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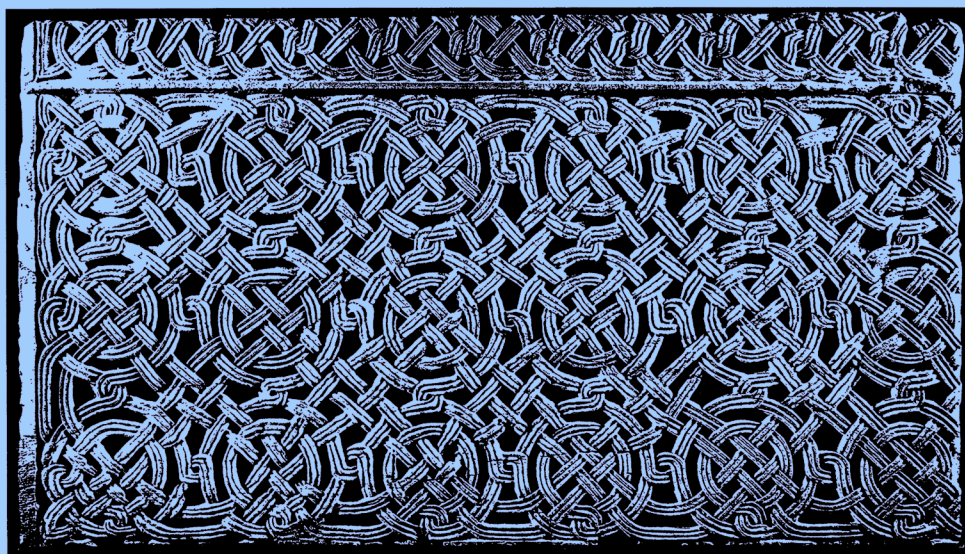
## CROATICA-CANADIANA

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# FOLIA CROATICA-CANADIANA

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## THE CROATIAN AND SERBIAN LANGUAGES \*

STJEPAN BABIĆ

RÉSUMÉ/ABSTRACT

L'auteur explique d'une façon concise le développement historique des langues littéraires croate et serbe en démontrant en quoi ces deux langues sont proches et distinctes. Il souligne que, même si elles sont enseignées sous le nom commun serbo-croate, il s'agit d'enseigner l'une ou l'autre langue, au choix du professeur.

The author concisely reviews the historical development of the Croatian and Serbian literary languages, showing why the two norms are close, but distinct. He points out that even in those cases where the language is taught under the subject heading Serbo-Croatian, it is concretely realized either as Croatian or Serbian depending on the instructor.

The Croatian language has three dialects Štokavian, Čakavian and Kajkavian, while Serbian has two: Štokavian and Torlak. Since Štokavian predominates among the Croats and Serbs, they built their literary languages on the Štokavian dialect, but this occurred independently of each other, at different times and in different ways.

In the beginning, the Croats used the Croatian recension of the Old Church Slavonic language and built their literary languages on all three dialects. The Štokavian dialect was adopted for use in literature at the end of the 15th century. From the outset, it incorporated the lexical and phraseological elements of the Croatian recension of the Old Church Slavonic language. It also accepted elements of the remaining two dialects and their literary languages, developing along a continuous historical progression to today's form. The remaining two literary languages gradually died out of literary use; Čakavian at the beginning of the 18th century and Kajkavian in the mid-19th century.

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\*The article first appeared in the Zagreb daily *Vjesnik*, 19 June 1993, no. 109, p. 22 and was subsequently included in: Stjepan Babić, *Hrvatski jučer i danas* (Zagreb: Školske novine, 1995), pp. 17-19. The translator thanks Dr. Vinko Grubišić for his assistance during the translation process—trans.

For a long period of time, the Serbs used the Serbian recension of Old Church Slavonic. In the mid-19th century, they based their current literary language on the works of Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, raising the Štokavian dialect of the Serbian village to the status of a literary language.

These two languages also have a specific culture, linguistic history and literature. Throughout history there have not been common texts that would be both Croatian and Serbian.<sup>1</sup> The Croatian literary language is characterized by its literary-linguistic history because it developed over the centuries on a rich ecclesiastic and secular literature.

Besides that, Croats developed their literary language within the Western Catholic culture. First, they employed the Glagolitic and Western Cyrillic<sup>2</sup> alphabets, and from the mid-14th century the Roman alphabet, which continued to spread and is today the only Croatian alphabet. On the other hand, the Serbs leaned on Eastern, Byzantine and Orthodox culture, employing Cyrillic, which is today the main Serbian alphabet.

The results of these different historical trends are two literary languages whose bases are very close, but with their own superstructures and their different norms. Clearly demarcated, the differences between them exist on the phonetic, morphologic, word formation, syntactical and mostly on the lexical and stylistic levels, about twenty percent in total, which is already quite a significant amount of differences. However, that diversity is even more important because these two norms were mutually exclusive even when the Croats and Serbs lived in a common state during royalist and communist Yugoslavia. For this reason, it was not possible, nor can one today speak or write in the Serbo-Croatian language. This is because it never even existed as a concrete language, nor does it exist today. Instead, texts are written either as Croatian or as Serbian. One cannot spontaneously write even one page of the same text that Croats would accept as Croatian and Serbs as Serbian.

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<sup>1</sup>There are Serbian linguists and historians who claim some Croatian texts and even the entire literature of Dubrovnik as their own, but even this is forcible usurpation, just like the territorial pretensions towards parts of the Republic of Croatia, especially Dubrovnik.

<sup>2</sup>The author is referring to the specific Cyrillic alphabet used by Croats, as opposed to the Cyrillic alphabet used by Serbs; hence, Croatian Cyrillic is “Western” in relation to Serbian Cyrillic—trans.

Due to the closeness of these two literary languages, there were agreements in the 19th and 20th centuries to create a single language from them and from the Serbian side even attempts to achieve this through the force of the state and political and military hegemony. However, these attempts did not succeed due to the stability of these two literary languages and because of strong cultural resistance from the Croatian side.

To illustrate the above, a short, ordinary and simple sentence can be cited which clearly shows the mentioned assertions:

*Vlak kreće s kolodvora tačno u deset sati* (Croatian).  
*Voz kreće sa stanice tačno u deset časova* (Serbian).<sup>3</sup>

No combination can make it into a Serbo-Croatian sentence because the norm is exclusive: either *vlak, kolodvor, tačno, sat* or *voz, stanica, tačno, čas*.

For all these reasons, foreign radio programs broadcast their texts either only in the Croatian language (for example, Radio Vatican) or only in Serbian (some East European radio stations), or in both, but in the framework of distinct emissions (for example, the BBC, Voice of America, Deutsche Welle), or today more rarely in the frame of one emission, but with expressly Croatian or Serbian texts (for example, Radio France Internationale, Westdeutsche Rundfunk).<sup>4</sup>

Due to all of this, Serbian has one number (808.61) and Croatian another (808.62) in the international Universal Decimal Classification system.

However, despite this, the majority of foreign universities use the term Serbo-Croatian (*Serbo-Kroatisch, serbo-croate*) to describe the Croatian and Serbian languages and cultures. This is mostly due to the inertia of past understanding and the concrete difficulties involved in restructuring Slavic departments. Nevertheless, at all universities the language is concretely realized and taught either as Croatian or as Serbian. This depends on the

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<sup>3</sup>The English translation reads: “The train departs from the railway station exactly at ten o’clock”—trans.

<sup>4</sup>Recently, Radio France Internationale and Westdeutsche Rundfunk have also introduced emissions in the Bosnian language.

instructor who teaches the subject because despite the name it cannot be realized as Serbo-Croatian.

Croatian is taught as Croatian only where Croats have been able to ensure the necessary financial means to maintain its study, for example, at Macquarie University in Sydney, Australia and the University of Waterloo, Canada.<sup>5</sup> Only more recently has it begun to be taught even without this support at individual universities, such as for instance at the University of Detroit Mercy, in America and the University of Kiev in the Ukraine.

Translated by Stan Granic

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<sup>5</sup>More recently, Croatian courses have been added to the curriculum at the University of Toronto as a result of financial support of Canadians of Croatian origin—trans.

## SOME ORIGINAL TESTIMONIES ON THE NATIONAL NAME OF THE CROATIAN LANGUAGE\*

BENEDIKTA ZELIĆ-BUČAN

### RÉSUMÉ/ABSTRACT

Dans cet article l'auteur démontre que les termes italiens *schivo* (slave) et *illirico* (illyrien) sont synonymes de *hrvatski* (croate). L'auteur fonde ses recherches sur d'anciens documents et sur des archives croates de la Dalmatie sous la domination de Venise des 17<sup>e</sup> et 18<sup>e</sup> siècles. L'article porte particulièrement sur des registres ecclésiastiques écrits par des prêtres glagolitiques ainsi que sur la correspondance échangée entre ces prêtres et leurs évêques.

In this article, the author shows that the Italian terms *schivo* (Slavonic) and *illirico* (Illyrian) functioned as synonyms for *hrvatski* (Croatian). This is shown through an examination of older well-known documents and archival sources from Venetian-held Dalmatia of the 17th and 18th centuries. Particular attention is devoted to entries in church registries made by Glagolitic priests and their exchanges of correspondence with local bishops.

To provide original documents as evidence to prove that a nation designates its language by its national name, and that it has always done so, would in itself be unnecessary if it were not for those who sometimes find it difficult to accept that simple and natural fact.

For this reason, it would not be superfluous if we recalled some old and well-known, as well as some newer and lesser-known, historical testimonies on the appellations Croats used for their language.

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\*This article, entitled "Nekoliko izvornih svjedočanstava o hrvatskom nazivu hrvatskoga jezika," originally appeared in the literary periodical *Kolo*, 8, no. 4 (Zagreb, 1970), 480-484. It was subsequently included in the author's book *Jezik i pisma Hrvata. Rasprave i članci* [Language and script of the Croats: essays and articles] (Split: Matica hrvatska, 1997), pp. 25-30. The translator wishes to express his gratitude to: Benedikta Zelić-Bučan for clarifying certain words and phrases in the original; Dr. Vinko Grubišić for his assistance in translating portions of the article, especially those written in older versions of the Croatian language; and Katherine Perak for providing helpful suggestions to improve the final translation.

First, we must recall the testimonies that were found in all manuals of older Croatian literature. As early as 1100, there was carved on the Tablet of Baška (*Bašćanska ploča*) in the Croatian language and in Glagolitic<sup>1</sup> letters that Zvonimir was the Croatian king. In the old Croatian legend of the life of St. Jerome (*Hrvatini*), the Medieval biographer wrote (believing St. Jerome to be of Croatian origin) that he was the “glorious, honourable, famous, and radiant crown of the Croatian language” (“*dika, poštenje i slava i svitla kruna hrvatskoga jezika*”).<sup>2</sup> In 1501, Marko Marulić wrote his epic poem, *Istorija svete udovice Judit u versih hrvacki složena* (*The history of the holy widow Judith, composed in Croatian verses*). Meanwhile, his somewhat younger contemporary, the priest Jerolim Kaletić, who transcribed the Croatian Chronicle, noted that this particular chronicle was found in 1510 by a nobleman of Split, Dmine Papalić. It was located in the Makarska county, in “an old book written in the Croatian script” (“*jedne knjige stare pisane hrvatskim pismom*”).

A contemporary of Marulić, Papalić and Kaletić, the Glagolitic priest Martinac from Grobnik lamented the Turkish invasion and documented that the Turks “set upon the Croatian people” (“*nalegoše na jazik\* hrvatski*”),<sup>3</sup> allegorically equating the people and their language. At that time, in the year 1530/31, the Bishop of Modruš, Šimun Kozičić Benja, published liturgical

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<sup>1</sup>Both the Glagolitic and Cyrillic scripts were used in the writing of Old Church Slavonic. It is not known for certain who invented the Glagolitic alphabet, nor when it first appeared. It was used mainly by the Bulgars and Croats (along the Dalmatian coast, in Istria, and in Bosnia-Herzegovina). The name *glagoljica* was derived from the fourth letter of the alphabet (*azbuka*): “*glagolju*”, meaning “to speak”. Today, the term encompasses three notions: the Glagolitic script, the Croatian recension of Old Church Slavonic used in church service, and the Croatian Glagolitic bibliography (all that was ever written in the script). See: Stephen Krešić, “The Principal Characteristics of Croatian Literary Culture in the Middle Ages,” *Journal of Croatian Studies*, 25-26 (New York, 1983-1984), 23-24; Branko Franolić, *An Historical Survey of Literary Croatian* (Paris: Nouvelles Editions Latines, 1984), p. 143 note 2; and Marko Japundžić, “Hrvatska Glagoljica” [The Croatian Glagolitic heritage], *Hrvatska revija*, 12 (Buenos Aires, 1963), 470—trans.

<sup>2</sup>Mihovil Kombol, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti do narodnog preporoda* [The history of Croatian literature to the National Revival], 2nd ed. (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1961), p. 33.

\*In Old Croatian *jazik* meant both language and people—trans.

<sup>3</sup>Kombol, p. 39.

books in the Croatian language at the Glagolitic printing house in Rijeka; included among them was the *Misal hrvacki* (Croatian missal).<sup>4</sup>

It is known that in their statute of 1665, the people of Poljica wrote that the new transcription of the Statute of Poljica (*Poljički statut*) was completed according to the older one so that they could better understand Croatian (*arvacki*) and Latin (*latinski*).<sup>5</sup> Even the Venetian bookseller Bartul Occhi, who sold books printed for his Croatian buyers, termed the language Croatian, as is seen in this statement from his 1703 book catalogue: “A number of Croatian books in the bottega of the bookseller Bartula Occhi na Rivi od Hrvatov”.<sup>6</sup> The pragmatic merchant called not only the language, but also the well-known *Riva dei Schiavoni*, in Venice, in the same way the buyers he was addressing did; that is, by the name Croatian. This testimony from a foreigner is very significant and shows that in using the usual Italian terms *schiaivo* and *illirico*, the Italians had the Croatian language in mind and not some indefinite Illyrian (*ilirski*) or Slavic language.

I could continue citing in this manner the testimonies already documented and mentioned in literature on the subject of how Croats have referred to themselves and their language; instead, I would like to elicit some unknown archival testimonies that I recently discovered. These testimonies were found in old archival documents written in the Croatian language, in the Croatian Cyrillic script (*bosančica* \*).<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>4</sup>*Leksikon Minerva, praktični priručnik za modernog čovjeka* [Lexicon Minerva, a practical handbook for modern man], ed. Gustav Šamšalović (Zagreb: Minerva nakladna knjižara, 1936), p. 457.

<sup>5</sup>“Izvorni tekst i prijevod Poljičkoga statuta” [Original text and translation of the Statute of Poljica], translated into contemporary Croatian by Zvonimir Junković, in *Poljički zbornik* [Contributions to the study of Poljica] (Zagreb: Kulturno-prosvjetno društvo Poljičana, 1968), I, 98. Here the adjectives Croatian (*arvacki*) and Latin (*latinski*) related to the scripts used, that is, Croatian Cyrillic (*bosančica*) and Roman (*latinica*), as the Statute of Poljica was never translated into the Latin language.

<sup>6</sup>“Knjižarstvo” [Bookselling], *Leksikon Minerva*, p. 700.

\*Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Dalmatia (including the Islands, Dubrovnik and Poljica) and even northern Croatia used this alphabet, which was a cursive form of Old Slavonic Cyrillic influenced by the Glagolitic script and the Italian and Latin orthographies. The oldest known monument in Croatian Cyrillic is the Tablet of Humac (*Humačka ploča*), dated in the 10th or 11th century. In the beginning, Catholics and Bosnian Christians used this script. Following the Turkish invasion and subsequent Ottoman rule, those Catholics and Bosnian

It is known that Glagolites<sup>8</sup> who resided on the territory of the Archbishopric of Split and the Bishopric of Makarska used the Croatian Cyrillic script (*bosančica*) outside the liturgy, which they considered, it seems, to be the cursive Glagolitic script and which they called the Croatian script (and also, in the 19th century, the Glagolitic script—*glagoljica*).<sup>9</sup> Using this script, they wrote in the Croatian language: parish registries, various accounts, notes, chronicles, books of religious fraternities, and other items. From the documents and notes of the Glagolites of the two aforementioned bishoprics, I also documented the testimonies of just how they designated their language.

According to the records of Ivan Paštrić, at the end of the 17th century there were thirty-five outlying Glagolitic parishes in the Archbishopric of Split.<sup>10</sup> The number of Glagolites, the majority of whom were priests from Poljica, significantly exceeded the number of parishes. In 1713, Archbishop Stefano Cupilli wrote to Rome that from the outlying parishes (that is,

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Christians who converted to Islam continued to use the script of their ancestors. Besides Croatian Cyrillic, the alphabet is also called *bosančica* and *bosanica*. It was named after Bosnia because it was thought that the script originally appeared there and lasted the longest there. The term was introduced in the late 19th and early 20th century through the palaeographic studies of Ćiro Truhelka. See: Vinko Grubišić, *Grafija Hrvatske lapidarne ćirilice* [Graphics of the Croatian lapidary Cyrillic] (Munich-Barcelona: Knjižnica Hrvatske revije, 1978), pp. 5-20; Krešić, pp. 37-46; and Franolić, pp. 145-146 (note 9)—trans.

<sup>7</sup>For a look at Croatian Cyrillic (*bosančica*), its characteristics and diffusion on the territory of Venetian Dalmatia, see also my book *Bosančica u srednjoj Dalmaciji* [Croatian Cyrillic in middle Dalmatia] (Split: Historijski arhiv u Splitu, 1961), 32 pp. plus 1 map, 3 tables, and 30 facsimile documents. Another valuable work worth consulting is Tomislav Raukar's well argued essay "O nekim problemima razvitka ćirilске minuskule ('bosančice')" [On some problems of the development of Cyrillic minuscule (*bosančica*)], *Historijski zbornik*, 19-20 (Zagreb, 1968), 485-499, in which he comments on the works of Branislav M. Nedeljković and Aleksandar Mladenović dealing with this script. Mihovil Kombol cited that in Vienna (1582) *bosančica* was called "Churulika oder Chrabatische Sprache." Kombol, p. 23.

<sup>8</sup>Glagolites has been utilized by the translator to indicate Croatian priests who used Old Church Slavonic in church service—trans.

<sup>9</sup>Zelić-Bučan, p. 8 note 10. See also the inscription M...c, "Njekoji prilozii o glagoljicii" [Some contributions to the study of the Glagolitic script], *Narod*, no. 15 (Split, 1894).

<sup>10</sup>*Fontes historici liturgiae glagolito-romanae a XIII ad XIX saeculum*, ed. Luka Jelić (Veglae [Krk]: Sumptibus Academiae Palaeoslavicae Veglensis, 1906), XVII, 61-63.



outside the city of Split) there were approximately 125 priests from Poljica,<sup>11</sup> all of them Glagolites.

Since there were no schools or seminaries for them, they were educated individually according to the apprenticeship system. The problem of their education was treated at two diocesan synods, one in Omiš during the time of Archbishop Sforza Ponzon (1620) and the other in Split (1688) during the time of Archbishop Stefano Cosmi. The Glagolitic clergy of the Split archbishopric were mentioned in chapter 24 of the constitution of the synod of 1688. In the Latin text of the decisions of the synod, the Glagolitic priests were called “*clerus illyricus*” and Glagolitic parishes, “*parochiae Illiricorum*”,<sup>12</sup> while in the Croatian text of the decisions of the synod the terms “*harvaski kler*” and “*kuratije arvaske*” were used.<sup>13</sup> In article XII of the same chapter of the Croatian version, we read:

Zašto osobito sveta mater crkva dopusti ovoj ruci privilej harvackoga izgovora u misi, zato ima se nastojati da se dobro uče i nauče razumiti slovi...kako u knjigah uzdarže. Žakni imaju se naučiti bukvicu i jučiniti se naučiti se od redovnikov naučni izgovor arvacki slovi naši, kako izgovara misal i barvija (brevijar, author's note); inako neće biti urdinani budući tako zapovijeno, i kako naši po knjizi imaju govoriti se... razumiti tako harvaski na njihov zakon barvijarija.

[Since the holy mother Church especially allows to this hand the privilege of using the Croatian language in the mass, they must endeavour to learn well and master the script...which is contained in the books. The priests must learn the alphabet and be instructed by the monks on the correct pronunciation of our Croatian letters as they are contained in our missals and breviaries. Otherwise, as it is proclaimed, they shall not be ordained. It was ordered so and now our priests must conform themselves to our books...to understand Croatian in order to follow their duties according to their breviaries.]

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<sup>11</sup>*Fontes*, XVIII, p. 9.

<sup>12</sup>*Fontes*, XVII, p. 62.

<sup>13</sup>Vladimir Mošin, *čirilski rukopisi Jugoslavenske akademije* [Cyrillic manuscripts of the Yugoslav Academy] (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1952), II, 57.

In the Latin version of this constitution, in the same article and in general, the Croatian language and script were called Illyrian (*illyricum*).<sup>14</sup>

A. Milošević copied and published a number of important segments of a manuscript, entitled *Del clero Illirico*, found in a private collection in Zadar. This manuscript, dated around 1741,<sup>15</sup> was written by an unknown author who provides us with an explanation of precisely what was to be understood by the term “*clerus illiricus*”. The unknown author wrote:

Gl’Illirici che celebrano in latino ponno dirsi Latini. Onde gli Illirici che celebrano la Messa romana in lingua illirica sono propriamente distinti col nome di clero illirico, come li distingue Mons. Cosmi, arcivescovo di Spalato nel suo Sinodo cap. XXIV De clero illirico./Hrvati koji služe na latinskom mogu se nazvati Latini. Prema tome Hrvati koji služe rimsku misu na hrvatskom jeziku razlikuju se upravo pod imenom hrvatski kler, kao što ih razlikuje mons. Cosmi, nadbiskup splitski u svom Sinodu, gl. XXIV O hrvatskom kleru.<sup>16</sup>

[Croats who say the mass in Latin, may be called Latins. Consequently, Croats who say the Roman mass in the Croatian language are differentiated exactly according to the name Croatian clergy, as they were distinguished by Msgr. Cosmi, the Archbishop of Split in his synod, chapter 24 “On Croatian Clergy”.]

This indicates that the terms Croatian and Latin clergy were derived from the language of religious service, as members of both clergy were Croats (Illyrians): the “Latins” (“*Latini*”) were users of Latin in the liturgy, while the “Illyrians” (“*Illirci*”) were Glagolites.

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<sup>14</sup>Vladimir Mošin, “Poljičke konstitucije iz 1620. i 1688. godine” [The Poljica constitutions from the years 1620 and 1688], *Radovi staroslavenskog instituta*, 1 (Zagreb, 1952), 196.

<sup>15</sup>A. Milošević, “Važan rukopis o ilirskom kleru” [An important manuscript on Croatian clergy], *Bullettino di archeologia e storia dalmata*, 40-42 (Split, 1917-1919).

<sup>16</sup>Milošević, p. 114.

Confirmation of such an explanation was found in the church registries of Split. Church registries of Split, right up to the mid-19th century, were usually completed in the administrative Italian language, but there were also some items found in them in the Croatian language, written in Croatian Cyrillic (*bosančica*). In the book of marriages, from the period of 1611 to 1782, we found that twenty-two Glagolitic priests entered 120 notes in the Croatian Cyrillic script. In the book of christenings, six priests entered twenty notes in the Croatian language using the Croatian Cyrillic script and approximately fifty notes in the Croatian language written in the Roman script. As far as could be determined according to the census of the Archbishopric of Split, from 1725, the majority of these priests were from Poljica. Four of them, Rev. Mijovijo Dagelić, Rev. Stipan Jurević, Rev. Bartul (Bariša) Karcatović, and Rev. Jakov Soturčić often added the attribute *Harvaćanin* alongside their surnames and, in some instances, dropped their surnames and added this attribute to their Christian names. In this context, the attribute could mean nothing else than a designation of their language; it meant priests of the Croatian language: Glagolites in the sense of chapter 24 of the synod of 1688 and the explanation of the anonymous author of the Zadar manuscript of 1741.

In order that we do not include all of the many examples of such signatures,<sup>17</sup> I will quote just a few that could be checked in the book of christenings, which contained a smaller number of entries in Croatian. We have, for instance, Rev. Stipan Jurević or Harvaćanin (*Don Stipan Jurević aliti Harvaćanin*), who was referred to in this way in an entry of a marriage (which was written in the book of christenings) on 21 February 1621,<sup>18</sup> and who also signed as Rev. Stipan Harvaćanin in the registry of christenings four times.<sup>19</sup> Rev. Jakov Soturčić was designated as *Harvaćanin* in the registry of christenings on 19 April 1621.<sup>20</sup> Rev. Mijovijo Dagelić

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<sup>17</sup>In the book of marriages, two entries of Rev. Mihovil [Mijovijo] Dagelić from 1652, six entries of Rev. Stipan Jurević from 1611 to 1621, and even thirty-one entries of Rev. Jakov Soturčić from 1619 to 1634 were found.

<sup>18</sup>Historijski arhiv u Splitu (HAS), [manuscript] MK/1 [folio] f. 144 [verso] v. [HAS has been used to designate further Historijski arhiv u Splitu (Historical Archives in Split)—trans.]

<sup>19</sup>HAS, MK/1 f. 139, 147, 157 v, 209 v.

<sup>20</sup>HAS, MK/1 f. 145.

Harvaćanin appeared in an entry of 5 May 1653,<sup>21</sup> and also Rev. Bariša Karcatović Harvaćanin in the registry of 26 February 1666,<sup>22</sup> as well as in an entry dated 30 October 1672.<sup>23</sup>

This was not some kind of an exception. I came across testimonies where other Glagolites designated their vernacular language by its Croatian national name (*hrvatski*). Thus, in Stjepan Blašković's (Bishop of Makarska) correspondence dated from 1768 to 1769,<sup>24</sup> I came across the example of Rev. Jakov Piunović's letter dated 22 September 1769. In his letter addressed to Bishop Blašković, Piunović (the priest of Raščani) ended his comments with the following sentence: "If you consider it worthy to answer this letter, please reply in Croatian, so that I may understand it" ("*Ako ćete se dostojati odpisati, odpišite arvaski, da mogu razumiti*"). Similarly, Rev. Pavao Uršić, the pastor of Brebla, wrote to his bishop on 27 October 1769, and reproached him for sending the last two letters written in Latin, "which I cannot read" ("*koje ja ne umim proštiti*"). Uršić further requested that in the future the bishop should write in Croatian, since "an honour in your place has people who can write and understand Croatian" ("*vaše gospostvo u svom mistu ima ko će pisat i rvacki što mogu razumit*").

As Vatroslav Jagić already remarked when he wrote on the use of the national Croatian name on the territory of the Republic of Dubrovnik, the other "learned" name Slavonic (*slovinski*, in Latin translations *lingua illirica*) gained ground and became predominant alongside the older Croatian national name.<sup>25</sup> In Venetian Dalmatia, perhaps due to the poor education of the Glagolitic priests who did not read or understand Italian or Latin books, the national name for the Croatian language was preserved much longer in documents written in the vernacular language, right up to the end of the 18th

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<sup>21</sup>HAS, MK/3 f. 99.

<sup>22</sup>HAS, MK/4 f. 172.

<sup>23</sup>HAS, MK/4 f. 249 v.

<sup>24</sup>Found in the documents of the Bishopric of Makarska, which are kept in the archives of the Bishopric of Split, under the fascicle marked 74 (old signature A). In this volume, there were 376 letters of which 372 were written in the Croatian language in the Croatian Cyrillic script (*bosančica*), three in the Roman script, and only one draft copy from the bishop's office in the Italian language.

<sup>25</sup>Vatroslav Jagić, *Historija književnosti naroda hrvatskoga i srpskoga* [The literary history of the Croatian and Serbian peoples] (Zagreb: Vatroslav Jagić, 1867), p. 3.

century, when along with it the bookish names Slavonic (*slovinski*) and Illyrian (*ilirski*) began to appear.

In documents of the Glagolitic seminary in Priko, near Omiš, spanning from the end of the 18th to the beginning of the 19th century,<sup>26</sup> I came across examples of the alternate use of the terms Croatian (*hrvatski*) and Slavonic (*slovinski*), or Illyrian (*ilirski*), used as designations for the seminary and also for the students attending the seminary. Thus, in a letter written in Italian by Archbishop Lelio Cipico of 26 June 1793, to Rev. Jakov Ognjutović, administrator of the church in Omiš, the Archbishop warned that on the feast day of St. Peter, not a single priest was permitted to sing the mass in St. Peter's Church by the seminary in Priko. For the clergy of this seminary, he employed the term "*chierizi illirici*", while in the Croatian translation of this same letter, which was deposited along with the original letter from the Archbishop, the expression "*chierizi illirici*" was translated into "Croatian priest" ("*žakni arvacki*"). In the Croatian version of Archbishop Cipico's letter to Rev. Mihovil Božić, we find that Božić was addressed as the "administrator of the students of Slavonic nationality" [*upravitelj djak sl(ovinske) nar(odnosti)*]. Therefore, in the Italian text written by the archbishop's office they used Illyrian (*illirico*), while in the Croatian text written in the same archbishop's office, and that means by educated writers, the term Slavonic (*slovinski*) was found, and in the Croatian text, written at Priko, we found Croatian (*hrvatski*) in place of Illyrian (*ilirski*).

This example alone would be sufficient to come to a correct conclusion; there are, however, many more examples. For instance, in a letter of 16 July 1815 to Rev. Petar Kružičević, the administrator of the seminary in Priko, the Canon of Split, Nikola Didoš, mentioned the rumour that the government in Zadar intended to establish one central seminary. He wrote that the purpose of this main seminary would be to offer education to "Slavonic clergy" ("*crkovnakom slovinskim*") from Priko. The bishop's secretary,

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<sup>26</sup>Found in the manuscript collection of the Archeological Museum of Split, in the volume of Poljica documents—*Poljičke isprave* under (signature 49 h 6/1). There was found a group of twenty-two documents which dealt with the Glagolitic seminary in Priko, near Omiš. These documents were already the subject of my short report in the article "Upotreba bosančice u Splitu i okolici" [The use of Croatian Cyrillic in and around Split], *Mogućnosti*, 3, no. 11 (Split, 1956), 869-875.

Josip Koić, wrote on 23 August 1816, to Rev. Petar Kružičević, regarding the situation after the plague during which many clergy died. He noted that there were now for ordination “Latin and Croatian priests...in total thirty-six” (“*latinski misnika i Arvatah*<sup>27</sup>...*usve trideset i šest*”) in the whole bishopric. In this collection, two letters of the Bishop of Makarska, Fabjan Blašković, to the administrator of the seminary, Rev. Petar Kružičević were found. Both were written in the Croatian language. In the letter of 28 December 1816, Rev. Petar Kružičević was addressed as the “main educator of the Croatian seminary” (“*meštar od semenaria arvaskoga*”), while in the letter of 15 July 1818, Rev. Petar was called the “main educator of the Slavonic seminary” (“*meštar od šeminarija slovinskoga*”).

From the archival sources written in the Croatian Cyrillic script (*bosančica*), in the Croatian language, on the territory of the former Venetian province of Dalmatia and which I have partially mentioned here, the following proceeds.

Prior to the end of the 18th century, Croats, in documents written in their vernacular, regularly called their language by its Croatian national name (*hrvatski*); whereas in documents written in the Latin or Italian languages during the same period, their vernacular language was called Illyrian (*illyricus*, that is, *illirico*).

The appellation Slavonic (*slovinski*) in documents in the Croatian language, on this territory, appeared more often only by the end of the 18th and beginning of the 19th century; however, even then the term *slovinski*, was substituted with the old national name Croatian (*hrvatski*), sometimes even among the same authors.

The term Illyrian (*ilirski*) entered Croatian texts only in the 19th century as a literal (even if erroneous from the point of view of content) translation of the Latin and Italian terms for the Croatian language.

For these reasons it is not only inappropriate, but also unscientific when some authors still follow these literal translations and when the Croatian language and institutions of the Croatian language of the past, such as the Glagolitic seminary in Priko (1750-1821), the *Accademia Lingue Illyricae*

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<sup>27</sup>The term *Arvatah* certainly was used as a signifier of language and not nationality, as the Latin priests were also Croats.

in Rome (1599-1604), and the *Accademia Illirica* in Split (1703-1713), are called Illyrian, when it is known that the attributes, *illirico* and *illyricus*, meant the Croatian language. As we have seen in the examples cited and in the translations of the contemporaries of these texts, it is incorrect to translate adjectives literally instead of according to their meaning, when they relate to the Croatian language and not to the language of the ancient Illyrians.<sup>28</sup>

Translated by Stan Granic

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<sup>28</sup>Here it is beneficial to draw one's attention to an analogy with another people. The Germans derived the name of the Czechs from the Old Celtic tribe Boii, which once inhabited the territories later settled by the Czechs. Thus, the Germans called the Czechs and the Czech language *Böhmen* and *böhmisch*, respectively. From these German words originated the Latin term *Bohemia*. Nevertheless, it is clear to all that it would be nonsense to translate from the Latin and German versions, deriving "Bohemia" or "Bohemian", instead of the Czech land and the Czech language.





## THE TERMS CROATS HAVE USED FOR THEIR LANGUAGE\*

IVAN OSTOJIC†

### RÉSUMÉ/ABSTRACT

L'auteur examine en détail différents termes tels que *slovinski* (slave), *ilirski* (illyrien), *dalmatinski* (dalmatien), *bosanski* (bosniaque) et *dubrovački* (ragusain) utilisés comme synonymes du terme croate (*hrvatski*) dans un sens général ou particulier. Il cite des exemples tirés de textes variés d'auteurs croates ou étrangers, correspondances personnelles, comptes rendus, chroniques, récits de voyages, documents légaux et ecclésiastiques, notes marginales, travaux linguistiques et scientifiques, littératures sacrées et profanes. Cette étude comprend aussi des exemples tirés d'auteurs croates de milieux socio-économiques, culturels et religieux différents, venant de toutes les régions où ils s'étaient installés du 9<sup>e</sup> au 18<sup>e</sup> siècle.

The author provides a detailed examination of various terms—*slovinski* (Slavonic), *ilirski* (Illyrian), *dalmatinski* (Dalmatian), *bosanski* (Bosnian), *dubrovački* (Ragusan)—which were used as synonyms for the Croatian language (*hrvatski*) in a general or a particular sense. He cites examples from diverse texts (personal correspondence, reports, chronicles, travelogues, legal and ecclesiastic documents, marginalia, linguistic and scholarly works, devotional and secular literature) written by domestic and foreign writers. The study also draws examples from Croats with different socio-economic, cultural and religious backgrounds spanning all regions where they lived or settled from the 9th to the 18th century.

In the journal *Kolo*, no. 4, 1970, an article appeared written by Benedikta Zelić-Bučan, entitled “Some original testimonies on the national name of the Croatian language.” The article was informative, and the author’s motive for writing it was that there were “those who sometimes find it difficult to accept that simple and natural fact”, namely, that the Croatian nation “designates its language by its national name, and that it has always done so”.

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\*The Croatian original, entitled “Kako su Hrvati nazivali svoj jezik,” appeared in the journal *Kolo*, 9, nos. 1-2 (Zagreb, 1971), 93-118. The final two paragraphs (pp. 117-118), which briefly covered the 19th and 20th centuries, were not translated for this volume. The translators would like to thank Diane Fai who read the manuscript and provided suggestions to improve the translation. Where possible the translators have provided the reader with more detailed footnotes.

This is certainly true, but we cannot accept some of the assertions made by the author. It is strange how she missed, and incorrectly stated, that “the priest Jerolim Kaletić...once again translated Marulić’s translation of the so-called Croatian Chronicle, into the Croatian language”.<sup>1</sup> It is known that Marulić translated the Croatian Chronicle into the Latin language from a transcription completed by Dmine Papalić, who copied it “word for word” (“*rič po rič*”) from “an old book written in the Croatian script” (“*jedne knjige stare pisane harvackim pismom*”). A quarter of a century later, Jerolim Kaletić transcribed for himself the Croatian Chronicle from Papalić’s text and wrote: “And I, Jerolim Kaletić, transcribed this from the said books on October the seventh, fifteen hundred and forty-six, in Omiš. Thanks be to God”.<sup>2</sup>

Zelić-Bučan asserted that the attribute *Harvaćanin* accompanying a name, or a name and a surname, signified a Glagolitic priest, which cannot be accepted as true, as we shall see later. Another assertion which does not hold is that, in Venetian Dalmatia, “the national name for the Croatian language was preserved much longer in documents written in the vernacular language, right up to the end of the 18th century, when along with it the bookish names Slavonic<sup>3</sup> (*slovinski*) and Illyrian (*ilirski*) began to appear.” The author stated that for the language we encountered the appellations Croatian (*hrvatski*), Illyrian (*ilirski*), and Slavonic (*slovinski*); meanwhile,

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<sup>1</sup>The confusion in Zelić-Bučan’s text (which was rectified in this translation) escaped both the author and the editorial staff of *Kolo* when it first appeared in 1970. Zelić-Bučan explains this in her follow-up piece to Ostojić’s article: “Napomena uz članka Ivana Ostojića: Kako su Hrvati nazivali svoj jezik” [Comments on Ivan Ostojić’s article: the terms Croats have used to designate their language], *Kolo*, 9, no. 3 (Zagreb, 1971), 247-248. The translators regret the polemical tone of Ostojić’s essay, but decided to include it because of his very detailed examination of the various names used for the Croatian language throughout history—trans.

<sup>2</sup>*Letopis popa Dukljanina* [Chronicle of the priest of Dioclea (Duklja)], ed. Ferdo Šišić (Belgrade-Zagreb: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1928), p. 156; *Ljetopis popa Dukljanina* [Chronicle of the priest of Dioclea (Duklja)], ed. Vladimir Mošin (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1950), p. 14.

<sup>3</sup>The following terms have been translated into the English designation Slavonic: *slovinski*, *sclauonico* (*sclauonice*, *sclauonica*), *slovino*, *schiauo*, *sclavonica*, *slavo*, *slovincha*, *slouinski*, *slovenski*, *slovinjski*, and *schiauvona*. Slavic was used for these terms: *slavenski*, *sclauinica*, *slavice*, *sclausis*, *sclava*, *slava*, and *schiaua*—trans.

we also came across the names Dalmatian (*dalmatinski*), Ragusan (*dubrovački*), and Bosnian (*bosanski*). These names were not always used in the same sense even if they were always, or actually, synonymous with Croatian in a general or a particular sense.

From the above mentioned article, it is not clear who used the attribute Illyrian (*illyricus* or *illirico*) or whether the text was written in the Latin or Italian language. It was not the same whether these attributes were used only by foreigners, or even by them and Croatian writers when they wrote in those languages. Do these terms appear in works written in the Croatian language prior to the end of the 18th century? Did foreigners also know about our national name for our language, and did they ever use it? The author asserted that on the territory of the former Venetian Dalmatia:

Prior to the end of the 18th century, Croats, in documents written in their vernacular, regularly called their language by its Croatian national name (*hrvatski*); whereas in documents written in the Latin or Italian languages during the same period, their vernacular language was called Illyrian (*illyricus*, that is, *illirico*).

Not even her assertion for the use of the names Slavonic and Illyrian in Croatian texts was correct, for even with the careful term “often” when she spoke of the name Slavonic, it allowed for the conclusion that these names were used prior to the end of the 18th century. It is also not clear what the author thought when she used the words “articles”, “documents”, and “Croatian texts” because sometimes it appears that she was thinking only about documents of a legal nature and letters, while at other times, it appears that she was thinking about books because she called upon Marulić, Kaletić, Papalić, Kozičić, and even on the Bartul Occhi library in Venice, which sold “Croatian books”. It is understood that all types of texts should be considered when one reflects on this question.

On account of all these inconsistencies—and I would say that the use of different names for the Croatian language in the past has caused confusion for many others—it is necessary to discuss more fully which terms Croats have used to designate their language.

When the author stated that Marulić wrote his *Judita* (*Judith*), as he himself wrote in the inscription, “in Croatian verses” (“*u versih hrvackih*”)

and that he translated the Croatian Chronicle into Latin, it should have dawned upon us that this same Marulić, who himself used the name Croatian (*hrvatski*), nevertheless, in a letter to Papalić—who also was a Croat—called that same language by the name Dalmatian: “*commentariolum...dalmatico idiomate compositum*”.<sup>4</sup> For Marulić, Croatian or Dalmatian was the “*vernacula lingua*”, that is, the native or Dalmatian language. Since the letter was of a private nature, and since it was written by a Croat to a Croat, what was the reason that Marulić also called his language Dalmatian? Kaletić wrote his transcription in the Roman script, but of the original found in Krajina in the possession of the Marković’s, he stated that it was written in “the Croatian script” (“*harvackim pismom*”). It is very likely that this Croatian writing was either in Croatian Cyrillic<sup>5</sup> (*bosančica*) or the Glagolitic script.<sup>6</sup> Ferdo Šišić, and before him, Vatroslav Jagić and Ivan Črnčić, thought that the Croatian Chronicle was written in Croatian Cyrillic.<sup>7</sup> It does not matter whether it was one or the other script, but it is important to prove that, even for Marulić, the script and language were Croatian or Dalmatian, that is, two names used equally among all Croats.

It is not that hard to reply to the question as to why certain Croats also designated their language Dalmatian. First of all, the name Dalmatia was often substituted by foreigners in the West for Croatia, and secondly, Croats were convinced for a long time that the very St. Jerome invented the Glagolitic script, and as he was Dalmatian, they felt proud, as is expressed by a writer in the 15th century: “Our Dalmatian, he is the glorious, honourable, famous, and radiant crown of the Croatian language” (“*Naš Dalmatin, dika, poštenje i slava i svitla kruna hrvatskoga jezika*”).<sup>8</sup> Petar Zoranić, in his work *Planine (The mountains)* of 1536, felt that St. Jerome was the pillar of “our language”. Friar Rafael Levaković, who was born in northern Croatia, printed in the Glagolitic script in 1628: *Nauk krstjanski kratak, prepravljjen i prepisan slovmi B. Jeronima Stridonškoga trudoljubljem*

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<sup>4</sup>*Letopis*, pp. 156, 157.

<sup>5</sup>See the notes provided on pp. 7-8 of this volume—trans.

<sup>6</sup>See the note provided on p. 6 of this volume—trans.

<sup>7</sup>*Letopis*, p. 159.

<sup>8</sup>Ivan Broz, *Crtice iz hrvatske književnosti* [Sketches from Croatian literature] (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1888), II, 17.

*otca franciskana Rafaila Levakovića iz Jastrebarske, reda sv. Frančiska brata manjših obluževajućih, države Bosne-hrvatske, svetoga bogoslovja naučitelja i propovidavca (The short Christian teaching copied and reprinted in the letters of St. Jerome of Stridon, through the efforts of the Franciscan Minorite Father, teacher, and preacher of holy theology, Father Rafael Levaković from Jastrebarsko, of the province of Bosnia-Croatia).*<sup>9</sup> Levaković believed that St. Jerome invented the Glagolitic script. Friar Ivan of Foča, in a document from 1658, stated that, in Silvery Bosnia<sup>10</sup>, it was customary that certain parts of the mass were sung in the common Illyrian language, which St. Jerome and St. Cyril had translated. This belief was also shared by others.

That the adjectives Dalmatian and Croatian (*dalmatinski* and *hrvatski*) and accordingly, the nouns Dalmatin and Croat (*Dalmatin* and *Hrvat*) were equivalent, was already shown in the 9th century by the priest Gottschalk who, for a time, lived at Duke Trpimir's court. Near the close of the 16th century, this was shown by Faust Vrančić of Šibenik. In 1595, he published a five-language dictionary, and one of the languages was Croatian. Vrančić stated that the Slavic language (*slavenski*) was widespread, from the Adriatic Sea to Asia, and that Dalmatian was its purest form, just as was Tuscan in the Italian language: "*inter reliquos purissimum sit, quemadmodum inter Italica Hetruscum*". Vrančić influenced the Czech Benedictine, Peter Loderecker, whose dictionary came out in Prague in 1605. The preface was written by Vrančić, and in it, he stated that "Dalmatian, Croatian, Serbian, or Bosnian" ("*Dalmatinski, Hrvatski, Srpski ili Bosanski*") are all one language. In his own dictionary, Loderecker rewrote this in the following manner: Dalmata = Croat (*Hrvat*), Dalmatia = Croatia

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<sup>9</sup>Broz, II, 120; *Acta Bosnae potissimum ecclesiastica cum insertis editorum documentorum regestis. Ab anno 925 usque ad annum 1752*, ed. Eusebius Fermendžin, Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium, no. 23 (Zagreb: Academia scientiarum et artium Slavorum meridionalium, 1892), p. 489. [JAZU will be used to designate further Academia scientiarum et artium Slavorum meridionalium and its Croatian version, Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti. MSHSM will be used for the series Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium—trans.]

<sup>10</sup>Silvery Bosnia (*Bosnae Argentinae/Bosna Srebrena*) was taken from the name of the Franciscan monastery of Srebrenica ("the city of silver")—trans.

(*Hrvatska*), and Dalmatice = the Croatian language (*Harvatski*).<sup>11</sup> It is understandable that Loderecker rewrote the words Dalmata, Dalmatia, and Dalmatice in this manner, as it was based upon Vrančić's explanations.

In a letter to Petar Baliardić, Count Juraj Zrinski wrote that he did not know Latin and that, therefore, "next time he [Baliardić] should not write in Latin, but that he should explain things in the Croatian language" ("*drugoč ovakovih latinskih listov ne šalite nam, nego je na hervatski jezik protomačite*"). In 1602, Nikola Zrinski wrote to Julij Čikolin requesting him to send Dominko Zlatarić's book (along with some others), but in the postscript, he added that the books should be written in "Croatian or Dalmatian" ("*hrvatski ili dalmatinski*").<sup>12</sup> Since Zlatarić of Dubrovnik translated his book "from several foreign languages transposed into Croatian" ("*iz veće tuđih jezika u hrvacki izložene*") and dedicated it to Juraj Zrinski in 1597, and since Zrinski thanked Zlatarić for sending the book written "in the Dalmatian language" ("*dalmatinskim jezikom*"), we must conclude that there existed live cultural ties between northern and southern Croatian lands and that Zrinski also knew that some called the Croatian language Dalmatian. On top of that, we should not forget that the Zrinskis wrote in the Glagolitic and Croatian Cyrillic scripts. In 1531, Nikola Zrinski signed his name to a Latin document in Croatian Cyrillic and another in Glagolitic in 1544, while the Frankopans wrote their family correspondence in the Glagolitic script.<sup>13</sup> According to Mirko Deanović's opinion, a 17th century dictionary

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<sup>11</sup>Lovre Katić, "Saksonac Gottschalk na dvoru kneza Trpimira" [The Saxon Gottschalk at the court of Duke Trpimir], *Bogoslovska smotra*, 20 (1932), 403-432; Vladoje Dukat, "Rječnik Fausta Vrančića" [The dictionary of Faust Vrančić], *Rad JAZU*, 231 (Zagreb, 1925), 104-128.

<sup>12</sup>Emilije Laszowski, *Građa za gospodarsku povijest Hrvatske u XVI. i XVII. stoljeću. Izbor isprava feuda Zrinskih i Frankopana* [Sources for the economic history of Croatia in the 16th and 17th centuries: selected documents of the Zrinski and Frankopan estates], *Građa za gospodarsku povijest Hrvatske* [Sources for the economic history of Croatia], no. 1 (Zagreb: JAZU, 1951), p. 15.

<sup>13</sup>Radoslav Lopašić, *Hrvatski urbari* [Croatian estates registry], *Monumenta historico-juridica Slavorum meridionalium*, no. 5 (Zagreb: JAZU, 1894), I, 173. [MHJSM will be used to further designate the series *Monumenta historico-juridica Slavorum meridionalium*—trans.]

called *Slovošlovje dalmatinsko-talijansko (Dalmatian-Italian lexicon)*<sup>14</sup> had been preserved in the Čakavian<sup>15</sup> dialect.

In the 18th century, some Croatian writers promoted the idea that Čakavian was closer to the “literary” language than Štokavian, and therefore, they respected it more. The “literary” language that they were thinking about was the church language as developed in Russia. These writers included: Matija Sović, Matija Karaman, and Archbishop Vincencij Zmajević of Zadar. Sović called Čakavian the Dalmatian language because, at a certain place, he stated that the Slavonic language was the mother of different Slavic languages, among which he counted Croatian and Illyrian.<sup>16</sup> These different names were merely taken by other writers to mean different dialects of the Croatian language.

The Glagolite, Ivan Feretić (1769-1839), wrote a history of the island of Krk, and although it was a work that was preserved in handwriting and written uncritically, within it, as Ivan Milčetić stated, we find important information. For us, it is interesting that Feretić—as did Faust Vrančić and some others—also held that “the Dalmatian language” (“*dalmatinski jezik*”) was “the sweetest and the most beautiful that in sweetness and beauty excels every other Slavonic language” (“*najsladim i najlipšim koji u slatkost i krasoti nadstupa svaki drugi jezik slovinski*”). Nevertheless,

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<sup>14</sup>Mirko Deanović, “Talijansko-hrvatsko-ruski rječnik iz godine 1751” [Italian-Croatian-Russian dictionary of 1751], *Zbornik radova sveučilište u Zagreba Filozofskog fakulteta*, I (Zagreb, 1951), 568.

<sup>15</sup>The Croatian language is divided into three dialects: the *Kajkavian* which prevailed in the North-West, the *Čakavian* which was used in Dalmatia with the islands and part of Bosnia, and the *Štokavian* which was spoken in the South-East. The names of these dialects were derived from the different forms of the interrogative pronoun *what*, which is *kaj* in the *Kajkavian*, *ča* in the *Čakavian*, and *što* in the *Štokavian* dialect. According to the reflex of the Old Church Slavonic phoneme *jat* (*e*), the *Štokavian* dialect is divided into the *i* (*Ikavian*) and *ilje* (*Iljekavian*) subdialects. The *Kajkavian* dialect is mainly *e* (*Ekavian*), and the *Čakavian i* (*Ikavian*), except for Istria and its surrounding islands where it is *e* (*Ekavian*) and the Pelješac peninsula where it is *j* (*Jekavian*). See: Branko Franolić, *An Historical Survey of Literary Croatian* (Paris: Nouvelles Editions Latines, 1984), pp. 5, 143 note 1; Michael Samilov, *The Phoneme Jat' in Slavic* (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1964), pp. 44-54—trans.

<sup>16</sup>Ivan Milčetić, “Matije Sovića predgovor ‘Slavenskoj gramatici’” [Matija Sović’s preface to *Slavic grammar*], *Starine*, 35 (Zagreb, 1916), 397, 399. [In Ostojčić’s work the volume and year of publication were incorrectly cited as 22 and 1890 respectively—trans.]

when he did not write primarily about the language and did not bring in his or others' ideas on Slavic languages, he simply did not call the language he wrote in "Dalmatian", but rather "Croatian", as it was called in everyday life. That is why, when he explained the origin of the name of the city Vrbnik, he said: "Vrbnik in Croatian, takes its name from the grass growing around the willow..." (*Verbnik uzimlje svoje ime od trave verbena hrvatski...*). Besides, for him as for some others, "today the names Illyrian, Slavonic, and Croatian signify solely one people and are substitutes one for the other..." (*danaske ovo ime iliričko, slovinsko, kroatsko iliti hrvatsko, zlamenuje jedan narod, i uzima se na prominu jedno za drugo...*).<sup>17</sup>

From these examples, it is clear that the name for the Croatian language (*hrvatski*) was popular, or common, while the name Dalmatian (*dalmatinski*) was introduced by educated people as a substitute for Croatian or to signify Čakavian as a dialect of the Croatian language. With regard to other names for the Croatian language, it is necessary to begin from the oldest written documents.

Since it came into existence, the Croatian state was called by the name the State of Croatia. This was testified to in Trpimir's document of AD 852, by the expression "Duke of the Croats" (*dux Chroatorum*). Preserved documents from later dates also acknowledged this fact. Later on, the state was called Croatia, and also Croatia and Dalmatia. Whereas Croats accepted Christianity very early, along with this new religion, they also accepted the Latin language in the administration; however, later it could never be overwhelmed by the Slavonic language, which Croats used as a ceremonial church language at least partially during the lives of St. Cyril and St. Methodius. This is even more important for in the courts of the Croatian rulers, Croatian was spoken. Whether there were documents written in the Croatian language using the Slavonic Glagolitic script at that time cannot be said. That is why, for Croatia and Croats, we have in our documents written in the Latin language and Roman forms *Croatia*, *Croatia et Dalmatia*, and also *Croati*. Nevertheless, there is information from which we know the national forms for the national name.

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<sup>17</sup>Ivan Milčetić, "Mañi prilozì za povijest kniževnosti hrvatske" [Lesser contributions to the history of Croatian literature], *Građa za povijest kniževnosti hrvatske*, 7 (Zagreb, 1912), 336, 338, 334.



From the 10th century, we have information on the Slavs from the Arabic writer Al-Mas'udi. When listing the Slavic peoples, he also spoke of the "Croatian people" ("*narodu Harvatin*"). In a number of domestic documents from the second half of the 11th century, we see the specific name Croat (*Hrvat*) in the form of *Chroatin* and *Chrobatinus*, and from this form was derived the plural form Croats (*Hrvati*).<sup>18</sup> From the plural form Croats (*Hrvati*) originated the irregular form for Croat (*Hrvat*), and from this was derived the adjective Croatian (masculine = *hrvatski* and feminine = *hrvatska*), and finally, the name of the land and state of Croatia (*Hrvatska*). Evidence of this form of Croatian (*hrvatski*) was found carved on the Tablet of Baška (*Bašćanska ploča*), which mentioned Zvonimir "the Croatian king" ("*kralj hrvatski*").<sup>19</sup> From this, we can conclude that in the national speech, the language was called Croatian. Besides this appellation, which speaks for the juridical state structure of an organized political system, the name Slavic (*slavenski*) was also used in domestic and foreign documents, and also by writers. Whether this name for the language was used in the first place by the people along with Croatian (*hrvatski*) is impossible to say one way or the other, but it is a fact that it was used in all centuries up to the 19th century, first in Latin texts and other foreign languages, and then in Croatian texts.

In documents from the oldest times, the name Slavonic (*slovinski*) was used to signify the language in Slavonic religious services, and also for the language spoken by the people. When Pope John X in AD 925 wrote a letter to King Tomislav mentioning the "barbarian [in the sense of foreign]<sup>20</sup> or Slavic language" ("*in barbara seu sclauinica lingua*"), he was thinking of the church language. When we look at the documents of King Petar Krešimir IV of 1069, we see that the island, Maun, was called "in vulgar Slavonic Veru" ("*in uulgari sclauonico Ueru*"), while in other documents, the fortress, "Marula in Latin" ("*latine Murula*"), was also referred to "in Slavonic as Stenice" ("*sclauonice Stenice*"). From these examples, it is

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<sup>18</sup>*Documenta historiae chroaticae periodum antiquam illustrantia*, ed. Franjo Rački, MSHSM, no. 7 (Zagreb: JAZU, 1877), pp. 423, 82, 85, 165, 173.

<sup>19</sup>Ferdo Šišić, *Priručnik izvora hrvatske historije* [Handbook of sources in Croatian history] (Zagreb: Naklada Kraljevina hrvatske-slavonije-dalmacije zemaljske vlade, 1914), p. 135.

<sup>20</sup>Translators' comments.

clear that they were thinking of the national idiom,<sup>21</sup> as at that time, there was no great difference between them. Since Croats translated this Slavonic (*sclauonice*) with Croatian (*hrvatski*), it is likely that this name would also be written in Croatian documents, but unfortunately such documents from that time have not been preserved. If we were to skim over the *Codex diplomaticus, regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, we would find many examples of the names “*sclauonica lingua*”, “*slavice*”, or “*sclauonice*”.<sup>22</sup> In 1242, the archpriest Stanimir, from around Šibenik (“*apud Sebenicum*”) ordered that all priests of the Latin and Slavic rite (“*tam latinis quam Sclavis*”), that is, Glagolites, were to obey Bishop Treguan of Trogir. In 1415, Anthony the Hermit (*Antun Pustinjak*) sold to Andrija Vlatkov of Koljevrat “*unum suum breuiarium de lingua sclauonica*”, which meant a Glagolitic breviary.<sup>23</sup> Even before, in 1389 in an inventory from Zadar, it was stated that the merchant, Damjan, among the remaining subjects left the book “*in littera latina*” and “*in littera sclava*”.<sup>24</sup> The existence of Croatian books in the 13th century written in the vernacular language were testified to by Thomas the Archdeacon (*Toma Arcidiakon*) of Split. He stated that the brothers Matija and Aristodij, sons of Zorobabel, were excellent painters and goldsmiths and “*competenter etiam latine et sclauonice litterature habebant peritia*”.<sup>25</sup> The priest, Stipan Stupić from Muter, left to the priest Paval (Paul) “a missal in good parchment in the Slavic language” (“*missale in bona carta pergamena in lingua sclava*”), in 1481.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>21</sup>*Documenta*, pp. 190, 73, 88.

<sup>22</sup>*Listine XII. vijeka (1101-1200)* [Documents of the 12th century (1101-1200)], ed. Tade Smičiklas, *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae* (Zagreb: JAZU, 1904), II. For example: in 1144, we find “*qui sclauonica lingua Pot Cilco nominatur*” (p. 55); in 1158, “*que dicuntur sclavice Gomille Lipe*” (p. 86); in 1178, “*che in schiauon si chiama Smicamic*” (p. 157); in 1183, “*qui dicitur in vulgari sclauonico Dobragorra*” (p. 185), etc.

<sup>23</sup>*Šibenski glagoljski spomenici* [Glagolitic documents of Šibenik], ed. Ante Šupuk (Zagreb: JAZU, 1957), pp. 9, 10.

<sup>24</sup>Mihovil Kombol, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti do narodnog preporoda* [The history of Croatian literature to the National Revival], 2nd ed. (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1961), p. 23.

<sup>25</sup>*Thomas Archidiaconus: Historia Salonitana*, ed. Franjo Rački, MSHSM, no. 26 (Zagreb: JAZU, 1894), p. 80.

<sup>26</sup>*Šibenski*, p. 11.

In Dalmatian cities, documents written in Latin also used the same expression. In Trogir in 1325, a proclamation was read “together in the Latin and Slavic languages” (“*sub logia communis in lingua latina et slava*”).<sup>27</sup> Canon Bartolomej of Knin, who in 1397 was ordered to carry out an inspection of the properties of the Archbishopric of Split, used the same expression. In the report, there was found, for instance, where “in Slavic was said an archbishop’s field” (“*ubi slavice dicitur Na arkibiskuplje njiue*”).<sup>28</sup> Since Anthony the Hermit and the priest Stupić were Glagolites and certainly did not know Latin, the expression that books in the Glagolitic script were “in the Slavonic language” (“*de lingua sclauonica*”) and “in the Slavic language” (“*in lingua sclava*”) probably would not be used by them, at least not at that period. Later, we discover in notes written in the vernacular language the expression Slavonic (*slovinski*), as was used in 1688 by the priest Mate Perošić, who added to the Italian copy of Mihe Vučinović’s testament the following note written in the Glagolitic script: “I Rev. Mate Perošić, priest-notary from Jezera, made a copy from my Slavonic original” (“*Ja don Mati Perošića, kurat od Jezer, činih kopjati iz moga oriñala slovinskoga*”).<sup>29</sup>

The Glagolitic practice was quite widespread already early along the Croatian coast. From the 14th century, we have evidence from the Czech, Pulkav, who wrote that the mass was said in the Slavonic language “in the archbishoprics and counties of Split, Dubrovnik and Zadar”, and also in many of their suffragan bishoprics, and that it was used “as much by the bishops, as by the priests”. In 1396, Palmukcija, the daughter of the knight Ivan, left to the Glagolitic priest Jakov (in Zadar) five books (*presbitero Iacobo de lictera Sclaua*/to the priest Jakov (Jacobus) whose mother tongue is Slavic).

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<sup>27</sup>*Statutum et reformationes civitatis Tragurii/Statut i reformacije grada Trogira* [The statute and reorganization of the city of Trogir], ed. Ivan Strohal, MHJSM, no. 10 (Zagreb: JAZU, 1915), p. LXXIV. [Ostojić’s article mistakenly placed Strohal’s work in the journal *Starine*—trans.]

<sup>28</sup>Lovre Katić, “Reambulacija dobara Splitskoga nadbiskupa 1397. godine” [The inspection of estates belonging to the Archbishopric of Split in 1397], *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, 5 (series III) (Zagreb: Muzej hrvatskih starina JAZU, 1956), 144.

<sup>29</sup>*Šibenski*, p. 118.

In 1462, the abbot of St. Chrysogonus (*sv. Kreševan*) in Zadar had fixed to the doors of the cathedral the statement “*idiomate Sclauonico*”.<sup>30</sup>

Glagolitic priests were not found only at the coast, for they also expanded among the diocese of Zagreb during the time of Bishop Drašković, who took an active interest in them. When a synod was held in Zagreb in 1570, the mass was sung in “*croatica lingua*” on the first and second days.<sup>31</sup>

In the interval between the 12th and 16th century, probably in the 14th century, a fragment of the Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclea (Duklja) was transcribed or translated into the Croatian language. This chronicle said of St. Cyril that he “ordains priests and translates Greek texts into Croatian” (“*naredi popove i knjigu harvacku, i istumači iz grčkoga knjigu harvacku*”). In the Latin version, we find “*lingua sclavonica*” for the Croatian language, and it is important to note that Marulić translated this term Croatian (*hrvatski*) into the Latin “*lingua slava*”.<sup>32</sup> To understand the writer of the so-called Croatian Chronicle concerning the territory covered by the Croatian language, we have an interesting fragment:

Potom toga četiri dni čtiše stare priveleže, ki bihu iz Rima prineseni, tako grčkih kako svih kraljevstvi i gospodstva jazika harvackoga, tako primorsko, kako zagorsko.<sup>33</sup>

[After that they read for four days the old privileges (documents) which were brought from Rome, relating to Greek as well as to all realms and estates where Croatian was spoken, equally of the coastal regions as well as of the hinterland.]

Remains of Glagolitic books known as *Glagolita Clozianus*, which once belonged to the Frankopan dukes, were received in Venice by the

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<sup>30</sup>Ante Strgačić, “Zadranin Šime Vitasović i kulturno-povijesno značenje njegovih djela” [Šime Vitasović of Zadar and the cultural-historical significance of his works], *Radovi Instituta JAZU u Zadru*, 2 (Zadar, 1955), 69, 70.

<sup>31</sup>Branko (Drechsler) Vodnik, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti od humanizma do potkraj XVIII. stoljeća* [The history of Croatian literature from the Renaissance to the end of the 18th century] (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1913), p. 213.

<sup>32</sup>*Letopis*, pp. 301, 393.

<sup>33</sup>*Letopis*, p. 397.

emperor's envoy Markvard Breisacher, around 1487. Of this event, he left an entry in which he stated that the book was written in the Croatian language, and when a few of these pages were received by Count Schnurff, he also wrote himself a note in which he stated that the remarkable work was written "*in Chrabatischer Sprach*".<sup>34</sup> From 1437, a will of the priest Juraj Zubina, which was written in the Glagolitic script, was preserved in Zadar. In this will, he stated of himself that he was a priest of "the Croatian book" ("*hrvacke knjige*"), and that the will was written in his own hand.<sup>35</sup>

A hundred years prior to this, the Bosnian Ban (Banus or Viceroy), Stjepan Kotromanić, also called his language in the same manner. Ban Kotromanić was able to secure from the pope many favours for the Franciscans who were active in Bosnia. One of the favours that they received was the right to take assistants, but only "those who were versed in the Christian doctrines and who knew Croatian well" ("*in fidei doctrina peritos et lingue croatice non ignaros*").<sup>36</sup> Dominik Zavorić in his work *De rebus Dalmaticis (On Dalmatian topics)* of approximately 1598, attested that in his home and in his family, Croatian was spoken: "we speak in private homes with the children, and among the common people, in our Slavonic language" ("*nisi quod in privatis domibus, cum pueris, mulierculis et plebeis et vix slovino nostro idiomate loquimur*").<sup>37</sup> In 1615, the nuns of the convent of Saviour's Church (*sv. Spas*) in Šibenik were called upon to explain their actions in the performance of the church drama *Tri Kralja (The three kings)*. The drama was written in the Croatian language, which the Abbess Gabrijela Tobolović called Slavonic (*dal libretto scritto in*

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<sup>34</sup>Broz, p. 49.

<sup>35</sup>Đuro Šurmin, *Hrvatski spomenici/Acta croatica* [Croatian documents], MHJSM, no. 6 (Zagreb: JAZU, 1898), I, 144-146.

<sup>36</sup>Marcel Kušar, "Dubrovčani, jesu li Hrvati" [Are the people of Dubrovnik Croatian?], *Dubrovnik* (1892), 30. In the document as recorded by Fermendžin and Ljubić, we find: "*in fidei doctrina peritos et linguae slavonicae non ignaros*". See: *Acta Bosnae*, p. 28; *Listine o odnošajih između južnoga Slavenstva i Mletačke Republike* [Documents concerning relations between the South Slavs and the Venetian Republic], ed. Šime Ljubić, MSHSM, no. 2 (Zagreb: JAZU, 1870), II (covers the period from 1336-1347), p. 443.

<sup>37</sup>Ivan Strohal, *Pravna povijest dalmatinskih gradova* [The legal history of Dalmatian cities] (Zagreb: JAZU, 1913), Part I: *Osnovke razvitku pravne povijesti dalmatinskih gradova* [Basis of development of the legal history of Dalmatian cities], p. 121.

*schivo*), but in the documents of the proceedings, it is said a number of times that the ones who acted were dressed “in the Croatian manner” (“*alla croata*”).<sup>38</sup>

The priest, Antun Franki from Omišalj, wrote in the Glagolitic script the work *Duhovna obrana* (*Spiritual defence*) in the “Slavonic language” (“*slovinskom jeziku*”) in the 18th century.<sup>39</sup> In the interval of many centuries, we see that both terms were used. From the 12th century (in 1177), we could point out facts with reference to the welcome of Pope Alexander III to Zadar. At that time, he was welcomed with “immense lauds and hymns resounding in the stentorian sounds of their Slavic language” (“*immenis laudibus et canticis altissime resonantibus in eorum slavica lingua*”). This does not surprise us, as in Zadar, not only was the population Croatian, but there were also many Glagolites. We know that, in 1460, Archbishop Vallaresso forbade Glagolitic priests to hold masses in churches in Zadar without his special permission, except in the following churches: St. Donatus (*sv. Donat*) and St. Mary the Great (*sv. Marija Velika*). Archbishop Vallaresso referred to the Glagolites as “priests in the Slavic language” (“*sacerdos de Littera Sclava*”, “*presbyter de Littera Slava*”).<sup>40</sup>

With time another name—Illyrian (*ilirski*)—appeared. If the Slavonic (*slovinski*) name cannot confidently be shown to have been introduced by educated people or to have been taken from foreigners who called all our peoples and their languages by the global term Slavs, then for the name Illyrian (*ilirski*), we certainly know that it was never used as a national name for the Croatian language. The humanistic movement has pulled from oblivion many old names and titles, and also the name Illyrian. Already in 1463, Pope Pious II announced “*reformatoribus Bononiae*”, that the Turks conquered Bosnia, were attacking Illyria (*Ilirik*), and were at the front doors of Italy.<sup>41</sup> Croatia was also called Illyria by the Croato-Hungarian King

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<sup>38</sup>Petar Kolendić, “Predstava ‘Triju kralja’ u Šibeniku g. 1615” [The presentation of *The three kings* in Šibenik in 1615], *Grada za povijest književnosti Hrvatske*, 7 (Zagreb, 1912), 393-400.

<sup>39</sup>Rudolf Strohal, “Priručna knjiga ‘Duhovna obrana’ u hrvatskoj glagoljskoj knjizi” [The manual *Spiritual defence* in Croatian Glagolitic literature], *Zbornik za narodni život i običaje Južnih Slavena*, 26 (Zagreb, 1928), 344.

<sup>40</sup>Carlo Federico Bianchi, *Zara Cristiana dell’ arcidiacono capitolare protonotario apostolico Carlo Federico Cav. Bianchi* (Zara [Zadar]: Tipografia Woditzka, 1877), I, 132.

<sup>41</sup>*Acta Bosnae*, p. 255.

Matthias in a letter to Pope Paul II in 1465. In this letter, he wrote that the Turks “first of all, came to Bosnia and then to the Illyrian lands” (“*primo vere Boznam et illyrios fines ingressum*”).<sup>42</sup>

Already in 1487, Juraj Šižgorić of Šibenik wrote his work *De situ Illyriae et civitate Sibenici* (*On the position of Illyria and of the city of Šibenik*). He was a poet with a vibrant national feeling, who, in 1477, published his collection of poems in Venice, in the Latin language. In the poem, *Musae et vatis carmen* (*The muse and the poet*), Šižgorić wrote:

To propast je svih stvari, to pogibija braće,  
to poraz domovine i vjernost vrlo mala.

[That the ruin of all things, it is the death of brothers,  
it defeats the homeland and fidelity is impoverished.]<sup>43</sup>

and in *Elegia de duorum obitu fratrum* (*Elegy on the death of two brothers*), we can also read these verses:

Nesretni stariji bratac od krvave pogibe rane,  
Braneci zavičaj drag boreći za svoj se dom.

[Unfortunate older brother fell from cruel wounds,  
defending his dear native land, fighting for his home.]

He emphasized the same patriotic sentiments in his *Elegia de Sibenicensis agri vastatione* (*Elegy on the devastation of the plain of Šibenik*), while his love for the Croatian people was shown by his glorification of their intellectual and moral values in chapter 17 of his work “*De moribus quibusdam Sibenici*” (“On the customs of the people of Šibenik”), in the mentioned work *De situ Illyriae*. Šižgorić stated that the folk proverbs which were in

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<sup>42</sup>*Acta Bosnae*, p. 265.

<sup>43</sup>The translators have attempted to provide the reader with reasonably accurate line-by-line translations of poems quoted by Ostojić. These translations, however, have no poetic pretensions in themselves—trans.

use among Croats (*siquidem proverbii Illyricis utuntur*) were translated together with Jakov Nauplić “from the national vernacular language into Latin” (“*ex lingua vernacula in latinum*”). As we can see, his mother tongue was Illyrian (*ilirski*).<sup>44</sup>

That Illyrian was the same as Slavonic—even if not in the wider context—persuades us Vinko Pribojević of Hvar, in his public lecture on the origin of the Slavs *De origine successibusque Slavorum* (*On the origin and history of the Slavs*), written in 1525:

Ali, jer sam Dalmatinac i prema tome kao Ilir i konačno kao Slaven odlučio održati govor pred Slavenima o sudbini Slavena, zato ću na prvom mjestu govoriti o podrijetlu i slavi slavenskoga roda...

[But since I am a Dalmatian, consequently an Illyrian [Croat], and finally a Slav, I have decided to speak before Slavs regarding the destiny of Slavs, and as a result, I had to first speak on the origin and glory of the Slavic people...]

Pribojević called the language by the all-encompassing, general term, Slavonic. His lecture was altogether uncritical, but it was written in an enthusiasm to glorify the Slavs.<sup>45</sup> This work shows us the confusion that reigned from the 15th century and onwards with respect to the knowledge of the Slavs and their relation to the peoples who once lived on their territories. It also indicates the source of all those mistaken conceptions concerning the terms Croat, the Croatian people, the Croatian language, and also the relations between Croats and Illyrians. In striving to glorify the Slavs, our people declared the Illyrians Slavs. This opinion was held to the middle of the 19th

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<sup>44</sup>Juraj Šižgorić Šibenčanin, *Elegije i pjesme/Elegiae et carmina* [Elegies and poems], trans. Nikola Šop, ed. Veljko Gortan, Hrvatski latinisti [Croatian Latinists], no. 6 (Zagreb: JAZU, 1966), pp. 17, 23, 37-39; Milivoj Šrepel, “Jurja Šižgorića spis ‘De situ Illyriae et civitate Sibenici a. 1487’” [Juraj Šižgorić’s work *On the position of Illyria and of the city of Šibenik* in 1487], *Građa za povijest književnosti Hrvatske*, 2 (Zagreb, 1899), 10-11.

<sup>45</sup>Vinko Pribojević, *O podrijetlu i zgodama Slavena/De origine successibusque Slavorum* [On the origin and events concerning the Slavs], trans. Veljko Gortan, ed. Grga Novak, Hrvatski latinisti [Croatian Latinists], no. 1 (Zagreb: JAZU, 1951), p. 163.



century. By glorifying the Slavs and by proclaiming the Illyrians to be Slavs, they were actually trying to glorify their Croatian people.

There were also educated and meritorious Croats who marched a realistic path and saw before them a people with a woeful fate, and therefore, had to help it in some way. Ludovicus Cervarius Tubero of Dubrovnik (1459-1527)—as he called himself according to the custom of the humanists—knew more precisely who the Illyrians were. In his work *Commentaria de temporibus suis* (*Comments on my times*), he wrote: “...Nomadic Illyrians who in the national language are called Vlachs...” (“...*Nomades Illyricis quos Valachos vulgo dicunt...*”), and “...at the same time Cossuli, originated from the Illyrians who considered themselves Romans...” (“...*simulque Cossuli, ex eo genere Illyrici hominis qui se Romanos putant...*”).<sup>46</sup> In reality, the Vlachs (*Vlasi*) were descendants of the Romanized indigenous Illyrians and Tracians and have, to this day, preserved their Romanized language in some areas, while the vast majority assimilated with the population on the territories that they used and finally settled.

Even the administration immediately accepted these names as we saw at the pope’s court, the court of the Croato-Hungarian king, and even the Venetian administration, although not consistently, as the historical names for Croatian lands were also used. In 1481, the Venetian Antonio Vinciguerra stated that the island Krk was called so “in the Slavic language” (“*in lingua schiava*”) and that it was found below Illyria, that is, Croatia (*Jace sotto la provintia d’Illyria*). He also knew of the name Croatia because he stated that Croatian horses had excellent qualities (*cavalli croati*).<sup>47</sup> The names Dalmatia and Illyria were seen as equal in the relations between Michiela Bona and Gasparra Erizza in 1559: “Illyria now called Dalmatia” (“*Iliria hora chiamata Dalmatia*”).<sup>48</sup>

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<sup>46</sup>Silviu Dragomir, *Vlahii și Morlacii. Studiu din istoria românismlui balcanic* (Cluj: Institut de Istorie Universală, 1924), p. 58.

<sup>47</sup>*Commissiones et relationes Venetae*, ed. Simeon Ljubić, MSHSM, no. 6 (Zagreb: JAZU, 1876), I (covers the period from 1433-1527), pp. 92, 93.

<sup>48</sup>*Commissiones*, MSHAM, no. 11 (1880), III (covers the period from 1553-1571), pp. 115.

The Glagolites who were less educated than their colleagues, the Latin priests, or at least not as tied to the Roman culture, were less likely to fall into the trap of speculating on the origin of their people, its blood ties, or its relation to other peoples in the past. Nevertheless, even they were not immune from Illyromania. One example will show us clearly the contact of Glagolites with the propagation—conscious or not, it really does not matter—of Illyrianism. In 1665, in an Italian copy of a will written in the Glagolitic script from around Šibenik, we find the note: “this will I wrote in the Illyrian language” (“*feci in lingua illirica il presente testamento*”).<sup>49</sup> There were also those who remained faithful to the true national name. The Bishop of Modruš, Šimun Kožičić of Zadar was closely associated with the Glagolites, felt very strongly about being a Croat, and was concerned for the fate of the Croatian people. We must recall that from the beginning of the 15th century, Venice strengthened its position in the Croatian coastal regions, and with time, expanded its occupation until the 18th century when it gained control of that part of Croatia which was called Dalmatia. Not only did the Venetians disregard the economic and cultural developments of these Croatian regions, but they did everything in their power to eradicate all recollection of the former political order and history in their new subjects. For this reason, the people of Zadar were forced to hand over to the new rulers all their old records under the threat of death and loss of property, and all this, as the unknown Italian would testify “to suppress the name of their origin” (“*per spegnere il nome delle loro anzianità*”).<sup>50</sup>

On the other hand, the Turks in the course of the 15th and 16th centuries would occupy the largest part of Croatia, leaving the Habsburgs the “remnants of the remnants of the once glorious Kingdom of Croatia” (“*ostatke ostataka nekada slavnoga kraljevstva hrvatskoga*”). For this reason, Kožičić delivered an address in the presence of Pope Leo X and the cardinals in 1516, in which he exposed the sorrowful conditions in Croatia and requested urgent help against the Turks. This speech was printed under the title *De Coruatiae desolatione (On the desolation of Croatia)*. Kožičić was also active in printing church books in the Glagolitic script, and in that pursuit, he acquired a print shop and printed a number of books (in the

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<sup>49</sup>Šibenski, p. 132.

<sup>50</sup>Franjo Rački, “Prilog za poviest hrvatskih uskoka” [Contributions to the history of Croatian *uskok* rebellions], *Starine*, 9 (Zagreb, 1877), 219.

Glagolitic script) in Rijeka. In 1531, he printed his remarkable *Misal hrvatski* (*Croatian missal*) “on the glory of God and dedicated to the Croatian language” (“*na Božju hvalu i hrvackoga ezika posvećen’e*”), while in the preface of the *Knjižice od žitije rimskih arhierejev i cesarov* (*Lives of the Roman pontiffs and Caesars*), Kožičić urged Bishop Tomaš Nigra (Crnić) of Trogir to write a history of the Croats: “you should write a book on Croatian lands and of its glory” (“*budeši složiti knjižice od hrvacke zemlje i od hvali njee*”). He also emphasized many times the established fact that many Croats were ashamed of their language: “that many of us are ashamed of our language” (“*da smo se sramovali мнози našim ezikom*”).<sup>51</sup>

Many years earlier (1508), a work entitled *Korizmenjak* (*Book on Lent*) was printed in Senj, which was “translated from Latin into Croatian by the priest Pero Jakovčić” (“*protumačio s latinskoga jezika na hrvacki po popi Peri Jakovčići*”).<sup>52</sup> In the meanwhile, the *Lekcionar* (*Lectiionary*) of friar Bernardin of Split was printed in Gothic letters in Venice in 1495, written “in the Illyrian language” (“*in lingua yllirica*”).<sup>53</sup> In Venice, the *Misal* (*Missal*), prepared by friar Paval of Modruš, was printed and corrected in 1528, “according to the original copy of the Croatian Missal” (“*po zakon ’kopie i misala hrvackoga*”).<sup>54</sup>

In some works, the Croatian language was simply called “our language” (“*naš jezik*”) as, for example, in the *Naručniku plebanušev* (*Manual for spiritual guidance*), which was printed in Senj in 1507.<sup>55</sup>

Two Croats, the cardinal, diplomat, scientist and primate of Hungary, Antun Vrančić of Šibenik, and the cardinal and governor of Hungary and Transylvania (Erdély), Juraj Utišenić of Kamičac (near Šibenik), did not

<sup>51</sup>Petar Kolendić, “Zadranin Šimun Kožičić i njegova štamparija na Rijeci” [Šimun Kožičić of Zadar and his printing house in Rijeka], *Magazin sjeverne Dalmacije*, (Split, 1935), 95-107.

<sup>52</sup>Mirko Breyer, *O starim i rijetkim jugoslavenskim knjigama. Bibliografsko-bibliofilski prikaz* [On old and rare Yugoslavian books: a study in bibliography and bibliophilism], ed. Blanka and Tomislav Jakić (Zagreb: JAZU, 1952), p. 11.

<sup>53</sup>Breyer, p. 12.

<sup>54</sup>Šime Ljubić, *Ogledalo književne povijesti jugoslavjanske* [A survey of the literary history of the South Slavs] (Rijeka: E. Mohovića tiskarski kamen. zavod, 1864), I, 38.

<sup>55</sup>Ljubić, *Ogledalo*, I, 37.

forget about the people from which they came although they lived in foreign lands. These two kept in contact with each other through correspondence. In a letter to Antun Vrančić, Juraj Utišenić wrote that he was born “from the noble and old gentlemen of Croatia” (“*ex nobili et antiqua stirpe Dominorum Croatiae*”). He called the Croatian language “our language”, which is clearly seen in one of his letters in which we find this fragment: “Kula which is so called in our language” (“*Kula quam lingua nostra vocant*”).<sup>56</sup> Vrančić also did not wish to be mistaken for an Italian, and therefore, called himself a Dalmatian (“*Dalmatin*”), that is, a Croat.<sup>57</sup>

When the Turks invaded Croatian lands, many Croats fled, were forced to settle other areas, or perished, but many also converted to Islam. These converts did not assimilate to become Turks, but remained that which they were, retaining their beautiful Croatian Ikavian subdialect of the Štokavian or Čakavian dialects, and sometimes even designating it in records by its national name. In 1589 in Zadar, Hodaverdi, an officer of the Bosnian Pasha, called the languages that his scribe used Turkish and Croatian: “...to write two charters in Turkish, and two in Croatian, by the hand of Ali Čehaja who is employed by the ferryboat of Zadar” (“...*dvoje knjige pisati turske, a dvoje horvatske, rukom Ali Čehaja ki je na skali zadarskoj*”).<sup>58</sup> Mustaj Bey of Lika, in a letter to the rebel commander (*harambaša*) Petar Smiljanić—in the Croatian language, in the Ikavian subdialect with elements of Čakavian wrote:

Molimo Vašu milost, pozdravite nam od naše strane sina Vašega harambašu Iliju. čuli smo da je junak na toj Krajini. Bog znade da nam je drago, jer je naš.<sup>59</sup>

[I ask your grace, to greet from our side the son of your commander Ilija. We have heard that he is a brave man in the county of Krajina. God knows that he is dear to us, as he is one of us.]

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<sup>56</sup>O(gnjoslav) (Mathias) Utješenović, “Izprave k životopisu kardinala br. Gjorgja Utišenića prozvanoga Martinusiem” [Documents related to the life of Cardinal Juraj Utišenić named Martinus], *Starine*, 12 (Zagreb, 1880), 43, 44.

<sup>57</sup>Strohal, *Pravna*, p. 60.

<sup>58</sup>Šime Ljubić, “Rukoviet jugoslavenskih listina” [A collection of South Slavic documents], *Starine*, 10 (Zagreb, 1878), 14.

<sup>59</sup>Alija Nametak, *Narodne junačke pjesme bosansko-hercegovački muslimana* [Heroic folk poems of the Muslims of Bosnia-Herzegovina] (Sarajevo: Alija Nametak, 1967).

This is quite an astonishing remark as the Smiljanić family displayed their bravery in battle against the Turks and Croatian Muslims (Petar Smiljanić died in battle with them in 1648), but a brave man respected a brave man even if he was a foreigner, let alone if he belonged to the same people, though they be adversaries.

Croatian Catholics and Croatian Muslims were aware of each other, and in preserved documents, we have information that shows that they followed events effecting each other and sometimes even emphasized that they were fellow-countrymen. Archbishop Marin Bizzi of Bar in his report of 1610, stated that he and Mahmud Pasha were from the same place: “my compatriot from Rab” (“*mio patrioto di Arbo*”). Bizzi went on to state that Mahmud Pasha became a grand vizier, took as his wife the Sultan’s daughter, and was for a time pasha in Anatolia.<sup>60</sup> Murad Bey Tardić of Šibenik who was a bey (*sandžakbeg*) in Požega in 1544, kept very close personal ties with his brother who was a priest in Šibenik. A fair amount of information on these two brothers was collected in the *Diarii (Diary)* of the Venetian Marino Sanudo.<sup>61</sup>

In 1691, friar Luka Ibrišimović reported to Count Stjepan of Orehovac that Mustaf Aga Alaj Bey Svetačković was “by origin and blood tied to Venice” (“*originem a stripe et consanguinitate suae dominationis illustrissimae*”) and was willing to convert, together with his family, to Catholicism.<sup>62</sup> An unknown Italian author who wrote a work on the Uskoks<sup>63</sup>

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<sup>60</sup>Franjo Rački, “Izvještaj barskoga nadbiskupa Marina Bizzia o svojem putovanju god. 1610 po Arbanaskoj i staroj Srbiji” [The report of Marin Bizzi, Archbishop of Bar, on his trip through Albania and Old Serbia in 1610], *Starine*, 20 (Zagreb, 1888), 62.

<sup>61</sup>[Marino Sanudo, *Rapporti della Repubblica Veneta coi Slavi Meridionali* [Reports of the Republic of Venice with the South Slavs], ed. Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, Arkiv za povjestnicu jugoslavensku [Archives for the history of the South Slavs], no. 7 (Venice: Društvo za jugoslavensku povjesnicu i starine, 1863) and nos. 8-9 (Zagreb-Venice: Društvo za jugoslavensku povjesnicu i starine, 1865-1868)—trans.]

<sup>62</sup>Radoslav Lopašić, “Slavonski spomenici za XVII viek. Pisma iz Slavonije u XVII. veku (1633.-1709.)” [Slavonian monuments of the 17th century: letters from Slavonia in the 17th century], *Starine*, 30 (Zagreb, 1902), 101.

<sup>63</sup>A name given to Croatian Medieval rebellions operating both on land and sea against the Turks and Venetians—trans.

mentioned a certain Misić (Misichio) who was born in Brinje and converted to Islam (*fattosi Turcho*).<sup>64</sup> In *Osman*, Ivan Gundulić mentioned Memija and Dauta, two Croats:

Memija ih Hrvat vlada  
dvanaes tisuća u sto četa.  
(canto IV, lines 115-116)

[They were ruled by Memija the Croat  
twelve thousand troops in a hundred formations.]

U hrvatskoj zemlji ovi  
od krstjana se rodio biše;  
Kleti Turci vitezovi  
djetetom ga zaplijeniše.  
(canto XVII, lines 525-529)

[In the Croatian land,  
to Christian parents was he born.  
And the cursed Turkish knights  
seized him as a child.]

Gundulić also mentioned Gašpar of Gradačac:

dim Gašpar Milostića,  
ki u hrvatskom rođen kraju,  
bî li znanje ili srića,  
jur stolova na Dunaju.  
(canto III, lines 21-24)

[I mention Gašpar Milostić  
who was born in the Croatian land,  
and who by his abilities and good fortune,  
reigned from Vienna.]

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<sup>64</sup>Rački, "Prilog," p. 194.

This same Gašpar was also mentioned by Nikola Jorga. Jorga stated that Gašpar began to serve the Sultan in Romania, then became the duke of Naxos and Paros, and finally duke of Moldavia. He also took many Croats to serve him, but the Romanian landowners, nevertheless, killed him in 1620.<sup>65</sup>

When Bartol Kašić wrote about his dealings with Croats in the Turkish Empire, at one time, he mentioned the visit that he and Bishop Petar Katić made to see Asan, the Bey (*sandžakbeg*) of Srijem. Kašić stated that Asan was a Croat (Dalmatian) and that he first spoke in the Turkish language and then in Croatian, which Kašić ordinarily called Dalmatian: “Then that same gentleman used the Dalmatian language (because he was born in that part of Dalmatia taken by the Turks a hundred years ago)...” [*“Tum ipsemet dominus dalmatica lingua (erat enim natus in illa Dalmatiae parte, quae a Turcis ante centum annos occupata fuerat)...”*].<sup>66</sup> There were even exceptional occurrences when Croatian priests would convert to Islam, as was testified to in 1629 by an unknown priest in a report in Slavonia on two friars: “Two of the mentioned friars converted to Islam...and they were promoted to knighthood by the Turks” (*“Dui di detti frati parrocchiani si sono fatti Turchi...li quali da Turchi sono stati fatti cavalieri”*).<sup>67</sup> It is certainly true that this unknown correspondent did not like friars, but that is no reason to disbelieve the facts.

Since Zelić-Bučan believed that the name Croat (*Hrvat*) alongside a name, or a name and a surname, should be understood as a sign of a Glagolite, it is necessary that I shift a little from the major theme, and with a number of examples, show how that view is incorrect, or at least one-sided. When looking at Croats throughout history, we can find frequent examples where their names were derived from the name of their ethnicity, or where they emphasized their ethnicity by adding to their name or their name and surname the word Croat (*Hrvat*), regardless of their social positions, occupations, or even religions.

In the territories under Turkish rule, just as in Romania, Moldavia, Hungary, Austria, and other European countries, our people sometimes added to

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<sup>65</sup>Nikola Jorga, “Croates en pays Roumain”, *Šišićev zbornik*, ed. Grga Novak (Zagreb: Tisak G. Albrecht, 1929), pp. 197-199.

<sup>66</sup>*Acta Bosnae*, p. 365.

<sup>67</sup>*Acta Bosnae*, p. 390.

their name or surname Croat (*Hrvat*). As personal names, we find them already in documents preserved from the era of Croatian national rulers. Some examples from later times, taken at random, are: in Zadar in 1329, Juraj called Hrvatin (*Georgius dictus Charvatin*),<sup>68</sup> in Knin, in the documents (records) of the Bosnian Ban Stjepan Kotromanić (1345), we find Dabiša Hrvatin Stipan,<sup>69</sup> in the documents of the administrative Bishopric of Čazma Ivan Horvat;<sup>70</sup> Hrvatin Turbić of Hum in 1249;<sup>71</sup> Karl II (King of Napoli) acknowledged that some estates in Bosnia belonged to “Hrvatin, his sons and brothers” in 1299;<sup>72</sup> Duke Pavao Hrvatinić was mentioned in the records of the Bosnian Ban Stjepan in 1332 and the next year in a document belonging to Hrvatin Stefanić;<sup>73</sup> a document belonging to King Stjepan Ostoj was written in 1399 by the Deacon Hrvatin, and in another document of the same king (1400), we came across Hrvatin Smokvić;<sup>74</sup> Juraj Horvat was mentioned in 1439 in Kamenica (Srijem district) while Martin Hrvat (*Martinus Croata*) of Rakovica was mentioned in 1486;<sup>75</sup> in Bosnia, the powerful Hrvatinić family was well-known as was their most prominent member Duke Hrvoje; the commander of a regiment at Trogir in 1358 was Dragutin Hrvatin (*capitaneus populi*); Pavao, son of Hrvatin of Dobre Kuće, was mentioned in 1360 in a record of the administrative Bishopric of Zagreb;<sup>76</sup> and, in 1448, we found Hrvatin Juraj in Rmanji.<sup>77</sup> We also come across Juraj Hrvat (*Zorzi Croato*) in 1511,<sup>78</sup> Ivan Hrvat in 1526, Damijan

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<sup>68</sup>*Listine godina 1321-1331* [Documents from the year 1321-1331], Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae, ed. Tade Smičiklas (Zagreb: JAZU, 1911), IX, 457.

<sup>69</sup>*Listine godina 1342-1350*, Codex diplomaticus, (1913) XI, 208.

<sup>70</sup>Codex diplomaticus, (1913) XI, 375.

<sup>71</sup>Codex diplomaticus, (1913) XI, 15.

<sup>72</sup>Codex diplomaticus, (1913) XI, 18.

<sup>73</sup>Codex diplomaticus, (1913) XI, 23.

<sup>74</sup>Codex diplomaticus, (1913) XI, 60, 63.

<sup>75</sup>Codex diplomaticus, (1913) XI, 173, 295.

<sup>76</sup>*Listine godina 1351-1359*, Codex diplomaticus, (1914) XII, 270, 506; *Listine godina 1360-1366*, Codex diplomaticus, eds. Marko Kostrenčić and Emilije pl. Laszowski (1915), XIII, 53.

<sup>77</sup>Šurmin, *Hrvatski spomenici*, I, 175.

<sup>78</sup>*Commissiones*, MSHSM, no. 6 (1876), I (covers the period from 1433-1527), p. 125.



Horvath de Captachg (1529), Andreas Croata (1529),<sup>79</sup> and Thomaso Coruato, Luca Cruato and Piero Coruato all from 1526.<sup>80</sup> Micola Haruat was found in the report of the Captain of Koprivnica in 1622,<sup>81</sup> while from the 17th century, we can mention friar Grgur Krkočević Hrvat (*Georgius Karchocevich Croata*) and the Jesuit, Tomaš Horvat.<sup>82</sup>

In all the examples presented, the names *Hrvat* and *Hrvat* were used as personal names or as signifiers of ethnicity. That the people used these names to designate their ethnicity was shown in a document (report) in 1532 of a Venetian general in Dalmatia to his government. In this report, he stated that among the troops there were soldiers from Dalmatia who called themselves Croats (*si chiamano Croati*).<sup>83</sup> In the same respect, Poriza, the nuncio of Gradač (in 1604) called Count Erdedija “Croata”.<sup>84</sup> Friar Rafael Levaković signed his name as “*fra Raffaele Croata*”<sup>85</sup> and that is how the writer and scientist Alojzija Baričević designated himself: “*Adamo Baricevich Croata*”.<sup>86</sup> Andrija Jambrešić signed documents as “*Croata Zagoriensi*”, while Franjo Jambrehović used “*Croata Zagorianus*”, and so on, even up to Antun Mihanović who utilized this designation when he addressed a manifesto in 1848: “T. Mihanović Croat of

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<sup>79</sup>*Monumenta Habsburgica regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae/Habsburški spomenici Kraljevine Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije*, ed. Emilij Laszowski, MSHSM, no. 35 (Zagreb: JAZU, 1914), I (covers the period from 1526-1530), pp. 20, 227, 248.

<sup>80</sup>Franjo Rački, “Izvodi za jugoslavensku poviest iz dnevnika Marina ml. Sanuda za g. 1526-1533” [Extracts for South Slavic history from the diary of Marin Sanudo Jr. from the years 1526-1533], *Starine*, 15 (Zagreb, 1883).

<sup>81</sup>*Spomenici Hrvatske Krajine* [Documents concerning the Croatian Military Region], ed. Radoslav Lopašić, MSHSM, no. 16 (Zagreb: JAZU, 1885), II (covers the period from 1610-1693), p. 112.

<sup>82</sup>*Acta Bosnae*, pp. 429, 485.

<sup>83</sup>Franjo Rački, “Izvodi za jugoslavensku poviest iz dnevnika Marina ml. Sanuda za g. 1526-1533: (Nastavak, 1532)” [Extracts for South Slavic history from the diary of Marin Sanudo Jr. from the years 1526-1533 (Continuation, 1532)], *Starine*, 21 (Zagreb, 1889), 149.

<sup>84</sup>Karlo Horvat, “Prilozi za hrvatsku povijest iz arhiva rimskih” [Contributions to Croatian history from the archives of Rome], *Starine*, 34 (Zagreb, 1913), 161.

<sup>85</sup>Evsebije Fermendžin. “O. Rafo Levaković i Vlasi u Hrvatskoj g. 1641” [Father Rafael Levaković and the Vlachs in Croatia in 1641], *Starine*, 20 (Zagreb, 1888), 26.

<sup>86</sup>Vodnik, *Povijest*, p. 273.

Petropolje friend of the sciences and of the national language” (“*Znanosti i narodnoga jezika prijateljem T. Mihanović od Petropolja Hrvatina*”).<sup>87</sup>

Not only was this used by Croats who remained Catholic, but at times, even those who embraced Islam did so. Pijale Mehmed Pasha Hrvat died as a vizier in 1577, while his grandson Sehbar Pasha was a bey (*beglerbeg*) and governor in Van (eastern Turkey). Then there was Rustem Pasha Hrvat, grand vizier from 1554 to 1561 and son-in-law to the sultan, whose brother was Sinan Pasha. There were also more of our people who occupied the highest positions, viziers and grand viziers, of the Ottoman Empire.<sup>88</sup> If there were so many Croats in the highest positions of the Turkish Empire, it is obvious that there were also a large number of Croats in the lower positions who must have been recruited from a large body of Croats who did not have the luck or abilities to rise to the top. In a document from 1676 to 1692, for instance, Husein Odabaša Horvaćanin from Jasenovac was mentioned. Another important source for the Croatian feelings of Muslims was Evliya Çelebi. In his travelogue of the 17th century, Çelebi referred to them as Croats, valiant Croats, and as Croatian war heroes (heroic conquerors).<sup>89</sup>

Among our people of both religions, not only did traditions of national unity exist, but sometimes relations between the two were affectionate. When Antun Vrančić was returning from a diplomatic mission from the pope in 1532, he travelled through Šibenik, whereupon the priest Juraj escorted him to the Turkish border and recommended that he travel with his brother Murat Pasha, whom Vrančić later met at Piva field (*a campo da Pivo*).<sup>90</sup> Whereas Croats occupied even the highest positions, it does not surprise us when Marko Antun Pigafetta stated in his travelogue of 1567 that the Croatian language was very well-known among the Turks: “...we spoke in Croatian, which is familiar to all so-called Turks and especially to

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<sup>87</sup>Branko Drechsler (Vodnik), “Antun Mihanović,” *Hrvatsko kolo*, 6 (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1910), 12.

<sup>88</sup>Safvet Beg Bašagić, *Znameniti Hrvati Bošnjaci i Hercegovci u Turskoj carevini* [Famous Croatian Bosnians and Herzegovians from the Turkish Empire] (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1931).

<sup>89</sup>Fehim Spaho, “Hrvati u Evlija Čelebijinu putopisu” [Croats in the travelogue of Evliya Çelebi], *Hrvatsko kolo*, 13 (XC) (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1932), 41-50.

<sup>90</sup>Rački, “Izvodi” (Continuation), 138.

the military dignitaries” (“...*in crovata lingua parlavamo, la quale è familiare à tutti quasi Turchi, et specialmente agli huomini di guerra*”).<sup>91</sup> Only at a later time, from 1588 to 1589, do we find *Chirvat türkisi* (*Croatian poem*) which was written by Mehmed of Transylvania, a Croat who, like many others, reached Transylvania (Erdély).<sup>92</sup> In describing Sziget, Çelebi noted that the residents were Bosnians (*Bošnjaci*) who correctly and beautifully spoke Hungarian and Croatian.

Since we have already said something of the Croats in Turkey, it is good to recall those who emigrated from Bosnia to Bulgaria (the so-called Paulicians), whom many considered to be Bogumils. It was the Bosnian Franciscans who dwelt among these people, just as they remained with our other emigrants who left to other areas of the Balkans, Romania, and Moldavia. They were also found in Drinopolje and its surrounding area, around Nikopolje (Nikopolis), along the shores of the Black Sea, around Istanbul, and elsewhere. It was due mainly to the work of the Franciscans in the numerous territories where Croatian Catholics were scattered that we have to thank for those who managed to preserve their national consciousness. These were the smaller or larger groups of conscious Croats who are still found in Banat, Hungary, and Romania. It was important that the Franciscans were more or less permitted to operate in the Turkish Empire and that the Franciscans themselves were, in the beginning, closely tied. We should not forget that immediately after the fall of Bosnia in 1464, a single Franciscan province was formed of Bosnia and Dalmatia,<sup>93</sup> that Bosnia and Herzegovina were under the Catholic jurisdiction of the Croatian bishops, and that Turkish Bosnia encompassed all Croatian lands that the Turks captured. The Franciscans were also assisted by certain Croatian nobles, such as the Frankopans, in territories which the Turks had not conquered.

Euzebije Fermendžin was the person who collected and printed the documents related to our Paulicians in Bulgaria. In these documents, the

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<sup>91</sup>Petar Matković, “Putopis Marka Antuna Pigafetta u Carigrad od god. 1567” [The travelogue of Marko Antonio Pigafetti in Istanbul from the year 1567], *Starine*, 22 (Zagreb, 1890), 89.

<sup>92</sup>*Antologija hrvatske poezije od najstarijih zapisa do kraja XIX stoljeća* [Anthology of Croatian poems from the oldest records to the 19th Century], ed. Ivan Slamnig (Zagreb: Lykos, 1960), p. 9.

<sup>93</sup>*Acta Bosnae*, pp. 260-262.

language they used was called Bosnian (*bosanski*), Illyrian (*ilirski*), Croatian (*hrvatski*), Slavic (*slavenski*), and Serbian (*srpski*), while the script they used was Roman or Croatian Cyrillic, called the Illyrian script: “*linguam autem Krošoviensium, que est Croatica seu Serbica*”, “*di linguagio...Bosnense*”, “*sono di lingua Bosna, cioè Illirica*”. The Bishop of Nin in Pera wrote to friar Jeronim Arseng in 1581, stating among other things that he sent a letter to the Paulicians: “I wrote to them in the Bosnian language using Roman letters, and another letter in the Illyrian script” (“*io li scrivo in lingua Bosna in caratteri latini, et una altra in caratteri Illirici*”). In 1659, the Bishop of Nikopolje reported that they (the Paulicians) “use the Slavonic language, which is divided into many dialects” (“*lingua utuntur Sclavonica, et in pluribus dialectis dissentiunt*”). From this data, we can see that they were from different regions where different dialects were spoken, just as was the case with those Croats in Banat and Romania.<sup>94</sup>

A document from 1670 tells us that, in Moldavia, there were Bulgars, Serbs, and Bosnian Christians who “did not cultivate any other language except Illyrian and Turkish” (“*nullam aliam linguam colentes paeter Illyricam et Turcicam*”). Another document states that Albanians, who were also emigrés, used their own language, but also “the Slavic or Illyrian language” (“*della Slava ancora o vero Illirica*”). On 10 July 1637, Franjo Markanić of Čiprovac (in Bulgaria) wrote “to father Rafael Croat” (“*al padre Raffaele Croato*”)<sup>95</sup> about the printing of church books for the Eastern rite “which are written in Serbian letters called so after St. Cyril, in the old Illyrian language” (“*quali libri sono scritti in carattere Serviano detto di s. Cirillo, nella lingua illirica antica*”). From these few quotations, we can see that a number of different names were used to identify the language, just as was found among Croats in Croatian regions. This should not surprise us since they kept in contact with each other and since the propaganda among these emigrés was run by the pope’s curia.

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<sup>94</sup>Ivan Brabec, “Molišanci, Karaševci i Hrvati u Banatu” [Croats from Molise, Karaševo, and Banat], *Školske novine. Polumjesečnik za učitelje, nastavnike i profesore NR Hrvatske* (Zagreb: Udruženje učitelja Hrvatske, 1970).

<sup>95</sup>This is the previously mentioned Rafael Levaković whose Glagolitic editions were printed for use in the church. This information is significant as it reveals the ties which existed between these Croatian priests and especially because of the fact that Markanić also called Levaković Croat, just as he called himself.

With regards to the term Illyrian (*ilirski*), it was used in a wider context, as in it was included Bulgarian, Church Slavonic (*lingua illirica antica*), and also Cyrillic which was called the Illyrian script (*ilirsko pismo*). Among these Croats, one is cited whose name also contained the addition of Croat (*Hrvat*). In 1644, Catholic merchants of Kraljevo requested that the monastery in Trgovište be handed over to the friars from Bulgaria. Among the signatures was found “Gvozdeni [Iron] Ivan Harvatin”.<sup>96</sup>

In another region of Europe, in the north of Germany, the Reformation was flourishing since the beginning of the 16th century. This movement could not help but have influences on neighbouring countries, including Slovenia and Croatia. The conditions in Croatia did not allow for the success of the Reformation, but there were, nevertheless, individuals among the Croats who accepted this new religious movement. Croats gave the Reformation one of its most powerful theologians, Matija Vlačić Franković, called the Illyrian (*Mathias Flacius Illyricus*). In Tübingen-Urach, Germany, books in the Croatian language were being printed to help spread the Reformation among Croats. These books were printed in three scripts: Glagolitic, Croatian Cyrillic, and Roman. The major portion of this work was completed by the priests, Stjepan Konzul Istranin and Antun Dalmatin. In 1561, a Glagolitic catechism was printed with the title appearing in Glagolitic and in the German language. In the German text, the point was made that the book was printed “in the Croatian language” (“*in der Crobatischen Sprach*”), and

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<sup>96</sup>*Acta Bulgariae ecclesiastica. Ab a. 1565 usque ad a. 1799.* ed. Eusebius Fermendžin, MSHSM, no. 18 (Zagreb: JAZU, 1887), pp. VII, 1, 4, 5, 259-60, 281, 169, 47, 44, 149, 180, 324-336. In 1582, Pope Gregory XIII instructed friar Bonifacija of Dubrovnik, Bishop of Ston, about his duties during his visit of Catholics in Turkey. In this document, he stated that published Protestant books had been spread throughout Illyria and that they were printed in the Slavonic language in Cyrillic (“*anco in lingua schiavona et Ciurula*”). The Pope sent the friar church books in Latin and Italian and a few in Greek. He further stated, that it would be easier to translate from Italian into the “Illyrian language” (“*nella lingua illirica*”), while in another place, he said “the Cyrillic language” (“*la lingua ciurula*”), but he also made a distinction “*in dette lingua illirica et ciurula*”. Here apparently the meaning of the terms language and script were interchangeable. The same year, in the instructions given to Augustin Quintiu, Bishop of Korčula, it was recommended that he take with him someone of the same ethnicity and who knows Illyrian (“*che siano de la sua nazione et lingua illirica*”). He was also sent books printed in the Croatian language in the Roman script (“*si dano a lei dottrine christiane stampate in lingua illirica con caratteri latini mille...*”). *Acta Bosnae*, pp. 324, 333, 334, 335, 336.

the same was written in the book *Württembergski crkveni red* (*Church order from Württemberg*) which was printed in the Glagolitic script in 1564. In *Artikulima* (*Articles*) of 1562 (printed in Croatian Cyrillic), it is said that “they were truly explained in Croatian by Antun Dalmatin and Stipan Istranin” (“*na hrvacki vjerno stumačeni po Antunu Dalmatinu i Stipanu Istraninu*”).<sup>97</sup> They also published in 1568, their *Postilu* (*Post illa verbe/ After those words*), as one can read on the title page “in the Croatian language” (“*na horvacki yazik*”).

The publishers of the books were careful to maintain the purity of the language by employing a number of Croatian priests, which led Antun Bočić of Modruš to comment in a letter of 1563 that the language in the Croatian books was “correct, pure, truly the Croatian language, and true in content” (“*pravi, čist, istinni hrvacki jezik i prave riči*”).<sup>98</sup> All these Croatian Protestant writers used only Croatian to signify their language.<sup>99</sup> Since they also printed Croatian books in the Cyrillic script, it is understood that they also designated that script Croatian, as was also the case in the Military Frontier Zone (*Vojna Krajina*), for instance, as the official language of reports from Bihać in 1586: “the Cyrillic or Croatian script”.<sup>100</sup>

The Catholic Counter-Reformation was very active, and the new Jesuit order also gave Croats some very learned and able men. They continued the work of the Protestant writers and the development of the Croatian language. The Jesuit, Bartol Kašić, wrote the first Croatian grammar called

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<sup>97</sup>Breyer, T. XXXVIII. In Tübingen-Urach, the work *Edni kratki Razumni Nauci* (*Some short reasonable doctrines*) was printed in the Glagolitic and Croatian Cyrillic scripts: “*crobatisch mit Crobatischen und crobatisch mit Cyrullischen Buchstaben*” (“*hrvatski hrvatskim i hrvatski ćirilskim slovima*”). Breyer, p. 32.

<sup>98</sup>Franjo Bučar, *Povijest hrvatske protestantske književnosti za reformacije* [The history of Croatian Protestant literature during the Reformation] (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1910), pp. 91, 204-221.

<sup>99</sup>*First part of the Old Testament...in common and understandable Croatian...faithfully explained* (in 1662); *Confession and knowledge of the true Christian faith...explained in Croatian* (1564); *Defense of the Augustinian Confession of Augsburg...truly explained from Latin into Croatian* (1564)/*Prvi del staroga testameta...v opčeni i razumni hrvatski jezik...verno stemačen* (god. 1662)—*Spovid i spoznanje pravje krstjanske vire...va hrvatski istlmačene* (1564)—*Bramba Austanske spovedi...verno tlmačena iz latinskoga jazika va Hrvacki* (1564). Ljubić, *Ogledalo*, pp. 39, 40.

<sup>100</sup>*Spomenici*, MSHSM, no. 15 (1884), I (covers the period from 1479-1610), p. X.

*Institutiones linguae illyricae* (*The rules of the Illyrian language*—Rome, 1604) and Jakov Mikalja, the first Croatian dictionary entitled *Blago jezika slovinskoga* (Croatian-Italian-Latin, Ancona 1651) (*Treasures of the Slavonic language*). On the title page, there was also found a Latin text which called the language Illyrian (*Dictionarium illyricum*); therefore, the Croatian word Slavonic (*slovinski*) was translated into the Latin Illyrian (*illyricum*). We can immediately see that, while the Croatian Protestant writers faithfully called the language Croatian, the Jesuits and our other writers called the language Croatian, Slavonic, Illyrian, and even Dalmatian. In his work printed in 1582 (Rome), Šime Budinić of Zadar referred to the language in his work as Slavonic.

Even if they were aware of the need to use a standard literary language—as were our Protestant writers—nevertheless, they could not agree which dialect and speech could take that position. While some held that Čakavian was the most beautiful Croatian dialect, others gave priority to the speech found in Bosnia or Dubrovnik. Kašić wrote as he himself stated in the *Vandeliija i pistule* (*Gospels and Epistles*) (Rome, 1611) “in the language of Dubrovnik as spoken in the city and state of Dubrovnik” (“*u jezik dubrovački za grada i države dubrovačke*”), but he also called the Croatian language Dalmatian, as we have already seen and which he showed in his book *Istoria loreтана od svete kuće Bogorodične* (*History of the holy church of the Virgin Mary of Loreto*).<sup>101</sup> The Canon of Split, Matija Albert, wrote a letter in 1607 to the Jesuit A. Komulović, who was also from Split, defending Čakavian because it was “more sweeter and more elegant” (“*più soave e elegante*”).

The Jesuits were strongly influenced by Rome, where Croats and all the Balkan Slavs were habitually referred to as Illyrians (*Iliri*). According to Črnčić, the well-known institution of St. Jerome in Rome was called Illyrian in 1655. According to a document of 1662, this institution accepted only those from the “Illyrian provinces”, and these were Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia, and Bosnia: “...*personas idoneas origenas ex quatuor regionibus sive provinciis Illyricis, scilicet Dalmatiae, Croatiae, Slavoniae et Bosnae...*”.<sup>102</sup> In Rome, there also existed the Academy of the Illyrian

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<sup>101</sup>Vodnik, *Povijest*, p. 259; *Vjesnik u srijedu*, October 21, 1970.

<sup>102</sup>Franjo Rački, “Povjestnik Ivan Lučić Trogiraniin” [The historian Ivan Lučić of Trogir], *Rad JAZU*, 49 (Zagreb, 1879), 96-97; *Acta Bosnae*, p. 375.

Language (*Academia linguae Illyricae*) at the College of Rome (1599-1604 and probably later). The Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in Rome, founded the Illyrian College of St. Peter and St. Paul of Fermo (*Il Collegio Illirico di San Pietro e Paolo di Fermo*), which existed from 1663 to 1746. Since the goal of this institution was the education of priests “from Albania, Dalmatia, Serbia, Macedonia, Bosnia, Bulgaria, etc.”, we can see that, in this case, the name Illyrian was understood to include all Balkan lands, be they Slavic or not.<sup>103</sup>

In the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith, the Old Croatian (Slavonic) language of church books, written in the Glagolitic script, was also called Illyrian. In 1648, Pope Innocent X mentioned the *Brevijarij* (*Breviary*) which was printed a hundred years earlier as “*Breviarium Illyricum ante annos centum impressum...*”. For that reason, Pope Urban VIII named Levaković reformer of “ecclesiastic books of the Illyrian language” (“*librorum ecclesiasticorum linguae illyricae*”). Due to the care and energy of Levaković, many Glagolitic church books were printed, such as the *Misal Rimski va jezik slovenskij* (*Roman missal in the Slavonic language*) of 1631, and the *Časoslov Rimski slovinskim jezikom* (*Roman breviary in the Slavonic language*) of 1648. Later on, Mate Karaman, under the prompting of Archbishop Vicko Zmajević, prepared for printing and published a new edition of Glagolitic church books calling the language Slavonic. Zmajević also founded a seminary for Glagolitic priests in Zadar (*Seminario illirico*). Already in 1766, a work by Klement Grubišić of Makarska entitled *In originem et historiam Alphabeti Sclavonici Glagolitici, vulgo Hieronymiani, disquisitio, antiquitatis populorum septentrionalium, reique litterariae sclavonicae et russicae studiosis* (*On the origin and history of the Slavonic Glagolitic alphabet, which common people call St. Jerome's alphabet*) came out in Venice. That is how our scholars prompted the idea and thesis on letters and language, which pushed out the use of the Croatian name by constantly imposing the all-encompassing terms Slavonic or Illyrian.

We already saw that, for a long time, the Glagolites used the national name for the language, but they were being removed from the cities. When

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<sup>103</sup>Vjekoslav Štefanić, “Ilirski kolegij u Fermu” [The Illyrian college in Fermo], *Nastavni vjesnik*, 3 (Zagreb, 1939-1940), 1-6.



they did constitute a majority of the parishes in a diocese, their influence on the rest of the church hierarchy was insignificant. The church council of Split held in 1688 shows us that out of thirty outlying parishes, only eight were Latin, while the remaining were in the hands of the Glagolitic priests: “*octo...sint ritus latini, cetera Illyricorum...in idiomatae illirico sacra habetur liturgia...*”.<sup>104</sup> This is one more indication that these other names for the Croatian language came from the West by means of our scholars in Italy, who were for the most part priests. That the Slavonic Academy (*Akademija slovinska*) existed in Split at the beginning of the 18th century and was also called *Accademia Illyrica* does not surprise us. The goal of this academy “was to better cultivate and develop the beautiful Slavonic language” (“*da se može bolje uzgojiti i liplje uresiti ovi jezik slovinski*”). Archbishop Cupilli even bought a print shop so that books could be printed “in the Illyrian language” (“*in lingua illirica*”). Cupilli also stirred the Jesuit Ardelio Della Bella to write a dictionary called the *Dizionario italiano-latino-illirico* (*Italian-Latin-Illyrian dictionary*).

That this Slavonic or Illyrian language was always a synonym for the Croatian language when it dealt with Croats and Croatian lands is not necessary to emphasize as it follows from the things we have introduced thus far. For the language of our people living in the same territory, the names Slavic or Slavonic, Illyrian, and Croatian were used to signify our language. Since it is expressly known that Croats lived there, it is completely understandable that there was only one national name and that was Croatian (*hrvatski*).

This name was used at times by foreigners, probably when they wrote reports about direct contact with one of our countrymen who had no pretenses, be they Slavonic or Illyrian. Venetian officials often wrote in their reports about the language of Croats, which they mostly called Slavonic. A report from 1555 stated that the people of Dubrovnik spoke Slavic, as did the rest of Dalmatia, and that this was their mother tongue (“*la lingua loro natia è schiava*”).<sup>105</sup> The same thing was stated by our countryman Marijan Bolica of Kotar. In 1614, he wrote that the language spoken by the population from

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<sup>104</sup>Ljubić, *Ogledalo*, pp. 41-47. [Vol. was not indicated—trans.]

<sup>105</sup>*Commissiones*, MSHSM, no. 11 (1880), III (covers the period from 1553-1571), pp. 73-74.

Bar to Istria was “the Slavic language” (“*la lingua schiava*”).<sup>106</sup> However, Julije Balović of Perast, in his maritime manual to which he added a short dictionary, translated the word Slavonic (*Slavo*) with Croat (*Harvat*).<sup>107</sup> In 1626, Archbishop Oktavijan Garzadori of Zadar wrote to the secretary of the Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in Rome, notifying him that the *Kršćanski nauk rimski* (*Roman-Christian doctrine*) was printed in Illyrian using the Roman and Illyrian scripts (meaning the Glagolitic script).<sup>108</sup> Then there is a further example of a note, probably from the 18th century, which accompanied a Croatian poem from 1416 stating: “Since the Illyrian language is the mother tongue of the city of Zadar and its surroundings” (“*Siccome la lingua illirica è la madre lingua anco della città e contado di Zara*”); nevertheless, Ludovico Foscolo wrote on 18 February 1650 to Duke Franjo Posedarski: “I wrote the appendix to Smiljanić, which you will read, but time did not allow me to translate it into the Croatian language” (“*Scrivo le annesse al Smiglianich, che vi conterà di leggergli non permettendo il tempo di tradurle in Idioma Croata*”).<sup>109</sup>

It is not necessary to look for better proof than these testimonies to reveal that the people called their language solely the Croatian language, but it should be emphasized *that even our educated people, when they used the other names, still had in mind the same language that they themselves called in everyday life only Croatian* (author’s emphasis). This was also shown in their works. If we take, for instance, Juraj Baraković (1548-1628), we will find that he called his best known work *Vila Slovinka* (*Slavonic fairy*) and that he reproached his fellow-countrymen for being ashamed of their “Slavonic language” (“*jazika Slovinskoga*”). His Sla-

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<sup>106</sup>Šime Ljubić, “Marijana Bolice Kotoranina opis Sanžakata Skadarskoga od godine 1614” [Marijan Bolica’s description of the county of Skadar from the year 1614], *Starine*, 12 (Zagreb, 1880), 193.

<sup>107</sup>Josip Luetić, “Pomorski priručnik Julija Balovića-Peraštanina” [The maritime manual written by Julije Balović from Perast], *Anali Historijskoga instituta JAZU u Dubrovniku*, 3 (Dubrovnik: Historijski institut JAZU, 1954), 517.

<sup>108</sup>Ante Strgačić, “Neobjavljena književna djela Zadrana Šime Budinića” [The unpublished literary works of Šime Budinić from Zadar], *Radovi Instituta JAZU u Zadru*, 2 (Zadar, 1956), 359-371.

<sup>109</sup>Luka Jelić, *S. Girolamo de’ Schiavoni, l’istituto croato a Roma; studio storico*. (Zara [Zadar]: Hrvatska knjizarnica, 1902), p. 14.

vonian language was called Illyrian by a document of the notary Gašpar Semonić-Grizanić of Šibenik. The document itself stated that “*maestro Zorzi Bracholeoni*” entered into an agreement with Anzolo Giustiniani of Šibenik, in which the latter would find him a printer in Venice who would publish his work “entitled in the Illyrian language Slavonic fairy” (“*opera intitolata in lingua illirica Villa Slovinča*”).<sup>110</sup> When Ivan Tonko Mrnavić praised in a recited poem Baraković’s *Slavonic fairy*, he spoke of “pure Croatian blood” (“*hrvatskoj čistoj krvi*”), while Baraković, in his reply, called Mrnavić the Bosnian (*Bošnjanimom*) of whom Croats will feel proud and that he does not know whether to give more glory to Marulić or Mrnavić who wrote “in the Croatian language” “Croatian books” (“*hrvatskim jezikom*” “*hrvatske knjige*”).<sup>111</sup>

It seems that we can best understand the use of the names Slavonic and Illyrian as a manner and erudition in which our people wanted to emphasize their education and their accomplishments, as it would otherwise be too difficult to explain the simultaneous naming of a language in different ways. This would also explain the fact that when, in a Croatian text, the language was called Croatian, in the Latin version, it was substituted by the name Illyrian. By that, of course, we do not reject the other already mentioned reasons for this terminology. The simultaneous use of these different appellations is interesting because it often explains the substance of the individual names. When the noble Maro Dragović of Kotor sent the following words to Bartol Kašić, it is clear to us that his notion of Dalmatian (*Dalmatin*) was regional and that it was held within the context of the Croatian people (*rod hrvatski*):

Kada s’ navijestio u pjesnieh svud glas tvoj,  
Naši Dalmatini i vas rod Harvacki,  
Daržat će u cini pjevanja glas rajski;

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<sup>110</sup>Petar Zoranić - Juraj Baraković. *Planine - Vila Slovinča* [*The mountains - Slavonic fairy*], ed. Franjo Švelec, *Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti* [Five centuries of Croatian literature], no. 8 (Zagreb: Zora and Matica hrvatska, 1964), p. 177.

<sup>111</sup>*Djela Jurja Barakovića* [The works of Juraj Baraković], eds. Pero Budmani and Matija Valjavac, *Stari pisci hrvatski* [Old Croatian writers], no. 17 (Zagreb: JAZU, 1889), pp. 242, 245.

Od našega mora do mora ledena  
Život od govora dika će plemena.<sup>112</sup>

[Since you gained fame through your poems,  
our Dalmatians and the whole Croatian race,  
highly regarded your heavenly voice.  
From our Adriatic Sea to the frigid Baltic Sea  
you will live long because of your noble speech.]

In Zagreb (1742), Jambrešić published his *Lexicon latinum interpretatione illyrica, germanica et hungarica...ab Andrea Jambressich...Croata Zagoriensi (Latin vocabulary explained in Illyrian, German, and Hungarian...)*. Although emphasizing the fact that he was a Croat, Jambrešić, nevertheless, called the language Illyrian. That Illyrian was a synonym for Croatian follows from that part of the work *Lexicon*, which was prepared by Franjo Sušnik and called the *Index Illyrico, sive Croatico-Latinus (Illyrian index, or Croato-Latine)*.<sup>113</sup> In his *Zvončac (Meditations on the four final things)*, Matija Magdalenić wrote, as he himself stated, neither entirely in Croatian, nor entirely in Slavonic, but in “*sclavonico-croatico*”.<sup>114</sup>

Already the first Croatian writers interchangeably employed these different appellations. Mavro Vetrančić wrote to Hektorović that his glory will spread “throughout the far world, particularly in the area where Croatian is spoken” (“*po svijetu daleče, a navlaš kud jezik hrvatski prohodi*”), and also that “the Slavonic language will glorify him” (“*proslaviti slovinski jezik vas*”). In 1612, Matija Albert published in Venice the *Oficij bl. Marije...iz latinskoga sada u Slouinski yazik virno Prinesen (Officium of the Blessed Virgin...from Latin now in the Slavonic language truly*

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<sup>112</sup>Marijan Stojković, “Bartuo Kašić D. I. Pažanin. (1575-1650.)” [Bartol Kašić S. J. from Pag (1575-1650)], *Rad JAZU*, 220 (Zagreb, 1919), 170-263. [The fourth line of Dragović’s verse was missing in Ostojčić’s essay and was inserted by the translators. See: *Zbornik proze XVI. i XVII. stoljeća* [An anthology of prose from the 16th and 17th centuries], ed. Jakša Ravlić, Pet stoljeća, no. 11 (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska and Zora, 1972), p. 186—trans.]

<sup>113</sup>Miroslav Vanino, “Sušnik-Jambrešićev rječnik (1742)” [The Sušnik-Jambrešić dictionary (1742)], *Napredak kalendar*, (Sarajevo, 1935), 46-57.

<sup>114</sup>Vodnik, *Povijest*, p. 276.

*translated*). This work was printed in the Croatian Cyrillic script (*bosančica*) and was referred to by the Licensor as being “in Illyrian letters” (“*in Carattere Illirico*”).<sup>115</sup> In Zagreb, the *Syllabus vocabulorum grammaticae Emmanuelis Alvares Societate Jesus. In Illyricum, sive Croatis et Sclauonibus vernaculam conversorum* (*Syllabus vocabulary from the grammar of Emmanuel Alvarus Society of Jesus, for the vernacular conversation of Illyrians or Croats and Slavonians*) came out in 1726.<sup>116</sup> Although Pavao Vitezović entitled his dictionary the *Lexicon latino-illyricum* (1708) (*Latin-Illyrian lexicon*), he designated himself as “*nobile Croata*”. Of his *Odiljenje Sigetsko* (*Departure from Sziget*), he himself said that it was “composed nicely in Croatian rhythms” (“*hrvatske ritme lipotom spravljeno*”). Vitezović also published a portion of his *Sibille*, but since it was not completed, someone printed the preserved pages of this work in 1781; however, this publisher substituted the Čakavian dialect with Kajkavian. This unknown publisher called Čakavian “Dalmatian” and Kajkavian the “Croatian” language.<sup>117</sup>

Others, in the meanwhile, referred to the Kajkavian dialect as Slavonic, such as Juraj Habelić, whose dictionary appeared in Graz with the title *Dikcionar ili reči slovenske* (*Dictionary or Slavonic words*) in 1670. In his preface to *Zrcalo Mariansko* (*Marian mirror*), he pointed out the difference of dialects, saying that those who wished to speak Croatian should say instead of *lehko*, *lahko*, instead of *osem*, *osam*, etc., as it would not be difficult to do so.<sup>118</sup> In these instances, we would be in doubt when trying to understand their stand with respect to the meaning of the terms Slavonic, Croatian, and so on if we did not know that Habelić, Jurjević, Ratkaj, Magdalenić, and others considered themselves to be Croats.

Others referred to the Kajkavian dialect as the Croatian language. Relaković’s translation from German of a work on sheep was “translated”

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<sup>115</sup>Milčetić, “Mañi,” p. 315.

<sup>116</sup>Vladoje Dukat, “Habelićev ‘Syllabus’ ” [Habelić’s *Syllabus*], *Građa za povijest književnosti Hrvatske*, 7 (Zagreb, 1912), 102.

<sup>117</sup>Radoslav Lopašić, “Pavao Ritter Vitezović,” *Građa za povijest književnosti Hrvatske*, 1 (Zagreb, 1897), 42; Vjekoslav Klaić, *Život i djela Pavla Rittera Vitezovića* [The life and works of Pavao Ritter Vitezović] (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1914), pp. 210-211, 35, 200.

<sup>118</sup>Vodnik, *Povijest*, p. 276.

into Kajkavian in 1771, and the translator referred to that Kajkavian as the “Croatian language” (“*horvatskim jezikom*”).<sup>119</sup> One of the greatest Croatian scholars, Matija Petar Katančić (1750-1825), the author of the work *Etymologicon Illyricum* (*Illyrian etymological dictionary*), favoured Ikavian-Štokavian as the literary language of Croats. For him, the “Bosnian dialect” (“*dialectus Bosnensis*”) was the most beautiful: “the people of Bosnia excel in the purity and elegance of their language” (“*Bosnenses puritate atque elegantia eminent*”). As a result, he translated the Holy Scriptures into “the glorious Illyrian language of the Bosnian dialect” (“*jezik slavno ilirički izgovora bosanskog*”).<sup>120</sup>

Friar Filip Grabovac (1695-1750), who was born in Vrlika, had a clearer idea for the name of the language, as is seen in the title of his work *Cvit razgovora naroda i jezika iliričkoga aliti rvackoga* (*Flower of conversation of the Illyrian or Croatian people and language*). When writing about some of the customs found among Croats, Grabovac stressed that: “That type of custom always existed in the Illyrian, Slavonic, and Croatian nation, and that is all one language, although there are three names” (“*A pak taki je običaj uvik bio u narodu iliričkome, slovinjskome i rvackome, a to je jedan sve jezik, premda su tri imena*”). In another place, he stated: “In Dalmatia, depending on who the people were, they called their language either Illyrian or Slavonic, and finally Croatian still today. There were three names, but they are one and the same language...” (“*U Dalmaciji kako koji narod bi, tako se i jezik zna, kakonoti: ilirički, pak slovinjski, potomtoga rvacki evo i danas. Tri su imena, a jedan je isti jezik...*”).<sup>121</sup> Friar Lovro Ljubušak Šitović of Herzegovina dedicated his *Grammatica latino-illyrica*<sup>122</sup> (*Latin-Illyrian grammar*) of 1713 to the youth of Bosnia. For him, Illyrian and Croatian were one, for in his *Pisma od pakla* (*Poem*

<sup>119</sup>Vodnik, *Povijest*, p. 348.

<sup>120</sup>Josip Hamm, “Etymologicon Illyricum”, *Nastavni vjesnik*, 1-2 (Zagreb, 1942-1943); Vodnik, *Povijest*, pp. 353-355.

<sup>121</sup>Filip Grabovac, *Cvit razgovora naroda i jezika iliričkoga aliti rvackoga* [Flower of conversation of the Illyrian or Croatian people and language], ed. Tomo Matić, *Stari pisci hrvatski* [Old Croatian writers], no. 30 (Zagreb: JAZU, 1951), pp. 199, 215.

<sup>122</sup>The title of Šitović’s grammar was not cited in Ostojić’s paper, but was placed in by the translators. See: Franolić, p. 149 note 30; Vinko Grubišić, “A Survey of Recent Croatian Grammars and Their Predecessors,” trans. Antun Nizetec and Marvin Tatum, *Journal of Croatian Studies*, 25-26 (New York, 1984-1985), 162—trans.

on Hell), he stated: “It is understandable to those who speak the Croatian language”.<sup>123</sup> In northern Croatia, Tituš Brezovački explained: “Under the name Slavonic Fairy, it is understood that it is the Slavonic or Croatian people.” The poem *Horvat Horvatu horvatski govori (A Croat speaks to a Croat in Croatian)*, which many believe was written by him, speaks clearly by its very title.<sup>124</sup>

In the 17th century, the well-known Charles Du Fresne Du Cange wrote *Illyricum vetus et novum (Old and new Illyria)*<sup>125</sup> in which was included Croatian history. Under this title, the work was published in Bratislava (1746) with the financial aid of Count Josip Keglević. Actually, the work contained only that part of Du Cange’s research dealing with the medieval history of Croats and Serbs, while the remainder was written by Ivan Tomko Saski. Of the Vlachs in Croatia, Du Cange stated: “they already accepted the Croatian language and customs” (“*sed qui et mores et sermonem Croaticum iam induerunt*”). This work was also used by the Serbian historian, Jovan Rajić, in the 18th century. Rajić translated this portion in the following manner: “The Croatian nation is of Slavic origin, amongst whom have also mixed the Mauro-Vlachs, who use the Croatian language...”.<sup>126</sup>

After the Absolutism of Emperor Joseph II, strong political and national movements rose in Croatia and Hungary. Count Adam Oršić attested how the people in Hungary only wished to speak Hungarian, while Croats wished to speak only Croatian. An unknown poet described in the vernacular language the arrival of Croatian representatives in Buda, where they were greeted by young ladies:

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<sup>123</sup>Kušar, p. 34.

<sup>124</sup>*Djela Tituša Brezovačkoga* [The works of Tituš Brezovački], ed. Milan Ratković, Stari pisci hrvatski [Old Croatian writers], no. 29 (Zagreb: JAZU, 1951).

<sup>125</sup>[Charles Du Fresne Du Cange, *Illyricum vetus et novum, sive Historia regnorum Dalmatiae, Croatiae, Slavoniae, Bosnae, Servaie atque Bulgariae* (Pannonii [Bratislava], 1746)—trans.]

<sup>126</sup>*Letopis*, p. 62; Nikola Radojčić, “Rajićeve Hrvatska istorija” [Rajić’s Croatian history], *Rad JAZU*, 222 (Zagreb, 1920), 109.

Od Ilira dike vilovite  
 izvedoše pisne glasovite  
 Slovinkinja divno kolo vodi,  
 pak pripava slovinskoj gospodi,  
 a najposle svoj zemlji hrvatskoj,  
 oh, da rečem bolje iliričkoj.

[Glorious Illyrian fairies  
 sang famous songs.  
 Slavonic fairy beautifully leads the dance  
 and adds some verses glorifying the Slavonic gentlemen,  
 and then to all Croatian lands,  
 oh, to say better, to all Illyrian lands.]

The Croatian *sabor* (parliament) gave their deputies of the common Croato-Hungarian parliament instructions for their future agenda. Among many of these goals was the demand for the introduction of the Croatian language for use in the Croatian army: “*praeter exercitium militare pro quo nationale idioma croaticum adhibeatur*”. Whereas in the common parliament the Hungarians moved to have Latin abolished as the official language in favour of Hungarian—even in Croatia—they came upon strong resistance from Croats. As a result, the county (*županija*) of Križevci sent a letter to the Ban (Viceroy) stating that the demand of the Hungarians was an attack on “the old nation of Illyria” (“*prastari narod ilirski*”) and that Croats would reply with the demand that in Croatia “the native Croatian language” (“*croatica nativo videlicet idiomate*”) be introduced as the official language.<sup>127</sup>

During the French occupation of Dalmatia and the rule of Napoleon I, Vicko Dandolo published the newspaper *Kraljski Dalmatin* (*Il regio dalmata*). In this paper, it was stated that the “Italian portion” would be translated “into the Croatian language” (“*u arvazki jezik*”).<sup>128</sup> Even before, in 1797, when the Venetian Republic collapsed, Croats of Dalmatia

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<sup>127</sup>Ferdo Šišić, *Hrvatska povijest* [Croatian history] (Zagreb: Matica Hrvatska, 1913), III, 9, 11, 24, 31-32.

<sup>128</sup>Petar Karlić, *Kraljski Dalmatin (1806-1810)* [The Royal Dalmatian from 1806 to 1810] (Zadar: Matica dalmatinska, 1912).



declared that they wished to be united with the rest of Croatia. Dalmatia was occupied by the emperor's army, and as rumours spread that it was a German army, new disorder broke out. Friar Josip Glumčević of Šibenik recorded that the population calmed down only when General Rukavina, along with his army, arrived in Šibenik, and when the people were themselves convinced that it was the Croatian army, as "General Rukavina with Croatian speech was luckily able to reveal that he himself was a Croat..."<sup>129</sup>

At this time in former Venetian Dalmatia, friar Andrija Dorotić developed a vigorous political action. In the archives of Zadar in the Nardelli volumes, we find reports of his actions. In one of them, we find that Dorotić "composed one proclamation in the Illyrian language on the glorious people of Dalmatia" ("*ha composto un proclama in illirico Narode Slavni Dalmatinski*"). If we tie what friar Josip Glumčević wrote with that of Dorotić, we can see that still, at the beginning of the 19th century, the Illyrian and the Dalmatian people meant, in effect, the Croatian people (*hrvatski narod*). For this reason, we are not surprised when Joakim Stulli of Dubrovnik (in 1801) in his dictionary explained the word Illyrian (*illyrice*) with Croatian (*hrvatski, hrovatski, horvatski*). Already in 1842, in another region of Croatia, Ivan Švear stated in his *Ogledalu Iliriuma (Mirror of Illyria)*: "...I am glad that I could leave to you [the Illyrian nation, author's note] something in our Illyrian, that is, Croatian language" ("*veselim se da sam ti štogod u narodnom našem Ilirskom, tj. Hrvatskom jeziku ostavio*").

The Venetian Valentin Lago expressly stated that if the inhabitants of our islands were asked which language they spoke, they would reply "the Croatian language".<sup>130</sup>

There exist more works and documents in which the language was called by its national name Croatian. Hanibal Lucić (1485-1553) wrote that Ovid's work *Paris Helenae (Paris to Helen)* "had been translated from Latin into our Croatian" ("*iz latinske odiće svukši u našu hrvacku nikoliko jur vrimenta bih priobukal*").<sup>131</sup> In a codex of Just Krizmanić, the pastor of Trsat, we find information that "the estate registry—translated from Ger-

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<sup>129</sup>Šišić, *Hrvatska*, III, 74.

<sup>130</sup>Valentin Lago, *Memorie cronologiche sulla Dalmazia (Venezia, 1871)*, III, 13.

<sup>131</sup>Vodnik, *Povijest*, p. 116.

man into Croatian—was given to Gašpar Knezić from the glorious state registry board in 1610” (“*Gašparu Kneziću od slavne komore leta 1610. od Nemškoga jezika na Hrvacki priobrnjen*”).<sup>132</sup> In a Latin book which is held at the University Library of Zagreb, we found a note written in the Glagolitic script, revealing the following: “...when I received those books, in which one can find many beautiful things that are pleasant to read in Croatian or in Latin, who is able to read these languages, but who is not, to give God gratitude...” (“*...kada bihu mi poklonene ove knjige u kih se nahodi mnogo lipih stvari, aliti drago štiti hrvacki aliti latinski, koi umi, a ki ne umi, zahvali Bogu...*”).<sup>133</sup>

Petar Zrinski translated, actually transformed, a work of his brother Nikola, entitled *Adrianska mora Sirena* (1660) (*Mermaid of the Adriatic Sea*) from Hungarian “to our Croatian language” (“*na hrvacki naš jezik*”) and dedicated it to Croatian knights.<sup>134</sup> Katarina Zrinski (1625-1673) translated her prayer book “from German to the Croatian language” (“*iz nimškoga na hrvatski jezik*”). A document from 1697 stated that Lovro Wolf and Petar Plemić testified that Baron Andrija Makar, a colonel, called the Vlachs to rebellion “in the Croatian language” (“*Croatico idiomate*”).<sup>135</sup> Friar Franjo Glavinić published in Venice (in 1702) his *Cvit svetih* (*Flower of the saints*) “translated and composed in the Croatian language” (“*prenešen i složen na Haruatski jezik*”), while Katarina Patačić wrote *Pesme Horvatske* (*Croatian poems*) in 1781.<sup>136</sup> Dominik Pavačić of Hvar translated from Italian into “the Croatian language” (“*harvatski jezik*”), while Mihalj Šilobod-Bolšić published in Zagreb *Aritmetiku horvatsku* (*Croatian arithmetics*), in 1758. In Zagreb (1796), a translation of *Robinson Crusoe* (*Robinzona*) was published “from German to the Croatian language by Antun Vranić” (“*iz nemškoga na Horvatski jezik po Antonu Vraniću*”), and also *Tumačenja evanđelja* (*Explanations of the Gos-*

<sup>132</sup>Lopašić, *Hrvatski urbari*, p. 154.

<sup>133</sup>Ivan Milčetić, “Hrvatska glagolska bibliografija. Dio 1. Opis rukopisâ” [The Croatian Glagolitic bibliography. Part 1: Description of manuscripts], *Starine*, 33 (Zagreb, 1911), 7.

<sup>134</sup>Vodnik, *Povijest*, p. 281.

<sup>135</sup>*Spomenici*, MSHSM, no. 20 (1889), III (covers the period from 1693-1780), p. 57.

<sup>136</sup>Branko Drechsler (Vodnik), “Prilozi za povijest hrvatsko književnosti” [Contributions to the history of Croatian literature], *Grada za povijest književnosti Hrvatske*, 7 (Zagreb, 1912), 111.

*pels*) “from German to the Croatian language by Jozef Ernezt Matthievits” (“*iz nemskoga na Hrvatski Jezik Prenesheno Po Jozefu Erneztu Matthievits*”). Similar explanations were also found in other works published in Zagreb.<sup>137</sup>

In Lika, the people had the saying “I tell it to him in Croatian, I told him in Croatian” (“*to ti kažem hrvatski, hrvatski sam mu kazao*”), which meant that the person spoke his mind clearly and understandably,<sup>138</sup> and such sayings were also used in other Croatian regions.

From the above mentioned information, the following proceeds.

1. Croats in all their different regions have always designated their language the Croatian language.
2. The expression the Croatian language (*hrvatski jezik*) meant the:
  - a) Croatian language in general;
  - b) Kajkavian dialect (in a particular sense); or
  - c) Old Croatian language used in church service.
3. The Latin expression *sclava* (Slavic) or similar expressions were used by Croats and foreigners already from the first preserved texts written in Latin (from the 10th century).
4. The term Slavonic (*slovenski*) and other similar terms came to mean the:
  - a) Croatian language in general;
  - b) Kajkavian dialect; or
  - c) Croatian language except Kajkavian.

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<sup>137</sup>Velimir Deželić, “Biskupska a zatim novoselska tiskara u Zagrebu (1794.-1825.)” [Originally the Bishopic’s and later Novosel’s press in Zagreb (1794-1825)], *Narodna starina*, 10 (1925), 112-122.

<sup>138</sup>Ivan Kasumović, “Još jedna rukovet naših paralela k rimskim i grčkim poslovicama i poslovičnim izričajima” [Another collection and comparison of our proverbs and sayings to Roman and Greek proverbs and sayings], *Rad JAZU*, 222 (Zagreb, 1920), 38.

5. Illyrian (*ilirski*) meant:
  - a) the Croatian language in general;
  - b) all South Slavic languages;
  - c) the Old Croatian language used in church service;
  - d) the Štokavian dialect; or
  - e) the Romanized Vlach language.
  
6. The Dalmatian language (*dalmatinski jezik*) came to mean the:
  - a) Croatian language; or
  - b) Čakavian dialect.
  
7. The Bosnian (*bosanski*) language was referred to as the Croatian language spoken in Bosnia; Ragusan (*dubrovački*) as spoken in Dubrovnik.

For the Glagolitic script, we found the names:

- a) Croatian script (*hrvatsko pismo*);
- b) Slavonic script (*slovinsko pismo*);
- c) Illyrian script (*ilirsko pismo*); and
- d) script invented by St. Jerome.

For the Croatian Cyrillic script (*bosančica*):

- a) Croatian script (*hrvatsko pismo*); and
- b) Illyrian script (*ilirsko pismo*).

It was characteristic among many Croats to emphasize proudly their belonging to their nation by adding to their personal name, or their personal name and surname, Croat (*Hrvat*). Since this was done by these Croats without regards to their occupation or position, and their religious affiliation, we cannot accept that this addition to a name denoted Glagolitic priests—even though they naturally did this often—but rather, ethnicity. As we have seen, Husein Odabaša Horvačanin from Jasenovac called himself in this way, did he not?

Translated by Stan Granic and Vinko Grubišić

# THE NATIONAL NAME OF THE CROATIAN LANGUAGE THROUGHOUT HISTORY\*

BENEDIKTA ZELIĆ-BUČAN

## RÉSUMÉ/ABSTRACT

Cet article détaillé, fondé sur des archives, des documents et des travaux littéraires publiés, examine dans quelle mesure les Croates de plusieurs régions, de différentes religions et de niveaux d'éducation différents ont utilisé le nom national pour leur langue. L'auteur s'est servi d'anciens documents écrits du 9<sup>e</sup> au 20<sup>e</sup> siècle. En dépit du parcellement des territoires croates, de désignations livresques et de l'usage sporadique de termes provinciaux tels que : *dalmatinski* (dalmatien), *bosanski* (bosniaque), *slavonski* (slavonien), *dubrovački* (ragusain), *slovinski* (slave) et *ilirski* (illyrien), l'emploi ininterrompu et très répandu du terme croate pour la langue nationale était consistant.

This comprehensive essay, based on archival sources, documents and other sources, surveys the extent to which Croats from different regions and of different faiths and levels of education, designated their language by its national name. The author consults sources from the 9th through to the 20th century. Despite the territorial parcelling of Croatian territories and the sporadic use of provincial designations and bookish substitutes—*dalmatinski* (Dalmatian), *bosanski* (Bosnian), *slavonski* (Slavonian), *dubrovački* (Ragusan), *slovinski* (Slavonic) and *ilirički* (Illyrian)—the uninterrupted and widespread use of the national name of the Croatian language (*hrvatski*) remained constant.

## I. The Oldest Domestic Sources from the 9th-15th Century

Very little is known about the life of the Croatian people during the first few centuries in their new homeland. This is because historical sources from

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\*The title in Croatian reads “Narodni naziv hrvatskog jezika tijekom hrvatske povijesti,” and was first published in the periodical *Jezik*, 19 (1970-1971), no. 1 (pp. 1-18) and no. 2 (pp. 38-48). The essay was revised and expanded in 1991 when it was published in: *Tisućljetni jezik naš hrvatski* [Our thousand-year-old Croatian language], ed. Stjepan Babić (Zagreb: Spiridon Brusina, 1991), pp. 1-51. The 1991 version, translated here, was also included in her book *Jezik i pisma Hrvata. Rasprave i članci* [Language and script of the Croats: essays and articles] (Split: Matica hrvatska, 1997), pp. 43-81. The translators would like to thank the author, Benedikta Zelić-Bučan, for clarifying certain points and Jim Hartling for reading the manuscript and providing his comments—trans.

that period are quite meagre. The 9th century was already much richer with information. From this century, we can find written domestic sources, diplomatic and archaeological, and still more information from foreign chroniclers. In the beginning, Western chroniclers (Franks and Venetians) did not distinguish Croats from the other Slavs who also settled on the Balkan peninsula. For this reason, they regularly called the Croats by the common term Slavs (*Slavi* and *Sclavi*), and their land *Slavonia* or *Sclavonia*, or even *Dalmatia*, after the classical name of the province in which they settled. These terms became conventional among Western writers and thus passed into diplomatic documents. On the other hand, Byzantine writers clearly distinguished Croats from their Slavic neighbours and regularly employed for the people and land, the following names: Croats (*Hrobatoi*) and Croatia (*Hrobatia*).

We, however, are primarily interested in domestic sources, as the purpose of this article is to show the extent to which Croats, throughout their history, designated their language by its national name.

The oldest preserved domestic sources, be they in the Croatian or Latin languages, reveal only the Croatian name as a designation of the people and their language. The Latin form for the Croatian national name was already found written on monuments dated in the 9th century.

Regardless of the dissension surrounding the diplomatic authenticity of the first two preserved rulers' documents (Trpimir's from AD 852 and Mutimir's from AD 892), there is no doubt about the authenticity of the name of the people since it is precisely this name that is simultaneously confirmed by archaeological finds. In the two oldest documents, both Trpimir and Mutimir are called rulers of the Croats: "*dux Chroatorum*".<sup>1</sup> Similar formulations are also found on stone inscriptions from the 9th and 10th centuries. Thus, on the fragment [dated at AD 888, trans.] that was discovered in Šopot, near Benkovac, Branimir is called "Duke of the Croats" ("*dux Cruatorum*"), while on the inscription from Kapitul near Knin [10th cen-

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<sup>1</sup>Ferdo Šišić, *Priručnik izvora hrvatske historije* [Handbook of sources in Croatian history] (Zagreb: Naklada Kraljevina hrvatske-slavonije-dalmacije zemaljske vlade, 1914), Part 1, pp. 193-197; *Documenta historiae croaticae periodum antiquam illustrantia*, ed. Franjo Rački, *Monumenta spectantia historiam slavorum meridionalium*, no. 7 (Zagreb: Academia scientiarum et artium slavorum meridionalium, 1877), pp. 3-5.

ture, trans.], Držislav is characterized as “Duke of the Croats” (“*dux Hroatorum*”).<sup>2</sup> Moreover, the same descriptions are found in further preserved rulers’ documents and stone inscriptions up to the end of the 11th century.

Preserved written monuments in the Croatian language were somewhat younger. This is completely understandable if we consider that from the beginning of Croatian political history, the diplomatic language of the Croatian court, as the whole of Western Europe, was Latin, and that among Croats the Latin language served as the only liturgical language for a long time. For this reason, documents and stone inscriptions on sacral monuments were written in Latin. Nonetheless, on one of the oldest monuments of the Croatian language, the Tablet of Baška (*Bašćanska ploča*), which was chiselled at the end of the 11th century, there was left in the Croatian form the name of the Croatian people. This again was found in a ruler’s title that mentioned Zvonimir as “the Croatian king” (“*kralj hrvatski*”).

Therefore, it would be logical to assume that even from the oldest time of their history, Croats designated their vernacular by its national name. We, however, will not rely on assumptions, no matter how probable and logical they may be, as preserved testimonies written in the vernacular, revealing Croatian as the name of the language spoken by Croats, were not much younger than the oldest written testimonies on the name of the Croatian people. Extensive evidence for the national name of the language spoken by Croats, has been preserved in the oldest monuments of Old Croatian Glagolitic<sup>3</sup> literature and literacy: chronicles, legal codes, hagiographies, breviaries, psalm books, missals, various registries, documents, as well as private-legal acts. We will cite just a few examples, keeping to chronological order as much as possible.

To date, the oldest preserved example of such a document that has been accepted by science, and in which the name of the language is explicitly mentioned in the monument, is the Statute of Vinodol (*Vinodolski zakon*)

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<sup>2</sup>Stjepan Gunjača and Dušan Jelovina, *Starohrvatska baština* [Old Croatian heritage] (Zagreb: Grafički zavod Hrvatske, 1976), photographs pp. 14 and 31, transcriptions pp. 96 and 99.

<sup>3</sup>See the note provided on p. 6 of this volume—trans.

from 1288. In this statute, the national name of the language is mentioned two times: in articles I and LXXII. In both instances, the author of the text explained certain words dealing with the respective articles. Thus, in Article I we find this sentence: “And the deacon, called *malik* in Croatian or *mazzarol* in Italian, who attends the Bishop in that same church, is to receive for that same consecration not more than fifteen *balanza* in small Venetian coins”<sup>4</sup> (“*Žakan ubo ki za biskupom stoi v toi istoi crikvi (zove se hrvatski malik, a vlaški macarol), nima imiti od toga istoga keršćenja ne veće bolanač 15 vernez benetačkih*”).<sup>5</sup> And in article LXXII we read: “And: the testimony of an emissary is not acceptable in any litigation if he is not under oath, unless he has been sent by the court, which emissary so charged is in Croatian called *arsal* (“*Jošće niedan posal ni verovan koliko na pravdi, ne budući roćen, shraneno ako est poslan od dvora, komu poslu se govori hervatski arsal*”).<sup>6</sup>

In the Istrian Land Survey (*Razvod istarski*) from 1325, the national name of the language was mentioned already in the introduction, and thereafter many times throughout the whole text. The Istrian Land Survey was a legal document dealing with the division between the townships of Istria. The original was written in three different languages: Latin for the Aquileian Patriarch, German for the Duke of Pazin, and Croatian for the Istrian noblemen and community. The notary public of the Croatian text stated in the introduction how the noblemen chose three notaries: one Latin, the second German, “and the third Croatian, so that all had their own original” (“*a tretoga hrvackoga da imamo vsaki na svoi oriinal pisati*”).<sup>7</sup> The negotiations over boundaries between the townships lasted several days.

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<sup>4</sup>The English translations of articles I and LXXII of the Statute of Vinodol were taken from “The Statute of Vinodol from 1238,” trans. Alan Ferguson, *BC Review*, no. 14 (Bristol, Eng., 1978), 29-39—trans.

<sup>5</sup>*Statuta lingua croatica conscripta/Hrvatski pisani zakoni* [Written legal codes of Croatia], eds. Franjo Rački, Vatroslav Jagić and Ivan Črnčić, Monumenta historico-juridica Slavorum meridionalium [Historical-juridical monuments of the South Slavs], no. 4 (Zagreb: Academia scientiarum et artium Slavorum meridionalium, 1890), see the section called *Vinodolski zakon* [The Statute of Vinodol], p. 6.

<sup>6</sup>*Hrvatski pisani zakoni*, p. 22.

<sup>7</sup>*Acta croatica/Listine Hrvatske* [Documents of Croatia], ed. Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, Monumenta historica Slavorum meridionalium/Povjestni spomenici južnih Slavenah [Historical monuments of the South Slavs], no. 1 (Zagreb, 1863), p. 4.



After completing part of their work and having discerned the boundaries of the individual townships, based upon the annexed legal documents and testimonies of trustworthy witnesses, the notaries would record the decisions. During these occasions the notary public writing in Croatian would regularly indicate that “both parties had their documents in Latin and Croatian, while the noblemen kept for themselves the version written in German” (“*i ednoi i drugoi strani pisaše listi jezikom latinskim i hrvackim a gospoda sebe shraniše ezikom nemškim*”).<sup>8</sup> This type of formulation with minor variations, but always mentioning all three languages in which these “documents” (“*listi*”) were written, was repeated several times in the text of the Istrian Land Survey.<sup>9</sup> The Croatian original concluded with the statement:

...i tako esam verno, pravo, po zapovedi pisal, ne priložec ni odložec komu zmutilo pravdu jazikom hrvackim kako se uzdrži v oriinali edne i druge strane, po imenu niže pisanih nodari.<sup>10</sup>

[...and thus I wrote faithfully and correctly, as I was ordered to, without adding or taking away anything that would confuse justice in the Croatian language, which was also contained in the originals belonging to the other parties, recorded by the undersigned notaries.]

The oldest historical document written in the Croatian language is the so-called Croatian Chronicle (*Hrvatska kronika*). This chronicle, which was never dated after the 14th century, was also dated much earlier, not without basis, by some older and younger authors (Vladimir Aleksejević Mošin in the 13th century, and Ivan Kukuljević-Sakcinski and Dominik Mandić in the 12th century). In several places, this chronicle mentions the national name of the Croatian language.

Up until today this chronicle has been published several times, be it independently, be it together with the Latin document: Chronicle of the Priest of Dioclea (Duklja). Besides this, extensive literature has been published on

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<sup>8</sup>Listine Hrvatske, pp. 4-5.

<sup>9</sup>Listine Hrvatske, pp. 6, 9, 12, 23, 27, 28, 33, 36, 39.

<sup>10</sup>Listine Hrvatske, p. 40.

the chronicle as a historical source or on individual questions from its text, as well as on the mutual relations, both temporally and textually, between the Croatian Chronicle and Duklajnín's Chronicle.<sup>11</sup>

Ferdo Šišić's edition contains the author's comprehensive commentary and overview of the most important literature from earlier times. For the most part, Mošin relied on Šišić for his selection of literature and remarks; however, he also had his own opinion regarding individual questions. With respect to the thematic question of this article, I would like to turn here to the contrasting opinions on the dating and original name of the Croatian Chronicle.

The name Croatian Chronicle originates from historiography, essentially because the historical document was written in the Croatian language and because it dealt with Croatian history, as opposed to the Latin text of the chronicle. The anonymous author of the Latin text is again named according to historiography, the Priest of Dioclea (*Pop Dukljanin*). When I considered this very same question in note 7 of the first edition of this article (*Jezik*, vol. 19), I brought out my own opinion that the Croatian text of the chronicle, the so-called Croatian Chronicle, was older than the Latin Chronicle and that through successive transcriptions in which changes were introduced, it served as the source which Priest Dukljanin mentions in his introduction and which he called in Latin: "*Regnum Sclavorum*".

Later, I received in my hands Mandić's essay "Kraljevstvo Hrvata i Ljetopis popa Dukljanina,"<sup>12</sup> which strengthened my belief in my position. As a result, one must conclude that the so-called Croatian Chronicle is in fact the *Regnum Sclavorum* written earlier by the same Priest Dukljanin in the Croatian language, who later translated it into Latin and supplemented it with new information from documents and oral traditions. Since the majority of authors agree that Dukljanin's Latin Chronicle originated sometime in the

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<sup>11</sup>Here, I mention only the most accessible publications of the complete text: *Kronika hrvatska iz XII vijeka*, ed. Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, Arkiv za povjestnicu jugoslavensku, no. 1 (Zagreb: Društvo za jugoslavensku povjestnicu i starine, 1851); *Letopis popa Dukljanina*, ed. Ferdo Šišić (Belgrade-Zagreb: Srpska kraljevska akademija, 1928); and *Ljetopis popa Dukljanina*, ed. Vladimir Mošin (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1950).

<sup>12</sup>Found in: Dominik Mandić, *Rasprave i prilozi iz stare hrvatske povijesti* [Essays and contributions on early Croatian history], eds. Dionizije Lasić and Bazilije Pandžić (Rome: Hrvatski povijesni institut, 1963), pp. 443-469.

second half of the 12th century, this would have to place the older Croatian document at least somewhere in the middle of the same century. Kukuljević had already dated it in the 12th century. Having followed Šišić, the majority of authors felt that the Croatian Chronicle was younger than the Latin Chronicle and that it was in fact a Croatian adoption of the first part of the Latin Chronicle, and therefore dated it from the 13th-14th century.

Despite all of this and the respect owed Šišić, the Nestor of Croatian history, I believe that Mandić is correct in this case. One cannot arbitrarily discard the testimony of the very author of the chronicle who asserts in the introduction that in his old age he translated his earlier work in Croatian, which in the Latin language could be called *Regnum Sclavorum*.

For us, it is especially important that such an old document contains testimonies about how the Croatian people called themselves and their language. As is quite natural, they called it by its national name. Thus, when this chronicle discussed the activities of St. Constantine-Cyril, it stated: “And thus the saintly man Constantine ordains priests and translates Greek texts into Croatian” (“*I tako sveti muž Konstanc naredi popove i knjigu harvacku i istumači iz grčkoga knjigu harvacku*”).<sup>13</sup> In another section, the chronicle stated:

Potom toga četiri dni čtiše stare privileže, ki bihu iz Rima prineseni, tako grčkih kako svih kraljevstvi i gospodstva jazik hrvackoga, tako primorsko, kako zagorsko.<sup>14</sup>

[After that, they read for four days of the old privileges (documents) which were brought from Rome, relating to Greek as well as to all realms and estates where Croatian was spoken, equally of the coastal regions as well as of the hinterland.]

In priest Mavro’s breviary from 1360, it was stated that the Holy Brothers (St. Cyril and St. Methodius), “explained Croatian books” (“*knjigi*

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<sup>13</sup>*Ljetopis*, p. 49

<sup>14</sup>*Ljetopis*, p. 52.

*hrvatske stlmačiše*).<sup>15</sup> During the Middle Ages, a belief was spread among the Glagolites that the Glagolitic alphabet had been invented by St. Jerome. Because of this account, the unknown Glagolitic writer honoured St. Jerome in his biography with the words: “Jerome is our Dalmatian, he is the glorious, honourable, famous, and radiant crown of the Croatian language” (“*Jerolim je naš Dalmatin; on je dika, poštenje i slava i svitla kruna hrvatskoga jezika*”).<sup>16</sup>

We also know of examples where the people of independent Medieval Bosnia called their language by the Croatian national name. For instance, when Ban Stjepan Kotromanić sought that the Bosnian Franciscans receive assistants for their missionary work in Bosnia, he pointed out that these must not only be well versed in religion, but they must also be skilled in the Croatian language: “*in fidei doctrina peritos et linguae croaticae non ignaros*”.<sup>17</sup>

By the 15th century, Croatian Glagolites transcribing liturgical books had already given the onetime Old Church Slavonic language Croatian national features. Thus, this language was no longer significantly different from the common speech. These Glagolitic priests also called this liturgical language by the national name. Thus, the priest Juraj Zubina in his will of 1437, stated of himself that he was a priest of the Croatian book (“*pop hrvacke knjige*”).<sup>18</sup> Petar Fraščić’s psalm book from 1463, already carried the national name in its title: *Tumačenje saltira hrvackoga (Explanations of the Croatian Book of Psalms)*.<sup>19</sup> In 1508, *Korizmenjak (Book on Lent)* was

<sup>15</sup>Vjekoslav Štefanić, “Hrvatska pismenost i književnost srednjega vijeka” [Croatian literacy and literature of the Middle Ages], in *Hrvatska književnost srednjega vijeka od XII. do XVI. stoljeća* [Croatian literature of the Middle Ages from the 12th to 16th century], ed. Vjekoslav Štefanić, Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti [Five centuries of Croatian literature], no. 1 (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska and Zora, 1969), p. 7.

<sup>16</sup>Mihovil Kombo, *Povijest hrvatske književnosti do narodnog preporoda* [The history of Croatian literature to the National Revival], 2nd ed. (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1961), p. 33.

<sup>17</sup>Quoted in: Radoslav Katičić, “‘Slověnski’ i ‘hrvatski’ kao zamjenjivi nazivi jezika hrvatske književnosti” [*Slověnski* and *hrvatski* as interchangeable designations of the language of Croatian literature], *Jezik*, 36, no. 4 (Zagreb, 1989), 103 note 31.

<sup>18</sup>Ivan Ostojčić, “Kako su Hrvati nazivali svoj jezik” [The terms Croats have used to designate their language], *Kolo*, 9 (Zagreb, 1971), 99.

<sup>19</sup>*Listine Hrvatske*, p. 93.

printed in Senj, which was explained in Croatian (*hrvacki*) by the priests Silvestar Bedričić and Pero Jakovičić. These two priests left an apology in case the translation was not the best: “because we are native Croats with a simple education” (“*žuč smo rodóm Hrvate, naukom latinskim priprostí*”).<sup>20</sup> When the Bishop of Modruš, Šimun Kozičić Benja, founded a Glagolitic printing house in Rijeka, he printed many books. One of these books was the *Misal hrvacki* (*Croatian missal*), which was printed in 1531. The fact that a solemn mass was celebrated in the Croatian language (*lingua croatica*),<sup>21</sup> prior to the commencement of Bishop Đuro Drašković’s diocesan council of 1570 (in Zagreb), testifies that from the 15th century and onwards the Croatianized church language had also been called by the national name.

Under the influence of the many Glagolitic priests who, along with the people, retreated before the Turkish invasion to northern and more secure Croatian territories, the Glagolitic alphabet (which was the holy script of Croatian liturgy, and which for centuries was already considered a sacred object and part of the national heritage) became widespread. The Glagolitic alphabet became well-known even north of the Kupa and Sava rivers. Along with the already mentioned solemn liturgy in the Croatian language during the church council of 1570, an interesting piece of information became known from the Latin translation of a testament of Juraj Berislavić. As found in the Latin translation, the will was originally written in “the Croatian or Glagolitic language” (“*idiomate croatico sive glagolítico*”).<sup>22</sup> This will was brought by Berislavić’s widow to the Canonry of Zagreb to be translated into Latin. This proves that at least one of the canons of Zagreb was quite familiar with the Glagolitic script, which the author in the cathedral considered a synonym for the Croatian language. Up to that time in southern Croatia, practically all documents in the vernacular language were written in the Glagolitic script, or further south, in the Croatian Cyrillic script, usually called *bosančica*.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>20</sup>Kombol, p. 28.

<sup>21</sup>Ostojčić, p. 99.

<sup>22</sup>*Listine Hrvatske*, p. 249.

<sup>23</sup>See the notes provided on pp. 7-8 of this volume—trans.

On the basis of the mentioned historical sources written in the Croatian language, we can with certainty conclude, at least for the territory south of the Kupa River from which the majority of these documents originated, that during the Middle Ages, Croats used the national name exclusively for their language. Many examples from this period reveal that, along with the national name of the language, the following synonyms were also used: Slavonic (*slavo* or *sclavo*), Illyrian (*illiricum*) and Dalmatian (*dalmaticum*). These names were used mostly by foreigners, and by domestic learned circles, but the latter only when they wrote in Italian or Latin. To date I have not come across such examples prior to the 16th century. Vatroslav Jagić, who could not be considered poorly versed in the knowledge of old language monuments, affirmed that for the language of the Croats and Serbs, history knew only two national names: Croatian and Serbian. These were undoubtedly the only terms used in popular speech, while state dismemberment brought in provincial names, and foreigners and the educated native population introduced the terms Slavonic (*slovinski*) and Illyrian (*ilirički*).<sup>24</sup>

This was confirmed by the already mentioned comprehensive treatise by Ivan Ostojić. In his essay, Ostojić presented an abundance of evidence for the various terms used for the Croatian language. However, even he failed to report one example that would show that a single Croat, before the 16th century, would designate his language, when he wrote in the vernacular, by any other term than the national name. From Ostojić's examples of the parallel usage of the terms Croatian (*hrvatski*) and Dalmatian (*dalmatinski*) as a synonym for the Croatian language, we can see that he also concluded similarly to Jagić: "that the name for the Croatian language (*hrvatski*) was popular, or common, while the name Dalmatian (*dalmatinski*) was introduced by educated people as a substitute for Croatian or to signify Čakavian<sup>25</sup> as a dialect of the Croatian language".<sup>26</sup>

In truth, the attribute Slavonic (*slověnski*) is encountered frequently in Medieval Croatian Glagolitic literature, especially in literature of a ritual

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<sup>24</sup>Vatroslav Jagić, "Iz prošlost hrvatskoga jezika" [From the past of the Croatian language], in *Rasprave, članci, sjećanja* [Studies, articles and reminiscences], ed. Marin Franičević, Pet stoljeća, no. 43 (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska and Zora, 1963), p. 47.

<sup>25</sup>See the note provided on p. 23 of this volume—trans.

<sup>26</sup>Ostojić, p. 96.

or general religious character, but this adjective Slavonic (*slověnski*) is also a substitute for the national adjective Croatian (*hrvatski*) in these works. While analyzing the interchangeable use of these two attributes as a designation for the language, Radoslav Katičić concluded that in all such cases the adjective Slavonic (*slovinski*) undoubtedly originates from the Cyrillo-Methodian textual heritage.<sup>27</sup> However, in all regions where the people called their language by its Croatian national name, the Glagolites substituted the adjective Slavonic (*slovinski*) with the national attribute Croatian (*hrvatski*) in liturgical and religious texts, especially in glosses, where no substitution was even necessary.<sup>28</sup>

It may not hurt to draw attention to the origin of the adjective *slověnski* in texts that indisputably belong to the central Cyrillo-Methodian tradition. The Holy Brothers learned Slavonic (*slověnski*) among the Macedonian Slavs, who it is true, were quite often an integral part of the Bulgarian state throughout the Middle Ages. However, right up to the time of the National Revival in the 19th century, they retained this general name *Slověni*. On the other hand, the territory of the pastoral activities of St. Methodius, as the archbishop of the renewed Bishopric of Sirmium (Srijemska Mitrovica), was among the Pannonian Croats residing in the Posavina region of Pannonia, who were also most often designated by the general Slavic name *Slověne* (*Slavi* - *Sclavi*), right up to our time. This provincial name was retained right up to 1918 as a diplomatic name in the threefold designation of Croatia: "The Triune Kingdom of Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia" ("*Trojedna kraljevina Dalmacija, Hrvatska i Slavonija*"). It was also maintained in the mouths of the people as the provincial designation for the land and commoners (but not for the language!) right up to today.

Speculations with interpretations for the expressions "*zemlja slovenskaja*" and "*jazik slovensk*" as if they have some relation to Slovakia and the Slovak language<sup>29</sup> are completely without basis. Great Moravia (*Grande Moravia*/*Megale Moravia*) could never have been Czech Moravia,

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<sup>27</sup>Katičić, p. 100.

<sup>28</sup>Katičić, p. 101.

<sup>29</sup>Mihajlo (Michele) Lacko, "I concili di Spalato e la liturgia slava," *Medioevo e umanesimo*, 49 (Padua, 1982), 197.

but rather the city of Moravia near Sirmium. Consequently, in documents it is even called the Bishopric of Sirmium, Pannonia or Moravia, depending on whether it was named after the city or land. Not only did Methodius' jurisdiction not extend past, but it never could have extended past the Danube River because the jurisdiction of the Bavarian archbishopric in Passau only extended to the Danube, whose archbishop accused and imprisoned Methodius. Furthermore, neither the actual political rule nor even the sphere of influence of the Eastern Roman Empire ever actually crossed over the Danube. Therefore, not even the Byzantine Emperor, who sent the Holy Brothers to Moravia as missionaries, could have sent them outside the territory which encompassed at least his nominal rule.<sup>30</sup> As a result, the adjective “*slověnski*” as a designation for the language in the texts of the Cyrillo-Methodian tradition also could have originated from Pannonian Croats, the region later known as the *banovina* of Slavonia.

## II. The Disunified National Territory: Diversity in Names of the National Language from the 16th to 18th Century

The Turkish invasion and Venetian occupation of the coastal cities and large parts of the littoral region narrowed the territory of the Croatian state at the end of the 16th century to the “sorrowful remnants of the remnants”. The political name of Croatia was thus pulled back to the thin northwestern part of Croatian national territory. In the occupied territories under Turkish and Venetian rule, the geographic provincial names began to predominate. Thus, under Turkish rule, the name Bosnia spread first across all Croatian territories occupied by the Turks, until the 18th century when it became stabilized

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<sup>30</sup>This problem is examined in detail by: Imre Boba, *Moravia's History Reconsidered: A Reinterpretation of Medieval Sources* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1971); id., “Sv. Metodije i nadbiskupsko sjedište u Sirmiumu u crkvenoj pokrajini Sclavonia” [St. Methodius and the archbishop's residence in Sirmium in the church province of *Sclavonia*], *Crkva u svijetu*, 10, no. 4 (Split, 1985). Cf. my article: “Navodni latinaško-glagoljaški sukobi u Hrvatskoj do kraja XI stoljeća” [Alleged Latin-Glagolitic conflicts in Croatia to the end of the 11th century], in *Zbornik radova međunarodnog simpozija “Počeci kršćanskog i društvenog života u Hrvata od VII do kraja IX stoljeća”* [Collected works of the international symposium “Beginnings of the Christian and social life of the Croats from the 7th to end of the 9th century”], ed. Drago Šimundža (Split: Crkva u svijetu, 1985), cf. especially notes 28-32 and the corresponding text.



on the territory south of the Sava River and approximately east of the Una River. This was that part of Turkish Bosnia that remained under Ottoman rule up until the Austrian occupation, in 1878. Nevertheless, in diplomatic documents, as in the oral tradition of the people, the term “Turkish Croatia” (“*Turska Hrvatska*”), for the territories west of the lower Bosnia and Vrbas rivers, remained in use. It was employed until the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, and demonstrates that the people were aware that these territories were integral parts of the Croatian state, prior to the Turkish invasion.

At the same time in southern Croatia, during the Venetian-Turkish wars from the 16th-18th centuries (Cypriot, Candian, and Morean wars), in which native-born volunteers fought as the main component of the Venetian military force, Venetian rule was spread, and with it the provincial term Dalmatia. It was spread across the whole Croatian area captured from the Turks, even to the Dinaric mountain range. The westernmost part of Croatian ethnic territory, the Istrian peninsula, which was settled by the Croats during the early Middle Ages and where Croatian Glagolitic literature later blossomed, was not even encompassed in the Croatian state. Except for its most eastern part (east of the Raša River), Istria was divided for centuries among the Venetian Republic and Austrian noblemen until its liberation during the Second World War. On the extreme south of Croatia, the Republic of Dubrovnik remained free, but was cut off from the Croatian mainland that had retreated far to the north of the expansive Turkish territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Dubrovnik found itself squeezed between the Venetian estates in Dalmatia and the Bay of Kotor (*Albania veneta/Boka Kotorska*).

Even the unconquered parts of Croatia were by their internal administrative-political divisions torn into two parts: the Military Frontier Region (Border) and Provincial or so-called Banal (Civil) Croatia (*Banska Hrvatska*).

The territorial parcelling of Croatia eroded the sense of national unity in the annexed regions. As a result, individual Croatian writers of that time began to use local and provincial names as designations of nationality and language: Dalmatian (*dalmatinski*), Bosnian (*bošnjački*), Slavonian (*slavonski*), and Ragusan (*dubrovački*). Along with this, the Franciscans in the 17th century, and literary circles even earlier, already used the familiar appellation Slavonic (*slovinski*) as a term for the language. Even the name of the people was transmitted from Rome (Congregation for the Propaga-

tion of the Faith), spreading the completely bookish name Illyrian (*ilirički*) as a literal translation of the Latin form *lingua illyrica*. Since the primary purpose of this treatise is to show the uninterrupted historical continuity in the use of the national name of the Croatian language and to explain the historical causes for the deviation from this practice, I will not focus on the documentation of these examples of provincial names, which were used by native writers be it in written documents of the vernacular or some other language, most often Latin or Italian.<sup>31</sup>

Nevertheless, not even at this time of total dismemberment of the Croatian state and ethnic territory, did the sense of belonging to the Croatian national community ever completely vanish in these peripheral or alienated regions. On the contrary, this consciousness, as revealed by some examples, was astonishingly alive. During that time, not only did Croatian belletristic literature blossom, but it blossomed in all Croatian territories, whether they were still part of the free Croatian state or under foreign rule. We have an abundance of evidence revealing how Croatian writers were deeply aware of their belonging to the same ethnic community, and therefore designated their language by the bookish or provincial names and very often by its national name. It is impossible to cite all these examples. To illustrate this point, however, it would be sufficient to provide some examples that I found in surveys of older Croatian literature and in editions of old Croatian writers, especially in the series *Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti (Five centuries of Croatian literature)*. Those well acquainted with older Croatian literature could certainly add many more examples.<sup>32</sup>

I will begin by enumerating evidence for the use of the national name of the vernacular language by Croatian writers from Dubrovnik. After Istria,

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<sup>31</sup>In this article, I limited myself to historically explaining the intermittent use of these different names as synonyms for the national name of the Croatian language. As for the documentation, I concentrated on illustrating the uninterrupted and widespread (that is, on the whole territory of the Croatian language) use of the national name of the language. Therefore, I documented, only here and there, these different names and I direct those readers who are particularly interested in these different terms to the mentioned work by Ostojčić. His essay brought abundant documentation not only on the national name, but also on all the other synonyms for that name.

<sup>32</sup>For the Renaissance period cf.: Rafo Bogišić, "Narodnosni pridjev u djelima hrvatskih renesansnih pjesnika" [The ethnic adjective in the works of Croatian Renaissance poets], *Jezičnik*, 33, no. 5 (Zagreb, 1986), 129-136.

Dubrovnik was the Croatian region which was separated the longest time from the mainland and remaining Croatian ethnic and state territories and in which, in fact, the term Slavonic (*slovinski*) became established earliest as a synonym for the vernacular language.

In his epistles to various Croatian writers, Nikola Nalješković (ca. 1500-1587) revealed a live consciousness of Croatian national unity despite the political disunification. In 1564, his epistle to Ivan Vidali of Korčula, exalted Vidali as a man of whom “the entire Croatian people invokes and cheers” (“*sav narod Hrvata vapije i viče*”) and that he was “the golden crown of which all are proud” (“*kruna od zlata kojom se svi diče*”).<sup>33</sup> His epistle to the nobleman Hortenzij Bartučević of Hvar, began with these words: “Hortense, respected and honoured by all Croats” (“*Hortense poštteni, slavo svih Hrvata*”).<sup>34</sup> After having praised Hektorović’s virtues, Nalješković in his poem *Guti gospodina Petra Hektorovića* (*The gout of the gentleman Petar Hektorović*) addressed the following plea to the sickness (gout) which befell the poet:

Molim te togaj rad, nemoj svi Hrvati  
da na te plaču sad, hotjeje ga parjati.<sup>35</sup>

[And so I pray thee, let not all the Croats  
Bemoan thine acts, but rather set him free.]<sup>36</sup>

The first major Croatian translator was Dominko Zlatarić (1558-1613). He translated many classical works or as he himself stated: “from several foreign languages transposed into Croatian” (“*iz veće tuđijeh jezika u hrvacki izložene*”).<sup>37</sup> His translation of Sophocles’, *Electra* was dedicated to Duke

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<sup>33</sup>*Zbornik stihova XV. i XVI. stoljeća* [Anthology of poetry from the 15th and 16th centuries], ed. Rafo Bogišić, Pet stoljeća, no. 5 (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska and Zora, 1968), p. 463.

<sup>34</sup>*Nikola Nalješković—Martin Benetović—Junije Palmotić*, ed. Rafo Bogišić, Pet stoljeća, no. 9 (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska and Zora, 1965), p. 46.

<sup>35</sup>Pet stoljeća, no. 9, p. 47.

<sup>36</sup>The English rendering of Nalješković’s poetic epistle to Hektorović was taken from E. D. Goy’s translation in *BC Review*, no. 15 (Bristol, Eng., 1979), 12—trans.

<sup>37</sup>Pet stoljeća, no. 5, p. 396.

Juraj Zrinski, son of the hero of Sziget (Nikola Zrinski). In the dedication he stated that with great pleasure he “Croatianized the Greek Electra” (“*Hrvaćku Grkinju Elektru*”).<sup>38</sup> In a kind letter, Duke Zrinski thanked Zlatarić for the dedication and also for the gracious reception his cousin Petar Šubić of Peran received, on his visit to Dubrovnik.<sup>39</sup> This occurred at the end of the 16th century, the saddest period of Croatian history, when Croatia was reduced to the “sorrowful remnants of the remnants”. However, we can see that not only did a sense of national belonging exist, but also personal ties between the outermost northern and southern Croatian regions were evident.

Mavro Vetranović (1483-1576) could not remain calm with the ever increasing Turkish penetration into Croatia and the decay of Croatia’s glorious past. In his *Tužbi grada Budima (Complaints of the city of Buda)*, he stated sorrowfully:

Sad nije Kosovo, sad nije Krbave,<sup>40</sup>  
ni polja ravnoga, ni hrvatske slave<sup>41</sup>

[Now there is no Kosovo, there is no Krbava,  
Nor flat plains, nor Croatian glory.]<sup>42</sup>

He also grieved in his *Pjesanica slavi carevoj (Short poem in honour of the emperor)*:

O slavni Hrvati, i vas li ognjen zmaj  
do traga pomlati i dâ vam plačni vaj,<sup>43</sup>

[O glorious Croats, even you suffered defeat  
By the Turkish dragon, pushing you into deep sorrows.]

<sup>38</sup>Pet stoljeća, no. 5, p. 396.

<sup>39</sup>Kombol, p. 185.

<sup>40</sup>Refers to the destruction of Medieval Serbia at the Battle of Kosovo (1389) and the annihilation of the Croatian aristocracy at the Battle of Krbava (1493) by the Ottoman Turks—trans.

<sup>41</sup>Kombol, p. 115.

<sup>42</sup>The translators have provided line-by-line renderings of Croatian verse into English. These are meant to assist the reader and have no poetic pretensions of their own—trans.

<sup>43</sup>Kombol, p. 115; Pet stoljeća, no. 5, p. 203.

Vetranović also called his language by the national name. In his epistle (1539) to the poet Petar Hektorović, he wished that the poet's glory spread far away, "particularly in the area where Croatian is spoken" ("*a navlaš, kud jezik hrvatski prohodi*").<sup>44</sup>

As is generally known, and therefore should not be necessary to mention, the father of Croatian belletristic literature, Marko Marulić of Split (1450-1524), called the language of his works in the vernacular by its national name. This was found in the title of his epic poem *Istoria Sfete udouice Iudit u uersih harvacchi slovena* (*The history of the holy widow Judith, composed in Croatian verses*). The somewhat younger Jerolim Kaletić, who transcribed the Croatian Chronicle in the Roman script, called the alphabet of the original, the Croatian script.<sup>45</sup>

Hanibal Lucić (1485-1553) from the island of Hvar, dedicated his translation of Ovid's poem *Paris Helенаe* (*Paris to Helena*) to Jerolim Martinčić, and explained in the dedication that "the same book had been translated from Latin into our Croatian" ("*istu knjigu z latinske odiće svukši u našu harvacu nikoliko jur vrimena bih priobukal*").<sup>46</sup> His fellow-citizen, Hortenzij Bartučević (1516-1578), whom Nalješković of Dubrovnik glorified as the honour of all Croats, in an epistle addressed to Bernardin Karnarutić, praised his epic *Vazetje Sigeta grada* (*The fall of the city of Sziget*) and stated:

A Segetom si steć hotil zlatnu krunu  
kom će Harvati već časni bit na punu.<sup>47</sup>

[Glorious Croats at the fierce battle of Sziget,  
You fought heroically to obtain the golden crown.]

As we have already seen, Nalješković of Dubrovnik sent an epistle honouring Ivan Vidali (ca. 1500-1587) and stated that he was a person of

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<sup>44</sup>Kombol, p. 121.

<sup>45</sup>*Ljetopis*, p. 68.

<sup>46</sup>*Hanibal Lucić—Petar Hektorović*, ed. Marin Franičević, *Pet stoljeća*, no. 7 (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska and Zora, 1968), p. 133.

<sup>47</sup>*Pet stoljeća*, no. 5, p. 462.

whom all Croats were proud. In his return epistle to Nalješković, Vidali called him “the glory and pride of the Croatian language” (“*hrvatskoga diko i slavo jezika*”)<sup>48</sup> and praised the city-state of Dubrovnik as “the crown of all Croatian cities” (“*hrvatskih ter krunu gradov se svih zove*”).<sup>49</sup>

Petar Zoranić of Zadar (1508-ca.1569) dedicated his *Planine* (*The mountains*) to his Croatian people and the Canon of Nin, Matija Matijević, or as he put in his own words: “To the Croats and to your Grace, whom I know to be a good patriot and honourable Croat” (“*Hrvatom i Vašoj milosti, ki znam da dobar baščinac i Hrvatini poštovan jest*”).<sup>50</sup> In chapter 20 of the *The mountains*, he wrote how the Croatian fairy lamented over “the carelessness and disregard shown towards the Croatian language!” (“*nepomnjo i nehaju jazika hrvackoga!*”), as she knew well that: “not one or two, but many Croats, are wise and well instructed and could bring pride and glory, and could express themselves in their language, but it seems to me that they are ashamed either of me or of themselves” (“*Hrvat mojih ne jedan ali dva, da mnozi mudri i naučeni jesu ki sebe i jzik svoj zadovoljno pohvaliti, proslaviti i naresiti umili bi, da vidi mi se da se manom pačeli sobom sramuju i stide*”).<sup>51</sup> Although Zoranić’s contemporary Juraj Baraković (1548-1628) called his epic by the bookish title *Vila Slovinka* (*Slavonic fairy*), in it he wrote of the history and suffering of his people. In fact, the fairy told him the history of his heritage and even how she adorned his great-grandfather Bartul “with the Croatian hat and feathers” (“*Perje ga ljudjaše i klobuk hrvatski*”).<sup>52</sup>

From the same era (the 16th century), we have ample testimonies revealing how Croatian Protestant writers designated the language of their people. These writers did not write and translate works for belletristic purposes, but instead wrote for practical needs. They wished to spread Reform ideas to their people of all strata. They wrote in the common language at a time when everywhere in Europe, including Croatia, humanist writers ex-

<sup>48</sup>Pet stoljeća, no. 5, 463.

<sup>49</sup>Pet stoljeća, no. 5, p. 464.

<sup>50</sup>*Petar Zoranić—Juraj Baraković*, ed. Franjo Švalec, Pet stoljeća, no. 8 (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska and Zora, 1964), p. 36.

<sup>51</sup>Pet stoljeća, no. 8, p. 156.

<sup>52</sup>Pet stoljeća, no. 8, p. 216.

celled in writing their treatises in Latin, the common language of European civilization. The most erudite among the Croatian Protestant writers was Matija Vlačić (1520-1575), a Protestant theoretician of European prominence who, therefore, wrote in Latin to learned circles in Europe. Because of this influence, when he did mention his nationality and language, he used the Latin term *Illyricus*. His fellow-countrymen and partisans Antun Dalmatin (d.1579) and Stjepan Konzul (1521-ca.1568), who wrote and translated parts of the Holy Scriptures into the vernacular language for their people, designated their language with the Croatian national name. Thus, in one publication they stated that God's providence brought them to the German land where they became acquainted with the truth, and now they wanted "to spread the Croatian language among the many peoples" ("*hrvatskim jezikom mej vnoge narode na široko rasplodimo*").<sup>53</sup>

Their edition of *Vsih prorokov stumačenje hrvatsko* (*Croatian interpretation of all prophets*) carried the national name of the language in its very title. The title page of their translation of Johannes Brenz's *Postile* [*Post illa verba*] *Parvi del postile Evanyeliiov...* (*The first part of the comments on the Gospels...*) from 1568, also stated that the Gospels and the comments were "faithfully translated and interpreted from Latin into Croatian" ("*potle u Harvaczki yazik iz Latinskoga verno obracheni i stumatseni*"). The same was found in the second part of this translation of Brenz's *Postile: Drugi del postile...* (*Second part of postila...*). It was explained and interpreted "in the Croatian language" ("*potli na Harvaczki yazik*") by Antun and Stjepan of Istria. Both parts were intended for Croats who already settled in Burgenland (Gradišće), Austria.

Since we have already referred to Croats from Burgenland, we should mention some of their other books written in the Croatian language, from which we can see that not only did they preserve their mother tongue in their new country, but also that they have always called it by its national name. One of the oldest books was *Dusevne peszne, psalmi ter hvale vzdania diacke, od bogaboiechih vchenim musi v nirmskom i nikoliko vugerszkom jaziku szpravne a sada pak u Hervatczki jazik preobrnuti po Gerguru Pythiracusu alit hervatczki Mekinichiu* (*Spiritual poems,*

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<sup>53</sup>Zvane Črnja, *Kulturna historija Hrvatske* [The cultural history of Croatia] (Zagreb: Epoha, 1964), p. 297.

*psalms and Latin lauds written by some God-fearing men in German and Hungarian, and now translated into the Croatian language by Gergur Pythiracus or in Croatian Mekinich*), Sv. Križ (Keresztur), 1611. The first book with secular content (that is, other than liturgical and prayer books) was: *Csetvero-versztni duhovni Persztan...na veliku dussnu hassan svem Hervatszkomu narodu darovan od p. Eberharda Maria Kragela (Quadruple spiritual ring...on the great spiritual profit of all Croatian people given by Pastor Eberhard Maria Kragel)*, Sopron, 1763.<sup>54</sup> Then there were school primers, grammars and other school books from the 19th and 20th centuries which always called the language in their titles by the Croatian national name.<sup>55</sup>

In this extremely difficult period of Croatian history, Croatian writers made efforts to overcome the despair and preserve the spiritual unity within the people despite the complete territorial disunity. As stated by Rafo Bogišić:

Having been left without a state early on, and having shown a natural impulse for lasting and enduring, the Croatian attribute was centred around the language, alphabet and literature. In this way, from the beginning, it achieved a heightened character of cultural individuality, natural emancipation and a natural desire for existing.<sup>56</sup>

The Franciscan friar, Andrija Kačić Miošić (1704-1760) had the same purpose, and by showing confidence in his own people, he wished to awaken it in another manner. He did not turn to learned circles, nor did he call on the problematic mutuality and solidarity of Slavic brothers. He wrote epic po-

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<sup>54</sup>Alojz Jembrih, “Jezične osobine pjesmarica Grgura Mekinića Pythiraensa (1609 i 1611) - prinos proučavanju gradišćansko hrvatske protestantske književnosti i njezina jezika” [Linguistic features of the hymnal of Grgur Mekinić Pythiraens (1609 and 1611): a contribution to the study of Burgenland Croatian Protestant literature and its language], in *Gradišćanski Hrvati 1533-1983* [Burgenland Croats 1533-1983], ed. Božidar Finka (Zagreb: Društvo za suradnju s gradišćanskim Hrvatima i drugim hrvatskim narodnim manjinama u susjednim zemljama i Centar za istraživanje migracija i narodnosti, 1984), pp. 79-80, 72-73—trans.

<sup>55</sup>Everything dealing with the books and publications for and by the Burgenland Croats, I saw and recorded at the Burgenland Croats exhibit held in Split, in the spring of 1971.

<sup>56</sup>Bogišić, p. 135.



ems about Slavonic (*slovinski*) heroes, for the widest strata of his nation, for farm labourers and shepherds. He did so to awaken self-confidence and self-reliance conforming to the popular saying: “Rely on yourself and your own strength!” (“*Uzdaje se u se i u svoje kljuse!*”). He accomplished this as his *Razgovor ugodni naroda slovinskoga* (*Pleasant conversation of the Slavonic people*) entered every peasant’s home and was recited and sung on every peasant’s hearth. It was so close to the hearts of the people, that already by the 18th century it underwent several publications, which was a great rarity for our circumstances at that time. It was, in fact, this tremendous popularity of Kačić’s *Conversation*, which had one negative consequence. Through his literature, the name Slavonic (*slovinsko*) was introduced into use among commoners as a designation of the people and their language. The same negative influence came about among learned circles through the very popular work of Mavro Orbini: *Il Regno degli Slavi* (*The royal realm of the Slavs*). The consequence of Orbini’s work was even more far-reaching. Right up to the time of the Illyrians,<sup>57</sup> Orbini’s misconception about the Slavic origin of the ancient Illyrians continued to prevail in Croatian historiography. This prevalence is one of the reasons that members of the Croatian National Revival of the first half of the 19th century awakened their people with the historically misconstrued term Illyrian.

Thus, along with the old bookish name Slavonic (*slovinski*) which passed into use by the people through literary works, there also appeared in literature a new and completely nonnational (entirely foreign to the common people) term Illyrian (*ilirski, ilirički*). At the same time, provincial names began to appear here and there as terms for individual dialects and subdialects

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<sup>57</sup>Members of the Illyrian Movement or the Croatian National Revival of the 19th century whose leading figure was Ljudevit Gaj (1809-1872). The Croatian National Awakening had three areas of activity: 1) it was an integrative Croatian cultural renaissance that established the Croatian literary language; 2) it was a political movement dedicated to preserving Croatian privileges in the Hungarian Kingdom; and 3) it was a Croatian attempt at culturally unifying all the South Slavs. The Illyrian name was chosen because it was felt that this neutral term could overcome regional differences and because it had been used as a synonym for the Croats and the South Slavs. Its choice was also based on the erroneous belief that the South Slavic peoples were descendants of the ancient Illyrians. See: Elinor Murray Despalatović, *Ljudevit Gaj and the Illyrian Movement* (Boulder, CO: East European Quarterly, 1975) pp. 2-3; Barbara Jelavich, *History of the Balkans* (New York: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1983), I, 306-308—trans.

of the Croatian language. Nevertheless, the national name for the language of the Croatian people lived on not only among the peasants, but also among writers, as exhibited in other examples from the 17th and 18th century.

It is well-known that the Croatian Ban (Banus or Viceroy) and martyr, Petar Zrinski (1621-1671) transposed “in our Croatian language” (“*na hrvacki naš jezik*”<sup>58</sup>) a work written by his brother Nikola. This poetic work dealing with the battle of Sziget was entitled *Adrianskoga mora Sirena* (*Mermaid of the Adriatic Sea*). The work was dedicated “to faithful and valiant heroes and courageous knights of both continental and coastal Croatia” (“*virnim i vridnim junakom, vse hrvacke i primorske krajine hrabrenim vitezovom*”).<sup>59</sup> The realization that those in Sziget were actually fighting for the defence of Croatia was illustrated in many parts throughout the poem. He called Nikola and his knights “defenders of Croatia” (“*obrambom hrvatskom*”), while the knight Radovan stated during battle with the Turks: “I am a Croat and my name is not unknown” (“*Ja sam pak Hrvatom, ni mi tajno ime*”), etc.<sup>60</sup> Zrinski’s younger romantic brother-in-law, Duke Krsto Frankopan (1643-1671), the hero, martyr and poet, wrote a collection of poems entitled *Dijačke junačke* (*Popular epic poems*), which dealt with Croatian heroes. Here are a few lines from that work:

Bisno jaše Horvatjanin junak  
priko polja viteškoga konja;<sup>61</sup>

[The valiant Croatian rides with pride,  
Through the field on his knightly steed.]

Ban Petar Zrinski’s wife (*banica*) and Krsto’s sister, the martyr Katarina Zrinski (1625-1673) translated her prayer book *Putni tovaruš* (*Prayer book/ Vade Mecum*) from German into Croatian (*hrvatski jezik*).

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<sup>58</sup>*Petar Zrinski—Fran Krsto Frankopan—Pavao Ritter Vitezović*, ed. Josip Vončina, *Pet stoljeća*, no. 17 (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska and Zora, 1976), pp. 10, 25.

<sup>59</sup>Kombol, p. 274; *Pet stoljeća*, no. 17, p. 25.

<sup>60</sup>Kombol, p. 274.

<sup>61</sup>Kombol, p. 277; *Pet stoljeća*, no. 17, p. 215.

Friar Filip Grabovac (1697-1748), already in the title of his work from 1747, designated his language by its national name alongside the bookish name Illyrian: *Cvit razgovora naroda i jezika iliričkoga aliti rvackoga* (*Flower of conversation of the Illyrian or Croatian people and language*). This clearly shows that these two names were synonyms. In the same year, the Franciscan friar, Josip Banovac (ca.1693-1771) from the surrounding area of Skradin, stated of his *Pripovidanja* (*Homilies*) that it was composed “in the splendid Croatian language” (“*u dični hrvatski jezik*”).<sup>62</sup> In the preface to the book *Predike* (*Homilies*) of 1759, he stated that it was written “to his dear Croatian brothers” (“*svojoj miloj braći Hrvacánima*”) and that he wrote the homilies for those who do not understand other books except those “in their Croatian language” (“*u svojoj hrvatski jezik*”).<sup>63</sup> That same year (1759) friar Bernardin Pavlović of Dubrovnik published in Venice his book *Pripravljanje za dostojno reči sv. misu...* (*Preparation for the respectful reading of the holy mass...*), in which further along in the title was found that it was written in the Croatian language (*hrvatskim jezikom*). This was also repeated in the work’s preface, which was with God’s help translated into the Croatian language (*hrvatski jezik*).<sup>64</sup> Even the learned priest Angelo Della Costa, of the Split Cathedral, called the language in his *Zakonu crikovnom* (*Canon laws*) of 1788, repeatedly by its Croatian national name.<sup>65</sup> The same was done by the learned Franciscan from Ljubuški, friar Lovro Šitović, who converted from Islam. In his *Grammatica Latino-Illyrica*<sup>66</sup> (*Latin-Illyrian grammar*) Šitović mentioned only the Croatian language (*jeziku hrvatskomu*).<sup>67</sup>

Even those writers who used the bookish names Slavonic (*slovinski*) or Illyrian (*ilirski*) for the vernacular in their works, only used them as

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<sup>62</sup>Pet stoljeća, no. 43, p. 85.

<sup>63</sup>Pet stoljeća, no. 43, p. 85.

<sup>64</sup>Pet stoljeća, no. 43, p. 86.

<sup>65</sup>Pet stoljeća, no. 43, p. 86.

<sup>66</sup>The title of Šitović’s grammar was taken from: Branko Franolić, *An Historical Survey of Literary Croatian* (Paris: Nouvelles Editions Latines, 1984), p. 149 note 30, and Vinko Grubišić, “A Survey of Recent Croatian Grammars and Their Predecessors,” trans. Antun Nizeteo and Marvin Tatum, *Journal of Croatian Studies*, 25-26 (New York, 1984-1985), 164—trans.

<sup>67</sup>Pet stoljeća, no. 43, p. 86.

bookish synonyms for the Croatian national name. This was expressly confirmed by those writers who alternately used both terms, even in the same work, or when one name served as an attribute of the other. With respect to this, refer again to friar Filip Grabovac's work *Cvit razgovora naroda i jezika iliričkoga aliti rvackoga* (*Flower of conversation of the Illyrian or Croatian people and language*). The exceptionally versatile writer Pavao Vitezović (1652-1713) wrote not only historical and literary works, but linguistic works as well. Thus, he wrote a Croatian orthography and grammar in the Latin language. It is interesting that he titled his grammar *Grammatica croatica*, and his orthography *Ortographia illyricana*.<sup>68</sup> The Canon of Zadar and member of the Academy of Zadar Enthusiasts (*degli Incaloriti*), Ivan Tanzlinger Zanotti (1651-1732), who was a contemporary and collaborator of Vitezović's, dedicated his *Vocabolario di tre nobilissimi linguaggi, italiano, illirico e latino* (*Vocabulary of the three most noble languages: Italian, Illyrian and Latin*) to the "Slavonic Croatian youth" ("*slovinskoj hrvatskoj mladosti*"). He deplored Croats for corrupting their language with foreign elements: "A Croat cannot say a word in his pure and natural Slavonic language" ("*ne umide veće Hrvat junak svoju besidu izreći čistim naravskim slovinskim jezikom*").<sup>69</sup> Juraj Baraković (1548-1628) titled his epic *Vila Slovinka* (*Slavonic fairy*), but in his letter of thanks to Tomko Mrnavić (who praised the *Slavonic fairy*) Baraković compared Mrnavić to Marko Marulić, since both wrote "Croatian books" ("*hrvatske knjige*") in the "Croatian language" ("*hrvatskim jezikom*").<sup>70</sup>

During this period, the names of academies for the cultivation of literature and of institutions for the education of Croatian priests, in Croatia and abroad, were interesting and symptomatic. There was the Illyrian or Slavonic Academy (*Akademija ilirska alitivan slovinska*) that operated in Split at the end of the 18th century. In Loreta, Italy, a seminary for Croatian priests called Illyrian College (*Collegium illyricum*) existed. For the same purpose, the Illyrian Academy (*Academia illyrica*) in Rome, the Hungar-

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<sup>68</sup>Kombol, p. 283; *Leksikon Minerva, praktični priručnik za modernog čovjeka* [Lexicon Minerva, a practical handbook for modern man], ed. Gustav Šamšalović (Zagreb: Minerva nakladna knjižara, 1936), column 1507.

<sup>69</sup>Kombol, p. 288.

<sup>70</sup>Ostojić, p. 112.

ian-Illyrian College (*Collegium Hungarico-illyricum*) in Bologna, and the Croatian College (*Collegium croaticum*) that was established in 1624 in Vienna, also existed.<sup>71</sup> The Glagolitic seminary founded in 1750 in Priko, near Omiš, was called Illyrian (*ilirsko*), Slavonic (*slovinsko*) and Croatian (*hrvatsko*), depending on who wrote in which language.<sup>72</sup>

Up until the 17th century writers from northern Croatia (north of the Kupa and Sava rivers) began to regularly call their language Slavonic (*slovenski* or *slovinski*) depending if they spoke Ekavian-Kajkavian or Ikavian-Štokavian. These writers employed the term Croatian for the language of the writers south of the Kupa River. That they were thinking of the same language, but only a different pronunciation is best testified by Juraj Habelić (1609-1679) who dedicated his *Zrcalo Marijansko* (*Marian mirror*) “to the whole Slavonic and Croatian Christian nation” (“*vsem slovenskoga i horvatskoga naroda kršćenikom*”). He also published his *Dikcionar ili reči slovenske* (*Dictionary or Slavonic words*) for the use of “the young Christians of the Croatian and Slavonic nation” (“*mladencev horvatskoga i slovenskoga naroda*”),<sup>73</sup> indicating to his readers along the way that if “they wish to speak Croatian, they should say instead of *lehko, lahko*” (“*horvatski hoće govoriti neka reče mesto lahko-lahko*”).

By the 17th century, under the influence of the narrowing of the Croatian state to the north, and also under the influence of the works of Vitezović and Zrinski, northern Croatian writers, especially those writing in the Kajkavian dialect, began to call their language by its national name instead of Slavonic. Both Ivan Belostenec (1595-1675) in his homilies and Baltazar Milovec (1612-1678) in his *Dušnom vrtu* (*Spiritual garden*), called their language Croatian.<sup>74</sup> With time the Kajkavian form of the Croatian name (*horvatski*) prevailed as the name of the Kajkavian dialect. At the same time, the earlier terms *slovinski* or the corrupted *slavonski*, remained as local designations of the Slavonian subdialect, that is, the area of the

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<sup>71</sup>Kombol, p. 215.

<sup>72</sup>For more details see my short article: “Kako se je zvalo glagoljaško sjemenište u Priko” [How was the Glagolitic seminary in Priko called?] *Marulić*, 3, no. 3 (Zagreb, 1970), 19-20.

<sup>73</sup>Kombol, p. 218.

<sup>74</sup>Kombol, p. 219.

three eastern Croatian counties (Požega, Virovitica, Srijem) freed from Turkish rule by the Peace Treaty of Požarevac.<sup>75</sup> At the same time, activists in the Catholic Renewal or Counter-Reformation, who wrote in their unified literary language for the whole Croatian ethnic and linguistic territory, designated that language either by the bookish term Illyrian (*ilirskim*—Bartol Kašić) or according to the most widespread Štokavian dialect: Bosnian (*bošnjačkim*—Jakov Mikalja).

From this overview of the use of provincial names for individual dialects of the Croatian language and of the propagation of the national name from the south towards the north, we can conclude that the use and spread of the national name for the language of the Croats was very much dependent on the unity of Croatian territory and on the shifting of the main centre of the Croatian state.

All the examples of the continuous use of the national name for the language on the whole ethnic territory of the Croats, which have been cited, originated from well educated writers, historians and linguists. Due to their erudition and knowledge of the Latin and Italian languages these authors brought the terms Slavonic (*slovinski*) and Illyrian (*ilirički*) from these languages as “literary” and nonnational names. It would be most interesting and instructive to know what the people, specifically, the peasant population (shepherds and farm labourers) for whom the old man Milovan (Kašić Miošić) composed his *Razgovor (Conversation)* and for whom friar Josip Banovac wrote his *Pripovijedanja (Homilies)*, during their long history, called their language. From the illiterate and rarely literate (who more often knew how to read, but never knew how to write) shepherds and labourers, no written documents have been preserved. Among these rare documents we could possibly count a few clumsily engraved inscriptions on tombstones, which were chiselled by noneducated “masters”. Even if a good number of these tombstones existed, it would be difficult to find one on which the “master” would have engraved anything other than the personal information of the deceased. It is even more unlikely that information about the deceased’s ethnicity and name of his language would have been carved, even though we can certainly know what language it was, as exhibited in the very inscriptions which were, in most instances, written in the Ikavian subdialect of Štokavian.

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<sup>75</sup>Kombol, p. 219.

Because of the scarcity of original monuments produced by ploughmen, we certainly would not make a major mistake if we instead used the documents of their poorly educated pastors, the Glagolitic priests. The once abundant Glagolitic literature, which flourished south of the Kupa River, especially in the northwestern regions of Croatia (Istria and neighbouring islands), vanished little by little under the Turkish onslaught and the migration of the powerful noble families, like the Frankopans, who were generous patrons of the arts (Maecenas). From then on, the Glagolites, especially those under Turkish and Venetian rule, without schools and financial support from anywhere, lived with their people. The education, way of life and even dress of these Glagolites differed very little from other commoners,<sup>76</sup> for whom they were spiritual leaders. Many of the documents of Glagolitic literature and literacy can be found in our archives. These include registries, medical books, correspondence to their own bishops, various accounts, and notes written in the margins of their own books and the books they themselves copied. Since Croatian Glagolitic priests, who from the 16th century and onwards to the latter half of the 18th century—a period in which no schools existed for them and when some were not even literate<sup>77</sup>—were barely distinguishable from the common people, it would be completely logical to suppose that they could not have called their language differently from the people. These Glagolitic priests who knew no other language except their own mother tongue and the liturgical language, which was already entirely similar to the common speech, could not have designated their language differently from the peasants from whom they originated and among whom they spent their entire lives. This was especially true of the period

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<sup>76</sup>In article CIX of the decisions of the Omiš synod of 1620, attended by the clergy of Poljica and Radobolje, Sforza Ponzon (the Archbishop of Split) ordered that these priests were not permitted to wear peasant clothing. They were only permitted to wear a long black robe (cassock) and a black hat or at least a round or cross-formed beret, because it was not fitting for clergy to wear “a small hat in the Dalmatian or Croatian fashion” (“*klobučić mali po način dalmatinski oli harvaski*”). Vladimir Mošin, “Poljičke konstitucije iz 1620. i 1688. godine” [The Poljica constitution from the years 1620 and 1688] *Radovi Staroslavenskog instituta*, 1 (Zagreb, 1952), 191.

<sup>77</sup>Information on this problem was found in article XII, chapter 24, of the constitution of the diocesan synod of 1688, dealing with Glagolitic clergy. This article stipulated that prior to ordination, all Glagolitic priests were to learn well how to read the missal and breviary from skilled priests. Mošin, p. 196.

prior to the mid-18th century, when Glagolitic seminaries began to be established in Zadar and Priko (near Omiš) leading to a rise in their education and before they and the peasant masses could have been influenced by Kačić's *Razgovor (Conversation)*, which spoke about the Slavonic language and Slavonic heroes. Since I am most familiar with the archival documents on the Glagolites of the Archbishopric of Split and the Bishopric of Makarska, I will on this occasion mainly use data from the territory of these two dioceses.

According to information from chapter 24 of the conclusions of the diocesan synod of the Archbishopric of Split from 1688, there were thirty-six outlying parishes (that is, outside of the city of Split), in which only eight held religious services in the Latin language. The remainder of the parishes were Glagolitic parishes, or as the Croatian version of chapter 24 stated: "Croatian parishes" ("*kuratije arvacke*").<sup>78</sup> This chapter dealt predominantly with the decisions concerning the Glagolites, who in contrast to the clergy of the Latin liturgical language, were called—according to the liturgical language which at that time was not significantly different from the Croatian language—"Croatian clergy" ("*rvacki kler*").<sup>79</sup> In the Latin version of the synodal decisions, the Croatian parishes and the Croatian clergy were called "*parochiae Illyricorum*" and "*clerus illyricus*".<sup>80</sup> In another official document of the Archbishopric of Split from 1807, Glagolitic clergy were called "Croatian secular clergy" ("*kler šekularski arvacki*"). This description was mentioned twice in the Croatian translation (written in the Croatian Cyrillic script) of the decisions of the Archbishop of Split, Lelio Cipico, dated 4 February 1807.<sup>81</sup> In the previously cited chapter 24 dealing with the synodal decisions on Croatian clergy from 1688, it was decreed that before Glagolitic priests could be ordained, they would have to learn the Croatian literary language from skilled priests. By the Croatian literary language, they meant the language of Croatian Glagolitic religious service. In

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<sup>78</sup>Mošin, p. 194.

<sup>79</sup>Mošin, p. 194.

<sup>80</sup>Mošin, p. 194.

<sup>81</sup>Family archive of Aron Rogulić, in Donji Dolac (on the territory of the former Principality of Poljica), no. 22c. Microfilm copies of this archive and of this document are found in *Historijski arhiv u Splitu* (Historical Archives in Split).



the Latin redaction of the decisions, the Croatian literary language was designated “literary Illyrian” (“*illyricum literale*”, “*idiomata illyricum*”), while the Croatian translation of these decisions used: “the Croatian pronunciation” and “pronunciation of Croatian letters” (“*izgovoru harvackomu*”, “*izgovoru rvacki slovi*”).<sup>82</sup>

In the preserved archival documents of the Glagolitic seminary in Priko, near Omiš, which are now in the Archaeological Museum in Split (signature 49 h 6/1) in the collection designated “Poljica documents” (“*Poljički dokumenti*”) we found data explaining how, in documents (letters written in the Croatian language by the administrators of the seminary to the bishop and canons), administrators alternately called the seminary and its seminarians by the terms: Slavonic (*slovinski*) and Croatian (*arvaski*, *Arvati*). In the documents written in Italian by the archbishop’s office, the seminarians were called Illyrian (“*chierici illirici*”). Croatian translations of these letters completed at the seminary in the Croatian Cyrillic script (*bosančica*), translated those terms with Croatian priest (“*žakni arvacki*”).<sup>83</sup> In the archives of the Bishopric of Makarska, in the bundle of Bishop Stjepan Blašković’s correspondence to diocesan priests (bundle 74) from 1768 to 1769, two priests expressly called their language Croatian. They wrote to the bishop asking him to write in Croatian (*hrvatski*) in the future, so they could understand him. The two priests were Rev. Pavao Ursić, pastor of Brela and Rev. Jakov Piunović, pastor in Raščani.<sup>84</sup>

Judging by the common use of the name Croatian clergy (“*hrvatski kler*”) as a designation of Glagolitic clergy in private documents and official church documents, I believe that individual members of the clergy who added the attribute *Harvaćanin* to their name, did so to indicate that they were priests of the Croatian rather than the Latin language. These names appeared in church marriage and baptismal records of Split written in Croatian Cyrillic (*bosančica*). Nevertheless, I do concede that this practice could

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<sup>82</sup>Mošin, p. 196.

<sup>83</sup>See footnote 72.

<sup>84</sup>Benedikta Zelić-Bučan, “Nekoliko izvornih svjedočanstava o hrvatskom nazivu hrvatskoga jezika” [Some original testimonies on the Croatian name of the Croatian language] *Kolo*, 8 (Zagreb, 1970), 483 and note 21 on the same page.

have had other purposes, and even that the Glagolites may have wished to point out their Croatian ethnicity, although this reason seems improbable. This seems unlikely because in the city of Split, where other clergy used another liturgical language and where the clergy and citizens were Croats, it was not necessary to emphasize this.<sup>85</sup>

In any case, the most important thing that we can conclude from the remaining documents dealing with Croatian Glagolites, their mother tongue and church literary language, is that to the end of the 18th century, they themselves always designated their language by its Croatian national name. They designated themselves and their parishes precisely according to this language and not according to ethnicity. These Glagolites and official church circles called the Glagolitic clergy and parishes Croatian. Judging from this, we could in no way suppose that the commoners, from whom these Glagolites originated and among whom these priests spent their entire lives, could have called their common language by anything other than its national name. We have direct proof and testimonies from Croatian writers of the 19th century, who tell us that not only the Catholic, but even the Greek Orthodox faithful living on Croatian territory until the mid-19th century, designated their language only by the Croatian national name.<sup>86</sup>

This hypothesis could be reaffirmed with examples from so-called *aljamiado*<sup>87</sup> literature. This literature was an evident example of how the establishment of Turkish rule over Bosnia and Herzegovina resulted in a sizeable part of the Croatian population accepting Islam, although this conversion to Islam did not make one Turkish, as was unjustly considered by the Christians. These Islamized Croats continued to be aware of their origin and their belonging to the Croatian ethnic community. This was beautifully and clearly expressed by Muhamed Hevaji Uskjufi of the village Soline near Tuzla, in his poem *Ja kauri vama velju (I'm telling you Christians)*. In

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<sup>85</sup>With these comments, I have partially corrected my opinion on this attribute found alongside the names of some Glagolites in the church registries of Split, which I cited in my shorter articles published in *Kolo*, 8, no. 4 (1970), 482-483, and in *Marulić*, 3, no. 3 (1970), 19-20. I would also like to direct the reader to the opinions and documentation with respect to the number of such attributes found among the whole Croatian ethnic territory, especially among Croats who lived in the diaspora. This documentation was published by Ivan Ostojić in his mentioned work, Ostojić, pp. 105-108.

<sup>86</sup>See footnotes 98 and 99.

one of the stanzas he calls on the Christians to also convert to the Prophet Muhammed's religion, as they were of the same origin and it would prove nonsense to fight because of religious differences:

“Otac jedan, jedan mati  
Prvo bi nam valja znati.  
Jer (=zašto) ćemo se pasji klati?  
Hodte nami vi na viru.”<sup>88</sup>

[Children of one father, and one mother,  
That's of what we should be aware.  
Why should we engage in warfare?  
Come and embrace our faith.]

Another example was provided by Hasan Kaimij from Sarajevo, in his poem *O vi Vlasi mletački* (*Oh you Vlachs from Venice*), written during the Candian war. Kaimij delivered the Venetians a threatening message because they were attacking Croats in Bosnia:

“Nemojte se kladiti,  
A Hrvate paliti;  
Zato ćete platiti  
Kad vam ode Kandija.”<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>87</sup>The term *aljamia* (Arabic *al adjamiyya*), was used to designate the writing of non-Arabic languages in the Arabic script. This occurred in Spain, northern Nigeria, Belorussia, and in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In Bosnia, some Muslims used this script (from the 17th to the 20th century) when they wrote in the Croatian language. They used the Arabic alphabet (with some modifications) to represent Croatian phonemes, while the orthography was patterned on Turkish. These Muslim *aljamiado* authors shared the same dialect with the Catholic Franciscan writers of Bosnia: Ikavian-Štokavian-Šćakavian. See: Ferid Karihman, “Hrvatski književnici Muslimani” [Croatian Muslim writers], in *Soj i Odžak Ehli-Islama* [Heritage and home of the Muslim people], ed. Ferid Karihman (Munich-Barcelona: Knjižnica Hrvatske revije, 1974), pp. 212-213; Franolić, pp. 64-67, 157 note 74; and, Hans H. Wellisch, *The Conversion of Scripts—Its Nature, History, and Utilization* (Toronto: John Wiley and Sons, 1978), p. 117—trans.

<sup>88</sup>*Zbornik stihova XVII. stoljeća* [Anthology of poems from the 17th century], ed. Rafo Bogišić, Pet stoljeća, no. 10 (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska and Zora, 1967), p. 294.

<sup>89</sup>Pet stoljeća, no. 10, p. 298.

[Don't engage in the fight  
 And don't destroy the Croats.  
 For you will pay a high cost  
 When, for you, Crete is lost.]

In this poem the Croats (*Hrvati*), whom the Venetians were attacking and whose homes they were burning in the Candian War, referred to Croatian Muslims in the Turkish province (*pašaluk*) of Bosnia and not Croats of the Catholic faith, who were allies of the Venetians. If these Muslim poets considered themselves Croats, as demonstrated not only from these examples, but from many more examples where Croats of the Islamic faith added to their names various attributes such as *Hrvaćanin*, *Hrvat* (Croat), and so on,<sup>90</sup> then beyond a doubt they and the common people for whom they wrote in the vernacular language, designated their language by the Croatian national name. This was testified to in the very title *Hrvatske pjesme* (*Croatian poem*) written by the poet Mehmed at the end of the 16th century.<sup>91</sup>

All the cited examples in this chapter lead us to the single conclusion that despite the complete dismemberment of Croatian ethnic and state territory, despite the emigration of Croats, life under various foreign rulers, disunification not only administrative-politically, but also religiously—which for that period was especially significant—never was the consciousness of belonging to the Croatian ethnic community totally extinguished. Not even the traditional bookish names Slavonic (*slovinski*) and Illyrian (*ilirski*), along with the appearance of provincial names as terms for individual subdialects and dialects of the Croatian language among Croats—be they in the remnants of their independent state, under foreign rule (Turkish or Venetian), or in emigration (in Austria and Hungary)—has the continued and uninterrupted use of the national name for their common Croatian language ceased. All the various other names were only local or bookish synonyms for that national name. For this reason, it seems to me that it would be totally justi-

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<sup>90</sup>Ostojić, pp. 105-108.

<sup>91</sup>Pet stoljeća, no. 10, p. 286. For a detailed survey of Croatian-Muslim *aljamiado* literature see: M[uhamed] H[adži]j[ahić], “Aljamiado literatura” [*Aljamiado literature*], *Hrvatska enciklopedija* [Croatian Encyclopedia], ed. Mate Ujević (Zagreb: Naklada konzorcija Hrvatske Enciklopedije, 1941), I, 300-301.

fied that today when we translate fragments from our Croatian writers from Latin or Italian to the Croatian language, that we do not translate them literally, but according to their meaning, that is, *illyricus* and *slavo* equal Croatian (*hrvatski*), as the authors themselves did.<sup>92</sup>

### III. Misconceptions of the National Revivalists in the 19th Century

The Croatian people entered the 19th century, the century of nationhood, completely dismembered administrative-politically and spiritually disunified. The fundamental task of the Croatian National Awakening was to spiritually overcome the disunity of the people as a precondition to political union. To accomplish this goal, it was necessary to first of all complete the earlier individual attempts at the formation of one literary language. However, the Croatian Revivalists wanted to accomplish even more. Recognizing the weaknesses of Croatian political life as oppressed between the royal centralistic Germanization and the newly established Hungarian nationalism, and the lasting negative effect of being on the periphery or extreme outermost part of West European culture, they wished to overcome the historical abyss and strengthen their national entity leaning on the consanguinity of the South Slavs. Because of this situation, the common literary language they wished to form for all Croats was simultaneously to be the common literary language of all South Slavs. To make this more acceptable for the majority of the South Slavs, they followed the path of the writers of the Catholic Counter-Reformation and chose the dialect of the strongest convergence, the Neo-Štokavian-Ijekavian speech, which was previously accepted by individual writers of the other dialects. For this reason, the name of this language also had to express this sense of unity and be acceptable to all. Since they thought that the ancient Illyrians were a Slavic people, they based their

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<sup>92</sup>The title of Faust Vrančić's dictionary from 1595, *DICTIONARIVM QVINIQVE NOBILISSIMARVM EVROPAE LINGVARVM, Latinae, Italiae, Germanicae, Dalmatiae et Vngaricae* (Venice), was translated in the reprint of 1971 as: *Rječnik pet najuglednijih evropskih jezika - latinskog, talijanskog, njemačkog, hrvatskog i mađarskog* [Dictionary of the five most renowned European languages: Latin, Italian, German, Croatian and Hungarian] (Zagreb: Liber, 1971).

choice for the name of the language on a historical misconception, calling the literary language Illyrian (*ilirski*). They took the Illyrian name and gave it to newspapers and institutions: *Matica ilirska* and the Reading Clubs.<sup>93</sup>

This Illyrianism of the Croatian Revivalists was in its essence different from previous times when individuals occasionally used that name. Until that time, writers and linguists understood the word Illyrian to mean only the Croatian language, or just the Štokavian dialect as opposed to the Kajkavian dialect: Matija Petar Katančić used “the glorious Illyrian speech of the Bosnian language” (“*slavno-ilirički izgovora bosanskoga*”). From that time forward, the Illyrian term was to mean not only the Croatian, but also the common language of all South Slavs. Only within internal Croatian relations was that name used, from time to time, as a synonym for the Štokavian dialect as opposed to Croatian (*horvatskome/Horvatish*) for the Kajkavian dialect.

Soon it became apparent that the Illyrian combination proposed by the Revivalists was unfounded. Every South Slavic nation (Slovenes and Bulgars, and later the Macedonians) pressed towards strengthening their own nationality and therefore worked at cultivating their own literary language. In doing so, each nation departed from those elements that were most different from, and not similar to, their neighbouring and consanguineous nations. Only the eventual formation of a literary-linguistic union between the Croats and Serbs remained. In this sense, the literary agreement culminated in Vienna, in 1850. Nevertheless, this was a private agreement

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<sup>93</sup>With the purpose of strengthening and coordinating the activities of the national movement, the adherents of the Illyrian Movement had hoped to form a national cultural society in 1836. Since approval for such an organization was not granted, the Revivalists formed local Reading Clubs in large urban centres of Civil Croatia. These private clubs housed libraries containing newspapers, periodicals, and books in Croatian and other languages. These clubs were important because no public libraries existed in Croatia. Local nobles were largely responsible for forming the clubs, but the membership also included writers, teachers, civil servants and merchants. The first club appeared in Varaždin and was called Friends of Our National Literature (*Prijatelji našega narodnoga slovstva*). In 1847, approval was finally given for the formation of the national cultural society *Matica ilirska* (later renamed *Matica hrvatska*), whose main purpose was the support of publication of books and periodicals in Croatian. See: Despalatović, pp. 114, 122, 177; Aleksandar Stipčević, “The Illyrian Reading Rooms in Croatia in the Mid-Nineteenth Century,” *Libraries and Culture: A Journal of Library History*, 24 (1989), 69-74—trans.

reached by some linguists, which bound no one. Moreover, the main representative to the meeting from the Serbian side was Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, who at that time was not accepted by the Serbs in Vojvodina or in the Serbian principality. In Vojvodina, the partisans of the Serbo-Slavonic language vigorously opposed Karadžić's position, while in Serbia his reforms were only accepted in 1868. Even the representatives supporting the formation of a unified literary language for the Serbs and Croats could not agree with each other. Important differences between Ljudevit Gaj's language and the so-called Zagreb School on one hand, and Karadžić's language on the other, existed. Karadžić's version succeeded in Croatia only by the end of the century, but even then not completely, since not everyone accepted it. At this time, Karadžić's reforms had already been abandoned by the Serbs in Serbia, who had oriented their language towards the Vojvodina-Šumadija Ekavian subdialect. Thus, the complete unification of the literary language was not even accomplished between the Croats and Serbs.

Although the Illyrian Awakening involved the wide strata of citizens in northern Croatia, in Dalmatia, resistance to Gaj's conceptions and reforms lasted for a long time. The leader of this resistance was Ante Kuzmanić with his newspaper *Zora dalmatinska* (*Dalmatian dawn*). This newspaper only accepted Gaj's orthography by the beginning of 1849. The major reasons for Kuzmanić's resistance were: Gaj's conception for the formation of a common literary language for all South Slavs, the acceptance of the popular subdialect as the basis of the language, and the neglect of the rich Croatian Ikavian literary tradition. Kuzmanić's motto was: "We are Croats and Croatian we must write!" ("*Mi smo Hervati, i Hervatski imamo pisati*").<sup>94</sup> When Kuzmanić finally wavered and accepted Gaj's reforms in 1848, his Dalmatian followers abandoned him because they did not wish "to follow the hard manner of Serbian speech."<sup>95</sup>

Although some believed that in the context of the political circumstances of the time, the choice of the Ijekavian Neo-Štokavian subdialect for the basis of the common literary language was the only possibility, even

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<sup>94</sup>Rade Petrović, *Nacionalno pitanje u Dalmaciji u XIX. stoljeću* [The national question in Dalmatia in the 19th century] (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1968) p. 116 note 291.

<sup>95</sup>Petrović, p. 115 note 287.

though the choice of the Čakavian or Kajkavian dialect may have been more fitting for this purpose,<sup>96</sup> there certainly could have been more tolerance and cooperation between Gaj and Kuzmanić.<sup>97</sup> The Croatian Ikavian subdialect, with its rich heritage of Ikavian-Čakavian and Ikavian-Štokavian literature, could also have served as the basis for the common literary or standard language. This subdialect was the most widespread since it was spoken by Croats from the regions of Slavonia, Bosnia, Herzegovina, Dalmatia and Lika, and it is a *specifically Croatian* (author's emphasis) dialect. At a time when other South Slavic peoples developed their standard languages by starting from the principle of the greatest language differences, only the Croats, led by dreams, began from the principle of convergence. Had the Croatian Revivalists followed this very same path, it is likely that we would not be more or less in the same position with respect to many important questions concerning the Croatian standard language as we were in 1861.

Not even in administratively separated Dalmatia did the Croatian National Revival begin under the national name, but among the learned circles under the usual name Slavonic (*slovinski*) and among the Greek Orthodox circles more often under the version Slavic (*slavjanski*). Stated more specifically, under this general name the Dalmatian Revivalists began their party's organizational activities, especially at the start of the publication of their party's bilingual organ: *Il Nazionale - Narodni list* (*National gazette*). Based primarily on information from *Narodni list* (began 1 March 1862), the prevailing belief for the longest time was that in the beginning the Dalmatian followers of the National Party were themselves not aware of their own Croatian national name and that they evolved ideo-politically via the path from Slavdom to Yugoslavdom to Croatiandom. However, the case is completely reversed.

From 1862 onward, the Dalmatian Revivalists consciously abandoned the Croatian national name and began, out of various reasons, to

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<sup>96</sup>Cf.: Dalibor Brozović, "Jezično značenje hrvatskog narodnog preporoda" [The linguistic significance of the Croatian National Revival], *Kolo*, 4, nos. 8-10 (Zagreb, 1966), 249-254.

<sup>97</sup>Cf.: Zlatko Vince, "Pogledi na jezične pitanja u Dalmaciji u vrijeme hrvatskog narodnog preporoda" [Observations on the language question in Dalmatia during the time of the Croatian National Revival], *Kolo*, 4, nos. 8-10 (Zagreb, 1966), 248.



appear publicly under the name Slavonic (*slovinski*). There were many reasons for this: because the Austrian government treated the name more favourably; and because it was also accepted by the autonomists and treated favourably by Orthodox believers. Due to these practical reasons and also their wish to retain solidarity, the Croatian supporters of the National Party decided to work on the revival of the people under the collective name Slavonic (*slovinski*).<sup>98</sup>

However, before the organization of the National Party and the launching of their own newspaper, in many brochures and numerous articles and reports in the Zagreb paper *Pozor*, the people expressed their true national feelings and consciousness of the Croatian name. This awareness of the Croatian name included the name for the language and the description for the majority of the Slavic population in Dalmatia. What is still more significant is that under that name they included both Christian churches. Moreover, this name was even emphasized and acknowledged by certain individuals who were prominent Orthodox believers. Some of these Orthodox faithful would later become passionate advocates of the Serbian national idea (Božidar Petranović, Ilija Dede Janković).<sup>99</sup>

Through an analysis of twenty-seven articles and reports from Dalmatia in the first three months of 1861, we find that in nine of them the national name is not even mentioned, while in the remaining eighteen cases the following names were mentioned: Slavic (*slavjanski*) in four pieces, Croatian (*hrvatski*) in eleven pieces, Slavonic (*slovinski*) in three pieces, Dalmatian (*Dalmatin*) in one piece, Yugoslavians (*jugoslavenski*) in two pieces, Serbo-Croats (*Srbo-Hrvati*) in two pieces, Serb (*Srbin*) in one piece, and undeclared our (*naš, naški*) in one piece. Some reporters and authors of articles employed several of these designations alternately. For instance,

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<sup>98</sup>Sead M. Traljić, "Pisma Mihovila Pavlinovića Fr. Račkomu i J. J. Strossmayeru šezdesetih godina 19. stoljeća" [Mihovil Pavlinović's letters to Franjo Rački and Josip J. Strossmayer from the sixties of the 19th century], *Radovi instituta JAZU u Zadru*, 10 (Zadar, 1963), 403; Mirjana Gross, "O nekim aspektima razvoja nacionalne ideje za vrijeme narodnog preporoda u Dalmaciji" [On some aspects of the development of the national idea during the National Revival in Dalmatia], *Historijski pregled*, 9 (Zagreb, 1963), 15-16; Benedikta Zelić-Bučan, "Pogledi na nacionalno pitanje u Dalmaciji 1860/61 god." [Perspectives on the national question in Dalmatia from 1860-1861], *Marulić*, 6, no. 4 (Zagreb, 1973), 22-23.

<sup>99</sup>*Pozor*, no. 25 and 33 (1861).

in an article titled “Jeka from the Dalmatian hinterland” (“*Jeka iz dalmatinskog zagorja*”), which describes the exploitation and swindling of hinterland peasants at the hands of city-dwellers and civil servants, because of their lack of knowledge of Italian, the reporter using the pseudonym Mosećanin mixes the following designations, giving preference to the adjective Croatian: Yugoslavian tribe (*jugoslavensko pleme*) once, Serbo-Croats (*Srbo-Hrvati*) twice, the Serbo-Croatian land (*srbo-hrvatska zemlja*) once, Croatian people (*narod hrvatski*) nine times, and Croatian (*hrvatski*) as a designation for the language of the majority of the Dalmatian population thirteen times.

We must point out that in those eleven reports in which the attribute Croatian (*hrvatski*) is mentioned, six use that adjective exclusively as a designation of the people and language (*Pozor*, no. 19, 22, 25, 45, 47 and 54 for 1861).<sup>100</sup> A similar and even more favourable situation for the expression of Croatian national awareness, through the designations for the people and language, occurred in earlier years during the period of Alexander Bach’s absolutism. We will cite examples of responses of several respected Dalmatian priests to a question posed by Ivan Kukuljević regarding the name (Croatian, Serbian or Dalmatian) that the Dalmatian population used for itself and its language.<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>100</sup>Zelić-Bučan, “Pogledi,” pp. 16-17. Nikša Stančić also analyzed a large number of reports and articles printed in *Pozor* (1860 to 1861) to determine the national consciousness in Dalmatia. He arrived to the same conclusion, the only difference being that I included all Dalmatian followers of the National Party in general while he divided them according to the plebeian (sacerdotal) and urban intelligentsia. He arrived to the conclusion that these two groups of intelligentsia, which adhered to the National Party, differed both in terms of their national ideas and level of formation of Croatian national awareness. Among the urban intelligentsia “the Croatian name was present as a designation for the language and the ethnic affiliation of the Dalmatian population, but in their consciousness it was lower, a tribal category. The embodiment of nation was attached to Yugoslavdom. Among those belonging to the plebeian intelligentsia, the relation between Croatiandom and Yugoslavdom was opposite. To be sure, among them Croatian national awareness still had not developed to its fullest. Nevertheless, they manifestly tended in that direction, while they considered Yugoslavdom a wider ethnic, linguistic and cultural community.” Nikša Stančić, *Hrvatska nacionalna ideologija preporodnog pokreta u Dalmaciji* [Croatian national ideology during the Revival movement in Dalmatia] (Zagreb: Institut za hrvatsku povijest Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, 1980), p. 171 and chapter 6 especially: “Prve formulacije nacionalne ideologije” [The initial formulations of the national ideology].

<sup>101</sup>The results are found in: Petrović, *Nacionalno*.

Responding from Makarska on 25 July 1858, friar Šimun Milinović, later the Bishop of Bar, stated that in the entire Neretva and Makarska regions the population, including the Orthodox inhabitants, did not call themselves or their language by anything other than the name Croatian. He goes on to state that no one calls their language Serbian; furthermore, he had never even heard of the Serbian name until he had read Vuk Karadžić's *Poems and miscellanea*. Not even in the Sinj region or anywhere else in Dalmatia where he travelled did he ever hear from anyone that they speak Slavic (*slavjanski*), let alone Serbian. Only more recently could one hear the Serbian name from the odd Orthodox monk, which Milinović believed was probably under the influence of Karadžić.<sup>102</sup>

Writing from Vienna on 17 January 1859, where he was attending university, J. Grupković wrote that there was little Croatian or Serbian consciousness in Dalmatia, but one does hear expressions of Croatiandom from the mouths of the most common folk, Serbdom never. With regards to the educated, primarily ecclesiastical circles, among the Catholics one finds conviction more often in the word Croatiandom, than in Serbdom among the Orthodox. Among commoners, both Catholics and Orthodox, Croatiandom is traditional.<sup>103</sup>

From Zadar Ivan Berčić, a professor at the central theological seminary in Zadar,<sup>104</sup> wrote on 10 February 1859 that the common people never state that they are Serbs or that they speak Serbian. The only exception being the individual learned Greek Orthodox, who in the last few years began to state that they are Serbs and that they speak Serbian. He mentioned the case of 500 Greek Orthodox faithful from Dicmo near Split, who like all the other Dalmatians stated that they are Croats, or that they speak Croatian. Only the odd ones will say that they are Slavs (*Slovinci*) and that they speak Slavonic (*slovinski*). For the city of Dubrovnik he states that the

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<sup>102</sup>Petrović, p. 269 note 47.

<sup>103</sup>Petrović, p. 270 note 48.

<sup>104</sup>According to the testimony of Mihovil Pavlinović, professor Berčić brought Karadžić's dictionary, poetry selection and other publications from Vienna. Berčić gave these books to Pavlinović and others at the seminary in Zadar, in the period from 1853 to 1854. These readers then became partially influenced and enthralled with the Serbian word and, therefore, in their correspondence (1854) they began to consider themselves Serbs and designated their language Serbian. Benedikta Zelić-Bučan, "Luka Botić i regimenta 'Ne boj se' pod utjecajem srpske nacionalne propagande" [Luka Botić and the military regiment "Do not be afraid" under the influence of Serbian national propaganda], *Kolo*, 9, no. 3 (1971), 253 and ahead.

term most often used to designate the language is Slavonic (*slovinski*), while for the region of Boka Kotorska the situation is not well-known to him.<sup>105</sup>

An analysis of brochures published in Dalmatia in 1861, as well as the articles in *Pozor*, would still further confirm the existence of Croatian national consciousness in the common people and national intelligentsia (priests), but it is impossible to cite and analyze all this here.<sup>106</sup>

The reason that the Croatian Revivalists in Dalmatia began their organized political work in the National Party and in its organ under the general ethnic name Slavonic (*slovinski*), in spite of the Croatian awareness in the common people and its intelligentsia, was in part explained by Mihovil Pavlinović in his letter to Rački of 25 December 1866. This letter was in response to Rački's criticism (in a letter of 11 December 1866) that the use of the Croatian national name was avoided in Dalmatia and even in the *National gazette* and that people are fooling themselves if they think that those who are afraid of the Croatian flag, will struggle for national rights under the Illyrian or Slavonic flag. Pavlinović responded that up until now they have taken such a course in deference toward the government, the autonomists and the Serbian Orthodox minority in their parliamentary minority. At that time Pavlinović promised Rački that in the future he will unfurl his Croatian flag whenever there will not be danger for misunderstandings and new factionalism.<sup>107</sup>

Already in 1866, even before the criticisms of Rački, with the support of the closest sympathizers (mostly former schoolmates from the seminary in Split and the Zadar and Makarska divinity colleges), he began stressing more strongly the Croatian national name for the people and language. He did this in his well-known articles in the *National gazette*, in his public speeches before the intelligentsia (such as the speech honouring the 300th anniversary of the death of Nikola Zrinski held in the Zadar reading-room, the speech in the reading-room in Jelsa in 1868), and especially in the wording of his programme "Croatian thought" (*Hrvatska misa*) of 1869. Under his influence, Croatian national thought matured even among the urban stratum, especially after the Serbs withdrew into a separate party and launched a separate paper: *Srpski list* (*Serbian gazette*).

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<sup>105</sup>Petrović, p. 271 note 49.

<sup>106</sup>For more on this see the work mentioned in Stančić under note 72b and Zelić-Bučan, "Pogledi," pp. 16-25.

<sup>107</sup>See footnote 98.

With regard to the name of the language, the struggle for the establishment of the Croatian language in the public life of the province was the fundamental feature of the struggle of the National Awakening in Dalmatia. For this reason, the language question was extremely important. Here the language question was resolved somewhat easier and faster, as the Croatian followers of the National Party in Dalmatia were able to take advantage of the experiences of those in northern Croatia. Although Slavdom was relatively quickly abandoned as a breaking force for the awakening and reinforcement of Croatian national conscious, the question of the name of the common language caused a dilemma due to the ever increasing emphasis of Serbian national feeling not only as a designation of religious affiliation, but also as a national characteristic of the followers of Greek Orthodoxy.

Since both the Croats and Serbs of Dalmatia in the 1860s were gathered together in a common national movement around the National Party, very often one could find written in the *National gazette* the following adjectives: Croato-Serbian (*hrvatsko-srpski*) and Croatian or Serbian (*hrvatski ili srpski*) as designations of the language. Often times even the neologism Serbo-Croats (*Srbo-Hrvati*) could be found as an expression for the people. With the elucidation of terms in the political domain in the cradle of the Croatian state, in the province where the peasant population, even up to the 19th century preserved their national consciousness and name of the Croatian language in spite of the centuries long territorial disunification,<sup>108</sup> including

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<sup>108</sup>Vatroslav Jagić recorded Antun Mažuranić's description of events which occurred during his travels through Montenegro and Dalmatia with Ljudevit Gaj and Vuk Stefanović Karadžić in 1841. Wherever they went, the people responded to their questions saying that they spoke the Croatian language. When Karadžić finally found a person he thought was a Serb from Orebić (from the peninsula of Pelješac), as this person had stated that he understood Karadžić's speech, Mažuranić asked this man whether he had ever heard of the Croatian language, to which the man replied: "How would I not have heard of it. It had slipped my mind and I could not exactly remember it right away. We are also Croats and we speak Croatian" (*Ta kako ne bi. Ta to je ono što mi ne pada namah na um. I mi smo Hrvati i govorimo hrvatski*) (quoted in Črnja, p. 426.). When Rade Petrović judged the historical significance of Mihovil Pavlinović, in his mentioned work, he stressed that Pavlinović was the first person in Dalmatia "who demonstrated that the Croatian name was the name which existed with the peasant people and under which Dalmatia would experience its full national affirmation" (*ukazao na hrvatstvo kao na ono ime koje postoji u seljačkom narodu i pod kojim će Dalmacija doživjeti svoju punu nacionalnu afirmaciju*). Petrović, p. 275.

not only the Catholic population, but the Greek Orthodox population as well.<sup>109</sup> Pavlinović, without hesitation, clarified the question of the name of the national language. He discarded all other names (Slavdom, Serbocroatiandom, Yugoslavdom, other amalgamations, and the terms favoured and promulgated by the government—Dalmatiandom and Slavodalmatiandom) because they were being pushed by outsiders and stood firmly on the side of the right of the people to call its common language by its Croatian national name.

As far as the language of the Serbian population was concerned, Pavlinović was not opposed to Serbs from Croatia, if they wished, to call their language by its national name:

To our brothers and fellow-countrymen, I would allow them to use and be proud of the Serbian name, as a national name... Yes, I could even allow them to give that name to their language. But to expect that I should call my language the Croato-Serbian language, would mean to ask me to confess that I do not have my own language or that my mother tongue was ennobled and refined through the amalgamation of the Serbian language.<sup>110</sup> ...to combine two distinct names together to form one language, seems to me to be worse than for someone to say to me: *ja idem* (= *jedem*) *kruha-hleba* or

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<sup>109</sup>Up to that time even the educated members of the Greek Orthodox Church in Dalmatia called their language Croatian. The response of Božidar Petranović to the electorate of Knin, who were predominantly of the Greek Orthodox faith, was noteworthy from this point of view. Petranović who was a representative to the Emperor's advisory board in Vienna, stated in 1818: "We are Croats. I shall do my best to have our dear Croatian language introduced into schools and courts." (*Mi smo Hrvati. Nastojat ću da se mili naš hrvatski jezik što prije uvede u škole i u sudove.*) (Mihovil Pavlinović, *Misao hrvatska i misao srpska u Dalmaciji od godine 1848. do godine 1882.* [The Croatian thought and the Serbian thought in Dalmatia from the year 1848 to the year 1882] (Zadar, 1882), p. 4, note 1). In 1852, this same Petranović wrote to Baron Ožegović, a member of the supreme court in Vienna, "that at least his excellency the Ban and Mr. Mamula will allow that the presentation of witnesses and those accused be written in Croatian, if they are Croats". (Pavlinović, p. 7.) Later on, Petranović was found among the most ardent partisans of Serbian national thought in Dalmatia.

<sup>110</sup>Mihovil Pavlinović, *Hrvatski razgovori* [Croatian conversations] 4th ed. (Zadar: Brzotiskom Narodnoga Lista, 1877), p. 177.

*dišem vazduh-zrak*.<sup>111</sup> These are trivialities which are due on the one hand to unacceptable compromises, and on the other hand to that uncharacteristic Croatian greed, which reminds us of the greed of the false mother in Solomon's judgement.<sup>112</sup>

Pavlinović would continue:

I neither respect nor curse the designation Serbo-Croats. But they should not ask of Croats not to call their language and nation by the authentic term Croatian. Croats are not bothered by anyone else's names, but they would certainly be bothered by anti-Croatian aspirations that could be supported by a lack of Croatian consciousness if they would allow themselves to be taken on some other adventures.<sup>113</sup>

During the time of the Croatian National Revival, Croats acted in a unique way that was not found in the history of European nations: they were ready to renounce even their language and their national name for the establishment of an imaginary national and linguistic unity. This was, as Miroslav Krleža stated: "altruistic foolhardiness which could be inspired only by naive idealism without any hidden thoughts or intrigues."<sup>114</sup> When constituting their own literary languages, the remaining South Slavic peoples not only did

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<sup>111</sup>The word *idem* (= I eat) is of the unique Croatian Ikavian dialect, while *jedem* (= I eat) is the accepted literary form. Both *kruh* (= bread) and *zrak* (= air) are Croatian while their Serbian equivalents are *hleb* (= bread) and *vazduh* (= air). In both languages the verb *dišem* (= I breath) is employed—trans.

<sup>112</sup>Pavlinović, *Hrvatski razgovori*, p. 178.

<sup>113</sup>Pavlinović, *Hrvatski razgovori*, p. 178. Only in retrospect and with the experience of one century behind us can we today judge and grasp how far-sighted this Croatian politician and ideologue was. He was a politician of far reaching views, but unfortunately of little political power: only a deputy in a provincial parliament of an administrative-politically divided Croatian region. His voice was heard little and accepted even less across the Velebit mountains where the effects of the illusions of the National Revival still fogged for some time the horizons of the answerable Croatian politicians in those regions.

<sup>114</sup>Miroslav Krleža, "Uvodna riječ na znanstvenom savjetovanju u Zagrebu o 130-godišnjici hrvatskog narodnog preporoda (12-31. III 1966)" [Introductory remarks during the scientific congress in Zagreb on the occasion of the 130th anniversary of the Croatian National Revival (12-31 March 1966)], *Kolo*, 4, nos. 8-10 (Zagreb, 1966), 131.

not follow this path, but they chose as a basis those dialects that were most distinct from their neighbouring and related nations. This was observed and with surprising frankness stressed by the Macedonian revolutionary Krsto Crvenkovski:

...the stressing of ethnic similarities has had very significant negative results on the speedy national formation of peoples in this area... . It was exactly these differences that allowed the formation of nations from the Slavic masses. These differences, which were not thought up, nor artificially created, were the result of historical existence.<sup>115</sup>

He goes on to state:

In fact, the struggle of specific Slavic peoples on this territory [Yugoslavia]—Macedonians, Croats and Slovenes in the entire post-war period with the aspiration of developing into modern nations—was a struggle for emphasizing differences and not similarities. Had they given into the tendencies of similarities, all three nations would have been assimilated.<sup>116</sup>

Croatian politicians and language specialists not only of the Revivalist era, but throughout the following century, repeatedly developed their politics according to their neighbouring and similar nations on the basis of emphasizing those ethnic and linguistic similarities. At the same time they objected to the national consciousness of their kinsmen because they did not follow them on the same path. This antithesis between Croatian politics and the national entity is summed up by Krleža:

...the Croats renounced their own individuality for the sake of some higher imaginary integration. They benignly overestimated the strength of their own fantasies. They were as ridiculous and noncritical as those who following the prod-

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<sup>115</sup>In the article, "Republika kao država" [The republic as state], *Vjesnik u srijedu* (Zagreb), 16 December 1970, p. 12.

<sup>116</sup>"Republika kao država," p. 12.



ucts of their own imaginations do not try to understand the discrepancies between their dreams and reality. This reality was worth more than all their fruitless fantasies. It is the reality of an unfortunate nation that had fought fiercely for centuries for its survival and that survived generations of aggressors being always truthful to its motto that it seeks not other's property, but steadfastly defends its own.<sup>117</sup>

#### IV. The Name of the Croatian Language in Legal Norms

In the previous sections we have discussed how individual writers, movements and the common people called their language. In the end we should examine how the name of the Croatian language has been enacted in legal documents.

We know that of all European peoples, the Croats retained the use of the Latin language the longest, until 1848. Therefore, prior to that time, while the Croatian language still did not become the official language of the administration and education, there was no way that there could have been statutory regulations about the official name of the language.<sup>118</sup> Nevertheless, already in a legal article from 1790 we found the Latin formulation for the Croatian language, which was mandatory as the command language in the army of Civil Croatia. In the instructions to their deputies of the common Croato-Hungarian parliament, the Croatian parliament concluded that its Croatian representatives were to ensure that Latin remain the official language in Croatia, except for the Croatian Army: "in which the national Croatian language shall be used" (*pro quo nazionale idioma Croaticum adhibeatur*).<sup>119</sup>

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<sup>117</sup>Miroslav Krleža, "Croatica," *Forum*, year II, book 3, no. 1 (Zagreb, 1963), 165. In this collection of excerpts from Krleža's writings, the quotation is found under the heading *Fantastika i stvarnost*.

<sup>118</sup>As we have seen in the first part of this essay, the national name of the Croatian language was introduced very early into some legal acts (Statute of Vinodol, Istrian Land Survey), but these legal documents were of limited local value. Here we are talking about such legal norms, which would oblige the whole territory of the Croatian state. And up to 1918, these could only have been sanctioned by the Croatian state parliament as the supreme Croatian legislative body.

<sup>119</sup>According to Matija Mesić's address during the 35th session of parliament, held in 1861. *Stenografski zapisi...* [Stenographic notes...] (Zagreb, 1861), p. 390.

The last parliament of noblemen of 1847 decided that the “national” (“*narodnom*”) language should enjoy the same honour that previously befell the Latin language. This decision was repeated by the parliament of 1848. As a result of the revolution, the war with Hungary and Alexander Bach’s absolutism, the parliament was unable to be called into session. Thus, the Croatian state parliament did not have the opportunity to enact this decision, even though it was sanctioned by the King’s handwritten letter of 7 April 1850.<sup>120</sup> Until the parliament renewed its constitutional rights in 1861, it was unable either to realize that decision or to more precisely elaborate the name of the official language. This task became the duty of the parliament in 1861. A relevant proposal was given during the 8th parliamentary session held on 18 May, by the Great *župan* Ivan Kukuljević of Zagreb. In this linguistic proposal Kukuljević was influenced by the state juridical term calling the language: the “Croat-Slavonian language” (“*jezik hrvatsko-slavonski*”). In doing so he took into account the real, but not the juridical territory of the Croatian state.

The debates on this parliamentary motion were conducted during the 52nd session of parliament, held on 10 August. During the debates, all the negative consequences of the long lasting territorial dismemberment of Croatian lands, as well as the insurmountable Illyrian Yugoslavian illusions, came to the forefront. In addition to this, we have to add new political facts, whose far-reaching consequences were not adequately understood by the Croatian representatives of that time. Between the 13th session when the motion was first brought forward that the national language should be introduced in the administration of the country and the 52nd session during which debates were held on a slightly different formulation, the parliament discussed and promulgated the recognition of the Serbs in Croatia as a separate ethnic community.<sup>121</sup> This decision was passed precisely because the

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<sup>120</sup>Ferdo Šišić, *Pregled povijest hrvatskog naroda* [A survey of the history of the Croatian nation], ed. Jaroslav Šidak, 3rd ed. (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1962), p. 429.

<sup>121</sup>The results of this vote prompted criticism from Patriarch Josif Rajačić regarding Kukuljević’s speech in which he dealt with the representation of the Military Region in parliament. In this speech, Kukuljević allegedly failed to mention the Serbian name for a portion of the population of that region. At that time, in Article 31 of the parliamentary decision, Kukuljević stated that he did not “on any occasion deny, on the contrary I always recognized, that in the Triune Kingdom [of Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia] there exist also the Serbian people. Furthermore, I always hoped that the Serbs and Croats, as the closest and

Serbian promoters of this decision departed from the premise that Croats and Serbs, although close brothers, were nevertheless two distinctive nations, while the Croatian representatives accepted it from a completely opposite position. The Croatian deputies felt that even those who recently accepted the Serbian name were in fact only a part of the Croatian nation, since religion could not be the criteria for nationhood. Therefore, it did not matter one way or another if they recognized the existence of Serbs or not, as they were dealing with the same nation.

But now, they had to take into consideration this earlier decision. Thus, Kukuljević on his own initiative changed his earlier motion somewhat and instead of “Croato-Slavonian” (“*hrvatsko-slavonski*”), proposed the term “Croato-Serbian” (“*hrvatsko-srpski*”). In the history of the Croatian language, this was the first time that this type of formulation was mentioned as a possibility for the official name of the Croatian language. Kukuljević’s explanation was completely typical of the self-sacrificing spirit of the Croatian Illyrians:

If we want success for our nation in the future, it should not matter for us which branch will dominate. If we must acknowledge that only in the harmony of these two branches does the destiny of these people lay, while in their discord lays the destruction of the whole concept of Yugoslavianism, then since we have already acknowledged that Serbs exist in this Triune Kingdom [of Croatia-Slavonia-Dalmatia], I would like that we also give an honoured position to the name of the Serbs with respect to our language, and that we call that language Croato-Serbian (*hrvatsko-srbski*).<sup>122</sup>

His proposal was seconded during the debate by Slavoljub Vrbanić, but with the comment: “in order to avoid all disagreement, and only for that

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homogeneous brothers, would continue to love and respect, as they have up until now, each other’s name and tribe as national sacred objects and that henceforth they will remain united as brothers.” Jaroslav Šidak, Mirjana Gross, Igor Karaman and Dragovan Šepić, *Povijest hrvatskog naroda g. 1860-1914* [The history of the Croatian people from 1860-1914] (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1968), p. 20.

<sup>122</sup>Stenografski zapisi, p. 617.

reason, as I have no other reason, I accept the proposal that the language be called Croato-Serbian.”<sup>123</sup> The proposal was also supported by the following Serbs: Mojsije Baltić (who also sought equality for the Cyrillic script) and Ivan Obradović. Ivan Vardijan wanted to reconcile both of Kukuljević’s proposals, and added to the earlier geographic name the Serbian national trait and suggested the name “Croato-Slavono-Serbian” (“*hrvatsko-slavonsko-srbski*”).<sup>124</sup> To this proposal Ivan Vončina added satirically:

Since you want to give to our beautiful language a name as long as possible and even longer, allow me to add something to that name and submit that we call our language Croato-Slavono-Dalmato-Littoral (*hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinsko-primorski*) and to make the name still more worthier and perfect, let us still add Bunjevac (*bunjevački*).

His satirical remark caused laughter in the parliament, but he continued and seriously proposed the name “Yugoslavian” (“*jugoslavenski*”), under which all Croatian regions could be found and under which all parts of the nation could be satisfied.<sup>125</sup>

His proposal was supported by many Croatian deputies: Adolf Veber, Dragutin Jelačić, Franjo Lovrić, and Josip Vuščić. However, two Serbian representatives, Gervazio Petrović and Ivan Obradović, opposed it vehemently. Their arguments were completely contrary to those of the Croatian deputies. They did not recognize that the Croats and Serbs had the same language and, therefore, the official language of the Kingdom of Croatia could not even be called by a noncompound name, even if that name was not Croatian. Petrović proposed that the language be named after the most widespread dialect, undoubtedly believing that all speakers of the Štokavian dialect were Serbs. Therefore, the language would be called either only Croatian or only Serbian, based upon the dialect that was spoken by the most people.<sup>126</sup> Obradović supported Kukuljević’s proposal for the name

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<sup>123</sup>Stenografski zapisi, p. 617.

<sup>124</sup>Stenografski zapisi, p. 618.

<sup>125</sup>Stenografski zapisi, p. 618.

<sup>126</sup>Stenografski zapisi, p. 619.

Croato-Serbian, but with a different motivation than Kukuljević. Similarly to Petrović, Obradović did not acknowledge the unity of the languages:

Each nation is recognized by the language they speak. If we took Croatia for instance, we would find that from the coastal areas to Varaždin the language is Croatian. But if we took a look from Kotor to Hungary we would find the same language as it is written in Belgrade, etc.<sup>127</sup>

Matija Mesić attempted to intervene between the two opposite points of view. He did not recognize the language of Croats and Serbs to be different, even if each of these two peoples called it by their own national name. Therefore, he sought an urgent way out and directed the parliament to the precedent completed by the committee for the preparation of the by-laws of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts, which already had to deal with this question. In the Academy, realizing the dismal state of our homeland and that long names are not practicable, they understood the need *and undertook action that will surprise many and that will even more surprise our descendants* (author's emphasis), that is, they called our language "Croatian or Serbian" ("*hrvatskim ili srbskim*"). For this reason he accepted with minor alteration, Kukuljević's formulation: "Croatian or Serbian" ("*hrvatski oli srbski*").<sup>128</sup> Avelin Čepulić felt that not one of the proposed names would be completely acceptable as objections would be found for each one of them from one or the other side. Therefore, he proposed that no mention should be made of any geographic or national term in the name, but that it simply be called: "the national language used in the Triune Kingdom" ("*narodni u trojednoj kraljevini jezik*").<sup>129</sup> Similar formulations to Čepulić's were given by other representatives: Robert Zlatarović proposed "the national language in the Triune Kingdom" ("*narodni jezik u trojednoj kraljevini*"),<sup>130</sup> and Petar Očić suggested "the national language of these kingdoms" ("*narodni jezik ovih kraljevinah*").<sup>131</sup>

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<sup>127</sup>Stenografski zapisi, p. 619.

<sup>128</sup>Stenografski zapisi, p. 619.

<sup>129</sup>Stenografski zapisi, p. 619.

<sup>130</sup>Stenografski zapisi, p. 618.

<sup>131</sup>Stenografski zapisi, p. 619.

After everyone had their turn, with many speakers proposing all sorts of names, not one of them came forward with the proposal that the language also be called by its Croatian national name, the way that Croatian writers called it through the centuries in their literary works and documents, and the way that the Croatian people called it and still call it. Even these same deputies called the language by that same name [Croatian] during debates. The speaker of the parliament, Josip Briglević, moved that four proposals be voted on. According to the stenographic minutes the results of the vote in the parliament were: for the term “Croato-Slavonian” (“*hrvatsko-slavonski*”), no one; for the name the “national” language (“*narodni*”), a large minority; for the name “Croatian or Serbian” (“*hrvatski ili srpski*”), a minority; and, for the term “Yugoslavian” (“*jugoslavenski*”), the majority.<sup>132</sup>

After further discussions on other items of the legal proposal dealing with the introduction of the national language, Article I of the same law was accepted in Vrbanić’s formulation and read: “The Yugoslavian language of the Triune Kingdom, is hereby proclaimed by this edict on the whole territory of the Triune Kingdom as the unique and exclusive language in all branches of public life.”<sup>133</sup> The only exception to this principle was provided for the city of Rijeka where “for now, the Italian language is still allowed for those unskilled in the Yugoslavian language.”<sup>134</sup> This draft decision (Article LVIII of the parliament’s 1861 session) did not receive the king’s sanction. Furthermore, the king’s rescript of 8 November dissolved the parliament and amended the parliament’s decision concerning the change, because at that time the king could not have accepted the use of the national language in military and financial administrative jurisdictions which still used German.

After the dissolution of the Croato-Hungarian parliament, a shorter renewed period of centralism in the Habsburg Monarchy was initiated and presided over by Minister Schmerling. For this reason, the parliament was not recalled until 1865; however, its opening was postponed many times and

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<sup>132</sup>Stenografski zapisi, p. 620.

<sup>133</sup>Stenografski zapisi, p. 623.

<sup>134</sup>Stenografski zapisi, p. 623.

its sessions suspended on several occasions so that it ran with interruptions to the spring of 1867. During this session, the parliament was to also resolve the question of the national language.

It was resolved together with the petition of the city council of Rijeka, which requested that it be freed of its obligation to subjoin Croatian translations together with its Italian petitions. On the basis of the king's rescript of 8 November 1861, the text of the conclusion concerning the language (Article LVIII of 1861) was again to be discussed during the session of 3 and 4 January 1867. The amended text of the language formulation, which was amended as sought by the royal rescript, was accepted en bloc by a majority of votes. By accepting this, the deputies also accepted the official name of the national language in the Triune Kingdom. Instead of the name "Yugoslavian" from 1861, now the term "Croatian or Serbian" was adopted with the explanation that in this way "the identity of these languages is expressed and neither one nor the other is expressed as the first, the predominant one, rather it is expressed that the language is one and the same."<sup>135</sup> Even this specifically formulated official name was remarked on by the Serbian representative from Srijem, Mihajlo Polit-Desančić, who sought that instead of "Croatian or Serbian" the formulation "Croatian, otherwise known as the Serbian language" be inserted since in this way "the sameness of these languages would be even better expressed." Polit-Desančić's remark was accompanied by agitated voices in the parliament, but since the entire text of the proposed decree on the language was placed on the slate en bloc, Polit-Desančić's proposal was not considered.<sup>136</sup>

This legal article, comprised of five paragraphs, dealing with the use of the national language was adopted during the 67th parliamentary session of 4 January 1867. It states in its entirety:

1           The Croatian or Serbian language is declared the official language in the Triune Kingdom and everyone is free to use the Roman or Cyrillic alphabet.

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<sup>135</sup>*Dnevnik sabora Trojedne kraljevine Dalmacije, Hrvatske i Slavonije od 1865/67* [Minutes of the Parliament of the Triune Kingdom of Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia of 1865/67] (Zagreb: Sabor Trojedne kraljevine, 1867), p. 665.

<sup>136</sup>*Dnevnik*, p. 665.

2 All administrative districts of the Triune Kingdom, followed by assemblies and the parliament of the same Kingdom shall employ the Croatian or Serbian language in their official exchanges. The same holds true for ecclesiastical administrative units in the Triune Kingdom regarding their reciprocal official assurances between themselves and other administrative districts, and also regarding the completion of registers of births, marriages and deaths.

3 Scientific and artistic institutes, as well as institutions of higher learning, be they public or private, are obliged to use the Croatian or Serbian language for their official exchanges as well as for their instructional language.

4 Only in the city of Rijeka, excluding its district, shall the public exchanges of the municipal administration maintain equality between the Croatian language and Italian. Issues resolved by the municipal administration shall be published in the language in which the concerned party wrote its original petition. The internal business of the municipal administration may be conducted in the Italian language; however, in correspondence with other administrative districts [of the Kingdom], the municipal administration shall employ the Croatian language. The same holds true with respect to the maritime health administration.

Within the Kingdom's administration departments of Rijeka, the language shall be Croatian, while equality shall be maintained with respect to the language of the original petition submitted by the inhabitants of the city of Rijeka.

As far as the districts [outside of Rijeka] are concerned, all pertinent decrees of the remainder of the country shall apply.

A specific decree shall be enacted in the city of Rijeka to establish the language of administration and instruction for the indicated instructions as formulated in paragraph 2.

5 With regard to the official language of military and financial authorities in the Triune Kingdom, specific laws shall be enacted following the settling of the question of the organization of the state. Until such a time, the financial authorities shall use the Croatian or Serbian language in all exchanges with parties or domestic authorities of the Triune Kingdom.<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>137</sup>*Dnevnik*, p. 673.



As can be discerned in the very text of the decree that was proposed, not even the parliament's administrative commission was consistent. When discussing the use of the language in the Triune Kingdom the language is called "Croatian or Serbian", while in the paragraph which defines the temporary practice with regard to the language in the city of Rijeka, the expression "Croatian language" is repeatedly used for the national language. This inconsistency caught the eye of deputy Stjepan Jančo who then moved that the expression "Croatian or Serbian" be entered into the paragraph dealing with the language on the territory of Rijeka. This proposal provoked agitation in the parliament just as did the proposal of Polit-Desančić.<sup>138</sup>

This itself reveals to what extent the two-fold name for their language was foreign to the very members of parliament, who passed the resolution on this proposal. The only reason that they passed it was because of their understanding surrounding the settling of the entire Serbian question, as it was presented before the parliament<sup>139</sup> and in the atmosphere of un-

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<sup>138</sup>*Dnevnik*, p. 665.

<sup>139</sup>Although the Croatian parliament had already recognized in 1861 that the Serbian people also lived in the Triune Kingdom—something that the parliament never denied (see footnote 121)—during this session of parliament the Serbian deputies again initiated this question, not only as a question of the recognition of existence, but also complete equality with the Croatian nation. From January of 1866 this question was dragged time after time through several sessions of parliament when Jovan Subotić sought that the expression "Croatian-Serbian nation" replace the expression "our nation" in the text of the official letter sent to the king. In the discussion which arose the Serbian representatives stressed the particularities of the Serbian and Croatian nation, while the Croatian deputies, primarily members of the National Party, continued to support their position on the sameness of these two peoples. Nevertheless, at that time they rejected Subotić's proposal because with the adjective "ours", no one was neglected or placed into an advantageous position. There were however Croatian representatives who realized what it would in fact mean to constitutionally recognize the Serbian name in Croatia. As stated by Dragoljub Kušan, "this state of ours, which is exclusively called by the term Croatian, vis-à-vis the ruler and vis-à-vis other diplomatic circles, cannot for the love of any kind of concord, be called anything differently." However, a short while later, on 8 March 1866, Mihajlo Polit-Desančić, the deputy from Srijem, proposed to the parliament the demand for the recognition of the equality of the Croatian and Serbian people. Since the parliament was interrupted on several occasions, the following year Ivan Vončin, a member of Croatian National Party, introduced this motion. This occurred at a time when the Croatian National Party had already entered into an agreement with the government of the Serbian principality regarding actions for a unified state (see later in the text of this essay for more information). Just before the dissolution of this parliament, it passed a resolution on 11 May 1867 in which "The Triune Kingdom recognizes the Serbian people which reside in it as identical and equal to the Croatian people." Šidak et al., p. 35.

derstanding of Serbo-Croatian relations by the particular parliamentary majority of the day, the National Party. During the second half of 1866, the leaders of this party were in direct contact with the government of Serbian Prince Mihajl and his Prime Minister Ilija Garašanin, who was the ideologue and leader of Serbian national propaganda. These contacts entailed agreements for the formation of a united state.<sup>140</sup>

This unfolded within the framework of the agreement between the Serbian government and the Hungarian revolutionaries for a united action against Austria. However, even later when the pro-agreement stream predominated in Hungary and after the forging of the Austro-Hungarian agreement in February 1867, the Serbian government, in fact its Prime Minister Garašanin, through his agent Antonijo Orešković brought to the leadership of the Croatian National Party the proposal regarding united action for the liberation of Bosnia from under direct Turkish administration and its uniting with Serbia under Turkish sovereignty. This would be the first step towards the formation of a common state of the South Slavs under the leadership of Serbia.<sup>141</sup> In this plan, which the leaders of the National Party had accepted, the Croatian side was obliged not to come to any kind of an agreement either with Vienna or Pest, so that they would have free hands in their action with Serbia.<sup>142</sup>

In such an atmosphere and under such an understanding of Croato-Serbian relations, a parliamentary majority was able to accept the naming of their language by the double name “Croatian or Serbian”. However, when brought into a situation that it would actually have to engage in action in Bosnia, the Serbian government abandoned the intended action to the great disappointment of the Croatian side. Having earlier forgone the opportunity to come to an agreement with either Vienna or Pest because of their agreement with Serbia, the Croats were forced to effect the much more unfa-

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<sup>140</sup>Šidak et al., p. 29. For more details regarding this, see the documentary collection: V[ojslav] Vučković, *Politička akcija Srbije u južnoslovenskim pokrajinama Habsbursške monarhije 1859-1874*. [The political actions of Serbia in the South Slavic provinces of the Habsburg Monarchy 1859-1874] (Belgrade: Srpska akademija nauka i umetnosti, 1965), documents no. 84-89, 90-93, 105 and note 1 dealing with document 105 on pp. 205-206.

<sup>141</sup>Vučković, document no. 144, pp. 273-281.

<sup>142</sup>Vučković, p. 276.

vourable Croato-Hungarian Agreement of 1868. As the parliament was dissolved in May 1867 and new elections called for 1868, the Croato-Hungarian Agreement was negotiated by the present Unionist Block majority. Although the Unionists always favoured a closer communion with Hungary, seeing it as a defense against a possible attempt at Austrian centralization, they were not burdened either with ideas of Serbo-Croatian unity or with the earlier Illyrian ideas. They were always that which they were, Croats (*Horvati*).

Thus, in the text of the legal decree for the use of the national language in Croatian and common institutions, the national designation for the Croatian language was finally sanctioned. I believe that it would be appropriate to cite these articles verbatim, so that it would be possible to compare the formal and real differences between the two formulations on the use of the Croatian language: the one from the parliamentary proposal of 1867 and this one from the fundamental state-legal agreement of 1868. Articles 56-60 deal with the issue of language:

§ 56 On the whole territory of the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia,<sup>143</sup> the Croatian language shall be the official language in the legislative, executive, and administrative branches.

§ 57 In all departments of the common government, Croatian shall also be introduced as the official language within the borders of the Kingdom of Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia.

§ 58 Proposals and documents written in the Croatian language and submitted to the common ministry of the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia shall be accepted and its resolutions shall be published in the same [Croatian] language.

§ 59 Considering that the kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia are a political people, having their own individual territory

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<sup>143</sup>Here in the title of the Croatian state, Dalmatia was excluded because the article did not deal in principle with the designating of the Triune Kingdom, but rather with the application of a concrete law, which could not deal with Dalmatia in this Agreement. This was the case because in the Austro-Hungarian Agreement of a year earlier Dalmatia entered into the political system of the Austrian half of the Habsburg Monarchy.

and with regards to their internal affairs, their own legislature and autonomous government, it is hereby established that the representatives of these kingdoms, both at the common parliament as well as in their particular delegations, may use the Croatian language.

§ 60 At the common parliament, the originally proposed decree, established and signed by the Emperor and Royal and Apostolic Majesty, shall be published for the kingdoms of Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia in Croatian and dispatched to the particular parliaments of these kingdoms.<sup>144</sup>

From that time forward (during the latter half of the 19th century) just as they had up to that time, all Croatian linguists and partisans of the Croatian Illyrian Movement, all of the followers of Karadžić, as well as all important grammars, orthographies and dictionaries of that time already in their titles used the national name for the language. We have cited some of these:

Antun Mažuranić, *Slovnica hrvatska (Croatian grammar)*, 1859;  
 Bogoslav Šulek, *Hrvatsko-njemački rječnik (Croatian-German dictionary)*, 1860;  
 Vatroslav Jagić, *Gramatika jezika hrvatskoga (Grammar of the Croatian language)*, 1864;  
 Adolf Veber, *Slovnica hrvatska (Croatian grammar)*, 3rd ed., 1876 (1st and 2nd editions 1871 and 1873 had *hervatska* in their titles);  
 Bogoslav Šulek, *Hrvatsko-njemačko-talijanski rječnik znanstvenog nazivlja (Croatian-German-Italian dictionary of scientific terms)*, 1874/75;  
 Mirko Divković, *Oblici hrvatskog jezika (Morphology of the Croatian language)*, 1879;  
 Mirko Divković, *Sintaksa hrvatskog jezika*<sup>145</sup> (*Syntax of the Croatian language*), 1881; and  
 Ivan Broz, *Hrvatski pravopis (Croatian orthography)*, 1892.

The exception was the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts' *Rječnik hrvatskog ili srpskog jezika (Dictionary of the Croatian or*

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<sup>144</sup>Bogoslav Šulek, *Hrvatski ustav ili konstitucija* [Croatian constitution] (Zagreb: Dionička tiskara, 1882), pp. 287-288.

<sup>145</sup>Divković's grammars were used as text books in high schools.

*Serbian language*), whose first volume was published in 1880 under the editorship of Đuro Daničić. Only at the end of the 19th century was this traditional practice interrupted by Croatian linguist Tomo Maretić who, on the basis of Karadžić's and Daničić's language, prepared his *Gramatiku i stilistiku hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika* (*Grammar and stylistics of the Croatian or Serbian language*), Zagreb, 1899. Nevertheless, as exhibited in their treatises and literary works, for the most part Croatian writers used the national name for their language. Some Croatian writers did not even accept Broz's and Maretić's Karadžić-type of language. Thus, Ante Radić continued to publish his newspaper *Dom* (*Homeland*) in the spirit of Veber's Zagreb School of moderate Iekavian etymological orthography.

During the existence of the prewar Kingdom of Yugoslavia in which the Croatian nation lost all features of its statehood, all kinds of terms were introduced for the official name of its language. In glancing over my school report cards between 1926 and 1937, I came across these types of names for the Croatian (instructional) language: in the year 1926, the “nondescript instructional language” (“*bezimeni nastavni jezik*”); from 1927-1929, the “Serbo-Croatian language” (“*srpsko-hrvatski jezik*”); in 1930, the “Croatian or Serbian language” (“*hrvatski ili srpski jezik*”); and, from 1930-1937 even the trinomial “Serbocroatoslovenian language” (“*srpskohrvatsko-slovenački jezik*”), without hyphens!

The Kingdom of Yugoslavia's denial of the right to call one's language by its national name and the implications this had for protecting one's national culture, was a fundamental internal cause of its disintegration in 1941. Being aware of this, each of the two governments (with opposite ideological goals) returned the national name to the language of the Croatian nation from their own respective positions during World War II.

In its endeavour to be accepted by the Croatian people as the side which achieved their centuries-long desire for their own sovereign state, the Ustaša regime of the Independent State of Croatia called the language, all institutions having to do with the language, as well as scientific institutions, by the Croatian national name.<sup>146</sup> They also returned to the old orthography of the Zagreb School with a somewhat more marked etymology.

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<sup>146</sup>See for instance: Franjo Cipra et al., *Hrvatski pravopis* [Croatian orthography] (Zagreb: Nakladni odjel Hrvatske državne tiskare, 1944). Relevant legal decrees passed by the Ustaša government dealing with the language can be found in this book on pp. II-III—trans.

On the other hand, through the National Liberation Struggle grew a government in accordance with the aims of the national liberation war: to obtain social and national independence for all the nations of Yugoslavia. Right after its creation of the Anti-Fascist Council for the People's Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ) and the National Committee for the Liberation of Yugoslavia, the first supreme legal and executive government returned to the national names of the languages of the peoples of Yugoslavia in its first legal acts. The AVNOJ on 15 January 1944 brought forth its Decision (no. 18) dealing with the publication of resolutions of the AVNOJ in all the languages of the nations of Yugoslavia:

In the spirit of the federative principle for the development of Yugoslavia on the basis of the right to self-determination and national equality...be it resolved that:

1. All resolutions and proclamations of the Anti-Fascist Council for the People's Liberation of Yugoslavia and its Presidency as the supreme executive government and the National Committee for the Liberation of Yugoslavia as the supreme executive and legislative government in Yugoslavia as a whole, shall be published in official publications...in the Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian, and Macedonian languages (*srpskom, hrvatskom, slovenačkom i makedonskom jeziku*). Each one of these languages are entitled to the same rights on the whole territory of Yugoslavia.<sup>147</sup>

In December of the same year, the President of the National Committee for the Liberation of Yugoslavia and Marshal of Yugoslavia, Josip Broz Tito, passed a decree on the *Službenom list Demokratske Federativne Republike Jugoslavije* (*Official gazette of the Democratic Federative Republic of Yugoslavia*) in which Article II stated: "The *Official gazette* shall be published in the Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian and Macedonian languages (*srpskom, hrvatskom, slovenačkom i makendonskom jeziku*)".<sup>148</sup> In keeping with these

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<sup>147</sup>*Službeni list Demokratske Federativne Jugoslavije* [Official gazette of the Democratic Federative Republic of Yugoslavia], no. 1 (14 February 1945), p. 5; republished in the book: *Hrvatski književni jezik i pitanje varijanata* [The Croatian literary language and the question of variants], a special edition of the journal *Kritika*, 1 (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1969), p. 2.

<sup>148</sup>*Službeni list*, 14 February 1945, p. 10; *Hrvatski književni*, p. 3.

decisions, the first revolutionary legislative government of the AVNOJ and the first constitution of the Federative People's Republic of Yugoslavia of January 1946, was read in the National Assembly in all four languages of the Yugoslav peoples: Slovenian, Croatian, Serbian, and Macedonian.<sup>149</sup>

However, the centuries-long understanding of a part of the intelligentsia that brotherhood and reciprocity of the South Slav peoples can only be achieved through the eradication of their individuality, as well as the unitary practices of the old Yugoslavia from which the new Yugoslavia inherited mainly borders and international recognition and was seen in a sense as a continuation of the former state, made it possible that quickly after the end of the revolution the still active unitaristic concepts had not been overcome and began to sneak back into practice. These unitaristic concepts that were introduced by the central federal government, occurred under conditions in which the sovereignty and statehood of the people's republics of the nations of Yugoslavia had been downplayed. In such a political climate the Novi Sad Agreement of 1954 was held. In this agreement the formulation on the binomial name of the Croatian and also the Serbian literary language (Serbocroatian/Croatoserbian) was accepted. This occurred in spite of the proclamation of revolutionary socialist principles of self-determination of the peoples and in spite of the special Yugoslav socialist principle of self-management which was proclaimed in 1950. Although that formulation has never been legally sanctioned as binding and although the legal decisions of the AVNOJ from 1944 have never been legally rejected, nevertheless, under intense pressure of the unitaristic state administration, such a formulation was in practice forced as obligatory.

Protests and dissatisfaction against such a practice, even more so against the practice which used the protection of this double formulation and designation of the language to infiltrate the linguistic variant, that is, the lexicon and forms of a language, on the territory of the other, in this case at the expense of the Croatian language, began appearing all the more stronger, at first among specialist circles (writers and linguists).<sup>150</sup> Later, following

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<sup>149</sup>The daily *Borba* (Belgrade), 14 April 1961; *Hrvatski književni*, p. 240.

<sup>150</sup>Some of these were: the Decisions of the Plenary Session of the Writers' Society of Croatia; the Resolution of the Zagreb Linguistic Circle of 12 April 1966; the Declaration of the Scientific Team of the Institute for Language of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts on the Unity and Variants of the Croato-Serbian Literary Language (*Jezik*, vol. 13, pp. 129-133); and the famous Declaration Concerning the Name and the Position of the Croatian Literary Language (17 March 1967).

the Brijuni Plenary Session when the unitary concepts of the state-socialist establishment began to break, the protest of the wider public regarding the codification of norms of the Croatian language, and associated to this, its official name, also followed and were raised more and more each day as a problem whose settlement could not be delayed.

During discussions and protests of the public on the occasion of the appearance of the first two volumes of *Rječnik hrvatskosrpskog književnog jezika* (*Dictionary of the Croatoserbian literary language*) in 1969, professor Ljudevit Jonke, who found himself pinned between the mood of the wider Croatian public and his own conviction on one side, and the still sufficiently strong unitaristic forces on the other, provided this advice to the agitated public on the use of the names for the language of the Croatian and Serbian peoples: “from the natural and political points of view [it would be]: the Croatian language and the Serbian language, the Croatian literary language and the Serbian literary language; officially [it would be]: Croato-Serbian, Serbo-Croatian, Croatian or Serbian, Serbian or Croatian.”<sup>151</sup>

Sometime later under a somewhat more favourable political climate, when unitaristic tendencies were defeated in principle at least, Jonke’s colleague, professor Ivo Frangeš could more freely respond to a question posed by a reader of the Zagreb daily *Vjesnik*. The reader asked which name for the Croatian language is correct. Frangeš responded:

From time immemorial, we Croats called our language Croatian irrespective of the dialects we used. It is under this name that belletristic literature begins in a work of Marko Marulić. What is correct, you ask? What is correct is that which is a centuries-old truth.<sup>152</sup>

Since other distinguished Croatian writers, linguists and politicians spoke publicly about this natural right of the Croatian nation, as of every other nation, to designate its language by its national name, this question was regu-

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<sup>151</sup>Ljudevit Jonke, “Osnovni pojmovi o jeziku Hrvata i Srba” [Fundamental notions regarding the language of Croats and Serbs], *Vjesnik* (Zagreb), 7 May 1969, rpt. in *Hrvatski književni*, p. 240.

<sup>152</sup>*Vjesnik* (Zagreb), 29 December 1970, p. 9.



lated by amendment 5 in the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Croatia in 1972. What occurred after is covered in detail in the book *The Croatian language in the political whirl*.<sup>153</sup>

We hope that the time has now come when this question can finally be de-politicized and settled on the basis of objective linguistic principles and the natural right, of even the Croatian nation, to call its language by its national name.

Translated by Stan Granic and Vinko Grubišić

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<sup>153</sup>Stjepan Babić, *Hrvatski jezik u političkom vrtlogu* (Zagreb: Ante and Danica Pelivan, 1990).



THE NAMES OF THE LANGUAGE—CROATIAN, LAND'S  
LANGUAGE, BOSNIAN—IN THE FIRST DECADE  
OF AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN RULE IN  
BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA \*

MARKO BABIĆ

RÉSUMÉ/ABSTRACT

L'auteur décrit les changements apportés au nom de la langue parlée en Bosnie-Herzégovine pendant la première décennie du gouvernement austro-hongrois (1878-1888). D'abord, le gouvernement a décrété que la langue serait appelée *hrvatski* (la langue croate). Peu de temps après, il a décidé de changer ce terme et d'utiliser le terme quelconque *zemaljski jezik* (la langue du pays/allemand *Landessprache*) et plus tard *bosanski* (la langue bosniaque).

The author describes the changes to the name of the language spoken in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the first decade of Austro-Hungarian rule (1878-1888). The authorities initially decreed that the language be called *hrvatski* (Croatian). It was later changed to the nondescript *zemaljski jezik* (Land's Language/German *Landessprache*) and finally to *bosanski* (Bosnian language).

Following the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (29 July to 20 October 1878),<sup>1</sup> the new government took numerous steps to

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\*The article appeared in *Jezik*, 37 (Zagreb, 1990), 82-86, under the following title: "Nazivi jezika - hrvatski, zemaljski, bosanski - za prvoga desetljeća austrougarskoga upravljanja Bosnom i Hercegovinom." The translator is indebted to Dr. Vinko Grubišić for his assistance and to Jim Hartling for providing his comments.

<sup>1</sup>*Die Occupation Bosniens und der Herzegovina durch k. und k. Truppen im Jahre 1878. Nach authentischen Quellen dargestellt in der Abtheilung für Kriegsgeschichte des k. k. Kriegs-archivs.* [The occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by the imperial troops in the year 1878. Taken from authentic sources and elaborated in the frame of the Department of Military History of the Royal Imperial War-Archives] (Vienna: Verlag des k. k. Generalstabes, 1879); Mihovil Mandić, *Povijest okupacije Bosne i Hercegovine 1878.* [The history of the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878] (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1910); Berislav Gavranović, *Bosna i Hercegovina u doba austrougarske okupacije 1878. godine* [Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Austro-Hungarian occupation of 1878], Građa knjiga XVIII, Odjeljenje društvenih nauka knjiga 14. (Sarajevo: Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Bosne i Hercegovine, 1973); Bencze László, *Bosnia és Hercegovina okkupációja* [The occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina] (Budapest: Akadémia Kiadó, 1987).

establish and strengthen its rule. Among these steps was its gradual take over of public education.<sup>2</sup> At the same time, it clashed with the existing religious schools.<sup>3</sup> These clashes, and the general position towards the Franciscans, caused certain cultural retrogressions.<sup>4</sup> In actuality, the new rulers did not know how to avoid, or did not want to avoid these dissonances.

Shortly after the revolution in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the problem concerning the name of the language of the population that lived there emerged. The appellations of the language were changed and adjusted according to the political needs of Austro-Hungary. The name of the language remained problematic during the entire period of Austro-Hungarian rule of Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>5</sup>

## I. The Croatian Language

With the opening of the first state schools,<sup>6</sup> there simultaneously appeared the problem of the official name of the language of instruction in schools.

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<sup>2</sup>*Organizacija narodnih škola u Bosni i Hercegovini* [The organization of people's schools in Bosnia and Herzegovina] (Sarajevo, 1909); Mitar Papić, *Školstvo u Bosni i Hercegovini za vrijeme austrougarske okupacije (1878-1918)* [Education in Bosnia and Herzegovina during the Austro-Hungarian occupation (1878-1918)] (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1972); Mitar Papić, *Hrvatsko školstvo u Bosni i Hercegovini do 1918. godine* [Croatian education in Bosnia and Herzegovina to the year 1918] (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1982).

<sup>3</sup>Papić, *Hrvatsko školstvo*, pp. 103-106, 112-114; Marko Babić and Ilija Stanić, "100 godina Osnovne škole u Bosanskom Šamcu, 1885-1985" [100 years of elementary schools in Bosanski Šamac, 1885-1985], *Zbornik za povijest školstva i prosvjete*, 21 (Ljubljana, 1988), 170.

<sup>4</sup>In Vidovice (*Bosanska Posavina*), a school was built in 1854. Thanks to the Franciscan pastors of Vidovice, the school was in operation during the last decades of Turkish rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina. It also saw the change in government (1878), but soon afterwards the school was closed and not until 1906 did the new rulers finally reopen a school in that area. This is just one example of cultural retrogression in a large Croatian settlement, of that time. There are still more similar examples.

<sup>5</sup>Dževad Juzbašić, *Jezičko pitanje u austrougarskoj politici u Bosni i Hercegovini pred prvi svjetski rat* [The language question in Austro-Hungarian politics in Bosnia and Herzegovina prior to the First World War] (Sarajevo: Svjetlost, 1973).

<sup>6</sup>Papić, *Hrvatsko školstvo*, p. 103; Papić, *Školstvo*, pp. 41-68.

For this reason, it was decreed by the Land's Government<sup>7</sup> (*Zemaljska vlada*) on 6 June 1879, that the language of instruction in elementary schools be called Croatian (*hrvatski*).<sup>8</sup>

From that time, an original school-day schedule (*Razdjelenje Sahata*) from the school in Orašje (*Bosanska Posavina*/Bosnian region of Posavina), which was dated 8 July 1879, has been preserved (see pages 130 and 132).<sup>9</sup> According to this *Razdjelenje Sahata*, studying the Croatian language (*hrvatskog jezika*) was anticipated, but two hours of writing in Cyrillic (*ćirilicom*) was also permitted for those children who so desired. The school-day schedule determined the study of arithmetic, reading, and writing in the Croatian (*hrvatskom*) and German languages. One hour was allotted to instruction in moral education and an hour and a half for physical education. It is important to stress that the programme schedule did not anticipate religious instruction (*vjeronauka*).

Austro-Hungary wanted schools to which the parents of all religious denominations could send their children with confidence. For this reason, the Land's Government organized inter-confessional schools in June 1879. Their basic characteristics were compulsory attendance and the separation of school from church. The programme for inter-confessional schools was overseen by district administrators; however, this lasted for only a short time, until 1882. Already earlier, a new curriculum had been introduced, and the schools began to be called people's schools (*narodnim osnovnim*) or communal schools (*komunalnim školama*).

The original document of the school-day schedule (*Razdjelenje Sahata*) is proof of the speedy realization of the programme of inter-confessional schools, but also confirmation that the initial position of the Austro-Hungarian government was in support of the Croatian language as the name of the language of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

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<sup>7</sup>The Land's Government (*Zemaljska vlada*) was the official name of the provincial administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina which was under the direct control of Vienna—trans.

<sup>8</sup>*Sammlung der für Bosnien und die Hercegovina erlassenen Gesetze, Verordnungen und Normalweisungen 1878-1880* [A collection of laws, orders, and proscriptions for Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1878-1880] (Vienna, 1880), I, 311.

<sup>9</sup>The original is found in the archives of the Franciscan monastery in Tolisa, under fascicle History.

The decree of 26 August 1879, mentioned two instructional courses “with the purpose of studying reading and writing of the Croatian language in the Roman script...” (“*u svrhu učenja čitanja i pisanja hrvatskog jezika latinskimi pismeni...*”).<sup>10</sup> A circular of 6 November 1879, which was sent to district representatives, stated that the newly formed state schools should introduce, “reading, writing, and arithmetic, and that the instructional language will be called the Croatian language” (“*čitanje, pisanje i račun, a nastavni jezik će se zvati hrvatski jezik*”).<sup>11</sup> Similarly, during the first few years of Austro-Hungarian rule, the state offices and judicial bodies designated the language Croatian.<sup>12</sup>

However, the term the Croatian language (*hrvatski jezik*), and the general term Croatian (*hrvatski*), quickly began to be pushed aside and prohibited.<sup>13</sup>

## II. The Land’s Language (*Zemaljski jezik*)

In March 1879, the Land’s Government established the position of school trustee (*školskog savjetnika*) and appointed professor Luka Zore to the post. Prior to being chosen, professor Zore had proposed his programme for the organization of elementary education in Bosnia and Herzegovina. With respect to the name of the language, he stated among other things, how

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<sup>10</sup>Papić, *Školstvo*, p. 10.

<sup>11</sup>Vojislav Bogičević, *Pismenost u Bosni i Hercegovini - Od pojave slovenske pismenosti u IX. vijeku do kraja Austrougarske vladavine u Bosni i Hercegovini 1918. godine* [Literacy in Bosnia and Herzegovina: from the appearance of Slavonic literacy in the 9th century to the end of Austro-Hungarian rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the year 1918] (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1975), p. 250.

<sup>12</sup>“In the local offices the language is Croatian, while in the district administration it is Croatian and German.” [“*U najnižim uredima je jezik hrvatski, kod okružnih oblasti hrvatski i njemački.*”] Bogičević, p. 250. Cf.: Tomislav Kraljačić, *Kalajev režim u Bosni i Hercegovini (1882-1903)* [Kállay’s regime in Bosnia and Herzegovina (1882-1903)] (Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1987), p. 231.

<sup>13</sup>Cf.: Papić, *Školstvo*, p. 10. The People’s Choir (*Narodna pjevačko društvo*), founded in Mostar in 1888, persistently tried to place the Croatian designation into the name of the choir, but the Land’s Government also persistently rejected this until 1898, when the following name was approved: Hrvoje: The Croatian Musical-Choir Society (*Hrvatsko glazbeno—pjevačko društvo “Hrvoje”*). Cf.: Kraljačić, pp. 158-159.

“Croats call their language Croatian, the Serbs call their’s Serbian, and the Muslims call their’s Bosnian” (“*Hrvati zovu svoj jezik hrvatskim, Srbi srpskim, a muslimani bosanskim*”).<sup>14</sup> In its decree of 12 September 1879, the Land’s Government ordered that the people’s language be called the Land’s Language (*zemaljski jezik—Landessprache*).<sup>15</sup> In an additional decree, the Land’s Government, also stated that “the word Croatian is to be dropped” (“*ima se riječ hrvatski ispustiti*”).<sup>16</sup>

Through its decree of 26 August 1879, the Land’s Government designated the language of instruction of two newly established courses in Sarajevo the Land’s Language (*zemaljski jezik*).<sup>17</sup> On the same day, a decree was passed establishing a general high school (*realne gimnazije*)<sup>18</sup> in Sarajevo. The decree stated that the language of instruction in the high school would be the Bosnian Land’s Language (*bosanski zemaljski jezik*).<sup>19</sup>

### III. The Bosnian Language

Benjamin Kállay became the head of the Bosnian-Herzegovian administration in 1882.<sup>20</sup> One of the characteristics of his rule was his attempt at establishing a Bosnian nation (*bosanske nacije*)<sup>21</sup> and a Bosnian language (*bosanskog jezika*),<sup>22</sup> that is, the main trend of national politics was Bosniandom (*bošnjaštvo*) or Bosnianism (*bosanstvo*). To accomplish this, he endeavoured to attract as many partisans as possible from all three religious groups: Catholic, Orthodox and Islamic.

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<sup>14</sup>Bogičević, *Pismenost*, p. 251.

<sup>15</sup>Bogičević, *Pismenost*, p. 251; Papić, *Školstvo*, p. 10.

<sup>16</sup>Papić, *Školstvo*, p. 10.

<sup>17</sup>Kraljačić, p. 231.

<sup>18</sup>General high schools (*realne gimnazije*) stressed mathematics and the sciences, while the classical high schools (*klasične gimnazije*) focused on the study of Greek, Latin, modern languages, and the humanities in general—trans.

<sup>19</sup>Kraljačić, p. 231.

<sup>20</sup>Kraljačić, pp. 13-536. For information on the life and political activities of Benjamin Kállay prior to his arrival in Bosnia and Herzegovina see: Kraljačić, pp. 45-61.

<sup>21</sup>Kraljačić, pp. 214-230.

<sup>22</sup>Kraljačić, pp. 230-242.

The appellation Bosnian language was found in some sources and literature much earlier than Kállay's arrival to Bosnia and Herzegovina.<sup>23</sup> He persistently intervened to create a Bosnian nation and attempted to make it official at a meeting of the Austrian delegation held on 19 October 1892. Kállay resolutely defended his position:

Those who are concerned with this problem, must decide if the people are Croats or Serbs, Bosnians, or Serbo-Croats. Until this is finally settled, allow me, who belongs to another nationality and who does not want to solve this controversial question, to designate the inhabitants of Bosnia, Bosnians ... I do not know of the existence of a Serbocroatian tribe. I have spent a significant amount of time studying ethnography and the Serbian language on the whole territory which is or was Serbian conforming to the opinion of the great [Pavel Josef] Šafarik. But, I do not know of a single Serbocroatian tribe...; if its existence is found and confirmed as such by all participants, I will have nothing against such a name.<sup>24</sup>

Kállay's politics had its opponents. In 1892, Thomáš G. Masaryk stated to the Austrian delegation that Kállay's "political creation of a Bosnian nation lays in the 'immorality' of his system".<sup>25</sup> Besides that, Kállay completely contradicted his own position as a historian and politician. In his work on the history of the Serbian people,<sup>26</sup> as commented on by Masaryk, he "clearly showed that only Serbs and Croats were found in Bosnia, and he marked the boundary line between the two tribes",<sup>27</sup> but as a politician he thought and acted differently, that is, in a political manner.

Kállay's national politics concerning Bosnia and Herzegovina was analyzed in Vienna, in 1896. On these remarks he responded by stating:

<sup>23</sup>Kraljačić, p. 237.

<sup>24</sup>Kraljačić, p. 229.

<sup>25</sup>Kraljačić, p. 274.

<sup>26</sup>Venijamin Kalaji, *Istorija srpskog naroda* [History of the Serbian people] (Belgrade, 1882); cf. Vojislav Bogičević, "Da li je ministar Kalaj zabranio svoju "Istoriju Srba" na području Bosne i Hercegovine" [Did Minister Kállay ban his *History of the Serbian people* on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina?], *Godišnjak Društva istoričara Bosne i Hercegovine*, 7 (Sarajevo, 1955), 205-208.

<sup>27</sup>Kraljačić, pp. 274 (see also pp. 275-278).



...that the language of the land must have some kind of name. Both sides protest against the term “Serbian” or “Croatian”, and at the same time both sides are against the name “Serbocroatian”. The name “Bosnian” was neither invented nor even less imported into Bosnia. This is the name of the land and as such the government has adopted it.<sup>28</sup>

With the idea of Bosniandom, an attempt was made not only to eradicate, but also to replace the national consciousness of the population living there by gradually diminishing and breaking the ties with the Croatian nation in Croatia and the Serbian nation in Serbia. The effort invested and the attempt to create the Bosnian nation and the Bosnian language was aborted and did not succeed in extinguishing the national consciousness of the Croatian and Serbian nations. After Kállay’s death in 1903, the absolutistic tendencies of the regime were partially softened. The politics of Bosniandom was publicly and officially rejected in 1906.

Translated by Stan Granic

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<sup>28</sup>Bogićević, *Pismenost*, p. 254.

## Obćinska učiona u mjestu

*Razdjelenje Sahata*

Od 1. srpnja do zadnjega rujna t. g.

Prije podne - poslije podne

| Dan        | Doba<br>od-do | Predmet   |
|------------|---------------|---|
| Ponediljak | 8-9           | Računanje   |
|            | 9-10          | Pisanje u hrvatskom jeziku sa latinicom   |
|            | 2-3           | Učenje pisanja sa ćirilicom ona djeca koja tako žele,<br>druga, ponavljanje prije podne učenoga |
|            | 3-4           | Čitanje u hrvatskom jeziku sa latinicom   |
| Utorak     | 8-9           | Računanje   |
|            | 9-10          | Učenje čitanja i pisanja u njemačkom jeziku   |
|            | 2-3           | Čitanje u hrvatskom jeziku sa ćirilicom, za druge<br>pisanje latinicom                          |
|            | 3-4           | Pisanje u hrvatskom jeziku sa latinicom   |
| Srieda     | 8-9           | Računanje   |
|            | 9-10          | Učenje pisanja sa latinicom u hrvatskom jeziku  |
|            | 2-3           | Učenje čitanja u njemačkom jeziku   |
|            | 3-4           | Učenje pisanja u njemačkom jeziku   |
| Četvrtak   | 8-9           | Računanje   |
|            | 9-10          | Predavanje o ponašnju   |
|            | -             | Nepohađanje škole   |
| Petak      | 8-9           | Pisanje u hrvatskom jeziku sa latinicom   |
|            | 9-10          | Čitanje u hrvatskom jeziku sa latinicom   |
|            | 2-½3          | Učenje njemačkog jezika i čitanje u ćirilici  |
|            | ½3-3          | Skakanje i vježbanje u gombanju   |
|            | 3-4           |   |
| Subota     | 8-9           | Računanje   |
|            | 9-10          | Čitanje i pisanje u hrvatskom jeziku sa latinicom   |
|            | 2-3           | Pisanje u hrvatskom jeziku sa latinicom   |
|            | 3-4           | Pisanje u ćirilici za druge čitanje u hrvatskom jeziku  |
| Nedilja    | -             | -   |

Orašje dne 8. srpnja 1879.

Kotarski upravitelj Čović M(ihovil)

NAMES OF THE LANGUAGE IN BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

|             |       | Obćinska učionica u mjestu<br>Razdjeljenje Sahata!              |   |
|-------------|-------|---|---|
|             |       | Od 1. Lipnja do sadnjega Danja 1849.                            |   |
|             |       | Prva podno  | Poslije podno   |
| Dan         | od do | Predmet   | od do   |
| Ponedjeljak | 8 9   | Pracunanje<br>Pisanje u hrvatskom jeziku sa latinicom           | 9 9<br>učenje pisanja sa cirilicom<br>i u hrvatskom jeziku sa latinicom<br>za pisanje prije podneucenja |
|             | 9 10  |   | 8 4<br>Čitanje u hrvatskom jeziku sa latinicom  |
| Utorak      | 8 9   | Pracunanje<br>Učenje čitanja i pisanja u njemačkom jeziku       | 2 3<br>Čitanje u hrvatskom jeziku sa cirilicom za drugo čitanje latinicom                               |
|             | 9 10  |   | 3 4<br>Pisanje u hrvatskom jeziku sa cirilicom  |
| Sreda       | 8 9   | Pracunanje<br>učenje pisanja sa latinicom u hrvatskom jeziku    | 2 3<br>učenje čitanja u njemačkom jeziku  |
|             | 9 10  |   | 3 4<br>učenje pisanja u njemačkom jeziku  |
| Četvrtak    | 8 9   | Pracunanje<br>predavanje o ponašanju                            | Nepohadjanje škole  |
|             | 9 10  | pisanje u hrvatskom jeziku sa latinicom                         |   |
| Petak       | 8 9   |   | 2 3<br>učenje njemačkog jezika i čitanje u cirilici   |
|             | 9 10  | Čitanje u hrvatskom jeziku sa latinicom                         | 3 4<br>škakanje i mečbanje u gombanju   |
| Subota      | 8 9   | Pracunanje<br>čitanje i pisanje u hrvatskom jeziku sa latinicom | 2 3<br>pisanje u hrvatskom jeziku sa latinicom  |
|             | 9 10  |   | 3 4<br>pisanje u cirilici za drugo čitanje u hrvatskom jeziku   |
| Nedjelja    |       |   |   |

Vraše dne 8. Lipnja 1849.  
Potpisani upravitelj Couking

Facsimile Reproduction of "Razdjeljenje Sahata"

## Municipal school

*School-Day Schedule*

From July 1 to the last day of September of that year.

morning - afternoon

| Day       | Time<br>from-to | Subject  |
|-----------|-----------------|--|
| Monday    | 8-9             | Arithmetic   |
|           | 9-10            | Writing in the Croatian language with the Roman script   |
|           | 2-3             | Writing in Cyrillic for those children who wish to, others, repeat the material from the morning   |
|           | 3-4             | Reading in the Croatian language in the Roman script   |
| Tuesday   | 8-9             | Arithmetic   |
|           | 9-10            | Reading and writing in the German language   |
|           | 2-3             | Reading in the Croatian language in the Cyrillic script, for others, writing in the Roman alphabet |
|           | 3-4             | Writing in the Croatian language with the Roman script   |
| Wednesday | 8-9             | Arithmetic   |
|           | 9-10            | Writing in the Roman script in the Croatian language   |
|           | 2-3             | Reading in the German language   |
|           | 3-4             | Writing in the German language   |
| Thursday  | 8-9             | Arithmetic   |
|           | 9-10            | Instruction on moral education   |
|           | -               | Time off   |
| Friday    | 8-9             | Writing in the Croatian language with the Roman script   |
|           | 9-10            | Reading in the Croatian language in the Roman script   |
|           | 2-2:30          | Reading in the German language and reading in Cyrillic   |
|           | 2:30-3          | Physical education and gymnastic exercises   |
|           | 3-4             | -  |
| Saturday  | 8-9             | Arithmetic   |
|           | 9-10            | Reading and writing in the Croatian language with the Roman script                                 |
|           | 2-3             | Writing in the Croatian language with the Roman script   |
|           | 3-4             | Writing in the Cyrillic script and for others, reading in the Croatian language                    |
| Sunday    | -               | -  |

Orašje, 8th day of July, 1879

District administrator: Čović, M(ihovil)

# TERMS FOR THE CROATIAN LANGUAGE IN THE 20TH CENTURY

VINKO GRUBIŠIĆ

## RÉSUMÉ/ABSTRACT

L'auteur étudie de façon détaillée les différents noms donnés à la langue croate pendant le vingtième siècle. Les motivations politiques et les circonstances historiques qui ont influencé ces changements sont traitées en quatre périodes : 1918-1941, le Royaume des Serbes Croates et Slovènes (devenu la Yougoslavie en 1929); 1941-1945, la Deuxième guerre mondiale; 1945-1989, la Yougoslavie communiste et 1990 à nos jours, la dernière période.

The author examines in detail the naming and renaming of the Croatian language during the 20th century. The political motivations and historical circumstances influencing these changes are discussed within the following time periods: the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (renamed Yugoslavia in 1929), 1918-1941; the Second World War, 1941-1945; the second Yugoslavia, 1945-1989; and the successor states to former Yugoslavia, 1990-.

## I. Introduction

The many misunderstandings concerning the Croatian language during our century are best exemplified through its naming and renaming. For this reason, it is beneficial to examine more closely the turning points pertaining to the names used for the Croatian language.

As far as the diachrony of terms used for the Croatian language are concerned, several notable works have already been published.<sup>1</sup> A careful

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<sup>1</sup>Cf.: Benedikta Zelic-Bučan, "Nekoliko izvornih svjedočanstava o hrvatskom nazivu hrvatskog jezika," *Kolo*, 8, no. 4 (1970), 480-484; id., "Narodni naziv hrvatskog jezika tijekom hrvatske povijesti," in *Tisućljetni jezik naš hrvatski*, ed. Stjepan Babić (Zagreb: Spiridion Brusina, 1991), pp. 1-51 (this is a revised and expanded version of a two-part essay, under the same title, which appeared in *Jezik*, 19, no. 1 (1971-1972), 1-18 and no. 2, 38-48); Ivan Ostojić, "Kako su Hrvati nazivali svoj jezik," *Kolo*, 5, nos. 1-2 (1971), 93-118; Radoslav Katičić, "'Slověnski' i 'hrvatski' kao zamjenjivi nazivi jezika hrvatske književnosti," in *Tisućljetni jezik*, pp. 52-73; Rafo Bogišić, "Narodnosni pridjev u djelima hrvatskih renesansnih pjesnika," *Jezik*, 33, no. 5 (1986), 129-136.

reading of these studies is important to understand the language identity of the Croats. From these essays we learn that besides the Croatian national name (*hrvatski*), Croats have at times and under certain circumstances used other names such as: Illyrian (*ilirski* or *ilirički*), Slavic (*slovenski* or *slavenski*), Dalmatian (*dalmatinski*), Bosnian (*bosanski*), Slavonian (*slavonski*) and language of Dubrovnik/Ragusan (*dubrovački*). However, as Benedikta Zelić-Bučan, Ivan Ostojić, Radoslav Katičić and others have shown, these terms were synonyms for Croatian.

The terms “Serbo-Croatian” (“*srpsko-hrvatski*”) or “Croato-Serbian” (“*hrvatsko-srpski*”) were introduced by the Slovene Jernej Kopitar (1780-1844), who translated the term “Illyrian” (“*ilirski*”) with “*dialecto illyrica, rectius Serbochroatica sive Chrovatoserbica*” in 1836.<sup>2</sup> As shown by Rado Lenček, these terms, hyphenated or not, have “never become part of an active vocabulary of non-educated speakers.”<sup>3</sup>

## II. Developments in the 19th Century

In 1868, the state-legal accord known as the Croato-Hungarian Agreement, specifically recognized the use of the “Croatian language” in all legislative, executive and administrative branches of the Kingdom of Croatia and Slavonia, and in all departments of the common government within the borders of Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia.<sup>4</sup> The subsequent publication of grammars, dictionaries, orthographies and other language manuals reveals that the identification of the language as Croatian was to a large extent followed.

At the close of the 19th and the first years of the 20th century, three important language manuals were published in Zagreb: Dragutin Boranić’s *Croatian orthography* (1892); Tomo Maretić’s *Grammar and stylistics of the Croatian or Serbian literary language* (1899); and the Ivan Broz-Franjo Iveković *Dictionary of the Croatian language* (1901). Although two of these publications contained only Croatian in their titles, all three

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<sup>2</sup>Rado Lenček, “A Few Remarks for the History of the Term ‘Serbo-croatian’,” *Zbornik za filologiju i lingvistiku*, 19 (Novi Sad, 1977), 47.

<sup>3</sup>Lenček, p. 45.

<sup>4</sup>See constitutional articles 56-60 in: Bogoslav Šulek, *Hrvatski ustav ili konstitucija* (Zagreb: Dionička tiskara, 1882), pp. 287-288 and Benedikta Zelić-Bučan, “Saborski zaključci o nazivu hrvatskog jezika (1861., 1867., 1868.)” *Marulić*, 27, no. 4 (1994), p. 578.

signalled a break from Croatian literary tradition, and sought to impose a hybrid language promoted by Vuk Stefanović Karadžić (1787-1864).<sup>5</sup>

Among the most resolute critics of Maretić's *Grammar* and the adoption of Karadžić's type of language in general, was Antun Radić (1868-1919). A pioneer Croatian anthropologist and cofounder of the Croatian Peasant Party, Radić pointed out that Maretić did not codify the Croatian language, but rather a hybrid language created by Karadžić:

For Vuk [Karadžić]'s type of language one could say this: a part of Vuk's language is at the same time a part of the Croatian literary language. However, the entire Croatian literary language is not included in Vuk's language, nor is the whole of Vuk's language the same as the Croatian literary language.<sup>6</sup>

As Radić's would go on to stress: "As long as 'Croatian' and 'Serbian' will have different meanings, the Croatian language and the Serbian language will be two instances".<sup>7</sup>

In the preface to the Broz-Iveković dictionary, Iveković wrote that the only reason for choosing the term Croatian consisted in the fact that two Croats authored the work. If the authors had been Serbs, wrote Iveković, it may have, and probably would have been called dictionary of the Serbian language. Iveković goes on to confess that had both Croatian and Serbian been used, it would have irritated many Croats and it would have displeased virtually every Serb. Similarly, writing in an earlier work, Broz would stress:

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<sup>5</sup>A good discussion of this period is found in: Ivo Banac, "Main Trends in the Croat Language Question," in *Aspects of the Slavic Language Question*, eds. Riccardo Picchio and Harvey Goldblatt, Yale Russian and East European Publications, no. 4a (New Haven, CT: Yale Concilium on International and Area Studies, 1984), I (Church Slavonic - South Slavic - West Slavic), 235-239.

<sup>6</sup>Antun Radić, *Sabrana djela* (Zagreb: Seljačka sloga, 1937), XV (O hrvatskom književnom jeziku), p. 17.

<sup>7</sup>Radić, XV, 35. Writing some seventy years later, Zlatko Vince would level the same criticism of Maretić and Iveković who considered language as something sufficient in itself, something that follows its own laws and lives its own life, independently from literature. For this reason, they felt that the Štokavian vernacular of oral folk poetry, tales and proverbs was the natural choice for the standard language and thereby ignored the rich centuries-old Croatian literature. Zlatko Vince, *Putovima hrvatskoga književnog jezika* (Zagreb: Liber, 1978), p. 79-80. Cf.: Banac, pp. 238-239.

The natural language of a people should be called after the name of the respective people to which it refers; and since history knows only two national names for Croats and Serbs, it follows that the language of the Croatian people must be called the Croatian language, and that of the Serbian people, the Serbian language.<sup>8</sup>

On the other hand, Maretić and other language specialists considered the compound term “Croatian or Serbian” the best option.

### III. The Inter-War Kingdom of Yugoslavia, 1918-1941

A year before the outbreak of the First World War, the Slovenian periodical *Veda* initiated an examination of the relationship between the Slovenian, Croatian and Serbian languages. *Veda* examined the possibility of calling a newly created language of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes “Serbo-Croato-Slovenian” or “Serbo-Croatian”. The discussion centred around two proposals and what they entailed: the sacrificing of the Slovenian language for the sake of South Slavic language unity, or the maintenance of Slovenian within Slovenia. Naturally, such a discussion led to a great diversity of responses and no conclusion could be advanced that would take into account the wide array of opinions.

In 1914, the Serbian literary critic and historian, Jovan Skerlić (1877-1914), published his article entitled: “Inquiry on the Southern or Eastern dialect used in Serbo-Croatian literature.” This piece explicitly proposed the unification of the Serbian and Croatian languages.

Skerlić advanced a *lingua communis* or state language for all South Slavs.<sup>9</sup> This *lingua communis* required a compromise between the Serbs

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<sup>8</sup>Ivan Broz, *Crtime iz hrvatske književnosti* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1886), vol. I (Hrvatska književnost), 160.

<sup>9</sup>Franjo Poljanec, *Istorija srpskohrvatskoslovenačkog jezika* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1936), p. 136. As for the language of the Macedonians and Slovenes, Skerlić’s inquiry was vague. It was unclear whether the Macedonians and Slovenes were to abandon their respective languages or whether there should be a linguistic amalgamation of all South Slavic languages.



and Croats, whereby Croats would accept the Ekavian dialect in exchange for Serbian acceptance of the Roman alphabet. In other words, to achieve linguistic unity, Croats were expected to abandon the Ijekavian features of their language, while the Serbs were expected to relinquish their Cyrillic script. Skerlić believed that Serbian Ekavian should be accepted in Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Montenegro, for the following reasons: more people spoke the Ekavian (“Eastern”) dialect than the Ijekavian (“Southern”) dialect; there was a wealth of Ekavian literary works; Ekavian was easier to master than Ijekavian; Ekavian was much more adaptable for use in poetry than any other Croatian or Serbian dialect; and Ekavian covered a broader territory than any other Croatian or Serbian dialect. Commenting on the above rationale in the early 1970s, Ljudevit Jonke noted that:

These arguments were so weak and subjective that they were unacceptable to any serious critic. Further development of the literary language not only among the Croats, but also among the Serbs, completely disproved Skerlić’s theses.<sup>10</sup>

In the post-World War I Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1929), Skerlić’s “Inquiry” acquired even more significance. Although Skerlić did not live to see the formation of this new state, his proposals for the creation of a common language had gained ground.

Not all Serbian and Croatian language specialists greeted Skerlić’s proposal with enthusiasm. For instance, Milan Rešetar, who considered himself a “Serbocroat”, felt that the “Serbo-Croatian language”, based on the Southern dialect chosen by Karadžić in the 19th century, should be imposed on all other Yugoslavs be they Slavic or not.<sup>11</sup> On the Croatian side, Petar Skok thought that the languages should be allowed to follow their natural flow, as any intervention would only do them harm.

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<sup>10</sup>Ljudevit Jonke, *Hrvatski književni jezik 19. i 20. stoljeća* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1971), p. 204.

<sup>11</sup>Ljudevit Jonke, *Hrvatski književni jezik danas* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1971), p. 95.

Although some of Croatia's foremost writers, such as Miroslav Krleža, Tin Ujević, Antun Branko Šimić and Gustav Krklec, briefly flirted with the use of the Serbian literary language, all of them soon grew disenchanted, switched back to the Croatian language and Croatianized their previously published Serbian works. The disappointments caused by the idealized unification were very real, and eventually:

Political realities destroyed this idyll. Throughout the inter-war period Serbian political leaders repeatedly confounded Croat expectations. The maintenance of Serbian supremacy was a practical argument against the theory of a single Yugoslav nationhood. Since the Serbs and Croats were not equal, they were clearly not the same.<sup>12</sup>

Opposition to linguistic unification did emerge among prominent Croats and Serbs, but they explained their opposition in various ways. The leading Croatian linguist, Tomo Maretić (1854-1938), urged that the use of the name "Croatian or Serbian" be maintained. Maretić believed that the term "Croatian or Serbian" would be acceptable to all in Croatia. However, other Croatian language specialists opposed any official intervention in the matter of language. On the other hand, leading Serbian linguist Aleksandar Belić (1876-1960) rejected Skerlić's proposal because he believed that Macedonians and Slovenes should be included in this new state language. Later, however, Belić abandoned his idea on the unification of all the South Slavic nations, but he continued to press for the creation of a "Serbo-Croatian language" spoken by a "Serbo-Croatian nation". Rešetar was the single Croatian language specialist whose writing conformed to Belić's language prospectus.

Like Belić, Stojan Novaković was not enthusiastic about Skerlić's "final step" leading to Serbian and Croatian linguistic unification. This was primarily because of his concerns over Macedonia, or "Old Serbia" as he called it when speaking in linguistic terms. According to Novaković, Serbs should not abandon their Cyrillic alphabet, which is almost identical to the alphabet used in neighbouring Macedonia.<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>Banac, p. 241.

<sup>13</sup>Stjepan Ivšić, *Hrvatski jezik* (Mainz: Liber Verlag, 1978), p. 12. This is a reprint of nos. 1-10 (1938-1939) of *Hrvatski jezik*.

The most ardent proponents of Skerlić's ideas after World War I were Serbian writers from Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, such as: Mirko Korolija, Ivo Ćipiko, Svetozar Ćorović and Aleksa Šantić. However, they based their notions on political grounds as they spoke optimistically about the expansion of the future common state language from Triglav (northern Slovenia) to Đevdelija (eastern Serbia).

Following the introduction of the St. Vitus Day Constitution of 1921, the government of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes rushed to create manuals for the new state language. The Ministry of Public Instruction wanted to make Belić's *Orthography* (1923) mandatory, which occurred in 1929 following King Alexander's dictatorship. It was then that the Ministry of Public Instruction published its 1929 *Orthography instruction for all primary, secondary and other specialized schools*. Despite the appearance of this manual, Croatian schools somehow managed to use the new 5th edition of Dragutin Boranić's *Orthography of the Croatian or Serbian language*.

During the late 1920s and early 1930s, the Yugoslav government propagated a new term for the official language of Yugoslavia: "Serbo-Croato-Slovenian". It succeeded, to a certain extent, in imposing this term, or versions of it, for the instructional language in several schools. In Croatia the following terms were used: "Serbocroatoslovenian language" at the teachers' college in Šibenik, in 1928; "mother tongue (Serbo-Croatian, Slovenian)" at the teachers' college in Šibenik, in 1932; "national language—Serbo-Croatian-Slovenian" at the high school in Osijek, in 1937; and "Serbocroatoslovenian language and literature" at the Second Boys' High School in Zagreb, in 1939.

During both his student and teaching days in Croatia during this period, Christopher Spalatin came across the following three terms: "Yugoslavian", "Croato-Serbian" and "Serbo-Croato-Slovenian".<sup>14</sup> Zelić-Bučan lists the following names for the instructional language appearing on her school report cards from 1926-1937:

...in the year 1926, the "nondescript instructional language";  
from 1927-1929, the "Serbo-Croatian language"; in 1930, the  
"Croatian or Serbian language"; and from 1930-1937 even

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<sup>14</sup>Christopher Spalatin, "First Common Orthography for Croatians, Serbs and Montenegrins," *Journal of Croatian Studies*, 2 (1961), 8 (note 7).

the trinomial “Serbocroatoslovenian language”, without hyphens!<sup>15</sup>

In Bosnia-Herzegovina, the language of instruction was called: “Serbo-Croato-Slovenian” at the State Secondary School of Commerce in Derventa, in 1931; “Serbo-Croato-Slovenian language” at the State High School in Tuzla, in 1937; and the “national language (Serbocroatian)” at the Posušje elementary school, in 1937.<sup>16</sup>

It is important to keep in mind that during the inter-war period, there never was a precise constitutional decree of any unified term for the language in Serbia, Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. In Serbia, the terms “Serbian” and “Serbocroatian” were used sporadically. In Croatia, the term “Croatian” predominated in everyday use, while “Croatian or Serbian” predominated in official use. The use of “or” between Croatian and Serbian enabled the individual to understand the phrase as a conjunction or a disjunction.

In the case of Croatian language specialists, the preferred term was “Croatian or Serbian” for the following reasons: in Croatia it had a longer tradition than any other compound term and it appeared in the title of the largest Croatian dictionary of which fifty-two volumes were already published before 1938, and which was considered the most important Croatian language “work in progress”. It also appeared in Maretić’s *Grammar of the Croatian or Serbian language*, Boranić’s *Orthography of the Croatian or Serbian language*, and several other less-known school manuals in Croatia. However, the expression “Croatian or Serbian” could have various meanings and did allow Croats to call their language Croatian, and Serbs to call their language Serbian.

Despite the official support and patronage of those working towards linguistic union, Croatian philologists and writers continued to cultivate the language in the Croatian literary tradition, which embraced all three dialects and literary tradition. By the mid-1930s change was clearly under way. This

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<sup>15</sup>Zelić-Bučan, “Narodni naziv,” p. 48.

<sup>16</sup>See the facsimile reproduction in: Jerko Oreč, “Razvoj pismenosti i osnovnog školstva u posuškom kraju,” *Posuški zbornik*, ed. Jerko Oreč (Posušje: Matica hrvatska Posušje, 1996), p. 69.

is shown by the 1937 appearance of Julije Benešić's *Grammar of the Croatian or Serbian language*. Although Benešić used the term "Croatian or Serbian" for his grammar, his *Croatian-Polish dictionary* contained only the term Croatian.

In 1938, the first issue of the journal *Croatian language* appeared. Although its editor Stjepan Ivšić and other Croatian language specialists often used the term "our language" ("*naš jezik*"), the main thrust of the periodical was clear: the phase of trying to create one state language in Yugoslavia was well over. The by-laws of the association *Croatian language* make this quite clear:

The purpose of our association consists in the cultivation of the Croatian language, which means the upkeep of the spirit of the Croatian language and in endeavouring to expand the correct usage of Croatian in all areas of the spoken and written language.<sup>17</sup>

Others soon followed in their efforts to clarify the actual situation of the Croatian and Serbian languages. The prominent work of Petar Guberina and Kruno Krstić, entitled *Differences between the Croatian and Serbian languages*, certainly falls in this category. As if recognizing this new reality, Serbian philologist Radosav Bošković noted that a "differential Croato-Serbian or Serbo-Croatian dictionary would contain three or four thousand words. And, it does not seem to me that this number is a trifle."<sup>18</sup>

Benešić's *Grammar*, Ivšić's periodical *Croatian language*, as well as the Guberina-Krstić *Differences*, revealed a very high level of linguistic culture in Croatia. In the preface to *Differences*, Guberina stressed that the: "living language, which we use in speech and writing, is not a historical analysis but rather consists of actual morphologic, lexical, syntactic and stylistic features".<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>"Pravila društva 'Hrvatski jezik'," in Ivšić, p. 29.

<sup>18</sup>Radosav Bošković, "O leksičkoj i stilskoj diferencijaciji srpskoga i hrvatskoga književnog jezika," *Naš jezik*, 3 (1935), 277-282, rpt. in: Radosav Bošković, *Odabrani članci i rasprave*, ed. Radovan Zogović (Titograd: Crnogorska akademija nauka i umjetnosti, 1978), p. 47.

<sup>19</sup>Petar Guberina and Kruno Krstić, *Razlike između hrvatskoga i srpskoga književnog jezika* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1940), p. 11.

From the political and cultural points of view, the period between the two World Wars was turbulent for the Croatian people. In the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, the various unitaristic regimes negated Croatian nationhood and even the Croatian national name in pursuit of the forging of a Yugoslav nation. This was clearly reflected in the adjustments of the country's language policies and the resistance to such policies. By the late 1930s, when accommodation to the Croats' call for autonomy within Yugoslavia had been realized, this unitarism was curtailed and a more open examination of the language situation prevailed. This was the atmosphere just prior to the Second World War.

#### IV. The Second World War: The Independent State of Croatia and the National Liberation Struggle, 1941-1945

In response to the policies of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, which denied and prevented the use of the national name for the Croatian language and people, two opposite ideologically-based governments operating on Croatian soil during World War II, restored the national name to the language. On the one hand, the Ustaša regime of the Independent State of Croatia (NDH) portrayed itself as the defender of the Croatian language and identity. At the same time, the Land's Anti-Fascist Council for the People's Liberation of Croatia (ZAVNOH), operating in conjunction with the Anti-Fascist Council for the People's Liberation of Yugoslavia (AVNOJ), presented itself as the guarantor of Croatia's social and national (including linguistic) independence within Yugoslavia.

The Ustaša regime enacted legislation identifying the language as Croatian and soon all literary, artistic and scientific institutions on its territory included the national name. For instance, the Zagreb-based Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts was renamed the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts.

During the first months of its existence, the NDH government enacted its *Legal regulation on the Croatian language, its purity and its orthography*.<sup>20</sup> To implement its language policies, the Ministry of Educa-

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<sup>20</sup>Reprinted in: Franjo Cipra et al., *Hrvatski pravopis* (Zagreb: Hrvatska državna tiskara, 1944), pp. II-III.

tion established the Croatian State Office for Language Issues under the direction of Blaž Jurišić. The above regulation stressed that: “The Croatian language is a common good of the Croatian nation and, therefore, no individual shall be permitted to falsify or deform it”. It further stipulated that “the Croatian official and literary language is the Ijekavian or Iekavian variant of the Štokavian dialect”, and that “the etymological orthography shall be used instead of phonetic spelling.” Given the explicit stand on the standard language, no Croatian linguist proposed the Čakavian or Kajkavian dialect as the basis for the literary language.

The most radical changes introduced by the *Regulation* were: overzealous puristic tendencies, the introduction of the etymological orthography,<sup>21</sup> and the replacement of the graphemes “*ije*” by “*ie*” in words containing the long “*ja*”. Other laws were introduced that prohibited the use of the Cyrillic alphabet on the territory of the new state.<sup>22</sup>

The first article of the *Regulation* pointed out that “Croatian is not identical to any other language nor is it part of a dialect of any other language... It is called the ‘Croatian language’.” Expanding on this, Bratoljub Klaić, the director of the Croatian State Office for Language Issues, would write the following in an article entitled “Former and current language innovations”:

Today’s purism has only one novelty: we have settled our accounts with the notion of Serbocroatian and accept the correct point of view that the Croatian language is an independent language and that it is neither a part nor a dialect of any other language.<sup>23</sup>

It should be noted that the views of Croatian language specialists of the time were far from unanimous. While Marijan Stojković, Kruno Krstić, Franjo Fancev, Bratoljub Klaić and Franjo Cipra advocated the reintroduction of the etymological Croatian orthography, which was in use until the

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<sup>21</sup>B.A. Klaić, “Novi pravopis i pročišćeni hrvatski jezik,” *Hrvatski narod*, 5 July 1942, p. 2.

<sup>22</sup>See the 25 April 1941 issue of *Narodne novine*, cited in: Marko Samardžija, *Hrvatski jezik u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj* (Zagreb: Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada, 1993), pp. 40-41.

<sup>23</sup>Cited in: Samardžija, p. 147.

beginning of the 20th century, leading Croatian linguist Stjepan Ivšić opposed such a move. In fact, Ivšić was a vocal critic of many of the language policies of the NDH, for which he was removed from his position at the University of Zagreb.<sup>24</sup> Among the priority projects proposed by the Croatian State Office for Language was a “Dictionary of the Croatian language”, that was to include examples from recent Croatian literary works.<sup>25</sup>

With regard to the media, many journalists in the NDH responded favourable to Klaić’s criticism of language calques and his proposal for the creation of new words. Croatian Radio introduced a program on “linguistic advice”. Several Croatian newspapers also published articles on the purity of the Croatian language and on the question of orthography. Based upon the Guberina-Krstić *Differences* (1940), authors explored Serbian influences in Croatian and suggested the use of new words and expressions to replace Serbianisms.

In keeping with the language policies of the NDH, a new 5th edition of Josip Florschütz’s grammar was officially adopted. It appeared with the revised title *Croatian grammar for high schools*.<sup>26</sup>

With regard to linguistic activities during the brief existence of the NDH, these endeavours can best be described as an overreaction to the pre-war tendency of imposing the Serbian language on Croatia, rather than normal language evolution:

In a self-defeating gesture that compromised Croat linguistic autonomy for a generation, the government of the Independent State of Croatia restored a cumbersome and extreme version of the pre-1892 etymological orthography...even though this disrupted the continuity that had only recently been renewed after the turn-of-the-century tremors.

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<sup>24</sup>Christopher Spalatin, “Stjepan Ivšić (In Memoriam),” *Journal of Croatian Studies*, 3-4 (1962-1963), 118-120.

<sup>25</sup>As far as the Kajkavian and čakavian dialects were concerned, the authors of the dictionary could not agree whether to include them in the work. Kruno Krstić considered dialectisms unnecessary, while Josip Jedvaj believed that čakavian and Kajkavian words enriched standard Croatian. The ensuing tug of war on the issue of dialectisms remained unresolved and as a result the dictionary was never completed.

<sup>26</sup>Its previous title being *Croatian or Serbian grammar*.



The Pavelić dictatorship also pursued a policy of exaggerated and cumbersome linguistic purism...which the linguistic unitarists later misused in order to tar legitimate purist tendencies that had always existed in Croatian...<sup>27</sup>

During the war and the immediate post-war years, the Croatian national name was used exclusively for the language spoken by Croats. All the previous terms (“Serbo-Croato-Slovenian”/“Croato-Serbo-Slovenian” and “Croato-Serbian”/“Serbo-Croatian“), were rejected as futile political attempts at obstructing the natural historical developments of the languages of the Slovenes, Croats and Serbs.

To strengthen support for the cause of Yugoslav-wide resistance among all peoples and to bolster its image as champion of all nations within Yugoslavia, the AVNOJ took immediate steps to recognize the national names of the languages of the peoples of Yugoslavia. Thus, right after its creation, the AVNOJ and the National Committee for the Liberation of Yugoslavia, the first supreme legal and executive government, reinstated the national names of languages in its first legal acts. On 15 January 1944, the AVNOJ decreed in its Decision (no. 18) which languages were to be used in future publications of official resolutions:

In the spirit of the federative principle on which Yugoslavia shall be based, as well as on the principles of self-determination and national equality, which are guaranteed to the nations of Yugoslavia...the Presidency of the Anti-Fascist Council for the People’s Liberation of Yugoslavia resolves that:

1. All decisions and proclamations of the Anti-Fascist Council for the People’s Liberation of Yugoslavia and its Presidency, as the supreme legal governing body, and the National Committee for the Liberation of Yugoslavia, as the supreme executive and regulating body, in Yugoslavia, shall be published officially...in the Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian and Macedonian languages. Each of these languages are considered to be equal throughout the entire territory of Yugoslavia.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>27</sup>Banac, p. 245.

<sup>28</sup>*Službeni list Demokratske Federativne Jugoslavije*, 1 February 1945, no. 1, p. 5; rpt. in *Hrvatski književni jezik i pitanje varijanata*, special issue of *Kritika*, 1 (Zagreb, 1969), p. 2 and in Stjepan Babić, *Hrvatski jezik u političkom vrtlogu*, ed. Stjepan Babić (Zagreb: Ante and Danica Pelivan, 1990), pp. 13-14.

In an almost identical manner, the National Committee for the Liberation of Yugoslavia issued a decree on 19 December 1944 dealing with regulations governing the publication of the *Official gazette of the Democratic Federative Republic of Yugoslavia*. The second paragraph of the decree stated that: "The 'Official gazette' shall be printed in the Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian and Macedonian languages".<sup>29</sup>

As we can see from the above two resolutions, the existence of a distinct and separate Croatian language was officially acknowledged. Together with the principles of self-determination and national equality, the use of the Croatian language in official government decrees and throughout the territory of Yugoslavia was explicitly recognized as a fundamental attribute of the country.<sup>30</sup>

#### V. The Second Yugoslavia, 1945-1990

The periodization of the Croatian language after the Second World War can be divided into four distinct stages: the first, from the end of World War II to the signing of the Novi Sad Agreement (1945-1954); the second, from the Novi Sad Agreement to the 1967 *Declaration concerning the name and the position of the Croatian literary language* (1954-1967); the third, from the *Declaration* to the constitutional recognition of the status and name of the Croatian language (1967-1974); and the fourth, from 1974 to the Yugoslav Federal Constitutional Court's attempt to annul the constitutional entrenchment of the Croatian language, in 1985-1989.<sup>31</sup> The various

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<sup>29</sup>*Službeni list DFJ*, 1 February 1945, no. 1, p. 10; rpt. in *Hrvatski književni jezik i pitanje varijanata*, p. 3 and in Babić, *Hrvatski jezik*, p. 15.

<sup>30</sup>"Croatian" was further recognized by Decision no. 203 of 26 April 1945, which stressed that *Službeni list DFJ* will be simultaneously published in "the Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian and Macedonian languages." *Službeni list DFJ*, 11 July 1945; rpt. in Babić, *Hrvatski jezik*, p. 16. It was also recognized by a directive issued on 11 July 1945 and published in *Službeni list DFJ*, 17 July 1945, no. 50, p. 435 and by the official reading of Yugoslavia's federal constitution in the "Croatian language" as reported in *Službeni list DFJ*, 15 February 1946, no. 14, pp. 149-151; rpt. in Babić, *Hrvatski jezik*, pp. 17-18.

<sup>31</sup>Cf.: Luka Budak, "Croatian Language in SR Croatia (1945-1990)," *Croatian Studies Review*, no. 1 (1997), 25-36; Babić, *Hrvatski jezik*, p. 5.

changes effecting the Croatian language as a whole were also deeply connected with its naming.

An examination of the war and immediate post-war years reveals that the first legal pronouncements of the AVNOJ respecting the Croatian language were being followed. Both the language of instruction and texts used at the time bore the Croatian name, as for instance the following dictionaries:

Mirko Deanović and Josip Jernej, *Dictionary of the Italian and Croatian language* (1945);<sup>32</sup>

Milan Drvodelić, *English-Croatian dictionary* (1946);

Vinko Esih, *German-Croatian and Croatian-German dictionary* (1940-1944);

Gustav Šamšalović, *German-Croatian reference dictionary*, 2nd ed. (1944);

Miroslav and Aleksandra Golik, *Pocket Russian-Croatian dictionary* (1946);

Ivan Esih and Ante Velzek, *Italian-Croatian dictionary* (1942);

Jaroslav Merhaut, *Large Czech-Croatian dictionary* (1941); and

Julije Benešić, *Croatian-Polish dictionary* (1949).

However, in the early 1950s Yugoslav authorities began to pursue an agenda to create a unified standard language and to participate directly in language planning.

The call to linguistic unitarism was first raised by Alekandar Belić who proposed that his orthography, which was published in 1952, serve as the basis for a common Serbo-Croatian orthography. His announcement was soon followed in September 1953 by the oldest Serbian literary foundation, *Matica srpska*, which initiated an inquiry seeking the opinions of notable writers, language specialists and public figures on what was required to assist the natural course of development of the Serbo-Croatian language, inferring that linguistic unity is its natural development.<sup>33</sup> Once these issues

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<sup>32</sup>This was a revised and expanded version of Deanović's earlier 1942 work. See: Branko Franolić, *A Bibliography of Croatian Dictionaries* (Paris: Nouvelles Editions Latines, 1985), p. 87. All subsequent citations of dictionaries from this period are found in Franolić.

<sup>33</sup>Fourteen writers and twenty scholars replied to the open letter in the periodical *Letopis Matice srpske*. These responses were published from September 1953 to December 1954.

were raised in public, the forces of unitarism quickly mobilized and AVNOJ's principles and legal pronouncements were quickly pushed aside, leading to the prohibition and withdrawal of textbooks and periodicals. Among the casualties were Blaž Jurišić's *An outline of Croatian grammar* (Part I: *Historical development of phonetics and morphology*) (1944) and Stjepan Ivšić's periodical *Croatian language*, which Ivšić tried to reestablish after the war.

The loss of Ivšić periodical was countered in 1952 with the well received journal *Jezik* (*Language*), whose subtitle read: *A periodical for the cultivation of the Croatian literary language*.<sup>34</sup> After several noted Croatian language specialists criticised the last two editions (1947 and 1951) of Dragutin Boranić's *Croatian orthography*, the Croatian Philological Society established an expert panel (Committee on the Questions concerning the Orthography) with the mandate to prepare a new Croatian orthography for publication.<sup>35</sup> It seems that a government directive was issued to stop publication of this new Croatian orthography. The same fate was met by Julije Benešić's *Dictionary of the Croatian literary language*.<sup>36</sup> The directive stated that a common Croatian and Serbian orthography should instead be prepared.<sup>37</sup> The primary reason for the cancellation of both the orthography and dictionary seemed to lay solely in the fact that their proposed titles contained only the Croatian national name, which might have thwarted the state's plans to set the stage for the future signing of the Novi Sad Resolutions.<sup>38</sup>

Once the question of linguistic unity had been broached, it begged to be answered. Here again *Matica srpska* set about organizing meetings in Novi Sad, from 8 to 10 December 1954, which involved twenty-five Ser-

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<sup>34</sup>See: Ante Rojnić, "Časopis za kulturu hrvatskoga književnog jezika," *Republika*, 8 (1952), 201.

<sup>35</sup>It is unclear what exactly happened to this orthography. For more information on this book see: Jonke, *Hrvatski jezik danas*, p. 115.

<sup>36</sup>This dictionary was finally published in 1985. Its full title reads: *Dictionary of the Croatian literary language from the National Revival to I.[van] G.[oran] Kovačić*, ed. with an introduction Josip Hamm (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti and Globus, 1985), vol. I (A-Burkati).

<sup>37</sup>Jonke, *Hrvatski jezik danas*, p. 119.

<sup>38</sup>Budak, "Croatian Language in SR Croatia," p. 28.

bian, Montenegrin and Croatian linguists and writers, two-thirds of whom were Serbs. Cognizant of the fact that directives announcing a future gathering at Novi Sad to discuss a blueprint for the publication of a common orthography and dictionary meant that the full force of the state backed such a goal, it was extremely unlikely that resistance, if it did appear, would be able to successfully oppose the unification of nations and languages in a one-party ideologically-based state such as Yugoslavia. Linguists such as Julije Benešić did indeed raise their voices in opposition to this plan; however, political and linguistic decision-makers in Belgrade and Zagreb were beyond reproach. In short, the policy of unitarism won the day and the vague ten points in the Novi Sad Resolutions stressed the existence of a single language and called for the publication of a common orthography and dictionary, and the establishment of a common scientific terminology.

During the Novi Sad discussions two main propositions dealing with the names for the Croatian and Serbian languages emerged: Serbian linguists advocated the term “Serbo-Croatian” while their Croatian counterparts spoke in favour of the designation “Croatian or Serbian”.

With regard to the Croatian participants, Zdenko Škreb did not discuss this question at all, while Jure Kaštelan and Marin Franičević vaguely mentioned “the necessity of future literary unity”. To reveal the spectacle of this meeting, Marijan Jurković would write sarcastically: “You see, my son, who is attending his second year of secondary school, knows that he is a Croat, but he calls his language Serbian and he does not see anything unusual in it.”<sup>39</sup>

Let us examine for instance, Mate Hraste’s line of argument:

“Serbian or Croatian” was the name used in school certificates during the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Our language was also called so until 1929, but later on it was designated “Serbo-Croato-Slovenian”, which was of course unjustifiable because such a language did not exist anywhere. It was also identified as “Croatian or Serbian” during the Banovina of Croatia (1938-1941), and the same term has been used from 1945.<sup>40</sup>

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<sup>39</sup>From *Letopis Matice srpske* [hereafter cited as *LMS*], no. 1 (1955), 115.

<sup>40</sup>*LMS*, p. 38.

Hraste's opinion was typical of the defensive position in which the three leading Croatian linguists (Ljudevit Jonke, Mate Hraste and Josip Hamm) found themselves in Novi Sad.

Mihailo Stevanović replied to Hraste's comments with the following: "It seems to me that neither the terms 'Serbian or Croatian' nor 'Croatian or Serbian' are as adequate as 'Serbocroatian' or 'Croatoserbian'.<sup>41</sup> On the other hand, Aleksandar Belić expressed a more moderate view:

I believe that the two names should not exclude each other. It is most important that in both terms, the Serbian and Croatian names are visible. It is also natural that the Serbs use for their language the shorter form Serbian and the Croats, Croatian.<sup>42</sup>

During the discussions, Josip Hamm pointed out some novel arguments as to why Croats preferred the term "Croatian or Serbian":

For us, the adjective "Serbocroatian" is not convincing because it evokes an impression that everything in it is as much Croatian as Serbian. In fact, that is a compound word in which the two ingredients are not of the same importance (the first part being of similar value to the first part of the adjective "dark grey" meaning grey, but with a little touch of dark nuance). That is why one feels some aversion to such an adjective and gives preference to the term "Croatian or Serbian".<sup>43</sup>

Stevanović added these remarks to the discussion:

I cannot agree...that the compound adjective "Serbocroatian" belongs to the same type of adjective as "dark grey". In that case, the more important part would be the word in the second position, but in the term "Serbocroatian" both parts have the same importance. Comrades, if you do not find this ques-

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<sup>41</sup>*LMS*, p. 50.

<sup>42</sup>*LMS*, p. 19.

<sup>43</sup>*LMS*, pp. 57-58.

tion of great importance, we can leave it to continue as it has been before. In any case, in my opinion the term “Serbocroatian” is not just linguistically the most exact, but also the only correct term.<sup>44</sup>

Oddly enough, not one of the participants questioned why the principle of alphabetical order was not invoked if both ingredients had the same weight and importance? Had they invoked the convention of placing words in alphabetical order, then the term “Croato-Serbian” would have been used at home and exported abroad.<sup>45</sup>

During what was for the Croatian people an extremely important conference, having fundamental long-term consequences for a central component of its identity, no mention was even made, let alone entered on record, of sociolinguistic or ethnolinguistic arguments for the various names for the Croatian and Serbian languages.

On the Serbian side of the exchange, the only person who voiced his opinion against the amalgamation of the two names into one term was Svetislav Marić who stated:

...our language has to be called respectively by the Croatian and Serbian names, because it belongs to both the Croats and Serbs. If for example, Peter and Paul have the same mother, she cannot be called “Peter-Paulian mother,” but the mother of Peter and Paul. The same is with the language of the Croats and Serbs. It is normal that the Croats should call their language only Croatian and Serbs only Serbian.<sup>46</sup>

Following criticisms of his opinion, Marić continued: “The fact is that our language does not have only one name but two. ‘Serbocroatian’ and ‘Croatoserbian’ are two names just as are ‘jugoslovenski’ and ‘jugoslavenski’.”<sup>47</sup>

Not surprisingly, the lack of consensus at this meeting resulted in the continuation of polemical exchanges. Shortly after the participants had left

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<sup>44</sup>*LMS*, p. 59.

<sup>45</sup>Of course “Croatoserbian” or “Croato-Serbian” is incorrect in the same way that “Serbocroatian” or “Serbo-Croatian” is incorrect.

<sup>46</sup>*LMS*, pp. 24-25.

<sup>47</sup>*LMS*, p. 52.

Novi Sad, Stevanović and Hraste continued the debate involving the names of the Serbian and Croatian languages on the pages of *Jezik*. Although these exchanges reveal that dialogue on the issue of the name of the Croatian language had occurred, the preordained conclusions assured that the “correct” agreement was realized. In consolation, it is true that “Croato-Serbian” was officially recognized, but given the structure of the country with the capital of Serbia functioning also as the capital of Yugoslavia, the concentration of the central media (official news agency Tanjug, nationwide radio and television broadcasts), telegraph and telephone services, federal political and economic publications, the diplomacy, the army and the levers of political and economic power, in Belgrade, this officiality was reduced to a bare minimum.<sup>48</sup>

A concrete sign of what had transpired in the aftermath of the Novi Sad Agreement is seen in the change of name in the subtitle of the periodical *Jezik*. From 1955 to 1967, the subtitle of this journal was changed to *A periodical for the cultivation of the Croatoserbian literary language*. In keeping with the Novi Sad Resolutions, 1960 saw the simultaneous publication of the *Orthography of the Croatoserbian literary language* in Zagreb and the *Orthography of the Serbocroatian literary language* in Novi Sad.<sup>49</sup> Although the subtitle change of the journal *Jezik* and the commencement of publication of the common orthography was seen as a sign of acquiescence in matters of language identity, this acquiescence would not last.

This became clear with *Jezik*'s publication of the *Conclusions carried out by the Plenary Session of the Society of Croatian Writers* in a 1965-1966 issue. This announcement disapproved of the unitaristic practices used in Yugoslavia:

In our country, there are some editorial boards as well as some publishing houses that overzealously impose on the texts

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<sup>48</sup>Silvo Devetak, *The Equality of Nations and Nationalities in Yugoslavia—Successes and Dilemmas* (Wien: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1988), pp. 42-58; N. L. Karlović, “Internal Colonialism in a Marxist Society: The Case of Croatia,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 5, no. 3 (1982), 276-299.

<sup>49</sup>For a summary and review of the common orthography see: Christopher Spalatin, “Orthographic Reform in Yugoslavia,” *Journal of Croatian Studies*, 3-4 (1962-1963), 33-63.



of some of our cultural and political contributors many words, syntactic expressions and orthographic features of their own cultural centre; they even changed some original texts...<sup>50</sup>

In 1967, the first two volumes of the joint *Dictionary of the CroatoSerbian/Serbocroatian literary language* were published simultaneously in Novi Sad by *Matica srpska* in Cyrillic script and Ekavian subdialect, and in Zagreb by *Matica hrvatska* in Roman script and Ijekavian subdialect. When it appeared, this joint dictionary came under sharp criticism from the Croatian side for its unitaristic practices that gave preference to Serbian forms over Croatian forms. Throughout the late 1960s, Croatian educational and cultural institutions continued to resist both Serbian domination of the Yugoslav federation as a whole and the unitaristic practices in language planning. For instance, in 1966 the Zagreb Linguistic Circle came out publicly in support of the right of ethnic groups to autonomy in political and linguistic matters.

The culminating point of the abandonment of language planning in the direction of a unified language was the signing of *Declaration concerning the name and the position of the Croatian literary language*.<sup>51</sup> This *Declaration*, which was presented to the parliaments of the Socialist Republic of Croatia and the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, as well as to the public, was adopted by eighteen of the most prominent scholarly and cultural institutions and organizations dealing with the Croatian language. It included 140 signatures of individuals in positions of responsibility at these educational institutions, such as Croatia's most prominent writer, Miroslav Krleža.

Among the primary points of the *Declaration* was its emphasis on the importance of the national name of the Croatian language. It sought the equality not of three, but of four literary languages (Slovenian, Croatian,

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<sup>50</sup>“Zaključci plenuma Društva književnika Hrvatske o problemima suvremenog jezika hrvatske književnosti, znanosti, školstva i sredstava masovne komunikacije,” *Jezik*, 13 (1965-1966), 129.

<sup>51</sup>“Deklaracija o nazivu i položaju hrvatskog književnog jezika,” *Telegram*, VIII, no. 359 (March 17, 1967), p. 1. Rpt. in: “Pred četvrtstoljetnim jubilejem znamenite Deklaracije o jeziku,” *Hrvatska revija*, 41 (Zagreb, 1991), 213-216; *Deklaracija o nazivu i položaju hrvatskog književnog jezika. Građa za povijest Deklaracije*, ed. Jelena Hekman, 3rd rev. and exp. ed. (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1997), pp. 25-29.

Serbian and Macedonian), that all federal legislation be published in the four languages and the use of the Croatian standard language in schools and mass media within the Socialist Republic of Croatia. The pronouncement accused Belgrade of imposing Serbian as a state language and treating Croatian as if it was nothing more than a local dialect. Returning to the central idea of the *Declaration*, Jonke would later write:

Terms containing two national names, namely “Serbocroatian” and “Croatoserbian”, are used in school certificates, but unofficially, Serbs can call their language Serbian and Croats, Croatian. These terms [Croatian and Serbian, V.G.] have a centuries-old tradition. Thus, no one should be surprised that Veljko Petrović designated his language Serbian and Vladimir Nazor his Croatian. In such questions, linguists have no right to impose any unnatural unitaristic solutions because such solutions cause agitation among the people.<sup>52</sup>

The appearance of the *Declaration* in 1967 not only galvanized Croatian linguists, writers, scholars and teachers, but the wider Croatian population. Its appearance coincided with the easing of Yugoslav state unitarism following the removal in 1966 of feared secret police chief Alekandar Ranković. After the removal of Ranković, Croats active in culture, the arts and politics, began to encourage even greater autonomy from Belgrade, which eventually grew into a broad-based national movement, later dubbed the “Croatian Spring”.

The Serbian response to the Croatian *Declaration* came several days later when approximately fifty members of the Serbian Writers’ Association drafted a *Proposal for consideration* for their plenary meeting. This *Proposal*, which was adopted on 19 March 1967, viewed the *Declaration* as a “significant and epoch-making document” that was “adopted by the most significant scholarly and cultural institutions of Croatia”, which “are the most competent ones in matters pertaining to the Croatian literary language” and considered “this Declaration as representative and meritorious.”<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>52</sup>Jonke, *Hrvatski jezik 19. i 20 stoljeća*, p. 374.

<sup>53</sup>At the same time the *Proposal* stressed that Serbs in Croatia should be allowed to call their language Serbian, something that Croatian linguists never opposed. An English translation of the *Proposal* is found in: Christopher Spalatin, “Serbo-Croatian or Serbian and Croatian? Considerations on the Croatian Declaration and Serbian Proposal of March 1967,” *Journal of Croatian Studies*, 7-8 (1966-1967), 10-11.

The stage was clearly set for a new course of development for the Croatian language. A concrete example of this new approach was the change in name to *Jezik's* subtitle, which returned once again to: *A periodical for the cultivation of the Croatian literary language*. In January 1971, after almost two years of exchanges and meetings, *Matica srpska* announced its intentions to complete the joint *Dictionary*, while *Matica hrvatska* resolved that it would be more imperative to compile a dictionary of the Croatian standard language, as the Novi Sad Agreement had become to a large extent obsolete. Later that year, on 16 April, *Matica hrvatska* formally renounced the Novi Sad Agreement.<sup>54</sup> That same year saw other Croatian institutions, such as the Croatian Philological Society, the Institute for Language of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts, and several other scholarly organizations, reject the Novi Sad Agreement. During the same period, the Association of Writers of Montenegro repudiated the Novi Sad Agreement (February 1971), while writers from Bosnia-Herzegovina condemned it in 1970.<sup>55</sup> As Božidar Finka was to stress:

The rejection of the Novi Sad Agreement gives us the possibility to again return to the sources of the Croatian language and to call our language by its thousand-year-old Croatian name. (...) The reintroduction of the name "Croatian" for the language in schools, offices, all social activities and among all social strata, proves that we are very conscious and very responsible towards the Croatian nation, which has been deprived of its national language, even though linguistic rights are a basic human right.<sup>56</sup>

Following the appearance of the *Declaration* and the rejection of the Novi Sad Agreement, Croats returned to the practice of identifying their language solely as Croatian.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>54</sup>An English translation of the text is found in: Christopher Spalatin, "Language and Politics in Yugoslavia in the Light of the Events which Happened from March 17, 1967, to March 14, 1969," *Journal of Croatian Studies*, 11-12 (1970-1971), 103-104.

<sup>55</sup>Branko Franolić, *An Historical Survey of Literary Croatian* (Paris: Nouvelles Editions Latines, 1984), pp. 122, 164 (note 114).

<sup>56</sup>Božidar Finka, "O otkazivanju Novosadskog dogovora," *Jezik*, 18 (Zagreb, 1970-1971), 39-40.

<sup>57</sup>Space does not permit me to mention the hundreds of articles containing the term "Croatian" which were published in the journals *Jezik*, *Hrvatski dijalektološki zbornik*, *Rad JAZU*, *Umjetnost riječi*, *Istra*, *Mogućnosti*, *Marulić*, *Filologija*, etc. However, I shall cite

The reaffirmation of an independent path of development for the Croatian language was also expressed in Dalibor Brozović's *Ten theses on the Croatian language*, which were circulated at the "Foundations for the curriculum of the Croatian language and literature in secondary schools" conference for teachers, held in Šibenik from 22 to 24 November 1971.<sup>58</sup> These theses, which were accepted by the Croatian Philological Society in Zagreb, assert the unique and independent development of the Croatian literary language and the important function it performs as the main means of communication for the Croatian people.

The appearance and growth of Croatian self-assurance and independence was not long tolerated by Tito, who characterized this Croatian confidence as posing a danger to the Yugoslav project. He, therefore, quickly applied the full force of the state to regain control. In December 1971, Tito forced the resignation or removal of Croatian political leaders, which was soon followed by the dismissal of leading Croatian intellectuals and many arrests and imprisonments.

The following year the most notable Croatian cultural institution, *Matica hrvatska*, which was founded in 1842, and sixty of its branches, were forced to close down. Some thirteen literary publications of this organization were shut down, including its weekly *Hrvatski tjednik*, which had a circulation of

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some dictionaries, published in the early 1970s, which solely contained the term "Croatian" in their titles: Blanka Brozović and Oktavija Gerčan, *English-Croatian and Croatian-English pocket dictionary for elementary school* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1971); Kata Cizelj et al., *Croatian-English pocket dictionary* (Zagreb: Mladost and Langenscheidt, 1971); Rudolf Filipović et al., *English Croatian dictionary* (Zagreb: Zora, 1971); Ivo Medić, *German-Croatian and Croatian-German pocket dictionary for elementary schools* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1971); Tatjana Miljković, *Russian-Croatian and Croatian-Russian pocket dictionary for elementary school* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1971); Vojmil Vinja and Rudolf Kožljan, *Spanish-Croatian and Croatian-Spanish dictionary* (Zagreb: Langenscheidt and Mladost, 1972); Ivana Batusić et al., *French-Croatian dictionary* (Zagreb: Langenscheidt and Mladost, 1972); Stanko Žepić et al., *Latin-Croatian dictionary* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1972); Radoslav F. Poljanec and Serafina M. Mandatova-Poljanec, *Russian-Croatian dictionary* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1973); Josip Jernej, *Italian-Croatian and Croatian-Italian pocket dictionary* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1973); and, Z. Tišlar, *Esperanto-Croatian dictionary* (Zagreb: Internacia cultura servo, 1973).

<sup>58</sup>The theses were partially published in *Školske novine*, in December of 1971. An English translation is found in: Christopher Spalatin, "The Rise of the Croatian Standard Language," *Journal of Croatian Studies*, 16 (1975), 9-10.

100,000. Newly published copies of the *Orthography of the Croatian literary language*, some 40,000 in total, were confiscated and destroyed for solely using Croatian in the title.<sup>59</sup>

At the Linguistic Congress in Sarajevo in 1970, hundreds of educators, linguists, writers and politicians discussed, among other matters, the name of the language(s) spoken in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Rasio Dunatov summarized their conclusions concerning the name of the instructional language in Bosnian and Herzegovian schools as follows:

The official name of the standard language in Bosnia-Herzegovina will be Serbo-Croatian or Croato-Serbian. The choice among these two names is up to each individual. (...) Some have suggested using the two compounds together, i.e. Serbocroatian-Croatoserbian and vice versa. The official report of the agreement is not clear on this point. The actual wording is: "The official name of our language in Bosnia-Herzegovina is obligatorily bipartite: Serbocroatian-Croatoserbian. The choice of one of these names is completely free both to the instructor and to the pupil." Because of the awkward nature of these terms, in actual usage terms such as "our language," "mother tongue" and similar terms are frequently used.<sup>60</sup>

The question that concerned Croatian as well as Serbian writers could be summarized as follows: could the language spoken by Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina be called Croatian, and that spoken by the Serbs called Serbian? Beyond any doubt, Danijel Dragojević and Veselko Koroman wrote their works in the same language and their language was called Croatian. Desanka Maksimović and Pero Zubac, on the other hand, wrote in a language that has to be called Serbian.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>59</sup>A copy of this work reached the Croatian emigré periodical *Nova Hrvatska*, which reprinted the work in London, in 1972.

<sup>60</sup>Rasio Dunatov, "A Sociolinguistic Analysis of the Recent Controversy concerning the Croatian/Serbian Standard Language(s)," in *American Contributions to the Eighth International Congress of Slavists: Zagreb and Ljubljana, September 3-9, 1978*, ed. Henrik Birnbaum (Columbus, OH: Slavica Publishers, 1978) vol. I (Linguistics and Poetics), 262-263.

<sup>61</sup>Cf.: *O književnojezičnoj politici u Socijalističkoj Republici Bosni i Hercegovini* (Sarajevo: Oslobođenje - Politička biblioteka, 1975).

While public discussions dealing with linguistic matters in both Zagreb and Belgrade had ceased, Sarajevo saw the appearance of its *Orthographic manual of the Serbocroatian-Croatoserbian language*, in 1972. Coming at a time when Croats and Serbs from Croatia and Serbia had *de facto*, if not officially, resolved the issue of separate linguistic standards, this new normative manual was neither Serbian nor Croatian, yet it claimed it did not seek to create a new standard.

In the same year that the orthography for Bosnia-Herzegovina appeared, an amendment to the constitution of the Socialist Republic of Croatia sought to establish “the Croatian literary language” as the official language of the republic.<sup>62</sup> This amendment was incorporated into Croatia’s 1974 constitution as Article 138,<sup>63</sup> while Article 293 stated:

Authentic texts of federal statutes, other federal proclamations and general decrees shall be brought forth and published in the *Official gazette of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia* in the Croatian literary language, in the Roman alphabet.<sup>64</sup>

The pertinent sections of the federal constitution were also revised to give each republic the right to specify which language was to be official on its territory.<sup>65</sup>

The 1974 constitutional provisions clearly “represented the *de facto* official abandonment of the Novi Sad Agreement, and they set the stage for the

<sup>62</sup>Dunatov, p. 256. Cf.: Vinko Grubišić, “The Croatian Language in the Constitutional Development of the Socialist Republic of Croatia and of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia,” *Journal of Croatian Studies*, 30 (1989), 145.

<sup>63</sup>Dunatov, p. 256; Grubišić, p. 145.

<sup>64</sup>*Ustav Socijalističke Federativne Republike Jugoslavije i Ustav Socijalističke Republike Hrvatske* (Zagreb: Narodne Novine, 1974), p. 342.

<sup>65</sup>The most important articles of the 1974 Constitution of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslav that dealt with languages were as follows: 170, 171, 214, 243, 246, 269 and 271. The only mention it makes of languages is that of the two “national minorities” (Albanian and Hungarian). Thus articles 138 and 293 of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Croatia expressly recognized and guaranteed the existence of the Croatian language. See: *Ustav Socijalističke Federativne Republike Jugoslavije i Ustav Socijalističke Republike Hrvatske*. (1974). The constitutional articles related to the Croatian language can also be found in “Jezične odredbe u Ustavu SFRJ i SRH,” *Jezik*, 21 (Zagreb, 1973-1974), 64-67. For English translations of these articles see: Grubišić, pp. 144-145.

official abandonment of the unified Serbo-Croatian language.”<sup>66</sup> In principle, federal government agencies and institutions were to use the following five languages: Serbo-Croatian (Cyrillic script), the Croatian literary language (Roman script), the Serbo-Croatian or Croato-Serbian language of the Ijekavian pronunciation for Bosnia-Herzegovina (Cyrillic or Roman script), Macedonian (Cyrillic script) and Slovene (Roman script).<sup>67</sup> Indeed, in the years after 1974, the trend in identifying textbooks, grammars and dictionaries with the Croatian name continued.<sup>68</sup> This also led many in Croatia and abroad, to feel optimistic that the struggle for the name of the Croatian language had finally ended. For instance, writing in 1978, Dalibor Brozović would state:

In the new Constitution of the S[ocialist] R[epublic] of Croatia, the Croatian literary language is also mentioned as the official language. Some final solutions are on the horizon that could...also satisfy the principles of the natural human right of every nation to use its mother tongue. Such are the expectations of the eighties.<sup>69</sup>

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<sup>66</sup>Robert D. Greenberg, “The Politics of Dialects among Serbs, Croats, and Muslims in the Former Yugoslavia,” *East European Politics and Societies*, 10 (1996), 404.

<sup>67</sup>Devetak, pp. 46, 48, 51.

<sup>68</sup>The following list of dictionaries are indicative of this trend: Ljerka and Branimir Jernej, *Italian-Croatian and Croatian-Italian dictionary* (Zagreb: Langenscheidt and Mladost, 1975); Jeronim Šetka, *Croatian Christian terminology* (Split: Bogoslovna smotra, 1976); Sunita Bujas and Zvonka Filipović, *English-Croatian and Croatian-English dictionary* (Zagreb: Langenscheidt and Mladost, 1977); Ivan Šugar, *Latin-Croatian and Croatian-Latin dictionary of botanic terms* (Zagreb: Liber, 1977); Željko and Sunita Bujas, *Capitol's concise dictionary from and to: English, Swedish, Dutch, German, French, Italian, Spanish, Croatian* (Zagreb: Spektar and Capitol Publishing House, 1983); Nikolaus Bencsics et al., *German-Burgenland Croatian-Croatian dictionary* (Eisenstadt-Zagreb: Edition Roetzer, 1982); A. Dahl et al., *Swedish-Croatian dictionary* (Stockholm: Statens institut för Läromedelinformation, 1985); Milan Viličić et al., *Air-conditioning (English-German-French-Russian-Croatian)* (Zagreb: Tehnička knjiga, 1983); Vladimir Muljević, *Automation (English-German-French-Russian-Croatian)* (Zagreb: Tehnička knjiga, 1984); Stanko Turk, *Computing (English-German-French-Russian-Croatian)* (Zagreb: Tehnička knjiga, 1984); and, Ante Šantić et al., *Medical technique (English-German-French-Russian-Croatian)* (Zagreb: Tehnička knjiga, 1986).

<sup>69</sup>“Hrvatski jezik, njegovo mjesto unutar južnoslavenskih i drugih slavenskih jezika, njegove povijesne mijene kao jezika hrvatske književnosti,” in *Hrvatska književnost u evropskom kontekstu*, eds. Aleksandar Flaker and Krunoslav Pranjić (Zagreb: Zavod za znanost o književnosti Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu and Sveučilišna naklada Liber, 1978) pp. 72-73. Cf. Dunatov, p. 256-268.

While it did appear that the struggle for the official recognition of the Croatian language in the Socialist Republic of Croatia had indeed been resolved, the situation for Croats in Bosnia-Herzegovina certainly was not. During the Sarajevo Symposium in 1975, it was resolved that only the terms “Croatoserbian” or “Serbocroatian” were to be permitted.<sup>70</sup>

Close to ten years later, from the 1984 Congress of Linguists in Sarajevo, there emerged a new term for the language: the “Bosnian-Herzegovian literary-linguistic expression” (“*bosansko-hercegovački književno-jezički izraz*”). The full name for that language should have been: “*Bosansko-hercegovački književno-jezički izraz/bosansko-hercegovački književno-jezični izraz*”.<sup>71</sup> This is because among the Serbs the term “*jezički*” is the standard expression while among the Croats it is “*jezični*”, and both terms have to be respected.

Although the constitution of Bosnia-Herzegovina authorized each nation to call its language by its own name, the Sarajevo government did not favour the implementation of this constitutional right. At the 1984 Congress of Linguists in Sarajevo, many participants discussed the question of the Croatian and Serbian literary languages. Surprisingly, very few Croatian linguists took part in this congress. Brozović, one of the Croatian linguists that did attend, mentioned some difficulties similar to those that were noticed by Josip Hamm some three decades earlier:

In compound adjectives, the first ingredient discerns the second, so for example, “greenishyellow” (“*zelenožut*”) means yellow with some nuance of green. Similarly, “Croatoserbian” would mean “Serbian in the Croatian manner” and “Serbocroatian”, “Croatian in the Serbian way”, but that is not what one would like to express. Hyphenated forms are still worse. “Greenish-yellow” (“*zeleno-žut*”) means green and yellow (a bi-coloured sample), thus “Croato-Serbian-English dictionary” would mean that it consists of a three-column lexica. The form with “or” (“Serbian or Croatian”/“Croatian or Serbian”) could have two different meanings so that one

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<sup>70</sup>*O književnojezičnoj politici u SR Bosni i Hercegovini*, pp. 36-37.

<sup>71</sup>Cf.: Branimir Brborić, “Srpskohrvatski jezik u svjetlu ustavnopravnih i sociolingvističkih određenja”. *Sveske*, no. 5-6 (1984).



could understand it as a possibility of two choices even where there is no choice. However, the worst thing is that all compound terms have been discredited in the past by the common application of genetical-linguistic criteria in the field of sociolinguistics or, *concretis terminis*, in the area of standardization.<sup>72</sup>

Based upon Brozović's description, the only correct term for the languages spoken by Croats, Serbs and Montenegrins would be the "Non-Slovenian, non-Macedonian and non-Bulgarian, South Slavic language". Of course, it would be strange to call the national languages of the three respective nations by that which they are not.

During the mid-1980s, when it appeared that the constitutional entrenchment of the Croatian language had been securely established, some altogether unknown persons in Croatian cultural life (Franjo Butorac, Božidar Pasarić and Juraj Ivančić) attacked the notable Croatian publishing house *Školska knjiga* for giving priority to some Croatian terms in its school manuals. Some of these critics expressed their outright disapproval of the articles protecting the Croatian language in the constitution of the Socialist Republic of Croatia.<sup>73</sup> The main purpose of these attacks appeared to be aimed at stopping the publishing of Benešić's *Dictionary of the Croatian literary language*, which was completed in the early 1950s, but not yet entirely published.

Soon after these initial attacks on the constitutional recognition of the Croatian language, the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia entered the fray on 7 December 1988, by claiming that Article 138 of the constitution of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, which had been entrenched since 1974, was unconstitutional.<sup>74</sup> This move by the Constitutional Court, at a time when Serbian President Slobodan Milošević had already begun to tear apart the very foundations of the Yugoslav federation through his extra-legal and uni-

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<sup>72</sup>Dalibor Brozović, "O nazivu jezika Srba, Hrvata, Muslimana i Crnogoraca," *Sveske*, 5-6 (1984), 352.

<sup>73</sup>Budak, "Croatian Language in SR Croatia," p. 34.

<sup>74</sup>During the same month a special issue of the constitution of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, with Amendments 1-48, was published in Belgrade, without any significant changes dealing with the matter of languages.

lateral changes to the federal constitution,<sup>75</sup> ignited a storm of protest uniting Croats from diverse political, socio-economic and religious backgrounds, with Croats in the diaspora.

From the moment the Constitutional Court announced its intentions to rescind the constitutional recognition of the Croatian language, the Parliament of the Socialist Republic of Croatia was flooded with letters and petitions from inside the country and abroad, urging it to defend the constitutional recognition of the Croatian language from what was seen as an unconstitutional attack.<sup>76</sup> For example, in early January 1989, 234 of Croatia's leading intellectuals, scholars and cultural figures signed a petition in support of the continued constitutional recognition of the Croatian language:

The thousand-year-old language of the Croatian nation has always been called Croatian, and to seek from a people to call its own language by a different name is the same as asking it to change the name of its own nation, i.e., to cease being that respective nation.<sup>77</sup>

The president of the Croatian Fraternal Union of America, an organization operating in North America since 1884 and boasting more than 100,000 members, was clearly "disturbed" by the moves against the Croatian language. In the president's column of *Zajedničar/The Fraternalist*, Bernard M. Luketich, came out in support of the right of the Croats to call their language by its national name:

Our support is logically on the side of the Croatian nation and the Croatian language; we believe that the Croatian Parlia-

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<sup>75</sup>See: Branka Magaš, *The Destruction of Yugoslavia: Tracking the Break-up 1980-1992* (London - New York: Verso, 1993).

<sup>76</sup>See the many letters and petitions from domestic and diaspora Croatian institutions and organizations calling on the parliament of the Socialist Republic of Croatia to safeguard and protect the constitutional recognition of the Croatian language. These are collected in: Babić, *Hrvatski jezik*, pp. 221-270.

<sup>77</sup>"Izjava hrvatskih intelektualaca o hrvatskom jeziku," *Glas koncila* (Zagreb), 12 February 1989, vol. 28, no. 7. English translation by Slavko Granić and Vinko Grubišić, "Declaration of Croatian Intellectuals on the Croatian Language," *Zajedničar* (Pittsburgh), 22 March 1989, p. 17.

ment will reach its conclusions on this question in harmony with that which the Croatian Parliament has always concluded throughout its long history.<sup>78</sup>

Commenting on the importance of the Croatian language to the Croatian people, at this crucial moment, author Antun Šoljan would write:

If we advocate, at this point, a constitutional formulation, which states that in Croatia the Croatian literary language is used, then we know what we are defending. We plead for that linguistical expression and that set of linguistical norms which developed from [the time of] Marko Marulić onwards. This language has been used by the inhabitants of Croatia regardless of their national affiliation, religious convictions or social status.<sup>79</sup>

The same issue of *Danas* carried a more prophetic and strongly worded piece by Croatian linguist Dalibor Brozović, who cautioned that:

The change of name of the Croatian language could be done only against public opinion as well as against the will of scientists and writers. It could be done only by means of force, through the issue of an order, and therefore, it would be an extremely serious step... Who could take responsibility for such a change? In the case that such a step was to be taken, it would be necessary to explain openly and without any ambiguity that such a change would be done against the will of the Croatian people. We might not forget that the politics of today will be the history of tomorrow.<sup>80</sup>

Following the massive outpouring of public support for the continued recognition of the Croatian language, which the Constitutional Court in Belgrade had ignited, the Parliament of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, in its

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<sup>78</sup>Bernard M. Luketich, "Stav Hrvatske Bratske Zajednice je jasan," *Zajedničar* (Pittsburgh), 25 January 1989, p. 13. Cf. the position of the Society of Croatian Artists in Canada, in their open letter to the Croatian parliament. Rpt. in *Zajedničar*, 25 January 1989, p. 10.

<sup>79</sup>Antun Šoljan, "Ime ruže," *Danas* (Zagreb), 7 February 1989, p. 35.

<sup>80</sup>Dalibor Brozović, "Ključna rečenica," *Danas* (Zagreb), 7 February 1989, p. 42.

session of 20 and 21 June 1989, rejected all proposed changes to the provisions concerning the Croatian language in the 1974 Constitution.

## VI. The Successor States to Former Yugoslavia: The Republics of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina, 1990-

Today the term “Serbo-Croatian” has been rejected by all the South Slavs including the Serbs.<sup>81</sup> This is seen in the constitutions of the successor states of the former Yugoslavia. It would be beneficial to examine the language formulations found in the constitutions of the Republic of Croatia and the Republic of Bosnia-Herzegovina, where Croats are also recognized as a constituent nation.

Amendment LXVIII to Article 138 of the Constitution of the Socialist Republic of Croatia was passed on 28 July 1990. This amendment stipulated that “the Roman script shall be in official use in the Republic of Croatia” and further permitted that “in individual local units with a majority population that uses Cyrillic or some other script, the use of those scripts shall be permitted along with the official Roman script.”<sup>82</sup> The constitution of the Republic of Croatia, which was promulgated on 22 December 1990, addresses the issue

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<sup>81</sup>The Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, consisting of the republics of Serbia and Montenegro, as well as the former autonomous regions of Vojvodina and Kosovo, adopted its constitution on 27 April 1992. In the constitution of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the question of language use is raised in Article 15 of its Basic Provisions. The article reads in its entirety: “In the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the Serbian language in its ekavian and ijekavian dialects and the Cyrillic script shall be official, while the Latin script shall be in official use as provided for by the Constitution and law. In regions of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia inhabited by national minorities, the languages and scripts of these minorities shall also be in official use in the manner prescribed by law.” English translation taken from: Gisbert H. Flanz, *Constitutions of the Countries of the World: Federal Republic of Yugoslavia*, eds. Albert P. Blaustein and Gisbert H. Flanz (Dobbs Ferry, NY: Oceana Publications, Inc., 1994), p. 6.

<sup>82</sup>“Amandmani LXIV. do LXXV. na Ustav Socijalističke Republike Hrvatske,” *Narodne novine*, 28 July 1990, no. 31, rpt. in *Dokumenti o državnosti Republike hrvatske (Od prvih višestranačkih izbora 1990. do međunarodnog priznanja 15. siječnja 1992)*, ed. Anđelko Milardović (Zagreb: Alinea, 1992), p. 19.

of languages in Article 12 of its Basic Provisions. Article 12 reads in its entirety:

The Croatian language and the Latin script shall be in official use in the Republic of Croatia.

In individual local units another language and the Cyrillic or some other script may, along with the Croatian language and the Latin script, be introduced into official use under conditions specified by law.<sup>83</sup>

In keeping with the above constitutional formulation and the practice in Croatia since the late 1960s, titles of language manuals, texts, grammars and dictionaries have appeared in the early 1990s solely with the Croatian name. The following are examples of some of these recently published works:

Krsto Spalatin, *Five-language dictionary of Europeanisms. How to translate Croatian deceptive cognates into English, French, German, Italian and other language difficulties* (1990);

Vladimir Anić, *Dictionary of the Croatian language* (1991);

Blanka Brozović and Oktavija Gerčan, *English-Croatian and Croatian-English pocket dictionary for elementary school*, 17th rev. ed. (1991);

Rudolf Filipović, *English-Croatian dictionary* (1992);

and Stjepko Težak and Stjepan Babić, *Grammar of the Croatian language*, 7th ed. (1992).

The Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which includes two entities—The Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina (made up of territories controlled by the Muslims and Croats) and the Bosnian Serb Republic—has three “official languages”: “Bosnian”, “Serbian” and “Croatian”.<sup>84</sup> Although these three languages are identified as “official” by the Embassy of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Washington, DC, the constitution of Bosnia-Herzegovina

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<sup>83</sup>The Republic of Croatia, *The Constitution of the Republic of Croatia*, ed. Ljubomir Valković, trans. Marko Pavičić, et al. (Zagreb: Sabor Republike Hrvatske, 1991), p. 34.

<sup>84</sup>“Basic Facts on Bosnia and Herzegovina” [internet website of the Embassy of the Republic of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Washington, DC, cited 14 March 1998], internet address <http://www.bosnianembassy.org/bih/basic.htm>.

does not mention any specific language. However, the preamble of the constitution designates “Bosniacs, Croats, and Serbs, as constituent peoples...”<sup>85</sup>

While specific languages are not mentioned in the constitution of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the draft constitution of The Federation of Bosnia-Herzegovina, which was unveiled during the signing of the 18 March 1994 Washington Agreement between Croatian and Bosnian Muslim representatives, specifies the languages to be used in the Federation. These are mentioned in Article 6, under the section entitled Establishment of the Federation:

- (1) The official languages of the Federation shall be Bosnian and Croatian. The official alphabet shall be the Roman script.<sup>86</sup>

The recognition of “Bosnian”, “Croatian” and “Serbian” is also shown in various other documents related to the Dayton Agreement. For example, the “Dayton Agreement on Implementing The Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina...,” was: “Signed at Dayton on this 10th Day of November 1995, in the English, Bosnian and Croatian languages, each text being equally authentic.”<sup>87</sup> The Annex to the Dayton Agreement of the same day was

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<sup>85</sup>See “Annex 4: [to The General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Initialled in Dayton on 21 November 1995 and Signed in Paris on 14 December 1995] Constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina” [internet website of the Office of the High Representative in Bosnia and Herzegovina (hereafter OHR), mandated by the London Peace Implementation Conference of 8-9 December 1995 and Security Council Resolution 1031 of 15 December 1995, cited 12 March 1998], internet address <http://www.ohr.int/gfa/gfa-an4.htm>. The terms “Bosnian” (“*bosanski*”) and “Bosniac” (“*bošnjaci*”) have the potential to cause new disputes in Bosnia-Herzegovina. This is because both the Serbs and Croats have used the term “Bosnian language” to signify the Serbian language and the Croatian language as spoken in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Both the Serbs and Croats associate the term “Bosnian” to their own respective languages spoken in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Neither the Serbs nor Croats of Bosnia-Herzegovina wish to adopt the term “Bosniac”, which they associate specifically with the Muslims.

<sup>86</sup>“Načrt Ustava Federacije Bosne i Hercegovine,” *Glasnik HDZ* (Zagreb), 25 March 1994, p. 8.

<sup>87</sup>See the text of the “Dayton Agreement on Implementing The Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina: Signed in Dayton 10 November 1995” [internet website of the OHR, cited 12 March 1998], internet address <http://www.ohr.int/docu/d951110a.htm>.

also signed "...in the English, Bosnian, and Croatian languages, each text being equally authentic,"<sup>88</sup> while The General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Initialled in Dayton on 21 November 1995 and Signed in Paris on 14 December 1995 was: "DONE at Paris, this 14 day of December, 1995, in the Bosnian, Croatian, English and Serbian languages, each text being equally authentic."<sup>89</sup>

While no mention is made of particular languages in the constitution of Bosnia and Herzegovina, various international organizations, including the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), clearly recognize the existence of all three. This is shown on the "Official Election Website" of the OSCE Mission to Bosnia-Herzegovina,<sup>90</sup> which offers such links as "Voter Education" in "Bosnian", "Croatian" and "Serbian".<sup>91</sup>

### VIII. Conclusion

In former Yugoslavia, where only uncertainties were certain, there long ago appeared some specific European linguistic peculiarities: Montenegrins were supposed to call their language "Serbo-Croatian" even though they were neither Serbs nor Croats; Serbs were to call their language "Serbo-Croatian" or "Croato-Serbian" (at least according to their former constitution, but not according to practice); the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina was to use the "Bosnian-Herzegovian literary-linguistic expression"; and Croats

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<sup>88</sup>See "Annex to the Dayton Agreement on Implementing The Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina" [internet website of the OHR, cited 12 March 1998], internet address <http://www.ohr.int/docu/d951110b.htm>.

<sup>89</sup>See "The General Framework Agreement for Peace in Bosnia and Herzegovina: Initialled in Dayton on 21 November 1995 and Signed in Paris on 14 December 1995" [internet website of the OHR, cited 14 March 1998], internet address <http://www.ohr.int/gfa/gfa-frm.htm>. As for the Bosnian Serb Republic, its "official language" is "the Serbian language of the Ljekavian and Ekavian dialects." "Osnovni podaci" [internet website of Republika Srpska, cited 14 March 1998], internet address <http://www.srpska.com/osnovni.html>.

<sup>90</sup>See the home page "OSCE Bosnia & Herzegovina: Official Election Website," cited 14 March 1998, internet address <http://www-osce.austria.eu.net>.

<sup>91</sup>"Voter Education: OSCE Mission to Bosnia and Herzegovina," internet website of OSCE Bosnia & Herzegovina: Official Election Website, cited 14 March 1998], internet address <http://www-osce.austria.eu.net/educn.html>.

who lived in Croatia were to call their language “Croatian,” while those Croats who inhabited Bosnia and Herzegovina had the choice between four or eight compound words. This situation was created and encouraged by the federal and local governments. Yugoslav language policies changed so often that language planning could only be guessed at.<sup>92</sup>

Without a doubt the attempts at unifying the Croatian and Serbian languages have brought great harm to both and contributed significantly to the souring of relations between the two peoples. While thousands of polemical treatises dealing with both languages have been written, vital works, such as specialist dictionaries and diachronical grammars, still wait to be published. Today, when the Croats and Serbs, by and large, live in two neighbouring and separate states, the Croatian and Serbian languages will evolve in their own directions<sup>93</sup>. Already today, excessive puristic tendencies are losing ground in Croatia and the language is returning to its normal path of development.<sup>94</sup> In the future, we look forward to less and less language theorizing and more and more practical linguistic works.

Thirty years ago, similar problems existed between the Czech and Slovak languages, but those problems were solved in a reasonable fashion: Czechs call their language by its Czech name and Slovaks call their language by its Slovak name. Thus, neither the Czechs nor Slovaks spend their time and energy trying to assimilate or erect barriers between each other.

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<sup>92</sup>How rapidly the linguistic situation changed in Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and Slovenia is shown in the book *Language Planning in Yugoslavia*, eds. Ranko Bugarski and Celia Hawkesworth (Columbus, OH: Slavic Publishers, 1992).

<sup>93</sup>Peter M. Hill, “Recent Developments in the Lexicon of Standard Croatian,” *Croatian Studies Review*, no. 1 (1997), 15-24.

<sup>94</sup>Josip Matešić, “The Croatian Language and Linguistic Policy in Croatia,” trans. Erika Šaravanja, *Croatian Studies Review*, no. 1 (1997), 37-45.



TERMS FOR CROATIAN IN THE 20TH CENTURY

TERMS FOR THE CROATIAN LANGUAGE: FACSIMILE REPRODUCTIONS  
OF SCHOOL REPORT CARDS, 1900-1904 TO 1994-1995  
Courtesy of Jerko Oreč, Professor, High School in  
Posušje, Herzegovina

*Narodna osnovna škola u Posušju*  
 Okružje *moštaracko* *hercegovačko*  
 Broj *glavni broj 266*  
*razrednice*

SVJEDOCANSTVO O SVRSHI OŠNOVNOJ ŠKOLI.  
*Školski*  
*Jukić Šimun*, rođen u *Posušju*  
 dan *1890.*, učenički četvrtog  
 razreda, *rimo-katoličke* vjere, kao je u ovoj školi od  
*septembra 1900. do 22. juna 1904.* završio  
 sa je *pohtvalom* i *mađar*  
 je propisane nastavne programne kao slijedi:

|    |                                       |                  |
|----|---------------------------------------|------------------|
| 10 | Nastava vjere                         | <i>dobro</i>     |
|    | Učebnici, i to:                       |                  |
|    | <i>liturgije</i>                      | <i>dobro</i>     |
|    | <i>gramatika</i>                      | <i>dobro</i>     |
|    | <i>matematika i prirodni nauke</i>    | <i>dobro</i>     |
| 10 | Matematika                            | <i>svodljivo</i> |
|    | Klasika                               | <i>dobro</i>     |
|    | Književnost                           | <i>dobro</i>     |
|    | Pisanije                              | <i>svodljivo</i> |
|    | Prirodopis                            | <i>dobro</i>     |
|    | Prirodoslovje                         | <i>svodljivo</i> |
|    | Geometrija (uključujući i aritmetiku) | <i>svodljivo</i> |
|    | Geografija (uključujući i historiju)  | <i>svodljivo</i> |
|    | Školski radovi                        | <i>svodljivo</i> |
|    | Učenje                                | <i>svodljivo</i> |
|    | Gramatika                             | <i>svodljivo</i> |
|    | Njemački jezik                        |                  |

Prema tome svrha je ovaj *svodljivo* završio osnovnu školu s  
 uspjehom.

*Narodna osnovna škola*  
*Posušje*, *26. februara 1904.*  
 Za tačnu prepis javiti:  
*Školski*

Nondescript “study of linguistics,” 1900-1904 report card of Šimun Jukić, People’s Elementary School in Posušje, Herzegovina.

ДРЖАВНА НАРОДНА ШКОЛА  
DRŽAVNA NARODNA ŠKOLA

у Rakitno

Број уписнице 2/5  
Број цртице

Образц бр. 17

**СВЕДОЧАНСТВО — SVEDOČANSTVO**

Barišić Jozo син Ljiljana  
1928 у Rakitno (Vrba)

рођен 23 марта свршио је 10 разред 1. разред  
годен 1938 свршио је 10 разред 1. разред  
вере rimokatoličke  
школе 1938 године и показао овај успех:  
Šколе

|   |                    |
|---|--------------------|
| Наука о вери с моралним поукама   | <u>odlično (5)</u> |
| Наука о вери с моралним поукама   | <u>odlično (5)</u> |
| Народна (srpskohrvatskoslovenski) језик                                 | <u>odlično (5)</u> |
| Народни (srpskohrvatskoslovenski) језик                                 | <u>odlično (5)</u> |
| Народна повест (историја) са најзначајнијим догађајима из опште повести | <u>odlično (5)</u> |
| Народна повест (историја) са најзначајнијим догађајима из опште повести | <u>odlično (5)</u> |
| Земљопис  | <u>odlično (5)</u> |
| Земљопис  | <u>odlično (5)</u> |
| Рачун са основним геометрије и геометријског цртања                     | <u>odlično (5)</u> |
| Рачун са основним геометрије и геометријског цртања                     | <u>odlično (5)</u> |
| Познавање природе   | <u>odlično (5)</u> |
| Познавање природе   | <u>odlično (5)</u> |
| Практична привредна знања и уметња                                      | <u>odlično (5)</u> |
| Практична привредна знања и уметња                                      | <u>odlično (5)</u> |
| Хигијена  | <u>odlično (5)</u> |
| Хигијена  | <u>odlično (5)</u> |
| Домашњство  | <u>odlično (5)</u> |
| Домашњство  | <u>odlično (5)</u> |
| Рукописни рад мушки и женски с народним гримом народних мотива          | <u>odlično (5)</u> |
| Рукописни рад мушки и женски с народним гримом народних мотива          | <u>odlično (5)</u> |
| Цртање  | <u>odlično (5)</u> |
| Цртање  | <u>odlično (5)</u> |
| Лепо писање   | <u>odlično (5)</u> |
| Лепо писање   | <u>odlično (5)</u> |
| Песме   | <u>odlično (5)</u> |
| Песме   | <u>odlično (5)</u> |
| Телесне вежбе по општом систему   | <u>odlično (5)</u> |
| Телесне вежбе по општом систему   | <u>odlično (5)</u> |

Владание odlično (5)

Имао изостанка: оправданих 21 неоправданих 0

Имао изостанка: оправданих 21 неоправданих 0

Напомена odlično (5)

Напомена odlično (5)

у Rakitno 10 јуна 1938 год.  
у Rakitno 10 јуна 1938 год.

Училиште 1. разред  
Училиште 1. разред

Управитељ Stanić Ljiljana  
Управитељ Stanić Ljiljana

ОЦЕНЕ:  
До уписа: одличан (5), врло добар (4), добар (3), задовољан (2), лоше (1)  
До уписа: одличан (5), врло добар (4), добар (3), задовољан (2), лоше (1)  
До уписа: одличан (5), врло добар (4), добар (3), задовољан (2), лоше (1)  
До уписа: одличан (5), врло добар (4), добар (3), задовољан (2), лоше (1)

\*) У свакој уписници се налази табела са оценама по предметима.


“People’s (Serbocroatoslovenian) language,” 1938-1939 report card of Jozo Barišić, State People’s School in Rakitno, Herzegovina.

**NEZAVISNA DRŽAVA HRVATSKA**

Državna *općinska* pučka škola u *Posušju*

Kotar: *Posušje*

Broj glavnog imenika *118*



**SVJEDOČBA**

*Ivan Bešlić*, sin *Matin*

rođen *3. rujna* 1921. u *Posušju*

kotar: *Posušje* državi *Kraljevina Jugoslavija*

vješta *posušjske* škole, svjedoči da u ovoj školi škol. god. 1926/27. *četvrti* (IV.) razred pučke škole i pokazao ovaj uspjeh:


|                         |                        |                      |  |
|-------------------------|------------------------|----------------------|--|
| Vještina                | <i>Veoma dobar (2)</i> | Vladanje:            |  |
| Hrvatski jezik          | <i>Dobar (3)</i>       | <i>Marljivo (1)</i>  |  |
| Rečnik                  | <i>Dobar (3)</i>       | Učeni k. 30          |  |
| Povijest                | <i>Dobar (3)</i>       | <i>dobro</i>         |  |
| Zemljopis               | <i>Dobar (3)</i>       | uspjehom svaki       |  |
| Posustvare priručje     | <i>Dobar (3)</i>       | <i>četvrti (IV.)</i> |  |
| Gospodarstvo; knjižstvo | <i>Veoma dobar (2)</i> | razred.              |  |
| Risovanje               | <i>Dobar (3)</i>       |                      |  |
| Ljepo pisanje           | <i>Dobar (3)</i>       |                      |  |
| Pjevanje                | <i>Dobar (3)</i>       |                      |  |
| Tjelovježba             | <i>Šestica (4)</i>     |                      |  |
| Znanje tuđi jez.        |                        |                      |  |

Isosta *izprizanih* *neizprizanih* dana.

Broj poslovnika: *118*

u *Posušju* 31. svibnja 1927.

Upravitelj: *Simon Čuturać* Razrednik: *Simon Čuturać*



Ocjena za uspjeh u nastavi: izvrsno (1), dobar (2), dovoljan (3), nedovoljan (4).  
za vladanje: izvrsno (1), dobar (2), slabije (3), slabije (4).

Štampa: II  
Cena 2.-Kn  
Industrijsko-izdavačka  
Hrvatska štamparska

“Croatian language,” 1942-1943 report card of Ivan Bešlić, State Mixed Elementary School in Posušje, Herzegovina.

FEDERATIVNA NARODNA REPUBLIKA JUGOSLAVIJA  
NARODNA REPUBLIKA BOSNA I HERCEGOVINA

Državna sedmogodišnja škola u Posušje  
Up. br. 39

## Svjedočanstvo

Kovač Slavko sin Stana  
narodnog hrvat rođen u 21. maja 1939 god. u Posuju  
sred Posušje, Narodna Republika Hercegovina, uča je  
školske 1950 /1951 godine peti put peti (1) razred i pokazao o ovaj  
uspjeh:

|                            |                 | Napomena: |
|----------------------------|-----------------|-----------|
| Serbski ili hrvatski jezik | <u>dobro</u> 12 |           |
| <u>Srpski</u> jezik        | <u>dobro</u> 12 |           |
| istorija                   | <u>dobro</u> 13 |           |
| Zemljopis                  | <u>dobro</u> 13 |           |
| Biologija                  | <u>dobro</u> 13 |           |
| Mineralogija i geologija   | <u>dobro</u> 13 |           |
| Matematika                 | <u>dobro</u> 13 |           |
| Fizika                     | <u>dobro</u> 13 |           |
| Hemija                     | <u>dobro</u> 13 |           |
| Crtaње                     | <u>dobro</u> 13 |           |
| Pjevanje                   | <u>dobro</u> 13 |           |
| Fizičnina                  | <u>dobro</u> 13 |           |

Izostao je opravdano 24 neopravdano 0 čas 24  
Vladanje odlično 5  
Prema tome učenik je s dobrim uspjehom svršio u peti (1) razred  
Djelovodni broj 136/51 10. juna 1951 u Posušje  
Rašrednik: M. Kovač Slavko Direktor: M. Kovač Slavko

Ocjene: Za učenika: odličan (5), vrlo dobar (4), dobar (3), dovoljan (2), nedovoljan (1).  
Za vladanje: odlično (5), vrlo dobar (4), dobar (3), loše (1).

Državna štamparija, Sarajevo. — P. n. 1211 707 806. Izdaje Izlaskiškog knjižarskog preduzeća, Sarajevo.


“Serbian or Croatian language,” 1950-1951 report card of Slavko Kovač, State Elementary School in Posušje, Herzegovina.

TERMS FOR CROATIAN IN THE 20TH CENTURY

FEDERATIVNA NARODNA REPUBLIKA JUGOSLAVIJA  
NARODNA REPUBLIKA BOSNA I HERCEGOVINA

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gimnazije — Osmogodišnja škola u Posušju, Srez Metk



## Svjedočanstvo

Crnogorac Ante sin Petra  
(prezime i ime)

narodnost Hrvat, rođen 17. januara 1944 god. u Čitluk

Srez Metk, Narodna Republika Bosna i Hercegovina učio je od  
19 1956/57 školske godine prvi put osmi (VIII) razred i pokazao je ovaj  
uspjeh:

|                                    |                     |                                 |
|------------------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------|
| Srpskohrvatski jezik               | <u>dovoljan (2)</u> | N<br>E<br>B<br>O<br>S<br>N<br>A |
| <u>hrvatski</u> jezik              | <u>dovoljan (2)</u> |                                 |
| istorija                           | <u>dobar (3)</u>    |                                 |
| Geografija                         | <u>dobar (3)</u>    |                                 |
| Matematika                         | <u>dovoljan (2)</u> |                                 |
| Biologija                          | <u>dovoljan (2)</u> |                                 |
| Fizika                             | <u>dovoljan (2)</u> |                                 |
| Hemija                             | <u>dobar (3)</u>    |                                 |
| Higijena                           | <u>dobar (3)</u>    |                                 |
| Crtaње sa lijepim pisanjem         | <u>dobar (3)</u>    |                                 |
| Pjevanje                           | <u>dobar (3)</u>    |                                 |
| Fizkultura                         | <u>dobar (3)</u>    |                                 |
| Ručni rad                          | <u>dobar (3)</u>    |                                 |
| Poznanje iz privrede i domaćinstva | <u>dobar (3)</u>    |                                 |

Vladanje odlično (5)


Izostao je: opravdano 11, neopravdano 1 čas

Prema tome učenik je s dobrim uspjehom svršio osmi (VIII) razred

---

Djelovodni broj 176/19  
21. maja 1957  
u Posušju

Razredni starješina,  
Kličević



Broj upisnice 1

Direktor,  
[Signature]

Ocjene: Za učenika: odličan (5), vrlo dobar (4), dobar (3), dovoljan (2), nedovoljan (1).  
Za vladanje: odlično (5), vrlo dobro (4), dobro (3), loše (1).

Izdatnik: Savjetnik za prosvjetu, nauku i kulturu NR BiH br. 201/53 od 21/III Izdavač i ovlašten prodavac: OJUGOSLAVNE KRAJINSKE štamparije, Sarajevo. — Preštampavanje zabranjeno.

“Serbocroatian language,” 1956-1957 report card of Ante Crnogorac, Elementary School in Posušje, Herzegovina.

FEDERATIVNA NARODNA REPUBLIKA JUGOSLAVIJA  
NARODNA REPUBLIKA BOSNA I HERCEGOVINA

Osnovna škola "Ivan Goran Kovačić" Posušje  
 opština Posušje srez Mostar  
 Narodna republika Bosna i Hercegovina  
 Matična knjiga — sveska I, redni broj 98

**Svjedočanstvo**  
p završenoj osnovnoj školi

Karamatić Marija  
 rođena 15. 6. 1947 godine u Posušju opština Posušje  
 srez Mostar Narodna republika Bosna i Hercegovina  
 državljanstvo SRJ učila je školske 1962/1963 godine osmi  
 razred osnovne škole i postigla ovaj uspjeh:

|                                     |                       |
|-------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| Maternji jezik                      | <u>odličan</u> (5)    |
| Strani jezik                        | <u>vrlo dobar</u> (4) |
| Pisano                              | <u>odličan</u> (5)    |
| Govor                               | <u>odličan</u> (5)    |
| Biologija                           | <u>odličan</u> (5)    |
| Matematika                          | <u>vrlo dobar</u> (4) |
| Osnovi opšteg tehničkog obrazovanja | <u>odličan</u> (5)    |
| Geografija                          | <u>odličan</u> (5)    |
| Istorija                            | <u>odličan</u> (5)    |
| Jezik (strani)                      |                       |
| Fizičko i zdravstveno vaspitanje    |                       |
| Likovno vaspitanje                  |                       |
| Muzičko vaspitanje                  | <u>odličan</u> (5)    |
| Domaćinstvo                         |                       |

Prema tome primjerno je završila osnovnu školu sa odličnim opštim uspjehom.  
 U Posušju 8 juna 1963  
 Djelovodni broj 233

Razredni starjšina, Ljuro Vujanović  
 Učitelj škole, M. Petrović

Brojane ocjene uspjeha: 5 (odličan), 4 (vrlo dobar), 3 (dobro), 2 (dovoljan), 1 (nedovoljan).  
 Ocjene vladanja: primjerno, dobro, nedovoljno.

Nondescript "mother tongue," 1962-1963 report card of Marija Karamatić, Ivan Goran Kovačić Elementary School in Posušje, Herzegovina.

TERMS FOR CROATIAN IN THE 20TH CENTURY

SOCIJALISTIČKA FEDERATIVNA REPUBLIKA JUGOSLAVIJA  
SOCIJALISTIČKA REPUBLIKA BOSNA I HERCEGOVINA

*Srednjoškolski centar Posušje*  
(vrsta škole) (naziv ustanove) (općina)

(mjesto) (datum)

Školska godina 1974/75.

## SVJEDOČANSTVO-SVJEDODŽBA

*Stipić Miro*

Ime i prezime: *Urgin*  
 rođen: *10. rujna 1956.* godine u *Zmotkom* općini *Zmotke*  
 Socijalistička Republika *Hrvatska* državljanin *F R J*  
 položio je 1974/75. školske godine prvi put *četvrti* (IV) razred i pokazao ovaj uspjeh:

| NASTAVNI PREDMETI:                  |                |     |  |
|-------------------------------------|----------------|-----|--|
| Srpskohrvatski jezik                | <i>odlično</i> | (5) | <i>Filozofija</i> <i>odlično</i> (5)             |
| Hrvatskohrvatski jezik              | <i>odlično</i> | (5) | <i>Općeno obrazovne</i> <i>odlično</i> (5)       |
| <i>Francuski</i> jezik              | <i>odlično</i> | (5) | <i>Teorna nastava</i> <i>odlično</i> (5)         |
| _____ jezik                         | <i>odlično</i> | (5) | <i>Hrvatskohrvatski jezik</i> <i>odlično</i> (5) |
| Istorija - Povijest                 | <i>odlično</i> | (5) | <i>Povijest</i> <i>odlično</i> (5)               |
| Geografija                          | <i>odlično</i> | (5) |  |
| Osnovi nauke o društvu              | <i>odlično</i> | (5) |  |
| Fizičko i zdravstveno vaspitanje    | <i>odlično</i> | (5) |  |
| Obrana i zaštita                    | <i>odlično</i> | (5) |  |
| Matematika                          | <i>dobro</i>   | (3) |  |
| Fizika                              | <i>odlično</i> | (5) |  |
| Hemija-Kemija i osnovna tehnologija | <i>odlično</i> | (5) |  |
| Biologija                           | <i>odlično</i> | (5) |  |

Uspjeh: *odlično*

Prema tome, učenik je jefto s *odličnim* uspjehom završio *četvrti* (IV) razred (stavka)


Ova ustanova i djelatnost, za koju se izdaje Svjedočanstvo, upisana je u Registar verifikovanih vaspisno-obrazovnih ustanova Republičkog sekretarijata za obrazovanje, broj 27, izdavanje od 24.5.1974. godine.

Djelovodni broj: *214/33* Broj knjižice: *92*

U *Posušju*, 20. *srpnja* 1975. godine. Direktor: *J. Zecopaventi*

Školski stariji: *Jerko Ora*

Odlaze za obliku: odlično (stavka 5), dobar (3), dovoljan (2), nedovoljan (1).  
Za vladanje: odlično (5), dobro (3), dobar (2), dovoljan (1).



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Zem. Posušje, Hercegovina, Sarajevo  
Odlaze za vladanje: 15019  
Izdavač: 1974.

“Serbocroatian/Croatoserbian language,” 1974-1975 report card of Miro Stipić, High School in Posušje, Herzegovina.

BOSNA I HERCEGOVINA  
HRVATSKA REPUBLIKA HERCEG-BOSNA

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OSNOVNA ŠKOLA ..... *Ivana Mažuranića* .....

Općina ..... *Posušje* .....

Matična knjiga ..... *VIII* ..... broj ..... *1304* .....

## SVJEDODŽBA

O ZAVRŠENOJ OSNOVNOJ ŠKOLI

*Zdravka Jurilj*  
Ivan (Ivanica) Mažuranić

Ime i prezime učenika ..... *Zdravka i Mirjane Jurilj* .....

spol ..... *ž* ..... rođen-a ..... *25. IX. 1980* .....

mjesto ..... *Metar* ..... općina ..... *Metar* .....

država ..... *Bosna i Hercegovina* .....

državljan ..... *Bosna i Hercegovina*, nacionalnost ..... *Hrvatica* .....

počast. (a je u školskoj godini *1994-95* ..... prvi ..... put ..... *prvi* ..... (1st) razred i postigla, ovaj uspjeh:

|                              |                    |                                     |                    |
|------------------------------|--------------------|-------------------------------------|--------------------|
| Hrvatski jezik.....          | <i>odlično (5)</i> | Zemljopis.....                      | <i>odlično (5)</i> |
| Likovna kultura.....         | <i>odlično (5)</i> | Tehnička kultura.....               | <i>odlično (5)</i> |
| Glazbena kultura.....        | <i>odlično (5)</i> | Tjelesna i zdravstvena kultura..... | <i>odlično (5)</i> |
| <i>Fuglanski</i> ..... jezik | <i>odlično (5)</i> | .....                               | .....              |
| ..... jezik                  | .....              | .....                               | .....              |
| Matematika.....              | <i>odlično (5)</i> | .....                               | .....              |
| Priroda.....                 | .....              | .....                               | .....              |
| Biologija.....               | <i>odlično (5)</i> | Izborni predmeti:                   | .....              |
| Kemija.....                  | <i>odlično (5)</i> | <i>Vjeroučenie</i> .....            | <i>odlično (5)</i> |
| Fizika.....                  | <i>odlično (5)</i> | .....                               | .....              |
| Fovljest.....                | <i>odlično (5)</i> | .....                               | .....              |

Izvanastavne i izvanškolske aktivnosti.....  
.....

VLADARJE *Izuzetno pristajna i draga učenicima. Juna izgradeni pravitiu ednas prema rodni. Komunikativna je i družegubiva.*

Izostalo je ..... *8* ..... sati opravdano i ..... sati neopravdano.

Učenič-a je završila ..... *prvi* ..... (1st) razred s ..... *odličnom* ..... (.5) uspjehom.


Uradžbeni broj ..... *185/95* .....

U ..... *Posušje, 20. VI. 1995* .....

Razrednik ..... *M. Hranjčić* .....

Kavatelj ..... *Ljiljana Škrlj* .....

Ocjena za uspjeh u učenoj: 10 (10), 9 (9), 8 (8), 7 (7), 6 (6), 5 (5), 4 (4), 3 (3), 2 (2), 1 (1), 0 (0).



Obrazac 4

“Croatian language,” 1994-1995 report card of Zdravka Jurilj, Ivan Mažuranić Elementary School in Posušje, Herzegovina.



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## PRONOUNCEMENTS CONCERNING THE LANGUAGE OF THE CROATS (1850-1995)

STAN GRANIC

### RÉSUMÉ/ABSTRACT

Quinze déclarations importantes relatives à la langue croate ont été signées par des institutions croates académiques et éducationnelles, des organisations culturelles ainsi que par des linguistes et écrivains durant la période de 1850 à 1995. Ce sont des traductions, mais aussi quelques textes originaux en anglais. On y trouve également deux déclarations d'organisations croates culturelles et éducationnelles au Canada.

Fifteen announcements and declarations related to the language of the Croats from 1850-1995 are collected here in English translation or English original. The statements were issued by individuals, cultural and educational organizations, and academic institutions both in Croatia and abroad. Two declarations issued by Croatian educational and cultural organizations in Canada are also included.

### Introduction

Since the mid-19th century, several pronouncements and resolutions related to the Croatian language have been issued and disseminated by individuals, cultural groups, educational organizations and academic institutions and associations. While some of these agreements and declarations are well-known to linguists, historians and authors who have dealt with the Croatian language question, other pronouncements by Croats in the diaspora may be less-known.

The most important announcements concerning the Croatian language have been collected here in English for the first time. The translators are acknowledged at the end of each pronouncement. Background notes (in italics) have been provided to help the reader place the document in context and to introduce the particular organization involved.

### *Vienna Literary Agreement (28 March 1850)*

*In the early 1800s, Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, a Serb, and Ljudevit Gaj, a Croat, strived to create a standard language at a time when both peoples*

were in the process of modern national formation and language was seen as a primary factor in nationality. Gaj envisioned a literary language based on the rich Štokavian literature of Dubrovnik and folk literature, which would be accepted by all South Slavs. Karadžić broke with the existing Slaveno-Serbian literary language in order to elevate the Štokavian-Ijekavian dialect of folk literature to the status of a literary koiné. His project only sought the amalgamation of the Serbs and Croats.

In August 1849, a committee of South Slavic language and legislative specialists were meeting in Vienna to develop a common legal-political terminology. Due to significant language differences, Karadžić, a member of the committee, called a meeting to try and resolve these issues. The meeting was primarily attended by those who were working on the common terminology and resulted in the signing of an announcement by the Serbs Vuk Karadžić and Đuro Daničić, the Slovene Franz Miklošič and the following Croats: Ivan Kukuljević, Vinko Pacel, Dimitrije Demetar, Ivan Mažuranić and Stjepan Pejaković.

It should be noted that Gaj and other leading Croatian linguists and writers were sceptical about the manifesto, while Demetar, Pacel and Mažuranić later disavowed it in practice. The Serbs of Belgrade and Novi Sad also rejected it, preferring to maintain their influential Štokavian-Ekavian idiom as the basis of the literary language.<sup>1</sup>

We the undersigned, realizing that *one* nation should have *one* literature and also having the misfortune to witness how our literature is fractionalized, not only according to alphabet but also according to orthography, have gathered together these last few days to discuss how to agree, as much as is currently possible, on literary questions and how to unite our literature. And therefore, we have:

1. Unanimously agreed that it is undesirable to fashion a new dialect, which does not exist among the people, through the amalgamation of different dialects. Rather, it is better to chose a particular dialect from among the national dialects as the literary language. And this, for the following reasons:

---

<sup>1</sup>Zlatko Vince, *Putovima hrvatskoga književnog jezika. Lingvističko-kulturnopovijesni prikaz filoloških škola i njihovih izvora* (Zagreb: Sveučilišna naklada Liber, 1978), pp. 273-281; Branko Franolić, *An Historical Survey of Literary Croatian* (Paris: Nouvelles Editions Latines, 1984), pp. 31-36. The text of the manifesto is a translation of Pejaković's transcription of Daničić's handwritten version. Pejaković's copy was published in Gaj's *Narodne novine* on 3 April 1850 and reprinted in: Vince, *Putovima*, pp. 279-280 (facsimile copy of Daničić's original p. 277)—ed.

a) because it is impossible to write in such a manner that everyone would be able to read according to their own dialect;

b) because, as a human creation, every such amalgamation would be worse than the choice of any of the particular dialects, which are the works of God; and also,

c) because all nations, such as for instance, the Germans and Italians, did not build something new from their dialects, but rather chose one of the national dialects and used it to write their works.

2. Unanimously agreed that it is most correct and best to accept the Southern dialect<sup>2</sup> to serve as the literary language. And this:

a) because most of the people use it;

b) because it is closest to the Old Church Slavonic language and consequently, to all the other remaining Slavic languages;

c) because practically all folk poems were created in it;

d) because all of the old Dubrovnik literature was written in it; and,

e) because most writers of the Eastern and Western Christian creeds<sup>3</sup> already write in it (only our writers do not follow all the rules). Furthermore, we have all agreed that words in this dialect that contain the bisyllable *ije* should be written with *ije*, while words containing the monosyllable *je* should be written as *je*, *e*, or *i*, conforming to the rules, i.e., *bijelo* [= white], *bjelina* [= whiteness], *mreža* [= net], *donio* [= he brought].

However, if anyone for any reason would choose not to write with this dialect, we believe that it would be most beneficial for national and literary unity, to write with one of the remaining two national dialects,<sup>4</sup> whichever he prefers, but only if he does not mix dialects and if he does not construct a language that does not exist amongst the people.

3. We have agreed that it is good and necessary that writers of the Eastern Christian creed would use [the Cyrillic letter] *x* [*h* in the Roman

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<sup>2</sup>The signatories are referring to the Štokavian-Ijekavian dialect spoken in Eastern Herzegovina and parts of Montenegro—trans.

<sup>3</sup>Orthodox and Catholic churches—trans.

<sup>4</sup>Štokavian-Ekavian or Štokavian-Ikavian—trans.

alphabet] where it would be etymologically acceptable, just as those of the Western Christian creed write [the letter] *h* and as the people of both our creeds speak in many places in the southern regions.

4. *We have all agreed* that it is not necessary to write [the letter] *h* in nouns at the end of genitive plural because it is not found there either: conforming to the etymology, the general pronunciation of the people, the usage of Old Church Slavonic, nor the remainder of the contemporary Slavic languages. As we discussed, some writers will be found who will say that this [letter] *h*, or some other sign in place of the *h*, should be written in genitive plural in order to distinguish this case from other cases.

Due to the fact that in many words this case can be distinguished by itself (i.e., *zernalja* [= of the lands], *otaca* [= of fathers], *lakata* [= of elbows], *trgovaca* [= of merchants], etc.) and also due to the fact that in our language, as in the languages of other nations as well, there are some other identical cases, so that in writing we do not distinguish them. We have all agreed not to write [the letter] *h* or any other sign, with the exception of an accent, but only in those cases when one cannot understand from the context if the word is in genitive plural (such practices should be applied in other similar places).

5. *We have all unanimously agreed*, that we should not write either [the letter] *a* or *e* in front of the [vocalic and syllabic] *r*, but rather, it should remain only the [letter] *r*. And this:

- a) because the people speak in such a manner;
- b) because writers of the Eastern Christian creed write that way (except for one or two individuals);
- c) because the Czechs also write that way;
- d) because many Slavonic books in the Glagolitic alphabet are written that way; and,
- e) because now it is clearly shown that even in the Old Church Slavonic language, it was not necessary to write the *jers* with the *r* or *l* because in such positions both these letters were vocalic, just as in Sanskrit.

This is what we have accomplished thus far. God willing, if our ideas would be accepted by the people, we are confident that the great confusions in our literature will be removed and that we will come close to a true unity.



For this reason we call upon all writers who truly wish prosperity and progress for their people, that they would accept our ideas and write their works accordingly.

In Vienna on 28 March 1850.

[Signatures of:]  
 Ivan Kukuljević  
 Dr. Dimitrija Demeter  
 I. Mažuranić  
 Vuk Stef. Karadžić  
 Vinko Pacel  
 Franjo Miklošić  
 Stefan Pejaković  
 Gj. Daničić

Translated by Stan Granic and Vinko Grubišić

*Resolutions of the Novi Sad Agreement* (10 December 1954)

*During the Second World War the national antifascist forces fighting the Axis occupiers were able to unite because of the guarantees they were given to “self-determination and national equality” within Yugoslavia. These federalist notions were already entrenched during the Second Session of the Antifascist Council for the People’s Liberation of Yugoslavia, held 29 to 30 November 1943. This Council and the National Committee for the Liberation of Yugoslavia repeatedly emphasized in their pronouncements the equality of the “Serbian”, “Croatian”, “Slovenian” and “Macedonian” languages.*

*However, in the linguistic realm this federalism soon collided with unitarism when Aleksandar Belić published a new edition of his orthography in 1952 and expressed his hope that it would be the starting point for a common Serbo-Croatian orthography. A year later, Matica srpska initiated an inquiry on Belić’s proposal and then organized a meeting of leading specialists in December 1954, resulting in the signing of the Novi Sad Agreement. It should be noted that top party circles in Belgrade had by this time adopted the concept of centralizing Yugoslavia by creating a “Yugoslav” people and a “Yugoslav” language. An important decision on the unity of languages could not have come about without the sanction and indeed the pressure of state officials.<sup>5</sup>*

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<sup>5</sup>Ivo Banac, “Main Trends in the Croat Language Question” in *Aspects of the Slavic Language Question*, eds. Riccardo Picchio and Harvey Goldblatt, Yale Russian and East European Publications, no. 4a (New Haven, CT: Yale Concilium on International and Area Studies, 1984), I,

*The initial statement was signed by twenty-four writers, language specialists and academics. Subsequently, sixty-three individuals added their signatures to the resolutions.*

The undersigned participants of the meeting organized by the editorial board of *Letopis Matice srpske* at the conclusion of the survey on the Croatoserbian language and orthography, and following discussions from various points of view held on 8, 9 and 10 December 1954, in Novi Sad, have brought forth these *resolutions*:

1) The national language of the Serbs, Croats and Montenegrins is one language. For this reason, the literary language, which was formed on its basis around two main centres, Belgrade and Zagreb, is also unique, with two variants, Ijekavian and Ekavian.

2) Both component parts are always to be stressed when the name of the language appears in official use.

3) Both alphabets, Roman and Cyrillic, are equal; therefore, both the Serbs and Croats should endeavour to learn both alphabets equally, which will be accomplished first and foremost in the education system.

4) Both the Ekavian and Ijekavian variants are also equal in all respects.

5) To take advantage of the entire lexical wealth of our language and its correct and complete development, the completion of a dictionary of the contemporary Serbocroatian literary language is urgently required. For this reason, *Matica srpska*'s initiative towards its fulfilment together with *Matica hrvatska*, should be welcomed.

6) The question of the realization of a common terminology is also a problem that requires an urgent solution. It is necessary to elaborate a terminology for all areas of economic, scientific and cultural life in general.

7) The common language must also have a common orthography. The preparation of this orthography is today the most urgent cultural and

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245-248. The text of the Novi Sad Agreement is taken from: *Pravopis hrvatskosrpskoga književnog jezika s pravopisnim rječnikom izradila Pravopisna komisija* (Zagreb-Novı Sad: Matica hrvatska and Matica srpska, 1960), pp. 5-10—ed.

social requisite. The outline of this orthography shall be completed by a consenting commission of Serbian and Croatian specialists. Before the final outline is accepted, it shall be distributed for discussion to organizations representing writers, journalists, educators and other cultural workers.

8) Firm resolve must be used to block artificial barriers to the natural and normal development of the Croatoserbian literary language. It is necessary to prevent the harmful appearance of the arbitrary “translation” of texts and to respect the original texts of authors.

9) The composition of the commission for the preparation of the orthography and terminology shall be determined by our three universities (in Belgrade, Zagreb and Sarajevo), our two academies (in Zagreb and Belgrade), *Matica srpska* in Novi Sad and *Matica hrvatska* in Zagreb. For the elaboration of terminology, it is necessary to engage in collaboration with federal institutions responsible for legal matters and standardization, as well as with specialized institutes and organizations.

10) *Matica srpska* shall provide these resolutions to: the Federal Executive Council and the executive councils of the P[eople’s] R[epublic] of Serbia, the P[eople’s] R[epublic] of Croatia, the P[eople’s] R[epublic] of Bosnia and Herzegovina and the P[eople’s] R[epublic] of Montenegro; the universities in Belgrade, Zagreb and Sarajevo; the academies in Zagreb and Belgrade; *Matica hrvatska* in Zagreb; and, shall also have them published in newspapers and periodicals.

In Novi Sad, 10 December 1954.

[Signatures of: ]

Ivo Andrić, writer and academic in Belgrade

Dr. Aleksandar Belić, university professor and President of the  
Serbian Academy of Sciences in Belgrade

Živojin Bošković, writer and editor of *Letopis Matice srpske* in Novi Sad

Mirko Božić, writer and President of the Society of Writers of Croatia  
in Zagreb

Dr. Miloš Đurić, university professor in Belgrade

Marin Franičević, writer in Zagreb

Dr. Krešimir Georgijević, university professor in Belgrade

Miloš Hadžić, Secretary of *Matica srpska* in Novi Sad

Dr. Josip Hamm, university professor in Zagreb

Dr. Mate Hraste, university professor in Zagreb

Dr. Ljudevit Jonke, senior university lecturer in Zagreb

Marijan Jurković, writer in Belgrade  
 Jure Kaštelan, writer in Zagreb  
 Radovan Lalić, university professor in Belgrade  
 Mladen Leskovac, writer and university professor in Novi Sad  
 Svetislav Marić, professor and Vice-President of *Matica srpska*  
 in Novi Sad  
 Marko Marković, writer in Sarajevo  
 Živan Milisavac, writer and editor of *Letopis Matice srpske* in Novi Sad  
 Dr. Miloš Moskovljević, professor and Scientific Associate of the  
 Serbian Academy of Sciences in Belgrade  
 Boško Petrović, writer and editor of *Letopis Matice srpske* in Novi Sad  
 Veljko Petrović, writer and academic, President of *Matica srpska*  
 in Belgrade  
 Đuza Radović, writer in Belgrade  
 Dr. Mihailo Stevanović, university professor in Belgrade  
 Dr. Jovan Vuković, university professor in Sarajevo

[Subsequent Signatories to the Resolutions of the Novi Sad Agreement]

The meeting of writers and language specialists held in Novi Sad on 8, 9, and 10 December 1954, was a logical and indispensable completion to the survey undertaken by *Letopis Matice srpske*.

The resolutions reached during that meeting are an undeniable contribution to the commencement of common solutions to common problems of our language. For this reason, the suggestions and proposals put forward in the resolutions must be supported, given full attention and endeavoured to be applied into life. It is of utmost importance that our highest scientific and cultural institutions mentioned in the resolutions, seriously consider the question of solutions to the problems that are highlighted as urgent and pressing, as for instance, the elaboration of scientific terminology and of a common orthography.

[Signatures of: ]

Dr. Josip Badalić, university professor in Zagreb  
 Dr. Antun Barac, university professor in Zagreb  
 Josip Barković, writer in Zagreb  
 Milan Bogdanović, writer in Belgrade  
 Dr. Radoslav Bošković, university professor in Belgrade  
 Dobriša Cesarić, writer in Zagreb  
 Marija Crnobori, actor at the Yugoslav Drama Theatre in Belgrade  
 Branko Ćopić, writer in Belgrade

Rodoljub Čolaković, writer in Belgrade  
Oskar Davičo, writer in Belgrade  
Vladan Desnica, writer in Zagreb  
Ivan Dončević, writer in Zagreb  
Milan Đoković, writer in Belgrade  
Eli Finci, writer in Belgrade  
Velibor Gligorić, writer in Belgrade  
Dr. Petar Guberina, university professor in Zagreb  
Joža Horvat, writer in Zagreb  
Dr. Stjepan Ivšić, university professor in Zagreb  
Vojin Jelić, writer in Zagreb  
Dr. Slavko Ježić, professor in Zagreb  
Vojislav Jovanović, professor in Belgrade  
Vjekoslav Kaleb, writer in Zagreb  
Ilija Kecmanović, writer in Sarajevo  
Slavko Kolar, writer in Zagreb  
Dr. Mihovil Kombol, professor at the Academy of Theatre Art in Zagreb  
Dušan Kostić, writer in Belgrade  
Đurđe Kostić, Scientific Associate of the Serbian Academy of Sciences  
in Belgrade  
Dr. Marko Kostrenčić, Executive Secretary of the Yugoslav Academy of  
Sciences and Arts in Zagreb  
Božidar Kovačević, writer in Belgrade  
Gustav Krklec, writer in Zagreb  
Miroslav Krleža, writer in Zagreb  
Skender Kulenović, writer in Belgrade  
Miodrag Lalević, professor at the Higher Pedagogic Institute in Belgrade  
Mihailo Lalić, writer in Belgrade  
Dr. Vido Latković, university professor in Belgrade  
Desanka Maksimović, writer in Belgrade  
Ranko Marinković, writer in Zagreb  
Dušan Matić, writer in Belgrade  
Svetozar Matić, retired professor in Belgrade  
Marijan Matković, writer in Zagreb  
Dr. Milutin Milanković, Vice-President of the Serbian Academy of  
Sciences in Belgrade  
Dr. Mijo Mirković, university professor in Zagreb  
Borislav Mihajlović, writer in Belgrade  
Tanasije Mladenović, writer in Belgrade  
Stjepan Musulin, Director of the Institute for Language in Zagreb  
Borivoje Nedić, university lecturer in Belgrade  
Vlatko Pavletić, writer in Zagreb  
Dr. Dragoljub Pavlović, university professor in Belgrade

Vladimir Popović, writer in Zagreb  
 Vladislav Ribnikar, Director of *Politika* in Belgrade  
 Marko Ristić, writer in Belgrade  
 Ivo Sarajčić, member of the Executive Council of the Parliament of  
 the People's Republic of Croatia  
 Novak Simić, writer in Zagreb  
 Dr. Petar Skok, university professor in Zagreb  
 Dr. Siniša Stanković, university professor in Belgrade  
 Marijan Stilinović, journalist in Zagreb  
 Tito Strozzi, Stage Director of the Croatian National Theatre in Zagreb  
 Petar Šegedin, writer in Zagreb  
 Dr. Andrija Štampar, President of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences  
 and Arts in Zagreb  
 Tomislav Tanhofer, Director of the Yugoslav Drama Theatre in Belgrade  
 Aleksandar Vučo, writer in Belgrade  
 Vice Zaninović, university lecturer in Zagreb  
 Dr. Sretan Živković, professor at the Higher Pedagogic Institute  
 in Zagreb

Translated by Stan Granic and Vinko Grubišić

*Declaration concerning the Name and the Position of the Croatian  
 Literary Language (15 March 1967)*

*This declaration was adopted by eighteen of the most prominent scholarly and cultural institutions and organizations dealing with the Croatian language. It also included 140 signatures of the most distinguished writers and language specialists of Croatia. The document was viewed as a united response to the continued imposition of Serbian in the Croatian republic. Through the declaration, the foremost Croatian linguists and writers, many prominent Communist Party members, stated their conviction that the Croatian nation has its own literary language and sought its adoption in the public life of the republic under its national name. Following its publication in newspapers and periodicals, many of the signatories were subjected to harassment and some expelled from the Party. This even included life-long Party member and one of Croatia's most distinguished writers, Miroslav Krleža, who was forced to resign from the Central Committee of the League of Communists of Croatia.<sup>6</sup>*

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<sup>6</sup>The Declaration was signed from 13 to 15 March and appeared in the weekly *Telegram* (Zagreb), 17 March 1967, p. 1, the daily *Vjesnik* (Zagreb), 19 March 1967 and was also later reprinted in: Jozo Nikolić, et al., "Pred četvrtstoljetnim jubilejem znamenite Deklaracije o

The centuries-long struggle of the Yugoslav peoples for national freedom and social justice culminated in the revolutionary transformation that took place in the period between 1941 and 1945. The victory of the National Liberation Struggle and the socialist revolution made it possible for all nations and minorities in Yugoslavia to enter a new phase of their historical existence. Basing themselves on the fundamental principles of socialism concerning the right of every individual to be free from oppression, and of every nation to be completely sovereign and absolutely equal with all other nations, the Slovenes, Croats, Serbs, Montenegrins, and Macedonians formed a federal union, consisting of six socialist republics, to guarantee their mutual equality, brotherhood and socialist cooperation.

The principle of national sovereignty and complete equality also encompasses the right of each of our nations to protect all the attributes of their national identities and to develop to the maximum not only their economies but also their cultural lives. Among these attributes, the national name of the language spoken by the Croatian nation is of paramount importance because it is the inalienable right of every people to call its language by its own national name, irrespective of whether in a philological sense this language is shared in its entirety or through a separate variant by another people.

The agreement reached in Novi Sad correctly states that the Serbian and the Croatian literary languages have a common linguistic basis while it did not deny the historical, culturo-historical, national and political truth that every nation has the right to use its own language to express its national and cultural identity. These principles were formulated both in the constitution and in the program of the League of Communists, which is the leader of our peoples in their revolutionary struggle.

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jeziku," *Hrvatska revija*, 41 (Zagreb, 1991), 213-216 and *Deklaracija o nazivu i položaju hrvatskog književnog jezika. Građa za povijest Deklaracije*, ed. Jelena Hekman, 3rd rev. and exp. ed. (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1997), pp. 25-29. An English translation by Karlo Mirth appeared in *Croatia Press* (New York, 1967), 21, nos. 1-2 (253-254), pp. 12-16. This translation, with minor changes, appeared in: Christopher Spalatin, "Serbo-Croatian or Serbian and Croatian? Considerations on the Croatian Declaration and Serbian Proposal of March 1967," *Journal of Croatian Studies*, 7-8 (New York, 1966-1967), 6-9. It was also republished in vols. 25-26 of the *Journal of Croatian Studies* (1984-1985). The *Croatia Press* translation as it appeared in Spalatin's article is employed, with minor changes, in this documentary collection—ed.

And yet, despite the clarity of these fundamental principles, a certain fuzziness in their formulations has made it possible in practice to circumvent, distort, and violate these principles within the broader distortions of our social and economic reality. The circumstances under which statism, unitarism, and hegemony have been revived are well-known. With them the concept that a single “state language” is necessary has appeared, which in practice means the Serbian literary language because of the dominant influence exercised by the administrative centre of our federation. Despite the VIII Congress, the recent IV and V Plenums of the Central Committee of the League of Yugoslav Communists, which have stressed the importance of the socialist principles concerning the equality of our peoples and consequently, their languages, the “state language” is even today being systematically imposed, with the result that the Croatian literary language is disregarded and reduced to the status of a local dialect. This discrimination is practised through the administrative apparatus and the means of mass communication of the federal press, Tanjug [official Yugoslav press agency], the Yugoslav television and radio network in its nationwide broadcasts, the post office, the telegraph and telephone services, the railroads, the literature dealing with political and economic matters, the motion picture newsreels, and various administrative forms, as well as through the use of the language in the Yugoslav army, the federal administration, the legislature, diplomacy and various political organizations.

The momentous economic and social reforms currently being implemented, which express the principle of socialist self-management, compel us to take all necessary steps so that in the areas of our own competence—linguistics, literature, science and culture in general—the above mentioned principles of our socialist society are implemented in daily practice.

Consequently, the Croatian cultural and scientific institutes and organizations that are the signatories of this declaration, consider it essential to undertake the following steps:

- 1) To establish clearly and unequivocally through constitutional provisions the equality of the four literary languages: Slovenian, Croatian, Serbian and Macedonian.

For that purpose, paragraph 131 of the Constitution of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia should be changed to read as follows:

“Federal laws and other general official acts of the federal administration shall be published in the four literary languages of the peoples of



Yugoslavia: Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian and Macedonian. In their official communications, the federal administration upholds the equality of the languages of all the Yugoslav peoples.”

It is similarly necessary to guarantee, by an adequate formulation, the rights of the languages used by the national minorities in Yugoslavia.

The present imprecise constitutional provision concerning the “Serbocroatian or Croatoserbian language” makes it possible to consider the two parallel names as synonyms. As a result, the present constitutional formulation does not offer the legal underpinning for the equality of the Croatian and the Serbian literary languages in relation to each other, and also in relation to the Yugoslav peoples. This lack of clarity makes it possible to impose the Serbian literary language as the common language of both the Serbs and the Croats. Numerous examples show that this is indeed the practice, as for instance, the recent decisions of the 5th Assembly of the Composers’ Union of Yugoslavia; they were published simultaneously in the Serbian, Slovenian and Macedonian languages, as if the Croatian literary language does not even exist or as if it is identical to the Serbian literary language.

The undersigned institutions and organizations consider that in such instances the Croatian nation is not represented and is denied equality. This sort of practice can never be justified by asserting the undeniable scientific fact that the Croatian and the Serbian literary languages have the same linguistic basis.

2) In accordance with the above demands and elaborations, it is necessary to guarantee the consistent use of the Croatian literary language in schools, the press, public and political forums, and on radio and television networks whenever the broadcasts are directed to a Croatian audience. Officials, teachers and public workers, irrespective of their origin, should use in their official dealings the language of the milieu in which they live.

We are submitting this declaration to the Parliament of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, to the Federal Parliament of the Socialist Federative Republic of Yugoslavia, and to the public at large, so that during discussions concerning the modification of the constitution these principles may be clearly formulated and put into practice in our public life.

[Signed by representatives of: ]

*Matica hrvatska*

Writers’ Association of Croatia

PEN Club, Croatian Centre

Croatian Philological Society  
 Department of Philology, Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts(JAZU)  
 Department of Contemporary Literature, JAZU  
 Linguistic Institute, JAZU  
 Institute for Literature and Theatrical Arts, JAZU  
 Chair for the Contemporary Croatoserbian Language, Faculty of  
 Philosophy, Zadar  
 Chair for the Contemporary Croatoserbian Language, Faculty of  
 Philosophy, Zagreb  
 Chair for the History of the Croatian Language and Dialects, Faculty of  
 Philosophy, Zagreb  
 Chair for South Slavic Literature, Faculty of Philosophy, Zadar  
 Chair for Early Croatian Literature, Faculty of Philosophy, Zagreb  
 Chair for Modern Croatian Literature, Faculty of Philosophy, Zagreb  
 Institute for Linguistics, Faculty of Philosophy, Zagreb  
 Institute for the Theory of Literature, Faculty of Philosophy, Zagreb  
 Old Slavonic Institute, Zagreb  
 Association of Literary Translators of Croatia

Translated by Karlo Mirth

*Statement of the Croatian Academy of America regarding the Zagreb  
 Language Declaration (19 April 1967)*

*The Croatian Academy of America, Inc. (CAA) is an independent educational organization that was founded in New York City in 1953. It organizes scholarly conferences in the United States and Canada and has published the interdisciplinary periodical Journal of Croatian Studies since 1960. At the time of the appearance of the Declaration of 1967, the CAA was the only high profile English-language Croatian educational organization located outside of Croatia and the only one to publish an English-language scholarly periodical devoted entirely to Croatia and the Croats. The membership of the organization includes a cross-section of Croatian-American academics, intellectuals and professionals. Part of its mandate is to research the contributions of Croatian immigrants to the United States and American archival sources related to Croatia.<sup>7</sup>*

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<sup>7</sup>This statement is found in vols. 7-8 of the *Journal of Croatian Studies*, pp. 195-196. For a review of the CAA's activities to 1990 and the contents of the *Journal of Croatian Studies* to 1989, see: Karlo Mirth, "The Croatian Academy of America: A Chronicle of Its Contribution to Croatian Studies (1953-1990)" and Slavko Granić, "Journal of Croatian Studies: Annotated Index Volumes I-XXX (1960-1989)," both found in: *Journal of Croatian Studies: Index Volumes I-XXX (1960-1989)* (New York: Croatian Academy of America, 1995), pp. 131-155 and pp. 3-129, respectively—ed.

The Executive Council of the Croatian Academy of America unanimously adopted the following statement at the Council's regular meeting on April 19, 1967:

On the occasion of the "Declaration Concerning the Name and Position of the Croatian Language (in Yugoslavia)" brought up by the Croatian cultural and scientific institutions in Zagreb on March 16, 1967, the Croatian Academy of America deems it necessary to state the following:

1. The eighteen Croatian institutions which brought up the Declaration represent the most authoritative and the most representative assembly to make decisions concerning the Croatian language.

2. The Croatian Academy of America adheres to the principles of the Declaration which are practically carried out in the United States of America in more than ninety percent cases by the existence of separate newspapers and publications in Croatian and separate ones in the Serbian language.

3. Concerned with the reports of political pressures on Croatian cultural institutions, attacks on writers, linguists and cultural workers, and with the announcement of more persecutions of the signers of the Declaration, we would remind that attempts to force the withdrawal of the Declaration will only more dramatically and vigorously underscore its significance. The problems raised by the Declaration can be neither ignored nor erased by using force; this would only complicate them further.

4. We are particularly appalled by the voices which even call for killing as is the case of a Belgrade newspaperman who said to Mr. Richard Eder, correspondent of the *New York Times*: "It is even better that a few persons be killed than that thousands die in the kind of war that would occur here..." (*New York Times*, March 25, 1967).<sup>8</sup> We recall that an identical philosophy led to the assassination of Stjepan Radić<sup>9</sup> and his colleagues in

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<sup>8</sup>The title of the article reads "Anxiety in Belgrade: Linguistic Quarrel Stirring Fears of a Widened Serbo-Croat Rivalry" and appeared on p. 8—ed.

<sup>9</sup>Leader of the most popular Croatian political party of the inter-war period in Yugoslavia (Croatian Peasant Party). Radić's assassination was openly called for by several Serbian newspapers of the time. On 20 June 1928, during a session of the Yugoslav parliament in Belgrade, Puniša Račić, a deputy of the Serbian Radical Party, pulled out a revolver, opened fire and mortally wounded Stjepan Radić, killed Đuro Basariček and Pavle Radić, and wounded Ivan Pernar and Ivan Grandja. See: Stjepan Gaži, "Stjepan Radić: His Life and Political Activities (1871-1928)," *Journal of Croatian Studies*, 14-15 (1973-1974), 66-67—ed.

parliament in Belgrade in 1928, and, that this was the beginning and cause of bloody conflicts between the Serbs and Croats which followed.

5. The Croatian Academy of America notes that the majority of Croats always called their language Croatian and the majority of Serbs called theirs Serbian regardless of official names. Therefore we do not see how the request of the Croatian institutions that the language of the Croats be officially called Croatian and have equal rights with other languages could be interpreted to jeopardize the legitimate interests of any other people or ethnic group, as those who oppose the Declaration assert.

The Croatian Academy of America is sending this statement at the same time to Matica Hrvatska in Zagreb and to the Croatian-language American newspapers.

New York, April 19, 1967.

*An Appeal of Croatian Writers and Authors in Emigration* (30 April 1967)

*As the previous statement reveals, the 1967 Zagreb Declaration resonated with diaspora Croats who not only published it in their periodicals, but also made efforts to advance it by translating it into the major languages of world. This included Hrvatska revija, the principal cultural review of the last half of the 20th century. To show their support of the Declaration and their solidarity with the signatories, leading writers, translators, journalists, publishers, historians and academics in emigration issued their own Appeal. The signatories of this Appeal represented different generations, came from various regions of Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina and lived in eleven different countries on three continents: Europe, North America and South America.<sup>10</sup>*

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<sup>10</sup>The Appeal appeared in the Croatian original, and German and French translation in *Hrvatska revija*, 17, nos. 1-2 (Munich, 1967), 19-20, 7-8 and 13-14. The same issue of *Hrvatska revija* reprinted the Zagreb Declaration (pp. 15-18) and included German (pp. 3-6) and French (pp. 9-12) translations of it. The Appeal of emigré writers was also reprinted in the same periodical in vol. 47, no. 2 (Zagreb, 1997), 229-231. This 1997 reprint is introduced by Vinko Nikolić, "Dekleracija o jeziku i hrvatska emigracija," pp. 227-228. For a review and evaluation of Croatian literature in exile, particularly the post World War II era, see: Vinko Grubišić, *Hrvatska književnost u egzilu* (Barcelona-Munich: Knjižnica Hrvatske revije, 1991). This English version was translated from the Croatian original—ed.

With regard to the Declaration, Croatian writers and authors in the free world, join in a sign of solidarity with their colleagues in the homeland with this Appeal.

The very significant event, which has taken place in Croatia a short time ago, awakened the interest of the entire world press. This relates to the *Declaration concerning the Name and the Position of the Croatian Literary Language*, which was unanimously accepted in Zagreb by Croatian writers and which was signed by nineteen<sup>11</sup> Croatian cultural and scientific institutes and organizations during the plenary session of the Society of Writers of Croatia on 15 March 1967. As a result of this, various reactions ensued from the side of the authorities of the Federative Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia and the Communist Party, wherein the signatories and the institutions became targets for attack and persecution.

Because of the circumstances in which the *Declaration* was written and the repercussions it provoked, it has become clear to all that this *Declaration* represents a paramount document in defence of the cultural individuality of the Croatian nation, which possesses its very own language with its specific name; just as its own literature, which has followed the epochs of European literacy from its beginnings right up to our own days and has produced great works of national and general importance. Here it is very important to point out that, in communist Yugoslavia, open attacks on the Croatian language and literature are being waged and are threatening their existence. Under the permanent state oppression, the very existence of the Croatian language and literature is in danger of disappearing and being replaced by the Serbian language and literature, which primarily dates only from the last century. In such an atmosphere of political pressure, the 1954 meeting in Novi Sad was organized and the Novi Sad Agreement signed, in which was adopted among other things the unrealistic and artificial names "Serbo-Croatian language" and "Serbo-Croatian literature," which are, unfortunately, also often used by foreign linguists and scientific books.

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<sup>11</sup>In the text of the 1967 Zagreb Declaration, which appeared in the weekly *Telegram* of 17 March 1967, nineteen institutions are listed although there were only eighteen. This is because the Chair for Early and Modern Croatian Literature of the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zadar, is listed as two separate chairs, even though they were not separate chairs. See: Nikolić, et al., "Pred četvrtstoljetnim jubilejem," pp. 215-217—ed.

Recognizing the serious endangerment of the greatest and dearest cultural heritage of its nation—its language—Croatian writers and linguists as well as various institutions and organizations from the literary-linguistic field, positioned themselves, even though under very difficult circumstances, as the defenders of the inalienable centuries-old heritage and literary-linguistic traditions. This was an authentic outcry for the freedom of culture and cultural creations; a cry for the full expression of the European freedom loving and universal spirit. In this way, Croatian writers and intellectuals have become leaders in the fight for the highest values of our civilization in today's situation. For this reason, Croatian writers and authors in emigration, express to them our due meritorious recognition in this righteous struggle in which we express our solidarity and extend our full moral support.

Because of the high degree of consciousness of Croatian writers and linguists and because of the sublime pleading for the ideals of culture and cultural freedom, the Yugoslav communist regime in Belgrade, with the Communist Party at its head, has undertaken to taint them with the blemish of suspicion calling them “chauvinists” and declaring their struggle “illegal”. On the contrary they are in fact a very important part of the spiritual elite of their people, with a right to be proud of their culturo-linguistic past, which was undoubtedly expressed in the best way through the mentioned *Declaration*.

We, their fellow-countrymen, Croatian writers and authors in the free world, take this opportunity to appeal to world public opinion, especially to international and national cultural institutions and organizations, so that in this decisive moment they could rise in defence of Croatian writers and linguists and the freedom of culture in Croatia and through their interventions defend the unfettered development of the Croatian language and literature, which are the subject of discrimination, destruction and annihilation in the contemporary Federative Socialist Republic of Yugoslavia.

[Signatures of: ]

|                         |                            |
|-------------------------|----------------------------|
| Luka Brajnović          | (Spain)                    |
| Luka Fertilio           | (Chile)                    |
| Alan Horić              | (Canada)                   |
| Andrija Ilić            | (England)                  |
| Nada Kesterčanek Vujica | (United States of America) |
| Lucijan Kordić          | (Switzerland)              |
| Predrag Kordić          | (United States of America) |

|                      |                            |
|----------------------|----------------------------|
| Ivo Lendić           | (Argentina)                |
| Enver Mehmedagić     | (Argentina)                |
| Vinko Nikolić        | (France)                   |
| Borislav Maruna      | (United States of America) |
| Antun Nizeteo        | (United States of America) |
| Gracijan Raspudić    | (United States of America) |
| Mirko Čović          | (Austria)                  |
| Krunoslav Draganović | (Austria)                  |
| Jere Jareb           | (United States of America) |
| Bogdan Radica        | (United States of America) |
| Stjepan Ratković     | (Italy)                    |
| Franjo Trogrančić    | (Italy)                    |
| Dušan Žanko          | (Venezuela)                |

On the anniversary of the execution of [Viceroy Petar] Zrinski and [Duke Fran Krsto] Frankopan, 30 April 1967.

Translated by Stan Granic and Vinko Grubišić

#### Declaration of *Matica hrvatska* (16 April 1971)

*Matica hrvatska is one of Croatia's central cultural and publishing organization. Formed in 1842 under the "Illyrian" name (renamed Matica hrvatska in 1874), this organization primarily supported literature, enlightenment and culture through lectures and seminars, and the publication of literary and scientific periodicals and books. Today, this organization has some 120 chapters scattered primarily throughout Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina.*<sup>12</sup>

*In the years following the appearance of the 1967 Declaration, scholars and writers in Croatia stressed the particularity of the Croatian standard language, the need to separate it from political vicissitudes and the desire to identify it by its Croatian national name. At the same time, Serbs and Yugoslav political authorities insisted on the oneness of the Serbian and Croatian standard languages. While Matica srpska went ahead with the publication of the Serbo-Croatian dictionary begun in 1967, Matica hrvatska rejected and discontinued this joint venture in order to focus on the completion of a dictionary of the Croatian standard language. On 16*

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<sup>12</sup>Josip Bratulić, "Sto pedeset i pet godina Matice hrvatske," in *Hrvatski iseljenički zbornik*, ed. Aleksandar Ravlić (Zagreb: Hrvatska matica iseljenika, 1998), pp. 127-132.

*April 1971, it formally and explicitly renounced the Novi Sad Agreement in its entirety.*<sup>13</sup>

In 1954 *Matica hrvatska* accepted the Novi Sad Agreement despite doubts and apprehensions that already existed at that time, believing that it could serve as a contribution to improved relations among peoples who formed their literary languages on the basis of closely related dialects and who now live in a federated community.

Subsequent years did not confirm this conviction. On the contrary, the Novi Sad Agreement revealed itself to be inappropriate to serve as the basis for equitable language relations. Departing from its general statement regarding linguistic uniformity, the agreement was open, from the outset, to arbitrary interpretation and even such as those which deny the independence of the Croatian literary language and supposedly dispense with the obligation to respect the territory on which it is spoken and its historical integrality. Because of such interpretations the Novi Sad Agreement was transformed into a means for the justification of linguistic inequalities and for the imposition of the Serbian literary language of the Ekavian type. Even when such intensions did not exist, the Novi Sad Agreement became a continuous source of misunderstandings and an obstacle to the truthful understanding of our linguistic reality and its scientific explication. It proved itself to be unsuited in everyday application because linguistic tolerance can only be based on the mutual respect of individuality and natural linguistic rights, and not on a proclamation of [linguistic] unity at all cost, which often denied the existence of both [languages].

For all these reasons *Matica hrvatska* renounces the Novi Sad Agreement considering it unnecessary and invalid because historical reality has already discredited it, just as it discredited the Vienna Agreement before it.

In Zagreb, 16 April 1971.

Executive Committee  
*Matica hrvatska*

Translated by Christopher Spalatin†

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<sup>13</sup>The declaration appeared in the weekly *Hrvatski tjednik* (Zagreb), 23 April 1971, p. 3 and in the journal *Jezik*, 18, no. 5 (1970-1971), 138. An English translation was included in: Christopher Spalatin, "Language and Politics in Yugoslavia in the Light of the Events Which Happened from March 17, 1967, to March 14, 1969," *Journal of Croatian Studies*, 11-12 (1970-1971), pp. 103-104. Spalatin's translation is used here—ed.



*Resolution of the Croatian Philological Society (8 May 1971)*

*The Croatian Philological Society (Hrvatsko filološko društvo) was established in 1950. Unofficially, it is considered the successor to the Croatian Language Society (Društvo "Hrvatski jezik"), which was formed in 1936 and published ten issues of the journal Hrvatski jezik in 1938. Tomo Matić was the first president of the Croatian Language Society and Stjepan Ivšić the first editor of Hrvatski jezik. In 1952, the Croatian Philological Society began to publish its journal Jezik - časopis za kulturu hrvatskoga književnog jezika (Language: a journal for the cultivation of the Croatian literary language). The most active segment of this organization was the Zagreb Linguistic Circle. In the early 1950s, it worked tirelessly on several projects including the Croatian orthography and other Croatian language manuals. Several different literary and linguistic sections function within the Society, which also has chapters in all the larger cities of Croatia.*<sup>14</sup>

The annual assembly of the Croatian Philological Society, held 8 May 1971, has joined the declaration of *Matica hrvatska* with the adoption of this resolution:

We join the declaration of the Executive Committee of *Matica hrvatska*, which proclaims the Novi Sad Agreement unnecessary and invalid. The Novi Sad Agreement incompletely and imprecisely maintains the linguistic situation so that its formulation cannot be considered to be based on science. Its general assertions have allowed for the Agreement to be implemented to the detriment of the Croatian standard language and its equality in our political community. For this reason, it did not help resolve those problems for which it was introduced; furthermore, it multiplied them. The fundamental condition, which would lead to the successful solution of these problems, is that normative handbooks for the Croatian standard language should be built on the basis of Croatian linguistic tradition and practice.

Translated by Stan Granic and Vinko Grubišić

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<sup>14</sup>The resolution was published in *Jezik*, 18, no. 5 (1970-1971), 138. For a review of the contents of *Jezik* from 1952 to 1980 see: Christopher Spalatin, "A Survey of the Linguistic Periodical *Jezik* (1952-1980)," *Journal of Croatian Studies*, 25-26 (1984-1985), 153-162—ed.

*The Institute for Language of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts concerning the Novi Sad Agreement (10 May 1971)*

*The Zagreb based Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts (Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti/Academia scientiarum et artium Slavorum meridionalium) was formed in 1866 and its constitution ratified by Emperor Francis Joseph that same year. The Academy (JAZU) publishes several journals including Rad and Starine, and books in the series Djela. The institution's name was changed to Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti—HAZU) in 1941 and its journals succeeded the issues published by JAZU. In 1945, the Antifascist Council for the People's Liberation of Yugoslavia returned its name to JAZU. On the urging of the majority of its members, the Croatian parliament passed a motion in 1991 to reintroduce the name HAZU.<sup>15</sup>*

Croats understood the Novi Sad Agreement to be a document that would ensure the equality of the Ijekavian and Ekavian dialects, and the right of each nation to call its language by its own name, while in official use both national names would be mentioned, as opposed to the preceding practise of the bureaucracy of federal institutions, which only used the term Serbian.

Meanwhile, due to some imprecise formulations within this Agreement, a group of philologists with a centralistic-unitaristic orientation took advantage to use it as a tool for unification and Serbianization of the language, moving in this manner hand in hand with the economic exploitation and the alienation of the values created through the efforts of working people in Croatia. The struggle for the correct understanding of the Agreement within the spirit of Marxist theory on the national question and the development of relations within a multinational socialistic state did not bring us any sort of success. Quite the opposite, misunderstandings about the Agreement became so acute that collaboration between *Matica srpska* and *Matica hrvatska* was discontinued, and *Matica hrvatska* finally and formally cancelled the Agreement.

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<sup>15</sup>The statement appeared in *Jezik*, 18, no. 5 (1970-1971), 139. For a review of JAZU's and HAZU's publishing activities to the mid-1980s see: *Popis izdanja Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti 1867-1985*, eds. Aleksandar Stipčević and Ljerka Filaković (Zagreb: JAZU, 1986) and *Katalog izdanja 1945-1980* (Zagreb: JAZU, 1980)—ed.

The Institute for Language believes that this move is a logical and unavoidable conclusion to events of the last few years, and holds the Novi Sad Agreement to be null and void, especially when today every one of our peoples has secure guarantees for their national development both in the economic and cultural domains, and even in the domain of language.

In Zagreb, 10 May 1971.

The Institute for Language of the Yugoslav  
Academy of Sciences and Arts

Translated by Stan Granic and Vinko Grubišić

*The Society of Writers of Croatia Renounces the Novi Sad Agreement*  
(1 July 1971)

*The Society of Croatian Writers (Društvo hrvatskih književnika) was founded in 1900 with Ivan Trnski serving as its first president. In 1945, its name was changed to the Society of Writers of Croatia and according to the wishes of the majority of its members, reverted back to its original name in 1990. The official journal of the society is Republika and from 1969-1971 it published the periodical Kritika. Together with the Croatian PEN Club, it also publishes Most/The Bridge (since 1966) and Lettre internationale (from 1990) in the major languages of the world.<sup>16</sup>*

The Executive Committee supports the Declaration by which *Matica hrvatska* disavows the so-called Novi Sad Agreement. Even at the moment of its inception, this Agreement did not reflect the real linguistic state, but rather forced on the Croatian literary language a development contrary to its centuries-long tradition. Besides that, within its very text and especially in its everyday application, the Agreement brought particular damage to that conception of the literary language, which has developed among us Croats well back to the [Croatian National] Revival. Due to all this, it has become a symbol of linguistic unease, imposition and coercion. The Execu-

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<sup>16</sup>The statement appeared in *Jezik*, 19, no. 1 (1971-1972), 19—ed.

tive Committee of the Society of Writers of Croatia accepts and supports in its entirety, the declaration of *Matica hrvatska* and of the Croatian Philological Society. Accepting at the same time the proposed orthographic principles, the Society of Writers of Croatia authorizes its members who are found in the mentioned orthographic commission, to engage in the quick and consistent realization of the orthographic principles.

Zagreb, 1 July 1971.

Executive Committee of the Society  
of Writers of Croatia

Translated by Stan Granic and Vinko Grubišić

*Ten Theses on the Croatian Language* (22 November 1971)

*These ten theses were formulated by Dalibor Brozović in his opening paper at a conference entitled: "Foundations for the Curriculum of the Croatian Language and Literature in Secondary Schools". This symposium was held from 22 to 24 November 1971, in Šibenik. It was sponsored by the Conference of Youth Councils of the Socialist Republic of Croatia. At that time, mimeographed copies of the theses were provided to the several hundred teachers of the Croatian language in attendance. After being made public, the theses were reviewed, discussed and accepted by the Zagreb Linguistic Circle. The theses are considered a charter of Croatian sociolinguistics or a constitution of the Croatian literary language.<sup>17</sup>*

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<sup>17</sup>Brozović's theses were partially published in *Školske novine* (Zagreb) in December 1971. See: Christopher Spalatin, "The Rise of the Croatian Standard Language," *Journal of Croatian Studies*, 16 (1975), 9-10. The complete publication of Brozović's ten theses are found in the 1975 issue of *Hrvatska revija* [Dalibor Brozović, "Deset teza o hrvatskom jeziku," *Hrvatska revija*, 25 (Munich-Barcelona, 1975), 209-215]. They were also reprinted in a 1986 publication: Dalibor Brozović, "O ključnim pitanjima hrvatskoga književnog jezika," in *Susreti. Zbornik radova Susretâ hrvatskih studenata u tuđini (1981-1986)*, ed. Branko Šimović, 6 (Zagreb-Bochum: Kršćanska sadašnjost and Hrvatska katolička misija Bochum, 1986), pp. 136-145. Spalatin's English translation from the above mentioned article is used here with minor changes—ed.

*Thesis 1:*

The Croatian language is the language used by the Croatian nation as its main means of expression.

*Thesis 2:*

Among all the manifestations of the Croatian language, the most important one is the Croatian standard language, with its specific dialectal basis, which is characterized by its history and superstructure.

*Thesis 3:*

The Croatian standard language is the result of an uninterrupted development from the earliest Glagolitic written monuments until today.

*Thesis 4:*

The Croatian standard language, formed in the middle of the 18th century, is also in our time open to the Kajkavian and Čakavian dialects.

*Thesis 5:*

The Croatian standard language developed its culturo-linguistic structure independently and in its own way.

*Thesis 6:*

The Neo-Štokavian Ijekavian dialectal basis of the Croatian standard language contains only the Western Neo-Štokavian features of the Ijekavian and Ikavian subdialects.

*Thesis 7:*

Slavic comparative and dialectological criteria are valid only for the science of Slavic studies.

*Thesis 8:*

The dialectal basis of the Croatian standard language is Neo-Štokavian because the majority of Croats speak Štokavian and not because, in addition to the Croats, there are others who use the same dialect.

*Thesis 9:*

The rights of the Croatian standard language are determined by the functions it performs for the Croatian nation, and not by the degree of similarity or dissimilarity it may have with other languages.

*Thesis 10:*

Laws and regulations for the Croatian standard language have their source in that very language and in its service to the Croatian nation and society.

Translated by Christopher Spalatin†

*Declaration on the Name and Status of the Croatian Language*  
(14 July 1984)

*The Croatian Schools of America-Australia-Canada-Europe/Hrvatske škole Amerike-Australije-Kanade-Europe (HIŠAK-CSAC) was formed in 1974 as an association of Croatian schools operating in the diaspora. The purpose of HIŠAK-CSAC is: to assist in the establishment of Croatian schools worldwide (outside of Croatia); to support the preparation and publication of language manuals, books, and other aids for the teaching of the Croatian language; and the organizing of teacher development seminars. The HIŠAK-CSAC network of schools teach the Croatian language, history, geography and religion. Its First International Seminar for Teacher Development was co-sponsored by the Canadian Secretary of State for Multiculturalism. It was attended by participants from across Canada, the United States, Switzerland, West Germany, Sweden, Australia and Croatia.<sup>18</sup>*

The principals and teachers of the Croatian Schools of America-Australia-Canada-Europe, assembled at the First International Seminar for Teacher Development held July 7-15, 1984 at Laurentian University and the University of Sudbury, Sudbury, Ontario, Canada, state:

Throughout their history, the Croatians have used the name Croatia for their Land and Croatian for their language.

The Croatian language today is the official language of Croatia recognized as such even by the Constitution of the S[ocialist] F[ederative] R[epublic] of Yugoslavia (articles 170, 171, 211, 243, 246, 247, 269 and 271).

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<sup>18</sup>Copy of the original in the editor's possession. The declaration was sent to major universities, libraries and government institutions worldwide. For an examination of the various stages of bilingual and multilingual education applied, practised and studied in the HIŠAK-CSAC school system see: Ljubo Krasić, "Bilingual Fluency: Learning Components in the HIŠAK-CSAC Schools," *Journal of Croatian Studies*, 25-26 (1984-1985), 226-235—ed.

Some four million Croatians in [the] diaspora use Croatian in their religious services, schools, publications and in the news media.

A recent study done by the HISAK-CSAC shows that some governments and their agencies, educational institutions, news media and especially libraries confuse the two distinct Slavic languages Serbian and Croatian, or even worse use the term “Serbo-Croatian”, which is ethnolinguistically unfounded and sociolinguistically misleading.

This same study reveals that thousands of students enrolled in Croatian schools worldwide are unjustifiably deprived of proper services by governments, educational institutions and libraries.

The students having completed eight years of Croatian language are not given the opportunity to continue the study of Croatian at higher level institutions.

We, as educators and linguists, demand that these misnomers and malpractices concerning the name and identity of the Croatian language be discontinued and corrected.

Furthermore, we strongly request that the students wishing to study Croatian be given equal opportunity.

We, the undersigned, are ready and willing to cooperate in every field of work which would help to resolve the above-mentioned discrepancies, problems and misconceptions.

In Sudbury, July 14, 1984.

*Resolutions of the Second International Seminar for Croatian Language (24 June 1986)*

*HISAK-CSAC's Second International Seminar for the Croatian Language and Folklore, 21 to 29 June 1986, was also held at Laurentian University in Sudbury. It was attended by teachers in the HISAK-CSAC school system and by other instructors of the Croatian language from across Europe, the United States, Australia and Canada. The seminar focused on the study and teaching of Croatian at the elementary and secondary levels. Discussions and coordinated planning took place for the future establishment of a chair for Croatian language and culture at a Canadian*

*university. Two years later such an agreement was reached with the University of Waterloo, Ontario.*<sup>19</sup>

The participants of the Second International Seminar for Croatian Language and Folklore held June 21-29, 1986 at Laurentian University, Sudbury, Ontario, Canada, reaffirm the “*Declaration on the Name and Status of the Croatian Language*” signed at Sudbury, the 14th of July, 1984.

While the *Declaration* was most readily welcomed and acted upon by many institutions worldwide, there are still a few of them which use the political formulation Serbo-Croatian. These institutions (e.g. Britanica, Library of Congress, and Americana), and their authorities, remain the *circulus vitiosus* by repeatedly and interchangeably quoting and paraphrasing each other.

We would like to stress, once again, that the term Serbo-Croatian, hyphenated or not, is a political term that has no sociolinguistic foundation and as such it has been rejected consistently by the foremost Croatian linguists, writers, and the entire Croatian people.

The Croatian people have always called their language by its own national name. What is more, the name Croatian is based on the legitimate right that every nation calls the language it speaks, writes and uses by its own national name. The Croats nurture their Croatian standard language with the same love, patriotism, and pride as any other peoples in the world nurture their language.

We are certain that you will agree that there is no need to use or to tolerate the misleading and discriminatory term Serbo-Croatian in the contemporary Slavic scholarship.

We trust that your institution will give this matter prompt consideration.

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<sup>19</sup>Copy of the original in the editor’s possession. As with the previous declaration, copies of the resolution were forwarded to major universities, libraries and government institutions worldwide—ed.



*Declaration of Croatian Intellectuals on the Croatian Language*  
(18 January 1989)

*In the mid-1980s the constitutional formulation recognizing the Croatian language in the Socialist Republic of Croatia came under attack by several individuals until then unknown in the cultural scene of the republic. These attacks coincided with the rise of Serbian President Slobodan Milošević and his promotion of aggressive Serbian nationalism and his highjacking of the federal presidency. In December 1988, the Yugoslav Constitutional Court proclaimed Croatia's language provisions unconstitutional, prompting numerous letters and petitions to the Croatian parliament from Croatian individuals, institutions and cultural organizations worldwide. In January 1989, this declaration, accompanied by 235 signatures of intellectuals, was sent to the parliament. It was signed by lawyers, engineers, economists, medical doctors, artists, journalists, theologians, editors and teachers. Following its submission to parliament, citizens throughout the republic continued to sign the declaration. For instance, in one day 8,000 citizens of the city of Split added their names to the declaration.<sup>20</sup>*

1. The Croatian language is a fundamental component of the Croatian nation and its existence is as old as the Croatian people.
2. The name of the language in the Constitution of the S[ocialist] R[epublic] of Croatia cannot be resolved as a legal issue, but rather a very substantial determination for the Croatian nation itself and of every Croat. From such a definition the term "Croatian language" proceeds naturally, which is the name of the language of that nation and each of its members.

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<sup>20</sup>The document was published, without the accompanying signatures, in *Glas koncila* (Zagreb), 12 February 1989, no. 7. It was also published with the first twenty-one signatures in *Deklaracija o nazivu... Građa*, pp. 67-70 together with Stjepan Babić's accompanying remarks ("Uz izjavu hrvatskih intelektualaca," pp. 71-73). For reprints of various other letters, petitions and parliamentary speeches in defence of the continued constitutional protection of Croatian, including those sent by the Canadian-Croatian Artists Society, Croatian communities in West Germany and Switzerland, Canadian post-secondary students of Croatian origin and the Centre for Croatian Studies in Australia, see: Stjepan Babić, *Hrvatski jezik u političkom vrtlogu* (Zagreb: Ante and Danica Pelivan, 1990), pp. 165-270. An English translation by Slavko Granić and Vinko Grubišić appeared in *Zajedničar* (Pittsburgh), 22 March 1989, p. 17. This translation, with some changes, has been used here—ed.

3. At this moment (because there are always some moments contrived as inopportune for solutions to linguistic problems) we should not accept anything less than that which can be published in Zagreb, such as the comments appearing in the weekly *Danas* of 20 December 1986 (no. 307, p. 4) by Rijeka native Miljenko Kordić, which reads: “The thousand-year-old language of the Croatian people has always been called Croatian and to seek from a nation to call its own language by a different name is the same as asking it to change the name of its own nation, that is, to cease being that respective nation.”

4. In writing about the language, the weekly *Danas* (10 September 1985, no. 186) published Martin Perić’s piece entitled “There was also the Vidovdan Constitution” in which he underscores that the following decision was imposed by the Vidovdan Constitution: “The official language of the Kingdom [of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes] is Serbo-Croato-Slovenian” (*Official gazette of the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats and Slovenes*, 28 June 1921, no. 142A, Article 3). That trinominal formulation is today transformed into a binominal term and is advocated by the same “scientific” arguments.

5. On one of the most precious and most valuable monuments of cultural heritage in the world, the Baška Tablet, which testifies to our Croatian national identity (and that at a time when the majority of today’s great nations did not even exist), there is written in the Croatian Glagolitic script the name “Croatian” which is used in connection with Croatian King Zvonimir.

6. Beyond any doubt, the Croatian language is an expression of the spirit and the collective cultural and historical substance of this people.

7. The Croatian language is a live and most precious cultural factor forming an organic and unbreakable connection of unity for this nation. Every attempt to separate it from the Croatian people, its identity and sovereign culture is unthinkable and unacceptable.

8. The Croatian language is the product of the Croatian national creative genius in all its culturo-historical and creative-artistic destiny. As such, it is an essential unifying tool and a fundamental means of creativity, producing immeasurably enduring cultural goods, as well as illuminating the imperishable ties binding all Croats, their spiritual and cultural achievements, which continuously elucidate and illuminate the course of Croatian national genius in the past, present and future. All treasured products created in the Croatian language reside in our hearts, souls, dreams, inspirations and works.

9. Given that the Croatian nation is a unique and inescapable culturo-historical fact, the Croatian language is also a unique, unremovable and imperishable fact. The Croatian language is a substantial part of the Croatian national body and of every Croat. Every Croat carries the creative potential of the Croatian language through which the being of the Croatian people is preserved and developed. Through the Croatian language, the creative genius of the Croatian people transmits its spiritual values in all accessible domains of our working and thinking reality.

10. We Croatian intellectuals have undertaken this discussion because our current reality limits our abilities to develop our language in accordance with the needs to express our creative functions, which are necessitated by the needs of the scientific and universal-communication-technological revolution on which further economic and cultural development is dependent. Confronted by this challenge and the challenge inherent to our creative undertakings in general, which are of the most diverse kinds, these creative activities demand much more of us than do the narrow needs of the literary language.

11. The literary language is not in itself sufficient to express the new creative phenomena the results of which we must transform into visible reality and thus make accessible to our nation in the language that is in keeping with the living characteristics of the national being of the Croatian people.

12. Proceeding from the scientifically proven fact that all languages are endowed with unlimited potential to create new words and linguistic forms, for some reason, with regard to the Croatian language, today, this potential is being ignored or suppressed, which only harms the Croatian language and the Croatian people.

13. We Croatian intellectuals, who are not writers, who are even separated from them by profession (despite the express stipulations of the Bern Convention of 1886, which points out that "literary belles-lettres works" comprise all products from the literary, scientific and artistic fields, regardless of the form of expression) are handicapped in our everyday creative undertakings if the Croatian language is reduced to the literary language alone. This would render it impossible for us to communicate the results of our professional and scientific creative works in the Croatian language.

14. Since the Croatian language is a constituent element of the Croatian national being and of every Croat, it is therefore at once and fundamentally an

untouchable part of the sovereignty and identity of the Croatian nation. Therefore, before the entrenchment of this fact into the Constitution of the S[ocialist] R[epublic] of Croatia, a broad democratic discussion must be organized without any pressures. This issue must be discerned by a referendum.

15. In conclusion, we support the demand and pledge of Vladimir Nazor, the first President of the Parliament of the S[ocialist] R[epublic] of Croatia:

### The Croatian Language<sup>21</sup>

I spent all my life, lived for you,  
Ancient and noble language of the Croats;  
And because I was born on the margin of your sea  
It took time and pain until I conquered you.

You took me where I had never been.  
To the mountain's peak, to the pier's edge,  
And in the little hut, and in the golden home  
Your sound was always deep in me.

I wanted only to be an instrument  
To make music of your words, your sounds—  
Resonant strings with floral scent—

So that from my cradle to my grave  
I may breathe in you and live with you—  
For ever and ever until I cease to be.

In Zagreb, 18 January 1989.

[Signatures of: ]

1. Drago Stipac, forestry engineer
2. Petar Vučić, lawyer
3. Dr. Hrvoje Šošić, economist
4. Rudolf Belko, theologian
5. Dr. Marko Veselica, senior university lecturer
6. Marija Franjić, philosophy professor

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<sup>21</sup>Nazor's poem is translated by Antun Nizeteo and G. Marvin Tatum in: *Journal of Croatian Studies*, 25-26 (1984-1985), 122.

7. Andrija Grgičević, geographer
  8. Dr. Marko Pranjić, theologian
  9. Zdravko Moškov, economist
  10. Vladimir Vlašić, professor of Romance languages
  11. Dr. Anto Matković, M.D., neurosurgeon
  12. Ivo Škrabalo, director
  13. Ivan Brizić, lawyer
  14. Dr. Marko Turić, M.D., otolaryngologist
  15. Marija Mekić, history professor
  16. Živko Kustić, theologian and editor-in-chief of *Glas koncila*
  17. Vladimir Orešić, M.D., urologist
  18. Ivanka Bilić, professor of literature
  19. Dr. Danijel Došen, M.D., otolaryngologist
  20. Petrinec, Zrinko, plastic surgeon
  21. Andjelka Bubanj, Anglist
- [...]

Translated by Stan Granic and Vinko Grubišić

### *Memorandum concerning the Croatian Language* (December 1995)

*The following two memorandums were issued on the urging of Croatian academics and intellectuals in the diaspora to clarify the status of the Croatian language for universities, institutions, important and influential libraries, lexicographical publishing houses and other organizations outside of Croatia. Matica hrvatska proposed to the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (HAZU) that a joint text be issued. However, the Department of Linguistic Studies of HAZU, which was given the task of drafting the statement, felt it would be better if each organization issued their own statement. When this was accomplished, each statement was published in Croatian periodicals and sent to institutions worldwide.<sup>22</sup>*

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<sup>22</sup>*Matica hrvatska's* memorandum appeared in: *Hrvatska revija*, 46 (1996), 207-209; *Matica - časopis Hrvatske matice iseljenika*, no. 3 (1996), 17; and, *Jezik*, 43, no. 5 (1996), 164-166. This translation was completed by Luka Budak and appeared in the inaugural issue of *Croatian Studies Review*, a publication of the Centre for Croatian Studies at Macquarie University in Sydney, Australia. See: *Croatian Studies Review*, 1 (1997), 103-105. Some minor changes were made to Professor Budak's translation—ed.

## I

*The Croatian language* belongs to the South Slavic subgroup of Slavic languages. Developing since the 11th century as a written language permeated with Croatian vernacular speech, Croatian was in fact amongst the first languages to distinguish itself from the Slavic *continuum* as a separate entity.

Since the early Middle Ages the influence of Western, Latin, Mediterranean and Pannonian-Central European culture and civilization has been a characteristic of the development of the Croatian language. But, most important of all, was the continuously declared concern of the Croatian people for guarding the cultural, political, linguistic and other essential qualities of their national identity.

The language of the entire Croatian territory, from the 14th to the 15th century, was designated by common names (Slavonic, Illyrian, Croatian), and demonstrates a clear awareness that the *Čakavian*, *Štokavian* and *Kajkavian dialects all belong to the Croatian language*. Consequently, since the end of the 16th century—and especially in the 17th, 18th and 19th centuries—a series of written and published grammar books and dictionaries of that language appeared. Particularly in the 17th and 18th centuries, all the writers from the Čakavian, Štokavian and Kajkavian regions were conscious that they were writing in *the same language*, whatever it might have been called. The language of Croatian literature in Dubrovnik—as the most evolved—became the model for the entire Croatian territory. This actually became the principal reason why, from the mid-19th century, a highly evolved literary Croatian language founded on the basis of Štokavian elements prevailed over the entire Croatian territory. It did so mainly because of Dubrovnik speech in the Jekavian form.

## II

The literary language of the Serbs until the 19th century was a form of Old Church Slavonic (Serbian-Slavonic, Russian-Slavonic). However, when V[uk] S[tefanović] Karadžić, under the influence of Slovenian linguist Jernej Kopitar, took the Neo-Štokavian dialect to form the basis of a new Serbian language—and modelled it upon the earlier Croatian literary language, its dictionaries and grammars—it alleviated the expansionist tendencies of the young Serbian state.

Throughout its history, the Croatian language has often been thwarted and its development sometimes suppressed. Those were the concomitants of the state, that is, political fate of the Croatian people. For almost nine centuries, Croatia was a part of other states, retaining at times a lesser or greater autonomy.

A particularly difficult period began in 1918. Convinced that their national interests would be advanced by forming a union with the other Southern Slavs, Croats entered into a state alliance which became Yugoslavia. However, none of their expectations were realized. The Serbs immediately assumed the dominant role due to their favourable position (numerically the largest and most widely spread population, their capital city and the expansion of their state apparatus, army, police and gendarmerie posts).

In both Yugoslavias, no means were overlooked to accomplish this end, and thus there was no restraint from *linguistic oppression* in order to prove that *Croatian and Serbian were one language*. However, in spite of all this, the Croatian people preserved their language and retained its national name. Although the relationship between the Croatian and Serbian literary languages has no real analogy in the world, when one looks at the cultural, historical and functional examples available, this difference could be compared to the differences between *Dutch and German, Norwegian and Danish, Slovak and Czech*. It can also be compared to the situation in democratic Spain, where *Galician* was recognized as an independent language, different from both *Spanish* and *Portuguese*, after the fall of Fascism. Thus by the weight of culturo-historical tradition, by the very linguistic structure and likewise by the will of the Croatian people, *the Croatian language differs from Serbian*.

However, in *traditional (genetic) linguistics* many languages were denied their *status* simply because they were not languages of a separate state/political entity (Catalonian, Galician, Slovak), at times even long after the formation of a national state (Norwegian). On the contrary, *modern sociolinguistics* has established that, apart from the purely geneto-linguistic role, a significant role in all this was played by the cultural and historical, social and political, economic and psychological factors and above all the will of speakers themselves; on the basis of a complex set of criteria, every language is singled out as an original and unrepeatable combination of quantitative, qualitative and functional characteristics. Languages, in other words, are distinguished from one another in different ways.

The hybrid name *srpsko-hrvatski* (*Serbo-kroatisch, serbo-croate, Serbo-Croatian* and others) was particularly insisted on by the greater Serbian administration and diplomacy of the first and second Yugoslavia. However, the Croatian people consistently opposed and never accepted that name in spite of the repression of the communist regime. Moreover, in 1967 the hybrid term was publicly discarded in the *Declaration concerning the Name and the Position of the Croatian Language*, which at the time was signed by all relevant Croatian cultural and scientific institutions and countersigned by thousands of Croatian intellectuals and cultural workers. With the strength of such endeavours in the second Yugoslavia (1945-1991), all essential federal documents were obligatorily and officially published in *four* versions: *Slovenian, Croatian, Serbian* and *Macedonian*, as they had been known from the beginning.

### III

It is an undisputed fact that *Croats have existed as a people* for thirteen centuries, that their Christian tradition is thirteen centuries old and that they have a thousand years of *documented literacy and literature in their own national language*. It is also undisputed that, during these centuries, Croats have written in their *three mutually linked dialects* (nearly eight centuries before Serbs, who only as late as the 19th century abandoned Serbo-Slavonic and began to write in the language based on folkloric Štokavian, while they never used the two typical Croatian dialects: Čakavian and Kajkavian). The Croats generally shaped and created their literacy, literature, science and spirituality within *Western, Latin Europe*, while the Serbs did so in the circle of *Eastern, Greek and Slavic*. It is undisputable that *the Croatian state and legal tradition* (which even communist Yugoslavia had to recognize and respect) is more than one millennium old. On this foundation, the present-day Republic of Croatia came into being as an *internationally recognized, legal and political entity*. All this could have been expressed, and it is expressed today, in a language that has only one natural name, *the Croatian language*, without regard to the degree of affinity or similarity to other South Slavic languages.

As a result of all this, *Matica hrvatska*, by way of this *Memorandum* emphasises once again that all relevant international political, scientific and cultural international institutions need to take *into consideration* the aforesaid and clearly evident and unquestionable data. This is as true for



diplomatic bodies as it is for institutions for Slavic Studies whose task is indeed to promote the *distinct* literature and *identifiable language* of all Slavic nations including Croatian, hence *respecting* the inalienable right of the Croatian people and the Croatian state to their own language and to the proper name for that language, that is: *the distinct Croatian language*.

Zagreb, December 1995.

*Matica hrvatska*

Translated by Luka Budak

*The Croatian Language—A Distinct Slavic Language* (December 1995)

*As with the previous memorandum, this statement by the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts was issued to clarify the status of the Croatian language for educational institutions and publishing houses worldwide.*<sup>23</sup>

Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts  
Department of Linguistic Studies

The Croatian language is a distinct Slavic language whether viewed from a linguistic or sociolinguistic standpoint, and from a cultural, historical or political standpoint. Misunderstandings about this distinctiveness arise from the fact that it has close kinship ties with the Serbian language and that, in the 19th and 20th centuries, an effort was made to combine these two languages into one. In reality, this never occurred.

The Croatian language has three dialects: Štokavian, Čakavian and Kajkavian, whereas Serbian has two: Štokavian and Torlak. Since Štokavian dominates amongst both Croats and Serbs, they developed their literary lan-

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<sup>23</sup>The pronouncement was published in: *Jezik*, 43, no. 5 (1996), 162-164 and also appeared in *Zajedničar* (Pittsburgh), 1 January 1997, p. 14. An English translation by Tereza Barišić appeared in: *Croatian Studies Review*, 1 (1997), 99-101. This translation with some minor changes has been used here—ed.

guages primarily on the Štokavian dialect: hence the great similarities between these two languages. However, as Štokavian is not uniform but rather has many dialects and as these two literary languages are not based completely on the same dialect and as they developed independently one from the other, in different times and according to different methods. For this reason, their differences exist such that the two languages must be considered distinct both on the basis of language criteria and especially when one considers sociolinguistic and other criteria.

Since the time of their documented literacy, from the Tablet of Baška (ca. 1100), Croats have used the Croatian recension of Old Church Slavonic, i.e., Old Church Slavonic adopted to the Croatian Čakavian phonological system with some innovations on other levels. Following this, they developed their literary language on the basis of all three dialects. Croats introduced the Štokavian vernacular into literature at the end of the 15th century. From the outset, they incorporated the lexical, phraseological and orthographical elements into the Croatian recension of Old Church Slavonic, developing it along a continuous historical evolution to its current form. The other two literary languages were abandoned: the use of Čakavian in literature was gradually relinquished in the mid-18th century while Kajkavian was consciously forsaken in the second quarter of the 19th century. However, both have left significant reminders of their literary and dialectical expressions in the Štokavian literary language.

From the beginning of their literacy right up to the 19th century, Serbs have used the Serbian redaction of Old Church Slavonic, with a few modifications in the 18th century (Russian-Slavonic, Slaveno-Serbian). Their present literary language was founded only in the mid-19th century when Vuk Stefanović Karadžić elevated the Štokavian of the Serb village to the level of standard Serbian.

As a result of this, these two languages have a separate cultural and linguistical history and literature. Added to this, the Croatian standard language has evolved over the centuries on the basis of its rich liturgical and secular literature and as modern Serbian literature only originated in the mid-19th century, two clearly distinct literatures evolved from these two standard languages: Croatian and Serbian.

Besides that, from its inception, Croats developed their standard language on the basis of and within the culture of Western European, primarily Catholic culture. At first, they used three scripts: Glagolitic, Croatian Cyrillic

and Roman. From the mid-14th century, they used the Roman script alongside the Slavic scripts. However, the Roman script became more widespread and today is the only Croatian script. In the development of their culture and language, the Serbs leaned on the Byzantine, Eastern Orthodox culture, using Cyrillic, which is today the main Serbian script.

Due to the closeness of these two standard languages, agreements about the formation of one language from these two languages were reached in the 19th and 20th centuries. Croats participated in this for ideological and political reasons, whereas the Serbs accepted them after the establishment of Yugoslavia, when they realized that a single language would be an effective tool with which to destroy all Croatian distinctiveness and the Croats as a nation. For this reason, they attempted to create linguistic unity through the force of the state, using political and military domination. These plans did not succeed due to the stability of these two standard languages and because of the strong cultural and political resistance from the Croatian side.

On the basis of its historical evolution, from its first written monuments in the 11th century and on the basis of its philology whose continuity exists from the end of the 16th century to today, the present Croatian standard language has developed its uniqueness on phonological, morphological, formative, syntactical, lexical and stylistic levels and its Roman graphic system. Accordingly, it differs from Serbian on all linguistic levels, so that never before could one, nor can one today, speak or write in a “Serbo-Croatian” (“Croato-Serbian”) language. This is because as a specific language it has never existed as a concrete language, nor does it exist today. Rather, texts are created either in Croatian or in Serbian. It is impossible to spontaneously write on one page an identical text that Croats would accept as Croatian, and Serbs as Serbian. If the content is not identical, then how can the names be identical?

To illustrate this difference between the Croatian and Serbian languages, it is possible to cite a short recipe that would read as follows in Serbian:

Čorba od kelerabe sa pečenicom. Sitno iseckati crni luk, pa ga propržiti u Zepter posudi. Dodati kelerabi supu i kuvati 15 minuta. Propasirati čorbu. Dodati pavlaku. Ukrasiti pečenicom, isečenom na rezance, kao i listićem peršuna. [*Kuvar* (Linz: Zepter International, 1991), p. 55.]

In Croatian translation, this recipe would read:

*Juha od korabice s pečenicom. Sitno isjeckati (crveni) luk, pa ga propržiti u Zepter posudi. Dodati korabici juhu i kuhati 15 minuta. Propasirati juhu. Dodati vrhnje. Ukrasiti pečenicom, izrezanom na rezance, kao i listićem peršina.* (The altered parts of the text are italicized.)<sup>24</sup>

We have thirty-five words with twelve differences or a variation of thirty-five percent. No possible combination of this text can make it both Croatian and Serbian, i.e., “Serbo-Croatian”.

It is for this reason that during communist Yugoslavia authentic texts of federal laws were published in four languages: Croatian, Serbian, Macedonian and Slovenian. For the same reason, foreign radio broadcasts transmitting for Croats and Serbs, usually prepared their texts separately in both languages (BBC, Voice of America, Deutsche Welle, etc.) because they knew that the listeners of one nation would not listen if the broadcasts were not in their own language.

Some foreign universities, lexicographical institutions and libraries are much more reluctant to accept the distinction between the Croatian and Serbian languages as subjects, calling them: *srpskohrvatski* (*Serbo-Croatian, serbokroatisch, serbo-croate*). This is mainly due to an inertia derived from past understanding and because of concrete problems associated with the restructuring of Slavic departments. Nevertheless, in reality, in all universities, the languages are established and taught either as Croatian or Serbian, depending on the lecturer who teaches it and despite the term “Serbo-Croatian”, this cannot be realized. Thus in the international Universal Decimal Classification system, Serbian has one number (808.61) and Croatian another (808.62).

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<sup>24</sup>In more precise Croatian, there would be other differences, i.e., “*recept*” would not be in the infinitive, but rather in the imperative or impersonal form: *Propasiraj juhu; Propasirajte juhu; and Juha se propasira*. It is not quite clear what is meant by *pečenica*, perhaps it should be *pečenka*. As for *u Zepter posudi*, it should be *u Zepterovoj posudi* or *u posudi Zepter*, but since present-day Croatian is written as in the above text, such examples are not noted as differences.

Just as no one any longer considers Czech and Slovak to be the same language (in the constitution of the Czechoslovak Republic of 1920, there existed the term *Czechoslovak language*), nor Danish and Norwegian, the term *Serbo-Croatian*, where it is still used, must be discontinued because it is unacceptable from the linguistic, sociolinguistic, political and other standpoints. From the political viewpoint, it is the right of the Croatian nation to call its language by its national name. This is especially the case when the Croatian state, the Republic of Croatia, exists and when Article 12 of its constitution reads: "The Croatian language ...shall be in official use in the Republic of Croatia." The term *Croatian language* should be used wherever it is the subject matter. When one considers that *Serbo-Croatian language* has been replaced with *Serbian language* in the new F[ederal] R[epublic] of Yugoslavia, the use of the term "Croatian language" will be acceptable even to those who are not familiar with the particulars discussed here.

Translated by Tereza Barišić



## SOME RECENTLY PUBLISHED CROATIAN LANGUAGE ADVISORY BOOKS

VINKO GRUBIŠIĆ

The last twenty years has seen an increase in publication of Croatian language advisory books.<sup>1</sup> The main preoccupation of all Croatian language advisory books is the infiltration of foreign words, idioms and syntagmas (representing varying degrees of difficulty not only for the average person, but for language specialists as well). Many of the Croatian words that were squeezed out of use by foreign words (English, French, Russian and Serbian borrowings) had a long tradition among the Croats before the formation of Yugoslavia.

The books under review tend to appear following the publication of important language manuals such as Vladimir Anić's *Croatian dictionary*, which recently underwent a fourth edition and the three volume (some 2,000 pages) grammar comprised of: Radoslav Katičić's *Croatian syntax* (1986); Stjepan Babić's *Word formation in Croatian* (1986); and the *Historical development, phonetics and morphology of the Croatian language* (1991) by Stjepan Babić, Dalibor Brozović, Milan Moguš, Slavko Pavešić and Ivo Škarić. What follows is a brief description of some of these works.

*Language advisory book with grammar*,<sup>2</sup> prepared by Slavko Pavešić, Vida Barac-Grum, Dragica Malić and Zlatko Vince, in 1971, has been out of print for some time. The work does not mention correct or incorrect words and expressions, but rather categorizes them as: "would be better to use"; "more commonly used" or "less commonly used"; and "used in eastern regions" or "used in western regions". This imprecision earned the work some sharp criticism from several leading Croatian linguists.

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<sup>1</sup>For Croatian language advisory books prior to 1985, see the chapter entitled "Jezični savjetodavci" in Stjepko Težak, *Hrvatski naš osebniji* (Zagreb: Školske novine, 1995), pp. 51-78. Cf. Vinko Grubišić, "Pomagala u svladavanju teškoća u hrvatskom književnom jeziku," in *Zbornik ZIRAL 1970-1990*, ed. Dionizije V. Lasić and Lucijan Kordić (Chicago: ZIRAL, 1990), pp. 52-82.

<sup>2</sup>*Jezični savjetnik s gramatikom* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1971).

Radovan Vidović's *How not to write—how to write*<sup>3</sup> preceded *Language advisory book with grammar* by two years and was widely used by cultural and educational institutions throughout Croatia and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Neither one of the books called the language by its national name, although both often indicated replacements for Serbianisms without ever actually calling them Serbianisms. In 1983, Vidović followed-up with his *Linguistic advice*.<sup>4</sup> In the first part of the book, the reader is provided 380 short language recommendations, while the second part deals with verbs ending in *-iti* and *-jeti* (for example, “*crniti*” : “*crnjeti*”). The final section deals mainly with Serbianisms in Croatian.

Some linguistic critics in Croatia treated Ivan Brabec's *One hundred language recommendations*<sup>5</sup> negatively when it appeared in 1984. This was mainly due to the fact that Brabec's language counsel closely followed the linguistic conceptions of Tomo Maretić, who was inspired by the prominent Serbian linguist of the 19th century, Vuk Stefanović Karadžić.<sup>6</sup> Even though the title suggests that it deals with a hundred language recommendations, the reader will find many more difficult morphological, syntactic and semantic points discussed.

Domagoj Grečl's 1990 *Basics of correct writing*<sup>7</sup> is comprised of two parts: orthographic rules and orthographic vocabulary. Both parts were largely based on the *Orthography handbook of the Croatian or Serbian language* prepared by Vladimir Anić and Josip Silić in 1986.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>3</sup>*Kako ne valja - kako valja pisati* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1969).

<sup>4</sup>*Jezični savjeti* (Split: Logos, 1983).

<sup>5</sup>*Sto jezičnih savjeta*, 4th ed. (Zagreb: Školske novine, 1984).

<sup>6</sup>During royalist Yugoslavia (1918-1941) only one language advisory book, namely, Maretić's *Croatian or Serbian language advisory book* (1924) addressed itself to “all those who want to speak and write correctly in our language.” Maretić wrote the introduction to this work in Serbian. His purism consisted in the rejection of words and expressions that belonged to Croatian dialects for centuries. See: Tomo Maretić, *Hrvatski ili srpski jezični savjetnik. Za sve one, koji žele dobro govoriti i pisati književnim našim jezikom. Znanstvena djela za opću naobrazbu* (Zagreb: Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 1924).

<sup>7</sup>*Osnove pravilnoga pisanja*, 7th rev. ed. (Zagreb: IGRO August Šenoa, 1990).

<sup>8</sup>*Pravopisni priručnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika* (Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1986).



The 1990 publication of Vladimir Brodnjak's *Dictionary of words which differ in the Croatian and Serbian languages*<sup>9</sup> has been considered an important event in recent Croatian linguistics. Discussions of the book can be found in *That Croatian*.<sup>10</sup> In 1992 the same publisher prepared a shortened version of that dictionary, which nevertheless contains 638 pages (while the large format included 630 pages). Up to now, Brodnjak's *Dictionary of words which differ* is the most serious and the most detailed work on the lexical differences between Serbian and Croatian. In preparing the work, Brodnjak employed twenty-two different criteria for differentiating Croatian words from Serbian.

As Ivan Branko Šamija states in the introduction to his *Book of differences in the Croatian and Serbian languages*,<sup>11</sup> the work "consists of a small dictionary of mostly Serbian and Croatian everyday words." The contents and form brings to mind the Krstić-Guberina *Differences between the Croatian and Serbian literary languages*.<sup>12</sup> Similarly, Stanka Pavuna's *Small dictionary of differences*<sup>13</sup> contains some 2,000 Croatian words with their Serbian equivalents. Both Šamija and Pavuna based their lexical differences between Croatian and Serbian primarily on the Krstić-Guberina *Differences*. In 1997, Šamija followed-up his *Book of differences* with *Rules and recommendations for the Croatian language*.<sup>14</sup> Here, he included many recommendations of his predecessors, always being sure to indicate his sources.

Among the most ardent proponents of replacing foreign words with Croatian terms during this period was Mate Šimundić. In his 1994 *Dictionary of superfluous foreign words in Croatian*,<sup>15</sup> he points out Croatian words that were taken from the "common European language pool" and have a long tradition in Croatian. His dictionary can be seen as a continuation of Bratoljub Klaić's 1966 *A large dictionary of foreign words*.<sup>16</sup>

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<sup>9</sup>*Razlikovni rječnik srpskog i hrvatskog jezika* (Zagreb: Školske novine, 1990).

<sup>10</sup>*Taj hrvatski*, ed. Ante Selak (Zagreb: Školske novine, 1992), pp. 143-266.

<sup>11</sup>*Razlikovnica između hrvatskoga i srpskoga jezika* (Zagreb: GALIA-VINO, 1992).

<sup>12</sup>*Razlike između hrvatskoga i srpskoga književnoga jezika* (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1940).

<sup>13</sup>*Mali razlikovni rječnik* (Zagreb: Integra, n.d.).

<sup>14</sup>*Hrvatski jezikovnik i savjetnik* (Zagreb: INA, Industrija nafte, 1997).

<sup>15</sup>*Rječnik suvišnih tuđica u hrvatskom jeziku* (Zagreb: Barka, 1994).

<sup>16</sup>*Veliki rječnik stranih riječi* (Zagreb: Zora, 1966).

Stjepan Babić, who has been the long-standing editor-in-chief of the main Croatian language journal *Jezik*—a kind of Croatian linguistic *vademecum*—also published several books dealing with correct usage of Croatian. Two of these stand out: *Croatian language reader*<sup>17</sup> from 1990 and *Croatian yesterday and today*<sup>18</sup> from 1995. The first part of *Croatian language reader* (pp. 11-183) deals mainly with lexical difficulties of standard Croatian while the second part (pp. 183-302) more or less contains diachronic studies of the language. *Croatian yesterday and today* consists of several parts: “The Croatian and Serbian languages”, “Opposing unnecessary and unacceptable Anglicisms”, “Our words in time and system”, “Solutions in word formation”, “Orthographic and phonetic difficulties”, “Questions in morphology”, “Five syntactical fragments”, “General views” and “Book reviews and recensions”.

The author of numerous language manuals for schools, Stjepko Težak provided several hundred recommendations for correct language usage in two of his books: *Our everyday language* (1990)<sup>19</sup> and *Our multifunctional Croatian* (1995).<sup>20</sup> His books reflect a great erudition and a mastery of eliciting often difficult language matters in an easy manner.

Even though the majority of authors who provided language advice lived and worked in Croatia, there are some interesting works published by linguists living in Bosnia and Herzegovina. For instance, Stjepan Blažinović intended his 1995 *Croatian dictionary of the 7,500 most frequently distinctive words*<sup>21</sup> mainly for those Croats “forced to leave their home so that they can overcome linguistic barriers among themselves and their compatriots living in Croatia”<sup>22</sup> as well as for those Croats of Bosnia-Herzegovina who remained. For his part, the Croatian language professor at the University of Mostar, Velimir Laznibat, published his *Let's learn Croatian: language advices*<sup>23</sup> in 1998. Besides discussing some difficult points in Croatian,

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<sup>17</sup>*Hrvatska jezikoslovna čitanka* (Zagreb: Globus, 1990).

<sup>18</sup>*Hrvatski jučer i danas* (Zagreb: Školske novine, 1995).

<sup>19</sup>*Jezik naš svagda(š)nji* (Zagreb: Školske novine, 1990).

<sup>20</sup>*Hrvatski naš osebujni* (Zagreb: Školske novine, 1995).

<sup>21</sup>*Hrvatski rječnik najučestalijih 7500 razlikovnih riječi* (Zagreb-Sarajevo: Napredak, 1995).

<sup>22</sup>*Hrvatski rječnik najučestalijih 7500*, p. 7.

<sup>23</sup>*Učimo hrvatski - jezični savjeti* (Široki Brijeg: Logotip, 1998).

he also deals with some purely theoretical questions of grammar and the history of Croatian, making the work even more interesting.

The first part of Ilija Protuder's 1997 book *I speak Croatian correctly: a practical language guide*<sup>24</sup> covers one hundred difficult points in Croatian, while the second part includes a dictionary of various incorrectly used words with their correct equivalents. A year earlier, Mile Mamić's *Language advices*<sup>25</sup> appeared. It consisted of two parts: "General questions regarding Croatian" and "Some discussions of terminological points". Mamić's brief articles, which were prepared for daily papers or radio programs, are always presented in an easy to read and witty manner.

The 1996 *Dictionary of new words: a small guide of new words and concepts from Croatian mass media* prepared by Dunja Brozović-Rončević, Alemko Gluhak, Vesna Muhvić-Dimanovski, Lelija Sočanac and Branko Sočanac<sup>26</sup> covered foreign words, mainly Anglicisms, accepted into Croatian during the last thirty years. However, some of the words that are covered were known in Croatian even before World War I (for example, "imun", "interaktivan", "italik", "oporba", "ozračje", etc.). It would be interesting to compare this book covering the Croatian language with Jovan Ćirilov's *A new dictionary of new words*<sup>27</sup> (1991) which deals with the Serbian language. Even though both the Serbian and Croatian languages borrowed mainly from the same language pool (English) during the last fifty years, there are very few common borrowings.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>*Pravilno govorim hrvatski - Praktični jezični savjetnik* (Split, Naklada Protuder, 1997).

<sup>25</sup>*Jezični savjeti* (Zadar: Hrvatsko filološko društvo, 1996).

<sup>26</sup>*Rječnik novih riječi. Mali vodič kroz nove riječi i pojmove u hrvatskom glasilima* (Zagreb: Minerva, 1996).

<sup>27</sup>*Novi rečnik novih reči* (Belgrade: BATA, 1991).

<sup>28</sup>Thus for example, under heading "A" one can find only the following same or similar words: "aerobik", "after šejv", "ajatolah", "amfetamin", "andergraund", "antibirokratska revolucija", "antipsihijatrija", "antiroman", "antiteatar", "aparthejd" (Serbian) and "aerobika", "after-shave", "ajatolah", "amfetamin", "undergound", "antibirokratska revolucija", "antipsihijatrija", "antiroman", "antiteatar", "aparteid" (Croatian). If one looks at the same or similar new words under heading "L" one can find: "lajt šou", "lambada", "laser", "link", "lizing", "lobist", "logistika", "lolita" (Serbian) and "light-show", "lambada", "laser", "link", "leasing", "lobist -ica", "logistika", "lolita" (Croatian). Relations among entries under other letters would be more or less the same.

A book that is found in most Croatian business offices is *Let's speak Croatian*.<sup>29</sup> Prepared by Mihovil Dulčić in 1997, eighteen well-known Croatian linguists cooperated on this largest collection of language recommendations in Croatia. Due to its thoroughness, variety and engaging contributions, this work is the best proof that language advisory books should be prepared through cooperative efforts involving many contributors. *Viribus unitis* to success.

During the last decade alone, some twenty different language advisory works were published. All clearly show the extent of foreign language influences on Croatian. Like other contemporary European languages, Croatian is greatly influenced by the forces of technology and culture in this era of increased globalization. For these reasons, the language is unlikely to experience stagnation or artificial intervention. This is also strengthened by indications from leading Croatian linguists that overzealous purism can do more harm to the natural development of a language than any foreign influence.

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<sup>29</sup>*Govorimo hrvatski* (Zagreb: Hrvatski radio - Naklada Naprijed, 1997).

*Croatian Studies Review: Journal and Bulletin of the Croatian Studies Centre*. No. 1 (Sydney: Centre for Croatian Studies, 1997). 149 pp. ISSN 1440-0448.

Published by the Centre for Croatian Studies at Macquarie University in Sydney, Australia, this inaugural issue focuses on contemporary Croatian history, literature and linguistics. Several translations of poems and statements by cultural and academic organizations in Croatia are also included. Contributions were received from authors in Australia, Hong Kong, the United States, Germany and Croatia.

Mislav Ježić completes a review of 20th century Croatian history challenging the black and white representations still common to studies written in the West. Paul Stenhouse and Barry Lowe provide engaging pieces on the role of outsiders in the conflict in former Yugoslavia. Stenhouse examines the role of Britain and France in Yugoslavia's dissolution, focusing on the lack of "parity or symmetry" (p. 54) in their dealings with the warring parties and their adoption of a policy of political inaction and "appeasement" (p. 47). Lowe describes the "dominant paradigm" through which the media has portrayed the conflict in former Yugoslavia. He reveals how the portrayal of the conflict "as a messy civil war between closely related tribes led by deranged autocrats and driven to the brink of mutual self-destruction by primitive enmities and the millennial pursuit of rival destinies" (p. 93) provided the "ideological underpinning for the UN/EC/NATO argument for non-intervention" (p. 94).

Boris Škvorc undertakes an interesting analysis revealing how Yugoslav cultural identity meant different things to different Yugoslavs. He examines the writings of various authors in order to determine the particular "contextual references" (p. 66) of what Yugoslav culture meant, as well as its "hidden" meanings (p. 66). The final contribution falling within this thematic stream is Damir Agičić's bibliographic review, adapted from *Vijenac*, of historiography in Croatia from mid-1995 to mid-1996.

The Croatian language is the subject of several longer and shorter pieces including the recent statements of *Matica hrvatska* and the Croatian Academy of Sciences and the Arts (HAZU) affirming the identity and distinctness of the Croatian language.

Luka Budak explores the “continuous and stubborn attempts for linguistic unification on the one hand” and “the constant safeguarding of its name and its identity on the other” (p. 25). He reveals the persistent clash of unitarism and federalism that plagued the country. The current state of the Croatian language is covered by Peter M. Hill and Josip Matešić. Recent trends in the development of the lexical wealth of standard Croatian is the subject of Hill’s contribution. The author demonstrates that there are “no radical new developments” (p. 15), while the degree of independence of the Croatian literary language from the Serbian literary language is “parallel to the increasing independence” of the new states (p. 15). In his review of current linguistic policy and planning in Croatia, Matešić calls for the return of repressed words, but with a “sense of measure” (p. 42). Other contributions related to the language deal with its teaching at the elementary, secondary and post-secondary levels in Australia. These short but informative pieces were written by: Boris Škvorc, Ana Bruning, Tereza Barišić, Divna Vukić and Luka Budak.

Croatian literature is represented in this volume with extracts, translated into English, from *Vijenac*, a periodical for literature, the arts and sciences. This includes: Zoran Kravar’s review of literary criticism in Croatia from 1995-1996; Dubravka Keleković’s overview and assessment of cultural periodicals and journals appearing during the same period; and Boris Maruna’s appraisal of the importance of *Hrvatska revija* (Croatian review) to the diaspora. Josip Bratulić briefly discusses the importance of the Frankfurt book fair and the culture of books to Croats in general. In the final piece dedicated to literature, Miloš Đurčević draws on the poetry of Branko Maleš, Boris Maruna, Zvonimir Mrkonjić, Nikica Petrak and Damir Šodan to highlight the “completely disparate poetic trends” (p. 137) of the mid-1990s and the end of group poetics in Croatia.

Other pieces outside the above themes include Mato Kukuljica’s evaluation of Croatia’s film industry, its reliance on national literature and its prospects “as an art among other arts” (p. 70) in Croatian culture; Gracijan Biršić’s passionate piece on the origin, development and significance of the Croatian national anthem “Our Beautiful Homeland”; and Joseph Čondić’s evaluation of Ivan Meštrović’s (1883-1962) stature in Croatian, world and modern art.

This finely prepared journal undoubtedly fills a void long felt by those engaged in scholarly pursuits related to the Croats and Croatia in Australia

and New Zealand. The contributions that provide insight into 20th century Croatia and its disassociation from Yugoslavia offer refreshing perspectives. The translations (completed by Erika Šaravanja, Manda Vulić, Tereza Barišić, Luka Budak and Šime Dušević) of contributions directly from Croatia also provide the reader a feel for literary and cultural developments in Croatia. It is hoped that this link will continue and that Australian and other English speaking scholars and researchers will benefit from this exchange in years to come.

Stan Granic

Benedikta Zelić-Bučan. *Jezik i pisma Hrvata. Rasprave i članci*. Split: Matica hrvatska, 1997. 246 pp. Summaries. Table. Plate. Bibliography. ISBN 953-6159-31-7.

As the title suggests, this collection of essays covers the language and script used by the Croats. All but one of the pieces were previously published in various specialized journals and books from 1955 to 1994. An archivist at the Historical Archives in Split from 1953 to 1965, Zelić-Bučan continued to research and write after 1965.

The first part deals primarily with how Croats identified their language. The evidence revealing how Glagolitic priests of middle Dalmatia (17th to 19th century) called their language is particularly significant. Given the substantial number of priests who only held religious services in the Croatian recension of Old Church Slavonic—a 1688 synod mentions thirty-six parishes outside the city of Split of which only eight used the Latin liturgy (p. 19)—the identity of their language is especially important because they spent their entire lives among commoners. Looking at their correspondence to local bishops, canons and other clerics in Split, Makarska, Poljica and surrounding areas, Zelić-Bučan discovers that in the Italian correspondence from bishops, the Croatian language is identified by the bookish term *illirico* (Illyrian), while in the Croatian responses and translations, the language is interchangeably called *hrvatski* (Croatian) or *slovenski* (Slavonic). Examples are provided where Glagolites, such as Rev. Jakov Ognjutović, consistently translated the Italian term *illirico* (Illyrian) to *arvatski* (Croatian) (p. 22).

Based on this and similar evidence cited in the other essays, she concludes that adjectives should be translated “according to their meaning, when

they deal with the Croatian language and not the language of the ancient Illyrians, just as they were translated by the contemporaries of the texts...” (p. 30).

Other essays examine Austria’s attempts to keep the Croatian instructional language out of elementary schools in Dalmatia from 1821 to 1834; the decisions of the Croatian parliament related to the official name of the language in the Triune Kingdom of Croatia-Dalmatia-Slavonia in 1861, 1862 and 1868; and her important treatise on the use of the national name of the Croatian language throughout all regions from the 9th to 20th century.

The second larger part of the book delves into the two Slavic alphabets (Glagolitic and Cyrillic) used by Croats in the past. As a specialist in the development and diffusion of Croatian Cyrillic, the author concludes that it is: “Unjustified to link the Croatian Slavonic liturgy only to the Glagolitic alphabet, when we know that not only in their secular life, but also in their liturgy, Croats used two languages (Old Church Slavonic and Latin) and three scripts (Roman, Glagolitic and Croatian Cyrillic) as is also confirmed by the oldest preserved liturgical texts...These preserved monuments point to the fact that we must distinguish these two concepts, script and language of Croatian liturgical books” (pp. 98).

The author undertakes a palaeographic analysis of a Glagolitic inscription in Trogir, explaining that this exceptional find is from an area that already in the Middle Ages was noted for its use of Croatian Cyrillic outside the liturgy. The formation, specific characteristics, origin and territorial diffusion of Croatian Cyrillic is the subject of the remaining pieces. More specifically, Zelić-Bučan covers the Evangelistary of Duke Miroslav, the Statute of Poljica, the Croatian Chronicle and the use of the script in the cultural circle around Marko Marulić, the exchanges of correspondence in this script in the offices and parishes of middle Dalmatia (Split, Poljica, Makarska) and Ćiro Truhelka’s pioneer investigations of chiselled and written monuments on the territory of Bosnia-Herzegovina. The author also addresses major questions surrounding this unique script: its name; the major characteristics that differentiate it from other Cyrillic scripts; and its relation to the remaining Cyrillic scripts.

Despite the significance of Croatian Glagolitic cultural heritage, the author reminds us that from the outset, Croats were “a tri-literate people” (p. 110). However, through their affiliation with Latin literacy, literature and culture, Croats have also been closely tied to West European culture and



their “unique Glagolitic-Cyrillic literacy” is but one example of “the enrichment of our national and general European culture and not a sign of separation from that culture, and especially not a rejection of that culture” (p. 110).

Although the author retired in 1965, her research and writing activities were remarkably productive. Her contributions are noted for their candour and their extensive use of archival sources.

Stan Granic



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*Folia Croatica-Canadiana* is devoted to the publication of critical articles concerning various facets of Croatian culture, history, art, science and literature.

This will include, but will not be limited to:

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- documents of Croatian cultural importance, including those of Croatian-Canadians;
- creative translations of Croatian literature;
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- Documents croates et croato-canadiens d'importance culturelle;
- Traductions d'oeuvres littéraires croates;
- Registres de documents portant sur des questions croates;
- Traductions d'ouvrages de chercheurs et de savants croates; et
- Comptes rendus des livres relatifs à des sujets croats.

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