Contents

Maps x

Introduction 1

ONE
The Setting, Including the Slavic and Croat Migrations 17
   Overview of the Medieval History of the Western Balkans 18
   The Migrations 22
   Constantine Porphyrogenitus 23

TWO
Croats and Slavs to 1102 27
   Brief Historical Summary 27
   The Sources on the Western Balkans Prior to 1102 29
      Constantine Porphyrogenitus 29
      The Lombards 33
      The Franks 33
      The Venetians 37
      The Arabs in Sicily and Spain 42
      The Papacy 42
      Croatia Itself in the Ninth Century 44
      The Dalmatians (Split) 46
      An Early Czech Source 49
      Late References to Croats Produce Alternative Theories 50
Contents

Issues of Language 54
  The Church in Dalmatia and Its Language 54
  The Language Spoken in Croatia and Dalmatia 58
Early Accounts of the Death of King Zvonimir 59
  A Miscellany of (Mostly) Domestic Sources 59
    Croatia Proper (Eleventh Century to 1102) 59
    In the South 62
Conclusions (up to 1102) 63

Three

Slavonia, Dalmatia, and “Velebitia” after 1102 67
  The Events of 1102 67
  Slavonia, 1102–1400 71
  Dalmatia and “Velebitia,” 1102–ca. 1340 79
    Setting the Scene: The Different Actors and Their Perceptions
      of Who Was Who up to ca. 1340 79
      King Koloman Establishes Hungarian Rule and the Terminology
        of the Hungarian Administration to ca. 1340 79
    The Dalmatian Cities 84
    Church Discussions on Slavonic 94
    The Term “Dalmatian” as an Identity 94
    Dubrovnik’s Terminology 95
    A Brief Byzantine Interlude (1143–80) 99
    The Arab Geographer Idrisi 100
    Smaller Regional Identities 101
    Venice’s Terminology 103
    Cathar and International Catholic Terminology 106

Dalmatia, Croatia, and Slavonia from the Mid–Fourteenth
Century, and the Venetian-Hungarian Rivalry, up to the
Ottoman Conquest 109
  Setting the Scene, 1340s to ca. 1500 109
  Dalmatia and Croatia 110
    The Vocabulary Used by Venice (1340s–1500) 110
    Hungary’s Vocabulary, ca. 1350–1450 120
    References to Communities Possibly Labeled
      Ethnically: Croats and Vlachs 129
    Other Significant Fifteenth-Century Mentions of
      “Croats/Croatia” 131
    Typical Vocabulary Used in Croatia and Dalmatia 134
    Church Matters 140
    Identity in Dubrovnik in the Fifteenth Century 141
    Vocabulary Used about Dalmatia/Croatia in Italy 143
    Growth of the Zvonimir Legend in the Fourteenth Century 146
Slavonia in the Fifteenth Century  147
The Turkish Threat (1493–1526)  148
The First and Only Pre-1500 Clearly Ethnic Croat  148
What Language Did People Speak in Dalmatia and “Velebitia,” 1102–1500?  150
Conclusions (1102–1500)  165

FOUR
Perceptions of Slavs, Illyrians, and Croats, 1500 to 1600  171
Brief Historical Survey  171
The “Croat” Identity Camp  184
Five Sixteenth-Century Authors Find Ethnicity in Connection with the Croats  184
Other Sixteenth-Century Figures Advancing the “Croat” Name  191
Protestants  204
The Catholic Response  208
Items Labeled “Croatian”  212
University Registers and “Croats” Elsewhere  212
Ottoman Terminology  215
Official Habsburg Terminology  215
The Uskoks  216
Travellers  219
The “Slav,” “Illyrian,” or “Dalmatian” Identity Camp  223
The Slavist Camp in the Sixteenth Century  223
Vinko Pribojević  223
Mavro Orbini and a Brief Note on Jacob Luccari  226
Others in the “Slavic Camp”  229
Three Slavonian Writers  240
The Jesuits in Slavonia  242
Foreigners Define Their Neighbors  244
Those Who Chose the Term “Illyrian”  255
Church “Illyrianists”  259
Protestants  262
“Dalmatianists”  264
City Identities and Regional Ones (Other than “Dalmatian”)  269
General Thoughts on the Sixteenth Century  270

FIVE
Perceptions of Slavs, Illyrians, and Croats in Dalmatia, Dubrovnik, and Croatia Proper, 1600 to 1800  276
Introductory Remarks  276
The Dominant “Slavic” and “Illyrian” Camps

Dalmatia’s “Slavic” Camp

Juraj Baraković 280
Mate Alberti 283
Jerolim Kavanjin 285
Andrija Kačić-Miošić 288
Ivan (Đivo) Gundulić 297
Andrija Zmajević’s Church Chronicle 300
Julius Palmotić 301
Jacob Mikalja 302

Discussions on What Slavic Language/Dialect to Use 303
Textbooks on Language/Geography, Dictionaries 306
Other Texts 307
A Miscellany of Uses of “Slavic” 309
Ragusan Broad Pan-Slavism in the Eighteenth Century 311
Items Called “Slavic” 312

The Continuation of the Term “Illyrian” in Dalmatia

Serafin/Saro Crijević 313
Ardelio Della Bella 314
Other Texts on Language 316
Texts on Other Subjects 317
A Miscellany of References to “Illyrian” 318

Illyrian and Slavic Mixed in Dalmatia 322

Johannes Lucius and His Circle 324
Injacijo Gjorgji 330
Sebastian Dolci or Slade 336
Djuro Feric 337

Those Advancing a Dalmatian Category 338

Use of the Term “Croatian” in Dubrovnik and Venetian Dalmatia 340

Those Using “Croatian” along with Other Terms 345
Ivan Tanzlingher-Zanotti 345
Filip Grabovac 347
Others 350

Foreigners’ Use of Terms about Dalmatia 353

Italians 353
Official Venice 353
Alberto Fortis and a Dalmatian’s Response to Him 358
Individual Italians 361

Other European Observers 363
Ottoman Sources 366

Croatia Proper under Austria 370
The Military Frontier 370
Use of Term “Croatian” in and about Croatia Proper 375
The End of Venetian Dalmacia (1797) 380
The Terminology Used by the Church Hierarchy and Religious Orders 381

Michael Priuli’s Visitation of Dalmatia in 1603 381
Zadar 382
Isle of Krk 385

Third Order Franciscans (Including Zadar and Krk) 387
Hvar and Brač 392
Bartol Kašić 394
The Ragusan Church 405
Scattered Church Uses of “Slavic” 405
Scattered Church Uses of “Illyrian” 407
The Jesuits on the Adriatic Coast 412
Scattered Church Uses of “Dalmatian” 415
The Issue of Printing Church Books in Slavonic 416
Ivan Tomko Mrnavić 421
The South Slav Guesthouse in Rome 423
Schools for Illyrians in Italy 428
The Term “Illyrian” in Dealing with the Orthodox Debate on Vernacular versus Church Slavonic in Texts in the Eighteenth Century 432

Western Balkan Schools 436
Use of Term “Croatian” in Church Sources 442
In Venetian Dalmatia 442
From Habsburg Croatia 446

Broad “Slavism” among Churchmen 447
Lošinj’s Troubles and the Crisis over Illyrian in Churches, ca. 1802 454
M. Bogović’s Summary of “Identity” among Church-Oriented West Balkanites 456

Slavonia, 1600 to 1800 457
Setting the Scene in the Seventeenth Century 457
Jesuits 459
South Slavs at the University of Graz in the Eighteenth Century 472
The Osijek School under State Supervision 473
The Croatian College in Vienna 474
Terminology Used by the Church Hierarchy and Religious Orders in Slavonia 475
Juraj Rattkay 478
Recovery of Turkish Slavonia 480
Paul Ritter Vitezović 482
Implications of Terms 492
Juraj Habdelić, Andrija Jambrešić, and Ivan Belostenec 493
Matija Petar Katančić 500
Antun Kanižić 502
Antun Ivanošić 505
Matija Antun Reljković 507
Terminology Used by the Church Hierarchy and Religious Orders in Eighteenth-Century Slavonia 511
Other More Secularly Minded Slavonians 516
Petrovaradin 522
Thoughts on Language in Slavonia 523
The Debate on Joakim Stulli’s Dictionary 525
Habsburg Terminology 529
Baltazar Adam Krčelić 532
Tito Brezovački 536
Ignjat Martinović 539
Habsburg and Habsburg Catholic Church Terminology in Dealing with the Orthodox 541
Djordje Branković 542
The Serbian Church 542
Foreigners Visit Slavonia 546
Friedrich Wilhelm von Taube 546
Balthasar Hacquet 550
Other Foreigners 551
Labels in Latin-Letter Proto-Serbo-Croatian Published Books 552
Epilogue 553

Conclusions 557

Monarchs of Croatia to 1800 by IAN MLADJOV 563

Simplified Genealogy of the Frankapans, Šubić, and Zrinski 567

Bibliography 569
Most Used Abbreviations 571
Sources 571
Secondary Literature 584

Index 627