Contents

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 тwо Croats and Slavs to 1102 27 Brief Historical Summary 27 The Sources on the Western Balkans Prior to 1102 29 Constantine Porphyrogenitus 20 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

Maps x

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 50 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 70 King Koloman Establishes Hungarian Rule and the Terminology of the Hungarian Administration to ca. 1340 70 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) 00 The Arab Geographer Idrīsī 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 100 Setting the Scene, 1340s to ca. 1500 100 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 120 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 101 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 210 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" 220 Three Slavonian Writers 240 The Jesuits in Slavonia 242 Foreigners Define Their Neighbors 244 Those Who Chose the Term "Illyrian" 255 Church "Illyrianists" 250 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 280 Dalmatia's "Slavic" Camp 280 Juraj Baraković 280 Mate Alberti 283 Jerolim Kavanjin 285 Andrija Kačić-Miošić 288 Ivan (Dživo) 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" 300 Ragusan Broad Pan-Slavism in the Eighteenth Century 311 Items Called "Slavic" 312 The Continuation of the Term "Illyrian" in Dalmatia 313 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 Ferić 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 42 I The South Slav Guesthouse in Rome 423 Schools for Illyrians in Italy 428 The Term "Illyrian" in Dealing with the Orthodox 43I 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 442 446 From Habsburg Croatia 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 SIX Slavonia, 1600 to 1800 457 Setting the Scene in the Seventeenth Century 457 lesuits 450 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 Kanižlić 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 55I Labels in Latin-Letter Proto-Serbo-Croatian Published Books 552 Epilogue 553 Conclusions 557 Monarchs of Croatia to 1800 BY IAN MLADIOV 563 Simplified Genealogy of the Frankapans, Šubići, and Zrinski 567 Bibliography 569 Most Used Abbreviations 57I Sources 571 Secondary Literature 584 Index 627