would do the same thing and make "Illyrian" the administrative language of Croatia and Slavonia (p. 22).

173. M. Iovine, "The 'Illyrian Language,'" pp. 105, 107.

174. T. Matić, "Adam Tadija Blagojević," pp. 132–33.

175. Cited by J. Matasović, "Stari i starinarski Zagreb," *Narodna starina* 1, no. 1, 1922, p. 7.

176. S. Krivosić, "Baltazar Adam Krčelić (1715–1778)," *Rad (JAZU)* 375, 1978, p. 113.

177. B. A. Krčelić, *Annuae sive historia* [Annuae 1748–1767] (T. Smičiklas, ed.), Zagreb (JAZU, MSHSM 30), 1901. This edition, in the original Latin, goes only through 1755. V. Gortan has a complete Serbo-Croatian translation, under the above Latin title with a second title page in Serbo-Croatian, *Annuae ili historija 1748–1767*, Zagreb (JAZU, Hrvatski latinisti III), 1952. I have compared the texts through 1755, and all Gortan's "Croatians" up to that point exist in

I shall not bother citing the dozen or more references to Croatian nobles or military units, since they can so obviously be associated with the entity of Croatia. These would include Krčelić's remarks about factions and quarrels among the Croats; whether some potential appointee would be acceptable to the Croats (presumably nobility or other members of the elite); someone being partial to the Croats, especially to their nobility; someone always liking to drink with the Croats; some action being due to the hatred the Croats felt toward the Hungarians; someone always being suspicious of the Croats; mention of our Croats who have entered Prussian service; or whether a court chancellery position would be taken by some Croat or a member of the clergy. In this vein also come the remarks made in his panegyric to Ban Batthyany, whom he praises as the greatest of Croatia's bans. This man made the name "Croat" celebrated across Europe; this glory the Croats achieved under the leadership of this ban; he leaned toward the Croats, always making sure they were rewarded (p. 274). In all the Ban Batthyany cases the referred-to Croats are clearly soldiers in Croatian units. In this category falls Krčelić's ironic labeling on two or three occasions of the leadership of the city of Zagreb as the Croatian gods, which, in fact, means gods (leaders) of Croatia (e.g., p. 556).¹⁷⁸

Krčelić also refers to four people as Croats, with the label presumably being derived from where they originated. They were Matija Ittinger, Croat from Petrinja, chosen to be General of the Paulist order in 1751 (p. 72); and three with no city of origin provided: John Galjuf, chosen to be rector of Zagreb's Jesuit college in 1753, the Croat Antun Spisić (p. 205), and Father Gerard Tomašić, Croat, of the Paulists (p. 455); moreover, a certain count was said to be of Croatian origin (p. 466).

Krčelić also speaks of the Croatian language. In fact, with the exception of one reference to the Slavic language, which clearly has a broader than South-Slavic context (p. 161), Croatian is the only word he uses in "Annuae" for the language (pp. 167, 445). In one case he said that someone grew up in Zagreb, and thus he knew not only the Croatian language but it was presumed also the Croats (p. 555). Moreover, in 1773 Pope Clement XIV issued an order, which proved to be temporary, abolishing the Jesuit order. Krčelić, no admirer of the Jesuits, published a translation of the order "na Horvatcki jezik."¹⁷⁹

Krčelić also on two occasions, hardly significant in a more than five-hundred-page book, provides characteristics to the Croats. This action suggests that at least at times he sees the people of Croatia as having particular traits,

the original. Thus, I have thought it safe to trust his terminology in the text's second half. As a result, to make things simpler and not go back and forth between the two volumes, I am citing the pagination of the Gortan translation throughout my text.

178. On who the gods of Croatia were and what they did (in Krčelić's eyes), see S. Krivosić, "Baltazar Adam Krčelić," pp. 161–65.

179. M. Mesić, "O Krčeliću i njegovih Annuah," *Rad (JAZU)* 32, 1875, p. 70.

as a particular people to be distinguished from the other peoples of the empire like the Germans and Hungarians. "A Croatian is not able to have a rival, and not from the first moments of the quarrel make it personal and go out of his way to blacken his rival's name" (p. 276). A certain Theresa was well brought up and intelligent but, as far as old customs went, she was a Croatian woman (p. 463).

Krčelić uses the term "Croatian" for people from both Croatia and Slavonia and he uses the term "Slavonian" only once: "The respected father Mulih, a Jesuit, whom all the Croatians, Slavonians, Dalmatians, and Hungarians looked upon as a true Saint. . ." (p. 127). However, he does not use the term "Croatian" for the South Slavs who shared their language, but were outside the empire. Thus, those under the Venetians were "Dalmatians" (e.g., p. 489). A true ethnic vision (at least if it were to consider the Dalmatians and Croatians a single people) would not have identified a people with the territory of the state they resided in, but would see them as a people, wherever they resided, whether inside or beyond the boundaries of the state. Thus, Krčelić clearly did not see the Venetian South Slavs as sharing an ethnicity with those of Croatia and Slavonia. This fact is hardly strange, considering the emphasis Krčelić placed on the state and its institutions, particularly its court and central ones. And he does not seem to have given a second thought to the fact that the policies he was actively supporting cut into the historic privileges of the South Slavs living in Croatia and Slavonia.

Krčelić also used the term "Illyrian." He used it for South Slavs in general, including those of Croatia, and also as his term of choice for South Slavs who lived beyond the borders of the Croatian entity. For example, he notes that the Jesuit missionary Juraj Mulih worked across the length and breadth of Hungary among the Illyrian people there. An ethnic Croatian might have used the term "Croatian" here, but since these people were spread across various areas of Hungary beyond Croatia, Krčelić saw them as "Illyrians." And in another passage, Krčelić notes that epic folk poems were widespread among the Illyrian people. Here, of course, he was looking beyond Croatia to include Serbs, Bosnians, and so forth.¹⁸⁰ Thus, he saw the South Slavs in general, who shared certain characteristics, as Illyrians, and the "Croatians" were simply that part of a broader community which inhabited the entities of Croatia and Slavonia, while the Dalmatians inhabited their own separate entity. None of these depictions seems to be dominated by concepts of ethnicity.

His historical chronicle, covering the years 1749 to 1762, was a second continuation to Vitezović's chronicle. All the material in it was contained in the later text, which we have just described, his "Annuae." However, unlike that work, the chronicle entries, which were published, were written in Proto-Serbo-Croatian. He frequently uses the term "Croatian," giving it the same sig-

180. O. Šojat, "Juraj Mulih," pp. 7, 30.

nificance he was to give the term in “*Annuae*.” However, like many other writers, he switched from the term “Illyrian,” which he used when writing in Latin, to “Slav” when writing in Slavic. Thus, in “*Annuae*” he had the missionary Juraj Mulih working among the Illyrian people in Hungary; in the chronicle he had him ministering to the Slavic people there. He also referred to a popular uprising amongst the Slavic (or more likely Slavonian) people of Virovitica in 1755, leading to the formation of an investigative commission. And, as in his “*Annuae*,” he calls the language “Croatian” in the preface to his translation of the life of a medieval Bishop of Zagreb, Augustine Gazotti.¹⁸¹

It seems fitting to end this section by citing T. Smičiklas’s introduction to his edition of Krčelić’s “*Annuae*”: “K[rčeli]ć knew only Croatsians, Slavonians, and Dalmatians, and [conceived] them hardly as a single people. He in general did not even understand the concept of a ‘people’ (*narod*), he knew only the noble ranks and their peasants . . . one can dare to say that he did not have a clue about the Croatian literature of Dalmatia and Dubrovnik.” I continue with a condensed paraphrase of Smičiklas’ other judgments that followed. Krčelić may have in manuscripts defended Croatia’s rights on borders with Kranj and Styria, but in no published work did he ever make any attempts to defend his homeland. He primarily saw Croatia as a province of the Habsburg empire; and when the Habsburgs separated the Military Frontier from the rest of Croatia, he did not see his homeland being split into two parts and did not see it as a state or cultural problem. He waxed lyrical on the building of schools by the Habsburgs and their educational policies, but was not bothered by, indeed did not even mention, the fact that these schools were in German. In a proposal he wrote for the Vienna court after a peasant uprising in Slavonia, he stressed the importance that the Ban of Croatia and Slavonia be a general, but he never thought of saying that the ban should not be a German.¹⁸²

Moreover, Mesić found among Krčelić’s notes for his historical activities a file on the barons and bishops of Hungary between 1748 and 1764. And he

181. B. A. Krčelić, “Hrvatska kronika Baltazara Adama Krčelića 1749–1762” (J. Šidak & N. Žic, eds.), *Kaj* 4, no. 5, 1971, pp. 50, 56; B. A. Krčelić, “Življenje blaženoga Gazotti Augustina, zagrebačka biskupa” (O. Šojat, ed.), *Kaj* 4, no. 5, 1971, p. 24.

182. T. Smičiklas, introduction to B. A. Krčelić, *Annuae sive historia*, pp. xxx–xxxii. We also have some letters from Krčelić when he was a younger man; these, too, rarely focused on individual peoples, but in one written to his friend Nikola Mesić from Bologna in 1737, the 22-year-old Krčelić notes that “We hear here [in Bologna] that our Croats are rebels” (da naši Horvati jesu rebelles), or at least they are having altercations with the Chief Resident of Crisii (Križevci?); M. Mesić, the editor of the published correspondence, identifies that resident as being Vojvoda Josip Frederik Sachsen-Hildburghausen. Though I think this a reference to Croats as representatives of Croatia (be they representing the local nobility or military units) and not to Croatian as an ethnicity, this passage provides the only mention of Croats that might possibly suggest an ethnic interpretation in any of the 20 published letters written by Krčelić (the other 170 letters published here by Mesić were written to Krčelić). (B. A. Krčelić, “Korespondencija Krčelićeva i nješto gradje iz njegove velike pravde” [M. Mesić, ed.], *Starine [JAZU]* 8, 1876, pp. 93–242. The passage I cite is from p. 111.)

included among them the bans and bishops who served in Croatia.¹⁸³ This indicates how little the individuality of Croatia mattered to him; of course, it does not signify support of the Hungarians, for, in his support of Vienna's measures of centralization, he had even less interest in their individuality.

Thus, Krčelić looked at national matters as state matters, saw Croatia as a province of the empire, "Croatians" as simply being those who lived in that entity with particular importance going to the nobility, and supported the centralizing policy of the empire even though others among his politically-aware countrymen, for whatever reasons, were supporting Croatia's individuality and particular privileges and rights.

TITO BREZOVAČKI

In the late-eighteenth century one very patriotic and avid Croat stands out, Tito Brezovački (1757–1805) from Zagreb. He was most unhappy at the centralizing policy of the Habsburgs in the last decades of the century. That policy first brought about the abolition of the state Council for Croatia in 1779 (which put Croatia's affairs in the hands of the Hungarian Court Chancellery), blurring distinctions between the Kingdom of Hungary and the Kingdom of Croatia. In the process, many Croatian nobles had allied with their Hungarian colleagues to resist centralization measures against the autonomy of individual kingdoms; in so doing they found themselves sucked into the Hungarian resistance. As a result, the Croatian diet agreed in 1790 to its own abolition and the Croatians' integration into the Hungarian diet, where, of course, the Croatians found themselves in a tiny minority and now without a body to handle local Croatian matters. In fact, they were helpless to resist any policy the Hungarian diet wanted to impose upon Croatia.

Brezovački was horrified by the sell-out of Croatia's individual and historical status in this deal with the Hungarians (in mutual opposition to the Austrian centralism) by his political superiors (Nikola Škrlec, the Grand Count [Veliki župan] of Zagreb, and that city's Bishop Maximilian [Maksimilijan] Vrhovac). So, Brezovački wrote in 1790 a poem, "Three Sisters, Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia . . ." (*Dalmatiae, Croatiae et Slavoniae trium sororum . . .*), showing that he saw the inhabitants of these three allegedly historical entities as a single people. The poem claims that terrible evil deeds have occurred, by which the godless retinue wants us, all three kingdoms, to now be deprived of our royal crowns, and the Croatian name and Croatian people to be destroyed (*Croatarum nomen gentemque abolere*). The Dalmatians and Slavonians will no longer exist either as the Scythians (Hungarians) want to absorb us. Shortly thereafter he calls the Hungarians Huns, and speaks of their barbarian language, which no one cares a whit about except maybe the Lapps

183. M. Mesić, "O Krčeliću," p. 3.

from the regions of the North Pole. We are a free kingdom, but if we are ashamed to be Croats, then let us serve as slaves of the wild Hungarians, and though the Hungarians are a glorious people, they are not more glorious than the Slavs, as history shows. Brezovački then turns on Škrlec, whom he calls Skaliger, who has sold us out, and he damns the Grand Count as a godless traitor to his homeland. After that he turns on the bishop who in order to become bishop and primate had knowingly betrayed the kingdom. Subsequently, Brezovački expresses the hope that the two traitors destroy one another. But to lose your (the Croats') freedom, you will not ever be forgiven. If you ally together, Croats (Croata), and make it work, you will hold the state in your hands. And still later on, he turns to the treasured (King) Leopold, who will hold the triune crown, and the Croats, he reminds the king, are always faithful to their king. This poem provides an example of full-blown nationalism, and here in a Croat form, reflecting a major feature in this pathology's creation, namely that the "we" are forced to become one, a nation, in the face of a threat from another group, a "they," which is depicted as blackly as possible.¹⁸⁴

Brezovački was still writing in the same vein in 1805 in a poem to the Croatian delegates then on their way to the Hungarian parliament. Great is the honor to be sent, but it would be terrible to return with the future of your homeland unsecured. Be of firm spirit and show that you are Croats (Croatas) for whom the homeland has always been embedded in your heart.¹⁸⁵

By this time he had given up his anger at Škrlec and Bishop Vrhovac, or at least was willing to praise them for positive achievements in a poem ("Uspominač prečasnoga upelavanja redovničke bratje od milosrdja zvane u kuće iliti kloštar") written in 1804 on the occasion of the opening of a major hospital in Zagreb. The poem, focusing on the celebration for the hospital's opening, exhibits once again Brezovački's Croatian feelings. It opens with a supernatural figure, Staroslav (Old Slav or Old former glory), and I believe the name is meant to convey both meanings of the root "slav," sitting gloomily, nostalgic for the former glory (*staru slavu*) of the Croats. The nymph (*vila*) Slovinčinja (Slav, feminine) sees him and asks, "What's with you?" He replies, "Don't you see what the Croats are doing? They worry about amassing gold. Where is the former glory?" Slovinčinja replies that he should not be bitter, for times have changed. She narrates how Nikola Škrlec (the royal councillor) had summoned all the Croatian lords or nobles (*gospoda*) and mobilized them for the task of building the hospital, and Brezovački lists some of the major supporters of this enterprise, including the bishop. And thus, all these leaders have made themselves glorious in the eyes of the Croats. Moving on to the celebration, Brezovački notes that townsmen, Germans and Croats, are all dressed up in the parade; and with tears of joy, Old Staroslav thus speaks to the Croats: "Happy

184. *Hrvatski latinisti* II, pp. 862, 867, 869, 871. Discussed by S. Antoljak, "Odjeci i posljedice Francuske revolucije," p. 214.

185. *Hrvatski latinisti* II, p. 873.

are your mothers, for with this [hospital] you have returned to your former glory.”¹⁸⁶

Obviously the theme of Croatia’s lost greatness was a problem long rankling Brezovački. It was the major theme of his 1801 poem “Jeremias nad Horvatskoga orsaga zrušenjem narekujući,” with Jeremiah referring to the Old Testament prophet. But the poet is also critical of the Croats’ acceptance of the situation and of their descent into materialism and living the good life. Must one buy justice with gold and exaggerate the good that comes from the (emperor’s) court? Before the judges there, no longer is there a chance to proclaim or render justice for the Croats. Rather, Brezovački wants them to focus on their duty and he calls upon the Croats to return to God. “Ah Croatian humanity, already the cry, to you were given the time/chance, give me results! Let the world err on to its destruction, (but) turn (you) to God!” In this poem too, Brezovački clearly sees the Croats as a people, but like Reljković, worrying about the degeneration of the Slavonians, Brezovački wants moral renewal among his Croats.¹⁸⁷

186. T. Brezovački, *Djela* (J. Badalić & M. Ratković, eds.), Zagreb (JAZU, *Stari pisci hrvatski* 29), 1951, pp. 154–60.

187. For “Jeremias,” see F. Fancev, “Sitni prilozi za povijest hrvatske književnosti”: Prilog no. 5, “Iz latinske i hrvatska poezije Tita Brezovačkoga (1757–95),” *Gradja za povijest književnosti hrvatske* 11, 1932, pp. 248–53. Also in T. Brezovački, *Djela*, pp. 147–53. The most telling verses are:

1

Jaj! moje prez konca v suzah plavajuć(e)
burkaju se oci vnoga gledajuće
Zla puka mojega, koja (jel' moguće?)
dase, da se zruši, navade tekuće

2

Gdo ce moć premisliti, gdo izgovoriti,
negdasne Horvatov hvale ponoviti,
Gdo vezdašneh čine veksega zbrojiti
je v stalisu? predi moral bi zdvojiti.

3

Morsku predi bude moguće glublinu
zmeriti, ter vode njegovu širinu
Spraviti vu male jamice suplinu,
Kak navad Horvatskeh spisati vnozinu.

4

Zlo se za zlom vlece, greh greha izmenja,
nova se i s' starum navada premenja,
Gorsa su vremena, ljudi(h) poželenja,
Horvatskoga vsa su zrušenja znamenja.

7

Kak naglo Horvatske Domovine sini
ostavljaju krepost, ki je kinc jedini
bil predjev negdašneh, koga vu sredini
vsakojackeh smutnji(h) svoji Domovini.

19

Tak dalko je sveta hmanjica prevž(ela),
takva je Horvate slepota obsela,
Gospodu i muže, varaše i sela,
srca tvrdokornost pamet im je vze(la).

27

Pravica se z zlatom kupovati mora,
pregnana je vbogem 'z bogatusev dvora,
Pri sudbenih ljudi(h) već nima prostora;
pravicam Horvatskem ni glasa ni st(v)ora.

43

Valujete veru z vustih govorenjem,
pustili ste drugem stalnost i s cinjenjem,
Posli ste za vašem tela poželenjem,
zgubivate zato glas dober s poštenjem.

44

Nisu to vašega steže zveličenja,
već su zapuščenih česte duš skvarenja:
Domovine vaše i pravic zrušenja
očivesta jesu, verujte, znamenja.

45 (the last verse)

Ah, ljudstvo Horvatsko, već plaču, kojemu
davalo si zroka, daj konca momemu!
Puščaj sveta bludit k zrušenju svojemu,
obrni se k Bogu, gosponu tvojemu!

IGNJAT MARTINOVIĆ

Whereas some nobles in Croatia were raising Brezovački's ire by co-operating with Hungarians in the name of aristocratic privilege against Habsburg centralism, other individuals such as Ignjat Martinović (Ignác Martinovics), as we shall now see, were proposing Hungarian-Croatian co-operation in the name of the Rights of Man and the abolition of both monarchy and the privileged nobles of whatever nationality. This interesting movement, though centered in Hungary and chiefly attracting Hungarians, has been well summarized by Vaso Bogdanov in a book-length study in JAZU's *Starine*.¹⁸⁸ To save on footnotes I shall simply place the page numbers of Bogdanov's article after the relevant items that I present in the discussion that follows.

Ignjat Martinović's ancestors had come from Serbia during the great migration of Serbs in 1690 and had settled in southern Hungary; Ignjat's father was an Austrian officer who converted from Orthodoxy to Catholicism. When he retired, he settled in Budapest, where in 1755 Ignjat was born. Schooled by the Franciscans, Ignjat joined the order as an eighteen-year-old, something the able young man soon came to regret; however, despite his numerous requests, the order never allowed him to be released from his vows. He escaped the monastery by becoming a military chaplain in the Bukovina, where he met a Count Adam Potocky (later to be a Polish revolutionary), who added Ignjat to his entourage on his tours of Europe, including long visits to France on the eve of the Revolution; there the visitors met all sorts of progressive French thinkers. The young rebellious Franciscan was converted to the ideas of the Rights of Man, and later on in Hungary became a sympathizer of the Revolution, which was, of course, strongly opposed by the Habsburg establishment. Ignjat Martinović knew many languages well, first (as he called it) "Illyrian," which, despite his birth in Hungary, he considered his native language, as well as Latin, Hungarian, French, German, Italian, and English (pp. 338–39).

After the French Revolution and Austria's hostile response to it (which included going to war against France in 1792), Martinović organized a secret Jacobin circle in Hungary, which eventually attracted some support in Croatia. The extent of its Croatian following is unknown, since there was a single link, Josip Kralj, between the two circles; and, when the circle's existence was uncovered in Hungary, and Kralj was summoned to report to his bureaucratic superiors in the capital, he suspected that he was not being recalled to discuss his reports and committed suicide, thereby saving from discovery whatever Croatian members there were (pp. 454–55). The Hungarian circle, as noted,

188. V. Bogdanov, "Hrvatska revolucionarna pjesma iz godine 1794 i učešće Hrvata i Srba u zavjeri Martinovićevih Jakobinaca," *Starine* (JAZU) 46, 1956, pp. 331–488. Also discussed in S. Antoljak, "Odjeci i posljedice Francuske revolucije," pp. 211–64; the one specific citation to this article that follows, p. 236.

was uncovered and its leaders tried in 1794. Several of those arrested, including Ignjat Martinović (the circle's leader), were executed.

Whether Martinović's circle was actually plotting revolution or whether it was chiefly a discussion/propagandistic group is not clear. The Habsburgs definitely were worried about the spread of the French Revolution and there was considerable sensationalism in the evidence collected and at the trial itself. The Hungarian historian Éva Balázs has concluded that "the so-called Hungarian Jacobins were not plotters but dreaming victims."¹⁸⁹ But threat to the state or not, what concerns us about Martinović are his views on identity, nationality, and the state.

Ignjat's group was not a nationalist one. It stood for the Rights of Man and for doing away with feudal privilege. The main targets of its anger were the monarchy, the magnates, and the Church hierarchy. Ignjat wrote a "Catechism of the Hungarian Reforms," in which he visualized the removal of the old order and a division of the empire, leading to a Republic of Hungary. However, he planned a decentralized republic, giving recognition to the various nationalities in Hungary. To achieve this, greater Hungary would be divided into various lands, according to the nationality of their inhabitants. There would be narrow Hungary (where actual Hungarians were settled), Illyria (Croatia, Slavonia, and Habsburg Dalmatia; Antoljak adds here the fourth land of Srem), Slovaštvo (Slovakia), and Valachica/Vlaška (the Rumanian lands); we need not concern ourselves as to which counties went where in the mixed area of Slovaks, Hungarians, and proto-Rumanians. But each major nationality was to receive its own lands, each of which would have its own law code (*ustav*) and parliament using its own language. As Martinović wrote, let everyone live by his own customs and practice freely his religion. Each land would co-operate with the other lands in what was more or less an alliance (pp. 347, 352). Thus, his utopia was to be a federal republic. And in his Jacobin Catechism he expressed pro-Hungarian (not necessarily ethnic) feelings, noting that as before the commanders of Hungarian regiments still were Germans and Italians rather than capable Hungarian officers (p. 351). We have seen this issue of command on the more local scale of Croatia raised at times in Croatia.

Martinović saw his community as "Illyrian," in the broad sense of South Slav, and, as a rebel against at least organized Catholicism, had no trouble including in that community Orthodox Serbs, the community into which his father was born and had probably left merely for career advancement. Other members of his close family remained Orthodox. He called his native language "Illyrian" and, according to Bogdanov, he also considered "Illyrian" to be his nationality; and we saw that he gave the name "Illyria" to the South-Slavic territory in his utopian republic (pp. 337, 347).

189. É. Balázs, *Hungary and the Habsburgs 1765–1800*, Budapest, 1997, p. 392, fn. 40. See also p. 302.

Martinović was also associated with, and possibly the author of, a revolutionary poem found posted in Zagreb. That it was posted in Zagreb in Croatia may explain its opening line: "Why would the Croatians go to war against the French?" Then, showing a broader allegiance, in the fifth verse the poem notes that the French give rights to everyone and do not recognize a nobility, so we would be all one nation of Slavs (pp. 332–33). The first line of this poem bears the same thought as the first line of a Hungarian poem by one of Martinović's Hungarian colleagues, Franjo Verseggy, which asks: "Why go against the French, you Hungarians [and] Croats, with bloody weapons?" (p. 463).

In response to the situation and worried about the number of Jacobin writings circulating in his empire, about which he singled out Croatia, Emperor Leopold II wrote to his son in French. In the letter he reported that these dangerous French works were being spread there in Hungarian and Slavic (*en hongrois et esclavon*) (translations).¹⁹⁰

HABSBURG AND HABSBURG CATHOLIC CHURCH TERMINOLOGY IN DEALING WITH THE ORTHODOX

As noted before, some Habsburg officials used the term "Illyrian" specifically for the Orthodox, as opposed to the Catholics, in their lands. Orthodox had lived in the Habsburg lands for centuries. So, for example, we find an administrator for the Catholic Bishop of Srem in 1632 reporting that chiefly schismatics of the Illyrian language lived in Srem.¹⁹¹

In 1690 after a failed uprising against the Turks, encouraged by the Habsburgs, large numbers of Orthodox were allowed to migrate from Ottoman Serbia into the southern reaches of the Habsburg empire, into Slavonia and the Vojvodina. Emperor Leopold in his 1690 charter of privilege, allowing them freedom to practice their religion, referred to them as being of the Illyrian nation.¹⁹²

Imperial confirmations of the previously mentioned privileges to this community in the following century (e.g., Maria Theresa's in 1741 and one in 1771, which included permission to utilize their rituals and the old [Julian] calendar for their holidays), continued to refer to these Orthodox as being of the "Illyrian nation."¹⁹³ There was considerable discussion about the Serb Orthodox in the 1740s among Habsburg officials. According to Bösendorfer, in documents about them, they were referred to as being either "gens Rasciana" or "gens Illyrica." Bösendorfer goes on to note that an assembly of župans decreed that petitions from these Orthodox could no longer be in German but

190. V. Bogdanov, "Hrvatska revolucionarna pjesma," p. 449.

191. J. Radonić, "Jerolim Pastrić," p. 90.

192. M. Sladović, *Povjesti biskupijah senjske*, p. 437.

193. M. Sladović, *Povjesti biskupijah senjske*, pp. 441, 443; J. Bösendorfer, *Crtice*, p. 355.

had to be in Latin or in Illyrian, with the Illyrian utilizing Latin (n.b., not Cyrillic) letters.¹⁹⁴

DJORDJE BRANKOVIĆ

Djordje Branković (1645–1711), who declared himself a descendant of the last ruling family (of despots) in medieval Serbia, became enthused over the signs of Turkish decline in the 1680s and 1690s and decided to see if he could not restore the former Serbian state, which he claimed title to through his alleged ancestry. However, interestingly, he planned to call it not Serbia but the “Free State of Illyrian peoples,” which he visualized as stretching from the Black Sea to the Adriatic. Did he choose this broad name because he hoped thereby to attract to it Bulgarians, Bosnians, and Dalmatians? Branković sought support in 1688 from the Habsburg monarch, under whose suzerainty he claimed he would rule his state.¹⁹⁵ Though Emperor Leopold was interested in stirring up a revolt in Serbia, as we shall see in his dealings with Patriarch Arsenius, he was apprehensive of Branković’s personal ambitions, and most likely also of the attraction such a state might have for the Habsburg empire’s South-Slavic subjects. Nothing was to come of Branković’s pipe dream, but it is interesting to note the term he chose for his state. For, after all, his claims to rule a state in this area were tied to his alleged rights to “Serbia.”

A similar short-lived and equally unsuccessful venture occurred in the region of Kotor on the Adriatic in 1797 with the collapse of Venice. There a Montenegrin adventurer calling himself Grof (Count) Vujić sought to set up a state in that area. As that entity’s future ruler, he saw himself as King of Illyria.¹⁹⁶

THE SERBIAN CHURCH

The Serbian Church also used the term “Illyrian,” but its focus could be much more narrow, directed just at those living in the western Balkans. Patriarch Arsenius III of Peć on occasion identified himself in letters as “Arsenius by the Grace of God Archbishop of Peć and of all Serbs and Bulgarians and of all of Illyrica (vsego Ilirika) Patriarch.”¹⁹⁷ That Illyria signified the lands to the west is suggested by a charter he allegedly issued to the monastery of Ravanica in 1689: “Arsenius Crnoević, by the Grace of God Peć Archbishop and Patriarch of all Serbs, Bulgarians, Dalmatians, Trebinjans, [those of the] Vretaski [!] is-

194. J. Bösendorfer, *Crtice*, pp. 349–50.

195. C. Simpson, *Pavao Ritter Vitezović*, p. 142.

196. G. Novak, “Pokret za sjedinjenje Dalmacije,” *Rad (JAZU)* 269, 1940, p. 39.

197. J. Radonić, *Rimska kurija*, p. 349. The title “Archbishop of Peć and Patriarch of Serbia, Bulgaria, and Illyria” was still being used by his eighteenth-century successors, e.g., Patriarch Moses in 1719 (J. Radonić, *Rimska kurija*, p. 595).

lands, the western coastal lands, and the White Podrava, etc.” Radonić plausibly argues that this charter is not his original but a text drawn up by the monks of Ravanica during the Austrian occupation of 1718–39.¹⁹⁸ But, in any case, it seems reasonable that they either re-worked a text by him containing this formula or more likely felt called upon to define what Arsenius had meant by “Illyria,” which they were very likely aware of. After all, with Serbs and Bulgarians already specified, what area remained other than some or all of these western lands?

Many “Serbs” had also migrated into the Habsburg lands in the centuries after the Turkish conquest of Serbia. We find people called “Serbs” settled in the Vojvodina, Srem, and Slavonia, where they had their own Church organization, which was often under pressure from the political authorities to convert to Catholicism or at least to accept Uniatism. Since the Serbs had their own Serbian Church organization, the name “Serb” was used with frequency for these people. However, the local vocabulary used by and about the Catholic Slavs also penetrated Serb communities. Thus, for example, Jagić uncovered texts, discussing the publication of their Church books in the 1770s, about them setting up their own Illyrian printing press (1771) and talking about the government decision, noted previously, from 1779 on language. In their discussion of the matter and descriptions of the ruling, the Serbs noted that only Cyrillic letters and Illyrian liturgical language (*illyrica lingua lithurgica*) could be used in Church books, whereas in secular works and schoolbooks, the press would utilize the popular Illyrian dialect (*dialecto vulgari illirica*) and Latin letters. We find in 1794 that a Serbian Orthodox priest, Vikentije Ljustina, printed in Cyrillic in Slavono-Serbski a 507-page Italian grammar for the use of Illyrian youth (*radi upotreblenia illyričeskija junosti*). The local Serbs had come in this case to call their language “Illyrian,” distinguishing Church Slavonic (as liturgical Illyrian) from everyday Slavic speech (as vulgar Illyrian).¹⁹⁹ Thus, these Habsburg Serbs were calling their language by the same name that many of their Catholic neighbors were using for theirs.

We have an interesting combination of terms in a 26 September 1755 temporary regulation on the relationship between peasants (*kmets*) and landowners in Slavonia, issued by a Habsburg commission from Virovitica. First of interest, though not for our study, is the fact that the previous Turkish terms remain in use there under new Christian administration. The region is called the Slavonian vilayet, and even though the landlords are Christians (and new

198. J. Radonić, *Rimska kurija*, p. 349.

199. V. Jagić, “Iz prošlosti hrvatskoga jezika,” pp. 59–60; the reference to Father Ljustina, however, comes from M. Deanović, “O talijansko-jugoslavenskim književnim odnosima u 18 vijeku,” *Anali Historijskog instituta [JAZU] u Dubrovniku* 10–11, 1966, p. 286. For other references to Serbs using the term “Illyrian” to refer to themselves, see M. Iovine, “The ‘Illyrian Language,’” pp. 104–5.

to the area), they are called Spahis. Of relevance to us, the commissioners note that their decision is rendered in two versions, one in Illyrian and one in Latin. A copy ended up in the hands of the Serbian Church authority, and that text had a brief annotation dated 30 October and signed by a supervisor for the Orthodox Metropolitan stating that the copy from a Croatian original (iz horvatskago originala) coincided with that original according to witnesses.²⁰⁰ A similar text about Srem from August of that year was said to be a notarized version translated from Latin into Slavic (na slavenskij).²⁰¹ Interestingly, the Serb Orthodox in these texts did not use the term “Serbian”; but between them and the Habsburgs, all three of the other main terms for the language were used in these documents.

Although “Illyrian” may not have been the ideal word, using a common term made sense, for, as the Serb Dositej Obradović, writing at the end of the eighteenth century, noted, the South Slavs were all one people: “Who does not know that the Montenegrin, Dalmatian, Hercegovinian, Bosnian, Serb, Croat, Slavonian, Sremski, Bački, and Banatski (excluding the Vlachs) inhabitants all speak the same language? I understand as well those who follow the Orthodox Church as those who follow the Latin and do not exclude even the Turks [Bosnian Muslims]; for one is able to change one’s faith, but one’s race [rod] and language never.”²⁰²

A second such Serb was the archimandrite Jovan Rajić (1726–1801), who published his “History of the Various [South] Slavic Peoples, Especially the Bulgarians, Croatians, and Serbs,” in Vienna in four volumes in 1794 and 1795. In his preface, Rajić noted that his plan was not merely to write a history of Serbian antiquities “but to include their neighbors of the same blood, especially the Bulgarians and Croatians.” He presented these three peoples in his work as equal members of a single whole. Though making general comments throughout, he presented the history of each separately—and after all, for much of the time they, especially the Croatians, had very separate experiences. The Croatian section was in six parts, taking matters from Ancient Illyria to present-day conditions of Illyria. He presents two views on the origins of the Slavs in Illyria, and he never resolves the contradiction. He notes that all the Slavs, and especially those in Dalmatia, as Orбини and Dolci assert, settled Illyria from the beginning and all the peoples noted (there) were Slavs. He brings in St. Jerome translating both Testaments for the Dalmatians in the Slavic language. And thus, it is seen that the Dalmatians and Illyrians used the Slavic language. A few pages later he brings in Constantine Porphyrogenitus and cites Tuberón/Crijević on the emperor to argue that before the arrival

200. R. Grujić (ed.), “Gradja za kulturnu istoriju Slavonije,” *Starine* (JAZU) 34, 1913, p. 290.

201. R. Grujić (ed.), “Gradja,” p. 283.

202. Obradović cited by V. Jagić, “Iz prošlosti hrvatskoga jezika,” p. 62.

of the Slavs in about 600 people did not speak Slavic in Illyria. And here he goes on to doubt the authenticity of Alexander the Great's Donation to the Slavs. He then speaks of the Croatians, their earlier homeland, their Christianization, the fact that they are Slavs, and talks about some Croatian customs, focusing on their heroism and bravery in battle. Turning to geography he situates the Croatians in Dalmatia, Croatia proper, and the western part of Slavonia, having the Serbs settle the eastern part.

To support his insistence that the Croatians are Slavs, he notes that they speak a Slavic language and "It is known that the language a people speak demonstrates its origins and the [ethnic] family to which it belongs." And all Slavs call themselves by the general name of "Slav," which means glorious or blessedly born, while at the same time they are divided into separate groups like the Croats, whose name is derived from "hrvanja" (wrestling, hand-to-hand fighting). He then goes on to give various characteristics of the Croats (some of which they shared with other Slavs), such as their bravery in battle. Such stereotyping reflects the ethnic consciousness of the author. As an Orthodox cleric, Rajić clearly wanted to have the Croatians Christianized from the east; he could not refute sources showing otherwise; so he had different groups of Croats converted by different Churches. But both groups were of the same origin and ethnicity. In presenting their history, Rajić had at first intended to speak only of the period before 1102, when the Croats had only Slavic-blooded kings. But he changed his mind and went on to describe the centuries under the Hungarians as well. And here, just as he had broken down the Slavs into Croatians and the latter into eastern and western converts, and also had spoken of Dalmatians, now in the Hungarian period Rajić also speaks of "Slavonians." In fact the Slavonians were a special part of our people, very diligent, bodily strong, and cleverly intelligent—a very different stereotyping of the Slavonians from that of the German Taube, whom we shall discuss later. Rajić notes that mixed in among the Croats are found the Morovlachs, who use the Croatian language. Moreover, he greatly disliked the anti-Habsburg-centralizing policy of the Hungarians that was trying to argue a commonality between Hungarians and Croatians (i.e., the nobles) and insisted that the Croatians were only Croatians and also South Slavs, and the Hungarians were Hungarians.

Radojčić, in his fine study of Rajić, shows that throughout the work the archimandrite consistently emphasized the main theme of his history: the unity of all the South Slavs and the fact that their individual histories were all parts of a single South-Slavic history. Rajić was the first Serb to take this position on the unity of all the South Slavs. He insisted on the importance of agreement and co-operation among them. He saw the tragedy of the Slavs, and especially the Southern ones, lying in their traditional failures to co-operate. These failures resulted from their headstrong willfulness and lack of enlightenment. In fact, the whole evil side of the national character, which underlay the

lack of co-operation, could be overcome through enlightenment—and Rajić believed that with education and enlightenment, such problems would disappear.

His biographer, Radojčić, concludes: These cultural commonalities and the closeness of the eastern and western parts of the South-Slavic people provided, according to Rajić, a valid basis on which to build a united South Slavdom. His whole history is organized and written to bring out the fact that the South Slavs are a single people, and Rajić deeply believed that when education raised the level of understanding and enlightenment, the disagreements, self-assertiveness, and squabbles among the various parts, which have prevented national unification and cultural progress, would naturally end. "And for this we shall/should never allow ourselves to forget Jovan Rajić."²⁰³ Of course, Radojčić, writing in 1920, could not imagine the regressions of the 1980s and 1990s.

We also find the influential Serbian Metropolitan in Sremski Karlovac, Stefan Stracimirović, writing Adam Baričević that we (the Slavic-speaking Orthodox in Srem and the Catholics in Zagreb), who use the Slavic language (Slavo sermone), are all of one blood and of one race.²⁰⁴

Thus, there were at the time Serbs, living among the future Croats, who were perfectly happy to recognize that they were one people, speaking the same language, and even willing to use the term widely used in Croatia and Dalmatia, "Illyrian." Much more material exists on these Serbs, including variant views that were less inclusive or that wanted to put all speakers of the widely used Štokavian dialect under the label "Serb." However, our focus is on those whose descendants were to become Croats (and I intend to treat the Serbs in a separate study), so we shall leave the Serbs on this optimistic and inclusive note.

FOREIGNERS VISIT SLAVONIA

Friedrich Wilhelm von Taube

Friedrich Wilhelm von Taube (1728–78), a German world traveller, published a work on Slavonia and Srem in Leipzig in 1777. Throughout his text he calls the South Slavs (both those in Slavonia as well as those in other parts of the future Yugoslavia, whether Catholic or Orthodox) "Illyrians." He also calls their language "Illyrian." At times he breaks the Illyrians down into Dalmatians, Slavonians, Bosnians, and so forth, but, as we shall see, he does it on the basis of geography or political entity. Taube's text was serialized over three issues (vols. 2, 3, and 4–5) of *Zbornik Matice srpske za književnost i jezik*. So, to

203. N. Radojčić, "Rajićeva Hrvatska istorija," *Rad (JAZU)* 222, 1920, pp. 75–113, especially pp. 76, 84, 87, 89–90, 92, 94, 96–97, 100, 104, 106–9, 111, 113. See also S. Antoljak, *Hrvatska historiografija* I, pp. 328–30.

204. Cited by V. Dukat, "Korespondencija Adama Alojzija Baričevića," p. 170.

save on footnotes, I include in parentheses the volume and page numbers of this journal after the passages I cite.²⁰⁵

Taube writes:

Today the name "Illyria" does not any longer meet chancellery needs; a majority of the [present-day] Slavonians during the past century have migrated here from Turkish Illyria and people usually call them "Illyrians." But Slavonia itself is not able to be called "Illyria" in chancellery usage because the Illyrians, who over the last century have left their homeland, have spread out well beyond [Slavonia] and have settled also in Hungary, Erdelj, and the Banat of Timisoara. Moreover, since all the Illyrians who live in the lands of the Austrian empire and belong to the Eastern Church are administered by the Illyrian Court Deputation, [owing to this narrow usage of the term], the large population of them in Slavonia, Croatia, and Austrian Dalmatia are no longer called "Illyrians" in the chancelleries. But, in fact, the name "Illyrian" covers all the people from the whole of Illyria, be they attached to the Latin or Greek churches. However, those among them who belong to the Greek Church today are not calling themselves "Illyrians" but "Raškans" (Raizen oder Raazen), a name which they think more prestigious than ["Illyrian"] (2, p. 160).

Then Taube goes on to speak of the rivers in Slavonia, noting that the Danube in Illyrian is called the "Dunav" (2, p. 160). Shortly thereafter he provides another summary explanation: The Slavonians are made up of the indigenous population and immigrants. Among these, then, are both the old inhabitants of the land and the Illyrians who have come and are daily still coming from Albania, Dalmatia, Croatia, Bosnia, Serbia, and other places. They (have been coming because they) are one people and have the same language, character, customs, and habits. Taube notes the existence of large tracts of abandoned land in Slavonia (owing to the warfare and raids) that these "Illyrians from the Turkish provinces" could settle on. He comments once again that many have settled in the Hungarian lands. He then says that in Slavonia have also settled many Vlachs, who are found mixed with the Illyrians and have adopted their language. Thus here, in speaking of "Vlachs," he is not thinking of Serbs, but real Vlachs, having (on arrival) a different (the Vlach) language. The main language of the land (Slavonia) is Illyrian. It is the same language as the mother tongue (though in various dialects) that is spoken in

205. F. V. [W.] von Taube, "Opis Slavonije i Srema" (B. Petrović, trans.), *Zbornik Matice srpske za književnost i jezik* 2, 1954, pp. 156–83; 3, 1956, pp. 136–59; 4–5, 1958, pp. 192–231. This text is discussed in T. Matić, "Slavonsko selo u djelima hrvatskih pisaca potkraj osamnaestoga vijeka," in M. Rešetar et al., *Izabrana djela*, Zagreb, 1983, pp. 72–73 (fn. 4), 107, 109; K. Georgijević, *Hrvatska književnost*, pp. 170, 178.

Albania(!), Dalmatia, Croatia, Bosnia, Serbia, and in a part of Bulgaria. The differences among these dialects are similar to those among the Saxon, Rhein, Bavarian, and Austrian dialects of German. The current Illyrian language is a mixture of Sarmatian or Slavic/Slavonic and Old Illyrian, which (Old Illyrian) is as different from the current language as current German is from that spoken at the court of Charlemagne (2, p. 174). He compares the Church language and spoken Illyrian with High and Low German.

It is clear, then, that Taube sees the Illyrians as a single people, noting their common language and customs (regardless of whether they live in Slavonia or in regions under the Turks); at times for specific discussions of those in a given region he uses geographical terms like Slavonian or Croatian for the relevant sub-groups.

Taube also clearly sees the Illyrians as an ethnic group, frequently generalizing about and even stereotyping them. Thus, among the sections of Taube's book 1 are "The Way of Life, Customs, Character, and Habits of the Illyrians in the Austrian and Turkish Lands" and "About the Illyrians Who Will Not Unite with the Catholic Church." In talking about bear hunting among them, Taube notes that the peasants in Slavonia, Croatia, and Bosnia do not use rifles, a testimony to the bravery of the Illyrians. Seeking bearskins, they use no weapons other than a hatchet. When they come upon a bear the Illyrians stand beside trees and throw stones at it and tease it in other ways to make it attack them. When it does so, the one charged by the bear goes up the tree, and when the bear follows, the brave Illyrian lets him get close, then lops off a forepaw, causing the bear to fall, and the Illyrian calmly descends and finishes the bear off with his hatchet (2, p. 164).

He notes that few Slavonians develop fruit orchards, for the Illyrian's character has very little concern for his descendants; he also notes that rakija and sljivovica are the favorite drink of the Illyrians in both the Turkish and Hungarian lands (2, p. 162). He speaks about the Illyrians becoming wild under the Turkish yoke; and after mentioning the immigration into Slavonia of many Germans (Švaba) and Illyrians from Venetian Dalmatia, he comments that these Dalmatians, who had migrated to Slavonia, are even lazier than the Slavonians (2, p. 174); he claims that Illyrians do not act until hunger forces them to (3, p. 138); and he asserts that a handful of dilligent foreigners could do the [factory] work of a thousand lazy Slavonians (3, p. 139). A Slavic wife has to work very hard, for her man sits with his hands crossed (3, p. 140). Subsequently Taube notes that the Illyrians of Srem were the best, angels, in fact, compared to the Croatians and Dalmatians (2, 175). All the Illyrians of the Austrian and Turkish lands were sly; the Illyrians readily accepted punishment, if they believed they were guilty, but, if they believed they had done no wrong, they became extremely bitter (2, p. 175).

Speaking of the widespread brigandage in Slavonia, Taube notes that Illyr-

ians had a bent for banditry and plundering (3, p. 151). He notes the large number of Illyrians or Slavonians belonging to the Eastern Church (4–5, p. 195). Comparing Orthodox Illyrians, and Greeks, he notes that among the Illyrians, monks were called “kaludjers,” while the Greeks called them “anahoreti” (2, 181). He claims that all Illyrians have a natural talent for song (3, p. 138) and that all of them have a natural bent for commerce (3, p. 140). Among the virtues of the Illyrians were faithfulness to their ruler, hospitality, a bent for war, and exceptional bravery in it (2, p. 176). The Catholics of the Pakrac region dress well in the Illyrian manner (4–5, p. 203). The Illyrians in their customs, habits, way of life, and language have taken much from the Turks (2, p. 176). He notes that in Slavonia all the administrative officials were Germans, Hungarians, and Croats (presumably people from Croatia proper) because the Slavonians were not fit for these jobs, for they rarely studied Latin, the language of administration. In discussing the Military Frontier, Taube freely refers to the troops and those settled in these territories as “Croats” and “Slavonians” (e.g., 3, p. 218). He notes that half of the Croatian and Slavonian officers were Germans and Hungarians; so, when they arrived to take their commands, they had to learn the Illyrian language (3, p. 218). In his usage here, Taube is clearly basing his use of the terms “Croatian” and “Slavonian” on the territory, since some of those he is calling by these names were Germans and Hungarians. He also notes Albanian and Montenegrin immigration into Srem. He says that the Montenegrins, on arrival, spoke an old Illyrian dialect which the Sremci did not understand; however, in a matter of months the Montenegrins come to master “today’s Illyrian language.” He goes on to say that during the 1770s many Dalmatians had migrated to Srem; as they come from Venetian territory, the local Sremci call them “Venetians.” Again, here, we find a totally non-ethnic significance to this identity label. And Taube then repeats the observation he had made earlier about the Dalmatian migrants in Slavonia, namely how lazy they were (3, pp. 210–11).

On the region’s history, Taube utilizes the studies of his time (and the sources then known), noting the initial invasions of Sarmatians or Slavs, and the subsequent arrival at the invitation of Heraclius of the Croats and Serbs (from Constantine Porphyrogenitus), whom he sees as taking over most of what was to become Yugoslavia (3, p. 147). And in his use of terms, we find him saying that the Slavs of that time are today’s Illyrians (4–5, p. 193).

Thus, as we approach the nineteenth century, we find that this educated, well-travelled German viewed the South Slavs as a single ethnic group whom he called the “Illyrians.” This people could, for purposes of analysis, be broken down into sub-categories by geography or administrative entity. Thus, his view of the Illyrians could be compared to one viewing the population of the United States as Americans, but with sub-categories of New Englanders, Mid-westerners, Californians, and so forth.

Balthasar Hacquet

Balthasar Hacquet (born in 1739) was a Frenchman who spent the last decades of his life living in Austria and writing in German; clearly both cultures influenced his writing. A doctor, interested in natural science and ethnography, Hacquet travelled widely around the Slavic world, including the western Balkans. He wrote extensively about these regions in a work (presumably in several volumes) published in Leipzig between 1802 and 1805.²⁰⁶ He looked at the Slavs as a people, noting that they made up two-thirds of the population of the Habsburg monarchy. In fact, they were the most numerous people on earth, exceeding in numbers even the Arabs. Disagreeing with Herder, who saw the Slavs as peace-loving and gentle, Hacquet saw them as a war-like people whose name was derived from “glory.” Elsewhere in the text he also gave them particular traits, reflecting an ethnic way of stereotyping. The Slavs’ way of life was close to that of the Tatars, and like them the Slavs were brave and tough, and the southern ones, especially the Dalmatians, were even cruel. (Later he notes that the Dalmatians were not two-faced with their words.) The Slavs were satisfied with little, had strong endurance, enjoyed songs and poetry, and exhibited hospitality. They did not fear death. In all this he saw the Slavs as having a very different spirit from Europeans. In addition, suggesting that the Slavs emerged out of the Caucasus, Hacquet noted that Slavic did not resemble any other language in Europe. So for Hacquet, Pederin concludes, the frontier of Europe was where German populations and language were replaced by Slavic ones. This was not necessarily a negative judgment—after all, Hacquet gives them positive characteristics—for Hacquet was influenced by Rousseau and his concepts of the “noble savage” and “children of nature” unspoiled by “civilization.” Hacquet goes on to argue against Diderot that one did not have to cross the ocean to find such people, but one could encounter them close to home, in the borderlands of Europe.

Hacquet thus saw the ethnos, or as he put it “the nation,” as “Slavs.” He then broke this nation down, parallel, as Pederin argues, with an empire (e.g., Austria) composed of various kingdoms, crownlands, and so forth. He then divided the nation or the race into folk (*volk*), giving that term a much narrower meaning than many of his contemporaries. And under the label of “folk” he included Istrians, Liburnians, Vlachs, Croats, Ličani, and so forth. Elsewhere he notes the various folk who lived in Croatia: Vlachs, Uskoks, Istrians, Japidjane (as he calls the Rumanian speakers of Istria), and so forth, and these Croatians were part of the great Slavic nation that was spread from

206. The work was entitled *Abbildung und Beschreibung der südwest—und östlichen Wenden, Illyrer und Slaven, deren geographische Ausbreitung von dem adriatischen Meere bis an den Ponto, deren Sitten, Gebräuche, Handthierung, Gewerbe, Religion u. s. w. nach einer zehnjährigen Reise und vierzigjährigen Aufenthalte in jenen Gegenden dargestellt von. . .* My discussion of Hacquet is drawn from I. Pederin, “Balthasar Hacquet, prvi folklorist i etnolog hrvatskih krajeva,” *Radovi* (Filozofski fakultet u Zadru, Sveučilište u Zagrebu) 11, 1973, pp. 421–40, esp. pp. 431–37.

the Adriatic to the Pacific Ocean. He describes Istria as a land of wine and olive oil, whose people buried themselves in Roman sarcophagi. The Italians of Istria lived only in the towns. The Slavs did not know Italian, and their priests did not know Latin. He depicts these Slavs as a racial type, being of medium complexion and medium height, and he goes on to describe their dress, houses, and wedding customs. Some call the Vlachs "Serbs," he writes, but the Croats (Chrobaten oder Kroaten, Horvati) are their actual descendants. And noting Vlach blood-vengeance customs, he mentions the same custom among the Circassians and argues that this shows the racial relationship between Slavs (among whom he counts the Vlachs) and Circassians. Describing the role of the Croatians in the Seven-Years War, he notes that these Croatians were born warriors. They were also a very closed people who looked upon those who were not of their folk (i.e., other Croats) more or less as enemies. The Ličani were seen as a separate folk from the Croats; they were a mountain, warrior people whom he calls Austrian [Habsburg] Montenegrins. The Bunjevci (another folk) were the bravest of all. It is hard, Hacquet comments, to say what people (folk) live in Slavonia, for a different people live in each village. The Turkish period and its aftermath led to the peopling of Slavonia with immigrants from every (Balkan) region.

Other Foreigners

John Christopher Jordan, a courtier in Vienna, published in that city in 1745 a work on the origin of the Slavs. In preparation for the work, having heard of the legend of Čeh, Leh, and Meh and the particular tradition that associated their origins with Krapina in Croatia, Jordan visited the site. He notes that on a hill there was a fortress called in "vulgar Croatian" (croatice) Krapeschitzza. He presumably was deriving the name of the language from the political entity in which Krapina and its fortress lay.²⁰⁷

Abraham Penzel was a German interested in Slavic languages, who having mastered Polish took up residence in Ljubljana for a while to investigate South Slavic; while there he corresponded (between 1795 and 1797) with the previously mentioned Adam Baričević. He sought from Baričević Slavonian books and noted that he had some Dalmatian books, printed in Vienna. He sought a Croatian grammar and dictionary and noted that all he knew about the Croats were songs sung about them in Prussia, where the term "Croat" was the equivalent of a barbarian. Presumably, the songs concerned the military feats we have spoken of earlier, of some of the Croatian mercenary units, whose looting and lack of discipline had given them bad reputations. Penzel also sought information on various Slavic matters, especially on the dialects of Slavic spoken by people under the Turks. Did Baričević have anything in Bosnian or

207. V. Klaić, "Krapinski gradovi i predaje o njima," *Vjesnik Hrvatskoga arheološkoga društva* n.s. 10, 1908/09, p. 1.

Bulgarian? Could he send him anything written in Slavonian or Dalmatian? Could he send Kornig's grammar (which did use the term "Croatian" and was entitled, "Kroatische Sprachlehre, oder Anweisung für Deutsche . . .," published in Zagreb, 1795)? Could he send Blašković's "Illyrian History?" Penzel also noted that in Ljubljana a young priest was bringing out a newspaper in Kranjski language.²⁰⁸ Thus, one finds Penzel using a large number of terms, and when not copying the usage in particular titles, he seems to have drawn his labels from regional names.

LABELS IN LATIN-LETTER PROTO-SERBO-CROATIAN PUBLISHED BOOKS

Thus at the end of the eighteenth century in terms of language we still find four terms widely used—"Slavic," "Illyrian," "Slavonian," and "Croatian"—and which was employed seems to have been a matter of individual choice. T. Maretić produced a study of ninety-five printed works from between 1495 and 1833 in the local language using Latin characters, as opposed to Cyrillic or Glagolitic. Of the ninety-five, thirty-nine mentioned on its title page or the equivalent the language in which the book was rendered or had been translated into. Of these thirty-nine: nineteen had Slavic, nine had Croatian, seven had Illyrian, one had Slavonian, one had Dalmatian, one had Bosnian, one had Slovinsky Bosansky, and one (our previously noted "Mirror" by Orbini) had Dubrovački. One of the "Illyrian" works was, interestingly enough, "translated from Serbian into Illyrian." Though the word "translated" was used, I suspect it was actually transliterated from Cyrillic into Latin script. It is also interesting to note the low number of "Illyrian" labels, to which we may add that after a Gospels/Epistles text in 1495, the next one to choose that label appeared in 1729. This is in strong contrast to the frequency of its use in domestic works written in Glagolitic or Cyrillic. For, in those texts "Illyrian" appears at about the same frequency as "Slavic." Since the period of our study ends in 1800, I shall now give Maretić's figures for 1495 to 1800. In this period there were a total of eighty-three proto-Serbo-Croatian books printed with Latin letters, thirty-five of which provided a name for its language. Of these, eighteen chose the label "Slavic," eight chose "Croatian," five chose "Illyrian," one "Slavonian," one "Dalmatian," one "Bosnian," one "Slavic-Bosnian," and one "Dubrovački." (My figures come to one over the total works, thirty-nine

208. V. Dukat, "Korespondencija Abrahama Penzela i Adama Baričevića," *Narodna starina* 3, no. 7, 1924, pp. 31, 33–34. In 1771, a couple of decades before Kornig's grammar, another work in German appeared in Croatia on language also employing the term "Croatian," namely Josip Matijević's guide to Croatian popular speech (croatische Redensart). For the Kornig and Matijević language texts, see D. Živković, "Publicistika na njemačkom jeziku u Zagrebu u drugoj polovici 18 stoljeća," *Radovi* (Zavod za hrvatsku povijest, Filozofski fakultet, Sveučilište u Zagrebu) 22, 1989, pp. 60, 67.

and thirty-five respectively, since one author is counted in two categories, for he calls the people “Illyrians” and the language “Slavic.”)²⁰⁹

EPILOGUE

This mixed terminological pattern, it may be noted, does not die in 1800. In fact the choice of “Illyrian” as the chief term of identity among South Slavs in what is now Croatia continued. The French found it the appropriate term to use for the Dalmatian provinces they briefly put under their rule in the first decade of the nineteenth century. Prosper Mérimée in 1827 printed a collection of epic poetry entitled “La Guzla ou choix de poesies illyriques recueillies dans la Dalmatie, la Bosnie, la Croatie et l’Herzégowine.” A minor Italian playwright, Carlo Federici, published in Rome in 1805 a rendering of Shakespeare’s *Othello*, entitled “Othello ossia lo Slavo” (*Othello or the Slav*), in which the background was changed. His *Othello* was an Illyrian serving Genoa, who was the son of the flinty Illyrian mountain ravines from a nearby disordered region of the Illyrian lands. In the play, as in its title, *Othello* is also called a “Slav”; for example, in one place an enemy calls him a “vile Slav.”²¹⁰

As late as July 1808 Maximilian Vrhovac, the Bishop of Zagreb who exasperated Tito Brezovački, wrote to Emperor Francis I about Bosnian Franciscan pupils being schooled in the Habsburg empire. Vrhovac stated that these young men did not know any language other than Illyrian and that since he expected (hoped?) that they would return to the Ottoman Empire, they would not need any other language, because their Illyrian mother tongue was used in all the Ottoman lands bordering on Austria-Hungary—in Serbia, Bosnia, Turkish Croatia—and also in Dalmatia.²¹¹ If we turn to geographical Dalmatia, Franjo

209. T. Maretić, *Istorija hrvatskoga pravopisa*. The language references in Maretić that are not discussed in my text are: (a) Slavic: Petar Bogdan Bakšić (1638, *V jezik Slovinski*) p. 92, Ignacij Akvilini (1689, *u iesik Slovynsky*) p. 143, Simon Sidić (1693, *na slovenski jezik*) p. 146, Josip Matović (1775, *u Slavinskemu Jeziku*) p. 264; (b) Croatian: Marija Magdalena Nadaždi-Draškovička (1696, *na Horvatzki Jezik*) p. 148, Mihajlo Silobod (1758, *Arithmetika Horvatzka*) p. 214, Juraj Res (1764, *na Horvatzki Jezik*) p. 233, Ivan Lalangue (1776, *y szromakov Horvatzkoga orszaga*) p. 269, Antun Vrančić (1796, *na Horvatzki Jezik*; though Vrančić was discussed at length earlier, this edition was not mentioned) p. 296; (c) Illyrian: Jerolim Lipovčić (1750, *u iezik Illiricki*) p. 205, Antun Josip Knezović (1759, *Naškim [ours] to iest slavnim [i.e., glorious] Illirickim jezikom*) p. 220, Ivan Marević (1800, *na Illiricki*) p. 306.

210. Z. Muljačić, “Othello ossia lo Slavo” Carla Federicija,” *Radovi* (Institut [JAZU] u Zadru) 20, 1973, pp. 360–62. Muljačić notes that Carlo’s father wrote in 1793 a comedy entitled “The Ancient Slavs,” which was to be published only in 1819.

211. S. Džaja, *Katolici u Bosni i zapadnoj Hercegovini*, pp. 145, 147. The term “Turkish Croatia” was used in Slavonia and picked up by many Catholic Slavs in the Habsburg empire; it soon spread to various Western travellers. According to Džaja (p. 37, fn. 6), it denoted a belt of territory between the Sana and Una rivers, from Kladuša and Cazin to Glamoč and Grahovo, i.e., the Bosnian krajina. Thus, in the eighteenth century this area (not part of Bosnia for much of the Middle Ages), lying between historical Bosnia and historical Croatia/Slavonia, was coming to be seen by various intellectuals in Croatia/Slavonia as something that could be laid claim to as part

Appendini, a major cultural figure in Dubrovnik, turned out in 1837 a grammar of Illyrian to go with his older colleague Stulli's dictionary.

Ivan Švear (1775–1839), who studied in Zagreb to become a priest and catechist in Požega, is worth pausing on; in response to a visiting bishop's questions he said he was of Croat origin (*origine Croata*), which is not exactly an ethnic reflection, and spoke Illyrian, Latin, and German. He produced "*Ogledalo Iliricima*" (printed in four volumes in Zagreb between 1839 and 1843). The first three volumes took the history of the Illyrians down to 1114, with the fourth reaching 1790. Like many of his predecessors he saw the Illyrians as autochthonous and Slavic, whose descendants were the current South Slavs for whom the "Illyrian" name is perfectly appropriate. He stated that by this work he had completed a long-term project of presenting the story of my glorious Illyrian people, later called "Slavs," and still later "Croats" and "Serbs." He writes, "My Illyrian people, happy I am to have been able [to produce my history] in our national (*narodnom*) Illyrian, that is Croatian language." He also left a never-published text, with a sixty-one-word title that, though mentioning Dalmatians and Slavonians, gave top billing to the term "Croatian" and did not once mention Illyrians.²¹²

Commenting on the state of the proto-Serbo-Croatian language (and contemporary perceptions of it) at the beginning of the nineteenth century,

of Croatia. Needless to say this border area had a very mixed past, allowing it to be claimed by many potential states/provinces; in any case, there is no evidence that the population of this territory saw itself as Croatian, and the use of the term "Croatian" by Habsburg South Slavs may have been following the Vitezović usage of terms and advanced them chiefly with a goal that the Habsburgs, as opposed to the Venetians, should succeed the Ottomans to that territory.

212. Cited by F. Šišić, "Hrvatska historiografija od XVI do XX stoljeća," *Jugoslavenski istoriski časopis* 2, 1936, pp. 47–48. See also J. Kempf, "Prilozi za biografiju Ivana Šveara," pt. II, *Narodna starina* 3, no. 7, 1924, pp. 53–54, 58–59. In a note to his home-born (*domorodni*) readers, attached to his "*Ogledalo Iliricima*" manuscript (and presumably printed with the text, most of which appeared in print after his death), he asked for forgiveness for an old man, if somewhere in the forests of Illyrian events (*Ilirskih događaja*) he made blunders. He noted that he could write only as he knew how and as he felt in his heart. Thus, his readers should read with pen in hand to correct what was bad or skewed/wrong, so that eventually from many pens a completed Illyrian history would be produced, as a *pogača* (a Balkan flat bread) is [made] grain by grain and a palace stone by stone (Kempf, p. 59). The sixty-one-word title (given by Kempf on p. 58) is: "Prijatelj slavnoga (glorious) naroda Horvatskoga (Croatian people) preisvišenim presvietlim i visoko plemenitim Horvatskoga roda (noble Croatian family/race) vlasnikom poglavicam, i svim Horvatske plemenite kervi sinom Velikoću Kraljevstva Horvatskoga (and to all of noble Croatian blood, sons of the great Croatian kingdom), Horvatov nepreobladanu jakost, njihovih predjah sa Hungari sdruženje (with Hungary associated) i svako vreme njihovih zakonitih pravica stalno uzderžanje pred oči stavlja:

Horvatska dika
Slavinska velika
sa Hungari združita

(Croatia [is] wonderful, Slavdom great, with Hungary associated) bratinski razgovor trih plemićah Horvata, Dalmatinca i Slavonca (a brotherly conversation of the three tribes of Croats, Dalmatians, and Slavonians). Written by Ivan Švear in Slavonia." Unlike various other patriots in Slavonia, Švear could glorify the Croats and Slavs, and still have positive feelings about Hungary.

Georgijević states (in my condensed paraphrase): The language was still divided among different regional centers; a common center did not exist. In narrow Croatia the Kajkavian dialect was dominant; among the most prominent of its writers were Tito Brezovački and Gregory the Capuchin. In Slavonia an Ikavian Štokavian predominated, represented by Kanizlić, Reljković, and Katančić. But there was no common center or common core; there was no force able to bring them together into a common cultural and literary unity. No strong or broad feeling that there was a need for commonality yet existed, even though certain individual writers did seek increased contacts among colleagues in the fragmented other territories in which Croatians [*sic.*] (future Croatians) lived.²¹³

A common history and common heroes among a people is a characteristic of ethnogenesis. This element was also totally lacking among the people in what is now Croatia. Particular Dalmatian towns had their specific histories and heroes. Some of the Dalmatian writers of pan-Slav orientation treated the South Slavs (or all Slavs) as a whole on what could be called an ethnic-type level. A handful of these pan-Slavists produced a pantheon of Slavic heroes from the various medieval South-Slav states and among a whole series of other people, believed or claimed to be Slavs, who in fact were not, like emperors Constantine and Justinian. These "Slavists," who tended to be Dalmatians, were apt to ignore Croatia and Slavonia, in particular the ignoring or downplaying the Croatian native kings in Pribojević, Orbini, Zmajević, Kačić-Miošić, and Gjorgji. Moreover, some of these Dalmatian "Slavists" even expressed hostility toward South Slavs from the interior, whose descendants in the nineteenth century would be seen as sharing their ethnicity. We may particularly note the hostility of Kavanjin to the Šubići and the Frankapans. The only general hero shared by a large number (and probably most) of the South Slavs was the mythicized St. Jerome, particularly honored in Dalmatia and Croatia proper. Besides him only two individuals received fairly broad honor (and they did so from intellectuals and writers rather than the people in general): Zvonimir (whose legend we have traced) and Nikola Zrinski, the heroic martyr who died in defense of Szeget in 1566. Both were honored in Dalmatia and Croatia proper (particularly in the Frankapan lands): Zvonimir by the revisers of "The Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclea" and of Archdeacon Thomas' Chronicle (*HSM*), as well as by the chronicler Ivan Tomašić and Kačić-Miošić; the Szeget junak (heroic knight) by Samuel Budinić (and the anonymous author Budinić's text was based on), Krnarutić, Kačić-Miošić, Petar Zrinski, and Vitezović.

Since inhabitants of these three regions had not shared a common history, it is not strange that they did not have common heroes. But the lack of them was going to give any would-be nation-builders a harder time in persuading

213. K. Georgijević, *Hrvatska književnost*, p. 304. Gregory the Capuchin (born Juraj Malevac), whom we briefly discussed, was a religious writer at the end of our period who published in 1800 "A Croatian Life" (*Horvatska vittia*) on the birth of Christ. Thus, this was a work written for Croatians or in Croatian. On this work, see Georgijević, pp. 276–77.

people from this region that they belonged to a single ethnicity. The importance of this common history (with common heroes) can be seen in the twentieth century with the failure to create a Yugoslav nationality. The different peoples of Yugoslavia simply had such different histories (and other than Tito, different heroes) that they felt stronger loyalties to local identities.

By the mid-twentieth century, these newly-born local ethnicities had created a pantheon of ethnic heroes (many of whom were nineteenth-century figures). Possibly helping the construction of a broad three-regional Croatian ethnicity in the nineteenth century was the fact that such a feeling for history and shared heroes (giving people of various areas a feeling of commonality) was lacking within the individual regions as well. Besides St. Jerome, the Dalmatians (despite their long shared experience of Venetian rule) had no national hero; and in 1800 neither Croatia nor Slavonia did either, though the nineteenth century was to see a major and successful effort to make founding fathers and ethnics out of various Frankapans and Zrinskis. In any case, in addition to lacking a commonly accepted standard language, our western South Slavs as late as 1800 still also lacked a common history and shared heroes.

By these few individual examples (plus the observations on language and history), I am only pointing out that 1800 is not a turning point, and after 1800 many people continued to follow their accustomed usages. However, I shall not carry my study beyond ca. 1800, but will be content to have reached that date. And though by that time some individuals have come to feel themselves to be "Croats," the sources do not give the impression that such feeling was widespread. In fact, Fancev writes, "In the eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth, before the Awakening, in the whole of [future] Croatia scholarly and belle lettres literature written in Latin, 'Illyrian' either dominated entirely or was a synonym competing with the terms 'Croatian' and 'Slavic.'" ²¹⁴ The sources show, in fact, that even in 1800, the largest number of people whose identity found its way into the documents still identified themselves as "Illyrians" or "Slavs." A number also continued to see themselves as "Dalmatians," and a new "Slavonian" identity was making its appearance in Slavonia. Thus, as we enter the modern period, as far as identity went, there were still many options for people in Slavonia, Croatia, and Dalmatia to take, and it was not at all certain in 1800 that "Croatian" would be the eventual winner. So, we can say that by 1800, in certain scattered places, the ethnogenesis of the Croats had begun, but it was accompanied by other types of ethnogenesis—both in name of community and who was to be included in the community. This situation of flux and alternate possibilities would continue well into the early decades of the nineteenth century, a period which goes beyond the limits I have set for my study.

214. F. Fancev, "Ilirstvo u hrvatskom preporodu," p. 222.

Conclusions



The evidence presented in the preceding chapters shows that past populations in what is now Croatia most frequently used broad terms to refer to themselves, such as “Slavic” (in the Middle Ages) and “Slavic” and/or “Illyrian” during the period from the sixteenth through the eighteenth centuries. However, the term “Croat,” which was not the usual one, was known to many and was employed. Each chosen identity encompassed a different (though not mutually agreed upon) membership. If one identified as an “Illyrian,” one almost certainly saw his group as at least including the Slavic populations of Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, and Bosnia. Other “Illyrians” included all South Slavs. If one identified as a “Croat,” one’s community usually became narrower, including perhaps those from the first three of the four areas just noted as “Illyrian,” or perhaps people from a smaller region within that territory. Some felt that “Croat” should refer only to those attached to narrow historical Croatia.

Some among those utilizing any of the three just-mentioned identities included ethnic features in that identity, and thus all three of these labels did appear on occasion in the form of ethnic identities. But other people seemed to have felt no need for such communities. Many employed the labels—whether broadly or narrowly—as reflecting little more than place of origin. And, as we have seen, some of those using what for others were broad identity terms perceived those terms very narrowly. One also could bear plural identities; one could be an “Illyrian” (of some sort of South Slav community) and, for example, a “Croat,” thus a “Croat Illyrian.” Ethnic feeling, in such

cases, was more likely to be attached to the broader identity, and the narrower "Croat" one was a geographical marker, like an American from Michigan.

It is clear, however, that as we reach 1800, people in what is now Croatia were torn (if they felt strongly) or at least divided among several possible identities, none of which was certain to triumph. Only some of those who possessed a peopled-type of identity ("Illyrian," "Slavic," "Croatian," "Slavonian," "Dalmatian," etc.) had brought any ethnic baggage to speak of with it. The identity of "Croat" was a minority one, often accompanied by a second, frequently more important and broader identity. For probably only a minority of those feeling "Croat," whether solely so or combined with a broader identity, would one say they were "Croats" ethnically. Moreover, those few who perceived themselves as "Croats" did not agree on who was in the Croat community. Some Croats saw that label pertaining to Kajkavians and would reject Čakavians as co-ethnics, even though some Čakavians defined themselves as "Croats." Thus, even a large percentage of those perceiving themselves as "Croats" disagreed among themselves on whom they should share that label with.

Thus, there was no certainty that a Croat ethnicity would triumph in the nineteenth century. So, current academic studies on that period that start with the assumption that the population at the time was Croat and claim, for example, that among Croats, many in the 1840s under the influence of Ljudevit Gaj became Illyrians are simply wrong. Many truly felt "Illyrian" and did not see themselves as "Croats." Thus, it is not a question of a population of Croats in the early nineteenth century seeking identities; what existed in nineteenth-century Croatia was a population holding a variety of identities, attached to those various identities with varying degrees of fervor. The Slavs in what is now Croatia could have evolved in a variety of ways, and it was only the events of the nineteenth century itself that led to a majority of them becoming "Croats."

Two factors existing in the Middle Ages continued throughout the early-modern period to hinder the development of a Croat identity—and in both cases any sort of common Slavic identity. The first was class divisions. The Slavic or Croat nobles had no sense of sharing an identity with the peasants and others beneath them. Thus, they socialized with the Hungarian and German nobility and thought their class and individual family ties were what was significant. In such an atmosphere, some early-modern nobles of Croatia, as had some of their medieval predecessors, decided it was important to advance a pedigree that traced their ancestry back to ancient Roman families. For example, Petar Zrinski declared the Roman family of Sulpicia as ancestors,¹ and

1. On these nobles claiming descent from the Roman elite, see M. Kurelac's introduction to Ivan Lučić, *O Kraljevstvu Dalmacije i Hrvatske*, p. 46. Such views were not appreciated by Lučić (Lucius), whose amusing response is provided by Kurelac on the cited page. See also B. Kuntić-Makvić, "Kako je Ivan Lučić prikazao dolazak Slavena u djelu *De Regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae*," *Historijski zbornik* 38, no. 1, 1985, p. 143, with fn. 13.

the descendants of the princes of Krbava claimed descent from a Roman consul, Manlius.² The second factor was that the territory that was to become Croatia had been divided among many different states and authorities: Venice; the Habsburgs (who divided their proto-Croatian territory among different authorities, including the Military Frontier and its special military commands, and those regions ruled from Vienna and those from Buda); Dubrovnik, having self-rule as a city-state; and the Ottoman Empire, ruling over certain territories for greater or lesser periods of time. Thus, even when all the parts of what was to be Croatia found themselves after 1815 under the Habsburgs (though, of course, divided among various administrative units), they had little or no common history; so those who wanted to develop a “we” or an ethnicity among the people of what Croats now think of as Croatia’s various parts still faced an uphill battle.

The situation as we enter the modern period is well encapsulated by Bukowski:

Until the Croats were roused to defend their language and autonomy against the pressures of Magyarization in the early nineteenth century, they lacked any distinct sense of their national identity. The Croatian state had long ceased to exist in all but name, as its lands fell under the rule of foreign empires (Venetian, Ottoman, and Habsburg). The Croatian language, which had flowered as a literary medium during the Renaissance, remained divided by dialects and orthographies. The Croats did not even have a consistent name for themselves as a people, for the terms “Croat,” “Slav,” and “Illyrian” were employed almost indiscriminately. In a narrow legal sense, it is true, the Croatian “political nation” was preserved in the corporate body of the nobility of the Habsburg Croatian lands, and it was represented by such institutions as the Croatian Diet in Zagreb. Yet this “nation” did not include the non-noble classes or even only those of Croatian speech and descent.³

And later Bukowski concludes:

By the early nineteenth century, therefore, we may conclude that a sense of national identity was still absent among the Croats. The Croatian nobility as a whole identified with its Hungarian counterpart, and its spokesmen in the Diet wanted only to preserve their privileges as a political nation equal to the Hungarians. . . . The Croatian language

2. N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom*, p. 375.

3. J. Bukowski, “The Catholic Church and Croatian National Identity: From the Counter-Reformation to the Early Nineteenth Century,” *East European Quarterly* 13, no. 3, Fall 1979, p. 327.

was without a standard dialect or orthography, and its usage divided rather than united the Croats. Almost all of the Croats' intellectual life was conducted in Latin or German or Italian; Croatian itself was reserved only for catechisms, prayerbooks, and other pastoral needs.⁴

When we examine all this evidence, it immediately becomes apparent that there was nothing particularly "Croatian" about these people. Throughout the Middle Ages, if we exclude the name "Croatia" going with a political unit and examine what terms the people within it employed, we find that they are more "Slav" than "Croat." As the Middle Ages moved into the Renaissance, this trend continued, with the new term "Illyrian" (usually referring to South Slavs in general or at least those South Slavs that were Catholic) competing with the term "Slav" for predominance. And since the Croats and other South Slavs were in some areas intermixed and all speaking dialects of the same language, those who were to become Croats could easily have continued the broad and inclusive Medieval and Renaissance trend when they found "nationalism" in the nineteenth century and come up with a broad all-encompassing Slav/South-Slav identity, as those in the Illyrian and subsequent Yugoslav movements actually did. Thus, in the pre-nineteenth-century history there was no particular reason that the dominant identity that emerged in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century should have been a narrow "Croat" one. That choice emerged from the historical conditions of that later time.

The "Croatian" choice has never, even at the present time, been one shared by all the people of Croatia. In fact, one of present-day Croatia's most talented writers—I cannot call her a "Croatian writer" since she reasonably calls herself a "Yugoslav"—Dubravka Ugrešić, movingly advances a totally different view.

Among the Slovenes, Croats, Bosnians, Serbs, Montenegrins, Albanians, Macedonians, I felt Yugoslav, and that's how I described myself in my identity documents; a citizen of Yugoslavia, mixed, anational, unspecified, nationally indifferent. . . . There were people like that living in Yugoslavia, Yugoslavs, and it didn't bother anyone at the time. . . .

A few years ago my homeland was confiscated, and along with it my passport. In exchange I was given a new homeland, far smaller and less comfortable. They handed me a passport, a "symbol" of my new identity. Thousands of people paid for those new "identity symbols" with their lives, thousands were driven out of their homes, scattered, humiliated, deprived of their rights, imprisoned and impoverished. . . .

4. J. Bukowski, "The Catholic Church and Croatian," p. 336.

My passport has not made me a Croat. On the contrary, I am far less that today than I was before.

I am [now] no one.⁵

It is a pity that the narrow “Croat” choice (or “Serb” choice, etc.) won out, for had the South Slavs then (in the nineteenth or twentieth century) come to see themselves in the reasonable and broad terms of being Yugoslavs, then they would have spared themselves much vicious warfare in the twentieth century.⁶ It also would have facilitated the creation of a Yugoslavia, which, not torn by internal conflict, could have been a strong and stable state, whose continued existence would have spared the South Slavs division into weak statelets, a condition which had previously allowed, and now once again allows, them to become playthings of their greedy neighbors and the callous world powers.

In any case, it is clear that “Croats” have not been seeking any sort of independent statehood for a thousand years. That quest began in the nineteenth century, and, of course, many of the independence seekers of that century did so in the context of all South Slavs. For those who saw the “nation” (the we) as a broad one, and by the late-nineteenth century were increasingly calling that nation Yugoslav, were certainly as numerous as, if not more numerous than, those of narrow vision who focused their allegiance only upon that part of the broader community who by then had come to be called “Croats.” By the late nineteenth century a “Croat” label was generally accepted by the Catholic Serbo-Croatian speakers of Croatia, Dalmatia, Slavonia, and Bosnia.⁷ But accepting a “Croat” identity did not mean that one

5. D. Ugrešić, *The Culture of Lies*, p. 269. It may seem boorish to add anything to her statement (for what more is there to be said), but I think it worth adding (to make her not seem idiosyncratic) that, as noted early in chapter 3, I have met many Croats, particularly Dalmatians who share her views. These particular Dalmatians with whom I am acquainted (who clearly are not a significant statistical sample) and who live (whether they like it or not) currently in the new Croatian entity had defined themselves as “Croats” during Tito’s Yugoslavia but, horrified at the recent Croatian chauvinism and the horrors it has caused, have now come, at least privately, to think of themselves no longer as “Croats” but as “Dalmatians.”

6. Since this work is focused on Croatia, I, of course, am focusing on choices made by people of that region. But I want to make sure that I am not misunderstood here and appear to be blaming the Croats, in particular, for the failure of building a workable Yugoslavia. Most Serbs, too, failed to become true Yugoslavs; thus, of course, Serbs bear a large share of that blame as well, as also do the Slovenes.

7. In fact, one might argue that even in the late-nineteenth century, feelings of Croatian ethnicity were chiefly found in the towns and among the urban literate classes. Biondich has argued that the peasants were not integrated into society as Croats until the mobilization of the peasants by the Croatian Peasant Party (HPSS) in the early-twentieth century. He states, “In the context of its struggle against Belgrade between 1918 and 1925 for a Croatian peasant republic, the HPSS facilitated the completion of the process of Croat national integration.” (M. Biondich, *Stjepan Radić, the Croat Peasant Party, and the Politics of Mass Mobilization, 1904–1928*, Toronto, 2000, p. 151.)

sought a small Croatian state. And, it was, of course, the wide support for a broader "Yugoslav" vision that led the ex-Habsburg South Slavs to choose to unite with Serbia and to establish Yugoslavia at the end of World War I. But the fact that most of those in Croatia so choosing had by then become ethnic Croats, rather than ethnic "Yugoslavs" or "Illyrians," meant that Yugoslav was a political option and a citizenship, and, owing to events that were to occur after 1918, allegiance to Yugoslavia was never able to overcome the strong attachment to a "Croat" ethnicity that emerged in the course of the past hundred to a hundred and forty years. This recent ethnic attachment throughout the history of the Yugoslav state was present and able to find advocates to express it in a divisive fashion whenever that state faced difficulties and difficult choices. And, thus, in this go-around of the 1990s, divisive ethnicity (arising out of economic difficulties and played up by ambitious politicians) succeeded in destroying, at least for the present, the Once and Future Yugoslavia.

Monarchs of Croatia to 1800



IAN MLADJOV

Details for the political history of Croatia are woefully few and laconic for the Early Middle Ages. Consequently scholars have encountered major problems in reconstructing the correct chronology and sequence of rulers. For the period c.900–c.948 the list below represents an alternative to the chronology generally accepted by Croatian scholars today. The arrangement presented here is loosely based on the arguments of Sir Steven Runciman, and of Martin Eggers.¹ The commonly accepted list of rulers runs: Mutimir (892–910), his (alleged) son Tomislav (910–928), his (alleged) brother Trpimir II (928–935), his son Krešimir I (935–945), his son Miroslav (945–949), his (alleged) brother Krešimir II (949–969), installed by Pribunja.² The Byzantine Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus (913–959) lists a sequence of Croatian rulers including Krešimir I, Miroslav, and the usurper Pribunja, but omits the far more renowned Tomislav, who is securely attested as ruler in 925–927.³ This leads to the reasonable conclusion that Porphyrogenitus' sequence of Croatian rulers belongs before, rather than after, Tomislav, contrary to common assumption in most treatments of Croatian chronology. The only primary source that possibly sheds light on this matter is the *Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclea*. Here Tomislav is named as a son of (apparently) Svatopluk

1. Runciman, *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and His Reign*, New York, 1929, pp. 207–12; Eggers, *Das Großmährische Reich Realität oder Fiktion?* Stuttgart, 1995, pp. 182–243.

2. F. Šišić, *Geschichte der Kroaten. Erster Teil*, Zagreb, 1917, p. 121. This view still dominates scholarship on Croatia; see for example, N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u ranom*, pp. 275–312.

3. *DAI*, pp. 150/151.

II of Moravia (chapters 9–12) and Krešimir II is presented as the son of a prince named Tješimir by the daughter of a Croatian ruler Čudomir (chapter 28). The latter is perhaps identical with Farlati's Godimir, who may have been an heir of either Tomislav or Pribunja.⁴ Tomislav's heirs appear to have retained control of at least some part of Illyricum, according to the same source.⁵ While the *Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclea* provides demonstrably muddled accounts of the past on numerous occasions, it is nevertheless a primary source. Moreover, the arrangement suggested by the chronicle's testimony allows us to dispense with the necessity of inventing a second Trpimir and a series of otherwise completely unattested relationships, some of which are rather unlikely (e.g., Krešimir II as the son of Krešimir I). Consequently, in the absence of clear evidence to the contrary, something like the present arrangement is to be preferred to the traditional list. Ultimately the point is moot and, as one modern expert has exclaimed, 'it is only important that a Mutimir rather than a Trpimir was king if something is known about the two men and what they represented'.⁶

The list below includes the rulers of Croatia until the modern period. Names are presented in forms consistent with the usage in this book. The numeration of rulers is slightly inconsistent, as the Hungarian monarchs are enumerated by the Hungarian count (usually one higher than the Croatian), and the Habsburgs by that of the Holy Roman Empire. Where that conflicts with the Hungarian and Croatian count, it is indicated in square brackets. Early rulers were styled prince or duke (*knez*), and from c.988 king (*kralj*).

Rulers and Kings of Croatia

c.818–c.821	Borna . . . nephew of Ljudemisl
c.821–c.835	Vladislav . . . nephew of Born
c.835–c.845	Mislav . . . son of Vladislav (?)
c.845–864	Trpimir . . . son of Vladislav (?)
864	Zdeslav . . . son of Trpimir; deposed
864–876	Domagoj . . . usurper (?)
876–877	Ilko (?) . . . son of Domagoj
877–879	Zdeslav . . . restored
879–c.890	Branimir . . . usurper (?)

4. For the former, see D. Farlati, *Illyricum sacrum*, vol. 3, Venice, 1765, p. 84; for the latter, see N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u ranom*, p. 313.

5. See the cogent arguments of Eggers, pp. 340–52, although some of his theories, including his re-location of the core of Great Moravia are unsustainable. See reviews by H. G. Lunt, in *Speculum*, 71, no. 4 (1996), pp. 945–48, R. Collins, in *English Historical Review*, 112, no. 449 (1997), pp. 1231–32, and I. Mladjov, "Trans-Danubian Bulgaria: Reality and Fiction," *Byzantine Studies/Etudes Byzantines*, n.s. 3 (1998), pp. 85–128.

6. Fine, *EMB*, p. 265.

c.890–c.900	Mutimir [Muncimir] . . . son of Trpimir
c.900–c.908	Krešimir I . . . son of Trpimir
c.908–c.912	Miroslav . . . son of Krešimir I
c.912–c.915	Pribunja . . . son of Braslav of Slavonia (?)
c.915–c.928	Tomislav I . . . son of Svátopluk II of Moravia (?); <i>king</i> (?)
c.928–c.948	Čudomir . . . son of Tomislav I or of Pribunja (?)
c.948–969	Krešimir II (Michael) . . . grandson of Čudomir (?)
969–997	Držislav (Stephen) . . . son of Krešimir II; <i>king</i> from c.988
997–1000	Svetoslav (Suronja) . . . son of Držislav; deposed
1000–1030	Krešimir III . . . son of Držislav
	Gojislav . . . son of Držislav; associated 1000–c.1020
1030–1058	Stephen I . . . son of Krešimir III
1058–1074	Krešimir IV (Peter) . . . son of Stephen I
1075–1089	Zvonimir (Dimitrije) . . . grandson of Svetoslav (?)
1089–1091	Stephen II . . . nephew of Krešimir IV
1091–1095	Almoš . . . son of Géza I of Hungary (and nephew of St. Ladislav I)
1095–1097	Peter . . . last ‘national’ king

Hungarian Kings of Croatia

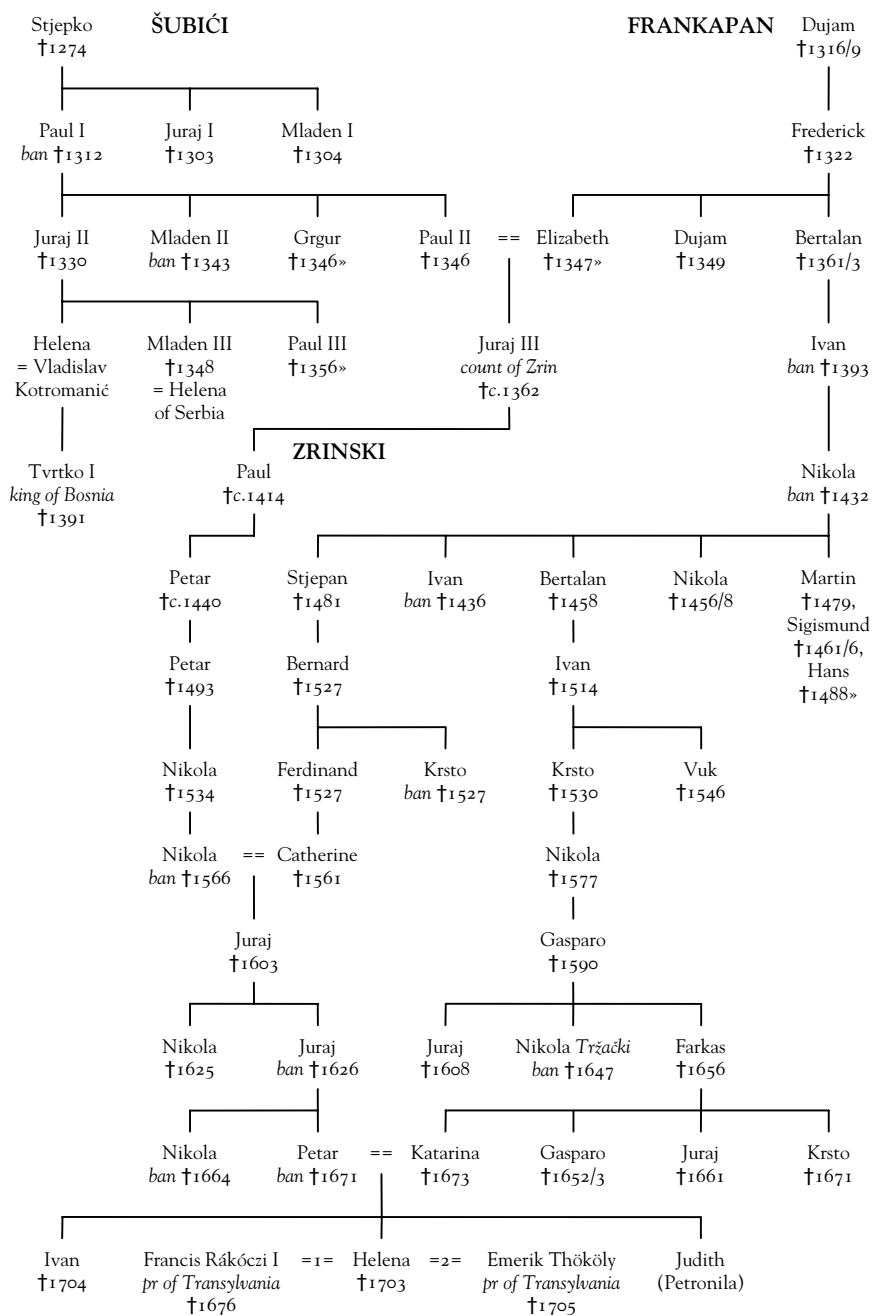
1097–1116	Koloman <i>the Booklover</i> . . . brother of Almoš
1116–1131	Stephen II . . . son of Koloman
1131–1141	Béla II <i>the Blind</i> . . . son of Almoš
1141–1162	Géza II . . . son of Béla II
1162	Stephen III . . . son of Géza II; deposed
1162–1163	Ladislav II . . . son of Béla II
1163	Stephen IV . . . son of Béla II
1163–1172	Stephen III . . . restored
1172–1196	Béla III . . . son of Géza II
1196–1204	Emerik . . . son of Béla III
1204–1205	Ladislav III . . . son of Emerik
1205–1235	Andrew II . . . son of Béla III
1235–1270	Béla IV . . . son of Andrew II
1270–1272	Stephen V . . . son of Béla IV
1272–1290	Ladislav IV <i>the Cuman</i> . . . son of Stephen V
1290–1301	Andrew III <i>the Venetian</i> . . . grandson of Andrew II
	Charles Martel of Anjou . . . grandson of Stephen V; rival king 1290–1295
1301–1342	Charles I Robert . . . son of Charles Martel
1342–1382	Louis I <i>the Great</i> . . . son of Charles I
1382–1385	Maria . . . daughter of Louis I; deposed
1385–1386	Charles II of Durazzo . . . great-nephew of Charles Martel
1386–1395	Maria . . . restored

- 1387–1437 Sigismund of Luxemburg . . . husband of Maria
 1438–1439 Albert of Austria . . . son-in-law of Sigismund
 1440 Ladislav V . . . posthumous son of Albert; deposed
 1440–1444 Vladislav I . . . son of Vladislav II (Władysław Jagiełło) of Poland
 1444–1457 Ladislav V . . . restored
 1458–1490 Matthias I *Corvinus* . . . son of John Hunyadi
 1490–1516 Vladislav II . . . nephew of Vladislav I
 1516–1526 Louis II . . . son of Vladislav II
 John Zapolja . . . son of Stephen Zapolja; rival king
 1537–1540 in Slavonia

Habsburg Kings of Hungary and Croatia

- 1526–1564 Ferdinand I of Austria . . . son-in-law of Vladislav II
 1564–1576 Maximilian (II) . . . son of Ferdinand I; associated 1563
 1576–1608 Rudolf (II) . . . son of Maximilian; associated 1572;
 abdicated, died 1612
 1608–1619 Matthias II . . . son of Maximilian
 1619–1637 Ferdinand II . . . grandson of Ferdinand I; associated 1618
 1637–1657 Ferdinand III . . . son of Ferdinand II; associated 1625
 Ferdinand IV . . . son of Ferdinand III; associated
 1646–1654
 1657–1705 Leopold I . . . son of Ferdinand III
 1705–1711 Joseph I . . . son of Leopold I; associated 1687
 1711–1740 Charles VII [III] . . . son of Leopold I
 1740–1780 Maria Theresa . . . daughter of Charles VII
 1780–1790 Joseph II . . . son of Maria Theresa by Emperor Francis I
 1790–1792 Leopold II . . . brother of Joseph II
 1792–1835 Francis I . . . son of Leopold II (end of Habsburg rule
 1918)

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Bibliography



The bibliography does not in all particulars follow the faddish manuals of style. First it lists works of an author chronologically (rather than alphabetically by title), since in that way, one can see the intellectual development of an author. All modern names (a few medieval figures are exceptions) are rendered by first initial, then surname (F. Rački) and appear that way on every occasion, even for two names in a jointly authored work; further, I never pedantically have reversals with an initial following a surname (thus always, F. Šanjek & J. Tandarić). Since Russians like to use name and patronymic and some English scholars go by multiple initials, I have, for those individuals, catered to tradition and provide a plurality of initials, though not doing it for other Slavs and Americans, myself included. The form for initials in the references in footnotes follows that in the bibliography exactly. The only reason for variation between bibliography and notes in these style manuals seems to be to make life confusing and compel use (and presumably purchase) of some manual of style. And dissertations, since they are book-length studies, are presented in the same form that a book is, namely with title in italics. Since certain works are difficult to find, I sometimes make comments about them, and note, whenever possible, when a book has volume one on its title page, but was never followed by a second volume. Publication is by city; publishers are given only if needed to locate a work.

This book is on identity (one form of which is ethnicity). I have read the classics and other works of ethnicity/nationalism literature. But in the bibliography I have listed only the handful of such works that have actually contributed to my understanding of the phenomenon. I also obviously omit works

dealing with behavior within a context of full-blown nationalism, since my study concerns identity in pre-nationalist societies.

The categories into which the bibliography is divided, "Sources" and "Secondary Literature," overlap to some degree; for example, F. Šišić's *Priručnik*, placed under "Sources," has all sorts of discussions of sources and historical commentaries interspersed with his source texts, and many secondary works include one or more primary document(s), as for example, J. Stipišić's article on the 1384 Zadar inventory of Grizogona's property, which provides the full original text of the inventory itself. Thus, certain works are arbitrarily placed in one category or the other.

Journal titles have produced difficulties in bibliographic information. Certain journals have undergone minor name changes, sometimes merely a letter or two in spelling, over time (e.g., "vjestnik" to "vjesnik"); since library catalogues usually ignore these—at least at the "entry" level—I do too. I list such journals by the title/spelling that seems to have been the established one. Of more significance, at two points in history Josip Strossmayer's noble foundation, the South Slav (Jugoslavenska) Academy, was bullied by political authorities into a name change to "Croatian," a labeling which the great bishop would have bridled at—first under the Ustaše fascists during the period of Nazi overlordship and then again under the recent chauvinistic regime of Franjo Tuđman, which label unfortunately still remains under the current reasonable and democratic administration of Račan and Mesić. The first change was short-lasting, and though the current labeling has lasted more than ten years, I cannot imagine that Croatian scholars, when the chauvinist euphoria wears off, will want to go on obscuring the traditions of this great institution, which they were—and surely still are—so proud of; almost certainly they will insist on the restoration of its historic and historical name. Thus, rather than make my bibliography seem dated for future readers, I cite all Academy publications throughout the bibliography as it called itself through most of its distinguished history, as the JAZU, the (Once and Future) South Slav Academy of Knowledge (Learning) and the Arts.

Variant spellings are not limited to journal titles. Several authors spell their own names, or those of their subjects, differently on title pages at different times (e.g., M. Valjavec/Valjavac; Frankapan/Frankopan). I have simply opted for one form, either because it is the one more commonly used or because a major scholar (in the case of Valjevec, M. Franičević) chose that rendering in his/her bibliography. Placement of accents also varies with certain names, for example, Jerolim Paštrić (Antoljak) and Paštrić (Crnčić), not to speak of Crnčić, himself, who on different occasions has spelled the first letter of his last name "C" (e.g., *Rad* [JAZU] 125, 1896) and "Č" (e.g., *Starine* [JAZU] 18, 1886). If there are major discrepancies (e.g., Gjorgji [=Ġorgi, Giorgi]; Djurdjić/Djurdjević), I cross-reference them.

To avoid confusion for non-Yugoslav readers, I have also omitted the nu-

merous periods (.) that appear after dates in Serbo-Croatian titles. I have put accented characters Č, Ć, Š, and Ž after unaccented C, S, and Z.

Finally, I want to note here two important and excellent books which are relevant to my work but appeared too late to be discussed in my text; the conclusions of both, insofar as they deal with the topics I discuss, are basically in keeping with my interpretation of pre-modern ethnicity: P. J. Geary, *The Myth of Nations: The Medieval Origins of Europe*, Princeton, 2002, and L. Wolff, *Venice and the Slavs: The Discovery of Dalmatia in the Age of Enlightenment*, Stanford, 2001. The latter in most entertaining fashion describes an “ethnicity,” that of the “Morlachs,” that existed totally in the minds of Venetian (Italian) outsiders as opposed to those they described. Not surprisingly, who fell under this label—for example, Dalmatian Vlachs, all Dalmatian Slavs—lay in the eyes of the beholder.

MOST USED ABBREVIATIONS

- ANiUBH: Akademija Nauka i Umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine
 CD: *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae, et Sclavoniae* (Smičiklas, ed.)
 Ljubić, *Listine*: S. Ljubić (ed.), *Listine o odnošajih između južnoga Slavena i Mletačke Republike I–X*, Zagreb (JAZU, MSHSM 1–5, 9, 12, 21, 22), 1868–91.
 JAZU: Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti
 MH-JSM: *Monumenta historico-juridica Slavorum meridionalium*, JAZU
 MSHSM: *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium*, a JAZU series
 SAN: Srpska Akademija Nauka
 SKA: Srpska Kraljevska Akademija

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