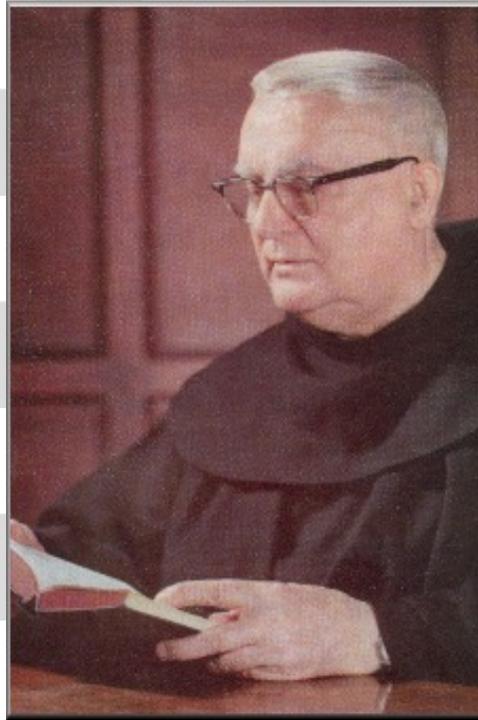


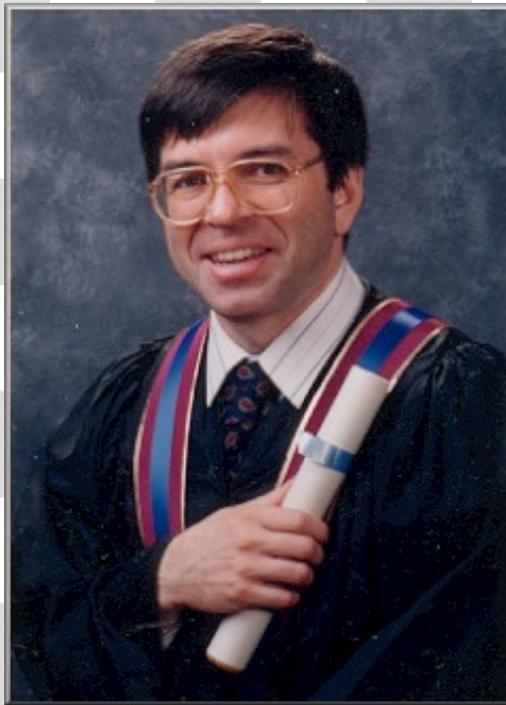
INTRODUCTION TO THE BOOK - "CROATS AND SERBS: TWO OLD AND DIFFERENT NATIONS"



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PUBLISHER'S NOTES

This new work of Dr. Dominic Mandic, "Croats and Serbs, two old and different nations" appears as the sixth book in the series "Knjiznica Hrvatske revije", after the now already famous book of Mestrovic, "Uspomena na politicke ljude I dogadjaje" (1961). This book of Mandic's is destined for a different kind of fame than that of Mestrovic's book. It will become the Croatian vade mecum, a companion, an everyday handbook, a reference work and an advisor. This book of Mandic's is a guide for Croats. Every book, as every man, has its destiny, and Mandic's in particular because it appears at a critical moment when the myth about "unity and brotherhood" has been debunked and abandoned as a lie and an illusion. This book with its scientific approach once and for all erects a high wall between the two nations of Croats and Serbs which for over a century, from Illyrism and Yugoslavism to the Red Unitarians, people have been trying not only to associate, but to unite and even to amalgamate into one new Yugoslavian body. Both the Croats and the Serbs spilt much blood and wasted much effort in uniting what could not be united, the former in their naivete and the latter in their drive for domination. The result was tragic; two nations not only did not unite, but also did not even make a rapprochement. The rift between them has become insuperable and today we are further apart than ever before.

This book of Mandic's appears at the right time, at a crucial moment, to confirm, corroborate and explain the what life itself has clearly, often cruelly shown and proven: that the Croats and Serbs are two different nations and that if they wish to avoid mutual tragedy they must each for themselves organize their separate national states and live in them as good neighbours, mutually respecting each other's political sovereignty and if it is the expressed will of the free Croatian and Serbian nations, to cooperate in solving their common vital problems, but always only as neighbours, each in their own political boundaries.

When in 1923 Dr. Mandic published his doctoral thesis on the Protoreguli of the Franciscan Order in Latin and the following year a critical study of the Franciscan lawmaking from 1210 to 1221, at that time Paul Sabatier, a founder of the contemporary Franciscan historical movement, declared that Mandic was not only one of the leading Franciscan historical critics but also a leader in the field of Croatian history. His historical work, great in volume and in content monumental, laid new foundations for the science of Croatian history.

Amplly endowed by nature with keen historical insight, critical judgement and love of historical research, besides being university educated and conversant in several languages, Mandic was born on December 2nd, 1889 in the village of Lisa near Siroki Brijeg, Herzegovina. In this new work of his he summarized all his scientific treatises up to the present day. Therefore it represents the essence of Mandic's abundant historical work. This is a review of Croatian and Serbian history from the oldest times up to 1941. Mandic stopped there because, as an objective and conscientious historian, he wished to remain impartial. For the last quarter of a century is too near to us; we are participating in it and are emotionally involved. About the Croats Mandic briefly cites proof that they are Iranians and follows them from the time before Christ on the road across the plains of the Don into Great or White Croatia beyond the Carpathians, from where one part immigrated into present-day Croatian territory in 626 A.D. In contradiction to the opinion of Racki,

Jagic and Sisic, three important Croatian historians, Mandic proves that the Croats came to the Adriatic already as constituted nation, under their own Croatian name, with their own army and under their own national rulers. Upon their arrival in the south in 626 A.D. the Croats settled all the lands from the Mura and the Drava to Valona in modern Albania, and from the Drina to the Adriatic. In the history of the Croats Dr. Mandic particularly stressed the democratic, parliamentary spirit of the Croatian nation.

In this work of his Mandic introduces new views also on Serbian history and reviews all surveys up to the present. Mandic expounds a completely new theory on the origin of the Serbs, based on new evidence. He cites evidence that they originate from Asia Minor and that accordingly they are not Indo-European like the Croats. In 1956 Mandic, first among native and foreign historian, cited evidence that the medieval Wallachs are descendants of the Roman military veterans of Mauretania. Mandic describes the role of the Wallachs in the ethnic and spiritual formation of the Serbs from the Middle Ages up to the present, which is the key to understanding the mentality and behaviour of the Serbian ruling class and politicians in the new times.

In this work, condensed and brief, but fundamental, Mandic expounds the whole history of the Croats and the Serbs. The ethnic and political relations of the one and the other during their thousand-year history are especially stressed. From all this one can and must conclude that the Croats and the Serbs are not one nation, not even near cousins, but two quite different nations, in their ethnic origin, history and political development, cultural formation, national and political conscience.

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PREFACE

The constitution of present-day Yugoslavia generally recognizes that Yugoslavia is a multinational state in which there are several nations: Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Montenegrins, Macedonians, as well as national minorities: Albanians, Rumanians, Hungarians, Germans and Italians. A separate republic was created in 1945 for every nation in Yugoslavia and allowed by the constitutional law to secede from the common federative state of Yugoslavia on the condition that petition be sought by due process of law.

The avowed purpose of this constitution was to correct one of the major prejudices of the intellectual elite of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, who had formulated the theory that the Serbs, Croats, Slovenes, Montenegrins and Macedonians are one nation and accordingly should form a common state.

This theory based on a false assumption gained the general approval of public opinion during the First World War and by the Treaty of Versailles in 1919 the unified State of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes was established. It was given the name of Yugoslavia only in 1929. Thus was born the first Yugoslavia, created on false political and historical assumptions. The nations that had been incorporated with this state summarily and against their expressed consent did not find in Yugoslavia the realization of their national aspirations. National life and cultural development became stifled. Consequences soon began to follow. Individual national groups showed continuous signs of dissatisfaction. The central authorities reacted by instating a police regime. These signs of internal strife finally culminated in the assassination of Stjepan Radic in the Belgrade parliament of 1928 and of king Alexander I in Marseilles in 1934. They broke out with renewed fury during the years 1941 to 1945 when the Serbs and the Croats indulged in fratricidal massacres.

The Second Yugoslavia theoretically recognizes the different nations within the federation of Yugoslavia and has created federative republics for its several nations. Albeit, even today in Yugoslavia there is neither peace nor contentment. The cause lies in that even with the creation of the second Yugoslavia the individual nations were not asked whether they were for a common state; nor were they asked to participate in drafting the constitution and to establish their mutual relations as federated nations. Government institutions have been centralized under the authority of the Communist Party. The Serbs who constitute an overpowering numerical majority in all party institutions effectively rule in Yugoslavia, decisively influencing the machinery of government in the accomplishment of their own national goals. This naturally provokes justified dissatisfaction and resistance on the part of the other nations and will in time forcibly bring to pass a new outbreak of internal dissension and the second collapse of Yugoslavia.

In the present Yugoslavia the Serbs severely oppress the Croats. No one now, indeed, maintains that the Slovenes and Macedonians are the same nation as the Serbs. But there are prominent thinkers and leading politicians, in Yugoslavia and abroad, who persist in the error that went into the making of the first Yugoslavia, namely that Serbs, Croats and Montenegrins constitute one nation with one common language. Many Serbian politicians today act on the captivating but illusionary premise that the passage of time will succeed in denationalizing the Croats and in converting them into Serbs. Accordingly they seek to abolish

everywhere the Croatian name and cultural peculiarities. They form Serbian colonies in Croatia and accord the Serbs all privileges. They exploit Croatia with excessively heavy taxes. By manipulation of Croatia's credit, foreign exchange and investment policies they are destroying the Croatian economy and hampering the development of Croatia's national regions. The result is that there is widespread unemployment in Croatia, forcing the Croats there to emigrate en masse to the great detriment and peril of Croatia's national existence.

Such treatment of the vast majority of Croats provokes deep resentment, dissatisfaction and resistance in response to the law of self-preservation. The authorities in power, however, often, succeed in masking such natural manifestations of sentiment. The Croats are the most numerous nation in Yugoslavia after the Serbs and geographically occupy central and key positions in the state, possessing almost the entire Adriatic coast. Therefore their dissatisfaction has and will continue without doubt to precipitate crises of state in Yugoslavia despite all phrases about the iron-bound "unity and brotherhood" of the Yugoslav nations.

Although the nations which are incorporated with present-day Yugoslavia altogether occupy such a small area of the earth's surface, a peaceful and equitable solution to the problem of the mutual relations among the Yugoslav nations is of particular importance to the general world peace as well. Yugoslavia represents the link between northern and southern Europe, between the Western and Balkan states; it dominates the passage from Europe into Asia and vice versa. Because of this, a state of restlessness and civil strife could easily pass over into wider issues of more far-reaching consequences, as was the case in 1914 after the assassination at Sarajevo.

In order to diagnose and solve justly the problem of the relations between the Croats and the Serbs it is necessary to become familiar with their national characteristics, their cultural essence and their political development from the very beginning up to the present. We have dedicated our attention to these questions in this work, which deals purely with the historical aspect of the question, from remote times to the disintegration of the first Yugoslavia and with it the demise of the preconceived notion of the national unity of Croats and Serbs. It will be necessary to elaborate in a separate treatise the contemporary history from 1941 in that the present generation lives and has been involved, and which, accordingly, it cannot look upon with sufficient distance and objectivity.

At the origin of their history the Croats and Serbs lived on peaceful and amicable terms, when each had their own national territory and state. It is our wish that friendly relations between Serbs and Croats resume as soon as possible. All those to whom the peace of the world and of the individual nations is a real concern, particularly those whose mission it is to keep peace in the world and among nations, have a duty to accomplish in seeing that Serbs and Croats organize each their own sovereign national state and live again as truly friendly neighbours cooperating economically and culturally on the basis of the eternal principles of justice, equality and freedom.

O. D. Mandić

Chicago, Candlemas, February 2nd 1970

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FOOTNOTES

Chapter One:

1. LATYSCHEV, II 262 (no. 445)
2. LATYSCHEV, 237 (no. 430)
3. PLINY the ELDER (ca.23 – 79 A.D.) *Historia Naturalis* IV, 7, 19 mentions the "Colitae" among the Iranian tribes of Sarmatians on the Don (see below n. 40). In some mas. This name is written "Corteia." Zupanic (292) surmises that this is a copyist's distortion for the name of the Croats, which in the original must have been "Co(r)itea, Horvati." According to this the Croatian name would have been mentioned as early as the first century A.D.
4. Concerning the Iranian tribes in present-day southeastern Russia around the Don and the Iranian origin of the Croats, see: NIEDERLE, I 321 – 434; ROSTOVITZ; VASMER, I; HAUPTMANN; NARTIGAL; SAKAC, 313 – 340; DABO-PERANIC. For a summary of the theories on the Croatian name see: SISIC, *Povijest Hrvata* 238 – 240.
5. MILLER, 259 sq.
6. VASMER, op. cit., 56
7. SAKAC, *The Iranian origins of the Croats*, 30 – 46; RP 195 – 201
8. PIESKER, 53 – 88; SUFFLAY, 109 – 114; PILAR, 1 – 86; SADNIK, 38 – 45
9. DVORNIK, *The Slavs*, 47 – 51
10. SAUSSURE, *Le Système* 235 – 297; IDEM, *L'origine des noms* 23; SAKAC, op. cit., 37 – 40
11. STRZYGOWSKI, 15 – 63, 156 – 181; DADO-PERANIC, op. cit., 21 – 24; MANDIC, *Hrvatski kockasti grb*, 639 – 652
12. NAKS I RUSTAM, 163; KOENIG, 36 sq.; SAKAC, *Iranische Herkunft*, 327 – 329. In the name "Harauvat-is", "is" is the Iranian plural ending.
13. SAKAC, op. cit., 326 – 336
14. PORPHYROGINETUS, 31 (146 – 152)
15. MARQUART, 468; HAUPTMANN, 113
16. MARQUART, 468; HAUPTMANN, 113
17. MARQUART, 468; 471 sq.
18. NIEDERLE, II/I, Prague 1906, 269 – 271
19. HAUPTMANN, 111 – 120
20. MARQUART, 1901 sq.; DVORNIK, *The Slavs*, 270 sq.
21. MARQUART, 102; HAUPTMANN, 106. Both writers understand the above statement differently then we do.
22. MARQUART, 471; MINORSKY, 159, 428 – 430; DVORNIK, op. cit., 271 sq.
23. HAUPTMANN, *Germanoslavica* 3 (1935), 534 – 540; NIEDERLE, 269 – 271
24. BOSWORTH, 37; NIEDERLE, 263
25. LIHACEV, *Povest' vremenny let'*, 14, 23, 84
26. HAUPTMANN, ZT 103 – 111
27. FRIEDRICH, 92; HAUPTMANN, ZT 88 – 93
28. COSMAS PRAGENSIS, I 27 (MGHSS, ns, II 49 sq.); DVORNIK, *The Slavs*, 92 – 94, 160 – 167; LOSERTH, LXV (1895); RUS
29. VOIGT; DVORNIK, op. cit., 335
30. EMLER, 127 – 134; NIEDERLE, 264; DVORNIK, op. cit., 343
31. MARQUART, 129 – 131; HAUPTMANN, 110 sq.; DVORNIK, op. cit., 92 – 94, 98, 205 sq., 230 – 235
32. MARQUART, 131 – 137; HAUPTMANN; DVORNIK, op. cit., 298 – 304; HANSEL
33. Allodi's map has been reproduced in *The Croatian Nation*, 91.

34. **U.S. Senate: Reports on Immigration, 40, 43, 105**
35. **NIEDERLE, 263 – 266; DVORNIK, The Slavs, 277 – 297**
36. **HEINZEL, 499; DVORNIK, op. cit., 284 sq.**
37. **Notitia dignitatum Oc. 32, 55 (190). See PTOLEMEY, II, 15, 4; VIII, 7, 7; Tab. Peutinger., segm. VI, 1; ANON. RAVENN., IV, 19**
38. **SAFARIK, 278 – 281; NIEDERLE, II/1, 152 sq.**
39. **See above n. 37**
40. **PLINY the YOUNGER, Nat. hist., VI, 7, 19. See DIODORUS SICULUS, II 53**
41. **PTOLEMEY, V, 9, 21**
42. **ZUPANIC, 107 – 118; IDEM, Sbrri Plinija i Ptolemeja, 555 – 589; IDEM, article in ZT 291 – 296. Zupanic's association of the Caucasian Serbs with the Don Croats is artificial and contrived. The Caucasian Serbs, where Zupanic places them, lived far from the Don Croats and several different tribes lived between them. Pliny does not at all include the Serbs in the same ethnic group of tribes as the Sarmato-Iranians of the Don (see above, no. 40).**
43. **GELZER, 534**
44. **Epiphanius' register appeared in the first years of the Heraclian dynasty (610 – 711), in any case before the third Church Council of Constantinople, 680 – 681. See GELZER, 532 – 542, 548.**
45. **OSTROGORSKY, 116 sq.**
46. **This bishopric is mentioned for the first time in Notitia Basilii (867 – 886), GELZER, op. cit., 554**
47. **RUGE, 1590**
48. **PORPHYROGENITUS, 32, derives the name "Serb" from the latin "servus" (slave), but this is false. For various theories on the Serbian name see: ZUPANIC, Srbi Plinija i Ptolemeja, 579 – 587**
49. **In the modern Kurdish and Turkish language "ser" means head or chief and "serb" herd or multitude (JABA, 237; HONY, 312). There also exists a conspicuous similarity in somatological traits and national dress between the Serbs of Sumadija and the old native population in certain regions of southern Turkey and northern Syria.**
50. **FREDEGARUS, IV, 68 (MGH ss rer. Meroving., II, 155)**
51. **FREDEGARUS, 75, (158); 87 (165)**
52. **EINHARDUS, ad. an. 782 (MGH ss, I, 163). See EINHARDUS, Fuldenses annales, ad an. 789 (350, 287)**
53. **MARQUART, 101 – 112, DVORNIK, op. cit., 270 sq.**
54. **See above, no. 24**
55. **PORPHYROGENITUS, 32, 1 – 7**
56. **See above, no. 50**
57. **NIEDERLE, II/1, 35 sq., 152 sq., 280**

Chapter Two:

1. **Provest' vremennyh let', 11, 23. This tradition has been preserved among the Croats right up to the modern age. Lj. Gag made note of it in his first work, Die Schloesser bei Krapina, Karlovac 1826, 14 – 22**
2. **NIEDERLE, I/1, 3 – 33; SISIC, op. cit., 177 – 187; DVORNIK, The Slavs, 11 – 16**
3. **CZEKANOWSKI; KOZLOWSKI; HENZEL; UDALJOV**
4. **For the historical use and significance of the name "Sclavi" and "Sclaveni" see NIEDERLE, II/2, 469 – 490; DOGLER, 22 – 28, MORAVCSIK, 278**
5. **PSEUDO-CAESARIUS, II, 110 (PG 28, 985)**
6. **DC 3, 327 sq.**

7. **DUEMMLER**, 357 – 368
8. **RACKI**, in *Knjizevnik 1* (Zagreb, 1864), 36 – 77; **IDEM**, *Biela Hrvatska i Biela Srbija*, 141 – 189; **IDEM**, *Hrvatska prije XII vieka*, 63 – 140; 57 (1881); 102 – 149
9. **Jagic** wrote about this in various critiques and reviews in *AfSPh*, especially in the article "Ein Kapital aus der Geschichte der sudslawischen Sprachen", *AfSPh* 17 (1895), 47 – 48
10. **KLAIC**, *Povjest Hrvata*, I, 25 – 38; **SISIC**, *op. cit.*, 177 – 296, 651 – 654; **COROVIC**, *HNJ*, I
11. **ZUPANIC**, *Bela Srbija*, 9 sq.; **HAUPTMANN**, in *ZT* 86 – 127; **SKOK**, *Konstantinova Sribica*, 252; **GRÉGOIRE**, 88 – 118; **MORAVCSI**; **JENKINS**; **LABUDA**, 194 – 262; **GRAFENAUER**, 32, 43 sq.; **DVORNIK**, in *Constantinus Porphrogeneitus, de adm. Imperio. Commentary*, 93 ssq.; **MANDIC**, *Crvena Hrvatska*, 246 – 262; *RP* 51 – 76
12. **HERONYMUS**, *Ep*, 123 (PL 22, 1. 1058). See *Ep. 60* (600)
13. **PAULUS DIACONUS**, *Historia Langob.*, II, 7 (MGH ss rer. Lang., 76). See *op. cit.*, 3 sq., 9
14. **MENANDER**, *Fragmenta*, 48 (PG 113, 808)
15. **PAULUS DIACONUS**, IV, 7, 10 (118, 120)
16. **GREGORIUS MAGNUS** (MGH *Ep. II*, 154)
17. *Op. cit.*, II, 249
18. **PAULUS DIACONUS**, IV, 24 (125); 37 (128 sq.)
19. For more details on the Slavs of the Carpathian foothills speaking the Kaikavian dialect see: **MANDIC**, *BiH I*, 37 – 40; **ALTOLDY**
20. Concerning the Goths on the Black Sea and their Slavic subjects see: **ROESSLER**, 77 ssq.; **VASILIEV**; **VERNADSKY**
21. **NIEDERLE**, 102 – 148; **MANDIC**, *BiH I*, 40 – 42
22. **JORDANES**, *Getica*, 34 sq. (62)
23. **MANDIC**, *BiH I*, 42 – 47
24. **PROCOPIUS**, III, 14 (336)
25. **ENSSLIN**, 697 – 706; **ZLATARSKI**, *Die Besiedlung der Balkanhalbinsel*, 358 – 375; **VASMER**, *Die Slaven in Griechenland*, 1 – 350; **SISIC**, *Povijest Hrvata*, 236 – 265; **MANDIC**, *Migrations of the Slavs*, 46 – 64
26. The Slavs of the Stokavian-Ekavian dialect were not subjects of the Avars and therefore did not go to war on their side to settle Dalmatia and the littoral regions of Predolje and Novus Epirus (see **MANDIC**, *op. cit.*, 40 – 44)

Chapter Three:

1. See above, 16
2. See above, 16, no. 10 sq.
3. **SISIC**, *Povijest Hravata*, 280
4. See above, 15 sq.
5. **PORPHYROGENITUS**, 30, 1. 60 – 75; 31, 1. 3 – 5, 83; 32, 1. 5 sq. See above, 18, no. 14
6. *Templana*, i.e. "Terra templorum", as was called in the 11th century the diocese of Pec (*Quinque ecclesiae*) between the Danube and the Sava
7. **SISIC**, *Letopis*, 293 sq., 384
8. **THOMAS ARCH.**, 7, 24 – 26; **RISMONDO**, 19
9. **PORPHYROGENITUS**, 29, 1. 1 – 53; 30, 1. 61 – 63
10. **CIL**, III, no. 9551; **BULIC**, *BASD*, 29 (1906), 13
11. **BULIC**, *Sull'anno*

12. See below, 46
13. See below, 70
14. See below, 70
15. Liber pontificals, 330
16. PAULUS DIACONUS, 44 (MGH ss rer. Lang., 135); DC 276
17. PORPHYROGENITUS, 31. 1.17
18. GEORGIUS PISIDA, 403 – 412
19. Chronicon paschale, I, 716 – 726; GEORGIUS PISIDA, 194 – 201, 403 – 412; SYNCHELUS, Homiliae, 4 – 16; NICEPHORUS, 18; THEOPANES, I, 315 sq.; BARISIC, 371 – 395
20. THEOPHANES, I, 316; GEORGIUS CEDRENUS, II, 729
21. ISIDORUS, Chronica maiora (MGH AA, XI, 479)
22. ISIDORUS, Etymologiae, XIV, 4, 7 sq. (PL 82, 505)
23. FREDEGARUS, IV, 48 (MGH ss rer. Meroving., II, 144); LABUDA, 93 – 124
24. ISIDORUS, Chronica maiora (PL 83, 1056)
25. FREDEGARUS, IV, 48, no. 62, 68 (144; 151, 155)
26. GEORGIUS PISIDA, Restitutio crucis, 78 – 81 (158)
27. See MANDIC, BiH, I, 37 – 40
28. Miracula S. Dimitrii, II, 5 (I, 212)
29. For more details see RP 230 – 233
30. PORPHYROGENITUS, 31 (148, 1. 19)
31. PORPHYROGENITUS, 30 (142, 1. 61 – 71, 75 – 77)
32. Op. cit., 30 (138, 1. 8 – 11)
33. Op. cit., 25 (104, 1. 24)
34. Op. cit., 27 (114, 1. 30 sq.)
35. PORPHYROGENITUS, De thematibus, 93
36. MANDIC, Crvena Hrvatska, 80 – 125; IDEM, BiH, I, 19 – 23; RP, 69 – 73
37. Ibid.
38. RAVENNAS ANONYMUS, IV, 15 (206)
39. STEPHANUS BYZANTIUS, 630
40. MANSI, XII, 992; AA I, 12 (no. 51)
41. MANSI, XVI, 162; PL 119, 773; MGH, Ep. VI, 438
42. NICEPHORUS BRYENNIUS, III, 3 (102)
43. ANNA COMNENA, I, 7 (I, 38)
44. PORPHYROGENITUS, De thematibus, 1 (86, 1. 62 sq.)
45. Op. cit., 9 (94, 1. 29 sq.)
46. Op. cit., 9 (93, 1. 11)
47. PORPHYROGENITUS, 32 (152, 1, 24 sq.)
48. Op. cit., 30 (138, 1. 8 – 11)
49. See above, no. 21
50. See RP, 145 – 193
51. SISIC, Letopia, 306
52. SISIC, op. cit., 399
53. SKOK, Dolazak, 103 sq.
54. AMARI-SCHIAPAELLI, 90, 108
55. SISIC, op. cit., 386 – 388
56. SISIC, op. cit., 3 (296)
57. SKOK, Zum Balkanlatein, 176; IDEM, Dolazak, 103
58. SISIC, Letopis, 424
59. GORJANOVIC-KRAMBERGER; GAHS
60. BENAC, Kulturna istorija BiH, 7 – 21
61. MARKOTIC, 20 – 75; BENAC, Studije; IDEM, Kulturna istorija BiH, 22 – 168
62. ZARNIK, 363
63. NOVAK, Prehistorijaki Hvar; MARKOTIC, op. cit., 27 – 30; BENAC, Kulturna istorija BiH, 44 – 69; BATOVIC, Stariji neolit

64. For the Illyrians and Illyricum see: ZIPPEL; THALLOCY, *Illyrisch-albanische Forschungen*; MANDIC, *Crvena Hrvatska*, 80 – 107; BENAC, *Simposium*
65. BENAC-COVIC, *Glasinac*
66. BAUER, 128 – 150; NOVAK, *Kolonisatorsko djelovanje*, 111 – 128; SISIC, *Povijest Hrvata*, 78 – 86; LISICAR, *Crna Korkira*; RP, 19 – 31
67. STRABO, VII, 3, no. 8
68. STRABO, IV, 6, 10; VII, 5, 2; DIONYSIUS HALICARNASSIUS, XVI; MAYER, 189 – 1999
69. BENAC, *Kulturna istorija BiH*, 161
70. For Roman rule in Dalmatia see: CONS; SARIA, 22 – 59; MANDIC, *Crvena Hrvatska*, 108 – 132; IDEM, *Dalmatia*, 347 – 374; FERLUGA; MOCSY, 516 – 776; BENAC, *Kulturna istorija BiH*, 171 – 375
71. PROCOPIUS, IV, 4 (282 – 285)
72. MARINI, 121, no. 78
73. THOMAS ARCHIDIACONUS, 13 (39 sq.)
74. *Kraljevstvo Hrvata*, 6 (390)
75. *Kraljevstvo Hrvata*, 9 (395)
76. See above, no. 72
77. "The rest of the Romans took refuge in the coastal cities and still control them now. These cities are Kotor, Hrausin, Aspalaton, Tetragurion, Diadora, Arbe, Velka and Opsara". Their inhabitants are still called Romans today, PORPHYROGENITUS, 29 (124, 1. 49 – 53)
78. See above, 43, no. 26
79. THOMAS ARCHIDIACONUS, 10 (33)
80. See above, 52 sq.
81. With better hygiene and nutrition one can increase the height of the human body. The Japanese in the last fifty years have generally grown several centimetres taller and the Dutch in the last hundred years also about 10 centimetres. The form of the skull can change provided various methods are applied, including bandaging the child's head in the first years of its life.
82. POP DUKLJANIN, 9 (302, 304)
83. See below, 92 sq.
84. See above, no. 79
85. IBN AL FAQIH, 145; KMIETOWIZ, 369 – 373
86. THOMAS ARCHIDIACONUS, 8 (29)
87. MANDIC, *BiH*, I, 47 – 48
88. "These Croats sought refuge with the Byzantine emperor Heraclius before the Serbs did", PORPHYROGENITUS, 31, 1. 9 sq.
89. PORPHYROGENITUS, *op. cit.*, 32 (152, 1. 1 – 20)
90. See above, no. 26
91. See above, 43 sq.
92. See above, 25, no. 50
93. The descendants of the Thessalian Serbs had in 1020 a Serbian diocese with 31 parishes, while the descendants of those Serbs who wished to return to the Elbe had at that time only 15 parishes in their diocese, GELZER, in *BZ* 1(1892), 265 sq.; 2(1893), 43 – 46
94. See above, no. 89
95. PORPHYROGENITUS, 30 (144, 1. 95 – 106)
96. *Op. cit.*, 32 (160, 1. 149 – 151)
97. *Op. cit.*, 30 (146, 1. 16 sq.)
98. *Op. cit.*, 32 – 36 (152 – 164)
99. See above, 45 – 49
100. For the inaccuracy of Porphyrogenitus' statements see: RP, 226 – 243
101. See above, 46, no. 31
102. See above, 62, no. 88 sq.

103. **PORPHYROGENITUS**, 32 (152, 1, 1 – 20)
104. See above, 63, no. 94
105. See above 49, no. 51 – 58
106. **POP DUKLJANIN**, 9, according to Codex Vat. lat. 6958, fol. 57r in the Vatican archives
107. **MS**, 4 (no. 9), **Ospom** 12 (no. 10)
108. **MS**, op. cit., 11 (no. 18); **Ospom** 18 (no. 16)
109. See above, 25 sq.
110. See above, 35
111. See below, 169 – 172
112. See **RP**, 515 – 567

Chapter Four – Part One:

1. **RP**, 112 – 116
2. See above, 55 sq.
3. **PORPHYROGENITUS**, 31 (148, 1. 21 – 25)
4. **THOMAS ARCHDIACONUS**, 11 (33)
5. **KLAIC**, *Historia salonitana maior*, 94; see also above, no. 4
6. **MARINI**, 207 (no. 142)
7. **RP**, 17. A photograph of the inscription has been reproduced in *ibid.*, 8 – 9, plate 4. For more details on the establishment of the metropolitan diocese of Split see *ibid.*, 77 – 108
8. For more details on the Christianization of the Croats see: **RP**, 109 – 144
9. **PORPHYROGENITUS**, 31 (150, 1. 59 – 62)
10. *Op. cit.*, 32 (160, 1. 140 – 148)
11. **PORPHYROGENITUS**, *De caerimoniis*, I, 691; *Vh*, II, 78
12. "Public affairs, whether they bode good or ill, are deliberated by them at a joint assembly", **PROCOPIUS**, III, 14; *Vh*, I, 25 sq.
13. See **RP**, 166 – 168
14. **POP DUKLJANIN**, 9 (305 – 307)
15. For more details on the Diet of Duvno see: **RP**, 145 – 193
16. See above, 53
17. For more details on the Narentians see: **RP**, 376 – 389
18. **JOANNES DIACONUS**, 110; **DC**, 334
19. **JOANNES DIACONUS**, 113; **DC**, 335 sq.
20. **PORPHYROGENITUS**, 30 (146, 1. 20 – 123)
21. *Op. cit.*, 30 (146, 1. 35 – 37)
22. See the letter of pope John written in 924, **DC**, 188 sq., *Prirucnik*, I, 215
23. See below, no. 50
24. **EINHARDUS**, in 799 (*MGH ss I*, 187); **DC**, 300 sq.
25. **EINHARDUS**, in 805 (*MGH ss I*, 193); **DC** 310
26. **EINHARDUS**, in 803 (*MGH ss, I*, 191); **DC** 305
27. **EINHARDUS**, *Vita Caroli Magni*, 15 (*MGH ss, II*, 451); **DC**, 315
28. **EINHARDUS**, in 806 (*MGH ss, I*, 193); **DC**, 311. See **EINHARDUS** in 807, 809, 810 (*MGH ss, I*, 194, 196 – 198); **DC**, 311 – 313
29. *Vita Hludovici imp.*, 27, *MGH se, II*, 621; **EINHARDUS**, in 817 (*MGH ss, I*, 203); **DC**, 317
30. **EINHARDUS**, in 818 – 823 (*MGH ss, I*, 205 – 210); **DC**. 320 – 355
31. **SISIC**, *Povijest Hrvata*, 326 – 330; **RP**, 351 – 355
32. **MGH**, *Legum sectio II* (III, 132)
33. **MORIN**, 307; **KATIC**, *Saksonac Gottschalk* 8, 15 – 21

34. **PORPHYROGENITUS, 31 (150, 1. 63 – 67)**
35. **OSTOJIC, 299 – 305**
36. **DC, 3 sq.; Prirucnik, 193**
37. **DC, 4; Prirucnik, 193**
38. **RP, 77 – 108**
39. **Op. cit., 351 – 355**
40. **JOHN VIII, Registrum (MGH, Ep. VII, 296); Prirucnik, 201**
41. **JOANNES DIACONUS, 123; DC, 366**
42. **Prirucnik, 199 sq.; BARADA, Episcopus chroatensis, 180 sq.; SISIC, Povijest Hrvata, 682**
43. **RP, 355 – 358**
44. **JOANNES DIACONUS, 125; DC, 373**
45. **JOANNES DIACONUS, 126; DC, 374**
46. **JOHN VIII, Registrum, 152; Prirucnik, 203**
47. **PORPHYROGENITUS, 30 (146, 1. 120 – 138)**
48. **MGH, Legum sectio II (II, 144)**
49. **JOANNES DIACONUS, 149, 153, 159; MANDIC, Grgur VII, 318**
50. **JELIC; RITIG; MILCETIC; V. STEFANIC; KLAIC, Historijaka podloga hrvatskoga glagoljastva, 225 – 281; TADIN, La Glogolite, 293 – 329; MANDIC, BiH, III, 47 – 50**
51. **DC, 15; CDKO, 23**
52. **SISIC, Povijest Hrvata, 396 sq.**
53. **See above, 45 – 50**
54. **See above, 57, no. 77**
55. **See above, 69 – 73**
56. **MGH, Ep. VII, 357; Reg. Pont., I, 3407 (2649). Similarly in the itinerary of the legate Dominic, A. D. 885 – 86 (MGH, Ep. VIII, 333)**
57. **See RP, 394 – 400**
58. **See above, 86, no. 50**
59. **RP, 255 – 265**
60. **For more details on this question see: RP, 210 – 216; 390 – 422**
61. **POP DUKLJANIN, 12 (309)**
62. **Op. cit., ch. 5 (298)**
63. **PORPHYROGENITUS, 32 (156, 158)**
64. **Opening lines of the minutes of the Council of Split, A. D. 925, DC, 187; KLAIC, Historia salonitana maior, 98; CDKO, 32, no. 1**
65. **RP, 204 – 209**
66. **Pope John X, A. D. 924, in N. KLAIC, 96; CDKO, 34**
67. **N. KLAIC, 95 sq.; CDKO, 29 sq. – The Dalmatian bishops were not directly responsible for spreading the Old Slavonic liturgy among the Croats between 870 – 924. The Croats at that time did not recognize the jurisdiction of the Dalmatian bishops, who were schismatic. The "Croatian bishops" in Nin at that time were in charge of the spiritual life of the Croats.**
68. **Tenth Resolution of the Diet of Split, A. D. 925, in N. KLAIC, 101; CDKO, 32**
69. **N. KLAIC, 101; CDKO, 32**
70. **N. KLAIC, 103 – 106; CDKO, 37 – 39**
71. **"At that time, therefore, these same Bulgars invaded Croatia under the command of Alogobotur, but were cut to pieces by the Croats", PORPHYROGENITUS, 32 (158, 1. 126 – 129)**
72. **RP, 214 – 225**
73. **PORPHYROGENITUS, 31 (150, 1. 75 – 82)**
74. **MANDIC, BiH, I, 211 sq.**
75. **"Christian Croats had up to 60,000 cavalry, 100,000 infantry, 80 galleys and 100 cutters. The galleys carried 40 men, the cutters 20 and the lesser cutters 10", PORPHYROGENITUS, 31, (150, 1. 71 – 74)**

76. **SISIC, Povijest Hrvata, 374 – 350**
77. **POP DUKLJANIN, 28 sq. (323 sq.)**
78. **ZLATARSKI, Istorija b'lgarskata d'rzava, I / 2, 633 – 743; SISIC, Povijest Hrvata, 464 – 83**
79. **THOMAS ARCHIDIACONUS, 13 (39)**
80. **See above, no. 78**
81. **POP DUKLJANIN, 36 (333). See above RP, 269 – 271**
82. **JOANNES DIACONUS, 158; DC, 427. See also BARADA, Dinasticko pitanje, 157 – 199**
83. **JOANNES DIACONUS, 153, 155 – 160; DANDOLO, 197 – 199; DC, 424 – 428**
84. **POP DUKLJANIN, 38 (344)**
85. **CEDRENUS, 476; DC, 432; SISIC, Povijest Hrvata, 480 – 482**
86. **POP DUKLJANIN, 37 sq. (342 – 354); MANDIC, Crvena Hrvatska, 208 – 218**
87. **RP, 266 – 283**
88. **DC, 443**
89. **SANUDO, 150; SISIC, Povijest Hrvata, 488, no. 54**
90. **DC, 444**
91. **BARADA, Episcopus chroatensis, 186 sq., 200 – 209**
92. **DC, 51; CDKO, 89, etc.**
93. **DC, 205; CDKO, 95**
94. **DC, 51 – 54, 449 – 455; MANDIC, BiH, I, 457 – 463**
95. **See above, 97, no. 82**
96. **DC, 72 sq.; CDKO, 113**
97. **RP, 285 – 302**
98. **THOMAS ARCHIDIACONUS, 16 (49)**
99. **HAUPTMANN, Koje su sile hrvatske povijesti, 185 sq.**
100. **SISIC, Povijesti Hrvata, 648 sq.**
101. **See above, 92, no. 69**
102. **Prirucnik, 237; CDKO, 96**
103. **STEFANCI, Opatija sv. Lucije u Baski, 1 – 24; IDEM, in Slovo, 74; HAMM, Datiranje, 39, 52 – 56; MANDIC, BiH, III, 47 – 50**
104. **AA, I, 21, (no. 68)**
105. **See above, 104, no. 11**
106. **KLAIC, Problem Slavca, 96 – 136; KARAMAN, O nekim pitanjima, 257 – 289; RP, 358 – 366**
107. **See MANDIC, Crvena Hrvatska, 55 – 62; IDEM, BiH, I, 214 – 217, 336 – 339**
108. **On this agreement see also: TAFEL-THOMAS, I, 41 – 43; Prirucnik, 264 sq.**
109. **DC, 99; Prirucnik, 263**
110. **FABRE-DUCHESNE, 356; DC, 103; Prirucnik, 268; BAUMANN**
111. **DC, 106; CDKO, 141 sq.**
112. **MANDIC, Grugur VII, 313 – 325**
113. **See above, 102, no. 103**
114. **V. NOVAK, in RIZ, 48**
115. **Prirucnik, 273 sq.; CDKO, 171**
116. **SISIC, Letopia, 412**
117. **SISIC, op. cit., 412 – 416 – For the question of king Zvonimir's death see: RADOJCIC, Legenda; GUNJACA, 205 – 324; KLAIC, Izvori, 58 – 63; IDEM, Problem Zvonimirove smrti, 271 – 288; IDEM, O legendarnoj smrti kralja Zvonimira, 229 – 270; JADRIJEVIC**
118. **DC, 148 – 152; Prirucnik, 286 – 288; SISIC, Povijest Hrvata, 591 – 595**

1. THOMAS ARCHIDIACONUS' 17 (57); RISMONDO, 33
2. See above, 102 sq.
3. THUROCZ, 56 (103) – This statement is false because according to Croatian common law, the female had no right to the throne.
4. Letter of king Ladislav I to the abbot Oderisius, Prirucnik, 316. Ladislav writes that he "acquired" Croatia and therefore did not conquer it by force. The Hungarian scholar Frankoi thus accounts for the expression. FRANKOI, 9
5. THOMAS ARCHIDIACONUS, 17 (57) states that Ladislav returned to Hungary before he reached the sea. Yet if that were the case, Ladislav would not have been the "neighbour" of Italy and the abbot Oderisius.
6. Reg. Pont. I / 2, 5540 (4147), 5620 (4207), 5633 (4215)
7. Charter of Drago prior of Zadar, A. D. 1092, DC, 154 (128); NOVAK, Zadarski kartular, 251 (13)
8. MHEZ, I, 45; DC, 158 (130); CDKO, 202 (162)
9. DANDOLO, 217
10. See Supetarski kartular, 231
11. SIMON DE KEZA, 182; DC, 481. See also DANDOLO, 224
12. Prirucnik, I / 1, 527, facs., op. cit., 460 – 461
13. Prirucnik, 459 – 526; TOMASIC; DEER; KLAIC, Tzv. "pacta conventa"; IDEM, in HZ, 9 (1956), 83 – 100, 10 (1956), 209 – 220, 13 (1960), 303 – 318; O. MANDIC
14. THOMAS ARCHIDIACONUS, 17 (59 sq.); RISMONDO, 33 sq. – King Koloman's agreement with the Dalmatian cities in 1105 mentions several documents from the first quarter of the 12th century (CDC, II, 30, 37, 54, 393). See also A. Dandolo in his Chronicle, 228 sq.
15. KOSTRENCIC, 56 – 150; KLAIC, O autenticnosti, 77 – 87
16. CDC, II, 19; CDH, II, 45 sq.
17. King Koloman granted a royal charter to the monastery of Our Lady in Zadar, CDC, II, 9; NOVAK, Zadarski kartular, 256. – For the coronation of king Koloman with the Croatian crown in 1102, see: Prirucnik, I / 1, 528 – 562
18. See above, no. 16, 17; See below, no. 32. 33
19. See below, 114 sq.
20. Pacta conventa, Prirucnik, I / 1, 528
21. CDC, II, 262; CDH, II, 292 sq.
22. See above, n. 16 – 21
23. CDC, II, 185, II, 100, 258, 278, etc.
24. It is known from the sources that king Koloman stayed in Croatia and held the Croatian diets of 1102, 1105, 1108, 1111, CDC, II, 9, 15, 19, 22 – 24
25. DABINOVIC, 124 – 130, 345 – 348
26. KLAIC, Hrvatski sabori, 255 sq.
27. DABINOVIC, 243 – 245, 353 – 355
28. LOPASIC, Hrvatski urbari; TKALCIC, 1 – 3; BARADA, Hrvatski vlasteoski feudalizam; SCHMID, 81 ssq.; DEER
29. Hrvatski pisani zakoni; STROHAL; KADLEC; KOS; Pet istrarskih razvoda
30. DABINOVIC, 448 – 481; LANOVIC, 167 – 242
31. Golden Bull, 139; CDC, III, 461; DABINOVIC, 126 – 130, 243 – 245, 343 – 352
32. Testimony of Vecenega, abbess of Our Lady of Zadar, A. D. 1105, CDC, II, 15; NOVAK, Zadarski kartular, 258 – A stone inscription on the campanile of Our Lady of Zadar, NOVAK, Zadarski kartular, 64. A facsimile of the inscription appears at the end of the book.
33. Gloss of Laudo, A. D. 1113 – 14 in the contemporaneous Zadar Evangelistary, NOVAK, Neiskoriscavana kategorija, 59
34. KLAIC, Regum Croatiae et Dalmatiae; IDEM, O krunisanju ugarskih Arpadovica – In Zagreb and Budapest even today are preserved the silver coins minted

- between 1220 and 1226 by Bela, ruler of the Croatian kingdom, with the inscription 'Bela Rex', RETHY, I, 260 (no. 243 – 245); RENDEC, Prvi hrvatski novci, 49, 51 sq., 59
35. DANDOLO, 230; SISIC, Povijest Hrvata za kraljeva iz doma Arpadovica, 1, 30 – 37
 36. See JOANNES CINNAMUS, V, 17 (248 sq.); SUFFLAY, Hrvatska i zadnja pregnuca; JIRECEK-RADONIC, I, 186; SISIC, op. cit., 68 – 88; MANDIC, BiH, I, 217 – 221, 345 – 350
 37. Donation of the archduke Andreas to the monastery of St. Krsevan in Zadar, May 6th, 1198, CDC, II, 296. See further KLAIC, O hercegu Andriji, 200 – 222: MANDIC, op. cit., 350 – 358
 38. KLAIC, Hrvatski bani; IDEM, Hrvatski hercezi, 126 – 218
 39. CDC, III' 258, 415, IV, 2 sq., 13, etc.
 40. CDC, VII, 104 sq.
 41. CDC, VII, 163 sq.; KLAIC, Bribirski knezovi, 54 – 61, 96 – 98
 42. CDC, VII, 331; KLAIC, op. cit., 67 – 70
 43. KLAIC, op. cit., 72 – 76; SISIC, Pregled, 199, 204 sq.
 44. KLAIC, op. cit., 99 – 139; BARADA, Vrijeme smrti, 167 – 171
 45. CDC, IX, 78; KLAIC, Povijest Hrvata, II / 1, 39 – 51
 46. KLAIC, Hrvatski sabori, 257 – 260; IDEM, Rodoslovlje knezova Nelipica; SISIC, Pregled, 206 – 210; MANDIC, BiH, I, 265 – 286
 47. Listine, III, 369
 48. SISIC, Hrvoje Vukcic
 49. Listine, V, 181 – 199
 50. Listine; LJUBIC, Commissiones; NOVAK, Proslost Dalmacije, I – II
 51. SISIC, Bitka kod Nikopolja
 52. HUBER, Die Kriege; HALECKI
 53. FESSLER, 552 sq.
 54. SISIC, Pregled, 232 – 235; THALLOCZY-SUFFLAY, Povijest Jajca
 55. MANDIC, BiH, I, 151 – 171, III, 150 – 217
 56. KLAIC, Hrvatski sabori, 264 sq.; KUKULJEVIC, Jura regni Croatiae, I, 208
 57. BOSNJAK, 297 – 310; KULUNDZIC, Problem najstarije stamparije, no. 1 – 2; IDEM, Kosinj
 58. KUKULJEVIC, op. cit., III, 9; SULEK, Nase pravice, II, 408 – 432
 59. Imre Derencin (Derenscenyi), Hungarian born, was ban of Dalmatia, Croatia and all of Slavonia in 1492 – 93
 60. OLESNICKI, Bezimeni turski ljetopisac, 210 – 219; IDEM, Bosnjak Hadum Jakub, 123 – 160; BiH, III, 246
 61. TOMASIC, Chronicon, 23 sq. The contemporaneous Glagolitic priest Mantinac noted at the end of the breviary of Novalis: "And then there arose a wailing of parents, of many widows and orphans, and all the living throughout the land felt great sorrow, quite as severely as in the time of the infamous Tatars and Attila, and of the Goths", KLAIC, Povijest Hrvata, II / 3, 193

Chapter Four – Part Three:

1. See above, 45 sq.
2. See above, 73 – 76
3. See above, 46 – 50, 62 sq.
4. See above, 86, no. 49
5. See above, 80
6. See above, 91, no. 66

7. RP, 182 sq.; STEDIMLIJA, Priloza, 82 sq.
8. See above, 96 sq.
9. See above, 96 sq.
10. See above, 96 sq.
11. IOANNES SCYLITAZA CUROPALATA, II, 715 – There are seven lines of Greek text here; PROKIC, 37
12. MANDIC, Crvena Hrvatska, 52 – 61
13. See MANDIC, op. cit., 55 – 59; RP, 463 – 466
14. MANSI, Reg. Pont., XX, 246; FARLATI, III, 150; DC, 211, I / 2, 561, (3799)
15. MARKOVIC, Dukljansko-barska metropolija; RP, 278 sq.
16. See below, 183, no. 71 – The national and historical name of Podgorica was arbitrarily changed by Tito to the name of Titograd.
17. See below, 180, no. 63
18. CDC, II, 238
19. MANDIC, BiH, I, 368 – 372; RP, 416 – 419
20. MANDIC, Crvena Hrvatska, 318 – 321
21. JIRECEK-RADONIC, III, 75, 195; CORVONIC, 223 – 226, 230 sq.
22. CDC, XI, 179; VMHN, I, 215
23. AA, 242, 466; GELCICH, La Zedda; MANDIC, Crvena Hrvatska, 321
24. TOMIC, Crnojevici i Crna Gora (1479 – 1528)
25. RACKI, Izvjestaj barskoga nadbiskupa, 50 – 156
26. DRAGANOVIC, Massenuerbertritte, 14 – 24; MANDIC, BiH, III, 163 – 178, 201 – 203, 456 – 467
27. "The Christians of Bar...once they saw that 74 Christians were executed as rebels and traitors, they professed the Islamic faith in order not to loose their lives and property", PANDZIC, De Donato Jelic, OFM, 8, no. 5
28. HNJ, II, 159 – 174, 1252 – 84; CLISSOLD, 75 – 81
29. BOSNJANIN, Hrvat i Herceg-Bosna, 12 sq.; Croatia sacra, 4, (1943), 210 sq. The extermination of the Moslems in Montenegro in 1709 was extolled by the prince-bishop Peter II Petrovic-Njegos in his 'Gorski vijenac'
30. CLISSOLD, 84 sq.
31. See MANDIC, Crvena Hrvatska, 316
32. IVIC; VAN DEN BERK; MANDIC, BiH, III, 58 – 61, 361 sq.
33. STEDIMLIJA, Crvena Hrvatska; IDEM, Tragom Popa Dukljanina, 347 sq.
34. EVLIJA CELEBIJA, Sejahatname, V, 454, in F. SPAHO, Hrvati u Evlija Celebijinu putopisu, 49
35. RP, 374 sq.; MANDIC, BiH, III, 271 – 274
36. NENADOVIC, 105 – 114; VULOVIC, Hrvat-basa, in Vijenac, no. 41 (1892); STEDIMLIJA, Crnogorski Hrvat-basa, in Obzor, 77 (15, I, 1937), 1 – 2; DRAGICEVIC, Hrvat-basa, 334 – 341; RP, 274 sq.
37. VEBER, 171; see RP, 374 sq.
38. FILIPOV, 127 sq.
39. FORETIC, Iz arhiva obitelje Vickovica, 656
40. PETROVIC-NJEGOS, Gorskii vienac', Vienna, 1847

1. MANDIC, BiH, 42 sq.
2. See above, 46
3. See above, 45 – 50
4. SISIC, Letopis, 386 – 388
5. MANDIC, BiH, I, 203 – 421
6. See MANDIC, BiH, III, 33 – 35
7. MANDIC, op. cit., 24 – 96
8. See above, 76
9. See above, 81, 92
10. PORPHYROGENITUS, 32 (160)

11. See above, 95
12. See above, 96
13. See above, 97
14. See above, 99
15. RP, 81, 279
16. It was during the lifetime of king Zvonimir, and he did not try to keep Bosnia by force as a Croatian satellite state. The Croatian rulers respected the autonomy of tribes and provinces so much that they never resorted to armed force to maintain them in a political unity if they became too independent on account of particular circumstances or broke away from Croatia's central authority
17. SISIC, Povijest Hrvata za kraljeva iz doma Arpadovica, 55- 60; MANDIC, BiH, I, 214 – 218, 395 – 402
18. SISIC, op. cit., 65 – 72; MANDIC, op. cit., 218 – 220, 245 – 248
19. JOANNES CINNAMUS, III, 7 (104), V, 17 (249)
20. See above, 110 sq.
21. MANDIC, op. cit., 220 – 225
22. NACK; DINIC; KOVACEVIC; MANDIC, BiH, I, 221 – 225; CIRKOVIC, 46 – 49
23. See KAPETONOVIC, no. 1182; DANICIC, no 3673, IV; KLAIC, Povijest Bosne, 65
24. MANDIC, op. cit., 162 – 165
25. MANDIC, op. cit., 145 – 149, 338 – 362
26. MANDIC, op. cit., 17 – 31, 216 – 229, 280 – 294, 428 – 444
27. MANDIC, op. cit., 240 – 286, 391 – 427
28. MANDIC, op. cit., 162 – 165, 198 – 203
29. MANDIC, op. cit., 166 – 187
30. L. PETROVIC, 17 – 20, 51 – 56, 89 – 93; MANDIC, op. cit., 24 – 29
31. MANDIC, BiH, I, 226 – 237, 476 – 481, BiH, II, 182 – 203
32. MANDIC, BiH, I, 227 sq., 255 sq., 265 sq.
33. WM 11 (1909), 278
34. Letter of Gregory IX to the Bosnian Dominicans, October 10th, 1233, CDC, III, 289; MANDIC, BiH, I, 227 sq.
35. Letter of Gregory IX to ban Ninoslav, October 10th, 1233, CDC, III, 388
36. See RP, 354 sq.; MANDIC, BiH, III, 30 – 33
37. MANDIC, BiH, I, 234 – 250
38. MANDIC, op. cit., 250 – 255, 265 – 286; CIRKOVIC, 88 – 101, 121 – 165
39. MANDIC, Franjevska Bosna, 43 – 53, 149 sq.
40. MANDIC, BiH, III, 324 – 331
41. MANDIC, op. cit., 73 – 77
42. MANDIC, Franjevska Bosna, 228 – 235
43. Letter of pope Boniface IX, March 7th, 1402, MANDIC, BiH, II, 565
44. MANDIC, BiH, I, 265 – 286; CIRKOVIC, 135 – 139
45. Listine, IV, 283
46. MANDIC, BiH, I, 287 – 326; CIRKOVIC, 166 – 250; SISIC, Vojvoda Hrvoje; RADONIC, Der Grossvojvoda, 380 – 465
47. MANDIC, BiH, 132 – 141; DINIC, Zemlje hercega svetgo Save
48. MANDIC, BiH, III, 134 – 136, 519 sq.
49. MANDIC, op. cit., 150 153
50. BARKAN, Les déportations, 87
51. TRUHELKA, Turško-slovenski spomenici, 37 sq.; MANDIC, BiH, III, 346 – 351
52. Kanuni, 31. See similar regulations of 1530 and 1539, ibid., 43, 56
53. MANDIC, BiH, III, 157 – 217
54. MANDIC, op. cit., 293 – 305
55. MANDIC, op. cit., 163 – 182, 455 – 494
56. MANDIC, op. cit., 218 – 241

57. "The province of Bosnia had about 30,000 Catholics...three kinds of people inhabit Bosnia: Turks, Orthodox and Catholics, There quarters are Turks, barley one quarter Catholic and half the Orthodox are Catholics, about 150,000 souls." DRAGANOVIC, Isvjesce, 8, 43
58. JELENIC, Kultura, I, 202 – 204; MANDIC, BiH, III, 326 sq., 405
59. MANDIC, BiH, III, 335 – 351
60. MANDIC, BiH, I, 151 – 171, SABANOVIC, Bosanski pasaluk
61. BARKAN, 67 – 131, especially 101 – 126; MANDIC, BiH, III, 275 – 278
62. MANDIC, op. cit., 360 – 365
63. MANDIC, op. cit., 288 – 331
64. MVH, I, 324; VMSM, II, 75
65. GLAVINICH, 1
66. EVLIJA CELEBIJA, I, 207, 211, II, 177, 266; MANDIC, III, 353 – 357
67. See above, 130, no. 34
68. "Many people, i.e. French, Spaniards, Italians, Germans, Hungarians etc. learn grammar more easily than we Croats do." SITOVIC, 1
69. MANDIC, BiH, II, 335 – 345
70. PIGAFETTA; Starine, 10 (1878), 14
71. TRUHELKA, Tursko-slovenski spomenici; St. Pov I / 2, 217, 410; MANDIC, BiH, III, 346 – 351
72. LAMB, 53
73. Starine, 10 (1878), 14 sq.
74. MANDIC, BiH, III, 251 – 274
75. MANDIC, op. cit., 382 – 388, 408 – 443
76. MANDIC, op. cit., 135 – 281

1. BERITIC, 2 – 20 and on map I and II at the end; SKOK, Les origines de Raguse, 449 – 500; PUHIERA
2. PORPHYROGENITUS, 29 (134, 1. 30 – 34); Viz, II, 20 sq.
3. MARINI, 121 (no. 78); RP, 89 sq., 99
4. RAVENNAS ANONYMUS, IV, 16 (208), V, 14 (379); GUIDO, 114 (541)
5. PORPHYROGENITUS, 29 (134, 1. 26 - 30); Viz, II, 20
6. PORPHYROGENITUS, 29 (124, 1. 50 - 53); Viz, II, 13
7. PORROGENITUS, 29 (126, 1. 88 - 1000); Viz, II, 17
8. PORPHYROGENITUS, 29 (128, 1. 113 - 115); Viz, II, 19
9. PORPHYROGENITUS, 30 (146, 1. 140 – 142); Viz, II, 36
10. See above, 89, 96
11. RP, 266 – 274
12. FERLUGA, 99 – 102; OSTROGORSKY, History, 276 – 279
13. See above, 97
14. RP, 276 – 279
15. See above 98
16. NICEPHORUS BRYENNIUS, III, 3 (102 sq.); MANDIC, Crvena Hrvatska, 178 sq.; RP, 278 sq., 302 – 304
17. POP DUKLJANIN, Ljetopis, 42 (364)
18. CDC, II, 36; Reg. Pont., II / 2, 6862 (5014)
19. RP, 280
20. MGH ss, XIV, 79; JIRECEK-RADONIC, I, 191; MANDIC, Crvena Hrvatska, 195 – 200
21. JIRECEK-RADONIC, 197 sq.
22. CDC, II, 201 sq., Ospom 3 sq.
23. CDC, 237; MS, 1 sq.

24. See above, 56 – 57
25. See above, 45 – 51
26. See above, 86 – For the Roman population in Dalmatia in the middle ages see: JIRECEK, *Die Romanen*, 48 – 49
27. See above, 97, 150
28. See below, 160, no. 59
29. See above, 90, 96, 99
30. SISIC, *O hrvatskoj kraljici Margareti*, Dubrovnik, 1930
31. PORPHYROGENITUS, 29 (134, 1. 236); KARAMAN, *Iskopine u sv. Stjepanu*; BJELOVUCIC, *Crvena Hrvatska*
32. *Ospom*, 43, 46; STEDIMLIJA, *Tragom Popa Dukljanin*, 67 – 82
33. See Croatian version in MANDIC, *Crvena Hrvatska*, 310
34. See the sentence passed by the governor of Dubrovnik Slaba in 1044, CDK, I, 112 sq.; the treaty between Dubrovnik and Pisa in 1169, CDC, II, 124; the dispute with the community of Popovo Polje in 1169 – 70, MS, 6 sq., no. 11, 12; CDC, II, 126 sq.; the treaty with the clan Kacic, Feb. 3rd, 1190, CDC, II, 241 sq.; the treaty with Miroslav, prince of Zahumlje, June 17th, 1190, CDC, II, 245 sq., etc
35. MS, 35; CDC, IV, 528; *Ospom*, 37 – 44
36. See below, 179 sq.
37. See below, 172
38. See above, no. 3, 11, 18 sq.
39. LJUBIC, *O odnosajih*, 44 – 122
40. KREKIC, *Dubrovnik*; LUETIC, *Mornarica*
41. HNJ, I, 641 – 645
42. GRUBER, *Borba Ludovika*, I, 32 – 161; IDEM, *Dalmacija*, 1 – 75
43. DR, 5 – 8; CDC, XI (1914), 480 – 484
44. DINIC, *O Nikoli Altomanovicu*
45. COROVIC, *Hist. Bosne*, I, 373 – 387; JAVANOVIC, *Ratovanje*
46. PORPHYROGENITUS, 30 (146, 1. 138 – 143); DINIC, *Dubrovacki tributi*
47. LUCIANOVIC, *Lastovo*, 253 – 295
48. MS, 103 – 105 (no. 88); *StPov I / 1*, 48 – 54
49. MS, 107 – 109 (no. 90); *StPov*, 53 sq.; MANDIC, *BiH*, III, 127 sq.
50. MS, 105 – 107 (no. 89); CDC, X, 79 – 81; *StPov*, 181, 45 – 47, GLUNCIC
51. CDC, II, 679 (no. 70 sq.) 88 sq. (no. 85 sq.); GUSIC; MANDIC, *BiH*, I, 342 – 345
52. MS, 223 (no. 225); *StPov I / 1*, 420 – 423; CREMOSNIK, *Prodaja bosanskoga primorja*
53. MS, 228 – 291 (no. 268); *StPov I / 1*, 293 – 297 (no. 314)
54. MS, 336 – 342 (no. 296); *StPov*, 592 – 606 (no. 601 sq.); LUCIC, 101 – 104
55. INNOCENT II, June 11th, 1142, CDC, II, 50. See also 1153, op. cit., 72
56. MS, 7 (no. 12); CDC, II, 126 sq.
57. CDC, II, 201. See also the treaty with Ravenna in 1189 (op. cit., 231 sq.) and the resolutions of the citizens of Dubrovnik, Feb. 3rd, 1190 (op. cit., 242)
58. CDC, III, 435
59. *Liber statutorum civitatis Ragusii*; STULLI, *Prilozi*, 85 – 118
60. ANDERSEN; VOJNOVIC, *O drzanom ustrojstvu*
61. SOLOVJEV, *Le patriciat*, 59 – 66; MAHNEKEN
62. HNJ, I, 639
63. TRUHELKA, *Tursko-slovenski spomenici*, 1 – 20; *StPov*, I / 2, 217 – 240
64. TRUHELKA, op. cit., 5 sq.; *StPov*, 229 – 231; VOJNOVIC, *Dubrovnik in Osmansko carstvo*
65. TRUHELKA, op. cit., 9 – 11; *StPov*, 232 – 234
66. TRUHELKA, op. cit., 21; *StPov*, 240 sq.
67. TRUHELKA, op. cit., 27 sq., 48 sq.; *StPov*, 245 sq., 260

68. **BOZIC**, Dubrovnik i Turska; **DUJCEV**, Avvisi di Ragusa
69. **TADIC**, Spanija i Dubrovnik
70. **KOERBLER**, Dubrovacka republika, 165 – 252; **VOJNOVIC**, La monarchie française; **JELAVIC**, Turska i Francuska; **DEANOVIC**, Anciens contacts; **KRIZMAN**, Diplomati i konzuli
71. **ADAMOVIC**, O tresnjama; **RESETAR**, Dva izvjestaja, 27 – 32; **PANDZIC**, Annalea Minorum, 308 – 315; **SUNDRICA**, Popis stanovnistva, 419 – 456
72. **CVJETKOVIC**, Dubrovnik i Leopold I
73. **PISANI**, Mletacki posjedi Dalmacije; **SISIC**, La formation; **MANDIC**, BiH, I, 168 sq.
74. **VOJNOVIC**, Pad Dubrovnika; **OBAD**, Stanovnistvo Dubrovnika
75. See above, no. 59
76. **JIRECEK**, Die mittelalterliche Kanzlei; **CREMOSNIK**, Dubrovacka kancelarija, 231; **IDEM**, Postanak, 73 – 74; **IDEM**, Spisi dubrovacke kancelarije
77. **GELCIC**, Dubrovacki arhiv, 537; **FORETIC**, Dubrovacki arhiv, 315 – 336
78. **GELCICH**, Delle istituzioni; **JEREMIC-TADIC**, Prilozi; **TADIC**, Promet
79. **OSTOJIC**, Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj, II, 417 – 486
80. **ADAMOVIC**, Gradja; **MATAS-POSEDEL**; **KOERBLER**, Cetiri priloga Gundulica, 135 – 220
81. **KOEELER**, Isusovci; **VANINO**, Ljetopia
82. **EITELBERGER**; **IVEKOVIC**; **VASIC**; **MEDINI**; **FISKOVIC**; Nasi graditelji
83. **MEDINI**, Povjest; **FANCEV**, Vatikanski hrvatski molitvenik; **IDEM**, Dubrovnik, 104 – 139; **KOMBOL**, Povijest hrvatske knjizevnosti; **HALER**, Novija dubrovacka knjiizevnost; **TROGRANCIC**, Storia
84. Cf. The literature in the above footnotes, especially the works of **FANCEV**; See also **BUJAS**, Rezultati, 509 – 537
85. In the Croatian lands there was a tradition that Constantine (Cyril) established the Glagolitic priesthood: "And so the holy man Constance ordains the priests and is the author of the Croatian bible", *Kraljevstvo Hrvata*, 9 (393). Cf. Also the Chronicle of Pop Dukljanin (310). These were called the Cyrillic ("cirilice" instead of "cirilovica"), just as their alphabet was called Cyrillic ("cirilica" instead of "cirilovica"). In the republic of Dubrovnik the Cyrillic priests were Catholic (see **JIRECEK-RADONIC**, IV, 181) and used the Glagolitic rather than the Cyrillic bibles in the religious services, not even those written in "Croatian Cyrillic", **MANDIC**, *Crvena Hrvatska*, 265 – 269
86. **FANCEV**, Dubrovnik, 119
87. **FANCEV**, op. cit., 139
88. **PRIBOJEVIC**, de origine successibusque Slavorum
89. **ORBINI**, II, II regno de gli Slavi
90. **MANDIC**, BiH, III, 329 – 331
91. **VANINO**, Predlozi Bartola Kasica, 217 – 254; **JURIC**, Pokusaj, 143 – 174, **MURKO**, Die Bedeutung
92. See above, n. 83, 86, 91; **DEANOVIC**, O Gundulicevom jezicim osjecaju, 635 – 640; **HNJ**, II, 235 – 241; **MANDIC**, BiH, III, 316 sq.; **KOERBLER**, Djela Djiva Frana Gundulica, Uvod, I – CIV
93. **KUKULJEVIC**, Hrvatska bibl., I, 96, no. 1102; **STOJKOVIC**, 200
94. **KUKULJEVIC**, op. cit., 123, no. 1426 sq.
95. See above, no. 83; **DAYRE**, Marc Buere Descrivaux, 48 – 63
96. **COROVIC**, Dubrovnik, 55

Chapter Five:

1. PORPHYROGENITUS, 32, (154, 1. 30 – 33); Viz, 50
2. THEOPANES, 356; NICEPHORUS CONSTANTINOPOLITANUS, 33; DC, 284 sq.
3. See above, 73 sq.
4. MANDIC, BiH, I, 203 – 207, 327 sq.; RP, 161 – 166, 191, 231, 252 sq.
5. EIHard, I, 209; DC, 327; MANDIC, BiH, I, 422 – 446
6. See above, 79 sq.
7. PORPHYROGENITUS, 32 (154, 1. 27 sq.); Viz, II, 49
8. DUCHESNE, L'Ilyricum ecclesiastique, 531 – 550; MANDIC, BiH, I, 442 – 446
9. At the general church council in Constantinople in 680 there appears the signature: "John, by the grace of God, bishop of Salona, vicar and legate of the Apostolic See in Rome", PETIT, 214; ROGOSIC, 104
10. JIRECEK-RADONIC, I, 126; COROVIC, 103 sq.
11. SISIC, Letopis, 321, 327
12. WM, 4 (1896), 295; DEROKO-ZDRAVKOVIC
13. Gregory the Great mentioned the metropolitan diocese of Skadar for the last time in March 602, Reg. Pont., I / 1, 1861 (1464)
14. RP, 271 – 283
15. PL, 98, 471
16. PORPHYROGENITUS, 29 (124, 1. 68 sq.); Vita Basilii, 52, in THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS, 289 sq.; Viz, II, 16, 79,
17. JIRECEK-RADONIC, I, 125 – 132
18. PORPHYROGENITUS, 29 (126, 1, 70 – 76); Viz, II, 16; RADOJICIC, La Date, 253 - 256
19. John VIII to the duke Mutimir, May 873, Prirucnik, I / 1, 200
20. JIRECEK-RADONIC, 142 – 146
21. GELZER, 1 (1892), 257, 2 (1893), 45
22. PORPHYROGENITUS, 32 (154, 1. 38 – 42); Viz, II, 50 sq.
23. ZLATARSKI, I / 1, 344 – 346, 447 sq.
24. JIRECEK-RADONIC, I, 112
25. PORPHYROGENITUS, 32, (154, 1. 44 – 62); Viz, II, 51 sq.
26. See above, no. 18
27. PORPHYROGENITUS, 32 (156, 1. 44 – 62); Viz, II, 53
28. Concerning that meeting see: RP, 384 sq.
29. PORPHYROGENITUS, 32 (156, I. 81 – 100); Viz, II, 54 sq.; OSTROGORSKY, Porfirogenetova kronika, 24 – 29
30. PORPHYROGENITUS, 32 (158, 1. 104 – 120); Viz, II, 56
31. PORPHYROGENITUS, 32 (158, 1. 120 – 128); Viz, II, 56
32. PORPHYROGENITUS, 32 (158, 1. 126 – 128); Viz, II, 56
33. RP, 214 – 224
34. PORPHYROGENITUS, 32 (158, 1. 128 – 138); Viz, II, 57
35. See above, 95
36. SISIC, Povijest Hrvata, 465 sq.; ZLATARSKI, I / 2, 600 – 632, JIRECEK-RADONIC, I, 148 sq.
37. ZLATARSKI, op. cit., 633 – 676
38. See above, 97; JIRECEK-RADONIC, 149 – 153
39. See above, 47
40. POP DUKLJANIN, Ljetopis, 37 (343)
41. SISIC, Letopis, 357; NICEPHORUS BYRENNIUS, III, 3 (102 sq.)
42. POP DUKLJANIN, Ljetopia, 42 (360)
43. Viz, III, 386
44. Viz, II, 386 – 389
45. POP DUKLJANIN, Ljetopis, 43 sq. (365 sq.). From this statement it follows that Lj. Kovacevic's assertion is true (CSA' LVIII, 58 – 60), as well as F. Sisic's (Letopis, 85, 97), that Petrislav, son of king Mihala, was father of grand prince Vukan and his brother Marko. For more details on this see: MANDIC, Crvena

Hrvatska, 318

46. **JIRECEK-RADONIC, I, 180**
47. **The sources call Belos uncle of the sons of queen Helen, daughter of Uros I (JIRECEK-RADONIC, I, 180, no. 5, 184, no. 6). He could have been the lineal uncle (brother of Helen) or collateral uncle (cousin of Helen), and son of Stjepan Vuk, brother of Uros I**
48. **POP DUKLJANIN, Ljetopis, 45 (370 sq.); JIRECEK-RADONIC, 179 – 183**
49. **STEFAN PRVOVJENCANI, Zice sv. Simeona (St. Nemanja), 171 sq.; JIRECEK-RADONIC, 189**
50. **See no. 49**
51. **SISIC, Provijest Hrvata za kraljeva iz doma Arpadovica, 42**
52. **JIRECEK-RADONIC, 181 sq.**
53. **JIRECEK-RADONIC, 184 sq.**
54. **JIRECEK-RADONIC, 187, 189**
55. **Zice sv. Simeona, 172, 179**
56. **STOJANOVIC, Stari srpki rodoslavi**
57. **See above, 173 – 175**
58. **MS, 128, 132**
59. **NICETAS CHONIATAS, 206 sq.; JIRECEK-RADONIC, 195 sq.**
60. **JIRECEK-RADONIC, 190 – 193; MANDIC, Crvena Hrvatska, 194 sq.; IDEM, BiH, I, 345 – 350**
61. **Zice sv. Simeona, 183 sq.; JIRECEK-RADONIC, 195 sq.**
62. **CDC, II, 198 sq.**
63. **AA, I, 35 (106); Ospom 4 sq.; RP, 452 sq.**
64. **JIRECEK-RADONIC, I, 201**
65. **MS 4 (9); Ospom, 12 (10); DEROKO, Srednjevekovni gradovi**
66. **JIRECEK-RADONIC, I, 204 sq.**
67. **JIRECEK-RADONIC, 211; STANOJEVIC, Hronologija borbe**
68. **THOMAS ARCHDIACONUS, 25 (91); RISMUNDO, 50. See also: A. DANDOLO, 287; JIRECEK-RADONIC, I, 217 sq.**
69. **MS, 9 (17); Ospom, 24; CDC, III, 223. In the register of the papal correspondence of March 1220 is recorded the letter of Stefan the First-Crowned: "Stefan, by the grace of God crowned king of all of Serbia, Duklja, Travunja, Dalmatia and Humlja", JIRECEK-RADONIC, I, 127**
70. **JIRECEK-RADONIC, 271 sq.; STANOJEVIC, I, 217**
71. **JIRECEK-RADONIC, 222 sq.**
72. **JIRECEK-RADONIC, 224 – 227**
73. **JIRECEK-RADONIC, 227 – 230; HNJ, I, 364 – 367**
74. **JIRECEK-RADONIC, I, 230 sq., 238 sq.; MANDIC, BiH, I, 362 – 368**
75. **JIRECEK-RADONIC, I, 240 – 244; MANDIC, BiH, I, 375 – 379, 480 sq.**
76. **JIRECEK-RADONIC, I, 244 – 260; HNJ, I, 373 – 379**
77. **MANDIC, BiH, 375 - 380**
78. **JIRECEK-RADONIC, I, 264 sq; HNJ, I, 376 sq.**
79. **JIRECEK-RADONIC, I, 257 – 260; HNJ, I, 378**
80. **JIRECEK-RADONIC, I, 260 – 270; HNJ, I, 378 – 381**
81. **JIRECEK-RADONIC, 273 sq.**
82. **See above, 158**
83. **JIRECEK-RADONIC, I, 271 – 286; HNJ, I, 381 – 384**
84. **JIRECEK-RADONIC, I, 286, 302 sq.**
85. **MS, 132 (no. 115); DINIC, Srpska vladarska titula**
86. **JIRECEK-RADONIC, I, 286 sq.; HNJ, I, 385 – 387; TARANOVSKI**
87. **JIRECEK-RADONIC, I, 291 sq.; HNJ, I, 387 sq.**
88. **MANDIC, BiH, I, 262 – 265, III, 22 sq.**
89. **JIRECEK-RADONIC, I, 300; OSTROGORSKY, 473 – 491; HNJ, I, 343 – 351**
90. **JIRECEK-RADONIC, I, 314, 322, 328, II, 5 – 7, 80**

91. JIRECEK-RADONIC, I, 320 – 322, II, 82 – 86, 108 – 124, 215 – 218
92. JIRECEK-RADONIC, I, 322 – 324, 328, II, 6, 83 – 85; DINIC, O Nikoli Altomanovicu
93. HNJ, I, 441 – 444
94. JIRECEK-RADONIC, I, 287, 302, 319 – 322, II, 25, 77 – 79, III, 5, 16, 19, 28 sq.; HNJ, I, 444 – 448
95. JIRECEK-RADONIC, I, 323 – 328; HNJ, I, 447 – 450
96. JIRECEK-RADONIC, I, 319 – 325, II, 66, 77 – 79, HNJ, I, 447 – 450
97. JIRECEK-RADONIC, II, 84 – 93; HNJ, I, 450 – 453; MANDIC, BiH, I, 151 sq.; RACKI, Boj na Kosovu, 1 – 68; BRAUN, Kosovo
98. SABANOVIC, Bosanski pasaluk, 25 sqq.; MANDIC, BiH, I, 151 sq.
99. JIRECEK-RADONIC, II, 94 – 127; HNJ, I, 454 – 459; MANDIC, BiH, I, 293 sq., III, 454
100. JIRECEK-RADONIC, II, 128 – 168; HNJ, I, 469 – 478
101. JIRECEK-RADONIC, II, 168 – 175; HNJ, I, 476 – 478
102. JAGIC, Historija knjizevnosti; NOVAKOVIC, Istorija sprske knjizevnosti; MURKO, Geschichte; STANOYEVICH, 15 – 24
103. COROVIC, Spisi sv. Save; SKERL, Sava; SOLOVJEV, Svetosavski nomokanon; BELIC, Ucesce sv. Save
104. MS; StPov I / 1 – I / 2 – The Serbian rulers wrote their charters in Greek. Edited by SOLOVJEV and MOSIN, Greke povelje
105. See above, no. 3
106. STOJANOVIC, Stari srpski rodoslovi; BASIC, Stare srpske biografije; DANILO, Zivoti; STANOYEVICH, 25 sq.
107. NOVAKOVIC, Zakonik; JIRECEK, Das Gesetzbuch, 144 – 214; RADOJCIC, Zadonik
108. MILLET, L'ancien art serbe; IDEM, La peinture; OKUNEV, Monumenta artis serbicae; DEROKO, Monumentalna arhitektura; JIRECEK-RADONIC, II, 280 – 282. – Register of Serbian Monasteries.
109. JIRECEK, Staat, JIRECEK-RADONIC, IV; RP, 210 – 213; MANDIC, BiH, III, 37, 43 – 47
110. DEMOUGET, De l'unité, 143 sqq.; GUMEL, L'Illyricum; OSTROGORSKI, 40 – 52; ROGOSIC, Veliki Ilirik; MANDIC, BiH, III, 43 – 47
111. See above, 63
112. See 170 – 173
113. See 172, 184

Chapter Six:

1. KLAIC, Povjest Hrvata, II / 1, 337 – 344; SISIC, Pregled, 221; NOVAK, Proslost Dalmacije, I, 149 – 151
2. KLAIC, Povjest Hrvata, II / 2, 52 – 66, 89 – 96; SISIC, Pregled, 222 – 224; NOVAK op. cit., 150 sq.; IDEM, Povijest Splita, I, 245 – 250
3. Listine, 181, 193
4. KLAIC, Povjest Hrvata, II / 3, 111 – 120; SISIC, Pregled, 234
5. KLAIC, Povjest Bosne, 322 – 343; COROVIC, 536 – 560, 586 – 606; MANDIC, BiH, I, 140 sq., 157 – 162; SABANOVIC, Bosanski pasaluk, 38 – 47
6. SISIC, Pregled, 236 – 240; SABANOVIC, Bosanski pasaluk, 55 – 59; PEROJEVIC, Peter Kruzic
7. KLAIC, Povjest Hrvata, II / 3, 265 – 348; SISIC, op. cit., 236 – 241; LOPASIC, Bihac, 60 – 95
8. KLAIC, op. cit., 348 – 358; SISIC, op. cit., 240 sq.

9. There is still today in Slavonia a locality called Zapolje, from where the Zapoljski originated. In 1464 the Slavonian magnet Emerik Zapoljski was "governor of Bosnia, as well as ban of Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia", SISIC, op. cit., 235, no. 98
10. KLAIC, op. cit., III / 1, 55 – 62; SISIC, op. cit., 268 sq.
11. Croatian diet of Cetin to emperor Ferdinand I, April 28th, 1527, SISIC, Hrvatski saborski spisi, I, 100 (66)
12. SISIC, op. cit., 3 – 10 (1 – 10); IDEM, Pregled, 268
13. SISIC, Hrvatski saborski spisi, I, 71 – 77 (51); IDEM, Pregled, 268
14. Electoral document, January 1st, 1527, SISIC, Hrvatski saborski spisi, I, 50
15. Electoral document, January 1st, 1527, SISIC, op. cit., 51
16. SISIC, op. cit., 50 – 53 – The original of the Croatian electoral charter is still preserved today in the Court archives in Vienna.
17. For the affidavit of the emperor Ferdinand I to the Croatian diet on January 1st, 1527 cf.: SISIC, op. cit., 54 sq.
18. SISIC, op. cit., 50, 54, 68
19. SISIC, op. cit., 71 – 77
20. Croatian diet of Cetin, April 28th, 1527 to the emperor Ferdinand, SISIC, op. cit., 99
21. See above, no. 6 sq.
22. SISIC, Hrvatski saborski spisi, I, 149 – 152; KLAIC, Hrvatski sabori, 275
23. KLAIC, Povjest Hrvata, III / 1, 68 – 83; SISIC, Pregled, 268 – 272
24. KLAIC, op. cit., 82 – 98; SISIC, op. cit., 272 – 274
25. Resolutions of the Croatian diet, September 8th, 1530, SISIC, Hrvatski saborski spisi, I, 263
26. KLAIC, op. cit., 105 – 108; SISIC, Pregled, 274
27. KLAIC, op. cit., 113 – 121; SABANOVIC, Bosanski pasaluk, 58 sq.
28. KLAIC, op. cit., 156 – 192; SISIC, Pregled, 274 – 276. SABANOVIC, op. cit., 60 – 62; MASURAN, Turska osvajanja, 93 – 132
29. CDC, XI, 328 sq. (289)
30. LASZOWSKI, Habsburski spomenici, III, 254 (223); KLAIC, op. cit., 168 – 172; SISIC, Pregled, 276
31. KLAIC, op. cit., 156 – 208, 259 – 262; SISIC, op. cit., 277 - 279
32. KLAIC, op. cit., 243 – 245; SISIC, op. cit., 277
33. KLAIC, op. cit., 278; SISIC, op. cit., 279
34. RACKI, Gradja, 164 – 322; HORVAT, Seljacka buna; DURMAN, Hrvatska seljacka bune; KLAIC, op. cit., 282 – 301; SISIC, op. cit., 279 – 282
35. NOVAK, Pucki prevrat; IDEM, Nepoznati dokumenti, 387 – 429; KLAIC, Seljacke bune; GAVRILOVIC, Prilog istoriji, 57 – 130; GRGIC, Buntovni pokret, 551 – 603; KARAMAN, Prilog Velikoj buni, 273 – 307
36. LASZOWSKI, Habsburski spomenici, I, 93, sq. (106), 103 (118)
37. LOPASIC, Spomenici, I, 2 (3), 4 (4), 10 (8), etc.
38. LOPASIC, op. cit., 56 – 60 (34)
39. Resolution of the Croatian diet, Zagreb, June 17th, 1578, SISIC, Hrvatski saborski spisi, IV, 10
40. For more details on the Military Cordon in Croatia see: LOPASIC, Spomenici; SCHWICKER; POPPE; TURKOVIC; ROTHENBERG; RACKI, O obrani.
41. LOPASIC, Spomenici, I, 73 sq. (40); IDEM, Karlovac
42. SABANOVIC, Bosanski pasaluk, 77 – 81
43. LASZOWSKI, Habsburski spomenici, I, 83 sq., 176, 180; LOPASIC, Bihac, 60 – 95; KLAIC, Povjest Hrvata, III / 1, 367 – 380; SISIC, Pregled, 285 sq.
44. KLAIC, op. cit., 5 – 7; SISIC, op. cit., 241 sq.; S(ISA)K, Hrvati, 49
45. King Louis II first mentions this expression in a letter to ban Franjo Bacan dated December 15th, 1525: "counts and remnants of the nobility of our

- kingdom of Croatia", KLAIC, *Povjest Hrvata*, III / 1, 6
46. RADIC, *Isprave*, 172 – 192; TOMIC, *Novi podaci*; BREYER, *Odras podjede*, 244 – 259
 47. KLAIC, *op. cit.*, 450 – 457; SISIC, *op. cit.*, 286 – 288
 48. MANDIC, *BiH*, III, 153 – 162
 49. See above, no. 6
 50. MINUCCI, *Historia degli Uschochi*; RACKI, *Prilog za povjest hrvatskih uskoka*, 172 – 256; HORVAT, *Monumenta*; POPARIC, *Povijest senjskih uskoka*; VINAVER, *Senjaki uskoci*; STANOJEVIC, *Prilozi*, 111 – 142
 51. KLAIC, *hrvatski sabori*, 282 – 285
 52. KLAIC, *hrvatski sabori spisi*, I, 27 – 44 (23 – 42)
 53. KLAIC, *hrvatski sabori*, 272 – 281; SISIC, *Pregled*, 248 – 254, 346 – 350
 54. KLAIC, *hrvatski sabori*, 282 – 285; SISIC, *Pregled*, 347 – 350. – The Croatian diet of Zagreb on June 24th, 1607 gave the following instruction to the delegates: "Since indeed the messengers hastened on their way and kept the first place, yielding to none, according to the time-honoured custom", SISIC, *Hrvatski saborski spisi*, IV' 487
 55. Pope Leo X calls the Croatian ban Peter Berislavic (1513 – 1520) "prorex" and "vicereus", and the Venetian ambassador Vincenzo Guidoto writes in 1525: "The ban or captain of Croatia is second in command in the realm of Louis II, being as it were the viceroy of that kingdom", KLAIC, *Povjest Hrvata*, III / 1, 8
 56. For the rights and duties of the Croatian bans and for their investiture see: KLAIC, *op. cit.*, 7 – 14; SISIC, *SISIC, Pregled*, 346 sq.; DABINOVIC, 422 – 427
 57. KUKULJEVIC, *Jura regni*, I, 282; SISIC, *Hrvatski saborski spisi*, III, (119); KLAIC, *Hrvatski sabori*, 279
 58. RP, 544 – 564; MANDIC, *BiH*, III, 297 – 304, 496 – 507
 59. IVIC, *Migracije*; PAVICIC, *Seobe*
 60. KUKULJEVIC, *Jura regni*, III, 52; SISIC, *Hrvatski saborski spisi*, IV, 450, V, 632
 61. KUKULJEVIC, *op. cit.*, 56 sq., 62 – 64
 62. KUKULJEVIC, *op. cit.*, 55. See the resolutions of 1609 (KUKULJEVIC, *op. cit.*, 59; SISIC, *Hrvatski saborski spisi*, 9 sq., 29), 1613 (SISIC, *op. cit.*, 69 sq.) and 1618 (SISIC, *op. cit.*, 166, 175); SISIC, *Pregled*, 287 – 297.
 63. SISIC, *Pregled*, 294 – 297; BAUER, *Hrvati*
 64. Charter of Ferdinand II to the Wallachians in Croatian territory, November 15th, 1627, LOPASIC, *Spomenici*, II, 142; SISIC, *Hrvatski saborski spisi*, V, 410. – F. Sisic here and elsewhere in the register and notes to his *Hrvatski saborski spisi* identifies the "Wallachian people" as Serbs, which is incorrect. When the Wallachs settled in Croatian territory in the XVI and XVII centuries they were aware of their Wallachian ethnic origin and did not acknowledge themselves as Serbs. The official sources of that time distinguished clearly the "Wallachs" from the "people of Rasa" or the Serbs.
 65. SISIC, *Hrvatski saborski spisi*, V, 461 sq.
 66. For the Statua Valachorum in the charter of king Ferdinand II, October 5th, 1630, cf. SISIC, *Hrvatski saborski spisi*, V, 479 – 489. This statue was later renewed or altered several times. So in 1639, 1642, 1648, 1659, 1708 (SUCEVIC, *Razvitak*, 33 – 70; KASIC, *Prilozi*)
 67. See above, no. 62; KUKULJEVIC, *Jura regni*, III, 55, 63, 80, 105 sq.
 68. Nikola Zrinski the Younger wrote in 1658 to his friend Ivan Rucic, lieutenant governor of Zagreb: "I am conscious of being different, and indeed I do not mean degenerate. I know that I am a Croat and what is more, a Zrinski, RATH-ROEMER, II, 198; SISIC, *Pregled*, 300, no. 27
 69. BARABAS, *SISIC, op. cit.*, 299 sq., SKRIVANIC
 70. SISIC, *Pregled*, 297 – 299
 71. On the Zrinski-Frankopan conspiracy see: RACKI, *Isprave*; BOGISIC, *Acta*; LILEK, *Kritische Darstellung*; JEZIC, *Zivot i rad Frana Krste Frankopana*;

- BOGDANOV**, *Historijsko značenje*, 7 – 46; **KLAIC**, *O historijskom značenju*, 115 – 126; **SISIC**, *Pregled*, 227, 307
72. **KUKULJEVIC**, *Jura regni*, I, 386 – 390; **LASZOWSKI**, *Izbor*; **IDEM**, *Razgrabljene stvari*; **ERCEG**, *Konfiskacija*, 36 – 81
73. **SMICIKLAS**, *Dvijestogodisnjica*, I, III
74. **JELENIC**, *Kultura*, I, 202 – 204; **MANDIC**, *BiH*, III, 176 sq., 236, 326 sq., 405, 521
75. **For the Wars of Vienna (1683 – 1699)** see: **SISIC**, *Pregled*, 308 – 316
76. **NOVAK**, *Proslost*, I, 181 – 215, II, 221 – 249; **SISIC**, *Pregled*, 360 – 364; **VOJNOVIC**, *Histoire*; **PRAGA**, *Storia di Dalmazia*
77. **PAVICH-PFAUENTHAL**, *Princnosi*; **PIVCEVIC**, *Povijest Poljice*; **JAGIC**, *Statut poljicki*; **GREKOV**, *Die Altkroatische Republik Poljica*; *Poljicki zbornik*
78. **See above**, 45 – 50, 76 – 78
79. **See above**, 74; **NOVAK**, *Proslost*, II, 21 – 242
80. **DE DIVERSIS**; **GIUSTINIANO**; **FORTIS**; **NOVAK**, *Proslost*, I, 203 – 215
81. **JEZIC**, *Hrvatska knjizevnost*; **TROGRANIC**, *Storia*
82. **IVEKOVIC**; **KARAMAN**, *Pregled umjetnosti*; **IDEM**, *Umjetnost u Dalmaciji*; **FISKOVIC**, *Nasi primorski umjetnici*; **IDEM**, *Zadarski sredovjecni majstori*; **VASIC**, *Arhitektura*
83. **RITIG**; **CRONIA**; **SMRZIK**; **KLAIC**, *Historijska podloga*, 225 – 281
84. **JELENIC**, *Kultura*; **ZLATOVIC**; **MANDIC**, *Franjevska Bosna*
85. **AB**, 489 (1429); **MANDIC**, *op. cit.*, 191
86. **MANDIC**, *BiH*, III, 306 – 331
87. **PRPIC**, *French rule*, 221 – 276; **MANDIC**, *Grgur VII*, 313 – 325
88. **The Croatian writer and historian Pavao Ritter-Vitezovic in his work Placne Hrvatske dva stoljeca writes in 1703: So be happy in your travels and when you return, Give me back Bosnia and the villages of Srijem...And a liberated Rama back to its king – in** **KLAIC**, *Zivot i djela*, 141
89. **KLAIC**, *op. cit.*, 133 – 145
90. **KUKULJEVIC**, *Jura regni*, II, 120
91. **KUKULJEVIC**, *Jura regni*, II, 106 sq.; **KLAIC**, *Hrvatski sabori*, 301 sq.
92. **KLAIC**, *Hrvatska pragmatica sankcija*, 61 – 135; **SISIC**, *Pregled*, 318 – 322
93. **Resolution of the Twelfth Croatian Diet, Glina, September 4th, 1737**, **KUKULJEVIC**, *Jura regni*, II, 120
94. **KUKULJEVIC**, *Jura regni*, II, 162 – 166, an. 1741, art. 11, 47, 50, 52
95. **KUKULJEVIC**, *op. cit.*, I, 402 – 248
96. **See above**, no. 40; **SISIC**, *Pregled*, 322 – 326
97. **KLAIC**, *Hrvatski sabori*, 302
98. **KLAIC**, *op. cit.*, 305 sq.; **SISIC**, *op. cit.*, 329
99. **RACKI**, *Rijeka*; **SISIC**, *Abrégé*; **IDEM**, *Pregled*, 329 – 332
100. **KUKULJEVIC**, *Jura regni*, III, 136 sq., 143
101. **MITROFANOFF**, *Joseph II*, I, 262 sq.; **SISIC**, *Pregled*, 332 – 337
102. **SISIC**, *Pregled*, 373 sq.
103. **KLAIC**, *Regnum regno*, 23 – 29; **SISIC**, *Pregled*, 374 – 376
104. **On the Croatian national renaissance** see: **SURMIN**, *Hrvatski preporod*; **SMICIKLAS**, *Obrana*, 11 – 72; **FANCEV**, *Dokumenti*; **JEZIC**, *Hrvatski preporod*
105. **On the Illyrian movement** see: **DEZELIC**, *Pisma*; **FANCEV**, *Dokumenti*, 130 – 157; **SISIC**, *O stogodisnjici Ilirskoga pokreta*, 99 – 103; **HORVAT**, *Politicka povijest Hrvatske*, 61 – 116; **JEZIC**, *Hrvatska knjizevnost*, 211 – 219; **MANDIC**, *BiH*, III, 382 – 387
106. **SISIC**, *Pregled*, 411; **HORVAT**, *op. cit.*, 117 – 124
107. **SISIC**, *op. cit.*, 411 – 413; **HORVAT**, *op. cit.*, 124 – 131
108. **Resolutions of the Croatian diet, Zagreb, October 23rd, 1847, art. 10**, **KUKULJEVIC**, *Jura regni*, II, 307

109. SISIC, Pregled, 415 – 418; CLISSOLD, A short history, 34 sq.
110. SISIC, op. cit., 418 – 421; HORVAT, op. cit., 148 – 187
111. SISIC, op. cit.; HORVAT, op.cit., 190 – 204; HAUPTMANN, Banus Jelacic, 372 – 402; IRANY-CHASSIN, Histoire politique; KISZLING, Die Revolution
112. SISIC, Pregled, 418 – 432; HORVAT, op. cit., 198 – 217; NEUSTADTER, Le ban Jelacic; SIDAC, Jelacic, 478 – 480
113. SISIC, op. cit., 425 – 433; HORVAT, op. cit., 200 – 217
114. EISEMANN, Le compromis
115. CLISSOLD, op. cit., 36
116. BOJNICIC, Zakoni; SMICIKLAS, Die legitimen; HORN, Le compromis; SISIC, Pregled, 448 – 452; HORVAT, op. cit., 247 – 268; SIDAK & AL., 38 – 43
117. BOJNICIC, op. cit.; SISIC, op. cit., 449
118. SISIC, op. cit., 452 – 460; SIDAK, op. cit., 80 – 104
119. SIDAK, op. cit., 3 –12; HOLJEVAC, Hrvati izvan Domovine, 20 – 62
120. SISIC, op. cit., 455 – 469; HORVAT, op. cit., 285 – 342; JASZI, The dissolution; MAY, The Habsburg; SIDAK, Hrvatsko pitanje, 101 – 121
121. KUKULJEVIC, Jura regni, III, 30 sq.
122. SISIC, Pregled, 356 – 359; CUVAJ, Gradja; FRANKOVIC, Povijest skolstva; VANINO, Isusovci

Chapter Seven – Part One:

1. See above, 189 sq.
2. JIRECEK-RADONIC, II, 73 – 175; HNJ, I, 440 – 478; SABANOVIC, Bosanski paseluk, 25 – 34
3. JIRECEK- RADONIC, op. cit., 226 sq.; HNJ, I, 478 sq.; MANDIC, BiH, III, 278 – 281, 508 – 512
4. HNJ, II, 75 sq., 81
5. HADROVIS, Le peuple serbe; RADONIC, Rimska kurija; CUBRILOVIC, Srpska pravoslavna crkva; MIRKOVIC, Pravni položaj; MANDIC, BiH, III, 151, 278 – 280
6. HNJ, II, 84
7. HNJ, II, 85
8. HNJ, II, 81 – 95
9. BARKAN, Les déportations, 129
10. MANDIC, op. cit., 151, 278 – 280
11. JIRECEK – RADONIC, II, 115 sq., 125 sq., 201 – 205
12. HNJ, I, 478; CLISSOLD, A short history, 103
13. JIRECEK-RADONIC, II, 201 – 206
14. KUKULJEVIC, Jura regni, III, 15
15. JIRECEK-RADONIC, II, 206 – 214; HNJ, II, 478 – 487
16. POPOVIC, Velika seoba; RADONIC-KOSTIC, Srpske privilegije; HNJ, II, 811 – 828; SISIC, Pregled, 313 – 316
17. KOSTIC, Ustanak; HNJ, II, 830 – 839
18. POPOVIC, Srbija; HNJ, II, 840 – 852, 1342 – 1374
19. RADONIC, Prilozi; IVIC, Istorija; HNJ, II, 1160 – 1200

Chapter Seven – Part Two:

1. RP, 517 sq.

2. For various theories set forth until recently to explain the origin of the Wallachs cf.: KADLEC, Valasi, 11 --82; SACERDOTEAU, Considerations, 103 – 245; GYONI, 96 – 180; MANDIC, RP, 518 sq.
3. Postanak Vlaha – This article also appears in my Rasprave i prilozi, 515 – 567
4. VEGETUS RENATUS; ROMAN, L'organisation militaire; GROSSE, Roemische Militaergeschichte
5. SEECK, Notitia dignitatum; POLASCHEK, Notitia dignitatum, 1081 – 1101
6. Notitia dignitatum, Oc. 33, 31 (193)
7. Notitia dignitatum, Oc. 34, 23, 31 (197)
8. GOLUBOVICH, Biblioteca, II, 72, 195, 266 sq., III, 65
9. Diplomata militaria, CIL, XVI, 103 (114)
10. Diplomata militaria, CIL, XVI, 98 (108)
11. CIL, VIII, 2354, 2465 sq., 5349, 7978, etc
12. RP, 529 – 544
13. POP DUKLJANIN, Ljetopis, 5
14. LIHACEV, 11, 21; SZENTPETERY, I, 45, 65 sq., 156 sq., 162 sq.
15. GELZER, Ungedruckte, II, 46
16. WASSILIEWSKY-JARNSTEDT, 74
17. NICETAS CHONIATA, I, 482
18. GEORGIUS PHRANTZES, IV, 20
19. JIRECEK, Die Romanen, 38; JIRECEK-RADONIC, III, 41; SKOK, Dolazak Slovena, 99, 163
20. HRABAK, O hercegovackim vlaskim katunima, 29 – 39; VEGO, Naselka, 127 – 132; SARANOVIC, Bosanski paseluk, 159
21. GELZER, op. cit.; GYONI, L'éveché vlaque, I, 155 – 159, 224 – 233 – The Wallachs were Christians during the folk migrations and always remained Christian, with their own bishops and priests, using the Latin language in their liturgy. It is our opinion that the bishops of the dioceses in Odysos and Tomi which survived the folk migrations ministered to Wallachs from the VI to the IX centuries. The priest Pavao, who first spread Christianity among the Bulgars, was a romanized Wallach (MANDIC, III, 46, no. 15)
22. Ospom, 96 sq., 142
23. "A Serb may not marry with a Wallach; but if he does, they acquire the condition of serfs", Charter of Decani, 1330, Ospom, 114. Similarly in the Charter of Banja, 1313 – 1318, Ospom, 93

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1. RP, 529 – 533
2. RP, 443 – 469
3. See above, 98, 175 sq.
4. MANDIC, Sredovjecna Bosna, 450 – 460; IDEM, BiH, III, 117 – 128
5. MR, III, 102
6. StPov, I / 1, 430, 4999
7. Starine, 39 (1938), 316; AB, 88
8. VEGO, op. cit., 127 – 132; RP, 551 – 556
9. Listine, I, 348; RP, 551 sq.
10. CDCC, XI, 250 (192) – For the Wallachs of Cetina see: SOLDI, Cetina-srednjovjekovna, 63 – 101
11. CDC, XII, 437 sq. (336)
12. RP, 550 – 558
13. Listine, IX, 89
14. RP, 553 sq.
15. "No Wallachs among us is our brother, for we are Croatian Wallachs", Register

- of Croatian Wallachs, 1433, RSI, II, 217 sq.
16. RP, 544 – 558
 17. RP, 558 – 564; MANDIC, BiH, III, 503 – 507
 18. See above, 195, no. 6
 19. LOPASIC, Spomenici Hrvatske krajine, I, 28 – 31 (18 sq.)
 20. LOPASIC, op. cit., II, 197
 21. See above, 201
 22. HNJ, II, 89
 23. HNJ, II, 207 sq.; MANDIC, BiH, III, 278
 24. "occupied by several thousand Morlaki or Wallachs from the interior of Turkey", LASZOWSKI, Habsburski spomenici, III, 414
 25. LOPASIC, Bihac, 11, no. 1
 26. LOPASIC, op. cit., 11; MANDIC, BiH, III, 505; KARANOVIC, Pounje, 361 sq., 394, 399, 432, 545, 612
 27. HNJ, II, 141; MANDIC, BiH, III, 505
 28. See above, 144, no. 57
 29. LOPASIC, Spomenici, I, 195 sq. (135)
 30. LOPASIC, op. cit., 201 sq. (142), 214 – 216 (156 sq.), 220 sq. (162), 368 sq. (269)
 31. SISIC, Pregled, 345
 32. SIMRAK, De relationibus; IDEM, Povijest marcansko-svidnicke eparhije; SISIC, op. cit., 345 sq.
 33. LOPASIC, op. cit., I, 266 – 270 (176 – 183)
 34. LOPASIC, op. cit., I, 270 – 273 (184 – 187)
 35. LOPASIC, op. cit., I, 393 – 395 (205 – 207)
 36. LOPASIC, op. cit., I, 317 sq. (224)
 37. LOPASIC, op. cit., I, 365 – 367 (267 sq.), II, 4 – 7 (4 – 9)
 38. LOPASIC, op. cit., II, 147
 39. LOPASIC, op. cit., II, 180
 40. LOPASIC, op. cit., II, 300 (188), 307 (195), 311 (199)
 41. LOPASIC, op. cit., II, 314 (204) – 1543 settlers from Bosnia who came to Brinje called themselves "We Croats", LOPASIC, op. cit., III, 303 (171)
 42. LOPASIC, op. cit., III, 301 – 305 (170 sq.)
 43. MANDIC, BiH, III, 251 – 274
 44. LOPASIC, op. cit., II, 388 – 390 (242)
 45. LOPASIC, op. cit., II, 413 – 417 (256 – 259)
 46. LOPASIC, op. cit., III, 241 sq. (138), 259 sq. (159)
 47. LOPASIC, op. cit., III, 304 sq. (172)
 48. LOPASIC, op. cit., III, 214 – 216 (116)
 49. LOPASIC, op. cit., III, 203 sq. (112)
 50. LOPASIC, op. cit., III, , 306 – 312 (174)
 51. LOPASIC, op. cit., III, 343 sq. (189)
 52. See below, 284 – 289
 53. HADROVICS, Le peuple serbe, 140 – 157; SISIC, Pregled, 344 – 346
 54. See above, 127 sq.
 55. DRAGANOVIC, Massenueberritte, 24 – 36, 55 – 97; MANDIC, BiH, III, 455 – 494
 56. "In the province of Hercegovina three days' journey from Dubrovnik there were many Christians of the Orthodox faith who, formerly Roman Catholic, had passed over to the Orthodox faith because of the dearth of Catholic priests... the case being the same, I understand, in other villages. In Gacki (Herzegovina) many Christian women who had become schismatic tearfully implored...the aforesaid pastor and his companions...begging him to stay with them, for they would believe whatever he should tell them", PANDZIC, De dioecesi, 31, no. 5; MANDIC, BiH, III, 460 sq.
 57. CELLESI, Vita, 114

58. Roma, Arch. Prop., Scritt. riferite, vol. 146, fol. 263r; MANDIC, op. cit., 462
59. "Many houses scattered everywhere of which 250 have never seen any priest since ten or twelve years, but have been attending the Orthodox service, very rarely at that and only after their betrothal. In fact they have far from forgotten the Catholic faith", Arch. Prop., Scritt. riferite, vol. 146, fol. 246r; MANDIC, op. cit., 466
60. MANDIC, op. cit., 467 – 479; IDEM, Franjevačka Bosna, 56, 231 sq.
61. See above, 189 sq.
62. AB, 225 (954)
63. MATASOVIC, Fojnicka regesta, 104 sq. (6)
64. SABANOVIC, Turski dokumenti, 197 sq.
65. MATASOVIC, 109 (45)
66. In 1506 the Turks converted the Catholic basilica in Foca, dating from the XII century, into an imperial mosque, BEJTIC, Povijest, 23 – 73, particularly 28; SABANOVIC, Evlija Celebija, 168
67. MATASOVIC, 114 (91)
68. MANDIC, BiH, III, 467 – 479
69. "In the villages around Zvornik there were no Catholic houses at all, but many more Orthodox Christians than Turks...In Srebrenica the number of Catholic houses reached 200...", GZM, 24 (1909), 71
70. JELENIC, Spomenici, 149
71. KARANOVIC, Pounje, 368 sq., 384 sq.; RAGJENOVIC, Bjelajsko polje, 168 – 171
72. KARANOVIC, 339
73. For the Predavci and Slavonian Catholics among the Croats see: MANDIC, BiH, III, 297 – 304
74. SIMRAK, Marcanska eparhija, 39, no. 15
75. See above, 210 sq.
76. LOPASIC, op. cit., II, 179
77. LOPASIC, op. cit., II, 202 – 205, 261 – 263, 279 – 282
78. KERCHELICH, 431
79. GZMs 15 / 16 (1961), Etnologija, 36 sq., 91 – 104
80. SKOK, Novi prilozi, 215 – 278
81. See above, 206 sq.
82. LUCIUS, 459; JORGA, Histoire, II, 93 – 210
83. WEIGAND, Die Aromunen; THOMSON, The nomads; KADLEC, Valasi, 32, 123 – 160; CAPUDAN, Die Mazedo-Rumaenen
84. NIGER VENETUS, 103
85. For the influence of Turkey and the Orthodox church in the integration of the Wallachs among the Balkan peoples see: RP, 558 – 564
86. MANDIC, BiH, III, 503 – 507, 515 – 518
87. DIMITRIJEVIC, Gradja, 31 sq., 48, 51, 172, 200, 206 – 209, etc.; HADROVIC, 112 – 118
88. See above, 211, no. 64
89. STRANJOKOVIC, Kako je postalo Garasaninovo "Nacertanije", 65 – 115; IDEM, Politicka propaganda Srbije; VALENTIC, Konceptija Garasaniinova "Nacertanije", 123 – 137; ZACEK, Cesko i poljsko ucesce, 35 – 56; ZIVANOVIC, Politika istorija Srbije; JOVANIC, Druga vlada Milosa i Mihajla
90. HERKALOVIC, Vorgeschichte, 16 – 19; SKARIC, Sarajevo, 223 sq.
91. VOJVODIC, Rad Srbije; MANDIC, BiH, III, 433 – 439, 515 – 518
92. POLITEO, Srpsko-hrvatsko pitanje; NOVAK, Pokret za sjedinjenje Dalmacije s Hrvatskom, 1 – 110; IDEM, Proslost Dalmacije, II, 345 – 411
93. NEHAJEV, Radovica; JAKSIC, Rakovicka buna; KUSTIC, Kvaternik; SIDAK & AL., 51 sq.
94. MANDIC, BiH, III, 515 – 518
95. MANDIC, Herzegovacki spomenici, I, 172 (174), 182 (184)

96. See above, 244 sq., 262 sq.
97. See above, 255 – 262

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1. DANICI, Zivoti
2. RADONIC, Grof Dordje; RADOJCIC, Poceci
3. RADONJCIC, Podloga, 177 – 189; IDEM, Srpski istoricar
4. See above, 244 sq.
5. MIROFANOFF, Joseph II, I, 262 – 264; SISIC, Pregled, 337 sq.
6. PAVLOVIC, Srbija
7. NOVAKOVIC, Ustanak na dahije; PANTELIC, Beogradski pasaluk; SAULIC, Prvi srpski ustanak
8. IVIC, Dokumenti; COROVIC, Karadjordje; JOVANOVIC, Karadjordje
9. CLISSOLD, A short history, 114 – 129
10. GAVRILOVIC, Milos Obrenovic; STOJANCEVIC, Knez Milos
11. STAJANOVIC, Zivot i rad Vuka Stef. Karadzica; POPOVIC, Vuk Stef. Karadzic
12. See above, 131
13. CLISSOLD, 121 – 123; ZIVANOVIC, Politicka istorija Srbije
14. See above, 271, no. 89 – 91
15. JOVANOVIC, Vlada
16. JOVANOVIC, op. cit.
17. DORDEVIC, Carinski rat
18. See above, 271, no. 89 – 91; ZIVANOVIC, Solunski proces
19. CLISSOLD, 127 – 134; ALEKSIC, Odnosi Srbije; HELMREICH, The Diplomacy
20. See above, III, no. 92 – 94
21. VUK KARADZIC, Kovcezic; POPOVIC, Vuk Stef. Karadzic
22. SPALAIKOVITCH, La Bosnie et L'Herzegovine
23. MANDIC, Kako su govorili, 91 – 99; IDEM, Crvena Hrvatska, 240 – 262
24. MANDIC, BiH, III, 278 – 282, 404 – 407, 513 – 518
25. See above, 255 – 262; MANDIC, op. cit., 450 – 494, 519 – 522
26. STANOJEVIC, Die Ermordung; MITIS, Crown Prince Rudolf; CHLUMECKY, Erzherzog Ferdinand; BOGDAN, 21 – 133; DEDIJER, Sarajevo 1914; WUERTHLE

Chapter Seven – Part 5:

1. CVIJIC, Antropogeografiski problemi; IDEM, La péninsule balkanique; JOVANOVIC, Jovan Cvijic; HNJ, II, 1368
2. See above, 252 – 262
3. See above, 244, 261 – 262
4. See above, 268 sq.; POPOVIC, O Cincarima; FILIPOVIC, Cincari u Bosni; IDEM, Cincari (Aromuni), in EJ, II, 378 – 380
5. Svetozar Pribicevic, leader of the Croatian Serbs in the first Yugoslavia, was more dark-skinned than a good number of Negroes in the U. S. A. The author knew him personally.
6. CECAUMENOS, Strategicon, 74
7. RP, 534 – 536
8. MATKOVIC, Putovanja, 72
9. LIHACEV, Povest' let', I, 11, 21
10. Cited in POPOVIC, O Cincarima, 188 sq.
11. POPOVIC, op. cit., 15
12. SKERLIC, Pisci in knjige, II, 447

13. **POPOVIC, O Cincarima, First Edition, concluding statement**

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1. See above, 228, no. 104
2. **BARAC, Ilirska knjiga, 58**
3. **J. DRASKOVIC, Disertacija, 8; FANCEV, Dokumenti, 301**
4. **FANCEV, op. cit., 221**
5. According to Gaj's spelling, as photographed in SL, **JEZIC, Hrvatska knjizevnost, 200 – 201. See also MANDIC, BiH, III, 384, no. 6**
6. **JEZIC, op. cit., 201 – 206**
7. See above, 229, no. 105
8. **KATANIC, Indagatio philologica; IDEM, De Istro**
9. **MIKLOUSIC, Izbor dugovanj, 26 sq.; FANCEV, op. cit., 153 sq.**
10. "They were indeed from Illyricum, I happened to be the apostle Paul; they were the first Slavs...", **Povest' vremennyh let', 23; MANDIC, Crvena Hrvatska, 75 – 79**
11. **PRIBOJEVIC, O podrijetlu**
12. **JELENIC, Kultura, II, 164 – 184; MANDIC, BiH, III, 388 – 397**
13. **MAMUZIC, Ilirizam i Srbi, 1 – 91; IDEM, Srpsko-hrvatski odnosi u proslosti; PETRE, Poiskus ilirizma pri Slovencih**
14. See above, 229, no. 105
15. On bishop Strossmayer and his work see: **SISIC, Korespondencija; IDEM, J. J. Strossmayer; IDEM, Biskup Strossmayer; IDEM, Jugoslavenska misao; Obzor, Spomenknjiga 1860 – 1935 (various articles on Strossmayer's work and Yugoslavism); POLIC, Parlamentarna povjest; SMICIKLA, Nacrt zivota.**
16. **SIDAK & AL., 20**
17. **SIDAK & AL, 74 sq.**
18. Memorandum of A. Orekovic to the Serbian regency in Belgrade, July 16th, 1868, **VUCKOVIC, Politicka akcija, 377 – 379; SIDAK & AL., 95**
19. **SISIC, Korespondencija, III, 118**
20. **VOJNOVIC, Cetiri Strossmayerova pisma; MUZIC, Hrvatska politika, 29**
21. **SPILETAK, Biskup J. J. Strossmayer, 51 sq.; MUZIC, op. cit., 29**
22. **MUZIC, op. cit., 29**
23. **MAZZURA & DERENCIN, Programi, 31; SIDAK & AL., 146 – 148**
24. See above, 271, no. 89
25. **A. STARCEVIC, Djela; A. STAREVIC, Izabrani spisi; SEGVIC, Dr. Ante Starcevic; M. STARCEVIC, Dr. Ante Starcevic i Srbi; IVSIC, Razvitak hrvatskog drustva; HORVAT, Ante Starcevic; BOGDANOV, Starcevic**
26. **JURISIC, Izabrani spisi, 430; MURVAR, Hrvatska i Hrvati, 98**
27. **A. STARCEVIC, Djela, III, 114 – 117, 130 sq.**
28. **JURISIC, Izabrani spisi, 248**
29. **MUZIC, Hrvatska politika, 31 – 38; SIDAK & AL., 17 – 25; FLAKER, Pravastvo i Rusija, 105 – 119; OCAK, Gradja, 369 – 391**
30. **KULUNDZIC, Stjepan Radic, 255 sq., HORVAT, Politicka povijest, 297 – 304; SIDAK & AL., 152**
31. **ZANINOVIC, Mlada Hrvatska, 65 – 104; MASLESA, Mlada Bosna; GROSS, Die Ideen, 63 – 86; MUZIC, op. cit., 47 – 67; SIDAK & AL., 152 – 159**
32. **LORKOVIC, Narod i zemlja Hrvata, 142**
33. **BOGDANOV, O zivotu; MESTROVIC, Uspomene na Frana Supila, 317 – 334; SEPIC, Supilo diplomat; HORVAT, Frano Supilo; SUPILO, Politika u Hrvatskoj; HAJDARHODZIC & AL., Korespondencija, 7 – 229**

34. **SMITH PAVELIC, Dr. Ante Trumbic; RADICA, Dr. Ante Tumbic, 407 – 426**
35. **SIDAK & AL., 173**
36. **SIDAK & AL., 215 – 218**
37. **IBLER, Hrvatska politika; BOGDANOV, Hrvatski narodni pokret; RADIC, Hrvatski pokret; SIDAK & AL., 211 – 213; TUDMAN, Velike ideje, 89 – 124**
38. **MESTROVIC, op. cit., 319; TRUMBIC, Suton Austro-Ugarske; SIDAK & AL., 221 sq.; MUZIC, op. cit., 53 – 56**
39. **SIDAK & AL., 211- 227**
40. **GROSS, Vladavina; SIDAK & AL., 227 – 234; MUZIC, op. cit., 50 – 52**
41. **SIDAK & AL., 238 – 245; MUZIC, op. cit., 47 – 67**
42. **"In fact according to Austro-Hungarian laws there was high treason, but it remained unproved to the end", RIBAR, Iz moje politicke suradnje, 93; SKARIC; NURIHADZIC; STANOJEVIC; MANDIC, BiH; BOGICEVIC, Mlada Bosna; MASLESA, Mlada Bosna; NEIMAROVIC, Iz mojih uspomena, 378 – 380**
43. **SETON-WATSON, The Southern Slavs; SIROTOKOVIC, Pravni in politicki aspekti; SIDAK & AL., 245 – 251**
44. **SETON-WATSON, Sarajevo; BOGICEVIC, Sarajevski atentat; DEDIJER, Sarajevo 1914; IDEM, Planovi; SIDAK & AL., 292 – 302. See also above, 285, no. 26**
45. **MESTROVIC, Uspomene, 41 – 52; PAULOVA, Jugoslavenski odbor, 3 – 12; SMITH PAVELIC, op. cit., 34**
46. **"in the service of the great cause of the Serbian state and of the Serbo-Croatian and Slovenian race..." , Declaration of the royal Serbian government to the national parliament in Nis, December 7th, 1914, SISIC, Dokumenti, 10; CULINOVIC, Dokumenti, 25**
47. **SISIC, op. cit., 12**
48. **MESTROVIC, op. cit., 52 – 56; PAULOVA, op. cit., 21 – 23**
49. **PAULOVA, op. cit., 73, 203**
50. **PAULOVA, op. cit., 66 sq.; LORKOVIC, Narod, 209 – 212; HOLJEVAC, Hrvati izvan domovine, 63 – 70**
51. **PAULOVA, op. cit., 66 – 68; HOLJEVAC, op. cit., 81 – 137**
52. **PAULOVA, op. cit., 68**
53. **PAULOVA, op. cit., 66 – 71; SISIC, op. cit., 20 sq.**
54. **LORKOVIC, op. cit., 212 sq.; HOLJEVAC, op. cit., 181 – 186**
55. **PAULOVA, op. cit., 226 – 234**
56. **MESTROVIC, op. cit., 45**
57. **MESTROVIC, op. cit., 62 sq.; PAULOVA, op. cit., 32 sq.**
58. **PAULOVA, op. cit., 52 – 56; MUZIC, Hrvatska politika, 89 sq.**
59. **PAULOVA, op. cit., 41 – 57**
60. **PAULOVA, op. cit., 72 – 81**
61. **PAULOVA, op. cit., 82 – 93**
62. **MESTROVIC, op. cit., 63**
63. **PAULOVA, op. cit., 202**
64. **PAULOVA, op. cit., 161 – 168**
65. **MESTROVIC, op. cit., 67; PAULOVA, op. cit., 186 – 190**
66. **Supilo in his program presented his point of view on the position of Croatia in the future Yugoslavian political federation with his 'Seven Points' which he submitted to the Yugoslav Committee in London in October, 1915. The text of these points is to be found in STOJANOVIC, Jugoslavenski odbor, 19 sq. CULINOVIC, Dokumenti o Jugoslaviji, 54 also contributed. See also: MESTROVIC, op. cit., 62 – 69; PAULOVA, op. cit., 195 – 215.**
67. **MESTROVIC, op. cit., 67 sq.; PAULOVA, op. cit., 200 – 214, 333**
68. **MESTROVIC, op. cit., 62 – 69; PAULOVA, op. cit., 31 sq.; MUZIC, op. cit., 95 – 105**
69. **PAULOVA, op. cit., 328**
70. **SISIC, op. cit., 111; CULINOVIC, op. cit., 58**

71. **SISIC, op. cit., 94**
72. **MESTROVIC, op. cit., 75 sq.; PAULOVA, op. cit., 331 – 350; SISIC, op. cit., 96 – 99; SMITH PAVELIC, op. cit., 73 – 83**
73. **SISIC, op. cit., 110 – 112; PAULOVA, op. cit., 384 – 387**
74. **PAULOVA, op. cit., 396 – 402; MUZIC, op. cit., 119 – 121**
75. **PAULOVA, op. cit., 313, 511 – 516**
76. **SISIC, op. cit., 172 – 176; CULINOVIC, op. cit., 68; HORVAT, Politicka povijest, 84 – 88**
77. **SISIC, op. cit., 189; CULINOVIC, op. cit., 74 sq.**
78. **SISIC, op. cit., 195 sq.; CULINOVIC, op. cit., 76 sq.; HORVAT, op. cit., 103 sq.**
79. **SISIC, op. cit., 210; CULINOVIC, op. cit., 77; HORVAT, op. cit., 109**
80. **SISIC, op. cit., 209**
81. **SISIC, op. cit., 216 sq., 220; PAULOVA, op. cit., 534 sq.; HORVAT, op. cit., 119 sq.**
82. **SISIC, op. cit., 221 – 224; PAULOVA, op. cit., 535 – 540**
83. **MUZIC, op. cit., 124 – 130; KUIZMAN, Izvjestaj D. Simovica, 123 – 132**
84. **SISIC, op. cit., 233 sq.; PAULOVA, op. cit., 547 – 549; SMITH PAVELIC, op. cit., 176 – 178**
85. **SISIC, op. cit., 237, 249; PAULOVA, op. cit., 551 – 564; SMITH PAVELIC, op. cit., 178 sq.; HORVAT, op. cit., 123 – 133**
86. **SISIC, op. cit., 241; SMITH-PAVELIC, op. cit., 179 – 185; HORVAT, op. cit., 134 sq.**
87. **SISIC, op. cit., 255 sq., 268 – 278; HORVAT, op. cit., 138 – 153**
88. **MUZIC, op. cit., 147 – 152; HORVAT, op. cit., 138 – 153**
89. **The entire speech of St. Radic on November 24th, 1918 is set forth in MUZIC, op. cit., 135 – 144.**
90. **Regulations of the national council of the SHS, point 2, states: "All questions relative to the fundamental issue, i.e. the unification of the Slovenes, Croats and Serbs in a free, independent and national state of the SHS, are considered to be a matter strictly for the national council in its entirety", which must be deliberated in a plenary session of the national council", SISIC, op. cit., 174; CULINOVIC, op. cit., 68 sq. – For Croatian opposition in the national council see: MACEK, Nesto uspomena, 39 sq.; JAREB, Pola stoljeda, 22.**
91. **SISIC, op. cit., 274 – 276; CULINOVIC, op. cit., 89 sq.; HORVAT, op. cit., 154 sq.**
92. **See above, no. 90 and also Radic's speech on November 24th, 1918 in MUZIC, op. cit., 154 sq.; SISIC, op. cit., 275, 278 sq.; HORVAT, op. cit., 158 sq.**
93. **HORVAT, op. cit., 159 sq. The address of the delegation is set forth in : SISIC, op. cit., 280 sq., HORVAT, op. cit., 161 sq.**
94. **SISIC, op. cit., 282; HORVAT, op. cit., 162 – 164; CULINOVIC, op. cit., 99**
95. **The minutes of the Serbian national assembly of 29th (16th) December 1920 are set forth in: SISIC, op. cit., 293 – 298.**
96. **MUZIC, op. cit., 169**
97. **The population breakdown of the SHS in 1921: 2,612,296 Orthodox Serbs in the former kingdom of Serbia and 1,981,923 Croatian Serbs, total = 4,594,219; Catholic and Moslem Croats = 3,641,413; Montenegrins = 199,227; Macedonians = 1,476,747. Popis stanovništva kraljevine Jugoslavije od 31 januara 1921 god., Sarajevo, 1932, 2, 86; DRAGANOVIC, Croatian, 355 – 391.**
98. **See above, 275**
99. **PRIBICEVIC, Diktatura kralja Aleksandra, 90**
100. **BICANIC, Ekonomska podloga hrvatskog pitanja, 100 – 195**
101. **BICANIC, op. cit., 47 – 71**
102. **BICANIC, op. cit., 50 – 71, 85 – 99, 131 – 178**
103. **MUZIC, op. cit., 176 – 179**
104. **BICANIC, op. cit., 32**
105. **BICANIC, op. cit., 40**

106. In 1910 the population of the serfs, divided into communities by family, in Bosnia and Herzegovina was: 58,895 (73.92%) Orthodox, 17,116 (21.49%) Catholic, 3653 (4.5%) Moslem, 13 (0.01%) others, Rezultati popisa ziteljstva BiH od 10.X.1910, Sarajevo, 1912, 58 – 60.
107. MANDIC, BiH, III
108. There were twice as many beneficiaries as actual volunteers for the Solun front. Anyone who brought in two witnesses under oath was granted the privileges of volunteer on the Solun front. In the forecourt of the ministry for agrarian reform in Belgrade there were always local people who were ready for a fee to swear that such and such a person had been a volunteer for the Solun front.
109. LORKOVIC, Narod, 207 – 215; HOLJEVAC, Hrvati, 36 – 60
110. BICANIC, op. cit., 20, 29, 34
111. BICANIC, op. cit., 67 – 71; KULUNDZIC, Politika; CULINOVIC, Slom stare Jugoslavije
112. HORVAT, op. cit., 187 sq.; MACEK, In the Struggle, 81 – 89; MUZIC, op. cit., 168 sq. - In the parliamentary session of February 2nd, 1919 Stjepan Radic enunciated his position on the Yugoslavian political federation: "We wish to be with the Serbs, but not subject to them; we want the Serbs as our brothers, not our masters; we seek a genuine Yugoslavian unity, which must include the Bulgarians", HORVAT, Politicka povijest, 188.
113. HORVAT, op. cit., 517; MACEK, op. cit., 89 sq.
114. MACEK, op. cit., 90; JAREB, Pola stoljeca, 26 sq.; MUZIC, op. cit., 168
115. MACEK, op. cit., 91; MESTROVIC, The elections, 44; TUDMAN, Velike ideje, 301 sq.
116. HORVAT, op. cit., 517; MESTROVIC, op. cit., 44 – 52
117. HORVAT, op. cit., 321
118. MACEK, op., 92 – 95; JAREB, op. cit., 27 sq., TUDMAN, op. cit., 304
119. HORVAT, op. cit., 313 sq., MACEK, op. cit., 95 sq.; JAREB, op. cit., 28; TUDMAN, op. cit., 304
120. HORVAT, op. cit., 313 sq.; MACEK, op. cit., 97 sq.; JAREB, op. cit., 28; TUDMAN op. cit., 304; MUZIC, op. cit., 172
121. HORVAT, op. cit., 350 – 355; MACEK, op. cit., 99 – 102; JAREB, op. cit., 30 sq.; TUDMAN, op. cit., 304 sq.
122. HORVAT, op. cit., 335, 354 – 367; MACEK, op. cit., 99, 102 – 105; JAREB, op. cit., 32; TUDMAN, op. cit., 305 sq.
123. HORVAT, op. cit., 367 – 396; MACEK, op. cit., 105 sq.; JAREB, op. cit., 32; TUDMAN, op. cit., 305 sq.
124. HORVAT, op. cit., 399 - 405; MACEK, op. cit., 106; JAREB, op. cit., 33; TUDMAN, op. cit., 306 sq.
125. HORVAT, op. cit., 408; JAREB, op. cit., 33 sq., 73; MUZIC, op. cit., 172 sq.
126. MACEK, op. cit., 107 – 110; PRIBICEVIC, Diktatura, 59 – 66; TUDMAN, op. cit., 306 sq.; HORVAT, op. cit., 410 – 416
127. PRIBICEVIC, op. cit., 67 – 75; MACEK, op. cit., 108 – 114; HORVAT, op. cit., 417 – 432; JAREB, op. cit., 34 – 36; KULUNDZIC, Atentat
128. MACEK, op. cit., 114 – 118; PRIBICEVIC, op. cit., 76 – 80, 98 – 101; HORVAT, op. cit., 436 – 438; JAREB, op. cit., 35 sq.; TUDMAN, op. cit., 306 – 308
129. From personal recollections.
130. MACEK, op. cit., 128; JAREB, op. cit., 40 – 46; MUZIC, op. cit., 225 sq.
131. MACEK, op. cit., 118 – 124; JAREB, op. cit., 35, 78 - 81; MUZIC, op. cit., 212 – 224, 241, n. 258; HORVAT, op. cit., 438 – 449
132. PRIBICEVIC, op. cit., 105 – 113; MACEK, op. cit., 124 – 126; HORVAT, op. cit., 449 – 452
133. MACEK, op. cit., 128 sq.; JAREB, op. cit., 44 sq.; TUDMAN, op. cit., 308; VRCINAC, Nasa najnovija istorija, 87 – 91, 101

134. MACEK, op. cit., 129 - 136; JAREB, op. cit., 47; TUDMAN, op. cit., 308 – 310; VRCINAC, op. cit., 97 – 99, 103 – 105
135. BICANIC, Ekonomska podloga, 157 sq., 176 – 178
136. MACEK, op. cit., 128; PRIBICEVIC, op. cit., 127 – 137; JAREB, op. cit., 47 sq.; TUDMAN, op. cit., 310
137. MACEK, op. cit., 137 – 157; JAREB, op. cit., 48 sq.; TUDMAN, op. cit., 310 sq.
138. MACEK, op. cit., 154; MESTROVIC, Uspomene, 263 – 269
139. MESTROVIC, op. cit., 269 – 272; JAREB, op. cit., 51 sq.; TUDMAN, op. cit., 311 sq.
140. MACEK, op. cit., 158 - 161; BICANIC, op. cit., 103; TUDMAN, op. cit., 312
141. STOJADINOVIC, Ni rat ni pakt, 519 – m537; TUDMAN, op. cit., 312 – 314; MUZIC, op. cit., 204 sq.
142. MACEK, op. cit., 177 - 186; JAREB, op. cit., 60; TUDMAN, op. cit., 314
143. MACEK, op. cit., 186 – 195; JAREB, op. cit., 63 - 71; TUDMAN, op. cit., 314 sq.
144. MACEK, op. cit., 196 - 203; JAREB, op. cit., 71 sq.
145. JAREB, op. cit., 71 sq.; MUZIC, op. cit., 218 sq.
146. JAREB, op. cit., 72 sq.; MUZIC, op. cit., 291 sq., 225 – 227
147. MACEK, op. cit., 209 - 223; MESTROVIC, op. cit., 300 – 302; JAREB, op. cit., 74 – 96; TUDMAN, op. cit., 317; SMITH PAVELIC, Jugoslavia i Trojni pakt 65 – 108
148. MESTROVIC, op. cit., 302 – 304; TUDMAN, op. cit., 317 sq.; MUZIC, op. cit., 220 – 222
149. MACEK, op. cit., 209 – 223; MESTROVIC, op. cit., 307; TUDMAN, op. cit., 318 sq.
150. An expression which came in use as a result of a statement made by the archbishop of Zagreb, Aloysius Stepinac at the Communist tribunal in Zagreb on October 3rd, 1946, namely that "the Croatian nation was a slave in the former Yugoslavia", BELUHAN, Stepinac govori, 128; PATTEE, The case, 239; BENIGAR, Stepanic, 584.

Conclusion:

1. See above, 15 – 22
2. See above, 45 – 51
3. See above, 52 – 61
4. See above, 23 – 27
5. See above, 62 – 68
6. See above, 245 – 251
7. See above, 255 – 262
8. See above, 210 – 213, 252 – 273
9. See above, 285 – 290
10. See above, 18 – 22, 25 sq.
11. See above, 45 – 51, 72 sq.
12. See above, 79 – 81
13. RP, 195 – 201
14. See above, 81 – 87
15. See above, 73 – 76, 114 sq., 207 – 210
16. See above, 109 – 114, 116 – 118
17. See above, 195 – 231
18. See above, 213 – 217, 222 sq.
19. See above, 224 – 231
20. See above, 231 – 235
21. See above, 62 – 68, 169 sq.
22. See above, 169 – 178

23. See above, 179 – 185
24. See above, 185 – 190
25. See above, 273 – 280
26. MANDIC, BiH, I, 422 – 508
27. See above, 87 – 89
28. See above, 169 – 172
29. MANDIC, BiH, I, 494 – 508
30. See above, 192 sq.
31. See above, 245 – 251, 285 – 290
32. See above, 291 – 308
33. See above, 320 – 329
34. See above, 329 – 340
35. See above, 324 sq.
36. Section I, article 1 of the constitution of the Federal National Republic of Yugoslavia as enacted by the constitutional assembly in Belgrade on January 31st, 1946 reads: "The Federative National Republic of Yugoslavia is a federal national state of the republican type, a community of equal nations which on the basis of the right to self-determination, including the right of session, have expressed their will to live in a unified, federative state", CULINOVIC, Dokumenti, 557. – Similarly in the constitution of the Socialistic Federative Republic of Yugoslavia (April 7th, 1963), Fundamental Principles, point 1, CULINOVIC, op. cit., 580.

NOTE: All the Latin footnotes were translated by Magister Jacques Perret.

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I. THE OLDEST HISTORICAL EVIDENCE CONCERNING CROATS AND SERBS

A. The Eastern and Northern Paleo-fatherland of the Croats on the Don (Donska Hrvatska)

The Croatian name is first mentioned on two commemorative plaques on public edifices in the city of Tanais lying on the mouth of the Don on the Azov Sea. They were written in Greek at the beginning of the III century A.D. The first plaque was written during the reign of the king of Tanais, Sauromates (175-211 A.D.). On it is mentioned the name of the dignitary, the son of one Horvat (Choroathou). (1) On the other, written in 220 A.D. during the reign of king Rescuporides, son of Sauromates, the name Horvat Sandarsijev (Choroathus Sandarsion) (2) appears among four archons of Tanais. If on both inscriptions the Greek ending "-os" is dropped we have the original Croatian name Horvat in the ancient Kaikavian dialect. (3)

Now comes the oldest question: What is the origin of the Don Croats and how did they come to be there? Although this question is still not settled satisfactorily in all details, all the information we have is that the Don Croats were of Iranian stock. Indeed from the end of the I to III century A.D. in the city-state of Tanais, in the region of the Don, lived various Iranian tribes of Samatians as well as Croats who must have been Iranians. (4) Furthermore the national name "Croat" is of Iranian origin. According to the Russian Vselod Miller the name "Croat" comes from the Iranian word Hor-va (t)u meaning: the sun's bed or path. (5) M. Vasmer derives the Croatian name from Hu-urvata meaning, "friend". (6) And the terms used to designate the high officials among the Croats, "kral, ban, zupan", are of Iranian origin. (7) The religion of the ancient Croats also bore traces of its Iranian origin: a god of light and darkness, fire-worship, cremation of the dead, and so on. (8) Even the Croatian words used to designate religious concepts are Iranian: God, religion, sacrifice, paradise, Easter; to cry out (for), to implore, to predict, and so on. (9) After the Iranian fashion the ancient Croats ascribed a specific colour to each of the four cardinal points of the compass in the territory which they inhabited. The colour white designated the west, red the south, green the east, and black the north. (10) Hence White or West Croatia, Red or South Croatia and Green or East Croatia. Ancient Croatian folk art bears eastern and Iranian traces, particularly the Croatian "troplets". The Croats also brought over from Iran their national coat of arms with its 64 red and white checkers. (11)

The Croats of the Don, then had to come in ancient times from Iran. On a stone inscription of the King Darius (522-486 B.C.) the nation of the Haruavat-is appears among the 23 subject nations. (12) The Persian sacred books of the Avesti (Vendidad) call that nation the Harahvaiti. The provinces settled by that nation encompassed in those times the southern half of modern south Afghanistan, the whole of Baluchistan and the eastern part of modern Iran. In that ancient province ought we to look for the paleo-fatherland of the modern Croats. (13)

Beyond the Carpathians: Great or White Croatia

From the III to the VII century we have no documentary sources on the Croats; but from the VII century, and particularly from the VIII to the X century, they crop up continually. The most significant of these sources is the work of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, "De administrando imperio" written between 948 and 952. In it the emperor historian, on the basis of imperial archives and of the Croatian national tradition, mentions in several passages the Croats on the Adriatic and those behind the Carpathians. So in chapter 31 he writes:

"The Croats who now inhabit the Dalmatian territories are descended from non-Christian Croats, called White, who live beyond the Turkish lands, near the Frankish dominions.....Great Croatia, called also White, had to this day not yet been christianized." (14)

By the "Turkish lands" Porphyrogenitus means Hungary, because the Magyars originally came from Turkestan. By the "Frankish dominions" he means the eastern Frankish state, comprising in the IX and X century modern Germany and Austria. Accordingly Porphyrogenitus' Great or White Croatia in the X century extended north of Hungary and east of the Germany of that time, comprising specifically the territory of modern Czechoslovakia and south Poland.

Porphyrogenitus' accounts of Croatia beyond the Carpathians and of the Croats are confirmed both by his contemporaries and by older writers. So the Arab chronicler Ibn Rustah has this to say about the northern Croats, on basis of the Moslem chronicle "Al-Djarmi" (842-47):

"Their ruler is crowned ...He dwells in the midst of the Slavs...He bears the title of "ruler of rulers" and is called sacred malik. He is more powerful than the zupan (viceroy), who is his deputy...His capital is called Drzvab where is held a fair three days of the month." (15)

Kardizi cites this same place mentioned in the "Al-Djarmi", but only notes in passing that the seat of the Croatian kingdom is called "Djarawat". (16)

Established experts such as Marquart, (17) Niederle, (18) and Hauptmann (19) find in the Arab expression Drzvab, Djarawat and Chordat the name "Horvat", i.e. Croat. The capital of Great or White Croatia was to be found on the site of present-day Cracow, known even then as a commercial centre.

The Arab chronicler Al-Mas'uni in his work "Murug attanbit" (943) enumerates the Slavic nations of central Europe: Serbs, Moravians, Croats and Czechs. (20) About Great Croatia he writes:

"The closest neighbour of this Slavic state is Al-Firag (Prague)...In the neighbourhood of this Slavic state lies the Turaki (Magyars). This people is the finest in stature, the most populous and bravest among the Slavs." (21)

Other Arab writers also mention the Croats north of the Carpathians, as well as a Persian geographer. (22) They call the capital of the northern Croats Irvab, Irvit, Chordat, i.e. Croat. (23)

The Anglo-Saxon king Alfred the Great (871-901) in this translation of Orisius' "History of the World" describes thus the nations of central Europe:

"East of the Moravian land lies the land of the Vistula, and east of it the land of Dacia where the Goths used to live before. The Dalaminci are situated northeast of the Moravians, while the Croats (Horithi) are east of the Dalaminci and the Serbs (Surpe) north of the Dalaminci." (24)

The old Russian chronicle "A History of the Ancient Times", appearing at the beginning of the XII century and based on the ancient Russian chronicles, mentions the northern Croats three times under the names "Hrvato", "Horvati" – the first time in connection with the oldest Russian history, and then in connection with the events of the year 907 and 992. (25) On the basis of the order in which the chronicle enumerates the various Slavic tribes of those years, L. Hauptmann has proven that the Russian chronicler is talking about the Croats in Little Poland around the upper Vistula. (26)

The charter of 1086 describing the contemporaneous boundaries of the bishopric of Prague mentions two branches of the northern Croats, calling one the Chrousti and the other the Chrowati. (27) Although even today there are differences of opinion among scientists as to where the Croats cited in that charter lived in 1086, no one denies that the Croats really lived then north of the Carpathians. It is our opinion that the Prague charter is talking about the Croats of Little Poland and Czechoslovakia. In the old times the Croatian national territory was uniform and unbroken. When in 625 A.D. a part of the northern Croats moved south, mainly from the central part of the Croatian territory, i.e. the present-day northern Moravia and Slovakia, the other Slavic tribes moved in to fill the space created. In this way the northern Croats were split in half and there came to be two branches of Croats: western in Bohemia and eastern on the Vistula in Poland. The great resemblance between the Croatian and Slovak languages tell us that the Croats for the most part moved south from northern Slovakia. For they are far nearer to each other in affinity than to any other Slavic language.

IN the western and Bohemian part of the former Great or White Croatia the ducal family of the Slavnik ruled in the IX and X century. (28) From this family came St. Alalbert, apostle of the Poles. (29) Also St. Ludmilla, the grandmother of St. Wenceslas of Bohemia, was a western Croat. (30) When the Czech king Boloslave I (935-967) conquered ca. 960 the western Croatian lands which up to that time had been governed by the Slavniks, little by little the Croatian names disappeared and the Croats of those areas were assimilated with the Czechs, Moravians and Slovaks. (31)

The eastern Croats of the former Great Croatia around the upper Vistula in 999 fell under the rule of the Polish king Boleslav the Brave (992-1025). (32) From that time slowly began those territories the polonization of the old Croats of the Vistula. However there the Croatian name and national consciousness survived a long time. The Italian cartographer Allodi in his atlas of 1730 drew in on the map of Europe the Kingdom of the Croats and on the Adriatic (Regno di Croazia) and the White Croats (Belocroati) beyond the Carpathians among the Moravians and Romanians. (33) The immigrants from the surrounding areas of Cracow were still registered by American authorities at the beginning of the XX century as White Croats "Bielochrovats" (Crocovinians)". (34)

Connection between the Carpathian and Don Croats

That the White Croats beyond the Carpathians are of the same stock as the Don Croats their national names bears evidence. The Croatian name is not derived from a general notion such that it might arise independently in several places, but is a specific proper noun with a definite significance. Because of this wherever Croats are mentioned, whether on the Don or beyond the Carpathians, whether on the Adriatic or elsewhere, they are members of the same Croatian nation that we find on the Don at the outset of the III century A. D. That the Croats beyond the Carpathians came from the Don territory, their appellation White or Western Croats bears evidence. They were White or Western Croats relative to the Red or Southern Croats on the Don.

Although we lack resources from which to draw convincing proof it is quite evident to us that a part of the Don Croats was pushed westward during the invasion of the Huns into Europe in 375 A.D. and arrived north of the Carpathians. Here the Iranian Croats mingled with the numerous local Slavic tribes and adopted the Slavic language from them. Meanwhile after the collapse of the Hunnic Empire the Croats organized the local Slavs into a state and gave them their national name. Before the invasion of the Avars ca. 560 the White or Western Croats created along with the Antea a great state extending north of the Carpathians from the upper Elbe to the upper Dniester. (35) R. Heinzel is of the opinion that the Carpathians of the old Germanic Hervarsaga took their name from the Croats who called them the Harvate mountains i.e. Croatian mountains. (36)

B. The Eastern and Western Paleo-fatherland of the Serbs

The Serbs of the Caucasus and Asia Minor

The historical sources of the II and following centuries mention the Roman colony of Servitium not far from the modern Bosnian city of Gradiska on the Sava. (37) Safarik and L. Nierderle are of the opinion that this place took its name from the Serbs and that accordingly the Serbs already lived on the Sava by the beginning of the II century A.D. (38) It would be the oldest mention of the Serbs in history. Yet this can not be true. In the Roman sources there is no mention anywhere at all that in the Roman Empire from the I to IV century A.D. lived any branch of Serbs or Slavs from whom the aforesaid place might have taken the name Servitium. The verb "servire" and all its derivatives (servus, servitus, servitium) is a pure Latin word and we must not look for a Slavic origin in the case of names arising from that word. The Latin term "servitium" signifies service, supplies, payment and even the place of service. The Roman city in the neighbourhood of the modern Bosnian Gradiska took the name Servitium because in Roman times it was the naval base of the Roman fleet on the Sava where the ships on that river were supplied with all that they needed to function. (39)

Pliny the Elder (ca. 23 – 73 A.D.) in his History mentions the tribe of the Serbi (40) and in the middle of the II century Ptolemely mentions the Serboi. (41) The Slovenian ethnologist N. Zupanic first pointed out that in those names lies the key

to the genealogy of the modern Serbs. He places those old Serbs on the northern slopes of the Caucasus southeast of the southern part of the Azov Sea. According to Zupanic the Serbs in the Caucasus were an aboriginal Alarodian nation and not of Indo-European stock. (42)

Although textually with regard to the manuscripts Pliny's and Ptolemy's appellation is not above reproach in every way, we may not reject what they attest. Therefore the oldest mention that we have the Serbs dates from the middle of the II century, more precisely from the last quarter of the I century A.D.

From these two instances it is clear that the Serbs mentioned therein were not Slavs. Indeed the Slaves did not reach the Azov Sea and the Caucasus until the II century A.D. However we cannot concur with Zupanic that the Serbs were originally native to the Caucasus. In Epiphanius' register of the bishoprics of the Byzantine Empire which first appeared at the outset of the dynasty of Heraclius (610 – 717) the bishopric of Gordoserboi in Bithynia is mentioned. (43) This appellation cannot possibly refer to the Serbs in Thessaly because they, in all probability, had not yet arrived in Thessalian Srbiste when Epiphanius' register of bishoprics was written. (44) In spite of this it is not certain that the emperor Justinian II relocated to Asia Minor the Serbs for Srbiste on the river Bistrica when in 688 he resettled in Bithynia the Slavs from the vicinity of Salonica. (45) The Serbs of Thessaly were so few in number that they did not even have their own bishopric before 869, (46) and it is wholly probable that in 688 they were transferred in such numbers to Asia Minor that a VII century bishopric in Bithynia would have taken its name from them. In any case Epiphanius' register first appeared before the Third Constantinopolitan Synod in 680-81, and the bishopric of Gordoserboi could not be called after the name of the Serbs whom Justinian II resettled in Asia Minor only in 688.

The appellation Gordoserboi itself tells us that the Serbs mentioned in that bishopric did not originate from the Balkans but from the city of Gordium and its vicinity. Gordium was the capital of Phrygia and was situated on the right bank of the river Sangarios not far from the ancient city of Sardis. (47) We are of the opinion that this is where one should look for the paleo-fatherland of the Serbs who came subsequently to the Caucasus and from there to central Europe. Accordingly one should look for the name "Serb" which has not been yet elucidated in the ancient Sardinian language or in the modern languages of the remnants of the native populations of Phrygia. (Kurds, etc.) (48)

Pliny the Elder does not consider the Caucasian Serbs to be Iranian Sarmatians. (49) This to us indicates that we must look for the origin of the race elsewhere.

The Serbs on the Elbe

From the II to the VII century A.D. we have no authoritative historical sources at all on the Serbs. The Frankish chronicler Fredigar was the first to mention the Serbs in 631. The Serbs were already Slavicized and lived on the east bank of the middle Elbe. On the subject of the war waged by the Frankish king Dagobert in 631 against Samo, king of the Slavic Wends, Fredegar writes:

"The Wends invade Thuringia and other dominions of the Frankish kingdom and plunder Dervan as well, duke of the Serbs, of Slavic race and previously a vassal of the Frankish king has gone over with all his men to the king of the Wends." (50)

Fredegar's account of the Wends living on the boundaries of Thuringia in 632 and

641 refers to the Serbs as well. (51) The northern Serbs remained independent of the Franks right up to the first years of Charlemagne's reign (768 – 814). The Frankish chronicler Einhard writes about them in 782:

"The Slavic Serbs living in the areas between the Elbe and the Saale have overrun the Thuringian and Saxon dominions in order to plunder them." (52)

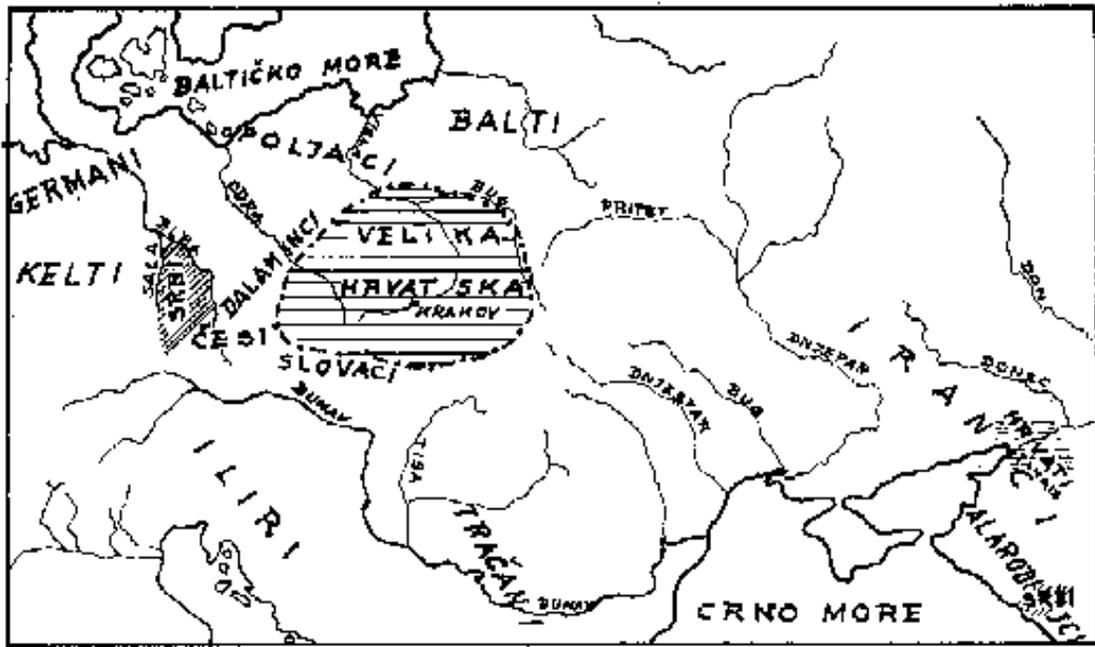
The Arab writers (53) and the Anglo-Saxon king Alfred (54) mention the northern Serbs in the IX century. Constantine Porphyrogenitus writes in his "De administrando imperio":

"These Serbs come from the non-Christianized Serbs, called the White, living beyond the Turks (Hungary) in the area which they call Bojki (Bohemia). The Franks and Great Croats i.e. non-Christianized Croats, also called White, are their neighbours. There, then, have these Serbs lived from olden times." (55)

Porphyrogenitus' expression "ap'arches" means "from the beginning". This would mean that the paleo-fatherland of the Serbs on the Elbe in modern Bohemia. Meanwhile the name "Serb" is a specific national name and wherever Serbs are mentioned they must be of the same national origin as the Serbs in the Caucasus or in Asia Minor. The Serbs must have come to the Elbe from those territories. It was so long ago that among the Serbs of the X century there no longer existed any tradition to record that they had originally come from the East. Only in the appellation White i.e. Western, as the Polabian Serbs called themselves, had the fortuitous tradition survived that they came from the East or South. The Polabian Serbs were the western because they were other Serbs, eastern or southern.

The Frankish chronicler Fredegar writes in 631 that the Polabian Serbs are of Slavic origin. (56) This means that the Serbs were slavized already before 631 and spoke the language of the Western Slavs. Thus at least one century must have passed since the arrival of the Serbs on the Elbe which one ought to date at the latest by the second half of the V century A.D. The Roman writer of that time, Vibius Sequenter (ed. Oberlin, Strasbourg, 1778:5) writes: "The Elbe separates the Suevi for the Servitu" (Parisian Codex). L. Niederle is of the opinion that Vibius is talking about the Serbs and we concur. (57) In all probability, the invasion of the Huns in 375 drove the Serbs of the Caucasus to the Elbe. The modern Lusatian Sorbs are the actual remnants of the former Polabian Serbs.

Istočna i sjeverna predanovina Hrvata i Srba



EASTERN AND NORTHERN PALEO-FATHERLANDS OF THE CROATS AND THE SERBS

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II. FIRST MIGRATIONS OF THE SLAVS INTO THE DANUBIAN LANDS AND THE BALKANS

Origin and paleo-fatherland of the Slavs

An old Slavic tradition recorded by the Russian chronicler Nestor at the beginning of the XII century confirms that there was a very ancient, original cradle of the Slavs around the middle Danube and its tributaries the Drava and the Sava. (1) The historians of the XIX century have proven that one must look for the original homeland of the Slavs in the marshy and wooded areas of the Upper Pripet basin. (2) Meanwhile more recently Polish and Czech savants have confirmed on basis of archeological excavations that there is an original homeland of the Slavs located between the Oder and the Bug, particularly on the upper Vistula. Those Slavs would have been the disseminators of the Lusatian culture, from where they broadened out in other directions, particularly east and south. (3)

Two Slavic migrations into the Danubian lands and the Balkans

The contemporary Byzantine writers called Sklavoi or Sklavenoi and the Latin historians Sclaci or Sclaveni the migrant nations that penetrated the Danubian provinces for the end of the IV to the beginning of the VII century. (4) Pseudo-Caesarius at the outset of the V century mentions this name for the first time, apropos of the Slavs on the middle Danube. (5) Under the general name of Slavs they occupied from the outset the VII century Central Europe from the Danube to the Bavarian Alps, including the whole of the Balkans except for Byzantium and some strongholds on the Aegean and Adriatic littorals. However the national names of the Croats and Serbs in the south are mentioned in the sources only by the IX century. (6)

Now comes the question whether the Croats and the Serbs arrived in the south from the north, in the land where we find them in the IX century, as constituted nations, i.e. – under their own name, with their own rulers and military power, such as the Bulgars in 681 and the Magyars in 896; or were they constituted as tribes out of the amorphous Slavic hordes such as were the Slovenes?

The historians in the past were all of the same opinion, that the Croats and the Serbs came south as a constituted people, but in the middle of the last century under the influence of the Austrian historian E. Dümmler (7), and particularly of the Croatian scholar and historian F. Racki (8) and of the linguist V. Jagic (9) the contrary opinion has prevailed. Dümmler, Racki and Jagic stated, in fact, that all the South Slavs crossed the Danube near its mouth as one nation with one common language which had ramified into three dialects and belonged to the Eastern branch of Slavic languages. Sometime during the VII or beginning of the VIII century two distinct nuclei of peoples began to form in that uniform but amorphous mass of Slavs: the Croats in Dalmatia between the rivers Cetina and Zrmanja, and the Serbs in Rasa. Those nuclei with their particular vitality and militancy gathered the neighbouring Slavic tribes around themselves and in that way created two distinct rates: Croatia and Rasa. (10)

Out of respect for the scholarly reputation of Dümmler, Racki and Jagic, until

recently historians generally accepted their explanation concerning the origin of the Croats and the Serbs. (11) Meanwhile more recently with investigations probing deeper into the ancient sources on the arrival of the several Slavic groups into the Danubian lands and the Balkans, the opinion has gradually prevailed that in the history of the South Slavs one must differentiate between two separate migrations: the first from the end of the IV to the beginning of the VII century, when an amorphous Slavic horde crossed over to the right bank of the Danube; and the second in the VII century when the Croats came south first, then the Serbs and finally the Bulgars, as constituted nations which with the passing of time assimilated with the Slavs of the first migrations and constituted the national states of the Croats, Serbs and the Bulgars. (12) Only that part of the South Slavs of the first migration remaining in the very northwest corner outside the actual Croatian state, under the tutelage of the Franks and later the Germans, waited many long centuries before becoming the particular nation that the Slovenes are.

The Carpathian Foothills: Slavs of the Kaikavian Dialect

Still before the collapse of the Lusatian culture ca. 500 B.C. a part of the Slavs beyond the Carpathians must have reached the left bank of the Danube across the western slopes of the Carpathians between the rivers Morava and Vag, looking for suitable agricultural land to settle. Only a long residence in the Danubian lands in which they were cut off from the other Slavs by the high Carpathian ridges can explain how the Kaikavian dialect, which shows no affinity with any other Slavic language, arose.

When the Huns overran Central Europe in 375 A.D. they set off a major migration of nations toward the Roman territories seeking shelter and more suitable living conditions in the rich Roman provinces. Then centuries old Roman 'limes' on the Danube was breached and various nations overran the Pannonian and Norican provinces. St. Jerome writes in 409: "Since the Danubian 'limes' has been reached these past 30 years there has been fighting in the heart of the Roman empire from the Black Sea to the Julian Alps." (13)

The first barbarian nation to cross over to the right bank of the middle Danube were the Germanic Goths along with the subjects the Slavs of the Kaikavian dialect. At the outset they settled in the Roman provinces of Valeria and Upper Pannonia and plundered the other provinces. When the Huns crossed over to the right bank of the Danube in the winter of 394/95 the Goths and their subject the Slavs, already settled there, recognized the Huns as their overlords. Then Attila in 441 occupied Lower Pannonia, Savia and Noricum, and the their Slavic subjects also followed them and settled there, but in far fewer numbers than in Valeria and Upper Pannonia. Indeed, in the latter provinces Roman administration remained better organized and as a result the old Roman and Romanized Illyrian population was better able to absorb the shock of the invasions. The migrations of the Kaikavian-speaking Slavs continued into Savia and Noricum even after the collapse of the Hunnish State, under the Gothic administration of these provinces from 489 to 555. For these Slavs recognized the overlordship of the Goths and collaborated with them. But the largest and final migration of the Slavs of the Carpathian hinterland took place in the second half of the VI century. Indeed during his wars with the Goths, the emperor Justinian I in 546 allowed the Germanic Lombards to settle in Pannonia and Noricum as his allies. Since that time the Gepids occupied Lower Pannonia east of the Mursian Lake they came into open conflict with the Lombards who, unable to vanquish the Gepids, called the Turanian Avars to their aid. The Avars then lived along the Black Sea on the left bank of the Danube. They

responded to their call for aid and completely routed out the Gepids in 567, taking over their land from the rivers Olt to Maros in Romania as far as the Mursian Lake near modern Osijek. Feeling ill at ease with their new neighbours and allies the Lombards in 568 left their erstwhile domains and crossed over to northern Italy, conceding by agreement Pannonia and Noricum to the Avars. (14) Seeing that the Avars were few in number, only 20,000 according to Menandor who died in 602, (15) they had to occupy the strongholds of whatever country they wished to rule as masters. The settlement of the depopulated provinces of Upper Pannonia, Savia and Noricum the Avars left to these Slavs of the Carpathian hinterland: to those who had already crossed over to the right bank of the Danube and to those who still then remained on the left bank. But recognizing the overlordship of the Avars, the Slavs collaborated with them in their military undertakings. At that time these Carpathian Slavs completely abandoned the left bank of the Danube leaving it to their northwestern Slavic neighbours who were akin to the racial and linguistic forebears of the modern Slovaks.

After the Lombards vacated Upper Pannonia and Noricum the Kaikavian-speaking Slavs soon spread out to the frontiers of Bavaria and to the southern slopes of the Friulian Alps. By 595/96 they had already begun to wage war with the Barvarian duke Tasilo (16) and three years later penetrated into Istria where they were checked by Callinicus, the exarch of Ravenna. (17) In 600 Pope Gregory the Great complained to Maximus bishop of Salona of the danger which these Pannonian Slavs presented to Italy by their penetration of Istria. (18) In 602 the Slavs again with the Avars and Lombards ravaged Istria terribly and the following year helped the Lombards conquer the cities of present-day Lombardy and Veneto. (19) By the beginning of the VII century the migrations of these Carpathian Slavs into Upper Pannonia, Savia and Noricum from the Danube to Bavaria and into the plain of Lombardy had been completed. Their descendants even today speak the Kaikavian dialect in northwestern Croatia, Slovenia, southeastern Austria and southwestern Hungary (Vindisi). (20)

The Arrival of the Slavs in the Balkans: the Stokavian-Ikavian Dialect

Around 165 to 180 A.D. the Germanic Goths arrive on the Black Sea by way of the Slavic regions beyond the Carpathians. They established there a power state to which were subject different tribes of the Eastern Slavs. (21) By the beginning of the III century at the latest the Slavs coming from southern Ukraine reached the left bank of the Danube under the leadership of the Goths. They spoke the same Stokavian-Ikavian dialect, as did their Ukrainian kinsmen from whom they separated in order to follow their overlords, the Goths. They exerted such a great pressure upon the boundaries of the Roman province of Dacia north of the Danube that the emperor Aurelian (270 – 275 A.D.) was forced to relocate the Roman legions and the population on the right bank of the Danube and fortify the Roman 'limes' on that river. (21) Not long after the Goths and their kinsmen the Gepids retreated westward along the left bank of the Danube, either voluntarily or under pressure from the Eastern Slavs and other nations who refused to recognize the overlordship of the Goths. So the Goths settled the areas from the river Maros to the Vag, and the Gepids from the Maros to the Olt, occupying present-day Backa south of the line running from the mouth of the Maros over the hills above Subotica on the Danube. In their new homeland the Goths found Carpathian Slavs speaking the Kaikavian dialect and subjugated them. However the Slavs of the Stokavian-Ikavian dialect who were the first, with the Goths, to reach the left bank of the Danube remained with the Gepids. They spread out over the Gepid dominions, turning to agriculture and collaborating with their masters in their military

undertakings. (22)

When ca. 378 A.D. the Huns subjugated the Goths and the Gepids in the valley of the Danube, the Slavs between the Olt and the Maros, speaking the Stokavian-Ikavian dialect, who until then had been subject to the Gepids, fell subject to the Huns. Around 441 A.D. Attila occupied Srijem with its capital of Sirmium and the Slavs of the Stokavian-Ikavian dialect crossed the Danube and begun to settle in Lower Pannonia east of the Mursian Lake which extends south from Osijek through Vinkovci to the confluence of the Bosut and the Sava. After the death of Attila the Gepids and their former subjects the Slavs, along with other nations, revolted in 454 and forced the Huns to retreat in to the southeastern Russian steppes around the Don. (23) The Gepids reconquered their former lands from the Maros to the Olt, even integrating Lower Pannonia up to the Mursian Lake. During the Gepid rule in Srijem, lasting with some interruptions over a century (454 – 567) their subjects the Slavs of the Stokavian-Ikavian dialect crossed the in huge numbers over to the right bank of the Danube and settled Srijem to full capacity eastward from the Mursian Lake. The contemporary writer Jordanes writes in 551 that the Slavs were occupying every available tract of land from the Mursian Lake to Noviodunum on the mouth of the Danube. (24) Since in Roman times Lower Pannonia comprised the Bosnian territory on the Sava, eastward from the watershed fo the rivers Ukrina and Usors, including Macva up to the river Kolubara the Slavs of the Stokavian-Ikavian dialect under the Gepids settled in those territories at the same time as in Srijem i.e. between the storming of Sirmium by the Huns in 441 and the fall of the Gepids in 567. Slavs settled in Byzantine Dalmatia from the Drina to the Istra when they occupied these territories while in the service of the Avars during the reign of emperor Phoca (602 - 10) and the first years of the rule of Heraclius I (610- 641). (25) The political boundaries between Dalmatia on the one side and Savia and Noricum on the other, divided these Slavs from those speaking the Kaikavian dialect, and the Drina separated the Slavs of the Ikavian dialect on the west from those of the Stokavian-Evakian dialect on the east. The old Slavs either had to agree among themselves to draw up those boundaries or else their contemporary masters had drawn them up in this way.

The Arrival of the Slavs in the Balkans: The Stokavian-Ekavian Dialect

When at the end of the III or the beginning of the IV century A.D. the Goths and their kinsmen the Gepids with the Slavs of the Ikavian dialect left the former Roman province of Dacia north of the Danube and moved west from the Olt, the Eastern Slavs settled in the territories vacated by them. These Slavs originally came from the area around the Dnieper and spoke the Stokavian dialect of the Ekavian speech, as had their kinfolk in the old territories around the Dneiper and eastward. These Slavs live free and independent for many centuries on the left bank of the Danube, without recognizing any foreign overlordship whether Goth or Avar, and in all probability not even Hun. On the subject of the different ethnic groups in the first half of the IV century, the contemporary writer Procopius (d. 562) writes about the Slavs: "The Slavs and the Antal...occupy the greater part of the other (left) bank of the Danube." (26)

The Easter Slavs of the Ekavian speech began to penetrate across the Danube into the Byzantine state in the first years of the reign of the emperor Justin I (518 – 527 A.D.) They made great inroads into the empire during the reign of Justinian I from 533 to 545. In 547 these Slavs reached as far as Dyrrhachium. The purpose of these inroads at the outset was to plunder, but already by 550 these Eastern Slavs began in earnest to settle in the Balkans. In 589 they established an independent Slavic

state in the Peloponnese which lasted until 806 under the name of Sklavinia. A particularly numerous influx of those Eastern Slavs south of the Danube occurred during the domestic power struggles and palace intrigues of the Byzantine empire in the reign of the unworthy emperor Phocas (602 – 610) and in the first years of Heraclius' rule (610 – 641). At that time these Eastern Slavs settled all the territories of the prefecture of Illyricum up to the Drina (27), except for the littoral in the provinces of Praevalis and Novus Epirus, which had been previously settled by the Avars and their subjects the Slavs of the Stokavian-Ikavian dialect. (28)

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III. THE ARRIVAL OF THE CROATS AND THE SERBS IN THE SOUTH

A. Arrival of the Croats on the Adriatic

The following evidence indicates that the Croats between the Drava and the Adriatic came from the Croats beyond the Carpathians:

1. The southern Croats bear the same national name as the northern. We have already stressed that the name "Croat" is a specific name with a particular significance that designates a particular nation originating from a common stock wherever the bearers of the name are found. (1)
2. The same reasons that point to the Iranian origin of the eastern and northern Croats hold good for those on the Adriatic also. In point of fact the southern as well as the northern Croats designated the cardinal points of the compass, or their national territory wherever they established their state, by colours like the Iranians. So we have on the Adriatic White Croats and White Croatia, Red Croats and Red Croatia like those Croats beyond the Carpathians and the Don. (1) Several names of rivers and places in the south Croatian lands are identical with the names found in the north such as Odre, Cetina, Sana, Bistrice, Ilava, Rakitnica, Lisa etc. The northern Croats must have taken these names with them when they went south. (3)
3. The organization of the state among the southern Croats with the king, bans and zupans at its head similar to that of the northern Croats; in addition the religion, national customs, dress and arts of the southern Croats bear Iranian traces, just like the Croats in the north. (4)
4. Constantine Porphyrogenitus in this work 'De administrando imperio' written on the basis of materials in the imperial archives in Byzantium, mentions three times, using three different sources, that the Croats arrived in the south from northern or White Croatia where in the time of the emperor lived non-Christian White Croats. (5)
5. The old Croatian chronicle 'The Kingdom of the Croats' and the 'Chronicle of Pop Dukljanin', based on Croatian national tradition and on the ancient records, states that the Croats whom they misnamed the Goths arrived for the north through Pannonia and Templana (6) in Dalmatia, which they conquered and settled. (7)
6. Archdeacon Thomas of Split (1201 – 1268) in his monumental work 'Historia Salonitana' records that the Croatian tradition concerning their arrival on the Adriatic from the north i.e. Poland and Bohemia. His account is clearer and closer to Croatian tradition as found in the time of emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus than the account of the 'Kingdom of the Croats' and the 'Chronicle of Pop Dukljanin'. Because the archdeacon Thomas was not acquainted with Porphyrogenitus' work, he had to rely on some written sources from Dalmatian archives, which has subsequently been lost. Thomas thus describes the arrival of the Croats on the Adriatic:

"From the Polish territories called Lingonia seven or eight tribal clans arrived under Totilo. When they saw that the Croatian land would be suitable for habitation because in it there were few Roman colonies, they sought and obtained for their duke...The people called Croats...Many call them Goths, and likewise Slavs, according to the particular name of those who arrived from Poland and Bohemia." (8)

When did the Croats arrive on the Adriatic?

In chapters 29 and 30 of 'De administrando imperio' Porphyrogenitus writes that the Avars occupied Salona, the Dalmatian capita, while the Croats still lived in the north beyond the Carpathians. Some time later the Croats arrived in Dalmatia and fighting broke out between them and the Avars who were driven out of Dalmatia. Whereupon the Croats settled there. (9) Salona was certainly free in 612 because inscriptions from that year of the abbess Johanna have been found in the cemetery of Salona. (10) According to the investigations of F. Bulic, the Avars occupied Salona in years 614 – 615. (11) Since the Avars, after their occupation of Salona, governed Dalmatia for some time one must therefore conclude in all probability the Croats did not reach the Adriatic before 620.

Furthermore in chapter 30 Porphyrogenitus mentions that the Croats conquered the Avars and drove them out of Dalmatia, which they then settled themselves during the reign of Heraclius I (610 – 641). According to him the fighting between the Croats and the Avars lasted several years. (12) Therefore one has to conclude that in any case the Croats reached the Adriatic before 635.

Porphyrogenitus in chapter 31 of the "De administrando imperio" (13) and archdeacon Thomas of Split in chapter 11 of his work 'Historia Salonitana' (14) both note that in the reign of Heraclius I (d. Feb. 11, 641) and in the time of pope John IV (d. Oct. 12, 642) a certain number of Croats were Christianized and the ecclesiastical hierarchy in Dalmatia was established. The 'Historia Salonitana' was written quite independently of Porphyrogenitus' work, for the archdeacon Thomas did not know of its existence. It was during the reign of the Croatian Porga, succeeding his father on the throne, that the Croats were brought to the Adriatic and led into the fight against the Avars. One must allow for an interval of 10 to 15 years during which the Croats were vanquishing the Avars and being converted to Christianity and the church hierarchy was being introduced in Dalmatia. This indicates to us that the Croats reached the Adriatic between 625 and 630.

The uncontestable evidence of the 'Liber pontificalis' and 'Historia Longobardorum' of Paul the Deacon bring to us this same conclusion. In the biography of pope John IV, born in Dalmatia, one finds that this pope sent the abbot Martin with a large amount of money to redeem Christian slaves in Istria and Dalmatia from the pagans and to gather the bones of martyrs and transfer them to Rome. (15) Paul the Deacon has recorded that the Slavs, i.e. the Croats in 641/42 crossed into Italy by Siponta to help the Byzantines liberate central Italy from the Lombards. (16) From these sources we must conclude that already from some time before 641 the Avars had been driven out of Dalmatia and that the Croats had settled permanently, establishing order and security in their land. This must have taken them at least ten years or more, including the fighting with the Avars.

In order to determine more precisely the time when the Croats reached the Adriatic we have two authentic attestations: the Avar siege of Byzantium in 626 and the account of St. Isidore of Seville (d. 636) in 627.

Porphyrogenitus has recorded on the basis of the data in the imperial archives that the Croats came to the south and began to fight with the Avars in accordance with particular written agreements issued in the form of a 'prostaxis' or imperial ordinance. (17) In that official document the Byzantines bound themselves to secure for the Croats great privileges, especially to concede to them all the lands that they should liberate from the Avars. Only with extraordinary promises could the Croats be persuaded to leave their homeland and move into unknown country to fight with such a strong enemy. Only great danger from the Avar side could compel the Byzantines to make such great promises to the Croats. For the Avars had concluded an alliance with the Bulgars and Persians and were preparing to occupy the imperial city and to destroy the Byzantine empire.

The Avar army before Byzantium numbered 80,000 men – Avars, Bulgars and Slavs. (18)

The first part of the army reached the Long Wall on June 29th, 626. The assault itself on Byzantium began on July 31 and raged for five days with utmost fury. The Avars assaulted the city with the help of a great number of siege devices, mobile testudos and ladders that they brought with them. They erected 12 high siege towers but did not succeed in penetrating the city. With 1,000 dugouts the Slavs tried to transport the Persians onto the European side of Byzantium but the Byzantine fleet prevented them and destroyed the Slavic boats. Whereupon the Khagan of the Avars on the night of the 4th and 5th of August set fire to his camp and suddenly returned home (19), although the Persians on the east remained for a while longer in a state of war with the Byzantines. (20)

One cannot explain the fact that the Avars who were still in full force suddenly abandoned the siege of Byzantium alone and of their own accord, otherwise than by the fact that they happened to know that dangerous foes were invading their own land. These had to be the Croats who were coming down by the way of western Hungary along the old Roman roads toward present-day western Croatia and the Adriatic in accordance with their agreement with the Byzantines.

We have a contemporary account of this event recorded in 627 by the famous bishop of Seville St. Isidore in the second edition of this 'Great Chronicle' (*Chronica maior*). He writes:

"Heraclius' reign was in its sixteenth year, at the outset of which the Slavs took Greece for the Romans, while the Persians took Syria, Egypt and the other provinces." (21)

In his 'Etymologies' Isidore of Seville thus describes the Greece he knew: "Greece has seven provinces, Dalmatia being the first on the western side, then Epirus, Hellas, Thessaly, Macedonia and finally Achaea and the two provinces of the sea, Crete and the Cyclades." (22)

Here Isidore of Seville is not talking about a minor event such as the Slavic campaigns like the one in 623 when they conducted a raid on Crete from the Peloponnese. Neither is he talking about the assault on Byzantium by the Avars and the Slavs in 626, because the rumor of the defeat of the Avars and the Slavic subjects in their army spread quickly all around the contemporary Byzantine Empire that included Spain. It is not known from historical sources whether any Slavic nations from 625 to 630 made war and conquered the land of so-called Greece except the Croats. Accordingly the account of Isidore of Seville in the second edition of his '*Chronica maior*' can only refer to the Croats, and must be considered as the oldest contemporary historical account to record the arrival of the Croats on the Adriatic.

From the aforementioned account of Isidore of Seville in connection with the writings of Porphyrogenitus one must conclude that the Byzantines made an agreement with the Croats guaranteed by a 'prostaxis' or imperial ordinance at the outset of the sixteenth year of Heraclius' reign, i.e. at the end of the autumn of 625. Soon afterward one part of the Croats had to cross over the frozen Danube onto the right bank somewhere around the confluence of the Vag and had to occupy the larger region of Upper Pannonia in order to secure a peaceful and undisturbed crossing for the main body of Croats about to go south. While making preparations against Byzantium the Avars miscalculated the importance of crossing the Danube by the Croats over to the right bank. They considered it to be but a minor recrudescence of Samo's rebellion against them began as early as 623. (23) However when the main body of the Croats at the outset of July 626, having availed themselves by the summer harvest, crossed the Danube and began to penetrate south, the Avars saw the danger that threatened them. For this reason, according to our opinion, the Khagan of the Avars cut short the siege of Byzantium and returned home.

In the meantime before the Khagan could reach the Danubian lands, the Croats must

have already crossed the Pannonian plains along the old Roman roads and reached far into Dalmatia of that time. As it appears to us, it was the wish of the Byzantine imperial envoys that the Croats drive the Avars out the Greek provinces on the Adriatic littoral: Dalmatia, Praevalis, Novus and Vetus Epirus. It took the Croats more than one year to rid those regions of the Avars, as is recorded in the margin of the Codex Sorianus of Isidore of Seville's 'Chronica maior' dating from the year 743. In it is written: "In the eighteenth year of Heraclius' reign i.e. 627/8, at the outset of which the Slavs took Greece from the Romans..." (24) Although the Croats made war as allies of the Byzantines, they occupied the lands for themselves in accordance with the agreement concluded with them and did not deliver the land directly over to Byzantine control. Isidore of Seville was right in noting that the Slavs – Croats took the 'Greek' provinces from the Romans, i.e. Byzantines, from 626 to 628.

The Frankish chronicler writes that after receiving one another's emissaries the emperor Heraclius I and the Frankish king Dagobert concluded an alliance in 629 against their common foe the Avars. (25) This indicates that in 629 the Avars were still a power to be reckoned with and accordingly that the Croats were still fighting with them.

The contemporary Byzantine writer George of Pisidia records the events of the year 629: "Avars are killing Slavs, and in retaliation Slavs are killing Avars; and so weakened by a series of bloody feuds, they can no longer continue the common fight against the Byzantines." (26) This indicates that the Slavs of the Kaikavian and Stokavian-Ikavian dialects, formerly subjects of the Avars in Pannonia and Dalmatia, were induced by the Croatian wars to rebel and go over to the Croats to join the fight against their former masters the Avars.

The last battles between the Croats and the Avars took place in Srijem circa 635. In that time Srijem was an island surrounded on the northeast by the Danube and on the west by the Mursian Lake that was formed by the overflow of the Vuk and Bosut rivers in eastern Slavonia. (27) In 574 Justin II (565 – 578) abandoned half the island of Srijem to the Avars who between 580 and 582 conquered the other half together with Sirmium. From the outset when they gained a part of the island the Avars began to colonize it with their Roman captives from the Roman territories of the Balkans, especially from the Greek provinces, in order to cultivate the fertile plain of Srijem and thereby to secure the food supply while they waged wars without relent. The Salonican author of the work 'Miracles of St. Demetrius' records: "Because it has been more than 60 years since the barbarians took their forefathers prisoner they have come to be a whole new nation there." The author continues by saying that the Avars circa 635 appointed a certain Kuver to be over the Greek people on the island of Srijem and that this Kuver rebelled against the Avars, provoking strife with their Khagan five or six times with the aid of these Greek descendants and of "other nations". After twice routing them completely he forced the Kagan to retreat with his Avars deep into Avar territory north of the Danube. Whereupon Kuver with the descendants of the Greek captives crossed the Danube and passing through present-day Serbia, settled in the vicinity of Salonica. (28)

The author of the 'Miracle of St. Demetrius' has woven the victory over the Avars around Kuver, the chief hero of the whole affair, who later on came almost to the brink of destroying Salonica. But even the author himself knew that Kuver with his Srijem peasantry unaccustomed to waging war, was no match for the trained soldiers of the Avars. So he associated the "other nations" with Kuver who with their aid led many times the fight against the Avars and after twice routing them completely finally forced them to withdraw into the interior of the Carpathian hinterland.

In point of fact we have here the last recorded battles that the Croats waged against the Avars between the Sava and the Danube with the aid of the Slavs of the first migration who had rebelled. During the fighting Kuver also rebelled with the descendants of the Greek captives. After the Croats completely routed the Avars in two clashes in which the

Slavs of the first migration took part as well as the Roman remnants from the Bosnian mountains and Kuber with his Greeks, the Avars were forced to retreat north of the Danube beyond the river Tisza. Whereupon Kuber left Srijem and went on his way south towards Salonica. (29)

Around 635 the fighting between the Croats and Avars was for all purposes over. The Croats then settled the territory that they occupied up to that time and the emperor Heraclius I confirmed the policy by an imperial decree called 'Keleusia' (order). (30)

The lands settled by the Croats upon their arrival in the south

On the basis of imperial archives and materials which he obtained from the Croats themselves, Porphyrogenitus in chapter 30 of his work 'De administrando imperio' has this to say concerning the Croats on their arrival on the Adriatic:

"And so the Croats at that time lived beyond Barvaria where the White Croats are today. One of their clans under the leadership of five brothers: Klukas, Lobelos, Kosences, Muhle, Hrobatos and two sister Tuga and Buga, separated from the rest and arrived together with their people in Dalmatia where they found the Avars in possession of the land. They fought for some time among each other and the Croats finally won. They massacred some of the Avars and the rest they subjected. Henceforth the Croats were masters in that province...Of the Croats who arrived in Dalmatia, on part separated and conquered Illyricum and Pannonia." (31)

Porphyrogenitus clearly distinguishes and mentions by name the three former Roman provinces settled by the Croats upon their arrival in the south: Dalmatia, Illyricum and Pannonia.

"Dalmatia from ancient times" says Porphyrogenitus, "begins at Dyrrhachium, more precisely at Bar, continues up to the Istrian mountains and then cuts across over to the Danube." (32) According to Porphyrogenitus, then Dalmatia had the same boundary on the Adriatic as the one defined by the emperor Diocletian in 297 A.D. That Dalmatia extended in breadth up to the Bosnian territory along the Sava, more precisely up to a line running from Mount Snyesnik in Istria along the Kupa river to Mount Petrov, from where it cut across to Mount Grmec in Bosnia and then across Mounts Manjaca, Tisovac and Borje and over to Mount Krivaja long the Little Drina up to its confluence with the Drina. Porphyrogenitus moves the northern boundary of Dalmatia up to the Danube because the Byzantines in the VII century had no organized administrative system in the Pannonian provinces and so included in the province of Dalmatia all the territories of those former provinces that they had always considered their own.

Porphyrogenitus mentions Pannonia several times in his works. In chapter 25 of 'De administrando imperio' he writes that the Goths occupied and held Pannonia (33) and in chapter 27 that the Lombards lived there for some time. (34) In his work 'De tematibus', chapter 9, he mentions the ecclesiastical diocese of Pannonia in Srijem between the Sava and the Danube. (35) So when he mentions that the Croats inhabited Pannonia he is thinking of the Roman provinces established by the emperor Diocletian in 297. Of these provinces Pannonia Prima (or Upper) and Pannonia Valeria spread north of the Drava. Within the area from the Drava and the Danube to the Bosnian mountains Savia Pannonia lay on the west and Pannonia Secunda (or Lower) on the east. (36)

The cradle of the small tribe of the Illyri between the rivers Vojusa and Mathis in modern Albania was originally Illyricum. This was the first tribe that the Greeks came in contact with and they called all the kindred tribes after it. When the Romans occupied the eastern starboard of the Adriatic they called this great province extending from the Mathis to the Inn above Vienna the province of Illyricum. With the administrative division of the Roman state in 297 Diocletian assigned to Illyricum the territory from the

Drina to Mount Rhodope and made it one of the four prefectures of the empire. The lands west from the Drina to the central Alps he integrated into one lesser administrative unit which he called the diocese of Pannonia. This was usually called Western Illyricum.

When the barbarians, particularly the Avars and Slavs in the VI and at the outset of the VII century toppled the Roman administrative structure in the Balkans the Byzantines abandoned the name of Illyricum to designate the former prefecture of that name and the diocese of Western Illyricum. From then on the names Hellada, Achaëa, Macedonia, Dardanis, Moesia, Pannonia and Dalmatia prevailed. The name Illyricum reverted to its original designation and applied to the lands between the Vojus and Mathis rivers including the coastal towns of the former province of Praevalis. Byzantium at the outset to the IX century integrated those regions into a single administrative unit called the province of Dyrrhachium after its capital. For then on the Byzantines designated Illyricum the territory from the mountains of Himara, south of modern Valona, to the Budva below Kotor. (37) To prove this we will bring forward the following attestations:

From Ravenna the author of a cosmography writes in the middle of the VII century: "In Illyricum itself on the other side of the Adriatic the following cities are to be found – Valona, Absura, Dyrrhachium, Plistum and Lissum." (38) Also according to Stephanus Byzantius Illyricum is situated on the littoral of Epirus and Praevalis with its capital Dyrrhachium. (39) In 787 at the Second Nicene Council the metropolitan of Dyrrhachium Nicephorus identified the province of Dyrrhachium with the "territory of Illyricum" (40) and pope Nicholas I in 860 connected Illyricum with Novus Epirus of which it is only a part. (41) Nicephorus Bryennius (circa 1080 – 1137) writes: "Dyrrhachium is the capital of Illyricum." (42) Anna Comnena in 1148 also calls Dyrrhachium the capital of Illyricum. (43)

Even Porphyrogenitus understands Illyricum in this sense. In his work 'De tematibus', chapter 1, he states that Illyricum is situated next to the province of Macedonia. (44) In chapter 9 of the same work he relates that the emperor Constantine the Great gave all these lands to his son Constantine, beginning from Dyrrhachium: Illyricum, Hellada, the surrounding islands and the Cyclades. (45) In the same chapter, basing himself on Stephanus Byzantius, he says that Dyrrhachium is the capital of Illyricum. (46) In chapter 32 of 'De administrando imperio' he writes that the remnants of the "Romans live in Dalmatia and Dyrrhachium." (47) along the Adriatic and in chapter 30 notes that Bar, in present-day Montenegro, is the last fortified city from the north in the province of Dyrrhachium. (48) According to Porphyrogenitus, then as with the other Byzantine and Latin authors for the VII to the XII century, Illyricum is throughout identical to the province of Dyrrhachium which stretched along the east coast of the Adriatic comprising the old Roman provinces of Praevalis, Novus and Vetus Epirus from Budva to the mountains of Himara below Valona in modern Albania.

The following sources confirm Porphyrogenitus' accounts of the settlement of Pannonia, Dalmatia and Illyricum by the Croats upon their arrival in the south.

The contemporary chronicler St. Isidore of Seville records that in 627 the Slavs, i.e. the Croats took from the Romans, i.e. the Byzantines Greece, i.e. Dalmatia, Praevalia, Epirus and the other Byzantine provinces. (49)

The pristine Croatian work 'Methodos' containing the resolutions of the Croatian diet on the plain of the Duvno in 753 came about as a direct result of that diet. The 'Methodos' has this to say about the territorial extent and partition of the contemporaneous Croatian state:

"Accordingly the diet partitioned the littoral into two regions – from the locality of Dalma where at that time the king resided and held the diet to Vinodol it was called White Croatia or Lower Dalmatia...Likewise from Dalma to the town of Bambalona, now called

Dyrrhachium, it was called Red Croatia or Upper Dalmatia." (51)

In the work 'Kingdom of the Croats' it is expressed in this way: "From Dalmatia to Valdemina (Vinodol) the people are called the White Croats, meaning the Lower Dalmatians. Moreover from the locality of Dalma to the town of Bandalona, called also Dyrrhachium, the region is called Upper Dalmatia." (52)

Professor P. Skok has established that the names Bambalona and Bandalona are the distortions of the copyist for the name of the city of Valona with the Romance article "La" (54). In the same manner the Arab writer Ibn Idrus calls Valona in 1154. (54) The author of the work 'Kingdom of the Croats' at the end of the XI century and Pop Dukljanin in the middle of the XII century, when the southern-most boundary of the Croatian state had already been forgotten and the distorted name of the city of Valona was for them incomprehensible, reasoned that it must refer to Dyrrhachium because in their time the South Croatian state extended to the region of Dyrrhachium. It must have been stated in the 'Methodus' that Red Croatia at the diet of Duvno in 753 was extended as far as Valona in present-day Albania.

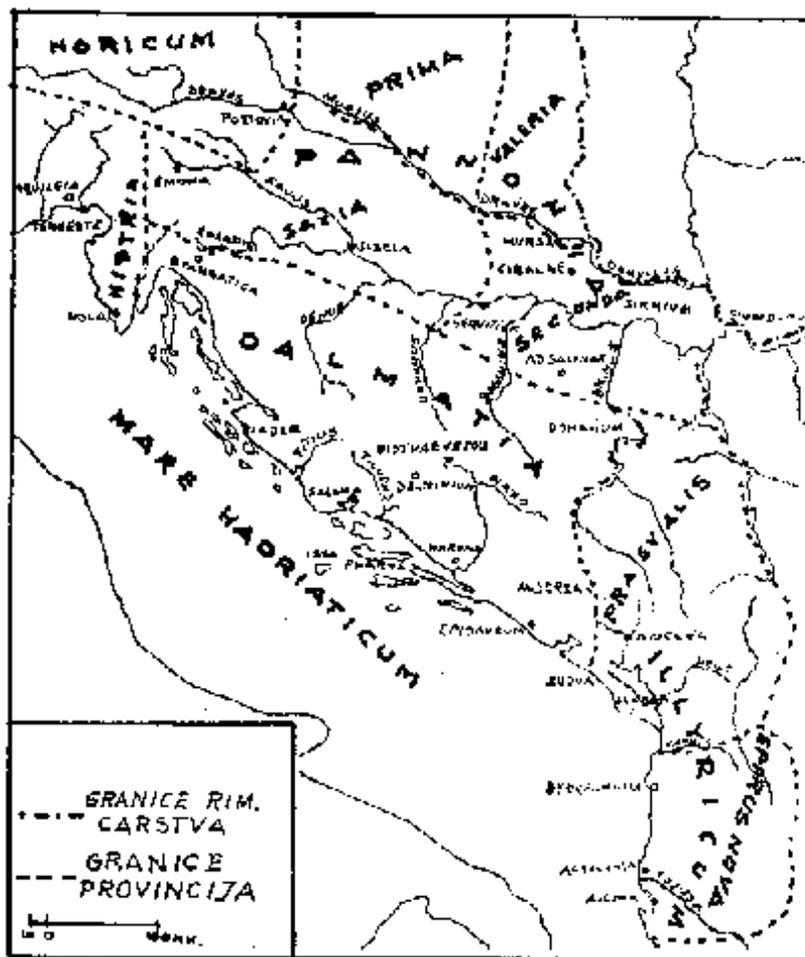
In the old Croatian chronicle which the authors of the 'Kingdom of the Croats' and Pop Dukljanin used the territorial extent of the incipient Croatian state is recorded as follows:

"In that time Stroil, his brother, with his army took the kingdom of Illyria i.e. the whole country on this side of Valdemina right to Polonia...Sviolad, son of Stroil...And Bosnia was his kingdom, as well as Valdemina right to Polonia; both the coast and the hinterland was his kingdom." (55)

Pop Dukljanin expresses it so: "The boundaries of his kingdom stretched from Vinodol to Polonia, including as much the regions of the cost as of the hinterland." (56)

Professors P. Skok, (57) F. Sisic (58) and others established that by the name of Polonia one must understand the old city of Apollonia which the medieval Slavs usually called Polonia and the modern Albaniana Polani.

The aforementioned old Croatian sources, then attests to the fact that the former Croatian state reached as far as the old Roman city of Apollonia near modern Valona which lies at the south end of Porphyrogenitus' Illyricum.



Rimsko-bizantske provincije prije dolaska Hrvata

ROMAN - BYZANTINE PROVINCES BEFORE THE ARRIVAL OF THE CROATS

Previous inhabitants of the territory settled by the Croats in 626

The first traces of man in the Croatian lands originate from the middle period of the paleolithic age. Between 1899 and 1905 D. Gorjanovic-Kramberger discovered near Krapina the remains of about ten human skulls, pieces of tools and bones of various animals on which these people fed. Krapina man lived in caves and knew the use of fire, fashioned tools of flint and lived by hunting and gathering fruits. (59)

More recently in Bosnian Posavina around the mouth of the Usora, the middle Ukrina and the lower Bosnian rivers more settlements of Krapina man's contemporaries were discovered. They lived like Krapina man except that their dwellings were on the hillsides, indicating that they lived in tents covered with animal skins. (60) Krapina man and his contemporaries lived in Bosnia around 10,000 B.C.

Sometime ca. 5,000 B.C. in Europe a temperate climate set in making it possible for man to begin in agriculture and raising of livestock. Man still used tools of flint, but already knew how to bake clay and make earthenware. He built houses of stone and adobe. This age is called the neolithic.

As the archeological excavations testify many human cultures came into existence, flourished and vanished in present-day Croatia during the long prehistoric ages. (61)

This indicates that our lands in prehistoric times were overrun several times by alien invaders who destroyed the cultures that they found upon their arrival, introduced new cultural features and developed them further. Meanwhile the old population that the conquerors found upon their arrival was never totally destroyed, but always managed to survive in part, in mountains and in the forests. They would in time assimilate with the new conquerors into the culture of a new name. In the Croatian lands especially traces of these prehistoric folk survived: Dinaric and Mediterranean man, and the Illyrians and also traces of the historical conquerors, the Romans.

The paleo-fatherland of Dinaric man was in Armenia, from which some of them penetrated by way of Asia Minor into the Balkans sometime ca. 4,000 B.C. They established themselves in present-day Croatia from Lake Skutari to the Slovenian Alps. One branch of Dinaric man penetrated into Silesia by way of Moravia and into the Ukraine via the Carpathians. Dinaric man was distinguished by his tall stature. (62)

Around 3,000 B.C. Mediterranean man arrived from North Africa via Sicily and southern Italy on the islands and the Adriatic littoral. He was of slighter build than Dinaric man, but his head was larger. Rich finds on the islands of Hvar and Korcula, at Danilov in Dalmatia, in the Green Cave and at Lisicici in Herzegovina are of Mediterranean origin. (63)

At the outset of the II millennium B.C. the Greeks by way of the Mediterranean and the Thracians via the Bosphorus both reached the Balkans from Asia. The former occupied present-day Greece and the latter the eastern and central Balkans. Around 1,200 B.C. various kindred Indo-European tribes penetrated from the north, later to be called the Illyrians. (64) They occupied the territory from the Inn near Vienna to Greece and from the Alps to the rivers Ibar and Vardar as well as the islands in the Adriatic. A part of them even crossed over to the Apennines. The Illyrians found in Croatia numerous remnants of the old folk, especially the Dinaric and Mediterranean, assimilating with them in time under the Illyrian name in such a way that in present-day Dinaric regions of Croatia the Dinaric type, as on the Adriatic the Mediterranean type, has prevailed. The Glasinac culture (ca. 1,200 to 250 B.C.) must be attributed to the Illyrians. (65)

From the IV to the II century B.C. the Greeks established numerous colonies on the islands and on the Adriatic littoral. Especially of note were the following: Pharos (Starigrad on Hvar), Tragurion (Trogir), Issa (Vis), Epidauros (Cavtat near Dubrovnik), Naron (Vid near Metlovic) and Saristeron near Mostar. (66)

In 390 B.C. the Celts invaded Rome. A little later they penetrated via northern Italy into the Illyrian regions on the Adriatic. Strabo mentions them as being there in 335 B.C. (67) According to him the Iapyges inhabiting Lika and northwestern Bosnia were an amalgamation of Celts and Illyrians. (68) Archeological excavations of Iapydian settlement near Jezerina and Ribic near Bihac, where urns containing the ashes of cremated bodies and graves with entire skeletons have been found in the same cemetery, confirm the mixing of peoples. (69)

The Romans came into conflict with the Illyrians in 229 B.C. The Roman consul Publius Cornelius Scipio Nasica in 155 B.C. penetrated into the interior from Naron and conquered Delminium, the chief city of Illyrian Dalmatae at Hlib, not far from modern Duvno. In 118 / 117 B.C. the Romans occupied Salona, a coastal city of Dalmatia. In 80/79 B.C. the Roman dictator Sulla established the province of Illyricum as part of a general reorganization of the Roman state, but this province did not extend far into the interior. Only after continuous and heavy fighting for 50 B.C. to 9 A.D. did the Romans succeed in subjugating the freedom-loving Illyrians. In order to keep in submission the emperor Augustus in 10 A.D. introduced a powerful military organization in Illyricum. To facilitate the administration Illyricum was divided into two parts: Lower Illyricum or Pannonia and Upper Illyricum or Dalmatia. The first province encompassed the plain

country from the Bosnian mountains to the Inn near Vienna, and the second the mountainous regions from Mounts Petrov and Borje in Bosnia to the Adriatic. Augustus and his successors set up a dense network of good roads throughout and founded a great number of Roman military camps (castra) and city settlements. The emperor Diocletian in 297 A.D. divided Pannonia into four provinces: First or Upper Pannonia, Valeria, Savia and Second or Lower Pannonia. Upper Illyricum was divided into two: the territory of Dalmatia he defined as stretching from Istria to the Drina and to the Budva in Boka Kotoroka; and to the eastern part from the Drina to the Ibar river, Mount Sar and the river Dim in modern Albania he gave the name Praevalis. At the final partition of the Roman empire Dalmatia and the Pannonian provinces were assigned to the Western Roman Empire and Praevalis to the Eastern Roman Empire. With that the Drina, as the boundary between Dalmatia and Praevalis, became the dividing line between the two cultures and the two worlds of West and East.

During several centuries of military and cultural activity and due to a superior standard of living the Romans succeeded in civilizing the Illyrians to such a degree that they adopted the Latin language and began to call themselves Romans. (70)

Old national remnants in the new homeland of the Croats

During the folk migrations, particularly during the devastation of the Avars at the end of the VI and the outset of the VII century, the apparatus of the Byzantine state was totally destroyed in Pannonia and in the interior of Dalmatia. All the Roman settlements and cities in the plains and in the open country were ruined. Those whose fortunes allowed them as well as the more rebellious offered resistance to the barbarian invaders and when their resources were exhausted they fled to the Adriatic littoral and from there to the islands and to Italy. Meanwhile the populace, descendants of the pre-Roman populations, particularly the Romanized Illyrians, did not leave their ancient possessions, but attempted as best they could to save and defend themselves on the spot. Some retreated into the Roman strongholds and others fled into the forests, hills and mountains where access was difficult. In Pannonia and Dalmatia there were many strongholds dating from ancient times. The emperor Justinian I (527 – 565) restored the majority of them and built quite a few from the foundations wherever it was suitable and practical. In his work 'De aedificis' Procopius mentions more than 200 strongholds built or restored by Justinian in Dalmatia alone. (71)

During the invasions of the Huns and Avars the Pannonian strongholds were totally destroyed, but in Dalmatia they tended to be spared, especially on the littoral. In the original Marini paper No. 78 we have proof that many "strongholds found beyond Salona" were preserved with their old Christian population right up to the second half of the VII century. (72) Archdeacon Thomas of Split notes that the church in Duvno was still in excellent condition even in his time. Germanus, bishop of Capus on his way to Byzantium, had consecrated it in 518. (73) This indicates that the old Illyro-Roman Christians used and took care of that church until such time as the Croats were Christianized and took over the care of that church themselves. The name Romania designating the area between Miljecka and Prac in eastern Bosnia indicates that in this plateau region the remnants of the Romans lived for a long time in considerable isolation.

The old Croatian chronicles contain especially precious information on the numerous remnants of the Roman Christian population in the interior. The 'Kingdom of the Croats' in chapter 9 quotes a passage from the oldest known Croatian work 'Methodus' dating back from the year 753:

"Then the Christians...began to build strongholds on the mountains and mountaintops, in order to protect themselves." (74)

All the old inhabitants remained in the strongholds and mountain fastnesses as long as the Croats were not Christianized as a whole. On the subject of the diet of Duvno in 753 the 'Kingdom of the Croats' has this to say:

"And in that time there was great merriment among the Christians, and all those who had remained concealed in their strongholds and mountaintops, without acknowledging their Christian faith, came to the fore and left their fears behind." (75)

Many of the old Illyro-Romans populace survived, especially in the Dalmatian coastal cities and islands. Until the arrival of the Croats these populations lived exclusively on the islands in the Adriatic. The original Marini paper No. 78 attests to the fact that a numerous Roman Christian population, possessing many churches, lived on the island of Miljet in the second half of the VII century. (76) On the basis of materials in the imperial archives Porphyrogenitus notes that the Roman populace on the mainland lived by agriculture on the islands. The emperor-author stresses particularly that the old Roman population survived in the cities of Kotor, Dubrovnik, Split, Trogir, Zadar and in the Quarnerian islands of Rab, Krk and Osor (the joint name for Cres and Losinj). (77)

Genesis of the Croatian types: Dinaric, Mediterranean and Pannonian

The Croats considered the Slavs of the first migration, whom they found in their new homeland to be their brothers. They straightaway joined the Croats in their struggle against the Avars. (78) Consequently the Croats respected the right of the remnants of the old Romanized populations, as former Byzantine subjects, to live in their realm. Therefore these people helped the Croats in the fight against the Avars who were also their old enemies. With both the Slavs of the first migration and the old Illyro-Roman remnants the Croats were from the outset on friendly terms and intermarried with them. (79) These affinities led to the creation of three basic types of Croats according to their physical features: Dinaric, Mediterranean and Pannonian.

Dinaric Croats

In the central mountainous regions settled by the Croats upon their arrival on the Adriatic the Dinaric type of Croat developed. This type is quite remote from the general Slavic type. The Dinaric Croats are tall in stature (ca. 1.8 metres), long-headed but with a skull of short circumference (cephalic index of 80 – 85). They have dark hair and eyes and are of swarthy complexion. The Dinaric Croats of the middle ages lived in Lika, the Dalmatian hinterland, western and central Bosnia, Herzegovina and Montenegro (medieval Croatian Duklja). The Dinaric Croats in part brought features which they acquired from the north, where they inherited them from the Slavs who lived in the Dinaric regions beyond the Carpathians. (80) The second part of their features they inherited from the prehistoric Dinaric people whose remnants were still to be found among the Illyro-Roman population whom the Croats encountered in their new homeland. (81) The third part of features the Dinaric type developed on the spot, by living in healthy mountainous regions, by subsisting on dairy and vegetable produce and by bringing up his children in the countryside. (82) The relative importance of each of these factors is difficult to access. Nevertheless one has to say that the contribution of the local Romanized remnants of the prehistoric Dinaric folk, hardly amounted to more than 20% to 30% in forming the Dinaric Croat. In the Dinaric Croatian territory, indeed, the Latin-speaking population is last mentioned at the diet of Duvno in 753. (83) From the letters of pope John X and the records of the church council of Split in 925 we know that already prior to this date the Catholic population of the whole Croatian state had adopted the old Slavonic ritual. (84) This tells us that in the Croatia of that time there were no longer any people who spoke Latin or wished the religious services to be conducted in

Latin. If the old Roman remnants nowhere preserved their own language but already before the beginning of the X century had assimilated the Croatian language, one must conclude that they were already from the outset far fewer in number than the Croats. In the ceaseless struggle for existence in the craggy hills the Dinaric Croats acquired quite a few positive traits, among the following are distinguishable: diligence, vigour and physical endurance. Yet they also have shortcomings, especially an extreme obstinacy and an extraordinary resistance to discipline and co-operation. Likewise they tend to leave their native region quite freely, looking elsewhere for a better and more suitable life.

Mediterranean Croats

The Mediterranean type of Croat lives on the Dalmatian littoral, the Adriatic islands and in Istria. The Mediterranean Croats are intermediary stature, a little smaller than the Dinaric type. They have quite oval skulls, dark hair and eyes and an olive complexion. The Mediterranean type came into being as a result of the assimilation of the newly arrived Croats with the old Mediterranean inhabitants of Illyro-Roman stock. This assimilation took place immediately upon the arrival of the Croats. (85) In the Roman coastal cities under Byzantine and Venetian administration the process of assimilation went on during the whole of the middle ages. Along the Croatian littoral, as well as on the islands, the Mediterranean type of Croat was already formed before the end of the IX century. The Arab writer Ibn Al-Fagih notes ca. 903 that the Slavs (Croats) near the sea differed from the other Slavs by their dark and olive complexion. (86)

In the genesis of the Mediterranean type of Croat the Slavs of the first migration had no part. Until the arrival of the Croats on the Adriatic in 626 the old Illyro-Roman population lived exclusively on the islands with the refugees from Roman Dalmatia and Pannonia. This population with its swift ships prevented the Avars and Slavs of the first migration from cultivating the land and settling on the littoral south of Velebit, Dinara and Mosor. (87)

The Adriatic with its winds and waves brings to the fore old Croatian traits in the Mediterranean type: bravery and dauntlessness. They are clever and resourceful, adroit and possessed of a mercantile spirit. Of all Croats they are the most ready to leave their fatherland and to seek in the outside world better opportunities for living.

Pannonian Croats

In the Pannonian plains during the folk migrations the old Illyro-Roman population was for the most part destroyed or fled to the sea. When the Lombards had gone to Italy and the Avars had retreated north of the Danube sometime after 626, the Kaikavian Slavs remained in Pannonia as the only pure Slavic population. When the Croats conquered Lower Pannonia and Savia they at one began to assimilate with the Kaikavian Slavs of those areas. Out of that came the third type of Croat, the Pannonian, of intermediate stature, blond hair, ruddy complexion and of a rather sizeable cephalic index. In the Pannonian regions the Croats as a minority accepted the Kaikavian speech to which they added many characteristics of the Cakavian dialect. Although during the fighting with the Turks from the end of the XV to the outset of the XVIII century many Dinaric and Mediterranean Croats came to these regions, a conspicuous type of Pannonian Croat was preserved up until this day. They of all the Croats are the closest to the general Slavic type in their physical and psychological make-up. (88) They are peaceful and mild natured but persistent in the defense of their homes and rights. A peculiar patriotism and a marked ability to assimilate foreigners distinguish them.

B. Arrival of the Serbs in the Balkans

When did the Serbs reach the Balkans?

Porphyrogenitus in chapter 31 of 'De administrando imperio' writes that the Serbs reached the Balkans sometime after the Croats. (89) In chapter 32 he relates that the emperor Heraclius I assigned the province of Thessaly to the Serbs on their arrival in the Byzantine territory and settled them in the area called 'Srbiate'. Seeing that one part of these Serbs after some time decided to return to their old homeland, the emperor gave them his permission. However once they had reached the Danube they had second thoughts and asked the emperor, by the intercession of the military commander in Belgrade, to give them another land in which to settle. So the emperor settled these Serbs south of Belgrade in present-day Serbia. (90)

Neither Porphyrogenitus nor any other source mentions that the Serbs participated in the fighting with the Avars resulting in the evacuation of the Avars over the Danube. The Serbs must have come south just when the Croats had driven the Avars out beyond the Danube and facilitated the way for the Serbs to advance to Thessaly without fighting. It had to take place after 629 because the contemporaneous writer George of Pisidia records that in that year fighting was still going on between the Avars and their subjects the Slavs who had passed over to the Croats in order to fight against the Avars. (91) Meanwhile, one or two years after their arrival in Thessaly when a part of the Serbs were on their way back to their old homeland on the Elbe, the Byzantine military commander governed in Belgrade. He could only have come there just when the Croats had liberated Srijem with the support of the Greek settlers and the rebel Slavs from the Avars in 635 and had driven them north of the Danube. (92) From all the aforesaid sources one ought to conclude that the Serbs reached the Balkans by 635 or 636 and that they tried to return to the Elbe in 637 or 638.

In all probability the Byzantines invited the Serbs to aid them in 625 simultaneously with the Croats to fight the Avars. However at that time the Polabian Serbs of the Elbe recognized the overlordship of the Frankish king Dagobert I (623 – 639) and the Moravians and the Czechs under king Samo who were hostile to the Franks stood in the way of their passage to the south. It was just in 631 when Dervan, the ruler of the Polabian Serbs, recognized the overlordship of Samo (93) that the road to Byzantium was open to the Serbs. Indeed the Serbs really reached the Balkans no earlier than 635 or 636 when the Croats had driven the Avars over the Danube and opened the way to Thessaly for the Serbs.

Which lands did the Serbs settle upon their arrival in the Balkans?

As Porphyrogenitus records it the emperor Heraclius I assigned Thessaly to the Serbs upon their arrival in the south and settled them in the area which they called Srbiste situated in the valley of the Bistrica west of Salonica. When a lesser part of the Serbs, (94), not satisfied with their new home, wished to return to the old homeland on the Elbe, the military commander in Belgrade assigned to them a new homeland in his administrative province south of Belgrade. (95)

The Thessalian Serbs lived for many centuries under their own name and had their own Serbian bishopric. However with the passing of time they assimilated with the Macedonian Slavs and in more recent times became Greek. The Serbian name and nationality was preserved by the descendants of those Serbs who wished to return to the Elbe and were finally settled in the central Balkans.

On the subject of the oldest account of the Croats and the Serbs, Porphyrogenitus

recognizes and describes two Serbias. The first Serbia he mentions, tracing its boundaries, in chapter 30 of 'De administrando imperio' is based on an older source:

"Duklja extends almost to the strongholds of the province of Dyrrhachium i.e. Ljes, Ulcinj and Bar, going as far as Kotor and reaching over to the mountains to Serbia. From the city of Kotor the prefecture of Travunja begins and reaches as far as Dubrovnik and is fined by Serbia in the mountains in the east. The prefecture of Zahumlje starts from Dubrovnik and goes as far as the river Neretva, on the side of the sea it is confined by Pagania (Neretva region), in the mountains to the north by the White Croats and in the mountains facing east by Serbia. Pagania (Neretva) starts from the river Neretva and goes as far as the river Cetina. It includes three districts: Rastok, Makar and Dolje." (96)

According to this description Serbia was situated north of the divide of the river Moraca and Drina and east of Mounts Durmitor and Pivska. Those boundaries coincided with the original Rasa. Porphyrogenitus has this same Serbia in mind – enlarged by the district of Sol – when in chapter 32 he writes: "In Christian Serbia the cities of Destinik, Cernavuskej, Meguretus, Dresneik, Lesnik and Salines are inhabited." (97)

Porphyrogenitus mentions another Serbia with a larger territory and boundaries when he writes at the end of chapter 30: "The land of Croatia...on the Cetina and at Hlivno is limited by the land of Serbia." (98) He even designates that territory as Serbian when in chapters 32 to 36 he states that the Serbs originally settled in Travunja, Zahumlja and Neretva. (99) The territory of this second Serbia of Porphyrogenitus' extended 150 km. West of this first Serbia and was twice as large. The first Serbia did not include Travunja, Zahumlja and Neretva. Those three provinces were originally settled by Croats and belonged to Red or South Croatia. (100) In 948 when in Croatia the assassination of the king Miroslav brought a time of great troubles the great Serbian prince Caslav occupied Bosnia, Travunja, Zahumlja and Neretva, thus extending the Serbian state up to the Cetina and Hlivno. Porphyrogenitus was obsessed with the idea which he emphasizes several times that the Croatian and Serbian states belonged to Byzantium and that these nations recognized the overlordship of the Byzantine emperors. Under the influence of that idea Porphyrogenitus declares the people of Neretva, Zahumlja and Travunja, who in his time were Serbs politically i.e. subjects of the Serbian ruler, to be Serbs also ethnically. (101)

The following considerations attest to the fact that the Serbs did not originally settle Travunja, Zahumlja and Neretva and that consequently the original ethnic Serbia did not extend to the Cetina and Hlivno, but that it had the boundaries described by Porphyrogenitus in chapter 30 of his account of the first Serbia.

1. Porphyrogenitus himself states on the basis of some old source which he transcribed that the Croats upon their arrival settled in Dalmatia, Illyricum and Pannonia. (102) The regions later called Travunja, Zahumlja and Neretva included the main part of southeastern Dalmatia. Common sense itself tells us that the Croats would not have gone to settle Illyricum in present-day Montenegro and on the Albanian littoral as far as Valona unless they had previously settled southeastern Dalmatia and consequently the confines of the future Neretva, Zahumlja and Travunja, thereby assuring the extension of their national and political boundaries. When the Croats in 626 and 627 liberated Dalmatia and Illyricum from the Avar, settling those regions themselves, they could not have been intending to leave to the Serbs the regions of future Neretva, Zahumlja and Travunja because at that time they did not know whether the Serbs would come at all to the south. Neither did Byzantium have in mind the same policy, for they straightaway dispatched the Serbs upon their arrival on the Danube through present-day Serbia to Thessaly. (103)
2. Porphyrogenitus records that the emperor Heraclius I allotted Srbiste in Thessaly to all the Serbs who arrived in the Balkans. (104) His expression 'ho topos' can mean

a place, a camp or a region. If we take Srbiste to mean a region and say that the Serbs were initially settled in the whole valley of the Bistrica, no more than 7,000 to 8,000 people could settle and live there, keeping in mind the fact that agriculture was of the extensive type. Less than half of these Serbs (105), 3,000 to 4,000 at the utmost, returned to the Danube and were settled in the central Balkans. Such a small number of Serbs could not occupy the broad confines from Kosovo to the Cetina and Hlivo, including Rasa, Travunja, Zahumlja and Neretva.

3. The fact that Porphyrogenitus nowhere affirms the Serbs settled Duklja which in his time did not belong to the Serbian state tells us that the political circumstances of his time let him to assert by ethnical inference that the Serbs initially settled in Travunja, Zahumlja and Neretva. During the reign of Heraclius I the Byzantines still had a firm concept of the provinces that constituted their empire. Besides, communication between localities in the same province, that with a dense network of roads, was more efficient than between localities of different provinces. Therefore when the Byzantine representative settled the Serbs in the northern part of the province of Praevalis he would have given them also the southern part of that province, the future Duklja, had he wished to give them the littoral, and would not have sent them to the other province, Dalmatia, settled by the Croats. However Porphyrogenitus nowhere states that the Serbs settled or lived in Duklja.
4. Old reliable sources from both the Croatian and Serbian side confirm that the Serbs originally settled only the first Serbia of Porphyrogenitus', later called Rasa. The old Croatian work 'Methodus', from the year 753, mentions that Red or South Croatia extended from the Duvno and the Cetina to Valona in Albania and was divided into four parts, later to become Neretva, Zahumlja, Travunja ad Duklja. (106) The 'Methodus' thus traces the boundaries of the old Serbia "from the same river Drina eastward to Lipljan and Lab, called Rasa." (107) The old Serbian rulers distinguished the original, ethnic Serbia or Rasa from alien lands subsequently annexed. Ethnic Serbia or Rasa was their fatherland comprising all the Serbian lands and Duklja (Zeta), Travunja, Zahumlja and Dalmatia (Neretva) were foreign provinces subsequently conquered and annexed to the original ethnic Serbia. Stefan Nemanja, the ancestor of the Serbian royal family, declared in his donation to the monastery of Hilander between 1189 and 1199: "I have raise up my prostrated fatherland and have taken over Zeta with its cities from the littoral, Pilot from Albania and Lab, including Lipljan from the Greeks..."(108) His son Stefan the First-Crowned, king of Serbia, in 1220 boasts of this title: "I am the first crowned king of all Serbian lands, of Dioclitia, Travunja, Dalmatia and Zahumlja." (109)

The creation of the medieval Serbian type

The original Serbian type from Asia Minor was quite modified by the time he lived on the Elbe, where the Serbs assimilated with numerous native Slavs and adopted from them the western Slavic language. From those Slavs who had assimilated with the remnants of the older native Nordic population the Polabian Serbs inherited certain characteristics of the Nordic race. (110)

In the new homeland in the central Balkans the Serbs found Slavs of the first migration speaking the Stokavian-Ekavian dialect. (111) The Serbs gave them national name and political organization, but like the Bulgars were submerged by the much more numerous Slavs: they lost their western Slavic speech and adopted the Stokavian-Ekavian dialect. To those Slavs the Serb newcomers owed in large measure their physical traits. In the formation of the national type of medieval Serb the remnants of the old Thracian and Macedonian population played a part as well as the Greeks who immigrated into Rasa during the long Byzantine domination. (112) In Rasa and the surrounding mountains, up

until the arrival of the Serbs, there remained an especially large number of the old Mauretanian army veterans, but the medieval Serbs did not intermarry with them, as we shall see later, because the much darker traits of these Wallachs were still very much in evidence. (113)

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IV. SUMMARY OF CROATIAN HISTORY IN THE MIDDLE AGES

I. Croatia under its own rulers

Christianity and the Croats and the Establishment of the Metropolitan of Split

The Croats were the first of all the Slavic nations to adopt Christianity. They live as pagan in their old homeland north of the Carpathians (1), but began to be Christianised immediately upon their arrival on the Adriatic in 626, at first individually under the influence of the Christian remnants of the old Roman population and then officially by the bishops and priests. The first person known by name who dedicated himself to the christianise the Croats was John of Ravenna. The newly elected pope John IV (640 – 42), himself of Dalmatian birth, sent John of Ravenna to Dalmatia at the instance of Isaac, exarch of Ravenna and Viceroy of the Byzantine emperor Heraclius I (610 – 641). John of Ravenna succeeded in a few months in converting to Christianity Porga, the supreme ruler of the Croats as well as part of the nobility and the people living between the Cetina and the Zrmanja where the first Croatian tribes settled, directly under Porga's control. At the outset of the year 641 pope John IV consecrated John of Ravenna as archbishop of the new metropolitan see of Split to which the pope transferred the jurisdiction of the old see of nearby Salona.

The circumstances in which the Christians of that time in the territory of the old metropolitanate found themselves required the establishment of a metropolitanate in Salona. Indeed, until the arrival of the Croats in 626 the Christianity on the islands and in several coastal cities remained unchanged. The bishoprics in Zadar, Krk, Rab and Osor survived the devastation of Dalmatia and the ravage of Salona by the Avars. (2) According to universal church organisation of that time, it was necessary to create a new metropolitan see for these bishoprics without delay. Furthermore the systematic Christianization of the newly arrived Croats, a project dear to the heart of imperial and papal interests alike, necessitated the organisation of the ecclesiastical order in Dalmatia and the institution of a new metropolitanate. Here follows some reliable sources which tells us about the establishment of the metropolitanate in Split.

Porphyrogenitus writes on the basis of materials in the imperial archive: "The emperor Heraclius, having sent emissaries, brought back from Rome certain evangelists. Out of their number he created an archbishop, a bishop, priests and deacons, in order to christianize the Croats, over whom Porga ruled at that time." (3)

The archdeacon Thomas of Split, who was not acquainted with the work of Porphyrogenitus, writes on the basis of materials in the archives of the metropolitanate of Split: "Meanwhile the supreme pontiff (the pope) sent a certain envoy by the name of John, born in Ravenna, to admonish the Christians for the sake of their salvation in his travels through Dalmatia and Croatia. No priest had been consecrated in the church of Salona since the fall of that city. At that time, when the clergy convened as usual, they all unanimously elected the aforesaid John. And he, having been consecrated by the pope, like a good shepherd, returned to his congregation. The Apostolic See empowered him to grant to the church in Split all the privileges and honour that Salona had in the old times." (4)

In the 'Historia Salonitana Maior' it was explicitly mentioned that the pope John IV consecrated John of Ravenna as metropolitan of Split. (5)

In the original and still preserved Marini paper no. 142 dating from the second half of the VII century the "notary of the holy church of Salona" is explicitly mentioned. (6) If at that time the church of Salona-Split had a notary, it also had its own metropolitan archbishop and other church officials.

In 1958 at the official examination of the bones of St. Domnius in the cathedral in Split a small marble sarcophagus containing a lead chest from the IV century with the bones of St. Domnius was discovered in an old Christian sarcophagus with a relief of the good shepherd on it. A Latin inscription was engraved on the lid of the small inner sarcophagus saying: "Here lies the body of blessed Domnius, archpresbyter of Salona, pupil of St. Peter, prince of the apostles, transferred from Salona to Split by John, the archpresbyter of the see." (7)

John of Ravenna himself with his clergy and with the aid of the old aforesaid bishoprics and of the newly created ones in Dubrovnik and Kotor continued the work of Christianising the Croats. The bishops in Zadar, Rab, Osor and Krk worked to christianise the Croats in the western part of White Croats from the Zrmanja to the Rasa in Istria. The presbyters of the numerous bishoprics of Istria which had all survived the cataclysm of the folk migrations in that time began early to work on the Christianization of the Istrian Croats, who lived outside the Croatian state.

In present-day northwestern Bosnia, Duvno, Hlivo, Glamoc and the valley of Vrbas, Christianity gained an early foothold since these regions fell directly under the administration of the Croatian ruler Porga who had his royal domains there.

The archbishop of Split, John of Ravenna, worked on the Christianization of Croatia in South or Red Croatia with his clergy from Split. The bishops of the newly created bishoprics in Dubrovnik and Kotor did likewise. The early establishment of the bishopric of Ston in Zahumlja bears witness to the success of their early work. Porphyrogenitus also bears witness to their success when he says that at the outset the people of Neretva were converted to Christianity, but that later on the majority returned to paganism.

In Pannonian Croatia between the Iron Alps and the Drava Christianity must have been diffused early as long as the Croats of these regions lived in a state of political and ecclesiastical unity with the Adriatic Croats who were christianised ca. 640. Seeing that the Pannonian Croats by the end of the century had become subject to the Avars who had recovered from their defeat at the hands of the Croatian newcomers, the progress of Christianity in Slavonia was heavily hampered. Nevertheless, Christianity partially held its ground there in the VII and IX centuries. (8)

The Croats and Byzantium in the VII and VIII centuries

As we see from the work of Porphyrogenitus the Byzantines were obstinate in their opinion that all the lands formerly under Roman rule and more recently under Byzantine rule, were under their dominion. On the basis of this they persisted in the notion that the Croats and the Serbs had to be subservient and had always been so. In connection with the war against the Bulgarian Khan Boris Mihailo (852 – 889), Porphyrogenitus writes: "The Croatian ruler from the outset i.e. from the reign of the emperor Heraclius, was an obedient subject of the Roman emperor and was never subservient to the Bulgarian ruler." (9) He makes the same statement about the Serbs in exactly the same words on the subject of the war waged in Serbia by Simeon the Great. (10) This same notion is expressed in Porphyrogenitus' work 'De caerimoniis' where he writes that his directives as well as those of his son and of the co-ruler Romanus (949 – 959) must be sent to the Croatian ruler, the Serbian ruler, the ruler of Zahumlje, etc. with the heading: "Order from the most Christian rulers to that and that ruler of that and that region." (11)

However the Croats neither from the outset nor later on ever considered their relation to Byzantium to be that of subjects, but rather that of friends and allies. The land that the Croats liberated from the Avars they did not hand over to Byzantine control, but settled them themselves and ruled over them independently according to their national common law. The Croats never paid tribute to the Byzantine officially nor fulfilled any subservient obligations.

The Diet of Duvno of 753

Among the Slavs it was an old custom to discuss their public affairs at community gatherings. (12) The Croats brought that custom from the north and whenever it was necessary to decide on a more weighty matter, a general national diet was convoked and attended by all the adult members of the nation. Among the Croats who were divided into tribes and autonomous tribal states these diets were one of the most effective means of maintaining national and political unity. Since they had become Christians various questions concerning the church were discussed at the national diets such as how the church councils would work together on public and national matters.

One of the most important Croatian diets of the early times was the one held in Duvno in 753. To that diet pope Stephen II (752 – 757) sent cardinal Honorius and two bishops. The Byzantine emperor Constantine V (741 – 775) sent his emissaries Ivan Sutnik (Silentarius) and Leo, his confidant. These were the emperor's experts in Western Europe affairs in the middle of the VIII century. (13)

The diet of Duvno lasted twelve days. At first diverse ecclesiastical questions were discussed, particularly the restriction of the old and the establishment of new bishoprics. Next they put in order the affairs of the state. The state was divided into three great provinces and its administration, judiciary and taxation system was organised. Until this time the Croatian state was governed according to old Croatian common law. Again, at that diet many progressive regulations of Roman-Byzantine legislation were adopted in matters of administration and of the judiciary.

On the basis of the pristine Croatian work 'Methodus' which was still extant during his life time, Pop Dukljanin describes in brief the partition of the Croatian state as it took place at the diet of Duvno: "And so according to the content of the characters read before the nation (King Budimir) draws up characters and divides the districts and regions of this kingdom, with their boundaries, along the courses of rivers which run down from the mountains and empty into the sea to the south. This territory is called the littoral. The territory following the rivers running down from the mountains northward and flowing into the great river Danube, is called Serbia. Then he divides the littoral into two districts. The territory from the locality of Duvno, where the king resided at that time and the diet was held, up to Vinodol was called White Croatia or Lower Croatia... Likewise the territory from that same Duvno to the city of Bambalona, now called Drac, was called Red Croatia or Upper Croatia... And Serbia, called Zagorje, he divides into two districts: one from the major river Drina westward to Mount Borov i.e. the territory of Bosnia and the other from the same river Drina eastward to the Lipanj and the Lab, i.e. the territory of Rasa." (14)

In this description of the Croatian state Pannonian Croatia is not mentioned because in the middle of the VIII century it was constituted as a separate state under the overlordship of the Avars.

The partition of the Croatian littoral into White (Western) and Red (South) Croatia did not follow the old conventional Roman boundaries, but rather the more recent Byzantine boundaries as they were laid down in Upper and Lower Dalmatia in the VI and VII centuries when the whole region was under the jurisdiction of the exarchate of Ravenna.

Some time before the diet of Duvno the Serbs were incorporated into the Croatian state, in all probability out of fear of external foes, whether Avar or Bulgar. This was the reason for which at the diet a new Croatian political unit was created. This state was to be strong enough to defend itself in case of necessity. In it were included the hinterland regions of Croatia, called Bosnia, and the Serbian lands, called Rasa. This new Croatian political unit was given the common name of Serbia, because the Serbs constituted the main part of that unit and the defense of the Serbs against external foes was the main consideration leading to their incorporation. This was the only occasion in their history up to 1918 when the Croats and the Serbs ever lived together in the same state.



Hrvatske zemlje za vrijeme duvunjskoga sabora g. 753

CROATIAN LANDS DURING THE DIET OF DUVNO 753 A.D.

The Adriatic islands form a geopolitical unity with the eastern seaboard of the Adriatic. They serve both to fill in and to close off the geographic features of this seaboard.

The geological features of the soil on the Adriatic islands are the same as those of the Dalmatian Karst, but different from the soil features on the western shore of Italy, divided from the Adriatic islands by a wide expanse of sea. The inhabitants of Italy, accustomed to different soil features, were never willing nor even knew how to cultivate the karst of these islands successfully. Those geopolitical factors are the reason for which even in prehistoric times the same ethnic population lived and worked on both the islands and on the Dalmatian Karst. (16)

From a strategic point of view the Adriatic islands form a line of defense for the Dalmatian seaboard and provide a window to the world for the inhabitants of the mainland.

Seeing that the Croats arrived in Dalmatia in 626 as friends and allies of the Byzantines they did not cross over to the islands which were then under Byzantine control. So the Croatian settlement of Dalmatia remained unfinished and the Croatian state was left without firm and controlled boundaries on the side of the sea. The Croatian settlement of the Adriatic islands was carried on by the Narentians from the second half of the VII until the outset of the IX century.

The Narentians were an autonomous Croatian tribe that in 626 settled down on the Adriatic littoral between the Nerevta and the Cetina. This region was barren and unproductive. Under pressure of an ever-increasing population, this tribe began to encroach on the Roman population of the Adriatic islands and to turn to piracy in order to survive the depredations of hunger. When the church authorities began to apply sanctions against them this tribe apostatised and reverted to paganism. This must have happened in the VII century. They redoubled their aggression against the islands when the exarchate of Ravenna ceased to exist which up until that time had protected the Roman population on the islands. Finally the Narentians drove out or destroyed the old Roman population on the islands. During the fighting between the Byzantines and the Croats from 806 to 817 they settled on the islands opposite the coastline running from the Nerevta to the Cetina. During this period their political centre and the majority of their population gravitated from the mainland to the islands. In 830 the official representative of the Narentians from the "island of Neretva" (18) arrived in Venice and in 839 the doge of Venice, Peter Tradonicus came to the "Narentian islands" to conclude a peace treaty with Drzak, the local prince. (19) On the basis of imperial documentation from the imperial archives Porphyrogenitus briefly describes the settlement of the islands by the Narentians: "The Roman cities, then, were cultivating the soil of the islands and living off it. Seeing, then, that the pagans were enslaving and killing them every day, they abandoned the islands..." (20)

The Narentians invaded and plundered not only these islands, which they settled themselves, but even those at the north of the Adriatic. They either destroyed the Roman population of these islands or forced them to regroup and seek shelter in fortified cities. The Croatian peasants from the neighbouring mainland settled on the vacated islands. By 879, on the advice of Basil I, the cities of Osor, Krk and Rab began to pay tribute to the Croats in order to enjoy the usufruct of the land around their cities. (21) This tells us that the Croats had already been permanently settled on the Quarnerian islands long before 879 and considered all the arable land to be theirs and that the Roman population of the cities had to pay them tribute in order to hold the land in fief. The fact that the peasantry native to the Quarnerian islands was already Croatian by the end of the IX century is shown in that already before 924 the Old Slavonic church ritual had been generally introduced in the bishoprics of Osor (Cres and Losinj), Krk and Rab. (22) From that time these regions became the centres of the Glagolitic service. There Glagolitic literature reached its highest development and the oldest Glagolitic inscriptions in the

Croatian language can be found there still preserved to this day. (23)

During the IX century the Croats completed the colonization of the Adriatic islands. The political unification of these islands with the Croatian mother country would involve many years of struggle with all the vicissitudes of fortune, but no one could ever change the ethnic boundaries on the Adriatic as they had been created from the VII to the IX centuries.

The Croats acknowledge Charlemagne's suzerainty

On Christmas Day 800 pope Leo III crowned Charlemagne emperor in Rome, thereby restoring the Western Roman Empire. This act made a deep impression on all the European countries as well as on Croatia. The Croats in 799 were still fighting the Franks who were expanding into Croatia and even put to death near the town of Trsat Erik, the duke of Friuli (24) However when the pope had restored the Western Roman Empire in the territory where the Croats were living as Christians of the Western and Catholic confession, the Croats decided to recognize the suzerainty of Charlemagne as the new Western emperor. They brought about this decision under the influence of the Dalmatian bishops who approved of and acclaimed the pope's action, as one can see from the delegation of Byzantine Dalmatia, led by the duke Paul and Donatus, bishop of Zadar, which came to swear fealty. (25) The new Croatian ruler Borna (ca. 802 – 821) facilitated this decision of the Croats in his accession to the throne.

According to our opinion the Croats acknowledged Charlemagne's suzerainty in 803. The contemporaneous Frankish chronicler Einhard writes that in August 803 the Frankish national diet in Regensburg was attended by Zdan, prince of Pannonia and many Slavs and Huns who all acknowledged the suzerainty of Charlemagne. (26) The Croats from the eastern shore of the Adriatic must have been the most important Slavic contingent. Einhard in his biography of Charlemagne writes that the emperor extended Frankish power to Istria, Liburnia and Dalmatia except for the coastal cities which he left to the Byzantine emperor for the sake of good relations and in accordance with a peace treaty concluded in 810 and ratified in 812. (27) Byzantium with a strong fleet restored in 806 its supremacy in the Adriatic (28). Had the Croats acknowledged the Frankish suzerainty already before 805 they could not have been justified in forswearing their allegiance to the Byzantines sometime between 806 and 810. For in those years the Byzantines proved that their fleet was quite vigorous and had a considerable striking force.

Byzantium with its newfound power on the Adriatic threatened to subjugate the extensive Croatian territories on the islands and the littoral. Thus they forced the Croats of the Adriatic to rely still more heavily on the Franks, who respected their national autonomy and did not interfere in Croatia's internal affairs. Indeed in 817 when the Franks concluded an alliance with the Byzantine emperor Leo V the Armenian, the emperor Louis the Pious did not wish to fortify the boundaries in Dalmatia without the prior knowledge and approval of the Croats. As Einhard and the author of Louis' biography recorded it, at that time there was a bitter contest for the boundaries "between the Dalmatians, Romans and Slavs." (29) By the Dalmatians is meant the Latinized inhabitants of the Roman cities from Istria to Boka Kotorska, by the Romans is meant the Byzantines and by the Slavs is meant the Croats. They finally agreed, in all probability by some means or the other, to maintain the status quo. Therefore a new boundary between Byzantines and Croats was created along the river Drim in modern Albania which would remain for a long time the dividing line between the Croatian Duklja and the Byzantine province of Dyrrhachium.

In the years 810, 812 and 817 by a series of international agreements between the Western and Eastern empires, Byzantium renounced its sovereignty over the territories of Adriatic Croatia.

The great political and national advantages which the Croats of the Adriatic acquired from the Frankish suzerainty induced Borna (ca. 802 – 812), ruler of Adriatic Croatia, to pass over to the Frankish side in their fight against Ljudevit Posavski (810 – 823), ruler of Pannonian Croatia, which at that time was independent of Adriatic Croatia (30). One had to reckon Ljudevit Posavski among the great and meritorious Croatian rulers. He rose up against the powerful Frankish empire in defense of his Croatian people. Ljudevit's resistance, continued by other native rulers later on even with the assistance of the ruler of Adriatic Croatia, put an end to the progressive Germanization on the western boundary of Pannonian Croatia.

The rise to the complete independence of Croatia

Borna was succeeded by his nephew Vladislav (ca. 821 – 830) and Mislav (ca. 830 – 845). They both ruled Croatia as quite autonomous rulers, especially Mislav because the Frankish power had declined on account of internal discord and dynastic struggles. (31) One can use that influence of the Franks in Adriatic Croatia had declined at that time from the fact that Lothar, the Frankish king of Italy concluded an agreement with Venice in 840 for their mutual defense from the inroads of "the Croatian tribes" under their duke Mislav. (32)

Trpimir (ca. 845 – 863) the son of Vladislav, succeeded Mislav by the law of seniority. He was an intelligent and powerful ruler. In 847 he waged a successful war on "the Greek peoples and their patricians" i.e. against the Roman population of Dalmatia subject to the Byzantine emperors, at the head of which stood the Byzantine viceroy with the official title of patrician. (33) Around 845 the Bulgarian ruler Boris Mihailo (852 – 889) attacked Trpimir on the Drina in Bosnia. At that time Trpimir was on the boundary between Croatia and the Bulgarian provinces of Macva and Srijem.

Porphyrogenitus writes about the above mentioned event on the basis of some source older than the year 927: "Boris Mihailo, ruler of Bulgaria, set out to make war on them (Adriatic Croats) but powerless to accomplish anything, concluded peace with them so that both sides departed after an exchange of gifts. (34)

In the first years of his reign Trpimir erected the Benedictine monastery in Riznice on the stream Ropotino not far from the royal court below Klis. (35) With this act Trpimir established the Benedictines in Croatia. In the Middle Ages they were the disseminators of culture and knowledge all around Europe, including Croatia. In connection with this monastery Trpimir on March 4th, 852 issued a declaration to the metropolitan bishopric of Split, the text of which is preserved up to the present day. In it for the first time in original Croatian sources the name of the Croatian state and of the Croatian nation is mentioned: "Trpimir, duke of the Croats...throughout the entire state of Croatia." (36)

In this character Trpimir affirms that the metropolitan diocese of Split "extends all the way to the Danube, including almost the whole Croatian state." (37) As has already been mentioned elsewhere, from the VI century up to the foundation of the metropolitan diocese of Dubrovnik (997 – 98) and of the diocese of Zagreb (1094), the metropolitan diocese of Split extended from Istrian Rasa to the Drava and Danube on the north and to the Drina and Budva on the east. (38) The fact that in 852 the Croatian state was larger than the metropolitan of Split indicates to us that at that time Duklja was part of the Croatian state, but did not belong to the metropolitan diocese of Split.

According to the Croatian law of seniority Domagoj, son of Trpimir's uncle and predecessor Mislav, succeeded Trpimir. He was older than Petar, Zdeslav and Mutimir, the sons of Trpimir. However Trpimir's sons following the practice common to the Frankish ruling dynasties, wished to succeed their father as rulers (law of primogeniture). This provoked serious struggles within the Croatian ruling dynasty. In the end a Croatian diet had to be summoned to solve such an important question. It was decided that Domagoj

(863 – 878) as the oldest member of the Croatian ruling family, had the right to succession to the throne. (39)

In the struggles for the succession Domagoj liquidated most of his opponents, among them it seems Petar, Trpimir's eldest son. In 874 or at the outset of 875 pope John VIII wrote to duke Domagoj, instructing him not to kill those who might be his potential foes, but to banish them from the state. (40)

The doge of Venice, Orso Particiaco, profited by the internal discord in the Croatian state and with a strong fleet attacked Croatia in 865. Surprised and unprepared, Domagoj pleaded for a cessation of hostilities. This the doge accepted, but took hostages before returning to Venice. Later Domagoj firmly established the sovereignty of Croatia in the Adriatic. With the dauntlessness and heroism he gave the Venetians so much trouble in all their encounters that John the Deacon called Domagoj "the most terrible Croatian duke." (41)

At the outset of the reign of Domagoj in 863 there was a schism between the Eastern and Western churches. The metropolitan of Split together with his suffragan Roman bishops, all subjects of the Byzantine empire, joined forces with Photius of Constantinople. The Croatian nation did not follow their bishops, but wished still to remain within the pale of the Western church as they had done up until this time. During the lifetime of pope Nicholas I (d. 867) a "Croatian bishop" stood at the head of the newly created bishopric of Nin established for the Croats. (42)

After the death of Domagoj the power passed to his sons under the supreme authority of the eldest son Iljko (876 – 878). (43) In the meantime Zdeslav, the second son of Trpimir, returned from Byzantium. He was older than Iljko and according to Croatian common law had the right to rule in Croatia. Byzantium and the Dalmatian bishops sided with Zdeslav, but it took the Croatian national diet, summoned for the occasion, to recognize him as ruler. Zdeslav (878 – 879) then banished the sons of Domagoj. (44)

Zdeslav as a Byzantine protégé, broke off all connections with the Frankish state. With this ended the 75 year suzerainty of the Frankish emperors over Croatia.

When the bishop of Nin died Zdeslav did not allow a new bishop to be elected. All the regions in Croatia fell once more under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the metropolitan of Split and his suffragan bishops. With this act the Croats were forced in to a schism with Rome. It provoked great discontent and restlessness throughout Croatia. The disaffected recalled the banished sons of Domagoj, headed by Branimir who slew Zdeslav in the ensuing struggle. Whereupon the Croatian diet acknowledged Branimir as duke of Croatia. (45) Branimir at once severed all connections with Byzantium, but did not for all that engage himself in a political alliance with the Western church. With this Croatia became an autonomous state independent of any foreign power.

Branimir (879 – 892) immediately after his accession to the throne severed all ecclesiastical relations with the schismatic Dalmatian bishops and saw to it that the priest Theodosius was elected as the new bishop of Nin. Both Branimir and Theodosius informed pope John VIII (872 – 882) by letter of the new state of affairs in their church. The pope was pleased and on Ascension Day, 21 May 879 while celebrating the holy mass over the grave of St. Peter, he lifted up his hands to the sky and blessed duke Branimir, the whole Croatian nation and all its lands. (46)

Porphyrogenitus has this to say on the subject of the reconciliation between the Croats and Byzantine Dalmatia: "The Roman population was cultivating the islands and living off the produce; but seeing that the pagans (Narentians) were taking them prisoner and killing them every day, they left the islands, wishing to go to the mainland to cultivate the soil. But the Croats were giving them difficulty because they did not receive the

tribute from them, such as they do at the present, rather it was the Byzantine military commander who received their tribute...The illustrious emperor Basil ordered the entire tribute to be given to the Slavs (Croats), rather than to the military commander, so that the Romans might live in peace with them...From that time all those cities became tributary to the Slavs (Croats) and paid them the following tribute: Split - 200 gold coins; Trogir - 100 gold coins; Zadar - 110 gold coins; the cities of Osor, Rab and Krk - 100 gold coins each; 710 coins in all, including wine and various other things of greater value overall than all the gold coins together." (47)

This ordinance the emperor Basil I must have issued when the Croats no longer acknowledged the Byzantine overlordship and the emperor was no longer in a position to protect his Roman subjects by force alone. This could only have been after 879 when Branimir was ruler in Croatia and the emperor Basil was involved in the hard struggle with the Saracens.

During Branimir's reign the Croats, especially the autonomous Narentians, waged a long and successful war on the Venetians over the question of who was to have sovereignty on the Adriatic. The success of the outcome prompted the Venetians to conclude in 880 and 888 agreements with the Frankish emperors for their mutual defense against "the Slavic (Croatian) nation, our common foe." (48) In all probability ca. 880 the Venetians, following the example of the Dalmatian cities, began to pay annual tribute to the Narentians in order to navigate the Adriatic without hindrance. (49)

In the last years of the reign of duke Branimir, after the banishment of the disciples of St. Methodius from Moravia in 885, the Old Slavonic (Glagolitic) service appeared in Croatia. During the next centuries it would play a paramount role in the religious, cultural and national life of the Croats. (50)

Mutimir (892 – ca. 910), the third son of duke Trpimir, succeeded Branimir according to the law of seniority. From his predecessor he inherited a strong and quite independent Croatian state. In the charter of September, 23rd 892, by which the donation of this father Trpimir to the metropolitan diocese of Split was confirmed at a national diet, Mutimir declared that he was "by God's grace duke of Croatia". He introduced into his court the officialdom of the Frankish emperors. This consisted of the count palatine, the royal mace bearers, the marshal, the chamberlain, the wine cellarer, the comes curial and his two assistants, the royal shield bearers, the majordomos in Hlivno and Klis, the two counts attendant on the duchess, the heads of the Benedictine monasteries and other dignitaries. (51)

In the last years of the reign of duke Branimir and the first years of the reign of Mutimir, Prince Braslav ruled Pannonian Croatia (ca. 880 – 900). He acknowledged the suzerainty of the Frankish emperors and thereby severed all ties with Adriatic Croatia. The emperor Arnulf gave him in fief all Pannonia north of the Drava with the town on Lake Balaton in 896 in return for which he was to defend these regions against the Magyars who in that years were migrating into the Carpathian foothills on the left bank of the Danube. Braslav perished in the fighting and the Pannonian Croats, under the threat of the Magyars, sought to renew their political ties with the Adriatic Croats. (52)

Genesis of the Croatian Culture of Western Orientation

The Croats, although they arrived in the south at the invitation of the Byzantines, settled west of the Drina in the lands of the Western Roman empire and its Western culture. (53) Several Roman cities on the Dalmatian littoral preserved their way of life and nurtured the old Roman culture during the entire middle ages. (54) The Croats in the vicinity of these cities developed their national culture under their influence and

therefore with a Western orientation.

In the development of the cultural and spiritual characteristics of every nation, and of the Croats as well, religion played the most important role. The Croats took their Christianity from Rome. The bishops and priests of the Roman patriarchate worked among them from the outset with a view to educate them in the mould of the Western culture. (55) Religious instruction could be given to the general Croatian population only in Croatian, the national language. What pope Stephen V wrote in 885 to the Moravian prince Svatopluk held good also for the Croats in these ancient times: "As far as the instruction of the common masses ignorant of Latin is concerned, we both allow and urge those who know the vernacular to expound the Gospels and Epistles to them and recommend that this be carried out as often as possible." (56)

Accordingly the Western clergy evangelized among the Croats were forced from the outset to learn Croatian, to work out Christian and spiritual concepts in Croatian, to translate individual passages, to compose Croatian sermons and otherwise to formulate the catechism in Croatian. With this they laid the foundations of the Croatian church language and at the same time of Croatian literature in general. Some Croatian priest who was more intelligent and enterprising than the average, at the latest by the outset of the IX century put together and issued every Sunday a polished version of the Epistles and Gospels in a collected form which was used by saints Cyril and Methodius in their translation. (57) The edition of the Croatian gospels is the first written work in Croatian and in any Slavic language in general. From the end of the IX century when the Croats adopted the Old Slavonic liturgy, the Croatian priesthood developed a rich Croatian Glagolitic literature based on the Vulgate, the Roman liturgy and the hagiography and literature of the Western church. (58)

Latin was the diplomatic language of the Croats. They used it as such from their arrival on the Adriatic until 1847. Except those written in Croatian itself, the Croatian rulers and public officials drafted all their characters in Latin. (59) The Croats soon improved upon their own common law with institutions and statutes from Roman law. The spirit of justice, which today is highly developed among the Croats, is the heritage of Roman law and Western Christian culture.

Both the social and political life of Croatia developed under the influence of the West, particularly of the Frankish ruling dynasties and of Frankish feudalism. The Benedictines arrived in Croatia with the Frankish overlordship. They contributed the most to the preservation and development of Roman Western culture among the Croats as among all Western nations. The development of craftsmanship in Croatia came from the West that conducted a lively import-export trade with Croatia.

Byzantine priests and monks never carried out any work among the Croats who had no knowledge of the Greek language and were not really familiar with the heritage of Byzantine culture. The Croats had only superficial contact with Byzantium through their rulers and some dukes of the provinces. The general mass of the people never felt the influence of Byzantine culture any more than this.

To sum up, the Croats upon their arrival in the south entered into the sphere of the Western Christian nations. They developed their national and political life and their own culture under the influence of the Western Christian church and the Western nations. Accordingly the Croats are a distinctly Western nation in spirit and by their upbringing. (60)

Mutimir, duke of Croatia was succeeded by his son Tomislav (ca. 910 – 929). He was a capable, far-seeing and courageous ruler. Indeed Tomislav inherited from his predecessor a well-ordered and strong Croatian state. But external circumstances imposed upon him various difficult tasks that he resolved every time in a way that was favourable to the Croatian nation. On the north the newly arrived Magyars invaded and plundered Pannonian Croatia quite often. Tomislav heroically resisted the invaders several times, routing them and fortifying the Croatian boundary with the Magyars on the Drava and Danube. (61) On the east the Bulgarian Khan Simeon the Great led a long and hard struggle against the Byzantine empire. He wished to subjugate Serbia, Croatia's first neighbour to the east. Although the Croats had been on friendly terms with the Bulgarians for a long time, (62) Tomislav protected the Serbs every time, receiving them as his friends whenever they fled to Croatia to seek asylum from Simeon the Great. (63) Tomislav took special care to guarantee the power of Croatia on the Adriatic. To achieve this he made use of an opportunity that presented itself to him without using coercion or committing injustice. In the autumn of 992 the Bulgarian ruler Simeon invaded Byzantium for the second time and decided to occupy it. At this critical moment, to prevent the Croats from joining the Bulgarians, the Byzantine emperor Roman Lekapenus decided to invest the Croatian duke Tomislav with the royal insignia and to commit to him the administration of the theme of Dalmatia. (64) Tomislav gladly accepted this distinction at the hands of the emperor because thereby Croatia became internationally recognised as a quite autonomous and sovereign state. In the autumn of 923 Tomislav was crowned king of Croatia with a crown sent from Byzantium at the Croatian national diet that in all probability was held on the plain of Duvno in the heart of his state. (65)

In order to associate Byzantine Dalmatia with Croatia and to establish a unity of faith with regard to Rome throughout his administrative jurisdiction, king Tomislav, in accordance with the wishes of John, archbishop of Split, decided to summon a church council in Split. At the insistence of both, pope John X sent to the council his envoys, John, bishop of Subiaco and Leo, bishop of Palestrina. The pope wrote a letter to Tomislav and addressed it thus: "To our dear son Tomislav, king of Croatia, and Michael, the exalted Duke of Hum, to all the counts, all priests and to all the whole people of Croatia and Dalmatia." (66) This was the first time that an official dignitary of supranational authority called the Croatian ruler "king of Croatia", thereby recognising that Croatia at that time was in the eyes of the world quite an independent sovereign state. In this letter the pope instructed that the main agenda of the church council be the introduction of the Latin language into the religious services among the Croats.

In his letter to the archbishop John and his suffragan bishops the pope wonders that they have severed all ties with the universal Roman church for so many years. He remonstrates them for their silence and negligence with regard to the "doctrine of Methodius" i.e. the Old Slavonic liturgy, allowing it to spread throughout the Croatian dominions. He requested that Latin, the language of the Roman church, be reintroduced everywhere. (67) At that time Rome considered Latin to be the symbol and guarantee of the church's unity and endeavoured as far as possible to curb the use of the vernacular in the church services. Tomislav had to take into account Rome's position if he wished the Croats to remain a Western Christian nation still in connection with the Roman Christian church as they had been from their Christianization up to that time.

At the diet the decision was reached (article 10) that in the future the bishops would not ordain priests in the Slavonic language nor allow them to perform the liturgy in Slavonic. However, at the insistence of king Tomislav and the Croatian bishop Gregory, a clause was added stipulating that each individual bishop who was deprived of the services of a Latin priesthood, would with the pope's approval permit Slavonic priests to perform the liturgy. (68) Thus the actual situation in those times was indirectly acknowledged since the bishops did not customarily have a Latin priesthood to replace the Slavonic or Glagolitic priesthood in the numerous parishes and churches throughout

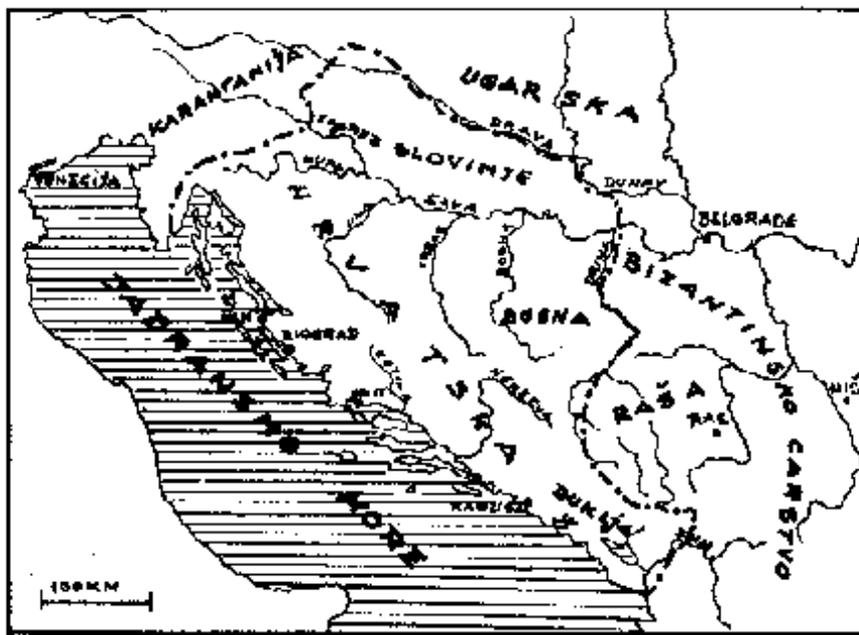
the Croatian territory.

As we understand from the twelfth resolution, king Tomislav and the Croatian nobility requested that the Croatian bishop Gregory of Nin remain in office as head of all the Croatian bishops in the Croatian territories as he had been before the council. (69) Naturally what was uppermost on their mind was that the bishop continue to ordain and to administer the Glagolitic priests as he had done up to that time.

At the second church council of Split in 928 to which bishop Madalbert, the papal legate, came on his return from Bulgaria, no one mentions the use of the Slavonic language. Rather it was decided that the bishopric of Nin be abolished and that Gregory should elect to be assigned to one of the vacant bishoprics of Skradin, Duvno or Sisak. Madalbert carried out the unification of the Bulgarian church with Rome, although Bulgaria was used to the Slavonic language exclusively in the liturgy. In all probability, Madalbert in the name of the pope omitted from the agenda of the council the question of the liturgical language and king Tomislav consented to the abolishment of the bishopric of Nin. During the three years after the last church council Tomislav became convinced that the bishopric of Nin whose jurisdiction extended over all the Croatian territories, hindered the unity of the church in his state and that bishop Gregory was not able to conduct his office throughout the whole of Croatia. For this office had previously been the responsibility of eleven bishops. Confirming the resolutions of the second council of Split, pope Leo VI instructed Gregory, bishop of Nin, to assume as his jurisdiction only the bishopric of Skradin. (70)

While Simeon the Great was preparing to be crowned as emperor of the Bulgars and the Greeks by the papal legate Madalbert, he decided to invade Croatia and to subjugate it so that on the occasion of his coronation his state might extend from the Black Sea to the Adriatic. Simeon was displeased with Tomislav's protection of the Serbs who had fled before him to Croatia and was afraid lest the Croatian king come to the aid of the Byzantine emperor in the final assault of the Bulgarians on Byzantium. In the early spring of 927 Simeon sent against the Croats a strong force under the command of his general Alogobotur. Waiting for him in the eastern Bosnian mountains, king Tomislav led him astray into the mountain ravines and so completely routed him that the whole Bulgarian army was cut to pieces. (71) This occurred on May 27th, 927. (72) When Simeon heard of the disaster he had a heart attack. Whereupon the papal legate crowned Simeon's son, Peter as the emperor of the Bulgars (927 – 969) and mediated in the peace treaty with the Croats. (73)

Having vanquished the Bulgars and concluded a favourable peace with them Croatia reached the pinnacle of its strength and power under the rule of its first king Tomislav. At that time it was the most powerful state in all of southeastern Europe.



Hrvatska za kralja Tomislava

CROATIA DURING THE TIME OF THE KING TOMISLAV

The first successors of king Tomislav

Tomislav was succeeded by his younger brother Trpimir II (ca. 929 – 935) who in turn was followed by his son Kresimir I (ca. 935 – 944). The latter left behind him two sons, Miroslav and Kresimir II. According to Croatian common law the king's sons had to divide the kingdom and to rule it with the oldest brother acting as regent. In the meantime Miroslav (944 – 948) assumed all the power in the land and allowed his brother Kresimir II no share in the rule. Ban Pribina, the foremost official after the Croatian king, rose to the defense of the cadet. In the discord that ensued Pribina slew king Miroslav. As a result, as Porphyrogenitus records, "there came about in the land much quarreling and great discord." (74) Caslav, grand prince of Serbia, took advantage of this and occupied Travinja, Zahumlje, Nerevta, Bosnia and the three northeastern districts of White Croatia, probably at the invitation of the disaffected. (75)

As the Porphyrogenitus records it, the military strength of Croatia during the reign of king Kresimir I consisted of 100,000 infantry, 60,000 cavalry, 80 large and over 100 small ships. (76) Such numbers can only be explained by the fact that in Croatia every healthy adult male was obliged to enter the military service for the defense of his homeland. The Croatian fleet which in 870 duke Domagoj brought to bear against the Saracens in Bari in southern Italy, must have been quite strong enough in order to effect the blockade of the Saracens and force the city to surrender. (77) The fact that the Croats throughout the IX and the X centuries ruled the Adriatic and forced the Venetians to pay them tribute tells us that the Croatian fleet in that time was considerable.

Around 960 when the Serbian prince Caslav was killed in the fighting with the Magyars, the Croatian king Kresimir II (948 – 969) liberated the districts of White Croatia and "all of Bosnia" from the Serbs and Predimir, the autonomous ruler of Duklja, liberated "all of

Croatia in the vortex of the struggle between Byzantines and Bulgarians in the Balkans

Kresimir II was succeeded by his son Stjepan Drzislav (969 – 995). During his reign there arose a severe struggle between the Bulgarian emperor Samuel (976 – 1014) and Byzantium. After his victory in 986 by the gates of Trajan Samuel occupied the whole of the central and eastern Balkans up to Thrace. (79) In this crisis the Byzantine emperors Basil II (976 – 1025) and his brother Constantine VIII (976 – 1028), in order to secure the friendship of the Croats, ceded Byzantine Dalmatia to the control of the Croatian king Stjepan Drzislav and dispatched to him the royal insignia for his coronation as king of Croatia and Dalmatia. This time the Byzantine emperors ceded Dalmatia completely to the Croats and Stjepan Drzislav from then on bore the title of "king of Croatia and Dalmatia" i.e. he was not the sovereign ruler not only of Croatia, but also of Dalmatia. (80)

In 989 the Bulgarian emperor Samuel conquered the Byzantine provinces of Dyrrhachium with its capital of the same name. Samuel was displeased that the Croats had entered into friendly relations with the Byzantines and in 990 or 991 he advanced against Vladimir, the autonomous ruler of Red Croatia, vanquishing him and taking him prisoner. However he soon married him to his daughter Theodora Kosara and handed Red Croatia over to his control, but under Bulgarian suzerainty. (81) Then Samuel penetrated into Western Croatia all the way up to Zadar i.e. as far as the city of Nin where the seat of the Croatian king Stjepan Drzislav was situated. But he could not occupy it. When Samuel returned to Macedonia through Bosnia and Rasa Stjepan Drzislav reestablished Croatian power in the whole of White Croatia.

Stjepan Drzislav left three sons behind: Svetoslav Suronja, Kresimir III and Gojislav. Because Svetoslav took all the power into his hands, contrary to Croatian common law, there arose a period of discord and struggle within the state, during which his two younger brothers with the help of the Croatian nobility, banished Svetoslav and ruled the state. (83) The Venetian doge Peter II Orseolo took advantage of these troubles and in 996 abrogated the payment of the customary tribute to the Croats in return for free access to the Adriatic. In 998 he compelled the Quarantine islands and the coastal cities in Dalmatia as far as Split to acknowledge his suzerainty as representative of the Byzantine emperors. (84)

In the meantime the Byzantine emperor Basil II conquered the Bulgarians and occupied all the territory formerly held by them, among which was Bosnia and the provinces of Red Croatia. (85) On the river Cetina, the boundary of Western or White Croatia, Kresimir III (ca. 997 – 1030) and his brother Gojislav awaited the emperor to present him with gifts and to receive gifts and imperial honours in turn. (86) In 1024 when there were uprisings in Venice against the Byzantine proteges of the Orseolo family, Basil II took over direct control of the former Byzantine province of Dalmatia.

Kresimir III was succeeded by his son Stephen I (1030 – ca. 1056). During his reign in 1036, Dobroslav, whom Byzantine sources call Stjepan Vojislav, descendent of the old Croatian ruling family in Duklja, fomented a revolt in Duklja and Serbia. After an initial failure, in the second revolt of 1040 – 42 he drove the Byzantines out of the country. (87) The Croatian king Stephen I must have helped Dobroslav in the fighting because Dobroslav acknowledged the suzerainty of the Croatian king after the victory as his parents and forefathers had done. In connection with this the diocese of Duklja came once more under the jurisdiction of the Croatian metropolitan of Split and between 1040 and 1050 the metropolitan of Dubrovnik ceased to exist. (88)

In the time of the second revolt of duke Dobroslav, the Byzantine emperor Michael IV Paphlagonius (1034 – 1041) was forced to cede Byzantine Dalmatia to the Croatian king Stephen I. The contemporaneous writer St. Peter Damian attests to the fact that the diocese of Osor on Cres and Losinj was "part of the Croatian kingdom" before 1042. (89) The Venetian sources mention that in those years "Zadar surrendered to the king of Croatia." (90) However in 1050 the Venetian doge Dominic Contarino succeeded in winning back Zadar. (91)

During the reign of Stephen I the bishopric of Nin was reestablished and its incumbent bore the title of "Bishop of Croatia". He was also the head of the royal chancery. (92)

The last Croatian national kings

Stephen I was succeeded by his son Peter Kresimir IV (ca. 1056 – 1074). With all his intelligence and diplomatic skill and without waging war he extended the Croatian state and restored the boundaries which it had during the reign of its first and greatest king Tomislav. Immediately upon his accession to the throne the weak Byzantine emperors, either Theodora (1056 – 57) or Michael VI Stratioticus (1056 – 57) ceded Byzantine Dalmatia to his control. With this act Kresimir came into possession of Zadar and the other regions, which the Venetians had taken from his father Stephen I. Therefore Peter Kresimir in the oldest charters of his that are preserved from the year 1060, calls himself "King of the Croats and Dalmatians." Pope Alexander II in 1063 calls him "King of the two Dalmatias" i.e. of Lower and Upper Dalmatia as was then called the land from the Rasa in Istria to the Drim in modern Albania. (94)

Peter Kresimir was a good and pious man. He took special care to bolster the religious and moral life of his people. He established the bishoprics of Biograd on the sea before 1060, Vrhbosna around 1060 and Trogir in 1063. (95) He erected several monasteries and richly endowed those that were already built. Seeing that he did not have any children and that his cousin Stephen suffered from a grave and incurable illness, Peter Kresimir in 1067 or 1068 made an agreement with Zvonimir, the autonomous ban of Slavonia or Pannonian Croatia and a collateral descendant of Trpimir's dynasty. Zvonimir became a vassal of the kingdom of Croatia and Peter Kresimir took him in as his court advisor. (96)

In his donation to the monastery of St. Krsevan in Zadar in 1069 Kresimir emphasizes with some satisfaction that "God omnipotent has extended our kingdom over the land and the sea" and calls the Adriatic "our Dalmatian sea". Kresimir at that time surrounded himself with his "counts, princes, bans, and chaplains." (97) These were the bans of Croatia, Bosnia, Slavonia and Duklja.

During his reign Peter Kresimir held in Croatia three church councils, in the spring and autumn of 1060 and in the autumn of 1063. (98) The first was held in Split where several resolutions were carried out in the spirit of the church reforms undertaken by the popes of that time. According to Deacon Thomas, at the council in the autumn of 1060 when the legate Tseudo proclaimed the pope's approval of the resolutions of Split concerning the Glagolitic liturgy, all the churches administered by Glagolitic priests were closed and much against their will, they ceased to conduct the religious services throughout Croatia. (99) Lj. Hauptmann (100) and F. Sisic (101), relying wholly on Thomas' account, accuse Peter Kresimir of espousing the cause of the Roman party and of the adoption of anti-Croatian policies. However we know from the record of the council of Split in 925 that the Croatian king and nobility did not agree with some of the council's resolutions, but could not prevent the bishops and papal legates from carrying resolutions unfavourable to them. (102) This must have been the case with Peter Kresimir in 1060.

Thomas' account could be true for the Dalmatian Roman cities and the surroundings where there were Latin priests to replace the Glagolitic priesthood. But in the purely Croatian regions where there were no Latin priests to replace the Glagolitic priests, no conscientious man, let alone a bishop or the pope, would close all the churches and forbid the Glagolitic priests to conduct services since they would thereby abolish the public worship in the whole of the nation.

Pope Alexander II himself, who writes that according to the council of Split it is forbidden in the future to ordain priests who do not learn Latin, refutes the statement of Archdeacon Thomas concerning the general interdict on the Slavonic Glagolitic liturgy. (103) Furthermore, in the resolutions of the council there was no mention that those priests who had already been ordained before the council took place were forbidden to conduct the liturgy.

One ought not to accuse Peter Kresimir and king Zvonimir on account of their anti-Croatian policies in the question of the Glagolitic liturgy. In the first place the facts tell us the following. There exists not one document to confirm that these rulers used political forces to eradicate the Glagolitic tradition. Secondly, in 1077 at the outset of his reign, king Zvonimir came to Krk to donate his royal domains there to the Benedictine Glagolitic monastery of St. Lucia in Baska. The abbot Drziha commemorated this in the Glagolitic script on a plaque in the church (plaque of Baska). (104) These Benedictines carried on the tradition lawfully and without disturbance not only during king Zvonimir's visit but even just before, during the reign of Peter Kresimir. When pope Clement III established the metropolitan diocese of Bar in 1089 he included with its jurisdiction "all the Dalmatian (Latin), Greek (using the Byzantine liturgy) and Slavic (Old Slavonic) monasteries." (105) Glagolitic monasteries there had not been founded only recently, but existed and even lawfully conducted the liturgy in Old Slavonic in more recent times when Red Croatia was subject to the Croatian king Peter Kresimir IV.

We have a great dearth of official sources, both Croatian and Roman, from this time concerning the use of Glagolitic in the liturgy. Nonetheless, everything indicates that as early as the reign of Peter Kresimir and more recently in that of Dmitar Zvonimir, the resolution of the council of Split ratified by pope Alexander II in 1063 was rescinded or considerably mitigated.

At the end of 1073 or the outset of 1074 Peter Kresimir died without an offspring. Before his death he conferred the title of "Duke of Croatia" (106) on his distant cousin Zvonimir and thereby explicitly designated him as his successor. However at the national electoral diet the majority of those present were opposed to Zvonimir since he did not originate from the heart of the Croatian kingdom, i.e. from Adriatic Croatia, but from northern Slavonia and was not considered to be one of theirs. Slavac, the powerful duke of Nerevta, was elected king and was crowned at the end of 1074. The general mass of the people and the lower clergy who were against the church reforms and the introduction of Latin in the liturgy supported him. The Roman cities were not satisfied with his election, nor was the western part of Adriatic Croatia. They called in to help them the Norman duke Amico from Amalfi. He took possession of all the Roman and Croatian towns from Zadar to Split in the spring of 1075. Amico attacked and by treachery or by deception took prisoner the Croatian king Slavac. (107)

Michael, ban of Duklja, was not satisfied with the election of Slavac. He seceded from the Croatian state and proclaimed himself the autonomous ruler of South Croatia. (108)

The Venetians were also disturbed by Amico's campaign in Dalmatia. For they foresaw the great danger to their free trade if the Normans from southern Italy were to hold strongpoints on the eastern shore of the Adriatic. Therefore from the beginning of February 1076 when most of the Normans had gone back to southern Italy to spend the

winter, the Venetian doge Dominic Silvic sailed out at the head of a strong Venetian fleet. He compelled the priors and bishops of the Roman and Croatian cities from Zadar to Split to swear allegiance to him and under pain of the most severe punishment never to invite the Normans or other foreigners to Dalmatia in the future. The priors and distinguished citizens of Split, Trogir, Zadar and Biograd on the Sea subscribed to this oath of allegiance. The agreement was approved and confirmed by Lovro, the archbishop of Split, Firmin, the bishop of Nin, John, abbot of the Benedictine monastery of St. Bartholomew and Prestantius, bishop of Biograd on the Sea. (109) Archbishop Lovro was a great friend of king Peter Kresimir and duke Zvonimir. All the other church dignitaries were from purely Croatian cities and localities. This tells us that the leaders of Croatia, both secular and ecclesiastical, from the region between the rivers Krka and Zrmanja, who were dissatisfied with the election of Slavac as king of Croatia were among those chiefly responsible for the coup that brought the Normans into Dalmatia in 1075.

Even the new pope Gregory VII interfered in the dynastic struggles in Croatia. He based his action on his interpretation of the secular authority of the Apostolic See, to whom Christ was supposed to have entrusted his care over secular kingdoms for the salvation of Christendom. The pope sent to Croatia his legate Gerhard, archbishop of Siponto, who in November 1075 held a church council in Split. In the charter, which Gerhard granted at the council to the Benedictine monastery of St. Krsevan in Zadar, the legate mentioned that it was "in the time of troubles, when duke Amico took prisoner the Croatian king. (110) Of course Gerhard must have also engaged in discussion with the bishops and the Croatian nobility about the new Croatian king, since ecclesiastical reforms in the context of those times could not have been introduced without the collaboration of the secular authorities.

After long negotiations the pope at the beginning of autumn of 1076 sent to Croatia his legate, the abbot Gepison and the bishop Fulcoin. They, on the solemnity of the Maternity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, October 9th, 1076, on the plain of Salona near Split, in connection with the general Croatian diet held the previous day on the feast day of St. Demetrius, patron saint of the new king, solemnly crowned the Croatian duke Dmitar Zvonimir (1076 – 1089) as "king of the Croats and the Dalmatians, by the unanimous assent of all the clergy and the people." (111) As we can see from Dmitar's donation to the archdiocese of Split which he granted on the day of his coronation, the following bishops were present at this coronation and swore an oath of allegiance to him: Lovro, archbishop of Split, Stephen, bishop of Zadar, the Croatian bishop Peter, Gregory, bishop of Rab, Prestantius, bishop of Biograd, Basil, bishop of Csor, Firmin, bishop of Nin, John, bishop of Trogir, and Dabro, abbot of St. Stephen in Split. (112)

This tells us that pope Gregory between February 8th and October 9th, 1076 compelled the Venetians without conflict to return to Croatia the Quarantine Islands and those cities on the eastern shore of the Adriatic which they still occupied at the beginning of February 1076. Indeed, only the pope could absolve the citizenry and the bishops of Dalmatia of their oath of allegiance sworn to the Venetian doge and empower them to swear an oath of fealty to the Croatian king Dmitar Zvonimir. (113)

During the whole reign of Zvonimir Croatia possessed in peace the Quarantine Islands and the whole eastern shore of the Adriatic. In 1077 Zvonimir personally visited the island of Krk and endowed the Benedictine monastery of St. Lucia in Baska. (1140) At the end of 1081 or the outset of 1082 in the Benedictine monastery of Osor a formulary of praises was composed in which the Croatian king Zvonimir was glorified along with the pope and the emperor. (115) In 1076 pope Gregory VII backed the authority of Zvonimir in the present-day Croatian littoral against Vecelinus, duke of Istria. (116)

In the Poljica addendum to the chronicle "Kingdom of the Croats" the times of king Zvonimir are described thus: "During the reign of good king Zvonimir the whole land was merry because it was full to overflowing with good things and the cities were full of

silver and gold...and the ornaments on the women, young men and even the horses were of more value than the whole property of anyone today." (117)

According to the old sources king Zvonimir died of a natural death. The Poljica addendum to the "Kingdom of the Croats" which appeared at the end of the XIII or the beginning of the XIV century state that the Croats killed their king because he requested them to go on a crusade in accordance with the pope's wish. (118)

After Zvonimir's death the Croatian national diet elected as king Stephen II (1089 – 90), the sickly cousin of king Peter Kresimir IV. He passed away after a short reign. (119) With him the old Croatian national dynasty which had ruled Croatia for a full 460 years was extinguished.

II. Croatia under Foreign Kings

Small men in great times

After the extinction of the national dynasty the Croatian national diet had the right and obligation to elect a new king who would establish the new Croatian national dynasty. However in those great and momentous times the Croats did not have at their head great and far-seeing individuals. Instead of agreeing among themselves and uniting, most of the Croatian leaders of that time selfishly and stubbornly sought to become kings. The national diet and the country itself became the scene of bitter party strife with opposing parties bitterly persecuting and destroying each other. Describing the political circumstances in the Croatian kingdom after the death of king Zvonimir and the short reign of Stephen II, Archdeacon Thomas of Split writes on the basis of old sources: "Great discord broke out among all the leaders of the kingdom. As now one, now another usurped the sovereign power to himself. Extortion, robbery, murder and every kind of crime became the order of the day. Indeed every day each persecuted, assailed and killed the other." (1)

Helen, the widow of the deceased king Zvonimir, led one of the stronger and larger parties. It was joined by the nobility of Slavonia (Pannonian Croatia) north of the Iron Alps and in all probability also by those from Western Adriatic Croatia who already during the reign of Slavac were for Zvonimir and his family. (2) They wished Ladislaus I, brother of Helen, to be king of Croatia. Accordingly, on invitation of his sister, Ladislaus went to Croatia in the middle of the year 1091 allegedly because "it belonged to him as his inheritance according to his dynastic right." (3) The Pannonian Croats received him amicably. He came as far as to certain ports on the Adriatic Sea north of the river Krka. From there he sent a delegation to pope Urban II in all probability seeking papal approval for his claim to the throne of Croatia and Dalmatia. This legation brought a letter from the king to the abbot Oderisi of Monte Cassino, in which Ladislaus wrote that now they were neighbours because "he had acquired almost all of Slavonia." (4) From this we can conclude that Ladislaus reached the Adriatic (5) and thereby adjoined the Italian states and that also Slavonia accepted him willingly as king so that he did not have to conquer it by force.

In the autumn of 1090 Tseudo, legate of pope Urban II, arrived in Hungary. (6) After his visit Ladislaus I passed over to the side of the anti-pope Clement III. This tells us that pope Urban II did not approve Ladislaus' claim to be king of Croatia and Dalmatia.

Ladislaus renounced the idea of becoming king of the reduced kingdom of Croatia and Dalmatia, but appointed his nephew Almos (1091 – 95) as king in Slavonia between the Sava and the Drava as an indication that he did not plan to annex to Hungary the

Croatian lands which he had acquired. (7) So that the lands beyond the Sava would be no longer within the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of the Croatian littoral, Ladislaus in 1094 established a bishopric in Zagreb that he subordinated to the archbishopric of Esztergom. (8)

In connection with Ladislaus' venture into Adriatic Croatia the population of the former Byzantine theme called in the Venetians. With the approval of Byzantium the doge Vital Falier (1084 – 96) occupied the Roman cities of Dalmatia in 1092. (9)

During all these troubles one part of the Croatian nobility convened at a rump parliament and elected as king of Croatia a certain Peter, who in all probability can be identified with Peter Snacic, king Zvonimir's ban. (10) Whereupon, after the death of Ladislaus in Hungary, the throne was occupied by the energetic king Koloman (1095 – 1116). At the invitation of his adherents Koloman went to Adriatic Croatia in the spring of 1097. On the northern slopes of the Iron Alps the Croatian king Peter waited for him with an insufficient force of disunited Croats. In the battle king Peter perished and Koloman reached the sea without further resistance. (11)

The Pacta conventa: Associated kingdoms

Koloman returned to Hungary in order to defend his northern possessions, but in 1099 was routed by the Cumans and the Russians. This encouraged the Croats who mustered and marched in arms to the Drava. Koloman was forced to negotiate with them.

At the end of the Trogir manuscript of the "Historia Salonitana" by Archdeacon Thomas a text is found in medieval script written thus: "How and by what agreement the Croats accepted as theirs the king of Hungary." (12) Historians are still discussing among themselves whether this text is authentic and even whether the Croats concluded an agreement with Koloman before his coronation in 1102 at Biograd on the Sea.

This text does not have the form of an official document of that time and there can be no question that it is a verbatim transcript of the original agreement. As can be seen from the transcript itself that it is a short summation, an account of how it came about and by what agreement the Croats had concluded an agreement with Koloman as their king. This text is an authentic extract of the official document issued after the Croats had concluded an agreement with Koloman in 1102. The extract was written in the Trogir manuscript only in the XIV century. (13)

The following indications tell us that the Croats indeed concluded a written agreement with Koloman.

1. In the first place there is the text in the Trogir manuscript against whose validity no one has stated serious objections.
2. Archdeacon Thomas mentions that king Koloman concluded a written agreement with all the Roman cities in Dalmatia (1105) before those cities acknowledged him as king. In these agreements Koloman guaranteed to all of them local autonomy, granting them immunity from royal taxes. (14) If Koloman concluded written agreements with each city and granted them various exceptional liberties, he must have been more inclined in 1102 to conclude a written agreement with the representatives of a kingdom that he wished to obtain.
3. In the agreement that Koloman concluded on May 25th, 1107 with the city of Trogir against whose authority there is no justifiable objection, we have incontestable evidence that he made a constitutional agreement with the

Croats before his coronation in 1102. (15) In this agreement Koloman bound himself not to take up quarters for himself and his retinue at the expense of the people of Trogir "when I come to you to be crowned or to discuss with you the affairs of the kingdom." (16) Koloman was crowned king of Croatia already in 1102. (17) Both in the Trogir charter of 1107 and in those granted to Split and Zadar, the king mentions that he is coming to be crowned. This tells us that the above mentioned manuscript has been copied directly from the Pacta Conventa that Koloman concluded with the Croats prior to his coronation in 1102. Likewise the mention of the king's arrival at the national diet to discuss the affairs of the kingdom makes sense completely only in view of the negotiations for an agreement with the Croats.

As can be seen from the foresaid text in the Trogir agreement, the main points of the Pacta Conventa made by king Koloman with the Croats in 1102 are:

1. Koloman will not unite the kingdom of Croatia and Dalmatia with the kingdom of Hungary, but these will remain separate, independent kingdoms, each with its own crown that Koloman will assume separately. Koloman's mention in 1107 that he is coming to be crowned tells us that in 1102 he guaranteed that his successors would come to Croatia to be crowned there with the Croatian crown, thereby signifying Croatia's independence from the kingdom of Hungary. As evidence that Croatia together with Dalmatia is a separate kingdom, different from and equal to Hungary, the king would in the future bear the title "King of Hungary, Croatia and Dalmatia." (18)
2. Koloman guaranteed that he and his successors would from time to time come to Croatia and to the Croatian national diets to decide on the affairs of state. In Croatia from the earliest times the national diet was the chief legislative body that decided on the principal affairs of state. (19) Indeed, the Croatian kings were constitutional rulers and not autocrats, as in Byzantium and Hungary up to this time. Koloman bound himself in the future to rule constitutionally in Croatia in accordance with the Croatian national diet.
3. Furthermore Koloman assured the representatives of the twelve old Croatian tribes that constituted the body politic at that time that they would enjoy in peace their old tribal patrimony and that neither they nor their people would pay any tax to the king. (20)
4. According to old Croatian common law each healthy adult Croat was obliged to go to war in the defense of his homeland. In 1102 the representative of the Croatian tribes guaranteed that each tribe, in the event of a defensive war or of one waged in the other royal domains, would send in aid to the king at least ten armed horsemen who would go on Croatian soil as far as the Drava at their own expense and beyond the Drava at the king's expense. (21) Both at home and abroad the Croatian troops would fight under the Croatian standard and be distinct from the main body of the king's army. In the original donation of Bella III in 1193, still preserved today, the prince of Krk, Bartul II, guaranteed that he would send ten horsemen to the king's aid in case of war within the Croatian state and four horsemen in case of war outside its boundaries each time that "the king shall levy the Croatian army in preparation for war." (22)
5. In the Pacta Conventa of 1102 the boundaries of the Croatian state are laid down from the Adriatic to the Drava. The Croats requested Koloman to assume as part of his title the phrase "king of Croatia and Dalmatia" in order to stress thereby Croatia's right to the former Byzantine province of Dalmatia, at that

time held by the Venetians. This region the Croats considered an integral part of the united Croatian kingdom as can be seen from the agreements concluded with the Roman cities in Dalmatia between 1105 and 1107 where there is talk of only one kingdom and one Croatian diet. (23) As can be seen from what has been said in point four, Pannonian Croatia or Slavonia was included in the united Croatian state. The Croatian boundaries on the Drava and the Danube from now on would often be mentioned in later political documents. (24) This is emphasized even in the royal title where by Dalmatia is understood the lands of the former Byzantine Dalmatia and by Croatia all the rest of the Croatian lands from the Adriatic to the Drava and Danube.

In the Pacta Conventa of 1102 Croatia preserved all the privileges of an independent and sovereign state: its own national territory, its own crown, its own legislative diet, its own army and its own finances. With the Hungarian kingdom Croatia did not enter into any political relations, except for the king himself, who in any case had to be crowned separately as king of Croatia. According to the Pacta Conventa of 1102 Croatia and Hungary became two associated nations. Although the Croatian nobility of that time with its rivalries and discord was to blame for the fact that Croatia no longer had any king of Croatian origin, it nonetheless preserved the sovereignty of the Croatian state and its unity from the Adriatic to the Drava and Danube.

The Pacta Conventa was a genuine international agreement between two independent and sovereign states: Hungary, represented by Koloman and Croatia, represented by the twelve Croatian tribes.

The major flaw in the Pacta Conventa was that the Croats did not explicitly retain the right of the Croatian diet to elect the Croatian ban and royal deputies in Croatia. Due to the fact that no proviso was made for this, the Arpad dynasty soon began to appoint Hungarians as bans in Croatia. This was detrimental to Croatia's national autonomy and independence.

The Croatian Diets: Guarantors and Preservers of Croatian Statehood

Besides the autonomous organization of the Croatian state into tribes and provinces, from the earliest times the Croatian national and political unity reached its fullest expression in the national diets. When the Croats in 1102 began to grant the Croatian crown to foreign rulers the Croatian diets became the guarantors and preservers of Croatian statehood in relation to those kings and their nations. From that time on the Croatian diets' statutes and enactments were legislated concerning the administration of the state and its defense against external foes. Also final resolutions were passed on matters of property, law and judicature. The diet took particular care to preserve Croatia's constitutional laws.

According to old Croatian custom the supreme ruler of Croatia presided over the Croatian diets. This custom was respected in the Pacta Conventa of 1102 and Koloman, who came several times to Croatia, held a national diet on each occasion. (25) However his successors of the Arpad dynasty soon began to leave it up to their deputies, whether members of the royal house or bans of Croatia, to summon and preside over the Croatian diets. As late as the XVI century statutes enacted in the Croatian national diets at once assumed full legislative force without the additional approval of the king. (26) At the general diet of the whole of the Slavonia in Zagreb, the minutes of which are preserved to the present day, Matej, ban of Croatia, who presided over the diet, confirmed the resolutions of the diet with this seal of approval. (27)

Community life in the tribal provinces, districts and clans among the Croats from early

times found its fullest expression in assemblies that met to discuss the community affairs. Members and representatives of the lesser political units went to the meetings of the larger units and finally to the Croatian national diet. (28)

During the reign of Peter Kresimir IV and of Zvonimir the Croatian cities of Biograd on the Sea and of Sibenik became free and royal cities, no longer under control of the local counts. After the devastation of the Tartars in 1241/42 more free cities arose, thanks to royal charters, in the interior of the country, especially between the Sava and the Drava. These cities were governed by their own bylaws and sent their own representatives to the Croatian national diets. (29)

In the XIII century, if not earlier, autonomous units began to be formed in Adriatic Croatia even among the peasantry. Since the members of these communities knew no other language than Croatian, the legal codes of these communities were set down in Croatian. This was the case with the code of Vinodol from the year 1288 and also with the codes of Poljica, Krk, Kastav and others. (30) The old Croatian common law was preserved in these codes in the form of corporate law, property law and jurisprudence. (31) These codes form the oldest body of law in any Slavic language.

From the Croats the Hungarians adopted the custom of holding national diets in order to limit the king's power. The Golden Bull of Andrew II in 1222 legalized the holding of these diets among the Hungarians. (32)

The Croatian Kings of the Arpad Dynasty (1102 – 1301)

The hopes which the Croats placed in Koloman I when they elected and crowned him king in 1102 were not misguided. He restored peace and order in the land. In 1105 he delivered the islands and coastal cities of the former Byzantine Dalmatia from Venetian control and once more made them part of the Croatian kingdom. (33) What the Croats appreciated most was that Koloman and his first successors respected Croatian tribal organization and autonomy. They ruled over the Croatian state without reference to Hungary through Croatian bans and royal deputies, in accordance with the resolutions of, and by agreement with the Croatian diets which met often. Still during his lifetime Koloman had his son Stephen II (1116 – 1131) crowned with the crown of Croatia. (34) His successors of the Arpad dynasty were also crowned with the Croatian crown up to the Tartar invasion of 1241. (36)

The love and devotion, which the Croats had for the Arpad dynasty grew when its members tired, together with the Croats, to defend the whole Croatian state from its external foes. This occurred first when the Venetians who in 1115 began to reconquer the islands and coastal cities of Dalmatia (36) and then when the Byzantines who during the wars of succession in Hungary occupied various Croatian regions. In 1164/65 the emperor Emmanuel Comnenus (1143 – 80) occupied all of Adriatic Croatia from the Iron Alps, including Bosnia, and submitted it to Byzantine rule. He called the regions from the Iron Alps to the Nerevta the "duchy of Dalmatia and Croatia" and from the Nerevta to the Drim the "duchy of Dalmatia and Dioclia." (37) As soon as the emperor Emmanuel died the Croats cast off the Byzantine yoke and incorporated the whole land from the Nerevta to the Crava with the Croatian state. In 1198 the Croatian duke Andrew (1197 – 1204) restored to Croatia Zahumlje from the Nerevta to Dubrovnik. (38)

Bela III (1172 – 1196) began to introduce Western feudalism into Croatia and by the practice of granting fiefs, honours and privileges he obtained the loyalty and fealty of certain Croats. This practice continued by his successors who ruled over Croatia until the fall of the Hapsburgs in 1918.

The Byzantine overlordship in Adriatic Croatia from 1165 to 1180 had unfavourable consequences for the political unity of the Croatian state because during this occupation the Croatian ban governed only the lands from the Iron Alps to the Drava and summoned the Croatian diets only for this territory. When Adriatic Croatia was liberated a separate ban was appointed for the Croatian littoral who summoned separate diets for this territory. This state of affairs continued for a long time and served to weaken the unity of the Croatian state. (39) Since that time the regions between the Iron Alps and the Drava, which in the time of the Croatian duke Koloman (1226 – 41) began to be called "kingdom of Slavonia", were once more called by the old name of Slovinje (duchy of Slavonia). (40)

Croatia during the reign of the Angevins and of Sigismund of Luxembourg (1301 – 1437)

During the reign of the last weak member of the Arpad dynasty, Ladislaus IV the Cumanian (1272 – 90) and Andrew the Venetian (1290 – 1301) the able and venerable ban of the Croatian littoral Pavao I Subic succeed in making Adriatic Croatia almost completely independent. In 1292 the king of Naples Charles II, on behalf of his son Charles Martel who was considered the lawful heir of the Hungarian-Croatian kingdom, granted Subic all of Croatia from Modrus to Hum as his hereditary right. (41) In 1293 Andrew the Venetian granted to him and to his descendants the banate of Croatia and Dalmatia and the dignity of ban as a hereditary right. (42) In 1299 Pavao became "Lord of Bosnia." (43) Whereupon the Subic princes of Bribir assumed complete control of the Croatian lands from Dubrovnik to the Iron Alps and from Modrus to the Drina, a territory larger than the Croatian state during the reign of some of the Croatian kings.

Ban Pavao, although governing as an independent ruler, did not consider it possible for him to proclaim himself king of Croatia. This the Croats would generally not have accepted because at that time already had quite a strong sense of justice and of the proper procedure to observe in regard to the succession to the throne. This would have also resulted in the complete secession of Slavonia where the Babonic formed a powerful and almost independent dynastic family. Therefore when a rebellion broke out against Andrew the Venetian, ban Pavao sent to Naples his brother Juraj who in August 1300 brought back to Croatia the young dauphin Charles Robert, grandson of Maria, the daughter of the Hungarian-Croatian king Stephen V. In a lengthy struggle in which the Hungarian nobility crowned various kings, Charles I Robert achieved final success with the help of the Croats, being generally acknowledged and crowned at last in 1310. (44)

Ban Pavao Subic belongs among the greatest Croats during the reign of the foreign kings. He died in 1312 and left his state to his eldest son and successor Mladen II (1312 – 22). He was an educated man, full of valour, but rash and vehement. His conduct fanned dissatisfaction in the country and king Charles I profited by it in order to strengthen royal power in Croatia. Mladen's younger brother, Pavao II, joined the insurgents and the king sent to their aid the ban of Slavonia, Ivan Babonic. Mladen was vanquished near Blizna, not far from Klio. Whereupon Charles I brought Mladen back to Hungary as a prisoner. (45) Then the king unified all the Croatian lands and entrusted them to the administration of ban Ivan Babonic. (46)

Charles I (1301 – 42) and his son Louis I (1342 – 82) endeavoured to consolidate their royal power in Hungary and Croatia and to centralize their administration following the pattern set by the French and the Neapolitan kingdoms. In Croatia they tried to carry this out through the agency of the Croatian diets which were often summoned, sometimes for the whole of the Croatian lands, sometimes separately for the littoral and Slavonian regions. However in Croatia they could never eliminate the tendency towards autonomy and independence. After the fall of Mladen Subic the ducal family of the Nelipic ruled almost independently over the Croatian littoral. When in 1345 Louis I broke

the power of the Nelipic family mostly with the help of the Bosnian ban Stephen II Kotromanic, the standard of Croatian autonomy was raised by the Palizna family, the Horvat brothers and especially the Bosnian ban and later king Tvrtko I (1353 – 91) who supported all the Croatian dissidents and strove to unite the Croatian lands under Bosnian hegemony. (47)

It was the great merit of Louis I with regards to Croatia that in a two-year war he defeated Venice and forced it to sue for peace in Zadar (February 18th, 1358). The Venetians returned to Croatia all of the islands and cities "from the middlemost Quarnerian islands to the boundaries of the city of Dyrrhachium." (48) The doge also renounced the title "duke of Dalmatia and Croatia." With this the kingdom of Croatia was restored from Istria to Kotor and from the Adriatic to the Drava and Danube.

Queen Maria (1328 – 95), daughter of king Louis I, and her husband Sigismund of Luxembourg (1387 – 1437) continued this centralistic policy in Hungary and Croatia. When after his defeat at Nicopolis in 1396 king Sigismund disappeared without a trace, the Croatian nobility proclaimed as king the Angevin Ladislaus, son of Charles II of Durazzo (Dyrrhachium). Although Sigismund returned to his kingdom via Byzantium and Dubrovnik, the Croatian dissidents with the great duke Hrvoje Hrvatinić (49) at their head invited Ladislaus to Dalmatia. Some of the Hungarian dissidents joined them there and in 1403 crowned Ladislaus king in Zadar. After three months Ladislaus returned to Naples and handed over administration of Croatia and Dalmatia to duke Hrvoje as his deputy. When Hrvoje was reconciled with Sigismund, Ladislaus in 1409 shamefully sold to the Venetians for 100,000 ducats Zadar with Vrana and the island of Pag as well as his rights to Dalmatia. (50) With this act the Venetian republic after 400 years of fighting settled permanently in Adriatic Croatia, where it was to enlarge its possessions and maintain them right up to its fall in 1797. (51)

Croatia under various dynasties (1437 – 1562)

With the defeat of the Serbs in Kosovo in 1389 a new and grave danger threatened the freedom and unity of the Croatian lands, namely Turkish power. Sigismund's attempt to check the advance of the Turks failed on account of the defeat of the Serbs at Nicopolis in 1396. (52) During the remaining period of his long reign Sigismund was occupied with his duties as emperor in the West and with his struggles against the Bosnian kings and the Croatian and Hungarian nobility, who opposed the centralist tendencies of royal power. His successor Albert of Hapsburg (1438 – 39), husband of Sigismund's daughter Elizabeth, soon died of the plague in a war against the Turks. His successor Vladislav I Jagellon (1440 – 44) perished in a defeat at the hands of the Turks at Varna. (53) His successor was Ladislaus V (1445 – 57), the son of Albert of Hapsburg, still a minor. During his minority Janko Hunyadi, who did much for the defense of the kingdom against the Turks, ruled in Hungary and Croatia. The Croatian bans of the Frankopan and Talovac families came to the fore in Croatia at that time. Thanks to the merits of his father the Hungarian and Croatian diets elected as their king Matthias Corvinus (1458 – 90), the son of Janko Hunyadi. At his coronation king Matthias swore an oath that he would guard the constitutional organization, rights and liberties of the kingdom of Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia. (54) Matthias restored the tarnished reputation of the king and took great pains to improve the lot of the lower gentry and the peasantry. He made an incorrigible error in that he did not come in time to the aid of Bosnia, which fell under Turkish dominion in 1463. His military campaign at the end of that year had only partial success: the liberation of Bosnian Posavina and the establishment of the banates of Jajce and Srebrenica. (55) In occupied Bosnia the Bogomils were converted en masse to Islam and so with the passage of time the majority of Catholic Croats. These Croatian converts to Islam became zealous disseminators of the new religion and since that time, with characteristic Croatian courage and persistence, they fought with all their might to

conquer all the Croatian territory, to convert it to Islam and to unite it all under the Bosnian sanjak or pashadom. (56)

At the Croatian diet of Zdenci in 1478 the first statute in sixteen articles was promulgated, authorizing a general levy in the defense of Croatia against the Turks. Therein was defined how and in what manner a general levy was to be carried out at the ban's order. Also defined is the "captain of the kingdom", who was to have special car of the defense of the home territory and along with the ban, to take charge of the Croatian army as well as act as the ban's right hand man. (57) King Matthias personally attended the Croatian diet of 1481 on the plain before the city of Zagreb.

Croatian culture progressed considerably during the reign of king Matthias and under the influence of humanism and Renaissance. Among other things in 1482 in Kosing in the province of Lika the first printing house among the South Slavs was established. There in 1483 the missal was printed in Croatian using the Glagolitic script.

The Croatian diet refused for two years to recognize as king Vladislav II Jagellon (1490 – 1516) because the Hungarians had included in the coronation charter the phrase "The Hungarian kingdom with its other subject kingdoms and provinces." The Croats recognized Vladislav only after he revised the coronation charter in 1492 and inserted: "The Hungarian kingdom with the other kingdoms, namely Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia, the regions of Transylvania and its (namely Hungary's) subject provinces." (59)

In 1493 the Bosnian sanjak-bey Jakub-pasha invaded Croatia and Carniola with a powerful army of Bosnian Croats of the Islamic faith, supported by the troops of the Pasha of Rumelia. On his return the Croats waited for him on the plain of Krbava below the city of the same name (modern Udbina). On September 9th, 1493 in a bitter battle lasting all day with equal courage and determination, the sons of the same Croatian nation fought, divided by religion and political boundaries. Through the fault of the inexperience of the ban Emerik Derencin (60), the army of Christian Croatia was completely routed. More than 9,000 Catholic warriors lay dead on the field. (61) A younger contemporary and Croatian chronicler, brother Ivan Tomasic, writes that this was the "the beginning of the end of the Croatian kingdom, in which perished the flower of the whole Croatian nobility." (62)

III. Autonomous Croatian States

A. Red or South Croatia

As Porphyrogenitus records it, the Croats on their arrival in the south in 626 settled in Dalmatia, Pannonia and Illyricum, occupying the whole territory along the Adriatic from Istria to Valona in modern Albania. (1) These regions divided at the diet of Duvno in 753 into two autonomous states: White or Western Croatia from the Rasa in Istria to the Cetina in modern Dalmatia and Red or South Croatia from the Cetina to Valona and the Himara mountains in modern Albania. (2)

Red Croatia was divided at the diet of Duvno into autonomous provinces: Neretva, Zahumlje, Travunja, Duklja and Illyricum. (3) Henceforth these provinces formed a political amalgamation more or less interconnected and all recognizing the overlordship of a sovereign Croatian duke, and later of a king, in White Croatia. According to the ability of the provincial rulers and the influence of external factors, some of the provinces came to the fore and exercised their autonomy more assertively. At the end of

the VIII century Nerevta developed into a strong maritime power which during the IX and X centuries fought naval battles with Venice several times on its own account and forced it to pay tribute in order to have free access to the Adriatic. (4) In the war with Byzantium from 806 – 17 Croatia lost Illyricum whereupon the extreme south boundary of Croatia was established on the river Drim in modern Albania. (5) Zahumlje developed especially in the first quarter of the X century. Its duke Michael Vusevukcic, next to king Tomislav, was the most prominent Croatian magnate. At the outset of the second half of the X century Duklja assumed the hegemony in Red Croatia. It was situated along the sear from Kotor to the Drim. There a provincial dynasty was in the making, whose head was officially called ban or duke, but the people called him king according to the ancient Croatian custom. (7) Vladimir, a member of that native dynasty of Duklja, ruled over Red Croatia at the outset of the last quarter of the X century. Seeing that Stjepan Drzislav, the supreme ruler of Croatia, had concluded a treaty of friendship with the Byzantine empire, the Bulgarian emperor Samuel invaded Red Croatia in 990 or 991 and took duke Vladimir prisoner. Soon he had him marry his daughter Theodora Kosara and entrusted him with the rule of Red Croatia, although under Bulgarian suzerainty. (8)

When Basil II broke the power of the Bulgarians in 1018, the Byzantines ruled over all the lands held up to that time by the Bulgarians i.e. all of Bulgaria, Serbia, Bosnia and Red Croatia up to the Cetina. (9) Following the death of the Byzantine emperor Roman III Argyros on April 11th, 1034, Dobroslav, the son of prince Dragimir, the uncle of St. Vladimir, ruler of Duklja, fomented a rebellion of the Croats in Red Croatia and of the Serbs in Rasa against the Byzantines. After initial failure Dobroslav, whom Byzantine sources call Stjepan Vojislav, in the second revolt of 1040 – 42 drove out the Byzantines and ruled himself over the land. (10)

Dobroslav was succeeded by his son Mihala (ca. 1046 – 81) whom Byzantine sources call "ruler of those who call themselves Croats." (11) He recognized the suzerainty of the Croatian kings Stephen I and Peter Kresimir IV, as his father had done, but in 1074 he refused to acknowledge the election of Slavac to the Croatian throne and so Duklja seceded from Croatia, becoming an autonomous state. In 1077 Mihala obtained the royal title and crown from the Byzantine emperor Nicephorus Byrennius. (12) With this act he established a new Croatian kingdom in Red or South Croatia. Seeing that there were dissenters in his state who did not approve of the fragmentation of the Croatian kingdom, Mihala gave the order to write the chronicle "Kingdom of the Croats". There the chronicler set out to prove that original seat of the old Croatian state was in Duklja and that accordingly Mihala was only reasserting an ancient and law prerogative. (13)

In order to consolidate his state and make it ecclesiastically independent, Mihala turned to pope Gregory VII and asked him to send to him the standard of St. Peter. As for the bishop in Bar, Mihala asked that he be given a metropolitan's chasuble. In a letter dated January 8th, 1078 the pope calls Mihala "king of the Slavs", but answers him that he will "recognize the honour of your kingdom" by giving him the standard and permitting him to use the metropolitan's chasuble only when he will have heard from all the parties interested and investigated the matter according to canon law. (14) We do not know how the matter turned out, but only that Gregory VII did not comply with the king's request. Only king Bodin (1081 – 1101), son and successor of king Mihala, succeeded in obtaining from the anti-pope Clement III the metropolitan's chasuble for the archbishop of Bar and the pope's recognition of the kingdom of Duklja. (15)

In the first years of his reign Bodin liberated Rasa from Byzantine rule. His two palatines, Vukan and Marko, both Croats from Duklja, originally from Ribnica near modern Titograd, ruled in his name and bore the title of grand princes. (16) This had crucial consequences for the future of Croatian Duklja. Indeed when, after the death of Bodin, struggles within the royal dynasty considerably reduced Duklja's fortunes, the princes of Rasa interfered in Duklja's affairs. For they considered it to be their original homeland. Finally Stefan Nemanja, great-grandson of grand prince Marko, completely

dispensed with the royal family in 1189 and rules over this ancient Croatian land himself. (17)

The Croatian population of Red Croatia was from early times Roman Catholic. The language of its liturgy was a mixture of Latin and Glagolitic. Stefan Nemanja and his brothers Stracimir and Miroslav, when they became rulers in Red Croatia, acknowledged the sovereignty of Rome. On November 25th, 1189 pope Clement III recommended Bernard, the new archbishop of Dubrovnik, to Nemanja and to his brothers as Catholics. (18) The Gospel of Miroslav was written in the closing decade of the XII century by Gregory, deacon of Zahumlje, according to the regulations of the Roman liturgy. It is dedicated to "the most illustrious prince Miroslav, son of Zavida." This gospel book was written in Croatian Cyrillic (Bosanchista) when this script, still in infancy, was influenced by the recension of Old Slavonic Glagolitic books taking place in Croatia. (19) Nemanja's eldest son, Vukan, and his son Djuro, kings of Croatia, were Catholics. (20) The archbishop Sava, youngest son of Stefan Nemanja, began to introduce the Greek rite in Red Croatia, when in 1219 he founded the Orthodox bishopric in Ston for Zahumlje and Travunja, and in Prevlaka (Boka Kotorska) for Duklja. (21) Seeing that the population of Red Croatia persisted in the original Roman rite, the Serbian kings, especially Uros I (1242 – 76) and his son Uros II (1282 – 1321), used force to convert the Catholic population to Orthodoxy. They expelled from office the Catholic bishops or forbade them to be ordained. They took over the parishes and monasteries from the Catholics and in their place put Orthodox priests and monks. In 1345 pope Clement (1342 – 52) asked king Stefan Dusan to return the "monasteries, churches, islands and villages which certain kings of Rasa, your predecessors, seized in their time and which you now possess." (22) This persecution of Catholics stopped when after Dukan's death the native Croatian family of the Balsic liberated Duklja from Serbian overlordship and reestablished its independence. The Balsic (1360 – 1421) then returned to the pale of the Catholic church. (23) The Crnojevic (1439 – 96) who ruled in Zeta, the mountainous part of erstwhile Duklja were Orthodox, but they were tolerant towards Catholics. They maintained relations with Rome and Venice. (24) When the Turks occupied Herzegovina in 1482 and Zeta in 1496 the Catholics were numerous in all regions of present-day Montenegro, particularly on the littoral from Budva to Bojana, in the region of Niksic and between the rivers Zeta and Moraca. In 1610 the ancient Catholic chief tribes of Duklja still existed: the Bijelopavlovic, Piper, Bratonožic and half of the Kuca. (25) During the XVII century because of the lack of Catholic priests and the enmity of the Turks who at that time were engaged ferocious wars against the Catholic West, Catholicism in Montenegro almost disappeared. One part went over to Islam, but the majority turned to Orthodoxy. (26) The old Croatian Catholics around Bar and in the regions of the littoral went over to Islam completely after the failure of the uprising of 1648. (27)

After the death of the last Crnojevic, Skender-beg, who ruled over Montenegro from 1513 – 29 as the Turkish sanjak-bey, a national theocentric state was created in Montenegrin Brda with the bishop of Cetinje at its head. Up to 1696 the bishops of Cetinje from various tribes and from 1696 to 1851 from the clan (bratstvo) Petrovic Njegos ruled over it. (28)

On Christmas Eve in 1709, on the instigation of bishop Danilo I (1696 – 1737), the Orthodox Montenegrins cleared Brda of all Moslems. Some of them were killed and some escaped by fleeing to the sanjaks of Herzegovina, Bosnia and Scutari. (29)

In 1851 under Danilo II it became an independent state and no longer under the authority of the church. Danilo II established as hereditary rulers the princely family of the Petrovic Njegos who proclaimed Montenegro a kingdom in 1910. (30) After World War I Montenegro was incorporated into the kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

Despite all the political and religious vicissitudes of Montenegro, as medieval Croatian Duklja was called from the middle of the XV century, (31) Croatian tradition was never

lost nor did the people forget their Croatian origin. With minor exceptions, foreign people never migrated to the stony hills of Montenegro. The descendants of the Dinaric Croats of the former Duklja, who even today speak the Ijekavian dialect with a strong mixture of Cakavian and with a Cakavian accent, have always lived there. (32)

Both the division of Montenegro into tribes and the tribal organization itself is of Croatian origin. In place names, national customs and traditions the memory of Red Croatia and the Croats is preserved. (33) When the Turkish chronicler Evlia Chelebia came to the region of Piva in present-day Montenegro among the Orthodox Montenegrins in 1664 he noted that "pure, original Croats" lived there. (34)

When during the massacres of 1709 and the enlargement of Montenegro in the XIX century the Montenegrin Moslems fled to Bosnia and Sanjak they took with them the Croatian name and gave it to their families and settlements. So we have the Hrvat, Hrvic, Hrve, Hrvacic, Arvat, Arvatovic families and the settlements of Hrvati, Hrvatsko Brdo and so on. (35)

In Istanbul the Montenegrin representative was called "Hrvat-basha". A Montenegrin woman in Istanbul said once to the writer Adolf Weber in 1885 "Here all, whether Wallachs or Catholics, are called Croats and this is their name from old times." (37) The Russian historian M.M. Filipov confirms this fact. (38) In an official document issued in Istanbul in 1863 mention is made of a certain "Dmitri Vickovic, head of the Croats in Zupci (Montenegro)." (39)

The elimination of the Croatian name and the Serbianization of Montenegro began in the XVII century through the agency of the Orthodox church. But there was to be no further success until the middle of the XIX century. The Orthodox bishop Peter II Njegos (1830 – 51) was the true apostle of Serbianism in Montenegro. Under the overriding influence of the Serbian propaganda of Ilya Garasanin and Vuk Stefanovic, Nejegos composed his great poetical work "Mountain Garland" (Gorski Vijenac). (40) This work, the glorification of Serbian orthodoxy, contributed to the Serbianization of the Montenegrin intelligentsia. However the general mass of people were subconsciously aware of their origin and knew that they were not Serbs. This fact forced the creators of the second Yugoslavia to create a Montenegrin republic and in the federal constitution to recognize Montenegro as a nation different from the rest of the Yugoslav nations.

B. Bosnia: Banate and Kingdom

Bosnia took its name from the river Bosna, called Basan in prehistoric times and Basanius in Roman times. (1) According to the division of the empire by Diocletian in 297 Bosnian Posavina was included in the Roman province of Pannonia, and the mountainous parts of Bosnia from Mounts Borja to Konjuh in the south, including all of Herzegovina belonged to the province of Dalmatia. (2)

The Croats settle in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 626

Porphyrogenitus, on the basis of ancient sources in Byzantine imperial archives, records that the Croats upon their arrival in the south settled the Roman and Byzantine provinces of Dalmatia, Pannonia and Illyricum. (3) Modern Bosnia and Herzegovina occupy that area and the Croats settled there when they arrived in 626.

This is confirmed by an old Croatian chronicle used between 1074 and 1081 by the

author of the chronicle "Kingdom of the Croats." This work is an account of the first Croatian ruler: "...he took the kingdom of Illyricum, that is, all the land lying on the side of Valdemija (Vinodol) right to Polonija (Albanian Apollina)...It reaches as far as Bosnia and includes Dalmatia...both the seaboard and the hinterland...Bosnia and all the land from Valdein right to Polonija is his kingdom, including as much the littoral as the hinterland..." (4)

The political organization of Bosnia tells us that the Croats settled in immediately upon their arrival in the south. Bosnia was a banate from the earliest times. Bans ruled over it without interruption until 1377 when the Bosnian ban Tvrtko I proclaimed himself king. (5)

The dignity of ban is a purely Croatian institution. It is known neither to the Serbs nor to the Bulgarians, nor to any other medieval European people. Therefore every region ruled by a ban must have been inhabited by Croats because only they could have given the ruler of their land the pure Croatian title of ban. Accordingly the dignity of ban indicates to us that the Croats lived in Bosnia during the whole of the middle ages from the earliest times.

The social organization of medieval Bosnia was also Croatian. For in that time it was closely connected with the Croatian lands. Even today archaeological remains of churches, of the courts of kings and magnates and numerous tombstones, the so-called "stecci", confirm this. They all bear the stamp of Western and Croatian civilization. (7)

History of Bosnia up to the XII century

The old Croatian work "Methodus" recording the proceedings of the diet of Duvno in 753 mentions for the first time Bosnia by name. At that time Bosnia was an autonomous province of the Croatian state. (8) However Bosnia still remained a part of the Croatian state which in the IX and X centuries bordered on Bulgaria on the Drina. In eastern Bosnia between the Mounts Konjuh and Romanija the Croatian duke Trpimir ca. 852 and the Croatian king Tomislav in 927 vanquished the armies of the Bulgarian rulers Boris Mihailo and Simeon the Great respectively. (9)

During the wars of succession in Croatia in 948 – 49 Caslav, grand prince of Serbia, occupied Bosnia and other Croatian lands east of the Vrbas and Cetina. For that reason the contemporaneous writer Porphyrogenitus includes a brief account of the "little land of Bosnia" in his work "De administrando imperio" at the end of chapter 32 in which he gives an account of the Serbs. (10) However ca. 960 the Croatian king Kresimir regained Bosnia for Croatia. (11) Since then and up until 1918 Bosnia was no longer part of the Serbian state or under Serbian suzerainty.

When the Bulgarian emperor Samuel occupied Red Croatia in 990 – 91, Bosnia also fell subject to him. (12) In 1018 the Byzantine emperor Basil II destroyed the Bulgarian empire and occupied all the lands formerly held by the Bulgarians, including Bosnia. (13) During the uprising in Bosnia from 1036 – 42 the Croatian king Stephen I liberated Bosnia from the Byzantines and united it with the Croatian state. (14) Around 1060 the Croatian king Peter Kresimir IV founded a Catholic bishopric in Bosnia. (15) The anti-pope Clement III made it a suffragan bishopric of the new metropolitanate of Bar in 1089. (16) This tells us that Bosnia had been associated for some time with the Croatian kingdom of Red or South Croatia. (17) Bosnia remained part of that state as an autonomous unit until 1138 when it became part of the associate kingdom of Hungary and Croatia. In view of this the Hungarian king Bela II appointed his son Ladislav "duke of Bosnia in 1139. (18)

The first Bosnian ban known by name was called Boric. He zealously aided the Hungarian king Geza II (1141 – 61) in his struggles with the Byzantine emperor Emmanuel I Comnenus (1143 – 80). (19) John Cinnamos, secretary and chronicler of the emperor Emmanuel, describes the return of ban Boric to Bosnia after the war in 1155. "When he approached the Sava he veered off to another river called the Drina which flows in another direction, dividing Bosnia from Serbia. Bosnia was not subject to the grand prince of Serbia, but is autonomous, it is a different nation, living according to its own customs and self-governing." (20)

Cinnamos, who personally accompanied the emperor Emmanuel into Rasa and saw with his own eyes how the people lived there and in Bosnia, here states incontestably that Serbs do not live in Bosnia, but only Croats because then as now there were only two nations living in the central Balkans: Serbs and Croats.

In 1164 – 65 the Byzantine army under the command of John Dukas occupied all of Croatia up to the Iron Alps, including Bosnia. (21) In the last years of the reign of Emmanuel, in all probability from 1163, ban Kulin, a near cousin of ban Boric, governed Bosnia. As soon as the defeat of Emmanuel in Asia Minor in 1176, and soon after that, his death, became known, Kulin drove the Byzantines out of Bosnia and occupied Donje Kraje around the upper Vrbas and the districts of Usora and Soli, then held by the Byzantines. (22)

Bogomilism in Bosnia

Ban Kulin was a good and pious Catholic his whole life, yet due to his ignorance in religious matters he actually helped the spread of Bogomilism in Bosnia. (25) Its founder was the Bulgarian priest Bogomil, who lived in the time of the Bulgarian emperor Peter (927 – 69). Bogomilism was actually a new form of the old Manichean dualism (Manes, d. 277). (26)

The Bogomils thought that there existed two principles: a good god and evil god. The first created all that was spiritual and the second, called Satan or the Devil, the visible world. According to this doctrine man's soul, a spark of the good god, is kept a prisoner in the body created by Satan. The human soul must be freed from the body and return to its maker, the good god. Once a man is baptised as a Bogomil he devotes himself to a life of penitence, renouncing the procreative act and abstaining from any substance connected with animal life. Accordingly the Bogomils renounced marriage, did not consume meat or dairy products, but fed themselves on cereals and vegetable produce. Only the "perfect Christians", the genuine Bogomils led such a life, and of those there were never more than a few hundred in Bosnia. The simple believers lived an ordinary life, but had to promise that before their death they would renounce the world and be baptized as Bogomils by the laying on of the hands and the imposition of the Gospel of St. John upon their heads. (27)

The perfect "Bosnian Christians", as they alone called themselves, lived in communal dwellings presided over by elders. The supreme head of the Bogomil hierarchy in Bosnia was called "Patriarch of the Bosnian Church" and was considered by the Bogomils as Christ's vicar, the true successor of St. Peter and their pope. The patriarch and his two chief assistants, the Grand Guest and the Grand Elder, in Bogomil belief received their authority by ordination from apostolic times, i.e. apostolic succession. The patriarch, his two chief assistants and the ten deacon apostles made up the Bogomil hierarchy. The Bogomils did not recognize the Christian church, neither Eastern nor Western, as a divine institution. They rejected the Christian sacraments, especially baptism by water as well as the Eucharist. They had no churches, but performed the services and conducted their prayers in the dining halls of monasteries, in private homes and sheltered spots. They

considered marriage a sin, but permitted it to simple believers as a necessary evil. (28)

At a historical meeting at Bilina near Zenica in 1203 the Bosnian Christians in the presence of ban Kulin and John de Casamare, legate of pope Innocent III acknowledged the control of the Catholic church and were proclaimed as true Catholics. (29) Under this pretext the Bogomils freely entered the homes of the Bosnian nobility and intermingled with all classes without restrictions. They won over to their side the majority of the uneducated Catholic Glagolitic priests, not to mention the Catholic Glagolitic bishops of Bosnia. The Bosnian bans Stephen (1204 - 21) and Ninoslav (1221 – 54) were of the Bogomil faith. (30) From that time up to the Turkish occupation of Bosnia in 1463 Bogomilism was one of the main political factors in the land.

When pope Honorius III realized that the Bosnian Christians were still preaching and holding to their ancient errors, he ordered his legate Acontius on December 3rd, 1221 to organize a crusade and to extirpate Bogomilism from Bosnia by force. The warlike Ugrin, archbishop of Kalocsa (1219 – 41) led the crusade. After initial success the crusade failed because then as later the Hungarians led the crusades mainly for political purposes, namely to subjugate Bosnia to Hungary. (31) In the fighting the Bogomils came forth as the defenders of Bosnia's freedom and therefore the patriotic Bosnian nobility admired them and fell under their influence.

After the failure of the first crusade Gregory IX (1227 – 41) sent the Dominicans to Bosnia to convert the Bogomils by their missionary work. They succeeded in converting to Catholicism the ban Ninoslav and his near cousin Prijezda the Great. (32) Since that time the rulers of Bosnia, bans and kings, were always Catholics. (33) Due to the fact that the majority of the Bosnian population, especially the nobility, followed the Bogomil creed, Bosnia became the first European state in which full religious tolerance existed and where the rulers did not force the citizenry to follow their creed but allowed members of different faiths to live in peace and to perform their services for the state as long as they were loyal Bosnians.

The Kotromanic dynasty in Bosnia

The same dynasty ruled in Bosnia from early times, in any case from 1138 when the country became part of the Hungarian-Croatian state. Ban Tvrtko I writes in 1336 that the grandfather of his uncle Stephen II was Prijezda the Great, (34) the near cousin of ban Ninoslav, (35) who wrote to pope Gregory IX that before him his grandparents ruled Bosnia, (36) which takes us back three generations or approximately to 1138. According to old Croatian common law the principle of seniority governed the accession to the throne in Bosnia. (37) From the middle of the XIII century the Bosnian bans and kings called themselves the Kotromanic, in all probability after Prijezda the Great who was the maternal grandson of the Croatian magnate Kotroman. (38)

The greatest Bosnian rulers were Stephen II Kotromanic (1312 – 53) and his nephew and successor Tvrtko (1353 – 91). Stephen II contributed in 1322 to the fall of Mladen II, the successor of Pavao Subic, ban of Croatia and lord of Bosnia. In connection with this that same year Stephen extended his power to Zahumlje and the following year to Tropolje (Duvno, Hlivno and Glamoc) and Krajina between the Nerevta and the Cetina. (39)

The Franciscans convert the Bogomils to Catholicism

It is especially to the credit of ban Stephen II that the Franciscan order in 1340 established the vicariate of Bosnia, a missionary organization for the conversion of the Bogomils to the Catholic faith through evangelical preaching. Henceforth generations of talented Franciscan missionaries from all over Europe would assemble in Bosnia: from Croatian Catholic regions, Italy, France, Spain, England, Germany, Hungary and Poland. (40) The Franciscan vicariate of Bosnia would be called the province of Bosnia Srebrenicka until 1517 and become a very important and influential factor in the later history of Bosnia and Herzegovina. (41)

Stephen II Kotromanic erected the first Franciscan monastery next to his court in Sutjeska and Mili by Visoko, where he built a crypt for himself and his family in the monastery church. (42) Already by 1376 the Bosnian vicariate numbered 35 monasteries with some 400 missionaries. (43) By their activity approximately 500,000 Bogomils were converted to Catholicism by 1400. (44)

Bosnia becomes a kingdom

The young and enterprising ban Tvrtko I consolidated his banate that he inherited from his uncle Stephen II, in his struggles with the Bogomil dissenters of Bosnia and with the Hungarian king Louis I. When Serbia's power waned after the death of its emperor Stefan Dusan (d. 1355), Tvrtko occupied Podrinje and Travunja. In order to emphasize the independence and sovereignty of Bosnia, Tvrtko had himself crowned king of Bosnia in the spring of 1377. Since the crown of Bosnia had never existed nor was recognized by anyone, Tvrtko had himself crowned once more in Milesevo (Podrinje) on October 26th, 1377 with the old crown of Serbia, stating that it belonged to him as grandson of Elisabeth, daughter of the Serbian king Stefan Dragutin. At the same time Tvrtko hoped thereby to obtain the rich tribute of Mitrovdan which the people of Dubrovnik paid to the Serbian kings. (45) During the dynastic struggles in Croatia following the death of Louis I (d. 1382) Tvrtko extended his power far into Adriatic Croatia and took the title of "king of Dalmatia and Croatia." (46) Tvrtko's intention was to bring together all the Croatian lands under Bosnian hegemony, but he was interrupted in this plan by a premature death in 1391.

The successors of Tvrtko I wasted their energies in the struggles with the Hungarian kings who wished to subjugate Bosnia once more to their authority. They were helped by selfish Bosnian aristocrats who attempted to consolidate the power of their families at the expense of the king's central authority. The most powerful of these magnates were Hrvoje Vukcic Hrvatinic (d. 1416), Sandalj Hranic (d. 1435) and his nephew and successor Stjepan Vukcic Kosaca (1435 – 66). (47) In 1448 he received from the emperor Frederick III the honorary title of "duke (Herzog) of St. Sava" from which his country took the name of Herzegovina. (48) The last king of Croatian descent, the Bosnian king Stjepan Tomasevic, was put to death by the Turkish sultan Mehmed II below Jajce on May 25th, 1463.



Razvoj današnje Bosne i Hercegovine

DEVELOPMENT OF PRESENT-DAY BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

The Islamization of Bosnia and Herzegovina

On account of the quarrels among the Bosnian rulers and because of the remnants of the Bogomils resisted the conversion to Christianity, Bosnia fell to Turkish domination in 1463. Apart from a small number of non-Slavic Wallachs and about 25,000 Serbs in Podrinje, at that time the population of the Bosnian kingdom was still exclusively Croatian, numbering about 750,000 Catholics and 80,000 to 90,000 Bogomils. (49) Seeing that the Catholic Croats were fleeing en masse before the Turks, the conquerors of the land, the sultan Mehmed II on May 28th, 1463 granted to the head of the Franciscans, Fra Angelo of Vrhbosna, the Ahdnam, a solemn charter guaranteeing that the life of the Franciscans would be spared and that they could retain their possessions as long as they were loyal to him. Moreover the sultan allowed all who had fled to return unharmed to their homes. (50) It is to the credit of the Franciscans that the Catholic faith held out in Bosnia and Herzegovina although it disappeared in all other countries occupied by the Turks.

According to the Koran and to the Moslem religious laws, all Moslems in Turkey, regardless of national origin, were full citizens with full rights and could attain to every position in the state. They paid fewer taxes and enjoyed various social privileges. Turkey did not force the monotheistic Christians and Jews to embrace Islam. They could remain in their faith, but lived like cattle with no social status, in order to maintain the Islamic state with their labour and payment of taxes. (51)

In the new circumstances in which they found themselves the majority of the Croatian Bogomils passed over to Islam in the first years after the fall of Bosnia. Only a few Catholic Croats converted to Islam in the beginning, mostly the kindred of those

prisoners who were Islamized after the fall of Bosnia, or of the Janissaries who, beginning in 1472, were being taken away by force as young boys from their Christian parents. (52) Generally the Catholic Croats clung fiercely to their creed and could not at all reconcile themselves to the loss of their freedom as a people and as a state. When the Turks began in earnest to extend their power to Croatia in 1512 – 13, the Franciscans and many Croatian Catholics secretly and openly became outlaws in order to work against Turkey. This was the reason in the first code of the Bosnian sanjak in 1516 a law was passed for the political persecution of Catholics. It read "Let all the newly erected churches be destroyed; and let those infidels and their clergymen who reside in them in order to watch on the state of affairs and to report to the infidel nations be severely punished...Let the crosses erected along the roads be taken down and let it be forbidden in the future to erect them." (53)

As a result of this law a severe persecution of Catholics got under way. Most of the Franciscan monasteries and the Franciscan and Glagolitic parishes in the Bosnian sanjak were demolished. These persecutions, sometimes severe and sometimes mild, lasted until the wars of Vienna (1683 – 99). The persecutions were sometimes localized and sometimes they were general. Among other things this resulted in a widespread desertion of the Catholic priesthood, not only in eastern Bosnia and Herzegovina, but even in western Bosnia. (54)

In order to escape an unbearable social situation and to preserve their faith, a part of the Catholic Croats migrated into the free Croatian lands and into other Catholic countries. Their number rose to about 300,000. This included the following Croatian people: the Bunjevci, Uskoci, Vodeni, Predavci and Sokci. (55) One part, particularly those who had been long since deserted by their Catholic priests, such as those in eastern Herzegovina and western Bosnia, placed themselves under the protection of the Orthodox church which enjoyed special privileges in the Turkish state. (56) The majority of the Croatian Catholics accepted Islam, completely so in the cities and trading centres, but only externally in the villages. These continued to live as Christians at home, while outside the home they made a show of being Moslems. They baptized and circumcised their children, publicly bore Moslem names but each one had his or her own Christian name, believing that the time would soon come when they would be liberated and called by their Christian names. These crypto Catholics were called "Poturi" i.e. half Turks. (57) They were found in all Croatian lands conquered by the Turks from the end of the XV to the end of the XVI century.

In 1624 there were about 900,000 Moslems in Bosnia and Herzegovina (67 percent), two thirds of whom were probably Poturi, about 300,000 Catholics (22 percent) and about 150,000 Orthodox (11 percent), mostly non-Slavic Wallachs and Catholics newly converted to Orthodoxy. (58) By the wars of Vienna the number of Catholics diminish by more than half, what with the migrations and conversion to Islam and Orthodoxy. After the migration of 1648 – 99 the number of Catholics Croats in Bosnia fall to 25,000 (59)

National consciousness in Bosnian and Herzegovina in Turkish times

The population of Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Turkish administration, although its faith underwent several mutations both before and after the fall of Bosnia in 1463, remained Croatian and was made up of the same people that had settled in the land in 626.

The Moslem Croats of Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially those educated in the janissary school and in the institutions of higher education in Istanbul, as the janissary elite and as educated state officials, contributed essentially to the ascendancy and greatness of the Turkish empire from the mid-fifteenth to mid-seventeenth century. Twenty-four of

them were grand viziers of the Turkish empire, among them Rustem-pasha Hrvat and Mehmed-pasha Sokolovic, considered the greatest Turkish statesmen of all time. Twenty-three Croatian Moslems were sons-in-law of the Turkish sultan. (60)

Both in Bosnia and Herzegovina the native Moslem Croats performed military and administrative services. In 1463 Bosnia was turned into a Turkish sanjak. Then in 1580 it was raised to the rank of a vilayet or pashadom and all the sanjaks in Croatia were subordinate to it: Herzegovina, Zvornik, Klis, Krk, Bihac, Pozega and Cazma-Pakrac. The seat of the Bosnian sanjak was Sarajevo, of the vilayet in Banja Luka from 1580 to 1639, in Sarajevo from 1639 to 1697 and in Travnik after the wars of Vienna until 1850. (61)

The Turks themselves, except for some military and civil officials, did not come to Bosnia, nor did any members of any other Asiatic nations. (62) There was never enough Turks even to form an enclave of the Turkish language in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Up to the wars of Vienna (1683 – 99) the Croatian Moslems lived in close connection with the Croatian Catholics. Catholic and Moslem families of the same origin frequently cohabited in the same locality. In some families the parents were Catholic and the sons Moslems, or the husband was Moslem and the wife was Catholic. Both the Moslems and the Catholics were aware of their Croatian origin, although others, and even they themselves, called them Bosnians and Herzegovinians. Both groups spoke the old Croatian language in the Ikavian form with a strong mixture of Cakavian. They still used the Croatian script, called Bosanchitsa. They retained many old national customs governing the family and social relations, as well as ancient folk superstitions such as fairies, witches and vampires. Today Croatian Catholics and Moslems in Bosnia form a distinct linguistic and organic community, different from the Serbian newcomers. (63)

That the Catholics and the Moslems of Bosnia and Herzegovina were aware of their Croatian nationality even in Turkish times we are prepared to demonstrate with the following evidence.

When the native Bosnians, Bunjevie, Vodeni, Predavci and others began to flee west at the end of the XV century and the outset of the XVI century they called themselves Croats and their contemporaries also. (64)

The papal legate Burgio writes in 1526 "Bosnia belongs to Croatia." Another papal envoy notes in 1580 that the Una is "the main river in Croatia." (65)

The Croatian writer Fra Franjo Glavinic, born in 1585 in Bosnian Glamoc, calls his language Croatian. In his work "Origins of the Province of Bosnian Croatia" he writes "The Bosnians are of the same nation as the Croats and their language is the same." (66)

When the native Bosnians of the Catholic creed entered Turkish military service they called themselves "Croatian heroes." The Turkish chronicler Evila Chelebia, who travelled through Bosnia several times in the XVII century, notes this name more than once. (67) Chelebia notes that the Orthodox inhabitants of Montenegrin Piva were "pure, genuine Croats." (68)

Fra Lovro Sitovic of Ljubuski, born a Moslem, regularly calls his language Croatian. In the introduction to his grammar, intended for the use of young Franciscans in Dalmatia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Slavonia and Backa, he addresses everyone with the same salutation "We Croats." (69)

The Moslems of Bosnia and Herzegovina were not ashamed of their Croatian name and language. Some grand viziers were particularly proud of the Croatian name, so that even today Turkish historians call them Croats. So we find names like Mahmud-pasha Hrvat,

Rustem-pasha Hrvat, Sijavush-pasha Hrvat, Murad-pasha Hrvat and so on. (70) The Moslem Croats of the janissary schools in Istanbul not only spoke Croatian in the function of their duties throughout the empire but also even compelled other officials of other nations to learn and speak Croatian. In this way they were even emulated by certain sultans, such as Suleiman the Magnificent. On same subject the Viennese emissary A. Pigafetta writes in 1567: "They spoke Croatian. In Istanbul it is the custom to speak Croatian and all the Turks in the civil service and particularly in the army are familiar with it." (71) From the XV to the XVII century the Croatian language was the second diplomatic language in the Turkish empire. (72)

Mehmed-pasha Sokolovic (ca. 1510 – 79), born in eastern Bosnia near Visegrad, after having completed his higher education with outstanding honours, was asked by Suleiman II where he came from and he replied "from Croatia." (73)

In 1589 the emissary of the Bosnian vizier concluded an agreement with F. Nani, the Venetian providore in Dalmatia. The Bosnian emissary writes: "Therefore we, the aforesaid Hodaverdi, a non-commissioned officer in the Turkish army, wished to do right by this affair and to write two books in Turkish and two in Croatian." (74)

Bosnia and Herzegovina from the wars of Vienna (1683 – 99) to the Austro-Hungarian occupation in 1878

During the wars of Vienna and the successive wars waged by the Western nations against Turkey up to 1878, the Moslems of Bosnia successfully kept Bosnia from becoming Christian. Even the "Poturi", who for several generations were forbidden to communicate with Catholic priests, finally became convinced Moslems. Those Croats who were converted to Islam in Dalmatia, Like, Slavonia and southern Hungary returned to Bosnia and Herzegovina when those lands passed into Christian hands. These returnees numbered about 100,000. (75) Seeing that the Catholic Croats participated in wars waged by the Western powers against Turkey, the Moslems of Bosnia and Herzegovina excluded themselves from any contact with them. They associated Islam with the name of Bosnia and forgetting their Croatian origin proclaimed themselves Bosnians.

The revival of Croatian consciousness among the Moslems of Bosnia and Herzegovina began in the first half of the XIX century and developed especially toward the end of that century when they began to attend Western institutions of higher learning, to study the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina and to discover their affinities with the other Croatian peoples. (76)

Of the present-day Moslems of Bosnia and Herzegovina 80 – 85 % are descended from native Croats of these lands, either former Bogomils or Catholics; 12 – 13 % from Moslem Croats who immigrated from the surrounding Croatian regions and from Montenegro; and finally 3 – 5 % are of Turkish or other foreign origin. (77)

B. Dubrovnik and its Republic

Origins of the Dalmatian city of Ragusa

In the southwestern part of present-day Dubrovnik, on a rocky elevation, a small settlement called Hrausion was situated in Illyrian times. It was separated from the mainland by a channel. At one time the "Stradun" ran along it (the modern Placa). (1) When the Avars, together with the Slavs of the first migration, destroyed the city of

Epidaurum, situated on the site of modern Cavtat, at the outset of the VII century, some of the citizens saved themselves by seeking refuge in Hrausion, located ca. 15 kilometres northwest of Epidaurum. As Porphyrogenitus records on the basis of older sources, quite a few dignitaries from the chief city of Salona sought refuge in this spot when Salona was destroyed in 614/15. (2)

When the Croats liberated Dalmatia from the Avars in 626 they settled on the slopes of the hill of St. Sergius as far as the channel dividing Hrausion from the mainland. Seeing that this region was wooded the Croats called it Dubrava, from which the main settlement lying opposite Hrausion took the name Dubrovnik.

John of Ravenna, metropolitan of Split, ca. 643 established a diocese in Hrausion to look after the remnants of the Christians in that town and to Christianize the Croats in the surrounding regions. (3) The anonymous author from Ravenna, in the third quarter of the VII century, mentions this settlement as a city known under the Latin name of Ragusium and called Ragusa by the native Romans. (4)

With the steady rise in the birthrate and the recent immigration of Illyro-Romans from the nearby surroundings fleeing the Narentian Croats, the population increased and the city limits had to be expanded several times. Finally the channel dividing the Roman town of Ragusa from the Croatian settlement of Dubrovnik was filled in and it became one city. Porphyrogenitus describes it thus: "At first they built a little town, then a larger one. After that the walls were rebuilt on a larger perimeter, until finally by gradual expansion and with the increase of the population they created this present city." (5)

Ragusa – Dubrovnik under Byzantine rule

Ragusa was one of the five cities which, being on the eastern shore of the Adriatic, remained under Byzantine rule when the Croats settled in those regions. (6) By the middle of the IX century the city was already so well fortified that it was able to hold out against a fifteen month siege by the Saracens from North Africa in 866 – 67. (7) When the Croats of South Croatia and others in 870 went to the aid of the Frankish emperor Louis II to liberate Bari in southern Italy from the Saracens, the Ragusans ferried them over. (8) This tells us that already by that time Ragusa had an important fleet and was beginning to develop as a commercial city.

In order that they might have free use of the land in the vicinity of their city, beginning in 879 Ragusa paid a yearly tribute of 36 gold pieces to the Croatian princes of Zahumlje and Travunja. (9) During the reigns of Tomislav (923 – 29) and Drzislav (969 – 95) Ragusa, together with all of Byzantine Dalmatia, was under Croatian suzerainty. (10)

When in 990 – 91 the Bulgarian emperor Samuel occupied Red Croatia, Ragusa also passed under his domination. In order to remove the Catholic bishops in the conquered territory from the authority of the metropolitan of Split who continued to exercise his jurisdictional authority in unconquered White Croatia, Samuel obtained from pope Gregory V (996 – 99) permission to raise the bishopric of Dubrovnik to the rank of metropolitanate or archbishopric. (11) In 1018 when Basil II destroyed the Bulgarian empire and took Bosnia and Red Croatia under his control, he reorganized these lands into a separate Byzantine theme with its seat in Ragusa. (12) Consequently Ragusa began to grow in importance and to develop with increased vigour.

During the uprising of 1036 – 42 Dobroslav, duke of Duklja, liberated Red Croatia from Byzantine control and acknowledged the suzerainty of the Croatian king Stephen I who came to his aid. (13) Because Ragusa remained under Byzantine authority, the bishops

of Red Croatia once more came under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Split. The result of this was that the archdiocese of Dubrovnik was abolished for lack of suffragan diocese. (14)

At the outset of the reign of the Croatian king Peter Kresimir IV (ca. 1056 – 74) Byzantium handed over Upper and Lower Dalmatia, including Ragusa, to his control. (15) In 1074 when under Mihala, duke of Duklja, Red Croatia seceded from the united Croatian kingdom, Ragusa did not acknowledge Mihala's authority. (16)

During the war waged by the Normans against Byzantium and Venice from 1081 to 1085 Ragusa joined the Norman cause in their fight against Byzantium with whom the Ragusans, as avowed Catholics, had become quite estranged because of the schism of 1054. According to the "Chronicle of Pop Dukljanin" king Bodin (1081 – 1101) waged war against Ragusa and occupied it because his rivals in the dynastic struggles in Duklja fled to it for protection. (17) Dubrovnik soon seceded from the authority of Duklja and made great progress in its development. In 1120 Dubrovnik succeeded in obtaining from pope Callixtus II the bull "De Domini sapientia" which granted to the diocese of Dubrovnik the right of a metropolitan see in those dioceses specified by the bull's privileges and represented by Gerhard bishop of Dubrovnik. (18) The Byzantine emperor Emmanuel Comnenus (1143 – 80) occupied Duklja, including Ragusa, from 1149 to 1151. Since he considered it an ancient Byzantine possession, the emperor was very gracious in his dealings with the city and careful in his treatment of religious questions. (19) However in the autumn of 1171, when the doge of Venice Vital Michieli led a sizeable fleet against Byzantium and reached Dubrovnik, the city opened its gates to him and concluded a favourable treaty with him which served as a precedent for future agreements and as a basis on which to cement relations between Dubrovnik and Venice. (20)

Following the death of emperor Emmanuel in 1180 the grand prince of Serbia Stefan Nemanja wished to extend the limits of his state to the sea and to subjugate all the cities from the Neretva to the Drim in Albania. Foreseeing the danger Dubrovnik submitted to the protection of the Normans (1186 – 90). (21) Nemanja and his brother Miroslav waged war on Dubrovnik without success and in 1186 the brothers concluded peace with the city. In this peace, the proceeding drawn up in Latin, Nemanja and his brother granted the people of Dubrovnik free trade in all their countries. (22) In 1189 the Ragusans concluded a very favourable commercial treaty with the Bosnian ban Kulin, written in Croatian. In this treaty the name Ragusa was not mentioned, but only Dubrovnik. (23)

Ragusa – Dubrovnik becomes Croatian

The Slavs of the first migration did not settle on the islands and the littoral from Neretva to the Bay of Kotor or on the entire Dalmatian littoral. (24) Only the Croats settled in those regions upon their arrival in 626. (25) They settled particularly in Dubrava and in the neighbouring regions around Ragusa. Porphyrogenitus records that "the Croats hindered" the Roman citizens of Ragusa from cultivating the land around them during the time of emperor Basil (867 – 86). (26) This tells us that the Croats were immediate neighbours of Ragusa. When the Croatian settlement of Dubrovnik, lying opposite Ragusa, merged with the Roman city, the result was that the Croatian population became an integral and considerable part of the new city of Ragusa – Dubrovnik. Most probably Ragusa and Dubrovnik merged into a single community when Ragusa became the chief city to the Byzantine military province of Red Croatia and Bosnia from 1018 – 1042. (27) In the first Statute of the city from the year 1272 Ragusa and Dubrovnik form one community – *communitas Ragusina*. (28)

Ragusa and its nobility continued to be Croatized when the Ragusans married the Croats from the surrounding vicinity and when prominent families from the surrounding regions and remote areas inhabited by Catholic Croats settled in Ragusa. This influx of Croats into Ragusa reached its peak from 923 to 1074, which is from the reign of king Tomislav to that of king Peter Kresimir IV, when the Croatian kings either governed or had under their control Byzantine Dalmatia including Ragusa. (29)

An old Ragusan tradition (30) as well as the church of St. Stephen mentioned by Porphyrogenitus in his work "De administrando imperio" attest to the close relations between the Croats and the Ragusans in the early times. That church was the work of Croatian builders and was richly decorated with Croatian tropets. (31) The fact that from the XI century the prince's deputy in Ragusa was called by the Croatian title of ban attests to the presence of quite a numerous Croatian population in the early times. (32) It is our opinion that this was the title conferred on the head of the Croatian community in Dubrovnik and when the two towns merged, the ban became the deputy to the head of the combined towns of Ragusa and Dubrovnik. The Arab geographer Ibn Idris writes in 1154 that Dubrovnik is the last great "city of Croatia." (33)

The oldest preserved official documents of the community of Dubrovnik from the XI and XII centuries tell us that already by then a considerable part of the nobility and officials of Dubrovnik had been Croatized. (34) In a treaty with the Bulgarian emperor Michael Asen in 1253 the members of the Lesser and Greater Councils and the other officials of Dubrovnik all bore Croatian Christian names and surnames. (35)

The Serbs did not take part in the Slavization of Ragusa. They only reached the Adriatic just by the end of the XII century (36), when Ragusa already had been for the most part Croatized. Moreover the Serbs were mostly pagans until the time of emperor Basil I (867 – 86). Afterwards they were converted to Orthodoxy and after the schism of 1054 remained loyal to Orthodoxy. (37) The Ragusans who from early times were zealous Catholics and devoted to the Roman liturgy and church life, refused to marry Orthodox Serbs and even forbade them to settle in the city. (38)

Dubrovnik under Venetian overlordship (1205 – 1358)

During the fourth crusade (1202 – 04) Venice occupied Byzantium and many territories of the former Byzantine empire. Thereby it became one of the great European powers. In 1205 Dubrovnik had to recognize the overlordship of Venice but concluded an agreement with the Venetians in which the city's autonomy was guaranteed. (39) From that time on the prince or rector of Dubrovnik was a Venetian, but he governed the city in conjunction with the municipal council in accordance with the established customs of the city. In conjunction with the prince the citizens of Dubrovnik conducted their domestic and foreign policies with a good measure of independence. Without asking for Venice's approval they conducted commercial and other treaties with foreign cities and states. The protection of the powerful 'Republic of St. Mark' enabled the Ragusans to develop without hindrance their trade relations with all the countries of the Mediterranean. (40) Dubrovnik had a trade agreement with the rich maritime republic of Pisa as early as 1169. In this period Dubrovnik formed alliances and trade relations with the kingdoms of Naples and Spain. In particular it developed and almost completely controlled the trade and mining industry of the Slavic countries of the Balkans: Bosnia, Serbia and Bulgaria. (41)

Dubrovnik under the protection of the kingdom of Hungary and Croatia (1358 – 1526)

By the peace of Zadar in 1358 the Venetians were forced to cede all of Dalmatia, including Dubrovnik, considered part of the old kingdom of Croatia and Dalmatia, to the Hungarian king Louis I. (42) After mutual agreement Louis, by the charter of May 27th, 1358 took Dubrovnik under his protection and bound himself to respect the established regulations and freedom of the city. On their side the Ragusans bound themselves to pay an annual tribute of 500 ducats to the king and to assist him in his naval campaigns by providing one ship for every thirty provided by the king. (43)

With this treaty Dubrovnik really became an independent republic. Henceforth it was wholly responsible for its own protection and for the development of its trade. From 1359 to 1361 Dubrovnik waged war with the Serbian magnate Vojislav and from 1370 to 1371 with Nikola Altomanovic. (44) Still more arduous were the wars waged by Dubrovnik against the Bosnian king Ostoja (1403 - 04), duke Radoslav Pavlovic (1430 - 31) and Stjepan Kosaca (1451 - 54). (45) Thanks to its wealth and its allies from the neighbouring states Dubrovnik always managed to skirt every perilous situation without grave consequences. The golden era in Dubrovnik's history lasted from 1359 to the major earthquake of 1667.



Zemljišni prostor Dubrovačke republike

LANDS BELONGING TO THE REPUBLIC OF DUBROVNIK

Territorial expansion of the Republic of Dubrovnik

In order to use the land in its immediate vicinity, Ragusa in 879 began to pay a yearly tribute of 36 ducats each to the Croatian princes of Zahumlje and Travunja. (46) The Ragusans planted vineyards and later claimed those lands for themselves, but continued to pay rent to the princes until Turkish times.

The island of Lastovo submitted to the authority of Dubrovnik in 1272. (47) In 1333 the Serbian king Stefan Dusan sold Ston and the peninsula of Rat (Peljesac) to Dubrovnik for a lump sum of 8,000 perpers plus 500 perpers annuity. (48) Dusan then embarked on a policy of removing all Serbs from the land sold, so that only native Croats remained on

Ston and Rat. Seeing that Ston and Rat originally belonged to Zahumlje, Dubrovnik bound itself to pay a yearly tribute of 500 perpers to the Bosnian bans of the Kotromanic dynasty, the masters of Zahumlje at the time. (50)

In the second half of the XIV century Dubrovnik took over the island of Mljet, owned by the local Benedictines. It had been a gift to them from the princes of Zahumlje to whom the island originally belonged. (51)

In 1399 the Bosnian king Stephan Ostoja sold to Dubrovnik the littoral from Zaton to Ston, so that the possessions of Dubrovnik extended without the interruption from the peninsula to Rat to the city itself. (52)

Dubrovnik acquired the fertile district of Konavlje in tow stages: the first half was purchased from the Bosnian duke Sandalj Hranic in 1419 (53) and the second, including Cavtat, from duke Radoslav Pavlovic in 1427. (54) At that time it was inhabited by the old Croatian Catholic, Bogomil and Orthodox populations.

With all these purchases the territory of the republic of Dubrovnik extended from the mouth of the bay of Boka Kotorska to the head of the peninsula of Rat, an overall length of 170 kilometres. Dubrovnik ruled over this territory until the dissolution of the republic in 1808.

Dubrovnik finally became a fully Croatian state with its political expansion into regions occupied by a purely Croatian population during the XIV and at the outset of the XV century. Although according to the customs then in use and for the sake of foreign trade Latin was employed, but Croatian was spoken at home. By that time the last Roman families in Dubrovnik had been Croatized by the environment and through intermarriage.

Political organization of the Republic of Dubrovnik

According to the customs of the late Roman empire Ragusa was governed in early times by a prince called a comes with consuls and judges in accordance with the decrees of a general assembly of the citizens. These made up the "community of Ragusa." The popes addressed their letters "to the prince and people of Ragusa." (55) In 1169 – 70 the borough of the plain of Popovo wrote: "To the prince and municipality of Dubrovnik." Here for the first time the Croatian name of the city is mentioned in a verifiable source. (56) In 1186 Stefan Nemanja and his brother Miroslav concluded a peace treaty with Dubrovnik "in the presence of prince Gervasius, all the nobles and the whole people." (57)

Under the overlordship of Venice the nobility gathered all the more into their hands the reins of government. In 1235 the Lesser and Greater Councils are mentioned along with the prince, but the general assembly of all the citizens still had the final say in all resolutions. (58) Before 1243 a senate was created. When in 1272 prince Marko Justinian codified all common laws up to his time and proposed the Statute of the Municipality of Dubrovnik, it was discussed and passed at the first by the Lesser and Greater Councils, then by the local nobility and was finally presented to a general assembly of all the citizens, who at last put it into force. (59) In this Statute the nobility secured for itself the right to govern the city in conjunction with the prince. According to the agreement with king Louis I in 1358 the nobility assumed all the power in the republic of Dubrovnik. From then on the Greater Council i.e. the assembly of all adult males of the nobility, became the supreme political authority and legislative body. By prior agreement it usually held a session once a month. The Greater Council elected the prince and the members of the Lesser Council and the senate. From 1358 the prince was

elected once a month with the proviso that the same person could not be re-elected for the next two calendar years. The Lesser Council of the eleven members was elected once a year. It represented the executive body and conferred with the prince several times a week on matters of immediate importance. The senate had 45 members and in it were enrolled all the members of the Lesser Council. It deliberated on all the matters of domestic and foreign policy, and the Lesser Council, in conjunction with the prince, had to put them into effect. (60)

Dubrovnik as a Turkish protectorate (1526 – 1806)

Dubrovnik first came into contact with the Turks through its commerce immediately after the battle of Kossovo in 1389, when the Turks occupied the central Balkans. It carried on a particularly lively trade with the Turkish warlords of the western regions of Skoplje. (63) In 1430 Sultan Murad II granted privileges to Dubrovnik, opening up its trade with the Turkish empire. (64) In return Dubrovnik in 1442 promised to send to the sultan an annual gift of 1,000 ducats in silver plate. (65) In 1463 this same sultan renewed Dubrovnik's commercial privileges throughout his empire on condition that it pay a tax of 2% on all good sold. (66) Moreover he converted Dubrovnik's gift into a tax which he raised to 5,000 ducats in 1469 and to 12,500 in 1478. (67)

After the Hungarian defeat at Mohacs in 1526 Dubrovnik put itself under Turkish protection. Turkey was content with Dubrovnik's annual tribute 12,500 ducats and refrained from encroaching on its territory or its political freedom. (68) Turkey rightly saw the great advantage that Dubrovnik afforded it. Through this city it acquired the necessary Western goods during its frequent and protracted wars with the Western Christian nations. In these wars Dubrovnik cautiously guarded its neutrality and traded with both sides. In all the major towns and cities of the Turkish empire Dubrovnik established its commercial emporiums: in Istanbul, Adrianople, Sophia, Skoplje, Belgrade, Sarajevo and Mostar.

Through its western trade Dubrovnik at the outset of the XVI century strengthened its ties with Spain, which at that time took possession of the kingdom of Naples and with the discovery of America became a great power. From Spain Dubrovnik obtained considerable trading privileges. (69)

Dubrovnik also maintained good relations with France, which was embarking on a policy of gradual rapprochement with Turkey in order to check the growth of the house of Hapsburg. Dubrovnik's relations with England were also good when England developed into a considerable maritime power in the XVII and XVIII centuries. (70)

Dubrovnik's only consistent foe was the Venetian republic that looked upon with disfavour the growth of its trade with Turkey and the Western countries. Venice sought to prevent Dubrovnik's trade with the infidel Turks as well as with Christian nations. In this contention the popes tended to side mostly with Dubrovnik. Above all they appreciated the protection and aid which Dubrovnik extended to the Catholic missions in all of European Turkey and approved of Dubrovnik's neutrality and of its commerce with the Turkish empire.

When Dubrovnik's navigation and trade was at its height and the city reached its maximum prosperity and was at the height of its wealth, it experienced a terrible earthquake on April 6th, 1667. The earthquake destroyed more than half of the habitations and two thirds of the population. (71) Even after that misfortune Dubrovnik recovered and got back on its feet.

During the wars of Vienna (1683 – 99) Dubrovnik made a rapprochement with Austria. In return Austria made sure that another article was added to the regulations of the treaty of Karlovac in 1699 which ordered that all obstacles in the way of Dubrovnik's trade with Turkey be removed. (72) In the treaty of Pozarevac in 1718 at Dubrovnik's insistence, Klek near Nerevta and Sutorina in Boka Kotorska were given to Turkey, so that Dubrovnik's territory was in this way separated from the Venetian possessions in Dalmatia. (73)

In 1806 the French army entered Dubrovnik and two years later Napoleon dissolved the republic of Dubrovnik. By the provisions of the Congress of Vienna in 1815 the territory of the republic of Dubrovnik was annexed to Dalmatia and handed over to Austria. (74) Thereby the name of Dalmatia covered all the regions from Neretva to Boka Kotorska inclusively.

Cultural achievements and Croatian literature in Dubrovnik

With its genius the wealthy city of Dubrovnik during its long commercial and political history accomplished achievements of lasting value exceeding those of several great and powerful states. Thus the Statute of the city of Dubrovnik from the year of 1272 belongs among the first and most famous political constitutions in Europe. (75) From 1278 Dubrovnik systematically kept records of administrative proceedings, preserving the original of all documents received and copies of all those sent. (76) Since Dubrovnik had frequent and multilateral connections with the outside world, it came to have its own state archives in which up to the present day a large number of very valuable sources in the history of the republic, Red Croatia, Bosnia, Serbia, Turkey and a good part of the Mediterranean nations are preserved. The state archives of Dubrovnik belong among the greatest and most important archives of Europe. (77)

Dubrovnik began early to implement measures for the maintenance of public health. In 1377 Dubrovnik began to put in quarantine on the island of Mrkan those who were affected with contagious diseases which often broke out in those times. This institution was among the first of its kind in Europe. (78) From the middle of the XIV century Dubrovnik had also a city hospital with its own pharmacy. The first pharmacy accessible to all was established in a Franciscan monastery as early as 1317. These two pharmacies, among the first in Europe, still exist today. (79) Between 1436 and 1438 Dubrovnik built the city canalization system. It had a length of 12 kilometres and brought water from the Sumet.

The first schools for the education of the youth of Dubrovnik were established in very early times. It was the rule even in the early Middle Ages that every cathedral had its school. Numerous Benedictine monasteries, both for men and for women, in Dubrovnik and vicinity, had their schools. The establishment of some of these schools dates from the X or XI century, if not earlier. The first municipal public school in the republic of Dubrovnik was founded in 1333. This school in 1435 was divided into a lower and upper section. In the lower section the basic knowledge of Latin and Croatian was taught and in the upper section, the humanities and classical literature. (81) From 1658 to 1773 this school was under the direction of the Jesuits and took the name of Collegium Ragusinum. (82) To further their education the sons of the Ragusans were sent to different European universities, particularly to Naples, Padua and Paris.

In the domain of the arts, especially architecture, Dubrovnik accomplished singular achievements. Particularly noteworthy are the court of the prince, the Franciscan and Dominican monasteries, the church of St. Blaise, the basilica of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the massive city walls which in their present form were erected during the XV and XVI centuries. (83)

Dubrovnik's most significant cultural contribution is its Croatian literature (84), which is not indigenous to the city but originally developed under the influence of the Glagolitic church literature of western Croatia and particularly on the island of Krk. (85) In Croatian Glagolitic literature the poetical language and forms were elaborated during the X and XI centuries when the nobility of Dubrovnik was still for the most part speaking a Dalmatian version of Latin. The Glagolitic clerics, both priest and lay, introduced to Dubrovnik the poetic treasures of Croatian Glagolitic literature. (86) Secular Croatian literature from western Croatia, particularly from Split and Hvar, influenced the first poets of Dubrovnik. Secular Croatian poetry first developed here because it was closest to the centre of Glagolitic literature in the northern Adriatic islands. Already by the outset of the XVI century Dubrovnik became the centre of Croatian literary activity. By that time in Dubrovnik the nobility generally spoke Croatian and only a few old men still know the old Dalmatian Latin language.

Enjoying freedom and affluence the Ragusans could look after the cultural refinement of their sons better than the western Croats under Venetian authority. The prosperity of their families enabled some talented individuals to dedicate a good part of their to literary activity.

During the flowering of the literature of Dubrovnik its poets were constantly in touch with those of western Croatia. They read one another's works and influenced one another. The one and the other were conscious of their Croatian origin and expressed this in their poetry. Thus the Ragusan poet Nikola Naljeskovic (1510 – 86) calls the poet Ivan Vidali of Korcula the "pride of glory of the Croatian language" and Vidali hails Dubrovnik as the "crown of all Croatian cities." (87) Mavro Vetranovic-Cavcic (1482 – 1576) says to his fellow citizens that in literature and renown they have surpassed "all Croats put together." (88)

During the Counter Reformation following the Council of Trent (1543 – 63), with the defeat of the Turks at Sisak in 1593 and in the fighting that continued up to 1606, the idea arose that all Slavs could be liberated from the Turks and united in the Catholic church. People began to think of all the Slavic nations as one nation, referred to as 'Slovinci', and speaking one common Slavic language expressed in several dialects. The Croatian Dominican Vinko Pribojevic (89) and the Benedictine Marvo Orbin from Dubrovnik with this work "Kingdom of the Slavs" (90) laid the groundwork for the historical basis of such a notion. The Jesuits Bartul Kasic (1575 – 1650), Mikalja and others asserted that Bosnian should be adopted as the common literary language of all Slavs, being the most elegant of all the Slavic languages, and that Serbian Cyrillic should be used as the common script, being similar to the Cyrillic alphabet used by the majority of Slavs. (91) Rome accepted this proposal and began to work in view of accomplishing it. (92)

Dubrovnik was situated at the centre of this movement and in the XVII and XVIII centuries the language of the people of the city was usually called Slavic ('slovinsk'). The foremost Ragusan poet Ivan Gundulic (1589 – 1638) composed his work "Osman" in this spirit, preoccupied as he was by the idea that all Slavs would be liberated from Turkey under the hegemony of Catholic Poland and become one great Catholic nation in Europe. (93) Nevertheless, not even all these dreams of Pan Slavism could make Dubrovnik forget its particular association with the rest of Croatia. The Ragusan poet Vladislav Mencetic (1600 – 66), dedicating his verses "Trublja slovinska" (Ancona 1665) to the Croatian ban Peter Zrinski, expresses feeling full of patriotic sentiment:

"Your people are crowned with fame,

A teeming Croatian multitude –

Under captivity's wave long since

Would Italy have sunk

Had the Ottoman sea not broken

Upon Croatia's beaches." (94)

The Franciscan Bernardin Pavlovic from Dubrovnik, born in Ston, had two works printed in Venice in 1747 "in the Croatian language." The title of the second work runs as follows: "Salves for the dying...new and revised edition printed in Croatian...for the benefit of the Croatian nation, Venice, 1747." (95)

In Dubrovnik the Jesuit Peric, the Franciscan J. Gjurinic and the Croatized Frenchman Derivaux-Bruerovic call their language Croatian. The latter at the outset of the XIX century complains that some of the people of Dubrovnik forsake their "Croatian heritage" and are ashamed "to speak only Slavic" (slovinski). (96)

In its abundance the diversity of its literary genres and their artistic quality the Croatian literature of Dubrovnik in the XVI and XVII centuries far surpasses the literature of other contemporaneous Slavic nations. Neither Polish nor Russian literature of that time can be compared with it in any way.

The Serbs did not play any part at all in the genesis and development of Dubrovnik's literature. Up to the XVIII century the Serbs in general had no real literature. The whole corpus of Serbian literature up to that time consisted of some translations from Bulgarian and Greek, mostly ecclesiastical material and didactic treatises, of transcripts, printed from 1494 on, of church ritual, prayer and liturgical books. This Serbian corpus in no way influenced the development of Dubrovnik's literature, nor was it influenced by Dubrovnik. The contemporaneous Orthodox monks who were laying the cornerstone of Serbian literature, brought up in the Eastern liturgy and the Byzantine spirit, were not interested in Dubrovnik's literature which was Western and Catholic. The Serbs of that time did not consider Dubrovnik a Serbian city nor did they write about it or about its history in their chronicles and annuals. The Serbian historian Vladimir Corovic wrote in 1931: "In spite of such diverse connections and relations between the Republic of Dubrovnik and medieval Serbian states, it is quite obvious that in our ancient chronicles and genealogies almost no interest emerges for the city of St. Blaise. In the collection of ancient Serbian genealogies and chronicles published in 1927 by Lj. Stojanovic in a publication of the Royal Serbian Academy, only a few lines are dedicated to the subject of Dubrovnik. (97)

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V. HISTORY OF THE SERBS IN THE MIDDLE AGES

History of the Serbs in Rasa during the first two centuries

The history of the Serbs during the first two centuries is shrouded in obscurity. There are no Serbian sources at all for the first five centuries of their existence in the Balkans. After the death of Heraclius I in 641, Byzantium had no interest in the central Balkans on account of their dynastic quarrels and their wars with the Persians and the Saracens. Porphyrogenitus, almost the only source for the Serbs during their first three centuries, records only this: "Because that prefect who had sought refuge with Heraclius died, his son ruled by the right of succession, then his grandson, and so on down the line of succession." (1)

When the Byzantine emperor Constantine IV (668 – 85) vanquished the Saracens in 678 and restored the reputation of the emperor in the western parts of his empire, the Serbs in Rasa must have been among the nations which acknowledged Byzantine suzerainty. (2)

In the original Croatian work 'Methodus' the evidence has been preserved that Rasa was a component part of the Croatian state at the diet of Duvno in 753. (3) In all probability Rasa in the second quarter of the VIII century remained under the aegis of the Croatian state in order to protect it from the Avars who had recovered their former power after a succession of defeats from 626 to 635, or from the Bulgars who had arrived in the Balkans in 681 and in the second quarter of the VIII century were beginning to encroach upon the central and northwestern Balkans. (4) As we must conclude from Ljudevit Posavski's flight into Serbia in 822 (5), at that time Rasa was no longer part of the Croatian state nor did it acknowledge Charlemagne's suzerainty which the Croats had recognized in 803. (6) It is most likely that the Serbs seceded from Croatia and acknowledged the suzerainty of the Byzantine emperor Nicephorus I (802 – 11) when in 805 – 06 he took old Illyricum from the Croats in order to swallow up Dyrhachium within the confines of the Byzantine empire. (7)

Christianization of the Serbs

According to Porphyrogenitus the Serbs were Christianized twice: the first time during the reign of Heraclius I (610 – 41) and the second time during the reign of Basil I (867 – 86).

Porphyrogenitus writes that the emperor Heraclius "had priests brought over from Rome" and had the Serbs Christianized. (8) This detail confirms the credibility of Porphyrogenitus' statement. From the earliest times up to 732, indeed the whole of the Balkans up to the Rhodopus belonged to the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Rome. (9) This state of affairs was recognized both by the ecclesiastical and secular authority during the time of the Heraclian dynasty. So during this time only the priests authorized by the Roman See could preach Christianity among the Croats and Serbs settled in the central and western Balkans.

The old Serbian ecclesiastical terminology that has its origin in Latin terms, attests to the fact that the Serbs were originally Christianized by priests of the Roman rite who spoke Latin. So we find the terms masa (missa), otar (altare), komkati (communicare), Kum-a (compater), poganin (paganus), raka (arca), kriz (crux) and so on. (11)

The 'Chronicle of Pop Dukljanin' states that a Latin diocese for the Serbs was established just at the outset of the X century (12), but this is doubtful. The archaeologist K. Patsch found in the village of Drenovo near Prijepolje a fragment of a Latin inscription from the VIII or outset of the IX century, which tells us how a Latin bishop of that time dedicated a local church. (13)

In Roman times the entire province of Predolje (Praevalis) was a dependency of the metropolitan of Skadar. Seeing that it was destroyed at the outset of the VII century (14), the littoral part of Predolje, settled by the Croats, was made a dependency of the restored metropolitan diocese of Salona in Split. When the Bulgarian emperor Samuel conquered Red Croatia and obtained permission from the pope Gregory V to establish a metropolitan bishopric in Dubrovnik for the Latin diocese under his authority, the diocese of Rasa became subordinate to this metropolitan see. (15) For a long time the diocese of Rasa was reckoned among its suffragan dioceses. The "Provinciale Vetus" mentions that the diocese in Rasa was under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan see of Dubrovnik. (16)

As Porphyrogenitus records it, up to the time of Basil I most of the Serbs were pagans. (17) The fact that the Serbian ruling dynasty remained quite pagan up to that time confirms this. (18)

Basil I sent to Rasa "his confidant together with certain priests", who compelled the conversion of the Serbs (19), either in 871 or 872. The Byzantine priests performed the conversion and other religious activities according to their own Byzantine rite and in Greek. Seeing that up until that time in Rasa the Roman rite and the Latin language prevailed, someone informed pope John VIII (872 – 82) of the activities of the Byzantine missionaries. In May 873 the pope dispatched a letter to the Serbian count Mutimir which said that in his state "errant" priests from different regions "are conducting activities not in accordance with the canons." The pope instructed Mutimir to submit himself to the spiritual guidance of bishop Methodus, whom the See of St. Peter had appointed as bishop of Mitrovica. (20) We do not know whether Mutimir complied with the pope's instructions. In any case the influence of the Roman priesthood remained quite strong for some time in Rasa. The fact that the sons of the Serbian rulers at the end of the IX and the outset of the X centuries bore the names Peter, Paul, Stephen, Zachary, etc., names customary to countries observing the Roman rite bear witness to this influence. (21)

The Eastern liturgy in Rasa became generally adopted when the Serbs, during the Bulgarian occupation, adopted the Old Slavonic liturgy and received the liturgical books of the Bulgarian type. In all likelihood, this was the time of the emperor Simeon the Great (893 – 927) and the certainly at the latest in the time of Samuel II (976 – 1014). In 1020 Basil II made the diocese of Rasa a dependency of the Bulgarian archbishopric in Ohrid where the Eastern rite was observed.

Origins of Serbian Independence

According to Porphyrogenitus the first Serbian ruler known by name was Viseslav. The Bulgarian ruler Presjam waged war on him "but after three years of fighting not only did he achieve nothing, but he lost most of his army." (23) According to the Bulgarian historian V. N. Zlatarski, Presjam ruled Bulgaria from 836 to 852 and waged war on the Serbs between 832 and 840. (24) Jirecek is of the opinion that this war against the Serbs took place ca. 850. (25)

Following the death of Viseslav his sons Mutimir, Storzimir and Gojnik divided their father's kingdom among themselves. On this subject Porphyrogenitus writes: "In their

time Boris Mihailo became ruler of Bulgaria and wishing to avenge the defeat of his father Presjam opened hostilities with the Serbs. But the Serbs routed him and took prisoner his son Vladimir together with twelve powerful boyars. Then Boris, whose son was suffering tribulations, treated for peace with the Serbs, although reluctantly...Some time later a quarrel broke out among the three Serbian rulers and when Mutimir emerged as the most powerful of the three, he wishing to be sole ruler, took both his brothers prisoners and delivered them to the Bulgarians...then he kept under his tutelage Peter, son of his brother Gojnik, but Peter later fled to Croatia." (26)

Mutimir in 871 or 872 acknowledged the suzerainty of the Byzantine emperor Basil I and requested him to send priests with the objective of converting the Serbs who were still not fully Christianized. (27)

Porphyrogenitus adds the Strojimir, Mutimir's brother and a prisoner of the Bulgarians, had a son Klonimir whom the Bulgarian ruler Boris gave in marriage to a Bulgarian bride. "A son, Caslav, was born to her in Bulgaria. Mutimir, once he had driven out his brothers and assumed the power himself, begot three sons, Pribislav, Bran and Stefan. After his death he was succeeded by his eldest son Pribislav. But Peter, Gojnik's son, came back from Croatia after one year and drove out his cousins Pribislav, Bran and Stefan assuming power for himself. These in turn fled for refuge in Croatia. After three years Bran waged war on Peter, but was defeated, taken prisoner and blinded. After two years Caslav's father Klonimir fled from Bulgaria and arrived in Serbia, entering Dostinik, one of the Serbian towns, at the head of an army with the intention of usurping the power. Peter attacked and slew him. His rule lasted twenty years beginning with the reign of the blessed and holy emperor Leo, to whom Peter was obedient and subservient. He treated for peace with Simeon, the Bulgarian emperor who became his godfather. (28)

When grand prince Peter, after the battle of Aheloja on the Black Sea (August 20th, 917), had made an agreement with the Byzantine military governor of Dyrrhachium in Neretva (29), Miholvil, duke of Zahumlje, informed the Bulgarian emperor Simeon the Great that Peter was preparing to attack Bulgaria with the Magyars. Whereupon Simeon sent an army into Rasa, laid hold of Peter by a ruse and took him prisoner to Bulgaria where he died in prison. Simeon had him replaced by Paul, Bran's son and the grandson of grand prince Mutimir at the end of 917 or the beginning of 918. (30) In the third year of Paul's reign the Byzantine emperor Roman Lekapenus (920 – 44) sent Zaharija, son of Pribislav, eldest son of Mutimir, to Serbia. In the fighting Paul took Zaharija prisoner and delivered him to the Bulgarians. When Paul in 921 turned against the Bulgarians, Simeon sent Zaharija into Serbia. Paul was ousted and Zaharija assumed power himself. But Zaharija broke away from the Bulgarians, rebelling against their oppressive suzerainty which infringed upon the autonomy of the Serbs. In the first encounter Zaharija defeated the Bulgarians, but Simeon the Great sent against him a second army under Caslav, son of Klonimir and "Zaharija was afraid and fled to Croatia." (31) Whereupon the Bulgarians invaded Serbia and gathered together the whole people, men, women and children, and deported them to Bulgaria. Some of these escaped and reached Croatia and the country remained deserted." (32) Whereupon Porphyrogenitus adds: "At that time the Bulgarians waged a war on the Croats under the command of Alogobotur, but there they were all killed by the Croats." (33) This event was in 927. (34) This indicates that the Bulgarians waged war on the Croats because they welcomed and protected the Serbs who fled for refuge to them from the Bulgarians.

After seven years (934) Caslav fled to Bulgaria. "He came to Serbia where he found only fifty men." "When the Serbs in Croatia and in the other countries in which they had been dispersed by Simeon heard of this, they returned and gathered around Caslav." (35)

With the help of Byzantium whose suzerainty Caslav acknowledged, he returned order to Serbia and consolidated it. In 944 during the dynastic quarrels in Croatia Caslav occupied Red Croatia, Bosnia and three districts of White Croatia. (36) In the last years

of the reign of Porphyrogenitus (d. 959) Caslav made Serbia independent of Byzantium, but soon perished in the fighting with the Magyars. Whereupon the Croats liberated Bosnia and the other Croatian lands from the Serbs and reunited them with Croatia. (37) The Byzantine emperor John Tzimisces (969 – 76) submitted Bulgaria in 971 and Serbia in 972 to Byzantine overlordship. (38)

The Serbs during the fighting between Byzantium and the Second Bulgarian Empire

After the death of John Tzimisces the sons of the Bulgarian prince Nicholas, headed by the future emperor Samuel (976 – 1014), instigated an uprising in western Bulgaria against Byzantium. After the decisive battle of the Gates of Trajan in 986 Samuel took over the entire central Balkans. It was at that time, we think, that Rasa fell under Samuel's authority. (39) In 1018 the Byzantine emperor Basil II (976 – 1025) toppled the Second Bulgarian Empire and took over control of all lands formerly ruled by the Bulgarians. With this act Rasa came once more under Byzantine suzerainty. (40)

During their rule in Rasa the Bulgarians completely exterminated the old Serbian royal family. From 1036 to 1042 Dobroslav, called Stjepan Vojislav, member of an old Croatian family from Duklja, revolted and liberated Duklja and Rasa. (41) He considered himself the lawful heir of the extinct family of the grand princes of Serbia, being the maternal grandson of Ljutimir, the last prince of Serbia. (42) Later the Byzantines took Rasa once more, but Mihala, son of Dobroslav and duke of Duklja, liberated it once more and installed his son Petrislav as grand prince of Serbia. After the abortive rebellion in Bulgaria the military governor of Dyrrhachium, Nicephorus Bryennius, restored Byzantine rule to Rasa in 1073. (43)

Bodin (1081 – 1101), king of medieval Croatian Duklja, ushered in a new political era in Serbia. At the outset of his reign Bodin liberated Rasa from Byzantium and installed as its princes his two palatines Vukan and Marko, both Croats from Duklja born in Ribnica near modern Titograd. They swore allegiance to king Bodin and to his successors. (44) Vukan (1083 – 1115) as the older brother became grand prince and Marko took over the administration of part of the land. Anna Comnena wrote about Vukan that he was a man "accomplished in word and deed." (45) He raided and ravaged Byzantine territory as far as Skoplje several times. Emperor Alexius forced Vukan to acknowledge Byzantine suzerainty in 1094. On that occasion Vukan had to hand over twenty hostages to the emperor, among them his nephews Uros and Stjepan Vuk. (46) After Bodin's death in 1101 Vukan interfered frequently in Duklja's dynastic struggles. King Vladimir, Mihala's grandson, took as a wife Vukan's daughter. (47)

Uros I (ca. 1115 – 1131), Vukan's nephew, was his successor. His children were Uros II, Desa, Belos, Zavida (Stefan Nemanja's father), Helen and Maria. Helen married the Hungarian-Croatian king Bela II the Blind. (48) He was the palatine of Hungary and was ban for a long time in Croatia, where he was considered a compatriot, being the grandson of the Croatian nobleman Marko from Ribnica in Duklja. In 1124 or 1125 the cousins of Uros I unseated him and imprisoned him. Djuro, king of Duklja, freed him and restored him to the position of grand prince. (50)

After the death of Uros I his eldest son Uros II (1131 – 61) became grand prince. Zavida, the cadet, was deprived of his portion by his brothers and banished. (51) He retired to Ribnica, the birthplace of his family. There Stefan Nemanja, his fourth or fifth son, was born ca. 1132. Seeing that the whole population of Duklja was Catholic, Nemanja was baptised according to the Roman rite. Several years later when Zavida returned to Rasa, the bishop of Rasa baptised him again, this time according to the Byzantine rite. (52)

Under the influence of his sister Helen and of his brother or close cousin Belos, Uros II in

1138 acknowledged the suzerainty of the Hungarian-Croatian king Bela II. (53)

During the preliminary campaigns of the Byzantine emperor Emmanuel Comnenus (1143 – 80) in Rasa in 1149 and 1150, Uros II acknowledged Byzantium's suzerainty. (54) In the ensuing war between Byzantium and Hungary from 1154 to 1156 the Hungarian faction in Rasa ousted Uros II and placed his brother Desa as grand prince on the throne. The emperor Emmanuel restored Uros as grand prince after his victory and gave to Desa the nearby Byzantine region of Dendra by Nis to administer. (55) After the death of Uros, Desa ascended to the throne once more as grand prince, but in 1166 was again ousted by the emperor Emmanuel who installed Tihomir, Zavida's eldest son, as grand prince. (56) Each of the grand prince's brothers was then allotted his particular region in Rasa. The youngest brother Nemanja got "part of his patrimony, namely Toplica, Ibar, Rasina and the so-called Reke." (57) These regions are situated on the river Ibar and the middle course of the Morava. In the meantime the brothers came into open conflict. Nemanja vanquished his brothers, although they were all against him. One of the brothers escaped but drowned while attempting to cross a river. (58) After his victory Nemanja became grand prince of Rasa in 1168.



Razvoj sredjovjekovne srpske države

DEVELOPMENT OF THE MEDIAEVAL SERBIAN STATE

Stefan Nemanja creates an independent Serbian state

According to Serbian genealogies and archives the history of Serbia begins with Nemanja (59), whom they make out to be an ancestor of the line of Serbian rulers and founders of the Serbian state. With him, indeed, a new era dawns for Serbian history in the spirit of a new age. During the first five hundred years Serbians lived in the central Balkans usually under foreign rule, whether Byzantines, Bulgarians or Croats. Although they manifested several times the desire to achieve their independence, these aspirations went no further than their national boundaries of Rasa. (60) But Nemanja brought to Serbian history the spirit of conquest. In this spirit the Serbian state was enlarged and organized. The territories of foreign states were annexed and various national groups were incorporated. With a policy of conquest Nemanja would create a large multinational state out of the small, but uniform state of Serbia. His sons and grandsons continued this policy until his greatest descendant, Stefan Dusan the Powerful, gave to his state an official multinational significance, styling himself as "emperor and autocrat of the Serbs, Greeks, Bulgarians and Albanians." (61) Nemanja and his son, the metropolitan Sava, attempted to unify and to consolidate their multinational state on the basis on Byzantine culture and the Serbian Orthodox Church. It might have not been particularly useful during the Nemanjid dynasty, but during the Turkish times and later it would play a major role in the preservation and spread of Serbianism.

In the autumn of 1171 when the Venetians waged war against Byzantium, Stefan Nemanja joined them with the intention of enlarging his state at the expense of the Byzantines by annexing parts of Red Croatia. Nicetas Choniates writes apropos to this: "The emperor Emmanuel had heard that the Serbian viceroy (Stefan Nemanja), a man overbold and insatiable in spirit...desirous of ruling neighbouring countries...has begun to occupy incontestable Croatian territories and to appropriate to himself the district of Kotor." (62) This incited the emperor to invade Rasa with an army and to take Nemanja prisoner to Byzantium. There Nemanja, with his wit and handsome appearance, was the toast of the court and Emmanuel soon restored him as grand prince in Rasa. In order not to encounter further trouble from Nemanja and his brothers, Emmanuel gave Travunja to the eldest brother Stracimir to rule and Zahumlje he gave to the middle brother Miroslav. (63)

Following the death of the emperor Emmanuel (1180) Nemanja renewed his efforts to realize his old dreams of enlarging the Serbian state from the Adriatic and south-east as far as the fertile valley of the Vardar. In 1183 he occupied Pilot in the Albanian mountains and twelve cities on the littoral in Duklja, among them Danj, Drivast, Skadar, Svac and Ulcinj. (64) In 1185 Kotor recognized Nemanja's authority. (65) On August 3rd, 1189 he ruled over all of Duklja when Dezislava, wife of the last Croatian prince of Duklja, fled with her court to Dubrovnik. (66) In 1190 Nemanja waged war on Macedonia, taking Kossovo and enlarging the boundaries of his state to Mount Sar. (67) Nemanja, himself, in the donation which he made to the monastery of Hilander in 1198 or 1199, mentions a few words on the subject of his conquests: "I have taken Zeta with the cities of the littoral, Pilot from Albania, and Lab including Lipljane from the Greeks..." (68)

Serbia becomes a kingdom in 1217

At the outset of the spring of 1196 Nemanja resigned as grand prince and retired to a monastery where his youngest son Ratsko had already been living for a while as a monk under the name of Sava. To his eldest son Vukan, Nemanja gave the old Croatian kingdom of Duklja and installed his middle son Stefan as grand prince of Serbia. (69) This Stefan (1196 – 1228) was a talented individual and adroit diplomat brought up in

the Byzantine spirit.

When Vukan took the reins of control in Duklja the country was still entirely Catholic and becoming a hotbed of political independence. For that reason Vukan soon recognized the primacy of the papacy and proclaimed himself king. He and his son Djuro (1209 – 42) ruled over Duklja independently. Vukan even ousted Stefan from the throne of Rasa in 1202 – 03 and ruled in his stead, but his brother Sava reconciled them. (70)

When the Byzantine empire fell in 1204 grand prince Stefan undertook a rapprochement with the West. He recognized the supremacy of pope Honorius III and asked him to send the royal crown. The pope complied with this request and crowned Stefan king of Serbia in 1217. (71) With this act Serbia became a totally independent state according to the international standards of the day. In the donation to the monastery of the Blessed Virgin Mary on the island of Mljet, Stefan the first-crowned styles himself thus: "Ah! Sinful Stefan! The great king, appointed lord of all the Serbian lands, of Duklja, Dalmatia, Travunja and the land of Hum." (72) "All the Serbian lands" refers to ethnic Serbia, namely old medieval Rasa. The remaining countries of the list – Duklja, Dalmatia and the land of Hum were annexed Croatian provinces.

In order to make the Serbian church independent, Stefan the first-crowned sent his brother Sava to Nicea in 1219. There Sava obtained from the Eastern patriarch the permission to set up several dioceses headed by an autonomous Serbian archbishop. Sava established six of these dioceses in Rasa, one in Ston and another in Prevlaka near Tivat in Boka Kotorska. (73) The Serbian autonomous church will become a powerful instrument for the spread of Serbianism in the surrounding non-Serbian lands.

King Stefan was succeeded by his eldest son Radoslav (1228 – 34), son of the imperial princess Eudoxia and on who felt himself to be more Greek than Serb. (74) The nobility ousted him for the throne in 1234 and crowned his brother Vladislav (1234 – 43) who was dethroned in turn and followed by Uros I (1243 – 76), third son of Stefan. Vladislav thereupon acceded to the throne of Duklja (Zeta and Travunja) after wresting it from Djuro, son of Vukan. (75)

Uros I was the ablest and most enterprising of all his brothers. He bolstered the Serbian economy by developing its agriculture, commerce and particularly its mining industry. From 1268 the people of Dubrovnik paid him an annual tribute of 2,000 perpers for the license to trade and to exploit the mines in his territory (referred to as the tribute of Mitrovdan). With the considerable financial resources at his disposal Uros could maintain a strong mercenary with which he waged frequent wars. Uros tried to extend Serbian power to Macva, but the Hungarian-Croatian king Bela III prevented him. In 1258 he occupied Skoplje, Prilip and Kicevo in Macedonia, but had to evacuate them the following year after his defeat at Kostur. (76)

Uros I waged war on Dubrovnik from 1252 to 1254 and again in 1275, wishing to subjugate the city to Serbian authority. Dubrovnik's mighty fortifications and the help of its allies the Bulgarian king Michael Asen and Radoslav, prince of Hum, thwarted Uros' attempt. (72)

Uros was at last dethroned by his eldest son Stefan Dragutin (1276 – 82) who was succeeded in 1282 by his younger brother Uros II Milutin. Stefan Dragutin received Zeta and Travunja as his jurisdiction. In 1284 the Hungarian-Croatian king Ladislav IV the Cuman invited Dragutin to his kingdom and gave him his sister Katarina in marriage. He also granted him the dukedom of Mocva and Bosnia as his fief. Helen, mother of Dragutin and Milutin, got Zeta and Travunja as her jurisdiction. (78)

King Uros II Milutin (1282 – 1321) was a powerful and enterprising ruler. Straightaway at the outset of his reign he attacked Byzantium and made conquests in central

Macedonia where he took up Upper and Lower Polog, Skoplje and the plain of Ovce up to Bregalnica and in western Macedonia he took Porec, Kicevo and Debar. (79)

In 1284 Milutin wrested Hum from Croatia and annexed it to Serbia. But in 1302/03 the Croatian ban Pavao I Subic forced him to surrender Hum once more to Croatia with the stipulation that Serbia would retain the peninsula of Rat (Peljesac) including Ston and the plain of Popovo together with the coastal region of Zaton. (80)

Uros helped his younger brother Stefan Dragutin to conquer the Bulgarian province of Branicevo south of the Danube and east of the Morava, thereby making the Danube the northern boundary of Serbia for the first time. (81) When Stefan Dragutin died in 1316 Uros II occupied Macva and annexed it to Serbia, but the Hungarian-Croatian king Charles Robert drove him out of the region in 1319. (82)

Uros II Milutin was succeeded by his son Stefan Uros III Decanski (1321 – 31). After some quite lengthy struggles with his brothers he succeeded in consolidating his power in Serbia. Then he wrested Prilep and Prosek in the valley of the Vardar from Byzantine control. With his victory at Velbuzd (Kustendil) over the Bulgarians he secured his possessions in Macedonia. Uros III was dethroned by his son Dusan who had him strangled in prison. (83)

Stefan Dusan – "Emperor of the Serbs and the Greeks"

Stefan Dusan was the ablest and greatest Serbian ruler. His dream was to create a great multinational state under Serbian hegemony on the ruins of the Byzantine and Bulgarian empires. He could have achieved this dream because Serbia with the conquests of rich regions by his predecessors, and especially with the growth of mining, had become quite wealthy and could maintain a large mercenary force which Dusan himself was eminently qualified to command.

Dusan saw that his conquests could not extend west into Bosnia or Adriatic Croatia or northwest into Macva and the Danube regions because the powerful Hungarian-Croatian kings Charles Robert and his successor Louis I ruled these countries. Dusan contented himself with consolidating his power in the former Duklja (Zeta and Travunja) where a rebellion broke out in the spring of 1322. (84) Dusan made clear his intention not to expand westward by selling to Dubrovnik Ston, the peninsula of Rat (Peljesac) and the coastal region of Zaton in 1333. (85) He directed all his efforts towards Salonica and Byzantium. In 1333 – 34 he conquered most of Macedonia, including Prilip, Ohrid and Strumnica. After protracted fighting and eventual conquest he enlarged his territory as far as Mesta in eastern Macedonia in the vicinity of Salonica, but could not occupy the city itself. In 1343 he conquered most of Albania, including Berata and Valona, and two years later Seres in eastern Macedonia. Dusan's court alternated between Seres and Prilip. (86)

Dusan elevated the Serbian archbishop Joannicius to the position of "patriarch of the Serbs and Greeks." (87) In the presence of the Bulgarian patriarch of Ohrid he crowned Dusan "emperor of the Serbs and the Greeks" in Skoplje on Easter day, April 16th, 1346.

Dusan soon modified his title, styling himself as the autocratic emperor of "the Serbs, Greeks, Bulgarians and Albanians." (88) In conjunction with his coronation Dusan divided his state into two administrative provinces. Ethnic Serbia, enlarged by the conquests of Stefan Nemanja, which he handed over to his son Uros IV as "king of the Serbs." In it "Serbian customs and laws" were to prevail. The rest Dusan himself governed according to Greek customs and laws. (89)

Following his coronation Dusan continued his conquests. In 1348 and 1349 he conquered Thessaly and Epirus and extended the confines of his kingdom to the Gulf of Corinth. (90) In 1350 he turned toward the West. He passed through Bosnia with a strong army, but he did not occupy any strongholds. In Zahumlje, which he considered his possession, he left his detachments in several places, but the local Croats, aided by the troops of the Bosnian ban Stephen II Kotromanic, liberated these places the same year when Dusan had to turn east to intercept a Byzantine force that had invaded Thessaly. (91) For this reason it is historically incorrect to speak of Dusan's empire as reaching to Zahumlje and the Adriatic littoral as far as Cetina. Dusan's empire did not reach any further west than Travunja and Konavlje.

During Dusan's wars with Byzantium the Turks hired by the rival to the Byzantine throne, John Cantacuzenus, occupied in 1352 the fortress of Cimpe near Gallipoli and Gallipoli itself in 1354, thereby gaining a permanent foothold on the Balkan peninsula. (92) The Turks would give a new direction to Serbian history and play a decisive role in the destinies of the Slavic nations of the south: the Bulgarians, the Serbs and the Croats.

The Dismemberment of Dusan's empire

Dusan died on December 20th, 1355 at the age of 48 and was succeeded by his only son Stefan Uros IV (1355 – 71). Dusan empire had no national unity or common political identity. It was a veritable mosaic of peoples and political circumstances, gelled only by the force of the conqueror. As soon as this power disappeared, Dusan's empire disintegrated into several component parts.

In Thessaly and Epirus where in the cities and larger localities the Greek population predominated, Uros Sinisa, half-brother of Dusan, proclaimed himself emperor. (93) In Zeta where the Catholic faith was still a factor to be reckoned with and the memory of an independent Red Croatia was still alive the native Croatian family of the Balsic proclaimed Red Croatia independent of Serbia. (94) In western Rasa Nikola Altomanovic declared himself independent and would soon extend his power to Rudnik and Dubrovnik. (95) In eastern Rasa prince Lazar Hrebljanovic ruled. His wife Milica was the daughter of Duke Vratko, a descendant of Nemanja's son Vukan. (96)

The Bulgarians predominated in Macedonia with Greeks scattered throughout the territory. The brothers Deanovic, sons of Theodora, Dusan's sister, seized power in eastern Macedonia. Vukasin, the older brother, ruled the country of the Upper and Middle Vardar together with the cities of Prizren, Skoplje and Prilip. He proclaimed himself "king of the Serbs and Greeks" in 1365. (97)

At the instigation of his brother Uglejesa who ruled over Seres and the vicinity, king Vukasin set out on a campaign against the Turks in 1371 with the intention of expelling them from Europe by capturing Adrianople. In a battle at Marica on September 26th, 1371 the brothers were defeated and both lost their lives. (98) With this victory the Turks strengthened their position in the eastern Balkans and seriously threatened all the Serbian dominions. Vukasin was succeeded by his son "king Marco" (1371 – 95), Marko Kraljevic of the folk epics, yet he had to recognize the suzerainty of the Turks. In these circumstances the Serbs' only hope remained with prince Lazar. After his victory over Nikola Altomanovic in conjunction with the Bosnian ban Tvrtko I, Lazar ruled over all of Rasa, the original ethnic Serbia. (99)

After several unsuccessful attempts the Turkish sultan began to prepare seriously to occupy all lands ruled by the Serbs. Prince Lazar sought allies and prepared himself. Tvrtko I, king of Bosnia, sent duke Vlatko Vukovic with 10,000 Bosnians to aid him. A

detachment of Croats under van Ivanis Palizna joined them. On St. Vitus' day, June 15th, 1389 the armies met on the plain of Kossovo at Pristina in the domains of Vuk Brankovic. At the outset of the battle Milos Kobilic took sultan Murad by surprise and slew him. Nevertheless the Turks obtained the victory under the leadership of the new sultan Bayazid. Prince Lazar was taken prisoner and later executed. A part of the Croats from Bosnia and the banate of Croatia were taken prisoner, but the main body of the army, including Vuk Brankovic, was able to retreat in an orderly fashion. Around this battle of Kossovo the folk poetry later wove a whole network of lovely, but highly imaginative tales. (100)

The total collapse of the Serbian state

The battle of Kossovo had fatal consequences for the Serbs and other nations west of them. Serbia became a Turkish vassal state. In 1392 the Turks conquered Skoplje and the vicinity, annexing it to the Turkish state as a sanjak. Henceforth Skoplje would become the chief base from which the Turkish conquest would radiate over the Balkans and further to the West. (101)

Prince Lazar was succeeded by his son Stefan Lazarevic (1389 – 1427). Due to domestic strife within the Turkish empire and thanks to the help of Hungary, Lazarevic's state somewhat recovered, especially after the battle of Ankara (July 28th, 1402) in which the Mongolian conqueror Tamerlane vanquished and took prisoner the sultan Bayazid I. Stefan Lazarevic, after rescuing himself from the battle at Ankara, in which he participated as a Turkish vassal, received from the Byzantine emperor the honorary title of despot from which his country came to be called Despotovina. (102) The following year of 1403 he acknowledged the suzerainty of the Hungarian-Croatian king Sigismund who gave him Macva and Belgrade as his fief. Later Sigismund gave him in addition vast domains in southern Hungary and the rich mining towns of Srebrenica in Bosnia. (103)

Stefan was succeeded by his nephew Djuradj Brankovic (1427 – 56). He returned Belgrade to Hungary and built his capital at Smederevo on the Danube. The Turks occupied it in 1438 and subjugate Despotovina. With the help of Janko Hunyadi, Djuradj liberated Smederevo from the Turks, but in 1444 had to submit once more to the Turks. (104)

Djuradj was succeeded by his son Lazar who soon died. Despotovina passed into the hands of Stjepan Tomasevic, heir to the throne of Bosnia who married Helena, daughter of Lazar. In June 1459 he delivered Smederevo to the Turks, seeing that no one came to his aid, neither the Hungarian-Croatian king Matthias Corvinus or his father, the Bosnian king Stjepan Tomas. With the surrender of Smederevo the last vestiges of the Serbian state vanished and it was converted into a Turkish sanjak. (105)

Literature and art in medieval Serbia

Serbian literature in the middle ages is quite scant. Its origins is to be found in the Serbian translations of the Slavonic liturgical books, a legacy of the Bulgarian church dating from the closing years of the IX century and continuing unabated during the X century. This resulted in a Serbian recension of Bulgarian church literature written in a Cyrillic script combining features of both the Bulgarian and Serbian languages. (106)

Further development of Serbian literature began in 1219 when St. Sava founded an autonomous Serbian archdiocese. Sava himself translated and edited for the use of the

Serbian church the "Nomocanon" of Phocius which was later copied many times and is still preserved today in various recensions called church canons (Krmcije). Sava also wrote a short biography of his father Stefan Nemanja (St. Simeon). (107)

Valuable also are the written documents and letters of the Serbian kings, called despots from the years 1217 to 1459, though in form and expression they follow too closely the chrysobulls of the Byzantine emperors. (108)

There is also a steady stream of fiction and didactic treatises, but almost all are translations of Byzantine and Bulgarian literature of that time. (109)

The most authentic and therefore most valuable literary genre in the Serbia in the middle ages is the biographies of Serbian saints, kings and archbishops. The most valuable of these are the biographies of St. Simeon Nemanja written by his sons the archbishop Sava and St. Stefan the First-crowned, the life of St. Sava written by Theodosius and Domentian, and the lives of the Serbian kings and archbishops written by the archbishop Danilo. (110)

The most important piece of Serbian literature in the middle ages is Dusan's code which he proclaimed at the diet of Skoplje in 1349 and supplemented in 1354 at the diet of Seres. This code laid the foundations of the political and social structure of the state, especially as concern the rights of the ruler and his officials. It regulated legal proceedings and penalties for various crimes and confirmed the privileges of the Orthodox church. It forbade Bogomilism and the conversion of Orthodox Christians to the Catholic creed. The foundation of Dusan's code rests on the old Serbian common law and on the contemporaneous Byzantine law. (111)

In the domain of the arts, in architecture, fresco painting and mosaics the Serbs in the middle ages could boast of achievements of lasting value far surpassing their literary works. Beginning with Stefan Nemanja the Serbian kings and despots outdid one another in erecting beautiful and splendid monasteries to leave behind to posterity. These monuments were built by architects and artists from Byzantium and the Dalmatian littoral, but native Serbs participated in the work. Of particular note is the erection of the following monasteries and churches: the monasteries of the Blessed Virgin Mary and of St. Nicholas in Toplica, of the Studenica on the Ibar and of the Hilander on Mount Athos, all built by Stefan Nemanja; the monastery of Zica built by Stefan the First-crowned; Sopocane built by Uros I; the monasteries of Grancica in Banjoka and Prizren, built by Uros II Milutin; the monastery in Decani built by Uros III; the monasteries of the Holy Archangel in Prizren and Lenove built by Stefan Dusa; the monastery of Marko in Prilip built by Marko Kraljevic; the monastery of Manasij built by Stefan Lazar and so on. (112)

The Serbs in the Middle Ages: A distinctly Eastern nation

As we understand it today, Eastern civilization began with the Greeks and Western civilization began with the Romans. The Greeks and the Romans from the beginning differed in their character and culture. The Greeks were always a nation of thinkers, given over to philosophy, poetry and the arts. Unfortunately they were also rank individualists, adjusting only with great difficulty to the common interest and therefore unable to create a lasting national state. On the other hand the Roman was a pragmatic, industrious and persevering man, conqueror and administrator. The Romans lacked the intellectual brilliance of the Greeks and so fell under their cultural influence. However the pragmatic Romans surpassed the Greeks in the domain of politics and as a matter of fact ruled over them. The only Roman legacy to the world lies in the domain of law and administration, both of which were intrinsic to the Roman spirit.

From the earliest times the Phoenicians and the Egyptians played a role in the development of Greek culture and after Alexander the Great who died I 323 B.C. the Babylonians, Assyrians and Persians continued to exercise an influence. Under these influences Hellenistic culture developed and with the passing of time Hellenistic man came to acquire a particular Eastern outlook. After the triumph of Christianity in the Roman world following the Edict of Toleration (313 A.D.) Hellenistic culture gave way to Byzantine culture and the Byzantine Eastern type of man came into being. Roman culture in its turn gave way to Western culture and Western Christian man was born. (113)

The river Drina was the boundary between the East and the West in the Balkans, being the dividing line between the Eastern and Western empire, the Eastern and Western Christian church and Byzantine ad Western culture. (114)

When the Serbs arrived in the Balkans the emperor Heraclius I settled them in the Eastern Roman empire, at first along the Bistrica near Salonica, then in Rasa east of the Drina. (115) Although originally converted by Latin clergy of the Roman rite, later the majority of the Serbs were converted to Christianity by the Byzantine clergy in the Byzantine rite during the reign of emperor Basil I (867 – 886). But the Serbs remained impervious to the deeper and more genuine significance of religion until the end of the IX or during the X century. At that time they came into contact with the liturgical books of the Bulgarian recension, thereby becoming acquainted with the Byzantine liturgy in the Old Slavonic language. (116) In 1020 the emperor Basil II made the Serbian diocese in Rasa an ecclesiastical province of the Bulgarian archbishop of Ohrid who observed the Eastern rite. After the schism of 1054 the Serbs adhered to the Eastern church. Sava Nemanjic finally committed them wholly to Orthodoxy when in 1219 he founded the autonomous Serbian church directly responsible to the patriarch in Constantinople. (117) Henceforth all Serbian religious and cultural life, ecclesiastical and political legislation, Serbian literature and arts developed under the overriding influence of the Eastern church and Byzantine culture. This is the reason why the Serbs, as manifested in their religious faith, their historical development, their culture and spirit, became a distinctly eastern nation with a Byzantine outlook.

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VI. THE CROATS UNDER THE HAPSBURGS

BREAKUP OF THE CROATIAN STATE AND THE FRAGMENTATION OF ITS TERRITORY

Due to the inability and negligence of the Croatian kings from various houses and the contentiousness and selfishness of some Croatian magnates, Croatia began to lose its political territory at the outbreak of the XV century. When Ladislaus of Naples sold Zadar, Novigrad, Vrana and the island of Pag to Venice in 1409, the Venetians confiscated them from Adriatic Croatia, officially called the Kingdom of Croatia and Dalmatia. (1) In 1411 – 12 Skradin, Ostrovica and Sibenik surrendered to the Venetians. In 1420 the cities of Split, Trogir, Kotor and the islands of Brac, Hvar and Korcula were forced to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Venetians. (2) From Stjepan Kosaca, duke of Herzegovina, Venice took Omis and Poljica in 1444 and in 1452 the region of the littoral as far as the Neretva. (3) Krk, the last Croatian island, surrendered to Venice in 1480. (4)

A still more dangerous foe loomed on the horizon: Turkey. After the fall of Constantinople in 1453 it became a great European power with a clearly formulated policy of conquest. By 1463 the Turks occupied most of the independent Croatian state of Bosnia and by 1482 all that remained of Herzegovina and of the southern Croatian territory up to the Neretva. (5) In 1498 – 99 the Krajina between the rivers Nerevta and Cetina up to the sea fell into Turkish hands. From 1512 to 1516 the Turks conquered the whole banate of Srebrnica and after the fall of Belgrade in 1521, they also conquered eastern Srijem. On May 28th, 1522 the governor of the Bosnian sanjak, Husrev-beg, conquered Knin, the former seat of the kingdom of Croatia and Dalmatia and shortly thereafter Skradin on the river Krka. By 1526 the Croats had lost all of the southeastern Adriatic Croatia as far as Obrovac on the river Zrmanja. All that they still held was the fortress of Klis, staunchly defended by Croatian Uskoks from Turkish-occupied Bosnia and Herzegovina, under the leadership of the Croatian hero Peter Kruzic. (6)

As a result of all these losses the nobles and free population of Croatia retreated to the north, thereby giving the name of Croatia to the western part of the old Slovinje (Kingdom of Slavonia). The fortress of Bihac became the seat of the kingdom of Croatia and Dalmatia. Between the Una and the Kupa rivers the Croats set up a cordon of resistance against the Turks. (7)

The Croats elect the Hapsburgs as kings of Croatia in 1527

The Turkish victory at Mohacs on August 29th, 1526 and the death of king Louis II left Hungary, Croatia and Bohemia without a ruler. (8) On October 23rd the Czechs unanimously elected Ferdinand I Hapsburg as their king. On November 11th 1526 in Stolni Biograd the majority of the Hungarian nobility elected and crowned as king of Hungary Ivan Zapoljski, scion of an old Croatian family in Slavonia which was already Magyarized. On December 16th the minority party in Hungary elected Ferdinand I as king of Hungary. (10) Sultan Suleiman II proposed to leave the Croats their autonomy and to remit their taxes for ten years provided that they acknowledge Turkish suzerainty. (11) But the Croats could not accept this because it would have meant a fundamental change in the history of Croatia and a break with the Christian West of which Croatia had been a part until then. At the same time Croatia would have had to acknowledge the partition and loss of their national and political territory which the Turks had conquered and brought within the confines of their empire.

Ferdinand of Hapsburg asked the Croats to acknowledge him as king on the basis of the agreement concluded between the Hapsburgs and the former Hungarian-Croatian kings

of the Jagellon dynasty in 1491, 1506 and 1515. (12) Ivan Zapoljski called on the Croats to recognize him as king in the strength of his investiture with the crown of St. Stephen. (13) However the Croats rejected the claims of both. They were aware that Croatia was an independent kingdom and that in times of crisis such as this one when the Croatian throne was vacant, Croatia was not connected with Hungary and did not have to comply with the choice of the Hungarian estates. In this instance, according to old Croatian common law, the Croatian diet had the sovereign right and obligation to elect a new king.

At the time it would not have occurred to any Croat to elect a native Croat as king, to restore Croatia's independence and to free her from any connection with any other state. Croatia's political territory had been divided piecemeal and diminished to such an extent that, impoverished and devastated by Turkish raids it could not have resisted the power of the Turks as a fully independent state by any stretch of the imagination. The Croats realized that Croatia could survive only by ranging herself with the Christian West, under the protection of the Hapsburg Ferdinand I, Croatia's neighbour, whose elder brother was Charles V, emperor of Germany, king of Naples, Spain and the New World.

At the very end of the year 1526 the Croatian diet assembled in a Franciscan monastery in the city of Cetina in Pokuplje. It was attended by the bishop of Knin, Andrija Tuskanic; the former ban Ivan Karlovic, descendant of the old Croatian Gusic clan; Nikola Zrinski, father of the hero of Siget, descendant of the Subic clan; Juraj and Vukan Frankopan; Stjepan Blagajski for the Babonic clan; Grga Otmic, envoy from the county of Zagreb; and many other nobles and representatives of the districts, free towns and boroughs. (14)

After they had reached an agreement with the plenipotentiaries sent by Ferdinand of Hapsburg, the Croatian estates proceeded with the election. Without constraint and of their own free will they elected Ferdinand I as their rightful and legal king and his consort Anna as queen of Croatia. (15) Six prominent Croatian magnates fixed their seals to the electoral charter, which had in the middle the seal of the Kingdom of Croatia with the sixty-four checkers. (16)

After the Croats present at the diet swore an oath of fealty to king Ferdinand I (1527 – 64) by a show of hands, the king's plenipotentiaries set their signatures to the royal affidavit by which Ferdinand guaranteed to the Croatian diet:

1. To maintain at this own expense for the permanent defense of Croatia 1,000 cavalry and 200 infantry in Croatia, assigning 800 cavalry to several cities of the Croatian estates and appointing a supreme commander in Croatia with 200 cavalry and 200 infantry at his command.
2. To keep in Carniola, on the border of Croatia, an adequate military force ready at a moment's notice to cross into Croatia.
3. To inspect fortresses and to fortify cities in Croatia and to supply them with munitions.
4. To ratify the concessions, rights and statutes in force that made up the constitution of the kingdom of Croatia and Dalmatia. (17)

Both charters call Ferdinand "king of Bohemia and Croatia" (18) and do not mention Hungary. The Croatian estates intentionally worded their charters in such a way as stress that they alone elected Ferdinand, independent of Hungary.

The electoral diet in Cetina belongs among the most important events in the history of the Croatian nation. This diet was the formal proof that Croatia was not part of Hungary, but an independent kingdom, which in grave moments of crisis was capable of reaching an independent decision concerning its future and its political entity. There the Croats proved at the same time that they still remained a democratic nation capable of conducting its political affairs in a democratic fashion at the general diets. The elections

at Cetina influenced the further development of Croatian political life for a full four centuries from 1527 to 1918.

The majority of the Croatian nobility from Slavonia, among them bishop Simun Erdedi of Zagreb and the celebrated Croatian hero Krsto Frankopan, did not attend king Ferdinand's election in Cetina. On January 6th, 1527 at Dubrava near Cazma they elected their choice as king, Ivan Zapoljski. (19)

Seeing that the majority of Croats had decided for Ferdinand I, the governor of the Bosnian sanjak, Husrev-beg, prepared to renew the invasion of Croatia. Instead of sending an army to help Croatia in accordance with his solemnly concluded agreement, Ferdinand only thought how to outmanoeuvre his rival Ivan Zapoljski. At a new diet in Cetina on April 28th, 1527 the Croats once more requested from Ferdinand the aid that he had agreed to send them and despatched a message in good faith: "Let it be known to Your Majesty that it cannot be found that any ruler had seized Croatia by force, since after the death of our last king, Zvonimir of blessed memory, we have of our own free will associated ourselves with the holy crown of Hungary, and after that with Your Majesty." (20)

Ferdinand ignored this petition and left the Croats to their own inadequate resources because they could not agree among themselves in the election of the king. So Husrev-beg occupied Obrovac on the Zrmanja at the end of March 1527 and soon after Udbina with most of Krbava. At the outset of January 1528 Jajce, the Banja Luka and Kljuc on the river Sana also fell. In the spring of that year the Turks conquered the rest of Krbava and of Lika north of Mount Velebit. (21) To check the further advance of the Turks the Croatian diet passed a law on April 19th, 1528 in Krizevci authorizing the levying of troops all across the land for the defense of the fatherland. Each adult male without exception, even the clergy, had to enlist at the summons of the Croatian ban. (22)

On September 27th 1527 Ferdinand vanquished Ivan Zapoljski at Tokay and on that day ban Krsto Frankopan, Zapoljski's strongest supporter in Slavonia, perished at Varazdin. Whereupon Ferdinand I was invested with the crown of Hungary in Stolni Biograd on November 3rd, 1527. (23)

The energetic sultan Suleiman II (1520 – 66), hoping to be master of central Europe, came to the aid of the defeated Ivan Zapoljski and in a campaign in 1529 enthroned him as king in Budapest and advanced to Vienna but could not capture it. (24) The danger from the Turks incited the Croats of either party, both Ferdinand's and Zapoljski's, to conclude peace and form an alliance at a diet held in Novi Dvor in October 1529, thus putting an end to the civil war in Croatia. (25)

In Suleiman's second campaign against Vienna in 1532 the Croatian hero Nikola Jurisic stopped his progress at Kiseg. (26) Even then at the end of 1536 the governors of the sanjaks of Smederevo and Bosnia invaded Slavonia and occupied the fortified town of Pozega on January 25th. (27) Thereafter the whole of central Slavonia fell into Turkish hands.

During the fourth campaign against Ferdinand, Suleiman II turned Hungary into a Turkish pashadom in 1541. In the fifth campaign in 1543 he conquered Valpovo, Orahovica and Pakrac in Slavonia. In 1552 Virovitica and Cazma fell and in 1556 the fortified town of Kostajnica, thanks to the treachery of Ferdinand's commander Lusthaler. (28)

During the subsequent wars against the Turks the members of the noble family of the Zrinski especially distinguished themselves. Their origin lay in the old Croatian aristocratic family of the Subic to whom king Louis I on July 31st, 1347 had given the city

of Zrin in Pokuplje in exchange for Ostorvica on the river Krka. (29) Nikola Zrinski was Croatian ban from 1542 to 1556. On March 12th, 1546 king Ferdinand handed over to him the whole of Medjimurje as remuneration for the expenses he had incurred in the upkeep of the army on Croatian soil. Accordingly this powerful Croatian family began to gravitate from Zrin to Cakovac. (30) When he resigned as ban Nikola Zrinski was appointed commander of southwestern Hungary with his headquarters in Siget. There in 1566 with the flower of Croatian chivalry he checked the advance of Suleiman II during that sultan's final campaign against Vienna and central Europe and perished heroically as a "new Leonidas." (31)

Immediately upon his succession Ferdinand I formulated the policy of establishing a centralized administration with German as the official language of the Hapsburg crown lands, both in Austria (Austria and Tyrol) and in Slovenia (Carniola, Styria and Carinthia). Through the royal bureaucracy consisting of a council of war, the court chancellery and the royal cabinet, Ferdinand began to centralize the government and to employ the German language in the affairs of Hungary and Croatia. People have always be sensitive to such moves and consider it a violation of their natural rights if a foreign language is imposed on them. Therefore Ferdinand's bureaucratic measures, it goes without saying, occasioned much dissatisfaction and resistance among Hungarians and Croats. (32)

Ferdinand was succeeded by his eldest son Maximilian II (1564 – 76). He paid little attention to the defense of Croatia, devoting his energies instead to the process of centralization. During his reign the Croats had successfully repulsed the Turkish invasion without his aid, thanks to the valour of the Croatian bans Peter Erdedi-Bakac (1557 – 67) and Franjo Frankopan Slunjski (1567 – 78) and of the bishop of Zagreb Juraj Draskovic (1567 – 78). The Croatian diet in 1572 attests "that they preserved the boundaries of the kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia intact and that not one castle nor even an insignificant fortress was surrendered to the Turks during their terms as ban, but order was maintained everywhere." (33)

The Peasant Revolt of Matija Gubec in 1573

With the frequent inroads and depredations of the Turks the Croatian peasantry was reduced to extreme poverty. At the same time the Croatian nobility oppressed them all the more with taxes and corvées in order to fortify their towns for the defense against the Turks. When Maximilian II issued an edict for the collection of the new royal tax in the Slavonian regions the Croatian peasantry revolted. The brutality and greed of a certain feudal lord Franjs Tahy was the immediate cause of this uprising. "Back to the old justice" soon became the insurgents' rallying cry and an evergreen sprig in their hat was their symbol. They demanded freedom and equality with the other Croats for all peasants in accordance with the old Croatian law, the abolishment of the corvées, the redistribution of the tax burden among the estates equally, the equal participation of all classes in the military service and the election by the peasants of their own representatives in each village and of their own district chiefs. All these democratic principles would have to wait for the French Revolution at the end of theVIII century to reach their full expression in Europe.

The uprising began in Susjedgrad and Stubica in the Croatian hinterland at the end of 1573 and quickly spread throughout the other Croatian regions and in neighbouring Slovenia. Its leaders were Matija Gubec, Ivan Pasanca and Ilija Gregoric. With the aid of Austrian troops sent by Maximilian the Croatian nobility crushed the poorly equipped and untrained peasant army. The ringleaders of the uprising were executed and one of them, Matija Gubec had a red-hot iron crown placed on his head. (34)

Imbued with the old Croatian freedom loving and democratic spirit the Croatian peasants and the city plebs rose up everywhere demanding freedom and civic rights. So there were uprisings on the island of Hvar (1510 – 14), in Croatian Posavina (1643), in Venetian-controlled Dalmatia (1736 – 40), in Krizevac (1755) and so on. (35)

The Establishment of the Military Cordon

After the fall of Bosnia the Turks made sudden and frequent irruptions into Croatia and the neighbouring Austrian provinces. This forced the Croatian nobility to build fortified cities and maintain a permanent army for their defense. In this they were aided, especially financially, by the estates in Carinthia, Carniola and Styria who saw clearly that it was to their advantage to maintain a buffer zone at a safe distance from their boundaries. Even before he was elected king of Croatia Ferdinand of Hapsburg maintained at his expense the fortresses of Klis and Senj, manned by Croatian Uskoks from Turkish-held territories. (36) When he became king several other fortresses were along the military frontier became the object of his attention. (37) Nonetheless during his reign all military forces on the territory of the Croatian kingdom remained under the control of the Croatian ban and his adjutant, the military commander in Croatia.

When the Turks in 1577 – 78 conquered Upper and Lower Kladusa, Ostrozac, Zrin and Gvozdensko, Rudolph II on February 25th, 1578 entrusted the defense of the country to his uncle Charles of Styria and put under his command all the military commanders in all the provinces on the confines with the Turkish empire. (38) The Croatian ban also had to take orders from Charles of Styria. Pressured by the peril from the Turkish side, the Croats accepted Rudolph's decree, but under the condition "that His Excellency the Archduke Charles must come to an agreement with His Lordship the Ban of Croatia and Slavonia, such that nothing will happen injurious and contrary to the freedom of the Kingdom...because assuredly His Lordship the Ban will never submit to any other commander in a fashion contrary to the dignity of the Ban and to our age-old freedom." (39) The charter of Rudolph II on February 25th, 1578 laid the foundation for the establishment of the military cordon as the regions of the Croatian kingdom subject to military jurisdiction and on the confines of the Turkish empire were called. (40)

In order to have strongpoints on the new line of defense on the rivers Kupa and Glina, Charles of Styria built in 1579 a new fortified city at the confluence of the Korana and Mreznica with the Kupa, which he called Karlovac in his honour. (41)

In reply to these preparations for the defense of Croatia the Turks set up the Bosnian pashadom in 1580 which included all the sanjaks of the conquered Croatian lands: Bosnia, Herzegovina, Klis, Lika, Cernik, Pozega and Zvornik. (42) Hasan-pasha Predojevic, the military commander of the new pashadom, invaded Croatia in 1591 and devastated the regions around Bosnjakovina and Vrbovac and occupied the fortress of Ripac on the Una. The following year on June 9th, 1592 he occupied the fortified city of Bihac which for some time had been the capital of Croatia. In a two-year period Hasan-pasha set fire to twenty-six cities in Croatia and took 35,000 prisoners. (43) With the fall of the Bihac district the once large Croatian kingdom was reduced to 16,800 km². It was just a narrow strip along the Adriatic from the mouth of the Zrmanja to Bakar and in the interior an area stretching from the boundary of Slovenia up to the line running from Karlobag over Mount Velebit to Sisak and from there to Cazma and Pitomaca in the Podravina. (44) This area the Croats ruefully called the "remnant of the remnants of the erstwhile glorious kingdom of Croatia." (45)

In the spring of 1593 Hasan-pasha Predojevic with 20,000 picked troops from the whole Bosnian pashadom attacked Sisak, a town built by the canons of Zagreb for the defense of that city. The Croatian ban Toma Erdedi, who was raising a general levy in Croatia,

hastened to the aid of Sisak. Auersperg, the commander of Karlovac, and the Styrian colonel Eggenberg joined him with their troops and completely routed the Turkish army at Sisak on June 22nd. The Turkish army, the flower of the Bosnian Islamic nobility, almost entirely perished, cut to pieces or drowned in the swollen Kupa. The supreme commander Hasan-pasha and his brother Dzafer-beg, the governor of the sanjak of Herzegovina, Mehmed-pasha, the sultan's own nephew, the governors of the sanjaks of Klis and Zvornik, all lost their lives. The whole Christian West hailed with joy the victory of the Croats at Sisak. Turkey had set up the Bosnian pashadom in order to use Croatia as a beachhead for the invasion of Italy. These dreams came to naught under the walls of Sisak. (46) With their victory at Sisak the Croats passed to the offensive and set out to free Croatian soil under Turkish rule after centuries of defensive wars.

Upon hearing the news of the defeat at Sisak sultan Murad III declared war on the emperor Rudolph. The war lasted 13 years (1593 – 1606) and took place mainly in Hungary. With their victory at Petrinja on September 22nd, 1595 the Croats liberated the whole area north of the Kupa. In the peace treaty of November 11th, 1606 at the confluence of the Zitva and the Danube, near Komarom, it was agreed that each side maintain the status quo. In this way Croatia kept Cazma and Moslavina which had been taken from the Turks. This was the first time that at the cessation of hostilities, Turkey returned a piece of conquered territory to the Christian West. (47)

Wars of the Uskoks

While Bosnia was being conquered by the Turks in 1463, a considerable part of the Catholic Croats fled west into free Croatian territory. Among them were pure Wallachs of the Catholic faith who spoke a Romance language. There was a new flood of refugees in 1516 when the Turkish authorities in Bosnia began officially to persecute the Bosnian and Herzegovinian Catholics. (48) These new Croatian refugees were called "Uskoks", a term signifying that they had escaped from Turkish-held Croatia into free Croatia. One group of these Uskoks enlisted under Peter Kruzic, the commander of Klis, settling down in Klis and the vicinity. (49) When Klis fell in 1537 the Uskoks moved on to Senj where they enlisted under the commander of that fortress. For eighty years they and their descendants formed the garrison of Senj. They even passed on their name to the old Croatian population in the vicinity of Senj among whom they settled. They were divided into four companies, each of which was under an Uskok commander. Each soldier was armed with a musket and an axe. They also doubled as privateers on the Adriatic.

From Senj the Uskoks crossed the mountains to invade Turkish-occupied territories. On the Adriatic they preyed on the Turkish merchant fleet. When Venice concluded a peace treaty with Turkey in 1540, the Venetians began to transport Turkish goods in their ships. The Uskoks preyed on those ships and confiscated the Turkish merchandise. Like the Narentian pirates before them, the courageous and dauntless Uskoks hampered Venetian trade on the Adriatic for a full seventy years. Finally Venice and Austria, who supported the Uskoks, came into conflict in the wars of the Uskoks (1615 – 17). In this war the Uskok fleet came right up to Venice and on land the fighting took place on the Soca, at the very gates of Venice. By the mediation of Spain and France king Matthias II (1608 – 19) concluded peace with Venice in Madrid in 1617. In this treaty the king guaranteed to relocate the Uskoks in the interior of the country, to set fire to their fleet and to set a German garrison in Senj. The families of the Uskoks were transferred to the vicinity of Otocac and to Zumberak and some to southern Hungary. (50)

Croatian Diets and the Ban of Croatia

Under the Hapsburgs the Croatian diets were the guarantors of Croatian political sovereignty. According to a custom that began with the Arpad dynasty the diets of the kingdom of Croatia and Dalmatia and of the kingdom of Slavonia ordinarily met separately. The Slavonian diet sent its representatives to the Hungarian diet, from 1278 only for particularly important occasions, but regularly from 1442. (51) The diet of the kingdom of Croatia and Dalmatia did not send its representatives to the Hungarian diet, not even in 1526 when it was summoned by Ferdinand I for his election in Pozun (Bratislava). (52) From 1558 the Croats held a general diet for all Croatian lands, as had been the custom in former times. These were officially called "general diets of the kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia." The original minutes of the Croatian diets from 1557 to 1831 have been preserved up to the present day in twelve large volumes. According to the custom of the times the minutes were recorded in Latin. (53)

Under the Hapsburgs the Croatian diets ordinarily were held in Zagreb, which began to become the capital city of Croatia from the outset of the XVI century, when Bihac was turned into a stronghold on the frontiers of Turkish Bosnia.

According to a well-established Croatian custom the Croats conducted their political affairs by consensus in a democratic fashion at the national diets. The ban could not be invested in office, nor the chancellor be elected, without the consensus of the diet. Without it the army could not be mustered or duties be fixed.

In order to reach an agreement with Hungary on the mutual defensive measures against Turkey and to form a common front against the encroachment of Germanism and centralization, the Croatian diet decided in 1558 to send to the Hungarian diet in the future its delegates to represent the kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia. These delegates, only two or three in number, enjoyed a unique status in the Hungarian diet, occupying a place of honour on the right of the presidency of the diet as representatives of the kingdom of Croatia. Only those resolutions of the Hungarian diet, which the Croatian delegates had approved in accordance with the instructions of the Croatian diet, were valid in Croatia. From 1608 when the Hungarian diet split into an upper and a lower house, the Croatian diet sent one delegate to the lower house and two to the upper house. (55)

The Croatian ban was the chief executive in Croatia. The prominence of the Croatian bans grew especially from the middle of the XV century onward, when the kings of the various dynasties no longer appointed deputies from their family, the so-called duke of Croatia and Slavonia. Since then the ban was the real representative of the king, his viceroy. He summoned the Croatian diets, presided over them and executed their resolutions. He was the supreme commander of the army. As the chief justice in Croatia he delegated his authority to his second, the vice-ban, but left the more difficult cases to the Croatian diet for the final decision. The ban, appointed by the king, could not assume his office and had no authority until he was invested in the Croatian diet. There he was seated on the ban's seat, took in his hands the sceptre, symbol of supreme executive power in Croatia, and the silk banner, symbol of the supreme commander of the Croatian army. Under the Hapsburgs the bishop of Zagreb ordinarily performed the ban's investiture. (57)

When Maximilian II wished, as king, to summon the Croatian diet as he did the Hungarian diet, the Croatian diet objected to this as contrary to established custom and to the right of the Croatian ban. However the Croatian diet finally agreed to compromise, resolving that the Croatian ban summon and preside over the diets, but that he had to inform the king in advance so that the king could send his delegates to the diets. Moreover only those resolutions of the diet approved by the king constituted the statutes of the kingdom of Croatia. (58) With this act the diet made a great concession to the Hapsburgs and limited its own sovereign rights such as they had been up to that time.

The Settlement of Orthodox Wallachs in Croatia and the struggle of the Croats for their autonomy

Christian soldiers also served in the Turkish army of the Bosnian pashadom besides the native Moslems. These were the non-Slavic Orthodox Wallachs, Catholic Predavci from Bosnia and Slavonians. The Turks employed them as light assault troops, as auxiliary garrison troops in the border strongholds and on patrol duties over roads and ravines. They were mainly posted along the boundaries of free Croatia. As reward for their services, these Christian soldiers received some plots of land from the Turkish authorities for which they paid no other tax except one ducat a year per habitation. Moreover the Wallachs still kept their autonomous ethnic organization such as it had been established in the middle ages, along with considerable privileges which the Turks had left to them. (59)

When Turkey's reputation began to fade after the defeat of Sisak and the inconclusive and protracted war from 1593 to 1606 the Christian soldiers of the Turkish territories began to seek refuge in free Croatia, mostly on the invitation and with the collusion of the border commanders. They were settled in the border regions on the deserted estates of the aristocracy and of the church institutions (bishopric of Zagreb, clerical estates, canonical orders and monasteries). (60)

The newcomers, especially the Orthodox Wallachs, wished to live in Croatia under their tribal chiefs, subject to the commanders of the frontier in military matters and on the condition that they pay for their possessions no higher tax than they had paid to Turkey. The Croatian diet in 1604 resolved that the Wallachs and other settlers were obliged to pay the church tithe and a rent to the owners whose estates they worked. (61) These decrees were renewed in 1608, 1609 and 1613. (62) Yet the Wallachs did not consent to this and the Austrian military commanders on the frontier, wishing to exercise their jurisdiction without regard to the authority of the Croatian ban and diet, supported them.

Referring to a previous resolution of the Croatian diet, a general electoral diet compelled the new king Matthias II (1608 – 1618) prior to his coronation on November 19th, 1608, to be bound by solemnly to respect the established rights of the kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia, to return all the lands from the Drava to the Adriatic to the Croatian ban and to allow them to be under the ban's full control. (63) In 1618 his successor Ferdinand II (1618 – 37) renewed this guarantee. He was soon embroiled in struggles with the Transylvanian duke Gavro Bethlen and in the Thirty Years' War (1618 – 48) in which the Croats participated as light cavalry troops. By their courage, daring and by the rapidity of their tactics the Croats more than once contributed significantly to the victory of the imperial arms. (64)

In 1627 Ferdinand II granted to "the Wallach nation...who now inhabits the regions of Slavonia and Croatia the right to remain in their present domiciles and possessions... without interference from anyone" under the direct authority of the king. (65)

In order to solve the question of the Wallachs to the satisfaction of all, the Croatian diet on February 21st, 1629 passed a law regulating their status in which it was determined that "if the sons of these Wallachs will submit of their own free will to the state, they will obtain from the state certain freedom...they will not be forced to go to the corvées and they will not be considered as serfs...they will give to their landlords what they gave to their military commanders...The sons of the Wallachs will be full-fledged citizens and live in accordance with the laws of the state" discharging their military duties only. (66)

With this the Croatian diet gave the Wallachs equal status with the lower Croatian

nobility and made them free and full-fledged citizens of Croatia. Under the instigation of the Austrian military commanders of the frontier the Wallachs did not accept this. Instead of cohabitation and collaboration in harmony with the Croatian nation which had received them in their midst as free and full-fledged citizens, the Wallachs preferred to serve foreigners, to the lasting detriment of the Croat nation and to themselves.

Thereupon Ferdinand II, advised by the military interests in Austria, issued a charter on October 5th, 1630 to the newly settled Wallachs called Statuta Valachorum. According to it they would not be subject to the leading class in Croatia, but be soldiers in the military cordon, subject only to the king's military commanders. They would elect their own chieftains and judges. (67)

With this charter the customary administrative and judicial authority of the Croatian ban and diets ended on the territory of the military cordon. Thus the military cordon came to be removed from the control of the Croatian kingdom. Henceforth the military cordon and the newly settled Wallachs were a source of constant aggravation for the Croatian diets and a major hindrance in preserving the old Croatian rights and maintaining Croatia's political independence.

The Croats never approved of the special status of the Wallachs and the independent existence of the military cordon outside of the jurisdiction of the Croatian kingdom. At the request of the Croatian diets and of the joint Hungarian-Croatian electoral diet in Pozun the new Hapsburg rulers in their coronation charters of 1608, 1618, 1637 and 1657 bound themselves on oath to respect the established rights and constitution of the Croatian kingdom and to restore the full authority of the Croatian ban from the Drava to the Adriatic. (68) Accordingly the existence of the exceptional status of the military cordon and the Wallachs outside the customary authority of the Croatian diet and ban was an unconstitutional act and reflected the despotic will of kings.

The Zrinski-Frankopan Conspiracy (1664 – 71)

The failure of the Hapsburgs to live up to the obligations contracted at their coronations, the existence of the military cordon to the detriment of Croatian autonomy, the arrogance, insolence and coarseness of many Austrian officers of the military cordon reflected unfavourably on the Hapsburgs and greatly altered the loyalty of the Croats towards them. This mood of rebelliousness intensified after the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 when the Hapsburgs in the spirit of absolutism that reign then, began to work in earnest to eradicate the independence of Hungary and Croatia and to turn them into mere provinces of the Hapsburg dominions. The dissenters were headed by Nicholas Zrinski the Younger, Croatian ban from 1647 to 1664. He was a confirmed Croat (69), but in order to make overtures to the Hungarians and to win them over in the fight against centralism of the Hapsburgs and against the Turks, he composed poetry in Hungarian. His epic poem "The siege of Siget", in which he sings the praises of his grandfather Nicholas Zrinski the Elder who died heroically in 1566 defending Siget from the Turks, belong among the greatest poetical achievements of old Hungarian literature. (70)

Then in 1663 hostilities broke out between the Turks and the Hapsburgs. Ban Nicholas Zrinski with a Croatian army marched to Osijek and burned Suleiman's great bridge on the Drava. His brother Peter Zrinski with 2,500 Croats routed at Otocac the Bosnian vizier Ali-pasha Cengic who had invaded Croatia with 10,000 Bosnians. On August 1st, 1664 the imperial general Montecucculi with the help of the French, completely routed

the main Turkish army on the river Rab at St. Gotthard. The Croats and Hungarians hoped that Leopold I would continue the war to liberate Croatian and Hungarian territory occupied by the Turks. Instead of profiting by this brilliant victory Leopold I, on the advice of the war council in Vienna, concluded a hasty peace with the Turks at Vasvar on August 10th, 1664. (71)

This broke the patience of the Croats and Hungarians with the result that their representatives then considered it their right and duty to break all relations with the Hapsburgs and to look for a new way to restore the freedom and independence of Croatia and Hungary. The Hungarian palatine Franjo Wesselenyi and the bishop of Esztergom George Lippay, among others, joined the Croatian ban Nicholas Zrinski. The Hungarians inclined to seek Turkish aid, but on the proposal of the Croats agreed to rely on France which already for more than a century had been opposing the domination of the Hapsburgs in Europe. Negotiations in secret with Louis XIV got under way in the autumn of 1664. Meanwhile on November 18th the Croatian ban Nicholas Zrinski, ringleader of the conspiracy, died, struck down by a wounded boar. Nicholas' younger brother Peter Zrinski, Croatian ban from 1665 to 1670, took over the direction of the conspiracy. Peter was a patriot and dauntless warrior like his brother Nicholas, but did not have the diplomatic adroitness and sagacity of his brother. The long negotiations with Louis XIV were interrupted in 1668 when Louis reached an agreement with the Hapsburgs for the Spanish succession. Peter then turned to Venice and Poland, but did not obtain their support.

At the outset of the autumn of 1669 he decided to seek Turkish aid. This was a mistake. Turkey for centuries had been the enemy of Croatia and the Zrinski family and there was no prospect that the majority of the Croatian estates would support him in this step. However Zrinski wasted no time in sending his commander Bukovacki to Turkey to open negotiations. According to this agreement Hungary and Croatia would come under the sultan's protection paying him an annual tribute of 12,000 ducats. Peter Zrinski and his successors would rule Hungary and Croatia under the suzerainty of the sultan and Turkey would respect the old freedoms and rights of Hungary and Croatia.

Nothing came of these negotiations because the grand vizier Cuprilic did not believe that Zrinski would be a sincere and loyal Turkish subject. This failure compelled Zrinski to decide on reconciliation with Leopold I. With his young brother-in-law Krsto Frankopan, Zrinski went in person to Vienna where both men were imprisoned. In violation of the golden bull of Andrew II issued in 1222 which Leopold swore to uphold prior to his coronation in 1657, Peter Zrinski, Krsto Frankopan and the Hungarian conspirators were condemned for high treason and executed in Wiener Neustadt on April 30th, 1671. (72)

So Vienna succeeded in exterminating the two most important Croatian aristocratic families which had covered themselves with glory over the last two centuries in defending Croatia from the Turks and upholding Croatia's political entity. Zrinski's and Frankopan's great possessions were confiscated and for the remainder the Croatian diet came to an agreement with the court exchequer in Vienna only in 1720. (73)

The Wars of Liberation from the Turks

After the expiry of the peace of Vasvar, Turkey decided at any price to occupy Vienna and Central Europe. With a huge army of 250,000 warriors and 300 guns the grand vizier Kara-Mustafa reached Vienna and invested it. The Polish king Jan Sobieski rushed to the defense of Vienna and on September 12th, 1683 in conjunction with Charles of Lorraine, commander of the imperial army, completely dispersed the Turkish army. After a new Polish victory at Parkan the war for the reconquest of Turkish-occupied territories

began. In 1686 Venice joined the Holy League against Turkey in order to avail itself of the successes of the Croatian and Wallachian partisans who with the national contingents had liberated the Dalmatian littoral from the Turks.

In Hungary the imperial armies were fighting under the command of Charles of Lorraine, Louis of Baden and the young and brilliant military leader Eugene of Savoy. In Croatia Nicholas Erdedi, ban of Croatia from 1670 to 1693, commanded the army of the banate of Croatia. He took Virovitica from the Turks and forced them to relinquish Osijek in 1684. That same year he wrote to the bishop of Zagreb, Borkovic: "My heart urges me on to Bosnia." (74) In 1686 he swept Pokuplje and the northern part of western Pounje clear of the Turks. Having occupied Kostajnica Erdedi invaded Bosnia, but could not occupy the fortified city of Bihac. By then it was evident how much harm the court of Vienna had caused when in 1671 it exterminated the powerful Croatian aristocratic families of the Zrinski and Frankopan. Had the power of those families remained intact up to the wars of Vienna, it is quite certain that the Croatian successes would have been far more extensive and it is very probable that the Croats would have then liberated at least "Turkish Croatia", as were then called the regions of the kingdom of Croatia between the Una and the Urbas conquered by the Turks at the end of the XVI century. With this Croatia's national and political life would have taken a more favourable turn.

Another consequence of the failure of Croatian and imperial arms in Bosnia was that from 1686 to 1718 more than 100,000 Croatian Catholics emigrated from Bosnia. (75) It is true that the Bosnian and Herzegovinian immigrants in this way kept Slavonia from becoming Germanized and the Adriatic regions from becoming Romanized, but they evacuated large tracts of land throughout Bosnia in great numbers, especially in "Turkish Croatia", which was later resettled by a large non-Croatian population.

By the peace of Karlovac on January 26th, 1699 the following territories were freed from the Turks: Like, Krbava, Pokuplje, Pounje except for the towns of Cetin and Dreznik, all the Croatian lands north of the Sava (so-called Slavonia) and west of a line running from the mouth of the Bosut to Petrovaradin. (76)

The Croats in Adriatic Croatia under Venetian Rule

Before the arrival of the Turks, the Venetians had occupied all the Adriatic islands from Korcula to Istria and a narrow seaboard running from the Neretva to the mouth of the Zrmanja. During the Turkish wars (1468 – 79, 1499 – 1502, 1538 – 40) the Venetians lost the entire seaboard, except for the cities of Split, Trogir, Sibenik and Zadar. During the Candian war (1645 – 69) they reconquered the littoral from Poljica to the mouth of the Zrmanja, except for the northeastern part of Ravni Kotari between Zadar and the river Krka (Linea Nanni). During the wars of Vienna (1683 – 99) the partisans with the help of Venice freed the hinterland from the Zrmanja to the Neretva, including the cities of Obrovac, Skradin, Knin, Vrlika, Sinj and Vrgorac (Linea Grimani). With the peace of Pozarevac in 1718 Venice gained the city of Imotski and its district (Linea Mocenigo). With progressive conquests Venice gradually extended the Dalmatian confines to cover the territory that was purely Croatian and had once belonged to the former kingdom of Croatia.

The providore-general governed Venetian Dalmatia and was appointed by the Venetian senate every three years. His seat was in Zadar and he ruled almost independently, holding in his hands the whole administrative authority, civil, military, judicial and financial.

The country was divided into districts, at the head of which were the counts appointed by the providore. In the villages civil and military affairs devolved upon the village

chieftains, called 'harambasha.' In certain districts the towns and communes enjoyed an autonomous existence in accordance with their respective statutes. The local nobility with the count at its head appointed by the Venetians governed the towns. (77) The almost completely free Croatian democratic republic of Poljica enjoyed an exceptional autonomy. (78)

The official language in Dalmatia was the Venetian dialect of Italian. In the cities official business was conducted in Venetian dialect. The aristocracy and the more well to do citizens imitated Venetian dress and speech. Churches and palaces were built under Venetian influence. On the city walls and palaces plaques engraved with the figure of the lion of St. Mark were mounted. At first glance Dalmatia seemed to have been an Italian-speaking province, but in reality it never was so. The Venetians never introduced colonists from Italy into Dalmatia. The whole eastern coast of the Adriatic, except for the five cities of Byzantine Dalmatia, was settled by the Croats upon their arrival on the Adriatic in 626 A.D. (79) There was no essential change in the ethnic composition of Dalmatia when Venice extended its control over those regions from 1409 to 1718. The entire agricultural population of all the Adriatic islands had been wholly Croatian since the VIII century and continued to remain so. In certain regions of continental Dalmatia and on the Adriatic islands the old Croatian population either perished or fled elsewhere during the Turkish wars, but these abandoned regions were resettled by the Croats from Bosnia, Herzegovina and other regions who had fled from Turkish rule. (80)

The Croats began to flock to the Roman cities of Byzantine Dalmatia in growing numbers as early as the IX and X centuries under the Croatian national rulers. A good part of the old Romans were Croatized by intermarriage. The fall of Bosnia (1463) and the protracted fighting with the Turks resulted in a serious influx of Croats to the cities of the littoral. The old and more recent Croatian immigrants were plebeians and made up the great majority of the population in all the Dalmatian cities, even Zadar, the seat of Venetian administration. From the XV century in the cities Croatian was spoken even in the homes of the aristocratic families, where the women usually knew only Croatian. (81)

It was precisely from these Croatian aristocratic families that the first Croatian men of letters arose who under the stimulus of the Renaissance, created the first Croatian works of belletristic literature. This literature was based on Croatian national poetry and of the rudimentary writings from Church Glagolitic literature. Marko Marulic of Split (1450 – 1524) wrote "in Croatian verses" the epic "Judita" in 1501 to encourage the Croats in the fight against the Turks. Marulic was known and appreciated throughout Europe for his Latin treatises on ascetical theology. Peter Zoranic of Zadar wrote the "Planine" in 1536, the first Croatian idyllic novel. Hanibal Lucic of Hvar (1485 – 1553) wrote the first Croatian secular drama under the name "Robinja." Peter Hektorovic (1487 – 1572) also from Hvar, published in 1658 the poem "Ribarenje i ribarsko prigovaranje" in which he preserves certain old Croatian folk poems. Mise Pelegrinovic of Hvar wrote a comedy that belongs among the finest works of Croatian literature. The Jesuit Bartul Kasic from Pag published in Rome in 1604 the first Croatian grammar. The learned historian Ivan Lucic (1604 – 69) published the first scientific work on the history of Dalmatia and Croatia. Of the later Croatian poets of Dalmatia one has to mention the Croatian patriot and Franciscan friar Filip Grabovac (1695 – 1750) and his contemporary friar Andrija Kacic. Of all the Croatian works the latter's "Razovor ugodni naroda Slovinskoga" has been printed and read the most often. (82)

During the Venetian rule in Dalmatia numerous architectural monuments were erected in many cities and localities of the littoral: cathedrals, monastic and parish churches, city halls and aristocratic palaces. Of these one ought to mention the belfry of St. Domnius in Split, the cathedrals in Osor (1498), Korcula (XV century), Hvar (XVI century) and particularly the cathedral in Sibenik which belongs among the greatest and most significant artistic achievements of any age on the east coast of the Adriatic.

Both foreign and native Croatian artists had a hand in the creation of Dalmatia's architectural treasures. Many Croatian artists worked both in Italy and elsewhere in the West under the names Dalmata, Schiavo, Schiavone, etc. Of particular note were the following architects and sculptors: Juraj Dalmatinac (Georgius Dalmata) who built the main sections of the cathedral in Sibenik from 1441 to 1473, Franjo or Vrana (Franciscus Laurana, 1420 – 1502), the painters Juraj Culinovic (Georgius Schiavone, 1433 – 1504), and Andrija Medulic who died in 1563. The Croat Juraj Klovic (Georgio Clovio, 1498 – 1578) is considered the best painter of miniatures in the high renaissance in Europe. (83)

It is mainly thanks to the Croatian peasantry and the lower Catholic clergy that during the long Venetian rule the Adriatic islands and the Dalmatian mainland did not lose their Croatian character and Croatian survived as a language. Indeed, in ecclesiastical affairs Venetian policy was to appoint bishops and higher church officials who were loyal to the regime, usually native-born Venetians. Yet neither the secular authorities nor the bishops affected the lower parish clergy or the religious life of the lower classes. The Croats used the Old Slavonic language in their liturgy as early as the end of the IX century in Istria, the Adriatic islands and in Croatia. When Venice gradually came into possession of the regions which she was to rule it did not affect the religious life of the church such as it found in the countryside. Furthermore among the peasantry and plebeians of the cities native Glagolitic priests who knew only Croatian performed the parish ministry. (84) They know neither Latin nor Venetian. Among the Croatian Catholics who had fled from Bosnia and Herzegovina after the invasion of the Turks, the religious care was in the hands of the Franciscans from the provinces of Croatian Bosnia and of Bosnia Srebrenicka, which in 1735 were organized into the special province of the Most Holy Redeemer of Dalmatia. (85) The Franciscans from Bosnia carried over into Dalmatia the old custom that the reading aloud in the Croatian language of day the Gloria, the Epistle, the Gospel, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Agnus Dei, etc. In the spirit of their democratic order the Franciscans were most accessible to the Croatian people. From the XV century to the end of the XVIII century the Franciscans made up the most nationally conscious segment of the Croatian people, both in Venetian Dalmatia and elsewhere in Croatia. It is especially thanks to them that the Croats preserved the consciousness of their national unity during the many centuries in which they lived partitioned among several states. (87)

The Croatian peasant, both the native and the newcomer from Turkish territory, fortified in his spirit by his Croatian Glagolitic clergy and by the Franciscans, remained rooted in the Dalmatian soil and in the soil of the Adriatic islands during the whole of Venetian rule. He spoke exclusively Croatian and lived according to Croatian customs. He wore the Croatian costume and built his houses and country churches in the old Croatian style. This was the reason why in the villages one can say that no trace of the centuries-old Venetian rule remained when in 1797 the French took over control of Dalmatia. The national character and ethnic boundaries in the territory of the Adriatic always remained the same as it had been during the time of Croatia's national rulers. (88)

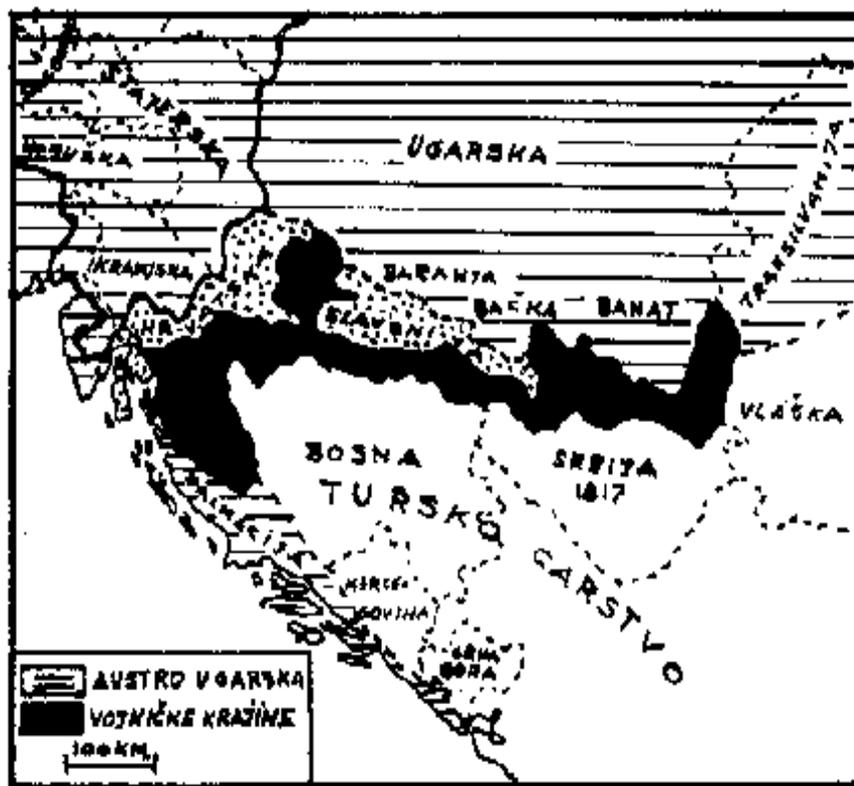
Croatia's Pragmatic Sanction of 1712

The recovery of large tracts of Croatian land from the Turks during the wars of Vienna considerably redeemed the Hapsburgs in the eyes of the Croats. With the help of this powerful dynasty they hoped to free the rest of Croatia, especially Bosnia and Herzegovina. (89) Now Joseph I (1705 – 11), the successor of Leopold I, died and left only two daughters behind him. The only male descendant of the Hapsburg line left was crowned king of Hungary and Croatia in April 1711 under the name of Charles III (VI).

The Croats knew that the Hungarians had resolved at the Hungarian diet of October 18th, 1687 to elect their own king themselves upon the extinction of the Hapsburg male line.

At that time the Croatian writer Pavao Ritter-Vitezovic (90) by his historical writings was resuscitating Croatia's national and political consciousness and its aspirations to independence from Hungary. Therefore on March 11th, 1712 at the Croatian diet of Zagreb the Croats adopted the resolution to pass the Croatian crown, upon the extinction of the Hapsburg male line, on to the female line of the Hapsburgs, who would rule over the Austrian crown lands and hold court in Austria. (91) In justifying their decision the Croatian diet wrote to Charles III: "We had once our own national kings, not Hungarian ones. We have not been subject to the Hungarians either by force or by conquest, but have submitted of our own free will, not to the Hungarian kingdom but to its king...We are free and not slaves." (92) So the Croats, with this fundamental statute, emerged as sovereign and independent of Hungary and eleven years before the Hungarians passed their own pragmatic sanction concerning the succession to the Croatian throne of Hapsburgs of the female line. (93)

When Charles III (1711 – 40) embarked on a new war with Turkey, the Croats hoped for the liberation of Bosnia and at the diet of Glina in 1737 they passed twelve resolutions stating: "His Excellency the Ban has declared that, as one can discern from historical documents, the boundaries of this kingdom once stretched as far as the river Vrbas...His Most Exalted Lordship the Ban has promised to inform His Imperial Majesty of this and at the same time to ask him to extend the boundaries of the kingdom at least this far, when treating for peace with Turkey, if not further and to return to us this new acquisition. The estates and orders have also recommended this affair to His Excellency the Ban." (94)



Vojna krajina u Hrvatskoj i Ugarskoj od 17- do 19-st.

Austrian and Hungarian Centralism

Croatia set great hopes upon the accession of Maria Theresa (1740 – 80) to the throne. At the coronation diet in Pozun on May 14th, 1741 she swore to respect the constitutional rights of Hungary and Croatia, to unite with Croatia the old Croatian counties recovered from the Turks in Slavonia and to return Zrinski's and Frankopan's possessions in Pokuplje and on the littoral to the Croatian kingdom and under the ban's control. (95) Indeed on April 1st, 1745 the Slavonian counties of Virovitica, Pozega and Srijem were incorporated into the Croatian kingdom. (96)

Since the Hapsburgs on account of their frequent wars always needed soldiers, Maria Theresa added to the old zones of the military cordon the boundary regions along the Sava in Slavonia and Srijem. Both the old and the newly created districts were organized in 1746 along strict military lines. The whole military cordon was divided into eleven regiments and these further into battalions, companies and boroughs. The officers of individual units discharged their administrative and judicial functions in accordance with the directions from the war council in Vienna. German was the official language. The regiments were furnished in every respect from the localities in which they were stationed. Each male between 16 and 60 was a soldier who in wartime had to go where he was commanded. All the inhabitants of the military frontier incurred this liability, both the native Croats and the newcomers, the Orthodox Wallachs and Catholic Croats from Bosnia. In peacetime these inhabitants looked after their own sustenance with the possessions at their disposal in Croatia. In wartime they subsisted off the imperial treasury. Thus the military cordon was converted into a large camp with a standing army always ready and maintaining itself at no cost to the state in peacetime. (97)

With this decree of Maria Theresa the military cordon as of 1746 fell directly under the control of the court in Vienna. Meanwhile the civilian population of Croatia, an old democratic nation even under the Hapsburgs, conducted all its public affairs in accordance with its national diets. Therefore during the first thirty years of Maria Theresa's reign the Croatian diet convened forty-two times while the Hungarian diet in the same time period was held only three times. (98)

To minimize the importance of the Croatian diets and to bring about the gradual centralization of the banate of Croatia, Maria Theresa on July 7th, 1767 set up the royal council for Croatia with its seat in Varazdin, later transferred to Zagreb in 1776. The Croatian ban with six advisors and several clerks headed the council that received its directives and commands from Vienna and issued them directly to the counties. It functioned as a rubber stamp for the Croatian territories and worked independently of the Croatian diets. (99)

To conciliate the goodwill of the disaffected Croats Maria Theresa with a letter written in her own hand and dated August 9th, 1776 ordered through the royal council that the city and port of Rijeka be once more without delay incorporated into the kingdom of Croatia and with a letter dated September 5th, 1777 that the cities of Bakar and Kraljevica, former Frankopan possessions, be reincorporated into Croatia. (100)

Seeing that the Croats protested against the royal council, Maria Theresa abolished it on July 30th, 1779 and transferred its functions to the Hungarian council of regents, formed in 1723. On the basis of articles 10, 24 and 120 dating from 1715 Croatia's internal affairs and the defense of the country outside of the military cordon devolved upon the Croatian diet and ban. (101)

Joseph II (1780 – 90), son and successor of Maria Theresa, had decided to Germanize by

force and without delay all the lands which he ruled. He abolished the established constitutions of Hungary and Croatia. On May 18th, 1784 he issued an edict instituting German as the official language of the imperial government beginning November 1st of the same year. This edict pertained even to the Hungarian council of regents. Within two years all county and district offices had to use German exclusively. Within five years no clerk or priest would be able to conduct his affairs in any other language except German. (102)

These measures caused a general alarm throughout Hungary and Croatia. Hoping by enlisting the aid of Hungary to be able to cope more successfully in the struggle against centralism and Germanization, the Croatian diet in Zagreb resolved on May 12, 1790 to form a coalition between Hungary and Croatia until they should recover Bosnia and Herzegovina from the Turks and Dalmatia and Istria from the Venetians. Then an autonomous Croatian government had to be established. For now this coalition had to respect Croatia's autonomous rights. (103)

When the Hungarian diet met in Budapest on July 11th, 1790 the Hungarians wished to force the Croats to adopt Hungarian as their language, although they themselves had never adopted the use of German which the Hapsburgs had tried to force upon them. They proposed that debates in the diet be conducted in Hungarian and that Hungarian be gradually introduced in all institutions in Hungary and Croatia. The Croatian representatives opposed this concept. The Croatian ban Toma Erdedi declared on that occasion that one kingdom cannot dictate the laws to another kingdom. Finally it was decided that in a joint diet Hungarian and Latin could be used, that the laws concerning the introduction of Hungarian was valid only for Hungary and that Croatia's internal affairs had to be discussed only in the Croatian diets. (104)

The break with Hungary over the status of Croatia as a nation

From 1790 the role played by the Hungarian diets in the coalition between Croatia and Hungary awakened Hungarian nationalism and this emerged in the tendency to limit Croatia's political independence and to form out of Hungary and Croatia a unified state using the Hungarian language and under Hungarian domination. The national and political self-esteem of the Croats was repulsed and they began to be fortified by a resurgence of nationalism which began to manifest at the end of the XVIII century under the influence of the French revolution and as a result of Hungarian oppression. (105) The Croatian journalist and poet Ljudevit Gaj (1809 – 72) with his Illyrian movement inspired among the Croats an unparalleled enthusiasm for the Croatian language, an awareness of Croatian unity despite its partition among several states, a love for freedom and a desire for Croatian equality with other nations. At the outset of 1835 Gaj began to publish in Zagreb the *Novine Horvatzke* and the *Danica Horvatzka*, changing the names a year later to *Ilirske Narodne Novine* and *Danica Ilirska*. (106)

When Gaj's movement reached its climax Budapest and Vienna by a royal edict of January 11th, 1843 placed the Illyrian name under an interdict, suspecting the movement to be a form of Russophile Pan Slavism. But this was not enough to quell the aroused nationalism of the Croats. At the Croatian diet of May 2nd, 1843 the Croatian historian Ivan Kukuljevic delivered the opening speech at the diet in Croatian and proposed that Croatian replace Latin in Croatia as the official diplomatic language. The diet resolved that the Croatian representatives at Pozun should protect Croatia's right and conduct their official business in Latin. (107) Meanwhile the Hungarian diet meeting on May 14th, 1843 in Pozun resolved that in all the lands belonging to the crown of St. Stephen as well as in Croatia, Hungarian had to be recognized as the only official language and to be employed as the language of instruction after ten years, i.e. from

1853 onwards. The Croatian representatives objected so much that Ferdinand V did not ratify the proposal. (108) Whereupon the Croatian diet in Zagreb on October 23rd, 1847 passed the resolution raising the Croatian language in the Kingdom of Croatia "to the level of a diplomatic language, an honour enjoyed up to now by Latin language." (109) It was the last meeting of the estates of Croatia.

When the Hungarians at the diet of Pozun on July 7th, 1848 resolved once more to introduce the Hungarian language in all Croatian lands after six years and with the 'March law' reduced Croatia's autonomy to almost nothing, there came about a complete break between the Croats and Hungarians. (110)

On March 23rd, 1848 in order to comply with the wishes of the Croats, the king appointed as Croatian ban the capable and patriotic general Josip Jelacic who scheduled elections for the Croatian diet in Croatia, Slavonia and the military cordon. For the first time at these elections the representatives were elected democratically by the whole Croatian nation. The diet met on June 5th, 1848 and at the first session instated Jelacic as ban of Croatia. The diet abolished serfdom, introduced a system of taxation and the equality of all before the law. At the same time the privileges of the estates were abolished and a long period of medieval feudalism came to an end in Croatia. Furthermore the diet resolved that the jurisdiction of the ban should extend once more "from the Drava to the sea", that the military cordon and Dalmatia should be reincorporated into Croatia and that the entire Hapsburg monarchy should be restructured on the basis of free and equal national units. Before the session was over the diet had transferred all authority to ban Jelacic. (111)

Jelacic attempted without success to make the Hungarians recognize Croatia's equality with Hungary by peaceful means. He finally had no choice but to declare war. He crossed the Drava with 40,000 Croats on September 11th, 1848 and proclaimed in Cakovac the unification of Medjimurje with Croatia. His most important battle was fought at Schwechat on October 30th where he completely routed the Hungarians and compelled the insurgents in Vienna to lay down their arms.

In the meantime revolution broke out in all of Hungary under the leadership of Lajos Kossuth whose aim was to liberate Hungary completely from the Hapsburgs and to form a Hungarian state from the Carpathians to the Adriatic where solely the Hungarian nationality and the Hungarian language would be recognized. Thereupon Ferdinand V resigned from the throne and on December 2nd 1848 handed the reins of power over to his young nephew Franz Joseph I (1848 – 1916) who publicly declared that he would govern in accordance with the principals of national equality and of the equality of all citizens before the law and with the participation of national delegates in the legislature. On December 2nd also appointed ban Jelacic governor of Rijeka and Dalmatia. Whereupon all Croatian lands except Istria and Bosnia, still under Turkish hands, came under the jurisdiction of the Croatian ban.

Jelacic still continued the war with Hungary. Finally Franz Joseph obtained Russian aid. The combined forces of the Russians, Croats and Austrians overpowered the Hungarians who laid down their arms at Vilagos on August 13th, 1849. (112)

The young emperor promulgated the general constitution for all countries within the Hapsburg empire on March 4th, 1849. According to this constitution the kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia including the littoral and the city of Rijeka was proclaimed independent of and equal to Hungary. Ban Jelacic obtained from the Holy See the elevation of the bishop of Zagreb to the rank of metropolitan in 1852. With this act the Croatian church was made independent of the Hungarian church. In his accomplishments and endeavours ban Jelacic belongs among the greatest and most meritorious Croats in the history of Croatia. (113)

Neither the Hungarians nor the Croats were content with the new constitution because Croatia and Hungary were made part of the Hapsburg crown lands. The capital city was Vienna where all the key positions in the government were in German hands. For ten years Franz Joseph I ruled as an autocrat over all his crown lands through his minister Alexander Bach. Croatian and Hungarian autonomy was eliminated, civil rights curtailed and the German language was gradually introduced into all institutions. In this way Hungarians were punished for their rebellion and the Croats were 'rewarded' for their service in having helped the Hapsburgs remain on the throne. (114)

When France defeated Austria at Solferino on June 24th, 1859 Franz Josef was forced to return the old constitution to Hungary and Croatia. In this way Croatian once again became the official language in the institutions and in the schools of Croatia. Meanwhile a general conference of the leading representatives of all the crown lands was summoned to reform the monarchy. Nothing came out of it because the Austrian Germans were not willing to recognize the equality of the other nations and to let them participate in government. Only when Prussia defeated Austria at Sadova in Bohemia (July 3rd, 1866) did the Austrian Germans decide to share the power with the Hungarians, the strongest of the malcontents. Accordingly by an act passed on February 7th, 1867 the Austro-Hungarian dual monarchy was created. In it the lands of the Hapsburg monarchy were reassembled into two equal and independent states united only in the person of the ruler and occasionally in their purpose. Of the Croatian lands Austria kept Istria and Dalmatia for itself and Hungary had to make an independent compromise with the kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia. (115)

The Austro-Hungarian dual monarchy was brought about without the knowledge and agreement of the Slavic nations making up the majority of the population in the Hapsburg monarchy. These Slavs were divided and treated as an object of oppression and exploitation. At the outset of the new arrangement the Hungarian president George Andrassy mentioned to the Austrian president F. Beust: "You look after your barbarians and we will look after our." (116) The injustice that the Austro-Hungarian monarchy perpetuated on the Slavic nations resulted in its permanent discredit in the eyes of the Slavs and in the eventual fall of the Hapsburg monarchy after World War I.

Even before the terms of the dual monarchy were common knowledge the Croatian diet of December 18th, 1866 resolved not to establish political connections with Hungary, but "to deal with the king directly in discussing Croatia's relations vis-à-vis Austria." As Croatia's political status with regard to Hungary had not yet been settled, the Croatian diet of May 16th, 1867 resolved not to send its representatives to the coronation diet in Budapest not to let any Croats be present at Franz Joseph's investiture with the Hungarian crown. Thereupon Franz Joseph dissolved the Croatian diet on May 25th and appointed as ban Levin Rauch who tailored the electoral system to suit his purposes and brought the majority of unionists over to the new diet by force. These then concluded the compromise with Hungary that was ratified in the Croatian diet on September 24th and in the Hungarian diet on September 28th of 1868.

The Hungarian-Croatian compromise of 1868 was a bilateral political agreement between Hungary and Croatia in which it was explicitly stated "that the kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia is a political nation possessing its own territory", specifically "that it constitutes a separate nation in the political sense" (article 59). According to the compromise Croatia was totally independent of Hungary, administratively and legislatively, in all that concerns its internal affairs: church, education, the courts. Only the Croatian diet and the government of the banate would decide in these matters. All other affairs would be treated in common at a joint Hungarian-Croatian diet to which the Croatian diet would send twenty-nine representatives to the lower house and two to the upper house. The Croatian language was official in all of Croatia and even at the joint diet in the case of affairs pertaining solely to Croatia. Of Croatia's national revenue 45% would remain at

home for domestic needs and 55% would go into a common treasury for mutual needs i. e. the army, the common institutions, etc. The military cordon and Dalmatia belonged to kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia and the Hungarian diet guaranteed that it would work toward this unification. (117)

According to the compromise of 1868 Croatia was not a part of Hungary or a mere province, but a distinct kingdom joined in a real union with Hungary. By this compromise the Croats maintained, in an attenuated form, the politico-legal continuity of the old Croatian kingdom. Of all the nations of the Hapsburg monarchy, Czechs, Poles, Slovenes etc., Croatia alone, along with Austria and Hungary, retained up to 1918 its constitutional character and preserved its own political entity.

After the Hungarian-Croatian compromise had been ratified in the Croatian and Hungarian diets, Franz Joseph issued in Croatian the coronation charter in which he guaranteed in article three: "All those parts and provinces of Hungary and of her sister kingdoms which have been restored (Dalmatia) as well as those which will by God's help be recuperated (Bosnia and Herzegovina) we shall, in accordance with our coronation oath, reintegrate into the aforesaid nation and its sister kingdoms." (118) Following this proclamation the military cordon was returned to Croatia in 1881 whereas Bosnia and Herzegovina fell under joint control of Austria and Hungary. (119)

The Hungarian-Croatian compromise of 1868 was the work of the Croatian unionist party that in the elections at the end of 1876 gained a majority by force and by gerrymandering the electoral districts. The great majority of the Croatian people did not condone the actions of the unionists and were not satisfied with the compromise. In the main they sought full Croatian independence and equality with Hungary. The direct result of their dissatisfaction was that Croatia was placed under a heavy financial strain in the interests of her common affairs with Hungary. In addition, Hungary's financial, commercial and economic policies that hampered the development of traffic and of maritime and river navigation and the construction of roads and railways in Croatia, also checked the progress of agriculture in the villages and of trade, commerce and industry in the towns. Since the compromise Croats began to emigrate in large numbers overseas, to the great misfortune of Croatia's national life. Over 500,000 emigrated from Croatia before World War I. (120)

Under these circumstances the compromise could be maintained as a viable solution only by force. Count Khuen-Hedervary was notoriously prone to make free use of force during his term of office as ban (1883 – 1903). This resulted in a complete estrangement between Croatia and Hungary and at the end of World War I, on October 29th, 1918 the Croatian diet revoked the compromise and completely dissolved all political ties with Austria and Hungary. (121)

Croatia's educational and cultural development under the Hapsburgs

Under the influence of humanism and the Renaissance cultural activities thrived and education showed a marked progress in Croatia despite an unfavorable political situation and frequent outbreak of war. Priests and members of fraternal orders monopolized the teaching posts in the schools, run by the bishopric of Zagreb, the monasteries or the more opulent parishes. Secular education appears as a consequence of the rise of the free cities. The city of Zagreb is mentioned as having its own school as early as 1362. The clergy and laity in Croatia had to go abroad to pursue higher education, to the universities of Vienna, Cracow, Parish, Pavoda and elsewhere.

The Croatian Paulines opened the first higher institution in Croatia, a gymnasium, at Lepoglava in 1503. Along with this institution they founded the faculties of advanced

studies in philosophy (1656) and theology (1683) which granted doctoral degrees. In 1548 Ferdinand I approved a resolution of the Croatian diet to use the monastic and ecclesiastical estates in decline as a result of the inroads of the Turks for the support of the more scholarly members of the clergy, for the restoration of and building of schools and for the subsidy of talented youth so that they might complete their higher education abroad. (122) Juraj Draskovic, bishop of Zagreb (1546 – 78) founded a theological seminary in Zagreb.

The Jesuits deserve the most credit for the development of the school system in Croatia. They founded gymnasia that were accessible to all citizens and comprised six grade levels in Zagreb (1607), in Rijeka (1630), in Varazdin (1636), in Pozega (1698), in Karlovac (1736) and in Ostijek (1766). Besides the gymnasium in Zagreb the Jesuits founded the Academy for theology (1632) and for philosophy (1662). Leopold I in his edict of September 23rd, 1669 conferred upon this academy a status equal to the other universities in the Hapsburg domains with the condition that it had to grant doctoral degrees. This was ratified by the Croatian diet on November 3rd, 1671.

In 1768 Maria Theresa founded in Varazdin the Academy for political sciences and economy which was transferred to Zagreb in 1772. When the Jesuit order was disbanded in 1773 this academy was merged with the former Jesuit Academy and continued to function as a secular institution under the name of Royal Academy. Up to 1850 this academy was the sole institution of higher learning in Croatia. It consisted of three faculties: theology, law and philosophy. With a substantial grant from the bishop of Djakovo, Juraj Strossmeyer, the Yugoslavian Academy of Arts and Sciences was established in Zagreb and in 1874 the Croatian University on the same standards as the European universities of that time. These two Croatian institutions of higher learning, along with the Jesuit Academy founded in 1669, are the oldest institutions of higher education in all the countries of southeastern Europe. (123)

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VII. HISTORY OF THE SERBS IN MODERN TIMES

I. THE SURVIVAL OF THE SERBS AS A PEOPLE AFTER THE FALL OF THE SERBIAN STATE

With the Turkish occupation of Smederevo and the fall of the Serbian Despotate in 1459 the independent Serbian national state collapsed. (1) Yet it did not destroy the Serbs as a people. The warrior class and the dignitaries of Serbia, or what was left of them, treated across the Danube and the Sava into southern Hungary. In the meantime the great majority of the Serbian people, the peasants and the farmers, remained on their ancestral plots of land under Turkish rule.

The Serbs under Turkish rule in the ancient homeland of Rasa

The Turkish conquest of Serbia began with the battle on the river Marica in 1371 and the Turkish victory at Kossovo in 1389. In 1392 the Turks conquered Skoplje and turned it into a military strongpoint and the area into a Turkish sanjak of the highest strategic importance. When the Turks in 1454 – 55 conquered the domains of Djuradj Brankovic south of the Western Morava, the established sanjaks in Vucitrn and Krusevac. The sanjak of Smederevo was established in 1459 when the city fell into Turkish hands. The seat of this sanjak was transferred to Belgrade in 1521 when the city fell also into Turkish hands. (2)

During the fighting with the Turks and especially during the repeated inroads of the Hungarian armies into Serbia under Janko Hunyadi (1446 – 56) and his son king Matthias (1458 – 1490) many Serbs, particularly from northern Serbia, emigrated to southern Hungary. However the great majority of the inhabitants, especially the peasantry, remained in place. (3) This was because the Turkish authorities respected the status quo and did not force the Serbs to abandon their language. The taxes were moderate and easier to bear than it had been under Serbian rulers. Most of all, the Turks did not interfere with the religious life of their subjects.

Islam was the official state religion in the Turkish empire. Usually only Moslems could hold political office and this regardless of their ethnic origin. But Turkey was very tolerant to all who professed a monotheistic creed, both Jews and Christians who possessed books of "God's revelation", the Torah and the Gospels. The Turks considered them citizens of the Turkish empire, though not quite equal with the Moslems. Their life and property were protected by law. They could possess real estate, engage in industry and commerce and serve in the Turkish army. In the sanjak of Vucitrn in 1455 twenty-seven of the one hundred and seventy military land grants were Christian possessions. In the sanjak of Smederevo in 1476, of all the landowners, sixty-four were Moslems and eighty-five were Christians. The garrison of Smederevo in 1516 consisted of ninety-five Moslems and five hundred and thirty-seven Christians, mainly Wallachs. (4)

The real reason for which the Serbs remain in their original domiciles was because the Turks allowed them to follow freely their religion. Indeed when the sultan Mehmed II occupied Istanbul 1453 he solemnly guaranteed to the people freedom of religion and swore that he would respect the institution of the Orthodox church. The Orthodox patriarch of Constantinople enjoyed equal status with the highest Turkish officials, the viziers. Orthodoxy, embodied in the church, which acknowledged the Turkish state authority and collaborated with it, was a free and privileged religion of the state. Everywhere in the Balkans and in Serbia Orthodox Christians freely followed their religion and no one persecuted them for it nor compelled them to convert to Islam. Moreover in those days there was a great number of clergy in Serbia, especially monks,

who lived in numerous monasteries. Although their standard of education was very low, as members of the various monastic communities they enjoyed quite a reputation among the people. By their presence and by their preaching they kept the people in the Orthodox creed, so that only a very small number of Orthodox Christians were converted to Islam. (5)

Although there were no major change in religion there began to be considerable change in the ethnic composition, particularly of northern Serbia, with the Turkish occupation. Indeed with the fall of the Despotate in 1459 non-Slavic Wallachs speaking a Romance language came there with the Turks as auxiliary military detachments. They came from the great homeland of the Wallachs in the mountain regions stretching from Mount Sar to Zlatibor and from Mount Kopaonik to the Drina. When in the last quarter of the XV century a considerable part of the Serbian peasantry of northern Serbia emigrated into Hungary the Turks brought Wallachs from their homeland to work the land in Serbia on the estates of the sultan and the landlords. The Turks recognized both the Wallachs who served in the army and those who worked the land as an autonomous people, as they had lived since the middle ages, segregated from the society of the Byzantines, Bulgarians and Serbs who at that time had their own national states. The Wallachs enjoyed considerable concessions from the Turks in the payment of state taxes. The oldest Turkish 'Wallach law' promulgated in 1467 – 68 states: "Let each house contribute one ducat, two sheep, one with a lamb and one ram. Twenty houses constitute a 'Katun' (summer pasture)...Let all other taxes be remitted in their case. Every five houses must furnish one soldier for any military campaign." (6) Later it was fixed by law to include every single house. (7)

The Turkish census lists of the second half of the XV century indicate that there was a large number of ethnic Wallachs settled in northern Serbia. In one of them, daftar no. 16 of the sanjak of Smederevo ca. 1476 we find that there were in that sanjak 15,000 houses belonged to non-Moslem Serbian subjects and 7,600 belonged to Wallachs. In 1527 the Turks listed the ethnic Wallachs in Smederevo and one part of the sanjak of Krusevac in two large census lists, separately from the rest of the population of the sanjaks. In 1516 the garrison of the fortress in Smederevo consisted of 95 Moslem soldiers, 429 Wallach Christians (martoloz) and 109 others. In Belgrade in 1536 there were 79 Moslem, 68 Serbian, 72 Wallachian and 20 Gypsy habitations. (8)

In the times of relative peace when economic circumstances were favourable the population of Serbia increased markedly in the last decade of the XV and the first decades of the XVI century. On the basis of the contemporaneous Turkish census list of the first years of the reign of Suleiman the Magnificent (1520 – 66) the Turkish historian Omer Lufti Barkan established the following population distribution in the Serbian sanjaks of the time:

Sanjaks	Moslems houses	Christian houses	Total houses
Smederevo	2367	106,861	109,228
Krusevac	881	25,759	26,640
Vucitrn	700	18,914	19,614
Total	3948	151,534	155,482 (9)

From these statistics one can see that in Serbia from 1520 to 1530 i.e. two generations after the fall of the Despotate of Smederevo in 1459 there were no more than 3948 Moslem houses or 2.53% of the entire population. Most of these Moslem families lived in

fortified places and towns, ethnically distinct from the Serbian people, immigrants from all over the Turkish empire, who were employed in the Turkish army as soldiers or as retailers and merchants, or carried out various administrative duties of the state.

All Orthodox Christians, whether of Serbian nationality or non-Slavic Wallachs, were included in the enumeration of Christian houses. Due to the fact that most Wallachs in Serbian lands lived in the sanjaks of Krusevac and Vucitrn, a good third of the Christian houses accounted for in the decade from 1520 to 1530 were Wallachian. The extended families of the time usually consisted of seven or eight persons which means that in the decade from 1520 to 1530 there were in Serbia about 700,000 to 800,000 Orthodox Serbs and about half that number of Wallachs, either conscripts or people engaged in husbandry and cattle breeding.

First Serbian migration to Hungary

Under the pressure of the Turks the more militant among the Serbs retreated along the rivers Ibar, Morava and Kolubara and crossing the Danube and Sava, went over to southern Hungary. With a few exceptions the Serbs did not retreat westward into Bosnia. Due to its political weakness at the time, torn asunder as it was by internal discord, the fugitives could not expect in Bosnia to be safe from the reach of the Turks. The deep bed of the river Drina and the lofty ranges dividing Bosnia from Serbia made access into that country difficult. (10)

In southern Hungary the last Lazarevic despots of Serbia and their heirs of the Brankovic family possessed large domains given to them in fief by kings Sigismund I (1387 – 1437) and Matthias Corvinus (1458 – 90). (11) The first wave of Serbian fugitives flocked to these domains. The Hungarian nobles gladly welcomed these fugitives, hoping to set them to work on their estates deserted by the Hungarian peasants and serfs fleeing before the Turks in their raids across the Sava and Danube. The Hungarian kings also received the Serbs with open arms, even instigating them to flee to Hungary in order to employ them as sailors in the Danube fleet and as soldiers in the defense of Hungary's southern borders.

We have no statistics on the number of Serbs who fled into southern Hungary. King Matthias wrote to the pope that in the four years from 1479 to 1483 200,000 Serbs immigrated into Hungary. (12) Bishop Utisenic-Martinusevic states that in 1538 that the majority of the population of southern Hungary is Serbian. (13) Although these statements are general and complacent and therefore exaggerated, nonetheless they indicate that at the end of the XV and at the beginning of the XVI century a considerable number of Serbs had immigrated into southern Hungary.

In order to give the Serbian newcomers the impression that they were considered permanent residents in southern Hungary, king Matthias appointed Vuk Brankovic, grandson of the despot Djuradj, as Serbian despot in 1465 and granted the Serbs a good measure of autonomy in southern Hungary. Vuk was succeeded by his cousin Djordje Brankovic (1486 – 93) who in turn was followed by his son Jovan (1493 – 1502). (14) According to article of 22.3 of the regulation passed by king Vladislav II in 1498 the Serbian despot had to participate in the king's military expeditions with 1,000 cavalry. (15) As Jovan Brankovic had no heirs, his widow Helena married a Croatian nobleman Ivanis Berislavic who then became the Serbian despot (1502 – 14) and inherited the possessions of the Brankovic. After the death of Ivanis, his wife Helena as regent, conducted the affairs of state in place of her minor son, the despot Stjepan Berislavic (1514 – 35). After the battle of Mohacs in which 4,000 Serbs participated, there appeared among the Hungarian Serbs a capable Wallachian adventurer who titled himself 'emperor Jovan', called 'the Black' on account of his swarthy features. He advocated an irreconcilable struggle against the Turks and preached a return to the genuine Christian faith, corroded at that time by religious and dynastic struggles. He succeeded in mustering an army of 15,000 but in 1527 he was routed by king Ivan

Zapoljski. During the second (1529) and third (1532) campaign of Suleiman II in Hungary the Serbian despot Stjepan Berislavic joined the Turkish cause and helped them to conquer Slavonia. When the Turks turned Hungary into a pashadom in 1541 and annexed Banat in 1552, all the Hungarian Serbs fell subject to the Turks. (16)

Further Serbian immigrations into Hungary

During the wars of Vienna (1683 – 99) the greater part of Hungary, where lived those Serbs who had fled across the Danube and Sava before the Turks, was liberated. After several splendid victories in Hungary the Austrians under the command of Louis of Baden invaded Serbia in 1689. On the invitation of the emperor Leopold I, the Christians of Serbia, Kossovo and Macedonia rose up against the Turks. With the help of the insurgents the Austrian general Piccolomini occupied all the regions up to Scip and Veles in Macedonia. Unfortunately the Austrian army could not get reinforcements on account of the war begun by France on the Rhine, the new Turkish grand vizier Mustafa-pasha Cuprilic crushed the Christian forces at Kacanik at the outset of 1690. Whereupon a general exodus of Christians to the north got under way. The majority of Serbs from Kossovo, Metchija and northern Macedonia left these regions. The Serbs who had settled in these regions when the last Nemanjid kings had conquered them now quite disappeared. The patriarch of Pec, Arsenius III Crnojevic, stood at the head of the fugitives with numerous Orthodox priests. The Turks reconquered Belgrade on October 28th, 1690. The Serbs crossed the Danube and Sava before their advance. The patriarch Crnojevic in his letters stated that he was bringing 40,000 Serbian families into Hungary, but according to more recent investigations that number did not exceed 60,000 to 70,000 people. These refugees were mostly relocated between the Tisza and the Danube. The rest were scattered throughout Hungary up to Budapest and Komarom and further north. With the charter of December 11th, 1690 Leopold I granted Crnojevic and to the Orthodox church privileges and an autonomy similar to what the patriarchate of Pec had enjoyed under Turkish rule. (17)

The exodus of Serbs from the old Serbia into Hungary continued during the succession of wars between the Hapsburgs and Turkey in 1717 – 18 and from 1737 – 39. During the last unsuccessful war Arsenius IV Sakabenta brought a large number of Serbs into Hungary. (18)

During all the wars from 1689 to 1739 the Serbian population in Serbia was drastically reduced. Many Serbs perished in the wars or died of hunger and contagious diseases. The Turks took quite a few captive and consequently more Serbs emigrated across the Sava and the Danube. According to Dusan Popovic Serbia in 1737 had no more than 80,000 to 100,000 inhabitants. (19)

The Serbs of Hungary survived as an ethnic group under the protection of their autonomous church. Settling in Hungary's richest regions they soon became economically strong. Benefiting from Protestant and Catholic schools, they made cultural progress. Many became wealthy by carrying on trade between Turkey and Central Europe. The main Serbian commercial and cultural centres of the time were in Karlovci in Srijem, in Novi Sad and in Budapest. In these cities the Serbs established their first confessional and secular schools, cultural institutions and associations. (20)

II. THE WALLACHS IN SERBIAN HISTORY

The ethnic Wallachs: Descendants of the Roman Veterans from Maurentania

In certain regions of Europe in the middle ages, particularly in the Balkans, there existed groups of people of a swarthy complexion speaking a Romance language, who

considered themselves Romans and who were called by their contemporaries 'Black Latins' (Latini Nigri), 'Maurovlachs' or simply Wallachs. In time the term 'Wallach' was applied to others. As the ethnic Wallachs spoke a Romance language that was basically Latin, all Italians and even other Latin peoples began to be called Wallachs. From the XV century the Venetians called Wallachs i.e. 'Maurovlachs' (Morovlasi) the whole peasant population of the hinterland from Istria to Albania, regardless of their national origin or religious persuasion. The Poles call the Orthodox Ukrainians and the Croats all the Serbs, particularly those with a swarthy complexion, Wallachs. Here we use the term Wallach in its ethnic significance, to mean those groups of people in Europe with a swarthy complexion related in blood to the dark-complexioned Wallachs of the middle ages who spoke a Romance language. (1)

Historical investigations into the origins of these swarthy Wallachs have as yet not turned up any conclusive evidence. Nonetheless all agree on this much, namely that the Wallachs are not Slavs, and also that they could not be descended from the old Balkan peoples, the Illyrians and the Thracians, because these had fair complexions. (2) One has to seek the origin of the Wallachs in some sort of dark-skinned or swarthy race of people. If the ancestors of the Wallachs had not been dark-skinned or very swarthy, they could not have passed on a swarthy complexion to their present-day descendants in the Balkans and elsewhere. In our monograph "Origin of the Wallachs" we brought forth in 1956 conclusive evidence that the Wallachs in the Balkans and elsewhere in Europe are descended from Maurentianian veterans settled by the Romans along the 'limites' of the empire, especially along the Danube, during the reign of the emperor Claudius (41 – 54 A. D.), where they remained until the fall of the Western Roman Empire in 476. (3) The backbone of the Roman army at that time was the volunteer who served as a professional soldier for 25 years. Most of these were Dalmatians, Moors and Gauls, and at the end of the empire, Germans. The Dalmatians came from Dalmatia on the eastern shore of the Adriatic, the Moors from northern Africa (modern Algeria and northern Morocco), the Gauls from Gaul (modern France) and the Germans from the regions north of the Alps.

The Romans recruited into the army young boys from fifteen to twenty years of age in order to accustom them more easily to discipline and military service. In that way they could retire as veterans at the age of forty or forty-five. As such they were granted the right of Roman citizenship and at the same time received a land grant from the state in the vicinity of the last camp in which they had served and this is where they finally settled down with their families. (4)

We have first-hand Roman sources on the military careers of these Moorish soldiers serving in the Balkans and in Upper Dacia, north of the Danube in modern Romania. The 'Notitia dignitatum', written ca. 420 A.D., describes in detail the political and military organization of the Roman empire at the outset of the V century. This work mentions several times the presence of these Moorish soldiers in the Balkans, particularly on the Danube. Thus the 'Notitia dignitatum' mentions the presence of Moorish cavalry in the province of Valeria, on the right bank of the Danube in present-day Hungary (6), as well as at Quadrum and Ad Mouros in Upper Pannonia. (7) In present-day Bessarabia there was a locality called Maurocstrum (Moortown) on account of the large colony of Moorish veterans there. (8) On an authentic 'diploma' made of brass found in the locality of Recara near Tur-Severin in modern Romania can be read the inscription "To the Moorish cavalry and infantry who are in Upper Moesia..." (9) Here the Moors who served as cavalry and infantry in the Roman province of Upper Moesia (modern Serbia) are explicitly mentioned.

The second authentic military 'diploma' dated July 8th, 158 A.D. was found at Marosh-Kerestur in Romania. It states "the vexillaries of Africa and of Mauretania Caesariensis who serve in Upper Dacia with the Moors born there under the command of the legate Staius Priscus..." (10) Here then mention is made of vexillary troops of cavalry from the Roman provinces of Africa (modern Libya and Tripolis) and of Mauretania Caesariensis (modern Algeria and northern Morocco) who served in Upper Dacia (Romania) together with the Moors born there (Mauri gentiles).

One should also mention that in Mauretania several gravestones with inscriptions have been discovered bearing the names of various Roman soldiers and officers who served in Pannonia and Dalmatia. (11)

As one can see from the aforementioned 'diploma' dated July 8th, 158 A.D. the Moorish veterans had been settled in Upper Dacia north of the lower Danube in such great numbers by the middle of the II century A.D. that the Romans were able to recruit from among them many cohorts of Moors born there from the defense of the Roman 'limes' in conjunction with soldiers from Mauretania. During the III and IV centuries a very large number of Moorish veterans were settled in the territories on the right bank of the Danube, from the Alps to the Black Sea, regions designated by the Romans as Western and Eastern Illyricum. At the outset of the V century, as the 'Notitia dignitatum', five squadrons of cavalry were recruited by the Romans from among the Moors of Illyricum i. e. the children and descendants of those Moors who had settled in Illyricum as veterans, to serve in the Middle East. Certain cavalry squadrons numbered 500 to 1,000 men, which means that there were 2,500 to 5,000 Moors serving in the Middle East at that time. If we add to this number the Moorish units serving as native cohorts in Illyricum itself and take into consideration that not all the descendants of these Moorish veterans chose the military career, we will come to the conclusion that at the outset of the V century there were several hundred thousand Moors settled in Illyricum.

The Wallachs in Medieval Serbia

The great folk migrations found the Moors living in the Balkans as a distinct and populous ethnic group aware of its African origins. This fact the contemporary Roman writers knew for they called them Moors from Illyricum. Accustomed to fighting as Roman soldiers for several generations, the Moors of Dacia and Illyricum did not relinquish their new homeland when the Romans evacuated Upper Dacia in 272. Nor did they evacuate the Balkans when the Danubian 'limes' was breached on the lower Danube at the outset of the VI century. In the resplendent upheaval they sought refuge in the nearby mountains, in the Carpathians and throughout the Balkans. There they lived as shepherds and herdsmen protecting themselves until new states began to form around the middle and lower Danube and life returned to normal. (12)

Croatian sources from the XI and XII centuries, describing the arrival of the Bulgars in the Balkans in 681, first mention these "Moors of Illyricum" who had survived the great folk migrations. According to them the descendants of these Roman Moors, whom the sources call 'Maurovlachs' or Black Latins, lived west of Macedonia, in the ranges from Mount Sar to Mount Pindus. (13) Old Russian and Hungarian source, describing the arrival of the Magyars between 892 and 898 in their present homeland, first mention the descendants of the Moors of Dacia north of the Danube. (14)

Byzantine medieval writers call the descendants of the Moors settled in southern Europe 'Maurovlachs' or simply 'Vlachs'. The Byzantine emperor Basil II (976 – 1025) first mentions them. In a chapter issued by him in 1020 to John, metropolitan of Ohrid, the emperor decrees that "the Wallachs also, living all around Bulgaria" (15) (by which was meant the whole territory of the Bulgarian archdiocese, as that time stretching from the Drina on the east throughout the central and northern Balkans up to the Black Sea), had to pay him the church tax. At the outset of the XI century Wallachian shepherds lived in the mountains all over these regions.

According to Cecaenus at the end of the XI century the Wallachs lived in Dacia (Romania), Thracia (Bulgaria), in the ranges south of the Danube in present-day Serbia and throughout Macedonia, Epirus and Greece. (16) As Nicetas Choniates records, at the end of the XII century the regions around Mount Pindus in Thessaly were called Great Wallachia on account of the large number of Wallachs who lived there. (17) Georgius Phrantzes in his 'Chronicon' written in 1477, apart from Great Wallachia in Thessaly, also

mentions a Little Wallachia in Acarnania and Aetolia in modern Greece. (18) The mountain regions of Epirus were called Upper Wallachia. The Serbian ranges from Mount Kopaonik to the river Drina and from Mount Rudnik to Mount Golija were called 'Old Wallach' at the outset of the XV century. This tells us that the Wallachs in those regions had been settled there from earlier times. The rural districts between Trebinje and Dubrovnik were called 'Lower Wallachia' in the middle of the XV century.

The swarthy complexion and other physical features of the Wallachs were so odious to the Bulgarians and Serbs among whom the majority of the Wallachs lived that they refused to intermarry with them or to form family ties. So great was the antipathy felt toward the Wallachs that the old Bulgarians refused to have anything to do with them, not even in matters concerning religious services. This forced the church authority, in the centuries following the great folk migrations, to establish for the Wallachs a special diocese that in the XII century took the name of Breanska or Wallachian diocese. (21)

As can be surmised from the charter of Serbian rulers, in the old medieval Serbian state a good quarter of the population was Wallachian. The secular and church authority of that time in Serbia considered them unequal to the free Serbs, but ranked them among the semi-servile dependants of the state obliged to serve the Serbian kings. The Serbian rulers frequently delegated their royal prerogatives to the individual magnates and particularly to ecclesiastical foundations, Orthodox churches and monasteries, to whose control they commended many Wallachian families and villages. In those monastery charters can be found the oldest 'Wallachian laws' (22) Those laws forbid the Serbs to marry Wallachian brides. If any Serb should marry a Wallach, the issue of such a union is to be refused the status of a free Serb, but must be consigned to the class of unfree peasants or serfs. (23) These legal restrictions prevailed among the Serbs right up to Turkish times.

III. HOW DID THE SERBS COME TO INHABIT CROATIAN LANDS?

The Wallachs migrate to Croatian territory in the Middle Ages

In Roman times no Moorish colony existed in what is now Croatian territory which includes the old Roman provinces of Dalmatia, Savia and Lower Pannonia. Since they were not limitrophe provinces they were left without defenses and had no military garrisons of any size or colonies of veterans. (1) The descendants of these Moorish veterans, the Wallachs, came into Croatian territory from the central Balkans where they had survived in close-knit groups during the great folk migrations.

In the eastern Croatian lands, i.e. Bosnia and Herzegovina, with the confines of medieval Duklja and the republic of Dubrovnik, these Wallachs must have arrived quite early. The author of the chronicle 'Kingdom of the Croats' dating from the second half of the XI century, and the 'Chronicle of Pop Dukljanin' from the middle of the XII century (2) are well acquainted with the Wallachs. This tells us that the Wallachs from some time already had arrived in the vicinity of, or even with the very confines of medieval Croatian Duklja. Most probably these Wallachs from the Balkans reached Duklja, Travunja and eastern Zahumlje between 990 and 1036 when the Bulgarians and Byzantines ruled over the Balkans and even over Croatia as far as the rivers Cetina and Vrbas. (3) This took the form of a migration of shepherd, singly or in small groups, seeking better pastures for their cattle in these new Bulgarian and Byzantine territories.

In Bosnia the Wallachs are first mentioned in the charter of ban Ninoslav ca. 1234, but these were not native to Bosnia, having come to Bosnia from the central Balkans carrying goods for the merchants of Dubrovnik. In time some Bosnian nobles hired Wallachs for raising of cattle on their estates and employed them in their private armies

to fight the frequent wars that they waged with each other. The Bosnian bans and later the kings employed them precisely for the same purpose. So in 1361 the people of Dubrovnik passed a resolution "distributing the salt in Slanum to the people, including the Wallachs, of both the Bosnian ban and of Sanko, count of Zahumlje." (5) The people of Dubrovnik did not allow the Wallachs of king Ostoja in 1399 and of king Tvrtko II in 1406 to spend the winter in the territories in Konavlje and on the littoral at Slanum bequeathed to Dubrovnik by the Bosnian kings. (6) To the noble family of Radivojevic king Ostoja made a donation of the Wallachs of the Bosnian kings living in the western part of Nerevta, in Krajina between the rivers Nerevta and Cetina. (7)

The development of Dubrovnik's trade in Bosnia and Serbia precipitated the migrations of Wallachs to Travunja and Zahumlje in modern Herzegovina. There were neither roads nor wagons in these countries in the middle ages and all good had to be carried by horseback. In order to take full advantage of their new opportunity of employment, many Wallach families migrated to the vicinity of Dubrovnik, in Travunje and Zahumlje. The Wallachian brotherhood of the Burmazi in the area of modern Stolac is mentioned in 1305 and later on more frequently. In the same year the Zupci brotherhood in present-day Zupci in Montenegro is mentioned. In northern Duklja in 1399 the Wallachian clan of the Niksic is mentioned, from whom the modern city of Niksic got its name, being called Onogosce in the middle ages. Other Wallachian clans in these regions were the Boljuni, Crnici, Goduni, Kukurici, Mirilovici, Pocrnje, Predojevici, Vitkovici, Vlahovici, Vojnovici, Zurovici, etc. In western Herzegovina live the Vojnici and Hardomilici near Ljubuski and Pribinovici near Mount Siroki. Prior to Turkish times there were 100 Wallachian villages (Katuns) in modern Bosnia and Herzegovina including 2,000 families or 12,000 to 15,000 people. The majority were Catholic. (8)

In the western part of Croatia, the so-called kingdom of Croatia and Dalmatia, the Wallachs are first mentioned in 1322 in the army of the Croatian ban Mladen II Subic. In all probability ban Mladen II (1312 – 22) or else his father Pavao I Subic (1272 – 1312) brought the Wallachs to Croatia to be used as soldiers. (9)

In the large 'Diplomatic Codex of the kingdom of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia' the Wallachs are mentioned for the first time in 1345 under the Hungarian name 'Olaki'. This means that the Wallachs were originally unknown in Croatia but the Croats happened to know about them through the Hungarians and took the name of the Wallachs from them. As one can see from the letter of Louis the Great to Ivan Nelipic dated November 21st, 1345 at that time there was always a number of Wallachs found in the royal domains around the upper Cetina. (10) The Croatian ban Nikola Sec (1358 – 66) in a charter of March 25th, 1362 granted to the city of Trogir, calls the Wallachs 'Morovlasi' (11) ten times. Since this time the Wallachs are often mentioned in Croatian sources, usually under the name of 'Morovlasi' in the documents from the Dalmatian cities and Venice and under the name of 'Olaki' or 'Vlasi' in the sources from Pannonian Croatia. In those times the Wallachs served on the royal domains and estates of the nobles as shepherds, but most often as conscripts. (12) The Croatian ban Matko Talovac in 1436 addressed a letter: "To each and every village elder and captain of the Wallachs of the emperor and king in the said kingdom of Croatia." (13)

Prior to the Turkish wars the main communities of Wallachs in Adriatic Croatia were located in the former domains of the Croatian kings between the Zrmanja and the Cetina and between the Adriatic and the Dinaric Alps, with the major centres in Obrovac, Knin, Vrlika and Nutjak near Sinj. The Wallachs in Lika and Vinodol are first mentioned in 1405 and later on more frequently. On account of the number of Wallachs which a mass exodus from the lands occupied by the Turks had considerably swollen, the regions at the foot of Mount Velebit from Obrovac to Senj were called in the XVI century 'Morovlaska' (Murlacca) and the channel between the mainland and the islands the 'Morlaski' channel (canale della Morlacca). (14)

The Wallachs were very proud of their new homeland and called themselves Croatian Wallachs. (15) Nevertheless during the whole middle ages the Croats, like the Serbs, did not intermarry with the Wallachs. In the light of contemporaneous sources we know that

the Wallachs lived in Croatia as a separate ethnic group: "Universitas Vlachorum, Vlachorum congregationes et cetus." They lived in the Croatian kingdom, but as a segregated group. Up to the arrival of the Turks there was no discord between the Croats and the Wallachs. They even shared a sense of patriotism in common, but did not intermarry.

The Wallachs in western and eastern Croatia were Catholic in the middle ages. At home they spoke their Romance language and in public they spoke the local Croatian dialect of whatever region they lived in.

The Turkish Colonization of the Orthodox Wallachs in the Croatian lands

The Wallachs played a dual role in the relations with the Turks. A few of the Orthodox Wallachs and part of the Catholic Wallachs from Duklja and Bosnia fled before the Turks to the Christian lands in the west i.e. the republic of Dubrovnik, Croatia, Hungary, Austria and Venice. We have a record of this in the resolutions of the Lesser Council of Dubrovnik passed in 1386 and 1390 allowing the Wallachs of the neighbouring regions to seek asylum on the soil of Dubrovnik with their cattle, but unarmed. Mehmed II the Conqueror on September 24th, 1472 requested Dubrovnik to forbid the Wallachs fleeing to the Christian west access to its territory. (17)

In the meantime the great majority of Wallachs, both Orthodox in the central Balkans and Catholics in Herzegovina and Duklja, anticipated with joy the new situation created by the Turkish ruler, which vouchsafed to them vast ranges for themselves and their cattle and promised to improve their social position. Therefore the Wallachs placed themselves at the service of the Turkish conquerors. They remained Orthodox or Catholic in their creed as before except for some, especially high-ranking members of society, who were converted to Islam in order to secure for themselves and their families special privileges and prominent administrative positions from the Turkish authorities. The Turks especially appreciated and used to good advantage their experience in carrying goods and the skill and speed with which they crossed the mountain regions. Accordingly they employed them as auxiliary troops, entrusting to them the conveyance of military supplies, the carrying out of spying operations and hit-and-run raids and the patrol of mountain ravines and boundaries in general. Therefore wherever the Turks advanced, they took groups of Wallachs with them, guaranteeing them by law certain rights in return for regular duties. Indeed each Wallach family would be allotted a homestead along a new boundary for which they had to pay an annual rent of one florin i.e. one gold ducat, being almost completely exempted from any other tax or tribute. Whence they came to be called 'Florin' or 'Ducat' Wallachs (in Turkish 'Filurdji Eflakan'). In the beginning a Wallachian 'katun' or 'djemat' at whose head was a 'katunar' or 'primikur' i. e. headman, consisted of twenty houses, later fifty. (19)

The first Turkish military colonies of Orthodox Wallachs on Croatian soil began in the middle of the XV century west of the Drina around Zvornik, Srebrenica and Visegrad, and after the fall of Bosnia in 1463 around Tesanj, Maglaj, Foca and Ulog. In southern and western Herzegovina there were no Turkish colonies of Orthodox Wallachs because the Catholic Wallachs in Travunja, Duklja and Zahumlje did not flee at the approach of the Turks, but remained to put themselves at the disposal of the Turks. When the Catholic parishes of these regions lost all their clergy in the second half of the XVI century, then some Catholic Wallachs were converted to Islam, but most passed over to Orthodoxy.

The Wallachs remained in central and western Zahumlje and with the passing of the time assimilated with the native Catholic Croats. After the fall of the banate of Srebrenica (1512 – 16) Wallachian settlements sprouted up in the vicinity of Usora, Vrbanja, Uskoplje, Kupres, Duvno and Glamoc. These Wallachs came to Bosnia from the sanjak of Smederevo and eastern Herzegovina. (19) In 1522 the hinterland of Adriatic Croatia, with Knin and Skradin, fell to the Turks. Then an Orthodox population of so-called 'Florin' Wallachs was settled around Knin, Nutjak and Vrlika. After the fall of Obrovac in 1526,

'Florin' Wallachs settled around Benkovac, Obrovac and throughout Lika. (20) In 1577 the Turks settled the Wallachs in twenty abandoned cities in Lika (21) and in 1638 in Kladusa there were 120 Moslem and Wallachian houses. (22)

At the end of 1536 and the outset of 1537 central Slavonia with Djakovo and Pozega fell to the Turks. (23) In 1536 the Turks revoked the privileges enjoyed by the Wallachs in the sanjak of Smederevo and in eastern Bosnia. (24) This situation compelled the more competitive of the Wallachs to migrate from there to the new Turkish lands in central Slavonia. In 1543 Orahovica, Valpovo and Pakrac fell. Whereupon an Orthodox population of 'Florin' Wallachs were settled there, especially on Mount Psun and Papuk. As a result the whole area from Pozega to Pakrac and from Nova Gradiska to Vocin began to be called 'Little Wallachia'. (25) In 1566 in the sanjak of Pakrac there were 398 Wallachian houses, including 57 houses belonging to Islamized native Croatian Wallachs converted from Catholicism. (26)

In 1551 General Ivan Lenkovic informed Ferdinand I that the Turks were bringing with them several thousand 'Morlaks' or Wallachs from Turkish-occupied Europe and settling them around the upper Unac and in the plain of Kossovo near Knin. (27) In 1560 Lenkovic also informed Vienna that the Turks, after the fall of Novigrad and of the greater part of the valley of the Una, were bringing in Wallachs and native Moslems from the interior of Bosnia into these regions. (28) After the fall of Bihac in 1592 the Bosnian beglerbey Hasan-pasha Predojevic settled Orthodox Wallachs from eastern Herzegovina, especially those of his own Predojevic clan, in the central part of Pounje around Brekovica, Ripac, Ostrovica and Vrla Draga up to Sokolovac. (29) With this colonization the Ijekavian speech spoken in Duklja and Herzegovina, which the Romance Wallachs from the sanjak of Smederevo would in time adopt, was introduced to these regions.

It is known from contemporary sources that in 1540 there were 9,879 Wallachian houses in the sanjak of Bosnia (30) i.e. around 70,000 people. Approximately one-fifth were Catholic or native Croatian Wallachs who had enlisted in the Turkish military service in order to obtain the privileges of Wallachian law. The rest were newcomers, Orthodox Wallachs of non-Slavic origin. According to an account given by the apostolic delegate Peter Masarechi in 1624 the Bosnian pashadom had a population of 900,000 Moslems, 300,000 Catholics and 150,000 Orthodox Christians, around 20,000 of which lived at that time outside the confines of modern Bosnia and Herzegovina. Of the rest of the total Orthodox population 50,000 had been converted from Catholicism to Orthodoxy. Around 80,000 Orthodox Christians were descended from non-Slavic Wallachs, who at that time spoke at home mostly their Romance language.

With the defeat of the Turks at Sisak in 1593 and their failures encountered at the outset of the Long War (1593 – 1606) the Christians in the Turkish empire began to lose faith in their masters and to flee to the Christian West. In a proclamation to the Bosnians on April 14th, 1595 the emperor Rudolph II promised to all his aid and protection if they should only rebel against the Turks. (32) Even the 'Florin' Wallachs of the Orthodox faith lost confidence in their masters. In 1595 and 1596 bishop Radoslav with thirty Orthodox priests and several Wallachian leaders from the valley of the Una informed the Croatian ban and bishop that the Wallachs of the Una were about to rise up against the Turks and pass over to the Christian side, but that they had reneged at the last moment. (33) In 1595 Basil, the Orthodox bishop of Orahovica in Turkish-held Slavonia, fled to Croatia and settled in the monastery of Marac near Cazma. So the first Orthodox diocese in free Croatia was established. (34) Basil's successor, Simon Vratanja, joined with the Uniates and recognized the bishop of Zagreb as his metropolitan. (35) In the spring of 1598 500 Wallachs fled to Croatia. (36) In the same year quite a few Wallachs were colonized at Krizevci on the domains of the bishopric of Zagreb. In 1599 Wallachian fugitives were settled in Ivanic, also on the domains of the bishopric of Zagreb (37) and the Croatian ban Ivan Draskovic and General Lenkovic settled Wallachs in Gomirje, promising to them the same rights as the Uskoks had. (38) In 1603 and the following years the Croatian general Vid Kisel settled Wallachs at Lic. (39) In 1609 thirty-three households were settled in Brlog and 523 Wallachs, including 170 armed men, in the area between Modrus, Ogulin and Ostarija. In 1611 twelve more Wallach households were settled in

Brlog. (40) By 1628 1,200 Wallachian households had immigrated to Croatia, (41) more than one quarter of which were Croatian Catholic 'Predavci' from Bosnia and 'Slavonians' from central Slavonia who had enjoyed the privileges granted to Wallachs in Turkish territory. One has to include among all the Wallachs the fifteen villages on the domains of the bishopric of Zagreb in Dubrava near Cazma, where in 1635 "Wallachs and Predavci intermingled with Slavonians" are mentioned as inhabitants. (42) Before 1658 ninety Wallachian households were settled around Otocac and in 1659 around thirty households on the plain of Gacko. (43) In 1665 Nikola Dokmanovic, leader of the Wallachs of Gomirje, called himself a Croat. (44) In 1672 ninety Wallachian households were settled in Dabar in northern Lika. (45)

During the wars of Vienna (1683 – 99) the Western Christian powers liberated Dalmatia to the Dinaric Alps, all of Lika and Pokuplje, Slavonia and Hungary from the Turks. During this time about 100,000 Catholic Croats emigrated from Bosnian and Herzegovina, but an even greater number of Moslem Croats in their retreat from the liberated provinces of Croatia and southern Hungary rushed to take their place. (46) The great majority of Orthodox Wallachs settled by the Turks in these liberated regions remained where they stood. Separate groups of Wallachs also crossed over to liberated Croatian soil from regions still under Turkish sovereignty, particularly from Bosnia. In 1688 Mikulic, the bishop of Zagreb, settled some "people from Rasa, called Wallachs" on the domains of the abbey of Topusko. (47) In 1690 Lika contained the following Wallachian settlements: fifty households in Parzariste, forty in Siroka Kula and thirty in Korenica. (48) In 1705 in Plasko there were thirty Wallachian households and in 1711 there were 200 Croatian and Wallachian households on the plain of Rakovacko. (49) In 1714 218 Orthodox households, mostly of the Greek nationality, immigrated to the Croatian littoral from the Levant. (50) Martin Borkovic, bishop of Senj, reported in 1712 that in this time Lika was inhabited by Bunjevci Croats who had immigrated from Bosnia eighty years ago, by Croats who had migrated from Carniola after the liberation of Lika, by native Croats converted from Islam to the Catholic Creed, and by Orthodox Wallachs. About 1,000 of these Bunjevci and about 2,000 to 2,500 of the former Moslem Croats, were fit to bear arms. The Orthodox Wallachs were relatively the strongest group. According to the report of the war council in Vienna in 1701 there were 11,000 Wallachs living between the Una and the Kupa and up to 30,000 in the Varazdin and Petrinja regions. (52) Driven by hunger and ill treatment at the hands of the military commanders of Lika, more than 5000 Wallachian families, including 1,011 men fit to bear arms, crossed over into Srijem and southern Hungary in 1715. (53) In 1730 there were sixteen Orthodox parishes in Lika. (54)

In the second half of the XVIII century, particularly after the destruction of Moskopolje in 1769 and 1788, the Orthodox Tzintzars came to Croatia. They were ethnic Wallachs who had been cattle herders, but had switched over to the urban trades and in the process had become craftsmen, artisans and merchants. They settled in Mostar, Sarajevo, Zemun, Novi Sad, Osijek, Bosanski Brod, Zagreb, Karlovac etc. These Tzintzars founded the majority of the subsequent Serbian commercial firms in Croatia. (55)

The architect of the organization of the Orthodox church in Croatia and Hungary in 1695 was the patriarch of Pec Arsenius III Crnojevic. For the regions south of the Sava and west of the Una the diocese of Karlovac was established with its seat in the monastery of Gomirje near Ogulin, and after 1721 in Plasko. The Varazdin region of the military cordon fell under the jurisdiction of the diocese of Pakrac and eastern Slavonia and Srijem with its seat in Krusedol. Arsenius III Crnojevic and Arsenius IV Jovanovic Sakabenta retained with them from Pec the title of patriarch. All their successors bore the title of metropolitan and recognized the overlordship of the patriarch of Pec until 1766 when the Turks abolished that patriarchate and from then on their supreme head was the patriarch in Istanbul. On December 15th, 1848 the metropolitan Josip Rajanci obtained from the emperor Franz Joseph the privilege of titling himself patriarch of the Serbs. This applied also to his successors. (56)

The Conversion of Catholic Croats to Orthodoxy

In southeastern Croatia, in Travunja and medieval Duklja, as early as the hegemony of the Nemanjids, part of the Catholic Croats had been converted by force to Orthodoxy with the result that Catholic bishops, priests and friars were expelled and replaced by Orthodox priests and monks. (57) Far more than this, a considerable number of Catholic Croats throughout Bosnia and Herzegovina were converted to Orthodoxy during the Turkish hegemony (1463 – 1878). The main reason for this was the shortage of active Catholic clergy. Indeed before the Turks began to occupy any region the Catholic clergy, lay and ecclesiastical, fled with a part of the native population. For the Croatian Catholics who refused to abandon their ancestral soil only the Franciscans remained with some Glagolitic priests here and there. Yet neither of them were enough to minister to the people, particularly after 1524 when almost all the Franciscan monasteries in Turkish Bosnia were demolished. There was an especially severe shortage of Catholic priests in the diocese of Trebinje, in eastern Bosnia and in Turkish Croatia between the Urbas and Una rivers.

Another reason for the conversion of Catholic Croats to Orthodoxy was the perseverance of the Serbian patriarchs and of those in Istanbul working through their bishops, priests and monks. Here and there Catholics themselves converted to Orthodoxy of their own free will in order to be protected from the Turkish oppression and to remain Christian, albeit of a different confession. When the new Gregorian calendar was introduced in Bosnia in 1590 a certain number of Catholic passed over to Orthodoxy in order to remain firm in the "old faith." (58)

From the available sources one can follow the conversion of Catholics in eastern Herzegovina most clearly. The Croatian Capuchin Fra Bernardin Pomazanic who in 1529 journeyed from Dubrovnik to Istanbul, found many Orthodox Christians between Bilec and Gacko and in Gacko itself. These people had been Catholic, but had passed over to Eastern Orthodoxy due to a shortage of Catholic priests. (59) The Jesuit Giulio Mancinelli (1537 – 1618) states on the basis of his personal experience as a missionary in the bishopric of Trebinje that "because of the shortage of Catholic priest almost all of the people there have become Orthodox." (60) The native bishops in the plain of Popovo, Fra Benedikt Medvjedovic and Fra Dominik Andrijas wrote in a memorandum to the Congregation of Propaganda in 1622: "In Popovo, not even fifty years ago, there were about 380 Catholic households which converted to Orthodoxy because they had neither their own priests nor bishop...of the twelve (Catholic) churches, the schismatics (Orthodox) took four for themselves, most those which had passed over to Orthodoxy." (61)

In a report in 1627 bishop Andrijas wrote to Rome that in Dubrave between Stolac and Mostar there were still 250 Catholic households which had not seen a Catholic priest for ten to twelve years and had to have recourse to Orthodox priests for their baptisms, weddings and sometimes even for their religious services. (62)

Another region in which many Catholic Croats passed over to Orthodoxy was northeastern Bosnia. At the end of the XIV and the outset of the XV century it was the most Catholic part of the Bosnian kingdom. At that time between the Bosna and the Drina there were ten Franciscan monasteries. (63) In the meantime Sigismund I (1378 – 1437) gave in fief to the Serbian despot Lazar Lazarevic in 1412 the territories which he had wrested from the Bosnian kings, i.e. Macva, Usorn and Srebrenica. Lazarevic lost no time in converting by force the Catholics and Bogomils to Orthodoxy. Still more vehement was his successor Djuradj Brankovic (1427 – 56). (64) St. John Capistrano, who participated in the defense of Belgrade, wrote about this to pope Callixtus III on July 4th, 1455: "The Little Brethren serving in the vicariate of Bosnia are complaining that the schismatics (Orthodox) of Rasa are doing much harm to them and to the believers of the Holy Roman church. Specifically that they were baptizing Catholics against their will and that sometimes they deprived them of their property and put them in prison." (65)

Sultan Bayazid II (1481 – 1512) in an imperial edict of 1488 extended his protection

over the Catholics of the sanjak of Zvornik. In this he was opposing the Serbian patriarch and metropolitan who had requested that the Catholics pay them the church tithe. In this edict it is emphasized that the Catholics had lived there "since the time of the sultan's conquest" i.e. that they were native to Bosnia, whereas those under the jurisdiction of the Serbian patriarch were newcomers. (66) Likewise the sultan extended his protection over Catholics of Srebrenica and Novo Brdo, by an edict of August 17th, 1498. (67) In 1561 the Moslem judge of Zvornik informed the Porte "that the Catholic population of the district had come before the law to complain how Serbian-Wallachian and Romanian priests have been going around from village to village demanding contributions according to their custom" which the sultan had expressly forbidden. (68) This tells us that in 1561 Catholic Croats still lived as before in the villages of the sanjak of Zvornik. In 1575 the imperial kaimakam issued an ordinance forbidding Moslems judges to marry Catholics in Foca (69) and in Prijepolje and Cajnica. (70) From this one can conclude that Catholics still lived in Podrinje at that time. However in the second half of the XVI century, on account to the Turkish persecutions of Catholics and mostly because of the persistent machinations of the restored Serbian patriarchate in Pec (1557), Catholics almost disappeared from northeastern Bosnia. One part was converted to Islam and the majority to Orthodoxy. (71) On an official visit in 1600 bishop Balicevic found in Srebrenica 200 Catholic households, but in the villages around Zvornik there were no more "Catholics at all, but there were more Orthodox than Moslem households." (72) In 1674 bishop Ogramic wrote that in the extensive parish of Skakava in the Posavina, east of the river Bosna, here were only 995 Catholics. "The rest, Turks and Orthodox, are very numerous, although only a short time ago most all were Catholics." (73)

The third major area in which many Catholic Croats were converted to Orthodoxy was Turkish Croatia between the Vrbas and Una rivers. When the Turks arrived in Bosnia these regions were purely Catholic and thoroughly settled. Due to the fighting with the Turks particularly from the fall of Jajce in 1528 until the fall of Bihac in 1592 a good many Croats of these regions either perished or were taken captive or else migrated to free Croatian territory. However a considerable part of the Croats remained in their ancestral domiciles and were converted to Islam or to Orthodoxy. The modern Orthodox Christians with swarthy features in those regions are descended from non-Slavic Wallachs brought over by the Turks from Old Wallachia, the Durmitor mountains and eastern Herzegovina, whereas those with a fair and ruddy complexion, blue eyes and fair hair are the descendants of the native Croats converted to Orthodoxy under the Turkish hegemony. This is confirmed by a tradition of the many Orthodox families of these regions who affirm that they are the ancient residents of these regions, such as were only the Catholic Croats. (74) Milan Karanovic, erstwhile Orthodox priest, conducted an inquiry into the origin of the population in the Bosnian Krajina and had this to say about the natives of the region: "It appears that the native Orthodox group is both racially and ethnically the same as the native Islamized Catholic group in central Bosnia." (75)

Even on free Croatian soil some Catholic Croats went over to Orthodoxy. In this case it was the so-called 'Predavci' and the 'Slavonians' among the Catholic Croats who were converted. They had sought refuge in Croatia from the Turks at the end of the XVI and outset of the XVII centuries. The 'Predavci' were ancient residents of Bosnia, the 'Slavonians' of Slavonia. As conscripts in the Turkish army they enjoyed the privileges that the Turks gave to the ethnic Wallachs. The Hapsburgs made an agreement with these ethnic Wallachs who crossed over into Croatia that they would enjoy the same status granted to the Wallachs already within their domains. (76) Petricic, bishop of Zagreb, wrote in 1666 that the 'Predavci' went to the Wallachian assemblies and that the Wallachian judges presided over the trials of both 'Predavci' and 'Slavonians'. (77) As the Croatian nobles and the diets demanded that the Wallachs pay taxes and be subject to them (78), on the recommendation of a royal commissariat in Varazdin a tentative proposal was made on September 6th, 1635 that only genuine ethnic Wallachs should enjoy the Wallachian privileges and that "each and every Predavac and Slavonian known to be other than a son of a Wallach" (79) should be debarred from these privileges. To this end Ferdinand III passed the resolutions on March 3rd, 1639, December 10th, 1643 and February 21st, 1648 (80). However the 'Predavci' and 'Slavonians' refused to give up

their Wallachian privileges so that these laws had the effect of bringing them into still closer contact with the ethnic Wallachs of the Orthodox creed. During the prolonged contestation over the Wallachian privileges which lasted the entire XVII century, a good part of these 'Predavci' and 'Slavonians' passed over to Orthodoxy, as was recorded by the Croatian historian Baltazar Kercelic. (81) The fact that the present-day Serbs in Dalmatia live mainly in the centres of the old Croatian Wallachs around Obrovac, Benkovac, Knin and Vrlika tells us that the old Croatian Wallachs in those areas intermingled with the new 'Florin' Wallachs from Turkish territory and were converted to Orthodoxy when the Turks occupied these areas. Some descendants of these old Croatian Wallachs have maintained their Ikavian speech up to the present day. (82) The Cakavian dialect of one part of Zumberak also indicates to us that the Catholic Uskoks from Senj, speaking this Cakavian dialect, settle in Zumberak in 1617. (84) They too with the passing of time were converted to the Orthodox faith or to the Uniate church.

The Serbianization of non-Slavic Wallachs and of Orthodox Croats

The descendants of the Carpathian and Balkan Wallachs lived as a completely distinct group, right up to Turkish times, in the midst of the people among whom they settled i.e. the Serbs, the Byzantines, the Bulgarians and others. This fostered among the Wallachs throughout the whole middle ages, even when they lived in small groups, a strong sense of national solidarity as well as disposing them to preserve their Romance language which they had adopted from the Romans in the first century of the Christian era. In modern Romania, where they constituted the majority of the population in relation to the other nationalities, these Wallachs developed as a political nation and called themselves Romans in the Romance language which they speak. (85) In Macedonia the Wallachian Aromuni have preserved their Romance language and the sentiment that they are ethnically different right up until this day. (86) In other regions where they were in the minority the Wallachs quite early became conversant in two languages, speaking their Romance language at home and the language of the people with whom they dwelt. When the Wallachs came from the central Balkans into Croatia as conscripts in the Turkish army at the end of the XV and during the XVI and XVII centuries, they still spoke their own language at home. The Venetian geographer Dominic Negri explicitly attests this in 1557 for the Dalmatian Wallachs. (87) This is also proven by the fact that the Wallachs who reached Croatia from Serbia did not at all form even a tiny enclave in Serbian Ekavitsa, but adopted the Ikavian and Ijekavian speeches of the Stokavian dialect which they encountered in Croatia. During the XVII and especially the XVIII and XIX centuries the Wallachs, being a national minority, abandoned their Wallachian language, not even using it at home.

Socially and financially the Turks granted the Wallachs equal status with their other Christian subjects, when they made these Wallachian transients and nomads either possessors or permanent residents in the military colonies of the 'Florin' Wallachs or serfs liable to pay one quarter of their revenues to the beys on whose estates they were settled. Because of their special privileges the Wallachs indeed acquired a higher financial and social status than the Christians as a whole, including Greeks, Bulgarians, Serbs and Croats, formerly political nations. This made it possible for the Wallachs to intermarry with the members of the other Christian nations, because the Turks did not prohibit the intermarriage of members of different nations. The Orthodox church and modern nationalist movements played an essential and decisive role in determining which nationality the Wallachs would adopt as theirs.

The Wallachs of the Balkans, indeed, lived on the territory of the Byzantine empire and observed the Eastern rite, belonging to the Orthodox church after the great schism of 1054. A small number of these semi-nomadic ethnic Wallachs were priests. In general Greek, Bulgarian and Serbian priests followed them in ministry, depending on whose territory they inhabited. Since among the Orthodox nations religion and nationality are very much intertwined, the Greek priests impressed upon the Wallachs that they being of the Greek Orthodox faith, they must consequently be Greek in culture. The Bulgarian and

Serb priests in their respective national territories did likewise. (88)

As we have seen the Orthodox Wallachs came to Croatia from Serbia as Turkish military conscripts as early as the fall of Bosnia in 1463 and afterwards. Orthodox priests and monks, subject to the authority of the bishops of Dabar and Milesevo, themselves suffragans of the Serbian patriarch in Pec, came in the wake of these Wallachs. It is precisely these Serbian priests and monks who ministered to the Wallachs and correlated the Orthodox faith with Serbian nationality and thereby introduced the Serbian culture into Bosnia and Herzegovina and since the beginning of the XVI century even into free Croatia (Banovina) and Dalmatia. Accordingly since the XVI century albeit rarely we find some names of Wallachs of the 'Serbian faith' who even call themselves Serbs. (89) The Serbian monks, seeking Russian support, extended the Serbian name to include all of the 'Florin' Wallachs in Croatia who had fled from the Turks. (90)

Nonetheless the Croatian Wallachs up to the end of the XVIII century were conscious of being a distinct ethnic group different from the other nations. (91) Only at the outset of the XIX century when in the Balkans the semi-independent and independent states of Serbia, Greece and Bulgaria had been created did the descendants of the erstwhile Wallachs forsake their own particularity and assimilated with those nations.

The systematic Serbianization of non-Slavic Wallachs and Orthodox Croats and the emergence of the Serbs in Croatia began with the 'master plan' of Ilija Garasanin in 1844 and especially with the establishment of the Serbian committee in Belgrade in 1862. The committee's main function was to follow the master plan in spreading Serbian propaganda and infiltrating the neighbouring states of Turkey and Austria. (92) That same year of 1862, under the influence of the Serbian prince Michael (1860 – 68) and his minister Ilija Garasanin, a Serbian committee was set up in Sarajevo under the chairmanship of the Orthodox priest Bogoljub Petranovic. It proclaimed the ethnic name of 'Wallach' to be an affront and set itself the task of having the Serbian name adopted instead of 'Wallachs' and 'Christians' as the Orthodox in Bosnia and Herzegovina were usually called up to that time. (93) This activity was particularly intensified during the uprising in Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1875 to 1878 and during the first years of Austro-Hungarian rule (1878 – 1918). The spread of Serbianism was carried on through propaganda committees, Orthodox confessional schools, the press, singing and sports clubs (Sokol). The Orthodox clergy was especially active, enjoying as it did a great reputation among the Orthodox believers. (94)

The rise of nationalism and the Illyrian movement in Croatia and Dalmatia for the most part found the Orthodox i.e. the descendants of Wallachs and others, on the side of the Croats fighting for the unity of all Croatian lands in one Croatian state. (95) Ban Khuen-Hedervary (1883 – 1903) directed Serbian propaganda at the Croatian Orthodox in order to draw them away from the Croatian cause and make them his own instruments in the battle to destroy Croatian constitutional freedom. However up until 1918 many Orthodox in Croatia considered themselves Croats. So did the poet Peter Preradovic, general Borojevic, M. Michaljevic and others. In 1871 when the fervent Croatian patriot Eugen Kvaternik instigated a rebellion in Rakovica with the express purpose of freeing Croatia from the "Schwabian-Hungarian yoke" and of setting up a free Croatian state, most of his co-insurgents were of the Orthodox faith. (96) It was just during the first and second Yugoslavia that the Orthodox in Croatia generally became Serbianized.

Our investigations have led us to believe that of the Serbs presently in Bosnia and Herzegovina 32 to 35% are descended from Orthodox Croats, 50 to 52% are from non-Slavic Wallachs, 6 to 7% are from Serbianized Bulgarians, Greeks, Armenians and Albanians and 8 to 10% from genuine ethnic Serbs who came there mainly during Austro-Hungarian rule and during the time of the two Yugoslavias. (97)

In Boka Kotorska a number of ethnic Serbs settled permanently at the end of the Candian Wars (1645 – 69). (98) Ethnic Serbs began to colonize Srijem as early as the rule of the Serbian despots (1412 – 59). A particularly large number of them came during the great migration of Serbs under Arsenius III Crnojevic in 1690 and Arsenius IV

from 1737 to 1739. At that time some ethnic Serbs settled in the rest of Croatia prior to 1918. Of the Serbs presently in northwestern Dalmatia, Lika, Kordun and Banija not more than two-thirds (66 to 70%) originated from non-Slavic Orthodox Wallachs who came with the Turks into the regions beyond Bosnia and Slavonia. (100) About one quarter of these Serbs trace their origin from Orthodox Croats: 'Predavci', 'Slavonians', native Croats speaking the Cakavian and Kaikavian dialect in the military cordon and Croatian converts to Orthodoxy of the Ijekavian speech of eastern Herzegovina and medieval Duklja. On 2 or 3% of these at the most originate from ethnic Serbs.

IV. THE RESTORATION OF THE SERBIAN STATE (1817 – 1918)

When the Serbian Despotate fell in 1459 for more than 350 years the Serbs lacked their own state. With the long Turkish domination of Serbia the aristocratic families and wealthy landowners died out and even scholars disappeared. Only the Serbian peasants remained on the soil like paupers, as non-Moslem subjects without rights, together with an Orthodox clergy of quite a low educational level. That in such circumstances the Serbs did not lose all trace of national consciousness and desire to restore their state is mostly thanks to the Serbian Orthodox church, to Serbs living in Hungary and to the national folk singers. The Serbian Orthodox church preserved the tradition connected with Serbia's former freedom and its kings in the hagiographies of its saints, among whom the most important were the former Serbian kings. (1) Moreover the Serbs living in southern Hungary preserved for a long time the notion of the restoration of the Serbian Despotate and always hoped to return to their old Serbia. The first ones to write about Serbia's past emerged from this milieu: Djorđe Branković (1645 – 1711) with his "Slavo-Serbian Chronicles" in five volumes (2) and archbishop Jovan Rajić with his work "The History of various Slavic nations" in four volumes (1794 – 95) (3). These works, although fanciful and uncritical, contributed much to the preservation and invigoration of Serbian national and political consciousness during the XVIII and XIX centuries. Among the simple peasant folk the traditions concerning Serbia's past were maintained by the national folk singers with their ballads centred on its heroes, the Serbian king, Marko Kraljević and on the battle of Kosovo and others involving the Turks. This vivid national consciousness was the reason for the Serbian uprising each time that the Christian armies appeared on the boundaries of the old Serbia. (4) Even so there could be no question of restoring the Serbian state until Turkey decayed and weakened from within the Christian powers, Austria and Russia, became stronger and extended their aid to the Serbs.

First and Second Serbian Uprisings (1804 – 17)

In 1782 the emperor Joseph II and the Russian tsarina Catharine II concluded a secret alliance to drive the Turks out of Europe. Austria demanded Bosnia, Herzegovina, Dalmatia, Montenegro and Sumadija. Russia settled for the rest of the Balkans, either directly under its control or as a restored Byzantine state under Russian suzerainty. As indemnity for the loss of Dalmatia Venice was to get Morea, Crete and Cyprus. (5)

After major preparations from the Austrian and Russian side war broke out in 1787. On the instigation of Joseph II the Serbs in Sumadija revolted. Although they achieved some successes and even took Belgrade on October 8th, 1789, the allies did not succeed in crushing Turkey. On account of the internal situation in Hungary and Croatia, Austria concluded peace with Turkey at Svisťov in August, 1791 and this was followed by Russia at Jassy in June 1792. (6) In these treaties the Serbs were granted a general amnesty and their villages and districts more autonomy, on the pattern of the old Wallachian autonomous privileges in Serbia, with village elders and district chieftains at their head.

In connection with this the Janissaries were removed from the pashadom of Belgrade. But they soon came back to Serbia to oppress non-Moslem Serbs worse than before. As the pasha of Belgrade could not restore the Janissaries to order, the Serbian leaders and chieftains, under the command of Kara-Djordje Petrovic, incited a rebellion in Sumadija. On the night of the 24th and 25th of July of 1804 the exterminated all the Janissaries in the region (known as the Massacre of the Janissaries). (7) The leader of the rebellion, Kara-Djordje until that time had been only a pork trader. He came from a Wallachian family of Old Wallachia. He was called Kara-Djordje on account of his dark complexion. He took a prominent part in the insurrection of 1787 – 88. He was a true son of Wallachia: courageous, but sanguinary, rash, violent and cruel, but on occasion clement and magnanimous.

At its outset the Serbian uprising was not directed against Turkey and the sultan, but against the local Janissaries and tyrants. Kara-Djordje summoned a meeting of the peasant leaders and chieftains in April 1805, at which Serbs demanded the extension of their autonomy and guarantees against future encroachments. When sultan Selim II (1789 – 1807) rejected the proposals the Serbs prepared to fight for complete independence. Aided by their compatriots in southern Hungary the Serbs succeeded in blocking the passage of the Turkish army advancing through the mountains along the Morava in the autumn of 1805 and in 1806 in routing the army of the Bosnian pashadom on Mount Misar where many Bosnian lords and beys perished. In the fighting the Serbian insurgents liberated all of northern Serbia and took the fortified cities of Sabac, Belgrade, Smederevo, Pozarevac and Uzice. Although the Russians came to the aid of the Serbs and Turkey's power was suffering from the quick succession of sultans on the throne, the Serbian uprising of 1808 – 11 lost much of its momentum, mainly due to conflicts among the Serbian leaders, many of whom refused to submit to the authority of Kara-Djordje. When Russia concluded peace with Turkey at Bucharest in May 1812 and called its army back home to meet the threat of Napoleon's campaign in Russia, the Turks defeated the Serbs and conquered Belgrade in October 1813. Kara-Djordje with a few of his associates escaped across the Danube into southern Hungary. (8)

Among the Serbian leaders who remained in Serbia was Milos Obrenovic who failed to come to the fore in the first insurrection of 1804. He lived in enmity with Kara-Djordje whom he accused of having killed his half-brother. After the first uprising was crushed, Milos collaborated with the Turks and directed himself to appeasing the people. Therefore he was appointed by the Turks as overlord of eastern and central Sumadija, in the districts of Kragujevac, Rudnik and Pozega. However the Turks severely oppressed the subjugated Serbs, plundering and persecuting them. This led to the second insurrection instigated on Palm Sunday, March 29th, 1815 by Milos Obrenovic in his birthplace at Takovo. Like Kara-Djordje he was also descended from Wallachian peasant stock. He was shrewd, cunning and merciless and in many ways more suited than Kara-Djordje in the task of coalescing the uneducated Serbian leaders and of fighting the Turks with the sword and at the conference table. In the first five months Milos occupied Rudnik, Cacak, Kraljevo and Pozaarevac and was ready to negotiate with the Turks. It was agreed that the Turks would remain in Serbia and the pasha still reside in Belgrade in exchange for which the Serbs in Sumadija obtained a fair share of autonomy: the permission to maintain arms, to collect taxes themselves, to try themselves cases involving their own people and to hold their national assemblies in Belgrade.

While Milos was still conducting negotiations with the Turks, Kara-Djordje returned to Serbia in June 1817, but was soon killed under mysterious circumstances. With this act a battle to the death was declared between Obrenovic's party and that of Kara-Djordje, which troubled Serbia's political life throughout the XIX century. Because of it, not one of the nine rulers of the new Serbian state ruled in peace from his accession to his death: six were dethroned and three were assassinated. (9)

The Serbian national assembly on November 8th, 1817 elected Milos Obrenovic as hereditary prince of Serbia. This inaugurated the new Serbian state, although under Turkish suzerainty and restricted to little more than Sumadija. Turkey recognized Milos I as hereditary prince of Serbia only in the treaty of Adrianople with Russia in 1830. In this treaty Turkey guaranteed that the Moslems would be evacuated from all Serbian villages and be confined to only eight fortified cities and towns. When Turkey engaged in war with Egypt, Milos succeeded by an agreement of May 25th, 1833 in extending Serbia's autonomy over six more districts.

During Milos' rule in Serbia new trade grew, schools were opened and roads built. The army was also organized. However when taxes had to be collected in order to furnish a financial basis needed to administer the state, the people became restless. This compelled Milos to give the Serbian state its first constitution in 1835, amended three years later. Encountering many difficulties in his work with the national assembly, Milos I resigned from the throne on June 13th, 1839 on behalf of his older son Milan, who lay gravely ill and died a few days later. The succession fell to the younger son Michael Obrenovic (1839 – 42) who was under the tutelage of two regents. Due to the fact that the state taxes had to be constantly increased and the Karadjordjevic party fomented trouble of a serious nature in the country, the national assembly on September 14th, 1842 finally dethroned Michael, ousting the entire Obrenovic dynasty (10) and raising Alexander I Karadjordjevic to the prince's throne.

During the reign of Alexander I (1842 – 59) Serbia's economy improved considerably. Ilija Garasanin, Minister of Internal Affairs from 1843 to 1852, elaborated his 'Master Plan' in 1844 for the expansion of Serbia over its ethnic boundaries into countries held at that time by Turkey or the Hapsburgs. Vuk Stefanovic Karadzic carried out the reform of the Serbian literary language and laid the foundation of the new Serbian literature. (11) Garasanin's propaganda achieved the best results in Montenegro where Prince Peter II Petrovic began to spread Serbian propaganda systematically among the Montenegrins. (12)

In external affairs Alexander I relied on Austria. He remained true to Austria even in the Austro-Russian contention over the Balkans. The dethroned Obrenovic princes and their adherents in Serbia, who were on the Russian side, exploited this factor. They instigated several revolts in Serbia until the parliament of 1859 finally ousted Alexander I from the throne. (13) The dethroned prince Milos Obrenovic, by now 79 years old, was invited to occupy the throne once more and was received with great enthusiasm. He died the following year and was succeeded by his son Michael Obrenovic (1860 – 68), who had also once before been prince of Serbia. He was to prove the most remarkable ruler of the new Serbian state. He introduced a new and quite liberal constitution and electoral system for the election of the assembly. He overhauled the entire judiciary, reorganized the army and restructured the internal administration. He succeeded in having all the Moslem population evacuated from Serbian cities in 1862 and the Turkish garrisons removed in 1867. During his reign the president of the government and Minister of Foreign Affairs from 1861 to 1867 was Ilija Garasanin. With the approval of the prince he established the Serbian committee in Belgrade in 1862 dedicated to the spreading of Serbian propaganda and political goals, not only among the ethnic Serbs in the old Serbian regions, but also in lands belonging ethnically or historically to Croatia and Bulgaria. (14)

Prince Michael was treacherously assassinated on June 10th, 1868 by the Karadjordjevic party at Kosutnjak near Belgrade. Then the Serbian assembly elected as prince Milan Obrenovic (1868 – 89), grandson of Milos and brother of Jevrem, a boy of fourteen. (15) Milan was a licentious youth and remained so his whole life. Under pressure of Serbian public opinion, Milan engaged in war with Turkey in 1876 in order to lend a hand to the Christians in Bosnia and Herzegovina who had revolted in 1875. Serbia was defeated and would have been completely destroyed were it not for Russian intervention. In the treaty of San Stefano between Russia and Turkey in March 1878 and at the Congress of Berlin in June of that same year Serbia was recognized as completely independent and was allotted territory on the east bank of the Morava from Nis to Pirot.

Serbia becomes a kingdom

After the Congress of Berlin Serbia under the Obrenovic fell completely under the influence of Austria and Hungary. In a country filled with bitter party strife a general state of dissatisfaction prevailed. In order to bolster the government's credit in the eyes of the people Milan brought about the recognition of Serbia as a kingdom in 1882. He waged war on Bulgaria in 1885 with the same purpose in mind, but the Serbs were heavily defeated near Slivnica. Only the diplomatic intervention of Austria and Hungary prevailed to keep Serbia from further territorial losses in the subsequent peace treaty. To these fiascoes of foreign and domestic policies were added the scandals and subsequent divorce of the king from his wife, queen Natalia. This forced Milan to resign from the throne on March 6th, 1889 on behalf of his thirteen year old son Alexander I Obrenovic, who ruled from 1889 to 1903. For the first four years a regency of Jovan Ristic at its head governed the state. In 1892 Alexander with the support of the army overthrew the regency and took personal control. He was a true son of his father licentious, capricious and autocratic. He abolished the constitution of 1889 and ruled autocratically to the general dissatisfaction of the people. In 1900 he married Draga Masin, a beautiful courtesan with a checkered past. This served to aggravate the party strife and dissatisfaction already latent. Young officers under the leadership of Dragutin Dimirtijevic-Apis set up in the army a secret organization called the Black Hand which assassinated king Alexander I and his queen Draga in the palace on June 10th, 1903, leaving the bodies in the street. (16) A resolution of the national assembly on June 15th of that same year handed the throne over to Peter I, the son of the dethroned prince Alexander I Karadjordjevic.

Peter I Karadjordjevic (1903 – 14) was a peaceful and easy-going individual. During his reign the country was governed by the Serbian Radical party which closely collaborated with the officers of the Black Hand who had assassinated Alexander I and queen Draga. At the head of the Radical party stood the taciturn, but cunning and far-seeing politician Nikola Pasic, scion of a Wallachian family from Macedonia. He broke away from the Austrophile policies of the Obrenovic dynasty and redirected Serbian policy toward Russia and its Western Allies.

The Balkan Wars 1912 - 13

Pasic decided to reap the benefits of Garasanin's labour which was bearing fruit everywhere in the surrounding countries since 1862. In the Tariff War (17) between Serbia and Austro-Hungary lasting from 1906 to 1911 the idea was born among Serbs that Serbia had to penetrate to the sea if she would be totally independent. But this was impossible without encroaching on the rights of other nations and occupying territory which was ethnically alien. The Serbian ethnic territory is indeed land locked and at no point touches on the sea much the same as Switzerland and Hungary. Such states have trade agreements with states open to the sea to facilitate their export trade, but they have no right to conquer foreign territory bordering on the sea in order to penetrate to the sea.

In its dedication to Serbian expansion the Radical party and its leader Nikola Pasic relied on and fell under the influence of the Serbian secret society of the Black Hand which in 1911 became a revolutionary organization calling itself "Unification or Death." Its purpose was to use violent and revolutionary methods to unite with Serbia not only the genuine Serbian ethnic lands, but even all the provinces of the neighbouring countries which Pan-Serbian propaganda designated as Serbian. (18) This organization together with the Serbian Radical party directed its attention first of all to Turkey, weakened by internal dissension and war with Italy in 1911. In an alliance with Bulgaria, Greece and

Montenegro called the Balkan Alliance, Serbia attacked Turkey in October 1912. The main Turkish forces were occupied against Bulgaria which was trying to expand towards Adrianople and Istanbul. The Serbs without much resistance advanced deep into Macedonia and penetrated to the Adriatic through Albania. As the result of a meeting of the great powers in London in December 1912, Serbia was forced to evacuate the northern Albanian littoral. Consequently Albania was created as an independent state.

As a result of the Treaty of London (May 30th, 1913) Turkey abandoned to the Balkan allies all its European possessions up to a line running from Enez on the Aegean to Midye on the Black Sea. As the allies could not come to an agreement on the division of the rich spoils, the Balkan War broke out in which Serbia, Montenegro, Greece and Rumania defeated Bulgaria, exhausted by its fighting with Turkey. The peace treaty of Bucharest (August 10th, 1913) gave Serbia not only Serbian ethnic territory in Old Serbia which had been held by Turkey until that time, but even the whole of Kosovo and Metohija with its ethnic Albanian population and northern and central Macedonia where Bulgarian Macedonians lived in the great majority. (19)

Elated by their successes in the Balkan War of 1913 the Serbs redoubled their propaganda efforts in Bosnia and Herzegovina. As early as 1844 Ilija Garasanin in his master plan had indicated those provinces then occupied by Turkey as territory potentially susceptible to the inroads of Serbian expansion. (20) Vuk Stefanovic Karadzic (1787 – 1864) on the basis of linguistic studies strove to justify linguistically those Pan-Serbian aspirations, asserting that the Stokavian dialect is Serbian and accordingly that all those who speak this dialect are Serbs. Seeing that in Bosnia and Herzegovina the Catholic, Orthodox and Moslem population spoke the Stokavian dialect, Vuk proclaimed that they were all "Serbs of all three religions." (21) This thesis was popularized in the West by M.J. Spalajkovic in his work on diplomacy as it relates to international law, entitled "La Bosnie et l'Herzegovine." (22) These claims are ethnically and historically incorrect.

The Stokavian dialect ramifies into three distinct speeches: Ekavian, Ikavian and Ijekavian. When the Serbs came from the Elbe to the Balkans they did not speak the Stokavian dialect but a Western Slavic language as the Lusatian Serbs still speak today. The Serbs, like the Bulgarians, adopted the Ekavian speech of the Stokavian dialect from the Slavs of the first migration with whom they assimilated as a minority.

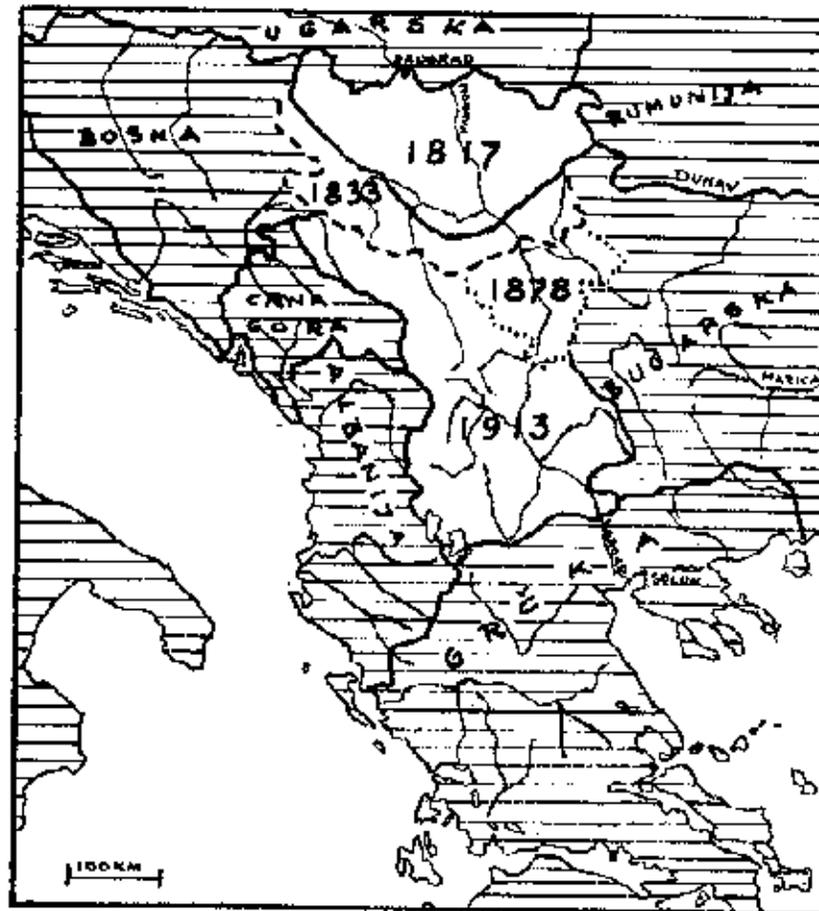
The Croats brought with them from the north the Ikavian, Ekavian and Iekavian speech of the Cakavian dialect. In the eastern part of their national territory, in medieval Duklja, Travunja, eastern Zahumlje and eastern Bosnia the Croats of the Iekavian speech of the Cakavian dialect assimilated with those who spoke the Ikavian speech of the Stokavian dialect and created the Ijekavian speech. In the centre of their national territory, in medieval Bosnia and western Zahumlje, the Croats of the Cakavian dialect assimilated with the Slavs of the first migration who spoke the Ikavian speech of the Stokavian dialect. As the Croats were quite numerous in that area, they influenced heavily the development of the Stokavian-Ikavian dialect by infusing a new spirit and introducing many words from the Cakavian dialect. Indeed they created a new dialect: the Stokavian-Cakavian.

The Serbs nowhere at any time spoke the Stokavian-Ikavian dialect. Where this is spoken, with a mixture of Cakavian, as in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Croats have lived there from the outset and these are Croatian lands. (23) The population of Bosnia and Herzegovina, although it changed religion with time and under various circumstances, always remained in its majority ethnically Croatian. From these native Croats more than 90% of the modern Catholics and Moslems are descended. (24)

Upon their arrival from the Elbe the Serbs did not settle in present-day Bosnia and Herzegovina, nor can it be historically proven that certain powerful groups of them immigrated there later on. The Serbs in those regions today are descended in great majority from non-Slavic Orthodox Wallachs brought in by the Turks during their rule. Up until the wars of Vienna (1683 – 99) the Orthodox population of Bosnia and Herzegovina

did not amount to more than 12 to 15% of the total. Only with the extinction of a large part of the Moslem peasantry in the great epidemic of 1782 – 83 and especially in the plagues from 1813 to 1817, when many Orthodox from northwestern Montenegro and Lika were brought in to colonize the deserted villages, did the Orthodox population constitute the strongest religious group. But they were still a minority when compared to the native Croats, both Catholic and Moslem. (25)

The position of the Orthodox minority in Bosnia and Herzegovina, which became gradually Serbianized in the XIX and XX centuries was like that of the Negroes in the United States. The Negroes, brought over from Africa, today make up a large percentage of the population in the southern American states and even the majority in the federal capital. They have in the United States all human and civil rights, as other American citizens, but not the right to demand the secession of any particular state from the union and to join with Nigeria or some other African state. So also the descendants of Wallachs who migrated to Bosnia and Herzegovina are free to enjoy all civil rights in their homeland, just as the native Croats, particularly the right to call themselves Serbs, to follow their Orthodox faith without hindrance, to use the Serbian Cyrillic, to have recourse to Serbian literature and to benefit by their Serbian cultural heritage. However they do not have the right to demand the succession of Bosnia and Herzegovina from the historical and ethnical Croatian territory and to join Serbia. Accordingly the Serbian aspirations in 1914, namely to annex Bosnia and Herzegovina to Serbia, had no basis in international law, not being founded on moral principals, but was only territorial greed and the violation of the ethnic rights of the Croatian nation. Consequently the assassination of the archduke Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo in 1914, the work of the Serbian military organization 'Unification or death' headed by Dragutin Dimitrijevic-Apis, was in the true sense a crime which could not be justified by the theory that it is morally permissible to kill tyrants who rule by force or forbid the unification of ethnic and historical components of a single national entity. (26)



DEVELOPMENT OF SERBIA 1817 - 1913

V. ROLE OF THE WALLACHS IN THE RESTORED SERBIAN STATE

Jovan Cvijic has shown on the basis of his ethnographic research and that of his colleagues that 80% of the population before the Balkan War of 1912 had immigrated to Serbia from outside since the beginning of the XVIII century. According to him three waves of immigrants poured into Serbia during the XVIII century from the Dinaric Alps, from Kossovo and Metohija and from the valleys of the Morava and the Vardar. Western Serbia, between the Drina and the Kolubara, was predominately colonized by immigrants from Herzegovina. Native populations of Rasa and Montenegro settled in Sumadija. The Morava basin was settled by populations from the Morava and Vardar valleys and by native inhabitants of Kossovo, Metohija and Macedonia. (1)

The majority of these immigrants were of Wallachian stock, a fact that Cvijic overlooked. At that time only Orthodox from the eastern regions migrated from Herzegovina to Serbia. They were mostly descended from the 'Florin' Wallachs of the Turkish empire and from the originally Catholic Wallachs of Lower Wallachia who had gone over to Orthodoxy. (2) Native Croats descended from the original Croats of Duklja also emigrated from Montenegro, but in the main the emigrants were Montenegrin Wallachs from Mount Durmitor, from Niksic and the nearby mountains. These sturdy mountain folk multiplied rapidly, but as semi-nomadic shepherds they were not very closely tied to the native soil.

The immigrants from Kossovo, Metohija and Macedonia were to a large degree ethnic Wallachs of the Orthodox faith. Very few of the original Serbs remained in these regions after the migration of the Serbs under Arsenius III Crnojevic (1690) and Arsenius IV Sakabenta (1737). (3) Wallachs from Albania, Thessaly and the western part of modern Bulgaria settled in central and eastern Serbia also. Most of these Wallachs at that time spoke their Romance language. Those who settled along the Danube around the Miroc mountains and Mount Delijovan even today speak their Romance language and feel that they are a Romance people.

These Wallachian immigrants brought with them to northern Serbia their original ethnic organization: village autonomy with village elders and tribal chieftains at the head. From this developed in the XVIII century the autonomy of the Serbian villages with chieftains and overlords at the head.

The Origin of the Tzintzar Wallachs in Serbia

During the XVIII century the Tzintzars, as the Wallachs called themselves, had moved from cattle-breeding to the Serbian towns to become engaged in trades, in business and commerce. As early as the XVII century certain Wallachs settled in the major towns where the manufacturing of military equipment for the Turkish army was carried on such as Salonica, Skoplje and Belgrade and made this manufacturing industry their business.

The urbanization of the Wallachs intensified in the XVIII century when their birth rate climbed, in the Balkans in general and especially in Thessaly and Macedonia and when they could no longer emigrate to the western regions of the Turkish empire. In Moskopolje in modern Albania they founded their great urban settlement and made it an important centre for Wallachian culture, based on the Byzantine cultural heritage which they acquired in Greece. When the city was destroyed by fire the first time in 1769 and

again in 1788, a great number of Tzintzars fanned out to the cities of Serbia, Bosnia, Herzegovina and Croatia. Since then the Tzintzars became the most important and leading class of townspeople in Serbia.

The Wallachs who came down from the Serbian mountains into the cities had been bilingual for a long time. The Tzintzars in Moskopolje spoke their Romance language as well as Greek, but when they immigrated into Serbia as a result of their daily business and commercial contacts with the Serbs, they had not difficulty in learning to speak Serbian. Due to centuries of social inequality and submission, a spirit of adaptation to an inhospitable environment had developed among the Wallachs. This was the reason for which the Wallachs, especially the Tzintzars of the cities, called themselves Serbs and came to the fore as patriots and soldiers when national consciousness awoke in Serbia at the end of the XVIII and the outset of the XIX century with the movement to cast off the yoke of a decayed and exhausted Turkey. Kara-Djordje, ringleader of the first Serbian uprising, and Milos Obrenovic, instigator of the second insurrection, were both of Wallachian stock. So were also the majority of their associates in the military undertakings.

The Serbianized Tzintzars who inhabited the cities and towns, enriched themselves in business and commerce and they were the first in Serbia to send their children to school, both in Serbia and abroad. Eventually they took the reigns of control in politics, the economy and all the domains of culture in the new Serbian state. In like manner the Orthodox population in Croatia took over a key position. Right up to the present day the descendants of those Serbianized Tzintzars have retained the key positions in Serbia and public life in Serbia everywhere bears the imprint of their spirit and upbringing. Without a basic understanding of the role of the Wallachs in the new Serbian state, of their virtues and shortcomings, it is impossible to understand and evaluate the history of Serbia in the XIX and XX centuries. This holds true also for the creation of the first and second Yugoslavia and for the trend of political circumstances in that part of Europe from 1918 to the present. (4)

The Virtues and Shortcomings of the Wallachs, particularly the Tzintzars

The main qualities of the Wallachs, these descendants of the Roman veterans and of those campaigners of the middle ages and of modern times are the following: combativeness, an adaptability to all situations no matter how strange or complex, and readiness to adapt to environment. In a case of necessity they are content with little. They are quick and agile and can endure great hardships. They are zealous patriots of whichever nation they happen to belong to. This is a consequence of their combative instincts that compel them to hide their alien ethnic origin and the swarthy traits that are still quite evident among many. (5)

Centuries of social segregation combined with a semi-nomadic life and a soldier's existence as well as weak and superficial religious education, have resulted in a general state of moral decadence among the Wallachs and in the frequent recurrence of flaws passed on from generation to generation which by habit have finally become inveterate vices. In the first place centuries of submission and ethnic inequality have predisposed the Wallachs to dissemble, deceive, to lie and to cheat. With the passing of time these traits became second nature to them. Among the Serbs descended from the Wallachs, particularly among the bourgeoisie, deceit, lies and particularly underhand methods are not considered as a moral evil, but rather as exploits, especially if they are successful.

The second major flaw of the Tzintzars who form the Wallachian bourgeoisie is greed. For centuries they served in the army as shock brigades and frontier troops. As such they had ample opportunity for plunder and appropriation and for living at someone else's expense. In this way the Wallachs became convinced that it was not a sin to take someone else's belongings, to rob and to swindle as long as one is dealing with an enemy, with a heterodox or even with the community or the state. One should seek the

key to this defect in the frequent state of insecurity prevalent in business and commerce among the Serbian bourgeoisie, especially the frequent occurrence of larceny and embezzlement of public and state property. Otherwise the Tzintzars are miserly as long as they are not rich. Among the Serbs the notion of avarice is identified with the Tzintzars (tzitzija – miser or hoarder).

Thirdly the Wallachs and their descendants have a penchant for the shedding of human blood, for murder and conspiracy. For centuries they served in the armies of both sides and saw much action on the frontiers, with the result that they developed contempt for human life and became prone to bloodlust and cruelty. This explains the massacres of Moslems at the outset of the first Serbian uprising, the battle to death between the Serbian dynasties of the Karadjordjevic and the Obrenovic and the massacre of Catholic and Moslem Croats during World War II and immediately after.

Another fault of the Wallachs is their immoderate boastfulness and glorification of their personal distinctions. To hear them talk they would prefer to die rather than to suffer that their reputation be tarnished. They are quarrelsome and factious.

Even the medieval Byzantine writers observed and recorded in their works these faults of the Wallachs. Cecaumenus in the XI century stated that the Wallachs never keep their work, that they are not trustworthy, liars and thieves. (6) Anna Comnena, Nicetas Choniates and Georgius Phrantzes, all in the XI and XII centuries, present an unfavourable picture of the Wallachs. (7) Gunther, bishop of Bamberg, describing the passage of the crusaders through the Balkans in 1064, has this to say about the Wallachs: "We suffered from the fury of the Romans (Wallachs) who were cruel and inhuman even more than is the nature of beasts." (8) Nestor, the Russian chronicler, states at the outset of the XII century that the Wallachs are great liars. (9) The Austrian envoy to Istanbul, baron Herbert, writes about the Tzintzars in Belgrade and Zemun: "Most of them, although they have moved to a new homeland, have not changed in their nature: they have remained liars, cheats, usurers, intriguers and impudent provocateurs once they have nothing to fear." (10)

The modern Serbian writers frequently complain about their unpleasant characteristics, which the urban Wallachs i.e. Tzintzars, brought with them into Serbian public life. The Serbian historian, the archimandrite Hilarion Ruvarac, a native of Srijem, struggled all his life against the "cunning and treacherous Serbs of Wallachian stock." (11) Jovan Skerlic complains of the "indolence of the East which has come to course through our bloodstream." (12) Dusan Popovic, professor of sociology and Serbian history at the University of Belgrade, devoted a complete book to the Tzintzars and to their influence on the Serbian bourgeoisie and on public life. Among other things he writes: "Our modern unsavory factionalism has its roots in this tendency. Moreover other negative characteristics of this tendency remain in our bourgeois society, such as the arrogance, narrow-mindedness, egotism and deceit. These traits are no small matter, at least not in our society, and not for our state and our people." (13)

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VIII. THE UNSUCCESSFUL ATTEMPTS TO MERGE THE CROATS AND THE SERBS INTO ONE NATION WITH A COMMON POLITICAL FRAMEWORK

Under the influence of the Enlightenment and of the French Revolution of 1789 and of the several coups d'état that followed in its wake at the outset of the XIX century, a new era of nationalism began in Europe. Under the incentive of this national consciousness certain European nations set themselves goals of effacing old political boundaries and dispensing with provincial units of administration. On the basis of language and nationality they tried to reunite all their national territory into one single national state.

Besides these factors Hungarian nationalism, which was very active, sparked the Croatian national movement in the Banate of Croatia, called the Triune Kingdom. The Banate, although limited in its territory as in its constitutional rights, preserved its entity as a Croatian state. Beginning with the Diet of Bratislava in 1790 the Hungarians gradually proceeded to impose the Hungarian name and to introduce the Hungarian language in the schools, institutions and the army, not only among the Slavic and other minorities in the Hungarian kingdom, but even in the old federal state of Croatia. This provoked a very strong resistance in the Banate of Croatia and stirred up feeling for the Croatian language with the result that Croats from all the Croatian territories gathered for political and cultural reunions. (1)

Ivan Derkos in his work 'Genij Domovine' published in 1832 called on all Croats of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia to unite. (2) Count Janko Draskovic in his 'Disertacija ili Ragovor' published in the same year also called on all the Croatian lands to unite, including Croatia, Slavonia, the Military Cordon, Dalmatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina "if with time Bosnia...will return to the fold." Moreover Draskovic expressed the wish that king Francis I "unite with us that region now called Illyria (Slovenian lands) and speaking the same language as we do." (3)

In 1830 Ljudevit Gaj (1809 – 1872) came to the fore as a leader of the Croatian national movement. He was a man of enthusiastic and enterprising spirit, an extraordinary promoter and an attractive personality. While still a university student he published in Budapest in 1830 a pamphlet in Croatian and German under the title 'Kurzer Entwurf einer Kroatisch-slavischen Orthographie.' (4) In his pamphlet Gaj calls on Croatian patriots to follow the example of other nations and adopt his own orthography, unified and simple, which he proposes to them as it is printed in his pamphlet, instead of the many various spellings used by them up till that time. At the outset of 1833 Gaj published a poem called 'Horvatov sloga i zjedinjenje' which opens with:

Croatia has not fallen yet we live,

Let us but arouse it, it will reach new heights.

At the end of his poem Gaj calls upon all Croats, including Bosnians, to come together and unite in the task of restoring Croatia to nationhood. He includes among Croats those who speak the Kaikavian dialect in Carniola and Styria, as does Janko Draskovic. For at the time they were considered to be Croats according to the linguistic theory of J. Dobrovski, the father of Slavic studies. In that poem the most important verses are:

Today the brothers lead the dance and celebrate;

For Croatia is resurrected and the son content.

All the old countrymen are here:

At the wedding ceremony are the heroes of Krbava,

The men of Carniola, Styria, Gorenška and Slavonia,

Here are the Bosnians, Istrians and Dalmatians. (5)

Gaj soon became convinced that printing was the most effective means of spreading his propaganda and of arousing the sentiment of nationalism. He applied himself with the utmost dedication to obtain a permit to publish his own newspaper and to found his own printing press. Thus on January 6th, 1835 the newspaper 'Novina Horvatzke' appeared. It was issued twice a week. On January 10th of the same year the 'Danicza Horovatzka, Slavonzka i Dalmatinzka' was also issued as a weekly literal supplement to the 'Novine Horvatzke'. In order to win over the older generation and thereby the leading class Gaj pulished the Novine and the Danica from the start in the old orthography - the Novine in the Kaikavian dialect throughout every issue whereas in the Danica there were articles in a mixture of Kaikavian and Stokavian. In the tenth issue of the Danica Mihanovic's poem 'Horvatska domovina' was printed in Gaj's new orthography and from the 29th issue on the entire Danica was printed in the new orthography.

The Illyrian Movement 1836 – 1843

The initial impact of Gaj and his 'Novine Horvatzke' was profound, especially in the cities. Croatian national consciousness, the feeling for the Croatian language, for Croatian national customs and cultural traditions were spreading like wildfire. In the tenth issue of the Danica appeared the poem of Antun Mihanovic entitled 'Horvatska domovina' that was adopted by the Croats as their national anthem.

By his very nature a far-seeing and ambitious man, Gaj at the outset of 1836 sacrificed the Croatian name in the title of the Novine and of the Danica in favour of the Illyrian name in order to extend the Croatian national movement over all southern Slavs and to have a broader and stronger basis for the fight against the Hungarians and the Austrian Germans. He chose the Illyrian name because as early as the XIV century under the influence of humanism other nations called the Croats Illyrians and their country Illyria. In time those names stuck even among Croatian writers who from the XVI century on often called themselves and their nation Illyrians and their language Illyrian. Even Napoleon with his 'Illyrian provinces', as the Austrians later called the Slovenian lands, spread the Illyrian name. (7)

Gaj was inclined to adopt the Illyrian name after the reading the works of Fra Peter Katoancic (1750 – 1825) (8) and of Toma Miklousic (1767 – 1833). (9) Both tried to prove scientifically that the Croats and Slavs from the earliest times lived in the modern Croatian lands and were the actual descendants of that people which the Romans called Illyrians. The opinion that the Illyri were Slavs and the ancestors of the Croats and of all other Slavs is very old. Nestor already noted this in his Russian chronicle at the outset of the XII century. (10) The first Croatian exponent of this opinion was the Dominican Vinko Pribojevic in his work 'De origine

successionibusque Slavorum' (Venice, 1532). (11) In the same spirit the abbot Mavro Obini wrote his work 'Il regno de gli Slavi' (Pesaro, 1601).

The Illyrian movement had a wide appeal among all Croats, regardless of what state they belonged to. Even in Bosnia, still under Turkish rule, it found fervent adherents in the Franciscans who at that time were the only educated class in the country. (12)

Except for Stanko Vraz and a few other unimportant individuals neither Slovenes nor Serbs nor Bulgarians embraced the Illyrian movement. (13) Accordingly Gaj's main idea to create one nation, namely the Illyrian nation out of Slovenes, Croats, Serbs and Bulgarians failed. The reason for this was that these nations were not originally Illyrian, nor had ever been one nation since their arrival in their homelands. Although they all belonged to the Slavic race, each of them as early as the folk migration in the VII century had their own national territory, their own national and political development, their own cultural and national distinctions and above all their own political consciousness.

Nonetheless one had to emphasize that the Illyrian movement achieved certain successes of lasting value in the Croatian nation. It called a halt to the Magyarization of the Banate of Croatia and to the alienation of Dalmatia and Istria from the rest of Croatia. It dampened the widespread provincialism in the country and replaced it with a stronger national consciousness that embraced all. It resulted in a common orthography and in one universal Croatian literal language. In spite of all that, Gaj after the revolution of 1848 in Croatia lived and died in seclusion, first on account of his selfishness and greed of money, but mostly because he had betrayed the Croatian name in favour of the foreign and historically incorrect name of Illyrian, and particularly because his newspaper was the organ of Austrian absolutism and because he collaborated with Serbian politicians and rulers in extending Serbia into Croatian territory at the expense of Croatian statehood. (14)

The Yugoslavism of Bishop Strossmayer

Josip Juraj Strossmayer (1815 – 1905), bishop of Djakovo, in his political debut as representative in the enlarged Council of State in Vienna in 1860 held forth the opinion that the Hapsburg monarchy should be reorganized as a federation made up of nations of equal status. The kingdom of Croatia, including Dalmatia, was in his opinion to be one of these nations and possess full constitutional rights with Croatian as the official language. When he became convinced that Croatia would never obtain full constitutional rights within the Hapsburg monarchy, Strossmayer as a former adherent of the Illyrian movement, revived anew the ideas of Gaj under a new name of Yugoslavism, thinking that in this way Croatia would enjoy better prospects in the future. At the assembly of the Banate on December 10th, 1860 Strossmayer contributed a considerable sum of 50,000 florins in order to found in Zagreb a Yugoslavian Academy of the Arts and Sciences as an instrument of South Slavic unity which would include Croats, Serbs, Bulgarians and Slovenes. It was to employ one common language, adopting the Ijekavian speech of the Stokavian dialect. (15)

Since already a good number of Orthodox in Croatia called themselves Serbs at that time on account of Garasanin's propaganda, the Croatian diet in 1861, attended by a majority of former adherents of Illyrianism, declared in article 31 that "in the Triune Kingdom (Croatia) there live some Serbian people whom (the diet) has always wished might live with the Croats as brothers of the same race, loving and

respecting one another as a sacred duty, as they have done till now and it is hoped they will continue to do in the future." (16)

Strossmayer worked out his thoughts on Yugoslavian national and political unity in detail in his program of 1874. He writes: "The ultimate goal of the common aspirations and the national effort among Croats, Serbs, Bulgarians and Slovenes" must be "their unification in a free and independent national and political Yugoslavian federation" whose form and "political nature" is the time being undetermined. This purpose has to be achieved by national unity "in the way of life and, insofar as it is possible, in the domain of literature also...the several peoples constituting Yugoslavia...in every sense and in all respects." (17)

As one can see from this program and from other statements made by Strossmayer, according to him the "Yugoslav nation" is identical with the Slavic race in southern Europe made up of four distinct and full-fledged peoples each with a distinct political history and political consciousness. Strossmayer was against a unified, unitary and centralistic Yugoslavian state. He sought the unification of the national states of Croats, Serbs, Bulgarians and Slovenes into a Yugoslavian political community, a confederation in which all national states would be equal and isonomous, each with its own full and integral political autonomy.

During the uprising and partial liberation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (1875 – 78) Strossmayer expressed the opinion that they should join Serbia. In his idealism he thought that "as soon as Serbia takes over Bosnia and Herzegovina it will cease to be an exclusively Serbian state and thereby become Slavic." (18)

Serbs, Bulgarians and Slovenes all rejected Strossmayer's Yugoslavism, as they had done with Gaj's Illyrianism. Neither did the general mass of the Croats, both the peasantry and the bourgeoisie, accept the idea of Yugoslavism. Only a part of the Croatian intelligentsia and politicians embraced it. Croatia's cultural and political life was permanently affected by it in a detrimental fashion. So for example the Serbs have their own Serbian academy of science, the Bulgarians a Bulgarian academy and the Slovenes a Slovenian academy, but the Croats even today have sacrificed their own national name in favour of the Yugoslavian name as regards their academy of arts and sciences.

Seeing how self-seeking were the Serbs, looking only after their own interests in Serbia and aiding in Croatia the tyrannical regime of Khuen-Hedervary who severely oppressed the Croatian nation and encroached upon its constitutional rights, Strossmayer felt some reservations in respect to his Yugoslavism and turned his attention to the idea of a Croatian state with the Croatian national name. On April 10th, 1884 Strossmayer wrote to Franjo Racki: "Our nation is in a very perilous situation. The Serbs are our mortal foes. I think that it was Markovic who said fitly that while we are fiercely fighting against the Hungarians, our Serbian brothers attack us from behind." (19) On July 25th, 1893 Strossmayer wrote to Luj Vojnovic: "We, as Croats, are observing the struggles of the Serbs with a lively interest, hoping that they will achieve success as soon as possible...Instead of this we see the Serbs everywhere in fierce contention with us, everywhere with our bitterest foes in alliance against us. These poor wretches think that our grave will be their resurrection, with the consequences that this grave which they prepare for us will swallow them forever." (20)

In a letter to S. Vanutelli, the nuncio in Vienna, dated December 2nd, 1885 Strossmayer bitterly condemned Pan-Serbian notions and declared that the Triune Kingdom of Croatia would have to play the leading role in the Balkans. (21)

On the occasion of the investiture of the archbishop of Zagreb Juraj Posilovic in the

cathedral of Zagreb in 1894 Strossmayer emphatically repeated the expression "our Croatian nation." (22)

Strossmayer's new outlook was reflected in the program of the United Croatian Opposition in 1894 brought forward unanimously by the adherents of Strossmayer's policies (the Obzorasi) and by those of Ante Starcevic's (the Rightists). The first point of this program was enunciated as follows: "The united Croatian opposition, based on the foundation of constitutional rights and the principle of nationhood will employ every legal means to unite into one independent political body with the framework of the Hapsburg monarchy all Croats living in Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia, in Rijeka and its district, in Medjumurje, Bosnia, Herzegovina and Istria and will support with all its might the endeavours of our Slovene brethren to join this political body." (23)

This remained the national program of the great majority of Croatian politicians up to the fall of the Hapsburg monarchy in 1918.

Panserbianism and Starcevic's Policies

The Serbs accepted neither Gaj's Illyrism nor Strossmayer's Yugoslavism because the Serbian uprisings at the outset of the XIX century had instilled in them the hope of restoring the old Serbian state after the fall of the Turkish empire and even reviving the dreams of Dusan's empire. Moreover the Slavists J. Dobrobsky, Jernej Kopitar and P.J. Safarik imbued the Serbs with the notion that they could unite all South Slavs under their name.

The Serbian movement began at the outset of the XIX century in Vojvodina where a great part of the ethnic Serbian population had migrated. The main centre of the movement was in Novi Sad where there was a solid concentration of Serbian merchants and where the first Serbian institutes of higher learning and literary societies were founded. Soon Serbian merchants established new centres for the movement in Budapest, Vienna, Trieste and in other commercial centres.

In Serbian itself a secret plan for Serbian expansion and conquest of neighbouring lands was devised in 1844 by Ilija Garasanin, Minister of Internal Affairs in the government of prince Alexander I Karadjordjevic, under the title of 'Master Plan.' Among other things Garasanin set before the Serbian politicians the task of "diverting the Catholic population in the western regions" – meaning the Croatian territories – "from Austria and its influence and to bring them under Serbian influence." Accordingly Serbian agents had the task of "trying to eradicate the animosity which exists now between Serbs of the eastern creed and Serbs of the western creed." This all was to be performed in such a way that "nothing of this plan is revealed" to Catholic agents. (24)

The Serbian plan to conquer Croatian territory was rendered public by Vuk Stefanovic Karadzic in his article 'Srbi svi i svuda' which appeared in his work 'Kovcevic Za istoriju, jezik i obicaje Srba sva tri zakona' published in Vienna in 1849. According to Vuk only those who speak the Cakavian and Kaikavian dialects in the counties of Zagreb, Varazdin and Krizevac are Croats. All the rest are Serbian lands: Backa, Banat, Srijem, Slavonia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Dalmatia, Lika, Krbava and Montenegro.

Ante Starcevic (1823 – 96) objected strongly to Vuk's Panserbian pretensions in several articles appearing in the 'Narodne novine' in Zagreb in 1851 – 52. In these

articles and in his later writings and speeches in the Croatian diet Starcevic formulated Croatia's national program that he epitomized in the slogan 'Croatia for Croats!' In other words Croats sought to unite all Croatian territory in a common Croatian state, excluding any foreign elements and subject to no one, in brief, one in which only Croats would govern. (25)

At the outset Starcevic refused to recognize the presence of other nationalities in Croatia. He stated that the Moslems in Bosnia and Herzegovina were "the oldest and purest nobility of the sword both in Croatia and in Europe." (26) According to him the Orthodox population originated from the old Croatian native inhabitants who were converted to Orthodoxy and from Roman (Wallach) immigrants who intermarried and were assimilated into the body of Croats. (27) Later on in life Starcevic recognized that Croatia contains people of various nationalities who must be tolerated and allowed to use their own national name as long as they work sincerely for the good of the Croatian state in which they live. In his article 'Slovenci i Srbi' Starcevic wrote in 1833 "We sincerely love and regard as brothers the Serbs, Germans, Italians, Jews, Gypsies and Protestants and so on...everyone in fact who works for the general good of the whole nation that is his fatherland; but we are afraid equally of Serb, Croat and so on, of everyone who is against...the commonwealth...the main thing is that everyone work for the nation and the fatherland, and let them call themselves however they please." (28)

Starcevic forgot about any national and political unity on the basis of Illyrism or Yugoslavism. According to the national proverb "My dwelling place is my freedom", Starcevic sought to set up a self-determined Croatian state in which all the territory of the old Croatian state from Istria to the Drina and from the Adriatic to the Mura River would be reunited. With the other states, including Hungary and Austria, Croatia was not to have any other ties except that of personal union, embodied in a common ruler. Starcevic was deeply imbued with the old Croatian democratic spirit. He believed in legality and justice. He was convinced that the Croatian nation could and had to achieve freedom and full statehood by its own means. Nonetheless he counted on the support and assistance of the Western powers, particularly the French republic. For a long time Starcevic entertained the notion that Russia would help Croatia to attain independence. (29)

Starcevic's political ideology is the fruit of many years of pondering over the question of the Croatian nation and state and developed out of his writings and speeches in the diet. Future Croatian patriots, politicians and men of other aspects of public life found his ideology a source of continuous inspiration.

National Unity of the Progressive Youth

Khuen-Hedervary's (1883 – 1903) attempts to abolish Croatian statehood and to increase Hungarian influence in Croatia provoked fierce resistance among the Croats. At the end of his first decade in office the great majority of the Croats, both bourgeoisie and peasantry, who during this time began in earnest to enter Croatian politics, coalesced around the Croatian opposition, joining either the Obzorasi of Strossmayer's party or the Rightist Party of Ante Starcevic. The ideology of the Rightist Party was especially appealing to the bourgeoisie and university youth.

When Khuen-Hedervary invited Franz Joseph and the Hungarian president Banffy to the inauguration of the new theatre in Zagreb in order to show them the progress achieved during the mandate of the Hungarian party, the Croatian youth and their leaders, the university students demonstrated loudly and otherwise manifested their intentions. On October 16th, 1895 they began by tearing apart the Serbian flag

on the Orthodox parish hall which the Serbs had hung there in token of their approval and collaboration with Khuen-Hedervary. Then the Croatian youth burned the Hungarian flag with much uproar in front of the monument to ban Jelacic who had liberated Croatia from the Hungarians in 1848. (30)

Khuen had the ringleaders of the Croatian youth expelled from the University of Zagreb. They scattered abroad to various universities and an important group of them went to Prague. At that time the Czechs were engaged in a bitter struggle against Germanization. Professor Toma Masaryk, a liberal and theoretician of political philosophy, was one of the leading lights at the University of Prague. In order to achieve equality and freedom for the Slavic nations in the Hapsburg monarchy Masaryk recommended a policy of mutual understanding among Slavs, a realistic attitude in politics with particular attention to the social and cultural aspects in this program as it related to the common people.

Masaryk made a great impression on these new university students from Croatia. Under the influence of Masaryk's teaching the Croatian students began to fraternize with the Serbian and Slovenian students at Prague, to exchange ideas and to come away with new notions of the essence of their nationalism and on the direction that it must take. They were particularly keen on the idea of the Slavic brotherhood and the Croats and Serbs proclaimed themselves to be one and the same nation. In order to spread their new ideas the students of Prague at the outset of 1897 began to publish in Prague one a month the 'Hrvatska misao.' Particularly notable among the collaborators were Stjepan Radic, Zivko Bertic, Ivan Lorkovic and Milan Dezman. Under the influence of their activities in 1896 the students in Zagreb founded the society called the United Croatian and Serbian Youth. In the summer of 1897 this society published the almanac 'Naradna misao' to which the Serbs began also to contribute with their support of the new concept of national unity. With regard to religion and culture the youth of Prague adopted the liberal and positive notions of Masaryk and were called the Progressive Youth on account of this. (31)

The Turning Point: The Croatian-Serbian Coalition

The Progressive Youth exerted a particular influence in Dalmatia. In this cradle of the Croatian state, educated Croatian patriots as early as the fall of the Venetian Republic (1797) longed for the unification of Dalmatia with Croatia. The Orthodox population in Dalmatia during the Illyrian movement and especially during the Croatian national resurgence in Dalmatia (1860 – 70) joined with the Croats in their attempts to unify Dalmatia and Croatia. Disagreements between the Croats and the Serbs which flared up during the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina led to an eventual break and the Dalmatian Croats began in earnest to urge the unification of those provinces with Croatia on the basis of Croatian historical claims and constitutional rights, while the Serbs were all for annexing Bosnia and Herzegovina to Serbia. Henceforth the Dalmatian Serbs supported the anti-Croatian policies of Austria and of the Italian irredentist party in Dalmatia.

In 1890 Dalmatia had a population of 527,426 of which 78.6% were Croats, 16.5% Serbs and 3.1% Italians. (32) In the face of Austrian oppression which relied mainly upon the Serbian and Italian minorities, the talented and energetic Frano Supilo (1870 – 1917) from Dubrovnik (33) and Ante Trumbic (1864 – 1938) a young lawyer from Split (34), rose to prominence at that time in their work for the betterment of the nation's circumstances and for the unification of Dalmatia with Croatia. In 1890 Supilo was the main editor of the newspaper 'Crvena Hrvatska' which advocated resistance against the coalition in Dubrovnik of Serbs with the Italian irredentist party. (35)

Observing the general trend of Croatian politics at that time from the Dalmatian point of view, Supilo and Trumbic considered Austria to be the main obstacle to the unification of Dalmatia with Croatia and to their progress. They were of the opinion that Croatian politicians should support Hungary's struggle for independence and personal union with the Hapsburg domains, because the Croats would more easily obtain their rights from Hungary alone than if it were backed by Austria as a partner in the dual monarchy. So that the might better be able to work in this direction Supilo moved to Rijeka and there in 1899 began publication of the newspaper 'Novi List.' Under the influence of the ideas of the Progressive Youth, Supilo and Trumbic accepted at that time the fictitious political notion that Serbs and Croats were one nation. (36)

The long and oppressive regime of Khuen-Hedervary and especially the introduction of the Hungarian as the language of the railway service provoked in 1903 a national outcry in Croatia. In Zagreb and elsewhere throughout the countryside public demonstrations and a general state of unrest began. Hungarian signs were demolished and inscriptions were defaced, the Hungarian flag and pictures of Khuen were burned. Nothing less than full autonomy and independence was demanded for Croatia. Ban Khuen-Hedervary resigned and was appointed chancellor in Hungary in order to affirm Austro-Hungarian dualism in the face of Hungarian opposition, bent on severing all ties with Austria, except for the joint ruler, the embodiment of personal unification. (37)

Due to the efforts of Supilo the Croatian representatives from the Banate of Croatia and Dalmatia met in Rijeka on October 3rd, 1905 and signed the Resolution of Rijeka thereby approving Hungary's struggle for personal union and promising their support under the condition that the Croatian territories would be reunited and that the Banate of Croatia would regain its constitutional freedoms. Supilo interpreted the Resolution of Rijeka for the sculptor Ivan Mestrovic thus: "Our primary aim was to realize with Hungarian aid the unification of Dalmatia with Croatia, then to revise the Compromise (of 1868) and to achieve full equality." (38)

A fortnight after the Resolution of Rijeka, on October 17th, the Serbian delegates from Croatia and Dalmatia met in Zadar and promulgated the Resolution of Zadar. They also approved of Hungary's struggle for independence and promised their support under the same condition as that which was specified in the Resolution of Rijeka, expressing their readiness to fight for the unification of Dalmatia with Croatia as long as the Croatian parties should recognize the equality of the Serbs in Croatia with the Croatian nation. Whereupon the Croatian and Serbian party in Dalmatia came to an agreement. Both parties put forward the notion that Croats and Serbs are one nation and took the obligation to fight for the unification of Dalmatia with Croatia. Soon in the Banate of Croatia a coalition of Serbs and Croats was formed, which included the Croatian Rightist Party and the Croatian Progressive Party as well as the Serbian Independent Party and the Serbian Radical Party. Radic's Croatian Popular Peasant Party and the Croatian Extreme Right remained outside the coalition. In its platform on December 11th, 1905 the Coalition put forward its program based on the Resolutions of Rijeka and Zadar and placed particular emphasis on the equality of the Croatian Serbs with the Croatian nation. (39)

Hoping that the new program of the Coalition would achieve more extensive rights for Croatia and eventual independence, the electorate in Croatia gave most of its votes to the Coalition in the elections of 1906, 1908, 1910, 1911 and 1913. In 1907 the Coalition actually formed the government for a short time, but had no success at all because the Hungarians came to a financial agreement with Austria on October 8th, 1907 and refused to concede any of the privileges which they had

gained in Croatia.

From 1905 to 1909 the members of the Coalition who rose to prominence and actually led it were the Croat Frano Supilo and the Serb Svetozar Pribicevic (1875 – 1936). Both accepted the myth of the national unity of the Croats and the Serbs. However Supilo stood for Croatian statehood and hoped that Croatia would achieve its unification and independence within the context of unity and concord between the Croats and the Serbs. Pribicevic had in mind the unification of Croatia and Serbia within the framework of the Serbian kingdom. He considered the idea of the national unity of Croats and Serbs as a means to weaken among the Croats the idea of Croatian statehood and to dispose them to accept union with Serbia in a state that would actually be Serbian.

When in 1908 Pribicevic's party kept Supilo from being elected as the national representative in Glina, where two-thirds of the electorate was Serbian, and even cast doubts on his political integrity, Supilo handed in his resignation to the central committee of the Coalition on December 11th, 1909 and on February 5th, 1910 left it altogether. Henceforth the leader of the Coalition was Svetozar Pribicevic, descended from the old Croatian Wallachs, a capable man with an iron will, cunning and a shrewd and treacherous politician. As leader of the Coalition he received secret instructions from Belgrade as it served the interests of the Serbs in Croatia and those of the Kingdom of Serbia itself. He supported the Magyarizing regimes in Croatia because it served to dissociate him publicly from the revolutionary activities of the Serbo-Croatian Progressive Youth whom he secretly encouraged and also to protect the Serbs in the Austro-Hungarian state from persecution on a large scale. (40)

Under the pretext of the national unity of Croats and Serbs Serbian propaganda in Croatia was increased with the accession of Karadjordjevic to the Serbian throne in 1903. In Belgrade the Congress of Yugoslav Artists was held in 1904, the Congress of Yugoslav Writers in 1905 and the Congress of Yugoslav Teachers in 1906. Serbian propaganda was increased during the Tariff War between Austro-Hungary and Serbia in 1906 and especially during the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908. The trial for high treason in Zagreb in 1909 and the Balkan War of 1912 generated a genuine enthusiasm for Serbia among the Serbs in Croatia and part of the Croatian youth, especially the more progressive among them. The later, uncritical in their youthful enthusiasm, thought that Croats and Serbs, being one nation, had one and the same interest and accordingly that in a common state there would not be any contention between them. There were those who maintained that the Croat, being one with the Serbs and members of the same nation as the Serbs had to be Serbs and had to be called so, yet with this they did not cease to be Croats. This in brief was exactly the aim of Pan-Serbian propaganda from Garasanin to Dimitrijevic-Apis' organization 'Unification or death.' (41)

At the court of Vienna stands the inscription *Institia fundamentum regorum* (Justice is the foundation of kingdoms). Instead of respecting this old biblical proverb and granting all nations in the monarchy equal status, the contemporary Austro-Hungarian rulers resorted to violence and persecution in order to keep Croatia from growing and from becoming a focal point of attraction for the rest of the Slavs in the south. Although the Progressive Youth in the Austro-Hungarian state, mostly Serbs with some Croats, had committed high treason in thought and deed according to Austro-Hungarian laws, as we have come to know from documents made available after 1918, the crown could not prove anything. (42) In the trial for high treason (March 3rd to October 5th, 1905) and the subsequent trial of several youths (July 30th, 1910) in Zagreb and especially during the Friedjung trial (December 9th, 1909) in Vienna, the crown exerted pressure on the court and employed falsified documents. This provoked a scandal in the whole cultural world. (43)

On St. Vitus' day, June 28th, 1914, Serbian youth from Bosnia and Herzegovina assassinated in Sarajevo the heir to the Austro-Hungarian throne Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sophia. The conspirators carried out their crime with the collaboration and help of the Serbian conspiratorial organization 'Unification or Death' and the Ministry of National Defense in Belgrade, which with this act put an end to the Franz Ferdinand's enthusiastic plans to solve the question of the Slavs in the Hapsburg monarchy in a just way upon his accession to the throne. He was especially concerned with the problem of unifying Bosnia, Herzegovina and Dalmatia with Croatia and with the settlement of the question of the Croats, Slovenes and Serbs in the monarchy independently of the kingdom of Serbia. (44) The assassination in Sarajevo prompted Austria to declare war on Serbia on July 28th, 1914. This brought on the First World War.

Although the Croats had a sincere sympathy for the Western democratic nations of England and France, for a full four years they fought heroically and with determination against the Serbs in the east and the Italians in the west in the defense of their homeland of Croatia. This proves irrefutably that the general mass of the Croatian people, peasantry and bourgeoisie, did not accept the ideas of the Progressive Youth on the national and political unity of the Croats and the Serbs, but took the viewpoint that the Croats are a particular nation whose aims were to preserve its own Croatian state.

The work of the Yugoslav Committee in London and the creation of the State of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes

Following the assassination at Sarajevo, according to a prior agreement some of the most prominent Croats, all adherents of the concept of national unity between Croats and Serbs, fled to their political neighbours. In the autumn of 1914 the following found themselves in Rome: the journalist Frano Supilo, the lawyers Ante Trumbic, Hinko Hinkovic and Potocnjak and the sculptor Ivan Mestrovic. Although they were not authorized by their own nation, they agreed to set up a committee which in the spirit of national unity and under the Yugoslavian name would work for the liberation of the southern Slavs from the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and for the unification with Serbia in a common Yugoslavian state. They informed Nikola Pasic, the president of the Serbian government in Nis of their plans. This news pleased him because the Allies would thereby be made aware that the Croats were seeking unification with Serbia. Meanwhile Pasic advised them not to call it the Yugoslavian, but the Croatian Committee, not to call themselves Yugoslavs, but 'Serbo-Croatians' and to not call the future state 'Yugoslavia', but 'Greater or Great Serbia' (45)

The Serbian national parliament in Nis on December 7th, 1914 (46) and the regent Alexander in a speech to the army on December 28th (47) proclaimed the existence of Greater Serbia and Serbia's political policies.

The members of the committee in Rome painfully understood that official Serbia with Pasic at its head did not want to have anything to do with the national unity of Croats and Serbs, now with a common state in full equality, but that they had in mind only the Serbian nation and Serbia's political ideas. Nonetheless they decided to continue their work, hoping that by their endeavours the Serbs as a peasant folk and democratic nation would embrace the idea of a common, democratic and egalitarian state, in which Serbs, Croats and Slovenes would be equal and isonomous and have the possibility of maintaining and developing their genuine ethnic, cultural and religious distinctions. (48)

On November 7th, 1914 the leaders of the Serbs of Mostar arrived in Rome: Nikola Stojanovic, Dusan Vasiljevic and the Belgrade professor Pavle Popovic. The committee admitted the first two to its Yugoslav circle as representatives of the Croatian Serbs. In February 1915 Jovo Banjanin from Vojvodina and Milan Srskic, a lawyer from Sarajevo, joined them. (49)

The Activities of the Yugoslav Committee among the Emigrants to America

In order to obtain the assistance and collaboration of the Croats, Serbs and Slovenes abroad, the committee in Rome sent on January 24, 1915 its member Dr. Frano Potocnjak to North America. At that time there were about 600,000 Croats, over 200,000 Slovenes and about 90,000 Serbs in the United States. (50) The American Croats had numerous local and regional organizations, political and philanthropic, with several journals and newspapers. The most important of their philanthropic organizations was the Noradna hrvatska zajednica in Pittsburgh which in 1926 amalgamated with several Croatian philanthropic organizations and was called the Hrvatska Bratska Zajednica with its headquarters in Pittsburgh. The Hrvatski savez was the strongest of the political organizations.

The Croats in the United States followed with interest and sympathy the political events in their Croatian homeland. There were adherents of Frano Supilo's policy of rapprochement with Serbia and of the national unity of Serbs and Croats, but by far the greater number followed the purely Croatian policies of Ante Starcevic. In connection with the Eleventh Convention of the Narodna hrvatska zajednica in Kansas City from September 9th to 24th, 1912, mostly due to the work of Don Niko Grskovic, the Hrvatski savez was established as a political organization with the slogan 'For Croatian freedom.' It had an expressly anti-Austrian and anti-Yugoslavian outlook. (51)

Prior to 1914 quite a few of the Orthodox population from Dalmatia and the Banate of Croatia acknowledged themselves to be Croats. The great majority of those who called themselves Serbs took the viewpoint of Croatian constitutional rights and stood for a free and independent Croatian state within the framework of the Hapsburg monarchy. A minority of the contemporary Serbs in the United States led by the Serbian consul Pupin in New York stood for Serbian political policies and sought the unification of Croatian territories with Serbia. (52)

When Dr. Potocnjak arrived in America he travelled throughout the United States from New York to San Francisco, meeting with many Croats, Serbs and Slovenes, with individuals as well as with representatives of various organizations. To all he spoke about Yugoslavian national unity and about the future common state of Yugoslavia in which all, Croats, Serbs and Slovenes would be totally free, equal and happy. He won over many and filled them with enthusiasm for the ideas of the committee in Rome, particularly the consul Pupin in New York, Don Niko Grskovic in Cleveland and Dr. Ante Biankinij, a physician in Chicago. Due to their work a general congress of representatives from all over the United States took place in Chicago on March 10th – 11th, 1915. At this congress the political fiction was maintained that the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes were one nation. It was resolved to break off all relations with the Austro-Hungary and to demand the creation of the new state of Yugoslavia in conjunction with Serbia. The Yugoslav Committee in Rome was recognized as the official representative of all Yugoslavs in the Austro-Hungarian monarchy. Moreover the diet promised to levy volunteers and to send them to the European front to aid the Allies. The Hrvatski savez on this occasion voted the sum of \$5,000, the first financial aid for the work of the committee in

Rome. (53)

This congress in Chicago elicited a strong response in South America. At that time about 160,000 Croats from various provinces lived east of the Cordillera, mostly in Argentina. The great majority of them followed the policies of the Rightist Party of Ante Starcevic. In the countries of the Pacific littoral lived about 25,000 Croats, mostly from Dalmatia. (54) Among them there were a few adherents of Supilo's and Trumbic's policy of rapprochement with Serbia. With the work of the committee in Rome and under the influence of the congress in Chicago, a lively Yugoslavian movement arose among the Croats of the Pacific littoral. Its headquarters in Antofagasta in Chile where two wealthy Croatian industrialists, Pasko Baburica and Frano Petrinovic, both from Brac, joined the movement. At the first congress in Antofagasta on August 1st, 1915 the idea of the national unity of the Croats and the Serbs was accepted and the work of the Yugoslav Committee in London for the creation of a common Yugoslavian state was approved. At the second congress on January 23rd, 1916, also in Antofagasta, an abundance of resolutions was passed concerning the work of the organization in all of South America, the levying of Yugoslavian volunteers and the assistance to the Red Cross and to the fugitives from Serbia and Montenegro. The congress set itself the task of financing the Yugoslav Committee in London and of the settling all the debts subsequently contracted by the committee. During the space of three years the Yugoslav Committee in Antofagasta contributed more than 100,000 American dollars to this end. (45)

Rivalry between the political notions of Yugoslavia in Croatia and Serbia

At the outset of the war Russia had in mind to liberate all the South Slavs from foreign domination, wishing Serbia to remain an Orthodox state of eastern culture. IN the geographical map sent out by Sazanov, the Russian minister of external affairs, to the Russian embassies in the West, the state of the Croats and the Slovenes had to be independent of Serbia and Montenegro. "A line was drawn on the map with a blue pencil, a little to the east of Bosanski Brod, then on the river Bosna, including Sarajevo, then across Mount Ivan to the river Neretva almost up to Mostar and finally to Capljina. From Capljina a line was drawn with a red pencil south to Herceg-Novi and north to Metkovic. South of the blue line was written 'Serbia' and below it in brackets 'Montenegro' and north of the blue line 'Croatia.' The triangle in red was designated as a territory in which it had to be decided by plebiscite whether it would belong to Serbia or Croatia. In this 'Serbia' the territorial confines of Montenegro were drawn in finer lines. It included Boka Kotorska and southern Herzegovina, forming a wedge as far as Sarajevo. A remark was added to the effect that the mutual relations between the two Serbian states would be determined subsequently." (56)

Before the end of 1914 the committee in Rome learned that the Allies were endeavouring to bring Italy into the war with the promise of territorial expansion, naturally at the expense of the south Croatian and Slovenian territories of the Hapsburg monarchy. Frano Supilo, a perspicacious and intelligent Croatian politician, shaken by this news and by Pasic's Serbian policies, became very concerned for Croatia's future. Wherefore on January 26th, 1915 he went via Nis to St. Petersburg. Here at the outset of March by his diplomacy he found out from Sazanov that the Allies intended to give indeed to Italy the south Slovenian land, Istria, the entire Croatian littoral and Dalmatia with the islands up to the river Krka. Croatia had to remain independent with an outlet on the sea at Rijeka. (57)

When Pasic found out through his representative in St. Petersburg what Supilo had

discovered, on April 9th, 1915 he sent to Russia two men of high education, Lj. Stojanovic and A. Belic with a petition in which he sought to get compensation for Dalmatia which Serbia would not get, in the Croatian lands of Lika, Krbava and Slavonia. (58)

While Supilo in disappointment was returning west, the Allies on April 26th, 1915 signed the Treaty of London thereby conceding the aforementioned territory to Italy. (59) The next day Trumbic and the other members of the committee left Rome and on April 30th, 1915 they formally established in Paris the Yugoslav Committee, which moved to London the next month. The Slovenes N. Zupanic, G. Gregorin and B. Vosnjak joined the committee. (60) Henceforth the committee tirelessly worked to nullify the Treaty of London, more precisely on the basis of the national unity of the Croats, Slovenes and Serbs to unite all Croatian, Slovenian and Serbian territory in order to form a new and common state of Yugoslavia. In this activity the eminent English journalists W. Steed and Seton Watson were of particular assistance to the committee in London. (61) In this work Frano Supilo came particularly to the fore, frequently visiting the Foreign Office in London after his return from Russia. Sir Edward Grey, the English minister of external affairs, appreciated Supilo as "the most brilliant political head of all whom he had met from Central Europe...a genuine political talent." (62)

When in the summer of 1915 the Allies wished to bring Bulgaria into the war on their side, they promised it Macedonia. In compensation for this Pasic sought to obtain Croatia and Slavonia for Serbia. (63) Meanwhile on October 20th, 1915 Bulgaria entered the war on the side of the Central Powers. With this the Serbian army was forced to retreat in the winter of 1915 with heavy losses across the Albanian mountains (so-called 'Albanian Golgotha') to the island of Corfu. (64)

Relinquishing the Croats and the Slovenes to their own fate, Pasic declared in St. Petersburg to the representatives of the Russian press at the outset of May 1916 that Serbia recognized Italy's hegemony on the Adriatic and that he was seeking nothing else for Serbia than an outlet to the sea for its commerce. A St. Petersburg correspondent revealed this on May 6th in the 'Corriere della Sera' in Milan in the form of an acknowledgement of the Treaty of London by Serbia and of a condemnation of the work of the Yugoslav Committee in London. (65)

Seeing that Serbia and Czarist Russia were thinking only of Serbs and of Serbian expansion, Supilo ever in touch with the Allied politicians, began persistently to seek from the committee answers in advance as to how the internal organization of the common state of Yugoslavia, in which Croatia ought to exist as an autonomous component, equal in status to Serbia, would be established. (66)

Both Supilo and Trumbic were sincere Croatian patriots who wished and zealously worked for the good of the Croats. Trumbic devoted himself to the creation of the common state of Yugoslavia, constitutional and decentralized, because he foresaw that otherwise after the war Croatian territory would be divided among Serbia, Italy and Hungary. As a thorough expert and admirer of Roman law Trumbic thought that in a common state consisting of several ethnic, cultural and religious components equality and isonomy must necessarily prevail, for otherwise such a state could not exist. Therefore Trumbic worked to create a common fatherland out of all the Croatian, Slovenian and Serbian territories, a common domicile, and the rest would resolve itself later in general satisfaction. In his naivete Trumbic at that time could not even conceive that such a common domicile some day would become the prison of the Croatian nation.

Supilo stood for Croatian statehood. Besides he knew better the faults of the

Tzintzars, the Serbian ruling class, especially their violence, religious intolerance and greediness for the possessions of other people. He foresaw that the Serbs would exploit economically the Croats who would have neither religious nor cultural freedom, if the internal organization of the common state and the autonomy of Croatia could not be settled in advance.

In the petition which Supilo delivered to Sir Edward Grey in February 1916 he bitterly condemned Pan-Serbian aspirations, Serbian selfishness and the false notion that creed determined nationality. He sought the "transformation" of Serbia i.e. he asked that it renounce its intentions of Serbian hegemony and acknowledge the common state of Yugoslavia, in which everyone would enjoy equal status, or else that Croatia be organized as a separate and independent state. (67) Supilo wanted the committee to declare itself decisively against Serbia's self-seeking politics and the intolerance of Serbian aims, but the Serbian members of the committee opposed this measure. Trumbic tried to keep the peace in the committee and maintain its unity. However when Supilo obtained confidential information at the Foreign Office that Pasic submitted a petition to the Allies, complete with a map, stating that all regions in which are found Orthodox monasteries were to be recognized as Serbian territory, he on June 5th, 1916 resigned from the Yugoslav Committee in order to be able alone to combat Pan-Serbian aspirations and to preserve Croatia. (68)

The May Declaration of 1917

Among the conditions of the peace that the Allies presented to Wilson, the president of the United States, on January 11, 1917, it was stated that the Czechoslovaks, Poles, Serbs and Slavs had to be liberated. (69) In the meantime on the night of March 16th/17th the Romanovs were dethroned in Russia. They had been the strongest supporters of Pasic's Pan-Serbian policies. On June 6th, 1917 the United States entered the war. President Wilson declared that the United States would fight for the freedom and equality of all nations, great and small. (70)

Elated by these promises the Croatian and Slovenian delegates in the Vienna parliament issued the following statement on May 30th, 1917: "The undersigned national representatives associated in the 'Yugoslavian club' declare that on the basis of the national principle and of Croatian constitutional rights they demand the unification of all provinces in the monarchy in which live Slovenes, Croats and Serbs into one independent political body, free from any foreign domination and founded on a democratic basis, under the sceptre of the Hapsburg-Lorraine dynasty and that they will strive with all their power to realize this wish of their common nation." (71)

The Corfu Pact between the Yugoslav Committee and the Serbian government

Fearing that the question of Croatia would be solved on the basis of Croatian constitutional rights in the Croatian state independently of the kingdom of Serbia, the Young Radicals compelled Pasic to open negotiations with the Yugoslav Committee in order that with his collaboration the unification of all Serbian, Croatian and Slovenian lands might be achieved under the hegemony of the Serbian kingdom. So on the invitation of Nikola Pasic, president of the Serbian government, the representatives of the Yugoslav Committee arrived in Corfu. Negotiations lasted from June 15th to July 20th, 1917. The Serbs recognized that the Serbs, Croats and

Slovenes are "a nation with a triple name, one and the same in race, spoken and written language, in their feelings about their unity and in the continuity and homogeneity of their territory." Furthermore, that the future state would neither be an enlargement nor a continuation of the present Serbian state, but a new state which would have to come into existence "on the basis of the principle of voluntary national self-determination" with new emblems of state "composed out of out present individual emblems." Trumbic and the representatives of the committee agreed that the state should not be called Yugoslavia, but the "State of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes" and would be a "constitutional, democratic and parliamentary monarchy with the Karadjordjevic dynasty at its head." In such a state all three names, all three flags and all three faiths – Orthodox, Catholic and Mohammedan – would be equal and have equal status. The internal organization to the state would be decided by a constitutional assembly on the basis of "a qualified majority." The Corfu declaration was signed by Dr. Ante Trumbic, president of the Yugoslav Committee, and by Nikola Pasic, president of the ministerial council and minister of external affairs of the kingdom of Serbia. (72)

In his message to the Congress on January 8th, 1918 president Wilson brought forth the American fourteen-point program which was meant to be the foundation of the future world. The tenth point dealt with the guarantee of autonomy for the lesser nations of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and the eleventh with the restoration of the Serbian kingdom and the guarantee of access for it to the sea. (73) Encouraged by this message Pasic abandoned the resolutions of the Corfu declaration and endeavoured to secure for Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina with an outlet on the sea. (74)

The creation of the Independent State of the Slovenes, Croats and Serbs

On September 17th, 1918 the Allied army broke through the Salonica front. (75) On October 6th the National Council of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs was established in Zagreb. It was made up of national representatives from all the regions of the Hapsburg monarchy inhabited by Slovenes, Croats and Serbs. The Slovene Anton Korosec was elected president, the Serb Svetozar Pribicevic and the Croat Ante Pavelic, a dentist, vice-presidents. (76) On October 28th the Austro-Hungarian monarchy sued for peace. (77) The next day the Croatian diet unanimously passed the following resolution: "The Croatian national diet, on the basis of national self-determination, already recognized today by all the Allied powers, adopts this resolution:

1. All former political and legal ties and connections between the kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia on the one side and the kingdom of Hungary and the empire of Austria on the other side are as of now terminated. Therefore the Croatian-Hungarian Compromise (Article One of the Constitution of 1868) particularly is revoked and declared null and void and likewise all its later amendments and revised statues are thus revoked and declared null and void, so that from this day Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia have neither de jure nor de facto anything to do with the kingdom of Hungary.
2. Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia and Rijeka proclaim themselves a totally independent state in relation to Hungary and Austria and according to the modern principle of nationhood, on the basis of the national unity of the Slovenes, Croats and Serbs, enter into one common and sovereign state of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs within the ethnographic territory of that nation regardless of the existing territorial and political boundaries within which lives today the nation of the Slovenes, Croats and Serbs.

The general national constitutional assembly of the whole unified nation of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs will decide by a qualified majority determined in advance, in order to preclude completely any majorization, on both the form of government and the internal political organization of our state which is founded on the full isonomy of the Slovenes, Croats and Serbs." (78)

Whereupon the Croatian diet acknowledged "the supreme authority of the National Council of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs" in Zagreb. (79) With this that celebrated and historical session was concluded and it was resolved "that the following (session) will be held at whatever time here is need." (80) Consequently with that celebrated session of October 28th, 1918 the Croatian diet did not cease to exist, but still remained the representative and guarantor of Croatian statehood.

On October 31st the government of the National Council in Zagreb informed the Allied governments that the State of the Slovenes, Croats and Serbs had been constituted on the territory of the South Slavs, which until this time belonged to the system of the former Austro-Hungarian monarchy and that it was willing to form a common state with Serbia and Montenegro. It empowered the Yugoslav Committee in London "to represent the interests of the State of the Slovenes, Croats and Serbs." At the same time it announced that the Austro-Hungarian navy was passing into the hands of the National Council of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs and that it was hoisting the Croatian national flag. (81)

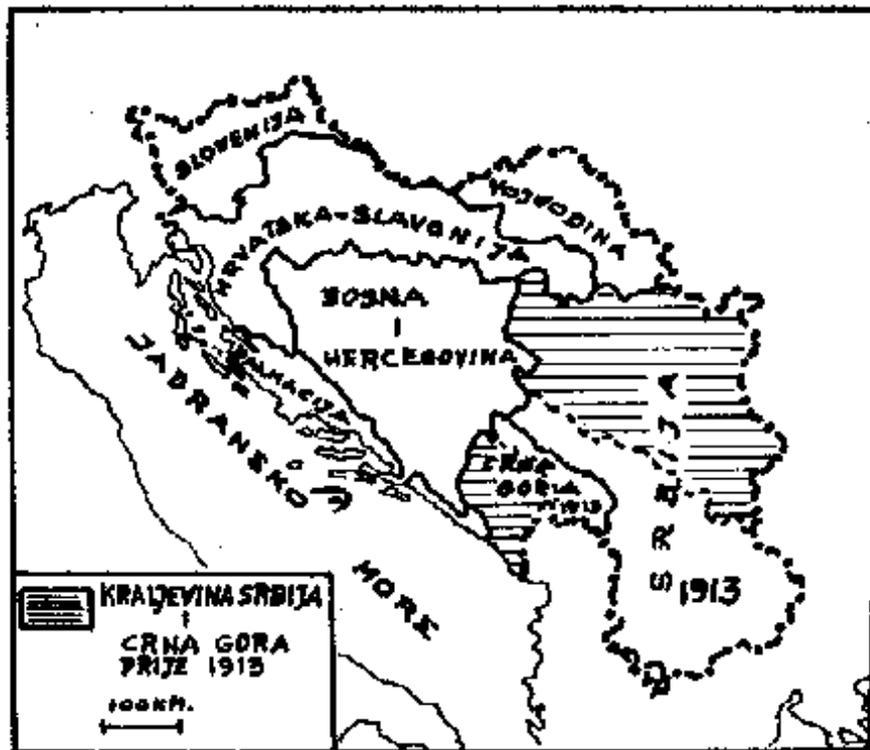
On November 2nd the Austro-Hungarian empire informed the Allies that it was surrendering whereupon the Allies empowered Italy to occupy the lands granted to it by the Treaty of London. (82) The next day the Serbian army reached the former confines of the Austro-Hungarian empire and sent to Zagreb lieutenant-colonel Simovic as its deputy. (83)

The Geneva Convention

On October 8th the Serbian government recognized the government of the National Council in Zagreb and took steps to have the Allied governments do likewise. (84) From November 6th to 9th, particularly at the insistence of France, the representatives of the Serbian government, of the government of the National Council in Zagreb and of the Yugoslav Committee in London conferred in Geneva. The following resolution was reached by agreement on November 9th, 1918: "The government of the kingdom of Serbia and the National Council in Zagreb will continue to carry out their affairs each within the scope of its constitution and its territorial sphere of activity in the usual way, however, that may be, as long as the Constituent Assembly of the unified Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, elected by a general, equal, direct and secret ballots of all citizens, does not regulate in its constitution the definite organization of the state." (85)

"This system can be changed only with the mutual agreement of the government of the kingdom of Serbia and the National Council." (86)

The Geneva Convention was signed by Nikola Pasic, president of the Serbian government, Dr. Anton Korosec, president of the National Council of Zagreb and Dr. Ante Trumbic, president of the Yugoslav Committee in London. The representatives of the different groups in the Serbian parliament and the members of the National Council in Zagreb and of the Yugoslav Committee in London present at the convention were co-signatories. (87)



Stvaranje države SHS 1918. Sastavni dijelovi

THE CREATION OF THE STATE OF SERBS, CROATS & SLOVENES 1918 - CONSTITUENT PARTS

Illegal Unification of the Croatian Lands with the Kingdom of Serbia on December 1st, 1918

After Austria-Hungary capitulated, Italy began at once to prepare to occupy those regions mentioned in the Treaty of London of 1915. This greatly alarmed the Slovenes and the Croats in Dalmatia and on the Croatian littoral. The Dalmatian government demanded at first from the government of Bosnia and Herzegovina and then from the National Council of Zagreb that unification with Serbia be carried out as soon as possible so that they might be able as a common state to defend regions threatened by Italian imperialism. This was discussed by the Central Committee of the National Council, consisting of 28 members, on November 23rd and 24th. (88) After the departure of Dr. Korosec abroad, the National Council's leader was its vice-president Svetozar Pribicevic. Although he was well informed, thanks to lieutenant-colonel Simovic and his own connections in Belgrade about the facts of the Geneva Convention, Pribicevic kept silent on them at the sessions of the National Council and in contradiction to the Convention worked towards a speedy and unconditional unification of the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs with Serbia. (89) At the session of the Executive Committee of the National Council on November 24th, 1918 Stjepan Radic delivered a famous speech in which he declared that in the name of the Croatian nation, particularly the peasantry, that it was not possible "to overlook more than 1,000 years of Croatian history and statehood." He sought the consensus of the whole National Council in the matter of the conditions of unification and ratification of these by the Croatian diet. He said, "We Croats do not want any other political organization except a union of federated republics" in which Croatia would preserve its 1,000 year statehood, its national and cultural identity. (90)

Pribicevic feared Croatian opposition which began to arise at that time, and so he arranged that the Executive Committee of the National Council decide itself for the unification and the conditions under which it would be brought about, an act which the committee alone was not authorized to carry out, seeing that it was a matter of such overall importance from the political point of view. (91) The Executive Committee of the National Council work out a Program in eleven points to which the delegation which would go to Belgrade for the question of unification had to stick. In the first point it was determined that the final organization of the common state would be decided in the Constitutional Assembly of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes "with a majority of two-thirds of the votes" so that any majorization and violence from any side whatsoever might be excluded. (92)

The Executive Committee of the National Council proclaimed itself alone to be the delegation for the unification of the independent State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs with the kingdom of Serbia, which it was not authorized to do according to the regulations of the National Council, point two. (93) Under Pribicevic's leadership the delegation arrived in Belgrade on November 28th. In the address as it was finally revised by Pribicevic's adherents in Belgrade in collaboration with Serbian politicians, all of the essential point of the Program as it had been fixed by the Executive Committee of the National Council in Zagreb were voluntarily omitted, especially the point that the constitution had to be passed by a two-third majority. (94) On December 1st, 1918 at 8 o'clock in the evening the vice-president of the National Council, the Croat Dr. Ante Pavelic, read the address before the heir to the throne and regent of the kingdom, Alexander, who thereupon declared "in the name of his Majesty King Peter, I proclaim the unification of Serbia with the lands of the Independent State of the Slovenes, Croats and Serbs in the unified kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes." (95) This act is considered to be the birth of the state of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. The Serbian national parliament approved this act on December 29th, 1920. (96) The authors of the unification did not dare convoke the Croatian diet to ratify this act, although it was still in existence and only was dissolved on November 28th, 1920. (97)

This act of unification had no legal basis, but was autocratic and perfidious and accordingly unlawful. According to the Geneva Convention the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs with its seat in Zagreb had to remain in existence as long as the Constituent Assembly had not resolved on the organization of the new state within the framework of the constitution. The delegation of the National Council of the Slovenes, Croats and Serbs went to Belgrade without authorization from the plenary National Council and without the approval of the Croatian Diet. It proceeded arbitrarily, not respecting the conditions laid down by the Central Committee of the National Council. The unification was carried out in contradiction to the spirit of national self-determination, because the vast majority of the Croatian nation at the time was for the continued existence of the Croatian state and opposed to unitary, centralist state as it was created on December 1st, 1918. The Croatian diet never approved of this unification nor did the Croatian nation accept it.

The Unified State of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes under Serbian hegemony

The authors of the state of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes created on December 1st, Nikola Pasic, Svetozar Pribicevic and the heir and regent Alexander were never in sincere sympathy with the idea of the national unity of the Croats, Serbs and Slovenes. They felt themselves to be the representatives of the Serbian nation and worked ceaselessly in the sense of Serbian statehood. They accepted the term "state of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes" for the sake of world opinion, especially because under this name the Serbian nation was extended. From the very outset they already had the intention to destroy

Croatia's and Montenegro's political identity, to make the Serbs in the Croatian regions stronger, and to so weaken the Croats and Slovenes economically and culturally as to make them insignificant on-lookers in the state primarily of the Serbs, and then of the Croats and Slovenes.

The Serbian leader counted on these factors to help them take control of the state of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and to guide it in the Serbian spirit and according to the advantage of the Serbs.

1. **Serbian numerical superiority** – Actually at that time the Serbs were only a little stronger than the Croats numerically, but the Serbian leaders reckoned that all the Orthodox Christians in the state must be Serbs, particularly the Macedonians and the Montenegrins. (98) Therefore Macedonia was proclaimed South or Old Serbia, the Vojvodina Northern Serbia and Montenegro the Serbian littoral. In Macedonia where there are actually no Serbs, no one could be an official, a teacher or a national deputy unless he recognize himself as a Serb. It was actually forbidden and considered a crime to call oneself Macedonian or Bulgarian.
2. **The Karadjordjevic dynasty** – It was descended from medieval Wallachs who were Serbianized in the XVIII century. (99) With the zeal of proselytes the Karadjordjevic dynasty worked in the service of Serbism when it attained power in Serbia. Regent, then king Alexander I was nurtured in the PanSerbian spirit in the house of his parents (100) and in the political school of Nikola Pasic and remained a devoted PanSerbian his whole life. In the Constitution of St. Vitus' Day in 1921 the Serbs gave to their king extraordinary powers by which the king became a chief and decisive political force in the state.
3. **The Army** – The Serbian army was always imbued with the conquering PanSerbian spirit. This spirit continued to prevail in the state of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Numerous Croatian and Slovenian officers were not accepted into the army, although they declared themselves for the new state, allegedly because they came from foreign i.e. Austrian military academies. Only the young cadets educated in the military schools in the traditional spirit of the Serbian army were accepted. It was only in 1939 that two Croats barely succeeded in obtaining the rank of general. (101)
4. **Diplomacy** – The Serbian diplomatic corps, which represented the Serbian state in war-time, continued in the diplomatic service even in the state of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. This corps with the passing of time was renewed and replenished only with Serbs and on occasion with Croats or members of other nations who would accept Serbian hegemony in the state and oppose and misrepresent the struggle of the non-Serbian nations for freedom and equality. (102)
5. **The state administrative machinery** – In the state of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes the most important ministries and key positions in all state institutions (the Cabinet, the Supreme State Council, the National Bank, the Administration of the Monopolies, etc.) were continuously held by Serbs. They organized all work in every institution of the state uniformly in such a way as was demanded by the interests of the Serbian nation. So finance, monopolies, taxation, investments, commercial and tariff policies were thus affected. (103) If any non-Serbs came to reach a position of certain importance, then in reality his assistant or department head, both Serbs, were in charge of his ministry. Stjepan Radic himself complained when in 1925 he became the Minister of Education that he was not in the government but "in addition to the government" of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes." (104)
6. **The Serbian Orthodox Church** – Among eastern Orthodox nations the churches were national and Orthodoxy was closely connected and almost identified with the state and the nation. During its history the Serbian Orthodox church played an invaluable role in the preservation and expansion of the Serbian nation. This role the leaders of the Serbian nation designated to the Serbian Orthodox church even in the new state of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Indeed before 1918 the Orthodox population in Croatia and Vojvodina had an independent patriarchate in Karlovci

(Srijem). The Orthodox population in Bosnia, Herzegovina and Macedonia acknowledged the authority of the ecumenical patriarch in Istanbul. The Orthodox church in Montenegro was autonomous. However the government of the state of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes transferred the seat of the patriarchate from Karlovci to Belgrade and with the decree of May 26th, 1919 centralized the administration of all Orthodox churches in the state of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, putting them under the control of the unified Serbian Orthodox church with the patriarch in Belgrade at its head. With all of this the Orthodox population in the state of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was proclaimed Serbian and the Serbian Orthodox church took over the task of educating and guiding them in the Serbian spirit. A large sum of money was paid to the patriarch in Istanbul in order that he might recognize the unification of Orthodox dioceses in Bosnia, Herzegovina and Macedonia with the patriarchate in Belgrade. (105)

Serbian Exploitation of the state of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes

The recent example of Austria-Hungary, which collapsed on account of inequality and injustice toward the Slavic nations made it advisable to sue political insight and not to repeat the same errors in the state of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes which was multinational, as its name proclaimed. However the political leaders of Serbia who for the most part came from the Wallachian bourgeoisie, specially the Tzintzars, were desirous that the Serbs whom the war had impoverished, become rich overnight at the expense of the state and the rich Croatian regions. We note the following:

Although in the Croatian regions the purchasing value of the krone and the dinar was on a par in the autumn of 1918, the government of the state of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes in Belgrade fixed the value of the krone on January 31st, 1919 and reduced its purchasing value by 20%. Later on four kronen exchanged for only one dinar. (106) With this act those who had kronen suffered considerable losses and the Serbs were given the opportunity to buy a considerable part of the moveable property in Croatia and Vojvodina and to transport it into Serbia.

Inequality in the distribution of taxes was another way in which the Croatian regions and Vojvodina were drained in order that the Serbs might profit. Indeed in the territories of the former Hapsburg monarchy cadastres were compiled and real estate taxes calculated in detail. In Serbia cadastres did not exist before the war, but taxes were determined by rural and municipal committees according to the income of the land, always considering and protecting the landowner. So in Croatia the owner of a house who received an annual rent of 50,000 dinars had to pay 34,000 dinars to the state while in Serbia only 7,594 dinars were paid on the same income. (107)

The abolition of serfdom, agrarian reform and internal colonization were the measures used by the new state to bring the Croats low and to make the Serbs more powerful. Most of the serfs in Bosnia and Herzegovina who paid one quarter and in some places one third of their annual income to the landlord were Orthodox Serbs. (108) The state of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes abolished serfdom and freed the serfs from all obligations, but simultaneously did not indemnify the landlords for their losses. In this way the Moslem leading class of bey and agas disappeared in Bosnia and Herzegovina. (109)

The agrarian reform fixed the amount of land that anyone could possess in the future at fifty hectares. Any amount over and above that had to belong to those who had worked the land continuously for the past ten years. Ninety percent of the lands which the state took over were redistributed to the Serbs, who were designated as "volunteers of the Salonica front." (110) All those who were settled on the possessions confiscated from

the Catholic bishoprics, monasteries and parishes were Orthodox Serbs. The Croatian peasants from the rocky regions of Herzegovina, the Dalmatian hinterland and western Bosnia were not reallocated land because they were not veterans of the Salonica front. They were forced to emigrate overseas in great numbers from the new state to the detriment of Croatia's national entity. (111)

The new state from 1921 to 1925 received from the liquidation of the Austro-Hungarian bank 34,400,000 gold kronen or 400,000,000 dinars in western currency on behalf of Croatia and Vojvodina. As war indemnity a considerable amount was received from Austria and Hungary. From 1921 to 1931 Germany paid an indemnity of 666,000,000 gold marks. Almost all of this was spent by the state in investing in Serbia including even what it received on behalf of Croatia and Vojvodina. (112)

Many Serbs, particularly those who belonged to the Serbian bourgeoisie, enriched themselves above all in the import and export trade, by obtaining the state's license to export staple domestic goods and to import foreign goods. In the transitional period during the rebuilding of Europe after World War I the export trade brought a profit of 50 to 100 % to those who had licenses. These export licenses and other concessions were obtained by bribery and the general corruption of the organs of state and usually only Serbs benefited. (113)

Struggle for Croatian statehood and national existence

Except for a small number of enthusiastic Yugoslavian Progressives who constituted less than 1% of the Croatian population, none of the Croats accepted the idea of national unity with the Serbs nor were willing to see the Croatian state, which they had preserved up to the present through centuries of struggle with the Hungarians and the Hapsburgs, reduced and abolished. When the Serbs on December 1st, 1918 illegally and by deception created a unified state of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes and began to form it in the Serbian spirit and under Serbian hegemony, the Croatian instinct for self-preservation awakened and offered strong resistance.

Stjepan Radic, who had remarkable capability to feel the pulse of the nation, summoned on February 2nd, 1919 to the rifle range in Zagreb an important national assembly in which it was resolved that Croats, on the basis of national self-determination, sought to constitute Croatia as a neutral peasant republic whose internal organization was to be determined in the constitutional assembly. In connection with this the Central Committee of the Croatian Popular Peasant Party on March 8th, 1919 passed the resolution that Croats did not recognize the state of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes under the Karadjordjevic dynasty because it was created without the mandate of the Croatian nation and the approval of the Croatian diet. Because of this on March 25th Stjepan Radic was imprisoned together with the leaders of the party and remained there for eleven months. (114)

The first general election in the new state was held on November 28th, 1920 to elect delegates for the Constitutional Assembly. At that time the Croatian Popular Peasant Party posted its list of candidates only in the Banate of Croatia and obtained 230,590 votes and fifty seats. (115) On December 7th, 1920 the Croatian Popular Peasant Party proclaimed itself republican (Croatian Republican Peasant Party). Its elected representatives boycotted the Constitutional Assembly in Belgrade. At the Croatian national delegation on June 26th, 1921 in Zagreb they enacted the constitution of the Neutral Croatian Peasant Republic, making Croatia an independent and sovereign state. (116) This constitution became the program of the Croatian Republican Peasant Party.

Two days later, on June 28th, the Constitutional Assembly in Belgrade promulgated the centralistic Constitution of St. Vitus' day of the unitary state of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Before the final vote the representatives of the National Club of Croatian Rightists and the Yugoslavian Club (Slovenian People's Party and the Croatian Popular Party) left the assembly. Thus in the assembly, of 419 elected representatives, only 223 voted for the Constitution of St. Vitus' day, accordingly enacted without the official representatives of the Croatian and Slovenian nation; without a qualified majority as it was stipulated in the Corfu agreement and at the session of the Croatian diet on October 29th, 1918; and with the majorization of a tiny Serbian majority, in direct contradiction to all agreements and resolutions concerning the creation of a common state of Croats, Serbs and Slovenes. (117)

The second general election was held on March 18th, 1923. The Croatian Republican Peasant Party with Radic at its had came out against the constitution of St. Vitus' day and for a free and sovereign republic of Croatia. The Croats voted unanimously for this program. Radic's party got 473,733 votes and seventy seats. Even the lesser Croatian parties, with 35,181 votes, which came out with particular cultural and social programs, were all against the constitution of St. Vitus' day and for the reform of the state into a federative union. (118) At a meeting in Borongaj near Zagreb on April 14th, 1923 Radic said: "Nevermore will there be found in our ranks a man to say that we and the Serbs are one nation. An assassin and his victim are not the same." (119)

The resolution and unanimous drive by the Croats for their Croatian statehood and national identity made quite an impression on the whole public. Not long after the election of Radic's party the Yugoslavian Coalition of Anton Korosec and the Yugoslavian Moslem Organization under Mehmed Spaho formed the Federalistic Bloc. (120) The Radicals, with better foresight, saw that it would mean the collapse of the state if a fair agreement was not reached with the Croats. Accordingly the Markov protocol was signed on April 13th, 1923 with the provisions that the constitution of St. Vitus' day would not be applied in Croatia and that affairs of state would be settled by agreement. (121) Seeing that Pasic, Pribicevic and king Alexander, the creators of the St. Vitus' day constitution, were unwilling to recognize it, on July 21st, 1923 Radic went abroad to look for outside help and mediation. He visited London, Vienna and Moscow where on July 1st, 1924 he and his party joined the Peasant International with the understanding that his party maintain its present national and social program. When he was abroad Radic received the advice to settle his internal affairs with the Serbs by agreement. (122)

In Yugoslavia dissatisfaction grew and the Opposition Bloc was formed, consisting of the Democratic Party of Ljubo Davidovic, the Slovenian People's Party of Dr. Korosec and Spaho's Yugoslav Moslem Organization, together with Radic's party (May 29th, 1924). In order to appease the spirits king Alexander on July 27th, 1924 gave Davidovic his mandate to form a government from this Opposition Bloc. In the meantime Radic returned home and at public assemblies sought the reform of the state with full equality for Croats. (123) When the government took no steps to suppress Radic, Alexander forced Davidovic to resign and on November 16th, 1924 gave his mandate to Pasic to form the new government. He formed it with Pribicevic who on March 26th, 1924 had seceded, together with fourteen representatives from the non-Serbian constituencies, from Davidovic's Democrats and formed the Independent Democratic Party in order to preserve "the national and political unity." The coalition government of Pasic and Pribicevic at its first session (March 27th to July 27th, 1924) forbade all workers' organizations and syndicates (July 12th, 1924). The new coalition government decided to settle by force the question of Radic's party. On December 23rd, 1924 the law for the protection of the state (the Obznana) was extended to Radic's party, dissolving it and forbidding any political activity by its organizations. Radic and the party's leaders, as well as hundreds of prominent members, were imprisoned. (124) A reign of terror and violence set in. But this only stiffened Croatian resistance. In the elections of February

8th, 1925 carried out in circumstances of extreme violence, imprisonment and bloodshed Radic's party got 532,872 votes and 67 seats. This forced the Radicals and the king to negotiate with Radic who was in prison. Unable to agree with the leaders of his own party who were still in prison, Radic decided on his own to make concessions for the good of the Croatian nation. He sent his nephew Pavle Radic who on March 27th, 1925 declared in the Belgrade parliament that the Croatian Republican Peasant Party recognized the dynasty and the St. Vitus' day constitution and that it would work to revise it if all three nations should come to an agreement. Accordingly on July 18th, 1925 Radic's party and the Radicals formed a coalition government in which Radic held the post of Minister of Education. (125)

Seeing that the Radicals and the king were not seriously willing to carry out the revision of the St. Vitus' day constitution nor to alleviate the harshness of the Serbian predominance in the state, frequent disagreements and crisis occurred in the new government, until on February 1st, 1927 Radic's party (Croatian Peasant Party) seceded. (126)

In general Croats were dissatisfied that Radic acknowledged the St. Vitus' day constitution and participated in the government. Nonetheless the majority assumed that this was only a necessary tactic. Many Croats abstained from voting in the elections of September 11th, 1927 so that Radic's party got only 381,371 votes and lost six seats, among them both seats in Zagreb where Ante Trumbic, former president of the Yugoslav Committee in London, and Ante Pavelic, future head of the Independent State of Croatia, came out with a radical program for Croatian national freedom. (127)

During this coalition government when the Radicals and the Court no longer had any need of Pribicevic and his group of delegates, he could coolly observe from the opposition all the fatal consequences which occurred not only to the Croats, but also to the Serbs of Croatia and Vojvodina as a result of the St. Vitus' day constitution and the centralistic organization of the state. This caused Pribicevic to form the Peasant Democratic Coalition with Radic on November 10th, 1927. Henceforth Pribicevic became the sworn opponent of the unitary centralistic state and to the St. Vitus' day constitution in the creation of which he himself had played an essential role. (128)

Assassination of Stjepan Radic and of the leaders of the Croatian Peasant Party in the Belgrade Parliament

When the puppet government of Velja Vukicevic attempted to legally raise the taxes in the Croatian regions and Vojvodina in order to favour the Serbian regions economically, the Peasant Democratic Coalition led a fierce struggle in the parliament and agitated among the people. In order to crush the Croatian national resistance the court and the military circles decided to use naked and unlawful force. On June 20th, 1928 during the parliamentary debates the Radical delegate Punisa Racic, according to a pre-arranged agreement with the circles at the court, shot and killed Pavle Radic and Stjepan Basaricek in the Belgrade parliament. Racic mortally wounded Stjepan Radic, Ivan Pernar and Ivan Grandja. (129)

The assassination of the leaders of the Croatian nation at a session of the Belgrade parliament was an unsurpassed act of violence by Serbs upon Croats and undermined fatally the constitution of St. Vitus' day and the state. The representatives of Radic's and of Pribicevic's parties left Belgrade and at a session in Zagreb on August 1st, 1928 resolved not to recognize the St. Vitus' day constitution nor the existing organization of the state. Moreover they proclaimed null and void for the non-Serbian regions and particularly for Croatia all resolutions passed in the absence of their true national

representatives. (130)

To appease public opinion throughout the world outraged by the assassination in the national parliament, king Alexander on July 27th gave his mandate to the Catholic priest Korosec, a Slovene.

The recent peace treaties had left more than one third of the Slovenes isolated in foreign national territory and denationalized. Now the military circles in Belgrade seriously contemplated the "amputation" of Croatia, as soon as the remainder of the Slovenes should be exposed to uncertainty and national calamity. Croatian territory would be divided, piecemeal by "amputation". Wherefore Korosec undertook to form the government, hoping to be able to reform the state on the basis of equality and isonomy of all the national groups in it. (131)

Dictatorship of King Alexander

After the assassinations in the Belgrade parliament and particularly after the death of Stjepan Radic as a result of his wounds on August 8th, 1928 the Croats became very bitter and resentful. A large number of Croats were ready to answer force by force. One of them was Dr. Ante Pavelic, national representative from Zagreb. On January 7th, 1929 he formed in Zagreb a small circle of Croatian revolutionaries and two days later he fled the country. On July 17th he was condemned to suffer capital punishment by the dictatorial regime in Belgrade. Many of the more militant youth, particularly university students, sympathized with him and became his adherents. In August 1929 Dr. J. Krnjevic and the graduate engineer Kosutic, delegates of the Croatian Peasant Party, emigrated. (132)

Dr. Vladko Macek, a man of cool judgement and conciliatory ways, was elected on August 13th, 1928 as new president of the Croatian Peasant Party. He wished to preserve the unified state, but also to reform it on a just basis so that the Croatian state would be equal in every respect with the Serbian state. (133) Those who ruled in Serbia, with king Alexander at their head, did not want this at all. They decided to maintain the status quo and the privileged position of the Serbs by force.

On January 6th, 1929 king Alexander abolished the constitution of St. Vitus' day and dissolved the national parliament. He forbade the existence of any political party and form of association and introduced personal and absolute dictatorship. He appointed as president of the government the commander of the palace guard, general Peter Zivkovic, one of the former accomplices in the assassination of the Serbian king Alexander Obrenovic in 1903. (134) By a statute of October 3rd, 1929 the king gave the state a new name, the 'Kingdom of Yugoslavia' in order to justify and consolidate his absolutism and predominance of Serbs in the state under the guise of Yugoslavian national unitarianism. According to this statute the state was divided into nine administrative units, which were called banates. He divided and reassembled the political territories in such a way that he created one banate with a Slovenian majority (Dravska), two with a Croatian majority (Savska and Primorska) and six with a Serbian majority. All national names and emblems were forbidden, but in reality this was applied only to the non-Serbian nations, and in their case brutally so. (135)

In the first years of the dictatorship (1929 – 1931) about 400 persons were executed, around 10,000 were jailed and maltreated and approximately 1,500 were sentenced to long terms in prison. Pribicevic was interned in May 17th, 1929 and then allowed to go to Czechoslovakia, thanks to the intervention of its president Masaryk. The leaders of the Croatian Peasant Party were summoned to court to face charges pertaining to the law

for the protection of the state. Macek, the president of the Croatian Peasant Party, was condemned on these charges and was jailed on December 22nd, 1929, but he was acquitted on June 14th, 1930 by the court's decision and set free. (136)

During the depression the dictatorship refused to give the necessary credit of the National Bank to the First Croatian Savings Bank in Zagreb, at that time the strongest financial institution in the state. When it went bankrupt the Croatian economy suffered great losses and the great sums of money deposited by Croatian emigrants in the United States and other foreign countries were lost. Henceforth Belgrade became the financial centre of the state with many state and chartered banks. (137)

Forced by a general dissension and by the pressure of world opinion, king Alexander gave the nation by octroi a constitution with a bicameral legislature, consisting of senate and parliament. In the senate half the members were appointed by the king and the elected majority received two-thirds of the seats in the national parliament. (138) Under the cloak of parliamentarianism then Alexander secured his absolutism and the predominance of the Serbs in the state even further.

In the Zagreb Punctuation of November 7th, 1932 the leaders of the Peasant Democratic Coalition condemned the absolutistic regime and national unitarianism and demanded that Yugoslavia be reorganized into a compound federative state. Punctuations from Slovenia, Novi Sad and Sarajevo followed. On account of this president Macek was condemned to three years' imprisonment, although he was only jailed from January 31st, 1933 to December 22nd, 1934. Anton Korosec was interned on Hvar and the cosignatories of the punctuations of Novi Sad and Sarajevo came under police surveillance. The Serbian parties and bourgeoisie supported the king in his oppression of the Croats and of the opposition.

Assassination of King Alexander and the Agony of Unitarianistic Yugoslavia

Seeing that the Croats would not be broken by any means and fearing for the future of the state king Alexander decided to go to France to seek advice and assistance and afterwards to solve the Croatian question in agreement with Macek. (139) However when he reached Marseilles on October 9th, 1934 he was assassinated together with Barthou, the French minister of foreign affairs, by Vlada Cernozemski, a member of the Macedonian revolutionary organization in collaboration with the Croatian Ustasa organization in exile. (140)

The assassination of king Alexander sounded the death knell for Serbian hegemony and the unitary state of Yugoslavia. Meanwhile the regency with prince Paul Karadjordjevic at its head decided to maintain the status quo until the majority of king Peter who was still a minor. B. Jevtic, president of the new government formed on December 20th, 1934, continued with the reign of terror. He brutally suppressed the demonstrations of students and workers in Zagreb, Ljubljana and Belgrade. Manifestations by the Croatian peasants for their freedom in Senj, Sibirj, Primosten, Klanjac, Selnica and elsewhere were suppressed with bloodshed. (141)

In June 1935 Jevtic stepped down to be replaced by Milan Stojadinovic who formed the party of the regime, the Yugoslav Radical Union, on the model of the fascist party of Italy. In order to appease world public opinion and to show that the regime was not persecuting Catholic Croats and Slovenes, Stojadinovic in 1937 attempted to ratify in the senate and the parliament a Concordat with the Holy See. Yet it was to no avail for the Serbian Orthodox church, wishing to keep its privileged position in the state, raised its voice in bitter protest against the Concordat. Neither the Croatian Peasant Party nor the

Catholic episcopate were for the Concordat, alleging that it would turn them away from the struggle of the Croatian nation for freedom and equality of status. (142)

Meanwhile on October 8th, 1937 the non-Serbian parties (Croatian Peasant Party and Independent Democratic Party) and the Serbian parties (Davidovic's Democratic Party, Jovanovic's Agrarian Party and the democratic wing of the Radical Party with Stanojevic at its head) of the opposition united to form the Bloc for National Agreement. It declared itself for democracy and national sovereignty, demanding the abolition of the existing constitution and the convocation of a new Constitutional Assembly, in which the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes would organize their common state by agreement. In the elections of December 11th, 1938 the Bloc for National Agreement, with Macek at its head, obtained 934,964 votes as against 429,332 for the government in the regions where the majority was Croatian (Upper Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia, central and western Bosnia and Herzegovina). (143)



Banovina Hrvatska 1939-1941
i druge banovine prve Jugoslavije

BANOVINA OF CROATIA (1939 - 1941)

AND THE OTHER BANOVINAS OF THE FIRST YUGOSLAVIA

The Creation of the Banovina of Croatia

After the demise of the Munich Pact the course of events in Europe rushed speedily toward an armed conflict. Wishing each to have an unified Yugoslavia on their side, the

Allied and the Axis powers advised the regent Prince Paul to solve posthaste the Croatian question. The new government of Dragisa Cvetkovic in the inaugural speech on February 16th, 1939 declared in the parliament that its main aim was to solve the Croatian question and thereby consolidate the state internally. After protracted negotiations with president Macek on August 26th, 1939 just before the opening of hostilities, an agreement was signed whereby the Banovina of Croatia was created, with the provision that Cvetkovic and Macek would form a coalition government, which after new and free elections would completely reorganize the state and form a Serbian and Slovenian banate, and eventually banates for Bosnia and Herzegovina. (144)

The creation of the Banovina of Croatia was a compromise which satisfied neither side. The Croats were unhappy that the autonomy of Banovina was limited, that Bosnia and Herzegovina were divided and that Boka Kotorska and Srijem were not incorporated in the Banovina. The Serbian bourgeoisie, the army and the Serbian Orthodox church were alarmed, fearing that the agreement might endanger Serbism and the existence of the state itself. At Macek's insistence the parliament was dissolved, but the elections provided for were not held and the opening of hostilities and the dissension of the Serbs put an end to the plans of reforming the state. (145)

Macek considered the creation of the Banovina of Croatia to be the beginning of the dissolution of unitarian Yugoslavia and the first step to the full equality, autonomy and freedom of Croatia in political association of southern Slavic nations. The leaders of the Croatian Peasant Party accepted en bloc the standpoint of its president and without hesitation began to reconstruct the Croatian nation which had suffered heavily as a result of the centralistic policies of the Yugoslavian state. Almost every village had an organization belonging to the Croatian Peasant Party. Everywhere social institutions were founded to promote the community life and to bolster the economic situation of the peasants. Croatia's work program for youth established branches to educate them in trades and commerce. The headquarters of this institution were erected in Zagreb with money sent by the Croats in the United States. Branches of the Croatian Workers' Union were set up in towns and industrial centres to help and protect workers. Seeing that the gendarmerie still functioned as an extension of the Yugoslav army, the Croatian Peasant Party organized vigilante groups everywhere in the villages and cities for the protection of the Croatian people against violence from any side. This gave heart to the people everywhere in Croatia and they were not long in manifesting their courage. Members of the old Yugoslav Academy of Science and Arts resolved by a two-thirds majority to call this academic institution the Croatian Academy of Science and Arts. Ban Subasic delayed the implementation of this resolution until it should obtain the approval of the Croatian diet. (146)

The militant youth of Croatia was not satisfied with the creation of the Banovina of Croatia with limited autonomy. They demanded complete sovereignty and independence from Belgrade. After the return of Mile Budak from abroad the secret organization of the Ustasa got under way. At the outset of 1940 the Ustasa Students' Forum was formed at the Croatian University in Zagreb. Ban Subasic, a member of the camarilla and a staunch adherent of Yugoslavism, wished to crush the revolutionary movement in Croatia. He forbade all Ustasa literature and on February 25th, 1940 imprisoned the writer Mile Budak, leader of the Ustasa in Croatia. He made the 'Matica Hrvatska' responsible to a commissariat. Despite this the Ustasa revolutionary movement spread all the more throughout Croatia. (147)

The Disintegration of Yugoslavia

Hitler's Germany overran Poland, Belgium and France in 'Blitzkrieg' fashion. The German army entered Hungary, Rumania and Bulgaria when they joined the Tripartite Pact. In

order to avoid the fate of the occupied countries, the regency, the Crown Council and the coalition government of Macek and Cvetkovic decided to join the Axis Pact. The protocol was signed on March 25th, 1941 in Vienna. In the meantime, during the night of the 26th to the 27th of March a coup d'etat was carried out in Belgrade. The government was overthrown, the regency divested of its powers and Peter II Karadjordjevic, a minor, was proclaimed king. The general of the Air Force D. Simovic, the leader of the coup d'etat, took the reins of government. (148)

The joining of the Tripartite Pact furnished the pretext for the coup d'etat because Simovic's government was also recognized this pact. The main reason for the coup d'etat was the agreement which granted autonomy to Croatia, the abandonment of the centralistic organization of the state and the abatement of Serbian predominance in it. Military circles and Panserbian organizations had prepared this coup as early as the end of 1939. (149)

At the break of dawn on April 6th, 1941 Germany attacked Yugoslavia with an airborne assault on Belgrade. The Yugoslav army, mainly made up of soldiers from the dissenting nations, collapsed of itself and as a result it could give no effective resistance at all. Simovic's government, with king Peter II and the chief representatives of the Serbian bourgeoisie, on the 14th and 15th of April flew out of the country and sought refuge in Greece. Whereupon the military authorities capitulated unconditionally. (150)

With this act the existence of the multinational kingdom of Yugoslavia was really over, which the Croats considered to be, as it was the fact, "the prison of the Croatian nation." (151) The Croats could no longer fight for the existence and restoration of such a state. Although the war made the circumstances very difficult and complicated, there remained nothing left for the Croats, as an old political nation, to do but to form their own Independent State of Croatia. The other nations coped with the situation as best they could. Serbia under general Nedic was reduced to its old boundaries before the Balkan wars.



Raspad Jugoslavije, 1941, i stvaranje novih država

THE DISSOLUTION OF YUGOSLAVIA (1941)
AND THE CREATION OF THE NEW STATES

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CONCLUSION

Synopsis, Recapitulation and Epilogue

All that we have written up to now on the history and political life of the Croats and Serbs indicates that they are not one nation, but two nations different in origin. In order to show this more clearly and plainly, it is useful and necessary to reduce all historical investigations to the following basic facts of central importance that indicates how all nations, including the Croats and Serbs, differ among themselves. The genuine and essential differences are as follows:

Difference in Ethnic Origin and Development between Croats and Serbs

1. Ethnic origin and development of the Croats

The oldest historical evidence, the ancient Croatian social organization, religion, national customs and art indicate that the Croats are of Iranian origin. Greek and Roman writers and especially the two stone inscriptions from Tanais tell us that the Croats from the middle of the first up to the third century A.D. lived in the region of the lower Don and were one of the Median (Sarmato-Iranian) nations in that area. During the Hunnic invasion in 375 A.D. one part of the Croats on the Don retreated northwest over the Carpathians where they called themselves White (Western) Croats with respect to the Red (Southern) Croats who remained on the Don. There the White Croats intermingled with the Slavs of the central Slavic regions and adopted their language. After the collapse of the Hunnic empire the Croats at the end of the fifth century formed their own national state, calling it White or Great Croatia. It lay between the Oder and the Dniester with its capital Hrvat on the site of present-day Cracow in southern Poland. (1)

In 626 one part of the White Croats, on the invitation of Heraclius I, the Byzantine emperor, set out on their southward journey. There, according to the testimony of the emperor-chronicler Constantine Porphyrogenitus, they inhabited Dalmatia, Illyricum and Pannonia, i.e. all the country from the Drava, the Danube and the Drina up to the Adriatic and from Snjeznik in Istria to Valona in modern Albania. (2) They numbered about 300,000.

In their new homeland the Croats found Slavs of the first migration in the plains country and the Romanized Illyrians in the mountains, on the Adriatic littoral and on the islands, who originated from the Indo-European Illyri, mixed with the numerous remnants of the prehistoric Dinaric and Mediterranean races.

The Slavs of the first migration whom the Croats found in their new homeland spoke the Kaikavian dialect and the Ikavian speech of the Stokavian dialect. The Slavs of the Kaikavian dialect constituted a southern branch of the old Slavs and lived many centuries before Christ in the valleys of the Carpathian foothills east of the Danube. They crossed over to the western bank of the Danube during the two and one half centuries of Hunnic, Gothic and Avar rule in those regions (376 – 626 A.

D.) settling on the Pannonian plains and the Alpine regions from the Danube to Bavaria and from Lake Balaton to the Bosnian mountains. The Slavs speaking the Ikavian speech of the Stokavian dialect originated from present-day Ukraine. They came with the Germanic Gepids in the third century A.D. to the present-day Vojvodina. They crossed the Danube and the Sava during the Hunnic invasion in 376 A.D. and settled south of the Kaikavian Slavs from the Drina to the Adriatic and from Istria to Albanian Valona.

Immediately upon their arrival in the south the Croats began to intermarry with the Slavs of the first migration and with the remnants of the Illyrians of the Dinaric and Mediterranean type. This gave rise to three Croatian types: Dinaric Croats in the mountainous districts of Lika, central and western Bosnia, in the Dalmatian hinterland, in Herzegovina and Montenegro; Mediterranean Croats on the Adriatic littoral, the islands and Istria; Pannonian Croats in the Bosnian Posavina and in the territory between the Sava, the Danube, Drava and Mura. Because the remnants of the old nations disappeared from the Pannonian plains during the folk migrations, the Pannonian type of Croats which arose exclusively from the intermingling of Croats with the Kaikavian Slavs is closest to the general Slavic type in its physical features. (3)

For centuries during the middle ages the Croats in the Adriatic regions Croatized a continuous number of Romans, descendants of Romanized Illyrians and a small number of Italian newcomers. An even larger number of Germans, Magyars and Slovenes in the plains of the Posavina were Croatized, and in all regions a small number of Wallachs and newcomers from other nations. From the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries during the Turkish invasion and under Venetian oppression, a part of the old Mediterranean Croats moved into the regions along the Kupa and the Sava rivers. During that time and for the same reasons, a considerable number of Dinaric Croats from the former Red Croatia (modern Montenegro and Herzegovina) and from the medieval Bosnian kingdom moved into Adriatic Croatia and especially into the country between the Sava and the Danube. In spite of all this the old type of Mediterranean Croat had been preserved and is essentially unchanged up to the present day in the Adriatic regions and in the same way the Pannonian type of Croat north of the Sava. (4)

2. Ethnic Origin and Development of the Serbs

The ethnic Serbs were not Indo-European like the Croats. According to the most ancient historical evidence the paleo-fatherland of the Serbs was in Asia Minor in the region of ancient Serbia. In the first and second centuries A.D. we find the Serbs on the northwestern slopes of the Caucasus. From there one part of the Serbs, in the wake of the Hunnic maelstrom, migrated and at the end of the fourth century settled at the extreme western boundaries of the territory of the Western Slavs between the Elbe and the Saale, to the northwest of present-day Bohemia. There they intermingled with the Western Slavs and the remnants of the old Nordic nations and adopted a Western Slavic language. (5)

One part of the Polabian Serbs migrated to the Balkans ca. 635 and were settled in Thessalian Srbiste by the Byzantine emperor Heraclius I. Soon part of them, at the most 3,000 to 4,000, were settled by the Byzantines between the rivers Ibar and Drina in medieval Rasa. There the Serbs found the Slavs of the Ekavian speech of the Stokavian dialect who originated from present-day central Russia. To these

Slavs the Serbs gave a political organization and their own national name but, as an insignificant minority, assimilated with them both linguistically and ethnically. Upon their arrival in the mountains of Rasa the Serbs found a considerable number of Romanized Old Macedonians and Thracians with whom the Serbs intermarried during the middle ages. (6) In Rasa and adjacent mountains lived a great number of non-Slavic Wallachs, descendants of the erstwhile Roman military veterans from Mauretania in North Africa. Because they had conspicuously swarthy features the white Balkan races such as the Byzantine Greeks and the Slavic nations did not allow them in their settlements or intermarried with them. During the Nemanjid dynasty in Serbia it was forbidden by law to marry Wallachian women. On the territory of the Byzantine patriarchate, east of the Drina, the Wallachs were of the Orthodox faith. (7)

When the Turks invaded the Balkans in the fourteenth century the Wallachs were pressed into their ranks. To these the Turks gave plots of rural land in the boundary regions and special economic privileges. With this the Wallachs came into a better economic and social position than the Croatian and Serbian non-Moslem subjects. This made it possible for the Wallachs to marry with their Slavic co-religionists in the Balkans.

Permanent military colonies of non-Slavic Wallachs were established all around Serbia as the Turks, beginning with the battle on the Marica in 1371, swept the Serbian lands in the wake of their conquests. When with the collapse of the Serbian Despotate in 1459 and during the next centuries a considerable part of the Serbian peasantry emigrated to southern Hungary, the Turks began to colonize the nomadic Wallachs in the mountains as cultivators with the status of serfs. Yet the Turks granted them special rights, including autonomy as Wallachs. Because the ethnic Serbian population had considerably shrunk by the end of the XVII and the outset of the XVIII century on account of war, epidemics, famines and emigrations, a new wave of immigrants poured into Serbia for the middle of the XVIII century, mainly non-Slavic Wallachs from Old Wallachia in Rasa, from Mount Durmitor, from the Albanian and Macedonian mountains and from the Western Balkans in modern Bulgaria. A good third of the modern peasant population in Serbia originates from non-Slavic Wallachs who during the centuries settled around Serbian villages as cultivators. (8)

Under the pressure of the Turks the ethnic Serbs retreated across the Danube into southern Hungary. Westward over the Drina only non-Slavic Wallachs of the Orthodox faith were pressed into the ranks of the Turkish army. More than half of the Serbs in the modern republics of Bosnia, Herzegovina and Croatia originate from those non-Slavic Wallachs of the Orthodox faith. Still another third of the Serbian population in the aforementioned republics originate from those Catholic Croats converted to Orthodoxy over the centuries because of the shortage of Catholic priests and the pressure of the Orthodox church. They were Serbianized in the XIX and XX centuries. In the Croatian lands west of the Drina not even ten percent of the Serbs originate from true ethnic Serbs. The majority of the ethnic Serbs migrated into the Croatian lands in the second half of the XIX century under the Austro-Hungarian monarchy and in the XX century during the first and second Yugoslavia. (9)

When at the end of the XVI century further Turkish incursions into Europe stopped and the colonization of non-Slavic Orthodox Wallachs in Croatian territory ceased, the nomadic Wallachs of the Balkans, whose numbers increased manifold, began to settle in the towns and cities, engaging in commerce business and trades. These

Wallachs of the cities were called Tzintzars. Enriched by their trades and by their commerce the Tzintzars became a particularly influential class in Serbian society. When at the outset of the XIX century national movements swept the Balkan nations these Tzintzars in Serbia declared themselves Serbs and contributed essentially to the liberation and reconstruction of the new Serbian state. They were the first to send their sons to schools at home and abroad, thereby forming the political and cultural elite in Serbia which set the trends and took the initiative in the public and political life of pre-war Serbia and of the first and second Yugoslavia. The inherited faults of the Tzintzars which the Serbian political leaders introduced into Serbia's public and political life i.e. greed for others' property, deceit, fraud and malversation of public and collective property, had fatal consequences for the state. (10)

Different Political and Historical Development

From the earliest political sources that we have the Croats on the Don and the Serbs in the Caucasus lived separate from one another in independent political organizations. At the end of the fifth century we find the Croats in the Carpathians between the Oder and the Dniester organizing their own state called White (Western) or Great Croatia. The Serbs on the Elbe created their own state which in the beginning was a Frankish vassal state, but in 631 joined the great Slavic state of king Samo. (11)

In 626 one part of the Croats from beyond the Carpathians under the leadership of five brothers and two sisters, with the eldest brother Klukas at the head, reached the Adriatic as a nation organized along military lines. In accordance with a written agreement with Byzantium the Croats settled all lands from the Mura and the Drava to the Adriatic which they liberated from the Avars after approximately ten years of fighting. The Croats formed their own national state organized on the basis of clan autonomy on the whole of the conquered territory. Although the Byzantines, as far as they were concerned, considered all lands ruled at one time by Roman Byzantine emperors as Byzantine political territory, the Croats always considered their relation to Byzantium as one of friendly alliance and never as one of subjection. (12)

In 803 the Croats recognized the suzerainty of the Western emperor Charlemagne. In international agreements between the Western and Eastern empires in 810, 812 and 817 the Byzantines renounced their sovereignty over the Croatian lands. In 878 the Croatian ruler Zdeslav broke all ties with the Frankish state and recognized Byzantine suzerainty. His successor Branimir (879 – 892) made the Croatian state wholly independent, severing connections with both Byzantium and the Franks. (13)

From the olden times the supreme Croatian ruler was called 'Kral.' The Byzantines called him in Greek 'archon' and in Latin 'dux' (duke). This Latin term even the Croatian rulers used in their Latin charters and inscriptions. (14) In 923 the Byzantine emperor Roman Lekapenus presented the royal crown to the Croatian duke Tomislav, signifying that in the eyes of the world Croatia was recognized as completely independent. Pope John X, the church's supreme authority, called Tomislav in 924 'king of the Croats' (Rex Croatorum), emphasizing thereby that Croatia was a wholly independent state according to the international standards of the day. (15)

Croatian kings, and dukes before them, were never autocrats as Byzantine

emperors and Serbian kings were. The power of the Croatian rulers was limited by the Croatian diet. As a democratic nation the Croats from the earliest times resolved all public and political questions by consensus in the diet. The rulers had to rule the Croatian state according to the resolutions passed. (16)

The Croatian national royal dynasty of the Trpimirovic was extinguished in 1090, after its kings had ruled Croatia for 167 years. Then the Croatian nobility resolved at the Croatian diet to give the Croatian crown to the Hungarian kings of the house of Arpad and with the Pacta conventa assured the complete independence and sovereignty of the Croatian state in respect to Hungary. It is true that the Hungarian-Croatian kings of the Arpad dynasty, and particularly of the Angevin dynasty, attempted to limit Croatia's sovereignty, but the Croats always resisted. Pavao I Subic (1272 – 1312) rendered almost completely independent the kingdom of Croatia and Dalmatia, and Tvrtko I (1353 – 1391), the king of Bosnia from the native Croatian dynasty of the Kotromanic, endeavoured to sever all connections with Hungary and to gather all Croatian lands around Bosnia. (17)

When the Hungarian-Croatian king Louis II died in 1526 the Croats at the diet of Cetingrad on January 1st, 1527 elected Ferdinand I Hapsburg king of Croatia, as a sovereign nation, independently of Hungary. (18) To protect themselves from the centralism the Hapsburgs began to introduce at the very outset and in order more successfully to defend themselves from the Turks, the Croats soon relied once more on the Hungarian crown, but continuously struggled against both the Hungarians and the Hapsburgs in order to preserve the Croatian statehood and their autonomy. Seeing that the Hapsburgs did not care sufficiently about the Croatian state and nation, the Croatian bans Nicholas and Peter Zrinski attempted to separate Croatia completely from Austria between 1664 and 1671 (Zrinski-Frankopan conspiracy). But when the Hapsburgs during the Wars of Vienna (1683 – 99) helped the Croats liberate large tracts of Croatian land from the Turks, the Croats once more formed connections with the Hapsburgs in the Pragmatic Sanction of 1712 which the Croats signed independently of the Hungarians and eleven years before them. (19)

However when Joseph II tried to introduce a centralized administration using the German language in all the lands over which he ruled, the Croatian diet in 1790 resolved to form a coalition government with Hungary to meet the threat of centralization and Germanization. But when the Hungarians attempted to encroach upon Croatia's political autonomy and to introduce the Hungarian language, the Croatian diet in 1848 severed all connections with Hungary and the Croatian ban Jelacic invaded Hungary with the Croatian army. (20) For twenty years Croatia had no political ties with Hungary. In general the Croats sought permanent independence from Hungary within the Hapsburg monarchy and demanded that the monarchy be reformed into a federative state composed of equal nations.

Meanwhile, when in 1867 the Austrian Germans concluded an agreement, called the 'Ausgleich', with the Hungarians and formed the dual monarchy with them, it was decided that the Croats must make a compromise with Hungary pertaining to their mutual political relations. In 1868 the Croatian diet, consisting in the majority of Croatian unionists, elected on the basis of the octroi and also in circumstances where corruption was rife, concluded a compromise with Hungary. In this Compromise full independence from Hungary in matters of legislation and administration was acknowledged to the kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia: in all its internal affairs, religious matters, education and judicature. Accordingly the Croats of all Slavic nations of the Hapsburg monarchy preserved their Croatian political identity and a considerable measure of autonomy up to the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian monarchy in 1918. (21)

In the political history of the Croats one has to stress the particularly that they were always a democratic nation which resolved all its public and political affairs by consensus at the assemblies of its clans and in the diets. As such the Croats never conquered foreign territory nor imposed their own will upon others by force, nor even intervened when their own tribal units declared themselves independent.

When the Serbs were settled by the Byzantines in Rasa ca. 639 they lived autonomously under their tribal princes, but recognized Byzantine overlordship. In the first half of the VIII century when the Avars had recovered their power and the Bulgars began to stream into the central Balkans, the Serbs put themselves under the protection of the Croatian state which at the diet of Duvno in 753 incorporated Rasa into the Croatian state, forming a special territorial unit to protect the Serbs from external foes. This is the only case up to 1918 of the Serbs living in the same state together with the Croats. This form of political dependency lasted only until the outset of the IX century when the Serbs sided with Byzantium in the fighting between the Eastern and the Western empires. (22)

In the middles of the IX century the Serbs attained a more secure political independence. Porphyrogenitus, the principal and almost the only source for the history of the Serbs in the first three centuries of their existence in the Balkans, enumerates the Serbian grand princes of the Viseslav dynasty who attempted to make Rasa independent by breaking away now from Bulgarian, now from Byzantine, predominance and by relying on their Croatian neighbour. The Bulgarian emperor Samuel (976 – 1014) ca. 990 completely exterminated the family of the Serbian grand princes and subjugated Serbia. When in 1018 the Byzantine emperor Basil II destroyed the second Bulgarian empire, he himself took control of Serbia. The rulers of the southern Croatian state, Red Croatia, Stjepan Vojislav and his son king Mihala fought against the Byzantines to free the Serbs. Mihala's son, king Bodin, reestablished Serbian autonomy in Rasa, forming a new Serbian dynasty of grand princes whose founders were the brothers Vuk and Marko, two Croatian nobles from Ribnica near modern Titograd in medieval Croatian Duklja. (23) Stefan Nemanja, the great-grandson of Marko, rendered the Serbian state completely independent in 1180, after the death of the Byzantine emperor Emmanuel Comnenus. His son and successor Stefan the First-crowned received in 1217 the royal crown from pope Honorius III. With this act Serbia was recognized internationally as a wholly independent and sovereign state. (24)

Stefan Nemanja breathed the spirit of conquest into Serbian politics. He and his successors extended the Serbian state over the neighbouring non-Serbian lands from Zahumlje in modern Herzegovina to Thessaly in Greece. Thus the Serbian state became multinational. The greatest Serbian ruler, Stefan Dusan, expressed this in the title that he took as ruler when in 1345 he was crowned "emperor of the Serbs and Greeks." Because it had no ethnic and national unity Dusan's empire disintegrated immediately after his death. The Serbian state, mostly confined to the Serbian ethnic territory of Rasa, remained in existence under the name of principality and later despotate until the Turks destroyed it in 1459. (25) Henceforth for a full 358 years the Serbs lacked their own state. The Serbian Orthodox church in its hagiographies, mainly of the Serbian kings of the Nemanjid dynasty, the national folk singers in their heroic epics on the Serbian kings and on the battle of Kossovo, and especially the numerous wealthy Serbian immigrants in southern Hungary preserved among the people the memory of the erstwhile Serbian state and kept alive the notion of its restoration. Their activity contributed to the first Serbian uprising in 1804 and the second one in 1817 with which the Serbian state was restored anew, first as a semi-independent principality subject to

Turkey and from 1882 as the wholly independent kingdom of Serbia. (26)

Differences in Cultural Heritage and Formation

The basis of the original national culture of the Croats and the Serbs is entirely different. The Croats inherited religious nations, family and social organization, national customs and language, costume and national art from the Old Iranian culture in central Asia, the Serbs from the Sardinian culture of Asia Minor. During two centuries of habitation in northern Europe the Croats enriched their Iranian culture and partially altered the old culture of the Slavs of the central Slavic territory and the Serbs altered their Sardinian culture by contact with the Old Slavic culture of the westernmost part of the Western Slavs.

When in the second quarter of the VII century they arrived in the south the old national culture of the Croats and the Serbs developed further along different lines under the influence of Christianity, which was already spiritually divided, and of the various cultures found on the territory which they settled. In 626 the Croats settled the former Roman provinces of Dalmatia, Pannonia and Illyricum i.e. on the territory of the Western Roman empire and of the Western Roman patriarchate. (27) Under the influence of the Western church, of whose community they were a part, and of the Western European nations, whether their political neighbours or sovereign states of which they were a part, the national character of the Croats became permanently Westernized in spirit and in this way they became a nation belonging to the Western European culture. (28)

Islamic culture, a product of the fusion of Arab and Persian culture, left a deep impression on the Moslem Croats. In this culture religion is a strong factor in forming the community and in imparting a sense of belonging to its members.

When the Serbs settled in Rasa ca. 639 it belonged politically to the Eastern Roman empire, but ecclesiastically to the Roman see. (29) But already by 732 the Byzantine patriarchate had extended its authority to the Drina, which river became the dividing line between the Eastern and Western church during the whole of the middle ages. During the Great Schism of 1054 the Serbs sided with the Eastern church. Sava Nemanjic finally confirmed them as members of this church when in 1219 he founded the autonomous Serbian church under the jurisdiction of the patriarchate of Constantinople. (30) Henceforth the whole Serbian religious and cultural life, canon life and political legislation, Serbian literature and art developed under the overriding influence of the Eastern church and of the Byzantine culture, so that the Serbs in their culture and spirit became an expressly Eastern and Byzantine people. (31)

In the cultural development of the Serbs the non-Slavic Wallachs played a considerable role with their ancient Moorish culture and particular ethical outlook. (32)

Besides the difference in ethnic origin, differences in religious, moral and legal concepts which came into being under the influence of various culture formed the deepest and most insurmountable differences between the Croats and the Serbs in their spirit and mentality.

Different National and Political Consciousness

Croats and Serbs, since the earliest recorded times, always felt that they were two different nations. They had a different national name and always longed each to have their own state. This they had insofar as stronger foreign powers did not intervene.

In order to have a broader basis on which to fight against Germanization and Magyarization and to win over the Orthodox population who previously had collaborated with Croatia's external enemies to its detriment, in the struggle to create a commonwealth of all South Slavs, many prominent and well-meaning Croats, headed by such men as Ljudevit Gaj, bishop Strossmayer, Frano Supilo and Ante Trumbic, for more than one century strove to create a cultural, political and national unity for all the South Slavic nations, particularly the Croats and the Serbs. (33) Because of this activity a considerable part of the Croatian intelligentsia and bourgeoisie responded warmly to the notion of the national unity of the Croats and the Serbs. But when on the basis of this fictitious notion the State of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was created in 1918 it became evident that the Croats and the Serbs are essentially two different nations and not one nation, with distinct cultural, legal and ethical concepts. The Serbs overnight wholly destroyed the Croatian state which the Croats in 800 years of struggles with the Hungarians and the Hapsburgs had preserved with great sacrifices. The Croatian name and national traits were systematically pushed into the background and Croatian institutions destroyed. The Serbian leading class, of Wallachian – Tzintzar origin and customs, invested heavily in Croatia which was economically and culturally on a higher level, in order to exploit it and thus to develop the Serbian regions and to enrich themselves personally. Instead of freedom and equality it was a reign of terror and a dictatorship. (34)

A Croatian peasant, defender of his fatherland and of its traditions, arose as an advocate of Croatia's national identity and of the Croatian state. The Croatian peasantry, which in 1918 formed over 75% of Croatia's population, never accepted the fictitious idea of the national unity of the Croats and Serbs. As soon as the Croatian lands were unlawfully united with Serbia on December 1st, 1918 and the unitarian State of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was created, the Croatian peasantry began the struggle. Others Croats joined them as they began to see that the Serbs were not building a new state as a free, egalitarian and democratic community of all citizens, but only as an expressly Serbian state. Despite all the oppression and persecution of the regime the Croats in all the elections of the first Yugoslavia almost unanimously voted for the Croatian Peasant Party under the leadership of Stjepan Radic and Vladko Macek because it represented Croatia's identity and statehood. (35) When in 1941 Yugoslavia entered the war Croats could not defend the unnatural creation which they considered as "the prison of the Croatian nation", but founded their own independent state of Croatia. In order to defend and preserve it the Croats spilt much blood in a superhuman effort. (36)

Seeing that the Croats in general were indefatigable in their will to create their own Croatian state, the Yugoslavian communists, whom the constellation of international circumstances brought to power in the second Yugoslavia, recognized in their constitution that the Croats are a political state with its own identity. They acknowledged the full sovereignty of the federative republic of Croatia and its right

to secede from the Yugoslavian federative union if it so wills. (37) The truth is that even in the second Yugoslavia the Serbian communists, through the centralistic organization of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia in which they constitute the majority, are always encroaching upon the Croatian republic's sovereignty and autonomy, imposing their will on the Croats and economically exploiting Croatia. The ceaseless dissatisfaction and resistance of the Croats to the Serbian hegemony and to the fundamental statutes of the Yugoslavian constitution evidence the fact that the Croats are a different nation from the Serbs, that they are conscious of their national identity and that they will and demand full sovereignty and political autonomy in a state in which others will not impose their will on them, nor exploit them for their own ends.

In brief, the Croats and Serbs are two ancient and different nations with a different ethnic origin and development; a different political and historical existence; a different culture and mentality; and a different national and political consciousness.

Because each nation can realize itself full and perfectly only in its own sovereign state, organized and governed by itself alone in accordance with its national spirit and needs, the Croats and the Serbs, as two ancient, different and politically conscious nations, naturally have each their own right to their own sovereign state. This right belongs to them according to the international charter of national self-determination which recognizes to each nation the right to organize its political existence and relations with other states by its own will and decision. Every act of force to integrate a nation into a common unitarian state, be it under any name or form, only hardens national animosities between nations. Croats and Serbs can and must be good neighbours and friends, but never as one nation in one unified and unitary state. A sovereign state for Croatia and one for Serbia, in which each nation, with its national representatives elected democratically, will govern and rule itself without the intervention and influence of the other nation, is the only solution that will promote peace, concord and friendly collaboration between the Croats and the Serbs.



Druga Jugoslavija: Federativne republike i pokrajine 1945

THE SECOND YUGOSLAVIA: FEDERAL REPUBLICS AND PROVINCES 1945

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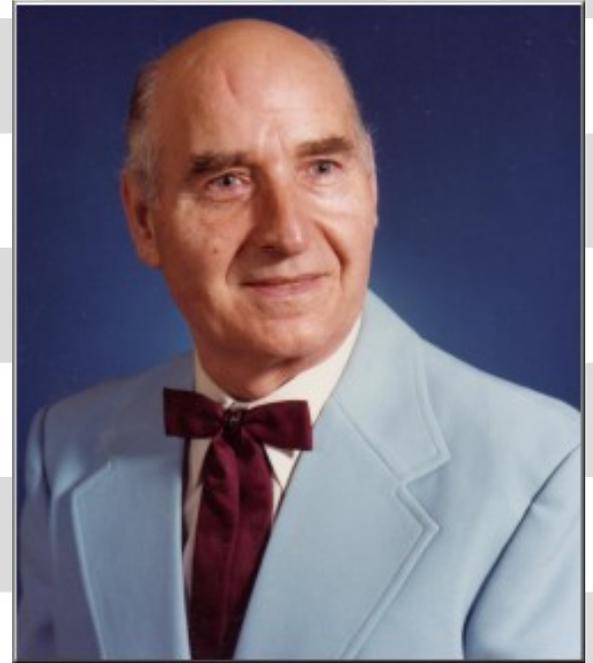
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Vicko Rendic's Home Page

Vicko Rendic was born on May 14th, 1923 in Supetar on the island of Brac in Dalmatia, Croatia. He is the first son of twelve children born of Mate Rendic and Sima Papic.

Mr. Rendic first studied at the Faculty of Law of the University of Zagreb, completing four years (eight semesters). Later he studied at the universities of Montreal and Ottawa. From the University of Ottawa he obtained a M.A. in Slavic Studies in 1972.

From 1982 - 1987 he studied at the University of Paris - Sorbonne. During this time he completed a doctoral dissertation of 260 pages on the subject of 'Ivan Gundulic: His life and his work'.

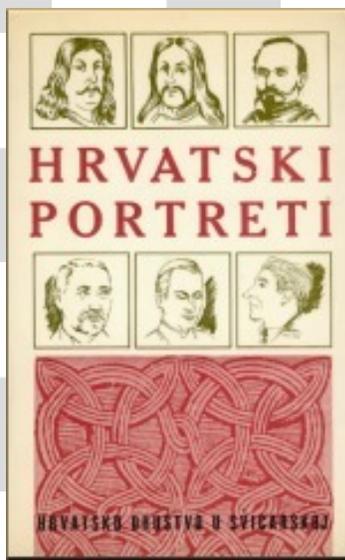


After leaving Yugoslavia in 1959, Mr. Rendic immigrated to West Germany and worked for Firma Gabriel Herose A.G. in Konstanz.

However he felt that it was his destiny to go to the New World and in 1962 he immigrated to Canada. On October 10th, 1967 he became a Canadian citizen, a Commonwealth citizen and a British subject. During the past forty years Vicko has collected a private library of about 13,000 to 15,000 books including between 100 and 150 dictionaries of the major European languages of English, French, German, Spanish, Italian, Latin and Russian.

This work I dedicate to the memory of my beloved parents Mate and Sima Rendic.

In collaboration with Jacques Perret, Vicko Rendic has translated into English the following Croatian books:



"Hrvatski Portreti" –
(Croatian Portraits) published
by Hrvatska Revije in
Switzerland. The book is now
available on this website.
[Click here](#) to view.



"Hrvati I Srbi dva stara,
razlicita naroda" –
(Croats and Serbs two
old and different
nations) by Dr. O.
Dominik Mandic. The
book is now available
on this website. [Click
here](#) to view.

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Monsieur Jacques Perret was born
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University of Lausanne. In January
2001 he returned to Montreal,
Canada. He wishes to dedicate the
translation of "Croatian Portraits"
to the memory of Suzanne
Leonard.