

HISTORY, ECONOMY AND SOCIETY

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TOLERANCE AND INTOLERANCE
ON THE TRIPLEX CONFINIUM
Approaching the “Other” on the Borderlands
Eastern Adriatic and beyond
1500-1800

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DI PADOVA

TOLERANCE AND INTOLERANCE ON THE TRIPLEX CONFINIUM

Approaching the “Other” on the Borderlands
Eastern Adriatic and beyond
1500-1800

edited by
EGIDIO IVETIC and DRAGO ROKSANDIĆ

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Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference of the International Research Project “Triplex Confinium” - *Tolerance and Intolerance on the Triplex Confinium - Religions, Cultures, Societies, Political Structures of the “Other” in the Eastern Adriatic (15th-19th Centuries)*, Padova, 25-27 March 2004.

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Egidio Ivetic - Drago Roksandić

INTRODUCTION

The Triplex Confinium, or triple border, is the name of an international research project concerning the history of borders and borderlands between the Ottoman Empire, the Habsburgs dominions and the Venetian Republic from the early 16th to the 18th centuries. The initiative was established in 1996 as the result of cooperation between scholars, postgraduate students and doctoral candidates from the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb (Croatia), Abteilung für Südosteuropäische Geschichte, Universität Graz (Austria) and the Institute on South Eastern Europe, Central European University Budapest (Hungary) and – in fact – initiated by Prof. Drago Roksandić and Prof. Karl Kaser. Today the project has its centre at the Institute of Croatian History (History Department), the Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb, and the Project Director is Prof. Drago Roksandić.

There was, in fact, an actual place named the Triplex Confinium after the peace treaty of Karlowitz (Sremski Karlovci) in 1699 and today it is a territory belonging to the Republics of Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. The main proposal of the international research project is to develop a comparative approach to the history of the borderlands, so the Triplex Confinium is seen as a larger south-eastern European area where almost three different political, cultural and religious/confessional contexts found a meeting point. As a crossroads of patterns of civilization and specific local situations, this area had a large importance for the modern history of the

whole region between the Adriatic Sea and the Danube basin, between Central and South Eastern Europe, and the Mediterranean¹.

Here we have the fourth book of the project – the proceedings of the Fourth International Conference, which was entitled *Tolerance and Intolerance on the Triplex Confinium. Religions, Cultures, Societies, Political Structures of the “Other” in the Eastern Adriatic (15th-19th Centuries)* and was held in Padua, from 25th-27th March in 2004.

The aim of the conference was not to give precise answers on tolerance/intolerance in the wide area of the Triplex Confinium through three centuries. For something like this a comprehensive long term work by several teams of scholars, specialised in the problems of Habsburg politics of tolerance, its implementation through the stages of the 17th and 18th centuries until the Josephinism experience, or on the huge task of tolerance and coexistence of religious differences within the Ottoman Empire, or on tolerance in coastal areas of Venetian Dalmatia and Republic of Dubrovnik would be needed. It would have been necessary to list the methods of tolerance towards the Jewish communities, who found their new homeland around the Triplex Confinium, more precisely in Split and Sarajevo in the 16th and 17th centuries. It would also have been necessary to tackle the politics of tolerance towards Orthodox believers within the Habsburg Military Borders or on the Venetian territories. All of this was not possible to achieve. As in previous meetings, the conference in Padua was an opportunity to exchange experiences amongst scholars, and to have an insight into the problems which remained to be researched and studied and which were related to

¹ “The controversial heritage of the Triplex Confinium, the border area between the Venetian Republic, the Ottoman Empire, and the Habsburg Monarchy, in the Early Modern Age belongs to a whole range of national histories and cultures of the region lying between Central and South Eastern Europe, and the Mediterranean. Its nucleus, in research terms, is related to Croatian, Bosnian and Herzegovinian, and Serbian historiographies. Of a no less, but differing influence, are the Austrian, Hungarian, Italian, Slovenian, and Turkish historiographies, as well as many others. From the history of the triple-frontier area it is possible to trace many fundamental questions of Croatian, Bosnian, and Serbian history of the Early Modern Age, as well as the history of the Venetian Republic, the Ottoman Empire, and the Habsburg Monarchy”. In D. ROKSANDIĆ, ‘The Triplex Confinium International Research Project: objectives, approaches and methods’, in D. ROKSANDIĆ (ed.), *Microhistory of the Triplex Confinium*, Budapest 1998, p. 7 (pp. 7-25). See also A. J. Rieber, ‘Triplex Confinium in comparative context’, in D. ROKSANDIĆ and N. ŠTEFANEC (eds.), *Constructing border societies on the Triplex Confinium*, Budapest 2000; D. ROKSANDIĆ, *Triplex confinium, ili, O granicama i regijama hrvatske povijesti 1500-1800*, Zagreb 2003; D. ROKSANDIĆ, *Etnos, konfesija, tolerancija*, Zagreb 2004. For more detailed information about the project see: www.ffzg.hr/pov/zavod/triplex.

the history of the wider area of the Triplex Confinium in order to create an efficient comparative approach to such topics. As in other parts of Europe, also here can be observed the role of the state in implementing the politics of tolerance towards the communities who differed from the majority and who were 'tolerated' due to varying reasons, especially those pragmatic. Exactly around the area of the Triplex Confinium there developed three different approaches towards tolerance which originated from the sovereign governments: the Habsburgs tolerated Orthodox subjects within the Military Border; the Venetians tolerated Jewish in Spil and Orthodox in newly conquered territories; Dubrovnik officially did not tolerate Orthodox although they were moving everywhere within its territory; the Ottomans tolerated all non-Muslims. Questions related to these issues are, of course, numerous and complex. This collection of works gives only partial answers. In fact, the Padua conference, through various papers, highlighted problems such as the perception of the 'other' and 'approaching the other'. This 'other' was not always the 'other' in a confessional or social context (community and or people) – this could had been some different culture, having a different past, others as those who were ill, others as those across the border, others as those who differ from the standard norms. After that, there was emphasised the modalities of the development of relationships towards the 'other', through creating borders, which could have been real, material or more or less visible cultural and social barriers. Therefore, the meaning of tolerance and intolerance was intended in a wider sense of the term. The final impression, after all the papers and researches have been laid out, is that we are facing (naturally) different research experiences and approaches towards the problems in studying the history of border countries. It can also be observed that in those differences there is a common line.

This collection of papers opens with David Gaunt paper who gave an overview of the issues relating to tolerance within the Ottoman Empire, i.e. ways which facilitated the coexistence of Muslims and non-Muslims and created so-called plural society. At the centre of his thoughts is the actual praxis of toleration which is the everyday practice of the government and citizens in performing tolerance towards difference. More precisely, Gaunt compared different aspects of the so-called millet system, starting with the mythology of its creation and disputable questions to its differentiation through cases of the Jewish minority, the Armenian community and Greek Orthodox Church, and to conclude, at the end, that "Ottoman religious tolerance was not elaborated in official declarations" and that "the traditional claims that a millet system of complete tolerance and self-government for non-Muslims existed in the Early Modern Ottoman Empire seem exaggerated".

After this followed a group of papers which have the common theme of the perception of the 'other' and the negative idealisation of the 'other', through the creation of ideological stereotypes and cultural myths. Through a list of examples can be seen the possibility or impossibility of tolerance of something which actually seems different in a sense of civilisation. Zrinka Blažević analysed the representation of the Ottomans by the 16th century Croatian writer Bartol Đurđević to the western, Christian audience. Đurđević spent many years as a prisoner of the Ottomans and here were presented the stereotypical formulae of the 'other' as the expression of a foreign civilisation. Zdenka Janeković Römer deals with chronicles from Dubrovnik where the Ottoman sovereign and neighbourhood was seen as a burden and an 'other', different civilisation. Mihaela Irimia presented the extravagant character of Count Claude-Alexandre Bonneval, a French adventurer of the late 17th and early 18th centuries, who converted to the Muslim faith and became Ahmet Pasha, as a topos of contamination, transferring between cultures and a precursor of the modern myth of the tolerance of something exotic.

Drago Rokсандić reconstructed the history of the Rmanj monastery which is on the western border of Bosnia as a real as well as imaginary place around which myths about Orthodox believers, seen as 'others', were created. He discusses the tolerance of someone else's history in the border territory. The monastery as a point of tolerance of a specific community, as well as multi-ethnic and multi-confessional locality, an expression of the emigration process from Ottoman Bosnia to Habsburg dominions, is also the thematic of Nataša Štefanec's survey. She took the example of the monastery of Gomirje, which was placed on the Croatian Military border near the Carniola border.

The problems of relationship with the 'other' was also the subject in Giuseppe Gullino's paper. He described the stereotypes of the image of eastern Adriatic Morlachs and 'schiavoni' by the Venetian patricians during the last century of the Republic of Venice. The contributions of Borislav Grgin and Tea Mayhew were related to the island of Rab in the 15th and 16th century – Grgin analysed a specific relationships of the local inhabitants of Rab towards immigrant Morlachs and Croats. Mayhew presented the grade of social tolerance towards the models of behaviour, which the church dogma proclaimed immoral. Marko Šarić gave an extended description of inter-confessional relationships within the world of the Dinaric Morlachs. The fragmentation of Morlach societies between the border and transhumant areas determined multiplied differences, toleration and intolerance.

A collection of papers follows relating to the creation and perception of the border as a definite line of separation, emphasising the differences. Maria Pia Pedani analysed the Ottoman method of perceiving the state border and more precisely how this influenced the definition of the *Triplex Confinium*. Snježana Buzov listed the ways of the life 'across the border', precisely through examples of the good relationships between the Ottoman and Venetian officers in Dalmatia as examples of their tolerance and culture of the upper class according to which they identified each other. Alfredo Viggiano presented the ways of understanding the border through detailed analyses of the perceptions of the border according to the writings of the governor in Dalmatia and the Venetian territories of the Peloponnese, Paolo Boldù, as a representative of Venetian patricians of the end of the Republic. Željko Holjevac also analysed the borders, more precisely the life on the border between 'two Croatias', Civil and Military, between two contexts and mutual tolerance and intolerance.

Hrvoje Petrić presents the treatment of 'others' through a case-study taken from 17th century Koprivnica, during the 'confessional revival' of the Roman Catholic Church and the way of tolerating the new Serbian Orthodox communities and some Muslim groups. Egidio Ivetic deals with those who could be perceived as 'others' from the prospective of the Venetian towns in Dalmatia – Ottomans/Muslims, Morlachs, Orthodox believers, Jewish – in the 16th and 17th centuries and methods of coexistence without contamination. Mirela Altić presented the mapping of the ethno-confessional differences through the cartography of Nin and the settlements of Orthodox communities at the end of the 17th century. Dubravka Mlinarić's paper deals with the treatment of the 'other' who were ill, in Dalmatia in the 18th century. Achille Olivieri analysed the term of toleration as an expression of the 'humanity' of Alberto Fortis, as a term which matured through his famous travels through Dalmatia with thanks to Voltaire's suggestions. At the end, Jelena Lakuš offers a survey about publishing in Dalmatia during the age of Restoration especially through methods of the toleration of Orthodox publishing as an expression of confessional and religious cultures.

We wish to thank all the contributors for their participation and willingness. We also thank Tea and Martin Mayhew for the translations.

David Gaunt

TOLERATION IN THE EARLY OTTOMAN EMPIRE

There have been many studies of the role of individual theologians and philosophers for the emergence of the modern concept of tolerance. Historians usually place the time of the rise of tolerance at some moment between the late humanists, foremost Erasmus, and the enlightenment, foremost Locke, Bayle, Leibniz and Voltaire¹. But the history of the idea of tolerance is not the same as the actual praxis of toleration, that is the everyday practice of governments and citizens in performing tolerance towards difference. These practices directly influenced just which “other” groups were subject to tolerance on the long-term and emerged as national minorities and those groups that only enjoyed short-term acceptance. Political philosopher Michael Walzer terms this practice toleration in contrast to tolerance, which he sees as an attitude rather than as an action².

Within the Ottoman Empire there is no single researcher who has written on religious toleration in general. However, Bernard Lewis and Benjamin Braude collected a large number of articles in two volumes. This work is not comprehensive, but it gives the possibility to draw the contours of the religious minority experience from the Middle Ages up to the beginning of the twentieth century. It contains articles on the Orthodox Church, Judaism

¹ Cf. H. KAMEN, *The Rise of Toleration*, London 1967; J. LECLER, *Toleration and the Reformation*, London 1960 (2 vols); K. VÖLKER, *Toleranz und Intoleranz im Zeitalter der Reformation*, Leipzig 1912; K. SCHREINER, “Toleranz“, in O. BRUNNER, W. CONZE and R. KOSELLECK (eds.), *Geschichtliche Grundbegriffe: Historisches Lexikon zur politisch-sozialen Sprache in Deutschland*, vol. 6, Stuttgart 1972-97, pp. 445-605; J. BÉRENGER, *Tolerancja religijna w Europie w czasach nowożytnych (XV-XVIII wiek)*, Poznań 2002.

² M. WALZER, *On Toleration*, New Haven 1997.

and the Armenian Church. This publication has great value since it critically investigates the validity of traditional claims that the Ottoman so called millet system guaranteed Non-Muslim religions complete autonomy and freedom of worship. According to an older school of thought each major non-Muslim religion was autonomous, could worship freely, judge by its own laws, have its own schools and was represented in the government by its highest religious leader who served as an advisor to the Sultan. Such an autonomous religiously based organization was called a millet, which in Turkish now means nation. Their general conclusion was, that such claims of religious freedom needed to be qualified. They also point out the lack of historical evidence to back up narratives about the origins of the millets, which appear to be based mainly on legends rather than contemporary documents. Despite these lapses, they conclude that the Ottoman Empire was a plural society³.

J. S. Furnivall created this term when describing South East Asia under colonial rule: a medley of peoples who “mix, but do not combine. Each group holds by its own religion, its own culture and language, its own ideas and ways. As individuals they meet, but only in the marketplace, buying and selling. There is a plural society, with different sections of the community, living side by side, but separately within the same political unit. Even in the economic sphere there is a division of labor along racial lines”⁴. A plural society is thus not a society based on integration or assimilation. However plural societies did permit diverse peoples to live together with a “minimum of bloodshed”⁵.

Although his work deals with the period before the Ottoman Empire, Mark R. Cohen has written a pertinent comparative study focused on the situation of Jews in Christian and Muslim countries in the Middle Ages. The basis of this comparison is attitudes towards Jews as expressed in learned debate and legislation. In this analysis the Muslim treatment of Jews is shown to have been free from the persecution that marked Christianity. Various explanations based on socio-economic similarities between Jews and Muslims and differences to Christians are advanced⁶. Another comparative work, by David Nirenberg, deals with violence towards Jews, Muslims and Lepers in Christian Spain in the centuries leading up to the expulsion of

³ B. BRAUDE and B. LEWIS (eds.), *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Empire. The Functioning of a Plural Society*, New York 1982 (2 vols).

⁴ J.S. FURNIVALL, *Colonial Policy and Practice*, New York 1956, pp. 304-305.

⁵ BRAUDE and LEWIS, *Christians and Jews*, vol. I, p. 1.

⁶ M.R. COHEN, *Under Crescent and Cross. The Jews in the Middle Ages*, Princeton 1994.

the Jews and Muslims. This analysis tones down the degree to which it is possible to say that a “persecuting society” emerged in the Middle Ages and it gives examples of how religious and other differences were treated at that time⁷.

The Ottoman Empire

During the Enlightenment the example of the Muslim Orient was often used as a positive contrast to the religious intolerance of Europe. Voltaire sang the praises of the Ottomans in his political tract “On Tolerance” from 1764. He wrote: “The Turkish empire is filled with Jacobins [Syrian Jacobites], Nestorians, Christians of St. John, Jews, Gebers, Banyans and various others; and yet their annals make no mention of any revolt excited by toleration of these different religions”. He goes on to praise many other non-European civilizations for tolerating religious diversity and he argues that they lived in civil tranquility and both commerce and agriculture flourished. These were typical arguments for tolerance during the Enlightenment and Voltaire was not being exotic in citing Oriental models. Especially in the early modern period those civilizations did appear to have much better records in respect for religious difference than most west European countries.

In European eyes the tolerance of religious diversity was a common feature of Muslim countries because of the distinctions made very early during the Islamic conquest. Although non-Muslims outside the territory of conquest could be attacked, within the conquered territories non-Muslims were not seen as enemies, but rather as potential converts who should be kept in peace until they decided to convert. Muslim theologians considered forced conversion unacceptable. Non-Muslims who were people of the book “ahl al kitab” and who lived in officially Muslim countries – Jews, Christians and sometimes Zoroastrians, were seen as fellow monotheists sharing the same prophetic roots as Islam. As believers in the wrong religion they were, of course, considered inferior, but they would be protected as “dhimmi” (Arabic) or “zimmi” (Turkish) as long as they accepted to behave with deference towards Muslims and accepted second-class treatment. This treatment varied over time and between places but mainly involved a special tax for protection, prohibition to hold public office (there were many personal

⁷ D. NIRENBERG, *Communities of Violence. Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages*, Princeton 1996.

exceptions to this), and caution in public display of their religion. In return there was only indirect pressure to convert to Islam. When Muslims were most intolerant, it was towards persons who abandoned Islam, who could be given a death sentence. Probably because of the long established tradition of protecting non-Muslims, there was little cause for debate about tolerance. With the exception of Averroes and Al Ghazi few Muslim thinkers wrote about the concept of tolerance.

The Ottoman Empire originated in a small area in western Anatolia. It expanded at the cost of the Byzantines and in the early fourteenth century began seizing land in the Balkans. In 1453 the city of Constantinople fell and by that time the Ottoman Empire included almost all of the Balkan peninsula south of Belgrade. It thus contained a large population of Christians of the Greek Orthodox confession as well as minorities of Jews and Roman Catholics and local sects like Paulicians and adherents of the obscure dualistic Bosnian Church. The Ottomans built on the original Islamic “zimmi” distinction, but went some steps further in the direction of organizing the non-Muslims within the apparatus of state. As long as the Balkans were the largest conquest, Muslims made up a minority within the Ottoman Empire. A semi-stable structure of religious corporations developed. The sultan appointed high religious officials for the largest non-Muslim religions and these persons aided in the collection of taxes, guaranteeing loyalty to the sultan, and overseeing local religious courts and education. The main Ottoman innovation was state recognized and legitimized corporate autonomy for the major non-Muslim religious groups. Historians have adopted the term “millet system” even though the word millet is anachronistic and not used until the nineteenth century and even though the practice was anything but systematic. The chief claim to “system” quality lies in the fact that Christians and Jews were treated alike – no better, but also no worse. Thus there was a real difference compared with Poland-Lithuania where the treatment of non-Catholic groups varied, with near equality for Lutherans and Calvinists, but with the radical Antitrinitarian sects at the bottom were completely unprotected, and Jews could be forbidden residence in many places including the capital city. In comparison, Ottoman practice was more even-handed.

Shmuelevitz, writing from the study of the Jewish minority, summarizes the traditional view of the millet system. “The Ottomans consolidated the autonomous system of the non-Muslim communities under their rule into a well-organized and well-regulated administrative system within their general administration. The Ottomans granted the communities a certain amount of autonomy by allowing them to retain their own laws in their internal affairs, under the general jurisdiction of their recognized ecclesiastical

authorities, invested with powers over their adherents and responsible to the ruling power. They were left in full control of ecclesiastical matters such as ownership and maintenance of religious and educational buildings; conduct of religious services; and operation of millet schools. They fully controlled matters concerning the personal status of millet members such as recording births, marriages, and deaths; the collection of taxes according to the state's records; adjudication of heritance cases; and other civil actions that might arise between members of the same community. In this way, they in fact served as administrative officers of the state in relation to the members of their community in practically everything but the jurisdiction of criminal law and public security."⁸

The "zimmi" were allowed to reside wherever they wished and they could observe their religion, although always in a low key. Ideally, they should dress differently from Muslims, not carry weapons, not ride horses, not build new churches or synagogues, and so on. Since they were not allowed to hold public office and could not be soldiers, the non-Muslims had to pay the special poll-tax *cizye* (sometimes also called *haraç*) in return for their protected status. The amount of the *cizye* varied over time and between regions and many social categories were exempted. Religious leaders, priests and monks as well as those in some sort of civil or border guard service were exempted, but every ordinary household or adult male bachelor must pay the sum each year. The Jews were often assigned a lump sum and allowed to collect and deliver the tax themselves and thus had some freedom to distribute the burden of tax equitably among the members of the congregation. The state did not care about the form of collection as long as the correct amount of money arrived. Sometimes a *kâdi*, the local judge, would assign proportions to the groups rather than taking the bother of making a census of the households. In 1754 in Aleppo the *cizye* was distributed in the following portions: Orthodox 42,5 percent, Maronites 31,5 percent, Armenians 16 percent, Jacobites (Syrian Orthodox) 10 percent. In negotiations with the authorities on this distribution, the advocate for the non-Muslims was said to have been a "chief deputy of the four communities"⁹.

Islamic states were ideally theocratic, but the Ottoman state was a heterogeneous empire and needed to be flexible in relations to the native non-Muslims. The state also needed to recruit the most suitable officials

⁸ A. SHMUELEVITZ, *The Jews in the Ottoman Empire in the Late Fifteenth and the Sixteenth Centuries*, Leiden 1984, pp. 16-17.

⁹ B. MASTERS, *Christians and Jews in the Ottoman Arab World. The Roots of Sectarianism*, Cambridge 2001, p. 64.

and thus was prepared to employ non-Muslims when the conditions were right. The Islamic principle that all zimmi should pay *cizye* did not hold in Ottoman practice. Religious leaders were exempted. Non-Muslims who repaired roads, guarded bridges and borders were also exempted and there were cases of Christians serving as military leaders and holding tax-free estates given to the *sipahi* (cavalry officers). In addition when local communities were assigned to pay a lump sum, they could choose to free members of the congregation from payment. This sometimes meant that community leaders who made large contributions to their church or synagogue had a chance to be free from the state tax. Also the Muslim principle of no forced conversions had a well-known exception. Boys were taken from non-Muslim families through the *devşirme* and were taken to Istanbul, given a Muslim upbringing and they were then used in the military and civil administration. In addition these persons were considered slaves of the sultan and this broke another principle, namely that Muslims could not be enslaved. This exception was defended since by arguing that the prohibition was valid only for the enslavement of persons who were born Muslims, and this was not the case with *devşirme* boys.

According to conventional wisdom, when the millet principle began to be applied after the 1453 conquest of Constantinople, when four separate millets gained formal status at the Divan. These four were the Muslims themselves, represented by the *seyhülislam*, the Greek Orthodox represented by the Patriarch of Constantinople, the Jews represented by the Istanbul Haham başı (Chief rabbi) and the Armenians represented by the Patriarch of Istanbul. Beginning with the Catholics and Protestants, in the eighteenth and nineteenth century a great number of separate millets were established. Eventually the new millets covered nearly every separate non-Muslim religious group. But up until these reforms there were basically only three non-Muslim millets. The ability of the leader to represent all of the ethnic, linguistic and geographic variation within the millet was limited and this caused much resentment among the marginalized religious and linguistic groups.

After a short pause for consolidation of the conquests in the Balkans and Constantinople, the empire expanded again in the early sixteenth century. Expansion continued up to the death of Sultan Suleiman in 1566. The territorial growth brought with it new religious groups. Expansion went northwards into Walachia and Moldavia with many Greek Orthodox believers, and it also reached into Hungary and Croatia and thereby acquired for the first time many Roman Catholics. Conquests in Mesopotamia and western Anatolia brought contact with Shi'ite Muslims and the sultans

saw through their fingers at these and other Muslim heterodoxies as long as they remained docile. Expansion into Mesopotamia also brought with it many more independent Oriental Christian churches – Syrian Orthodox, Nestorians and Copts. The newly conquered Balkan Catholics were subordinated to the Greek Orthodox. Similarly the Syrian Orthodox, Nestorians and Copts were placed within the Armenian millet. The Jewish millet was not basically altered by the new conquests, but the composition of the Jewish population became extremely heterogeneous and was divided by language and customs into speakers of Greek, Spanish and Yiddish as well as Arabic. The Ottomans often grouped non-rabbinical Karites and Samaritans together with rabbinic Jews, despite all doctrinal differences.

The internal composition of the millets was multinational and multi-religious, and they had a very undefined way of working. The basic institutions were few and they were rather well delimited, but the actual supervision of the inhabitants and implementation of laws was uncertain and depended at least as much if not more on personalities than on the strength of institutions. Individual non-Muslims had at the local level many alternative forms of jurisdiction and religious association to choose between. They could take their cases to the public kâdi court and they could when in danger convert to Islam and receive amnesty for previous crimes.

Tolerance and religious law

The sultan was not only a monarch, but also a caliph, that is Mohammed's substitute. This gave a semi-theocratic ambience to Ottoman rule, not entirely unlike the secular-religious symbiosis of power during the Byzantine era. There was little possibility for the sultans to distance themselves from Sunni Islam. This identification with Islam was re-enforced when the sultans became sovereign protectors of the holy places of Islam.

Dervish orders and heterodox movements were widespread in Anatolia particularly among pastoral tribes that had preserved shaman traditions from Central Asia and among urban craftsmen. Also heterodox Muslim movements easily gained acceptance among the Janissary troops composed of converts. Normally the heterodox groups were tolerated as long as they refrained from organizing as political movements or started a revolt. The principle of *icmâ* or *ijma'a* (meaning consent) held that religious innovations should be accepted. Force was thought to only produce greater resistance and social unrest. Since it was recognized that thought changes over time, the thoughts expressed in the Koran and *şerîât* were not always relevant

in new situations. However, many Muslim heretic groups did revolt in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and they were put down with brutality¹⁰. Ottoman heresy usually had a background in a combination of religious mysticism, egalitarianism (rejecting the official priesthood) as well as social and economic problems and could quickly turn into political movements. There were several sects that played important roles in the Balkan region. Usually they combined aspects of Islamic mysticism, dervish secular orders and remnants of Christianity. In Dobrudja, the sect of Bedreddîn was strong and maintained that there were no differences between Muslims and Christians. The Bektâşî order was founded on a mix of Islam, shamanism and the eastern Christian Churches. In time it became very popular among converts to Islam in the Balkan area. Hamza Bâlî of Bosnia was executed in the mid sixteenth century as a heretic for leading a secret order that preached opposition to authority. It is possible that some ideas were a survival from the Bosnian dualist heresy. After its leader's death the Hamzavî movement continued to have an influence in Bosnia.

From the start the Ottoman state had two separate legal spheres. The Muslim religious laws “şerîat” were the established laws of the courts run by the kâdis and mullahs. Within Islam there were four different schools of legal interpretation which differed in details, but in general the religious laws were well entrenched well before the Ottomans came on the scene. Basically, the sultans could only pass laws that dealt with matters outside the scope of şerîat. These secular laws were called “kânûn” and they regulated taxes, defense, buildings, roads and administration. The sultan's secular laws could begin as imperial edicts (firman) or as personal letters of privilege and safe-conduct (berat). These were later codified into law books, the kânûn-nâme. Among the most important and complex issues were taxes as they differed depending on religion and province and there were many individual and collective exceptions. Within the sultan's high administration the şeyhülislam was said to attend to it that secular law was not in conflict with Muslim religious law.

The distinction between secular and religious law meant that there was a legal vacuum when the empire expanded to absorb non-Muslim peoples. These could not be ruled solely by the kânûn as it was silent on many aspects of everyday life. But neither could they be judged in the şerîat courts, which were reserved for Muslims. The Jewish principle “dina de-malkhuta dina”,

¹⁰ H. İNALÇIK, *The Ottoman Empire. The Classical Age 1300-1600*, London 1973, pp. 179-202.

that is that “the law of the kingdom is law” made it possible for Jews to accept the Ottoman courts if necessary¹¹. In truth, the use by non-Muslims of the kâdî courts was difficult, as non-Muslims could be refused to testify against Muslims. Moreover, the Christian groups were not open for a foreign law court. It became vital that each religious group had their own recognized religious laws and courts similar in form to and covering about the same issues as the şerîat. Thus the millet principle evolved partially from the separation of secular from religious law. In the case of the Greek Orthodox church this was relatively easy since its church law was much more limited in scope than the Muslim religious law.

The other cause for the millet representation was said to be the need to administer the special cizye tax that non-Muslims had to pay. Therefore it was also necessary to have non-Muslim religious leaders at the sultan’s court with the duty of not just watching over the religious law of their people but also for dealing with issues concerning taxation and its delivery to the treasury. Such leaders were in place by the sixteenth century. They were the sultan’s appointees and it is hard to say whether these persons were in any meaningful way responsible back to the members of their communities. In principle the sultan could choose just about any one he pleased and if this was so then the presence of these non-Muslim representatives is hardly an expression of autonomy.

The myths of origins

The legends about the first millet leaders indicate that the choice was entirely in the hands of the sultan. Mehmed II was said to have chosen the monk Gennadios as the first Greek Orthodox leader in 1454 the year after Constantinople fell. On the sultan’s recommendation Gennadios was made the new Patriarch of Constantinople. He was chosen, it is said, because he had spoken out against the proposed reunion of the Orthodox and Roman Catholic churches and had even been punished for this opposition. He was thus believed to be a safe choice for the Ottomans. He would hardly appeal to the Pope for help against the conquerors. The appointment was in the form of a letter of privilege (berat) from the sultan that guaranteed him

¹¹ M. WALZER, M. LORBERBAUM and Z. NOAM, *The Jewish Political Tradition*, vol. I, *Authority*, New Haven 2000, pp. 431-435.

personal inviolability and freedom from taxation. It did not however specify any actual functions at the Divan.

Gennadios letter of privilege has not been preserved, but a copy of the berat for his successor Patriarch Symeon, appointed in 1483, has been preserved in a monastery on Mount Athos. He was entitled “mültezim”, that is supervisor, over “all Christian subjects”. This letter specifies the various bishoprics that are subordinate to the Patriarch, these include most of the bishoprics then conquered by the Ottomans with the exception of Peć and Ohrid in the Balkans and Kayseri, Niksar, Yenişehir and Konya in Anatolia. Thereafter it specified the gifts and taxes that were given in return for the appointment. In addition it detailed the material resources in the form of vineyards, gardens, mills and other property that the sultan allowed the patriarch to use. It made precise the Church’s function in marriage and divorce. There was no mention of whether Symeon was elected by the Church and probably that was not the case. Maybe like with his predecessor he was appointed through the intervention of the sultan. The berat did not specify any state duties such as attending sessions of the Divan or even of giving advice to the sultan, but there was a permission to collect taxes from the Christians¹². Other documents from the same monastery show that the Orthodox leadership did collect taxes and delivered them to the state officials.

The first chief rabbi was Moses ben Elijah Capsali. It is said that Mehmed II selected him after having secretly listened to Capsali when he was ruling as a judge in a civil law case. Capsali was already living in Istanbul and was described as an old man who refused bribes and who lead an ascetic life. The sultan was said to have been impressed when Capsali, respecting the exact letter of the law, judged in favor of the poor man rather than the rich man. Like Gennadios, Capsali was also positive to cooperation with Islam. This case is problematic. Chief rabbi was not a contemporary term. According to legend, the sultan called him “hoca”, that is teacher. Recent historical scholarship has revised the legendary role of Capsali and the haham başı. Salo Baron writes that if the office had any general role throughout the empire, it could only have been in the very beginning when Capsali and his successor Mizrahi were in office, but never after Mizrahi had died in 1526. If the chief rabbi had any recognized power outside Istanbul, it was because of personal prestige rather than the authority of office. There is no evidence

¹² G. SALAKIDES, *Sultansurkunden des Athos-Klosters Vatopedi aus der Zeit Bayezid II. und Selim I*, Salonika 1995, pp. 31-38.

that the chief rabbi had an automatic place in the sultan's divan¹³. His letter of appointment has not been preserved and the year of his appointment is unknown and the story of his appointment was written down much later by a relative¹⁴. Capsali was not called chief rabbi, but rather "rabbi and metropolitan" in a tax list for 1480. The title metropolitan is borrowed from the Greek Orthodox terminology and designates a local bishop¹⁵. It is highly likely that the chief rabbi of Istanbul had authority only within the confines of the city itself and its immediate environs. There is, however, mention that Mizrahi was himself responsible in 1508 for distributing and collecting from all Jewish communities an extraordinary war tax¹⁶. After the death of Mizrahi no new chief rabbi was appointed until the nineteenth century. The reason for this long vacancy has not been discovered, but it is known that the various linguistic communities among the Jews quarreled and could not agree on a candidate.

The sultan's choice as leader of the Armenians fell on Yovakim who was bishop in Bursa. It is believed, that Mehmed II appointed him patriarch of the Armenian Church in Constantinople in 1461. The Armenian community residing there cannot have been very large as the Byzantine Church had not been on speaking terms with the Armenians, but they were tolerated by the Ottomans. The town of Bursa was an ancient conquest, and had been one of the very first Ottoman territories and its first capital city. It had a separate Armenian quarter. Thus Yovakim ought to have been considered a loyal subject, already well known to the sultan. There are no contemporary documents but a late eighteenth-century source says that he and other Armenians had been ordered to move in order to repopulate Constantinople¹⁷.

The preconditions for the rule of these religious leaders varied, particularly in the question of their legitimacy as religious leaders with authority throughout the entire Ottoman state. The situation was clearest for the Greek Orthodox Patriarch of Constantinople. This was a position that already existed in Byzantine times and had authority of tradition and continuity. There was an established church hierarchy and the power of

¹³ S.W. BARON, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, vol. 18, *The Ottoman Empire, Persia, Ethiopia, India, and China*, Philadelphia 1983, pp. 279-281.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 27-29.

¹⁵ M. EPSTEIN, *The Leadership of the Ottoman Jews in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, in BRAUDE and LEWIS (eds.), *Christians and Jews*, vol. II, p. 104.

¹⁶ SHMUELEVITZ, *The Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, p. 82.

¹⁷ B. BRAUDE, *Foundation Myths of the Millet System*, in BRAUDE and LEWIS (eds.), *Christians and Jews*, vol. I, pp. 81-82.

the patriarch reached to all the Orthodox believers throughout Eastern Europe.

It might just be possible that the Orthodox patriarch could perform the duties ideally described by historians as the “millet system”, but it is doubtful whether the Jewish or Armenian leaders performed anywhere near to the ideal model. In the Jewish and Armenian cases the authority of the sultan’s appointees is not obviously wide reaching. Judaism had no established hierarchy. There were not many Jewish communities in the area until the influx of Spanish Jews after 1492. It is possible that the power of the so-called chief rabbi of Istanbul did not extend beyond the city limits of the capital city to which many Jews had been moved in an effort to repopulate the city. There were very few Jews left in other towns¹⁸. The Armenian patriarch of Constantinople is equally problematic. There had not been an Armenian community in Constantinople, so the post was completely new. As a new post it was subordinate to the long established organization of the church. The Armenian Church already had two religious leaders. One was the patriarch of Etchmiadzin and the other was patriarch of Sis in Cilicia. During the fifteenth century both of these places were outside Ottoman control. The authority of the Armenian Patriarch of Constantinople was probably confined to the Istanbul and Balkan area, it can hardly have held great power in eastern Anatolia where most of the Armenians lived.

If the millet was anything more than a principle it could probably be seen as a procedure for gaining the advice and consent of subjects within an autocratic regime. The advice and consent was necessary in order to maintain internal peace through the informed decisions of the autocrat. There is no indication in the sources available that the religious advisors had any special powers because of their role at the Divan.

The term millet was not used for designating non-Muslims until the nineteenth century. In the 1850’s and 1860’s various reforms were enacted giving the millets a firm constitutional order and ensuring a balance between secular and religious authorities¹⁹. At that moment the term millet became the established term for pluralism based on religion. However, the term is anachronistic when applied to the Early Modern Era. Earlier, the terms “cemaat” (community) and most frequently “taifa” (congregation) were the

¹⁸ J. HACKER, *Ottoman Policy toward the Jews and Jewish Attitudes toward the Ottomans during the Fifteenth Century* in *Ibidem*, pp. 117-126.

¹⁹ K. KARPAT, *An Inquiry into the Social Foundations of Nationalism in the Ottoman State: From Social Estates to Classes. From Millets to Nations*, Princeton 1973, pp. 88-91.

avored socio-religious designations and “mahalle” designated an ethnic or religious residential area.

The Jewish minorities

In the 1650's the Jewish population of the Ottoman Empire numbered between 300,000 and 350,000 persons. This is somewhat less than the 450,000 Jews then living in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth. Together these two states contained the bulk of the world's Jewish population at that time²⁰.

Jews had lived in the Balkan region since classical Antiquity. They lived then on the Thracian and Aegean coast. A main center was Salonica. These settlements were Hellenized and spoke Greek, when other Jewish groups moved into the area they termed the local Jews “Romaniot”.

From the coast Jewish settlement expanded into central Macedonia along the road leading from Albania to Constantinople, the Via Egnatia. Known early concentrations were in Kostur, Bitola, Ohrid, Shtip and Struga. These communities were in Byzantine jurisdiction and discriminatory laws dating back to Emperors Theodosius and Justinian were in effect. According to these laws the Jews paid a special poll-tax, had to exercise discretion in matters of public worship, were barred from public office and new religious buildings were prohibited.

In the high middle Ages, during the period of the crusades, the Normans briefly took control of Macedonia and Jewish settlements were plundered and all but destroyed. The Spanish Jew Benjamin of Tudela traveled in 1160 to 1173 to the Middle East and back to Spain, he noted that there were in Constantinople 2,000 Jews and 500 Karaim and in Salonica there were 500 Jews²¹. He stopped at several other Greek towns and noted the presence of a few hundred Jews living in each. At about this time some Jewish refugees from Western Europe, who of course did not know Greek, began to arrive in Salonica and Constantinople. Basically the Jewish settlements in medieval southeastern Europe were few, small and concentrated to towns. The first settlement of Jews that came under Ottoman control was in the town of Bursa in the early fourteenth century.

²⁰ BARON, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, p. 208.

²¹ H. BEINART, *Atlas of Medieval Jewish History*, New York 1992, pp. 44-45.

Jews arrived relatively late in the Balkan interior. The first mention of Jews in Serbian territory stems from the reign of Stefan Uroš IV Dušan, 1331-1355. Documents speak of Jews who were given (presumably meaning their taxes or labor) to the monasteries of Prilep and Zihna. The first synagogue in Skopje was erected in 1361. Jews were either merchants or engaged in shipping and transport, thus they tended to settle along the major trade routes and in the port-towns. Some worked in auxiliary functions to commerce such as lending money and tax farming²². There were some artisans working with the production of textiles.

The small Jewish communities were organized around the synagogues. If the community was large enough it might have a rabbi. The rabbi's role was conservative, namely to see to it that the code of behavior was respected. Each large community had a religious court for civil complaints. The community had scribes who recorded religious cases like divorce and marriage agreements. Synagogues normally had religious schools for the boys. The community would also employ a shochet who determined if an animal was fit for consumption, or was diseased. There were also charities such as for washing the dead and for ransoming slaves. There was no central organization for the Judaism, each community was self governing although it did happen that the large community of Salonica was often asked for advice.

By the mid 1300's the Ottoman armies began to operate in the Balkans and by 1400 most of the southern part of the peninsula had been conquered bringing most of the Romaniot Jews into the hands of the sultan. Also some Yiddish speakers were moving into Bulgaria, after being expelled from Hungary in 1360. Since they could not speak Greek, the Yiddish speakers started their own prayer houses. Some Sephardic Jews originating from Spain began to reach the Balkans before the mass expulsions of the 1490's. Thus when the Ottomans conquered the Balkans they found groups of Jews speaking many different languages and having separate prayer houses and observing slightly different customs.

The civil status of the Jews improved slightly when the Ottomans took control. Under the Byzantines, the Jews had been subordinate to the Christians, but after the conquest the Jews and the Christians were placed on exactly the same level. The Ottomans were unlikely to permit the Christians to harass the Jews. Jews were allowed to settle throughout the empire rather than in a few designated places. All non-Muslims were subordinate to the

²² A. MATKOVSKI, *A History of the Jews in Macedonia*, Skopje 1982, p. 32.

Muslims, and they paid the same taxes for protection, were subject to the same discrimination, and so on. While the Ottoman conquest resulted in a great decline in status for the Orthodox Christians, the status of Jews did not decline in any essential point. On the contrary their sense of security probably increased since Muslims were not as prone as Christians to persecute people belonging to other faiths and the Jews acquired freedom of movement throughout the empire.

In 1430 the Ottomans seized Salonica and in 1453 Constantinople fell. Thereby they held the region's two largest centers of Judaism. After years of warfare and siege, Istanbul was in ruins after its capture. In order to repopulate the town, forced movements of population took place, and many Jews were transferred to the capital city. Jews who moved to the capital city would often open a synagogue just for their group. Also, it would appear that most of the Jews native to Salonica as well as from 20-30 other Balkan settlements were forced to move to Istanbul²³.

At the time Istanbul was rebuilt the number of Jews in Ottoman lands was probably very low and most of them were forcibly transferred to Istanbul in order to repopulate the capital. Some towns with a previously large Jewish population like Salonica and Ohrid appeared to have had almost no remaining Jews during the period of rebuilding Istanbul. However, in 1492 the Jews were expelled from Spain and the sultan invited them to settle in Ottoman territories. About 90,000 Sephardic Jews are calculated to have arrived in the Balkan region. In a short time Istanbul had 44 separate synagogues and 30,000 Jews. The great influx of Sephardic Jews resulted quickly in Judeo-Spanish "Ladino" becoming the dominant means of communication among Balkan Jews. An undated tax-register from the time of Suleiman I listed 21 separate Jewish communities in Salonica. They had their names after the region or town of origin of the founding group. The largest synagogues bore the following names: Aragon (315 households), Calabrian (220 households), Old Catalan (219), Catalan (216), Lisbon (213) but there were also 97 German households. The Greek speaking native Romaniot Jews had 3 synagogues and composed a minority in their birthplace²⁴. In most places the various Jewish groups lived separate from each other in residential areas or streets. Additional Yiddish speaking Jews arrived after expulsion from German principalities and as refugees fleeing from the Thirty Years War. Linguistic differences and refugee experience created difficulties in

²³ HACKER, *Ottoman Policy toward the Jews*, p. 120.

²⁴ B. LEWIS, *Notes and Documents From the Turkish Archives. A contribution to the history of the Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, in *Oriental Notes and Studies*, n. 3, Jerusalem 1952, p. 25.

forming stable communities based on mutual trust and co-operation. Jewish settlement expanded slowly northwards, the community in Sarajevo began in the 1550's²⁵.

As the Sephardic Jews began to settle in places where there previously were few or no other Jews, they began to establish autonomous local religious administrations along the lines that they already knew. Jewish law courts functioned on the local level throughout the Ottoman state. Torah scholars staffed these courts. Rabbi Joseph Caro (1488-1575) codified the Jewish halakhah laws, which were similar in scope to the Muslim *şerîât*. Each congregation had its law court (bet din) with a judge, normally the local rabbi, but often there were three judges. These courts had two sorts of sanctions. They could turn over those sentenced to the state officials for punishment or could excommunicate a person out of the community.

The local Jewish communities governed themselves without recourse to a centrally placed high official. The community paid a *rav akçesi* or rabbi tax to obtain the sultan's privilege of having a rabbi. This tax was only paid in the European and Anatolian territories. Most Ottoman taxes were placed on the Jewish community for payment of a lump sum. In order to determine the capacity of the community to pay, population censuses were taken every thirty or forty years. The first censuses were usually taken just after an area was conquered. According to *şerîât* the poll-tax was to be progressive with the poor paying least and the rich paying most. But in many places the community distributed the tax according to its internal rules and could exempt persons because of great service to the community, such as large benefactors to charities. In some places the sum of the poll tax was fixed by a special arrangement and did not adjust to changes of the size of population. The community leadership itself collected the tax and turned it over to the local Ottoman officials. The Ottoman tax collectors were usually appointed from army officers, *sipahi*, or other officials at the Sultan's court²⁶.

The Jewish judges needed to know the *şerîât* and *kânûn* legislation in order to avoid conflicts with the Ottoman authorities. There were cases in which Jewish law would decide in favor of one side in a conflict, but the Muslim law would decide for the other side. In such cases the Jewish judges found it prudent to decide according to the Ottoman law, as long as it was not against Biblical laws²⁷. The sphere of family law and religious

²⁵ M. LEVY, *Die Sephardim in Bosnien. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Juden auf der Balkanhalbinsel*, Sarajevo 1911, p. 2.

²⁶ A. SHMUELEVITZ, *Ottoman History and Society. Jewish Sources*, Istanbul 1999, p. 90.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 38

observances was completely a matter for the Jewish courts. It was a matter of great concern to induce the Jews to avoid as much as possible the use of the Ottoman legal courts. However, in cases in which the sentence risked being corporal punishment or prison the perpetrators had to be turned over to the Muslim courts for the execution of the sentence. So sometimes cases of this type went directly to the state court. Thus the Jewish law was used to decide traditional cases of civil law – marriage, residence, inheritance, religious belonging (particularly difficult in the case of “conversos” who had converted to Christianity in Spain, but who lived a private life according to Jewish customs). The authority of this law court was fragile and depended on the general acceptance of its decisions, but not on any juridical capacity. There was “no official recognition in the Ottoman Empire of the validity of verdicts handed down in Jewish courts functioning according to Jewish law”²⁸.

In instances where Jewish law was in conflict with Muslim law, it was possible for one of the parties in a suit to pursue the conflict in a Muslim court, since that was the law of the land. Some maintain that there was a rabbinical resolution of 1557 forbidding Jews from using the state courts and there were local prohibitions for Salonica, Istanbul and Safed. However if these prohibitions were ever respected the effect could not have been long-term²⁹. Ottoman authorities forbade Jewish courts to hinder a member from using the Ottoman courts. Salo Baron mentions several situations in which Jews resorted to the kâdi courts. For instance, a Jewish loan giver might stipulate in the contract that a Muslim court would be used in case the borrower defaulted on payment. In all matters of transfer of real estate the parties were obliged to use the Ottoman courts since the sultan was considered the ultimate owner of all land. These courts were also used for registering all contracts between Jews and the government, and for the purchase of slaves. It was also known that non-Muslim perpetrators of crime could sometimes use the subterfuge when confronted by a heavy punishment of converting to Islam and receiving thereby amnesty³⁰. The special case of accusations by Christians against the Jews for the so-called blood libel of killing a Christian child to use its blood, were to be referred to the Imperial Divan.

²⁸ J. HACKER, *Jewish Autonomy in the Ottoman Empire: Its Scope and Limits. Jewish Courts from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries*, in A. LEVY (ed.), *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire*, Princeton 1994, p. 165.

²⁹ MATKOVSKI, *History of the Jews of Macedonia*, p. 51; A. LEVY (ed.), *The Jews of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 51.

³⁰ BARON, *A Social and Religious History of the Jews*, pp. 162-163, 166, 288.

Customs and rituals varied between the Sephardic Ladino-speaking, Romaniot Greek-speaking, Arabic-speaking Mustarib and Yiddish-speaking Ashkenazi Jewish groups. The Ashkenazi communities in the Ottoman Empire were usually very small and therefore had difficulty in assembling the ten witnesses necessary for a contract of marriage, so they made do with fewer witnesses. This opened them to criticism from the other Jews. It was normal that Jewish butchers sold meat that was not deemed fit for Jewish food to Christians, thus they did not need to throw the meat away. Since in Spain Christians had refused to buy meat from Jewish butchers, the Spanish Jews had begun to consume meat that other communities would have refused to eat, the background being the need to minimize the butcher's economic loss. This opened them to criticism from the others for eating impure food. The Arabic speaking (Mustarib) Jews of Damascus quarreled bitterly with the Sephardi Jews over how deep the ritual bath should be³¹. The Portuguese and Aragonian Jews in Bitola were in such conflict that they refused to pay their *cizye* taxes together³².

The various linguistic congregations could normally co-operate on the local level in relations with the Ottomans. In towns with large settlements a local infrastructure evolved. In Salonica a municipal council for many Jewish congregations was established and it supervised the Talmud school and institutions for the poor and destitute, and it regulated matters of taxation.

The local heads of the Jewish community were the *koca başı*³³. This official was selected by the community and confirmed by the *kâdi*. His function was to maintain contacts with the Ottoman governor and other officials.

A semi-official position was that of *shtadlan*. The function of *shtadlan* or intermediary had originated in Spain and spread to the Ottoman state. The *shtadlan* was also termed with the Turkish words *ketkhuda* or *kâhya* meaning steward or warden. The first known Ottoman Jewish *ketkhuda* was a Sephardic rabbi named Shealtiel who was active in the early sixteenth century. Shealtiel was apparently appointed by the sultan in order to report on the financial doings of the congregations. This quite naturally got him into trouble with the Jewish community and he was excommunicated, but he was reinstated because of the sultan's insistence. His function was to record the accounts of Jewish communities and tax farmers and to present the

³¹ SHMUELEVITZ, *The Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, p. 13.

³² MATKOVSKI, *History of the Jews of Macedonia*, p. 46-47.

³³ Not to be confused with the rural village leader with the same title in Serbia and Bulgaria. Only the Jews used this title not the urban Armenians or Orthodox. Cf. SHMUELEVITZ, *The Jews in the Ottoman Empire*, p. 29.

accounts to the government for audit³⁴. Many complaints over his financial transactions made him unpopular with the Jews. This type of shtadlan differed from that in Poland-Lithuania. While in that commonwealth the shtadlan was an agent of the Jewish communities, the Ottoman shtadlan was obviously an agent of the government.

Jewish settlement in the Balkan region was almost exclusively urban. There seems not to have been any ghettos with locked gates and night curfew, with the exception of Dubrovnik, which was a self-governing vassal-state of the Ottomans³⁵. Dubrovnik probably imported the idea of a ghetto from its Italian trading partners after it had unsuccessfully attempted to expel Jews in the period 1515 to 1538. However, in most of the larger towns there were designated separate Jewish quarters, (mahalle) although Jews could and did also reside outside them. Among the well-known Jewish urban quarters are the Velike Avlije of Sarajevo, the Kortizho Buton in Skopje, the Agade in Sofia. Most began construction in the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries and were located near the synagogue. A Jewish quarter might start as a single building complex for traveling merchants, such as the large Sarajevo building erected 1581, known alternatively as "Yahudi-haneleri" or "Chiffut-hane", created for itinerant tradesmen and for residents who could not yet afford their own houses³⁶. This "Jewish house" was a legal foundation created using the Muslim concept of vakuf (meaning trust) and they sometimes took their name from the founder of the trust. The quarter in Bitola was known as the Mustafa Çelebi vakuf, two buildings for Jews in Skopje were known as Muslikhudina Abdulhanija Al-Madinija vakuf, and the quarter in Sarajevo was the Siavush-paşa daria vakuf³⁷. However, there were no laws that forced all Jews to live in the Jewish quarter.

After the sixteenth century there was little immigration of Jews to the Ottoman Empire with the exception of Palestine, where various colonization schemes existed, particularly in the vicinity of Safed. Congregations also declined because of conversion to Islam. There were advantages in converting, and significant numbers had even experience of conversion to Christianity in Spain and thus knew about leading a double life. In Salonica 300 Jewish families became outwardly Muslims under the condition that

³⁴ M. EPSTEIN, *The Leadership of the Ottoman Jews in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, in BRAUDE and LEWIS (eds.), *Christians and Jews*, vol. I, pp. 106-107.

³⁵ B. STULLI, *Židovi u Dubrovniku*, Zagreb 1989, p. 6.

³⁶ M. LEVY, *Die Sephardim in Bosnien*, p. 6.

³⁷ O. ZIROJEVIĆ, 'Pitanje geta u jugoslovenskim osmanskim gradovima', *Istorijski Časopis*, 39 (1992), pp. 79-86.

they could continue to practice Judaism in private. This was the beginning of the Muslim-Jewish sect known as the Dönme (“those who turned”) and the state classified them as neither Muslims nor Jews. This type of double identity was similar to that which some families had memory of when forced to convert to Catholicism in Spain and Portugal³⁸. The Dönme were a small group, but conversions and emigration lead to declining economic and political influence.

The most important period of the Jewish community in the Ottoman Empire was over by the middle of the seventeenth century. The real flourish was in the sixteenth century. The Sephardic immigrants attained their great influence on wealth, which they brought with them, and on political and technical expertise developed in Western Europe. However, after several generations of residence this advantage diminished. The number of wealthy families dwindled and their political contacts with Western Europe dried up. In addition the Jews no longer had a social or economic niche solely to themselves. Unlike in Christian Europe, the Jews had no monopoly on giving loans or banking and finance. Some Muslims, but even more Christian Armenians filled this role. In trade and shipping the Greeks were the leading competitors. In the long run the Armenians were the most successful ethnic group in the Ottoman world of money. Also in the eighteenth century the Phanariot Greeks dominated as the major non-Muslim government advisors and functionaries of the Ottoman state.

Avigdor Levy summarizes the position of the Jewish population in the Ottoman Empire. Accordingly, they were “for the most part without well-defined structures and a strong executive leadership beyond the level of the individual congregation”³⁹. There was little that held the Jewish millet together.

Armenian community

Already in Byzantine times, the Armenians were a discriminated minority because of their refusal to follow the Orthodox confession of faith. The doctrine, held by the Armenian Church, was condemned at the council of Chalcedon in 451. But at that time most members of this Church lived outside the control of the Byzantines. There were various Armenian principalities

³⁸ E. BENBASSA and A. RODRIGUE, *Sephardi Jewry. A History of the Judeo-Spanish Community 14th-20th Centuries*, Berkeley 2000, pp. 58, 182.

³⁹ A. LEVY (ed.), *Jews of the Ottoman Empire*, p. 53.

and kingdoms in eastern Anatolia and the Caucasus. Wars and invasions crushed the principalities and dispersed the Armenians in many directions. Those that came into the Byzantine territory came under the discriminatory laws against non-Orthodox believers. They could not hold state office and public display of religion was forbidden. By the end of the Middle Ages they lived generally in eastern Anatolia as well as in towns of western Anatolia, Bulgaria, Moldavia and Ukraine.

The last Armenian state fell in 1375. During the middle Ages the head of the church, the Supreme Catholicos, resided in Sis in Cilicia. In 1441 this authority was transferred to the Patriarch of Etchmiadzin, in Armenia. Sis was to be relegated to the status of a local bishopric for Cilicia. However, the transfer of supreme authority was rejected, so the leaders of Sis and Etchmiadzin became rivals. The Patriarch of Etchmiadzin came to represent one type of orthodoxy, while the church based in Sis was known to be amenable to union with the Roman-Catholic Church.

In the eighteenth century during the reign of Yovhannēs Kolot as patriarch of Istanbul, the Armenian population of the capital city had grown to more than two hundred thousand. At the time of Kolot, the patriarch had such power that he could even select several of the Supreme Catholicos of Etchmiadzin⁴⁰. In the Armenian constitution of 1863 the Patriarch became the sole representative of the Armenians.

The oldest surviving privilege stating the powers of the Armenian religious leadership is a *berât* from 1764 given to patriarch Grigor Pasmajian. His authority was defined as the dioceses of the Armenian Church in the European parts of the empire and in Anatolia. He could appoint priests and religious officials. He could also judge matters of civil and family law. He could also give permission to build church buildings and set up printing-houses, over which he had right to censure. In return the patriarch was to give a gift to the grand vezir and deliver annually one hundred thousand *akçe*⁴¹.

The local Armenian secular leaders were vaguely responsible for the collection of a tax called the *kabol*. This was divided up into geographical areas with a bishop collecting within a stated area⁴². Laymen were not without power. In 1612 a revolt among the congregation leaders led to the

⁴⁰ K. BARDAKJIAN, *The Rise of the Armenian Patriarchate of Constantinople*, in BRAUDE and LEWIS (eds.), *Christians and Jews*, vol. I, pp. 89-99.

⁴¹ V. ARTINIAN, *The Armenian Constitutional system in the Ottoman Empire, 1839-1863. A study of its historical development*, Istanbul 1988, pp. 16-17.

⁴² BARDAKJIAN, *The Rise of the Armenian Patriarchate*, pp. 93-94.

election of a new patriarch. And at times during the seventeenth century the patriarch was held vacant for lack of suitable candidate. During this time councils of high religious and lay leaders managed the Church⁴³. As the Istanbul patriarch became more and more powerful, the task of leading the church became more lucrative. Gradually an Istanbul oligarchy laid its hands on the chief functions and this led to a serious social division within the Armenian Church.

The Armenians were socially divided. A highly privileged and wealthy class, known as amiras, emerged in the eighteenth century. The amiras formed an upper class associated with state contracts, banking and finance, and dealing with precious metals. A number of palace architects and imperial physicians were Armenian. Some were Ottoman officials such as the superintendents of the mint. Others were merchants purveying imported luxury goods to the sultan's household⁴⁴. The position of this class was instable since the sultan could and sometimes actually did seize the property on any pretence. As community leaders, the amiras were instrumental in establishing charities like hospitals, some of which have existed into modern times.

There was also a middle class of Armenians who worked as artisans within the guild system. Armenians had a near monopoly over manufacture of jewelry and bakeries in the capital city. A large number worked in building construction, as master-builders, stonemasons, carpenters, tile-layers⁴⁵. The Armenian lower class consisted of the vast majority, perhaps near to two million persons in the mid nineteenth century, who lived in villages in eastern Anatolia and lived from agriculture.

The social and economic divisions laid the background for Protestant and Roman Catholic missionary activity among the Ottoman Armenians. The Catholics began missionary work as early as the seventeenth century and the Protestants became a major factor in the nineteenth century. The missionaries had considerable success. Many of the influential amira class were attracted to Catholicism and an Armenian Catholic Patriarch was established in 1742 for Lebanon, Syria and Cilicia and in 1758 an Armenian Pontifical Vicar was set up in Istanbul.

Under the influence of the Ottoman system of multicultural autonomy the Armenian population fractured into many parts. By the nineteenth

⁴³ ARTINIAN, *The Armenian Constitutional system*, p. 27.

⁴⁴ H. BARSOUMIAN, *The Dual Role of the Armenian Amira Class within the Ottoman Government and the Armenian Millet (1750-1850)*, in BRAUDE and LEWIS (eds.), *Christians and Jews*, vol. I, p. 171.

⁴⁵ ARTINIAN, *The Armenian Constitutional system*, p. 7-9.

century it was probably impossible to say whether any single religious leader could speak for the Armenians. Although the group retained its language the fission into separate religions and classes is similar in its consequences to the Jewish population's division into language groups. The Ottoman system may not have created the religious or linguistic divisions, but it is likely that the Ottoman system aided the breakdown of these communities.

Greek Orthodox

The Orthodox or Rum millet was the largest of the non-Muslim religious groups included in the Ottoman state. It also represented the Roman Catholics up until the creation of the Catholic millet in 1831. The conquering Ottomans made no distinction between Catholics and Orthodox and in some documents both are denoted by the same term⁴⁶. The major confessional difference between the Orthodox and Roman Catholic Churches concerned the Trinity, particularly the place of the Son of God and of the Holy Ghost. In addition the Orthodox had leavened communion bread while the Catholics had unleavened bread; Orthodox priests could marry while Roman Catholic priests were bound to celibacy.

The conqueror of Constantinople, Mehmed II selected the monk Gennadios to be appointed patriarch of Istanbul because of his known stance against union of the Orthodox and Catholic Churches. This union had been much discussed in the early fifteenth century, not the least in order to strengthen the defense of the crumbling Byzantine Empire. A formal agreement of union had been taken at a council in Florence in the 1440's. Orthodox theologians co-operated on the agreement, but it was rejected as a political blunder when they returned to Constantinople. The reigning Patriarch of Constantinople remained in Italy. Gennadios had taken part in the Florence agreement, but was among those who returned to Byzantium and there changed their minds⁴⁷. Since the office of Patriarch of Constantinople already existed as head of the Orthodox world the authority of Gennadios to rule as Patriarch throughout the church was not questioned.

The only exceptions to the territorial jurisdiction of the Orthodox Patriarch of Constantinople concerned independent Orthodox church

⁴⁶ A. HANDZIC, *Population of Bosnia in the Ottoman Period. A Historical Overview*, Istanbul 1994, p. 16.

⁴⁷ J. DRÁSEKE, 'Zu Georgios Scholarios', *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*, 4 (1895), pp. 561-580.

organizations under the rule of the Serbian Patriarch of Peć and the Macedonian Archbishop of Ohrid, which continued to be semi-autonomous. The *berât* appointing Symeon in 1483 as Patriarch of Istanbul lists the dioceses that were in his jurisdiction and in this list Peć and Ohrid are missing⁴⁸. Indeed, the power of the Patriarch was considerably increased, since he became both the highest religious and highest secular ruler over Orthodox believers, whereas under the Byzantines the patriarch shared power with the Emperor.

The Patriarchs of Istanbul usually spoke Greek. But in the Orthodox Church priests could hold services in the local languages and religious texts were translated. This endeared the Orthodox Church to the peasantry. The independent Serbian church had been closed in the early 1500's, but was revived a few decades later in 1557. The Archbishop of Ohrid was independent continuously. In return for the privilege of being a separate church, the Patriarch of Peć was to pay 70 000 akçes each year to the state treasury and a gift of 100 000 akçes to the Sultan personally. According to a firman given to the Serbian Patriarch Arseni in 1731, he and his officials were allowed to collect church taxes within his jurisdiction without hinder from the state functionaries. He was allowed to judge over civil but not criminal law. He was also given supervision of the "Latin" that is Roman Catholic Church in Bosnia⁴⁹. However in 1766 and 1767 both these Slavicate churches lost their independence, it is said because of intrigues by the Greek-speaking Orthodox leadership. During the eighteenth century the question of language became important as the Greek clerical hierarchy insisted upon using only Greek in churches and schools. This created great dissent among Orthodox ethnic groups with a different mother tongue, not just the Serbs, Bulgarians who had enjoyed their own religious language for centuries but also the Albanians and Romanians.

Among the Orthodox believers, the bishops functioned as judges. The bishops ruled according to canon law and according to the civil law set down in Byzantine times. Ecclesiastical officials served as notaries and prepared documents. Orthodox religious courts lacked the wide scope of the Muslim and Jewish courts. The Orthodox courts were confined mainly to only a portion of civil law namely that having to do with marriage, adoption, divorce, and so on. Matters concerning property, trade, commerce and contracts were outside its scope. Reports exist that Christians often used the *kâdi* courts because they were considered to work more quickly and efficiently than the

⁴⁸ SALAKIDES, *Sultanurkunden des Athos-Klosters Vatopedi*, pp. 31-38.

⁴⁹ Firman of 1731 to Patriarch Arsenije, printed in *Glasnik društva srbske slovinosti*, 11 (1859), pp. 181-186.

bishop's court. Also the enforcement of a bishop's court ruling normally had to be left to the officials of the kâdi anyway⁵⁰.

In rural areas the leadership of the community was in the hands of officials known as koca başı, primates or archons and were addressed as knez, primikur or voyvoda⁵¹. Most of these local officials were exempted from paying the cizye poll tax. The village heads were elected, while the knez who was somewhat higher up was appointed by the state. The local community and its self-government were not responsible to the Orthodox ecclesiastical authorities, but only to the Ottoman representatives⁵². One major function was to assist the Ottoman officials to collect taxes. The various village heads met once a year to form an advisory assembly. One or two members of the assembly were elected to be an executive council for the Ottoman authority⁵³.

For a long time the Orthodox Church also represented the Roman Catholics of the empire. It would deliver the taxes for Catholics in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Among the first Catholic villages to come into Ottoman hands were parts of rural Bosnia, where there were some Franciscan monasteries. A special letter of privilege, a firman, in 1463 usually called the "Ahdnagma" gave the right of religious freedom and security of life and property to the Franciscan clergy in Bosnia. This has sometimes been claimed to show that Catholics did have a millet from very early on, but the wording shows that the privilege was limited only to the Franciscans in Bosnia.

If there was any non-Muslim group that was relatively badly treated it was probably the Catholics, or at least some researchers have argued this point. The argument is that Roman Catholics were considered security risks since the Pope was an enemy of the Ottomans and many aggressive Catholic states bordered the Empire. Thus when there were prolonged wars with the Catholic powers, and particularly when the Ottomans were unsuccessful, there was some oppression of the Catholics living in the Empire. Church buildings could be torn down. Priests took to wearing disguise in order to avoid attack⁵⁴. The Catholic population dwindled and many Bosnian Catholics apparently converted to the more privileged Orthodox Church.

⁵⁰ KARPAT, *An Inquiry*, p. 80.

⁵¹ K. KARPAT, *Millets and Nationality: the Roots of the Incongruity of Nation and State in the Post-Ottoman Era*, in BRAUDE and LEWIS (eds.), *Christians and Jews*, vol. I, p. 147.

⁵² KARPAT, *An Inquiry*, pp. 35-36.

⁵³ S. SKENDI, *The Millet System and Its Contribution to the Blurring of Orthodox National Identity in Albania*, in BRAUDE and LEWIS (eds.), *Christians and Jews*, vol. I, p. 245.

⁵⁴ D. MANDIĆ, *Bosna i Hercegovina, Povjesno kritička istraživanja*, vol. 3, *Etnička povijest Bosne i Hercegovine*, Toronto 1982.

The prohibitions against building new non-Muslim religious buildings were applied more to the Catholics, than to the Orthodox. Also the Orthodox collected taxes from the Catholics and this quite naturally became a matter for dispute⁵⁵.

The Orthodox Church seems not to have represented the Catholics in any function other than tax collection. After the battle of Mohács many Hungarian Catholics were absorbed into the empire. There were several parties that competed over their souls, but none of them was the Orthodox Church. The Habsburg Emperors in their capacity as kings of Hungary continued to appoint bishops to dioceses in Ottoman territory. But they were never allowed to enter. The Pope also appointed so called missionary bishops and they were allowed cross the border. Finally the Bosnian Franciscans, whose monasteries were inside the Ottoman Empire, could work freely in the area. The Catholic Church came also into conflict with the Protestants in Hungary and several times legal cases between them were taken to the kâdi courts⁵⁶. This example indicates that the Orthodox had difficulty in representing the Catholics.

Within the Orthodox millet the Phanariot Greeks emerged as an upper class. Starting in the late seventeenth century Orthodox Christians from Phanar district in Istanbul began to be appointed in the central Ottoman bureaucracy without needing to convert to Islam. The Phanariots had their greatest importance from the eighteenth century up to the Greek rebellion of 1821. Suspecting local Romanian rulers for supporting Russia, the Ottomans replaced them in Wallachia and Moldavia with Phanariots who were considered more loyal. This gave them considerable opportunity to enrich themselves through corruption and misuse of public income⁵⁷.

Conclusion

The Ottoman Empire was to be sure characterized by religious toleration. This extended to the major monotheistic religions (with the possible

⁵⁵ HANDZIC, *Population of Bosnia*, p. 17.

⁵⁶ I.G. TÓTH, *Die Beziehungen der Katholischen Kirche zum Staat in Türkisch-Ungarn im 17. Jahrhundert*, in J. BALCHE and A. STROHMEYER (eds.), *Konfessionalisierung in Ostmitteleuropa. Wirkungen des religiösen Wandels im 16. und 17. Jahrhundert in Staat, Gesellschaft und Kultur*, Stuttgart 1999, pp. 211-217.

⁵⁷ KARPAT, *An Inquiry*, p. 70.

exception of Roman Catholics). It also extended to heterodox sects within Islam as long as they did not cause rebellion.

There was a degree of self-government within the major religions since religious courts could judge in traditional matters like family law, inheritance, trade and commerce and watched over the code of conduct. In the religious jurisdiction the Jews and Armenians had greater scope as their laws covered many aspects of secular life. Meanwhile, the Orthodox religious courts were confined to matters of family law.

The self-government of religious minorities developed in analogy with the theocratic institutions of the Byzantine and Ottoman states. Religious jurisdiction was permitted because the Muslims had their *şeriat* courts. Since the state was officially Muslim, the *şeriat* courts had predominance if non-Muslims preferred to use them. The Ottoman constitution was that of an absolute despotism and there were no independent governmental structures and no intervening organs of representative legislative bodies such as town, provincial and national corporate councils or parliaments. Thus the religious minorities usually lacked political organs beyond the level of the local community or congregation. This meant that there were few forums for political debate.

The Ottoman state had a hierarchical structure and there was an attempt to give the religious minorities such a structure through the offices of Patriarch of Istanbul for the Orthodox, Patriarch of Istanbul for the Armenians and the Chief Rabbi of Istanbul for the Jews. However, since Judaism normally did not have a hierarchical organization the office of chief rabbi died out after 1526 and probably did not ever function very well. The Armenian patriarch did not function well until the eighteenth century because there were already two rival heads of the church in Etchmiadzin and Sis, and Istanbul was far removed from the main Armenian populations. Only the Orthodox patriarch filled a well-established office in a church with a hierarchical tradition. All of these high religious leaders were appointed by the sultan and could be removed by him.

The basic dynamic of the Ottoman multicultural system was fission. Groups, which were expected to organize themselves around a single religious leader, were instead subject to increasing fragmentation and separation. On the local level some religions were split over the issue of language. Jews speaking Greek, Spanish, Portuguese, Italian, Yiddish and Arabic formed separate congregations and co-operated with difficulty. Even the Orthodox were split and the domination of Greeks irritated those who spoke Arabic, Romanian, Slavic language or Albanian. On the other hand some language groups were split over the issue of doctrine. The speakers of

Syriac were split into Nestorians, Chaldeans, Jacobites, Melkites and some of them sought support among the Orthodox believers, while some allied themselves to the Armenians and the Catholics and later to Protestants. And all groups were divided by the many exceptions to paying the *cizye* tax, so that there were privileged and tax-freed groups within each population. Thus loyalty to a particular language, religious confession or socio-economic status could stand in the way of perceiving, much less establishing, common “ethnic” millet identity.

It is possible that fragmentation of the millets was a consequence of the stagnation and steady decline of Ottoman power, which began in the late sixteenth century. Perhaps the minorities flourished only when the Ottoman state was in its fullest bloom up to the death of Suleiman the Magnificent in 1566. However, it is also arguable that the Ottoman state had in it a tendency to fragmentation that contributed to the stagnation despite a very good beginning. The so-called millets may have been part and parcel of a self-destructive trend.

Since there was no aristocracy and nobility, the Ottoman state lacked the possibility, which existed in Poland, of noblemen protecting a favored minority from persecution. However, the situation was more equal in the Ottoman state because the decrees of the sultan were universal and had to be respected everywhere. Thus there was no possibility to pass a local privilege of non-tolerance of any religious minority. Also in the Ottoman Empire the level of hostility between religious groups was seldom allowed to become violent, but rather kept on a low level of verbal and symbolic abuse and avoidance. Likewise there was no dramatic shift away from tolerance to intolerance as in the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth after the mid seventeenth century. However, since Islam was given priority in the Ottoman Empire in the same manner Catholicism came to get first priority in Poland, there was a constant drain of the elite away from the non-Muslim religions through conversion. Many religions were tolerated, but one received preferential treatment.

The Ottoman Empire was tolerant in practice even if it lacked a theory or ideology of tolerance. However, the state gave very little support to the non-Muslim millets. They were allowed to crumble and divide. Ottoman religious tolerance was not elaborated in official declarations like the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth’s charters of privilege or solemn declarations by king and sejm. No central document can be said to have functioned as a constitution. The appointments of the religious leaders were in the form of private letters of appointment and safe-conduct and since they were personal very few of them have survived. Those that have been preserved show that

these were not very specific about tolerance and self-government, but merely established the extent of the territory, the amount of money to be given the state for the appointment, and a guarantee to the leader and his servants of non-intervention from the state officials. This is probably an inadequate basis for the political representation of a minority in a pluralistic framework. The traditional claims that a “millet system” of complete tolerance and self-government for non-Muslims existed in the early modern Ottoman Empire seem exaggerated.

Zrinka Blažević

DISCOURSE OF ALTERITY – OTTOMANISM IN THE WORKS OF BARTOL ĐURĐEVIĆ

And just as the discovery of the other knows several degrees, from the other-as-object, identified with the surrounding world, to the other-as-subject, equal to the I but different from it, with an infinity of intermediary nuances, we can indeed live our lives without ever achieving a full discovery of the other (supposing that such a discovery can be made). Each of us must begin it over again in turn; the previous experiments do not relieve us of our responsibility, but they can teach us the effects of misreading the facts.

Tzvetan Todorov, *The Conquest of America*

One of the possibly most important challenges Renaissance Europe was faced with was the experience not only of the geographical, but also of the cultural “other”. In contrast to the uncivilized “other” in Americas who was waiting passively to be “discovered”¹, in Europe the situation was reverse: it was the expansionist Ottoman civilized “Other” that penetrated into the European political and cultural universe, thus making its cultural appropriation unavoidable². European “response” to this penetration was

¹ For exemplary analysis of construction of the Indian “other” in the discourse of Spanish colonizers see in: T. TODOROV, *La Conquête de l'Amérique*, Paris 1982 (English translation: *The Conquest of America. The Question of the Other*, New York 1984).

² In the mainstream post-colonial theory there is a distinction between «other» and «Other» based on Lacan's theory of subjectivity. The «other» usually refers to the colonized others who are marginalized by imperial discourse, identified by their difference from the centre and who become the focus of anticipated mastery by the imperial ego. On the other hand, «Other» - with the capital «O» - is the great, symbolic Other in whose gaze the subject gains identity. This Other is mostly identified to the imperial centre, imperial discourse and it has twofold function: it provides the terms in which the colonized subject gains a sense of its identity and it becomes ideological framework in which the colonized subject may come to understand the world. Cfr. B. ASHCROFT, G. GRIFFITHS and H. TIFFIN, *Key Concepts in Post-Colonial Studies*, London-New York 1999, pp. 169-171. This binary and asymmetrical conceptualization of the Other does not seem quite an appropriate heuristic tool for analyzing Ottoman discourse with its paradoxical dialectics of contempt and admiration for the different and expansionist civilization and culture of the Ottoman Turks. Nevertheless, Lacanian concept of the *grand-*

twofold: fear of the unknown Ottoman Other manifested itself in the two complementary phenomena - in symbolic exclusion and desire³.

In the early modern Ottomanism⁴, symbolic exclusion was derived from an essentialist qualification of the Other *ex negativo*, to whom a character of ontological Evil (most often expressed by the syntagm *Sathanae regnum*) has been attributed, as opposed to the positively qualified “we” group, whose ethical and political superiority logically stemmed from the adherence to Christianity. Accordingly, firm and impermeable symbolic boundaries between the two confronting civilisational and religious entities were constructed, so that their relationship was often represented as a relentless contention of the two Manichean principles.

Constructed in this way, the Ottoman Other necessarily implies a lack, which on the other side of the symbolic boundary consequently produces interest and desire for its cognitive appropriation. However, this does not always necessarily mean a conquest or annihilation but also an acquisition of the imaginary attributes of its alterity in order to compensate for the symbolic

autre as a constitutive factor of a subject's own identity and as a source of its desire could be an inspirational starting point of postcolonially-oriented theoretical approach to Ottomanism if the hierarchical relationship between the two civilizations is not taken as an underlying theoretical presumption, as I will try to show in the following analysis.

³ In his detailed and complex analysis of the early modern Ottoman discourses of mostly Italian provenance Giovanni Ricci draws attention to the twofold cultural reaction caused by encounters with the Ottoman Other as well: “Perché dobbiamo riconoscere che se la paura dominava, non c'erano solo la sua desolazione, e la compulsione alla vendetta e all'arbitrio sanguinoso. Troveremo anche aspetti che riscaldano il cuore: gesti d'amore o di compassione, vite da romanzo a finale non sempre tragico, viaggi pacifici in un Mediterraneo non ancora avvelenato, musiche e scenografie fantastiche, poesie e pitture, burle e risate. Incontreremo trasgressione e libertà di pensiero, scelte capaci di scuotere la potenza del condizionamento collettivo, sberleffi fatti alla cupezza di chi desidera solo contrapposizioni. Persino scoprire, come faremo, estate reciprocità nella violenza, terribili durezzae egualmente condivise, mostra che non esiste una sola verità, una sola ragione: e quindi offre almeno un inizio da cui ripartire all'insegna del relativismo”. G. RICCI, *Ossessione turca. In una retrovia cristiana dell'Europa moderna*, Bologna 2002, p. 15.

⁴ Here I draw upon the concept of “Ottomanism” developed by Gerald MacLean as an refinement of Said's concept of Orientalism. By this term author wants “to describe the tropes, structures, and fantasies by means of which Europeans sought to make knowable the imperial Ottoman other: both the imperial dynasty and the vast maritime and territorial areas that they governed. Ottomanism will be found to be both strategic and interested. Like all systems of knowledge production, Ottomanism arises from both lack and desire, and in this sense tells us perhaps rather more about the desiring subject than about the object of knowledge”. G. MACLEAN, ‘Ottomanism before Orientalism? Bishop King Praises Henry Blount, Passenger in the Levant’, in I. KAMPS and J.G. SINGH (eds.), *Travel Knowledge: Euro “Discoveries” in the Early Modern Period*, New York 2001, p. 86.

lack. In the imaginary projection of the European subject this would at the same time bring about the satisfaction of desire as well as the restoration of unity of symbolic universe which was at dawn of the early modern period perceived primarily as *Res publica Christiana*. Therefore, interpretation of the early modern cultural constructions and perceptions must seriously count with the fact that at that time the Other was not perceived as an independent and autochthonous entity, but always in a relational and instrumentalist fashion, which means that it was regularly used in the process of the identity construction of the “we” group. Nevertheless, when the Other once pervades discourse, and consequently the system of the normative knowledge of the “we group”, it becomes a participant in the symbolic power, despite all attempts of its epistemological “disciplining”.

In the following analysis I will try to show how early modern Ottoman discourse, using strategies of cultural translation⁵, could function as a interstitial discursive field of transculturation⁶ and cultural hybridization⁷

⁵ In the chapter on Diego Durán's *Historia de las Indias de Nueva España y Islas de la Tierra Firme* Todorov introduces the idea of cultural translation regarded as an art of translating the signs of one culture into the signs of the other by an individual who participates in both cultures equally. Cultural translation is thus an important aspect of the process of cultural hybridization in general. Cfr. TODOROV, *The Conquest of America*, p. 212. Another important contribution to the concept of cultural translation was made by F. HARTOG in his book *The mirror of Herodotus. The Representation of the Other in the writing of History*, Berkley 1988. Analysing modalities of representation of Scythian other in the *Histories* of Herodotus Hartog argues that comparison functions within the rhetoric of otherness as a procedure of translation. «Translation is an agent of classification, and it is not intended to bring what is “other” closer to what is the same by listing differences, but is content to deploy the same categories of classification throughout the world. It is not a matter of translation but rather of superimposing a grid onto the divine space of “others” a grid by means of which it may be decoded and so constructed». HARTOG, *The mirror of Herodotus*, p. 247.

⁶ Term «transculturation» was coined by a Cuban sociologist Fernando Ortiz in relation to Afro-Cuban culture as a replacement for the paired concepts of acculturation and deculturation that described the transference of culture in a reductive way. Influenced by Ortiz, Mary Louise Pratt describes it as a «phenomenon of the contact zone where disparate cultures meet, clash and grapple with each other». Cfr. M.L. PRATT, *Imperial Eyes. Travel Writing and Transculturation*, London-New York 1992, p. 4. Generally, it refers to the reciprocal influences of modes of representation and cultural practices of various kinds in colonies and metropolises. See: ASHCROFT, GRIFFITHS and TIFFIN, *Key Concepts in Post-Colonial Studies*, pp. 233-234.

⁷ Within the field of post-colonial theory, the concept of hybridity, coined by Tzvetan Todorov, usually refers to the creation of new transcultural forms within the contact zone produced by colonization. It was elaborated in the works of Homi K. Bhabha, whose analysis of colonizer/colonized relations stresses their interdependence and the mutual construction of their subjectivities. For more detailed account cfr. TODOROV, *The Conquest of America*, pp. 202-219; H.K. BHABHA, *The Location of Culture*, London-New York 1994, pp. 37-39.

within the Western epistemic paradigm, simultaneously producing and subverting auto - and heterostereotypes. A paradigmatic example of the described model of transculturation based on cultural translation are certainly works of Bartol Đurđević (c. 1506-1566), which belong to the bestselling books on *ritus et mores Turcorum* (rituals and customs of the Turks) during the early modern period.

Bartol Đurđević's biography is still for a great part covered with mystery. Assumedly, he was born in Mala Mlaka, a small village near Zagreb and was culturally formed in the Hungarian humanist circle. Serving under the flag of Bishop Ladislaus Szalkany, he was captured after the battle of Mohacs in 1526 and taken to the Ottoman captivity, in the course of which he had travelled across almost all of the Ottoman Empire. After 13 years of servitude Đurđević finally managed to escape and capitalised on his empirical knowledge of the cultural Other by writing several Turcological works⁸.

Enviably receptive and reproductive effect of his works was the best proof that Đurđević's cultural translation was a success, so that a significant part of his cultural imagery soon became a common place (*locus communis*) of the early modern Ottomanism⁹. Therefore, the main focus of my analysis will be the mechanism of cultural translation and its influence on processes of discursive de/stabilisations as well as textual inscriptions of the Other, which are dominantly of hybrid nature.

Đurđević's writings under the common title *De Turcarum moribus epitome* (Abstracts on customs of the Turks) circulated across Europe in numerous editions and translations for almost two centuries, which alongside Georgius of Hungary and Paolo Giovio, made him one of the most influential creators of the early modern Ottoman discourse¹⁰. This is corroborated by the fact

⁸ For a more detailed biography cfr. Č. MIJATOVIĆ, 'Bartolomije Georgijević, hrvat, pisac šesnaestoga veka', *Rad - Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti*, 14 (1878), pp. 108-121; V. KLAČIĆ, 'Prilozi za životopis Bartola Georgijevića (Gjurjevića, Jurjevića), pisca o Turcima u XVI. stoljeću', *Vjesnik kr.brvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog zemaljskog arhiva*, 13 (1911), pp. 129-141; A. JEMBRIH, 'Bartol Jurjević (Đurđević), prvi hrvatski pisac konverzacijskih priručnika i rječnika', in A. JEMBRIH, *Hrvatski filološki zapisi*, Zagreb 1997, pp. 17-87. For complete bibliography of Đurđević's works and Croatian translation of his writings see J. BRATULIĆ (ed.), *Croatica bibliografije*, 6/27 (1980), pp. 7-156. Analysis of imagological aspects of Đurđević's work cfr. D. DUKIĆ, *Sultanova djeca: predodžbe Turaka u hrvatskoj književnosti ranog novovjekovlja*, Zagreb 2004, pp. 35-40.

⁹ Cfr. K. PETKOV, *Infidels, Turks and Women. The South Slavs in the German Mind, cca 1400-1600*, Frankfurt am Main 1997, pp. 131-132.

¹⁰ Classical work on that issue is a book by R. SCHWOEBEL, *The Shadow of the Crescent. The Renaissance image of the Turk (1453-1517)*, Nieuwkoop 1967.

that from the *editio princeps* published in 1544 in Antwerp¹¹ to the end of the 16th century, Đurđević's works have been printed in 77 editions, mostly in Latin.¹² Besides this, his works have been integrally or partially translated many times so that soon after the Latin original there also appeared French, German, Italian, Dutch, Polish, Czech and English translations¹³.

Although each of Đurđević's writings represents an integral thematic whole, the writings *De Turcarum ritu et caerimoniis* (On customs and rituals of the Turks), *De afflictione tam captivorum quam sub tributo viventium Christianorum* (On afflictions of Christian prisoners and Christians obliged to pay a tribute), *De Christianorum cladibus et calamitatibus* (On slaughters and miseries of Christians), *Disputationis cum Turca habitae narratio* (Narration on controversy with the Turk), *Deploratio cladis Christianorum* (Lamenting after slaughter of Christians) and *Exhortatio contra Turcas* (Exhortation against the Turks) all share a structural and symbolic connector. Namely, in order to both reinforce his authorial competence and gain a sacral legitimacy, in an autoreferentially structured preface to the work *Turcarum moribus epitome*, Đurđević represents himself as *peregrinus Hierosolymitanus* (a pilgrim from Jerusalem), metaphorically interpreting his life in the Ottoman captivity as pilgrimatic martyrdom "pro sancta fide Catholica":

Fierce disagreement and interior wars of our rulers were the cause, my Christian reader, of my pilgrimage. I was entirely robbed, chained and dragged like a cattle through dry and humid places of Thrace and Asia Minor, through towns, villages and streets in order to be sold. I had been put up for sale for seven times to do the most difficult and various country works. There I was beaten in a Turkish and rustic manner and submitted to the most cruel discipline. I suffered from hunger, thirst and cold, lying naked under the sky. I was forced to feed the flocks of sheep and cattle, work on the field, look after horses and learn how to fight. Then I tried to escape and lived from the acorns, wild herbs and their bitter roots spiced with tiny bit of salt. I wandered through the desert guided by the North star and surrounded by ravenous beasts. When I tried to cross Dardanelles on beams tied up with rope, I was caught and taken back to my master, who tied my legs and arms, threw me

¹¹ The year 1544 was an appropriate timing since the year before, in 1543 there started a so-called "5th Hungarian war" (1543-1547), during which Ottoman sultan Suleiman (1520-1566) conquered a great part of southern Hungary and Eastern Croatia. The main sources for Ottoman military expeditions under Suleiman the Magnificent are his diaries. Cfr. W. FRIEDRIECH and A. BEHRNAUER (eds.), *Sulaiman des Gesetzgebers Tagebuch auf seinem Feldzuge nach Wien*, Wien 1858.

¹² Cfr. J. SCHWARZWALD, 'Bartol Đurđević, Bibliografija izdanja 1544-1686', *Croatica bibliografica*, 27 (1980), pp. 25-81.

¹³ Cfr. JEMBRIH, 'Bartol Jurjević (Đurđević)', p. 32.

on the ground and beat me with a stick. Afterwards I was given to tradesmen and fencing-masters. Thus for the period of thirteen years, agitated by the waves of hostile Fortune I experienced and underwent lots of miseries, disasters, afflictions and prosecutions under the Turkish rule for the sacred Christian faith¹⁴.

According to their structural characteristics, his works could hence be included in the travel writing literature based on autopsy, even though they were realised in different generic forms, such as *descriptio*, *oratio* or *exhortatio*. The very fact that Đurđević, thanks to his exceptional life experience was able to participate in both cultures, justifies the approach to his works as discursive products of cultural hybridization, which is at the same time a necessary result as well as a potential catalyst of the process of transculturation.

Using mechanisms of cultural translation Đurđević discursively constructed a rich inventory of cultural images and stereotypes about simultaneously intimidating and alluring world-life of Muslims in order to make it knowable to Europe. Discursive strategy that Đurđević uses for representing the Other in the process of cultural translation is based on the principle of “systematic differentiation”¹⁵, which could most adequately be compared to the asymmetrical comparison¹⁶. In other words, in the context of Đurđević’s discourse normative “we” is used as either an implicit or explicit model, i.e. as a comparative referential point in relation to which an imaginary Other is constructed.

Consequently, in the focus of discursivation there can be found primarily deviations, detachments and dissimilarities. Thus there occurs a partial differentiation of the “we” group, which is simultaneously projected either

¹⁴ Cfr. “Preface to the reader”, in: *De origine imperii Turcorum eorumque administratione et disciplina brevia quaedam capita notationis loco collecta. Cui libellus de Turcorum moribus collectus a Bartholomaeo Georgieviz, adiectus est. Cum praefatione r.v.d. Philippi Melanchtonis*, Witebergae 1560, s.n.

¹⁵ In his master study on the *Histories* of Herodotus, François Hartog argues that representational models of the other are founded on the principle of systematic differentiation. This means that in the *Histories* of Herodotus Scythian world could be interpreted only in relation to its homologue in the Greek world, or, in other words, Greeks always function as an “absent model”, as the means of apprehending the Scythians and of interpreting their otherness. Cfr. HARTOG, *The mirror of Herodotus*, p. 8.

¹⁶ German historian Jürgen Kocka defines asymmetrical comparison as a comparison aimed at a better understanding of one case while another one is used only as a ground for analysing the peculiarities of the case of interest. Cfr. J. KOCKA, ‘Assymetrical Historical Comparison. The Case of German Sonderweg’, *History and Theory*, 38/1 (1999), p. 50.

on the synchronical axis (*nos, nostri, nostrates*)¹⁷ or the diachronical one (*veteres nostri*)¹⁸, but sometimes it can also be distinguished according to the ethnical principle (*Graeci, Armeni, Germani, Franci, Hispani*)¹⁹. As opposed to this, the Ottoman Other is represented as a unique, homogenous and atemporal entity²⁰.

The core subject of the writing *De Turcarum ritu et caerimoniis* are various aspects of social, political, economic, legal, military and religious practices within the Ottoman Empire, together with flora, fauna, everyday life, customs, rituals, nutritional and hygienic habits of the population. Discursively the most prominent differential characteristics of the Other are discipline and cruelty as stereotypical and emblematic features of “barbaric tyranny”:

Both Christians and Turks have the same judge: one of the Muslims is elected who is meant to administer the justice. If somebody commits a murder, he is sentenced

¹⁷ E.g. “Sacerdotes vero, illorum lingua *Talismanlar* vocati, parum vel nihil defferunt a laicis, nec etiam a proceribus caeremoniarum, (quales apud nos sunt Episcopi) nec magna in ipsis doctrina requiritur, satis erit si *Alcoranum*, et *Mussaphum* noverint legere.” ĐURĐEVIĆ, *De Turcarum moribus epitome*. Cap. I. “De sacerdotis eorum”, s.n.; “Nemo ibi princeps qui illi contradicat, nulla Provincia vel civitas (ut sit apud nos) quae rebellet, nullus demum qui illum non timeat”. ĐURĐEVIĆ, *De Turcarum moribus epitome*. Cap. I. “De obedientia quem Turcae suo Regi praestare loquuntur”, s.n.; “Quia in eorum loca etiamsi plures cupit, inveniri facile possunt: non secus quam apud nos beneficia Ecclesiastica vel alia officia vacantia, facile possessorem inveniunt”. ĐURĐEVIĆ, *De Turcarum moribus epitome*. Cap. I. “Quo pacto Turcae vires diminuuntur”, s.n.; “Nullae ibi tabernae hospitibus designatae, aut publica diversoria, quemadmodum apud nostrates, tamen in plateis diversa venduntur cibaria, et alia huiusmodi ad victum necessaria”. ĐURĐEVIĆ, *De Turcarum moribus epitome*. Cap. I. “De cibariis illorum”, s.n.

¹⁸ Non assident nostrorum more, nec discumbunt veterum ritu, ut cubito innitantur, sed decussatim pedibus inter se complicatis more sartorum, antequam cibum sumant oratio praemittitur.” ĐURĐEVIĆ, *De Turcarum moribus epitome*. Cap. I. “De modo sedendi et comendi”, s.n.; “Coenut nuptiae sine iuramento, accipiunt plane indotatas, propemodum emere coguntur, contrario (quam olim apud Romanos) more, ubi gener emi solebat, non nurus”. ĐURĐEVIĆ, *De Turcarum moribus epitome*. Cap. I. “De matrimonii contractione”, s.n.

¹⁹ This is the case especially in passages expressing author’s indignation at the ethical profile of the European Christians. E.g. “Latrocinatur Hungarus, praedatur Hispanus, potat Germanus; stertit Bohemus, oscitat Polonus, libidinatur Italus, Gallus cantat; Anglus lurcatur. Schotus helluatur: militem qui moribus miles sit, vix ullum reperias”. ĐURĐEVIĆ, *De Turcarum moribus epitome*. Cap. VI. “Exhortatio contra Turcas”, s.n.

²⁰ “Nulla natio sub Sole tantum gaudet venatione, quam Turcica.” ĐURĐEVIĆ, *De Turcarum moribus epitome*. Cap. I. “De venatione eorum”, s.n.; “Turca igitur cum natura sit fugitivus, oppugnandus est, impius enim nemine persequenti fugit”. ĐURĐEVIĆ, *De Turcarum moribus epitome*. Cap. VI. “Summa Christiani militis”, s.n.

to death. If somebody steals or violently seizes, he will be hanged. It happened to a janissary who, without paying for it, had drunk the milk belonging to a woman who was going to sell it in the market. When was accused by the judge, he denied the fact. Hanged by his feet and tied with a rope he immediately vomited milk. He was sentenced to be strangled on the spot. It happened in my presence in Damascus when I travelled from Armenia to Jerusalem²¹.

Other important points of reference are “extreme” hygienic habits of Muslims, which strongly exercise Đurđević’s imagination as well:

In every city there are baths where they wash themselves ritually for two or three times. If they urinate, they wash penis or male sexual organ. If they evacuate bowels, they wash their genitals, both females and men. They are followed by servants who carry dish full of water, females by female servants, men by male ones. When going to wash themselves, women grease themselves with a kind of unguent which makes their hair fall off after half an hour. Men shave their penises too, and do not let their hairs to grow at all, but both men and women do that for two or three times each month, especially when visiting temples, otherwise they are immolated (as blasphemers)²².

Although textual inscriptions of the Ottoman Other are mostly negative, Đurđević’s discourse is permeated also by a dash of fascination with the exotic and different, which is particularly obvious in his descriptions of flora, fauna and gastronomic skills of the Turks²³.

The writing *De afflictione tam captivorum quam sub tributo viventium Christianorum* lively represents sufferings of Christian prisoners and their life conditions in the Ottoman Empire. Along with descriptions of humiliating social and legal status of Christians, Đurđević almost naturalistically portrays their physical ill-treatment. In that context an important emphasis is given to descriptions of “deviant” sexual behaviour of the Turks – paedophilia and homosexuality – which will become a stereotypical feature of *gens scelerata* (morally degenerated people) within the discursive framework of

²¹ ĐURĐEVIĆ, *De Turcarum moribus epitome*, Cap. I. «De iustitia apud cives», s.n.

²² ĐURĐEVIĆ, *De Turcarum moribus epitome*, Cap. I. «De operariis et agricolis», s.n. Judging from the numerous references, to the early modern Westerner the most incomprehensible Muslim custom was the above described custom of washing of genitals each time after evacuating bowels and urinating.

²³ E.g. “They use very tasty bread called *Echmech*, black and white, just like our peoples. But before baking, they usually strew unbaked bread with some kind of seed called *sussam*, which makes it very sweet to those who eat it (...). There are many sorts of dishes and various arts of preparing it”. ĐURĐEVIĆ, *De Turcarum moribus epitome*, Cap. I, “De cibariis illorum”, s.n.

Ottomanism²⁴. On the other hand, this could be read as an inverted kind of “colonial desire”, a discursive strategy that represents colonial expansion in sexualized terms of rape, penetration and impregnation²⁵.

Night brings to them (i.e. women, Z.B.) more miseries for they are either locked in the guarded places or forced to allow infamous passion of merchants. Loud wailing of raped adolescents of both sexes can be heard in the darkness. Not even an age of sixty or seventy could save them of such foulness, but this perfidious nation makes atrocities both against and before nature²⁶.

The rest of them (i.e. male captives), oh horror, who are of more pleasing form are castrated in such a way that nothing is left of their masculinity on the whole body, which is enormously dangerous for their health. If they survive, they are spared for nothing but for the exercise of most perfidious passions (...) ²⁷.

Proselytism might be seen as another manifestation of colonial desire, imagined not as a physical but cultural and spiritual exchange. Along with discursive recycling of some elements of Ottomanist cultural imagery, a proselytistic dimension has been more explicitly shown in the following two writings, *De Christianorum cladibus et calamitatibus, deinde de suae sectae interitu et de Turcarum ad fidem Christi conversione* (On slaughters and miseries of Christians, then on destruction of their sect and on conversion to Christianity) and *Disputationis cum Turca habitae narratio* (Narration on controversy with the Turk). In Đurđević's view, apart from *gladius Christianorum* the most efficient means for achieving that goal is religious propaganda. It consequently raises the problem of establishing adequate intercultural and interreligious communication, which could be hence interpreted as hidden agenda of his lexicological writings:

²⁴ As an important aspect of the early modern cultural imagination of the Turks Kiril Petkov emphasizes their “gendered” representation. In the context of mainstream discourse on sexuality in the early modern period which is characterized by hierarchical conception of gender relations and homophobia, representing Turks as effeminate homosexuals was an act of their human, ethical as well as political disqualification. Cfr. PETKOV, *Infidels, Turkes and Women*, pp. 123-128.

²⁵ Moreover, Robert Young, who first employed that term, showed that discourse of colonialism is pervaded by images of transgressive sexuality, of an obsession with the idea of the hybrid and miscegenated, and with persistent fantasies of inter-racial sex. For more detailed explanation cfr. R.J.C. YOUNG, *Colonial Desire. Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race*, London 1995.

²⁶ ĐURĐEVIĆ, *De Turcarum moribus epitome*, Cap. II. «Quomodo recenter capti in itinere tractentur», s.n.

²⁷ ĐURĐEVIĆ, *De Turcarum moribus epitome*, Cap. II. «Quibus rebus Turcarum imperator suos captivos detinet», s.n.

If only Christian rulers prepared themselves for decisive victories and prevented the Muslim power, which is already too strong, from further rising! Is there anybody who doubts that the Christian sword (which the Turk prophet is talking of) will be avenger of all our disasters, prosecutions and afflictions and after having destructed this Kingdom of Satan it will bring and restore freedom, peace and tranquillity equally to our Christian brothers who are suppressed by the Turkish yoke and to the whole Christian world which is afflicted by numerous perils? Their diabolic sect will be annihilated and all these lost souls will be easily (which will be explained in the next chapter at great length) and soon reduced to the Christian cult and to the one shepherd Christ, compelled by the power of evangelical preaching²⁸.

Therefore, Đurđević's writing *Disputationis cum Turca habitae narratio*, where he describes his polemics with a Muslim priest dervish Gsielbi is supposed to represent an exemplary model of successful religious persuasion. Namely, after having heard Đurđević's theological argumentation (in Turkish!) the dervish "praised it highly" and asked Đurđević "to teach him Lord's Prayer"²⁹.

The last two works, *Deploratio cladis Christianorum* and *Exhortatio contra Turcas*, belong to the genre of the humanist anti-Ottoman speeches addressed to European Christian rulers³⁰. Although reproducing standard repertoire of the Ottomanist cultural stereotypes, these works are also an excellent example of discursive destabilisation of the cultural projections of the Other.

Namely, congruous with dominant contemporary theological interpretations, Đurđević from the perspective of moral indignation metaphorically represents Ottoman expansion as God's punishment of Christians' sins³¹. This implies the reversal of a normative value dichotomy

²⁸ ĐURĐEVIĆ, *De Turcarum moribus epitome*, Cap. III. «Vaticinium infidelium linguae Turcicae interpretatione eiusdem», s.n.

²⁹ ĐURĐEVIĆ, *De Turcarum moribus epitome*, Cap. IV. «Disputationis cum Turca habitae narratio», s.n.

³⁰ The genre of *Exhortatio contra Turcas* was very popular in the literary production of traditional "antemurale Christianitatis" countries (Hungary, Poland, Moldavia, Lithuania, Croatia) during the early modern period. For the Croatian *Exhortationes* see: V. GLIGO, *Govori protiv Turaka*, Split 1983. For a short overview of the common features of that genre cfr. B. NIKŠIĆ, *Osmansko Carstvo 17. stoljeća očima bivšeg zarobljenika*, Zagreb 2001, pp. 32-43.

³¹ «Deum habemus et summum et verum: sed a nobis alienatum, adeo ut prophetico vocabulo ferme, appellari possumus non populos Dei. Cur enim Christus nobiscum esset, qui a nobis per tot haereses, in tot partes dilaniantur? nam praeter nomen, quid nobis Christianis charissimi est? Rusticus hoc tempore et impurus et factiosus: oppidanus, fallax, et avarus: magistratus sequuntur retributiones, diligunt munera et prosopolepsiam; nobilitas luxum et ignaviam,

Christiani-Turcae, whereby the Christian collectivity is marked by the most negative ethical features such as covetousness, laziness, prodigality, lasciviousness, hard drinking and lack of discipline. In contrast, the Turks become the picture of sobriety, parsimony, faithfulness and obedience, which is specially manifested in their military ethos³². Thus, Đurđević implicitly suggests that his own collectivity should emulate the ethically superior Other since only in this way *populus Christianus* will be able to reacquire God's favour and once and forever conquer the Turks "in the most sacred and ecumenical war":

If the most potent monarchs and rulers of the Christian world become concordant now (as I hope), and all bring their wealth together with military resources to this the most sacred and ecumenical or universal war, who will have doubts that we, so numerous and powerful, will not be equal or superior to the Turk soldiers and more excellent than them in the case of victory?³³.

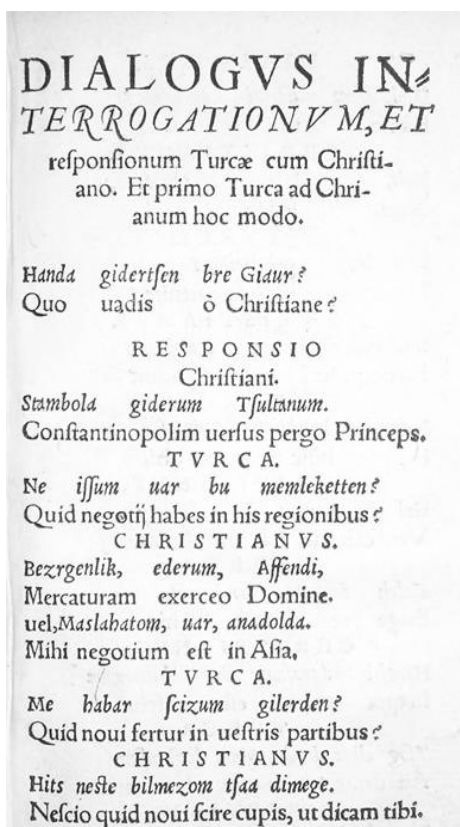
As well as indirectly, by the mechanisms of cultural translation, Đurđević in his works also opens a possibility of direct intercultural and interreligious communication on the linguistic basis as well as on several other levels, which could be interpreted as discursive forms of transculturation. Firstly, Đurđević incorporates Turkish and Arabic lexemes with parallel Latin translations or explanations when directly untranslatable features of the Other appear

discordiam atque superbiam: miles vero praeter stipendium et praedam nihil ex bello quaerit, securus quo sceptras cadant, non minus infestus in suos quam in hostes. Ecclesiastici praeter pompam Ecclesiasticam, vix quicquam Ecclesiae habent, non sanctitatem, non pietatem, non eruditionem debitam profitentur. Nam fere omnes quaerere viderentur quae sua sunt, non quae Christi: et vere prophetae ore dicere possumus: Omnes declinaverunt simul inutiles facti sunt, non est qui faciat bonum, non est usque ad unum. Quid igitur mirum si talibus motibus Christus amicus esse nolit?" ĐURĐEVIĆ, *De Turcarum moribus epitome*, Cap. VI. «Exhortatio contra Turcas», s.n.

³² "Trahimus igitur exiguum numerum, eumque moribus corruptum, contra tot myriades hostium, optima disciplina utentium. Nam Turca vitia sua domi deponit, Christianus assumit: in castris Turcarum nullae delitiae, arma tantummodo et necessarius victus: in castris vero Christianorum luxus, et omnis luxuriae commeatus, adest gravior turba meretricum quam vivorum. Latrocinatur Hungarus, praedatur Hispanus, potat Germanus; stertit Bohemus, oscitat Polonus, libidinatur Italus, Gallus cantat; Anglus lurcatur. Schotus helluatur: militem qui moribus miles sit, vix ullum reperias. Quid igitur mirum, si vincant illi apud illos sobrietas, parsimonia, vigilantia, fidelitas, et summa obedientia? Vincantur illi, qui ab hostibus vel vagi ad praedas, vel inter pocula, aut apud meretricem aliasve abominandas, et execrandas nequitias inveniuntur". ĐURĐEVIĆ, *De Turcarum moribus epitome*, Cap. VI. «Exhortatio contra Turcas», s.n.

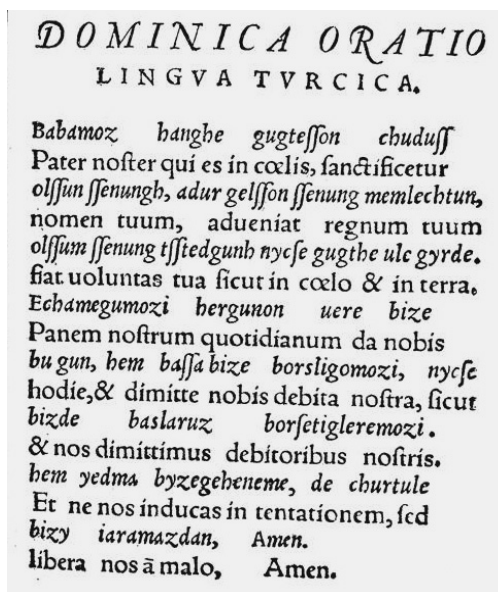
³³ ĐURĐEVIĆ, *De Turcarum moribus epitome*, Cap. VI. «Exhortatio contra Turcas», s.n.

in his descriptions of the Ottoman *Lebenswelt*³⁴. Besides, in the works *De Turcarum ritu et caerimoniis* and *De afflictione tam captivorum quam sub tributo viventium Christianorum* he also includes short conversational manuals in which communication between participants of the two opposed linguistic, cultural and religious worlds is staged in the form of polite dialogues (*Dialogus interrogationum et responsionum Turcae cum Christiano* and *Salutatio Turcarum, Persarum et Arabum*).



³⁴ E.g. "Habent loca ad instituendum *Ochumachgirleri* eorum appellata, et suos Doctores *Hogsialar* vocant (...)"; ĐURĐEVIĆ, *De Turcarum moribus epitome*, Cap. I. "De scholis ipsorum", s.n.; "Habent xenodochia *Imareth* appellate, ex testamento Regum condita, ubi datur cibus pauperibus atque peregrines, sed alibi alius. Sunt qui dant oryzam *Pirrints* *Tsorba* dictum cum carnibus, alibi *Boghdaia*s, qui fit ex tritico (...)". ĐURĐEVIĆ, *De Turcarum moribus epitome*, Cap. I. "De eleemosyna eorum", s.n.; "Cultur illis ex material lanae, lini et serici, satis magnificus, veste *Chautan* vocata (...). Calcimenta *Babucs* vel *Csisme* dicta, tam virorum quam mulierum, in solo suppectum habent, ut diutius illis usi possint". ĐURĐEVIĆ, *De Turcarum moribus epitome*, Cap. I. "De vestimentis eorum", s.n.

The third mode of transculturation are translations of *Dominica oratio* into Turkish and Arabic language by which Đurđević not only illustrates the method of efficient dissemination of the Christian faith, but also reveals the implicit presumption of contemporary Reformational as well as Counter-reformational proselytistic projects - that a presentation of the Christian dogma in the understandable linguistic form is a sufficient condition for its universal acceptance.



It is interesting to note that in the context of his linguistic programme Đurđević promotes *lingua Sclavonica* as an efficient communicational idiom arguing that this language is used “both by the Turks in the court of their ruler and by those who live in the Slavonian borderlands.” In addition to this, Đurđević argues that “those who know that language can safely enter Croatia, Dalmatia, Russia, Valachia, Serbia, Bohemia and Poland”³⁵, which otherwise used to be the argumentative axis of the topos of linguistic unity shared by all early modern Slavic national ideologemes. It should be emphasised that Đurđević’s idea of *lingua Sclavonica* as a widely spread communicational idiom within the Ottoman Empire soon became

³⁵ Cfr. ĐURĐEVIĆ, *De Turcarum moribus epitome*, Cap. II. “Ad lectorem Peregrinus”, s.n.

an ideological foundation for proselytistic plans by a group of German protestants led by Philip Melanchton³⁶. At the beginning of the 17th century it will also be incorporated in linguistic and political program of the reformed post-Tridentine Catholicism³⁷.

DOMIN. ORATIO.
 Hualu ti imam i dobrati nots bila
 Gratiam tibi habeo & fausta tibi nox sit.
 DOMINICA ORATIO
 SCLAVON, LINGVÆ.
 Otſſe naſ, ki yeſſi na nebeſi, ſſuctiſſe
 Pater noſter qui es in cœlis, ſanctificetur
 ime tue. Pridi Kralyeuſſiuo,
 nomen tuum. Adueniat regnum tuum,
 buđi uolia tuoia, Kako na nebuina
 fiat uoluntas tua, ſicut in cœlo & in
 zemlij. Kruha naſſega ſſagdaniga dai
 terra. Panem noſtrum quotidianum da
 namga danaſſ, i odpuſciainam dughe naſſe,
 nobis hodie, & dimitte nobis debita noſtra,
 Kako i mi odpuſciamo duſuikon naſſim,
 ſicut et nos dimittimus debitorib9 noſtris,
 i nepeliai nats u naſaſt, da izbani
 & ne nos inducas in tentationem, ſed libera
 nats od nepriazni, Amen.
 nos à malo, Amen.
 SALVTATIO ANGELICA.
 Zdrauo Mario miloſti puna, goſpidin ſtobum,
 Ave Maria gratia, plena, dominus tecum,
 blaſena ti meuſenami, i blaſen
 benediċta tu in mulieribus & benediċtus
 iſad utrobe tuoye Ieſus Kriſtus.
 fruċtus uentris tui Ieſus Chriſtus,

However, it must be borne in mind that, despite its transcultural nature, Đurđević's project of intercultural and interreligious communication is

³⁶ For a more detailed account cfr. E. BENS, *Wittenberg and Byzanz*, München, 1971, pp. 59-93 and 141-208. It seems that the edition of Đurđević's works with the preface of Philip Melanchthon (Würtemberg, 1560) which I use in this article, was published in the context of the mentioned project.

³⁷ See M. S. JOVINE, 'The "Illyrian Language" and the Language Question among the Southern Slavs in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries', *Aspects of the Slavic Language Question*, vol. 1, New Haven 1984, pp. 101-156.

basically hegemonistic, since it presupposes asymmetrical accumulation and distribution of linguistic and cultural knowledge, whereby the predominance lies on the side of the Western Christian “we” group. On the other hand, each communicational opening to the Other, be it hegemonistically structured, bears a potential danger of cultural penetration in the reverse direction, which is another, even if collateral, factor of destabilisation of Đurđević’s Ottoman discourse. Although constitutive proposition of Đurđević’s discourse is incommensurability and clear distinction between the Christian “we” and Muslim “they”, both transgressiveness of the author’s cultural experience and pragmatics of the text itself make these symbolic boundaries vague and blurred, and it seems that the text constantly oscillates between exclusion and emulation of the Other.

In the same manner, by expanding the mechanism of cultural translation with linguistic dimension, Đurđević not only anticipates the possibility of intercultural and interreligious communication, but also implicitly donates the gift of speech to the cultural and religious Other and opens the possibility of access to the logocentrically structured Western realm of knowledge (and power).

Hence, Đurđević’s Ottoman discourse can be described as a multidimensional and heterogeneous textual space which can argue and justify different and even contradictory interpretations, and thus verify various political usages ranging from an apodemic manual, war-mongering pamphlet in the service of Habsburg imperial, and of papal anti-Ottoman politics, to a linguistic-political platform of the Protestant proselytism. And if examined from the perspective of contemporary post-colonial theory, it can also be viewed as a possible site of discursive empowering of the Other.

Zdenka Janeković Römer

**OSMANLIS, ISLAM AND CHRISTIANITY
IN RAGUSAN CHRONICLES
(16th-17th CENTURIES)**

The picture of Muslims in medieval and early modern Europe

The image of Muslims as *the* enemies was articulating European identity from the period of the Crusades in spite of the fact that European culture abundantly profited of rich Muslim culture for centuries.¹ They were not portrayed as one among many infidels, but as the fundamental enemies of Christianity, the Cross and the Church. Of all infidels, they were the most alien to the Christian faith. The eleventh century was the starting point of an incessant warfare against Islam in the Mediterranean. Then the picture of the evil Muslim, occupying the holy womb of the Christianity, Jerusalem, began to emerge in the imaginary of Europeans. Pope Urban II depicted them in his famous speech in Clermont, when he urged Christians to fight the righteous war: "Oh what a disgrace if a race so despicable, degenerate, and enslaved by demons should thus overcome a people endowed with faith in Almighty God and resplendent in the name of Christ!"² Other epithets were added to that: unclean nation, wicked race, barbarians, infidels, fierce and dishonourable enemies of the faith, members of the false sect, idolaters, monstrous beasts, people contaminated with all kinds of crime and ignominies, shameful, superstitious, Christ's mortal enemies, the forces of darkness, the plague, the nightmare of Europe, the threatening East, the greatest curse on Earth, the God's punishment. The war against them was seen as an outlet for violence that would otherwise have ravaged

¹ G. DUBY, *Unseren Ängsten auf der Spur. Vom Mittelalter zum Jahr 2000*, Köln 1996, p. 70.

² FULCHER OF CHARTRES, *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem 1095-1127*, edited by H. S. Fink, Knoxville (Tenn.) 1969, pp. 66-67.

Christendom and Europe³. Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini portrayed the Turks as destroying Greek and Latin culture, the source of European learning and arts. He accused the European countries for attacking one another instead the common enemy, the enemy of the cross. This is the very context in which he defines Europe: this is the face of Europe, the state of the Christian faith⁴. These attitudes generated from the Crusades echoed in the Croatian and Dalmatian literature⁵. They echoed in Ragusan chronicles as well. The Anonymous, Ragnina and Razzi chronicles carry the story of the victory of glorious Christian knight Roland (Orlando) over a Saracen Spuzzente, or Smerdo, i.e. the filthy and smelly Muslim who was attacking the city of Dubrovnik⁶. Mavro Orbini states that “the Turk is the common enemy of the Christian name”⁷. *Nemico dell' humana generatione*, says Jakov de Luccari, thus equalizing the Turks with the devil⁸.

After the encounter with the Turks in the 14th and 15th centuries, Europeans started to think harder on their own identity. The old imaginary and ideas of the Crusades spluttered to life in the encounter with those who were threatening the Christendom, i.e. the European unity of the time. Catholic princes were called to join together against the infidels and not to shed “the baptized blood” any more. Even if the Christian powers did not actually unite against the common enemy, because they were too busy with their local affairs and enmities, the picture of this violent “other” enabled Christendom (i.e. Europe) to become a self-conscious collectivity. Europeans created two, diametrically opposed pictures of the Turks: some of them focused on their inhumanity, monstrous cruelty and pugnacity. They were feared of, being military so successful, known of cruelty and having strange customs. The pictures of tortured and maimed and, the horror of

³ J. LE GOFF, *Il cielo sceso in terra. Le radici medievali dell' Europa*, in *Fare l'Europa*, edited by J. Le Goff, Roma-Bari 2004, pp. 120-124; Duby, *Unseren Ängsten*, pp. 51, 58-60, 63, 108.

⁴ *Papst Pius II. Ausgewahlte Texte aus seinen Schriften*, edited by B. Widmer, Basel-Stuttgart 1960, p. 450; Le Goff, *Il cielo*, p. 234.

⁵ D. ĐUKIĆ, *Sultanova djeca: predodžbe Turaka u hrvatskoj književnosti ranog novovjekovlja*. Zagreb 2004.

⁶ *Annales Ragusini Anonymi item Nicolai de Ragnina*, in *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum Meridionalium*, vol. XIV, Scriptores I, edited by N. Nodilo, Zagreb 1883, p. 11, p. 188.

⁷ M. ORBINI, *Kraljevstvo Slavena*, Zagreb 1999, p. 444.

⁸ J. DE LUCCARI, *Copioso ristretto degli annali di Rausa libri quattro di Giacomo di Pietro Luccari, gentilhuomo rauseo ove diligentissimamente si describe la fondatione della città, l'origine della Repubblica, e suo Dominio, le guerre, le paci e tutti i notabili avvenimenti occorsi dal principio i essa fino all'anno presente MDCIII dal principio di esse sino al anno presente 1604*, Venetiis 1605, p. 144.

the horrors, impaled people, invaded the imaginary of the Europeans. On the other side, many Europeans noticed the high standards of Ottoman civilization, material and spiritual heritage. Sometimes they were even put as examples to the Christians on account of their piety and devotion to their religion and rituals. The firm government and the respect for law were admired, as well as the military and diplomatic skills, domestic comforts, literacy, education, personal self-discipline and decorous stillness of their behaviour. The picture of the oniric, miraculous East excited the minds of Europeans⁹. Among common people, the prejudice towards one another prevailed, while the interest to learn about the others' customs, ethical codex or manners was very small, often none existing. "Turco can" was the widespread Venetian saying. Any person dressed strangely, in Eastern way, was considered a Turk, feared in advance as a person of bad manners, offender or criminal¹⁰. On the other hand, the Turks were building the stereotypes on Franks or Latins, as infidels, violent, fierce, uncivilized, unclean, unwise, aiming to the earthly goods, voracious and filthy pig eaters, empty headed, unrefined, unsophisticated, superficial, voluptuous, effeminate¹¹. In any case, the Turks were present. In the 1530's Sultan Suleiman added to his other titles "The Lord of Europe": they had moved deep into the European continent¹². The "Turkish peril" was twofold: real and symbolic and both ways it inflicted Europe.

The reality of Turk-Ragusan relationship (15-17th centuries)

It is well known that the Republic of Dubrovnik was in a particular position between the Turks and Christians from the 15th century on, allied to both of them. Its relation to Ottoman Empire had many levels, and for this occasion I'm going to concentrate on the intellectual remaking of this situation in Ragusan chronicles from the 16th and 17th centuries. The first

⁹ J. HALE, *The Civilization of Europe in the Renaissance*, New York-Toronto 1994, p. 41; F. BRAUDEL, *Sredozemlje i sredozemni svijet u doba Filipa II*, Zagreb 1997, vol. I, pp. 372-375; R. W. WINKS and L. P. WENDEL (eds.), *Europe in the wider world, 1350-1650*, New York-Oxford 2003, pp. 15-21.

¹⁰ M. BERTOŠA, *Istra, Jadran, Sredozemlje. Identiteti i imaginariji*, Dubrovnik - Zagreb 2003, p. 19.

¹¹ LE GOFF, *Il cielo*, pp. 8-15, 29; Tubero puts in the mouth of Jakub pasha the Turkish picture of Latins, precisely, Venetians. LUDOVIK TUBERON CRIJEVIĆ, *Komentari o mojem vremenu. / Commentarii de temporibus suis*, translated by V. Rezar, Zagreb 2001, pp. 168-169.

¹² HALE, *The civilization of Europe*, p. 39.

one is Anonymous chronicle written by the end of the 15th centuries, with the additions from the 16th century. It is followed by the Nikša Ragnina chronicle from 1522, then Ludovik Cerva Tubero chronicle written between 1522. and 1527, then *Regno degli Slavi* by Mavro Orbini published in 1601, *Copioso ristretto degli annali di Ragusa* by Jakov de Luccari from 1606 and *Chronica Ragusina* written by Junius de Resti by the beginning of the 18th century. All chroniclers except Orbini were patricians.

The picture of Dubrovnik's relation with Turks these chronicles give is very different from the reality: the Ragusans communicated with the Turks on the daily basis, knew their customs very well and, to some extent they were familiar with their religion. They got to know the Turks during the 15th century and especially in the centuries to follow¹³. For those who saw the wonders of Istanbul the stories of Ottoman incivility were mere myths. Many nobles from Dubrovnik, mostly tribute ambassadors, were received in the marvellous audience in Top-kapi, even looking Turkish, because they had to grow beards and wear caftans in order to be let before the sultan. The streets of Istanbul and other Ottoman cities were full of Ragusan merchants and members of their families. They had their colonies, judicial autonomy, even their own churches on the territory of the Empire¹⁴. They got acquainted with the sophisticated Ottoman civilization, style of life, arts and learning. The dragomans (interpreters of the Turkish language) studied in Ottoman cities. Some of them became not only accustomed there, but turned Muslim, overwhelmed with the splendours of the city's life and the career prospects it offered. According to their appointed tutors (consuls and priests), young men who were studying Turkish language in Istanbul were seized by the "golden jug full of poison, heaven inhabited by demons from hell who would make even angels fall", i.e. Istanbul. There were also men from the lower social strata who "turned Turk"¹⁵. Some of them even practiced impaling or got involved in the slave trade with the Osmanlis¹⁶. The Ragusans also experienced the reverse of the picture from the first hand. The merchants had to endure the violence of local Turkish officials and bandits who attacked their caravans. The inhabitants who lived along the borders of the Republic

¹³ I. BOŽIĆ, *Dubrovnik i Turska u XV veku*, Beograd 1952; V. MIOVIĆ-PERIĆ, *Na razmeđu. Osmansko-dubrovačka granica (1667-1806.)*, Dubrovnik 1997, pp. 47-64, pp. 117-136.

¹⁴ T. POPOVIĆ, *Turska i Dubrovnik u XVI veku*, Beograd 1973, pp. 96-99; V. MIOVIĆ, *Dubrovačka diplomacija u Istambulu*. Zagreb-Dubrovnik 2003, pp. 66-75, pp. 101-103.

¹⁵ POPOVIĆ, *Turska i Dubrovnik*, p. 30; MIOVIĆ-PERIĆ, *Na razmeđu*, p. 45; MIOVIĆ, *Dubrovačka diplomacija*, pp. 109-114, 124, 207, pp. 222-224.

¹⁶ DUBROVAČKI DRŽAVNI ARHIV (DAD), *Lettere di Levante*, vol. XVII, f. 126.

were in constant jeopardy¹⁷. Some wretched people from Dubrovnik rotted in Turkish dungeons for ten, twenty years, even for life. There were even noblemen who were imprisoned in the ill-famed prison called “The well of blood”, put to torture, humiliated and starved in filthiness and darkness. Many of them were captured as slaves and sold in the slave markets in Istanbul and North African cities. Some other rowed chained to the ships of the Ottoman war fleet. There were also complaints on compulsory islamization¹⁸. Many Turks came to Dubrovnik very often, by the end of 15th century and especially in following centuries. Among them were functionaries, emissaries of local beys, cadis, janissaries, messengers, merchants and even tourists who wanted too see this rich Western city they heard splendid stories about. They came to buy clothes, fabrics, jewellery, weapons, and later famous products of European technology: glasses, binoculars, clocks. They were also keen on Ragusan sweets, the vine malvasia, rose liqueur and other delicacies. The Republic disposed several houses in the city for them, taking care that “they feel comfortable.” Every year the government elected their host, *hospes Turchorum*, among the nobles of the city. Eminent Turks were placed in the Sandalj Hranić’s palace, just next to the Rector’s palace¹⁹. The Sublime Porte always kept the emin in Dubrovnik in order to collect the tall from the caravans going to the Empire. There were many conflicts between the citizens and the emins. Some of the emins were violent, arrogant, corrupt and very contemptuous towards the Ragusans. The citizens were especially offended when the emins sexually attacked their wives, daughters and sons. One time (1501.) an open conflict broke out when the emin abducted a boy. The group of citizens led by a nobleman beat all the Turks in the city. It’s interesting that the government punished its own citizens and protected the Turks in this and other similar situations²⁰. The Ragusans didn’t like the Turks

¹⁷ V. MIOVIĆ-PERIĆ, ‘Zadiranja u dubrovačko biće od sultana do običnog osmanlijskog podanika’, *Dubrovnik*, 2 (1993), pp. 272-276; MIOVIĆ-PERIĆ, *Na razmeđu*, pp. 22-36, pp. 137-208.

¹⁸ DAD, *Acta Consilii Rogatorum*, vol. XXIX, f. 53, f. 62; vol. XXX, f. 229; vol. XXXI, f. 216, f. 218; *Acta Consilii Minoris*, vol. XXIX, f. 22; *Lettere di Levante*, vol. XXX, ff. 185-187, ff. 214-223; POPOVIĆ, *Turska i Dubrovnik*, pp. 65-67, pp. 211-212, 248; MIOVIĆ, *Dubrovačka diplomacija*, p. 94, pp. 160-164.

¹⁹ DAD, *Acta Consilii Rogatorum*, vol. XVIII, f. 283; vol. XXIX, f. 90, f. 162; *Acta Consilii Minoris*, vol. XLVIII, f. 72, f. 74; POPOVIĆ, *Turska i Dubrovnik*, pp. 28-30, pp. 75-76, pp. 134-135, p. 236; MIOVIĆ-PERIĆ, *Na razmeđu*, p. 42.

²⁰ DAD, *Acta Consilii Minoris*, vol. XXVII, f. 61; *Acta Consilii Rogatorum*, vol. XXVIII, ff. 151-152; *Lettere di Levante*, vol. XVII, f. 88; POPOVIĆ, *Turska i Dubrovnik*, pp. 30-33; MIOVIĆ-PERIĆ, *Na razmeđu*, pp. 37-40.

to come to Dubrovnik, especially those who were of no use and who came with no particular reason. When writing to the Sublime Porte about them, the authorities call them obstinate, unrestrained, drunkards and quarrellers, rude and disrespectful to all, including women. Some of them even offended the churches²¹. The contemporaries and the historiography thought that Ragusans were close to the Osmanlis, because they were privileged in the Empire, but the picture was not so simple. The encounters didn't bring only closeness and acceptance, but also hatred. Common people felt a mixture of hatred, contempt and fear towards the Turks. Most Ragusans didn't like the Turks but just put up with them, or endured this situation. There were accusations on the other side, too. The Turks accused the Ragusans for rudeness, maltreatment and the injustice towards their merchants who were coming to the city. The *cadi* from Novi wrote to the Sublime Porte in 1576 that the Ragusans put the innocent Turks to the dungeons or to the pillory. The weakening of the Ottoman Empire caused further deterioration of these relationships. Also, the Ragusan patricians were constantly withdrawing from the trade, so they were not involved with the Turks in their businesses as they were before. In consequence, they were becoming more and more critical towards the Turks. The founding of the Bosnian pashaluk had its part in this process, because the decisions concerning Dubrovnik were made closer to its borders. To preserve its territory and autonomy, the Republic had to put more and more diplomatic effort and financial means²². The Ragusan attitude towards the Turks was therefore ambivalent, even paradoxical. Their very existence was mainly dependant on the Turkish interests. Quite simply, the Republic survived because the Ottoman Empire needed it. The Republic saw itself as independent and autonomous, but from the Ottoman point of view, Dubrovnik was among the vassal countries bound to the Empire by the contract and Ragusans were seen as subjects, "raja"²³. The Ragusans hated the Turks even more for being dependant on them. There were many occasions that testify about the conflict between the government and the citizens on that matter. I'll mention only the case when, on the news about the Turkish defeat at Sisak, Ragusans fled to the streets in hilarious exaltation. The poet Antun Sasin wrote a poem, rejoicing

²¹ DAD, *Acta Consilii Rogatorum*, vol. XXXIII, ff. 91', 104', 106', 125, 170, 183'-4, 189; *Lettere di Levante*, vol. XVII, ff. 115, 127; vol. XIX, f. 74'; vol. XIC, ff. 195-196', 203, 208-208', 214; POPOVIĆ, *Turska i Dubrovnik*, pp. 66-67, pp. 135-137, p. 276.

²² POPOVIĆ, *Turska i Dubrovnik*, pp. 320-326, pp. 357-361.

²³ MILOVIĆ, *Dubrovačka diplomacija*, pp. 16-17.

the Christian victory and the Turkish failure. Of course, the government took all necessary measures to quiet people's enthusiasm and to persuade the Turks of their loyalty²⁴. The policy of the government was led by the need of survival in the possible way; therefore it reacted to its own citizens who tended to jeopardize the diplomatic balance with severity, sometimes even cruelty. It is obvious that the Christian inhabitants of Dubrovnik could hardly bare the fact that they were dependant on the enemies of the faith, people in so many ways strange and unacceptable for them. For this reason they opposed to the government's policy many times, feeling that it was betraying the Christianity. The incidents fuelled the antagonism of opposed mentalities, so the stereotypes were built up on both sides. For the Turks the Ragusans were Latin crooks, infidels, rich liars, double-faced, cruel people and the Ragusans saw them as brutal soldiers, pagans, greedy, corrupt, child abductors and homosexuals.

All together, the Ragusans knew so much about the Turks that they became the main source of the information on the Ottoman Empire for Christian rulers. They had enormous experience with the Osmanlis and knew exactly how to go along with them in different situations²⁵. Even more, the encounter and interrelation with the Osmanlis was essential for Ragusan identity in the early modern ages, in spite of the fact that Ragusans saw themselves as completely different from the Turks. The chroniclers themselves, most of them being patricians and politically active, had to know the Turks much better than they let us know in their works. This was by all means the consequence of the genre and the discourse, but they were also influenced by the policy of the Republic that found the intellectual expression in these chronicles. Their principal aim was not to describe the reality but to emphasize the prime political goals of the Republic and, at the same time to conceal what could provoke the criticism of the Christian countries or the Ottoman Turks on the other side. Thus, these works became a kind of semi-official, ideological version of the relation between the Republic of Dubrovnik and the Osmanlis.

²⁴ 'Prisvijetlomu vlastelinu Givu Sima Bunića Antun Sassi pozdravljenje i poklon (prvi razboj od Turaka)', in *Stari pisci hrvatski*, vol. 16, Zagreb 1988, pp. 173-217; R. BOGIŠIĆ, 'Antun Sasin: Razboji od Turaka', in *Sisačka bitka 1593*, Zagreb-Sisak 1994, pp. 227-238.

²⁵ MILOVIĆ, *Dubrovačka diplomacija*, pp. 127-140, 160.

The religious matters in the eyes of the chroniclers

Both above mentioned European images of the Turk are present in Ragusan chronicles, but slightly altered, since they were fit into the Ragusan state ideology and became the means of the diplomacy. The closeness of the Turks who shared the borders with the Republic also influenced the chronicles very much. The tolerance which the Ottomans showed towards their beliefs²⁶ and their economical privileges in the Empire, stimulated the Ragusans to accommodate, which meant mere to accept the presence of their new neighbours and to get the best from the situation. Intimately, they thought of Turks as of infidels and the enemies, but they were aware of the Ottoman power and the fact that this was to remain for a long time. In 1530 Erasmus wrote: “even if the Turk (heaven forbid!) should rule over us, we would be committing a sin if we were to deny him the respect due to Caesar”²⁷. This is exactly what the Republic of Dubrovnik did.

The stereotypes that chroniclers express are expected: they partly arise from the common Christian attitudes towards the infidels that root from the times of the crusades and gets new dimension in early modern Europe. On the other side, they serve to justify the specific position and policy of the Republic of Dubrovnik. All the chroniclers set up the relation towards the Osmanlis according to the interests of the Republic²⁸. This means that they focus on the question of the territory, boundaries, trade privileges and the Catholic faith. They all share the same starting point in religious matters: what's important is the Catholic Republic in its firm boundaries. So, the Catholicism often becomes the means of diplomatic struggle for the preservation of the territory, because it represents the most obvious and firm difference in contrast to the Ottoman Empire, or earlier, Orthodox Serbia and Pataren Bosnia.

It is surprising how many prejudice and biases, little knowledge and lack of interest these writers show for the customs and the religion of the Turks, their neighbours. Except for Tubero, they're not interested in Islam at all. Europeans of the time didn't know much of Islam either: for them it was

²⁶ Ottoman religious tolerance was not absolute but restricted; it was forbidden to build new churches and crosses; many churches were turned to mosques. Sometimes prayers had to be organized in secret. *Monumenta Turcica historiam Slavorum meridionalium illustrantia*, vol. I, Sarajevo 1957, p. 31; POPOVIĆ, *Turska i Dubrovnik*, p. 100, pp. 315-316.

²⁷ DESIDERIUS ERASMUS, *De Civilitate Morum Puerilium Libellus*, p. 286, cited after HALE, *The civilization of Europe*, p. 40.

²⁸ J. DE LUCCARI, *Copioso ristretto*, pp. 134-135.

just the religion of Turks. But, it is still striking that the Ragusan authors were not curious in it, since they had so many contacts with Turks both in Dubrovnik and in the Empire. Even Ragnina, who is otherwise very much interested in religious matters and the Church, makes no comments on Islam. He just expresses fear and enmity. Luccari respects the Ottoman power, but, since their religion and customs have nothing to do with the interests of the Republic of Dubrovnik, he doesn't bother to learn about it. Junius the Resti is interested only in Catholicism and its preservation. He occasionally mentions the Bosnian Manicheans or *credenza maomettana* but shows no interest in it, although he must have known much more about it, being a diplomat and reading the other chronicler's work²⁹.

Both the chroniclers and the sources produced by the government judge the Turks more in terms of behaviour than the belief. In my opinion, this shows the level of acceptance, in other words of sole pragmatical attitude to the Ottoman world. Ragusans don't know anything of Islam neither they want to; they just want it to stay on the other side of the border. The chroniclers are much more interested in the schisms and divisions of the Christianity, so they speak about the Orthodoxy, Reformation, Catholic reformation and Christian heresies³⁰. They speak much more of the Jews than of the Turks, concentrating on their customs and showing no interest on their faith. Their remarks are drawn from the conventional collection of prejudices³¹. Their attitude towards the Orthodoxy is inconsistent – in general, they recognize that the “Greek ritual” is the part of the Christianity, that this is the denomination equal to Catholicism. On the other hand, they judge the Orthodoxy as the schism, heresy, or “Greek superstition”. The oldest, Anonymous chronicle, describes how “kalugieri et preti Rasciani, scismatici et infedeli” were expelled from Ston and Pelješac, because “non credevano, nè Dio nè santi, ma credevano in sogni, indovini, et incantatrici”. Ragnina retells the same story, claiming that the Republic was righteous towards them because they were paid to go³². Luccari explains how the Republic expelled the Orthodox priests from Ston and brought there “the

²⁹ He mentions his readings in the chronicles and makes comments on his predecessors. *Chronica Ragusina Junii Restii (ab origine urbis usque ad annum 1451) item Joannis Gundulae (1451-1484)*, edited by N. Nodilo, in *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum Meridionalium*, vol. 25, Zagreb 1893, pp. 4-5.

³⁰ *Annales Ragusini Anonymi item Nicolai de Ragnina*, p. 110; J. DE LUCCARI, *Copioso ristretto*, p. 124.

³¹ *Annales Ragusini Anonymi item Nicolai de Ragnina*, pp. 88, 109, 124, 270; J. DE LUCCARI, *Copioso ristretto*, p. 51.

³² *Annales Ragusini Anonymi item Nicolai de Ragnina*, pp. 50-51, p. 242.

Franciscans, who converted the people to the right, i.e. Roman ritual and Western church”³³. Tubero makes sharp distinction between his tolerant opinion on the Orthodox faith and the political attitudes on Orthodox countries in the hinterland of Dubrovnik. Commenting the Turkish conquest of Constantinople he says that God himself wanted the Greek name to be extirpated, because they disregarded the authority of the pope and seceded from the right ritual of the Christian faith³⁴. Similarly, Luccari states that this was God’s punishment for Christian schismatics who “used the enemy weapons against their own Church”. Even Junius the Resti who tries to be objective and founds his statements on archival documents, explains that God let the Turks to conquer such a big part of Europe to punish *lo scisma dell’Oriente* and *sempre infesti principi Slavi*³⁵. The Orthodox rulers were seen as non-believers who made pacts with Turks against one another and gave their daughters to the rulers of foreign faith (Islam)³⁶. Orbini represents the relationship with the hinterland countries completely different than the other chroniclers: while they emphasize the differences and separateness, he puts an accent on the connections, closeness and alliances which Luccari and Resti categorically deny. In spite of this fundamentally different position, he agrees with the other chroniclers when it comes to relationship between the hinterland countries and the Turks. For example, he depicts the despot Branković as the unreliable man, the betrayer of the Christianity, who opened the doors to the Turks and even accepted sultan Murad as his son in law. He concludes the imaginary dialogue between St. John Capistrano and despot George with his own commentary that the despot was an obvious proof how perilous was to live in false convictions that become the second nature of the man³⁷. This line of thinking is founded in unquestionable Catholicism of the Republic of Dubrovnik which recognized only “Roman ritual” as true.

Patarens are illustrated as heretics, traitors, people of erroneous persuasion which were, just for that reason very willing to accept Islam. Luccari, who

³³ J. DE LUCARI, *Copioso ristretto*, p. 55; Resti was scandalized with Republic’s actions towards the previous land-owners on the new territories. J. DE RESTI, *Chronica Ragusina*, p. 185.

³⁴ L. CRIJEVIĆ TUBERON, *Komentari*, pp. 117, 272.

³⁵ J. DE RESTI, *Chronica Ragusina*, pp. 13, 178, 267, 287.

³⁶ L. CRIJEVIĆ TUBERON, *Komentari*, p. 139; J. DE LUCCARI, *Copioso ristretto*, p. 103.

³⁷ M. ORBINI, *Kraljevstvo Slavena*, pp. 391-394, 400; Junius de Resti repeats and comments this story: “E certo siccome questo principe nel governo politico de’ suoi stati sempre aveva mostrato d’aver giudizio solido e saggio discernimento così non si può applicar ad altro la constanza nel seguir il peggior partito questa volta, che d’averlo voluto castigar Iddio per il ripudio dato da lui all’esortazioni di Giovanni Capistrano, frate di s. Francesco, che provurò ridurlo al cattolicismo”. J. DE RESTI, *Chronica Ragusina*, pp. 298, 164, 281.

tries to be a genuine historian by not making commentaries, still mentions how Ragusans led the Bosnian heretics to the right path³⁸. Speaking of the fall of Bosnia, Orbini suggests that the patarens were to blame for that, because they firstly betrayed the Christian faith and repeatedly turned back to the “vomit of Manichaeism”, and after the Turkish conquest readily accepted the Islam³⁹. Again, behind these words lies the interest for the territory not the religion. In reality, Ragusans had diverse business and diplomatic relations with both Orthodox and Pataren population on the Balkans, but on the territory of the Republic they extirpated all the traces of these beliefs, which all the chroniclers consider justified⁴⁰.

The only writer who gets into discussion on the Islam is Ludovik Crijević, who called himself Tubero⁴¹. Maybe this is why the first part of his *Commentaria meorum temporum*, to be published was his commentary on Turks⁴². His chronicle is more personal than the others. This Parisian student, who became Benedictine monk, wrote lucid, critical and erudite commentaries of his time. He had a broad vision of his time: unlike the other authors, he didn't focus on Dubrovnik, but on the whole region: Hungary, Venice, Greece and the Ottoman Empire. That's why he doesn't repeat the common places of other chroniclers. His opinion on the Islam is contradictory: he calls it a heresy, the silly and vane superstition, “the perilous sect which for the moment has earthly power and wealth, but it brings neither spiritual goods nor true happiness”. He calls Muhammad a deceiver and cunning liar and asks for the rejection of the Koran⁴³. But, in

³⁸ J. DE LUCARI, *Copioso ristretto*, p. 54, pp. 89-90, pp. 97-98; J. DE RESTI, *Chronica Ragusina*, p. 290.

³⁹ ORBINI, *Kraljevstvo Slavena*, 414-415, 429-430.

⁴⁰ M. DINIĆ, ‘Documenta de patarinis’, in *Iz dubrovačkog arhiva*, vol. III. Beograd 1967, 181-236; F. ŠANJEK, *Bosansko-humski krstjani i katarsko-dualistički pokret u srednjem vijeku*, *Analecta Croatica christiana*, vol. 6. Zagreb 1975, pp. 98, 116, pp. 177-183; Č. TRUHELKA, ‘Testament gosta Radina. Prinos patarenskom pitanju’, *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu*, 23 (1911), pp. 355-375; Č. TRUHELKA, ‘Još o testamentu gosta Radina i o patarenima’, *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja u Sarajevu* 25 (1913), pp. 363-381; ŠANJEK, *Bosansko-humski krstjani*, pp. 177-183; A. SOLOVJEV, ‘Le testament du gost Radin’, in *Mandičev zbornik*, Rim 1965, pp. 141-155; M. ORBINI, *Kraljevstvo Slavena*, 413-414, 430, 435; J. DE RESTI, *Chronica Ragusina*: 185.

⁴¹ Vladimir Rezar thinks that he might have used some Greek and even Turkish sources. Stjepan Gradić and Pavao Ritter Vitezović praised his comments on Turkish history. V. Rezar, ‘Latinitet Ludovika Crijevića Tuberona’, in LUDOVIK TUBERON CRIJEVIĆ, *Komentari o mojem vremenu / Commentarii de temporibus suis* (translated by V. Rezar), Zagreb 2001, p. XL, p. XLV.

⁴² *Ludovici Cervarii Tuberonis, patricii Rhacusani, abbatis divi Jacovi de Turcarum origine, moribus et rebus gestis commentaries*, Florentiae 1590.

⁴³ L. CRIJEVIĆ TUBERON, *Komentari*, p. 129, p. 205.

the invented speeches he puts in the mouth of several historical characters he allows himself comments that reveal he actually gave some thought to the closeness of the Islam and Christianity. Therefore, it isn't surprising that his Commentaries came on the list of *Index librorum prohibitorum*. For example, through the mouth of sultan Beyazit he says that Mohammed's teaching is similar and even better to Christ's, because it includes both Old and New Testament and brings something new. It's a reflection of Islamic respect for "the people of the Book", Jews and Christians. Tubero was obviously aware that Judaic and Christian tradition were built into the Islam⁴⁴. Beyazit's thankful prayer to Allah could easily be addressed to the Christian God⁴⁵. Of course, in Tubero's opinion the Turks followed an erroneous faith, but the monotheism of Islam, the belief in the God Creator made him think about the possible merits of this faith. But, *summa summarum*, for him, the faith in Christ was the only right faith, for "he is the path, the truth and life". Christians are happier than other people, because they're the only ones enlightened with the light of divine wisdom. As for Muslims, he hopes that they "will become enlightened and understand the Trinity of the God". He concludes his reflection with the thought that nothing divides people as the religious differences do⁴⁶.

The chroniclers' picture of the Turks

The chronicles say little of the Turkish customs, particularly those that remain out of the diplomatic arena. It's surprising that they don't go into details about the advance of the Osmanlis towards West: mostly they don't even mention the important battles. The only exceptions are their comments on the fall of Bosnia. This story is marked by uttermost fear, because, for Dubrovnik nothing was the same afterwards⁴⁷. The Anonymous and Ragnina tell about the demolishing of the outside of the city walls for the safety reasons, the processions of terrified people praying for God's mercy and the heavenly miracle which prevented Mehmed to lead his army towards Dubrovnik⁴⁸.

⁴⁴ Z. ZLATAR, *Our Kingdom Come. The Counter Reformation, the Republic of Dubrovnik and the Liberation of the Balkan Slavs*, New York 1992, pp. 75-76.

⁴⁵ L. CRIJEVIĆ TUBERON, *Komentari*, pp. 129-131, pp. 165, 278.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 169, 170, 177.

⁴⁷ M. ORBINI, *Kraljevstvo Slavena*, p. 434; Z. JANEKOVIĆ RÖMER, *Okvir slobode. Dubrovačka vlastela između srednjovjekovlja i humanizma*, Zagreb-Dubrovnik 1999, pp. 80-81.

⁴⁸ *Annales Ragusini Anonymi, item Nicolai de Ragnina*, pp. 54, 257.

Even Orbin, who generally avoids to comment the Turks, speaks how cruel they were towards the Bosnians, how they raped the women, demolished the churches, humiliated the priests and took the most of the gentry to slavery. After the end of the 15th century, the need to comment the Turks becomes weaker and weaker, as the Ottoman Empire and the presence of the Turks became the reality of everyday life. Not only medieval kingdom of Bosnia, but the very name of Bosnia was soon forgotten. There was no Bosnia or Bosnians in Ragusan documents anymore, just *lochi di Turchia* and *suditi di Turchia*. The relationship towards the Empire was for the most part assigned to the diplomacy. Therefore, the criticism of the chronicles became indulgent, so it wouldn't interfere with the Republic's consolidated diplomatic relations with the Empire.

When the chroniclers speak of the Turks generally they call them barbarians, torturers, rapists, killers, infidels, liars, impious and evil. Luccari rarely uses the title "sultan": for him the Turkish ruler is just *re Barbaro*. They often talk about Turkish dissimulation and fallaciousness⁴⁹. The Anonymous chronicler says that the Turks behave "a modo di fratello – con li basci di Juda"⁵⁰. Sometimes they allude to homosexuality which was acceptable in the Turkish civilization unlike the Western one. For example, the Anonymous chronicle calls the Turks women (*femine*)⁵¹. But when it comes to Ragusan-Turkish relations their judgements are pragmatical. Sometimes, their comments on Turkish dignitaries and officials who were opposed to the interests of the Republic or the merchants are sharp. They call them cruel, severe, cunning, deceitful, barbaric, liars and thieves, but never forget to add that the Sublime Porte was always just towards the Ragusans and resolved their conflicts with deceitful officials in their best interest. On the other side, they respect Turkish military skills, loyalty to the sultan, learnedness and piety. They even praise individual Turks, for example sultan Beyazit, whom Tubero depicts as righteous, pious, worthy, honest, humane and constant, word keeper, respectful of other people's property. Luccari says that Beyazit was gentle, forgiving and interested in philosophy. He thought of sultan Selim as righteous and talented ruler and of Mehmed pasha Sokolović as prudent, experienced, vigilant, learned and good-tempered man⁵². Junius

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 83, 254, 264; L. CRIJEVIĆ TUBERON, *Komentari*, pp. 99, 134; M. ORBIN, *Kraljevstvo Slavena*, pp. 434, 437-438; J. DE LUCCARI, *Copioso ristretto*, pp. 95, 101, 106, 112, 115, 124, 144, 148, 152; J. DE RESTI, *Chronica Ragusina*, pp. 186, 287, 289, 291.

⁵⁰ *Annales Ragusini Anonymi item Nicolai de Ragnina*, 104.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, p. 50; L. CRIJEVIĆ TUBERON, *Komentari*, p. 259; LE GOFF, *Il cielo*, p. 115.

⁵² L. CRIJEVIĆ TUBERON, *Komentari*, p. 219; J. DE LUCCARI, *Copioso ristretto*, pp. 127, 133, 148.

de Resti said that “hasnadar Ali Subasha was an honest and worthy person, as much as the person of his nation can be”⁵³. Again, Tubero is interested in Turkish customs much more than the others. He states that the Turks are people just like any other people and shouldn’t be despised. He praises their physical sturdiness, modesty, simple and ascetic life, keeping their word, hospitality, pride and loyalty to their emperor and God. He approves of their simple meals, refusal of wine, their skills with horses and weapons, honesty in debts restitution. He emphasizes the fact that the Turks value in the first place personal abilities and accomplishments and not the heritage. On the other hand, he resents their hypocrisy, the desire for power and warfare, cruelty, savageness, lustfulness, servility, blasphemy, polygamy and inclination towards homosexuality. If you kiss a Turk, he’ll bite off your nose, says he⁵⁴.

The stereotypic picture of the Turks in the chronicles most often serves as the basis for the praise of the Ragusans and that goes also for the Orthodox believers and Patarens. Opposite to the double-faced rascals, poisoners, impostors, cowards, savages and ingrates from the hinterland, the Ragusans appear as models of patriotism, reliable, loyal, keepers of the Christianity, brave soldiers ready to defend their faith and their freedom by all means. So, even this kind of literarization and stylization of “self” and the “others” assumes the political meaning.

The susceptible double alliance of the Republic of Dubrovnik

Ethically and religiously delicate problem of Ragusan double alliance with the Turks and the Christians at the same time, the chroniclers mostly pass over in silence, or try to justify it in kind of strained way. If they comment the Ragusan vassalage to the Ottoman Empire and the privileges they got in return, they see it as a legitimate option. According to them Dubrovnik didn’t loose any of the prerogatives of the independent state, on the contrary, they think it was the only way the Republic could preserve its independence and freedom. Orbini comments how the Dalmatian cities made a mistake by turning to Venice in fear of the Ottoman advance. Instead, Dubrovnik turned to Turks and successfully kept its freedom and power. Furthermore, they think that the Republic of Dubrovnik is exceptionally meritorious

⁵³ J. DE RESTI, *Chronica Ragusina*, p. 243.

⁵⁴ L. CRIJEVIĆ TUBERON, *Komentari*, pp. 99, 117, 124, 125, 128, 169, 171, 204, 205, 215, 259, 269.

for the Christian victories, although its contribution to the antitürkish campaigns was in fact very modest. The Republic's good connections with highest Ottoman officials are represented as very useful for the Christian cause, because the Ragusans passed the important information⁵⁵. Most of the chronicles emphasize the occasions when the Ragusan government stood against the claims of the Sublime Porte. For example, the story of them helping and giving shelter to Serbian despot George Branković was elevated into the mythical example of Ragusan courage and loyalty to the Christianity. (In reality, the Ragusans advised the old despot to seek the help from the Hungarians and got rid of him as soon as possible)⁵⁶. It's interesting that precisely Mavro Orbini, known for his erudition and meticulousness, leads in covering up the inconvenient data. He literally omitted all the events until the end of the 16th century, except for the cases when the Republic of Dubrovnik withstood the Turks and showed its sovereignty. Describing the story of George Branković he says that "Murad, before whom the whole Europe trembled in fear, was amazed by the loyalty and steadiness of the Ragusans". What this story tells us is in fact something different, i.e. that not Christian loyalty but the Republic's sovereignty was at stake in this case⁵⁷. Furthermore, Orbini mentions only the Republic's alliances with Christian countries and omits the vassalage to the Turks. When speaking generally, he highly values the Christian fight against the Ottoman Empire, praises the Christian victories, courage and heroism. But that has nothing to do with Dubrovnik: he regards the city regarding as a neutral zone, the place of negotiations which is not directly included in the conflict. He strictly avoids admitting to any level of Dubrovnik's vassalage to the Ottoman Empire and emphasizes the city's freedom. He deliberately omits all the episodes that testify the opposite: he never talks about Republic's dependence on the Empire, the harac and so on. For him, Turks and Christians are just opposed sides fighting for the territory. That's why he concentrates on military and dynastic, not religious matters, in spite him being a Benedictine monk. In many places he mentions the Turks as infidels, barbarians, or Mohammedans, but he is not really interested in their religion⁵⁸.

Ludovik Crijević Tubero was very critical towards Christian countries including his own. He didn't spare the ecclesiastical hierarchy, not even

⁵⁵ *Annales Ragusini Anonymi, item Nicolai de Ragnina*, pp. 69, 248.

⁵⁶ *Annales Ragusini Anonymi, item Nicolai de Ragnina*, p. 253; L. CRIJEVIĆ TUBERON, *Komentari*, pp. 95-96; J. DE LUCCARI, *Copioso ristretto*, pp. 92-93.

⁵⁷ M. ORBINI, *Kraljevstvo Slavena*, p. 258.

⁵⁸ M. ORBINI, *Kraljevstvo Slavena*, pp. 250-8, 370, 375, 379.

the pope⁵⁹. In his opinion, the Christians were to blame their discords and impioussness for what happened to them. Nor Venetians neither other Christian rulers, not even the pope, did what should have been done for the common good and the salvation of the Christianity. On the contrary, they all behaved as if they wanted the enemy to win, except for Hungarians and Croatians⁶⁰. Tubero sees his fellowcitizens as people of humble spirit who first imitated their masters, the Venetians, and then subjugated to the Turks, in fear. He even accuses them for opening the path for the Turks to Dalmatia, which finally led them to slavery. He says that they didn't behave as Christians because they were deceitful in communication with the Turks⁶¹. Luccari accuses European states because they didn't kick against the Turks. On the contrary, he finds natural that the Republic of Dubrovnik made alliance with them, because it was necessary for its existence. He says directly that the most important thing in Republic's relationship with the Turks was to "dare spatio alle cose nostre", to preserve freedom, income and the territory. The opposition *Turchi – Christiani* runs through the whole text as something that has nothing to do with Dubrovnik. He sees no controversy in that⁶². Junius de Resti dealt with those delicate questions as well, seeking the "Ciceronian truth", as he says, but giving the biased answers (as so many historians do). He's starting points are Catholicism, the optimality of Republic's institutions and the difference between the Republic and the hinterland countries. He discussed the accusations against the Republic of Dubrovnik (put by contemporary Italian writers whose work he read⁶³) on account of their alliance with Turks and defended it with the argument that Ragusans did the same thing as Venetians and that they paid a high price for their freedom, peace and survival⁶⁴. He goes even further when he justifies the Ragusan vassalage to the Turks asserting that they agreed to it precisely to preserve the Christian faith. He concludes the discussion by praising the small Republic that "stopped the Ottoman torrent and preserved

⁵⁹ L. CRIJEVIĆ TUBERON, *Komentari*, pp. 25, 268-270, 282.

⁶⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 38, 100, 171, 178, 182.

⁶¹ *Ibidem*, p. 96.

⁶² J. DE LUCCARI, *Copioso ristretto*, pp. 139, 141, 151-152.

⁶³ He mentions Flavio Biondo, Sabellico, Giusto Lipsio, Giovanni Tarcagnotta, Giovanni Battista Veri, Giovanni Battista Ignazio, Pietro Bembo, Paolo Paruta, Andrea Morosini, Filippo Briezio, Battista Nani, Giovanni Sagredo, Pietro Garzoni, Foscari and the others. J. DE RESTI, *Chronica Ragusina*, p. 6.

⁶⁴ J. DE RESTI, *Chronica Ragusina*, pp. 6-9, 11.

Christianity on its territories”⁶⁵. But, there were other interests involved, besides the Christianity, and he tells us about them: in the chaos of Turkish conquests in the Balkans, the Republic wanted and succeeded in turning the situation to its own benefit⁶⁶. In his erudite and superior way, Resti argues the conviction he shares with all the other chroniclers, that the Republic’s policy was marvellously led in those turbulent, uncertain times, The Ragusan government not only preserved the traditional political principles but also used them as the means of the agreement with the new power, the Ottoman Empire. It’s obvious that chroniclers didn’t see anything unbecoming in their Republic’s alliance with the Ottoman Empire, because the Catholic faith was preserved on its territory together with freedom.

“It’s necessary to accomodate with the time”⁶⁷

The analysis of Ragusan-Turkish relationship as seen in these chronicles shows the ideological picture far from the real one. The rules of the genre and narration defined what’s important, what should be preserved and what should be omitted, in other words what kind of picture of the self they wanted to write down for the future. That’s why the chronicles see the Turks and Ottoman Empire in pragmatistical terms, in spite of all the loyalty to the Roman Christianity. The religious matter interests them only when it comes to the preservation of Catholicism in the territory of the Republic. Catholicism is seen through the question of territorial power and the exclusiveness of the Catholic faith within the borders of the Republic (*Cuius regio, illius religio.*). The fact that the boundary of the Republic was at the same time firm religious border they see as the very reason and the guarantee for the stableness and durability of the Republic and its institutions. When it comes to the question

⁶⁵ “... e fermando il torrente delle ottomaniche innondazioni, coprir con le sue piccole tenute per così lungo tempo la Cristianità, ciò che diede motivo a Giusto Lipsio scriver ad un suo amico: Si enim recte verba capio, Ragusia te habet civem, aut incolam, nobilis respublica, et quae a nobis barbariem dividit, legibus et moribus polit”. J. DE RESTI, *Chronica Ragusina*, pp. 3, 215.

⁶⁶ J. DE RESTI, *Chronica Ragusina*, pp. 177, 186, 292.

⁶⁷ “Ma se je trijeba s bremenom akomodavat...trijebo je bit pacijent i ugodit zlu bremenu, da se pak dobro brijeme uživa”; MARIN DRŽIĆ, *Dundo Maroje*, in MARIN DRŽIĆ, *Djela*, ed. by F. Čale, Zagreb 1987, p. 324; “But we must adapt ourselves to the times: he who would rule in this world must be a virtuoso. He who knows how to conduct himself is a king among men”. MARIN DRŽIĆ, *Uncle Maroje: a comedy in five acts*, English translation by S. Bićanić, Dubrovnik 1967, p. 33.

of long-term preservation of the Republic of Dubrovnik, the importance of religious tradition is very often disregarded or omitted. In the geopolitically sensitive area, the independence of the Republic of Dubrovnik could only be preserved by wise balance keeping that included tolerance towards the “different”, with the unquestionable preservation of its own uniqueness to a large degree defined by Catholicism. Catholicism was seen as an important part of republicanism, humanism and patriotism, thus becoming the strong means of political strife. It determined the Republic's relations to others: Europe, Ottoman Empire, papacy. An interesting dichotomy appears in these relations: the picture of the Republic of Dubrovnik as passionate defender of the Christian faith and the Church, coming together with close diplomatic and business relations with the Ottoman Empire and its citizens. This relation was contradictory and that contradiction stemmed from diplomatic pragmatism. In spite or through these contradictions, the religious border, the border of Catholicism proved to be the last and firmest line of division along the borders of the Republic. This is the very starting point and the foundation of chroniclers' attitudes to whatever lies across the border. Although they had to know much more about the Turks both from the experience and from the literature, they didn't write about it. In reality the communication with the subjects of the Ottoman Empire was constant, ramified, diverse and successfully bridged over the religious differences. But, what connects the stereotypical picture offered in the chronicles and the reality of the Republic of Dubrovnik in that time, are the political goals, above all the urge to preserve the territory, the Catholicism and the autonomous power. This is the reason why the chroniclers emphasize and even exaggerate the differences between the Republic of Dubrovnik and everything on the other side of the border. In spite of the fact that they agree in some fundamental, untouchable concepts of the state ideology and share the common stereotypes, the chronicles also show differences in approach and focusing, which sometimes are striking. Between the lines they manifest the broad spectrum of mainly political and to a certain extent even religious reflexions that put this Ragusan – Turkish relation into different contexts. That gives an additional dimension to their interpretation of the “other” in this case the Turks.

If the word “to tolerate” means to allow or to permit, to recognize and respect others' beliefs and practices, it has to be said that that was not the case when it comes to the relationship between the Republic of Dubrovnik and the Turks. Namely, the Turkish religion, beliefs, customs or practices were never accepted in Dubrovnik. The chroniclers didn't even bother to understand or explain them. Only rarely we can notice traces of tolerance

towards persons, behaviour or ideas in their writing. It is true that during the time the Ragusans got to know Turks and their civilization better, but the foundation of their recognition or acceptance of Turkish “otherness” were mere interests, not the respect of differences. Knowing the Turks and their customs helped them out to achieve their goals, but didn’t lead to the tolerance. There was too much fear, reprisal and hatred in these relationships to call them tolerant. The Ragusans didn’t find Turkish religion, customs and civilization equally worthy as their own; on the contrary, they disapproved of them and thought they were false, strange and unacceptable. When it came to ideas, the faith or the truth, the Ragusans didn’t think of the Turks as their collocutors. They were not at all challenged by their views, opinions or behaviour. For them, Christian faith was the “touchstone” of truth and that couldn’t be discussed. There is only one God in Trinity and who doesn’t believe in that doesn’t believe in God at all, says Tubero⁶⁸. The only subjects they could discuss with the Turks were political and economical interests of the Republic. Furthermore, medieval and early modern Ragusan society was not multicultural – it was Western Catholic society. This relationship was pragmatism, not at all touched by the concept of tolerance as acceptance, concept present in the Middle Ages, but woken up and raised in the Enlightenment. Therefore, it would be more precise to describe the Ragusan relationship to the Turks as co-existence or accommodation and not tolerance. They recognized the distinctions and lived with that fact. They were accommodating to the circumstances.

But, the contacts with the Turks, that took place for centuries, were subconsciously built into Ragusan identity and made at least some of them in some manner foreign in regard to those of the western part of Europe. At the beginning of the 16th century the Ragusans were sometimes called and perceived as the “new Turks” on the West. There’s a lot of symbolic in the fact that the most precious liturgical garments in the churches of Dubrovnik were in fact Turkish kaftans that the ambassadors regularly brought from Constantinople where they got it from the sultan or other Turkish dignitaries⁶⁹. The Ottoman Turks make the important part of the history of permeation of Mediterranean cultures and that goes for the history of the Republic of Dubrovnik in the first place.

⁶⁸ L. CRIJEVIĆ TUBERON, *Komentari*, p. 170.

⁶⁹ POPOVIĆ, *Turska i Dubrovnik*, p. 53; MIOVIĆ, *Dubrovačka diplomacija*, pp. 239-240.

Mihaela Irimia

VENETIAN AND TURKISH ANECDOTES, OR TO BE OR NOT TO BE A MOOR IN VENICE¹

In a letter of Tuesday, 26 March, 1765, to his friend and assiduous correspondent Mann, Horace Walpole mentions Count Claude-Alexandre Bonneval, a French adventurer of the late seventeenth and early-mid eighteenth centuries. Recognized as an eccentric basically for having converted to the Muslim faith, Mr. le Comte turned Ahmet Pasha had been almost two decades dead at the time. But his unheard of gesture of passing over to the 'Infidel' side must have left something of an echo in the public ear. It is not difficult to guess why Bonneval was chosen as a metonym for John Wilkes, a contemporary of Walpole's, a man educated in the permissive atmosphere of the Low Countries and leading a life of dissipation and extravagance. Wilkes had become a member of the Medmenham Abbey

¹ Works cited: AHMET PA.SA KUMBARACIBA.SI, *Memoirs of the famous Bashaw Bonneval: containing an account of the later war in Italy: Likewise the intrigues of France, Spain, Savoy, &c. ...*, translated from the original French manuscript of Count Bonneval by a gentleman..., Westminster, Printed for Oliver Payne, at Horace's Round Court in the Strand..., 1736; AHMET PA.SA KUMBARACIBA.SI, *Mémoires du comte de Bonneval, ci-devant général d'infanterie au service de S.M. Impériale et Catholique*, A la Haye, Chez Jean van Duren, 1738; *Anecdotes ou Histoire de la maison Otomane*, A Lyon, chez Marcelin Duplain, 1724; *Anecdotes arabes et musulmanes, Depuis l'an de J.C. 614, Époque de l'établissement du Mahométisme en Arabie, par le Fameux Prophète Mahomet, Jusqu'à l'extinction totale du Califat*, À Paris, 1772; LAMBERT PIERRE DE SAUMERY, *Anecdotes vénitiennes et turques; ou Nouveaux mémoires du comte de Bonneval, depuis son arrive à Venise, jusqu'à son exil dans l'Isle de Chio, au mois de mars 1739 [Par] Mr. De Mirone*, Francfort, Aux dépens de la compagnie, 1740; LAMBERT PIERRE DE SAUMERY, *Anecdotes vénitiennes et turques; ou Nouveaux mémoires du comte de Bonneval, depuis son arrive à Venise, jusqu'à son exil dans l'Isle de Chio, au Mois de Mars 1739 [Par] Mr. de Mirone*, à Utrecht, chez Jean Broedelet, 1740; LAMBERT PIERRE DE SAUMERY, *The devil turn'd hermit...*, *A satirical romance*, London, Printed for J. Hodges and T. Waller, 1751.

fraternity, who had converted a ruined Cistercian abbey on the bank of the Thames into a meeting-place of conviviality. The clubbable 'brothers' soon came to be known as the Franciscans or the Hell-Fire Club. Indicative of their libertine demeanour was the motto to their mundane institution, 'Fay ce que voudras', reminding the visitors of the Rabelaisian Abbey of Thelema.

Reading between the lines of Bonneval's exciting biography today is much of an adventure in itself. No matter what can be ascribed to his personality, here is a multifaceted identity fit for a discussion of porous boundaries, whether spatial, temporal or onomastic. This paper will look at a fascinating case of *cascade mutations* and *rearrangements*, trying to disentangle some threads of a spectacular fabric of identity. It extends between Western and Eastern mentalities, modern and premodern times, master and subaltern positions. It looks at an identity to be profitably read and re-read from our vantage point with no little involvement in emblematic material.

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Claude-Alexandre, Comte de Bonneval, came into the world in 1675, in a family with old aristocratic ties in Limousin, yet born on 14 July, a date destined for dramatic changes in the public status of his native land about a century later. Already in his mid-teens he was active in the Royal Marine Corps and in the army. With thorough Jesuit education, he had nonetheless shown an unmanageable character, his 'turbulence of spirit, (...) insolence, and (...) insubordination'² causing trouble round him and troubling his own life, in a weird pattern of reiterated imbroglios. The Bonnevals had enjoyed the unusual reputation of 'des relations à diverses reprises avec le Diable'³. Claude-Alexandre was not late in betraying such a disposition.

Our ambitious Frenchman traces a map of symbolic relevance *avant la lettre*, with landmarks hardly more relevant nowadays. The famous 1707 marking the Union of Scotland with England brings him to Vienna, after the whole of the previous year spent in Venice, a place of cultural absorption, with Lombardy, Dalmatia, Albania, Morea and Macedonia contributing to its motley identity each. He is acclaimed in imperial circles, and further makes an impression in Ferrara and Bologna, where a monument is erected, by his order, to the glory of the Emperor. This does not hinder him from

² P. WILDING, *Adventures in the Eighteenth Century*, New York 1937, p. 74.

³ G. DE JUNIAC, 'Ahmet Pacha comte de Bonneval', *La Nouvelle Revue des Deux Mondes*, VII/9 (1975), p. 585.

winning the favours of the Pope in Rome. Much of his early career as a public celebrity is related to the aftermaths of the 1699 Treaty of Carlowitz, requesting 'the expulsion of the Turk from Europe'⁴, in the face of Ottoman claims for territories now under Venetian rule. At the individual scale, he is an actor of the *Venetian carnival of history*, enacting a Bakhtinian set of topplings and reversals, and putting on a series of masks with a view to changing roles en route to some astute denouement.

Endowed with the gift of military strategy and a perspicacity of mind able to amaze the most versatile leader, he serves in campaigns in Italy, the Netherlands and Austria. Condemned to court-martial and death, he manages not once to escape by flight to other lands. He fights against his own French fatherland, and against his adoptive Turkish soil. He makes it all the way to Belgrade, during Eugene's siege of the place, in 1717, and gets to know political subtleties related to the autonomy of the Principalities of Moldavia and Wallachia, at a time of Turco-Austrian interests in the region. He sails to Ragusa, journeyes into Bosnia, and travels to Sarajevo. His presence in the future powder keg of the Balkans seems the more tantalizing these days. In brief, he takes part in the central conflicts of the intricate power pattern of his age.

No less palpitating is his private existence. While in Paris, in 1717, he marries a daughter of Marshal de Biron, only to abandon her the next day, voicing his utmost dislike of a stale life in wedlock. His resembles somewhat the worldly trajectory of Casanova, whose own notations about Bonneval have come down to us as valuable documentary sources. Suffice it to note, *ad passim*, confidential gossip between the two adventurers about the fumes of drinking and the self-indulgence induced by womanizing. He is at the peak of his own glory, as we read in a letter sent by Lady Montagu to an unnamed abbot in Vienna, on 2 January of the selfsame year, before his bizarre matrimonial ceremony: 'the Count (...) is a man of wit and is here thought to be a very bold and enterprising spirit'⁵.

Following the Treaty of Passarowitz, in 1718, he benefits from proximity to Prince Eugene of Savoy, from whom he nearly snatches the status of Imperial Envoy to Constantinople. Received with generous hospitality in Vienna, as he arrives penniless from Venice, he is appointed member of the Aulic Council. Bonneval embodies the fate of the Triplex Confinium in his own person. But, as is the case with such glamorous public faces, a mere

⁴ D. VAUGHAN, *Europe and the Turk. A Pattern of Alliances 1350-1700*, Liverpool 1954, p. 1.

⁵ *The Letters and Works of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu*, edited by Her Great-Grandson, Lord Wharncliffe, London 1837, p. 266.

spot on one's private complexion can work havoc. Claude-Alexandre steps on an important lady's toes and no end of *chronique scandaleuse* episodes start being yarned about him. At this point, his life is an anticipation of our European Herculean labours now.

We find him in Brussels, leading an opulent life, entertaining the select society of the place, and cultivating extreme gallantry. Our 'Brussels' of continental promises and projections is already on his threshold, with German, French and Spanish *picanteries* adding strength to the show of things political. An interlude spent in prison is followed suit by a jollier one in the Hague, where, as if in anticipation of our 'Hague', he is done justice and set free. Prince Eugene's friendship secures him a general's honours, but also a spectacular fall out of favour. Henceforward he will have to cook up fabulous solutions to avoid disaster.

In the mid-1720's, he is once again in the city of stupendous canals, of light and liberty. Venice, as is known, looked at itself as second Rome in the Renaissance. His 'second coming' to this melting pot of cultures, arts and styles is the more determined now. He is in Venice again aiming to settle there. It is the beginning of the most peculiar line pursued in his life. Convinced that he has become the Hapsburgs' butt of attack, Bonneval hatches a lunatic revenge on the Emperor. He gets involved in Spanish manoeuvres in Venice. Reputedly on Ascension Day, 1726, during the traditional carnival, he is approached by a masked gentleman whose message is hair-raising: either he gives up plotting, or he had better remember that those wonderful canals are 'full of weighted sacks containing the bodies of those who [have] made powerful enemies!'⁶. This is the real turning point in his life.

Bonneval analyses alternatives ranging from France and Switzerland to Russia and Prussia, literally sweeping across the continent, from West to East. His eyes are more and more directed to Southern-Eastern Europe. Updated about what has in the meantime been called Balkanization, he paves his way to the heart of Ottoman power by encomiastic letters to the Grand Vizier. In the process, he adopts the honeyed language of Oriental praise and exhausts superlatives to win the Porte's sympathy. He spares no epithet to tickle the Vizier's vanity by calling him a lord of glory and the defender of 'the sciences and arts, (...) known throughout the universe, and above all in Christian countries, which admire the great genius of Your Excellency'⁷. He is also aware that Sultan Ahmet's early regnal years were

⁶ WILDING, *Adventures in the Eighteenth Century*, p. 89.

⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 91.

marked by sustained opposition to the Russian Czar and the Venetian doges, only further superseded by the peace concluded at Passarowitz.

Bonneval now orchestrates the peak of his quickly successful career in the Turkish service. In the presence of an Imam, he undergoes the ceremony of conversion to Mohammedanism. He proclaims himself elect in the grace of the faithful and concludes that the Turks are 'not such fools as they are made out in Vienna, London, and Madrid'!⁸. This makes him an inviolable guest of the Sultan and obliges him to the linguistic effort of addressing the Porte other than in French. It is a business for which he is not quite equipped. Instead, he will perform a social and sartorial revolution in the circles he frequents. The newly converted Ahmed displays the rarest pleasure of Oriental otium in lavish parties offered to highlife people, costly Oriental garments and slippers, an apposite Ottoman beard, and the pleasure of spirits enjoyed behind closed doors with gentlemen invited as honoured guests, while the ladies are treated to refined sherbets in ice-cool glasses. 'What a magnificent Turk I make dressed up in this rig!', he confesses with delight. Clothes do make the man, and the fresh convert does know the worth of *habits*, be they tailored to dress the body or the mind.

Given the title of Pasha, our ex good Catholic enjoys the pleasures of Constantinople, whose identity he accordingly reads now as Istanbul, 'the' City, though he buys a stately residence in the European quarter. His venom against the Austrians seems to have hardly worn out. He exercises symbolic passages from Europe to Asia and the other way round by sailing across the Bosphorus on a daily basis¹⁰. Another switch of official status replaces the sword by the pen, and we encounter him in the Porte's foreign office, pulling the strings between Western Europe and Russia, while keeping a cautious eye on Austria and Venice. He lives like a belated Falstaff, though careful not to offer an ostentatious spectacle of debauchery. Between drinks served

⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 96.

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 98.

¹⁰ The amphibious nature of the Bosphorus has not passed unnoticed in the literature. The very symbolic name of the strait points to this. As the Greek term suggests, *βους πόρος* 'ox ford' gives it mythical colouring to start with. There are two Bosphoruses known in history: the Cimmerian Bosphorus, or else the point where Europe meets Asia, according to the classic ancient geographers, and the Thracian Bosphorus, or else the place where Io turned into a heifer by Hera, jealous of Zeus's love for the beautiful maid, crosses the straits during her wanderings. This double quality prone to a telling *marriage of cultures* still yields to the vocabulary of multiple identities. This is a view occurring in A. ASCHER, T. HALASI-KUN and B.K. KIRÁLY (eds.), *The Mutual Effects of the Islamic and Judeo-Christian Worlds: The East European Pattern*, Brooklyn (N.Y). 1979, p. 11.

in secret quarters he discloses to trustworthy companions his plans for the rehabilitation of Ottoman might. No wonder that he is made Beylerbey of Roumelia and Pasha with three horse-tails.

These are honours that entitle him to a position of command in the Ottoman army, where his ambition is to modernize arsenals, strategies, attitudes and values so as to make them compatible with Western standards! He is no alien to Turkish victories over the Austrians and the Russians and receives a profusion of praises from the Sultan for having served the Sublime Porte like no European ever! With Janissaries under his command and imperial guests in his residence, Ahmet Pasha now considers a smooth retirement in the not so hurried East, which stirs Voltaire's wonder that he has not contemplated the yet more comfortable shelter offered by Persia!

His last years are indeed spent in the resting sweetness of weekly parties thrown for the sake of European visitors. He is again the astonishing Western gentleman stirring the curiosity and wonder of non-Westerners. His French cook amazes the distinguished company of his *salons*. His gardener delights the eyes of the male guests invited to taste delicious fruit desserts in the greenery outside the house, as the conversation is carried on in Italian. He is attentive not to break one single rule laid down in the Koran, yet keeps a reserve of wines and liqueurs in a cleverly hidden little room, where special treats are offered to those worthy of his diplomatic confidence. He grows nostalgic of France and French manners, but dies before he makes the final decision of reconverting to 'the' faith!

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The existential trajectory of Count Bonneval alias Ahmet Pasha has spilled no little ink in the literature. He has obviously been regarded as an interesting case of *identity shift*. In his own way, he engaged in a Grand Tour of the Continent, focusing on less typical places on the generally accepted agenda, yet not ignoring some of the musts. In the service of shifting foci of power, Bonneval features as a liaison officer *sui generi*, mediating between West and East, North and South across Europe, and living with grace the amphibious condition of a *go-between* in the history of his day. He was a visionary of international power balance within and without Europe, going to the extent of weighing the Persian danger and suggesting, at some point, a possible Turco-Mogol alliance. He also envisaged an alternative Muslim-

Protestant league to stop Catholic Austria's advance. 'Ce beau Turc'¹¹ looking at us from an engraving commissioned in his Istanbul days is praised on his memorial monument inscription as a distinguished Frenchman who embraced the True Faith in order to die on the birthday of the Prophet. What providential business, and how well done!

A letter to his brother written on 26 September, 1741, draws an inventory of Bonneval's thrilling passage in this world:

'J'ai été à tant de batailles, de sièges et de combats (...); [j]'ai eu part à tant de négociations et d'affaires très secrètes de tous les Etats ennemis de la France (...); [t]ant de rois et de princes m'ont honoré de leur estime, amitié et même confiance que je pourrais relever ma petitesse sur les échasses de leur grandeur. Mais à quoi bon écrire les Mémoires du comte de Bonneval ? Ma paresse s'oppose à un tel travail, outre que tant de gens écrivent ce qui se passe dans le monde qu'on le saura bien sans moi'¹².

Here is the European topos of dwarves standing on the shoulders of giants, writ in lower case. A sense of Oriental poise hangs about declared laziness. As he refuses to strut around in the world on borrowed stilts, our apostate equally shows his annoyance with spurious memoirs signed in his name. It is what we have inherited by way of retrieving his adventurous life. *Mémoires du Comte de Bonneval* and *Anecdotes vénitiennes et turques, ou Nouveaux Mémoires du Comte de Bonneval depuis son départ de Venise jusqu'à son exil à l'Ile de Chios* can also be read in English translation. Yale University has holdings of both published in 1736 and in 1740, respectively. It is these editions that I had at my disposal for archive work.

*

The uncertainty of their authorship brings the case home in a typically eighteenth-century context. Like many writings of the time, some coming from famous pens (Richardson is one example, Defoe another), they present the contemporary reader with the acrobatics of loose textual identity before any institutionalized copyright practice. But they also partake of the trick of the time, namely, that of advertising presupposed or downright false paternity in matters literary. A whole rhetoric of *diffuse authorial identity* enhances the magic of the text in an age of growing literacy. Female co-

¹¹ DE JUNIAC, 'Ahmet Pacha comte de Bonneval', p. 600.

¹² *Ibidem*, p. 585.

authors can occur by the side of presumable male progenitors receding in the mist of yore.

Memoirs of the Famous Bashaw Bonneval Containing An Account of the late War in Italy likewise the Secret Intrigues of France, Spain, Savoy & Westminster, MDCCXXXVI is the second edition of this problematic writing. Dedicated to the Duke of Marlborough, it makes matters clear in the *Preface*. Bonneval, we learn, left Italy to join the colours of Savoy, following which he became a faithful imperial servant in Vienna, then in Rome, and eventually in Turkey. The ease with which he has changed imperial masters appears as more of a godsend than a moral impediment. Bonneval has certainly learnt his Machiavellian *Realpolitik*, so that 'reasons of state' take the upper hand on reason. In the service of 'the Grand Seignior' of Turkey, he is now 'at the Head of ten thousand Men in that Country' (3), wrapped up in the business of efficient *secrecy*.

Numberless editions of eighteenth-century texts produced by *minor* authors bear the telling title of *Anecdotes*. Not enough has been speculated on the significance and relevance of such notations in the age of reason and enlightenment. Joel Fineman's illuminating study remains 'the' point of theoretical reference. From his New Historicist perspective, Fineman focuses on the substantial relation holding between *literature* and *history*, which makes *interdisciplinarity* a methodological must. To him, the anecdote is a crucial intermediate genre fed by literary formalism and by history and the history of ideas. A recognizable genre in its own literary rights, it functions on the *μετά τουτο* 'after this' basis, producing its own narrative of causal sufficiency and efficiency. It confects its own rhetoric of persuasion grounded in 'probability and plausibility, likelihood, generic types and situations, etc., in accord with sophistic modes'¹³. Everything in its narrative frame points to 'a multiplicity of occurrences [arriving], first, at a single and coordinating story, second, at a historically significant story'¹⁴. It is as much as saying that the anecdote, like any narrative, raises circumstantial history to the altitude of tellable and multipliable story. It gives the incidental something of the dignity of legend and myth.

But the anecdote is a *liminal genre*, and Fineman makes a point of placing it by the side of medical case history. Truly, like the latter, it tries to identify symptoms that make of anodyne events medically relevant happenings. Like Hippocratic wisdom covering the trajectory from zero-degree healthiness

¹³ J. FINEMAN, 'The History of the Anecdote: Fiction and Fiction', in A. H. VEESER (ed.), *The New Historicism*, New York 1989, p. 53.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 54.

to dramatic crisis, or else, declared disease, the anecdote retrieves a *singular event* only to frame it up as exemplary occurrence. Like classical medicine, it turns the ‘doctor’s nosological description of the disease [into] his nomological narrative or *meta*’¹⁵. It has ‘something literary about it’, yet it has ‘pointed, referential access to the real’¹⁶. The *dual nature* of the anecdote can ‘allow us to think of [it] (...) as a *historeme*, i.e., as the smallest minimal unit of the historiographic fact’¹⁷.

Replete with contingency, the anecdote does do its own fashioning of facts to wind things up with an inevitable moral. But there is something more to it, and it is this particular aspect that I mean to emphasize. The anecdote is not so much the comical ha-ha story meant for social and sociable effects, as it is that singular opening into the fabric of history which arrests happenings and gives them the weight of unwearing material. It is a strange way of preventing the course of things from encroaching upon our memory, of bringing to the fore what would have otherwise lain under thick covers of dust – the dust of oblivion. In classic Greek, *ἀνέκδοτη* was the qualification given to a young lady not given in marriage [cf. *εκδοτές* ‘given up, delivered, surrendered’ < *κδίδωμι* ‘to give up, ‘to give out (in marriage)’, to give out for money’]. Similarly, the anecdote makes of *secret occurrences* those fascinating *public events* that stir us into routine historians.

A 1738 edition of *Mémoires du Comte de Bonneval Ci-devant Général d’Infanterie au Service de S.M. Impériale & Catholique, À la Haye Chez Jean Van Duren* makes matters more overt, in this sense. Its unnamed author announces the reader that ‘écrire l’Histoire de ma Vie [c’est] une phantaisie, je le sai, mai je la suivie’. He then pinpoints ‘les raisons qui m’ont déterminé à ce dessein’ as ‘l’ennui de la solitude’, in great proportion entailed by inimical relations with some high-positioned people, and ‘l’envie de faire connoître à toute la terre mon innocence’ (2). There is, therefore, the incentive of unveiling *some secret*, with a view to winning public sympathy and clearing obfuscating matters.

Such the 1740 edition of *Anecdotes vénitiennes et turques ou Nouveaux Mémoires du Comte de Bonneval, Depuis son arrivé à Venise à son Exil dans l’isle de Chio, au Mois de Mars 1739, Par Mr. de Mirone à Utrecht Chez Jean Broedelet*. The text raises the customary question of verisimilitude that the anecdote suggestively shares with ‘the’ one typically eighteenth-century genre, the novel. Inasmuch as they claim referential rooting, both are faced

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 55.

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 56.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 57.

with the fact-fiction tension in a special perspective. The *Preface* warns us that 'le monde est plein de (...) Censeurs bilieux' (1) and that 'la médisance' is the worst thing yet. As briskly we are cautioned that the famous count may be looked down on for playing with religion, but that this is the Zealots' business only. The breeze of relaxed Dutch views can be breathed between the lines.

The alleged author is obviously a Deist defending Bonneval as none but a perfectly acceptable supporter of 'la Religion naturelle qui fut gravée dans l'Ame d'Adam' (2). By way of consequence, we are explained, 'sa croyance est le même en Turquie qu'en Europe. L'Alcoran a pour base l'amour de Dieu et du Prochain, aussi bien que l'Évangile (...)' (2). This said, 'Mr. Mirone' embarks upon the habitual MS circulation topos. Written by Bonneval, but handed over to an English merchant, *and* containing 'un détail circonstancié de sa vie depuis qu'il est passé en Turquie' (3), the text bears the signs of authenticity. Not only is stuff in it referentially retrievable, but, we learn in the next lines, the author has consulted and compared the memoirs written under Bonneval's own name and has henceforth concluded to make its contents *known to the public*.

It becomes particularly important to read the title and subtitle of this volatile text in this light: *Anecdotes vénitiennes et turques*, or else, *Nouveaux Mémoires du Comte de Bonneval* is as much as saying that everyday collective history is coextensive with immediate individual history. It also means that the *secret stories* of *public life* overlap with the *intimate* scriblings of *private notations*. At the extreme, Venice and Bonneval share a space of public and private existence now stored for us in a text with a clue. Protocols of clever decoding will be needed for the codified message to get through. That this is so comes out in the next paragraph. Blanks in the manuscript are reported, which must have been caused by the use of vinegar as disinfectant for all papers and letters coming from the Levant, to prevent the spread of any possible infection!

The *anecdotal* nature of the now *un-anecdotalized* text is further on laid bare as successive linguistic simplifications, in order to make it sound *natural* to the European ear, not used to 'ces termes gigantesques et expressions trop figurées qui font l'admiration des Musulmans et qui ne conviennent qu'à un Arabe, à un Turc, ou à un Persan' (4). The next step, then, we understand is 'translating' the text, that is, digging out the circumstantial material in order to dispel imaginings 'qui auront été forgés par ces Écrivains ingénieux et fertiles en idées Romanesques' which as a rule make it impossible to distinguish 'le vrai d'avec le fabuleux' (5). Bonneval's secret marriage to

the rich noble lady Julia Salviati of the Republic of Venice enhances the *documentary* value of these *anecdote-memoirs*, while as secret string pullings meant to catapult the adventurous hero into the heart of Constantinople are mentioned.

The *Preface* winds up with the noteworthy remark that ‘cette Histoire est un morceau rare; elle m’a paru du premier coup d’œil une espèce de Roman, mais je n’ai pu m’empêcher de la croire véritable’ (5). In 1740 Richardson’s *Pamela* used the same trick of vague referentiality and in a couple of years Fielding’s *Joseph Andrews* was to stipulate the romance – novel distinction in terms of the probable for the former and of the actual for the latter.

No sooner have we finished reading this introductory note than we discover a letter by the count to a Venetian lady by way of sending these anecdotes! A midway rendering public of the private is here at work. There is also the linguistic ingredient to help the realistic dressing taste more true: a number of metaphoric expressions have been left, in order to please the Italian tympanum, more sententious than the French. Religion, again, is a relatively loose set of beliefs, whereby, as we are told, ‘le Religion de l’honnête homme’ (8) deserves an observation. Having said which, the author hastens to note, in the bulk of the text, that ‘les vrai Turcs’ (118) are equally ‘honnêtes hommes’ treated with undue disrespect by ignorant Westerners: ‘en vérité, on a une idée bien grossière de ceu peuple’ (131).

An interpolation under the title of *Histoire du Renégat Galiot* supplements the dual nature of the text. The main character is a Huguenot finding refuge in Switzerland, then in Holland, to convert to Judaism, then to Islam and be created Aga in Constantinople. Presented as ‘David Vérité’, Galiot professes *hypocrisy* as a *modus vivendi*, and, as we read his adventures, we are suddenly struck by an address to a ‘listener’, who turns out to be Pasha de Bonneval! Avatars or variants of the same fudgy identity traverse this book of instructive anecdotes.

A volume of *Anecdotes ou Histoire de la Maison Ottomane, À Lyon Chez Marcelin Duplain* had come out in 1724 by, according to recent investigations, one Madame de Gomez (1684-1770), author of *Persian Anecdotes* (1730), *The Life of Osman the Great* (1735), and frivolous novels dealing with the fabulous. In the *Preface* the cultivated lady of Oriental taste makes a crucial statement for our argument: ‘l’on scait que par le mot d’*Anecdotes* l’on entend l’Histoire domestique des Princes, si j’ose me servir de cette expression’ (1). The midway, again, between the seen and the unnoticeable comes in handy. As Mme de Gomez acknowledges having used Tavernier’s *Relation du Serrail*, let us recollect that part of Lady Montagu’s picture of Turkey had

been written after her return to London and that, to no small extent, it was a fabulation, if persuasively interspersed with anecdotal references.

Anecdotes arabes et musulmanes, Depuis l'an de J.C. 614, Époque de l'établissement du Mahométisme en Arabie, pare le Faux Prophète Mahomet, Jusqu'à l'extinction totale du Califat, en 1538, À Oaris, MDCC LXXII by the unmentioned Jean François de Lacroix places *anecdotal discourse* in the grave note suggested from the *Avertissement*: here is no ordinary history, for 'jamais empire après celui des Romains, n'eut de bornes plus étendues que celui de Mahomet' (iii). The work announces the most serious intention of disclosing the reasons behind the fall of such a mighty empire and lays out an argumentation pointing to the lethal role of fanaticism and wild ambitions to power.

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Recent research has underlined the Venetian-Turkish links of early and classic modernity in the West. Some deal with the varying influence exercised by the Serenissima Repubblica, in relation to Paris and Vienna, in the aftermath of the Candia War, such as Venice's decision, in 1795, to claim an Ottoman envoy on its premises. The Republic becomes the recognized gate to the Occident, a fervent factor of diplomatic ties between the Ponent and the Levant, a choice location to collect information about the Porte, a necessary and most useful station for any interested journey Westwards, or Eastwards, *and* a place of passage to Rome!¹⁸

Others analyze the symbolic Venetian presence at the Sublime Porte via skilled ambassadors and versatile spies, and draw our attention to a significant taxonomy in the Italian collective unconscious: Venice is a 'stato di mare', Italy a 'stato di terra'¹⁹, so that Venice occupies a distinct place on the map of Italianness. Others still deal with the mutually relevant part played by Venice in the Levant and Muslims in Venice in a fertile interplay of cultural exchanges yet yielding fruit²⁰.

The 'exotic Turk' as paradigmatic *barbarian* has not long stopped obsessing the European conscience. The world is 'divided into moieties'²¹, with 'us' always good and clever, and 'them' bad and silly. The Infidel is

¹⁸ M.P. PEDANI, *In nome del Gran Signore. Inviati Ottomani dalla Caduta di Costantinopoli alla Guerra di Candia*, Venezia 1994.

¹⁹ R. BOSCHINI, *Gli ambasciatori veneziani da Solimano il Magnifico*, Venezia 1998.

²⁰ F. LUCCHETTA (ed.), *Veneziani in Levante, Musulmani in Venezia*, Venezia 1997.

²¹ M.G.S HODGSON, *Rethinking World History. Essays on Europe, Islam, and World History*, ed. by E. Burke, vol. III, Cambridge 1995 (1993), p. 3.

pre-eminently impersonated by the 'Grand Turk'²² feared and admired in the West throughout Renaissance and Enlightenment times, after which his haunting shadow grows smaller and less dangerous. Scourge and object of curiosity, he passes for Oriental otherness as such and the telling confusion between Moors and Turks in *Othello* is indicative of the metonymic status of Ottoman power, a more modern supplement for onetime Saracen aggression. Like the latter, it functions as 'violent midwife' to Europe, forcing it to defend itself, 'encourag[ing] it towards a stronger sense of self'²³.

Under Western eyes, the Infidel is unable to speak the language of truth, the language of the Bible, that is, so that, for serious reasons, he dwells outside the pale of God's plenty and beyond His munificence. He is bellicose, worships the wrong divinity and came into history belatedly, destructive, not constructive of civilization. In 1461 the Pope sends an *Epistula ad Mahometem* declaring the Sultan greater than Christian monarchs for reigning in a city succeeding the glory of the first Rome. It is an *epistola excitatoria*, most likely not authentic, one meant to attract the Other through assimilation – a *σπαράγμός* with strong identitary consequences. 'Turk', 'Infidel' and 'Saracen' were actually 'established roles in courtly and popular entertainments (...), part of folklore'²⁴ in Renaissance Europe. In a mystical vision Dionysus the Carthusian is reported to have shuddered at the question that he asked himself: 'Lord, will the Turk invade Rome?', and in Machiavelli's *Mandragola* a cue requires special attention: 'Do you think the Turk will make it to Italy this year?'²⁵.

Vile and servile, ignorant and tyrant, the fearful Turk was perceived as the pawn in the hands of Muhammad, that 'instrument of vengeance on a great part of humanity, because allied with the devil!'²⁶. While still a good deal of information about Turkishness was provided *anecdotally*, i.e. via reading and by hearsay, and only in limited proportion through direct observation, the still tattered banner of Crusade and jihad could be unfurled in the late seventeenth century²⁷. The Voltairian view that the West embraced unconditionally the view of *Mahomet* as 'le Fanatisme' did not differ too

²² F. CARDINI, *Europe and Islam*, Oxford 2003 (1999), p. 152.

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 3.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 142.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 144.

²⁶ P.J. MARSHALL and W. GLYNDWR, *The Great Map of New Worlds in the Age of the Enlightenment*, Cambridge (Mass.) 1982, p. 95.

²⁷ E.K. SHAW and C.J. HEYWOOD, *English and Continental Views of the Ottoman Empire: 1500-1800*, Los Angeles 1972, p. 34.

much from Rycaut's belief, in *The Present State of the Ottoman Empire* (1666), that

'[t]his Present (...) may be termed barbarous as all things are, which are different from us by diversity of manners and Custom, and are not dressed in the mode and fashion of our times an Countries; for we contract prejudice from ignorance and want of familiarity'²⁸.

Conversion from Christian to Turkish identity was a 'form of desperation and disillusion'²⁹ in the sixteenth century, at the peak of Renaissance recuperation of Europeanness by an encompassing return to the classic roots³⁰. The Turk was categorically the Antichrist, and did preserve that aura even into the eighteenth century, an age of celebrated valorization of the Orient as 'chinoiserie, turquerie and primitivism'³¹. A geography of strangeness full of landscapes of fear forms in the mind of the Enlightenment, with invitations to tea as a possible protocol of domestication³², or Dr. Johnson perceiving the cruelty in *King Lear* as fit for Guinea or the Middle Ages. Distance in space and time from 'our' civilized world makes all the difference. With the decrease of the Ottoman threat historical animosity dwindles into 'fascinated distrust'³³. Turkey recedes into the nooks of the Western mind as 'a haven from the bourgeois parlour' of burgeoning Romantic times³⁴.

An entity in itself, Venice preserves its singular identity from the tenth century, when it settles down as an aristocratic republic governed by doges and extends its power over the whole region in an exercise of sustained cohesive drive, as a magnet uniting difference within an area of sameness. It lives its apogee between the 1204 conquest of Constantinople by the Crusaders and 1453, when Constantinople falls to Muslim rule. Between two poles of identity, it acts as historical and historic catalyst. Hellenistic culture

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 40.

²⁹ CARDINI, *Europe and Islam*, p. 151.

³⁰ For early Renaissance perceptions of the Muslim East see the excellent study 'Petrarch's Vision of the Muslim and Byzantine East' by NANCY BISAHA, in *Speculum: A Journal of Medieval Studies*, 76/2 (2001), pp. 284-314.

³¹ G.S. ROUSSEAU and R. PORTER (eds.), *Exoticism in the Enlightenment*, Manchester-New York 1990, p. VI.

³² It is the case of the 'wild Boy' brought up in isolation and socialized via tea parties, under the parental eyes of such enlightened celebrities as Swift, Pope, Gay, Congreve and Arbuthnot. Cf. E. DUDLEY and M. NOVAK (eds.), *The Wild Man Within. An Image in Western Thought from the Renaissance to Romanticism*, London 1972.

³³ R. KABBANI, *Europe's Myths of Orient*, Bloomington (Ind.) 1986, p. 138.

³⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 93.

enriches its multiple identity in the sixteenth century. The seventeenth-century 'crise de la conscience européenne' is less acute here owing to the variegation of its identitary mosaic, still perfectly in place in the enlightened eighteenth century. Suspended as a republic by Napoleon only three years before the rationalist century comes to a close, it is integrated into Italy in 1866. Almost one and a half centuries later, we still see it as a cradle of plural reality, along a border of multiple borders. The richer for that matter.

Drago Roksandić

**RMANJ, AN ORTHODOX MONASTERY
ON THE TRIPLEX CONFINIUM –
PERCEPTIONS AND MYTHS, 15th-18th CENTURIES**

From a macro-historic point of view, the early modern history of the Serbian Orthodox monastery of Rmanj – built up at the point where the River Unac joins the River Una (near Martin Brod, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, on its border with Croatia), close to the imperial ‘Triplex Confinium’ – still reflects an insufficiently researched but actually emphasised problem of inter-confessional relationships in the triangle of western Christianity – eastern Christianity – Islam in Southeastern Europe¹. The aim of my research

¹ See: *Christianity and Islam in Southeastern Europe*, The Woodrow Wilson Center. East European Studies, Occasional Papers, n. 47 (1997). As well as one rare attempt of a parallel presentation of three Bosnian-Herzegovina ethno-confessional communities in early modern age: S. M. DŽAJA, *Konfesionalnost i nacionalnost Bosne i Hercegovine. Predemacijsko razdoblje 1463. – 1804.*, Mostar 1999 (See the chapter about Bosnian Serbian Orthodox, pp. 101-147). Here I emphasise some more important articles on the Monastery of Rmanj: S. N. TOMIĆ, ‘Manastir Rmanj’, *Bosanska vila*, 19 (1904), n. 1, pp. 13-15; 2, pp. 31-32; 3, pp. 52-54; 4, pp. 70-72; 7, p. 130; 8, pp. 152-153; 9, pp. 169-171; 10, pp. 191-193; 11, pp. 211-213. (NB: Signed: Atom. The author used all published articles to date.); Z. KAJMAKOVIĆ, ‘Manastir Rmanj i njegove freske’, in *Zbornik Svetozara Radojčića*, Beograd 1969, pp. 133-142; V. MATIĆ, ‘Rekonstrukcija manastira Rmanj’, *Naše starine*, Sarajevo 1984, pp. 201-215; ‘Manastir Rmanj’, in LJ. ŠEVO, *Pravoslavne crkve i manastiri u Bosni i Hercegovini do 1878. godine*, Banja Luka 2002, pp. 279-283. (NB: in the author’s previous book which was only available to me in English, see *Monasteries and Wooden Churches of the Banja Luka Eparchy*, Banja Luka 1998, Rmanj was mentioned but marginalized in relation to monasteries Gomionica, Moštanica and Lipalj.)

The exact name of the place where the monastery of Rmanj is today is Martin Brod. It originates from the female name ‘Marta’, not from the male ‘Martin’: ‘...*brod* in popular language means ford, the place where it is possible to cross water (therefore Bosanski and Slavonski Brod, Brod na Kupi etc.) and in Martin Brod, there is a legend about a girl named Marta who unfortunately drowned in the River Una... (I. LOVRENOVIĆ, ‘Velike ribe i Hag i Martin Brod’, *Dani*, Sarajevo, no. 92, 04.01.1999. See: <http://www.bhdani.com>).

was more modest, i.e. within the framework of micro-historical approach to problematize interweaving of legends, myths, national-ideological appropriations and historiographical knowledge about the history of Rmanj, mostly related to the question of the origin of the monastery². The legends, myths and national-ideological appropriations to be mentioned are not exclusively of the Serbian provenience. They are also Croatian and Bosnian and interpretative implications are not limited just to only one ethno-confessional community.

I started from the presumption that only with the break-out of the last war 1992-1995 the phenomena of the monastery of Rmanj and its heritage began to divide rather than to interconnect ethno-confessional cultures of Bosnia and Herzegovina. This is generally the case when it is about the relationship towards the 'others' in Bosnia and Herzegovina within the triangle of Muslim-Bosnians, Catholic-Croats and Orthodox-Serbs. During the war in Bosnia and Herzegovina acts of destruction of the ethno-confessional cultural heritage of the 'others' was one of its most striking characteristics. Deep changes of the historical contexts of internal-confessional dynamic in Bosnia and Herzegovina after the violent destruction of the SFR of Yugoslavia imposed the reinforcement of processes of auto-referent perceptions inside of each of the communities in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

On the other hand, the subject which has been problematized in this paper includes contributions of authors of the Serbian, Croatian and Bosnian cultural provenience. The scholarly method that I have been applying in this research should be perceived at the same time as my personal contribution to cultural reconciliation in that country. In this particular case-study of the monastery of Rmanj, this is very necessary to underline in an even more recent context. Namely, the current decision of the Government of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina about the building of hydroelectric system in the area of the Rivers Unac and Una, which would directly endanger the monastery itself, has already caused numerous reactions in Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially amongst nature lovers and admirers of the River Una which is probably the most beautiful in the area of Martin Brod and the monastery of Rmanj. The destiny of the monastery is rarely discussed

² I share the understanding of micro-history developed by Giovanni Levi. See his paper 'On Microhistory' in P. BURKE (ed.), *New Perspectives on Historical Writing*. University Park (Pa.) 1992, pp. 93-113.

in public and its conservation is a concern of only the Serbian Orthodox Church at the moment³.

The establishment of the monastery of Rmanj in Serbian Orthodox tradition is most frequently dated to the 15th century⁴. The Serbian Orthodox Church and its Eparchy of Bihać-Petrovac as well as the brotherhood of the monastery have recently started to celebrate the year of 1443 as the year of its foundation⁵. Although, according to the church's interpretation, this question is still open for further research. Otherwise, more or less any question related to the history of this without doubt important monastery to the Serbian Orthodoxy in both Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia is open to further research in Serbian history and the regional histories of parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia, i.e. Bosnian Krajina, Lika and Krbava. Recent concise church interpretation related to the earliest history of the monastery Rmanj follows:

³ "Kroatisch-muslimische Föderation in Bosnien will serbisches orthodoxes Kloster versenken. (Sarajevo) Die Regierung des kroatisch-muslimisch geprägten Teiles von Bosnien-Herzegowina hat kürzlich angekündigt, in der Nähe des serbischen orthodoxen Klosters Rmanj bei Martin Brod ein Wasserkraftwerk zu errichten. Zu diesen Zwecken soll am Fluss Una ein Stausee entstehen, in dem das Kloster und ein großes von Serben bewohntes Gebiet versenkt werden sollten. Diese beunruhigenden Nachrichten haben Metropolit Nikolaj von Dabar-Bosnien dazu veranlasst, sich mit einem Brief an den Premierminister des kroatisch-muslimischen Teils Bosniens, Ahmet Hadžipašić zu wenden. (...) Der serbische orthodoxe Metropolit von Dabar-Bosnien fragte sich, ob die Zerstörung der Gebetshäuser aller Religionen im letzten Bürgerkrieg in Bosnien-Herzegowina nicht genug gewesen wäre? (...)". *Sok Aktuell, Informationsdienst der Kommission Kirche und Gesellschaft der Serbischen Orthodoxen Diözese für Mitteleuropa*, Heiligabend, 6th January 2007.

⁴ The most important sources of the Serbian-Orthodox provenience, which depict different periods of the history of the monastery Rmanj were included into: LJ. STOJANOVIĆ, *Stari srpski zapisi i natpisi*, vol. 1, Beograd 1902, n. 1002, 1027, 1108, 1243-1245, 1539; vol. 2, Beograd 1905, n. 3544, 3545; vol. 4, Beograd 1905, n. 6612, 6613; vol. 5, Beograd 1905, n. 7703, 7800, 7897, 7800, 7801, 7817, 8014, 8019, 8043, 8221, 8223, 8331, 9452; vol. 6, Beograd 1988, n. 343. The sources of the other provenience still did not surpass the level of accepting/not accepting of the data from the Stojanović collection. Nevertheless, his sources are not sufficient for derivation of any kind of interpretation regarding any of the hypothesis about origin of the monastery. Some of the published original sources no longer exist and different readings and interpretations of available texts are possible.

⁵ *Novosti*, Informative Service of the Serbian Orthodox Church, published on 14th October 2003 the news 'Celebrated Autumn meeting in the monastery of Rmanj' related to 560 anniversary of the monastery Rmanj when three bishops celebrated holy liturgy. According to this, the year of the establishment of the monastery has been considered 1443. (http://www.spc.org.yu/Vesti-2003/10/14-10-03_12.html)

The Rmanj monastery in Martin Brod, dedicated to St. Nicolas Mirlikijski, was erected in the middle of the 15th century. It is thought to be the pious endowment of Katarina Branković – daughter of Đurađ Branković and wife of Ulrich II of Celje. According to another legend, the monastery was erected by the convert to Islam Pasha Predojević, conqueror of Bihać. Predojević was from Lušci Palanka. One of his relatives was Metropolitan Gavriilo Predojević who transferred the centre of the Dabro-Bosnian metropolis from the monastery of Banja near Priboj to the monastery in Rmanj. (...)

In the 16th century Rmanj monastery became the spiritual and administrative centre of the Serbian Church in Bosnia and the centre of the Dabro-Bosnian metropolitans for the next 110 years. Beside Gavriilo Predojević and other metropolitans, the most important, undoubtedly, was Metropolitan Teodor who had the title of “egzarh” of the whole of Dalmatia. In 1615, from Rmanj, he established the first Serbian theology school – ... of the monastery of Krka. In the monastery of Rmanj there was the iconography school, the liturgy and theology books were transcribed there.

Many times the Ottomans destroyed the monastery and burnt it and the monks who were not killed, escaped to Austro-Hungary and there they established the monastery of Lepavina and refurbished the monastery of Marča. (...) ⁶.

The question of the establishment of the monastery, thus, is still officially related to legend, tradition and painstaking research. Facing this problem demands better knowledge of the sources, as well as alternative approaches to the sources and, above all, consistent resolving of conceptual controversies and a number of ‘great issues’ of Croatian, Bosnian and Herzegovinian and Serbian history in the period between the Middle and Early Modern Ages.

Which are those ‘great issues’ directly connected with attempts to look for the answers to the question on the origin of the monastery and its earliest history? The pre-ordered space for this article limits my research to two questions:

Firstly, were there any Orthodox believers, i.e. Christians of the Eastern Ritual, in this area – locally and regionally – in the 15th century, who could have been the strong basis for the establishment and survival of a Serbian Orthodox monastery in an undoubtedly traditional Croatian Roman Catholic area? When did they come and when did they settle down and, finally, what can we be sure to write about it? ⁷

⁶ HRIZOSTOM, episkop žički, *Crkva. Kalendar Srpske pravoslavne patrijaršije za prostu 2006. godinu*, Sveti arhijerejski sinod Srpske pravoslavne crkve. Beograd 2006, p 114.

⁷ KTIȚOR (κτίτωρ) – the owner of the property dedicated to a church with precisely determined obligations, rights and restrictions which originated from his donation. Ktitor could have been the one who established a monastery, church, his successor or the one to whom the rights have been transmitted as well as a person who refurbishes a monastery,

Secondly, who could have been the founder (ktitor) of the monastery and who could have been long enough in a position to protect the monastery, so that it could survive in the initial period of its existence i.e. whom could they have transferred those rights and duties?

The first question obviously presumes both a micro-historical and macro-historical approach, while the second could possibly be resolved with a micro-historical approach.

Were there any Orthodox believers amongst Croatian Lapčani?

The monastery was established in the area of one of the oldest documented medieval Croatian communities, Lapčani, who most probably in the 15th century, had their 'table' precisely in Rmanj⁸. In terms of the Church jurisdiction, the area belonged to the Roman Catholic Bishopric of Knin⁹. Rmanj was not far away from the metropolis-archbishopric border of Split-Kalok, i.e. its position in the Bishopric of Knin was such that it was open for communication towards the Bishopric of Zagreb, Krbava, Nin and Bosnia. At the same time the historiographically undoubted borders of the Serbian Orthodoxy were at that time on the opposite, eastern borders of the Kingdom of Bosnia. Until 14th-15th centuries this locality was known under the name of Konuba in the available sources, which a long time ago opened a discussion about a community of monks of eastern origin, rooted in traditions of late antiquity, which could then have continued to exist as Benedictine or Franciscan¹⁰. From the 15th century, alongside the name

giving as a gift a part of estate, property and privileges (...)’ M. ŠUICA, ‘Ktitor’, in S. ĆIRKOVIĆ and R. MIHALJČIĆ (eds.), *Leksikon srpskog Srednjeg veka*, Beograd 1999, pp. 336-339.

⁸ R. LOPAŠIĆ, *Bihać i bihaćka krajina*, Zagreb 1890; M. MAGDIĆ, ‘Grad Rmanj u Bosni’, *Jutarnji list*, 6/1917, 1905/1805!/, pp. 2-3; M. BARADA, ‘Lapčani’, *Rad JAZU*, vol. 300, Zagreb 1954; B. GUŠIĆ, ‘Naseljenje Like do Turaka’, *Zbornik Historijskog arhiva u Karlovcu*, vol. 5, Karlovac 1973. Mr. sc. Meri Kunčić from Lexicographic Institute ‘Miroslav Krleža’ wrote a not yet published article *Srednjovjekovni Rmanj* (Medieval Rmanj) which contains more comprehensive insight into selective Croatian literature about Rmanj until the end of the 15th century.

⁹ See the most comprehensive overview of the history of the regional Roman Catholic heritage: N. BILOGRIVIĆ, *Katolička crkva na području današnje Banjalučke biskupije do invazije Turaka. Topološke i povijesne crtice*, ed. Dr. Anto Orlovac, Sarajevo 1998.

¹⁰ “The name Konuba (*Conuba*), according to the opinion of some historians has its origin in the Greek language and in the Middle Ages it appeared in the Latin version *coenobium* which means monastery.” (Kunčić) Ivan Ostojić, referring to the work of Franjo Rački ‘Bogumils and Patarens’, wrote: “Rački concluded that the monchs of Bosnian monasteries, so-called

Konuba, appeared the name Rmanj¹¹. The replacement of one name with another remains an historiographically open question¹². If we would accept

Christians, who at the time of Ban Kulin (1203) were converted from Bogumil to Catholic religion, could have belonged to the order of St. Basil or St. Benedict.” (See: I. OSTOJIĆ, *Benediktinci u Hrvatskoj i ostalim našim krajevima*, vol. 2, *Benediktinci u Dalmaciji*, Split 1964, p. 532 (with the map *Monasteries in Bosnia and Dalmatian Zagora*, on the same page). His conclusion which is very enthusiastic and therefore valuable to mention here: “...if those old Glagolitic monks really escaped from Bosnia to Dalmatia, then they did this before they accepted or to avoid the acceptance of the order of St. Benedict. It seems to me the hypothesis that the Bosnian *Christians* were Slavic monks, deformed successors of Method’s pupils, is closer to truth. Their organisation could have influenced eastern types and western rules but they had very little in common with the Benedictine order. (...) More precisely, it was an attempt to place a Benedictine monastery in Konobe-Rmanj and one in Voljice in the County of Bugojno. We will mention both of them here but only as monasteries...” (op. cit., p. 533 as well as p. 542) Regarding the Franciscan monks, from 1298 the Croatian Province had extended rights of inquisition in “Serbia, Rascia, Dalmatia, Croatia, Bosnia, Istria and neighbouring regions.” (Taken from F. E. HOŠKO, *Franjevci u kontinentalnoj Hrvatskoj kroz stoljeća*, Zagreb 2000, p. 78). Nevertheless, “Franciscans permanently settled in the area of the Bishopric of Krbava in the 1380s.” (the same, p. 76) In the 15th century the Franciscan’s activity spread extensively in the area of our interest, but with the fall of Bosnia in 1463 into the Ottoman hands, the nature and conditions of their work completely changed: “According to the decision of the highest administration, the Franciscan order was divided on 29th June 1514. Bosnian Vicariate had two new counties: Vicariate Bosnia Srebrenička (Srebrena, Argentina) under the Ottoman government and Vicariate Bosnia-Croatia which gathered the monasteries in the territories which were still not occupied by the Turks...” (p. 84). In the chapter “Franciscans in the Bishopric of Krbava” of this book (pp. 73-86), Hoško did not mention Rmanj as a Franciscan monastery, but he depicts it in the map of “Monasteries of Bosnian – Croatian Province between 1514 and 1526” (p. 86), as a monastery of the Cetina custody. Franjo Šanjek in his work *Crkva i kršćanstvo u Hrvata. Srednji vijek. Drugo prerađeno i dopunjeno izdanje* (Zagreb 1993) did not mention Konuba or Rmanj.

¹¹ Term ‘Rmanj’ appeared in the sources of the early modern age in many other forms. Mithad Kozličić classified them most systematically, using the cartographic sources: Armagno, Armago, Erenaw, Erman, Ermaw, Ernaw, Fram, Orban, Orbin, Oriman, Orma(n) and Orman. The oldest map in which Rmanj is noted in the form ‘Armagno’ originating from the Venetian map of Giacomo Gastaldi from 1546. See: M. KOZLIČIĆ, *Regiones flumina Unnae et Sanae in veteribus tabulis geographicis. Unsko-sansko područje na starim geografskim kartama (Izbor karata, planova i veduta u kontekstu historije Unsko-sanskog područja od kraja 15. Do početka 18 stoljeća)*, Sarajevo – Bihać 2003. Philological, ethnographical and historiographical interpretations related to Rmanj have been until recently and very frequently on the edge of legends, myths and scientific presumption. I will mention only one of them here, due to limited space: Zef Mirdita wrote: “The name Roman (Romā) appears as cognomen in the forms of ‘Erman’, ‘Herman’, for example Nika Erman (or *Nichil* or *Nichi Herman!*) *nobilis della potente federazione Pamalioti*, i.e. the Duke *nichil Erman qui nominatur voyuvoda* who was arguing with the enemy i.e. Serbs”, in Z. MIRDITA, *Vlasi u historiografiji*, Zagreb 2004, p. 204.

¹² Nikola Bilogrivić is one of the best experts in ancient history of Roman Catholic Church in the western Bosnian area and after he had researched different interpretations he simply

Ivan Ostojić's theory about a community of monks of eastern origin, we could not derivate its connection with Orthodoxy. In order to establish an Orthodox monastery in a traditionally Roman Catholic area, it is necessary to impose the question who might be Orthodox believers who could have been more or less permanent inhabitants of the area.

Manoilo Sladović, author of the work *Povesti biskupijah Senjske i Modruške ili Krbavske* (History of the Bishoprics of Senj and Modruš or Krbava), Trieste 1856, in the chapter 'O nesjedinjenih grčkog obreda' (About those non-united of the Greek ritual) (pp. 435-437), the phenomena as 'heresy', i.e. 'schism', in the territory of the bishopric dated in 1134 and afterwards. Namely, "during King Sigismund's rule (1387 – 1437) we found many Serbs in the Krbava area, especially alongside the River Una in the present Srb Company from the triple confinium and alongside the borderline with Bosnia and in Lika around Senj. Greatly efficient were immigrations to our scarcely populated bishopric which is mostly (near to the border) still covered with forest, during the wars against the Ottomans and their intrusions for our Duke Katzianer (see the letter of the citizens of Bihać in 1530) (...) When they moved in, these Serbs visited our churches and were served by our priests, as it is still the obvious case, where Serbs come to our priest for blessing and pay for masses in our churches especially on 'mlada nedelja' or whichever they frequent (...)” (p. 435)¹³.

Radoslav Lopašić – despite Sladović who in 1879 wrote about “non-united of the Greek ritual” wrote, as about Serbs as late medieval ‘Greek-eastern’ believers and he perceived them almost exclusively as ‘vlachs’, but writing their name with a small ‘v’¹⁴. For him is without doubt that he saw Vlachs in different parts of Croatia through the whole of the 15th century. For

concluded: “I don't know where the new name comes from” (BILOGRIVIĆ, *Katolička crkva*, p. 222). In the literature there is no information about how and when Rmanj became Martin Brod and when the name Rmanj became ‘reserved’ only for the monastery. The work of PETAR RAČENOVIĆ ‘Unac. Antropogeografska ispitivanja’, *Naselja i poreklo stanovništva*, vol. 30, Beograd 1948, pp. 443-640 (Srpska Akademija Nauka i Umetnosti) does not contain the term ‘Martin Brod’ nor does the book of Mithad Kozličić.

¹³ One of Sladović's successors, JOSIP BURIĆ in his book *Biskupije Senjska i Modruška u XVIII stoljeću*, ed. M. Bogović, Gospić – Zagreb 2002, relates to Sladović. In the third part of his book ('Unsuccessful attempt of unifying Vlachs of eastern ritual with the Catholic Church', pp. 165-204), Burić already refers to information about 'Vlachs' 'schismatic' in medieval Croatia in the 14th century (p. 167 and further) but he limits them on “some schismatic on the Bosnian border”, which is the area of our interest here. In opposition to them, according to the author, 'Croatian Vlachs' were no different “in religious and national senses” from the rest of Croats. (p. 168).

¹⁴ R. LOPAŠIĆ, *Karlovac. Poviest i mjestopis grada i okolice*, Karlovac 1933 (1879).

example, when he refers to Krčelić's 'Notitiae preliminaries...' (p. 350), he wrote of King Sigismund who in 1412 allowed Ivan, the son of Ivan Nelipić, the Count of Cetina, the free use of wide areas "cum universes Croatis et Vlachis" (*Ibidem*, p. 140). King Matthias Corvinus, himself populated Lika with "Vlachs" and in 1481 the Hungarian Diet freed them from paying the church tithe. Lopašić presumed that from the same time "originated the Vlach's settlements around Unac, Srb and Glamoč who after 1530 became Ottoman subjects (*Walachi Turcorum, qui commoraverunt in Zerb et in Unatz et in Glamoch*, in *Ibidem*, pp. 142-143). It is necessary to observe here that Lopašić was amongst those who in the Croatian historiography shared the opinion that Vlachs in Croatian countries, before and after the Ottoman conquests were not related to each other. If he considered them as Christians of the eastern ritual, he excluded a possibility that they were Orthodox i.e. without any church hierarchy established and he believed that they became Catholics:

There are no traces in the preserved sources about any separate church hierarchy of the Greek-Eastern Church amongst these immigrants for the first period of their immigration. Immigrants were not considered, within the Croatian counties and according to principles given by Matthias Corvinus, to have a church in his state as followers of a distinctive church approved by the Pope. They were considered as believers with the particular Greek ritual. Some of the immigrant's (*Uskoks*) tribes were happy if they could build up churches of eastern ritual for their priest and monks. (*Ibidem*, p. 150)

When we talk about the medieval vlachs/Vlachs in Croatia in the Croatian historiography, it is useful to distinguish simultaneous, corresponding and opposite approaches of Vjekoslav Klaić and Ferdo Šišić in their main works *Povijest Hrvata* (History of Croats) and *Pregled povijesti hrvatskog naroda* (Overview of the History of the Croatian People). Today it is a rare situation that someone refers to Klaić's original statements regarding 'Vlachs', therefore I will quote them here. For Klaić, "...in the 14th century the emigrants from the Balkan Peninsula started to move to Croatia and Dalmatia. In the sources they were called Vlachs of Morlachs (Vlachi, Olachi, Morlachi, Morlaci, Vallachi, Murlachi, Volachi)"¹⁵. According to their origin they were descendants of pre-Slavic inhabitants of the Balkan Peninsula and were mostly inhabiting its eastern and south-eastern areas and those

¹⁵ V. KLAJĆ. *Povijest Hrvata od najstarijih vremena do svršetka XIX stoljeća*, vol. 3, Zagreb 1972, p. 22.

amongst them who lived under Bulgarian and Serbian rule, Slavised over time, retaining the name 'Vlasi'

...because of their occupation. Those Vlachs were not cultivating lands as the Slavs did. They were shepherds and grazed their flocks and traded with shepherd's products. They did not have towns or large settlements. They lived in mountain regions together with their cattle and then they would come to the valleys for grazing and again return to the mountains. The Vlach settlements in the mountains are katuni (katun from Roman *cantone*) and the name still exists today in some Croatian and Serbian regions.

(...) Alongside cattle breeding they were also carrying different goods on mules and horses; their caravans known as turma and turmari (Slavonic, ponosnici) contributed to the transport of goods from and to coastal and hinterland areas on the Balkan Peninsula. During wars, Vlachs always carried goods for soldiers. (Klaić, *Povijest hrvata*, vol. 3, p. 23)

Klaić was amongst those who in continental medieval Croatia – in opposition to coastal and insular Croatia – did not find Romanised inhabitants and therefore for him Vlachs in Croatia

(...)... for the first time appeared about 1320. Ban Mladen II of the Šubić tribe fought with their help (*auxilio Vlacorum et Policianorum*) against his enemies. (...) during the 14th century Vlachs spread through the whole of Croatia from Cetina to Neretva and Velebit and even further, they started to penetrate into the territories of Dalmatian cities and islands. (*Ibidem*, p. 23)

As he said further more, “at the end of the 14th century the whole of Croatia from Gvozd to Neretva was full of Vlachs and since then Vlachs were very often mentioned alongside Croats as a separate class of inhabitants (*omnes Valachos regni nostri Croacie; - totum regnum Croatiae et Valachi in eo existents*). From very early times the Vlach's immigrants started to be used in the military service of kings and Croatian magnates. (...) ...minority of Vlachs who during the 14th century moved to Croatia, were descendants of those Vlachs who lived in Serbia and Bosnia through few generations and they Croatised completely. In this way these newcomers could not be distinguished from Croatian natives by the language. They could only be distinguished by their occupation and social position. The majority of them were Greek-eastern religion (*Vlachi schismatici*); but they were also Catholics or at least those who accepted this religion” (Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, vol. 3, pp. 24-25).

However, in contemporary Croatian historiography quite a different interpretation of the history of Croatian late medieval vlachs/Vlachs, whose most influential representative was Ferdo Šišić, prevails¹⁶. His theory of discontinuity in the history of Vlachs in Croatia is on the crossroads between the late Middle Ages and the Early Modern Age, i.e. before and after the Ottoman conquests. Speaking about Vlachs: “they are more numerous than any other inhabitants, especially in the 15th century...” (Šišić, *Pregled povijesti hrvatskog naroda*, p. 243). Their ethno-genesis he explained in a similar way as Klaić did and he agreed with him, referring to Croatian areas where Vlachs were the most numerous at the time (“Croatia was full of Vlachs from Neretva to Gvozd, especially around the rivers Cetina, Zrmanja and Lika;...”). Nevertheless, completely opposite to Klaić, Šišić felt that “they were mostly Catholic, and only in exceptions were Greek-eastern (*Vlachi schismatici*). ‘Croatian Vlachs’ or ‘Vlachs in Croats’ as they called themselves, spoke Chakavian dialect since they Croatized, as can be proven by preserved documents and their names received Croatian forms” (*Ibidem*). Šišić himself added in a note that “those Vlachs should be distinguished from Greek-eastern Serbs-Vlachs during the Ottoman period from the 16th and 17th centuries onwards (...)” (*Ibidem*). It is important to add here that the followers of Šišić’s approach today, in a century’s prospective, are very divided among themselves¹⁷. Although a large number of papers based

¹⁶ F. ŠIŠIĆ, *Pregled povijesti hrvatskog naroda*, ed. J. Šidak, Zagreb 1962 (1916).

¹⁷ See works of Zef Mirdita, mentioned in footnote 10 which more comprehensively note recent works on Vlachs subjects. The master thesis of Marko Šarić *Dinarski Vlasi između Osmanskog Carstva i Venecije. Povijest pravnih institucija jednog krajiškog društva (15.-17. st.)* (*Dinaric Vlachs between the Ottoman Empire and Venice. History of legal institutions of one border society. 15th-17th century*), defended at the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb, in 2005, it was an attempt to redefine the Vlach problem on the crossroads of the Late Medieval and Early Modern periods, with comprehensive bibliographic references. This work encompasses the problems of Dinaric Vlachs, and therefore, those who were integrated in Serbian, Bosnian and Croatian medieval societies.

The third current in the Croatian historiography at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries was advocated by Rudolf Horvat, in particular in his work *Povijest Hrvatske* (Petrinja 1904), claiming that in the Early Modern period there were no Serbian Orthodox Vlachs in Croatia. According to him, Orthodox ‘Vlachs’ immigrated to Croatian countries from the 16th to the 18th centuries and only in the 19th century they were Serbianized by exogenous processes. In recent times, especially 1991-1992 this approach to the history of Vlachs became very influential, insisting that the Serbian national integration of ‘Vlachs’ was a consequence of their own interiorization of Great Serbian state ideology (‘Načertanije’, by Ilija Garašanin), appropriation of the Great Serbian tradition of Church Orthodoxy (referring to Saint Sabbas, *Sveti Sava*, founder of the Serbian Orthodox Church in the 13th century, namely, *svetoslavlje*), as well as Great Serbian appropriation of the Shtokavian dialect (Vuk Karadžić) in the 19th

on Vlach communities in Late Medieval and Early Modern Croatia were published in the 20th century, it is possible to classify them in a typological way according to interpretative forms in which were established in the period from the 1850s until the 1910s.

In continental Croatia in the late Middle Ages, especially in the 14th and the 15th centuries, vlachs/Vlachs firstly appeared. The majority of historians who established the modern Croatian historiography believed that they partially originated from the eastern part of the Balkan Peninsula (most often from Serbia and Bosnia), that they were Slavenised after the arrival of Croats and that they continued to live in Croatia in the Vlach way as well as that their influence in the feudal society, economy, military etc. grew constantly. The majority of disputes occur when discussing their confessional affiliation. Even then when there is an agreement that they arrived to Croatia as Orthodox and that in Croatia of the time there was no church hierarchy which could support their being Orthodox, there is still an open question about what really happened with their confessional affiliation after having settled down in Croatia.

I personally advocate an approach which could be consequently derived from a history of popular religion. Having in mind, firstly, that Dinaric Vlachs in the Late Middle Ages and later in the Early Modern Age – were most of the time mobile, transhumant inhabitants and, secondly, that they originated from the indigenous, but Romanised, late antiquity communities who were able to keep their Christianity for over two, three centuries in a sea of Slavic paganism from the 7th century onwards, there should not be any doubt that they were able to interiorise patterns of their own, Vlach Christian religious culture, however and wherever it was at the time¹⁸. We could presume that

century (for example: M. VALENTIĆ, 'O etničkom korijenu hrvatskih i bosanskih Srba', *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, 24 (1992), pp. 1-2).

¹⁸ This question has rarely been clearly enough discussed. Sima Ćirković gave one addition to this case with whom I personally agree: "The religious differences represented a deep gap between natives and Slavs. The tradition of the antagonism between Christian Roman and pagan Slavs was reflected in the sources from much later periods. The penetration of Christianity amongst Slavs created the possibilities for the closer connection and mixing of the two ethnic elements, which led to the known result. Unfortunately we are very poorly informed in regards to the very important process of Christianisation amongst the southern Slavs. According to the data, which Byzantine Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus in the middle of the 10th century used, Serbs were the same as Croats, baptised by Roman priests during the time of the Emperor Heraclius, which was immediately after their immigration. From one reliable source we can see that Croats were mentioned as pagans in the year of Heraclius's death. It is most probable that the large influence of Rome in the spreading of Christianity amongst southern Slavs was related to the church centres in Dalmatian towns

in the same way they could have had trust only in their own priests, the people who together with their families moved around with Vlachs, as well as, very similar to them – monks who as hermits could have also followed them for long distances. On the other hand, there should be no doubt that they tried to avoid conflicts with established churches – after Slavs had been Christianized and established their states – because these kinds of conflicts would bring many other troubles related to their transhumant way of life. This means that the question of Orthodox or Roman Catholic trust in the late Middle Ages and later was secondary for them¹⁹.

In the 15th century the Franciscans in Roman Catholic ways ‘disciplined’ numerous Vlachs in large parts of the Dinaric area in Bosnia and Croatia but the question is how long the results lasted bearing in mind the arrival of the Ottomans. On the other hand, as it was emphasised by Radoslav Grujić in 1909, the 14th century in Hungary was intolerant towards non-Catholics, but after first major Hungarian defeats at the end of the 14th century against the Ottomans and establishing connection with the Serbian Despots, “the extreme religious politics of Hungarian-Croatian kings softened and they allowed the Orthodox religion on their territories according to special royal legal provisions (Sigismund in 1412 and 1428, Vladislav 1450 and 1455, Matthias, 1464, 1473, 1477 and 1481, Vladislav II, 1495, queen Anna, 1503 and John Zapolja 1536), excluding Serbs and other Orthodox people from the duty of paying tithe to the Catholic clergy. In this way the 3rd and 4th articles of the law from 1481 which were accepted in the Diet of Buda, and approved by the King Matthias Corvinus, say: 1. “In the same way let Serbs and other Schismatics not be obliged to pay tithe and they should not be forced to do this by the heads of villages, like the others (Roman Catholic)

whose importance grew especially after the middle of the 8th century when after the fall of the Exarchate of Ravenna, the Emperor dedicated more attention to them. The oldest preserved monuments of the re-established Christianity in Bosnia, small churches built of the stones from Roman ruins, show a great relationship with the monuments of the Dalmatian cities of the time. The Latin origins of Slavic baptism can be proven with the basic church terminology which is completely Roman: oltar (*altare*), križ (*crux*), raka (*arca*), meša (*messa*) etc. The results of missionary work to which the church centres were so passionately dedicated, were possibly very limited for a long time. Christian names in Serbian ruling families appeared in the second half of the 9th century. More favourable conditions for the wider spread and establishment of Christianity amongst Slav masses in the Balkans were created after the appearance of church literature and the work of the brothers from Thessaloniki and their students”, in S. ĆIRKOVIĆ, *Istorija srednjovekovne bosanske države*, Beograd 1964, p. 37.

¹⁹ This was not the rule because Serbian Orthodox Vlachs greatly resisted the pressure to change their ethno-confessional identity, especially after the renewal of the Peć Patriarchy in 1557, as subjects of different Emperors.

who pay this kind of tithe.” This legal article was re-confirmed by the 45th article from 1495 in which, alongside Serbs as Schismatic, were also named *Rušnjaci*, i.e. Ruthenians, and Vlachs, i.e. Romanians²⁰.

It is almost certain that this article from 1481 was applied in Croatia regarding Vlachs. Thus it is not difficult to presume what happened for a century or two with ‘Vlachs in Croats’. Between the imperative of Roman Catholic obedience and situational confessional tolerance, more generations of Vlachs – people who in different ways became more and more influential during the Croatian Middle Ages – gradually changed and acculturate in conditions which were different from those where they were coming originally from. Nevertheless, this was not the case everywhere. Poor information indicates that in the area of the Upper Una, Upper Zrmanja, Upper Krka and the Upper Cetina the endurance of ‘Schismatic Vlachs’ was greater than anywhere else in Croatia including the 15th century. If they were not able to practice their religion and build the churches and monasteries in a legal way, but they could have done this in an ‘alternative’ way in accordance with their deeply-rooted Vlach traditions.

Did this have any relationship with the origin of the monastery of Rmanj in the 15th century? It is difficult to say because there are no such historical researches on the Serbian Orthodox popular religious culture, which could facilitate an investigation. In answer to the first question about the plausibility that there were Orthodox amongst the Lapčani in the 15th century, we can conclude that this kind of possibility could not be excluded and even more, that it was possible and I would personally accept it as a hypothesis, but no more than a hypothesis. Certainly, a meticulous research could only resolve this dilemma regarding this question but this is beyond the framework of this article.

This was related to changing circumstances that after the fall of Bosnia and the Ottoman intrusions in Croatia Vlachs reappeared in the area where the Unac and the Una join. Lapčani were, undoubtedly, victims of brutal Ottoman warfare. Nevertheless, there is a question still without answer, was this the case of Vlachs in the same area. In any case, when the Ottomans finally conquered this area – by 1527 – its Vlach re-colonisation was fast, but short term because after the Ottoman abolishment of the Vlachs’ privileges after the battle of Mohacz (1526) a wave of Serbian-Vlachs migrations to the Habsburg side of the border started in 1530 and onwards exactly from

²⁰ R.M. GRUJIĆ, *Apologija srpskog naroda u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji i njegovih glavnih obeležja. Povodom “Optužnice” kr. Držav. Odvetnika u Zagrebu od 12. I. 1909*, Novi Sad 1909, pp. 16-17 (reprint 2002).

this area. So, this was a year later after the Ottoman siege of Vienna (1529) and seven years before the fall of Klis and the transfer of its Uskoks to Senj (1537). In the contemporary Croatian historiography even a mention that the emigration of those Vlachs was largely influenced by the besieged people in at that time still Croatian Bihać, their neighbours, is usually missing²¹. Would have people from Bihać guaranteed for someone who only arrived as Ottoman auxiliary, *martolos*? This was about Vlachs who were known as 'Serbs' and 'Rasciani' according to the privileges given them²²! Was it possible that the monastery of Rmanj existed and survived in this time? If the monastery existed at all, did the monks participate in the migrations to the Habsburg side of the borderland? Where did the Uskok Orthodox priests at that time Jovan Maleševac and Matija Popović, who were later on also in Germany as Protestant collaborators in Urach, come from to Žumberak, on the Habsburg side²³? These are the questions for some further research.

Let me conclude. Independently of their origin, large numbers of medieval Croatian Vlachs could not be related with Serbian Middle Ages because there is no evidence for this. Nevertheless, bearing in mind that Croatian Vlachs – as with Bosnian and Serbian Vlachs – could not be understood outside the wide Dinaric Vlach context, it is impossible to exclude a presumption that in medieval Croatia some groups of Orthodox Vlachs could have settled and they could have had a deep and constant connection with Serbian Orthodoxy. There are more sources which indicate that these kind of groups could have existed in the area of our interest here which does not exclude that in the same area could have also been Croatian Vlach communities i.e. those which were integrated in Croatian Middle Ages, even in a confessional

²¹ "...in 1530 nobility, citizens, even vicars with clergy of the town of Bihać gave recommendation to Katzainer to accept Vlachs from Srb, Unac and Glamoč and they guaranteed for them with their own heads;..." (BILOGRIVIC, *Katolička crkva*, p. 223). One such letter was published by Sladović (*Ibidem*, p. 438)

²² D. ROKSANDIĆ, *Srbi u Hrvatskoj*, Zagreb 1991. Those same people, unhappy with the way their problems were being resolved in their new settlements in Carniola, in a moment of crisis 1542-3, asked at the royal court in Vienna to approve their further migration to the estates of Petar Bakić, who was a brother of the last Serbian Despot Pavle Bakić (who lost his life in the Gorjani battle, in Slavonia, in 1537) and who as a warrior and landlord living in Holič, on the north-west border of Hungary and managing his large properties. See: A. IVIĆ, 'Iz prošlosti Srba Žumberačana', in *Spomenik Srpske kraljevske akademije*, vol. 49, Subotica 1923, p. 9; J. RADONIĆ, *Prilozi za istoriju Srba u Ugarskoj u XVI., XVII. i XVIII veku*, vol. 1, Novi Sad 1908, pp. 1-6 (Ostrogon, Vienna, Wirtemberg, 1527, 1528, 1534, 1535, 1547. Presented papers of Ferdinand I and abstracts for Pavle Bakić and his brothers).

²³ J. MAL, 'Uskočke seobe i slovenske pokrajine. Povest naseobina s kulturno-istorijskim prikazom (sa kartom)', *Srpski etnografski zbornik*. vol. 30, Ljubljana 1924, pp. 148-149.

way. They could have been the same as those spread through the whole of Croatia during the late Middle Ages²⁴.

Was it possible for Katarina Celjska / Kantakuzina Branković to be ktitor of Rmanj?

It is very rarely mentioned in historiography that Count Hermann II of Celje (Celjski), at the time the Ban of Slavonia, on the basis of the royal charter from 6th May 1430 owned many towns and estates from Bihać to Knin and further²⁵. Amongst those towns was Rmanj and he received numerous “volachos regni nostri Croatie”²⁶. Nevertheless, some years later Rmanj was the property of Count Nikola Frankopan²⁷. As Kantakuzina Branković, the daughter of the Serbian Despot Đurađ Branković became Katarina Celjska (of Celje), wife of Count Ulrich II Celjski (Hermann’s son) in 1433, it would be absurd to think that she as on her own could have done anything in Rmanj, not even to think that she might have entered into a ktitor enterprise with the eventual ‘Schismatic Vlachs’ of the area. Although Katarina Celjska,

²⁴ Regarding the 19th century Serbian historians in Croatia, the most influential amongst them, Manojlo Grbić, had an opinion that Early Modern Serbian Orthodox Vlachs had no relationship with late medieval Croatian Vlachs. See: M. GRBIĆ, *Karlovačko vladичество*, Topusko 1990, pp. 171-175. The first book, which is of interest here, was published in Karlovac in 1891. Radoslav Grujić, the most influential historian amongst Serbs in Croatia at the turn of the centuries, had the same opinion. He wrote: “...these Slavenised Vlachs of Roman origin should be well distinguished from so-called Vlachs who were the real Serbs and of Serbian origin as well as being distinguished in sources as: Volachi, Vlachi, Valachi, Murlachi, Morlachi and Morlaci, while for those second so-called Vlachs or Serbs the sources very often state: “Vlachi sive Rasciani”, “Rasciani vulgo Valachi”, “Morlachi o Serviani”, and only “Serviani seu Rasciani” or only “Serviani” and only “Rasciani”. In GRUJIĆ, *Apologija srpskog naroda u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji*, pp. 54-55.

²⁵ L. THALLÓCZI, S. BARABÁS, ‘A Frangepán család oklevéltára. Codex diplomaticus comitum de Frangepanibus. Első kötet 1133-1453’, *Monumenta Hungariae Historica. Diplomataria*, vol. 35, Budapest 1910, pp. 231-233.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 231.

²⁷ BILOGRIVIĆ, *Katolička crkva*, p. 222. Pál Engel in *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, Budapest 1996, p. 401, about Rmanj says: “*Rmanj* (Croatia, Lapačka County, today Bosnia and Herzegovina). Castrum. Hungarian forms of medieval names were *Ormán* and *Ermen*. The royal fortress, which belonged to the Croatian Ban (1368). In 1430 Sigismund pawned it to Nikola Frankopan, his son Ivan [1436.] took it from Matko Talovac, but in 1437 the king gave it together with Lapačka County (district), in pawn to Ivan’s widow and son Juraj (Frankopan I. 231, 235, 247, 292), who owned it in 1450. (DF 231270). – Ruins next to the River Una, near where it joins the River Unac, south-east from Kulen Vakufa (ALBH 11.117).” (I am thankful to Željko Holjevac, PhD, for his translation from Hungarian.)

it seems, remained Serbian Orthodox after she got married to Count Celjski, there is no evidence that she erected an Orthodox Church anywhere on the Celjski estates²⁸. Hermann III, who was son of Katarina and Ulrich II, was born in 1439 and died in 1451²⁹. In this time, when her son was born, Rmanj was no longer the property of the Celjski family, but when they re-established themselves in this region again, 1454-55, Hermann Celjski, who was supposed to become the Bosnian king was no longer alive.

The obsession of Celjskis with the Bosnian royal crown was legally recognized in 1427. Namely, Bosnia – the ‘everlasting’ obsession of the Hungarian kings from the 13th to the 15th centuries – only from the beginning of the 15th century began to be more effectively dependent on Hungary which additionally strengthened the wishes of the Hungarian kings to inherit the Bosnian crown. Sigismund was one of them. In 1427 Sigismund concluded the agreement in the interest of the family of his wife who was born as Countess of Celje with the Hungarian oriented Bosnian King Tvrtko II: “Tvrtko II was convinced to leave the Bosnian crown to Hermann Celjski if he did not have descendents. Tvrtko II released a charter about this in autumn 1427 (...)”³⁰. Nevertheless, after Tvrtko II died in 1443, changes taking place both in Hungary and Bosnia excluded such an outcome, nobody thought about the charter from 1427 and any rights of the Counts of Celje in Bosnia³¹.

Although Ulrich II Celjski himself did not renounce his right to Bosnia, he was not able to do anything more because of his very weak status in Hungary at that time. In Bosnia he had no support, not even from Serbian Despot Đurađ Branković³². Nevertheless, after the death of his major opponent Pjerko Talovac in 1453 and after the return of the King Ladislav the Posthumous in 1454, the chances of Ulrich II Celjski to reinforce his influence in Croatia and Bosnia increased:

²⁸ M. SPREMIĆ, *Despot Đurađ Branković i njegovo doba*, Beograd – Banja Luka 1999 (1994). Nevertheless, there are numerous sources about her dedications to Orthodoxy. At least two Serbian Orthodox monks, related to her in Varaždin, transcribed the first Orthodox liturgical book in Varaždin, in 1454 (*Varaždinski apostol/Apostle of Varaždin*). See: *Varaždinski Apostol. Povodom 550. godina od nastanka*. Beograd – Zagreb 2004, as well as the reprint of the original manuscript.

²⁹ SPREMIĆ, *Despot Đurađ Branković*, p. 206.

³⁰ ĆIRKOVIĆ, *Istorija srednjovekovne bosanske države*, pp. 259-260.

³¹ D. LOVRENOVIĆ, *Na klizištu povijesti (sveta krana ugarska i sveta krana bosanska) 1387-1463*, Zagreb – Sarajevo 2006, p. 241

³² ĆIRKOVIĆ, *Istorija srednjovekovne bosanske države*, pp. 276-277.

(...) When Celjski was elected Ban of Croatia he started to take the towns, and Tomaš openly opposed him, being afraid that Ulrich could conquer the lands of Talovac and connect them with the lands of Herzeg Stefan. As he was at peace with his father-in-law, he asked Venice not to obstruct the advancement of Celjski and asked the Herzeg to stay away from Cetina district. The connection with the main Hungarian parties deepened the existing great strife in Bosnia³³.

In 1455 Ulrich II concentrated on the conquest of Knin “head and the main town of Croatia” and after this other parts of Dalmatia³⁴. Nevertheless, very soon after this he was killed and the ‘Empire’ of the Counts of Celjski, despite strong efforts by the Countess Katarina Celjska, collapsed in a few years. Thus, practically the possibility of Katarina or her husband, who might have needed the local Vlachs, of doing anything related to the establishment of the monastery of Rmanj was not possible. The only thing, which could possibly have happened, was the increase of tolerance towards an assumed monks’ hermit community. However, anything, if happened at all, lasted too short to have any affect on the process of the establishment of the monastery of Rmanj and the tradition of Celjski.

Kantakuzina Branković/Katarina Celjska lived all her life caught between her Orthodox and Roman Catholic experiences and temptations. At the same time her sister Mara, with whom she spent a part of her latter years, passed through drama of being a sultana and living on the crossroads of Christianity and Islam. These two symbolically shared the experiences and destinies of those Vlachs who in these decades passed through the dramas of life on the triple confine³⁵.

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 310.

³⁴ LOVRENOVIĆ, *Na klizištu povijesti*, p. 310.

³⁵ At the end, Ignacije Voje pointed to poorly researched and certainly bizarre aspect of the activities of Ulrich II, husband of Kantakuzina Branković i.e. Katarina Celjska: “A very good relationship with the Ottoman Empire was important for the politics of the last Celjski Count – Ulrich II. According to the data in the Celje Chronicle, Murad II was a friend of the Counts of Celje. Just before his death, apparently, he suggested to his sons not to damage the lands of the Counts of Celje and their subjects. When Sultan Mehmed II was preparing the siege of Constantinople, he tried to ensure his action from any possible surprise from the West and from the East. This is the only way to explain why, after taking over the throne, Mehmed II sent a friendly message to Count Ulrich Celjski, who was the son-in-law of his stepmother Mara Branković and the strongest opponent of Janos Hunyadi. These misunderstandings and rivalry between Ulrich and Hunyadi were in favour of Mehmed’s politics. It is not unusual that Ulrich Celjski did not participate in war campaigns organised by Hunyadi against the Ottomans. He rather stayed aside. This politics was the reason for cruel execution of Ulrich Celjski in Belgrade on 9th November 1456 according to the order of Ladislav Hunyadi”; in I. VOJE, ‘Problematika turskih provala u slovenačke zemlje i organizacija odbrane u XV i XVI

Did Bosnian Vizier Hasan-Pasha Predojević have any involvement in the establishment of the monastery of Rmanj?

Regarding the establishment of the monastery of Rmanj there are some popular legends and the one which was written down at the end of the 19th century seems to be the most original amongst them³⁶. Hasan-Pasha Predojević was the Bosnian Vizier who conquered Bihać, the most important Croatian medieval town on the River Una in 1592, which happened 70 years later than the Ottoman conquest of Knin (1522). Nevertheless, Hasan-Pasha was the same Pasha who was defeated and killed in the battle near Sisak (1593), which was the first important continental Christian victory in the 16th century and which changed geo-strategic relationships between the Habsburg's territories and the Ottoman Empire in Southeastern Europe. Hasan-Pasha Predojević was of Herzegovinian, Vlach and Serbian Orthodox origin and many legends on his conversion have been preserved until recent periods³⁷. One of them is related to the origin of the monastery of Rmanj at the time of Katarina Celjska. Hasan-Pasha had converted to Islam much earlier than the conquest of Bihać took place and this legend is an excellent source for the research of popular culture of religious conversions. By the second half of the 16th century, numerous Serbian Orthodox Vlach communities on the western borders of Bosnia were integrated into the Ottoman military forces and the measure of the Islamification amongst them was certainly large. Nevertheless, Islamification at this time, which is very important, still did not mean a radical cut with abandoned Christianity, in this case Orthodox tradition. This is the only possible way to explain the legend about the origin of Rmanj.

veku', *Istorijski časopis*, 35-36 (1978-1979), pp. 117-131. Quotations from the page 118. See also: I. VOJE, 'Odnos celjskih grofova prema političkim prilikama u Bosni i Hercegovini u XV vijeku', *Radovi muzeja grada Zenice*, vol. 3, pp. 53-66.

³⁶ Paper 'Manastir Rmanj' was published in the magazine *Bosanska vila* in 1904 (see footnote 1), and it was partially written on the basis of the manuscript of Priest I. Bilbija from Grahovo in Bosnia, originally from 1890. The manuscript had the title 'Opis manastira Ermnja, po istinitom pripovijedanju naroda, i po istorijskom fakti' (Description of the Monastery Ermanj, according to the true narration of people and historical facts). As far as I have realized, the manuscript was never completely published and then it was preserved in the archive of Dabro-Bosnian Metropolis (TOMIĆ, 'Manastir Rmanj', n. 1, p. 13). The legend was completely published according to the notes in the mentioned paper. See: Addition I.

³⁷ See J. DEDIJER, *Hercegovina. Antropogeografske studije*, Novi Sad 1998.

Even more, Hasan-Pasha has been considered to be a relative to Serbian Orthodox Bishops of Marča, on the Habsburg side, in the Slavonian Border, Maksim Predojević (1630-1642) and Gavriilo Predojević (1642-1644) who probably came from the monastery of Rmanj to the Christian side of the border, but obviously much later, after the death of Hasan-Pasha Predojević in 1593. At the time when these Predojevićs' were leaving the Ottoman side of the border and passing onto the Habsburg side, legends about their relationship with the Bosnian Vizier were vivid in folk memory. The fear of non-coreligionist ancestors in the Serbian Orthodox case became obsessive in the 20th century, after the nation was already "constructed" on ethno-confessional presumptions (Serb = Orthodox, Croat = Catholic, etc.).

During the last hundred years many summarised overviews of the history of the monastery of Rmanj as the centre of the Serbian Orthodox Dabro-Bosnian Metropolis and as a place suffering during Ottoman violence, were written. It is believed that one of these periods happened at the end of the 16th and beginning of the 17th century. Nevertheless, recently Ms Kornelija Jurin-Starčević, MA, Ottomanist from the History Department of the Faculty of Philosophy in Zagreb, after my request, made some research about Rmanj in the comprehensive defter of the Klis Sanjak from 1604³⁸. She found the following information regarding Rmanj in Srb nahia:

³⁸ I am very grateful to Kornelija Jurin Starčević for her precious collaboration. According to her information, the archival source has following signature: Tapu ve Kadastro Arşivi, Ankara. Tapu tahrir No. 13, (old number 475). Year 1604. Photocopy in the Croatian State Archive (Državni Arhiv Hrvatske). Notes 39-46 have been written down by Ms Jurin Starčević.

“8. Kilissa-i³⁹ Isveti Nikola ma’a Varošište ve zeminha-i kilissa ve zemin-⁴⁰ bagarı ve çair ve otlak Miošević ma’a mezra-i⁴¹ *ova Glavica⁴² ve Podlaz tab-i Sirp” (Church of St. Nicolas and *Varošište* and *zemin* – vineyard and meadow and pastureland Miošević with *mezra* *this Glavica and Podlaz belonging to Srb)⁴³;

³⁹ In prestigious dictionary J.W. Redhouse, *An English and Turkish Dictionary in Two Parts*, London 1857, the term *Kilissa* was translated as a *Christian Church* (p. 932). Alongside this, it is mentioned that the Turkish word for a Christian Church was taken from Greek. Also, in some German translations of the Ottoman defters, the word *kilissa* is translated at the same time as *Kirche* and *Kloster*. Thus, this term was used to determine a sacral Christian building which was not necessary a monastery and alongside this the rooms for monks could be found. It is significant that the word of Greek origin, although only published in the Ottoman defters, which are related to the areas in today Greece, sometimes also contained the word *monastir*. On the other hand, Catholic monasteries (such as Visovac or Zaoštrog) were exclusively noted as *kilissa*. The churches around the monastery were dedicated to Holy Mary. Therefore in the list we can find *Kilissa-I Isvete Gospoje*, and although the reading of this (‘Church of Our Lady’) could suggest the existence of a church, from the sources of church provenience we know that monasteries were there. Alongside this, monks were mentioned as the owners of the properties.

It is most probable that the usage of the term depended on the origin and education of the clerk who did not always note the distinction between terms church, monastery and convent. Of course, we have to bear in mind that the tax commissioners were not interested in the provenience of sacral buildings. They were more worried about the regular payment of taxes and with the abilities of the tax payee. There is one thing which should be emphasised here, the word *kilissa* was continuously used in the list of our interest as a sign for other Orthodox churches, alongside which at the beginning of the 17th century existed monasteries (for example, the Dragović monastery on the Cetina river).

From the sources of some different provenience we know that in the area of Srb, there was an Orthodox Church of St. Nicolas, and in this list the monks were mentioned as owners of its land and property. We can be sure to conclude that at the beginning of the 17th century in the mentioned area there was a monastery. In addition to this, there is the fact that the land around sacral buildings was arable, used as farming land and they were paying (not small amounts!) tax for them. It would be difficult for a parish priest with a family to work on these large lands on his own. In the sources it is stressed that the land was the property of monks (many of them!) (Kornelija Jurin Starčević, further: KJS).

⁴⁰ *Zemin* was a term used in the Ottoman fiscal-agrarian terminology for a large complex of arable land without strictly marked borders. It could have encompassed fields, orchards, flower gardens, vegetable gardens, olive groves, vineyards etc. (KJS).

⁴¹ *Mezra* was the term for an abandoned village, which was most often used for farming also with a tendency to be repopulated (KJS).

⁴² The first part of the toponym is completely illegible (KJS).

⁴³ It is difficult to say anything about the size of the property. Although this is an inherited land, it is possible that it was quite large and encompassed different categories of land (*zemin*, vineyard, meadow, pastureland, *mezra*) (KJS).

– baştine der yed-i ruhbanan-i⁴⁴ kilissa-i mezbur (inherited property of monks of the mentioned church)

– Yekun: 500 (Total: 500)⁴⁵

9. Asiyabha-i der nehr Una der tessaruf ruhbanan-i kilissa-i mezbur (Watermill on the River Una owned by monks of the mentioned church)

– tane 3 / 30 (3 pieces of 30), resm-i asiyab (tax for watermill) 90”⁴⁶.

Thus, in this time the monastery of Rmanj was very active despite presumptions. In other words, the question of a monographic research on the history of Serbian Orthodoxy and the monastery of Rmanj on the Upper Una, in the area very near to the Triplex Confinium, it has to be historiographically opened as well as another very important chapter in the history of inter-confessional (in)tolerance on the imperial Triplex Confinium.

Addition

The legend about the origin of the Rmanj monastery.

“Once upon time there was a man who was married twice and with his first wife he had a son called Nikola. This son of his curried favour with his stepmother, so much that she loved him. The father began to suspect the

⁴⁴ Arab word *ruhban*, pl. *ruhbanan* according to the Redhouse dictionary means *A Christian priest or monk* i.e. monks, if we are sure that this was a monastery. The term abbot if we are sure that this was an abbey (Catholic). It is important to note that the clerk in this place used the plural (*ruhbanan*) which means that there was a larger number of monks, which implies the presence of a monastery! The clerk does not make any difference between abbots and monks and uses the Arab word *ruhban* for both. Other lists of these territories contain terms such as *papas*, *kešiš*, *kaluđer*, but they are still not defined although some of them were more often used for parish priests and vicar (Orthodox and Catholic). It is interesting to emphasise that sometimes in the sources which are not related to tax or financial subjects, terms such as *kara papas* (literally ‘black monk’) were used to distinguish the Orthodox who were wearing black clothes and Catholic Franciscans (KJS).

⁴⁵ This is the total tax, which the monks were obliged to give to the state for arable land. 500 akçe was not a small sum for the time and it seems that this was the largest income that the state had from one inherited land in this nahia. The amount suggests a large economic activity on the property (KJS).

⁴⁶ This regarded three watermills and for each the tax-payment was 30 akçe (silver coin – the money of the Empire of the time), which was in total 90 akçe. The amount of tax for each of the watermills implies that they were working all year and this confirms the statement about a very economically lively monastery (KJS).

love between his son and his wife and began to be more aware. Once his son went to graze goats without taking any food and the stepmother brought him lunch. She set next to him and 'poište' him. The father went to see what they were doing and when he saw that son had put his head on lap of his stepmother he jumped and hit him on his head with an axe, killing him. The son was buried at the same place. The same winter a shepherd found a rose flower on Nikola's grave and picked it and put it in his sleeve and brought it to his home. Then he told his family that during the winter he had found a flower on the grave of the killed Nikola, but they did not believe him. The shepherd, wanted to show them the flower, but the flower was no longer in his sleeve. Now, none of his family believed him. The shepherd and two of his friends went to the grave looking for the flower. When they arrived at the grave, they found the flower in the same place from where the shepherd had taken it. Now they believed that the father had killed Nikola who was innocent. The grave was kept a secret for sometime. When the Turks were taking Bihać they had little success for a long time. Then the shepherd whose family name was Predojević from village of Palučak, near today's monastery started to sing: if the Turkish Pasha knew that what I knew, he would be able to conquer Bihać immediately. When the Turks heard this song the Pasha summoned Predojević and asked him about the song. Predojević told him everything and thanks to him Bihać was conquered. The Turks then promised Predojević's that they would give him anything if he converted to Islam. Predojević converted to Islam and became the Pasha. Predojević asked for God's forgiveness by asking the Sultan to build a church near his home town. The Turkish Emperor Murad II allowed Predojević to build a church and the Empress (Sultana) paid all his expenses for its building. On the grave of the dead Nikola, Predojević built a monastery and dedicated the monastery to him by naming it St. Nicolas. The Empress gave the villages of Kolunić and Smoljan the obligation of keeping the monastery and ordered workers from those villages to give the monastery 1 bilion and bellows made from a wether every year".

In: S.N. Tomić, 'Manastir Rmanj', *Bosanska vila*, 19 (1904), n. 4, pp. 70-71.



Fig. 1 - Franciscan monasteries in Bosnia in 15th Century.



Fig. 2 - Catholic church in Croatia and Bosnia, 1400.

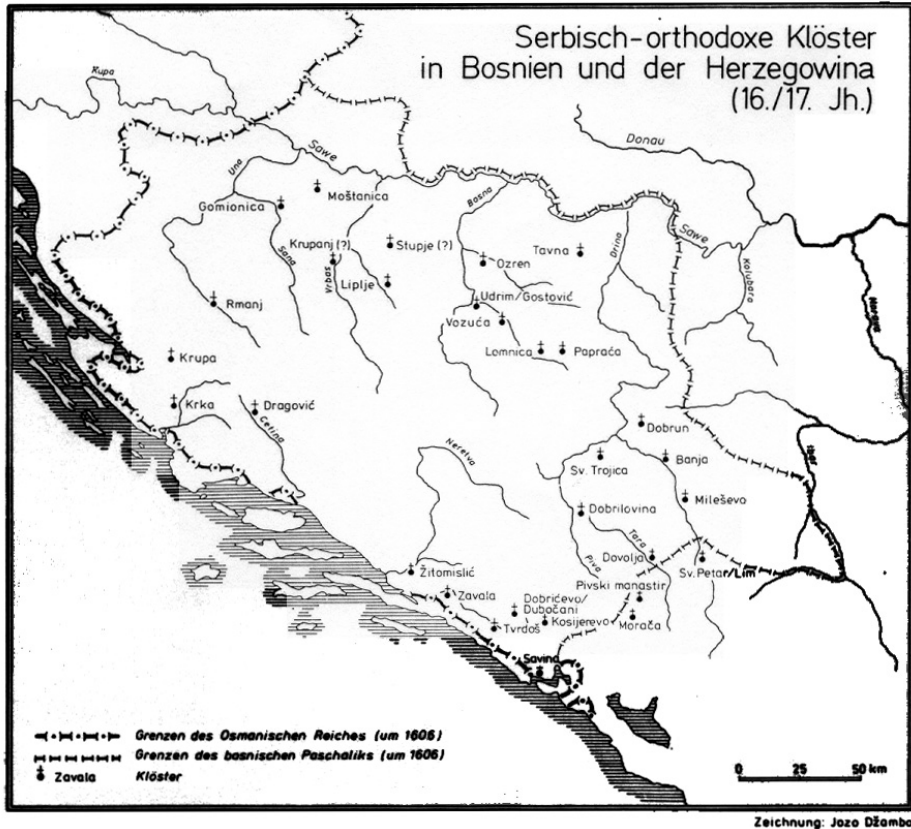


Fig. 3 - Orthodox monasteries in Bosnia in 17th Century.



Fig. 4 - Habsburg Military borders in 18th Century.

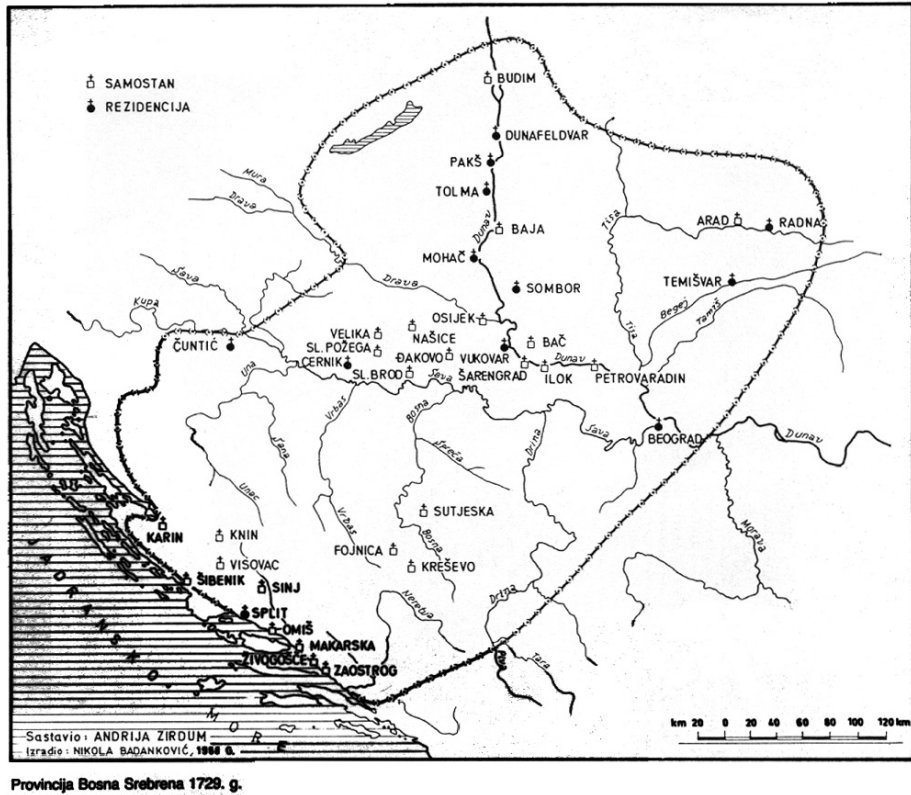


Fig. 5 - Franciscan province Bosnia Argentina in 18th Century.



Fig. 6 - Rmanj today.

Nataša Štefanec

**TOLERANCE AND INTOLERANCE
IN THE CROATIAN-SLAVONIAN KINGDOM
AT THE TURN OF THE 17th CENTURY¹.
CONTEST FOR GOMIRJE**

Introduction

Migrations from the Ottoman to the Croatian and Slavonian Military Border in the second half of the 16th and first half of the 17th century have been reconstructed by many historians in Croatia and elsewhere². This paper

¹ Following several Ottoman offensives from the 1520s till the 1550s, the territory of the Croatian and Slavonian Kingdom was reduced to a thin belt of territory - the so-called *reliquiae reliquiarum*. Pushed by the Ottoman conquest, the Diets and Estates of the Croatian and Slavonian Kingdom started to cooperate more closely (from 1558, the Croatian and Slavonian Diets convened together). The unconquered territorial belt was during the 16th century organised as a defensive zone and divided into two main sections - Croatian and Slavonian Military Border (later on the Generalate of Karlovac and the Generalate of Varaždin). In the period considered the territory of two Kingdoms and two Borders overlapped stretching from the Adriatic Sea to River Drava, along the frontier of Austrian Hereditary Lands, Styria and Carniola.

² Radoslav Lopašić published three volumes of sources on the considered subject. R. LOPAŠIĆ, *Spomenici Hrvatske krajine*, vol. I. (1479-1610), Vol. II. (1610-1693), Zagreb 1884-1885 (further SHK). Furthermore, the extensive elaboration on Vlach migrations was given in following studies: A. IVIĆ, *Seoba Srba u Hrvatsku i Slavoniju. Prilog ispitivanju srpske prošlosti tokom 16. i 17. veka*, Sremski Karlovci 1909; A. IVIĆ, 'Prilozi za povijest Hrvatske i Slavonije u XVI i XVII vijeku', *Starine. Jugoslavenska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti*, vol. XXXV, Zagreb 1916, pp. 295-374; V. KLAČIĆ, *Povijest Hrvatske*, vol. 5, Zagreb 1982 (reprint); F. MOAČANIN, 'Masovno naseljavanje vlahi i izdvajanje Vojne krajine kao posebnog teritorija', in *Historija naroda Jugoslavije*, vol. II, Zagreb 1959, pp. 689-701; F. MOAČANIN, 'Pokušaji organizacije Vojne krajine na novim osnovama', in *Ibidem*, pp. 406-411; J. ADAMČEK, *Agrarni odnosi u Hrvatskoj od sredine XV. do kraja XVII. stoljeca*, Zagreb 1980; K. KASER, *Freier Bauer und Soldat. Die Militarisierung der agrarischen Gesellschaft in der kroatisch-slavonischen Militärgrenze, 1535-1881*, Graz 1986 (Zagreb 1997). See also N. KLAČIĆ, 'Borba plemstva za

investigates patterns of tolerance and intolerance practiced by institutions and social groups towards population that migrated from the Ottoman to the Habsburg side of the military border. It focuses on the case of Gomirje that became a multi-ethnic and multi-confessional locality in the course of these migrations. This paper will explore the extent of intolerant and tolerant behaviour as well as the motives (triggers) behind them. Intolerant behaviour was not just performed through aggressive and violent acts but could also have been performed through codification and regulation enforced by domestic institutions that were inaccessible to the new-coming population.

In the period considered, extreme religious intolerance surrounded the region under examination. Conflict between the Islam and Christianity became epic in its proportion. Fierce religious clash was affecting everyday life and politics in neighbouring Inner-Austrian Lands. Catholics and Protestants of various social statuses in Inner-Austria (and elsewhere in Europe) were exhibiting various forms of intolerant behaviour, from verbal insults to physical attacks³. It heightened from the 1580s to 1629. In Hungary, religious conflict between Protestants and Catholics resolved in the Bocskay uprising (1604-1606)⁴. It happened simultaneously to intense migrations of Orthodox population to the Croatian and Slavonian Border. In the Ottoman Empire, throughout the 16th and 17th century the Orthodox hierarchy and the Catholic Church were fighting for the spiritual care over Christians in the Ottoman Empire⁵. Moreover, judging to the research of

vlast u krajini' in *Historija naroda Jugoslavije*, vol. II, Zagreb 1959, pp. 701-712; N. MOČANIN, *Turska Hrvatska. Hrvati pod vlašću Osmanskog Carstva do 1791. Preispitivanja*, Zagreb 1999; V.S. DABIĆ, *Vojna krajina: Karlovački Generalat, 1530-1746*, Beograd 2000; J. BURIĆ, *Biskupije Senjska i Modruška u XVIII. stoljeću*, Gospić-Zagreb 2002.

³ See for example J. LOSERTH, *Die Reformation und Gegenreformation in den innerösterreichischen Ländern im XVI. Jahrhundert*, Stuttgart 1898; R. PÖRTNER, *The Counter-Reformation in Central Europe. Styria 1580-1630*, Oxford 2001. For a detailed research on concepts and manifestations of tolerance and intolerance in early modern Europe see H. KAMEN, *The Rise of Toleration*, New York 1967; O.P. GRELL and R.W. SCRIBNER (eds.) *Tolerance and Intolerance in the European Reformation*, Cambridge-New York 1996; P. ZAGORIN, *How the Idea of Religious Toleration Came to the West*, Princeton 2003.

⁴ Extensive description of events leading to the Bocskay uprising and following it in V. KLAČIĆ, *Povijest Hrvatske*, vol. 5???, pp. 564-581.

⁵ S.M. DŽAJA, *Konfesionalnost i nacionalnost Bosne i Hercegovine. Predemancipacijsko razdoblje 1463.-1804*, Mostar 1999. See also M. BOGOVIĆ, *Katolička crkva i pravoslavlje u Dalmaciji za vrijeme mletačke vladavine*, Zagreb 1993, p. 13.

Josip Buturac various Catholic Bishops in Slavonia were in constant conflict with the Franciscan order for the spiritual care of the Catholic population. They also struggled over the right to collect taxes from Christian believers⁶.

Gomirje in the Regional Context

Gomirje was a village on the Croatian Military Border (later the Generalate of Karlovac), some 6 km south of the Carniolan border (Carniola or Crain was the Inner-Austrian Habsburg province). In the 15th century Gomirje was one of several settled places in the mountainous and forested region (Gorski kotar), including places such as Vrbovsko, Moravice, Delnice, Brod, Lič and so on. An entire region was repeatedly plundered by Ottoman troops from the last decades of the 15th century, being positioned on the most frequented Ottoman plundering route Plaški-Ogulin-Gomirje and further on to the Carniola⁷. By 1486, destruction of the estates by the Ottomans motivated the Frankopans to reduce cash dues to serfs in Gomirje and in several other villages on their Modruš estate⁸. By the 1570s and 1580s, following an entire century of Ottoman raids to Carniola, the area was depopulated and the lands uncultivated.

The organisation of defence in this region became more solid towards the 1560s. The Captain-in-Chief of the Croatian Border, Ivan Lenković, a renowned Carniolan nobleman, started to introduce improvements into the defence system. Moreover, in the 1570s numerous defence plans were developed, mainly by the Inner-Austrian Estates (Styrian, Carinthian and Carniolan), to reorganise and systematize the defence and financing of the Croatian and Slavonian Borders/Kingdoms⁹. The basis of the defence system

⁶ J. BUTURAC, *Katolička crkva u Slavoniji za turskoga vladanja*, Zagreb 1970, pp. 57-164.

⁷ V. SIMONITI, 'Slovenska historiografija o turških vpadih in obrambi pred njimi' in V. ČUBRILLOVIĆ (ed.), *Vojne krajinne u jugoslovenskim zemljama u novom veku do Karlovačkog mira 1699*, Beograd 1989, pp. 291-303; S. VILFAN, 'Počeci finansiranja Hrvatske i Primorske Vojne krajine sa strane Koruške i Kranjske' in *Ibidem*, pp. 237-256; V. SIMONITI, *Vojaška organizacija na Slovenskem v 16. stoletju*, Ljubljana 1991.

⁸ R. LOPAŠIĆ, *Hrvatski urbari - Urbaria lingua Croatica conscripta*, Zagreb 1894, pp. 28-29; ADAMČEK, *Agrarni odnosi*, p. 59.

⁹ Throughout the 16th century, the Croatian and Slavonian nobility was not able solely to organise a systematic defence of its Kingdom. Amongst other factors, it was due to the devastating consequences of initial Ottoman raids, dispersal of noble financial assets to individual defence organisation, internal conflicts of interest between the Croatian and Slavonian nobility and magnates and their consequent inaptness to jointly react to the Ottoman advance on an institutional level, limited financial and organisational power of

was set at the Viennese Assembly in 1577 and at the General Diet of the Inner-Austrian Estates in 1578¹⁰. In 1579, the largest fortress on the Croatian Border was built, mainly with Inner-Austrian capital. It was Karlovac that immediately became the centre of the Croatian Border taking the edge off Ottoman offensives in the region. Located some 20 km from the Inner-Austrian Border, it was at the epicentre of transit routes between the Adriatic Sea, the Ottoman Bosnia and Habsburg Carniola. Furthermore, in the 1570s and the 1580s, the Inner-Austrian military administration attempted to turn Ogulin (castle and town some 15 km south-east of Gomirje) into the central logistic stronghold on the Croatian Border¹¹. The erection of Karlovac and the arrangements envisaged for Ogulin benefited Gomirje. Ottoman invasions into Carniola were significantly reduced. Gomirje and other places in Gorski kotar entered a more peaceful period of time.

Consequently, the area attracted the attention of many parties. First, the nobility that possessed the surrounding land saw a chance to revitalize its estates. For such an enterprise they needed to settle the estates again. Secondly, the area became appealing to the Inner-Austrian military administration on the Croatian-Slavonian Border. The military administration had two factions, the archduke and the Inner-Austrian Estates. Their defence goals were similar – both attempted to undermine the landownership rights of Croatian nobles settling newcomers as soldiers on the noble's estates. Still, their interests diverged in political and religious domains, which were also reflected in Gomirje's case. Thirdly, old settlers and the remaining autochthonous population defied newcomers who threatened their 'ancient rights'. Fourthly,

the Croatian-Slavonian Diet, etc. As a consequence, the Inner-Austrian Estates, led by the Archduke, managed to introduce their military administration into foreign Kingdoms - not restrained by alternative solutions. W. SCHULZE, *Landesdefension und Staatsbildung. Studien zum Kriegswesen des innerösterreichischen Territorialstaates (1564-1619)*, Wien-Graz-Köln 1973; KASER, *Freier Bauer und Soldat*; N. ŠTEFANEC, *Diet in Bruck an der Mur (1578) and the Estates on the Croatian, Slavonian and Kanisian Military Border*, Doctoral dissertation, Central European University Budapest, Budapest 2004.

¹⁰ Universitäts Bibliothek Graz, Manuscripten Sammlung, MS 432. *Uniwersäl Landtag So Ihr Fürstl. Durchl: Erzhörzog Carl mit Steyer, Kärnten, Crain, vnd Görz, zu Prugg an der Muehr gehalten im 1578 Jahr.* (265 fol.); Vienna, Kriegsarchiv, Alte Feldakten, 1577-13-2, *Haupt Beratschlagung vber Bestellung der Hungrischen Windischen vnd Cravatischen Granitzen vnd deren zugehörigen Notturfftten, Wie die auf beuelich der Rom: Kay: Mtt: etc. vnsers allergnedigsten Herrn zu Wien im August vnd September des 77ten Jares gehalten, durch Irer Mt: etc. Kriegs Secretarien Berhardten Reisacher verfasst vnd dan im October, Nouember vnd tails December Irer Mt: auf diese Form fürbracht worden.*

¹¹ M. KRUEK, *Krajiške utvrde i obrana Hrvatskog Kraljevstva tijekom 16. stoljeća*, Zagreb 1995; ŠTEFANEC, *Diet in Bruck an der Mur*.

the Slavonian and Croatian nobility as well as its representative bodies – the Croatian-Slavonian Diet and Ban – also reacted. Fifthly, the Habsburg king balanced between the interests of the Inner-Austrian military administration and the interests of the Croatian noblemen and Diet, de facto assisting the first and simulating support for the latter. The majority of newcomers were supposed to arrive from the Ottoman side of the Border. After being invited and attracted by the military border commanders, they began arriving in groups, mostly in an organised manner. Their status and rights were assured or even to be improved beyond the levels that they had under the Ottoman Empire.

Gomirje, an irrelevant and abandoned place on the Croatian Border, came to the focus of attention of various parties towards the end of the 16th century. Due to the quantity of sources, the case of Gomirje would therefore serve as a good case study for the proposed examination on tolerance/intolerance patterns – though it was just one exemplary contested zone, among many similar in contemporary Croatian and Slavonian Military Borders/Kingdoms¹².

In the described circumstances the grounds for intolerant behaviour towards newcomers could be manifold – economic, social, religious, military and so on. In which form did the intolerant behaviour appear or did it appear at all? Did the domination of economic interests result with religious tolerance? These questions remain to be examined.

The newcomers

The first “actors in this story” were newcomers - Ottoman subjects of Christian faith who were convinced into moving with various promises. They were mostly Slavs. Up to the 1570s a relatively small number of Croat Catholics remained on the Ottoman side. Those who could still be lured to relocate were the groups of Orthodox Vlachs. People arriving on the Habsburg side were mostly called Vlachs (*Walachos*), though often they could be referred to as *Rasciani* or *Rascianer*¹³. They were either transhumant cattle breeders

¹² Chronology of conflicts for Gomirje was presented by Milan Radeka. M. RADEKA, *Gornja Krajina ili Karlovačko vladništvo: Lika, Krbava, Gacka, Kapelsko, Kordun i Banija*, Zagreb 1975, pp. 54-63.

¹³ Ivić, *Seoba Srba u Hrvatsku i Slavoniju*, pp. 11-12. Though Aleksa Ivić presented many citations from sources where Vlachs were identified as Rascians (*Ibidem*, pp. 11-16) this is still an inadequate evidence for the identification of all Vlachs as Serbs. Vjekoslav Klaić and Ferdo Šišić also identified Vlachs as Serbs at the time (though with somewhat different

or already sedentarized transhumant population, living in extended families and possessing thousands of livestock¹⁴. They were under the jurisdiction of the Serbian Patriarchy of Peć (It was a period of time when some patriarchs of Peć maintained close relations with the Pope.). They mostly spoke new-štokavian, ijekavijan dialect. On the Bosnian-Croatian border at the time, they were relatively numerous. Their economic and confessional status on the Ottoman side significantly aggravated during the Long War (1593-1606). Many of these Vlachs, even entire villages, were motivated to abandon the Ottoman vassalage and enter into the Habsburg service.

Transfers were negotiated with the Croatian nobility and military authorities. Military authorities sent their commanders to the Ottoman side promising privileges. On the Vlach side, Orthodox priests, mostly Orthodox monks (*kaluderi*) played a large part in the negotiations. Seniors from Vlach communities were commonly closely related to these priests and monks, through family relations or by interest. Relocations and settlements started to be increasingly arranged from the 1590s. Settlement contracts were made by the Zrinski and Frankopan families or the military commanders and the Croatian Ban on one side and by the senior Vlachs and Orthodox monks on the other.

From 1599 and in subsequent years several hundreds of souls would be settled in a number of waves. It decreased the military potential of the Ottomans whom Vlachs had served until that time. Vlachs were experienced in war but much less in the cultivation of land. They needed a lot of space for cattle breeding and strong logistical backup in terms of initial financial means and victuals for their upkeep in the first years of their arrival. These were promised (though seldom provided) by military authorities or the nobility – regarding under whose conditions the Vlachs arrived. Vlachs also required numerous religious and traditional Vlach privileges.

objectives). Due to numerous reasons, there is no ground for the attribution of nationality as early as the 16th and 17th centuries, especially for such culturally and ethnically complex populations as the Vlachs.

¹⁴ For the outstanding explanation of Vlachs in socio-economic and cultural terms see BOGOVIĆ, *Katolička crkva i pravoslavlje*, pp. 14-17. See also a detailed study of complex relations between the Roman Catholicism and Serbian Orthodox faith on the Military Border from the 16th to the 19th centuries in D. ROKSANDIĆ, 'Religious Tolerance and Division in the Krajina: The Croatian Serbs of the Habsburg Military Border', in *Christianity and Islam in Southeastern Europe, East European Studies. Occasional Paper*, nr 47, Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, Washington D.C. 1997, pp. 49-82. On the status of Vlachs see also BURIĆ, *Biskupije Senjska i Modruška*, pp. 167-173.

Vlachs preferred to become free *soldiers* under the military authorities. Soldiers obtained land in return for their military service and were not obliged to feudal dues. Heads of the Zrinski and Frankopan families wanted to settle them as *private Vlachs* or *serfs*¹⁵. A private Vlach of some nobleman was a free person serving in the nobleman's military troops, liberated of manual labour (*robat*) and paying lower or higher cash dues to the nobleman as well as Vlach tithe (*vlaška desetina*)¹⁶. A serf was personally bound to the nobleman and was obliged to an entire spectrum of feudal dues from manual to cash dues. When their status as free soldiers was violated by the military officers or by the nobility, newcomers complained intensely to the king.

Military Border authorities

Vlachs mostly arrived on the Habsburg side of the Border on the invitation of border commanders. Negotiations started when in 1580 the Ottomans extensively started to settle Vlachs into the Lika region and the area of Brekovica and Stijena¹⁷, which significantly increased combat potential of Ottoman border troops. Croatian Border commanders like Weikhard Auersperg, until 1581, and Jobst Joseph von Thurn after him were attacking the Ottoman territory attempting to stop Vlach settlements, but without success¹⁸. The Habsburgs could not engage additional paid soldiers and efficiently answer this threat. After a sequence of failures they changed their tactics. As a countermeasure they started to attract Vlachs to the Habsburg side of the Border promising similar privileges as they had on the Ottoman side.

Since this paper focuses on the Gomirje region, it will provide just the necessary framework as to the migrations to the rest of the Croatian Border. Negotiations and migrations on the Croatian Border started in the middle of the 1580s. A better organised and better documented phase followed from the middle of the 1590s. In the mid 1590s, as already observed by Aleksa Ivić, the commanding personnel at the military border changed. Juraj Lenković became the commander-in-chief of the Croatian Border in March 1594 and Sigismund Herberstein became the commander-in-chief

¹⁵ F. MOAČANIN, 'Masovno naseljavanje vlaha', pp. 690-691.

¹⁶ ADAMČEK, *Agrarni odnosi*, pp. 519-521, pp. 533-534, pp. 540-541.

¹⁷ IVIĆ, *Seoba Srba u Hrvatsku i Slavoniju*, pp. 7-8; BURIĆ, *Biskupije Senjska i Modruška*, p. 170.

¹⁸ IVIĆ, *Seoba Srba u Hrvatsku i Slavoniju*, pp. 7-8.

of the Slavonian Border in May 1594. In 1595, Archduke Maximilian was replaced by the active and energetic Archduke Ferdinand¹⁹. Dominated by military objectives, all of them were most ardent supporters of Vlach migrations. Lower ranking commanders followed, for example captains of Senj - Josip Rabatta until 1601 and Daniel Frankol after 1601. From 1597, waves of settlers began to move to the Habsburg side. Such chronology of migrations on the Croatian Border corresponds to the one on the Slavonian Border that has been presented by Karl Kaser²⁰. All in all, higher and lower ranking officers attracted hundreds of Vlach families from the Ottoman to the Habsburg side of the Border i.e. the Croatian and Slavonian territories though historiography still awaits additional research to adequately reconstruct migrations in the area²¹.

In order to maintain strategic functioning of the defence system they financed, Inner-Austrian Estates had to have a military control on the Border. They considered it to be necessary to control the shortest connection between the Border and the Inner-Austrian Lands, which went north-south, from Graz to Karlovac, disregarding the fact that this would intersect the Zrinski family interest route that went east-west. The economic prosperity of Croatian nobles and estates was not their priority. They wanted to repopulate the area. In their design the Vlachs were at their disposal and could be well used for military service. Since money was short, the newcomers were supposed to be granted with lands in return for military service. The land was easy to give since it mostly belonged to the Croatian nobility and not to the archduke or the Inner-Austrian Estates²². At the request of military commanders, nobility would accept settlers at first, but soon it began to utter complaints. The archduke would often reject these complaints claiming that the land had been abandoned and desolate for decades.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 17.

²⁰ A comprehensive list of the documented arrivals of Vlachs to the Slavonian Border from 1587 to 1600 was made by Karl Kaser. KASER, *Freier Bauer und Soldat*, Croatian ed. Zagreb 1997, vol. I, p. 89. See also F. MOAČANIN, 'Masovno naseljavanje vlaha', pp. 689-690, and further ADAMČEK, *Agrarni odnosi*, pp. 519-541.

²¹ From 1584, Vlachs from Lika were on two occasions brought from Lika to the Croatian Border by commander-in-chief Andrew Auersperg. Smaller groups followed. In 1586, Vlachs from villages Dugonoge, Breznik, Rista and Humić surrendered to the Habsburgs. In 1600, Lenković worked on the transfer of Vlachs and from 1601 his work was continued by Veit Khisl. In August 1601, one group was brought by the Captain of Senj Joseph Rabatta. In the winter of 1601, one group was brought by Captain Daniel Frankol, and so on. Ivić, *Seoba Srba u Hrvatsku i Slavoniju*, pp. 9, 29-30, 33. More on various settlements among others also in ADAMČEK, *Agrarni odnosi*, pp. 520-521.

²² On the paradigm "peasant-soldier" see KASER, *Freier Bauer und Soldat*.

Border commanders who were mainly Inner-Austrian also attempted to exploit the Vlachs. They imposed various charges upon them. Vlachs would have to pay judicial fees and offer gifts (or often even bribes) or a share of spoils to them. Even the Archduke disapproved of it. He did not financially profit from it and he did not want to risk any Vlach riots or their return to the Ottoman Empire. He often demanded of his Estates to behave correctly.

By defending their own Lands on the territory of the Croatian-Slavonian Kingdom, Inner-Austrians always tackled the interests of some Croatian or Slavonian noblemen²³. Conflicts with feudal owners were unavoidable. They intensified through the struggle for well paid military posts - mostly given to Inner-Austrian noblemen. Their dominant positions in the military hierarchy ran into strong and long-lasting disapproval from the Croatian-Slavonian Estates and Diet. Vlachs added yet another dimension to the conflicts that were resolved differently on the Croatian and Slavonian Borders.

Croatian magnates-families Zrinski and Frankopan

In the 16th century the Zrinski and Frankopan families held the highest offices in the Hungarian Kingdom. They were keeping their private military troops on the Croatian Border from the time when the Ottoman invasions began. Being unable to resist the Ottomans by themselves, they entered Inner-Austrian military service as experienced commanders, enrolling their horsemen and foot-soldiers into the Habsburg service, but retaining their private troops at the same time²⁴. In sum, they were among a few domestic magnate families that shaped the affairs of the Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom.

In the 16th century the Zrinski and Frankopan families were also two major landowners in the remnants of the Croatian Kingdom/Croatian Border. The Zrinski family had even strengthened its position by the end of the 16th century. Its vast possessions stretched from Royal Hungary to the Adriatic Sea which enabled it to control communication routes along

²³ Fedor Moačanin notes that in some periods Carniolan Estates counted to the Croatian noblemen as their ally in their conflict with the Inner-Austrian archduke. When internal Carniolan conflicts intensified they acted in favour of Zrinski and other Croatian nobility in Vlach questions. In 1608, Carniolan Estates rejected to solve the question of the jurisdiction over Gomirje before the status of the Zrinski family was cleared. They did not want to act against the Zrinski family. F. MOAČANIN, 'Masovno naseljavanje vlahi', p. 698.

²⁴ N. ŠTEFANEČ, *Heretik njegova veličanstva. Povijest o Jurju IV. Zrinskom i njegovu rodu*, Zagreb 2001.

the entire border with Inner-Austrian provinces - Carniola and Styria. The Zrinski and Frankopan families were the leading estate owners in the area of Gomirje. As mentioned above, the estates in this region were devastated and depopulated. Lands were left uncultivated for decades, even turning into woodland.²⁵ With the consolidation of defence the Zrinski and Frankopan families became interested in the re-population of these lands. The newcomers were welcomed. Some peasants were even attracted from Carniola²⁶ but the majority came from Ottoman territory.

Zrinskis and Frankopans, interested in the military and economic potential of the settlers, participated in the negotiations upon their arrival arranging it with the rest of border commanders. At the requirement of the Archduke and/or military commanders, the Zrinskis and Frankopans often agreed to bestow some of their lands for the settlement of Vlachs. On some occasions, border commanders asked noblemen to provide lands for Vlachs only after they had arrived. Commanders would agree upon the transfer, Vlachs would arrive on the Habsburg side but the place of settlement would often remain an open question²⁷. After their arrival Vlachs have been given the status of soldiers subordinated to the military hierarchy or the status of private Vlachs subordinated to Zrinski and Frankopans as their masters.

In July and August 1600, 325 persons, of whom 125 were well-armed were settled in Gomirje by the arrangement of Commander-in-Chief Juraj Lenković (Lenković was, by the way, the son-in-law of Juraj Zrinski)²⁸. Lenković asked the Inner-Austrian Aulic War Council in Graz to support the newcomers with food until they were settled and built houses. The War Council ordered Carniolan Estates to help Vlachs but they only offered meagre help replying that they also had a lack of food²⁹. The settlement of Vlachs in Gomirje was followed by several other waves of settlements in the

²⁵ The session or household (*dim, fumus*) was considered deserted for 10 to 15 years at the most. After this, it lost the characteristics of the cultivated land and was no longer considered a taxable unit. ADAMČEK, *Agrarni odnosi*, p. 59.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 532-533.

²⁷ In August 1605, after Vlachs already came, the archduke asked Zrinski to give additional lands around Moravice and Delnice for the settlement of "*fine and respectable*" Vlachs with their wives and children brought recently from Ostrožac field by Captain Veit Khisl. SHK, vol. I, p. 345.

²⁸ Ivić, *Seoba Srba u Hrvatsku i Slavoniju*, pp. 29-30. Adamček states that the commander of the Croatian Border settled two large groups of Vlachs (around 300 persons) from Bosnia to Gomirje in August 1600. ADAMČEK, *Agrarni odnosi*, p. 520.

²⁹ At the end, the newcomers in Gomirje were given yearly provision in cash (200 guildens) from 1605. SHK, vol. II, p. 154; Ivić, *Seoba Srba u Hrvatsku i Slavoniju*, pp. 29-30.

adjacent areas of Moravice and Vrbovsko, belonging to the Frankopans and to Lič, belonging to the Zrinskis³⁰.

Shortly after the arrival Zrinski and Frankopans intended to turn the Vlach soldiers in Gomirje into private Vlachs. This meant the imposition of Vlach dues and their extensive military use - if necessary. On 26th March, 1601, Juraj Zrinski began to protest. He asked Archduke Ferdinand for direct control over those Vlachs that were settled on his lands in Gomirje *without his knowledge* some two years before³¹. Zrinski started to provide numerous reasons for the subordination of Vlachs and their withdrawal from the military authority of the Archduke and Inner-Austrians. He wanted to make them subordinate because "Vlachs are committing significant and intolerable damages to me and my poor subjects and this should not be allowed to happen because they are on my land and they legally belong to me"³². Furthermore, Vlachs in Gomirje "are not harming only me and my poor subjects but also, as I found out from the truthful reports of my officials, that Vlachs are secretly stealing young children and selling them to the Turks". After some time he again wrote to Archduke Ferdinand saying that "there is so little use of Vlachs and so much damage to everybody since they still faithfully correspond with the Turks and rob passengers threatening public security"³³. Still, since he had "many other of the same Vlachs on his properties that always hurried to the designated place to help in dangerous times" he promised to continue with such practice and aid the Croatian Border commander whenever he would ask³⁴.

In April 1602, a group of some 300 Vlachs complained to the Carniolan Estates that they came to Gomirje persuaded by the commander-in-chief Lenković and Captain Frankol, gaining nothing in return. "The possessions we brought with us were spent or sold", they said, and "we were experiencing

³⁰ In May 1605, a group of 500 (Ivić states 700) people, of whom 200 soldiers were brought by Captain Frankol from Kotari in Lika (Krmpote) to Lič. In May 1605, a group from Ostrovica was brought by Captain Khisl to the Frankopan lands from Mrežnica to Tounj and to Moravice and Delnice. SHK, vol. I, pp. 350-351; V. KLAČIĆ, *Povijest Hrvatske*, vol. 5, Zagreb 1973, pp. 623-624; Ivić, *Seoba Srba u Hrvatsku i Slavoniju*, pp. 34-39.

³¹ "Euer fr. Dht. in vnderthenighkait hiemit zu behelligen habe ich gehors. nit vmbgehen khönnen Das wie vngefähr vor zweyen jahren der herr baan vnd generall obrister in Cravatten herr Georg Lenkowitsch, mein herr aiden, was Wallachen auss der Tüerkhey gebracht, sie auf meinen eigenthumblichen grundt vnd poden ohne mein vorwissen bey Goimer genandt gefuert vnd soliche gegendt ihnen zu bewohnen eingegeben..."; in SHK, vol. I, p. 293.

³² SHK, vol. I, p. 293.

³³ SHK, vol. I, pp. 310-311.

³⁴ On 26th August, 1602. SHK, vol. I, pp. 308-310.

harsh death and famine". Besides this, they said, "the Zrinskis were treating us as peasants or forcing us to leave, while we only wanted to settle abandoned lands around Vrbovsko and Moravice held by the Zrinskis, and Kamensko held by the Frankopans that were promised by commander Lenković. We are not able to serve two masters in the same time", they concluded³⁵. The Vlachs were increasingly dissatisfied by the way they were being handled. They required the confirmation of their status and privileges threatening that they will return to the Ottoman side³⁶.

Juraj Zrinski insisted on his own viewpoint: "Since these Vlachs are settled on my land and keep their sheep and other cattle here during winter, I took the tithe from them in accordance with the custom... I am also a poor soldier and my land was taken to be given to another. Therefore, I am not asking from Vlachs anything more than from the others. ...I simply can not stand to have them on my land in such status any longer"³⁷. The Zrinskis asked the archduke Ferdinand to give another property to Vlachs or to officially submit Vlachs to them as private Vlachs³⁸. Still, they had little success³⁹.

Vlachs from Lič took an oath of subordination to the Zrinskis in 1605 as their private Vlachs. Here, Zrinski wanted to turn private Vlachs into serfs. This meant the imposition of all seigniorial dues and taxes. In 1606, Vlachs from Lič revoked their pledge to the Zrinskis⁴⁰. They complained that "they are in many ways molested by Zrinski and regarded as his peasants which they could allow or bear no longer"⁴¹. They fiercely protested wanting to

³⁵ SHK, vol. I, p. 306.

³⁶ Ivić, *Seoba Srba u Hrvatsku i Slavoniju*, pp. 38-39.

³⁷ On September 25, 1602. "I would also like to obtain 25 *baramias* that would be paid from Karlovac, for the tower in Lič (Vlachs were also settled in Lič, N.Š.), which I built for the defence of the Maritime Border, Croatia and Carniola. SHK, vol. I, pp. 310-311. Zrinski also wrote directly to the King. King Rudolf II answered on 22nd October, 1602, stating that he would request a report on Vlachs who are known for their malevolent behaviour. SHK, vol. I, p. 313.

³⁸ Between two Diet sessions, Juraj wrote a letter to the Archduke on 26th August, 1602, explaining that Gomirje is his property and asking the Archduke to subordinate Vlachs on his territory to him so that he could designate a commander for them. SHK, vol. I, pp. 308-309. On 5th September, 1602, the Croatian-Slavonian Diet supported the claim made by the Zrinski asking the archduke to subordinate the Vlachs or to transfer them to some other place. F. Šišić, *Acta comitialia Regni Croatiae Dalmatiae Slavoniae*, vol. IV, Zagreb 1917, p. 428; R. SAMARDŽIĆ, R. VESELINOVIĆ and T. POPOVIĆ (eds.), *Istorija srpskog naroda*, vol. III/1, *Srbi pod tuđinskom vlašću 1537-1699*, Beograd 1993, p. 460.

³⁹ See also RADEKA, *Gornja Krajina*, pp. 54-63.

⁴⁰ F. MOČANIN, 'Masovno naseljavanje vlaha', p. 696; ADAMČEK, *Agrarani odnosi*, p. 533.

⁴¹ April 25, 1606. SHK, vol. I, p. 350.

change their lord following the example of other Vlachs who mostly settled as soldiers⁴².

The Zrinski and Frankopan families were unanimous in their attitude towards the Vlachs. Still, the affair was complicated further by the internal conflicts between these two families – each claiming to be the rightful owner of Gomirje and its surroundings from ancient times. The Frankopans and Zrinskis started their private duel over Gomirje property rights just when Vlachs started to settle there and the estates could be profitable again. Both families started with intense lobbying to solve the property litigation to their own advantages. Both of them wanted the territory on the basis of some ambivalent clauses from the Zrinski-Frankopan private contracts of mutual inheritance from 1544 and 1550. The Zrinskis had more success at first. Juraj often wrote to the Archduke: “Gomirje is mine and if Frankopan has some possessions nearby, he does not have Gomirje. It has been a patrimony of the Zrinski family for years”⁴³. Moreover: “Frankopan never had a claim over it, and he will not have it in the future ... and I am, once more, asking the Archduke ... to subordinate these Vlachs to me so that I could punish them for their misdeeds...”⁴⁴. The Frankopans required the same, sending almost identical letters about the evil-doings and untrustworthiness of the Vlachs.

Archduke Ferdinand and the military authorities stuck to their agenda. The Archduke replied negatively to Zrinski and Frankopan requests, firstly on 4th October 1601, declaring that “he could not subordinate these Vlachs to him or to the Frankopans because the Emperor himself privileged them for a certain period of time, as well as all other Vlachs arriving from the border, in order to use them in military service in the case of need”⁴⁵. The son of Juraj Zrinski continued to exchange such letters without real results⁴⁶.

⁴² SHK, vol. I, pp. 343-344, pp. 348-351.

⁴³ On August 26, 1602. SHK, vol. I, pp. 308-309.

⁴⁴ SHK, vol. I, pp. 310-311.

⁴⁵ SHK, vol. I, pp. 296-297.

⁴⁶ On 11th November, 1602, the Croatian-Slavonian Diet extensively discussed the dispute between the Zrinski and Frankopans since none of them wanted to admit defeat. I. ERCEG, *Šišićeve bilješke za povijest Hrvatskih sabora u XVI. stoljeću*, Zagreb 1954, pp. 474-475. The Frankopans stated that: “Lenković came exactly to them to ask them if he could settle mentioned Vlachs in Gomirje. Besides, Juraj Zrinski should recollect that he handed over Gomirje along with Severin (Lukovdol) to the Frankopans”. Juraj did not remember this, just the opposite, providing the evidence. He proved that Zrinski collected some dues from mentioned Vlachs. Frankopans, on the other hand, had to admit that “from the time Vlachs settled there, they did not collect one penny from them, having no incomes of them” (“i od pokle zw ondy recheny Wlahy naztanyeny, da ym yoschye nyzw nyedne hazne wzely ny dohodka nyeednoga od nyh ymyly”). SHK, vol. I, p. 312.

Over subsequent years the captains and the Archduke often warned the Zrinskis and the Frankopans to leave Vlachs in peace and stop exploiting them, since they were soldiers. In 1604, the Archduke announced that he could give the Vlachs as subjects to the Zrinskis if they pay him 80,000 guildens, which he had already spent on their maintenance. The sum was far too exaggerated⁴⁷.

In the end the Frankopans were entitled as the owners of Gomirje. Since Vuk Frankopan was captain in Ogulin from 1611 and commander-in-chief of the Croatian Border from 1626 to 1652, it probably helped the family's cause. Some Vlachs from Gomirje went to the Slavonian Border and the rest of Vlachs had to submit to the Frankopans to be their landlords. Shortly after they withdrew their loyalty and disagreements continued⁴⁸. Finally, in 1657, after many negotiations, the Vlachs contractually bought out Gomirje from Frankopans for 15,000 guildens⁴⁹.

The "Local Inhabitants"

In the territory considered, there still existed an autochthonous population in nearby Ogulin and the surrounding area. Through the 16th century, the 'natives' in and around Ogulin were permeated by smaller groups of settlers, arriving around 1530 and after and often serving as soldiers and spies to the Ottoman territory⁵⁰. These old settlers could enjoy privileges for their military service given by feudal owners. It meant that they were liberated from *robat* in return for their brave military service but they still had to pay dues to their feudal owner and tithe to the Catholic Church⁵¹. Even better status was promised to new settlers, upon their arrival to Gomirje and

⁴⁷ Archduke Ferdinand also ordered that Vlachs should be given 2,000 forints annually. ADAMČEK, *Agrarni odnosi*, p. 520.

⁴⁸ SHK, vol. II, pp. 157-161.

⁴⁹ In 1657 Vlachs had to promise that they would return the land to Frankopans if they pay them back 15,000 guildens, if borders of Croatia would extend and if Vlachs from Gomirje would be resettled closer to the new borders. Only after this settlement with Frankopans would Vlachs from Gomirje obtain their "privileges", in 1660. F. MOČANIN, 'Masovno naseljavanje vlahi', pp. 696-697; ADAMČEK, *Agrarni odnosi*, pp. 520-521.

⁵⁰ BURIĆ, *Biskupije Senjska i Modruška*, p. 170. In 1579, Inner-Austrian military authorities commanded that the Vlachs should be settled away from the frontier in order to prevent spying and that the imprisoned Ottoman soldiers should not be kept on the border or in the area around Metlika but relocated as far as possible. SHK, vol. I, p. 80.

⁵¹ Their privileges were renewed from time to time. SHK, vol. II, pp. 126-127, 154, 162.

surroundings. It directly compromised the status of the 'old settlers' and domestic population around Ogulin in military and economic terms. Vlach arrivals to various parts of the Border incited new patterns of intolerant behaviour. Conflicts escalated over the usage of pastures and woods. Vlachs who arrived in Gomirje immediately started to clear lands and cultivate them still retaining a large number of cattle as one of the main sources of their subsistence⁵². Vlachs often did not obtain enough land for their needs so they used pastures and woods that did not belong to them. They used alternative - intolerant and unofficially permitted methods - to provide for their cattle. It incited discontent and revolts in the locals who had little understanding of the Vlachs' situation and acted rather intolerantly towards them. This also happened in the area of Ogulin and Gomirje where old settlers (old frontiersmen) defended their exclusive rights to designated pastures and woods⁵³. Noble landowners that started to restore their estates in the region contributed to the tensions because they claimed additional lands.

Military Border officers constantly attempted to extract financial benefits from the population in the area (they ran judicial affairs and earned money from various legal fines, took gifts and bribes and participated in spoils). Frankopans were among these officers⁵⁴. Every commander-in-chief of the Croatian Border claimed his direct jurisdiction over the newcomers, denying jurisdiction to captains and lower officers. It caused constant conflicts between the officers on various levels of the hierarchy. It was rather vivid in the case of Gomirje, because the captain in Ogulin (Vuk Frankopan) had to constantly struggle for his jurisdiction over the newcomers from Plaški to Gomirje which was questioned by the commander-in-chief on the Croatian Border⁵⁵.

The Croatian-Slavonian Diet

The Diet summoned lesser nobles. Since they were individually too weak to efficiently protest on their own in various complex matters, they were using the Diet to utter their vote institutionally, through legislation. The Inner-

⁵² F. MOAČANIN, 'Pokušaji organizacije Vojne krajine', pp. 410-411.

⁵³ DABIĆ, *Vojna krajina*, pp. 79-80. See also BURIĆ, *Biskupije Senjska i Modruška*, p. 169.

⁵⁴ Even if Vlachs were given inner judicial autonomy, border officers found a way to involve and control them, extracting legal and illegal benefits. F. MOAČANIN, 'Masovno naseljavanje vlaha', pp. 697-698.

⁵⁵ SHK, vol. II, 115-116; F. MOAČANIN, 'Masovno naseljavanje vlaha', pp. 697-698.

Austrian success in the settlement plans would result with the alienation of noble's lands from their feudal owners, additionally weakening the economic basis of the Croatian-Slavonian nobility and the Croatian-Slavonian Diet as its institution. Therefore, the Diet strongly opposed the settlement of Vlachs as soldiers⁵⁶. The majority of Croatian-Slavonian noblemen were Catholics, unhappy with Protestants in the Croatian-Slavonian Kingdom. The Diet also endorsed laws against Protestants with the religious pretext and prescribed laws against Vlachs who were mostly Orthodox, under an economic and religious pretext:

- a) The Protestants in the Croatian-Slavonian Kingdom were influential magnates (Zrinski, Tahy, Erdödy, Ungnad, etc.) as well as 'German' soldiers and commanders in border fortresses protected by Inner-Austrian Protestant Estates. The Diet had been articulating laws against Protestants since 1567, after Juraj Drašković, who was the Ban and the Bishop of Zagreb, returned from his successful participation in the Council of Trent. Article 1 of the conclusions of the Croatian-Slavonian Diet from 1604 (sanctioned by King Rudolf II in 1608) states that Croatian-Slavonian Estates are firmly deciding to expel all heretics and especially preachers of the Protestant faith from the Zrinski estate Ozalj or those arriving from Styria or others, while the Bishop of Zagreb should keep an eye on and prevent all those heresies⁵⁷. In 1606, when the Viennese Peace Treaty asserted the freedom of confession in the Hungarian Kingdom for a long period to come, the Croatian-Slavonian Diet discussed the issue again and reinforced the decision that Protestants should be expelled from the Kingdom. Commissaries of the Zrinski and Erdödy families at the Diet protested against confessional restrictions but were quietened down. The Bishop of Zagreb was even prompted to use Ban and his army to evict Protestants from the Kingdom⁵⁸. Although the laws against Protestants were welcomed and assisted by the Habsburgs, implementation of such

⁵⁶ Settlement of Vlachs as military was a significant part of the process known as the "militarization" of the Military Border. Term was theoretically well elaborated by Fedor Moačanin.

⁵⁷ D. ROKSANDIĆ, *Etnos, konfesija, tolerancija*, Zagreb 2004, pp. 55-66. This article was a positive response to controversial Article 22 of the Pozsony Diet from 1604. King Rudolf II added Article 22 to the conclusions of the Pozsony Diet although its content was not discussed at the Diet. The Article 22 was directed against Protestants. It caused dissent and disbelief in the Hungarian Kingdom but it was joyously received by the Croatian-Slavonian Diet that responded with his article 1 from 1604. V. KLAČIĆ, *Povijest Hrvatske*, vol. 5, pp. 566-568.

⁵⁸ Article 22 from 1604 was withdrawn. *Ibidem*, pp. 577-579.

intolerant policy toward Protestants depended on the extent and reach of the Diet's and the Bishop's executive power – and it was rather limited!

- b) According to Article 4 of the Croatian-Slavonian Diet from 1604 (1608), all Vlachs should pay tithe to the Catholic Church acknowledging its jurisdiction in religious domain. The Vlachs should also give *terrarium* to their landlords and personally subject to them⁵⁹. The Diet actually offered three possible solutions to the Vlach question. Firstly, Vlachs should be subordinate to the landowners in feudal terms, accept the Bishop of Zagreb as their religious authority (including the payment of tithe to the Church) and submit to the jurisdiction of the Croatian-Slavonian Ban and Diet in political terms⁶⁰. Secondly, the landowners should be awarded with other land if Vlachs remained on their land. Thirdly, the Vlachs should be completely removed from the noble's land.

Regarding Vlachs Croatian-Slavonian magnates and nobility united around one goal. Consequently, the Croatian-Slavonian Diet supported the claim made by Protestant Juraj Zrinski who asked the Archduke to recognise Zrinski's seigniorial rights or to resettle Vlachs somewhere else⁶¹. The Diet became annoyed by Zrinski's non-attendance at the Diet, his disrespect of the Diet's decisions and his Protestant orientation. However they supported his demands on principal as support to all noblemen in the Kingdom. Possible religious discord with the Orthodox Vlachs was secondary to the establishment of feudal rights for a time being (a few decades later it would change).

The Habsburgs sanctioned the Article 4 but they did not support it *de facto*. The Habsburgs did not really want to cause detriment among the Vlach population, quite the opposite. The Habsburgs and Inner-Austrians worked against the Croatian-Slavonian Diet in this instance. Again, the Croatian-Slavonian Diet and Ban, as two essential institutions in the Croatian-Slavonian Kingdom, were again not strong enough to execute the Diet's decisions since they did not have enough executive power.

First of all, throughout the 16th century the Croatian-Slavonian Kingdom did not develop effective institutions. The Kingdom was from the 15th century exposed to intensive Ottoman conquests, followed by migrations and destruction of the economic basis of the Croatian-Slavonian nobility. Moreover, the Croatian and Slavonian nobility was from the 15th century avoiding the tax agreement with the King which was a basis for the process of

⁵⁹ *Idem*. This article follows article 14 of the Pozsony Diet from the same year (1604), *Ibidem*, p. 568.

⁶⁰ F. MOAČANIN, 'Masovno naseljavanje vlaha', p. 690.

⁶¹ ŠIŠIĆ, *Acta comitalia*, pp. 428, 489.

state building in the west, in France⁶² as well as Spain⁶³. Croatian and Slavonian estates did not succeed to develop institutions of a modern state in their own Kingdom. Royal institutions were located outside the Kingdom so that they did not adequately participate in the functioning of royal institutions either. It had grave political and financial consequences⁶⁴. Domestic institutions

⁶² Comparative analysis of French provinces from the end of the 15th century onwards, presented by Donna Bohanan, points out to the all-encompassing bureaucratisation of the French society where the major role on the local level was played by the nobility which the crown had to contend with in order to increase its direct tax incomes. The crown grew in strength only when it managed to collect more taxes. Therefore, it developed various patterns of behaviour in various French provinces siding with those noble groups that could execute its goals. The nobility complied with its desires if obtaining an exemption from taxes or a share in political power (offices) or both. Such interaction of kings and nobility in Western Europe in the sphere of taxation resulted with the institutionalisation of the Kingdoms and often, though not always, with the ongoing centralization of 'early modern state' management. Power was mainly exhibited through the institutions. Patronage and clientage were used in order to control the institutional functioning, especially in remote parts of the Kingdom. Consequently, the strata that had the most use of such institutionalisation was the nobility but transformed nobility, with fewer old families and more of those newly ennobled on the basis of merit and office. D. BOHANAN, *Crown and Nobility in Early Modern France*, Houndmills-Basingstoke-Hampshire 2001. It was the time when the fierce wars of religion were taking place in France (1562-1598) escalating with the St. Bartholomew's Eve. These wars also manifested as the wars between several great noble houses (Bourbon, Valois, Guise and Montmorency) each with its own ramified clientage. The king had to carefully balance each step in order to remain in power, especially with regard to foreign threats. PH. BENEDICT, 'The Wars of Religion 1562-1598', in M.P. HOLT (ed.), *Renaissance and Reformation France, 1500-1648*, Oxford 2002, pp. 147-175; D. MALAND, *Europe in the Sixteenth Century*, Houndmills-Basingstoke-Hampshire-London 1982 (1973), pp. 315-333.

⁶³ Hillay Zmora discussed the long-lasting balancing of power between the nobility and the crown in the state making process of the early modern Europe. The large Kingdoms of the 15th century witnessed a compromise between the nobility and the ruler. In Spain and France, rulers managed to turn indirect taxes into direct taxes, but the Estates retained the right to approve them again and again. By this, the nobility agreed to pay taxes but also supervised their collection and spending. Therefore, the basis for the development of the modern state was set. The state obtained its incomes, it could develop its institutions and the nobility ensured its political influence and its promotion opportunities through inclusion into the institutional functioning. It was not achieved in Germany since the *Kurfürsten* retained their regal powers and the king was not strong enough to impose himself. H. ZMORA, *Monarchy, Aristocracy and the Estate in Europe 1300-1800*, London-New York 2001.

⁶⁴ Bohanan and Zmora are discarding the phrase "the crisis of the aristocracy", mainly based on the research of James Wood. Constant struggle of the nobility for power within a growing state mechanism went parallel with the transformation of the noble strata. The aristocracy remained in power - it only underwent an inner transformation. ZMORA, *Monarchy, Aristocracy*; BOHANAN, *Crown and Nobility*. On the ennoblement strategies of the 16th and 17th century French nobility see also J.-M. CONSTANT, *La noblesse française aux XVI^e et XVII^e siècles*, Paris 1994, pp. 93-166, pp. 193-215. On the creations and promotions of the nobility in the English

were ineffective, unadjusted to new circumstances and financially weak⁶⁵. As a result they had to accept ramified military administration controlled by the Inner-Austrian estates in their own Kingdom which drastically weakened the military and political authority of the Croatian-Slavonian Ban also⁶⁶.

Secondly, the Croatian-Slavonian Diet was a congregation of the lower and middle nobility. Throughout the 16th century, magnates often ignored the decisions of the Croatian-Slavonian Diet and settled their issues at the Hungarian Diet in Pozsony. The Croatian-Slavonian Diet even threatened to exclude them from its work, but it was an empty threat since the Kingdom needed those magnates and their troops as defence. Even if sanctioned by the King, the Diet's decisions could be implemented only if they did not tangle with opposing interests of some magnates, or the interests of the Habsburg King and his relatives in Inner-Austria. The Croatian-Slavonian Diet simply did not have political and financial stronghold to execute its own decisions.

As a consequence, only a few magnates managed to solve the Vlach question to their own advantage, but the affairs were settled with the Habsburgs individually and not through a Diet. Zrinski managed to avert the Habsburgs from issuing Vlachs in Lič with "privileges", but it was done through Zrinski's private action directly in the Habsburg's court in Prague and not through the Diet. According to Fedor Moačanin, Nikola Zrinski probably interrupted the expedition of already signed "privileges" to Vlachs in Gomirje⁶⁷. The Frankopan possession of the Gomirje area was recognised but not because of the Diet's pressure but because of their military value for the Habsburgs on the Croatian Border.

Therefore, intolerant decisions and actions of the Diet towards Protestants and Orthodox in the Kingdom had to be investigated bearing in mind the Kingdom's institutional insufficiencies, individual magnate strategies and the balance between economic and religious policies of all involved parties.

case, where mentioned issues resolved differently, see H. MILLER, *Henry VIII and the English Nobility*, Oxford 1989 (1986), pp. 6-37.

⁶⁵ Nada Klačić also called attention to the illusory politics of the Croatian-Slavonian Diet and its incapability that was again and again visible in naïve requests addressed to the king. N. KLAČIĆ, 'Borba plemstva za vlast u krajini', pp. 704-705.

⁶⁶ By the end of the 16th century the Ban's troops were cut by half - to some 500 men. The Ban and the Diet could not finance even them. In military terms, from 1578 the Ban had no jurisdiction over Border commanders. The Croatian-Slavonian Diet had no steady financial incomes (incomes from taxes were meagre and irregular). One of the main claims of the Croatian-Slavonian Diet in the 16th and 17th century is the return of Ban's authorities, both military and political. V. KLAČIĆ, *Povijest Hrvatske*, vol. 5, passim; ŠTEFANEC, *Diet in Bruck an der Mur*.

⁶⁷ F. MOAČANIN, 'Masovno naseljavanje vlahi', p. 696.

The Catholic Church

The Catholic Church had religious jurisdiction over the entire Croatian-Slavonian Kingdom. In the Protestant case, the Catholic Church was of the outmost importance to the Habsburgs. Namely, from circa 1540s to 1600 almost 90% of the nobility, and the prevalent amount of the remaining population in Habsburg Hereditary Lands and the Hungarian Kingdom was Protestant. A large number of Protestants was also present in the Czech Kingdom. Fierce counter-reformation led by the Habsburgs in all of their provinces began from 1560s, intensifying towards 1590s – just in the period when the repopulation of the Croatian and Slavonian Border was under way. The counter-reformation was the most important Habsburg agenda next to the anti-Ottoman defence. Due to the strong position of the Catholic Church in the Croatian-Slavonian Kingdom, the Habsburgs did not have to worry about the religious orientation of the majority of the Croatian and Slavonian nobility. They were dominantly Catholic with the exception of magnates (Zrinski, Erdödy, Tahy, etc.). In the period considered, the Catholic Church could not convert those magnates though it tried. Despite intolerant politics towards Protestants, it had to cooperate with Protestant magnates as well as the Habsburgs had.

The Catholic Church had limited influence on Gomirje affairs, but I will shortly present its position since it greatly influenced the attitudes and actions of the Croatian-Slavonian Diet. In the 16th century the Catholic Church was one of two strongest feudal owners in the Slavonian Kingdom – next to the Protestant Erdödy family⁶⁸. The Catholic Church had economic interests in subordinating the newcomers on its estates conducting a policy equivalent to the majority of Croatian and Slavonian noblemen and magnates. Until 1609, many more Vlachs settled on the Slavonian Border than on the Croatian Border. Furthermore, settlement in Slavonia was rapid and more organised. The greatest problem for the Catholic Church was the settlement of Vlachs on Church properties, especially those near Ivanić. From 1599, they repeatedly wrote to the Archduke to subordinate newly arrived Vlachs under their

⁶⁸ Tomo Erdödy was Croatian-Slavonian Ban until 1595, cooperating with the Habsburgs. Still, he abandoned the office because he was poorly and irregularly paid by the Habsburgs. He was replaced by two proxies - Ivan Drašković and Bishop of Zagreb Gašpar Stankovački because the king wanted to additionally weaken the position of the Ban and guarantee military supremacy to his “German” commanders. V. KLAJČ, *Povijest Hrvatske*, vol. 5, 512-515; Ivić, *Seoba Srba u Hrvatsku i Slavoniju*, p. 17.

feudal and religious jurisdiction⁶⁹. The King was rather sympathetic and considerate in this particular case. He ordered the Archduke to please the Bishop of Zagreb as much as possible. The King actually said that it would only be fair to subordinate the Vlachs to the Bishop if they were settled on Church properties, allowing the Church to privately negotiate with the Vlachs about their possible privileges⁷⁰. Bishop Nikola Selnički was satisfied but the Archduke had problems since he had already promised military status to these Vlachs and could not revoke it. In the end the Archduke won⁷¹. Probably, the whole issue was arranged between the King and the Archduke, attempting to show the King's consideration while the Archduke should take blame and guilt in the eyes of the Catholic Church. Regarding Vlachs, the Habsburgs and the Catholic Church had diverse military and economic interests.

Vlach settlers were led by Orthodox bishops and priests. They were addressing Habsburg authorities as Christians, explicitly appealing to the Christian unity in the conflict with the *Mahometan unchristian faith*⁷². Their attitude could be well illustrated through their following statements: "We fled from the tyrannical Turkish service and power to the Christian land to be subordinate to the Emperor's power and service [*gwalt und dienst*]. With our honour, wives and children and with our lives and properties, we will always be loyal and obedient to the Emperor, as soldiers and frontiersmen of the beloved Christianity against the universal enemy of the Christian faith ... we will not accept any other authority as some ordinary peasants that can be taxed or burdened with various dues and labour services". Or: "We came here from the Mahometan servitude humbly accepting the rule of Your Majesty and desiring to protect our loving homeland ...", and so on⁷³. These were common place in Vlach complaints and a Vlach standpoint for the next several decades. They emphasized their Christian faith as a factor uniting them with the Emperor against the common enemy of Christianity. How could it be that religion was not the primary problem in the negotiations of the Catholic Church with Orthodox Vlachs in the period considered⁷⁴?

⁶⁹ SHK, vol. I, pp. 269-270; V. KLAČIĆ, *Povijest Hrvatske*, vol. 5, pp. 543-544; N. KLAČIĆ, 'Borba plemstva za vlast u krajini', pp. 704-705.

⁷⁰ SHK, vol. I, pp. 270-271.

⁷¹ SHK, vol. I, pp. 272-273.

⁷² From 1595 to 1597. SHK, vol. I, pp. 214-222.

⁷³ SHK, vol. I, pp. 348-349, 350.

⁷⁴ See ROKSANDIĆ, 'Religious Tolerance'.

Vlachs came to the Slavonian Border in such large numbers that they were already, by 1609, allowed to establish an Orthodox Bishopric (*Pravoslavna episkopija*) centred in the Marča monastery. The Bishopric should serve the religious needs of all Orthodox believers in Hungary, Croatia, Slavonia and to the furthest borders of Carniola⁷⁵. Orthodox Vlachs and their priests and bishops had to recognise supreme papal authority and subordinate themselves hierarchically to the bishops of Zagreb (Church Union). The bishops of Zagreb even provided them with lands⁷⁶. Orthodox hierarchy in Slavonia accepted this solution at first⁷⁷. The Union softened the possibility of religious clashes, appeased the Catholic Church and enabled the Habsburgs to introduce large groups of Vlachs onto the Slavonian Border and to grant them special status in 1630, known as *Statuta Valachorum*⁷⁸. Most of the domestic nobility was also pacified by the Church Union, although grudging the Protestant military commanders and Protestant Croatian-Slavonian nobility who were settling Vlachs without regard to their Orthodox faith⁷⁹.

As far as the Gornji region was concerned, the Catholic Church was not so strong here. Protestant nobles and a number of Inner-Austrian Protestant military commanders were much less concerned by the Orthodox beliefs of the Vlach population. In 1602, several monks (*kaluđeri*) from the Krka monastery in Ottoman Dalmatia joined the Vlach population⁸⁰. They

⁷⁵ BURIC, *Biskupije Senjska i Modruška*, pp. 174-175, pp. 180-181. See also: D.LJ. KAŠIĆ, *Otpor marčanskoj uniji. Lepavinsko-severinska eparhija*, Beograd 1986; Z. KUDELIC, *Pravoslavlje i pitanje crkvene unije u Hrvatskoj od Žitvanskog mira 1606. godine do izbora unijatskog biskupa Pavla Zoričića 1670*, Ph.D. thesis, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb, Zagreb 2000.

⁷⁶ For example, the bishop of Zagreb, Ivan Domitrović, granted lands around Marča to Simeon Vratanja. M. SLADOVIĆ, *Povesti Biskupijah Senjske i Modruške ili Krbavske*, Trieste 1856, pp. 431-433.

⁷⁷ The problem for the Bishopric of Zagreb through most of the 17th century was how to establish a real Union and to prevent Orthodox hierarchy to accept Union only in time of election of various officials and continue with old practices as soon as they did no longer needed the King's approval. The Bishopric of Zagreb wanted to abolish the Orthodox Bishopric and the Habsburgs did not, since it could incite rebellions. F. MOČANIN, 'Masovno naseljavanje vlahi', p. 699.

⁷⁸ They obtained a status of "free peasant-soldiers", unbound by feudal lords, and possessing their own land and autonomous government in return for military service. *Statuta Valachorum* had complex consequences in the history of Military Border and civil Croatia in the future. See *Statuta Valachorum. Prilozi za kritičko izdanje*, edited by D. Roksandić and Č. Višnjic (translation Z. Blažević), Zagreb 1999.

⁷⁹ V. KLAJČ, *Povijest Hrvatske*, vol. 5, p. 567.

⁸⁰ SLADOVIĆ, *Povesti Biskupijah*, p. 436. According to Dušan Kašić, one old monk came with the Vlachs in 1600. In 1602, several more followed (six or seven depending on the author). D. Lj. KAŠIĆ, *Manastir Gornji. Povodom proslave 400-godišnjice osnivanja manastira*, Beograd

assisted the settlement and had to be rewarded and carefully handled by magnates and the military administration. They were not forced to enter the Union though they adhered to it throughout most of the 17th century. They erected a small wooden monastery with the Church of St. John the Baptist and brought with them necessary religious books and liturgical items⁸¹. From the beginning of the 18th century, the Orthodox monastery in Gomirje became a prominent centre of anti-unionist policy⁸². Vlachs in the Gomirje region, or in the Croatian Border as a whole, could not obtain a long-lasting judicial communal autonomy as Vlachs on the Slavonian Border had since the Zrinski and Frankopan families were gravely opposed to it. Still, their religious beliefs were not perceived as dangerous as in the Slavonian case.

Conclusion: Tolerance and Intolerance as a Play of Interest

Finally, several conclusions need to be made. I have presented one case study indicative for the large part of the Croatian-Slavonian Kingdom in the 16th and the first half of the 17th century. The examined actors - the newly-arriving Vlachs, the noblemen, the military authorities, the Croatian-Slavonian Diet, the Catholic Church, the King and so on attempted to resettle desolated territory and accomplish diverse goals. Along the way they exhibited variously motivated patterns of intolerant and tolerant behaviour towards the newcomers.

To sum up, the military authorities were attempting to retain the military potential of the nobility and to establish a self-reliant and self-financing defensive system with the lowest financial input. They constantly insisted on the military value of the Vlachs, claiming that the noble's land was abandoned and unused for decades. Settling Vlachs as soldiers onto the nobles' estates and providing them with lands and special status was the least expensive method if the noble resistance was defeated. After the Vlachs were settled they were often mishandled by the military officers. The attitude towards Vlachs was dominantly opportunistic and could in no way be described as

1997, pp. 12-13. A study of the monastery of Gomirje with an emphasis on the 18th and 19th centuries in D.LJ. KAŠIĆ, *Srpski manastiri u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji*, Beograd 1971, pp. 37-94;

⁸¹ The most prominent monks were Aksenije Vranković, Visarion Vučković and Mardarije Orlović. In 1621, they erected a watchtower next to the monastery. The watchtower was turned into the church tower in 1719 and next to the church tower a church was built (1730). BURIĆ, *Biskupije Senjska i Modruška*, p. 195; KAŠIĆ, *Manastir Gomirje*, pp. 12-15.

⁸² BURIĆ, *Biskupije Senjska i Modruška*, pp. 194-196; KAŠIĆ, *Manastir Gomirje*, pp. 16-26.

tolerant. The attitude towards landowners and noblemen was consciously and perennially intolerant in legal terms, disrespecting their right to dispose with their lands.

Nobility was primarily interested in the economic functioning of their estates and their protection, attempting to intertwine these two goals. The landowners acted intolerantly towards the Vlachs, restricting economic and personal freedoms that were promised to them – whether the status of private Vlachs or the status of soldiers. They welcomed them under false pretences and shortly after their arrival they attempted to subordinate them as private Vlachs or serfs. Zrinski and Frankopan as well as military commanders attempted to disseminate stereotypes about Vlach treacherous and criminal behaviour mainly to facilitate fulfilment of their goals. Admittedly, Vlachs were damaging the surrounding people, robbing and plundering, using pastures that were not theirs and so on. Still, positive or negative opinions of the Vlachs became irrelevant as soon as they were subordinated.

Vlachs came explicitly because of the privileges offered, in order to improve or retain their social and economic status. Leaders of Vlach groups – in the majority of cases these were Orthodox priests or monks – were often provided with more land in return for their faithful service. Vlachs desired to obtain a status of soldier in emperor's service, exhibiting various patterns of tolerant/intolerant behaviour. They were mostly justifying their requests by the common Christian aim – the Christian unity against the Ottomans whom they had served until that time. Their status was perceived as dangerous by the “old Vlachs” and privileged inhabitants of Ogulin which resulted with respective patterns of behaviour.

In the period considered Habsburgs were waging a war against Protestants in the most of their territory. The Croatian-Slavonian Diet was prescribing fierce intolerant laws against the Protestants - though with meagre results. Similar laws were still not directed against the Orthodox. In the case of Orthodox Vlachs the Diet and the Habsburgs were almost completely preoccupied with legal, economic and military status of newcomers and not with their religious affiliation. In the examined sources there were slight signs of religious dispute between the Protestant military officers and magnates (Zrinski), Orthodox Vlachs and Catholic Habsburgs. Due to the Union, religious differences between the Catholics and the Orthodox were still considered secondary and religious issues were in practice handled from the viewpoint of Christian unity in opposition to Islam. Counter-reformation was so dominant in the religious affairs of the Croatian-Slavonian Kingdom that the majority, along with the Habsburgs, was convinced that the Orthodox population could be assimilated through the Union. The establishment and

continuation of Orthodox monasteries in Gomirje and Marča supports this line of argument. As the attempts of Union failed and the Orthodox hierarchy strengthened towards the end of the 17th century, patterns of behaviour against the Orthodox became more intolerant⁸³.

The main reasons of intolerant patterns of behaviour were legal status, economic advancement and military considerations – depending on the faction. On the very frontier of Islam and Christianity religious discord within Christianity resulted with religious intolerance on institutional and legal levels. Still, due to numerous presented reasons, religious intolerance did not trigger such violent practices as demonstrated in neighbouring Habsburg lands. The religious ‘reconciliation’ in the period and area considered was a result of interest oriented intolerance.

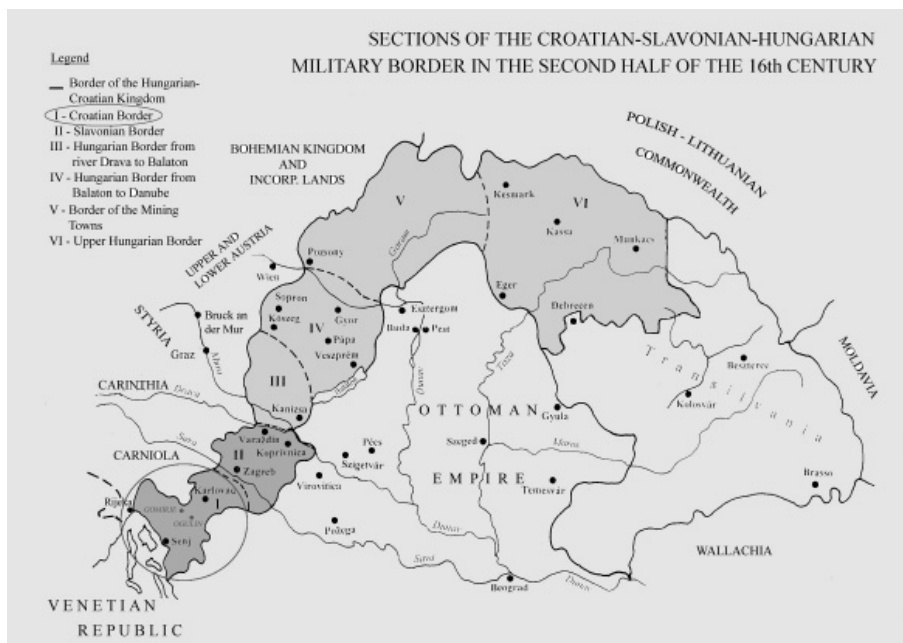


Fig. 1 - Border Sections.

⁸³ A comparative case is provided by Mile Bogović. He shows in the case of Dalmatia that the patterns of behaviour of both Catholic and Orthodox side became more intolerant when the Union ceased to be seen as a possible solution and with the development of the hierarchy of the Serbian Orthodox Church – around the beginning of the 18th century. BOGOVIĆ, *Katolička crkva i pravoslavlje*.

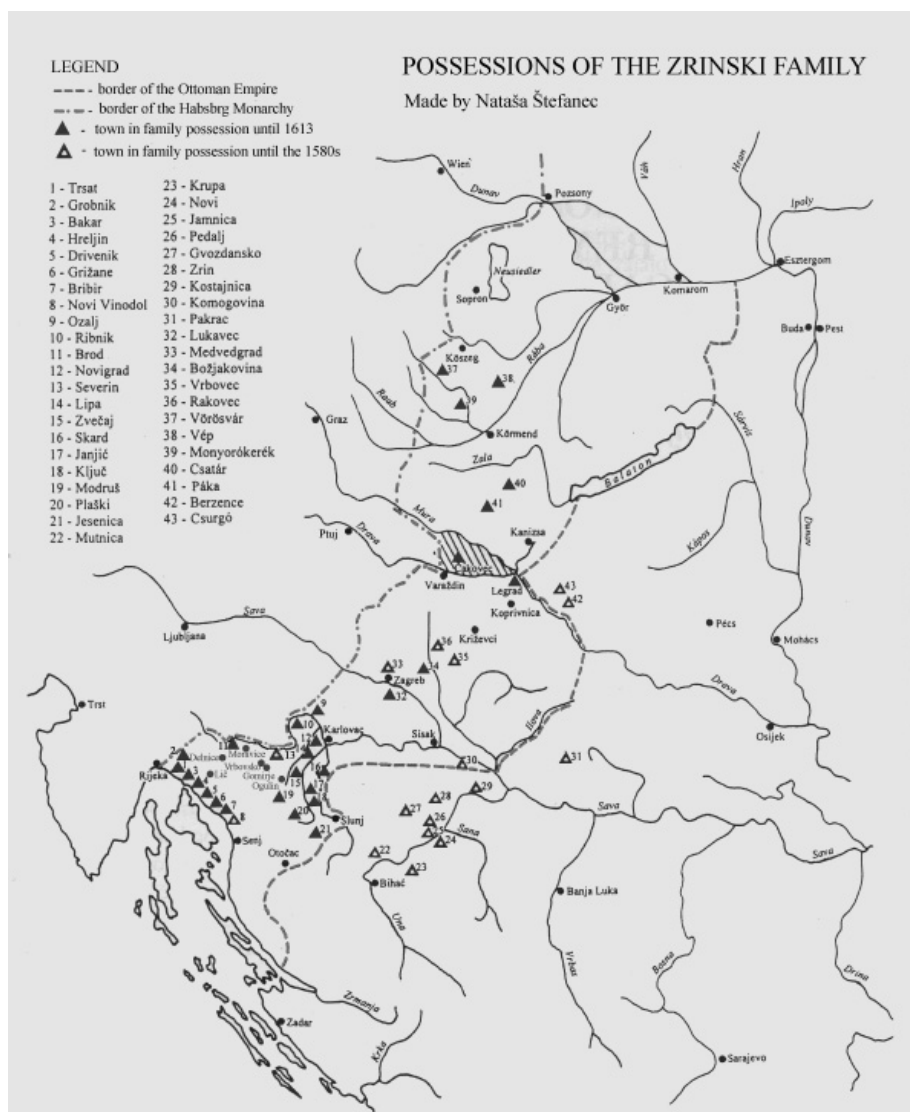


Fig. 2 - Zrinski possessions.

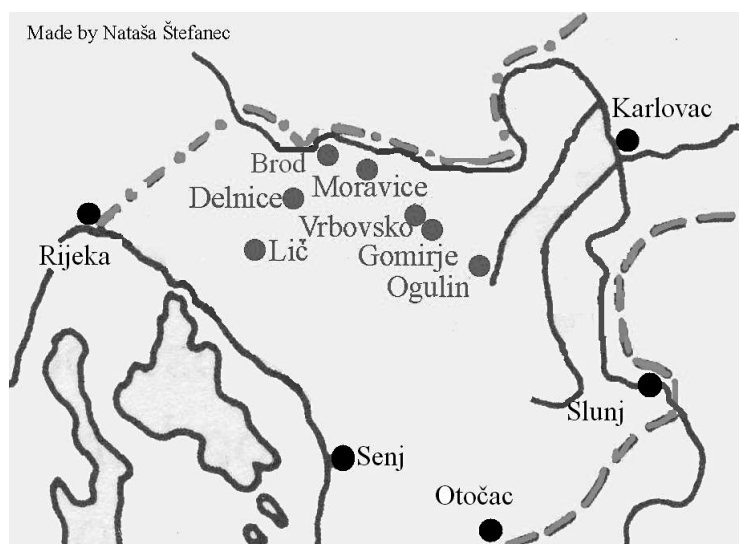


Fig. 3 - Gornji Karlovac region.

Giuseppe Gullino

**‘DIFFERENT’ PEOPLES OF THE EAST ADRIATIC.
THE POINT OF VIEW OF THE VENETIAN PATRICIANS
(18th CENTURY)**

As it is known, the Balkan coast of the Adriatic was always considered as more important than the west one. The reason was abundance of islands and channels which could offer rescue to navigators and this made a good point of reference: quality, which could not be found on the low and sandy Italian coast. Beside this, as wrote Croatian Tadić: ‘all the three winds of Adriatic (sirocco, bora and mistral) allowed easier navigation along the Dalmatian coast’.

However, Venice assured its control for some period and knew how to defend it for long time; through the centuries Turks conquest large part of Venetian dominium on Levant but they did not succeed to totally eliminate the *limes* constituted of this sort of umbilical cordon made of bays, islands, ports, towns and fortresses which from Istria towards down along Dalmatia all the way to Cattaro, Eptanes and for long centuries to Crete unified antique Domination of Egean in competition to rule Constantinople and Syrian spices *terminals*¹.

Therefore, antic Venetian were used to the presence of Istrians, Slovenians, Dalmatians, Croats, Albanians and Greeks whose communities were well presented in Venice as it is evident in numerous toponyms and architecture.

Naturally, these relationships were not always ‘roses and flowers’; in the Middle Ages, between 11th and 15th century Zara rose up few times against Venetians. Therefore after the ‘emptiness’ in 1409 it was necessary ‘reduce it

¹ J. TADIĆ, ‘Venezia e la costa orientale dell’Adriatico fino al secolo XV’, in A. PERTUSI (ed.), *Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo XV*, vol. I, Firenze 1973, pp. 690-691.

into an island', separating the town from the hinterland with a canal almost 18 metres long and excavated in a very hard terrain where "fu d'uopo superare le crode colle mine di fuoco, e collo scalpello" (it was after to overcome rocks with mine and fire and with cutter)². Nevertheless, remained a huge fundamental problem to reduce – hostility of the local noblemen who felt deprived of their privileges which they were given by Croatian kings; therefore the proposal which was presented in Venetian Senate in September 1411 by the clever Consul Antonio Contarini. He proposed to involve the major locals into the local administration and give to 18 of these noblemen the government of other Istrian and Dalmatian towns³.

Nothing was really done and those people had to limit themselves to supply the needs for navy troupes and other troupes; through the centuries it could be said for the whole arch of the history of *Serenissima* that the navy crew (*fanti da mar*) and officers which command them where in large part recruited amongst Dalmatians.

It is not our to qualify the presence of the Slavs, Albanians and Greek in the history of the Republic of St. Marc, this is beyond our discussion; let's see rather how those populations were seen from the Venetians or, better to say, dominant patricians point of view.

Although Venetian representatives were spread throughout Istria and Dalmatia as rectors, in available historical sources is very difficult to find their personal judgement, individual valuations, exceptional confessions of particular state of soul and especially appraisal of the ambient though the landscapes were extraordinary beautiful.

The fact was that the Venetians, at least to confirm the pre-romantic sensibility, as same as the rest of the large part of Europeans, avoided contact with nature (only if this was minimised to artificial fragments of gardens of some villas), and directed all their enthusiasm toward towns and cities. The crowd of shops, animation of the St. Marco Square and liveliness of the market of Rialto gave a lot of excitement to Goldoni as well as to Casanova: for them landscape was made of persons and faces and figures inserted into scenery of churches, monuments, palaces and they almost suffered a sort of *horror vacui* which could be fulfilled only with human dimension.

² Biblioteca Universitaria di Padova, Mss. 161/2, J. NANI, *Memorie sopra le militari imprese marittime de' Veneziani*, c. 35v.

³ G. GULLINO, *Le frontiere navali*, in *Storia di Venezia*, vol. IV, *Il Rinascimento. Politica e cultura*, edited by A. Tenenti and U. Tucci, Roma 1996, p. 21.

Exceptions were very rare and particular. Pietro Contarini⁴, patrician of medium fortune and even more modest poetic abilities, author of a poem named *Argo voluptas* or *Argo vulgar*, dedicated to Doge Pietro Lando, in 17 volumes described the beauty and pleasure of a Greek town which in reality was the town of Novegradi, little distant from Zara.

From 1508 to 1510 Contarini lived nicely in that castle (he was actually very fortunate: if he would had been in Venice, probably had to have fight in war against the Cambrai League); while the relations with Turks were good, he did not know how to fulfil his long winter days and therefore started to think about literal work inspired by unpolluted landscape of poor and simple ambient which in his fantasy appeared almost a sort of bucolic Arcadia which propose constant alternation of the seasons and offers fruits of soil and see. The idly, unfortunately, did not last long; at the end of his mandate in Novegradi he celebrated his leaving and returning to home filed up his heart with joy: his memories of Dalmatia vanished by a vision of the Adriatic metropolis: "et averzimo le vele al vento, e abbandonemo i colphi argoi e ilyrici, al terzo zorno zonzemo in Histria, el quarto me mostra la torre radiante del protector nostro messer San Marco per dover viver ne la cità aequeora dei potenti veneti, la qual è tuta salezà de piere cocte [...], de la qual el mondo mai non vide la più degna, sì pregna de vertute desfavilla".

So, if was not for this horrible prose, nothing would had come into the evidence about Contarini's relationship with Dalmatian landscape. His regular correspondence with authorities and centre – whatever was preserved of it – would not offer any point of reference, none personal confidence.

This is a normative case of all of Venetian rectors and it comes as a paradox of their quantity and nature of their rapports. Their residence in different localities had short breath, for one and half year or two, an intersected time, limited by ritual obligations of reporting: or better to say, of reports which a rector had to present not only to Senate, but as well as to his colleagues, different magistrates and in the most grave cases, to the Council of Ten.

Here we are not talking about zeal, just about desire of fulfil as much as possible in better way ones own duty related to the representatives of *Serenissima*: regular flow of the correspondence in reality was a mechanism of efficient approval, mode of moderating – behind an detailed summary

⁴ See 'Contarini Pietro', in *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 28, Roma 1983, pp. 264-265.

of events – a role which not presume crossing borders towards concrete possibilities to bring out solutions for problems⁵.

All the time merciless, precise, realistic almost without any excesses, dispatches and reports of rectors or governors in Dalmatia and Albania or Eptanes in which they reported about bad state of territories where they were ordered to govern: non infrequent a complex vision presented to the Senate, offered a panoramic view of logistic and structural disaster of the garrisons – when, as it was in majority of cases, it talks about military subjects –; it would be said that a garrison was just about to break up, with decimated crew due to absents of local inhabitants because of illnesses or desertions. Disorder and negligence together ruled deposits of arms, building, grain and biscuits lied without any care, without adequate storages, inside dilapidate buildings.

Unfortunately, a lucid diagnosis did not correspond to such capacity proposed to be a therapy. This is a characteristic which we can find in majority of the rectors' reports at least if we take in consideration the last decades of the 16th century. I would not like to sound malicious, but I believe that in the base of such zeal of reporting revived damages, it could be an egoistic calculation: proposing a list of structures which afflict the place, even emphasising them, a Venetian representative protected himself. He, doing it in this way, did not hide anyone and non one could accuse him – ones he departed – of negligence or superficiality or indifferences; measure how much this was to accept was up to the Senate and it was unavoidable duty of his successor to sort it out: if, later, the reality was not so bad as it appeared from the presented report, even so better: magistrate would be guilty for too much vigour and his good intentions. Would he be to blame?

In general, when we are talking about the Adriatic area, relationship with neighbouring countries at the end of the 16th century it can be noticed a special way of suffering of the Venetian representatives because of the Austrian hegemony. They badly confronted a different bureaucracy system and the mentality which supported it; they preferred to maintain relationship with Turks who they could almost understand. Here I refer to the application of the Novegradi tractate (1776), (the same above mentioned Contarini's Novegradi), about the use of pasturelands, which can be described as endemic font of 'differences', incomprehension, 'disgusts' of

⁵ About typology of dispatches regarding figure of examined personality, refer to beautiful introductive pages of Fausto Sartori to *Alvise Foscari Provveditore generale da Mar. Dispacci da Corfù. 1782-1783*, edited by F. Sartori, Venezia 2000, pp. VI-XIII, XXI.

the motifs of the seasonal migrations and therefore trespasses of nomad or semi-nomad populations. Here, an impersonal and programmed device of the Habsburg administrative machine opposed to the Venetian praxis which processed single and cumulative acts sometimes in totally different forms than Austrian's⁶.

In contrary to it, a totally different sort of relationship was with the Ottoman authorities: from anonymous Austrian centralism it passed to a personal arbitrage of Ottoman pashas who moved as independent satellites from Constantinople and with whom, at the end, it was possible to obtain an accordance however factious and difficult it was, it was always possible: it was only the question of a price.

This is what regards foreign affairs: talking about internal affairs, related to the Venetian administration, a Venetian rector was distinguished by his general inclination to passivity. He was motivated by consciousness of the fragile juridical and military organisation of *Serenissima* on a territory which in majority escaped away from the efficiency of the administrative state actions. Economic and civil gap between costal towns and populations of the hinterland intersected any integrative process of colonisation due to a destabilising factor of local 'clans' reunited under their unique tab of 'morlacchi' people, as dangerous because of their ethnic pride as much as vulnerable because their endemic economic weakness⁷.

Therefore, representatives of the Venetian government in their presentations of these peoples to the Senate constantly oscillated from an attitude inspired by benevolent comprehension of these people to the opposite condemnation of their society and morality without excuses; contradictory judgments live in their writings: from one side accusation of indolence of a people who drinks too much and burns the products of its own land and then find themselves to beg for help or loan; on the other hand, we can read about inclinations towards protection of the same people previously slandered, sometimes because of disorder and a little bit because of a hope that a good life of people ended in accordance to interests of the State. It would be more likely to prevail the second requirement, accompanied partly with rectors' requests for money and subventions from Venice which were

⁶ E. FABER, 'Riforme statali nel Litorale austriaco nel secondo Settecento', in F. AGOSTINI (ed.), *L'area alto-adriatica dal riformismo veneziano all'età napoleonica*, Venezia 1998, pp. 444-446.

⁷ Cfr. M. BERENGO, 'Problemi economico-sociali della Dalmazia veneta alla fine del '700', *Rivista storica italiana*, 66 (1954), pp. 469-510.

repeated inexhaustibly: dispatches were always concluded almost without variations, with a list of expenses, followed with a request for an approval from the Senate to recompense expenses already met⁸.

A very difficult situation made even more precarious due to inter-ethnic connivance generated through the frequent migration flows: for example, an adjoining force which was present amongst Orthodox immigrants and indigenous Catholic inhabitants in Imotski was little fortunate, forming – according to governor Foscari in 1780 – ‘almost two different populations which live with reciprocal precaution and low trust’⁹. As it could be seen as contradictor, I said, government of Slavic people required to be able not only to meet their intemperance as well as provide their security protecting them from Ottoman abuses. Reciprocal stilling of animals, trespasses and reprisals relieved controversies which drag themselves in front of respective magistrates with pretension of damages. Portrait of Turk side was never too far from almost regular stereotypes about astute and avid population to which any accordance would be concluded after exhausting negotiation and corresponding to rich gifts. And if Morlachs from the Zara hinterland could not sustain expenses for payment of taxes for grazing on the Ottoman territory it was to Venetian government to give them a support and in this way to calm down the ‘natural ferocity’ which can lead a Morlach, ‘to get in fury and became unable to rethink just act by impulse’ and fatal violent reactions with plenty of prejudice about political relationship. In this is, fundamental, the real nature of Venetian ‘tolerance’ in confrontations with Slavic people: a tolerance which existed on conscience and consequent acceptance of primitive diversity and difficult to exceed; though the best way to connivance was the one related to the centuries of experience and administrative praxis based on coexistence of paternalism, respect of the local tradition, precocious (but not trifle) towards ecclesiastical and noblemen’s prerogatives, constant attention about border and were to avoid ethnic, religious and political frictions. An attitude, the Venetian, marked with conservatism and with tendency of avoiding innovative choices which were verified on Habsburg’s territories as a temptation, developed as an idea

⁸ In Alvise Foscari’s dispatches, (he was general governor in Dalmatia and Albania from December 1777 to October 1780), Morlachs, people from Montenegro and Albania are sometimes “goffi di natura”, “trista gente”, “infingardi e importuni dediti a vizio e gozzoviglia”, but also “miseri e bisognosi”, “costituiti nella massima indigenza”, and therefore “supplichevoli” to implore “le assistenze pubbliche”. As it is obvious, this is an anticipated judgment. See *Alvise Foscari Provveditore generale in Dalmazia e Albania. Dispacci da Zara. 1777-1780*, ed. by F. Sartori, Venezia 1998, pp. 13, 38, 227, 230.

⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 65.

in 1775, although not crowned with a success, to transfer thousand Greek families from Morea to the Coast, or issue of famous tolerance patent in 1781-82¹⁰.

Certainly better situation was on the Ionian islands where the people was homogenised and distance from continent did not allowed interethnic friction and those trespasses which at the same time were so harmful in Dalmatia. To this indubitable advantage oppose distance from Venice and difficulty to navigate, especially during bad seasons, which enlarged communication route with central government. During normal conditions, it was necessary at least 20 days of sailing which turn into 60 during sea turbulences; beside bad weather very often caused ship wreck and lost of orders and dispatches: there happed many time that rectors were waiting to some orders from Venice which never arrived or arrived when a situation was already sorted out¹¹! This temporary collapse with emphasised declination

¹⁰ E. FABER, 'Il problema della tolleranza religiosa nell'area alto-adriatica nel secondo Settecento', in F. AGOSTINI (ed.), *Veneto, Istria e Dalmazia tra Sette e Ottocento. Aspetti economici, sociali ed ecclesiastici*, Venezia 1999, pp. 120-121. It is also considered to follow, the noted title, a point of view in which the general governor Foscari follows an exodus of Slaves from Bosnia towards Habsburg dominium in October 1779, crossing the "Triplex confinium": "Spread in territory of Imotski attentions of missionaries of the Bishop of Diacovo to make migrate families Ottoman subjects from Bosnia and collocare to the jurisdiction of his own dioceses, in Austrian dominion", inhabitants of whole villages "penetrated to public properties with their families, language and animals, from where they went towards Austrian territories without being afraid of Turks who were their rulers [...], and stopped in district of Knin, they stayed here for some time below a village, retaking promptly walk to making pass under the triple [confine], moving to the Austrian terrain where the Bishop of Diacovo had ready some coaches to give to emigrant's families and make easier their travel to his dioceses". For Foscari, this was only a problem of the public order, because he did not want to have unnecessary protests from Ottoman pasha and accusing the Republic of unlawful interference. It was not different as all even a year earlier (November 1778) when he provided a ghetto in Split, following orders given him from the Senate to "send-off" in 1777; also during this occasion, Foscari proceeded with extreme conscience and notable slow, in "unpleasant commission", which certainly would refute voluntary. See *Alvise Foscari Provveditore generale*, pp. 229-230, pp. 116-117.

¹¹ The gravest problem, obviously, was in Ionian area, but also in Adriatic was not immune. It can be seen, for example, in dispatches sent from Alvise Foscari, from Zara, on 9th March 1778: "Venti borascosi di ostro o sciroco, che soffiano giornalmente in questi canali, opponendosi all' accesso d'ogni bastimento che s'abbia distaccato dalla Dominante, lasciarono la divotia mia sollecitudine per tutto il mese di febraro e sino al dì d'oggi in desiderio de' pubblici documenti e delle venerate commissioni di Vostra Serenità, a regola delle mie direzioni rispetto massime al contegno de' pastori della Licca che godono, con li loro animali, ricovero e pascoli nelle pubbliche tenute, senza determinarsi alla corrisponsione del convenuto canone"; *Ibidem*, pp. 34-35.

became an obvious sign of the grave tearing apart a periphery from centre, capital city and *Stato da mar*. Here in Eptanes, major problem for a Venetian representative was not of ethnic character, as it was mentioned before, but it was abuse of Venetian power from the part of local noblemen's cliques or citizens fractions in confrontation with rural population.

This, fundamentally, was one of the major transversals which all of the society of '*ancien regime*' accumulated. Obviously, at the end of the century, it could be noted a new air, from Istria and Alvise V Marco Foscari, mayor in Pingente (Buzet), to Dalmatia and Governor Andrea Querini, to finish with Corfù and Nicolò Marcantonio Erizzo, extraordinary governor of the Levant's islands, where he died in 1787: different men, different instances. Though, they always conducted their duties in cities, which were nucleus of urbanisation and laboratories of ideas, like epicentre of interests for anyone who would look a region from outside, while a village stayed at the margins perpetually and its inhabitants were stigmatised as being ignorant, primitive and rough. This was a hardly removable *tòpos* of collective imaginary: this happened in Veneto, as a kind of extension of the eastern coast of Adriatic; about this point would be enough to mentioned testimony of a famous and notorious witness as Giacomo Casanova.

In 1743, with not completely clear motives, he was relegated to the Venetian fortress of St. Andrea, not far from Arsenale, where was a garrison, traditionally formatted of loyal Dalmatians. Here are his impressions: 'The fortress, where the Republic usually did not have others then a hundred Slavic invalid people, now there are two thousand Albanians [...] brought from Levant in occasion of a promotion. At this time it was 25 years from the last war that the Republic fought against Turks and for me it was spectacular and new sensation to see 18 or 20 officers [...] with their faces covered with scares as same as their chests which they openly showed as a war decoration [...]. All of these Albanians had always pockets full of garlic and one slice of it was for them like bonbon to us [...]. I passed a night amongst these soldiers without closing my eyes because they did not do anything else then sing, eat garlic, smoke a very bad tobacco which polluted air and drink red wine like ink which only them can drink'¹². After this, added Casanova, following morning their commanders made them embarking ships which took them to the Piazza san Marco, where they defiled in perfect order in front of Doge and Signoria, following orders given them in their language.

¹² G. CASANOVA, *Storia della mia vita*, ed. by G. Lazzeri, Milano 1924, p. 168, pp. 171-172.

People eager and right, rich of diligence, but closed in their prejudices and runs away from eastern civilisation; people to be observed and evaluated with curiosity, often with sufficiency, but without preventing to take impartial negative judgement; this, in synthesis, would be a concept of the Venetians in confrontation with those which they recognised as 'Morlacchi'.

Borislav Grgin

**TOLERANCE IN PRACTICE –
THE CROATS AND THE MORLACHS
ON THE VENETIAN ISLAND OF RAB
BETWEEN 15th AND 16th CENTURIES**

By the end of the Middle Ages the situation on the borders between the Hungarian-Croatian kingdom and the Republic of Venice became more complicated. By conquering the island of Krk (Veglia) in 1480, the Venetians completed their gains on the Eastern Adriatic and territorial expansion at the expense of the medieval Croatia. From that time onwards, Croatia, as well as the Venetian possessions on the Eastern Adriatic were more and more often endangered by the Ottomans. In such dire circumstances, the mutual relations and connections between Croatia and Dalmatia, oscillating for centuries between conflict and peaceful collaboration and cohabitation, began to change gradually, but significantly, with the Ottoman threat against both sides in the background. As opposed to the attitude towards the Ottomans, who were gradually becoming the third and the decisive factor in the region, the relations and connections between the Croats and the Dalmatians were not marked by religious difference as an important element of self-identification and opposition against the “others”. The period taken into consideration chronologically and structurally precedes the creation of *Triplex confinium*. According to its characteristics this was still in essence a medieval period. Therefore, one has to point out the differences in form and content of coexistence in the Late Middle Ages, when compared with the later period. We shall take the example of Rab (Arbe), one of the Dalmatian-Croatian border towns. In doing so, one has to be careful with generalizations about the attitude of Dalmatian population towards the inhabitants of medieval Croatia, due to the numerous specific features of each Dalmatian commune. These differences were to a great extent determined by geographical and natural features (for example, Krk [Veglia] and Rab [Arbe] are islands). Even the local territorial and political development, or more precisely the size and structure

of the communal districts, as well as the size and shape of the borderlines towards Croatia, also played a significant role in creating local differences.

In this paper the attempt will be made to analyze the manifestations of coexistence of domestic population of the town and island of Rab with the permanently settled or temporarily present Croats and Morlachs on the island, coming from neighboring Croatia, at the end of the fifteenth and the beginning of the sixteenth centuries. The question will be raised whether and in which circumstances one could speak about "tolerance" or "intolerance" in their relations. The text is mainly based on the analysis of the Rab notarial archive that is kept in the Zadar (Zara) State Archives. The data from the notaries should be compared with the legal documents and narrative sources. This could help in getting as precise as possible picture of the real level of tolerance in relations of various strata of population in Rab.

Taking into account the predominant type of archival sources, one could easily suppose that the data obtained through their analysis will be mainly covering the legal and economic aspects, closely connected with the everyday life on the island, in which the permanent or daily migrants from the hinterland played a significant role for centuries. The Morlachs were often present on the island as providers of cattle products, such as dairy products, salted meat, and wood (in cases when they were coming for trade). For example, the two groups of Morlachs from the coastal region of Croatia under the Velebit Mountain, near Rab, traded with the Rab patrician Jeronim (Jerome) Crnota in February 1494. Crnota supplied them with wheat, while they, in return, sent him salted pork, baby beef, salted cheese, and wood¹. Also, the Morlachs from Jablanac in 1493², and the ones from the *katuni* of Klapavići, Krasojevići and Roženci in Croatia in 1495, were in debt for wheat to the Rab citizens³. In the cases when Morlachs would enter into the service of Rab inhabitants, they were mainly engaged as sheep-breeders on the island pastures.

The Croats settled in Rab, and those who came to do business, at that time belonged to various social backgrounds, from magnates and middle nobles to the commoners, such as sailors, peasants, craftsmen (particularly young apprentices coming from the hinterland to learn their craft on the island), domestic servants (particularly women) and like. The examples of commoners in the source materials are practically innumerable. They were coming on the

¹ Državni Arhiv u Zadru (=DAZ), Spisi rapskih bilježnika, Juraj Šegota (1492-1509), b. 5, fasc. 1, f. 150, f. 156.

² *Ibidem*, f. 90.

³ *Ibidem*, f. 268.

island to settle or trade there, mainly from the neighboring regions of medieval Croatia, such as Bag (today Karlobag), Jablanac, Starigrad, Lukovo, Sveti Juraj, and other smaller places on the coastline under the Velebit Mountain. A significant number of settlers came from the regions of Lika and Gacka, from the places like Bužane, Otočac, Modruš, Novi, etc. Some settlers came to live in Rab even from the more distant parts like Požega in medieval Slavonia. However, the majority of Rab inhabitants or guests coming from the hinterland were mentioned only in general terms, as coming *de Sclauonia*, without any precise reference to the exact place of their origin. In spite of the differences in origin, social status, or role they played in Rab, there is not even a hint in the sources of any kind of intolerance, misunderstanding, stereotypes, prejudices, negative qualifications, or emphasis on alterity regarding any party involved. Therefore, it could be concluded, regarding this most numerous group of Croats and Morlachs in Rab, that they were to a large extent integrated or accepted in the local community as its members or partners, and that, apparently, one could speak about a rather high level of tolerance during everyday activities among the various groups of people coming to or living in Rab.

From the time of the Ottoman conquest of medieval Bosnia, in 1463, Rab even became a refuge for the members of social elite from the hinterland. After the assassination of the last medieval Bosnian king, Stjepan Tomašević, his brother Radič with his wife came to settle on the island of Rab. After the Ottoman conquest of Herzegovina, in 1482, the Rab patrician family of Crnota offered their hospitality to Vlatko Vukčić Kosača, the son of *herceg* Stjepan, who died on the island in 1489⁴. It seems that the patricians Crnota had particularly intensive social connections with the magnates and rulers from the hinterland. For example, in 1471 one of their members, sir Kristofor (Christopher), acted as the procurator for the family silverware of Count Martin Frankapan, one of the leading Croatian magnates of that time, and treasured it up in Rab, as in a safe heaven in front of the Ottoman threat⁵. In 1478, counts Martin and Anž Frankapani had one thousand golden ducats treasured up in Rab⁶. Some richer members of the Croatian middle nobility, like the dukes of Kosinj, in today's region of Lika, played an important role in Rab as well⁷. Lacko,

⁴ Š. LJUBIĆ, *Commissiones et relationes Venetae*, in *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium*, vol. 6, Zagrabiae 1876, p. 88; S. ANTOLJAK, 'Izvori i literatura o prošlosti otoka Raba do 1797 g.', in *Rapski zbornik*, Zagreb-Rab 1987, pp. 183-186.

⁵ DAZ, Spisi rapskih bilježnika, Toma Stančić (1470-1472), b. 3, fasc. 13, fol. 38-39.

⁶ *Ibidem*, Andrija Fajeta, b. 1, fasc. 2.9, fol. 4-5.

⁷ B. GRGIN, *Počeci rasapa. Kralj Matijaš Korvin i srednjovjekovna Hrvatska*, Zagreb 2002, pp. 181-183.

the duke of Kosinj, personally brought Count Martin's treasure on the island before 1471⁸. Lacko and his son Juraj (George) Lacković moved to Rab with their entourage (*familiares*) around 1469-1470, most probably to flee from the Ottoman threat. They became very active in the economic life of the island, having significant capital at their disposal, investing in naval trade together with Kristofor Crnota and other Rab patrician Ivan (John) de Dominis, buying land and houses on the island⁹.

The most interesting is the document from February 1471, in which duke Lacko already gave himself the title of *civis et habitator ciuitatis Arbi*¹⁰. Lacko emphasized security reasons (Ottomans!) as the main cause for his moving to Rab together with his *familia*. The moving obviously happened in dire circumstances and in great haste, taking into account the fact that Lacko had to borrow some money from the local Rab patrician Ivan (John) de Dominis. Lacko returned the borrowed money to Ivan soon, together with 100 golden ducats for compensation. Lacko emphasized the generosity of Ivan who did not ask anything in return for his help, but Lacko did not want to remain in debt to him, because he was a man of *nobilis et liberalis nature*. In the end the two nobles promised each other eternal friendship. It remains uncertain for how long the Kosinjski stayed in Rab, and how much they were socially active. In February 1497, namely, Lacko's grandson Tomaš, the son of Juraj, with the special mandate consented to him by his father and his father's sisters, sold one of his father's estates on Rab, with all its belongings to the Venetian patrician Enrico Badoer, for the sum of 331 golden ducats and 100 *stari* of olive oil¹¹. The real reason why Kosinjski wanted to get money by selling a significant part of their property again, and whether it was for security or some other reason, remains still to be investigated in the sources.

Some important conclusions or hypotheses could be formulated based on the above-mentioned documents. It seems that towards the end of the fifteenth century a certain trans-border circle of social elite members existed in Rab. They were connected through material interests, but even more so by their ethics and values common to, and expected from, the nobility of that time, among which magnanimity was obviously an important one. It could be argued that these values were of utmost importance in mutual communication and served as signs of recognition and distinctive markers of social class that both sides were belonging to. Taking all this into account, one could only

⁸ See note n. 5.

⁹ DAZ, Spisi rapskih bilježnika, Toma Stančić (1470-1472), b. 3, fasc. 13, fol. 16, 18-19, 21.

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, fol. 26.

¹¹ *Ibidem*, Juraj Šegota (1492-1509), b. 5, fasc. 1, fol. 328.

very conditionally use the term “tolerance” to describe their relations since they were essentially of a different kind. However, the fact that Lacko wanted to pay back his creditors as soon as possible, and to show that he himself possessed the same noble qualities like they did, possibly indicates a certain competition in “noble virtues and values” between the two sides; in which the Croatian side perhaps felt certain inferiority of rank and status, caused by the dire circumstances, that needed to be compensated by showing even greater magnanimity than their fellow counterparts from Rab. Whether this was or was not the case, the fact that very soon after his moving to the island, already in 1471, Lacko obtained titles of *civis et habitator Arbi*, shows that at least in legal and economic terms, the local tolerance and social openness towards the rich and distinguished newcomers from the hinterland was obvious. For the social position of the rich and noble newcomers in Rab this was of primary importance, and it could easily overshadow any possible negative remarks they eventually had to hear in the streets of the town.

The most active notary in Rab at that time was the Croat Juraj Šegota, who was of noble descent, from the Mogorovići clan from the Croatian region of Lika. His origin is clear from the document he issued in 1504, in which he calls himself a notary and the citizen of Rab, the son of late sir Šimun (Simon) from Bužane in Lika, from the noble kindred Stupići, which was a part of Mogorovići clan¹². Although we do not know the details about the social status of Juraj Šegota from the sources, one could suppose that his economic and social status in Rab was rather high. The only concrete data we have about his economic activity on the island is from the document he himself issued in October 1501, when he sold his *derum* in Rab for two golden ducats to a local butcher¹³. This is, obviously, just a marginal piece of information that does not give any clue about the real proportion of his economic and social activities on the island.

Šegota was a cultivated and educated person, who most probably knew several languages and scripts. He was a notary *imperiali auctoritate*, just like his fellow colleague and a member of the same noble clan Vito Dragojević from Lika, the son of late sir Juraj (George) *de genere siue styrpe Mogorovich*. Vito obtained the right to perform notarial duties in Rab, according to the document Šegota issued in December 1504¹⁴. The Rab notary Šimun (Simon) from Bužane is mentioned as well in 1504¹⁵. Ivan (John) de Dominis appointed

¹² *Ibidem*, b. 6, fasc. 1, fol. 218.

¹³ *Ibidem*, fol. 128.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, fol. 264-265.

¹⁵ P. RUNJE, *Tragom stare ličke povijesti*, Ogulin 2001, pp. 110-111, 113.

Ambroz (Broz) Kolunić, from Dubovik near Bužane, as notary in December 1505. Kolunić is known as the author of famous Glagolitic codex entitled *Kolunićev zbornik* from 1486¹⁶.

During the years 1505 and 1506, the additional four notaries from Croatia obtained the right to perform notarial duties. The first of them was Šimun (Simon) Brzotić, a priest coming from Otočac in Croatia, at that time in the service of the bishop in Trogir (Traù)¹⁷. The second was a chaplain of Count Anž (John) Frankapan, a priest called Ivan (John), the son of the blacksmith Pavao (Paul) from the village Kompolje near Bužane in Lika¹⁸. On the same day, the third newly appointed notary was a priest Ambroz (Ambrosius) Kačinić, also coming from the Bužane district¹⁹. The last mentioned in this group was a newly appointed notary Juraj (George) Radovanić, from the village of Buži in Bužane County²⁰. All these documents were written by Juraj Šegota, and the persons who acted as entitled to invest the new notaries with their duties were Ivan (John) and Nikola (Nicholas) de Dominis, members of the one of the most distinguished Rab patrician families, both having the honorary titles of count palatine of the Lateran palace, of the Buda court, and the imperial councilors²¹.

The fact that there was a significant group of notaries from Croatia invested with the duty in Rab by the members of the local patrician elite, during a short period of time, could lead to certain conclusions and hypotheses. It seems that at that time Rab was the cultural center for the neighboring Croatian regions as well, particularly for the wider region of Bužane. The cooperation and fulfillment of common interests of the members of social elite on both sides clearly surpassed political and other borders between them. In the source materials there is not even a trace of Rab patricians showing any reluctance, social distance, intolerance or anything similar towards these educated clerics

¹⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 123-126.

¹⁷ DAZ, Spisi rapskih bilježnika, Juraj Šegota (1492-1509), b. 6, fasc. 1, fol. 289-290.

¹⁸ *Ibidem*, fol. 319-321.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, fol. 321-322.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, fol. 336-337.

²¹ M. GRANIĆ, 'Privilegij cara Sigismunda rapskoj obitelji Dominis iz godine 1437.', *Radovi Filozofskog fakulteta u Zadru, Razdio društvenih znanosti*, 9 (1982), pp. 53-62; I. PEDERIN, 'Fond rapskih knezova i bilježnika', *Vjesnik Histojskih arhiva u Rijeci i Pazinu*, 25 (1982), pp. 9-43; I. PEDERIN, 'Obrazovne i znanstvene prilike na Rabu u XV. st.', in *Zbornik za povijest školstva i prosvjete*, vol. 21, Zagreb-Beograd-Ljubljana 1988, pp. 79-85; I. PEDERIN, *Mletačka uprava, privreda i politika u Dalmaciji (1409-1797)*, Dubrovnik 1990, pp. 103-104; I. PEDERIN, 'Uprava, crkva, politika i kultura na Rabu u XVI. stoljeću', *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru*, 36 (1994), pp. 131, 133-134; RUNJE, *Tragom stare licke povijesti*, p. 125.

who were coming on the island to get their official confirmation. The latter were also, at least some of them, of noble origin. We do not know whether the newly appointed notaries continued their activity in Croatia, or in Rab. It is much more probable that they all returned to their homeland. On the other hand, one could question the reasons of such frequent appearance of petitioners for the status of notary from the hinterland in Rab exactly during that short period. This fact could be, perhaps, connected with the ever-growing Ottoman threat that pushed those clerics to ask confirmations in order to insure themselves against any eventuality in the future. These confirmations could become very useful for them in the new environment, in Rab or elsewhere, in case they were forced to flee in front of the Ottoman advance. The members of social elite on Rab, the de Dominis and the Crnota patrician families, willingly helped these Croatian clerics and notaries in their efforts.

One might conclude that, according to the archival sources, the newcomers from the hinterland on the island of Rab at the end of the fifteenth and beginning of the sixteenth centuries were, to a great extent, accepted in the local society; as constitutive parts of various local social strata, as daily migrants coming to Rab, or just doing business with the local inhabitants. There are no traces of any evaluation of the newcomers by the local population, either positive or negative. After considering the source materials the overall impression is that calling the mutual relations “tolerant” is not a mistake, or far from the historical truth.

However, only a thorough analysis of relevant legal and narrative sources could finally prove or reject this hypothesis. Unfortunately, such source materials are rather scarce for Rab all to the Early Modern Age. Even the statute of Rab, which has recently been published in a critical edition²², does not clarify this aspect. The statute was composed mainly during the second half of the thirteenth century, getting its final form around 1325²³. There are also some shorter additions from the later period, the latest one being from 1413²⁴. Although the connections with Croatian hinterland were numerous and had centuries-long tradition, the term *Sclavonia* was mentioned only once in the statute, when establishing the prices for goat meat, mutton, and livestock from Croatia²⁵. On the other hand, the *forenses* were mentioned quite

²² L. MARGETIĆ, ‘Lo Statuto d’Arbe’, *Atti - Centro di Ricerche Storiche, Rovigno*, 30 (2000), pp. 9-219.

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 9.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 193.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 124, L. IV, Cap. III.

a few times in the statutes²⁶, but only when referring to the general legal and economic matters, and without any hint to the question of their acceptance in the local society, or the attitude of the locals towards them. All Rab chronicles originate from the much later period. The first *matriculae* of the fraternities allegedly originate from the second half of the fifteenth century, but they were not preserved, and the extant ones are also from the much later period. Other types of narrative sources for the late medieval period simply do not exist.

What remains open is the issue of “tolerance” and “intolerance” in the late 15th and early 16th centuries in the Dalmatian communal societies. My view is that its definition should be adjusted to the place and the time, and its content should be determined individually for each case, in order to avoid the trap of anachronism, or premature and ill-founded generalizations. I am well aware of the one-sidedness and partiality of the above made analysis, particularly because of the lack of the most important documents. Despite that, concluding from the quantity and content of the analyzed archival materials, I would dare to say that Rab, as one of the eastern Adriatic communal societies under the Venetian rule at the end of the Middle Ages, was rather “tolerant” milieu for the newcomers from the Croatian hinterland. This should not come as a surprise, taking into account the fact that for centuries the medieval Croatia had been the main reservoir of demographic renewal for the Dalmatian communes, and one of their main economic partners. Strong intellectual and cultural connections continued to link both sides throughout the Middle Ages, particularly towards the end of the period. All these facts had profoundly influenced their relations, and made mutual tolerance an everyday practice in the streets of Rab, and in the most of other Dalmatian towns.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 86, L. II, Cap. XVIII; p. 100, L. III, Cap. XI; p. 120, L. III, Cap. XXXI; pp. 126, 128, L. IV, Cap. V; p. 142, L. IV, Cap. XXI; p. 146, L. IV, Cap. XXV; p. 158, L. IV, Cap. XLIII; pp. 158, 160, L. IV, Cap. XLIV; pp. 160, 162, L. IV, Cap. XLVII; p. 181, L. V, Cap. XI; pp. 184-185, L. V, Cap. XVII; pp. 185-186, L. V, Cap. XVIII.

Tea Mayhew

**TOLERANCE IN PRACTICE –
IMMORALITY AND TRIDENTINE RULES
IN RAB (ARBE), LATE 16th CENTURY**

The clergy's immorality of the 16th century will be focused upon here and primarily on the 'little sins' of priests who lived within their parochial communities: gambling, trading, fighting, stealing, visiting public houses, drinking and particularly living with women and having illegitimate children. These kinds of irregularities can be found almost everywhere in Catholic Europe and they were more or less tolerated to a certain extent¹. On a higher level the theologians and church fathers were having great discussions about keeping this, mainly Augustinian's doctrine of strict celibacy for the priest and the strict control of sexuality even for lay people². After the conclusion of the Tridentine Council in late 1563 the final orders of Canon Law were set and there were no excuses for any irregularities. The Roman-Catholic Church took the route of building up a new kind of priesthood. They had to be the intellectual and moral leaders of their laity, real 'pastors of their flock' and their celibacy was an inevitable condition³. This was a huge task which included very complex actions on the ground. The major duty of the Roman-Catholic Reform fell on the shoulders of the bishops⁴. To help and

¹ J. DELUMEAU, *Le catholicisme entre Luther et Voltaire*, Serbian translation – *Katolicizam između Lutera i Voltera*, Novi Sad 1997.

² P. CHAUNU, *Le temps des Réformes*, Croatian translation – *Vrijeme reformi*, Zagreb, 2002, p. 43.

³ M. MULLETT, *The Counter-Reformation*, London - New York 1984, pp. 16-22.

⁴ *The Canons and Decrees of the Council of Trent*, Rockford, 1978, p. 49: "Bishops and other major prelates shall visit all churches as often as this is necessary; everything that might hinder the execution of this decree is abrogated". See also K. RANDELL, *The Catholic and Counter Reformations*, London 2000, p. 62: "The Council of Trent defined the bishop as, in modern parlance would be termed, a manager. His role was to ensure that religious life within his

control the implementation of the rules, Pope Pius V (1566-1572) and Pope Gregory XIII (1572-1585) sent their delegated bishops throughout Catholic countries⁵.

In October 1578 Pope Gregory XIII delegated the bishop of Verona and a Venetian nobleman Agostino Valier as *Apostolicae Sedis generalis et specialis Visitor, Reformatore et Delegatus in tota provincia Dalmatiae*⁶. Valier and his delegacy spent seven months (January–July) in 1579 travelling and visiting the dioceses of the territory of Venetian Albania (the diocese of Boka Kotorska) and Venetian Dalmatia. The documents about this visit are a precious source of history of the church in Dalmatia during this difficult period of Roman-Catholic Reform, but also the period in which these territories were exposed to major Ottoman attacks, including intensive micro-social changes (migrations) and the degeneration of the local economy. The official records and notes made during the visit are preserved in Archivio Segreto Vaticano⁷. The papers relating to Valier's visit to the diocese of Rab were the base for this case study.

The diocese of Rab in the 16th century covered the territory of the island of Rab and the northern part of the island of Pag (the parish of the village of Novalja). This territory also constituted the community of Rab under Venetian jurisdiction. The Venetian war against the Ottomans in 1570-1573 brought many problems to the Dalmatian communities and the island of Rab

diocese was carried out in an acceptable manner. He was expected to supervise the work of the parish priests directly and to discipline those whose performance was unsatisfactory. He was to lead by example, especially by visiting every parish at least once every two years. He was to help overcome the shortage of priests who could preach effectively by taking on a large element of this work himself. Being a bishop was now assumed to be a full-time job”.

⁵ S. TRAMONTIN, in *La visita apostolica del 1581 a Venezia*, Venezia 1988, p. 11, notified that apostolic visits were practiced since the earliest period of the Catholic Church's establishment, but they were always conducted by certain needs and circumstances. The Council of Trent gave the visits a real purpose and structure. L. and M.M. TACCHELLA, *Il cardinale Agostino Valier e la riforma tridentina nella diocese di Trieste*, Udine 1974, p. 106, presented the opinion of Saint Carlo Borromeo, the Bishop of Milan (1538-1584), who emphasised that the foreign bishop as an apostolic visitor can take a more radical action in particular situations when it is necessary according to the implementation of the Tridentine Rules and correct the failures in the field with stronger effects of pontifical authority than a local bishop.

⁶ Archivio Segreto Vaticano (=Asv), *Segreteria dei brevi*, vol. 44, pp. 577r-581r.

⁷ Asv, *Santa Congregazione di Vescovi e Regolari, Visite 1500-1600, Episcoporum Regeste*, vol. 1, (aa. 1579-1580). A copy of these documents has been conserved in the Archive of Verona Diocese, *Fonte Valier*, busta 4, fascicolo 9, *Visitatio Arbensis*. In further text = *Visitatio Arbensis*.

was not excluded. Rab's population fell rapidly from 3,500, in 1553⁸, to 2,400 in 1572. Therefore the community became smaller with the majority of the people living in the town of Rab (about 1,000)⁹. The relatively small number of inhabitants on the island meant that everybody knew everyone else, which created a specific situation of familiarity amongst them but also allowed for much rumour mongering. In this situation the life of the local clergy was even more exposed to the public and their disapproval. The community was organised in a specific way. Although under Venetian jurisdiction, Rab kept its own statute which regulated internal social relationships. It is important for our further discussion about the tolerance of priest's immorality to mention here some of the regulations from Rab's Statute. According to this document illegitimate children (sometimes even mistresses) could regularly, by this law, inherit property which had its root in Roman law¹⁰. Valier's delegation was shocked by the facts not only that some of Rab's canonists were living with concubines and having illegitimate children, but even more so, that their children, were inheriting their property on a regular basis which was actually church property¹¹. We can see that this irregularity, in Canon Law, has its basis in Rab's local statute and Agostino Valier made a strong effort in banning that which was being tolerated.

In the documents of Valier's visit the diocese of Rab was described as the worse amongst the all Dalmatian dioceses where clerical discipline had dropped to a very low level. We can read this from one of the Valier's notaries who even included his own personal opinion about the very critical situation with the immorality of Rab's clergy in the records¹². Especially intriguing was the accusation of the local bishop Blasio Sidineo who apparently had kept

⁸ E. PERIČIĆ, *Prinosi pomoraca iz Kopra, Cresa, Krka i Raba na njihovim galijama u Lepantskoj bici*, Zadar 1974, p. 87.

⁹ *Visitatio Arbensis*.

¹⁰ L. MARGETIĆ, *Istra i Kvarner*, Rijeka 1996, p. 256.

¹¹ *Visitatio Arbensis*: "Appresso volendo, che le memoria della incontinentia, la quail rende li clerici infamy, sia quanto più si puote suppressa reproviamo un abuso, che intendiamo esser introdotto in questa città, che li bastardi figlioli de clerici loro succedano nelli beni et heredità; et ordiniamo, et per tener delle predette Constitutioni prohibiamo, che per l'avenire nissuno nuto di pachi costituito in qual si voglia degli ordini sacri possi succederli nella heredità ne con testamento, ne senza testamento, ma siano al tutto inhabili a questa successione".

¹² *Ibidem*: "Est Arbensis ecclesia praesul, ut ante dictum est; reverendissimus dominus Blasio Sidineo senior gravis, et aegritudine arreptus, et hinc aut alia quavis di causa disciplina ecclesiastica in hac ecclesia feri collapse est; quia divinus cultus in ea debitor modo et tempore minime exliberut; et per multiu ex sacerdotibus in dictuno concubinato morantes eandem prope in famem rodiderunt".

a concubine in his house and another three clerics against whom Valier set criminal processes¹³.

Immediately after he and his delegation reached the land of the island of Rab, on 25th June 1579, Valier went directly to Rab's cathedral to meet Bishop Blasio Sidineo, other clerics, the Venetian Count of Rab Giovanni Francesco Sagredo, local noblemen and other laity. He appealed to everyone to denounce any heretics, sorcerers, false prophets, usurers (loan-sharks), blasphemers, adulterers, those who keep concubines and all others who deserved to be castigated¹⁴.

According to the sources from the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Valier obviously had information about the local community and the problems with the clergy even before he had reached Rab. Before he started his visit in Dalmatia, he received the necessary information from the Venetian Senators¹⁵. Within his delegation Valier had two laics, the noblemen Giuseppe Malavolta from Ferrara and Valerio Malleguti from Reggio Emilia. They walked around the town, mingled with the local people and listened to the rumours to obtain as much information as possible about life in the community.

After his public appeal, Valier received two letters containing serious accusations against some of Rab's clerics. In the first letter, Zuane Cizza from Rab described the immoral situation within the clergy on Rab, which according to his letter had been going on for many years without change or anyone to abate it or to punish the offenders under Catholic laws and morals. It can be understood from his letter that he had seen Valier's delegation as the final institution which would finally bring justice against those priests living against Catholic morals and who were tolerated by the community and local church authority. Zuane Cizza accused Bishop Blasio Sidineo of selling two canonries with the help of his chancellor (*Primicerius*) Paolo Antonio

¹³ *Ibidem*: "Doctor senex ad modum de incontinentia, et simoniaca habere diffamatus, valetudinarius ita, ut neque iniedere, neque episcopalia munera obire debite possit; et hinc toti fere urbi maxime missus".

¹⁴ *Ibidem*: "Affixa fuerunt inssu reverendum dominum visitatoris valis ecclesie cathedralis duae edicta, alterum ad ammonenda omnes clericos, ut adfectum heres sui ordinis, et vullas suscipere benefices, alterum verum ad invitandum quoscunque, ut haereticos, sortilegos, faeneratores, blasphemos, adulteros, et concubinos publicos de nuntiarent, nec non eos, qui pia legata de frateraudant debita exequitone".

¹⁵ I. VITEZIĆ, *La prima visita apostolica postridentina in Dalmazia (1579)*, Roma 1957 (unedited Ph.D. thesis), p. 25. Valier received information that the Dalmatians are *gens acuta, et controversa natura*, no matter whether they are laics or clerics and live in permanent conflict with each other.

Baduero. The bishop was also accused of consecrating all those who wanted to be a priest who had no knowledge of the priest's order and sometimes even those who were completely ignorant and were not able to read or to preach properly. Cizza also accused the bishop of using his status for revenge on personal grounds. The bishop was accused of keeping concubines in his house and of having children with them. Lastly he was accused of not following the Tridentine Regulations especially by marrying couples without the necessary dispenses and then divorcing them immediately after a few days¹⁶.

The second letter addressed to Valier was from Nicolò Zaro. The letter describes Nicolò, his mother and his brothers who finally had found the confidence in someone (Valier's delegation) to bring them justice or at least to absolve them from the sin of simony. Some years before Valier's visit Nicolò's father, Geronimo, had paid a large sum of money to the bishop and his chancellor for the canonicity of one of his sons, Christopher. Later, understanding the mistake, he demanded to renounce his son's status but the bishop and the chancellor refused to accept the renunciation and therefore did not return his money¹⁷.

During his visit Valier started a process in which his collaborator Francesco Tincto investigated the bishop, his life, his morality and his family, Rab's clergy, their duties and the moral life in the community according to a formal questionnaire and Tridentine orders. The testimonies taken were from members of Rab's clergy, noblemen and common people¹⁸. 15 people in total. They revealed the accusations and rumours about the bishop who apparently had a concubine and children before he even took the position in the diocese of Rab. In his family lived two women: his sister-in-law Bernardina and a maid named Marieta. Everybody in Rab had spoken about the bishop having a daughter with Marieta and there were even some rumours about Bernardina, whose son Basilio, a canon in Venice, apparently being the bishop's son because no one had ever seen the bishop's brother i.e. Bernardina's husband. Some of the witnesses accused Petar Gristich, a priest from Zadar, who lived with the bishop's family of having a concubine, but

¹⁶ *Visitatio Arbenensis*, Informationes exhibite cum reverendum episcopum Arben.

¹⁷ *Ibidem*.

¹⁸ The testimonies were selected according to the Tridentine Rules. See *The Canons and Decrees...*, p. 85: "In the matter of examination or information in a criminal case or in an otherwise grave case against a bishop, no witnesses shall be accepted unless their testimony is confirmed and they are of good life, of good esteem and reputation; and if they shall have made any deposition through hatred or self-interest, they shall be subject to severe penalties".

no one from Rab paid any attention to his morality because he maintained his priestly duties regularly and with respect¹⁹.

The testimonies confirmed the accusations of simony and discovered more which the bishop committed together with his chancellor Paolo Antonio Baduero. Baduero was a very capable person; fulfilling the additional service of public notary in Rab, he even bought his own position of *Primicerius*. His job of 'selling' church dignities was public and everyone knew about it, but no one ever did anything to stop him or to complain about him. During his own interrogation it was discovered that he had had a relationship with two women with whom he had children. One of the women was already dead and the other he had sent to Venice on knowing about Valier's delegation, trying to cover any traces of his misdemeanour²⁰.

Two more priests processed were the bishop's vicar Giovanni Cortese and Francesco Bocchina. They both lived with mistresses, which was impossible to hide because of the children they had. Vicar Giovanni Cortese had a relationship with a certain Geronima known as 'Germetta' for more than twenty years. She bared him seven children, five of which were alive. Before Valier's delegation came to Rab he sent his mistress to their daughter, who was married, in Zadar, scared of the apostolic visit and any possible punishment. His relationship with Germetta was public and almost accepted in the community. Even Cortese's mother took care of Germetta and the children. When he was discovered as having another relationship with a woman called Catharina Bachicha, the Count of Rab Giovanni Francesco Sagredo took it upon himself to ban the woman from the island²¹. Obviously, having a relationship with Germetta was one thing, although not accepted as being normal, it was tolerated, but having affairs with more women could not be tolerated.

Francesco Bocchina had a relationship with a woman named Margarita Gregorinza who looked after his house and his sick sister. They had three small children who could be seen in the priest's house. Everybody in the town knew about their relationship and some testimonies spoke very positively about Margarita regarding her care about the house and children. Bishop Sidineo warned him and several other priests who were not living decent moral lives but, as Bocchina said in his testimony, he couldn't help it²².

¹⁹ *Visitatio Arbensis*.

²⁰ *Visitatio Arbensis*.

²¹ *Visitatio Arbensis*.

²² *Visitatio Arbensis*, Francesco Bocchina testimony: "Questo vescovo m'ha admonito cosi tutti universalmente dicendomi ch'era scandalo et ch' lasciassimo queste pratiche".

After the investigation, Baduaro, Cortese and Bocchina were found guilty. They had to pay fines, immediately cease their lives with their concubines and live on bread and water (*in pane et aqua in sexta feria*) without their benefits and were dismissed from the service of confession (*cura d'anime*) and were obliged to daily readings of seven psalms for six months²³.

On the other hand, Agostino Valier took no further action against Bishop Blasio Sidineo, considering his age and health (at the time of the visit, Sidineo was 65 years old, very ill and unable to walk)²⁴. In his letter to the Venetian Senate he mentioned his hope that the rumours and all the scandals would disappear upon the bishop's death²⁵. He rather turned to the archbishop of Zadar asking him for additional help to control the clergy on Rab²⁶.

Using another source from Rab's Parochial Archive, *Protocolum pro Archivium Episcopale Arben*, it can be seen that the problem of priests who had concubines was well known and recognised during the whole of the 16th century and that Bishop Antonio Nigusanti (before Blasio Sidineo) had processed and punished them. They were nearly always processed and punished after someone of the laity had made a complaint against them. Besides these accusations many other 'little sins' can be found here of which the priests were accused²⁷. They show the real situations in the lives of ordinary priests within any little community such as Rab. The sources portray this situation almost day-by-day²⁸.

²³ *Visitatio Arbensis*.

²⁴ *Visitatio Arbensis*: "Reverendissimus domunus Blasio Sidineo iure utroque doctori episcopus Arbensis vir annus sexagentium quintus in circa iam annus in circa pedibus quasi captus ita ut deambulatus nequeat et cathedra defertur".

²⁵ VITEŽIĆ, *La prima visita apostolica*, p. 53.

²⁶ *Visitatio Arbensis*, Valier's letter to the bishop of Zadar.

²⁷ A. MRAKOVČIĆ, *Protocolum pro Archivium Episcopale Arben*, Rab 1938 (notes about Bishop Antonio Nigusanti). It can be seen that in the first half of 16th century that Bishop Antonio Nigusanti had great troubles with his clergy relating to their morality i.e. keeping concubines, stealing goods, fighting and arguing in public or blaspheming, but he also had to deal with the laity. In the named source there were many complaints about immoral behaviour amongst the lay people. They all turned to the bishop as a moral authority to process the cases.

²⁸ MRAKOVČIĆ, *Protocolum*, notes from 1536: 3rd July – a maid named Jelena complained about priest Marko de Zaro because he slapped her after she was gossiping about him in the town; 9th July – cleric Franjo Picić complained against cleric Ivan Fabijanić because he punched him in the sacristy; 31st July – complaint against cleric Blaž Račić who slapped someone called Matteo and for keeping concubinage with a certain 'Ursula'; 10th August – Margarita Rubčić complained against cleric Ivan Fabijanić who was stealing her grapes.

Was Rab really the worse diocese of the time? Comparing the documents of Valier's visit with other Dalmatian and Istrian dioceses (during 1580)²⁹ it can be seen that concubinage was a widespread problem which Agostino Valier had to face. For example in the diocese of Kopar, 18 of a total of 36 clerics lived in permanent concubinage. The local bishop mentioned to Valier that he wouldn't have had anyone to keep the service if he had started to punish all of these priests. He had to tolerate them, but Agostino Valier condemned them all to prison (except the priest from Buzet who was too old)³⁰. As mentioned earlier in this paper, the immorality of the clergy's life was more or less noted across the whole of Catholic Europe. Cardinal Ludovico Madruzzo had very similar problems as Agostino Valier in Dalmatia and Istria during his visit to the diocese of Trent 1579-1580³¹. In the 16th century the situation in West Europe was slightly different. The clergy's concubinage had already started to be an exception by the end of the 14th century. This was connected to the spread of educational centres. In Eastern Europe the pressure for celibacy amongst the clergy started in the 16th century³². There was still a vast difference amongst clerics living in urban and rural places. Priests living in small communities (where many were born, grew up in and would serve) were likely to have lower moral criteria for life, living with their communities, sharing good and bad, lacking in material goods, lacking basic education, using the same simple language as their laity; they wouldn't be able to distance themselves to build their moral and intellectual presence in order to lead the local society as was demanded especially after the Tridentine Council³³.

²⁹ Most of the documents about Valier's visit to Istrian dioceses in 1580 have been published. See: TACCHELLA, *Il cardinale Agostino Valier*; L. PARENTIN, 'La visita apostolica di Agostino Valier a Trieste (1580)', *Atti e memorie della Società istriana di archeologia e storia patria*, Trieste 1997; M. PAVAT, *La riforma tridentina del clero a Parenzo e Pola*, Roma 1960; A. LAVRIČ, *Vizitacijsko poročilo Agostina Valiera o koprski škofiji iz leta 1580*, Ljubljana 1986.

³⁰ TACCHELLA, *Il Cardinale Agostino Valier*, p. 157.

³¹ C. NUBOLA and A. TURCHINI (eds.), *Visite pastorali ed elaborazione dei dati*, Bologna 1993, pp. 49-79.

³² P. CHAUNU, *Le temps des Réformes*, Croatian edition, Zagreb 2002, p. 112.

³³ R. PO-CHIA HSIA, *The World of Catholic Renewal 1540-1770*, Cambridge 1998, p. 118: "Clerical celibacy was successful in cities for obvious reasons: Episcopal authority lay close at hand; scrutiny by lay people was inescapable; and traditional anti-clericalism, on the part of merchants and artisans, made a morally unassailable clergy more urgent. The countryside was a different matter. Unlike their urban colleagues who drew cash incomes, rural priests received the bulk of their tithe in grain and many farmed their own plot to supplement income; the parish house functioned as a peasant household requiring collaborative labour,

The meeting of Rab's clergy with Valier's delegation can also be seen as the confrontation of two different cultures: Valier and the members of his crowd came from a world of a higher culture. Verona was one of the first dioceses where the Catholic Reform was initiated during the period of Bishop Gian Matteo Giberti who was the initiator of the Roman-Catholic Reform. Coming to Dalmatia, Valier's apostolic delegation measured the situation here comparing it with their Verona home. This can be read from the private letters of Lorenzo Albertini, the vicar in the parish of Pozzolengo near Verona, who was a member of Valier's delegation. They saw the Dalmatian situation as primitive, poor and tragic where church discipline had no meaning³⁴. They saw the people here as different but at the same time with a great understanding of their situation. Valier appreciated popular culture and was especially astonished with the devotion of the people, who during desperate times of almost continuous exposure to Ottoman attacks, clung to the Catholic religion, but without a proper priesthood who would lead them³⁵. Therefore he sent several appeals to the Venetian government to help the people in Dalmatia³⁶, but he also thought of their spiritual needs when he published and distributed the catechism in Croatian – *idioma schiavone*³⁷. He understood the difficult position of the priesthood in Dalmatia caused by complex political and economic situations and was ready to tolerate their lack of knowledge, which was gradually changed over the centuries. At the same time he could not tolerate the clergy's decline in discipline which was seen as immoral. All the time the community tolerated the misbehaviour of clerics and bishops, they were lacking the moral strength they needed from

rendering the housekeeper more than just a sexual partner. This arrangement was commonly tolerated by the laity".

³⁴ Archivio di Stato, Verona (=ASVR), Fonte Dionisi-Piomarta 1746, Lettere di Lorenzo Alberini. 16th January 1579: "Perché ci pare esser in paesi troppo brutti, inculti e contrari al genio Divino".

³⁵ *Ibidem*, 9th April 1579: "Tutte queste terre hanno bellissime chiese, et sarebbono ornatissime, quando non fosse le incorsioni di Turchi, che spoliassero et havessero spogliato. Sono chiese in molti luoghi fatte in volta, bene et con palle bellissime, di modo che ne habbiamo trovato una che costa settecento scudi. Sono persone devote et religiose, ma come ho scritto' hominem non haben't, che regga et conduca".

³⁶ VITEZIĆ, *La prima visita apostolica*, p. 107.

³⁷ ASVR Lettere di Lorenzo Alberini, 28th January 1579: "In Zara sono stati dispensati libretti della dottrina christiana, delli quali Monsignor Reverendissimo ne haveva fatto stampar dei suoi soldi, in lingua Italiana et schiava; et quei Zaratini fuor di modo sin e mostrano curiosi et desiderosi dal primo fin all'ultimo, di maniera che pensarò se ne debba ristampar in lingua schiava buon numero. S'intende tutta la Dalmatia esser catholica et devota senza heresie et bestemie".

God's servants. The outside element, in this case Valier's delegation, took the action of publicly banning the immoral life of the clergy and punishing the offenders, which was obviously needed by the community of Rab (and other Dalmatian and Istrian communities) because they had freely denounced and testified against the clergy. Alongside this the major victims of the situations were the women – mistresses who spent years in illegitimate relationships with priests, having children and then losing any possibility of support from them and from society, many living in very poor conditions with their children³⁸.

³⁸ *Visitatio Arbensis*. Giovanni Cortese described the difficult situation of his mistress Germetta who came to shout at him asking money for their children, after he had left her: "...forse più di un anno essendo ella venuta alla casa mia a minaciarmi che voleva andar dal vescovo et domandarli che mi condanasse a pagarle li alimenti del latte che haveva dato a miei figli et gridando fuori del dovere fui sforzato darla aliquanti pugni et cossi mandarla a casa sua". *Ibidem*.

Marko Šarić

**INTER-CONFESSIONAL RELATIONS
AND (IN)TOLERANCE AMONG THE VLACHS
(16th-17th CENTURIES)**

“A tradition of perfect dissension governs between two communities, Latin and Greek; the officials of individual churches don’t let it get malnourished; the two sides tell thousands of shocking little tales about each other”
(Alberto Fortis, *Viaggio in Dalmazia*, Venice, 1774)

“Bless whoever steals from the Turks”
(Ilija Jelić, *Vasojevički zakon u dvanaest točaka*, Beograd, 1929)

Almost every aspect of the history of the Dinaric Vlachs represents a considerable challenge to historians, and the religious history of the Vlach community in the early modern age is one of the most demanding of a series of such challenges. This is as much due to the complexity of the problem, as it is because of a lack of adequate research and the simultaneous presence of numerous controversies. In the first instance, any consideration of the question of inter-confessional relations and tolerance in the Vlach community should involve showing these relations from a Vlach perspective. Unfortunately, the written sources available for such a line of research are really quite limited. Normally these sources are “second hand”, and come from circles of elite nomenclature which were alien and unfamiliar to the principles of the Vlach socio-cultural world. Thus, these observations were often incorrect, subjective, and full of stereotypes and judgements. Although they have an entire range of objective failings, if one applies the concept of religious history “from the bottom up” for the purpose of examining authentic Vlach religious attitudes and relations towards the confessional “Other”, we do have a rich legacy of Dinaric (south Slavic) oral legends that are mainly epics. In terms of the treatment of epics as a valid historical source, they are either rejected in their entirety or their “vital historiographical value” is accepted. Certainly, epics have extremely doubtful value in terms of being an historical argument – at least in terms of facts. However, they cannot be wholly dismissed as being ambivalent historical sources because ultimately

they describe the historical event that was being sung about, as well as the period that evaluates this historical event¹. Historical anthropology, which researches religious phenomena, finds epics to be of great use. Poetic legacies contain the mentality, life experience and world view of a particular community, and thus show us the socio-cultural form of a particular place and time. In them “historical facts appear in the way the poet saw them at that moment, in accordance with the limitations of their senses and their needs”².

Religious history is undoubtedly a complex historical concept, and can only be considered objectively through “long term processes”. This is also the case for the Dinaric area in which religious issues, as well as religious conflicts, are made up of complex structures and depend on numerous factors, such as: religious and state institutions, social orders, socio cultural inheritance, life (natural and social) space, as well as generally diverse and complex political, social and economic circumstances³³. Considering that the Dinaric Vlach area in the early modern age consisted of multiple imperial borderlands, it should definitely be mentioned that violence and existential insecurity were important stimulatory processes in the creation and change of confessional and other identities. At the same time, it needs to be understood that exclusion was not the sole praxis in border areas, because they were also simultaneously areas of interaction and exchange. Since they were on the imperial peripheries, the form that religious life took was very different from the orthodox imagery of state and religious centres.

Kinship and religion are traditional areas of identification. With regards to the religious history of the Vlach's during this period, a key concern is how these different principles of association joined together, and leading on from this, how multiple identities (kinship, class, religious, historical) yielded to the primacy of confessional or ethno-confessional identity. To what extent did the influence of religious organisation and other historical factors

¹ N. KILIBARDA, ‘Narodna poezija kao istoriski izvor’, in *Prošlost Crne Gore kao predmet naučnog istraživanja i obrade*, vol. 7, Titograd 1987, pp. 427-433.

² R. SAMARDŽIĆ, *Usmena narodna bronika*, Novi Sad 1978, p. 15.

³ For example, it is impossible to follow the religious history of immigrant Serbian Orthodox Vlachs in the Military Border in Croatia from the 16th to the 18th century, as it is also impossible to follow their struggle to maintain their rights of privilege, if one does not consider the context of their social history which is simultaneously related to questions of status and religion. D. ROKSANDIĆ, ‘Vjerske podjele i (ne)snošljivosti u Vojnoj krajini: hrvatski i srpski etnokofesionalni nacionalizmi u povijesnoj perspektivi (XVI.-XIX. stoljeće)’, *Ljetopis Srpskog kulturnog društva Prosvjeta*, 2 (1997), pp. 90-98.

make these “extensive” identities a part of the primary form of identity of confessional identity? Of course, the imperial legacy on this contested three-border area had a huge role to play here, because affiliation to religious systems and religions was considered to be the principle carrier of collective identification. The history of the Dinaric Vlachs from the 15th to the 18th century is a history of the widespread decay of bio-social organisation and individual belonging, and integration into wider social and ethnographic groupings. This is a history of huge migrations, ethnic layering and mixing, religious conversion and re-conversion, manifold political loyalties, which when combined all served to create a new dynamic in the ethno-cultural identification processes of early modern age Vlachs. If one starts from the assumption that all identities are conjunctive, early modern age regional conjunctures, in particular those of confessional imperialism and integration had a powerful influence on changes in the socio-cultural structure. In this period, the Vlach communities were the subject of a struggle for influence and power in the confessional structure. This struggle was not only inter-confessional, because just as with the case of the Catholic Church, there was the presence of very strong internal tensions surrounding questions of jurisdiction and pastoralisation. Only kin based societies in the face of a wave of religious homogenisation will go on to extensively lose their primary bio-social character of identity. One type of fragmentation is replaced with another, at which point belonging and detachment rise up to the level of ideology. This process occurs not only at the level of the community, but also at the level of human consciousness, where identity and boundaries with the “Other” are powerfully constructed and constituted. Nevertheless, the strengthening of confessional culture on the basis of traditional prejudices didn’t challenge the corporate and patriarchal principles of Vlach society but the absence of further confessional integration in tandem with other social and economic forms of integration, enabled the emergence of wider forms of identification, especially ethno-confessional ones that were anticipatory of the matrix of modern national-integrative ideology. After that, the tension between religious conflicts and religious symbiosis seems recognisable in terms of modern standards. It is therefore not strange that the historiography of the Southern Slavs or Western Balkans in the early modern age is dominated by questions of confessional origin, identity, and conversion.

Academic literature often speaks about the Vlachs in terms of being an archaic cultural historical entity who were superficially caught up in the influences of institutionalised religion - Eastern and Western Christianity, as

well as Islam. This spiritual-historical development was also influenced by the natural and historical context of the Eastern Adriatic mountain hinterland from the time of Middle Ages, where spirituality was formed in the context and framework of a single society. So many centuries of life experience in a region of weak, or no guidance, from the authority of the state and church maintained and regenerated archaic forms of social relations, the creation of a particular spirituality; or to put it in other words, a specific cultural form, which was characterised by deep-rooted patriarchy that could only survive in conditions of isolation and self knowledge. There are two main constants which characterise the religious and cultural history of the Dinaric space: a) a duality between elite (town) culture and the folk culture of a rural space, whom as a sub-variety were a part of the traditional culture of the Dinaric live-stock keepers; as well as (b) being on the periphery in relation to the main centres of religious-civilisation. Throughout the entire period of the early modern age there was the presence of a duality between the cultural elite – mainly associated with the urban centres of the Mediterranean and oriental Balkans – and traditional Dinaric culture, with forms of folk religion that were uniform in the entire Dinaric area and had shared Paleo-Balkan origins. In the mountainous Dinaric regions, on the border between the East and the West, Islam and Christianity, Orthodoxy and Catholicism, the Vlachs adapted themselves to these alien influences and created their own cultural and spiritual individuality. They formed a distinct world view, had ethics and morals with strong pre-Christian characteristics, which could not be categorised as being Christian or Islamic understandings of humanism or morality (which, for instance, was the case with some phenomena of “highlander” traditional-moral understandings and viewpoints on the Balkans, such as: *vira* [words of oath] on the part of the Vlach and Muslim border peoples on the Ottoman-Habsburg-Venetian borders in Croatia and Western Bosnia, *čojstvo* [humanity, bravery] in Montenegro, *besa* [honour] and *fjala* [words of honour] in Albania, *philotimo* [love of honour] in Sarakačan, Greek Epirote and Thessaly Vlachs). They were unable to adapt a number of threads of their patriarchal-pastoral culture (blood revenge, levirate, having concubines, warrior-thief systems, bride capture, bride wealth etc) to the Christian point of view, whilst other traditions and festivals (ancestor cults, sponsorship, traditions connected to the annual cycle and seasonal movement of livestock) were skilfully adapted by the church. Within this religious syncretism and formalism, which had more strictly defined rituals than that of Christianity or Islam, it is possible to discern a pagan symbolism that was a long lasting feature of Vlach religiosity.

Thus, in terms of Durckheim's categorisation of religious rituals⁴, the Vlach case was not only realised in terms of faith and religious imagery, but was equally achieved through the function of declarative expressions of loyalty to normative religiosity. In the aforementioned conditions of Dinaric patriarchal pastoral culture, an ambivalent socio cultural form was produced, which simultaneously included forms of tolerance and intolerance towards the "Other". Just as with other similar social segments, Vlach society favoured the creation of social cultural forms of "rich" stereotypes, judgements and intolerance towards the "Other" independent of confessional connotations. It is sufficient to mention here Montenegrin legends about the oldest Vlach strata in the old Zeta (Bukumiri, Lužani, Macure, Mataruge), where they spoke of them as "a barefaced people who slaughtered one another". However, at the same time there was also a need to communicate with the "Other", no matter how much the violent and bloody reality of the three border area, life at the centre of the antagonisms and interests of three imperial power systems, life lived in constant conflict and fear, and life at the bare minimum in existential terms encouraged such antagonistic exchanges. Interpersonal connectedness and social communication with the "Other" was motivated by the needs of subsistence and coexistence in a violent area. A united traditional social order and the regulation of customary law were mediums through which they established this communication. So, for example, alongside institutional tribal autism, a warrior-thief economy and blood revenge, we find traditions of sponsorship, alliances, words of oath (*vira*) which did not represent a barrier in terms of confessional status. We can consider the exogamy of the Vlach community to be a specific means of communication, which created the possibility for interpersonal opportunities and connections between different Vlach and other social ethnic groups. Without the phenomenon of exogamy it would be almost impossible to conceive of the numerous historical process that were connected with Vlach society from the Middle Ages (for example the Slavification and sedentirisation of the Dinaric Vlachs).

Prior to the middle of the 16th century we cannot talk about confessional belonging as being the primary display of Vlach identity. On the value scale of patriarchal-pastoral society, origins (kinship) whether real or fictive, took precedence over religious belonging. Examples of religious tolerance within the Vlach community in the 15th and 16th century are extremely numerous. There are frequent instances of Vlach kin or families belonging

⁴ E. DURKHEIM, *Elementarni oblici religijskog života*, Beograd 1982, pp. 32-35.

to two religions, as well as the appearance of covert dual religious (Crypto-Christians, Half Muslims etc.). Indeed conversion to Islam involved only a small part of the Vlach population. At first glance there are logical reasons for this: a) patriarchal closedness and distance from town centres limited extensive contact with Islam, b) tax advantages and the rearing of livestock made them existentially less vulnerable to the realities of Ottoman social movements. However, these parameters were also the case for the area of Northern Albania and Rodopi, and these similar social groupings were caught up in mass-scale conversions to Islam. We can only conditionally accept the claims of the Bosnian Herzegovinian historian Ahmed Aličić that there was a “dilution of the religious consciousness” of the inhabitants of Herzegovina, which facilitated the various conversions of the Vlachs, and only then concerning those conversions from Catholicism to Orthodox and vice versa. In fact, religious desertion and ignorance is evidently not enough of a reason, because if it had been, then considering the extension of the field of religious “undefinedness” the conversion of the Vlach’s to Islam would have been much more successful. Islam developed partially, by district, and was stimulated by different events in different periods. The most intensive conversion to Islam, which was the effect of the temporary ending of special Vlach status, happened in the Herzegovinian *sandžak* in the period from 1526-27 until around 1537-8. According to some estimates, this involved up to 35% of the Vlach population in Herzegovina⁵. It was only in Herzegovina that there was a large difference between districts. The most conversions to Islam took place in what were the then Vlach districts in central Herzegovina (Burmasi, Donji Vlasi), whereas for example the eastern and western parts of the *sandžak* were not converted to Islam in significant numbers. The question remains as to why up until the end of the XVI century more than two thirds of Vlachs converted to Islam in districts like Vidoška (Stolac), Ljubinja, Blagaj, whilst in the neighbouring districts of Bobani and Popovo no more than 1/10 converted⁶. The termination of the special Vlach status some time after the Battle of Mohács in 1526 was felt the most by members of the upper classes (knights, dukes, chiefs). This revocation brought into question their, until then, authorized social positions of *asker* and *muafijet* and also their land ownership, and keeping

⁵ A. ALIČIĆ, ‘Širenje islama u Hercegovini’, *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju*, 41 (1992), p. 70.

⁶ A partial answer can definitely be the proximity of Muslim towns. In fact, conversion to Islam was most successful in northern and central Croatia, or in those areas where important towns developed (Mostar, Stolac, Blagaj, Konjic, Foča, Goražde, Pljevlja).

it was a significant motive for converting to Islam⁷. In the middle of the 16th century, individual Muslim Sipahi's in Herzegovina were specifically termed as being *Eflak ogullari* (sons of Vlachs)⁸. When converting to Islam, the Vlach upper classes would normally take their entire family, village, and brotherhood with them into the new religion, and some of these converted kin and brotherhoods of Herzegovina (for example, Predojevići, Ljubovići, Mušovići, Dautovići) gained influential positions in the Ottoman military governing elite. Concerning the bordering *Croat vilayet* (in the Klis *sandžak* from 1537) the Vlach reaction was not reflected in increased conversions to Islam, but instead resulted in the first mass migrations to Hapsburg and Venetian areas⁹. The conversion of Vlachs to Islam, at least in the beginning, didn't alienate members of the same Vlach groups, who were in the 15th and the first half of the 16th century, in the true sense of the word heterodox. Christians and Muslims lived within the same district, and even within the same family. The phenomenon of *potura* (Crypto-Christian or Half Muslim) in the 16th century was extensive. The well known derogatory term for rural Muslim inhabitants of Bosnia Herzegovina – *balije* – in the 16th and 17th centuries was exclusively reserved for Muslim seasonal live stock keepers who had Vlach origins in Herzegovina. Their life style, religious understandings and cultural characteristics were different from those Muslim inhabitants in the towns and lower villages¹⁰. This term probably arrived in the context of Crypto Christianity, and thus needs to be brought into correlation with *poturi* and Albanian *ljaramant*¹¹. With the conversion of the Vlachs to Islam, the

⁷ Vlach knights and leaders generally had lands of a small size, but in Herzegovina individual Vlach chiefs enjoyed not only lands of considerable size but also *zeamets*. This was the case with Herak Vranješ who played a significant role in the Ottoman conquest of Croatia, for which he was greatly rewarded. According to the *defter* from 1477 he was one of the largest land owners in the *sandžak*. B. HRABAK, 'Herak Vranješ', *Godišnjak Društva istoričara Bosne i Hercegovine*, 7 (1955), pp. 53-66.

⁸ In 1560 in a judgement about the centre of Foca and Prijepolje it mentions "the well known repulsiveness" of the Mehmed *Sipahi* who belonged to a group of *Sipahi* in Herzegovina under the name of "Eflak ogullari". E. KOVAČEVIĆ, *Muhimme defteri – dokumenti o našim krajevima*, Sarajevo 1985, p. 47.

⁹ 1530 began with the first large scale "replacement" of Ottoman Vlachs (still then called Rašani) in Žumberak. Also, in 1538 in Venetian Dalmatia.

¹⁰ In Herzegovina they mainly distinguished between three groups or "balija" (Velež, Ljubuški, Jasenice) who were above all else discursively connected to the Catholic Vlachs who had been converted to Islam. Even in 1629 the Velež *balije* were considered to be Catholics. M. HADŽIJAHIĆ, *Od tradicije do identiteta. Geneza nacionalnog pitanja bosanskih Muslimana*, Sarajevo 1974, p. 93.

¹¹ Northern Albanian Crypto Christians (Crypto Catholics) were called Ljaramani (Alb. *laramane* – "variegated") who publicly declared themselves to be Muslims but continued to

Dinaric (Balkan) patriarchy brought to Islam new elements of syncretism.

In terms of Vlach conversions to Orthodoxy and Catholicism, the situation was not nearly as simple. In particular, it is still not precisely known to what extent these conversions were the effects of the pro-zealous (“missionary”) activities of the church hierarchy, and to what degree they were the result of specific social situations which couldn’t be influenced by external pressures. It is still not known to what extent migration – which was so generic in the Vlach world – had an influence on conversion. In particular, migration (micro and macro) often broke up the coherence of Vlach kin social groupings, and a mosaic of new Vlach groups of different origins was created in the migratory zone. In such cases, social accommodation could stimulate religious conversion, of course from the minority to the majority. Unfortunately we can only very roughly follow all this migration and merging in the sources. One such source is an onomastic analysis of patronymic and matronymic names that come from Christian saints and Western or Eastern provenances¹². In general, Vlach onomastics were pretty coherent where many surnames can be found in all three confessional groups. Religious conversion is definitely one of the reasons for this.

The historical development of the second half of the 16th century led towards a more intensive religious polarisation. The crisis of Ottoman society and the weakening of Ottoman military power, renewed the activities of the Orthodox Peć Patriarchate, and as well the Catholic-revivalist movement and religious propaganda from the West had far reaching effects on the Vlach community with multiple confessional, cultural, political, and social connotations. In

engage in Christian rituals in secret. For example, they respected fasts and church holidays. S. ZEFI, *Islamizacija Albanaca i fenomen ljaramanstva tijekom stoljeća (XV.-XX.)*, Zagreb 2003, p. 318. The term *balija* could be also interpreted to mean “variegated”, that is those who secretly practice two religions. In fact, the etymologic root of *bal* has a connection with Paleo Balkan (Ilyro-Thracians) terms that describe someone who had “white spots”, that is someone who is “mottled” (in Romanian and Aromun the basis for the word *bal* comes from the label for domestic animals who had white heads or white spots on their heads; in Albanian *balë* – “white rag”. See P. SKOK, *Etimologijski rječnik brvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika*, vol. I, Zagreb 1971, pp. 102-104. As well, in Croatian and Serbian languages there are types of pastoral terms such as *baljuša* (sheep), *baljota* (ox, horse); and in Montenegrin dialect the adjectives *balja* (variegated, one who has a white spot on the forehead) and *baljin* (variegated); *Ibidem*, p. 103. It can be concluded from this that the *balije* and *ljaramani* got this pejorative term from their Vlach, or Albanian fellow tribesman.

¹² The surnames of individual Vlachs in Dalmatia and Lika show Western Christian roots (e.g. Jakovljević, Jerković, Martić, Martinović). This is identical to the Catholic Vlachs of the so called “Bunjevicima” in the same area whose individual surnames undoubtedly refer to Eastern Christian roots (e.g. Aleksić, Jovanović, Jović, Mitrović, Savić).

this period, the Vlachs increasingly connected and identified with religious organizations, but at the same time they did not change the matrices of their patriarchal understandings. The Croatian historian Drago Roksandić made the valuable observation that this was an opportunity for the Vlach Dinaric world to find legitimisation for their interpersonal differences and need for isolation and distinction in “high” ideological-religious justifications. The Muslim community with Vlach origins in the second half of the 16th century slowly left the Vlach cultural-historical context (it only remained until the beginning of the 18th century in old Montenegro). Accordingly, it became a joint “subculture” of the Dinaric paradigm¹³. There was a clear break where religious belonging replaced origins in terms of being the primary form of recognising the Other and oneself, which was an important element of self identification. From then on, ethno-confessional identity became a critical form of definition for the Vlach community¹⁴. A questionnaire by Baltazar Bogišić, which has been kept from the 19th century, offers reliable evidence of the outcome of this religious historical development¹⁵. “The Long War” (1593 – 1606) signified a great break in relations between Christian and Muslim Vlach provenances. The stance of Vlach leaders at that time in the face of Venetian, Habsburg and Papal representatives was to put a stress on ideological-religious motives. They on the main stated the following: they have had enough of the tyrannical rule of “unfaithful” Turks, they eagerly awaited the “Christian flag”, or in other words assistance from the West that will put a stop to their slavery and ensure that they live under “Orthodox” sovereignty. It is interesting that in the national legends of this time we do not find any other similar ideologies. In the so called “bugarštica” – epic

¹³ In 1660 when describing the Muslim *gaziya* of Lika, the Ottoman travel writer Evliya Celebiya wrote that in this Western periphery of the Empire Islamic-Oriental material culture had a very small influence. In particular the Lika dress of “*Turci*” was not distinguishable from that of their Christian Vlach citizens; they wore narrow dress trousers.

¹⁴ According to the definition of ethno-confessional identity (Drago Roksandić employs the term “ethno-confessional nationalism”) ethno-confessional groups formulate when ethnic phenomena and features become a component part of religious (confessional) phenomena and features, and vice versa, and when religious phenomena, features and traditions are “ethnicised”. E. HERŠAK (ed.), *Leksikon migracijskoga i etničkoga nazivlja*, Zagreb 1998, p. 60.

¹⁵ Concerning the question of whether peoples were distinguished more by ethnicity or by religion, in the Herzegovinian and the Katun nahiya in Montenegro the answer is “...they most of all make distinctions using religion and always hold a man from a different ethnicity to be dearer and closer if he is of the same religion, and do more so than if he is of a different religion but is the same ethnicity”. B. BOGIŠIĆ, *Gragja u odgovorima iz različitih krajeva slovenskog juga*, vol. I, Zagreb 1874.

poems from the 16th and 17th century – as in “Erlangen’s manuscript”, the oldest collection of decasyllabic epic poems that was recorded at the end of the 17th century, there are no traces of the idealism or ideology of Christian Uskoks and Hajduks, just as in general there are rarely any poems about epic heroes which include religious themes¹⁶. In Erlangen’s collection there are no poems about the Battles of Kosovo, events from historical Senj, Ravni Kotar and Boka Uskoks, the Siege of Candia and the Morean War, Hajduks and uprisings. These poems are very realistically composed but have no discourses about conscious religious sacrifice or religious motivated retribution. In them, Christian (*de facto* Vlach) heroes enslave and rob Turks, but this is also not done infrequently by Christians, who sold Muslim and Christian slaves, often argued and even killed in their disputes about their hauls. It is from this that one can conclude that even around 1700 ideological religious motifs and themes had not significantly infiltrated Vlach folk culture, and their “anti-Ottoman” and “anti-Muslim” stances were just a part of that periods political rhetoric in their communications with the state or church authorities. Religious moments in folk epics of that period were clearly visible in the use of the ethnonyms such as *Latins*, *Turks*, *Vlachs*, *Hungarians* but again they did not necessarily have purely confessional significance. For example, the name “Latin” in folk songs was principally used to signify all Catholics who had come from the “Principalities” (Venetian territories), the inhabitants of Dalmatian towns and islands, as well as real Venetians and even other newcomers from the Italian peninsula. In Muslim folk poetry, “Vlachs” were used to signify all Christians in general – Orthodox and Catholics – who were, or once were, vassals of the Sultan, and they perceived the inhabitants of the Adriatic coastal region in their songs in a similar way. Besides from having clear confessional connotations, the ethnonym “Turk” had its own ethnic and political dimension, where a strict distinction was made in folk songs between *Turks-Bošnjaks* (Slavic Muslim inhabitants of Bosnian pashalik) and *Turks-Arnauts* (Albanian Muslims from “Arnaut”, that is Northern Albania and Kosovo). The confessional inter-Vlach correlative in Dalmatia *Bunjevci vs. Rkaći* (Catholic Vlachs vs. Orthodox Vlachs) was not recognised in epic oral literature between the 16th and the 18th centuries. One of the features of Muslim epic poetry is a fair degree of tolerance towards their enemies the Christian heroes. Their epic world is not “a black and white” reality, and not infrequently they touch on the rights and

¹⁶ S. NAZEČIĆ, *Iz naše narodne epike. Prvi. dio. Hajdučke borbe oko Dubrovnika i naša narodna pjesma. Prilog proučavanju postanka i razvoja naše narodne epike*, Sarajevo 1959, pp. 143-167.

values of their enemies¹⁷. When generally considering epic oral literature in the 16th, 17th and the beginning of the 18th century's one can very rarely find Christian (biblical) symbolism. In the poems, the villains are much more prevalent than the angels, curses are more prevalent than prayers, whilst in the descriptions of individual Christian saints like St. George, St. Elijah, St. Nicholas or St. Sava one gains the impression of the strong presence of a spiritual pre-Christian legacy.

The effect of the Peć Patriarchy was especially significant in the religious history of the Dinaric Vlachs in the early modern age, and not only because the Orthodox made up at least one half of the Vlachs on the three boundaries (and in the Dinaric area generally), but also because in praxis this religious organisation was the closest to the Vlach social cultural legacy. Prior to 1557, the Orthodox Church had a definite influence on the Vlach community, although it was qualitatively different. In the Ottoman *Defter* from 1468, 1485, and 1489, particularly in the region of Stari Vlah (nahije Sjenica, Jelec and so on) Orthodox priests and monks were often encountered in Vlach communities (*džemats*) and some of them were even *džemat* leaders or leaders of a group of *džemats*. The colonisation of the Herzegovinian Orthodox Vlachs in the Ottoman part of Croatia in the 1520's is connected to the structure of the Orthodox monastery. In around 1540, the monasteries of Rmanj and Krka were already definitely in existence, as was probably Dragović. However, after 1557 and the revival of the Peć Patriarchate, the character of these relations altered, where they included the head of the Serbian church hierarchy which had not been the case in Ohrid's Archdiocese previously. There was firstly a symbiosis of the institutions of Vlach self rule based on customary law and the Orthodox Church based on canonical law which resulted in the institutions of the church-folk assembly. This symbiosis enabled Vlach ruling elites to rise up the social scale and the Serbian Orthodox hierarchy got support in the new social

¹⁷ T. ČUBELIĆ, *Povijest i historija usmene narodne književnosti*, Zagreb 1990, pp. 186-187. In these poems the predominant motif is of half-brotherhood between Christians and Muslim heroes, who became examples of the prevailing religious exclusivity and affirmation of tolerance and peaceful coexistence in a violent region, as shown for example in the poems of "Ivan Senjanin i Hrnjica Mujo". E. OSREDEČKI (ed.), *Hrvatske narodne junačke pjesme starijih razdoblja*, Željezo-Beč 1985, p. 26:

"When they were alive,
Ivan and Hrnjica stuck together,
They stuck together like born brothers,
Often Ivan would walk up to Mujo
And Mujo would visit Ivan".

power that had replaced the defunct Serbian feudal elite from the Middle Ages. A direct result of this close cooperation with the Serbian Orthodox hierarchy was that some ruling Vlach families achieved such a degree of status that they could freely be called the informal Serbian Vlach nobility of the early modern age (e.g. the Herzegovinian Miloradovići-Hrabreni, the ancient Vlach Raškovići, the Slavonian-*Mala Vlačka* Pešinići and so on). Vlach upper stratum families often filled the most important functions in the Serbian Church, and in those places where tribal structures had grown powerful roots, high church functions became hereditary within individual ruling families (e.g. the Njeguši Petrovići in Montenegro or Ljubibratići in Herzegovina). This powerful convergence of the Serbian Church and the Vlach world was most visible in the infiltration of folk religious beliefs within the Church itself. This was caused by the Church efforts to get the faithful to adhere to it as much as possible, and also the social political reality of Islamic theocracy in the Ottoman Empire, in which the systems of 'repressive tolerance' of Christian theology and 'deep religiosity' were qualitatively hard to develop. These facts were foreseen by many Catholic observers who often malevolently described the ignorance of the "schismatics". It seems a little paradoxical that the convergence of the Serbian Church and the Vlachs was created in conditions of weak Church discipline and reduced control over the spiritual life of the people. Above everything else, the Vlach population built its loyalty to the Serbian Church through tradition and old customs. This is where its functional (theological) inferiority in relation to the Catholic Church was an advantage in the Vlach case, since it was difficult for the Vlachs to be predisposed to the idea of unification or pro-Catholicism due to their spiritual and psychological positions. Such historical development has led some Serbian historians, such as Branislav Đurđević and Vasa Čubrilović, to make the conclusion about the "folk" or even "democratic" character of the Serbian Church under the Ottoman Vlachs. The symbiosis of the Serbian Church and the Vlachs definitely worked both ways, or as Croatian historian Miroslav Džaja has claimed, the psychological initiative in this symbiosis was on the part of the common people and the political initiative was in the hands of the Orthodox Church. The political ecclesiastics of the Peć Patriarchy were based on promoting the state traditions of the medieval Serbian dynasty of Nemanjići, which were skilfully connected to the patriarchal traditions of the Vlach world. This was a key moment that led towards the ethno-confessional and cultural unification of a variety of social-ethnic elements under the Serbian name. Already by the 17th century in some areas (especially in Croatia) the terms Vlach and Serb had become synonymous.

Unlike the Orthodox Church, the Catholic Church in the Vlach community introduced new trends of acculturation that led to a definite reduction of the influences of Dinaric patriarchal culture. From the 1580's, the Catholic-revivalist movement started to not only consolidate the remaining Catholic areas in the Eastern Adriatic hinterland, but also tried to widen the zone of interest to the entire Balkan area by propagating the idea of a unified church. The Catholic Church in the period after the Tridentine Council carried out the politics of a "disciplining" of the clergy and spiritual reform which in the end brought about strict centralisation and the imposition of an authoritarian and supervisory relation with the faithful. This drive to introduce Catholic standards of religiosity in Vlach every day life was definitely not met without resistance. Unfortunately, it is very difficult to follow the conservative reaction of the Vlachs to these "innovative" reforms of the Catholic Church, which were often in opposition with their patriarchal understandings. Considering the limitations of the possibility of pastoral activity in areas under Ottoman rule, and because of the widespread dispersal of Vlach villages (and hamlets), the Catholic Church found it very difficult to achieve its main organisational aim: to organise an efficient county system and strengthen the presence of the church in the everyday life of believers. There is no doubt that in all these dynamic processes a certain number of Catholic Vlachs left the Catholic Church and after a certain amount of time found Orthodoxy. The reform of the calendar was especially critical. In the Franciscan province of Bosna Srebrena (Bosna Argentina) the Gregorian calendar was introduced with great resistance in 1632. At this point, the difference between Vlach "Roman and Greek customs" became more noticeable than ever, and in their ceremonial and folklore forms difference became a part of every day life. The Cult of Mary also created a new form of religious worship with the Catholics (Pilgrimages for Mary, poems and so on). Other phenomena that could have worked as factors to get closer to Orthodoxy, such as Slavic liturgy or Old Slavic onomastics slowly faded from the Catholic area. The Glagolitic priests (*clero illirico*) represented the least favoured group of clerics. Certainly, they could not stop all elements of ancient patriarchy nor adjust to the new contents (e.g. the carnivalisation of pagan belief and ceremony). In an statement about a visit in 1598 to the hinterland area of Zadar, which was then under Ottoman rule (Lika sandžak), the Bishop of Nin boasted to the Holy See that in the area of his diocese which was "in partibus infidelum" the faithful are very religious and loyal to Christ and that there are no heretics or people of dubious faith. A seemingly much more honest account is offered by the Bishop of Skradin, fra Toma Ivković, who in 1630 after a visit to the large region between Bukovica

and Zamosorje noted an entire range of “Morlak” habits and vices (blood revenge, the kidnap and sale of girls into Turkish slavery, life in concubines, mixed marriages, individual cases of conversion to Islam where women had to leave the Catholic faith for their new Muslim husbands etc.)

Although broad historical development went in the direction of dividing the Vlach community on a religious basis which had far reaching effects on their religious, social and political identity, socio cultural forms based on solidarity and altruism of the Dinaric Vlach world were not lost entirely. Despite all of the above imposed rules and efforts of the church hierarchy to “protect” their parishioners from the effect of the “Other”, in religiously mixed areas interpersonal connections and social communications were maintained. Life conditions in areas which were outside progressive flows, on the periphery of elite culture, without economic prosperity, where the rearing of livestock and farming could barely ensure an existential minimum, served to keep a form of traditional Vlach social order. This brutal life reality forced them into interpersonal acquaintance and connections in work and life. Joint religious celebrations (the tradition of “greeting”), the cult of good neighbours – “neighbourliness”, “mixed marriages”, joint economic activities such as keeping livestock in so called “groups”, overcame the ever present negative tendencies of division and categorisation according to confessional criteria. Individual “mixed” villages preserved their social whole, and within them Catholics and Orthodox chose joint village chiefs and the institutions of the Vlach league kept their multi-confessional character. As trouble always made people closer, this togetherness was most visibly manifest in moments of crisis for the community and the individual, in times of epidemic and hunger. For example both Orthodox and Muslims came to the Catholic monastery of “Gospina”, they came to the monks for the ‘Holy Record’ for healing, and they went to individual monks who were claimed to have “miraculous and healing” powers. The national-integrationist ideology of the 19th and 20th centuries which has a large scale legacy, some of it coming from pre-modern religious discourse, will present a new challenge for the coexistence of the Dinaric space.

Maria Pia Pedani

THE BORDER FROM THE OTTOMAN POINT OF VIEW

Historians and the Ottoman frontier

At the beginning of the 14th c., at the time when the Seljuqid empire was at its weakest, the Ottomans were only one of the border principalities present in Anatolia. Among these newly established states they quickly became the most powerful and richest and they began to invade the others and to fight against the still powerful Byzantine empire. In this formative period the Ottoman cultural background was not different from that of the other *beyliks*: they all were *gazi* Turkish states. In this frontier region Central Asian traditions had come into contact with Islam. The very name of the founder of the dynasty, Osman, comes from the Muslim history, while the name of his father, Ertoğrul (male gerfalcon), hints to the shamanism of the origins. A scholar who wants to study what the Ottomans thought about frontiers and borders and how a *gazi beylik* developed into a multi-ethnic empire has to keep in mind these two so different aspects of their cultural background, together with the later influence of the Byzantine institutions. The Ottoman ruler's titles of khan, emir (since 1395 sultan) and, lastly, *kaiser-i Rum* make reference to this combination of different political traditions¹.

In the past century, however, most European Ottomanists considered a textbook orthodoxy the thesis that assigned a crucial role to the Islamic religion in the rise of Osman's state. Between 1937 and 1938, Paul Wittek outlined his so-called "*gaza thesis*", or with a less fortunate translation "holy

¹ E. İHSANOĞLU, *History of the Ottoman State, Society and Civilization*, Vol. I, Istanbul 2001, p. XVII.

war ideology”, in a series of lectures delivered in the University of London. For a long period this idea was considered the most convincing explanation of Ottoman success. In the meanwhile, in Turkey the “tribal factor” was stressed by Mehmet Fuad Köprülü, a famous historian who became later an eminent political leader. However his account of the rise of the Ottoman state was considered suspect because he indulged too much in Turkish nationalism and notions of ethnic purity².

A relative consensus around the ‘*gaza* thesis’ lasted for about half a century, while dissatisfaction with it began to appear above all after Wittek’s death (1978). In fact his students and their own students had filled most, if not all, the scanty European academic posts in Ottoman history and “hagiography largely replaced intellectual criticism, at least in public and in print.” Only in the 1980s many voices raised, independently of each other, against his theory. Scholars realized, and wrote, that early Ottoman behaviour was much more pragmatic and syncretistic than they had ever imagined. At the beginning of the 1980s Gyula Káldy Nagy re-opened the discussion and in 1983 Rudi Paul Lindner criticized the “*gaza* thesis”, starting from the point of view of anthropological literature. Other scholars discussed the long life of pre-Islamic practices in the early Ottoman society, the wars with other Muslims and the lack of a real zeal to convert. Lastly, in 1995, Cemal Kafadar presented the early Ottoman state as the product of a culturally complex, socially differentiated, and politically competitive environment rather than the necessary result of a unitary line of logical development³.

Another long lasting myth of Ottoman historiography is the idea that the sultan accepted a demarcated frontier for the first time only in the treaties discussed in 1699-1700, under the pressure of the Austrian Habsburgs and their allies; this fact would have put at last an official end to the *gazi* state and opened the doors to the acceptance of a continuing peace, together with the respect of the territorial integrity of the neighbouring states. On the contrary, Ottomans began to establish real borderlines already in the second

² P. WITTEK, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire*, London 1938; M.F. KÖPRÜLÜ, *Les origines de l’empire ottoman*, Paris 1935 (turkish edition with a new introduction by the author, *Osmanlı İmparatorluğunun Kuruluşu*, Ankara 1959).

³ G. KALDY-NAGY, ‘The Holy War (jihād) in the first centuries of the Ottoman Empire’, *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*, 3/4 (1979-1980), pp. 467-473; R.P. LINDNER, *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia*, Bloomington (Ind.) 1983; C. KAFADAR, *Between two worlds. The Construction of the Ottoman State*, Los Angeles-London 1995. About public criticism of Wittek’s thesis, cfr. C. HEYWOOD, ‘The Frontier in Ottoman History: Old Ideas and New Myths’, in D. POWER and N. STANDEN (eds.), *Frontiers in Question. Eurasian Borderlands 700-1700*, London - New York 1999, pp. 228-250.

half of the 15th century. With the Karlowitz-Istanbul agreements only the length of the border changed since it was established also in the zone where the Habsburgs and Russia came into contact with the Ottoman empire. Moreover, these peaces were not established for ever but had to end with the sultan who had signed it. The same clause was written in other international agreements of the following years. Only on 16th of November 1720 for the first time in their history the Ottomans signed an everlasting peace with the Russian empire. In 1733 another agreement of the same kind was made with the republic of Venice: *ve işbu musalaha... müebbeden karardade ola* (and this peace be established for ever)⁴.

The nomadic background

Two different models may be used when trying to conceptualise space in a discussion about boundaries, frontiers, centres and similar spatial concepts: the centre model and the boundary one and both usually imply aspects of sacredness and power. A population settled in a town or a village could build temples to worship God, but nomads had to re-create a holy space at every stop. The former could mark the land to create borderlines but the latter could not. Turks and Mongols were nomads and for this reason a very important symbol of their ancient religion was the stike: once driven into the ground it created a circular holy zone all around it and put in contact the earth with the everlasting Heaven. Their circular tents with in the middle the hole for the smoke of the hearth hinted to the same symbolism⁵.

In the Ottoman world the *tuğs*, i.e. the stikes with the horsetails, were the symbol of sovereignty. At the beginning of his reign, in 1524, Süleyman the Magnificent decided that seven *tuğs* had to be used for the sultan in war and six in peace, three were for the viziers, two for the *beylerbeyis* and one for the *sancakbeyis*. His ancestors used a lesser number of these stikes in order to represent their power while his successors increased their number. However, for centuries, the *tuğs* preceded the sultan's army when it marched

⁴ M.P. PEDANI, *Dalla frontiera al confine*, Roma 2001, pp. 15-16; M.P. PEDANI, *La dimora della pace. Considerazioni sulle capitolazioni tra i paesi islamici e l'Europa*, Venezia 1996, pp. 36-41; G. BELLINGERI, 'Un frammento di storia veneto-ottomana a Piacenza', *Bollettino storico piacentino*, 90/2 (1995), pp. 247-280.

⁵ J.P. ROUX, *La religione dei turchi e dei mongoli. Gli archetipi del naturale negli ultimi sciamani*, Genova 1990, p. 72; L. LAGAZZI, *Segni sulla terra. Determinazione dei confini e percezione dello spazio nell'alto Medioevo*, Bologna 1991, pp. 32-36.

in the Ottoman country and they were brought in the rear, once reached the enemy's land⁶.

In a nomadic society land belonged to nobody and a sovereign ruled over men and not on a territory. For nomadic tribes a demarcation existed between different peoples rather than between territories. To recognize its own property a person had to mark his cattle, slaves or objects: a mark, usually a geometric one, could be used for this purpose. It was called *tamğa* by the Turks and Mongols and, according to Maḥmūd al-Kāşgarī this word corresponds to the Arabic *ṭabi'*. Even the *tuğra*, i.e. the monogram that pointed out to the Ottoman ruler's sovereignty, probably derived from a mark of this kind⁷.

Heraldry had birth in the Near East during the period of the Crusade but scholars do not know if it appeared first among Christians or Muslims. However it is interesting to note that coat of arms were used in the Muslim world above all by Ayyubid and Mamluk emirs, who were of Kurdish, Turkish or Circassian origin. In their heraldry several blazons were signs of office (cup, pen-box, sword, bow, napkin, table, polo-sticks, fesse, ceremonial saddle) or animals (lion and eagle), but there were also others which can be identified with real *tamğa*⁸.

The old Ottoman stories about the origin of the dynasty describe Ertoğrul, Osman and his son Orhan as *gazi* leaders but, at the same time, they called many companions of Osman and Orhan *alp*. For the Turks this title indicated the descendants of noble families who had often also the title of *bahadır* (war hero). In the beginning they were Osman's allies in his military campaigns but when he became more and more powerful they recognized him as their leader and became his *yoldaş* (companion). This bond of friendship (*yoldaşlık*) was usually established by means of a ritual

⁶ J. HAMMER, *Storia dell'Impero Osmano*, Venezia 1828-1831, vol. XVIII, p. 428; M.P. PEDANI, 'Simbologia ottomana nell'opera di Gentile Bellini', *Atti dell'Istituto Veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, cl. di Scienze Morali, Lettere ed Arti, 155/1 (1997), pp. 1-29; ROUX, *La religione dei turchi*, p. 248.

⁷ MAḤMŪD EL-KAŞĠARĪ, *Türk Şiveleri Lügati*, ed. by R. Dankoff and J. Kelly, Cambridge (Mass.) 1982-1985, vol. I, p. 321; G. LEISER, 'Tamgha', in *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, vol. 10, pp. 182-183; P. ZANINI, *Significati del confine. I limiti naturali, storici, mentali*, Milano 1997, p. 47. About Ottoman *tuğras* cfr. S. UMUR, *Osmanlı padişah tuğraları*, İstanbul 1980.

⁸ W. LEAF and S. PURCELL, *Heraldic Symbols. Islamic Insigna and Western Heraldry*, London 1986, pp. 41-48; L.A. MAYER, *Saracenic Heraldry*, Oxford 1933, pp. 1-43; M. MEINECKE, 'Zur Mamlukischen Heraldik', *Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts Abteilung Kairo*, 28/2 (1972), pp. 213-287; M.P. PEDANI, 'Convergenze mediterranee: la rotta del leone', in E. CINGANO, A. GHERSETTI and L. MILANO (eds.), *Animali tra zoologia, mito e letteratura nella cultura classica e orientale*, Padova 2004, pp. 355-362.

anda (oath of allegiance), that is to say mixing the blood of the two friends in one cup and then drinking it in a real *and içmek* (to swear in Turkish, but literally “to drink the oath”). The conquered lands were distributed to the *alps* as *yurtluk* (apanage) and the same use was known among the Mongols. Seeing this practice from an Islamic point of view one can say that Osman distributed the conquered lands as booty (*ganîma*) among his *gazis*.

The bond of loyalty established by the ritual *anda* was not forgotten by the Ottoman society and it appears again in the following centuries. For instance the 17th century Ottoman traveller Evliya Çelebi describes a case of blood-brotherhood between a Muslim warrior and a Christian one in the Dalmatian hinterland. This kind of relationships was fairly common among Vlachs, Albanians and Greeks; it was then called *pobratimstvo* and was present in the Balkans well into the 20th century. It is also a proof of the existence of a border society, characterized by cohesion and tolerance in that zone⁹.

When the Ottomans established in Anatolia, the necessity of fighting the *ğihād* against the infidels became more and more important. Two major historical events helped the diffusion of this idea: the establishment in that region of the Mongols, who had defeated the Seljuqids in 1243, and the attacks made by the last Crusaders on Egypt, Syria and Anatolia. In the same period the Turkish Mamluks, called *bahri*, established their rule over Egypt. On fighting the unbelievers both these sultans and the rulers of Anatolia thought to fulfil also a religious command. However the religion in a frontier zone was not completely orthodox; it comprehended elements coming from popular belief and epic narratives; the heroism of the *gazis* was that of the leaders of the *fütüvvet* (knighthood) and it was not preached by learned ulema, but by holy men, dervishes, sheik, *baba* or *abdal*.

It is interesting to note that in the most ancient Ottoman chronicles the word *gaza* is considered synonymous of *akın*, the raids usually made by Turkish nomads. It was only in the second half of the 15th c., after the conquest of Constantinople, that *gaza*, which has a clearer religious and Islamic meaning, supplanted the Turkish word *akın* in historical writings. In the period, when the Ottoman state was looking for its legitimation from an Islamic perspective, historians supported the sultans' new imperial ideology

⁹ W. BRACEWELL, 'Frontier Blood-Brotherwood and the Triplex Confinium', in D. ROKSANDIĆ and N. ŠTEFANEC (eds.), *Constructing Border Societies on the Triplex Confinium*, Budapest 2000, pp. 29-45; PEDANI, *Dalla frontiera*, p. 25; H. İNALCIK, 'Foundation of Ottoman State', in H.C. GÜZEL, C.C. OĞUZ and O. KARATAY (eds.), *The Turks*, vol. III, Ankara 2002, pp. 46-73.

stressing the role of their ancestors as pious fighters of the unbelievers in obedience of God's commands.

The frontier of the *dār al-Islām*

In the Middle Ages Christians and Muslims shared similar ideas in the field of political philosophy. Both the Muslim conception of a world state and the *Respublica Christiana* assumed that in the future mankind will constitute one community, bound by one law and ruled by one sovereign and both did not recognize the possible existence of another world power. According to Islam the world is divided into two zones, the *dār al-Islām* (the abode of Islam) and the *dār al-harb* (the abode of war). Between them there is a frontier-zone, the *tağr* (pl. *tuğūr*), a no-man land inhabited by warriors consecrated to Islamic legal war (*ḡihād*). The same word *tağr* was used to indicate the series of fortress which could be created in a frontier zone and also great ports as for instance Alexandria. It comes from the root *tğr* which gives the idea of an opening, a mouth and then of a frontier and also of teeth¹⁰.

Mahmūd al-Kāšgarī wrote that *uc* was the Turkish translation of the Arabic word *tağr*: in fact the semi-nomadic Turkish warriors of Anatolia are called *Etrāk-i uc* (Turks of the frontier). Above all in the Balkans, but also in the East, Ottomans used to create *uc* marches under the leadership of an *ucbeyi*. These frontier lords enjoyed a great autonomy: they founded new towns, built mosques, *hans*, markets, and encouraged new settlements, but they had also to take part to the campaign of the Ottoman army. Instead of paying taxes their peasant had to fight as *akıncı* under their lords' command and these troops, formed by Muslims but also by Christians, were used

¹⁰ A. BAZZANA, P. GUICHARD and P. SÉNAC, 'La frontière dans l'Espagne Médiévale', in *Castrum* 4. *Frontière et Peuplement dans le Monde Méditerranéen au Moyen Age*, Rome-Madrid 1992, pp. 35-59; E. MANZANO MORENO, *La Frontera de al-Andalus en epoca de los Omeyas*, Madrid 1991, pp. 31, 44-61; E. MANZANO MORENO, 'Christian-Muslim Frontier in al-Andalus: Idea and Reality', in D.A. AGIUS and R. HITCHCOCK (eds.), *The Arab Influence in Medieval Europe*, Reading 1994, pp. 83-99; E. MANZANO MORENO, 'The Creation of a Medieval Frontier: Islam and Christianity in the Iberian Peninsula, Eight to Eleventh Centuries', in *Frontiers in Question*, pp. 32-35; P. SÉNAC, *La frontière et les hommes (VIII^e-XII^e siècle). Le peuplement musulman au nord de l'Ebre et les débuts de la reconquête aragonaise*, Paris 2000, pp. 109-114; P. SÉNAC, 'Islam et chrétienté dans l'Espagne du haut Moyen Age: la naissance d'une frontière', *Studia islamica*, (1999), pp. 91-108; PEDANI, *Dalla frontiera al confine*, pp. 5-7.

above all for raiding and enslaving expeditions (*akın*) into territories beyond the *uc*¹¹.

The *ḡibād* was one of the instruments employed by an imperial Muslim state to spread Islam; but this expansion could not last for ever and agreements had to be made. Ottomans followed the ḥanafite legal school and, according to Abū Ḥanīfa, if the inhabitants of a territory concluded an agreement of peace with an Islamic country and accepted to pay tribute, they must be considered *ḍimmīs* and their land becomes part of the *dār al-Islām*. In this sense must be considered the independent Christian principalities of the empire, as for instance Walachia (Eflâk), Moldavia (Bogdan) or Transylvania (Erdel), which in certain periods were under the high sovereignty of the sultan. On the contrary *ṣāfi'īte* *faqīhs* imagined a third zone, the *dār al-ṣulḥ* or *dār al-'ahd*, a land where hostilities have been temporarily suspended and the inhabitants paid a collective *ḥarāğ* (capitation tax) to the Muslim ruler. In the future this "abode of agreement" will be included again in one of the two previous categories¹².

To live in peace Muslim and Christian sovereign states could use two kinds of peace agreement. The former was the truce (*hudna*) which had to be signed and sworn by the two fighting parties in order to suspend their war for a certain time. The latter was a general safe-conduct (*amān* 'amm) given by the Muslim ruler, or his substitute (*nā'ib*), to all the Christian subjects of the other state who had decided to live in his country for a certain period. It is interesting to note that in Ottoman-European relations the Ottoman imperial documents of peace (*ahdnames*) derive their structure from the truce if they were made with neighbouring countries; on the contrary if the other country had no frontier in common with the empire, as England, France or Nederland, a general safe-conduct in the form of an imperial decree (*berat*) was considered enough by the sultan¹³. In the Muslim-Christian relations, the creation of common borders meant that both rulers had overcome a pure military logic and had accepted the possibility of living in peace with an infidel state. To accept the idea of a border in common with another

¹¹ C. IMBER, 'The legend of Osman Gazi', in *The Ottoman Emirate (1300-1389)*, ed. by E. Zachariadou, Rethymnon 1993, pp. 67-75; HEYWOOD, *The Frontier*, pp. 233-235; MAḤMŪD EL-KAŞĠARĪ, *Türk Şiveleri Lügatı*, p. 44.

¹² H. İNALCIK, 'Dār al-'ahd', in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 2, Leiden 1983, p. 116; D.B. MACDONALD [A. ABEL], 'Dār al-Ṣulḥ', in *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, vol. 2, Leiden 1983, p. 131; M. KHADDURI, *The Law of War and Peace in Islām. A Study in Muslim International Law*, London 1940, pp. 19-72; PEDANI, *La dimora della pace*, pp. 6-7; N. MELIS, *Trattato sulla guerra. Il kitāb al-ḡibād di Molla Hüsrev*, Cagliari 2002, pp. 26-27, 59-80.

¹³ PEDANI, *Dalla frontiera al confine*, pp. 20-22.

country meant to recognize the right of the other to exist. At this point also everlasting peace was possible.

An imperial ideology

The ideology of *ḡihād* remained as a leitmotiv in Ottoman political writings for centuries but, during the 15th century, an imperial ideology practically overcame the other theory since the new territorial state needed an efficient army and beaurocracy and could not rely any longer on the voluntary zeal of the *gazis*. The turning point was the conquest of Constantinople. On 29 May 1453 Mehmed announced “min ba’d tahtum İstanbûl’dur” (from now on, İstanbul is my throne). Till then, according to a nomadic ideology, the capital was conceived as the place where the sultan stood and his throne was the holy centre of the empire, the place of justice under the centre of the everlasting Heaven. From that moment on, the official place of residence of the holder of the *sultān* (in Arabic “authority” or “government”) was the just conquered imperial city; his throne was placed there, under an elaborate structure topped with a golden dome, symbol of the heaven: the whole empire revolved all around it. The following day Mehmed II went to the church of Aya Sofya and converted it into a mosque. He made his prayers there and solemnly called the just conquered city with the name of *Islambol* (abundant Islam). On changing the popular name Istanbul (derived from the Greek *eis tin polein*, i.e. to the city) in this way he transformed the city of Constantine (*Qoṣṭanṭīniyye*) into the city of Islam. The discovery of the tomb of Abū Ayyūb al-Anṣārī, the Prophet’s standard-bearer, consecrated this fact¹⁴.

The *gazi* ethos embodied in the ancient ceremonies of the early Ottoman period began to disappear during the reign of the Conqueror, but at the same time it was an important element used to re-create the myth of the origin of the dynasty. After the fall of Constantinople a new official historiography had origin. Osman was described as the *gazi* leader while Mehmed II was the new Alexander the Great. A highly centralized bureaucratic system was created.

¹⁴ H. İNALCIK, ‘İstanbul: an Islamic city’, in H. İNALCIK, *Essays in Ottoman History*, İstanbul 1998, pp. 249-271; TURSUN BEY, *Târih-i Ebû'l-Feth*, haz. M. Tulum, İstanbul 1977, p. 67 (54a); N. VATIN, ‘Aux origines du pèlerinage à Eyüp des sultans ottomans’, *Turcica*, 27 (1995), pp. 91-99; N. VATIN and G. VEINSTEIN, *Le sérail ébranlé. Essai sur les morts, dépositions et événements des sultans ottomans (XIVe-XIXe siècle)*, Paris 2003, pp. 305-308; H. İNALCIK, ‘İstanbul’, in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, vol. 4, p. 224.

The Ottoman state was no longer a nomadic frontier principality but it had become an empire. Then, also this new imperial image changed, little by little. Mehmed II's heirs remained more and more secluded behind the high walls of the imperial palace and a new language of power transformed at last the Ottoman sultan into a mute idol¹⁵.

During Mehmed II's reign a new multi-ethnic empire had come to light. The sultan did not rule only on his Turkish and Muslim subjects but on persons of many religions, who belonged to seventy two nationalities and a half. All the subjects of the Ottoman empire were Ottomans even if they were Greek, Turkish, Albanian, Arab, Moors... and they believed in Allah, Yahweh, or in the Christian God. However, the word "Ottomans" referred also to the members of the ruling class, who spoke *Osmanlı*, i.e. the *elsine-i selâse* (the three languages) since it was based on Arabic, the language of religion, Turkish, the language of sword, and Persian, the language of poetry. In the Modern Age, most viziers and provincial governors, treasurers and secretaries, as well as the famous janissary soldiers, were persons who had been compelled to renounce to their ethnical identity, as well as to their former Christian religion, to become Muslims and slaves of the sultan. By stressing ideas as "neighbourhood" and respecting diversities, the Ottoman ruling class was able to integrate communities formed by several peoples, with different religions, cultures and languages, within one framework.

Also the way of exerting power was not the same all over the empire: it was different in the core of the state and at the periphery. There were provinces (*eyâlet*) but, within them, also lands with special privileges as the monasteries of Mount Athos and of the Sinai, the Albanians of Mirdita, the Greeks of Madenochoria, the Serbs of Kladuva and Negotino. There were peoples, usually of the mountains, who was impossible to subdue and for this reason had an unofficial autonomy as the Mainotes of the Morea, the Suliotes of Epirus, the Vlaks of Pindus, and the Albanians of Tomoros, Liaparia, Chimara and the Drin Valley. There were *sancaks* which had local beys who could not be sent to other places as the Kurdish ones of Diyarbekir, Van and Sehrizor from 1515 onwards; others could leave their charge to their heirs as the beys of Çıldır (from 1578), Adana (from 1608), 'Ana (from 1570), al-Hasa and Basra (from 1612) and the princes of Montenegro (Karadag). There were also *eyâlets*, governed by a person sent

¹⁵ G. NECİPOĞLU, *Architecture, Cerimonial and Power. The Topkapı Palace in the Fifteenth and Sixteenth Centuries*, Cambridge (Mass.) - London 1991, pp. 88-90; F. GEORGEON, 'Le sultan caché réclusion du souverain et mise en scène du pouvoir à l'époque de Abdülhamid II (1876-1909)', *Turcica*, 29 (1997), pp. 93-124.

by Istanbul, but virtually independent as the three Maghreb provinces of Cezayiri-Garb, Tunis and Trablusu Garb (from 1587) and later also Egypt. There were also Christian vassal states which paid tribute as the republic of Dubrovnik, or the principalities of Walachia, Moldavia and Transylvania; these last were governed by Christian rulers, had to pay tribute to the sultan, but no mosque could be build within their borders. Also some foreign states paid for part of their lands, as the republic of Venice for Zante (till 1699) and Cyprus (till 1571), the Habsburgs for part of Hungary (1547-1606) and the shah of Persia for some districts in Armenia and Caucasus (since 1612). There were also other vassal states, ruled by Muslim lords, as the Khan of Crimea (Krim), who had to fight in the Ottoman army, or the tribute paying Arab tribes of the Syrian border and Lebanon who had the same kind of bound as that used for Chios, Naxos and the Balkan principalities just after the Ottoman conquest. The *šarīf* of Mecca and some of the most aggressive Arab leaders recognized Ottoman suzerainty and received money for this, while other vassals did not enjoyed this last privilege as, for short periods, the *šāmbāl* of Tarku (1606), the khan of Khazan (1523), the emirs of Gilān (1534 and 1591), Şirvan (1534), Ardālīn (1516) and also the sultan of Fez about 1578. Lastly there were peoples who were drawn within the Ottoman sphere of influence since they were vassals of vassals, as the hordes of the Nogays and the Çerkes, dependent from the khan of Crimea, and Berber and Arab tribes who used to pay tribute to the North African Ottoman authorities¹⁶.

Only with the reforms of the 19th century, caused by the pattern imposed by Western imperialism, the *Devlet-i Aliyye* (the Sublime State) was changed into a nation. In the most ancient times the only attempt in this sense was made by Osman II (1618-1622) who, at the age of eighteen, paid with his life his dream of creating a new Turkish state. It is not by chance that Ottoman modern history was re-discovered by the Turks themselves in the 1980s, when the government began to think that it was important to enter the European Union. The ancient *Pax Ottomana* appeared as the pattern of a

¹⁶ For a complete explanation of the different kinds of bonds which linked the different lands to Istanbul cfr. D.E. PITCHER, *An Historical Geography of the Ottoman Empire*, Leiden 1972, pp. 129-134; to illustrate his point this author puts the following absurd question: "when the Czar of Muscovy paid the annual instalment of a regular tribute to his superior, the Khān of the Krim Tatars, who was a faithful feudal lord of the Osmanlı Sultan, who paid blackmail money to the Arab sheykh of 'Āna on the Euphrates to preserve his dominions from attack, what was the legal relationship of Ivan the Terrible to Abū Rishah [i.e. the Arab sheykh]?".

new coexistence in peace and stability of different religions and ethnical groups¹⁷.

The border

Three days before Mehmed II's death, on 30 april 1481, the Ottoman chancellery issued, in the name of the sultan, a document in order to establish the borderline between the empire and the republic of Venice¹⁸. It was a *sınırname* (or *hududname*), that is to say an imperial document concerning a border. Both words have the same meaning but while *hudud* has an Arabic origin *sınır* has a Greek one. In particular in Arabic *ḥadd* (pl. *ḥudūd*) means something sharp as the blaze of a knife as well as the ridge of a mountain; moreover the same word is used to indicate a punishment established by the Koran and for this reason unchangeable. For the Ottomans *ḥad* was the limit of the sphere of action of a person; to exceed one's own *ḥad* and enter that of another person was a very impolite behaviour according to the Ottoman etiquette. Its plural, *ḥudūd*, was used as border. It seems that in the 15th and 16th centuries *sınır* was used above all to indicate the border of the state, while *ḥudūd* was used above all for other borders, as for instance those of a *vakf* (pious endowment) or of a province. However, the two words could be used also as synonyms, and in the 18th century many documents use the tautology *ḥudūd ve sınır*¹⁹.

Many other documents were issued to establish Ottoman borders since 1481 onwards. The most ancient ones were made in the name of the sultan after joint border commissions had met for the demarcation of boundaries and the differentiation of territory. It seems that the procedure for creating a borderline as established between the Venetian republic and the Ottoman empire did not change very much from the 16th to the 18th century; moreover it was used also with respect to the Habsburg state after the peace of Karlowitz. The two sovereigns decided that their official representatives

¹⁷ S. YERASIMOS, 'L'ail et l'oignon. La Turquie à la recherche d'une identité plurielle', in *Turchia oggi*, ed. by G. Bellingeri, Venezia 2002, pp. 35-57; *Pax Ottomana. Studies in Memoriam prof. dr. Nejat Göyünç*, ed. by K. Çiçek, Haarlem-Ankara 2001.

¹⁸ I "Documenti Turchi" dell'Archivio di Stato di Venezia, inventario della miscellanea a cura di M.P. Pedani-Fabris, con l'edizione dei registi di A. Bombaci, Roma 1994, n. 21.

¹⁹ B. CARRA DE VAUX, J. SCHACHT, 'Ḥadd', in *Encyclopaedia of Islām*, vol. 3, p. 20; S.J. SHAW, 'L'Impero ottomano e la Turchia moderna', in *L'Islamismo*, vol. II, *Dalla caduta di Costantinopoli ai nostri giorni*, ed. by G.E. von Grunebaum, Milano 1977, pp. 21-159, in particular pp. 97-99; PEDANI, *Dalla frontiera al confine*, pp. 12-13.

had to meet and credentials were then issued to certify their charges. Then the diplomats met to begin their work. This could last either for a short period or for several months, according to the length of the frontier. The *kadı* and the chancellor present in the two commissions used to produce documents that witnessed the proceeding of the works. When the diplomats completed the border, final deeds were prepared. The European diplomat signed a document written by his chancellor. The Ottoman produced the original of a *hüccet*, signed by the *kadı*, or *kadıs*, who had been present at the establishment of the border. This document was copied in the *kadı's* register (*sicil*) and another copy was sent to the sultan accompanied by an *arz* (petition), made by the diplomat himself and sometimes signed also by the *kadı*. At this point the sultan's ratification could, or could not, be expressed in a *hududname*. In fact according to Islamic law an obligation contracted by an agent was valid if the person for whom he acted, duly informed, did nothing to reject it immediately. The same applied also to the European rulers who very rarely issued a written ratification for a border agreement made by their official representatives. *Hududnames* have not attracted much scholarly attention. The only one usually quoted is that prepared for the Venetian republic after the peace of Karlowitz. Probably it was the last one since in that period the praxis for establishing a border had been already changed and a *hüccet* was considered enough. The 1703 *hududname* was made because the Venetian republic eagerly asked for it in order to be absolutely sure of the commission's decision²⁰.

In the second half of the 15th century the fluidity of the Ottoman rough, vague and indefinite frontier zone, set between fighting states which had temporarily suspended their war, began to fade away, at least as regards the republic of Venice. Moreover, Ottoman vassal states had been created to guard the "well-protected dominion" (*mamlaka mahrusa*) from Christendom and, in the East, from the Shi'a. There were the Balkan principalities and then, in front of Russia, there was the Crimea with the Tatar khan, while the districts of Kurdistan could stop attacks coming from Persia. By means of the Karlowitz agreements of 1699 and that of Istanbul of 1700 with the Holy League powers the Ottoman empire accepted only the idea of the complete closure of its whole European frontier. A process began three centuries before had come to an end.

²⁰ M.P. PEDANI, 'The Ottoman Venetian Frontier (15th-18th Centuries)', in *The Great Ottoman Turkish Civilisation*, 4 voll., ed. by K. Çiçek, Ankara 2000, vol. I, pp. 171-177.

The sea border

Just at the end of Mehmed II's reign, when Venetians and Ottoman were discussing about the creation of a borderline in Morea and Dalmatia, other documents concerning Rhodes, hint to the existence of sea borders.

In the Medieval Europe the problem of the freedom of the seas was a matter of international politics. Some Italian city-states, as well as the Pope himself, wanted to exert their rule also on parts of the Mediterranean notwithstanding they considered themselves as the heirs of the Roman Imperial tradition which, according the *Corpus Juris Civilis* by Justinian (527-582), considered sea water a public property open to everyone, since nature itself provided it in abundance, as it had made also with air and running water.

On the contrary from an Islamic point of view a maritime jurisdiction could be legally exerted by a state and the sea was considered *fay'*, that is to say a thing acquired by the ruler in a pacific way. However Islam distinguished among high waters, which were beyond the reach of a ruler, maritime belts, on which one could exert a certain influence, and inland waters. Everybody could sail in high waters while coastal waters could be considered as part either of the *dār al-harb*, or of the *dār al-Islam*, according to the state which ruled on the nearest coast. Some common use hints to this fact as, for instance, the sea funerals: the corpse of a Muslim had to be put in a coffin if the ship was near a Muslim land but it has to be made heavy by means of stones if the ship was near an infidel country²¹.

For a long time historians considered the Mediterranean waters as an open frontier where pirates and privateers used to sail and raid the others' ships. However, according to Ibn Haldūn as well as Fernand Braudel, it was a series of water enclosures, divided by larger or narrower straits and on these enclosures a state could try to impose its rule²². For centuries the republic of Venice had considered the Adriatic as its own Gulf, and, from the very beginning of his sea expansion, the Ottoman sultan tried to exert the same kind of jurisdiction on the Marmara sea and, later, even on the Black Sea. As regards sea power, the Ottoman geo-political thought changed, above all during the 16th century: in the first half of the century, the sultan

²¹ H.S. KHALILIEH, *Islamic Maritime Law. An Introduction*, Leiden-Boston-Köln 1998, pp. 133-141, 168-171; PEDANI, *Dalla frontiera al confine*, pp. 73-88.

²² IBN KHALDŪN, *The Muqaddimah. An Introduction to History*, ed. by F. Rosenthal, New York 1958, p. 51; F. BRAUDEL, *Civiltà e imperi del Mediterraneo nell'età di Filippo II*, vol. I, Torino 1982, p. 102.

considered possible to conquer the whole Mediterranean taking possession in advance of its wider, even if weaker, parts. In the same way the ancient nomadic tribes conquered a country, avoiding the cities and the strongholds. After the unsuccessful siege of Malta (1565), Ottomans began a more linear maritime strategy conquering the islands and places, still in foreigner hands, one after the other, beginning from the East and proceeding towards the West. In this way, after the conquest of Cyprus and Crete, they were able to become the real lords of the whole Eastern Mediterranean. Till this moment they had tried to protect the merchant ships which sailed between Istanbul and Egypt, but afterwards they began to watch over that route as a whole²³.

For centuries Ottomans accepted the idea that it was possible to divide the waters of a gulf, or a channel, or also a fishing-pond, between two states. They behaved in this way for instance with the knights of Rhodes as well as with Venice. In the peace agreement established after the war for Crete with the republic (1669) they also accepted the idea of a maritime border based on the cannon-range. In a period of relaxed relations with the Maghreb provinces, the peace agreements of Karlowitz and Passarowitz obliged the sultan to establish limits also on the sea waters to prevent his *leveds* (irregular soldiers) from attacking European ships and mar the existing peace. For the same reason, in 1720, the Ottomans decided to establish a line which proceeded thirty miles far from the imperial coast, where Venetian ships could sail in safety. The bey of Algiers and the dey of Tripoli protested against such an imposition quoting also the Koran²⁴ in order to stress the importance of fighting the infidels. The *gazi* ideology was then assumed again but this time Ottoman subjects used it to avoid to obey an imperial order, while the sultan rejected it and sustained what he considered the “establishment of the sea border”. A little later, about 1742, pressed by more aggressive European navy, Ottomans decided to divide the Mediterranean into two parts by means of an imaginary line: *levends*, as well as French and English war-ships, could not cross it either to attack merchant ships or to fight one against the other. The borders of “our” waters (*sulerimiz hududine*) had been established²⁵.

²³ M.P. PEDANI, ‘The Ottoman Empire and the Gulf of Venice (15th-16th c.)’, in *CIÉPO XIV. Sempoziyumu Bildirileri* (Università Ege, İzmir 18-22 settembre 2000), Ankara 2004, pp. 585-600.

²⁴ KORAN, 3.169; 9.29.

²⁵ M.P. PEDANI, ‘Spunti per una ricerca sui confini del mare: gli Ottomani nel Mediterraneo’, *Iacobus. Revista de estudios jacobeos y medievales*, 11-12 (2001), pp. 221-239.

The Triplex Confinium

Karlowitz and Istanbul agreements brought to the final closure of the European frontier of the Ottoman empire. The length of the sultan's borderline changed. Poland, Russia and the Habsburgs were involved in this demarcation together with the republic of Venice²⁶. However, a real complete closure was not achieved. In the following years few kilometres were disputed by the Habsburg, the Venetian and the Ottoman governments because the border commission, formed by Osman *ağa*, Giovanni Grimani, İbrahim *efendi* and count Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli, did not come to an agreement about a narrow strip of land. It was the so-called *Triplex Confinium* (Triple border).

On 8 August 1699 the four diplomats met in that zone, near Oton. At a certain point Marsigli point out the hill of Medvidja glavica on Debelo brdo as the right place for establishing the Triple border. To choose a spot or another made a difference. A place in the North meant to consider Plavno and its fertile country as Venetian; a border a little southwards, nearer Knin, meant to give the town of Plavno to the Ottomans and Oton and other two strongholds to the Emperor. The Venetian diplomat, Grimani, was not convinced at all by Marsigli's solution which was against Venetian interests, but he was not able to refuse. After two hours of discussion, Osman, Marsigli, İbrahim and Grimani threw the first stones to build the heap which had to mark the border, while the Imperial soldiers fired in salvoes; then they embraced each other, exchanged kisses of peace (*oscula pacis*) as Marsigli says, and went all together to eat. After the public part of the agreement, it was necessary to ratify it in a written form. At this point Grimani refused to sign a document prepared by Marsigli and wrote another one which was at its turn rejected by İbrahim. After two days, people from Zvonigrad attacked İbrahim's camp while the Venetians were falsely accused of having destroyed the heap of stones. To avoid danger Grimani decided to agree to the document with reservation and left immediately. On 20 August the Venetian Senate, informed of what had happened, refused absolutely the agreement: to ratify a decision of this kind meant to give to the Habsburgs the most fruitful part of the country; moreover, it was in opposition with the

²⁶ R.A. ABOU-EL-HAJ, 'The Formal Closure of the Ottoman Frontier in Europe: 1699-1703', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 89/3 (1969), pp. 467-475; E. KOVAČEVIĆ, *Granice Bosanskog Pašaluka prema Austriji i Mletačkoj Republici po odredbama Karlovačkog Mira*, Sarajevo 1970. E. KOVAČEVIĆ, 'Hududnama Bosanskog Vilajeta prema Austriji poslije Karlovačkog Mira', *Prilozi za Orijentalnu Filologiju*, 20-21 (1970-1971), pp. 365-436.

principle of the *uti possidetis ita porro possideatis* / '*ala halibi*', which was at the basis of the Karlowitz peace agreements: that is to say that whatever is held by either party, at the end of the war, remains held by it.

In the end in the Ottoman-Imperial agreement Ibrahim recognized that Zvonigrad, taken by the Habsburg to the Venetians after the conclusion of the peace, belonged to the Emperor. Marsigli and Grimani prepared two other documents to explain their point of view. Thus Plavno remained in Ottoman hands and Zvonigrad in that of the Emperor, while Venice maintained Oton and the other fortresses. In the meantime the inhabitants of the place went on using the so-called "shepards' border", which they created there for practical reasons, but officially the Triple border remained on the mount Debelo brdo, where the three states did not really meet at all. In the following years Venetians decided that it was safer to have a formal ratification from the sultan himself of what the three joint commissions had decided but it was not an easy task. The *hüccets* issued by the Ottoman *kadıs* together with the Venetian chancellors' documents were considered enough by the Ottoman chancellery. Only after some time, in November-December 1703, when both Grimani and Osman ağa had died and a new sultan seated on the throne and a new grand vizier in the *divan*, the republic succeeded in getting a new border document. It was probably the last *hududname* issued in the name of the sultan, and, to get it, Venice had to pay the sum of 21 reals to the *nişancı*, the same price it had already paid to get the previous peace agreement²⁷.

Tolerance and intolerance: a note on Ottoman political philosophy

For a long period in Europe the Turks were considered the "other" par excellence and the antithesis of European civilization. In the *Principe* (1513) Niccolò Machiavelli wrote «La monarchia del gran turco è governata da un solo padrone, gli altri sono servitori... Il re di Francia, al contrario, vive tra una moltitudine di signori di razza molto antica, conosciuti e amati dai loro sudditi. Ciascuno ha dei privilegi ereditari i quali non possono essere toccati senza pericolo» that is to say that the Ottoman sovereign ruled on a mass of slaves and he was the antithesis of the king of France; for this writer the authority of a prince had not a negative value in itself and in fact

²⁷ M.P. PEDANI, 'Das Triplex Confinium: Diplomatische Probleme nach dem Karlowitz Frieden', *Croatica Christiana Periodica*, 48 (2001), pp. 115-120.

he considered the Turks as the heirs of the Roman *virtù* (i.e. energy and talent). However, just at the end of the 16th c., in the European literature, the Ottoman sultan's power became tyrannical and, at the beginning of the following one, it was described also as despotic²⁸.

What Europeans thought of Ottomans was not the same of what Ottomans thought of themselves. To have a clearer idea of their tolerance and intolerance, we must consider their way of living Islam, their idea of social order and their political philosophy.

As we have already seen, from the very beginning of their islamization the Turks were influenced by the idea of *gaza* as well as by popular mysticism. These two elements gave to the Ottoman way of living Islam some peculiar and permanent features: the *sunni* Islam which had to fight against all enemies, both infidels and heretic, was intermingled with a very pragmatic behaviour. Moreover, for the Turkish custom, political and legislative powers were united in one person: the *yasa* was the code of laws issued by the ruler and the ruler had to behave in order to create a strong state and to make the public good. To reconcile these principles with the Islamic doctrine, Ottoman *faqhīs* imagined a new imperial order based on *šari'a*, *maṣlaḥa*, public good, and *'urf*, custom. For this reason it was possible for the sultans to issue *kanunnames*, books of their state laws, and to be called *Kanunî* (the law-giver) as Süleyman the Magnificent was²⁹.

The Ottoman idea of social order can be expressed by some simple corollaries. Man needs other men to survive and for this reason societies exist. Society needs harmony, solidarity and mutual help among its members. Everyone has a place in this society according to his inborn abilities. Division of labour is necessary, but stratification is due to the fact that men are not all alike³⁰. Everyone should have a place in the society and an income according to his abilities, but someone may try to overcome the others and avoid his duties. For this reason administrative power is required to prevent disorder and injustice. That is to say that there is the need of a ruler. On expressing these ideas, the 15th c. writer Tursun Bey begins his history of Mehmed II³¹. We cannot avoid of making a parallel between a society based on principles

²⁸ L. VALENSI, *Venise et la Sublime Porte. La naissance du despote*, Paris 1987, pp. 75-78, 96-99; M. SOYKUT, *Image of the "Turk" in Italy. A History of the "Other" in Early Modern Europe: 1453-1683*, Berlin 2001, pp. 1-14.

²⁹ H. İNALCIK, 'Islam in the Ottoman Empire', in H. İNALCIK, *Essays in Ottoman History*, İstanbul 1998, pp. 227-245.

³⁰ About this, Ottoman *faqhīs* used to quote Kuran, 43.32.

³¹ TURSUN BEY, *Târih-i Ebü'l-Feth*, pp. 10-13.

of this kind and the contemporary European society based on the idea of the nobility of blood and the divine right of the emperor to rule.

Ottoman political philosophy was based on the theory called “circle of equity” which dates back to the Sassanian period and can be found in many Islamic sources. It can be expressed in this way:

1. Harmony can be maintained by *justice*;
2. The word is a garden with the *state* as its wall;
3. The *şeriat* gives order to the state;
4. *Sovereignty* maintains the *şeriat*;
5. *Sovereignty*, that is, the power to establish a state and to possess the prerogative to rule, requires a strong *army*;
6. Supporting a strong army requires great *wealth*;
7. Acquiring such wealth requires a *people* (*raiye*) who live in peace and prosperity;
8. *Justice* is required in order for the people to live in peace and prosperity³².

For the Ottomans the basic element to create social harmony and order was the division of Ottoman society into two parts: the class of those who work for the state (*askerî*) and the class of those who produce (*reaya*).

In the period of splendour of the empire, between the 15th and the 17th centuries, the *askerî* class was formed above all by persons coming from the *devşirme*, the levy of Christian boys in the Balkans for military organizations and Palace services. It derived from an ancient byzantine custom maintained by the new lords of Rumelia at the end of the 14th century since it gave the possibility to the most intelligent and worthy persons to assume the highest charges of the state. It was the only case of “forced islamization” in the Ottoman society, even if men of law considered it in conformity with Islam for two reasons: first, the Balkans had been conquered by force and, secondly, children have no religion³³.

The class of *reaya* was formed both by Muslims and not-Muslims, even if these last had to paid also a capitation tax, besides the others. That the *reaya* formed an entity is confirmed by the fact that till the 17th century non-Muslim members were present in the Ottoman guilds. In the first half of that century a political transformation had place; the ulema became one of the political parties which ruled the state and they used their influence to islamizate society more and more. Not only the people’s way of living

³² From İHSANOĞLU, *History of the Ottoman State*, vol. I, p. 493.

³³ V. DEMETRIADES, ‘Some Thoughts on the Origin of Devşirme’, in *The Ottoman Empire*, pp. 23-34.

Islam became more orthodox and less pragmatic but also persons began to be considered according to their religion. The *dimmi*s became more and more second class citizens and conversion was seen as a means to avoid discrimination. In the Ottoman empire there was no forced mass conversion to Islam; even elements either as capitation taxes or the Catholic persecutions of the Bogumils in Bosnia did not pushed people to adopt Islam *en masse* as scholars sometimes thought. Islam spread gradually above all when social discrimination became evident and its diffusion was only encouraged by marriages with Christian woman or money gifts for those who converted³⁴.

In the Modern Age also some Jews had a certain importance in the empire. The lives of Josef Nassi, the friend of Selim II, or the physician Salomon Ashkenasi, who played an important role in the Venetian-Ottoman peace agreement of 1573, are well known as well as those of some Jewish *kiras* (servants) of sultanas. In the same period, at the beginning of the so-called "sultanate of women", Esther Handali, Nur Banu's and later Safiye's *kira*, was the most powerful link between the harem and the outer world while, at the end of the century, her successor Esperanza Malchi was believed to held in her house the sessions of the *divan* (imperial council) and she was killed during a rebellion of the *sipahi* against the harem party which then held the power. Many Jews became also *emins* and tax collectors and, in the second half of the 16th c., one of them, Daniel Rodriguez, pushed the Ottomans to create the port of Split on the Adriatic. In this period, among common people, there was the widespread idea that to become Muslim a Jew had to convert to Christian religion in advance. Lastly, the scholar cannot forget the fact that, when Europe, and Spain in particular, began to persecute Jews, most of them found shelter in the Ottoman empire. For this reason, according to the Venetian *bailo* Girolamo Cappello (1600), they had become faithful servants of the sultan and there was no possibility of pushing them to betray the Ottoman empire³⁵.

A situation of this kind did not last for ever. From the 18th c. onwards in the Ottoman empire taxes became heavier and heavier for the non Muslims and local authorities abused more and more their privileges. The political

³⁴ İNALCIK, *Islam in the Ottoman Empire*, pp.237-239.

³⁵ R. PACI, *La 'scala' di Spalato e il commercio veneziano nei Balcani fra Cinque e Seicento*, Venezia 1971, pp. 49-55; B. ARBEL, *Trading Nations. Jews and Venetians in the Early Eastern Mediterranean*, Leiden - New York - Köln 1995, pp. 56-94; M.P. PEDANI, 'Safiye's Household and Venetian Diplomacy', *Turcica*, 32 (2000), pp. 9-32; *Relazioni di ambasciatori veneti al Senato*. vol. XIV, *Costantinopoli. Relazioni inedite. (1512-1789)*, ed. by M.P. Pedani Fabris, Padova 1996, pp. 187-188, 436-437.

philosophy of Ottomanism began to fade away. National movements made their appearance sustained by the European commercial and political interests. The sultan Abdülhamid II (1876-1908) tried to resume the idea of Ottomanism as the equality of all the subjects in front of the law. It failed again but it was the very basis on which the new secular state of Turkey was built.

Snježana Buzov

**FRIENDLY LETTERS.
THE EARLY 18th CENTURY CORRESPONDENCE
BETWEEN VENETIAN AND OTTOMAN AUTHORITIES
IN DALMATIA**

This paper focuses on the vocabulary and the content of the correspondence between local (Bosnian and Dalmatian) officials representing Ottoman Empire and Venetian Republic following the peace agreements of Karlowitz (1699) and Passarowitz (1718)¹. As official correspondence they may be taken to represent the official consciousness, shaped by the regulations of the peace. The actions taken or required by the local officials described in the documents, to a large degree, reflect the set of rules that define the relationship between the two states, their officials and population, in terms of clear-cut division between friendship and neighborly conduct on one hand, and hostility on the other. They emphasize the actions of the local dignitaries aimed to restore safety and property of the local population and merchants, disturbed during the recent war operations.

On the other hand they also reveal private or semi-official initiatives, and the constant tension between the attempts of official definition of the relationship between the various entities in the borderlands, and the borderland's own cultural codes.

To some extent, because they defined people and their actions in terms of what was in accordance with the peace agreement and therefore legal, and what opposed it and therefore was illegal, the "self" appears to include both Venetians and Ottomans of the neighborly and friendly conduct while the "other" appears to refer to outlaws of the both sides. Beneath and beyond this official consciousness, there often resurfaces a diverse world of

¹ Most of the Ottoman source material analyzed in this paper comes from the unpublished translations by late Ešref Kovačević.

the borderland with different loyalties, and rules that resist classifications of both contemporary official discourses and attempts on scholarly classifications.

The relationship(s) between Venetian, Austrian and Ottoman subjects and the representatives of the respective governments, whether those of friendship or hostility, or trust and suspicion, collaboration or competition, were also strongly determined by the frontier code of honor². Between the imperatives of the peace agreement and those of the frontier code of honor there stood the local dignitaries in their official capacity of the promoters of friendship and peaceful coexistence, and in their actual role of negotiators between values proclaimed by official documents, and those long sustained and defended by the armed men of the frontier, wherever their loyalty lay.

In the context of the study of tolerance in the specific circumstances of the triple border region the analysis of the correspondence between the local officials following the peace agreement in Karlowitz cannot supply the ready answers. Problem arises when applying the accustomed historical concepts and the more recent ones (such as tolerance and intolerance) that were shaped in the historical contexts that hardly respond to the circumstances of the frontier society.

The major issue in studying or translating tolerance into the specific historical context of the early Ottoman-Venetian modern frontier, however, is the issue of identities with which we operate in describing the frontier society. These identities, do not regularly respond to the inquiry on the issues such as tolerance and intolerance, or even historically more neutral ones such as friendship and hostility. Which identities we operate with? Both the sources and historiography tell us about Christians and Muslim, Venetian, Austrian and Ottoman subjects, and, to a lesser extent, various ethnic groups. In addition to this we also operate with group identities that are formed and re-formed in the frontier context such as local elites (mostly frontier military and administrative authorities), Morlacs/Vlachs, and various travelers (mainly merchants).

The latter identities are often seen as part of one of the above-mentioned ethnic, religious, and political identities. Even though, for example, the Morlacs or Vlachs were dominant and most numerous local group, the fact that they, in various periods and political circumstances, were subjects of,

² For the analysis of some aspect of the frontier code of honor see: W. BRACEWELL, 'Frontier Blood-Brotherhood and the Triplex Confinium' and D. ROKSANDIĆ, 'Stojan Janković in the Morean War, or of Uskoks, Slavs and Subjects', both in D. ROKSANDIĆ - N. ŠTEFANEK (eds.), *Constructing Border Societies on the Triplex Confinium*, Budapest 2000.

and fought on the side of all three states, often placed them in the position of “other.” In the particular context reflected in the documents studied here, religion and, ethnicity often bear less importance than political affiliation (i.e. whether they were Venetian or Ottoman subjects), or loyalty (i.e. whether they were loyal soldiers or brigands).

In correspondence analyzed here both Venetian and Ottoman officials often address each other as “my friend and neighbor” and often remind each other of the necessity of “ensuring peaceful and neighborly conditions” and “establishing friendly relationship as emphasized by the peace agreement,” “so that the people (on the both sides) could live in peace and friendship” and “could collaborate and be helpful to each other”³. The letters often refer to, or describe the cases that involve reversal of the acts committed during the war, namely enslaving the population on both sides. Search for the prisoners of war, who became slaves in the Venetian households and on Venetian galleys, is one of the main issues in Ottoman correspondence. The peace agreement strongly recommends reasonable ransoms for these prisoners and captives.

Thus for example, in the letter to the Venetian governor, Bosnian pasha Seyfullah intervenes in one case of ransom for the 7-8 years old Aisha, the daughter of certain Ibrahim from Glamoč. Aisha is located in a fortress near Kotor, where she was held by certain Marović. The pasha asks the Venetian governor to intervene in this and similar cases and to make sure that ransom for the prisoners is reasonable according to the recommendations of the peace agreement⁴.

However, in other letters referring to and intervening in the cases of taking prisoners, enslavement, and paying off the ransom one can see that the practice of kidnapping and enslaving has not ceased in the period following the peace agreements. For example, in a letter from 1705 by Ibrahim pasha of Bosnia to the governor general of Dalmatia, the pasha asks for help in search and release of certain Husein of Glamoč. Husein was captured during the war, and was held by certain Petrović in Kosovo near Knin. Upon paying off the whole ransom he was released. With the certificate of release in hand

³ For example, one letter sent by the Bosnian pasha Ibrahim to the governor general in Zadar appeals to the latter to take measures to prevent disorder in the border area “so that the population could live in peace and harmony, to help each other. Only in that way the friendly relationship could be established, as emphasized by the peace agreement. The letter is dated on March 11 1704 . Cf. Državni Arhiv Zadar (DAZ), Dragomanski Arhiv (DA), box 27, file 133, position 28.

⁴ The letter is dated in 1703. Cf. DAZ, DA, Box 27, file 133, position 24.

he set on his way home, but was captured again somewhere near Sinj by “outlaws who showed no regard for the certificate.” He became slave again, this time on a galley⁵.

It is indeed interesting to examine the role, and especially the authority of local officials in this matter. Keeping the roads safe for travelers, and ensuring the free passage across the border for both Venetian and Ottoman subjects was one of their major responsibilities. Also, the coordinated preventive and punitive military actions against the “outlaws” and “hayduts” remained under the authority of local officials. One such case of military collaboration between Ottomans and Venetians is represented in a letter written by the captain of Livno to the serdar Sinobad where he says:

We received a letter from the governor general in Zadar where it is requested that we, together with you, root out (expel) the outlaws who are stationed in the vicinity of Golubich and that, together with other serdars, cleanse the area and expel all those involved in creating disorder in the border area. I have already sent the letter to the *vali* (governor) of Bosnia and as soon as his orders are received, I will inform you to be ready and prepared⁶.

It seems that both Venetian and Ottoman authorities were more efficient and willing to act in helping the release of the war captives than in handling the current safety in the borderlands. The only exceptions were the cases of those captives whom they could not locate. This is clearly because their duty in such cases required facilitating the ransom procedure and negotiating the ransom, but not the punishment of the capturers. Often they did not even negotiate with the actual capturers, but with the owners of the enslaved captives.

The correspondence about the case of one such captive, certain Ivan Chale from Petrovo Polje (near Drniš) reveals some significant characteristics of the mechanism of negotiation and involvement of the officials. First the captive sent a letter from captivity to the governor general of Venetian Dalmatia asking intervention. Then the governor sent the letters to the Ottoman official in the city of Livno (governor/ sanjakbey of the province of Klis) and to the Ottoman border commissary. The correspondence then continues with the request of the Venetian side that the captive be released since he (or his family) had paid a larger portion of the ransom (300 out of the required 500 reals). On this occasion the Venetian governor reminded

⁵ DAZ, DA, box 27, file 133, position 62.

⁶ The letter is dated on Sep. 14 1703. Cf. DAZ, DA, box 27, file 133, position 204/1.

the Ottoman side that he (!) ensures the release of the Ottoman captives before the ransom was paid, provided that an Ottoman dignitary acts on behalf of them⁷. Indeed, a number of documents show that intervention of local dignitaries often resulted in release before the whole or a part of the sum required is paid⁸. Commonly, the captives were released upon paying a portion of their ransom, so that they can bring the rest of it within agreed period of time.

During the military conflict it was clearly considered legal by both side to capture soldiers and civilians who then became the property of their capturers. When helping to locate and free such captives they acted in accordance with the peace agreement which, toward the goal part of restoring peace and safety calls for the release of the captives.

When resolving the crimes against life and property of the subjects of the neighboring state the duty of the officials was to restore the property and find and punish the criminals. In the post-war periods this was not an easy task. The rhetoric of friendship and neighborly life so abundantly repeated in all official addresses were far from shaping the behavior of the armed men of the borderlands. The policing of the roads and passages was far from a routine operation. The criminals were only too often the same armed men who were previously employed in the legitimate military operations.

In a letter sent by the Bosnian *defterdar* to the Venetian governor general in Zadar on January 19th 1703, the expressions of friendship and gratitude for a number of favors, and acts of kindness toward Ottoman officials were followed by bitter accusations of the Venetians for neglecting to provide safety for Ottoman subjects traveling on the Ottoman territories or living in the border area:

While, since the peace agreement was made in the borderland, no one was harmed on Venetian or Ottoman territories by any of the Ottoman officials or subjects, the thieves and outlaws on the Venetian side ride the roads leading to the passages and *iskeles*. Recently, the brother of our *emin* was murdered, and those who robbed the imperial treasury are known. Not only the criminals were not punished, but they escaped and they continue to murder and rob again. ... For these several years since peace was established, from the triple border to Novi (Castelnuovo) the bandits

⁷ DAZ, DA, box 27, file 132, position 63.

⁸ There are several Ottoman complaints from 1720 about the slaves who "forgot" to bring the ransom once they were released. See *Ibidem*, positions 66, 66/1-2, 67, 71. A letter from the border commissary Hacı Mehmed to the governor general includes a friendly and personal request to facilitate freeing three prisoners of war from Banja Luka. *Ibidem*, position 72.

committed 600, 700 such murders, and inestimable robberies. How is it possible to maintain the auspiciously concluded peace in this way?⁹.

In the same year, the Ottoman governor of Klis, responding to the friendly messages from the governor general, still complains about the increasing crime, explicitly mentioning the name of the member of the Venetian military, the *serdar* of Knin Sinobad, who uses the land of a woman who is the Ottoman subject without her permission. To this letter the petition (*arzubal*) of the mentioned woman to the governor of Klis and the list of the names of bandits and their accomplices is attached¹⁰.

In the documents reviewed all of the enslaved war captives from the Ottoman side were Muslims, and vice versa, all captives from the Venetian side were Christian. The hostile and criminal acts in peace affected all on both sides. The actions aimed to ensure safety of life and property, or the petitions to act “for the sake of friendship and neighborly relationship” were primarily worded as concern for the innocent, and the subject of the state whose officials intervened. The latter is particularly evident on the Ottoman side, as there the criminal acts of Venetian bandits affected the Christian and Jewish subjects as well.

One such case involves the attack on a group of Bosnian merchants while traveling on Venetian territory. They sent the letter of complaint addressed to the “illustrious and just lord, the general of Dalmatia,” describing themselves as “poor Bosnian merchants, Christians, Turks, and Jews” who were attacked by bandits on their way from Venice to Bosnia, and robbed of all our belongings, while two of them were murdered. The letter continues with describing the event and asking that the answer be sent by the same messenger, and also requesting compensation¹¹.

Bosnian pasha (beylerbey) Seyfullah’s letter about the same incident was dated three days earlier and sent to the governor informing him of the amount of stolen goods and money. He also proved the identity of the attackers and information about their whereabouts. He then concludes by asking that the criminals be punished and the value of goods and cash restored to the merchants¹². Seyfullah Pasha intervened once more about the case, this time in a longer letter, openly expressing his frustration with the investigation conducted on the other side. The attempt by the Dalmatian

⁹ DAZ, DA, box 27, file 133, position 121/1

¹⁰ *Ibidem*, position 142.

¹¹ The letter is dated on March 19th 1703; DAZ, DA, box 27, file 133, position 172/6.

¹² DAZ, DA, box 27, file 188, position 172/9.

governor general to place the blame on Austrian subjects who “might have come from the Sava river” is dismissed. Seyfullah Pasha threatens to send further documentation about the case directly to Istanbul, both to the Sultan and *bailo*, if the governor general continues to delay justice and deliver mild sentences to the criminals. In spite of the severe tone, the letter is concluded with usual reference to the peace agreement that requires “punishment and rooting out of the brigands” and “strengthening of the friendship day by day”¹³.

In the early decades of the eighteenth century the numerous reports, complaints and repeated request for interventions in regard to the continuous raids and robberies in the border area stand in contradiction to the expressions of the friendship and neighborly etiquette that accompany them. Before dismissing the insistence on friendship and neighborly conduct as diplomatic parlance it is important to notice that the real semantic of the words such as “friend” and “neighbor” was defined by the content of the peace agreement between the two state: the clauses that required freeing of the war captives, restoring the traffic and trade between the two states, and reestablishing the safety for the subjects and their property. The new reality of the border area was to reflect the results of peace negotiations. However, both the potential “friends and the neighbors” on one side of this orderly picture and “hostile bandits and outlaws” and their hesitant persecutors and secret accomplices on the other, were often the same men. Delivered the documents to apply the local officials were left alone to carry the “friendship” and “neighborly relationship” as a burden of their appointment, while negotiating between the imperatives of that appointment and the reality of the border area.

¹³ DAZ, DA, box 27, file 133, position 173/3.

Alfredo Viggiano

**RELIGION AND BORDERS
IN VENETIAN *STATO DA MAR*
IN THE LATE 18th CENTURY**

We would like to focus our attention here on the manuscript *Osservazioni sopra li modi con cui li Veneziani avrebbero potuto render più fermo il loro possesso della Morea* [Observations about the manners in which the Venetians could keep calm their possession in Morea] written by Paolo Boldù.¹ The paper could be dated to 1781-2, the period when the author carried out one of the most prestigious administrative roles in the *Stato da Mar* as general governor in Dalmatia and Albania. This short tractate seems worthy of our attention for several reasons. First of all it was not very common that a nobleman occupied with the government of dominions dedicate to his successors his impressions and reflections where, as we could see, the old stereotypes changed into readings about the relationship between the government and the governed for many ‘anti-traditional’ reasons. The perceptions of a crisis of modality of legislation emerge from these pages. This crisis would become explicit because it was moving, developing and concluded on the extreme maritime limits of the government of the *Serenissima*. We will try to collect

¹ Biblioteca Civica Querini Stampalia, Venezia, ms. Cl. IV, cont. 193 (=447), fasc. V. The fact that this as with the work of Giacomo Nani didn’t enjoy the privilege of printing, almost more than creates an illusion of censorship or auto-censorship, it seems to me more a theme of enrichment of a library typical of the patricians of the 18th century – more history and news about the world than genealogies and family memories – see D. RAINES, ‘L’Archivio familiare strumento di formazione politica del patriziato veneziano’, *Accademie e Biblioteche d’Italia*, 64/4 (1996), pp. 5-37. The principal phases of a political-administrative career of Boldù, before he became general governor of Dalmatia and Albania, were all passed in the navy, *Governador di Galera* in 1757, in 1761 became *Governatore delle Galere de’ Condannati*, in 1765 *Capitano in Golfo* and from 1768 he was *Provveditore d’Armada*. See Archivio di Stato, Venezia (ASV), *Segretario alle voci, Maggiore Consiglio, Elezioni*, cc. 162v-163v.

characteristics of the internal critique of the Venetian constitution – being oligarchic and distant from the daily fatigues of the governors who were sent to the maritime provinces – which came together with the affirmation of patriotism/republicanism.

In an overview of the most mentioned places in this paper one has the impression that the characteristics of this script should be searched for in a kind of soft fascination with the nature of the border, the areas of connections between cultures and politically different systems. Our author was looking for analysis and the roots of the power legacy precisely in the unquiet peripheral stations of the states, rather than in their peaceful and corrupted nuclei. He presented how wise and prudent ‘Old Venetians’ were in their relationships with the population from the Bay of Kotor (*Bocche di Cattaro*). The Prince left those people the ‘freedom of using of their own Law, Religion and Customs’.² ‘Protection of the border’ became a necessity which had to be carried out within the reality of the besieged state as well as the instrument of an internal regeneration of a political class:

These little groups of people were fed with an infinite care, were dispersed on the slopes of some mountains which surround the canal of Kotor. Privileges and titles were donated to the all of these populations. Others were honoured with names as the most faithful, and others were put in an honourable place with the rights to defend the Public Insignia in war; to others some little money was distributed, as well as salt, and the great and the valuable actions of each of these individuals were rewarded and over time noted³.

It was better to accept the cautious politics of the multiplication in privileges than to renounce the fiscal ‘utility’ of the *Dominium* which was used by the Republic of St. Mark through the scope of a security guarantee of the ‘internal provinces’, as gifts to the Turkish *Bassà* on the borders of the Levant and Dalmatia which rose to the amount of ‘10 or 12 thousand zecchini’, or to the maintenance of expensive garrisons⁴.

² BOLDÜ, *Osservazioni*, ch. I, par. 10.

³ *Ibidem*: “Con infinita cura perciò furono nutriti quei piccoli branchi di uomini sparsi su per le falde di alcuni monti che formano il circondario del canale di Cattaro. Furono donati a tutte quelle popolazioni privilegi e titoli. Altre furono onorate col nome di fedelissima, ad altre si concesse come posto d’onore di diritto di difendere in guerra la Pub.ca Insegna, ad altre si distribuirono piccole annuali summe di soldo, di sale, premiando poi le azioni illustri e valorose di ognuno di quei individui che di tempo in tempo si andarono segnalando”.

⁴ *Ibidem*.

The paradigm of this method of declination of command was introduced, as Boldù thought, from the Turkish government: ‘Turks the same (...) practise, and from their earlier past, they practised a certain principle to sacrifice a part of their provinces by leaving and which could be useful in order to assure their centre. This can be noted to anyone who with his own eye examines the borders of the Turkish Empire in all of the three corners of the world’⁵. The construction of ‘barriers’ – Dalmatia, Moldova, Vlachia in the face of the Austrian Court – which received autonomy, privileges and rights to keep their particular ‘law and religion’, ‘rituals and customs’ – was indicative of how only a mediated and indirect governing could guarantee the protection of complete internal order. ‘Many Tartars and Georgians – with whom the Ottomans only had rights to ‘elect and confirm their khan’ and a simple confirmation of some form regalia – guaranteed the protection of the Turkish Empire’s borders (*antemurale*) in the case of conflict with Moscow’⁶.

A parallel dialectic to sacrifice the prerogatives of the sovereign and construction of a stable peace inside the borders was characteristic of the history of the *Serenissima*. This was opposite, in the opinion of our author, to the ignorance of his contemporaneous governors: ‘therefore it is necessary to know to sacrifice to have peace, and the Venetians of today, they do not know how to do it’⁷. *Maggiori* and *Padri* of the Republic would not have been

⁵ *Ibidem*, ch. I, par. 11: “li Turchi stessi mettono, e dalla loro origine hanno messo, in opera un tale principio di sacrificare a sé l’utile ch’essi potrebbero ritrarre da una parte delle loro suddite provincie e ad una maggior sicurezza del loro centro, come potrà essere conosciuto da chi coll’occhio esamini i confini dell’Imperio de’ Turchi in tutte le parti del mondo”.

⁶ *Ibidem*. Using the author’s words, the image of Turkish authority seemed even weaker in Berber cantons (Algeria, Tunisia), Egypt and Arabia. In Berber cantons a state of reciprocal symmetry was configured between subjects and the Prince who actually established an independency in these provinces. Inhabitants gave their contribution consisting of ‘gifts of animals or other rare objects from their country’ and at the same time in return the Turks were required to give ‘real gifts such as old ship wrecks, canons, gun powder etc’. The fact that the Turkish Porta did not intervene in conflicts of ‘borders or governor successors’ in which the cantons were involved, proved that these provinces could only be regarded as ‘observant rather than subjects of Turkey’. In Egypt only the presence of the *Bassà* represented the power of the Ottoman Empire, but he was repressed – only to the administration of high justice and the collection of taxes – and only add his will to the 25 *Bey* members of the council or Primates of the Kingdom who were organised amongst their own forces and people from their Provinces. They had their law for command and they are masters of their peace and war amongst themselves and under the eyes of the *Bassà*, who was no more than first in the line and an impotent voyeur’. *Ibidem*.

⁷ *Ibidem*, ch. I. par. 13.

able to establish a large dominium and keep the security of the capital city without granting 'freedom and honour' to the populations who inhabited the marginal areas of the Republic, people from 'Schiavonia and places near to Cividale in Friuli, Carnia, Cadore, Sette Comuni, valleys of Bresciana and Bergamasca and the Bay of Cattaro'⁸.

From the faraway borders of the Ottoman Empire the author continued with the domestic dimensions of the Venetian states; the actuality of the crises of the Ottoman system – 'Turks in their condition of weakness which they are facing now, because there are no more Mehmeds or Bayezids on their throne' – Boldù turned to the archaic dimension where he placed the elements of his critique of the Republic's government. The history of the colonisation of Crete and Morea did not contain positive models which could be imitated, opposed to that thought by Nani. For instance, on Crete, 'many citizens' were invited to live in this 'fertile Kingdom'; an obvious consequence was 'that the Gentlemen from the Colony were not thinking of becoming rich and powerful without oppressing the local people who drew hate from the maltreatment and richness of the Colonists'⁹.

For Boldù the practical experience of administration generated a theory in the extinction of the politics which were organised in complex forms and which were difficult for any kind of dialogue with different social groups. For Nani the political tradition was based on the golden age of the construction of the states *da terra e da mar* between the 14th and 16th centuries, crossing fair and discretional exercises and putting in the centre of the governing strategy the figure of a Venetian representative. Boldù had a similar intention to glorify the function which was an incarnation of the 'little homelands'. There was no question of physiological fact that the institutions were 'old'. Here the author discussed the preferences to legitimatise government using the consensus of the main towns of the Venetian *terraferma* – with the geopolitical heart of the dominium, rather than the construction of a different fidelity with its neighbouring periphery. This was necessary to be revised in order to find the cause of Venetian decline.

Boldù intended to identify the constitution of his ancestors through his personal use of the past in the evocation of the paternalistic paradigm of Gasparo Contarini¹⁰: elementary social structures, non-layered and of

⁸ *Ibidem*.

⁹ *Ibidem*, ch. I, par 15.

¹⁰ About the value of these categories in different historical situations and constitutions, from Athens of the 5th century A.D. to England of King George III and its capacity of re-legitimatization of political absence in a period of radical crisis of authority, it is necessary to

reduced demographic consistency, with no educated dialectic of conflict of any modern type which passed through the development of the institutions, were the basis on which the security of the ruling class of the capital city was established. It was not within the capacity of economy – although it was inside a mild conflict with ‘modernity’, as Francesco Grimani presented – to activate a virtuous process of social differentiation and civilisation. Military discipline, which was very archaic, was an important part of this project. The representative institution from these pages was not actually constituted through the modern war machine of ‘military revolution’. This happened through a simple model of expansion of the classic Roman period. Boldù also participated in the recovery of this kind of paradigm of Roman history, from Republic to Empire. This opinion was widely spread in Venice of the 18th century and was based on the internal political conflicts amongst patricians – amongst defenders of the function of the *Optimati* and followers of the early Republicanism¹¹. In our case, the emphasised moments of constitutional debate were not evoked nor the motives for social revolution or the crisis caused by agrarian law. The function of the plebeian tribunal was not mentioned either¹². *Exemplum* of classic historiography which was proposed to follow was the history of battalions of farmer-soldiers (*agricoltori soldati*). Romans ‘alongside their intention to ensure the faith of the conquered Provinces, kept their Legions there and worked on the land as other settlers’¹³.

The anguish in the presence of ‘large numbers’ and the social complexity which constituted one of the dominating notes in the tractate emerges with great clarity on these pages. To be able to govern Morea ‘8 or 10 battalions organised into Companies’ of 100 men and their families was enough. The most densely populated areas in Dalmatia and Albania were able to carry out their function as human reserves in the new colonisations within the Republic very well.

revoke the ‘ancient constitution’, see M.I. FINLEY, *Uso e abuso della storia. Il significato, lo studio, la comprensione del passato*, Torino 1981, pp. 39-38.

¹¹ About this problem see P. DEL NEGRO, ‘Venezia allo specchio. La crisi delle istituzioni repubblicane negli scritti del patriziato (1670-1797)’, *Studies on Voltaire and Eighteenth Century*, 191 (1980), pp. 920-926; P. DEL NEGRO, ‘Proposte illuminate e conservazione nel dibattito sulla teoria e sulla prassi dello stato’, in G. ARNALDI and M. PASTORE STOCCHI (eds.), *Storia della cultura veneta dalla Controriforma alla fine della Repubblica*, vol. V/2, *Il Settecento*, Vicenza 1986, pp. 123-145.

¹² BOLDÙ, *Osservazioni*, ch. II, par. 16.

¹³ *Ibidem*.

One of the models in which these 'small communities' should be organised was based on the example of the people from Perast. One idea was to imitate their elementary rules of 'civil and criminal law' and there was to be no 'burden, tithes, field taxes' imposed upon them. Their courage and military skills were desirable as the only useful elements in the construction of civil relationships. 'Competition and cavalier games' in this context were to constitute exclusive 'public' events for the community: 'their joy should be wrestling, running, jumping, disc and spear throwing, as in Antiquity'; 'On St. Mark's Day prizes would be given to those who were the most successful in shooting, fire making, using canons, mounting horses'¹⁴.

Historical and cultural interest for the economic and political structures of the 'small communities' of the Mediterranean in Boldù's pamphlet became a privileged instrument for the reestablishment of the sense of difference between Venice and the populations under its government. This was the only possibly guarantee for the efficiency of the government. Amongst the mix of quotations from different authors from different times which can be found on these pages, from Montesquieu to Genovesi, from Machiavelli to Folard, Buffon the French anthropologist and naturalist takes a very significant place. In 1749 the first volume of his *Historie naturelle* Buffon he promoted a new approach to the history of humanity. It was destined to great fortune during the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries¹⁵. Starting from a page of this famous writer where he took a thought about the 'damage produced by mixing races with those weaker and producing bastards' Boldù asked himself was it necessary to let the 'new settlers' mix with 'locals' or would it be better to 'keep them married only within their own communities'¹⁶.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, par. 17. For diffusion and coexistence of the different models inside the Venetian patricians regarding paradigms of democracy and freedom see P. DEL NEGRO, 'Il patriziato veneziano tra vecchio e nuovo repubblicanesimo: "libertà", "uguaglianza" e "democrazia" alla vigilia della rivoluzione francese', extract from *Tra conservazione e novità: il mondo Veneto innanzi alla rivoluzione del 1789*, Verona 1991, pp. 7-18. For the diffusion of the classical paradigm as a point of reference and political meditation see more general observations in L. GUERCI, *Libertà degli antichi e libertà dei moderni. Sparta, Atene e "philosophes" nella Francia del '700*, Napoli 1979.

¹⁵ More information about the education and work of this interesting figure see M. DUCHET, *Le origini dell'antropologia*, III, Buffon, Voltaire, Rousseau, Roma-Bari 1976, pp. 3-72. Something about Buffon and his contribution to the debate of the 18th century about races and their hierarchy, T. TODOROV, *Noi e gli altri. La riflessione francese sulla diversità umana*, Torino 1991, pp. 115-119.

¹⁶ BOLDÙ, *Osservazioni*, ch. II, par. 19.

It happens frequently in Boldù's *Observations* that a quotation of an erudite man was immediately to be confronted with a real experience. In the third chapter of the tractate *Esposizione dei modi per li quali li Turchi cercano di tener contenti li loro sudditi greci, salvi sempre li loro privilegi* was analysed together with the importance of the integration and political pacification including religion. Boldù's statement in this case seems to be a colourful and vague *politique*, non-religious, and critical confronting with romanophile statements which were widespread in certain sectors – especially amongst *quarantiotti* – Venetian patricians¹⁷. In this way Boldù also directed a critique against 'some rigid scrupulous theologians who know nothing about the world and men, (who) demand that the whole world should perish rather than there be any inconvenience'¹⁸.

As in the sector of the civil administration the total deformation of rituals and beliefs and the impermeability of the system of religious organisation to allow any communication are paradoxical. According to Boldù, Montesquieu had already demonstrated 'that in many religions there exist the intention to verify a principle that the mother hates her daughter as well as she hates her mother. Heretics derive from us, detest us, and we detest them. The Greeks believed that Latin rituals were derived as a part of Greek rituals and therefore they hate us, as well as Latins, in a very ignorant way, believe that Greek rituals derived from them'¹⁹. To the Greeks it seems more 'grateful that they are the masters of their rituals than to use them together with Latins who also want to be masters of the rituals. Declaration of belief by the Latins make them infinitely tired because the Greeks believe them to be very schismatic': as an example of this statement our author gives a quotation found in a 'certain book' published in Lipsia in 1758 in three languages Greek, Latin and Italian. This quotation discusses the ritual of baptising and demonstrated how the rituals of the Roman Catholic Church are the 'devil's inventions and the Pope's perfusion is full of stink and maggots'²⁰.

It seems to me that Boldù used a precise simplification of the complex net of relationships and contacts which happened amongst the clerics and populations of Greek or Latin religions. In reality on his pages he mostly reflected an explosive situation in the hinterland of Dalmatia rather than

¹⁷ About this argument see the observations of P. DEL NEGRO, 'Politica e cultura nella Venezia di metà Settecento: la poesia barona di Giorgio Baffo 'quarantiotto', *Comunità*, 184 (1982), pp. 406-424; DEL NEGRO, 'Proposte illuminate', pp. 123-145.

¹⁸ BOLDÙ, *Osservazioni*, ch. II, par. 19.

¹⁹ BOLDÙ, *Osservazioni*, ch. II, par. 22.

²⁰ *Ibidem*.

describing the position of the clerics in the Ionian archipelago. However, religious tension on these pages was placed at the base of a kind of an ahistoric psychology of people and was not chosen as a way out of a misconception of the relationship with the local elite (as was Nani's intention), nor as a result of a historical secular process which constituted one of the elements which mostly legitimises itself in the internal and international relationship of the same elite. This was an elementary conceptual tool which Boldù used to explain the success of the Ottoman method in comparison with those of the Venetians. He created this tool using his direct experience or using knowledge and tradition which crossed the world of the Venetian army and administration. He observed: 'Turks and Greeks are looking at each other with such indifference as the Catholic religion would look at the Chinese'. This sort of cultural climate encouraged variegated *mesalliances*, something absolutely unthinkable on Venetian territory.

In the great castle of *Ducades* were about 600 houses. Only one tenth was occupied by 'wealthy Turks' who had wives from the indigenous population, but under the condition 'that a Turk woman who married a Greek man has to become Greek and a Greek woman who married a Turk had to stay Greek'. Inside the 'free province' of Cimara there existed a very ancient tradition where 'Greek inhabitants, with all their cleverness and force' withheld their privileges. There were also some 'Turk's families who once were Greek but later they converted their religion'. Cimariots never accepted any Latins into their community. In the same way the inhabitants of Morea never demanded any Latin to be a witness or to be the best man as they did with the present dominators 'who were of different religion and would send a procurator to weddings, baptisms, the signing of names and tax payments'²¹.

Religious 'freedom' as it was perceived by our governor did not follow any model except the Venetian tradition, as it was, for example, in some sectors of the patricians, who did follow external models of the Austrian politics during Maria Theresa and Joseph II's time regarding Jewish and Greek-Orthodox minorities. Boldù momentarily interrupted any suggestive morphological analyses of micro-powers in the Mediterranean which we evoked here and skipped to the indication of a landscape which should be familiar to any good subject of the Venetian Republic. This was an archetype, taken out from historical context and proposed to be followed:

Turks consider the Greeks in this way and under this way as the Venetians consider Jews to whom was left the freedom of government in their

²¹ BOLDÙ, *Osservazioni*, III, par. 22.

universities. We do not leave to Greeks any freedom or government because this name of Christians led us into a trap and does not allow us to recognise that the spirit, customs, inclinations and their internal being are so different as ours is different from the Jewish. We leave the Jewish their freedom to their rights as we do not know and admit that we do not know the principles of their society which for many reasons is so different from ours²².

The religion which the Prince had to confront appears here as a diffusion of anthropologic manners which a society uses to regulate its own internal relationship and take position towards others. In this way a possibility was configured for a kind of society without state. In Boldù's pages the rejection of the constitutive forms of the very complex modern politics has a contra position, the very political affirmation of perfection and intangibility of the ruling Venetian class, described as a unitary body, untouchable regarding those fractions which in reality characterised its existence. For Boldù, as for Giacomo Nani, there coexisted an inter-medium state between *Polizia* and *Barbarie*: but on the pages which we are reading, this was not constituted, as the author of *Divisamenti e confronti* understood, of republican political tradition of the *Serenissima* and of the wisdom of its constitution, who did not know of anything imperceptible – because it was based on law and the capacity of institutions – it was rather a case of violence by the modern states. Here the 'state in the middle' was identified with 'powerful families' which in 'the place of inter-medium power of a written law' represented the authority and administrated justice defending 'the little controversies which appeared amongst their nations' and organised fiscal duties. Boldù wrote about a substitution of the representatives of the groups of relatives which almost became outmoded comparing them with 'cultivated populations' but which in the past had a profound characteristic and 'customs of our Italy'. This, according to Boldù happened in the period when he wrote the tractate and it could still be seen in Kefalonia and Zakynthos²³.

Boldù identified those who he defined as *Primati* to have the roles of guarantors and authors of the translation of the 'voice of the Prince' in a

²² *Ibidem*, II, par. 24: "Li Turchi considerano li Greci in quel modo e sotto quella vista che in Venezia si considerano gli Ebrei, alli quali si lascia interamente libero il governo della loro Università. Noi non lasciamo ai Greci alcuna libertà o governo perché questo nome di Cristiani ne indusse in inganno e non ci lasciò avvertire che il genio, il costume, le inclinazioni e il loro Gius interno è tanto differente dal nostro quanto il nostro è differente dagli Ebrei. A questi si lascia un tal diritto perché noi conosciamo e confessiamo di non conoscere li principj di una società tanto differente dalla nostra".

²³ *Ibidem*.

social-political context faraway from the capital city. It gives the impression that the author intended to make evident how pre-eminent individuals and families in a certain territory could represent a parallel and autonomous power which officers could not ignore and had to respect. In this case we can define the author's intention to conduct a microanalysis of the realities he had learnt through his own experience as an administrative officer and he confronted it with political literature which circulated around the capital city. Chapter XXI of the second book of *Discorsi sopra la prima Deca di Tito Livio* where Machiavelli analysed the motives of *the first Roman praetors sent to the place called Capua and after 400 years they started a war*²⁴, Boldù indicated this as paradigmatic and used it as a quotation. It seems inappropriate to keep our attention on this passage were the quotations from the source is contra to the contemporaneous examples. A selective model through which Boldù questioned and folded a relationship of citizenship in the text of different complexity into his concepts is evident. The chosen piece which is placed at the centre of our attention constitutes one of the most fascinating and tormenting of Machiavelli's *opus magnum*. Here a theme about relationships and competition between internal factions in the city-republics and interventions of a foreign force was evoked. Examples were used from the history of ancient Capua to his recent experiences of the wars in Italy²⁵. The example which Machiavelli used on his pages was taken from the Roman historian who wrote about an event which happened in 318 B.C. The paradigm of the case of Capua was created by the fact that 'they were in discordance and it was necessary to have a Roman who would organise and reunite them'. This is a model of city government which was able to guarantee security, social peace and republican freedom. This gave advantage to governors as well as to the citizens. He quoted:

those cities which are used to living in freedom or are governed by their provincials and are quiet and content under a dominium which they do not wish to change unless it carries some burden which they must live with every day and which

²⁴ *Ibidem*, ch. III, par. 25.

²⁵ NICCOLÒ MACHIAVELLI, *Il Principe e i Discorsi sopra la prima Deca di Tito Livio*, intr. G. Procacci, edited by S. Bertelli, Milano 1981, pp. 340-342. This chapter, as the previous one of the same book – XIX (*Che gli acquisti nelle repubbliche non bene ordinate e che secondo la romana virtù non procedano sono a ruina, no nad eseltazione di esse*) and XX (*Quale pericolo porti quel principe o quella repubblica che si vale della milizia ausiliaria o mercenaria*), is in the centre of Machiavelli's reflection about different models of territorial expansion of republics. About this thematic, see recent reflection of M. VIROLI, *Dalla politica alla ragion di Stato. La scienza del governo tra XIII e XVII secolo*, Roma 1994, p. 100

they seemingly have to serve. Therefore there is another benefit for the Prince: if he has no ministers in the hands of judges who judge in civil or criminal cases and give no reason for the citizens who could make complaints about the duty or infamy of the Prince; therefore many reasons for hatred and conflicts are not presented²⁶.

There were no themes about the territorial spread of power and formation of the state which were different of differentiation of politics and society of the interior of a city, which could be interesting for our Venetian governor. Boldù extrapolated Machiavelli's considerations from their context and in this way he took out their potentiality and he transformed them into axioms and chipped-off their historic meaning. They became a medium for formatting and promotion of the role of the families of the *Primati* and gave legislation to a politics created on the authority of families and the system of *friendship* in a frame of territorial opposing powers deprived of institutional connections and community based on civil values. This is as far as it is possible to think following a certain model²⁷.

Taking in consideration this motive it seems plausible that the paradigm oriented to the experience of a similar model of conception of exercising the authority would be lived in continental Greece under the Turks. Morea was governed by the multiplicity of a *Bassà* who were directly elected in Porta but in reality those who controlled territories were the *Primati* of three different family groups: Panagioti Benachi in 'Mezzogiorno' (the south), a certain 'Sr. Gueachi' in the area of Patras, and 'Sr. Crevala' in Mistrà²⁸. A similar organisation of power could be found in the Archipelago 'where there are fortresses and in every one there is a Greek family left to govern others', like Bao on Mykonos or Tarachi on Milos²⁹.

²⁶ MACHIAVELLI, *Discorsi*, p. 341: "massime quelle che sono use a vivere libere o consuete governarsi per sua provinciali con altra quiete stanno contente sotto uno dominio che non veggono, ancora che egli avesse in sé qualche gravezza, che sotto quello che veggendo ogni giorno, pare loro che ogni giorno sia rimproverata loro la servitù. Appresso ne segue un altro per il principe: che non avendo i suoi ministri in mano i giudicii e i magistrati che criminalmente e civilmente rendono ragione in quelle cittadi, non può nascere mai sentenza con carico o infamia del principe; e vengono per questa via a mancare molte ragioni di calunnia e odio verso di quello".

²⁷ About the theme of the republican civic and the critique of 'friendship' as a basic moment of Machiavelli's thought, see Viroli, *Dalla politica*, pp. 89-91.

²⁸ BOLDÙ, *Osservazioni*, ch. II, par. 23.

²⁹ *Ibidem*. It seems to me a certain contradiction between construction of this model and as Boldù analysed in chapter IV, *Esposizione dei modi per i quali i Turchi traggano il possibile maggior vantaggio dei loro sudditi greci*. Here the Turk's government was described as a classic example of 'oriental despotism': the governors took very careful 'visits to Greek's houses',

Linguistic and cultural forms related to the Venetian tradition were amalgamated on the page which we are due to read. Here the individual's experience and circulation of news and stories which cross the world of military and civil administration in the Venetian world of the Levant are mixed. This *mesalliance* finished with reports and other sources – the spread of discussions, reading of magazines, political tractates, historiographic narration on different levels³⁰ – produced interesting effects. The critique dedicated to the structures of power of *Serenissima* and archaism in the way of conception of the function of institutions, reflections on European and Mediterranean modern history are constantly intervening in Boldù's work. His ingenious thought in his contradictions, impressive subjective observations and data and evidence which are given as a spectrograph of a discussion about the crisis in the Republic is obvious.

Particularly significant is the last part of Boldù's tractate, *Caratteri dei Mainotti e degli altri Greci della Morea, ed esemplar modo con cui li Turchi si dirigono verso questi sudditi* [The character of the Mainots and other Greeks of Morea and an example of how the Turks behave towards these subjects]³¹. The history and tradition of Maina, a limited sub-region of the Peloponnese represented one of the significant moments in the reflection of the 18th century '*piccole patrie*': travellers and erudite men, collectors of antiquity and curiosities of the tradition of these people published and promoted traditional songs of the region, illustrating costumes of the inhabitants, their

(*Ibidem*, par. 40). When the author came to Mithylene in October 1758 'Turks assassinated one of those leaders who for the Greeks in this town still inspired confrontation with the Turks in Mithylene bribing officers in Constantinople and he had unified the Greek people, this was not good for the Turks who enjoyed governing them under division' (*Ibidem*, par. 41). The fiscal repression used by the Porta makes this description of a power so violent and hypocritical complete. It had a devastating effect on the local *elites*: 'the power of the Greeks, although still holding some dignity, is imaginary. These powerful Greeks can be thought of as great sculptures placed on sand with no concrete. With the first blow or push they collapse'. It is obvious, as concluded by our author, how in 'this time when more than ten Greeks elected to the places of great power in Morea but with the same tragic and unhappy end. Their children had to beg to survive'.

³⁰ Starting from the circulation of these types of publications and about how the modality of received news from different corners of the continent construct his narration, see F. VENTURI, *Settecento riformatore*. For example of the Ionian Islands and the Venetian Republic in the 1770's, F. VENTURI, *Settecento riformatore*, vol. III, *La prima crisi dell'Antico Regime (1768-1776)*, Torino 1979, pp. 40-68. Also see about the lively world of actors of this new world, M. INFELISE, 'Copisti e gazzettieri nella Venezia del Seicento', in S. GASPARRI, G. LEVI and P. MORO (eds.), *Venezia. Itinerari per la storia della città*, Bologna 1997, pp. 193-195.

³¹ BOLDÙ, *Osservazioni*, ch. V-VI.

spirit of pride and independence which determine their behaviour³². The re-discovery of Maina where neoclassic rhetoric and peculiar political attention competed, participated in a large debate about the function of the 'small state' in the publications of the 18th century³³. Multiple observers found the source for the development of their dialectic between the past and the future, between utopia and the conservation in the archaism of a analysed situation, moving away from a priori hermeneutic where it was decided that state formations of small dimension were not in accordance with the logic of political transformation and social evolution.

In the case which we are analysing, the pages about Maina almost represent a separate tractate. The mountainous terrain and natural savageness of the inhabitants allowed Boldù to note his conviction about the absolute asymmetry which must characterise the relationship between subjects and the Prince. It is very clear to our author, as he experienced himself during direct field observation, the perception of the familiar and factional nature of local politics: this gave an extreme dynamic to the political life and exchange of groups in power, more than the difficult to define role of play between 'virtue' and 'value'. 'The command amongst them is just temporary', confirmed our author about the duty of the Captain which was the most prestigious duty which an indigenous inhabitant from Maina could hold³⁴. This was thanks to the fact that 'relatives and inheritances' constructed a 'valuable reputation', which was a fragile legitimacy of authority and could lead to a dangerous situation. Instead of 'resigning his position in favour of another Captain', this individual could 'put himself forward with his party' or make some 'difference' to reinforce or strengthen his weakest part, 'which thanks to some help would be victorious and give honour to the principal instrument of his victory, increasing his fame and reinforce his party'. The ambition of command obliged the Captain to construct a new clientele and combat others.

After placing himself in certain duties, and putting himself at the certain dependence of some families, after making other competitors fragile and giving thanks to the population by with giving them some food as was usual in England when one wants to become a deputy in the Parliament with very similar methods, using outside forces and some blood if sometimes necessary,

³² About this see Venturi, *Settecento riformatore*.

³³ Numerous observations about this see M. BAZZOLI, *Il piccolo stato nell'età moderna. Studi su un concetto della politica internazionale tra XVI e XVIII secolo*, Milano 1990.

³⁴ BOLDÙ, *Osservazioni*, ch. V, par. 45.

the Captain become famous and from now his faction will be the same in proportion, of major dexterity and value³⁵.

In fact this was directly presented to Boldù in the port of Paganìa in October 1758 where the game amongst its eminent inhabitants who were organised into different factions provoked difficulties in sanctioning it to one single superior family. It was possible that to govern such a politically fluid society was to organise it into a diarchy which would find its own legitimacy in an instable and inconstant geography of friendships. This was what Boldù reported as a fruit of his own vision and constitutional act. According to Boldù, all 'gius' of the Mainots was placed in the elementary ability to 'elect in the easiest way the one who would reside in this first authority and who must manage peace and war outside in order to preserve peace and tranquillity inside'³⁶. The absence of a representative burden of a sedimentary traditional norm and of the rigid control of the political practices created a natural inclination to a local society towards an effervescent mutation. At the end of 1758 Boldù insisted on a 'revolution' in the succession of the title of the Captain of the Region. One of these 'Cavalieriachi' was succeeded by a certain Dimitrachi. The event signified a profound rewriting in the organisation of internal political hierarchy. Dimitrachi's brother was actually 'grooming the horse' of the just buried captain³⁷. After Dimitrachi's death, all of Maina was divided into 'two parties': the first represented the relatives of the same captain, the second 'were those who lived deeper in the hinterland'. The fight for his successor became very complicated because of the arrival of a certain Benachi 'a powerful person in Morea and Maina' who arrived from Constantinople where he had many connections and friendships. The elections for the future captain were expected to regulate the 'low neighbourhood'. In reality this attribution had to be deemed to a purely formal environment. The one who would take this position would be the one that 'this Sr. Benachi liked the most'.

Boldù wrote about factions and the internal political equilibrium which depended only on relationships between the local area and the capital city

³⁵ *Ibidem*: "Dopo essersi dunque segnalato in tali imprese, dopo essersi reso dipendenti alter famiglie, dopo che ha indebolito il loro partito rendendosi grato alla popolazione col dar loro da mangiare in quel modo appunto che avviene anco in Inghilterra per farsi eleggere deputato al Parlamento con modi simili precisamente a questi, eccettuando la forza esterna e lo spargimento di sangue che qualche volta succede, viene riconosciuto capitano nel posto vacante e la di lui fazione sarà più o meno estesa in proporzione ch'egli avrà la maggiore desterità e valore".

³⁶ *Ibidem*, par. 48.

³⁷ *Ibidem*.

and it happened in a quite substantially autonomous way regarding the intentions of the Ottoman court: 'these wars were not interesting in any way to the Turks', 'those who know everything, they leave them to do in their own way'³⁸.

The hegemony over the activity of pirates on the coast and control of trade represented two moments of which the legitimacy of these two parties was based, regarding control of the conflicts. The essential fluidity of social structures and organisation of power did not include elementary systems of trade and agrarian economy. The events were narrated within an archaic framework together with some typical and 'modern' motives and questions about the Mediterranean world. The different position between Mainot's parties about the use and proprieties of the land could be seen through tension which agitated vast *limes* around different continental and oriental powers and they recall the complex context in the Venetian patrician. It is enough to think about previous quotations about the revolution in Montenegro and the temptations of reforms in Dalmatia proposed by Francesco Grimani³⁹. Two confronting factions as they were described by Boldù in the Peloponnese – dislocated from 'the coast of Paganìa' which claimed 'that all should participate in the fruits of the trade of Vallonie' and 'on the high hinterland' which contrarily exposed rights to property and negated common participation⁴⁰.

At the base of this difficult construction, our author made parallels with the Venetian Republic, although sometimes without form and difficult to perceive, although most of the time being very explicit. Through the scope of molecular reality of the Mainots Boldù described the history of the Venetian constitution. The relationships with origin and familiar ethos, demographic evolution and public order, military skills and the role of religious beliefs, constituted the points around which Boldù placed his critique in confronting the elites of Venetian power.

The micro republics on the Peloponnese represented an occasion for dialogue with the civic tradition with dense history. Many of the elements which we have already discussed here about the religious state contain evidence of the modality of preceding the story. Here we can add an allusion about the isonomic character, redistributed amongst social honours and related to political conflict as was described in the case of 'persecution' which

³⁸ *Ibidem*, par. 46.

³⁹ See M. BERENGO, 'Problemi economico-sociali della Dalmazia alla Fine del Settecento', *Rivista storica italiana*, 66/4 (1954), pp. 474-475.

⁴⁰ BOLDÙ, *Osservazioni*, ch. V, par. 45.

could have occurred during the elections for the captain of the Mainots⁴¹. In this context, with the different respect to the interpretation which Giacomo Nani represented, explicit and institutionalised internal tensions of the community do not represent an element of necessary negative duty. It was completely opposite, 'being attached to the traditions and principles of their predecessors' and 'conserving the ancient customs of the Spartans' allowed the inhabitants of Maina in the 18th century to change the political class and conserve their organised society: 'thanks to these customs there were no traces of rebellion against any presiding bad government and they could enjoy their freedom and a better organised and peaceful life'⁴².

Here some characters of ancient Venetian constitutions were celebrated through recalling some characters of the governing system and primitive legislation of these little Peloponnese *enclaves*. Boldù was convinced about the capacity of society to regulate itself and produce an order which would be based on the abstraction of the law as well as on natural use of customs. He found complete confirmation of this through comparative analyses of the internal penalty system of Maina and Venice. At this point Boldù came to the conception of a justice for decisive punishment which was very archaic and exclusive regarding the penalty's character and necessity of a codification and reform of the inquisitor's process as could be seen in some scriptures of the Illuminati as well as the Principal's offices – it is enough to think about 'Leopoldina' in Tuscany or about the reforms in Lombardy under the Habsburgs government during Joseph II, as well as the proposals for the 'softening' of punishments which were introduced by sections of patricians in *Serenissima* of the same period which we are discussing⁴³.

In Boldù's tractate can not be found a wise Prince who by legitimising his authority thanks to the eudemonistic and educative mission and who passed

⁴¹ *Ibidem*, par. 49.

⁴² *Ibidem*, par. 51. An analysis which Boldù conducted about publicist political discussion of the 18th century appeared gently allusive to the internal situation of the Venetian political class. This is obvious from his quotations of Genovesi about rights and demography. "If the internal peace of Maina is so natural it could be that the contest of the primates in every village due to the reason of succession to the place of command or of some other respectable superior position and if the number of the major or minor of inhabitants is in every village the best way to investigate the value of the law it is clear that in Maina there are many of those who are pleasing their own needs and many of them can be maintained by the land and in Maina (...) there are is terrain which is without inhabitants or is not cultivated and thus it is obvious that the gius of Maina is as good as it is convenient". *Ibidem*.

⁴³ See the papers collected in L. BERLINGUER and F. COLAO (eds.), *La Leopoldina. Criminalità e giustizia criminale nel riforme del '700 europeo*, Milano 1989.

the sweet violence of law in order to let his subjects know their rights. An impersonal *gius* (latin: *jus*) was confounded with the elementary needs of the population and for this reason it represented the best possible way. A *gius* which is 'the most simple we know, leaves the freedom to any individual to consume all the passion which would not offend others'. The same passion had to be supported because they serve 'to conserve the society and to enlarge it' even when it seemed to offend⁴⁴. Therefore a robbery committed 'to live comfortably' could be taken as a 'national right' of a region. In the same way is perceived 'a right for the people to desire the position over the others': 'amongst leaders of the neighbouring villages'. The fact that when such phenomenon occurred 'someone could be killed', should not be an occasion to impose a discipline with too rigorous and repressive punishment: 'whoever said that in the case of the robbery of a whole nation and in the respective competition of a superiority, a person could be killed, let him take into consideration that these events as being so harmful they should be removed entirely or modified in whole of the nation although they allowed movement to live in higher positions and to command over others?' In analyses conducted by our author the image of murder as an elementary tool of offence and defence and murder as a moment of the definition of revenge or vendetta (and therefore is profoundly radical in a familiar and common dimension) were positioned one on the top of the other⁴⁵.

The conceptual isolation of a primary and ahistoric instinct was applied by intuition of the close relationship which happened between the violence of the deprived people and public security in very a historically and

⁴⁴ BOLDÙ, *Osservazioni*, par. 51.

⁴⁵ The Venetian patrician in this perception revealed himself as a stranger regarding his postponed doctrine and reformist culture as well as in the confrontation of the taxonomy of crime as it was elaborated by the juridical culture of the *ancien régime*. See about this problem and elaboration of a part of different Italian states from the end of the 16th century and procedures of *manu militari* in focus of the repression of the most clamorous lesions of good organisation of society, L. LACCHÈ, 'Ordo non servatus. Anomalie processuali, giustizia militare e 'specialia' in antico regime', *Studi storici*, 29 (1988), pp. 361-384. It is very possible that Paolo Boldù made an allusion to the practice which was very common in the Venetian dominion, especially the engagement of the police and special corps in the repression of crime by the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th centuries. See C. POVOLO, *L'intrigo dell'onore. Poteri e istituzione nella Repubblica di Venezia tra Cinque e Seicento*, Verona 1997; P. LAVEN, 'Banditry and Lawlessness on the Venetian Terraferma in the later Cinquecento', in T. DEAN and K.J.P. LOWE (eds.), *Crime, Society and the Law in Renaissance Italy*, Cambridge 1994, pp. 230-232. An example of poor efficiency of the similar operative instruments on the lower levels of government *da terra* in G. CORAZZOL, *Cineografo di banditi su sfondo di monti. Feltre 1634-1642*, Milano 1999.

constitutionally determined situation. Boldù showed off his sentimental relationship with this old fashion Venetian norm about banditry which was discussed amongst different sectors of Venetian patricians⁴⁶.

Once again it seems that the political culture of the predecessors from the middle of the 15th century and beginning of the 16th represented an ideal to our author. Actually in this period, in the interior of the ruling class of the Republic a discussion about the series of proposals that originated from different cities of the *Stato da terra*, with the intention to integrate legislation of the Prince with the norms and prohibitions of the local statutes was opened⁴⁷. This was one of the motives for the modulation of the modern age's complex relationship between the persistence of the autonomies of the subjected centres and the graduation of the control from the central authority. The power which came into the hands of the ruling class to issue prohibitions valid in the whole territory of the state – and this allowed them to 'liberate' the bandits who demonstrated that they had caught or killed their cohabitants and who had put their foot on the same territory from where they were banned – certainly represented a powerful moment in the construction of the image of the sovereignty not only in the Republic of Venice⁴⁸. At the same time it was evident how this conception of placing eminent families - the groups of power in cities and real small industries of hunters in control of order,⁴⁹ constituted a basis for an image of the Prince – the 'tutor'. This created a vision of the law over the subjects and had the

⁴⁶ See E. BASAGLIA, 'Giustizia criminale e organizzazione dell'autorità centrale. La Repubblica di Venezia e la questione delle taglie in denaro (secoli XVI-XVIII)', in G. COZZI (ed.), *Stato, società, giustizia nella Repubblica veneta (secc. XV-XVIII)*, Roma 1985, pp. 191-220; E. BASAGLIA, 'Aspetti della giustizia penale nel '700: una critica alla concessione dell'impunità agli uccisori dei banditi', *Atti dell'Istituto veneto di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, 138 (1980), pp. 1-16.

⁴⁷ About the origins of this system in the late 15th century, see G. COZZI, 'La politica del diritto nella Repubblica di Venezia', in G. Cozzi (ed.), *Stato Società e Giustizia nella Repubblica veneta (sec. 15.-18.)*, Roma 1980, pp. 217-220; J.S. GRUBB, 'Catalysts for Organised Violence in the Early Venetian Territorial State', in G. ORTALLI (ed.), *Bande armate, banditi, banditismo e repressione di giustizia negli Stati europei di Antico Regime*, Roma 1986, pp. 383-400; A. VIGGIANO, *Governanti e governati. Legittimità del potere ed esercizio dell'autorità sovrana nello Stato Veneto della prima età moderna*, Treviso 1993, pp. 235-242.

⁴⁸ About prohibition legislation in other Italian states see I. POLVERINI FOSI, *La società violenta. Il banditismo nello Stato pontificio nella seconda metà del Cinquecento*, Roma 1985; M.D. FLORIS, 'La repressione della criminalità organizzata nella Repubblica di Genova tra Cinque e Seicento. Aspetti e cronologia della prassi legislativa', in ORTALLI (ed.), *Bande armate*, pp. 87-102.

⁴⁹ About this problem of the fundamental importance for the Republic in the modern age, see BASAGLIA, 'Giustizia criminale', pp. 191-220.

function of guarantor of particular norms⁵⁰. This was exactly the kind of cultural reflex which brought our author to suppress the experience of Maina with those which *Serenissima* learnt in the central areas of the *Stato da terra*. Boldù suggested to anyone who sees this 'sad list of people from Maina who were killed' in above mentioned cases, to think about 'the other provinces of Venice like Vincentina, Bresciana, Bergamasca and hundreds of others from where every year the list of killed people arrived.'⁵¹ Those 'the best' from Brescia did not perceive the loss of some human lives during murders and the spirals of vendettas very harmful. The experience demonstrated that all of those who 'were killed as offenders or those who were offended, were the worst in their customs and their behaviour'⁵².

The fusion of the past and present was indicated with clarity as the author's position in the conformation of a theme which was already defined and discussed in Venice of the late 18th century: about the relationship between pluralism of the local juridical orders and necessity of the normative uniformity. The Venetian authority was not worried about the instable coexistence of the local constitutions, statutes, Roman law and legislation of the Prince. The attention paid to the customs of the inhabitants of Maina served in this way to improve the position of the actual reflection on that which constituted a fundamental moment of the Venetian constitutional system. It is obvious that the statement according to which the mountain populations of the Peloponnese 'would like to keep their way of life forever because it was impossible for them to exist without passion as others wanted from them belonged to the vaster context'⁵³.

On the basis of the self sufficient society, as imagined by Boldù, were situated the crawling class of the property owners and small cultivators. Also in this case, as noted before in some quotations from Machiavelli's *Dialoghi*, the author used a very interesting reduction/simplification of the economic philosophy expressed in *Lezioni di Commercio* by Antonio Genovesi. The explanation was related to the base of the agrarian crises

⁵⁰ L. MANNORI, *Il sovrano tutore. Pluralismo istituzionale e accentramento amministrativo nel principato dei Medici (sec. XVI-XVIII)*, Milano 1994.

⁵¹ BOLDÙ, *Osservazioni*, ch. V, par 51.

⁵² About the problem of public order in the interior of a province, see F. MENEGHETTI CASARIN, 'Vagabondi e malviventi nel Bresciano', in M. PEGRARI, *La società bresciana e l'opera di Giacomo Ceruti*, Brescia 1988, pp. 111-125. Some references about the situations which were demonstrated by Boldù can be found in VENTURI, *Settecento riformatore*, vol. V/2, *L'Italia dei lumi*, Torino 1990, pp. 259-262, with quotations about the character of symbolical discussion about Bresciano in the late 18th century.

⁵³ BOLDÙ, *Osservazioni*, par. 47.

and devastating effects of famine which Boldù experienced during his governorship in Dalmatia and Albania. The reform of property seemed to be an obligation not the pale polemic about the dominium of monasteries which was characteristic of the Venetian jurisdiction from the 1760's and positions imposed by Paolo Sarpi⁵⁴. This does not seem to participate in one of these discussions which animated the Venetian publishing panorama in the period when these pages were published.

Simplified and more frequently moralistic interpretation of the reality which was offered by Boldù did not take a part in the political and institutional debates in Venice at the same time. The pages of the *Osservazioni* illuminated the cultural models which meant the activity of a part of the peripheral administration in the period of the profound crises of the Venetian constitutional system. The interest of the reflections of Boldù as well as Nani remained, in the fact, that both of them came to a point of the intersection amongst family heritage, political traditions, field experiences and modality of culture and publishing abilities. The intersection and modulation of these factors produced a social and political imagination which promoted the creation of an identity which at the same time was individual and collective⁵⁵.

⁵⁴ See P. DEL NEGRO, *Gianmaria Ortes. Un filosofo veneziano del Settecento*, Firenze 1993, pp. 129-130.

⁵⁵ About the definition of social imagination and debate about the same see B. BACZKO, *L'utopia. Immaginazione sociale e rappresentazioni utopiche nell'età dell'Illuminismo*, Torino 1979, pp. 22-23.

Željko Holjevac

**TOLERANCE AND INTOLERANCE ON THE BORDER
BETWEEN CIVIL AND MILITARY CROATIA
IN THE 18th CENTURY.
ZAGREB COUNTY AND KARLOVAC GENERALATE**

This article is devoted to the question of tolerance and intolerance in a broad spectrum of their meaning¹ as regards the border between Civil and Military Croatia during the eighteenth century. At the beginning of the article it is necessary to express a remark. Namely, under above-mentioned title will be not taken into consideration entire border between Civil and Military Croatia. In fact, this article will be focused only on the border between the Zagreb County as a part of Civil Croatia² on one side and the Karlovac Generalate as one of Military Croatia on the other. In the same way would be possible to discuss tolerance and intolerance on other parts of the

¹ In contemporary social sciences and humanities exists an abundance of available books and articles about various aspects of tolerance and intolerance. This is a frequently matter, not only within scientific discourse but also in public discussion. Therefore, any impartially quotation of particular titles in this article would be connected with serious difficulties, and selective suggested reading would be *insufficiently*. It is possible to find a lot of data online as well as to identify several publications searching databases of diverse libraries and other institutions. Modern authors constantly attempt to explain roots, sense, share and perspectives of tolerance and intolerance. For example, German scholar Rainer Forst in his recent essay *Toleranz im Konflikt* discerns four concepts of tolerance: permission, coexistence, respect and esteem. See R. FORST, *Toleranz im Konflikt. Geschichte, Gehalt und Gegenwart eines umstrittenen Begriffs*, Frankfurt am Main 2003, pp. 42-48.

² In the eighteenth century the maritime zone between Rijeka/Fiume and Senj belonged to the commercial district under the name "Austrian Coastland". Later that area was called "Hungarian Coastland". The border between this territory and the Karlovac Generalate was narrow. It had not greater significance for civil-border relationship. In the region of Gorski kotar existed in 1770/80s the Severin County with the centre in Mrkopalj. As it existed only 10 years, the Severin County is not taken into consideration here. Later that area was incorporated into the Zagreb County.

border between Civil and Military Croatia as well. Yet, in this article focus is on the relationship between Civil Croatia and the Karlovac Generalate, because that relationship is more than impressive as possible signpost for understanding of the complex nature of tolerance and intolerance on entire border between Civil and Military Croatia at that time.

In the eighteenth century the predominantly mountainous Croatian region between two rivers the Kupa and the Zrmanja on one side as well as between the Panonian lowland and the Adriatic coast on the other was divided into two parts. Bigger part of this region belonged to the Karlovac Generalate under supreme control of the Court War Council in Vienna. Smaller part belonged to Civil Croatia under autonomous control of the Croatian Diet (*Sabor*) and provincial viceroy (*ban*) in Zagreb. Theoretically, the Karlovac Generalate was a part of Croatia within lands of the Habsburg crown. In practice, this territory under military control became in the eighteenth century, more than before, separated from the rest of Croatia under civil administration. Consequently, the borderline between Civil Croatia and that part of Military Croatia, earlier fairly fluid, in the meantime received transparent contours on the ground.

During the eighteenth century the border between Civil and Military Croatia, in this case between the Zagreb County and the Karlovac Generalate, was a space of live civil-military interactions. Reciprocal co-operation was rare there. Mutual dissents were more frequently. The mentioned interactions were caused by changing situation and determined with broader context, but at the same time partly independent of it. If we accept a point of view that toleration without normative basis would be «undefined and empty»³, we could to say that one of essential causes of intolerance or deficient tolerance between Civil and Military Croatia in the eighteenth century was an inadequate model of their mutual communication. Actually, this model was inherited from the past times, when interferences of all kinds had been undefined in formal patterns.

This article is based not only on published but also on unpublished sources from the Croatian State Archives (HDA) in Zagreb, predominantly of the civil provenience, for example the sources of the Croatian Diet. It seems that Croatian civil-military interactions in the eighteenth century provoked stronger interior dynamics in Civil Croatia than in the Karlovac Generalate, because it was at that time managed by supreme military authorities of Vienna, of course independently of the politics and interests of the Croatian

³ FORST, *Toleranz im Konflikt*, p. 49.

Estates. In those interactions civil side suffered much more than military one. In the meantime the military side was tolerated much more than civil one.

Tolerance or intolerance on the border respectively in the relationship between Civil Croatia and the Karlovac Generalate was expressed into various examples of convergences and divergences, inclusions and exclusions etc. All told could be observed on two levels: one level could be understanding of civil-military comparisons in a frame of interests and practices of administrative and ecclesiastic structures of both sides and the another could be treating of civil-military contacts through daily experiences of the people and life necessities on the both sides of the border. In this context the «others» always were from «another» side of the borderline: from perspective of Civil Croatia it was Military Croatia, in this case the Karlovac Generalate, and from one of Military Croatia it was Civil Croatia, in this case the Zagreb County. In this article it will be shortly presented some characteristic types of dissents and co-operation on and around the border.

Examples

The problem connected with payment of thirtieth from side of subjects of the Karlovac Generalate on civil territory was frequent appearance. The merchants of the Karlovac Generalate often beheld themselves as if they had not been obliged to pay the thirtieth on civil territory. In 1740, even the merchants from Žumberak under military jurisdiction applied to the Croatian Diet regarding the privilege do not pay the thirtieth. However, the cashiers on the civil ground did not tolerate any resistance of the merchants from Karlovac and Žumberak than tried to charge to them for the thirtieth⁴.

Other taxes were very denied or defended as well. For example, in 1700 a committee of the Zagreb County ascertained that the subjects from Karlovac and its surroundings were obliged to pay fee to the bishop of Zagreb in order to sail on the river Kupa⁵. But, the merchants from Karlovac often complained themselves because of too tall civil tolls on the river Kupa. In 1729, the general of Karlovac demanded quite abolition of tolls⁶. An imperial prescript of 1748 forbade collection of fees regarding transport of cattle

⁴ Hrvatski Državni Arhiv, Zagreb (HDA), Sabor, kut. 17, n. 61.

⁵ R. LOPAŠIĆ, *Karlovac. Povest i mjestopis grada i okolice*, vol. III, Zagreb 1889, p. 176.

⁶ *Zaključci Hrvatskog sabora*, vol. III, Zagreb 1961, p. 243.

by ships on the river Kupa from Metlika to Karlovac⁷. But, it was partially solution. The question of taxes on the Kupa remained open until further notice.

One of inducements for misunderstanding was using of different measurements and weights on civil and border territory. During the eighteenth century the Croatian Diet often insisted on their standardization. Nevertheless, from time to time the Croatian Estates claimed that imperial orders on prohibition of circulation of foreign money could be valid not only on civil but also on military territory. Such request from 1749 was justified with the statement that civil subjects were exposed to violence on the territory under military control in cases of their refusing to accept the forbidden money⁸.

A lot of sources from the eighteenth century also contain the data about excesses of soldiers of the Karlovac Generalate on civil territory, grievances because of damages or injustices, encroaching on rights, tensions concerning usurpations of pieces of land and its restitutions, problem of deserters and other fugitives from one territory to another, misunderstanding regarding the usage of pastures for cattle etc. Numerous appeals and petitions in such situations testify level and frontiers of tolerance and intolerance among the people from Civil Croatia and the Karlovac Generalate. In this context especially paradigmatic were the grievances of the civil community of Draganíci not so far off from Karlovac. Although in 1681 the Emperor Leopold I had allowed that the people from Karlovac could use the pastures on the territory of Draganíci for one's own cattle⁹, in the eighteenth century the mentioned community often requested not only from the Croatian Diet but also from the Imperial Court to stop the soldiers from the Karlovac Generalate to graze one's own cattle on meadows of the community. Such appeals were very frequent in 1730s and 1760s¹⁰. It means that the dispute through a long time was not solved in an adequate way.

In 1736, a civil conference discussed the problem of subjects of the Karlovac Generalate who were joining themselves with robbers under pronunciation of grazing of one's own cattle on meadows of civil territory. According to the decision of the conference, civil judges had to warn mentioned subjects to keep itself aloof from civil territory under menace of deprivation of their animals. Moreover, in 1751 was ordered keeping of civil

⁷ HDA, Sabor, kut. 28, n. 8.

⁸ *Hrvatske kraljevske konferencije*, vol. IV, Zagreb 1992, pp. 46-47.

⁹ LOPAŠIĆ, *Karlovac*, vol. II, Zagreb 1885, p. 370.

¹⁰ HDA, Sabor, kut. 15, 222 etc.

guards on the river Kupa and strong watching over ferries and boats in order to prevent any illegal appearance of the subjects of the Karlovac Generalate on civil territory¹¹.

Periodical passing of the army of the Karlovac Generalate over the civil territory, especially departures of it to the battlegrounds during wars, caused sometimes-different excesses. In 1706, some Ferković, a judge of the Zagreb County, conducted an investigation concerning damages caused from side of the army of the Karlovac Generalate in area south of Zagreb (*Turopolje*)¹². Besides, civil structures constantly tried to reduce its participation in costs for accommodation of the army of the Karlovac Generalate on civil territory or even to shake it off. Especially they were sensitive concerning some occasional attempts of military powers in order to burden the civil structures and so much to take the load off them. In 1758, a civil conference wrote to Croatian viceroy to intervene at the queen Maria Theresa that 2000 soldiers from Karlovac would not pass over Civil Croatia but over Carniola under explanation that Civil Croatia is really exhausted because of costs for the army¹³. Of course, full exemption of Civil Croatia from participation in costs for the army of the Karlovac Generalate never could come into consideration. Therefore, the civil structures always had to bear a part of costs for accommodation of the army of the Karlovac Generalate on civil territory as well as to tolerate their movements across the civil territory.

The question of territorial incorporations or excorporations of some settlements was a special problem in context of strengthening fixation of differences on the border between civil and military areas and their human communities. One of consequences of territorial homogenisation of the Karlovac Generalate was a process of incorporation of leftover properties as some kind of enclaves, owned by civil gentry, within territory under military control. In fact, this was nothing else than military intolerance of structures of the «others» in one's own yard. Mutual conflicts were inevitable, because the Croatian aristocracy hardly abandoned these properties. So in 1740s squire Kušević conducted dispute with the general of Karlovac regarding Švarča and its surroundings¹⁴. Yet, in 1760s this possession was included into the Generalate¹⁵. The noblemen Hranilovići were defending its law on

¹¹ *Hrvatske kraljevske konferencije*, vol. III, Zagreb 1988, p. 103; *Idem*, vol. IV, Zagreb 1992, p. 55.

¹² HDA, Sabor, kut. 227, n. 103.

¹³ *Hrvatske kraljevske konferencije*, vol. IV, p. 126.

¹⁴ HDA, Sabor, kut. 24, 214 etc.

¹⁵ K. KASER, *Slobodan seljak i vojnik*, vol. II, Zagreb 1997, p. 30.

one's own estate Sošice in Žumberak through a long time. They gave up it only after 1787, when they had received indemnity in money¹⁶. But, in the eighteenth century Civil Croatia was not only a loser in process of territorial homogenisation. It was receiving something from time to time as well. For example, in 1765 it received eastern part of the mountainous district of Gorski kotar (Ravna Gora, Mrkopalj, Moravice and a part of Vrbovsko's surroundings)¹⁷. This area was excorporated from the Karlovac Generalate at that time, because a part of the Carolinian road from Karlovac to Rijeka/Fiume between this area and other parts of the Generalate, built already in the first half of the eighteenth century, was determined for the borderline between civil and military territory.

In the eighteenth century some towns in a border area between Civil Croatia and the Karlovac Generalate, like Karlovac and Senj, oscillated between one's own civil and military role. In 1579, it began the building of Karlovac as a military stronghold at the strategically important place of meeting of four rivers: the Kupa, the Korana, the Mrežnica and the Dobra¹⁸. In the eighteenth century, when new roads from Karlovac to Rijeka/Fiume and Senj were opened, Karlovac became important business place connecting as a transit node Croatian interior and the Northern Adriatic. In 1777, the town was excorporated from the Karlovac Generalate¹⁹. In 1781, it received the privilege to be free royal city²⁰. The status of Senj was marked by more complexity. Senj was a free royal city in the Middle Ages. It was keeping this status in the Military Borderland as well, although it was an important military stronghold at the same time. In several times local civil authorities in Senj were stressing that the military administration tried to reduce civil status of the city. Such addresses to the Croatian Diet as well as to the Imperial Court were very frequent not only during the reorganization of the Karlovac Generalate in 1740s but also during the redefining of the relationship between Croatia and Hungary in 1790s. Although in 1751 priest and chronicler Krčelić had made a note that the Croatian legates at the Court were not a bit interceding for the citizens of Senj²¹, the Croatian Diet usually was supporting permanent efforts of the local civil authorities

¹⁶ HDA, Generalkomanda, kut. 17, n.. 35/11.

¹⁷ P. KUSSAN, *Kurzgefaßte Geschichte des Oguliner dritten National-Grenz-Infanterie-Regiments*, Wien 1852, p. 136.

¹⁸ M. KRUIHEK, *Karlovac. Utvrde, granice, ljudi*, Karlovac 1995, pp. 22-34.

¹⁹ HDA, Acta, n. 18; Ibid., Generalkomanda, kut. 15.

²⁰ Text of the charter in LOPAŠIĆ, *Karlovac*, vol. I, Zagreb 1879, pp. XXI-XXIX.

²¹ B.A. KRČELIĆ, *Annuae ili historija 1748-1767*, Zagreb 1952, p. 101.

in Senj in order to prevent any interference of the military powers in affairs of the city council. In 1791, when military powers prevented arrival of the legate of Senj on the Hungarian Diet, the Croatian Diet discussed it²².

Religious question was one of special complexity in the relationship between Civil Croatia and the Karlovac Generalate. The ecclesiastic jurisdictions of Catholic diocese of Senj and Orthodox eparchy of Plaški were never reducible only to civil or military component of this relationship, because both ecclesiastic units embodied inwardly not only civil but also military areas. They also could not be reduced only to their ecclesiastic dimensions, because the roles of both churches in a public life of that time were significant. The military authorities had to tolerate activity of the diocese of Senj on military territory, although this diocese in any moment could to give potentially important support to the Croatian aristocracy in its trying against reduction of one's own influence on military affairs from side of the military powers. It is necessary to have in mind that the Croatian Estates wanted to promote the Croatian viceroy as the commander of the Karlovac Generalate in 1749²³. As regards the Orthodox population, it represented something else or «other» *par excellence* from the point of view of the Catholic majority in Croatia. Therefore, this population was often a stumbling block in relationship between civil and military authorities. In 1746, in spite of that fact, the Croatian Diet interceded on the Imperial Court to create an opportunity that the Orthodox episcope in Plaški could to execute its confessional duty in full²⁴. At last, the tolerance and intolerance is not only a question of secular (civil and military) and ecclesiastic interferences, but also one of interferences on the level of interconfessional relationship at that time. Besides, it is also necessary to have in mind the question of status of ethnic and/or confessional minorities at that time. So in Karlovac at the moment of its transition from military to civil jurisdiction existed out of the fortress a part of the city called «Judenstadt» (Jewish city), while in Military Croatia before the decree on religious toleration of the Emperor Joseph II in 1781 was forbidden any settling of Jews. This is insomuch complicated to explain that it would be necessary to prepare a special article devoted to varied kinds of religious interferences on and around the border between Civil and Military Croatia in the eighteenth century, and this article is an attempt shortly to present not only confessional but also other examples.

²² *Zaključci Hrvatskog sabora*, vol. IX, Zagreb 1974, pp. 99-100.

²³ *Hrvatske kraljevske konferencije*, vol. IV, Zagreb 1992, p. 49.

²⁴ HDA, Sabor, kut. 214, n. 605.

It is possible in used sources, as base for this paper, to meet a sequence of different details corresponding to this topic. So the structures of Civil Croatia often warned the general of Karlovac to be stay out of civil affairs. In 1719 and 1753, the Croatian Diet discussed the establishment of passports for the subjects of the Karlovac Generalate as condition of their transfer from the Generalate to Civil Croatia. In 1744, in spite of that fact, the structures of Civil Croatia claimed from military authorities in Karlovac to abolish the passports for trade among civil subjects and the people of Karlovac. In 1764, the Croatian Diet recommended by the queen in Vienna an appeal of someone Ivan Kovačić because of violence of soldiers of the Karlovac Generalate above his son²⁵. In 1765, the Croatian viceroy wrote to the Imperial Court about the violence of the army of the Karlovac Generalate above some civil subjects on the fairground in Dubovac near Karlovac²⁶.

Although contradictory circumstances and different misunderstandings were influencing on reality of the people and structures from both sides of the border during the eighteenth century, they were referring in any way each other at that time. Especially it was a case in everyday life and communication, because the way of life on both sides of the border was as different as similar. The people and structures collaborated in occurrences like attempted building of the new fortress in neighbourhood of the existing Karlovac's stronghold at the beginning of 1730s, realized building of the new bridge on the river Kupa in Karlovac in 1750s, involvements in states of war with the Ottoman Empire, keeping down of robbers, defence from the plague, occasional problems connected with serves as fugitives from civil to military territory (like Patačić's serves in 1761), booking of obligations of persons who took loans to each other, occasional promotions of some military officers (like lieutenant Stjepan Kovačić in 1750) into the Croatian aristocracy, organization of aid in cases of hunger (especially in some poor regions of the Karlovac Generalate) etc.

Inadequate fixed competences of civil and military authorities provoked mutual quarrels regarding territorial jurisdictions. Mixed commissions for neighbouring demands and delimitation, especially in the second half of the eighteenth century, testified through their co-operation for the efforts of both sides to reach a permanent agreement as well as to define vague situation what had been leaving enough space for different forms of voluntarism. Civil-military regulation of common life during the second half of the eighteenth

²⁵ *Zaključci Hrvatskog sabora*, vol. III, Zagreb 1961, pp. 92-93; *Idem*, vol. V, Zagreb 1966, p. 68; *Idem*, vol. VI, Zagreb 1968, pp. 327-328.

²⁶ HDA, Sabor, kut. 221, n. 1135.

century was contribution to higher level of mutual tolerance. At the same time the share of intolerance in everyday life slowly were decreasing. Thence notes of dissent in sources became less and less frequented than before.

Conclusion

From quoted examples in this article could be possible to conclude that the question of tolerance and intolerance on the border between Civil and Military Croatia, in this case between the Zagreb County and the Karlovac Generalate, during the eighteenth century had narrower and broader sense. In narrower sense this question is connected with appearances on and around the borderline oneself. In broader sense this one is connected with relationship between civil and military territories at all levels. For the purpose of understanding of such circumstances would be necessary to have in mind that the eighteenth century was a time of live articulation of different comprehension of all relations directly connected with creation of the early modern structures in a situation of the absolutism of the «ancien régime».

A history of the relationship between Civil Croatia and the Karlovac Generalate during the eighteenth century in any way was the history of creation of new model of their coexistence and so more fixed mutual tolerance, especially after the reorganization of the Karlovac Generalate in the middle of that century. In fact, the tolerance would mean to know how to live together with «other» whom or what is not possible to change or to accommodate to one's own criteria. In the eighteenth century Civil Croatia had to live together with Military Croatia. At the same time it was always uncertain would be in this coexistence more and more mutual understanding or misunderstanding, respectively more and more tolerance or intolerance. In this context tolerance might be understood as a slowly articulation of skill for coexistence of two insufficiently compatible systems and human experiences as well.

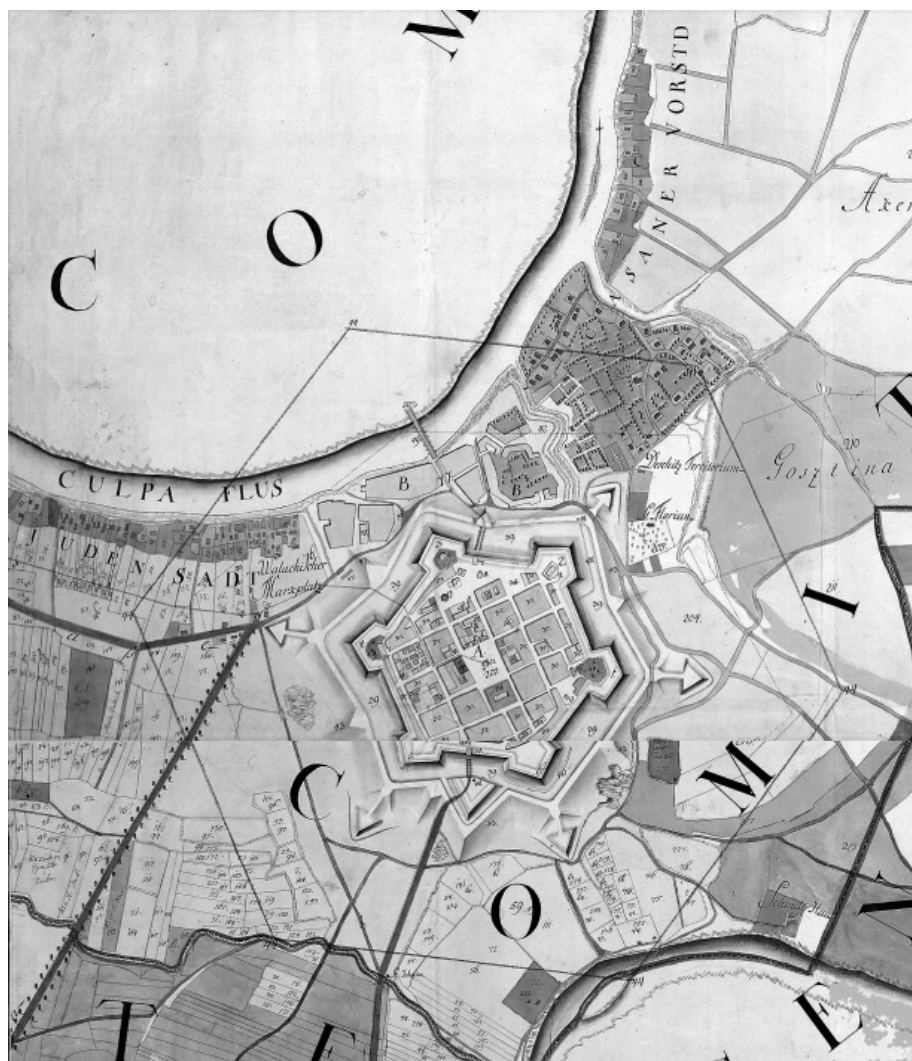


Fig. 1 - Karlovac in 18th Century.

Hrvoje Petrić

**ROMAN CATHOLIC CHURCH AND CONFESSIONAL
REVIVAL. (IN)TOLERANCE IN A COMPLEX
BORDERLAND UP TO 1630s.
CASE STUDY OF THE TOWN OF KOPRIVNICA**

Revival of the Roman Catholic Church during the 17th century in a broader region of Venetian, Ottoman and Habsburg's intersections (Triplex Confinium) has not been researched systematically. The term 'Catholic revival' in this case is used as a broad process of R/C Church return, revival and gaining strength. This paper will present problems of Catholic revival and confessional (in)tolerance in a broader region of the Triplex Confinium, examined on a case study of the town of Koprivnica.

The area of the town of Koprivnica, which at that time was close to the border between the Habsburg and the Ottoman Empire, in the second half of the 16th century and in early 17th century was a meeting-point of several religions and confessions met. On the turn of the century, from 16th to 17th century, the Roman Catholic Church in the area had been experiencing its deepest crisis of the new era. This provided an opportunity to the rise of protestant reformists not only in Koprivnica itself, but in the wider region of Croato-Slavonian Military Border and the province of the Croato-Slavonian Kingdom. The Serb Orthodox monastery Lepavina, presumably founded in the mid-16th century¹ in the vicinity of Koprivnica, was organized and established by the Serb Orthodox Church. It was no coincidence that the monastery was founded here, as the period it had been established was timed and coincided with settlement of the first 'private' Vlach communities in the greater area of Koprivnica's Podravina². Although Lepavina monastery does not have a continuity, it still represents one of the

¹ D.LJ. KAŠIĆ, *Srpski manastiri u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji*, Beograd 1996, pp. 100-102.

² A. Ivić, 'Srpski doseljenici u Slavoniji oko sredine XVI veka', in *Zbornik radova posvećen Jovanu Cvijiću*, Beograd 1924, pp. 438-440.

most western organizational nucleus of the Serb Orthodox Church between the Adriatic Sea and the river Drava. Later on, some Orthodox Church followers were united with the Roman Catholic Church with more or less success, resulting in the beginnings of Uniate, Greek-Catholic Rite.

Additionally, there were Moslems who had lived in the neighboring Ottoman Empire. Some of them were coming over to Koprivnica and for no obvious reasons were baptized in the Roman Catholic Church. Their presence speaks of on a limited penetration of Islam into the greater Koprivnica region.

Podravina border region, between the Habsburg and the Ottoman Empire during 17th century, with Koprivnica as a gravitating nucleus, in a way could be considered a multi-confessional, multi-ethnic and multi-cultural region, where the mentalities of different confessional «outposts» significantly narrowed the tolerance toward the “Other”³.

Protestants in Koprivnica were first mentioned at the end of 16th century⁴. Koprivnica’s Roman Catholic parish in the second half of 16th century was not fully staffed with priests. This left room for Protestant preachings⁵.

On 16 January, 1608, King Rudolf confirmed in Prague the ten resolutions of the Croato-Slavonian Assembly (dated 5 July, 1604), including the one that determined the Roman Catholic faith as the only official faith allowed in the Croato-Slavonian Kingdom⁶. In early 17th century, the Catholic Church – in line with its capabilities – organized an anti-reformist activity in Koprivnica. Around 1603 (1604), with the help of Franciscans, Roman Catholic Church pastoral work was re-established in Koprivnica parish⁷. In 1604, a pro-reformist Alban Grasswein, Koprivnica stronghold commander, who openly supported the local Protestant priest, was relieved from its duty and left the town. If these data are placed into the context of Catholic revival, performed in close collaboration with military commanders, their interrelation is clearly visible.

³ D. ROKSANDIĆ, *Etnos, konfesija, tolerancija*, Zagreb 2004, p. 55.

⁴ F. BUČAR, ‘Reformacija u XVI. stoljeću u Koprivnici’, *Zbornik Muzeja grada Koprivnice*, vol. 4, Koprivnica 1947, p. 62; F. BUČAR, ‘Širenje reformacije u Hrvatskoj u XVI. stoljeću’, *Vjesnik Zemaljskog arhiva*, vol. 2, Zagreb 1900, p. 71.

⁵ L. BROZOVIĆ, *Građa za povijest Koprivnice*, Koprivnica 1978, p. 50.

⁶ F. ŠIŠIĆ, *Acta comitialia regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae, Slavoniae*, vol. 4, Zagreb 1917, p. 496. Religious law of Croato-Slavonian assembly in 1604 (1608.)- original in Latin, translated by Z. Sikirić-Assouline, published by D. Roksandić in *Etnos, konfesija, tolerancija*, pp. 55-66.

⁷ Arhiv Franjevačke Provincije Sv. Ćiril i Metod Zagreb, kut. 26; P. CVEKAN, *Koprivnica i Franjevci*, Koprivnica 1989, p. 65.

The Franciscans did not run Koprivnica parish for very long, as in 1612 the name of a new parish priest Matija Šantić was mentioned in the archives⁸. After Šantić, as well as nobody of the parish priests who had followed stayed long, primarily due to conflicts with military commanders⁹. Koprivnica received several good, able priests, like Matija Bundić or Andrija Biankini, but for no avail (they later became church deans)¹⁰.

Citizens of Koprivnica complained to Zagreb bishop Franjo Ergeljski (1628.-1637.) "that for a long time the town had no Franciscans, they were also deprived of their Catholic parish priest, asking for one several times without success; Lutherans occupied the local friary and the parish church"¹¹. The catholic revival in Koprivnica was successful only after 1630, when a Catholic parish priest made the official payroll as the military chaplain¹².

Zagreb Diocese, as per 1574 Sinod archives, had 206 parishes¹³. However, the bishop Šimun Bratulić's report from 1607 states that the entire Diocese had some 60 parishes¹⁴. The decrease in number of parishes proves that Zagreb Diocese was in a deep crisis. The effects of the successful Catholic revival indicates the official data that in 1634 the number of parishes rose to more than 200¹⁵, which was obviously an exaggeration. The 1640 census in Zagreb Diocese listed some 131 parishes altogether¹⁶. From this we can conclude, that the Catholic revival was effective right at the beginning of 17th century.

As majority of new parishes were established (in most cases - rebuilt) in the region of the Military Border, we can assume that strengthening of the military was somehow linked to the Catholic revival and creation and rebuilding of the Roman Catholic Church infrastructure. This places

⁸ E. LASZOWSKI, *Monumenta historica lib. reg. Civitatis Zagrabiae*, Zagreb 1941, vol. 17, p. 340.

⁹ *Prothocolla generalium congregationum statuum et ordinum regnorum Dalmatiae, Croatiae et Slavoniae*, vol. 1, Zagreb 1958, str. 46.

¹⁰ K. DOČKAL, *Hrvatski kolegij u Becu 1624-1784*, Wien-Zagreb 1996, p. 103, p. 117; J. ANDRITSCH, *Die Matrikeln der Universität Graz*, vol. 1, Graz 1977, p. 63, p. 230, p. 275; A. MIJATOVIĆ, 'Andrija Biankini', in *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, vol. 1, Zagreb 1983, p. 746.

¹¹ BUČAR, *Reformacija u XVI. stoljeću u Koprivnici*, str. 63.

¹² Steiermärkische Landesarchiv, Laa. A. Antiquum XIV, Militaria, Sch. 162.

¹³ I.K. TKALČIĆ, Prilog za povjest zagrebačkih sinoda u XV. i XVI. vieku, *Starine JAZU*, vol. XVI, Zagreb 1884, pp. 117-129.

¹⁴ A.J. MATANIĆ, *Izveštaji zagrebačkih biskupa i nadbiskupa sačuvani u Vatikanskom arhivu*, Bogoslovska smotra, 45 (1975), p. 120.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 121-122.

¹⁶ Nadbiskupski Arhiv Zagreb (NAZ), Kanonske vizitacije, prot. 3/III, 4/IV, 5/V, 6/VI.

relevant for the Catholic revival are in a direct connection with building and enforcement of the military in Koprivnica region at that time.

The constant rise of the Catholic Church in Koprivnica is traceable from 1630s, when the last religious conflicts had been taking place in the town itself¹⁷. The protestants in Koprivnica were driven away from the town by the Catholic parish priest with a missal in his hand. This priest was Matija Sumer, who was in charge of Koprivnica parish from 1630 until 1645¹⁸.

Institutional reaffirmation of the Catholic Church in Koprivnica in the second half of 17th century is shown by the building of a new St. Nikola parish church, built somewhere between 1645 and 1657¹⁹, where the old Franciscan church of the Blessed Virgin Mary had been erected before. As Franjo Bučar wrote, this church was torn down by Protestants²⁰. One of the proves of a successful Catholic revival was a relatively quick rebuilding of several chapels in the Koprivnica area throughout 17th century²¹.

We can assume that in the second half of 16th century some of Koprivnica military were followers of the Orthodox church²². However, it needs to be emphasised, that demographically the biggest settlement of Orthodox Vlach population from the Ottoman Empire²³ was on the turn of 16th to 17th century. This was the most intensifying before (ie, 1587)²⁴ and during so-called Long-lasting War (1593-1606), when a large number of Orthodox

¹⁷ R. LOPAŠIĆ, 'Prilozi za poviest protestanata', *Starine JAZU*, vol. 26, Zagreb 1892, pp. 178-181; F. BUČAR, 'Prilozi protestantizmu u Hrvatskoj u nadbiskupskom arhivu u Zagrebu', *Vjesnik Kr. Hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog zemaljskog arkiva*, vol. 6, Zagreb 1904, p. 194.

¹⁸ In 1645 there is a mention of one Mathaeus Zumer "from the age of 15 a future parish priest-to-be". L. DOBRONIĆ, 'Koprivnički gradski zapisnici 17. stoljeća', *Podravski zbornik*, vol. 14, Koprivnica 1988, p. 145. This means that Sumer was Koprivnica's parish priest from 1630.

¹⁹ NAZ, Kanonske vizitacije, prot. 89/Ia, cc. 1-2; R. HORVAT, *Poviest slob. i kr. grada Koprivnice*, Zagreb 1943, pp. 28-29.

²⁰ BUČAR, *Reformacija u XVI. stoljecu u Koprivnici*, str. 63.

²¹ H. PETRIĆ, 'Osnivanje župnih škola u Komarnickom arhidakonu u 17. stoljeću', *Scientia Podraviana*, vol. 17, Koprivnica 2003, p. 16.

²² R. SAMARDŽIĆ, R.L. VESELINOVIĆ and T. POPOVIĆ (eds.), *Istorija srpskog naroda*, vol. 3/1, Beograd 1993, p. 108; H.J. BIDERMAN, 'Die Serben-Ansiedlungen in Steiermark und im Warasdiner Grenz-Generalate', *Mittheilungen des Historischen Vereines für Steiermark*, 31 (1883), pp. 9-10.

²³ In 1984, N. Moččanin explained worsening Vlach situation in the Ottoman Empire, as one of major reasons for their increased resettlement to the Habsburg Empire; Vlach population in Požega sandžak in 1545-81. See N. MOČČANIN, *Vojna krajina (Povijesni pregled – historiografija – rasprave)*, Zagreb 1984, pp. 193-198. N. MOČČANIN, *Požega i Požeština u sklopu Osmanskoga carstva (1537-1691.)*, Jastrebarsko 1997.

²⁴ V. MARIJAN, *Srpska istorijska čitanka*, vol. 2, Beograd 2001, p. 138.

Vlach population moved from the Ottoman Empire into the Slavonian Military Border region²⁵.

Orthodox Vlach²⁶ were first mentioned in Koprivnica archives in 1597. The event, when 16 Vlach men escaped and settled down in Koprivnica, was first recorded²⁷. In 1606, in Koprivnica there were the following military commanders: DMITAR from Sirač, ŽIVKO Selenić and MARKO Egidović who were, as ALEKSA Ivić believed and recorded, of Orthodox denomination. The same author recorded that Koprivnica military captaincy in 1639 had approximately one third of Vlach soldiers, out of total 500, most of them stationed in Novigrad and in Koprivnica hussar units²⁸.

Followers of the Orthodox Church were first recorded by Congregation for Faith on December 10, 1625²⁹ and then on February 13, 1629³⁰. According to the report dated August 20, 1641 in Koprivnica, Križevci and Ivanić captaincies there were 1100 Vlach (Valachi), while their bishop Maksim Predojević told Rafael Levaković that there were around 11.000 believers in the Zagreb Diocese of that time (*Scismatico*, according to Levaković)³¹. The report of November 20, 1641 says that Koprivnica captaincy (*Capitanato di*

²⁵ L. HADROVICS, *Srpski narod i njegova crkva pod turskom vlašću*, Zagreb 2000.

²⁶ Z. KUDELIC, *Marčanska biskupija od 1670. do 1713. godine*, M.A. Thesis, Filozofski Fakultet Sveučilište u Zagrebu 1995; Z. KUDELIC, *Pravoslavlje i pitanje crkvene unije u Hrvatskoj od Žitvanskog mira 1606. godine do izbora unijatskog biskupa Pavla Zorčića 1670. godine*, Ph.D. Thesis Filozofski Fakultet Sveučilište u Zagrebu 1999; A. IVIĆ, 'Iz istorije crkve hrvatsko-slavonskih Srba tokom XVII. veka', *Vjesnik Kraljevskog hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog zemaljskog arhiva*, 2 (1916), pp. 20-32; Z. KUDELIC, *Marčanska biskupija. Habsburgovci, pravoslavlje i crkvena unija u Hrvatsko-slavonskoj vojnoj kranjini (1611.-1755.)*, Zagreb 2007.

²⁷ A. IVIĆ, 'Migracije Srba u Slavoniju tokom 16., 17. i 18. stoleca. Naselja i poreklo stanovništva po arhivskim dokumentima', in *Srpski etnografski zbornik*, vol. 36, Subotica 1926, p. 9.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 18, p. 24.

²⁹ M. JAČOV, *Spisi kongregacije za propagandu vere u Rimu o Srbima 1622-1644*, vol. 1, Beograd 1986, p. 53. This report of December 10, 1625 was sent out by Trieste bishop Renaldo (Rinaldo) who assessed the number of Serb Orthodox Vlach and Morlach ("Valacchi, Morlacchi") in Croatia and Slavonia at 20.000 dispersed in Ivanić and Koprivnica regions ("Confini di Ivanic, e Coprainza"), in Turopolje, Metlica and in the Karlovac area.

³⁰ The report of 1629 mentioned Orthodox townspeople (Uskok pirates, Vlach) "Illyricae gentis, hominess graeci ritus in tota illa regione nostra lingua Illyrica Uskozi dicti... Vulascki sini... Valachi...". This unsigned report points out the main towns and strongholds: Rovišće, Ivanić, Križevci, Koprivnica, Đurđevac, Metličke gore, Žumberak and Gormirje. J. ŠIMRAK, *De relationibus Slavorum Meridionalium cum Sancta Romana Sede Apostolica saeculis XVII et XVIII*, vol. 1, Zagreb 1926, pp. 72-74; JAČOV, *Spisi kongregacije*, pp. 129-130.

³¹ JAČOV, *Spisi kongregacije*, p. 522; the presence of Orthodox Serbs was recorded, among other places, in Koprivnica captaincy ("Capitanato... di Coprivnicza"), but without population numbers in Koprivnica area.

Capronza) had Vlach population living in 9 villages, inhabiting 204 houses in total. This reports claims that Zagreb Diocese had some 74.000 Vlach population and there were 1100 of them in the villages of those 3 captaincies mentioned earlier³².

The 1642 report mentions Rafael Levaković, who claimed that Vlach population was mixed with Roman Catholics in the regions of Koprivnica and Križevci („Valachi e Cattolici insieme mischiati“)³³.

Some of the Vlach population were subjects in Koprivnica, as confirmed in King Rudolph's letter of October 8, 1604 who wrote it in Prague. In the letter, he invited Grand Duke Ferdinand to favor appeals from Croatian Assembly on Vlach subjects of Koprivnica³⁴. It is unclear, whether they were subjects of landlords there, or simply Koprivnica citizens. If it concerned Vlach subjects of Koprivnica landlords, then they must have been Vlach population from the place of Mučna.

We can establish from various sources, that in the 17th century there was a Vlach population in Koprivnica; there are many controversies related to Vlach Church unification with the Roman Catholic Church, but this is no place to challenge these controversies here³⁵. However, we can safely establish that during the 17th century in Marča Eparchy³⁶, which covered Koprivnica area and where, according to Drago Roksandić, „there were efforts to force the Serb Orthodox Church and its followers to join and unite with the Roman Catholic Church and to accept the jurisdiction of the Zagreb bishop. Jurisdiction over Marča Eparchy involved the Holy Seat and the Serbian Orthodox Peć Patriarchy, Habsburg Court, Military Border administration and Croatian estates, church hierarchy on both sides in Croatia and the Ottoman Empire, upper classes of *Vlach* population in the Varaždin Generalate and believers of both confessions. The whole dispute is impossible to limit to church dispute only, as we can identify parallel issues in limiting traditional Military Border «Vlach» privileges and

³² *Ibidem*, pp. 537-539.

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 557.

³⁴ F. ŠIŠIĆ, *Acta comitialia regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae, Slavoniae*, vol. 5, Zagreb 1918, pp. 634-635.

³⁵ J. ŠIMRAK, *De relationibus Slavorum Meridionalium cum Sancta Romana Sede Apostolica saeculis XVII. et XVIII.*, Zagreb 1926, pp. 23-29, p. 35; J. ŠIMRAK, 'Povijest marčansko-svidničke eparhije i crkvene unije u jugoslavenskim zemljama', *Bogoslovska smotra*, 12/2 (1924), pp. 184-186; Z. KUDELIĆ, 'Prvi marčanski grkokatolički biskup Simeon 1611-1630.', *Povijesni prilozi*, 21 (2002), pp. 171-172.

³⁶ N. KEKIĆ, *Marčanska grkokatolička eparhija, 900 godina Ivanića (Zbornik)*, Kloštar Ivanić-Ivanić Grad i Križ 1994, pp. 401-420.

efforts to unite the church³⁷. This was necessary to emphasise not only for the sake of understanding the history context of the Koprivnica Orthodox Church population, but for the sake of better understanding what had been happening with Orthodox Church population in Koprivnica during the 17th century. I dare probe several events of 1630 and their importance to Koprivnica and Slavonian Military Border. In 1630, the following events took place: 1) Vlach statutes were established (*Statuta Valachorum*); 2) Maksim Predojević became Marča bishop (1630.-1642.); 3) There was a reorganization in finance and military structure of the Varaždin Generalate; 4) Koprivnica municipality for the last time requested from the king to confirm Koprivnica privileges and its status of a free royal town; 5) Matija Sumer became Koprivnica's Roman Catholic priest; 6) Catholic chaplain was on military payroll as a member of military crew.

Despite imposed limitations, I would like to try and link six independent facts and data, without obvious relevance to one another. However, their interrelation had an impact on temporary disappearance of the the Orthodox community from Koprivnica. Matija Sumer, Koprivnica parish priest, was originally from Ivanić. He was sent to school by the local priest Martin Dobrović, which was no coincidence. This relation is meaningful because Martin Dobrović himself was of born Orthodox, or of the Vlach origin. He persuaded Orthodox Church episcope Simeon to accept Uniate church. It had been mentioned earlier, that Sumer had a key role in expelling the last remaining Protestants from Koprivnica. It looks, as if Sumer was the first Roman Catholic parish priest from Koprivnica, who had «carte blanche» and freedom of work.

At the same time, he was one of the first parish priests with whom Koprivnica military commanders had to cooperate, as he was also an army chaplain too. It's interesting to point out that the 1630 records indicate Juraj Šalković as the first army chaplain. Yet, the same year he got replaced by the parish priest and the chaplain Matija Sumer. It should be subject of further research, but perhaps it was the parish priest Sumer who «helped convert» the remaining Vlach population of Koprivnica to Roman Catholicism.

This issue is tied to the question of bishop Maksim Predojević's nomination by King Ferdinand II. The new Marča bishop was not interested in strengthening church unification; according to contemporary sources, he was openly advocating Orthodox Church and opposed the influence of Roman Catholic Church in the Military Border. It is unclear how influenced

³⁷ ROKSANDIĆ, *Etnos, konfesija, tolerancija*, p. 250.

he was by Maksim Predojević, yet Catholic Church in Koprivnica case opted openly for a direct conversion of the Orthodox to Roman Catholicism (no direct evidence to support this however). This hypothesis should be examined additionally. The fact is, the Orthodox Vlach population in Koprivnica were no longer mentioned after 1630.

We notice that the privileges granted by «Statuta Valachorum» to «Vlach community between the rivers Sava and Drava» most probably did not apply to the towns in that region. Perhaps this is why and how the «urban» Vlach population of Koprivnica was left alone, which may have quickened their conversion to Catholicism (more probable option), or this population was just resettled and moved out (less probable option). All hypotheses are subject to further investigation.

A warning should be in order, though, as to establish someone's ethnic or religious – in this case Vlach origin or background – by typical family name, the method which is subject to criticism and can be disputed with relative ease. If we still accept the methodology and establish the hypothesis, that after 1630 (all the way to the end of the 17th century) Koprivnica had no Vlach among the professional military, they were no longer members of the Serb Orthodox Church. At this time we can establish with certain amount of reliability, that the Serb Orthodox Vlach population was being mentioned in Koprivnica in continuity from the last years of 16th century to mid 17th century.

The Military Border became the western frontier for Serb Orthodox Church. When Marča Eparchy was created, a new historic situation occurred as – looking from the Roman Catholic perspective – Marča bishops were the suffragans of the Zagreb Roman Catholic bishop, hence the followers of church union, legitimate Serb Orthodox bishops (vladika) in church hierarchy. This is why Marča Eparchy was an open target for possible disputes, ever present source of hard work in building and cultivating religious tolerance³⁸.

Koprivnica military commander (vojvoda) Dmtar of Sirač (Demetrius de Zyrach), who had been of the Serb Orthodox origin, in December 1612 records was mentioned as a municipal judge³⁹. But how was it possible to become a Koprivnica judge, if he was a member of Serb Orthodox Church and a hired military crew member? Namely, by law only a Catholic was allowed to own land or property and be a public servant in the Croato-

³⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 248-250.

³⁹ E. LASZOWSKI, *Monumenta historica lib. reg. Civitatis Zagrabiae*, vol. 17, p. 340.

Slavonian Kingdom. Was this an example of Koprivnica's tolerance toward the Others? We're almost certain, that this was not the case of tolerance. His appointment could be viewed and explained in several ways. It looks as if in the early 17th century townspeople were scarce. The members of Orthodox church probably participated significantly in the military of Koprivnica. At the same time, it was obvious that the Catholic Church in the town was in a deep crisis. On the other hand, it's possible that in the meantime Dimitrije (Dmitar) converted, if only for the sake of appearance, to Catholicism. It's no coincidence, that Croato-Slavonnian Assembly, on its session held on March 20, 1614 declared Koprivnica's Dimitrije a nobleman⁴⁰.

Koprivnica was no exception, as the neighboring Križevci experienced a similar situation. In the early 17th century, in 1612 there are records on Nikola Predojević (Bridoyeuycha) being appointed the Križevci justice⁴¹. Although the sources cannot verify this in a direct way, we can assume that Predojević was also originally a member of the Serb Orthodox Church.

There is virtually no records on relations between the Serb Orthodox Church population and the Koprivnica townspeople. In reverse, there is some modest evidence in the available sources. Koprivnica historian and researcher Leander Brozović wrote: "These Vlach people got domesticated; they argue and fight local population at local court"; "...there's a Vlach devil in you, you cannot argue in my own house"; "...you Vlach son of a whore, there's nothing here, come over and look", as it was common to swear and curse at the local court as early as 17th century⁴². These examples of vulgar talk could point to townspeople's intolerance toward the Serb Orthodox Vlach population, most probably coming from the neighboring villages.

There is another indicator of Catholic Church revival in Koprivnica area, being conversion of the Roma (Gipsy) community to Catholicism. Gipsy people, according to Leander Brozović "were of the Roman Catholic faith, but not the regular churchgoers, except for big church holidays (Easter, Christmas)"⁴³. This record could indicate they were only formally «Catholics», as they most probably never learned Cathecism or did their religious duties on regular basis.

In his report from 1698, Zagreb dean Leskovar wrote, that the Catholic parish priest Stjepan Prekriat in neighboring village Legrad (who spoke Croatian, Hungarian, German and Italian), was equally respected by the

⁴⁰ *Acta comitialia regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae, Slavoniae*, vol. 5, p. 106.

⁴¹ LASZOWSKI, *Monumenta historica lib. reg. Civitatis Zagrabiae*, vol. 17, p. 340.

⁴² BROZOVIĆ, *Grada za povijest Koprivnice*, p. 47, p. 180, n. 136.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, p. 48.

Catholics and the Protestants alike. Legrad itself had more non-Catholics than Catholics, and many of them converted to Catholicism⁴⁴. If we compare Legrad and Koprivnica, as two border townships, even without further detailed research of Legrad situation we can safely establish, that there was a significant difference related to religious (in)tolerance.

There is an interesting example of a Koprivnica citizen converting from Catholicism to Islam⁴⁵. His name was Martin and he was Ivan Velinković's son, born in Koprivnica in 1614. He lived here until 1629, when he probably joined the military. The Ottomans captured him in 1638, he was circumcised and renamed Osman. At a Venice court in 1642, during court investigation against him, he defended himself by claiming he never understood religious education on Islam and its customs, as he did not speak Turkish. He claimed that inside he remained a Christian, persistent in faith and teachings of Christ⁴⁶.

Baptism practices of Moslems in Koprivnica and their conversion to Christianity is recorded in saved baptism records. On 31 January, 1664 a Moslem from Brežnica (today's Berzence, Hungary; or Brezovica, nearby Virovitica) was baptized to Christian name Matija. On May 4, 1664 a Moslem Mustafa from Slatina was baptized to Hans Pavao⁴⁷. Records on baptism of Moslems can be observed in memorials of parishes Imbriovec⁴⁸ and Legrad, with data from the lost birth registers⁴⁹.

Unlike Islam, which practiced relative tolerance toward Christians in the area of its domination and influence, Christians, regardless of faith denomination, were not tolerant to Islam in their own areas of domination.⁵⁰ This is why we almost exclusively speak of Moslems in Koprivnica and its neighboring areas as people, who abandoned their religion and beliefs, converting for unknown reasons to Catholicism.

⁴⁴ NAZ, Kanonske vizitacije, Prot. 71/II, 199.

⁴⁵ NAZ, Kanonske vizitacije, Prot. 71/II, 199.

⁴⁶ R. HORVAT, 'Koprivnički Martin Velinković u procesu mletačke inkvizicije 1642', *Podravski zbornik*, 22 (1996), pp. 71-74.

⁴⁷ Državni arhiv Varaždin, Matična knjiga krštenih 1660-1679, manuscript.

⁴⁸ Župni ured Imbriovec, Spomenica župe Imbriovec, manuscript, f. 22.

⁴⁹ Župni ured Legrad, Spomenica župe Legrad, manuscript; D. FELETAR, *Legrad*, Legrad 1971, pp. 103-104.

⁵⁰ ROKSANDIĆ, *Etnos, konfesija, tolerancija*, p. 11.

Instead of a conclusion

Multi-confessional and multi-ethnic Koprivnica was particularly obvious in the late 16th century and the first decades of 17th century. In the beginning of 17th century, Koprivnica was settled by the Serb Orthodox Vlach population, coming over with the military. By the end of 17th century, it was the Orthodox, or so-called «Greek» trading population. Around 1630, Roman Catholic revival in Koprivnica was related to the reorganization of financing and military establishment in the Slavonian Military Border (the Varaždin Generalate). It's interesting to note, that soon after 1630, Koprivnica got rid of the Protestants; the original Serb Orthodox Vlach population was no longer traceable in history sources, which indicates religious intolerance. This intolerance is clearly visible in the example of a small group of Moslem settlers, who were systematically baptized and converted to Christianity. Although we only know a few records on confessional converting of Koprivnica townspeople in various directions, this daring, yet delicate subject, remains open to further research.

Egidio Ivetic

TOLERANCE TOWARDS THE “OTHERS” IN THE CITIES OF VENETIAN DALMATIA (1540-1645)

Two Dalmatias

The idea about Dalmatia and its territory derives from the administrative asset, which was defined by the Treaty of Carlowitz (1699) and the Treaty of Passarowitz (1718) and by the cartographic representations that followed during the 18th and 19th centuries. It was a Dalmatia formed of islands and ancient cities, as well as the mountains of its hinterland. A narrow province, according to the borderlines established between the Republic of Venice and the Ottoman Empire, whose picture became a part of a cultural imaginary recognised by the historiographies, according to their national perspective¹.

The Republic of Venice doubled the Dalmatian territory during the wars 1684-1699 and 1715-1718 (*l'acquisto nuovo* and *nuovissimo*). It was a fundamental circumstance in the history of Dalmatia, which has changed its nature and character. Even today, due to the depiction of the 18th century Dalmatia, it is difficult to perceive what was the previous medieval Dalmatia – the Byzantine Dalmatia, then the early Venetian and Hungarian-Croatian Dalmatia, which was a scant coastline that almost totally coincided with the Venetian *acquisto antico* from 1409-1420, with the exception of Ragusa –

¹ I. PEDERIN, *Mletačka uprava, privreda i politika u Dalmaciji (1409. - 1797.)*, Dubrovnik 1990; M. BERENGO, 'Problemi economico-sociali della Dalmazia alla fine del Settecento', *Rivista storica italiana*, 66/4 (1954), pp. 460-510; J. TADIĆ, 'Venezia e la costa orientale dell'Adriatico fino al secolo XV', in *Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo XV*, vol. I, *Storia, diritto, economia*, ed. by A. Pertusi, Firenze 1973, pp. 687-704.

Dubrovnik, and Venetian Albania². In other words, the great 1718 Dalmatia, which is well known because it still exists within those borders, was not the same Dalmatia until 1699³.

In this paper I would like to propose some questions related to the Venetian Dalmatia from *acquisto vecchio*, which was a maritime Dalmatia, between the war of 1537-40 and the beginning of the Candian War (1645-1669). Attention will be focused on the coastal communities, the towns of Zara (Zadar), Sebenico (Šibenik), Traù (Trogir), Spalato (Split) and Cattaro (Kotor), and on those that had been considered as 'different' in religious, ethnic and social senses by these communities⁴. Who actually represented the 'different', the 'others', for Dalmatian urban societies during the 16th and 17th centuries? Can we talk about tolerance towards the 'different'? In the background of the question there is a story of relationships between the Venetian Dalmatia and its hinterland, the 'other' Dalmatia. The approach of the analysis is based on studies and on a new reading of reports written by the Venetian governors at the end of their commissions in Dalmatia. They presented an outsider's view of the social and administrative problems. All the same, in the reports there are still aspects which were not taken into consideration by historiographies, and which give us some unexpected confirmations.

² Actually, so-called *inner* Dalmatia was the former, medieval Croatia, whose southern part disappeared with the loss of Klis (Clissa), which was taken by the Ottomans in 1537.

³ M. KOZLIČIĆ, *Kartografski spomenici hrvatskoga Jadrana. Izbor karata, planova i veduta do kraja 17. stoljeća*, Zagreb 1995; L. LAGO, *Imago Adriae. La patria del Friuli, l'Istria e la Dalmazia nella cartografia antica*, Trieste 1996; B. FURST BJELIŠ, 'Cartographic perceptions of the Triplex Confinium and State power interests at the beginning of the 18th Century', in D. ROKSANDIĆ and N. ŠTEFANEC (eds.), *Constructing Border Societies on the Triplex Confinium*, Budapest 2000, pp. 205-220; M. SLUKAN, *Kartografski izvori za povijest Triplex Confiniuma*, Zagreb 1999.

⁴ A more stable confirmation of Dalmatia happened about 1420. According to our opinion, there can be noted four phases in the period between 1420 and 1797: the Ottoman expansion 1420-1540; long Venetian-Ottoman truce, 1540-1645; the age of the Ottoman-Venetian wars 1645-1718, the peace of the "short" *Settecento*, 1718-1797. For the period 1540-1645 we will refer to *Commissiones et relations venetae* edited by ŠIME LJUBIĆ in *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium*, vol. 8, *Commissiones et relationes venetae*, tomus II: annorum 1525-1553, Zagrabiae 1877 (Academia Scientiarum et Artium Slavorum Meridionalium); *Idem*, vol. 11, tomus III: annorum 1553-1571, Zagrabiae 1880; as well as those edited by Grga Novak in *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium*, vol. 47, tomus IV: annorum 1572-1590, Zagreb 1964; *Idem*, vol. 48, tomus V: annorum 1591-1600, Zagreb 1966; *Idem*, vol. 50, tomus VII: annorum 1621-1671, Zagreb 1972; *Idem*, vol. 51, tomus VIII: annorum 1620-1680, Zagreb 1977.

First of all, let's set the context. Between 1540 and 1645 we can talk about a relatively political stability between Venice and the Ottoman Empire in Dalmatia, despite the War for Cyprus (1570-73), which resulted in the Republic losing Antivari (Bar), Dulcigno (Ulcinj) and a part of Zara's *contado*, and despite an episode in the transient retaking of the Ottoman fortress of Clissa (Klis), by the habitants of Spalato, in 1596⁵. From the Venetian side, there was the intention to build up a kind of continuity in the relationship with the Sublime Porte regarding the eastern Adriatic⁶. Dalmatia was reduced to a strip of islands and coastal cities which had very little territory⁷. The most important cities were Zara (Zadar), Sebenico (Šibenik), Traù (Trogir), Spalato (Split) and Cattaro (Kotor), and towns Nona (Nin), Antivari (Bar) and Dulcigno (Ulcinj) (these last two until 1571). On the islands, Veglia (Krk), Curzola (Korčula), Lesina (Hvar), Arbe (Rab) and Ossero (Osor) were also considered as towns, although the last two were very limited⁸. The

⁵ G. STANOJEVIĆ, *Jugoslovenske zemlje u mletačko-turskim ratovima XVI-XVIII vijeka*, Beograd 1970, pp. 11-185.

⁶ R. CESSI, *Storia della Repubblica di Venezia*, Firenze 1981 (1946), pp. 603-658; E. SESTAN, *La politica veneziana del Seicento*, in *Storia della civiltà veneziana*, vol. III, ed. by V. Branca, *Dall'età barocca all'Italia contemporanea*, Firenze 1979, pp. 7-22; K.M. SETTON, *Venice, Austria and the Turks in the seventeenth century*, Philadelphia 1991; G. COZZI, *Venezia nello scenario europeo (1517-1699)*, in G. COZZI, M. KNAPTON and G. SCARABELLO, *La Repubblica di Venezia nell'età moderna. Dal 1517 alla fine della Repubblica*, Torino 1992 (*Storia d'Italia*, dir. by G. Galasso, XII/2), pp. 103-200; G. COZZI, *Dalla riscoperta della pace all'inevitabile sogno di dominio*, in *Storia di Venezia*, vol. VII, *La Venezia barocca*, ed. by G. Benzon and G. Cozzi, Roma 1997; *Venezia e la guerra di Morea. Guerra, politica e cultura alla fine del '600*, ed. by M. Infelise and A. Stouraiti, Milano 2005. On relation between Venice and Ottomans see: P. PRETO, *Venezia e i turchi*, Firenze 1975; P. PRETO, 'Venezia e la difesa dai Turchi nel Seicento', *Romische Historische Mitteilungen*, 26 (1984), pp. 289-302; P. PRETO, 'Venice and the Ottoman Empire: from war to turcophilia', in *La Méditerranée au 18. siècle. Actes du Colloque international tenu a Aix-en-Provence les 4-6 septembre 1985*, Aix-en-Provence 1987, pp. 135-161. See also: G. PRAGA, *Storia di Dalmazia*, Milano 1981 (1954), pp. 186-219; A. DE BENVENUTI, *Storia di Zara dal 1409 al 1797*, Milano 1944; F. SASSI, 'Le campagne di Dalmazia durante la guerra di Candia (1645-1648)', *Archivio Veneto*, s. V, 20 (1937), pp. 211-250; 21 (1937), pp. 60-100; M. JAČOV, *Le guerre veneto-turche del XVII secolo in Dalmazia*, Venezia, 1991.

⁷ B. HRABAK, 'Turske provale i osvajanja na području današnje Severne Dalmacije do sredine XVI stoeća', *Radovi Instituta za hrvatsku povijest*, 19 (1986), pp. 69-100.

⁸ "Fra tutti i luoghi che ha la Serenità vostra in Dalmazia sono tredici città, otto in terra ferma, cinque in isola; quelle sono: Dulcigno, Antivari, Cataro, Spalato, Trahù, Sibirico, Zara e Nona; queste sono: Corzula, Lesina, Arbe, Veggia et Ossero. Sono poi tredici castella: Budua, Almissa, Novegradi, Valdaslina, Varpoglie, Xarnouvizza in terra ferma; et altre sette in isola: Pago, Castel Muschio, Verbenico, Besca, Cherso, Latinizza, Cavezole. Appresso sono cinque fortezze o torrette: Spizza, Salona, il Sasso, Snoilo e Polisane. [...] Sono ancora dodici isole senza castelli e città: la Brazza, governata separatamente dal suo rettore; l'altre undici

towns of the coast were like islands in the front of the Ottoman dominion, sorts of vanguards, which had lost their traditional surrounding countryside, *contadi* – especially Zara, Spalato and Cattaro – during the conflicts of 1499-1502, 1537-1540 and eventually 1570-1573⁹.

During the years of what we can call 'Ottoman peace', *pace turca*, 1540-1645, the typical aspects of the cities did not change. These were urban centres with 1,500-2,000 or a maximum of 5,000 inhabitants, as in the case of Zara, positioned on the coast and therefore always points of trade and traffic¹⁰. At the top of concerns for the Venetian governors, as well as of the residents, was military security, especially in the event of Ottoman or Uskok incursions, as well as the reassurance of ramparts (were they existed) and fortresses and to guarantee the presence of military units of Italian infantry and stradiots (*stradiotti*) as well as Croatian cavalry¹¹. In fact, we can talk about the militarization of the main cities¹².

The maritime dimension of Zara, Sebenico, Traù and Spalato primarily regarded their links with *scogli*, the little isles just close to the coast, places where animals, sheep, goats and cattle found poor pastureland and from where wood for heating, fish, wine and salt would arrive. The *scogli* were a kind of *contado marittimo*, a 'maritime territory' of the cities. The islets, especially those near Zara, had lower populations than the strip of the coast. On the land between Zara, Nona, and Novegradi (Novigrad), or Sebenico

sono sottoposte alle sopra nominate città, che sono: l'isola di Lissa, Torcila, Solta, Bua, Capre, Mortaro, Leila, Selva, Melata, Torrata et Schernata. Sono scogli sessanta, che s'affittano per pascoli e animali. Fra i territori delle città et isole sono trecento ville, d'ottocento ch'erano, che di quelle cinquecento sono occupate da Turchi. In tutta questa provincia (...) sono anime cento mille...". *Relazione del sindacato di Dalmazia et Albania nell'eccellentissimo Senato per il magnifico meser Antonio Diedo* [circa 1553], in, *Commissiones et relationes venetae*, tomus III, p. 28.

⁹ HRABAK, 'Turske provale i osvajanja', pp. 69-100.

¹⁰ T. RAUKAR, 'Društvene strukture u Mletačkoj Dalmaciji', in M. GROSS (ed.), *Društveni razvoj u Hrvatskoj (od 16. do početka 20. stoljeća)*, Zagreb 1981, pp. 99-103; I. PETRICIOLI, T. RAUKAR and Š. PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, vol. III, *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom 1409-1797*, Zadar 1987. See also: M. NOVAK SAMBRAILO, *Autonomija dalmatinskih komuna pod Venecijom*, Zadar 1965; M. NOVAK SAMBRAILO, 'Zadar glavni grad mletačke Dalmacije i Albanije', *Radovi Instituta Jugoslavenske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti u Zadru*, 11-12 (1965), pp. 187-202; M. NOVAK SAMBRAILO, 'Plemići, građani i pučani u Zadru (XV-XVII st.)', *Radovi Instituta Jugoslavenske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti u Zadru*, 19 (1972), pp. 167-186.

¹¹ W. BRACEWELL, *The Uskoks of Senj. Piracy, banditry and holy war in the sixteenth-century Adriatic*, Ithaca-London 1992; W. PANCIERA, 'La frontiera dalmata nel XVI secolo: fonti e problemi', *Società e Storia*, 114 (2006), p. 783-804.

¹² E. CONCINA, *La macchina territoriale. La progettazione della difesa nel Cinquecento veneto*, Roma-Bari 1983.

and Scadorna (Skradin), or Traù (Trogir) and its castles, the production of cereals was unable to feed the cities and therefore grain was brought from Puglia and from the hinterland.

Besides being the vanguards of security of the whole Dalmatia and the Venetian Adriatic dominion, these communities, which we could call 'little homelands', offered services and activities in a close interdependence with the islands and the hinterland, even if the economic potentialities were very limited. There were in fact no possibilities for further development. Social life was strongly conditioned by being a military outpost and there were relapses in the constant tensions between the noblemen and the lower classes. These tensions erupted, from time to time, because of struggles over limited economic resources. Nevertheless, we can recognise a community's civic culture which in the case of Dalmatia represented a peculiar co-presence and symbiosis of double cultural and linguistic models, Italian and Slavic (Croatian)¹³. This civic culture was completely different compared with the hinterland.

Maybe the best description from outside of these urban situations was made by Giovanni Battista Giustiniano in his reports as *sindaco* (supervisor) in Dalmatia in 1553. So, we set our story in the middle of the 16th century when Zara counted a noble class of 17 main families, not very rich but distinguished by their customs and language *all'usanza d'Italia*, and its lower classes, which spoke *lingua franca*, the maritime Venetian, and lived *all'usanza schiava*, i.e. according to Slavic customs¹⁴. In Sebenico some lower ranks were wealthy thanks to trading with the Morlachs who were buying salt there¹⁵. Among the nobility and *popolani* there existed an 'ancient' hatred fed by the fact that the nobles molested the women of the lower classes. The costumes of both ranks were *all'usanza schiava*, although the common language of *lingua*

¹³ B. KREKIĆ, 'On the Latino-Slavic Cultural Symbiosis in the Late Medieval and Renaissance Dalmatia and Dubrovnik', *Viator*, 26 (1995), pp. 321-332.

¹⁴ "E sono di questi nobili molto poverissimi, i costumi dei quali sono quasi italiani, perché la maggior parte de' nobili vive, favella e veste all'usanza d'Italia, il che forse avviene per la frequenza de' forestieri, nobili veneziani, generali, provveditori, capitani, sopracomiti et altri, che vi praticano continuamente. Li popolari veramente, se ben hanno quasi tutti la lingua franca, vivono all'usanza schiava tutti, e questi non sono del consiglio dei nobili, ma hanno un capitolo ovvero scuola, nella quale trattano le cose pertinenti ad essa, et vivono di qualche poca intrada ma per lo più di trafichi et arti". *Itinerario di Giovanni Battista Giustiniano* [maggio 1553], in *Commissiones et relationes venetae*, tomus II, p. 197.

¹⁵ J.C. HOCQUET, 'Saline et pêcherie en Dalmatie centrale au milieu du XVI^e siècle', *Studi veneziani*, n. s., 49 (2005), pp. 113-128.

franca was widespread amongst the men¹⁶. It was the same in Traù, where the common Venetian language was largely spoken and the costumes were Slavic¹⁷. Of course, even here the rivalry between the noblemen and lower classes was a part of social life. Spalato¹⁸ and Cattaro had a similar situation. After the city of Durazzo (Durrës) was conquered by the Ottomans in 1500 refugees of its most influential families escaped to Dulcigno and Antivari; in Dulcigno the main language was Albanian. In any case, the territorial end of Dalmatia, according to the Venetian rector, was located in the Bocche di Cattaro (Bay of Kotor), and Budva represented a kind of boundary between Dalmatia and Albania.

Amongst studies, there are papers relating to wars or events, such as the takeover of Clissa in 1596, or to the establishment and development of a marketplace (*scala*) in Spalato or the building of fortresses, but there are no surveys relating to Venetian Dalmatia as a whole for the period of 1540-1645¹⁹. Dalmatia, as far as we are concerned, should be perceived as a whole of specific contexts (cities and islands) and as a system with its own connotations on an administrative level (civil, jurisdictional, fiscal), military, economic, social and cultural. Even if profoundly Venetian in its institutions, Dalmatia was a case by itself within the Republic. At least this can be understood reading through the reports written by the Venetian governors and counts in the province, which have nearly been completely

¹⁶ "Fra i nobili e i popolari è odio antico et maligno per cagione dei tanti nobili, che furono amazzati dai popolari per causa delle donne popolari, le quali erano oltre misura infestate et molestate da loro massimamente dai giovani. (...) I costumi degli abitanti, il parlar et le pratiche di questi Sebenzani sono tutti all'usanza schiava, e vien, che quasi tutti hanno anco la lingua franca, et qualche gentiluomo veste all'italiana, ma sono rari. Le donne tutte vestono alla schiava, e quasi niuna sà parlar franco". *Ibidem*, pp. 204-205.

¹⁷ "Gli abitanti di questa città vivono con costumi schiavi. È vero che alcuni di questi usa abiti Italiani, ma rari; hanno ben tutti la lingua franca, ma nelle case loro parlano lingua schiava per rispetto delle donne, perché poche di esse intendono lingua italiana, et si ben qualcuna l'intende, non vuol parlare, se non la lingua materna". *Ibidem*, p. 208.

¹⁸ "I costumi spalatrici sono tutti all'usanza schiava, la cui lingua materna è così dolce et vaga, che come dell'italiana la toska è il fiore e la più nobile et migliore, così della Dalmazia questa di Spalato tien il principato. È ben vero, che i cittadini tutti parlano lingua franca, et alcuni vestono all'usanza italiana; ma le donne non favellano se non la loro lingua materna, benché alcune delle nobili vestono secondo l'usanza italiana. Tra i popolari e cittadini è odio antico et inestinguibile...". *Ibidem*, p. 215.

¹⁹ T. RAUKAR, 'Venecija i Klis 1596. godine', *Mogućnosti. Književnost, umjetnost, kulturni problemi*, 47 (2000), pp. 18-29; R. PACI, *La 'scala' di Spalato e il commercio veneziano nei Balcani fra Cinque e Seicento*, Venezia 1971; STANOJEVIĆ, *Jugoslovenske zemlje*, pp. 117-167. See also G. NOVAK, *Prošlost Dalmacije*, vol. II, Split 2004 (1944).

published for the period that we are looking at (1540-1640); records which deserve a complete new survey.

The questions that we would like to propose here are related to the dimensions of the civic and cultural life of the 'little homelands', the communities alongside the Ottoman border²⁰. The 'others', in sense of the 'different', for these urban communities, which can be traced through the available sources as well as in literary texts, the 'others' were, above all, the Morlachs and the *Turks*, i.e. Ottomans, from the hinterland. Another difference was marked by religious belongings; in the case of the Orthodox and Jews, whose presence was described in Spalato²¹. Rarely, the 'others' were considered as those strangers who arrived from across the sea and belonged to a 'maritime' dimension. The life of or with the Morlachs and Ottomans was a fact, simply because the coast and the Ottoman hinterland were two parts of a system of economic exchange. The question of how it was to live next to each other, amongst models of different civilisations, has not been completely analysed yet.

In a paper written in 1995, Josip Vrandečić asserted that an *Ottoman Dalmatia* actually existed in 16th-17th centuries, although not in a formal sense (it was the western part of Bosnia, then Lika's, Clissa's and Hercegovina's Sanjaks), and that the historic research about it and the level of its Islamification during the 16th and 17th centuries was quite neglected despite some available sources, such as the *defter* related to the Sanjak of Bosnia in 1528 and 1550 and those relating to the Sanjak of Clissa (Klis) in 1604, which had already been published²². It should be noted that the *Ottoman Dalmatia*, which is equivalent to today's Dalmatian hinterland, was formed partially by the Venetian cities' countryside, *contadi*, and mostly by former territories of the Croatian Kingdom. In 16th century cartography we can find a *Dalmazia turca* indicated, although these territories were still perceived, from the coastal and even Venetian perspective, as Croatia (so-called *Banadego*). More

²⁰ About little 'homelands' of Dalmatia see T. RAUKAR, 'Komunalna društva u Dalmaciji u XIV stoljeću', *Historijski Zbornik*, 33-34 (1980-81), pp. 142-208.

²¹ PACI, *La 'scala' di Spalato*.

²² J. VRANDEČIĆ, 'Had an Ottoman combatant any chance to win the love of the daughter of the Rector of the Dalmatian town Zadar?', *Radovi, Razdio povijesnih znanosti Filozofski Fakultet – Zadar, Sveučilište u Splitu*, 34 (1995), pp. 163-184. See also H. ŠABANOVIĆ, *Bosanski pašaluk, postanak i upravna podjela*, Sarajevo 1959 (1982); F. SPAHO, 'Jedan turski opis Sinja i Vrljke iz 1604. godine', *Acta historico-oeconomica Jugoslaviae*, 12 (1985), pp. 21-120; F. SPAHO, 'Splitsko zaledje u prvim turskim popisima', *Acta historico-oeconomica Jugoslaviae*, 13 (1986), pp. 47-86; F. SPAHO, 'Skradinska nahija 1574. godine', *Acta historico-oeconomica Jugoslaviae*, 16 (1989), pp. 79-107.

precisely, there was a gradual replacement of the concept of Croatia with the one of the 'Ottoman Dalmatia' (definitely accepted in the 17th century), which waned with the formation of a new Dalmatia of '*acquisto nuovo e nuovissimo*' in 1699 and 1718 (today's Dalmatia). Vrandečić underlined the lack of knowledge about the cultural and religious co-existence between the 'two' Dalmatias, which were, as he defined them, 'two different worlds, in politically and religious meanings'²³. Vrandečić wrote his paper almost ten years ago; then there followed studies by Snežana Buzov, Nenad Moačanin and Marko Šarić, but more has to be done on this subject²⁴. The same questions remain: can we speak about two opposing worlds? And in which measure did they tolerate each other?

Co-existence and tolerance

Some answers can be found in Vrandečić's paper. First of all the Islamification of Ottoman Dalmatia did not reach levels comparable with those in Bosnia. In Dalmatia only Christian slaves converted in order to reach freedom²⁵. This is an aspect which might seem expected if we think about the social peculiarities of the two contexts, especially if we consider the urbanisation of Ottoman Bosnia. In Dalmatia, although there were direct and indirect intentions for changing the religious structure of the dominion, the results were very modest. This can be proved by the data collected in the *defter* from 1604 relating to the Sanjak of Clissa (Klis)²⁶. However, there were individual cases of religious conversion from Christianity to Islam²⁷.

²³ About the Ottoman Dalmatia see F. SPAHO, 'Arhivska građa na turskom jeziku za područje srednje Dalmacije', *Građa i prilozi za povijest Dalmacije*, 11 (1990), pp. 73-81. See also N. MOAČANIN, 'Novije spoznaje o povijesti Kliškog sandžaka prema osmanskim izvorima', *Mogućnosti. Književnost, umjetnost, kulturni problemi*, 47 (2000), pp. 74-80.

²⁴ N. MOAČANIN, *Turska Hrvatska. Hrvati pod vlašću Osmanskog Carstva do 1791. Preispitavanja*, Zagreb 1999, pp. 55-116. See also S. BUZOV, 'Razgraničenja između Bosanskog pašaluka i Mletačke Dalmacije nakon Kandijskog rata', *Radovi. Institut za suvremenu povijest*, 12 (1993), pp. 1-38; S. BUZOV, 'Vlaška sela, pašnjaci i čifluci: krajolik osmanlijskog prigraničja u šesnaestom i sedamnaestom stoljeću', in D. ROKSANDIĆ, I. MIMICA, N. ŠTEFANEC and V. GLUNČIĆ-BUŽANČIĆ (eds.), *Triplex Confinium (1500-1800): ekohistorija*, Split – Zagreb 2003, pp. 227-241; M. ŠARIĆ, 'Turska osvajanja i eko-sistemske tranzicije u Lici i Krbavi na prijelazu iz kasnog srednjeg vijeka u rani novi vijek (15.-16. st.)', in *Ibidem*, pp. 243-249.

²⁵ VRANDEČIĆ, 'Had an Ottoman', pp. 167-169.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 172-176. The presence of such data should be discussed.

²⁷ F. SPAHO, 'Prihvatanje islama kod stanovništva kliškog sandžaka', *Prilozi za orientalnu filologiju*, 41 (1991), pp. 283-290.

We come to the conclusion, based on various data that the door to Islam in the 16th century continental Dalmatia was quite open compared to what happened on the Christian side, along the coast. In other words, there was more tolerance, more flexibility on the Ottoman side²⁸, according to the application of the general tolerance towards religious differences. Of course, the exclusivity of government and the main power were reserved to Muslims.

There is a second aspect to consider and it regards co-existence. Numerous data taken from Venetian and local records show us that the two Dalmatias knew how to organise an effective co-existence during the peaceful decades. There were a daily movement towards Dalmatian cities by Ottoman subjects, many of which were Muslims. The economic exchange, for example salt from the coast for the grain from the hinterland, fed a very structural relationship. This was the case with Spalato, the city that became the main *scala*, i. e. marketplace, in Venetian Dalmatia for the trade in the Balkans and across the Adriatic²⁹. After the war of 1570-73, the Ottoman ambassadors and Venetian rectors even formally signed for the re-establishment of a co-existence.

Co-existence and tolerance towards the Ottomans were recommended by the Venetian *counts* (governors); their reports to the Senate and the Senate's orders witness this constant effort. It was a tolerance imposed from above, by *Serenissima Signoria*, to avoid military tensions with their counterparts³⁰. This was a policy hard to maintain, because of frequent Ottoman raids alongside the borderline. Repeated conflicts and cases of Venetian subjects taken as slaves were parts of the history of this troubled frontier, which at the same time was a bulwark and the only available zone of growth³¹.

The relationship with Ottoman Dalmatia was certainly very complex and it must be observed through single local situations. We find a difficult co-existence in the remains of the Zara's *contado* (actually a 'virtual' countryside), as well as around the villages of the Traù area, while along the River Krka

²⁸ VRANDEČIĆ, 'Had an Ottoman', pp. 177-178.

²⁹ PACI, *La 'scala' di Spalato*, pp. 71-126.

³⁰ References can be found in *Comissione Leopardi Bollani comitis Spalati*, 1° luglio 1531: "...adhibenda est omnis cura possibilis, ut pax inita cum Turco diuturna sit et non frangatur sive alteretur per cuiusunque avaritiam et improbitatem, sicut alias accidit"; [...] "Noi vi have diritto del viver pacifico et amicabilemente cum suditi del signor Turco, ma cum tal pace et amicitia siate pero vigilante et studioso della bona conservatione della cità a voi comessa cusi de di come di notte..." in *Commissiones et relationes venetae*, tomus II, pp. 96-97.

³¹ For example in *Relazione del n. b. Ferigo Nani, provveditore generale in Dalmazia*, 10 dicembre 1591, in *Commissiones et relationes venete*, tomus V, pp. 27-28.

(Cherca), in the hinterland of Sebenico, especially around Scardona, which was an Ottoman dominion, the relationships and willingness between the Venetian and Ottoman parts were mainly peaceful especially near the mills where grain from the surroundings was processed. Spalato was a re-programmed city as a gathering point of the Ottoman caravans, a city that accepted 'different' people, starting from the Sephardi Jewish community. The case of Spalato and the establishment of the *scala* were studied a few decades ago by Renzo Paci, because the city was known for the co-existence of different religious groups in 17th and 18th centuries. Certainly the city represents a particular case, an experiment wanted and directed by the same Senate³².

The Venetian Dalmatia was a context based on the city-community system and their territories, islands and some castles. The Ottoman Dalmatia, otherwise, was characterised by castles and villages. They had common resources, communication routes and complementary exchange. Any of these situations – the territory of Zara, the area of Scadorna and the River Krka, the territory of Traù, Spalato, Almissa (Omiš), as well as the Bay of Cattaro – has its periods and events. For Venice, after decades of draining patience (tolerance) towards Ottoman provocations, in 1540-1570, followed – in 1570-1620 – the problem with the Uskoks who were an even more destabilising factor in the area³³. The maintenance of the fortifications and soldiers was a constant obsession for the governors during this period. The atmosphere of tension and military preoccupations were in the background of what was later considered as the age of stability in Venetian-Ottoman relationships. It is not a paradox.

Behind the tensions, we can recognise a geography of situations of 'tolerance' in Venetian Dalmatia and the Bay of Cattaro. The period which we are looking at was not so different, structurally, with regard to previous centuries. Since the establishment of urban Dalmatia, i.e. from the 1st – 4th centuries, coastal communities had compared themselves with populations from the hinterland. This is to say, since late Antiquity the communities have compared themselves as different and opposite social and cultural models. So the situation between the two Dalmatias from 1540-1645, only by its appearance, seems as being without a precedent. The 'others', those who came from the hinterland were Morlachs and they were distinguished from *Turks*. It would take too long in this paper to discuss the meanings of these

³² PACI, *La 'scala' di Spalato*, pp. 31-70.

³³ HRABAK, 'Turske provale i osvajanja', pp. 69-100.

two terms. The general impression is that the term Morlach referred to the populations living closest to the border of Dalmatian communities or to those integrated into the communal territories and therefore Venetian subjects³⁴. The term Turks was referred to populations from Bosnia, not necessarily Muslims, i.e. Ottoman subjects, and to the Muslims from Ottoman Dalmatia. Two levels of diversity – Morlachs who were closer and familiar, Turks who were more distant and more 'different' – were familiar in Dalmatian communities as well as in medieval centuries, when there were Slavs, Croats, *Rasciani*, *Bossinesi*, Bosnians, instead of Turks³⁵. Morlachs could be Catholic or, more frequently, Orthodox. But the Orthodox in the Venetian Dalmatia were not necessarily Morlachs, if we consider the case of Cattaro and other places in the Bay of Cattaro as well as the presence of some groups of Greeks or individuals living in the cities.

In other words, and to schematize the matter, the 'others' from the Dalmatian hinterland were *Turks* (Ottoman subjects) and Morlachs and along the coast the Orthodox and the Jews. We cannot speak about one general (almost theoretical) type of tolerance towards these groups. In reality, there were different types of tolerance for different groups and in different contexts. At present, we can only notice that there are many aspects of this issue which demands a deeper inquiry in order to gain a better understanding. For example, regarding tolerance towards the Ottoman Muslim subjects, it is necessary to distinguish at least four types of situation: a) tolerance towards the official representatives of the Ottomans in all major centres on the coast – they were surrounded with a small court and not excluded from social and economic life of the city; b) tolerance towards the Ottoman merchants which implied the tolerance towards their customs and habits (almost in all of the towns on the coast); c) tolerance towards the caravans led by Muslims – this was the specific case in Spalato and partially in Cattaro; d) tolerance towards the Ottoman Muslim subjects who lived on the border – there were numerous points of everyday co-existence such as in the hinterland of Zara, along the River Krka, along the borderline between Clissa and Spalato, or in

³⁴ G. NOVAK, 'Morlaci (Vlasi) gledani s mletačke strane', *Zbornik za narodni život i običaje - Jugoslavenska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti*, vol. 45, Zagreb 1971, pp. 579-603; B. HRABAK, 'Vlaška i uskočka kretanja u Severnoj Dalmaciji u XVI stoleću', in *Benkovački kraj kroz vijekove: zbornik* 2, Zadar 1988, pp. 107-258. See also the paper presented by Marko Šarić.

³⁵ See, for example: TOMA ARHIDJAKON, *Kronika*, ed by V. Rismondo, Split 1977. Also: T. RAUKAR, *Studije o Dalmaciji u srednjem vijeku*, Split 2007.

the Bay of Cattaro, between Castelnuovo (Herceg Novi) and the Venetian territories.

There was a kind of ritual when Ottoman governors were received in the cities of Venetian Dalmatia, as local ambassadors of the Sublime Porte. Good relationships and exchanges of presents were common between the Venetian governors, city elites (involved in trade) and the representatives sent by the Pasha of Bosnia³⁶. The tolerance of the Ottoman merchants from Bosnia was not something new in the 16th century. The presence of Bosnian traders in the Dalmatian communities is noted in notary documents of the 14th and 15th centuries in Spalato³⁷. However, this was a kind of tolerance inspired by the reasons of economic exchange³⁸. The differences were obvious in religious customs, less than in the language, which was Slavic (*schiavonesco* or *illirico*). Notarial records can provide us with some answers about how it was possible for an Ottoman guest to reside inside Dalmatian *little homelands*. Spalato, especially, which was the most dynamic city from the period 1540-1645, may offer interesting parts about tolerance towards the 'different' when concerning trade³⁹.

Regarding the contact amongst city inhabitants, the villagers, Morlachs and Ottomans, the most significant case, as mentioned before, was that of Scadorna, on the River Krka, where the watermills for the Venetian and the Ottoman subjects were shared. Here, the grain harvested or purchased in the area around Sebenico was eventually processed. On the Venetian side, around the mid – 16th century, there were two mill buildings: one with nine grinding wheels which was exclusively dedicated to the subjects of the Republic of St. Mark and the other with three wheels which was for the use of Morlachs – the Ottoman subjects. On the Ottoman side there were two buildings with seven wheels, which did not match in quality and speed the Venetian mills. This was the reason why the Ottoman subjects preferred to use the Venetian mills, where they also paid mill duties⁴⁰. The situation of Scadorna shows one example of tolerance imposed by the necessity to co-exist around the same water sources. It was a kind of daily balance, which went beyond the logic of the political partition of the territory. Despite

³⁶ See the paper presented by Snježana Buzov.

³⁷ I. PEDERIN, 'Appunti e notizie su Spalato nel Quattrocento', *Studi veneziani*, n. s., 21 (1991), pp. 323-409.

³⁸ VRANDEČIĆ, 'Had an Ottoman', pp. 178-180.

³⁹ Besides Paci, see also G. NOVAK, *Povijest Splita*, vol. II, Split 1961.

⁴⁰ *Relazione de noi Michiel Bon et Gasparo Erizzo già sindici in Dalmazia* [1559], in *Commissiones et relationes venetae*, tomus III, p. 126.

borders and Venetian-Ottoman dualism, the inhabitants of the coast and those from the hinterland would anyway meet at the point of the mills of Scadorna.

Co-presence of the 'different', as mentioned, depended – above all – on traffic and economic exchanges. The case of Sebenico could be paradigmatic for any large centre of coastal Dalmatia: without the trade relationships with the Morlachs, the cities would not survive. From the hinterland it received wheat, cheese, meat, honey, wool and wax. From Sebenico, Morlachs and 'Turks' were carrying oil, spices, wine, clothes, copper, candles, sugar, craft products and a lot of salt⁴¹. Salt was amongst the products which were the most demanded by the Ottoman subjects; from the Dalmatian cities the salt was taken towards western Bosnia.

Morlachs were perceived as inhabitants of the nearby highlands and the Dinaric mountain range, as well as those who were mediators between the cities and those areas that were generally understood as being *Ottoman Dalmatia*. This mediation function was the reason that Morlachs were tolerated when entering cities with their products, their goods or services, which they would offer such as cattle and sheep breeding. The presence of Morlachs was noticed in the cities as well as on the islands of Brazza (Brač), Curzola (Korčula) and Lesina (Hvar) as seasonal herdsmen. Morlachs were tolerated when they moved to the abandoned territories, as was the case of the countryside of Traù, and as individuals or families they were accepted permanently in the suburbs. Although there was a constant process in the integration of Morlachs within these contexts – and some of them, of second and third generations, even obtained higher social positions, especially in Sebenico – the 'prevalent' Morlach culture, which can be hypothesized from later written sources, was specific and separated from that of the traditional urban community. Certainly this culture had its own vision and ideas, as 'different', about the cities and the town people. There is no doubt that

⁴¹ "...ma il traffico o commercio universale, che hanno questi da Sebenico con Murlachi sudditi turcheschi è grande, utile et necessario; è grande, perché importa più di ducati cinquanta mille all'anno; è utile, perché et il pubblico et il privato ne sentono comodo; è necessario, perché quando questo commercio fosse levato, Sebenico non solamente patiria, ma saria la totale sua rovina, perché se Murlachi non portassero da vivere a Sebenico, come formaggi, carnami, formenti, mele, lani, schiavine, cere et altre cose assai, i Sebenzani non avariano onde prevalersi". *Ibidem*, *Itinerario di Giovanni Battista Giustiniano*[1553], in *Commissiones et relationes venetae*, tomus II, p. 205. See, for example, G. NOVAK, 'Šibenik u razdoblju mletačke vladavine 1412-1797', in *Zbornik Šibenik*, Šibenik 1976, pp. 133-288.

these two dimensions, the Morlach and coastal/urban, were permeating each other in a process which could be defined as *separated integration*⁴².

The Morlachs were not always dear neighbours. Very often it was quite the opposite. Especially when large groups of Morlachs, sometimes of 500-600 people, would come to acquire salt for Bosnia, they were perceived as something to fear. The perception of Morlachs as a community stressed the inevitable cultural difference with the urban milieu. This case was often generalised in Venetian records. A profound reading of local situations should distinguish shades in the relationships which any Morlach community had with communities and its societies. There were groups of caravan guides, shepherds who practiced transhumance and villagers from *contado*. The fact that they were all called Morlachs could be a sign of simplified recognition by the people from the coast. Maybe there were some deeper reasons which still needs to be understood; something common probably joined different groups of Morlachs together: language, costumes, the same relationships with citizens. We know, for example, that the scant territories of Zara, Sebenico and Traù were cultivated partly by 'villagers' of the territories, partly by Morlachs and partly by peasants who were Ottoman subjects⁴³. About the first and the second, we know that they were a component that changed constantly because of the difficulty in surviving in an area which was exposed to Ottoman incursions⁴⁴. There is little known about the Ottoman subjects who worked on the Venetian side of the border. It is hard to understand the criteria used (in records) by citizens in distinguishing the inhabitants of the countryside, the villages (*villici* or/and *vicini*) and Morlachs⁴⁵. Peasants who lived half between the city and the Morlach social dimensions (they were not always those who were cattle breeding and transhumant) are the one

⁴² Amongst the sources about Morlachs the first reference is B. DESNICA, *Istoriya kotarskih uskoka 1646-1684*, Beograd 1950 (2 vols).

⁴³ L. ČORALIĆ, 'Jedan neobjavljeni dokument o suživotu na mletačko-turskoj granici u zadarskom području u XVII. stoljeću', *Historijski zbornik*, 45 (1992), pp. 213-218.

⁴⁴ "Sogliono li desdari et li altri Turchi con vicini spesse volte mostrar contra il contado risentimento per li robbamenti et ladronezzi, che vengono da Uscocchi et da ladri fatti nei paesi loro". In: *Relazione de ser Zuane Mocenigo ritornato de proveditor general de cavalli in Dalmatia, 1567*, in *Commissiones et relationes venetae*, tomus III, p. 196.

⁴⁵ L. ČORALIĆ, 'Jedan ugovor o agrarnom poslovanju samostana sv. Krševana na zadarskom području iz 1651. godine', *Radovi - Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, Zavod za hrvatsku povijest*, 24 (1991), pp. 211-216; L. ČORALIĆ, 'Jedan ugovor o agrarnoj povijesti Bibinja iz XVII stoljeća', *Zadarska revija*, 40 (1991), pp. 121-125; L. ČORALIĆ, 'Agrarno-proizvodni odnosi u Dalmaciji XVI-XVIII. stoljeća: izvori i historiografija', *Historijski zbornik*, 45 (1992), pp. 125-138; L. ČORALIĆ, 'Zemljišni posjedi dominikanskog samostana u Zadru u XVII. i XVIII. Stoljeću', *Croatica Christiana periodica*, 33 (1994), pp. 213-224.

category which proves the uncertain dimension of existence on the border⁴⁶. Only a detailed analysis of the available notary records would shed some light on this question.

Finally, we have mentioned the Orthodox as a *third* 'different'. In comparison with the Jewish community, they could not be understood as a minority, widespread as they were on the Ottoman side of Dalmatia. There is a large discussion about this presence, i.e. of the Orthodox communities in Dalmatia observed as a region (as we see it today). The first study about the distribution of the Orthodox Church and shrines was written by Nikodim Milaš in 1901, the then Orthodox bishop in Zara⁴⁷. His thesis was simple: the presence of the Orthodox of Serbian tradition in Dalmatian hinterland and near to the coast had already been noticed in the 15th century. During the 16th century it was related to the presence of the Ottoman subjects who were mainly Orthodox, devoted to Peć's Patriarchy, in the so-called *Ottoman Dalmatia*. Many Catholic churches were converted for use by the Orthodox because the Ottomans did not permit the building of new ones. A neat and detailed revision of Milaš's interpretations was made by the Franciscan brother Stanko Bačić in 1999, who had rejected his thesis, analysing 'Orthodox Dalmatia' church by church⁴⁸.

In reality, in the Venetian Dalmatia of *acquisto vecchio* the presence of the Orthodox was not a relevant question between the 15th and the mid 17th century⁴⁹. Individuals and groups of Orthodox, mainly Greeks, were concentrated in the major coastal cities⁵⁰. There were also soldiers who may have been Orthodox. Regarding the territory in the period from 1540-1645 there had been noted groups of Orthodox on the border of the territory of Trogir and Orthodox communities who traditionally were present in Pastrovichi (Paštrovići), Cattaro and Budua⁵¹. Amongst those places were also *Zuppa*, Župa or also called Grabalj, a territory of autonomous villages – in fact Cattaro's *contado* - which were under Ottoman government till 1699

⁴⁶ See: *Relazione intorno allo stato del territorio di Sebenico, 1566-1568*, in *Commissiones et relationes venetae*, tomus III, pp. 238-246.

⁴⁷ N. MILAŠ, *Pravoslavna Dalmacija*, Novi Sad 1901 (Beograd 1989).

⁴⁸ S. BAČIĆ, *Osvrt na osnovne stavove i tvrdnje u knjizi "Pravoslavna Dalmacija" E. Nikodima Milaša*, Zadar 1999.

⁴⁹ M. BOGOVIĆ, *Katolička crkva i pravoslavlje u Dalmaciji za mletacke vladavine*, Zagreb 1982, pp. 6-21.

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 22-31.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*.

and who in the majority were Orthodox⁵². They were all of Serbian Orthodox tradition. However, in the Dalmatia of the *acquisto vecchio* the Orthodox were a minority and so they were easily tolerated. In Cattaro, Orthodox believers were allowed to conduct their religious services in Catholic churches⁵³. The impression is that the Orthodox 'difference' was accepted by tradition or as a habit. The real problem regarding the relationships between the Catholic and Orthodox involves the Ottoman Dalmatia and Venetian Dalmatia of the new territories, i.e. the *acquisto nuovo* and *nuovissimo*. Therefore it took place in a latter phase of the Venetian-Ottoman wars 1645-1718 and during the *Settecento*⁵⁴.

If this paper could be the first geographical summary of the situations of tolerance towards the 'others' as different in the Venetian Dalmatia, there are questions about the very concrete relationship towards this 'different'. The public notary records could give us answers about the economic dimensions of these connections. A chronicle or notes written by someone from the cities, within the Venetian administrative documents, could illustrate a specific point of view. Besides this, there are also literary texts which could highlight ideological shades about relations with the hinterland and Ottoman Dalmatia. In this sense, it could be useful to analyse *Vila Slovinke*, a pastoral poem written by Juraj Baraković, a Croatian priest from Zara, at the beginning of the 17th century. The poem depicts imaginary places, a typical *topos* of late 16th century culture, in Dalmatia and elsewhere. There are interesting dialogues with Morlachs from the 'other' Dalmatia who converted to Islam; there are reflections about the population of Zara's hinterland, from where Baraković came from. The author described the difficulty in being accepted in the urban society of Zara, and the impossibility of entering into the local elite

⁵² R. VITALE D'ALBERTON, 'La relazione sul sangiacato di Scutari. Un devoto tributo letterario alla Serenissima da parte di un fedele suddito cattarino', *Studi veneziani*, n. s., 46 (2003), pp. 313-339.

⁵³ About the Orthodox in Dalmatia much data could be found in M. JAČOV, *Spisi tajnog vatikanskog arhiva: XVI-XVIII veka*, Beograd 1983; M. JAČOV, *Spisi kongegacije za Propagandu vere u Rimu o srbima, 1622-1644*, vol. I, Beograd 1986 (Srpska Akademija Nauka i Umetnosti – Zbornik za Istoriju, jezik i književnost srpskog naroda, knjiga 26); *Le missioni cattoliche nei Balcani durante la Guerra di Candia (1645-1669)*, ed. by M. Jačov, Città del Vaticano 1992; *Le missioni cattoliche nei Balcani tra le due grandi guerre: Candia (1645-1669), Vienna e Morea (1683-1699)*, ed. by M. Jačov, Città del Vaticano 1998. See also J. RADONIĆ, *Rimska kurija i južnoslovenske zemlje od XVI do XIX veka*, Beograd 1950.

⁵⁴ BOGOVIĆ, *Katolicka crkva i pravoslavlje*, pp. 52-164; M. Jačov, *Venecija i srbi u Dalmaciji u XVIII veku*, Beograd 1984; F.M. PALADINI, *Un caos che spaventa. Poteri, territori e religioni di frontiera nella Dalmazia della tarda età veneta*, Venezia 2002. See also F. VENTURI, *Settecento riformatore*, vol. V/2, *Repubblica di Venezia, 1761-1797*, Torino 1990.

circle⁵⁵. Seen from below, Zara’s society seemed closed and scarcely dynamic, if we consider that it was, however, a maritime and border city. It appears as a city-fortress with several architectural and psychological barriers. The impression is that the ‘others’, *Turks* or Morlachs, were accepted because of their utility for the town. The urban society daily co-existed with the ‘different’ and tolerated it, but also didn’t forget to underline the cultural and social differences. With some variations, this was the situation in Zara, in Sebenico, as well as in Traù and Spalato.

It is clear that the identification with an urban community, from those who were its members, was realised through processes of identifications in which a determinative role was had by institutions such as brotherhoods or the noble council of the community, through their rituals (inside brotherhoods) and cultures – of the scholarly noblemen and the populous of the lower class⁵⁶. The language, due the presence of *lingua franca* alongside the Slavic *schiavonesco*, could have had a relevant and sometimes discriminating role. Nevertheless, the sense of belonging to the city was inevitably reinforced by the confrontation with the ‘others’, especially those Muslim or Morlach. It is difficult to think about Dalmatian cities without taking into consideration these aspects, which we recognise in local and in Venetian sources, from an internal and external perspective. Without taking into consideration the sense of distinction and *pragmatic tolerance* within the cities, it would be difficult to comprehend a model of urban Dalmatian mentality of the 16th and 17th centuries. This model would deserve to be contemplated about in an in-depth and articulated way with regards to references in the developments in the 18th and 19th centuries.

⁵⁵ J. BARAKOVIĆ, *Vila Slovinka*, ed. by F. Švelec, Zagreb 2000; J. BARAKOVIĆ, *Vila Slovinka*, ed. by J. Bratulić, Vinkovci 2000.

⁵⁶ As a testimony of urban “upper class” ideology see: *Oratione al carissimo m. Giovan Battista Calbo degnissimo rettor, et alla magnifica comunità di Spalato, detta da Antonio Proculiano cancelliere di essa comunità. Venetia 1567*, in *Commissiones et relationes venetae*, tomus III, pp. 197-238.

Mirela Slukan Altić

THE BISHOPRIC OF NIN IN 1692. MAPPING THE ETHNO-CONFESSIONAL CHANGES

The bishopric of Nin during the turbulences of war and boundary demarcation in the 16th and the 17th centuries

The threat of war and devastation during the 16th and 17th centuries determined the abandonment of the majority of the settlements in the Nin bishopric. Even before Turk intrusions in the territory of the bishopric, the living conditions started to change crucially at the end of the 15th century. After the battle of Krbava in 1493 some parts of Lika and Krbava were cut-off. The people from Nin were traditionally related to these territories because of the transhumant movement of their cattle-breeders. The economic losses of the Nin bishopric were not only limited to problems in pasturing. More and more fields were uncultivated because of the intensified Turk intrusions into Ravni Kotari. The inhabitants of the Nin bishopric participated in the Venetian-Ottoman wars in Lika, Krbava and Dalmatian Zagora which caused many human loses/losses/¹. Alongside the threat of war, the bishopric of Nin was jeopardized by epidemics caused by water in polluted shallow bays and ponds in the flat areas of the bishopric. The Turks arrival in the area of the bishopric at the beginning of the 16th century marked the beginning of a definite demographic emptying of this already

¹ The bishop of Nin Juraj Divinić (Difnik), in his letter dedicated to the Pope Alexander the VI widely described that the major number of killed in the battle of Krbava Field were amongst population of his bishopric. D. MAGAŠ, 'Povijesno-zemljopisno osnove razvoja Nina i problemi njegove suvremene valorizacije', *Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru*, 8 (1995), p. 8.

economically and demographically abandoned territory. In the period 1500-1502 the Ottomans attacked Nin a few times then deserted it and in 1525 the bishopric moved to Zadar². The fear of Ottoman attacks can be substantiated by the Venetian Senate, who in 1502 discussed about whether to rebuild the town of Nin or leave it to fall to ruins as the Ottomans could not use it as a stronghold. Eventually, Venice decided to keep Nin as a stronghold because of its significant geo-political placement and in 1509 they populated it with a small group of immigrants from Krbava.

The fall of Knin and Skradin in 1522, Udbina and Obrovac in 1527, Vrana and Nadin in 1537 and the establishment of the Klis Sanjak, essentially changed the geo-political situation of the territory of the bishopric of Nin. The Ottomans had officially conquered the whole of the territory of the bishopric. Although they did not take the town of Nin, it was placed in a very difficult state. Venetian report from 1533 depicts that the town's fortified walls were in a very bad state and that in the town was populated only by 150 inhabitants and in the wider Nin region about 400, of whom only 30 were able to fight³.

After the Cyprus War and boundary determination in 1576, the Ottoman Empire established the border with the Venetian Republic which in the territory of the bishopric of Nin resulted in that Vrana, Rogovo, Vrčevo, Gorica, Islam (Učitelja Vas, Četiglavas, Vaspeljevac), Prkos, Zemunik, Smoković, Brda, Škrilje, Poločnik, Suhovare, Kašić and Karin belonged to Ottoman side and those on the Venetian side belonged: Pakoštane, Biograd, Sv. Filip and Jakov, Sukošan, Bibinje, Babin Dub, Bokanjac (all the territory of the bishopric of Zadar), Grusi, Dračevac, Visočane, Slivnica, Posedarje, Budin and Novigrad in the territory of the bishopric of Nin⁴. Even before the arrival of the Ottomans the long term and complex process of changes of the structure and dispersion of the population in the territory of the bishopric of Nin had already begun. They were caused by the destruction and ravages of war.

Although the population was temporary renewed during the 17th century by the repopulation of some places in the bishopric of Nin, the population

² J. KOLANOVIĆ, 'Zbornik ninskih isprava od XII-XVII stoljeća', *Radovi Instituta Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zadru*, 16-17 (1969), p. 508.

³ M. NOVAK-SAMBRAILO, 'Političko upravni položaj Nina u doba mletačke republike', *Radovi Instituta Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zadru*, 16-17 (1969), p. 167; MAGAŠ, 'Povijesno-zemljopisno osnove razvoja', p. 84.

⁴ S. TRALJIĆ, 'Zadar i turska pozadina od XV do potkraj XIX stoljeća', *Radovi Instituta Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zadru*, 11-12 (1965), pp. 213-214.

of the whole region was still very low⁵. This fact was especially related to the Venetian part of the territory of the bishopric of Nin. A census from 1600 shows that there were only 18 abandoned places in the Nin territory (Kupari on Privlaka, Klanice near Nin, Grepano near today's Žerava, Dračevac, Komorsa near to Dračevac, Brescchevese – probably Brištani near today's Poljaci, Vojkovci – today Boljkovci, Jasenovo near to Vrsi, Sutmia near Vrsi, Barbičice probably on Privlaka, Sušnjaci, Brdarici (today's settlement of Poljica), Cernice which is Krnza, Jazbulje Selo, Podvršje, Jubiština, Prus (often Brus) and Oprica – probably mistaken for Opatičje⁶.

The beginning of the Candia War (1645-1669) marked the peak of the devastation of this territory during which the town of Nin was burned and abandoned. The main battles took the place in the area around Ražanac – Grusi – Zemunik – Drniš – Klis. In 1646 the Ottomans succeeded to take Novigrad but with strong interventions the Venetians reclaimed it in 1647 after they took back Zemunik, Poličnik and Islam. With the border settlement of 1671 the new borderline was established after the Candia War but the Ottomans succeeded to push back the borderline to as it was in 1576. This was possibly due to the fact that Venetians did not establish military formations in the newly conquered territories except in Novigrad which they retained⁷. Therefore the Candia War, which mostly took the place in the territory of the bishopric of Nin was not successful in changing the Ottoman-Venetian border. The Ottomans still governed in major parts of the bishopric's territory. After the Candia War living conditions in the territory of the bishopric of Nin were slightly better. This area was still the border zone between the two Empires. Conflicts along the Venetian-Ottoman border which crossed the whole territory were often and bloody. The majority of the Ottomans intrusions were noted in 1657 when Posedarje and Vinjerac were burned and in 1658 when Novigrad, Posedarje, Vinjerac and Ražanac were attacked and in 1661 when the Novigrad, Posedarje and Ražanac were devastated⁸. Especially noted is the conflict in Zemunik in 1682 when in a fight between the Ottomans and the Morlachs, 117 Ottomans were

⁵ These colonisations were of little scale and short term. For example in 1599 Zaton, Zlošani and Vrsi were repopulated and in 1579 Ražanac was repopulated. A.R. FILIPI, 'Ninske crkve u dokumentima iz godine 1575. i 1603', *Radovi Instituta Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zadru*, 16-17 (1969), pp. 576-578.

⁶ S. TRALJIĆ, 'Nin pod udarom tursko-mletačkih ratova', *Radovi Instituta Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Zadru*, 16-17 (1969), pp. 541-542.

⁷ MAGAŠ, 'Povijesno-zemljopisno osnove razvoja', p. 96.

⁸ T. RAUKAR, I. PETRICIOLI, F. ŠVELEC, Š. PERIČIĆ, *Prošlost Zadra*, vol. III, *Zadar pod mletačkom upravom*, Zadar 1987, p. 363.

killed. The situation culminated with the Morlach rebellion in 1683 when the Morlachs from the Ottoman and Venetian sides of the border together started the liberation of Dalmatia. The rebellion soon became a war (1684-1699). The Ottomans were pushed back in to the Dalmatian hinterland for the first time. During this Morean War the whole territory of Nin bishopric again became a part of the Venetian Republic and the Ottoman-Venetian borderline was finally pushed further from its territory.

The Morlach's colonisation of the territory of the bishopric of Nin

The end of the Candia War marked the beginning of a more peaceful life which allowed the beginning of the restoration of repopulation of the Nin bishopric. By 1647 immigrants were mentioned – Morlachs who came to the territory of the bishopric of Nin. The Morlachs from Krmpote and Parčići inhabited the area below Poljice, those from Žegar were put 'under Nin', the Morlachs from Devrske moved near to Petružane, those from Brgud and Popovići moved around Nin, the Morlachs from Jasenice moved into the area between Pag and Ljubač and those from Dobropoljci to Ljubač⁹. At the end of the Candia War the bishop was back to Nin and in 1670 the Venetian Government started with the systematic repopulation of abandoned villages using refuges from Ottoman territories. Even during the Candia War, 10.000 people from Bosnia moved to the Venetian territory, the majority of them were Morlachs, who became very important in the defensive system of the Venetian military border¹⁰. The Morlachs, after their arrival, immediately occupied the liberated territories by their own initiative. It was uncertain how the war would finish and Venice could not have conducted the allocation and partitioning the new acquired territories. The problem of distribution was solved temporary by the 'investiture' of villages and in this way the borders between properties were defined for each village and further definition was carried out by the villagers. In return the Morlachs became Venetian soldiers and they had to pay a rent of one tenth of their agricultural products¹¹. Every village formed a military guard – 'bandira', under the command of a harambasa. This also established military-fief agriculture production

⁹ B. DESNICA, 'Istorija kotarskih uskoka 1646-1684', *Zbornik radova za istoriju, jezik i književnost*, vol. 13, Beograd 1950, p. 44.

¹⁰ G. STANOJEVIĆ, *Dalmacija u doba Morejskog rata 1684-1699.*, Beograd 1962, p. 111.

¹¹ Investitures were not always dedicated solely to Morlachs. Some properties were given to surrounding, indigenous farmhands.

reflecting the administration system (military border). This brought a new motivated military army to Venice as well as new taxpayers as a significant source to a dwindling state income¹².

Immediately after the end of the boundary determination in 1671, the Venetian Senate issued an order to Governor Zorzi Morosini to replace the provisory agrarian distribution temporary investitures with a permanent one. Morosini's agrarian reforms which were accepted by the Senate on the 13th of February 1672 contained a decision about the permanent division of the land and the organisation of a specific agrarian system¹³. Alongside the division of the land, a cadastre was established which contained names of the seniors in each home to which the land was given and its description¹⁴.

The colonisation was even more intensive during the Morean War when more refugees arrived from the former Ottoman territories. Many of them settled in the areas of Nadin, Vrana and Obrovac. This colonisation definitely and irreversible changed the state of the population in the bishopric of Nin as well as the ethno-confessional structure of its population.

The map of the bishopric of Nin created in 1672 is an exceptional historical source. It is the most detailed map of this region and brings a list of the settlements with the number of their inhabitants and their religious affiliation. This map presents a unique cartographic source considering the descriptive data which was not known before (see map n. 1).

This map of the bishopric of Nin which was drawn-up in 1672 by an unknown author and is a part of a report about the religious structure of the Nin bishopric's population and is conserved in *Archivio de Propaganda Fide* in the Vatican, under the signature of 'Socg, vol. 512, f. 189'. In accordance with its purpose the map is entitled *Descritio Villarum & Animarum tam Catholicarum quam Scismaticorum Diaecesis Noniensis*. This is a manuscript map sized 38x26cm and presents the settlements of the bishopric of Nin. Settlements are symbolised by picture signs. The names of the settlements are Italianised. Alongside the settlements there is presented a schematised hydro-graphic networks. The borderlines of the bishopric are marked by pointed lines. The fact that the map is very detailed and for that period on quite a large scale, is in discordance with the number of mistakes made

¹² M. SLUKAN ALTIĆ, *Povijesna kartografija - kartografski izvori u povijesnim znanostima.*, Samobor 2003, pp. 282-284.

¹³ Državni Arhiv Zadar, Governor Zorzi Morosini's documents (1671-1673).

¹⁴ The Nin Cadastre of the new conquered territories was finished in 1675. It was created by Military Engineer Stjepan Boucaut and Major Napolion Eraut. Compare it in the Venetian Cadastre files, nr. 59, Državni Arhiv Zadar.

in the location of some of the settlements. The contours of the coast and numerous designed settlements show that the author of the map was well informed. This map, more than any before it, contains an exceptional large number of toponyms. On the other hand, the often imprecise location of settlements shows the fact that the map was not designed on the base of original field works, just that it is a result of compilation. This fact points to the conclusion that the author used a Venetian topographic-cadastral map as a base and which was filled with new settlements which were established as a result of the new colonisation.

A similar map of the bishopric of Skradin was created in 1712 and put together with a report about religious affiliations. Taking into consideration the description of the map given by Bogović¹⁵, the map of the bishopric of Skradin also contained data about the religious structure of the inhabitants in the settlements. Unfortunately, the mentioned map which was also preserved in the Vatican archive (vol. 580, f. 149-150), was stolen and the unique data lost forever¹⁶.

Some problems of the interpretation and identification of toponyms

The map of the bishopric of Nin was obviously only drawn for general orientation and therefore the locations of the settlements were marked with varying accuracy. This fact puts some limits on the identification of toponyms and especially by some localities. Only part of the settlements marked on the map of the bishopric of Nin from 1692 exists today. There are many inaccuracies in the locations of some of the settlements marked on the original map from 1672. Therefore we created a cartographic reconstruction which presents the content of the original map with all the marked and identified settlements and the bishopric's borderlines (see map n. 2).

Settlements which have preserved their continuity to this day have been identified without major problems. The only problem in the identification of some numbers of those settlements shows us that there were many cases of patronymic toponyms which were multiple repeated in the small area of

¹⁵ M. BOGOVIĆ, *Katolička crkva i pravoslavlje u Dalmaciji za mletačke vladavine*, Zagreb 1993, p. 19.

¹⁶ This information we received directly from Archivio de Propaganda Fide in Vatican. Unfortunately, as far as we know, the map of the bishopric of Skradin was never recorded and therefore was never published, neither its reprint.

Ravni Kotari (like Smoković) and sometimes it is very difficult to understand which is the correct location.

The problem of the map's limitations became apparent during the identification of the settlements from the end of the 17th and beginning of the 18th centuries, which no longer exist and can not be found on maps from the 18th and 19th centuries. For the identification of those settlements we used cartographic sources from the end of the 17th century. This is especially related to Cantelli's map of the Zadar region from 1688 and Coronelli's map of the same region from 1690 which contain some toponyms mentioned in the map of the bishopric of Nin from 1672. In this way identified settlements on the reconstructed map of the bishopric of Nin were marked with *italic* letters.

Some of the settlements no longer exist, but they were mentioned in this map and unfortunately they are not noted in other cartographic sources of the 17th century and their location was defined only on the basis of this map of the bishopric. The location of this kind of settlements has to be taken with wide reserve because of the irregularities in their precise locations are large for many of them. These settlements are marked with underlined italic letters on the reconstructed map.

Territory of the bishopric

In 1561 the bishopric of Nin still formally had the same borderline as in the 15th century, keeping a large area of Morlacchia i.e. the Velebit foothills (Podgorje) and a part of Lika and Krbava. In fact, the bishopric hardly conducted any jurisdiction in the town of Nin and its surroundings. The bishop's place in Nin was demolished, probably in 1525, and the bishopric was moved to Zadar. In the documents of Valier's visit in 1579 we can understand that the bishopric of Nin functioned in only 7 parishes (1 in Croatian territory, 3 under the Venetian Government and 3 under the Ottoman Government). The only secure territory of the bishopric was Vir with the church of St. George (Sveti Juraj). It is important to mention here that although the majority of the territory of the bishopric was under the Ottoman Government, Bishop Petar II Cedolin in 1580 visited the most of the bishopric's territory without major problems and only in one parish was there some conflict between Christians and Muslims during his trip.

This situation regarding the borderlines of the bishopric remained the same until the Morean War (1684-1699), when the Ottomans were pushed deep into the Dalmatian hinterland to the Knin-Vrlika-Sinj-Zadvarje-

Vrgorac borderline¹⁷. Almost the whole territory of the bishopric was a part of the Venetian territory again at the time when this map was created. An exception was the northernmost part of the bishopric (the part of Lika and Krbava) which was under the Habsburg's Government. The eastern borders of the bishopric reached the Vrana Lake and Biograd na Moru where the Skradin bishopric started and Velim and Ostrovica, where the Knin bishopric started. At the south, the bishopric shared the borderline with the bishopric of Zadar on the Petrečani-Bokanjačko Blato-Zemunik-Tinj-Vransko Lake line. In this way the bishopric of Nin unified Ravni Kotari, Bukovica and Podgorje in a territorial sense.

Ethno-confessional structure of the population in the bishopric of Nin in 1692

The map of the bishopric of Nin in 1692 shows 76 settlements in total. On the territory of the Nin bishopric (without the Habsburgs part of the bishopric!) were settled down 7,049 Catholics and 6,279 Orthodox ("Schismatics"), 13,328 inhabitants in total as it can be seen from the summary data of the map. A part of the total number of the inhabitants, there is a statistic list of all settlements with the confessional structure of their inhabitants below the map. Taking in consideration those statistic data related to settlements, we can see that in the territory of the Nin bishopric there was hardly any confessional "pure" settlements in 1692. The ethno-confessional mixture of the inhabitants was very high over the whole of the territory of the bishopric. This fact supports the statement that this territory was already very multicultural and multi-confessional in that period. The processes of colonisation reached the point where the new layer of the population became dominant in the majority of the bishopric's territory.

Looking to the territorial dispersion of predominately Catholic and predominately Orthodox settlements, we can see a clear order. The settlements with predominately Catholic inhabitants dominated in the western part of the bishopric while the settlements with predominately Orthodox inhabitants dominated in the eastern part of the bishopric. The middle part of the bishopric had the most multi-confessional inhabitants.

¹⁷ M. SLUKAN ALTIĆ, 'Granice Dalmacije u mirovnim ugovorima i na kartama razgraničenja do kraja 19. stoljeća', *Grada i prilozi za povijest Dalmacije - Državni arhiv Split*, 18 (2003), p. 457.

Comparing the borders of domination of each religion with the borders of the Ottoman conquests can also be seen a strong correlation. The border of the predominately Catholic settlements was overlapping within the Venetian-Ottoman border from 1576 and 1671. Predominately Orthodox settlements appeared only inside of the reach of the Ottoman conquests (see map n. 3).

Furthermore, as the border of predominately Catholic settlements was sharper, as the border between mix and predominately Orthodox settlements was gradual. It is very interesting that the largest ethno-confessional mixture of population was present exactly where the strongest conflicts with the Ottomans took the place – in the central part of the bishopric. This was the territory where the major violence occurred for more than two centuries. Despite this fact, the people stayed to live in mixed settlements and getting into conflicts with the Ottomans and the immigrating Morlachs at the same time. Living with violence was obviously the only way to survive on the very borderline with the Ottomans. The common language of the indigenous and immigrants as well as necessity of living together to survive together were the important factors of co-existence during the time of Ottoman attacks.

The threat of war and violence which the inhabitants of the border area of the two empires had to suffer left another trace. The majority of the settlements which can be found on this map and which were abandoned or mentioned later under different name were placed exactly in the central part of the bishopric. This is the case with Muharci (today Dračevac Ninski), Polišani (Sv. Ivan Poličnik), Kamenjani (Škabrnja), Pobrđani Gornji and Donji Strupnić, Luka, Milgošje, Stošija, Skrila and some other settlements whose names could not be found on maps of the 18th century. These were medieval Croatian settlements which disappeared under the waves of new colonisation. A percentage of Orthodox inhabitants already lived in many of these settlements and they fought against Ottomans during the Morean War. These settlements were abandoned even when the threat of direct war threat ceased. We can conclude that the important factor of the bonding of the inhabitants in mix-ethnic settlements was the fear of the Ottomans. When this close fear disappeared then the bond which connected them disappeared too. A second reason for the abandonment of settlements was the destructive consequences of the Morean War. The major battles took place exactly in the middle part of the bishopric and the heaviest destruction was here.

Confessional tolerance/intolerance in the Bishopric of Nin

Demographic turbulences which appeared as a consequence of the Ottoman-Venetian conflicts in this area had a strong impact on the change of the ethno-confessional structure of the population. Earlier, the reasonably ethnically pure area then became the territory of co-existence of a multi-confessional community. This change caused fear amongst the indigenous population, whether they were Catholic or Orthodox. Even more than the fear of new confessional elements, the rebellion of the indigenous population was caused by violence, which the immigrants showed in conquering their land. Sometimes it was even difficult to control those who lived on the same side of the border and who were fighting together against Ottomans. There were very often complaints from the indigenous population against Morlachs who were stealing cattle and land from them. Therefore the main reason of intolerance between them was not their confession, but in the fight for land. The problematic relationship between indigenous people and immigrants was very clear to the Venetian Republic as well as to the Catholic Church. This can be supported by regulations conducted by the state and the church. In 1656 the Venetian Doge Bertucci Valier attempting to put under a common military administration all the armed inhabitants of Ravni Kotari, Bukovica and Podgorje, assigned a common colonel as a military commander. This was Count Franjo Posedarski, the hero of the battles against the Ottomans. At the same time Bishop Franjo Andrijašević ordered to all parish priests in villages of the Nin bishopric not to abandon their villages without special permission because it could have caused confusion amongst the indigenous population¹⁸. Language, which was common to indigenous and immigrants, presented some kind of bond in their connection. Despite all the efforts of the church and state government to retain the continuity of inhabitation and co-existence as a precondition for the successful defence of this territory, the ethno-confessional relationship of immigrants and indigenous population were extremely complex. To keep the situation somehow under control, Governor Girolamo Corner in 1689 gave orders for the population and organisation of villages, orders for census, the cultivation of land, orders for collection of taxes and sanctions for offences against these orders. This order also contains a section about the administrative division of Ravni Kotari, Bukovica and the Biograd coastline into nine administrative units, but this fragmented administration order was very difficult to keep under control.

¹⁸ TRALJIĆ, 'Nin pod udarom', p. 546.

Therefore in 1691 the whole territory was divided into only two parts: Gornji (Upper) and Donji (Lower) Kotari. Gornji Kotari where the commander was Zaviša Mitrović, contained the territories of Ljubač, Ražanac, Radovin, Vinjerac, Slivnica with Sela, Starigrad with Tribanj, Posedarje with Budin, Novigrad, Karin, Obrovac Donji and Obrovac Gornji, Poličnik, Rupalj, Islam, Suhovare, Stošija (Islam Grčki), Veljane, Kašić, Kula (Tower) Altagić, Benkovac, Kožlovac, Ostrovica, Devrske, Žavić and Bukovica to Mokro Polje and Radučić.

Donji Kotari was under commander Božo Milković and contained the whole territories of Nin and Grusi, Dračevac, Petrčane, Kožino, Bokanjac, Crno, Dračevac Zadarski, Bibinje, Krmčina, Turanj, Sv. Filip and Jakov, Biograd, Pakoštane, Gorica, Tinj, Polača, Gornja and Donja Jagodnja, Pristeg, Vrana, Banjevci, Dobra Voda, Radašinovci, Zemunik, Nadin, Rašević, Šopot, Perušić and Vukušić.

It is obvious that this administrative line did not follow the natural border. The territory was divided in a way that in each of the Kotar sub-regions were the almost the same numbers of Catholic and Orthodox settlements. This decision maybe best describes the complexity of ethno-confessional relationship but even more the fear of the Venetian Government of possible rebellions. The unity of indigenous people and immigrant populations was the only guarantee for the defence of this geo-strategically important territory. In this sense, the described map of the bishopric of Nin drawn in 1672, immediately after the push of the Ottomans and at the moment when the old layer of population could be still seen under more and more dominate new layers of Morlach populations, clearly documents the whole complexity of the demographic relationship and emphasises the ethno-confessional interactions and intercultural character of the territory of the bishopric of Nin.

THE BISHOPRIC OF NIN IN 1692 - CONFESSIONAL STRUCTURE

*Descriptio Villarum et Animarum tam Catholicorum quam Scismaticorum
Diaecesis Nonensis.*

<i>Settlement</i> (today and in 1692)	<i>Catholics</i>	<i>Orthodox</i>
Nin - Nona	309	15
Vir – Poncadura	184	8
Privlaka - Brevilaqua	206	16
Zaton - Zaton	123	9
Vrsi - Varbe	230	18
Poljica - Poliza	130	12
Dračevac - Drachevaz	104	6
Visočane - Visozane	138	14
Radovin - Radovin	209	23
<i>Tot.</i>	1,633	121
Ražanac - Rasance	564	56
Vinjerac - Castel Venier	406	38
Slivnica - Slivniza	202	40
Posedarje - Posedaria	240	124
Novigrad - Nouegrad	1120	60
Obrovac Gornji - Obrovazo Sup.	-	480
Obrovac Donji - Obrovazo Inf.	340	260
Kruševo - Crusevo	102	30
Jasenice - Giesenice	96	15
Starigrad - Starigrad	130	20
Zvonigrad	12	180
<i>Tot.</i>	3,212	1,303
Zelengrad - Zelengrad	6	9
Karin - Carin	-	92
Popovići - Popovich	78	13
Kloštar (Karin)* - Clostar	-	87
Golubić - Golubić	38	15
Pridraga - Pridraga	67	7

* A part of the settlement of Donji Karin

Čirjaci - <i>Cerneci</i>	-	76
Otavac - <i>Otavac</i>	58	43
Sv. Martin	43	28
Badanj** - <i>Badagn</i>	36	9
Broskvić - <i>Prasquich</i>	-	69
<i>Tot.</i>	326 (353)***	448
Podgradina - <i>Budin</i>	-	498
Biljane - <i>Bigliane</i>	-	376
Perušić Benkovački - <i>Perusich</i>	205	62
Kula Atlagić - <i>Cula Atlagich</i>	-	291
Rastević - <i>Rastevich</i>	98	73
Šopot - <i>Sopot</i>	123	36
Korlat - <i>Corlat</i>	-	273
Benkovac - <i>Benkovich</i>	-	351
Kolarina - <i>Colarina</i>	-	195
Buković - <i>Vuckovich</i>	-	173
Lišane Tinjske - <i>Lisane</i>	-	104
<i>Tot.</i>	426	2432
? - <i>Hercevrac</i>	-	103
? - <i>Podgjarice</i>	-	65
Ceranje - <i>Ceragne</i>	-	132
Polača - <i>Polaza</i>	98	26
Miranje - <i>Miragne</i>	-	108
Jagodnja Donja - <i>Giagodna Inf.</i>	-	206
Jagodnja Gornja - <i>Giagodna Sup.</i>	-	102
Nadin - <i>Nadin</i>	187	23
Škabrnja <i>Camegnine</i>	96	13
? - <i>Podlemesane</i>	34	28
Trljuge? - <i>Ternovo</i>	-	137
<i>Tot.</i>	415	943
Islam Latinski - <i>Islam</i>	23	87
Kašić - <i>Cassich</i>	-	112
? - <i>Starosane</i>	60	32
? - <i>Strupnich Sup.</i>	70	63

** Today a part of the settlement of Novigrad.

*** In the original table the author calculated 353 Catholics, but this was an obvious mistake because the total amount for the mentioned settlements is 326 Catholics.

? - <i>Strupnich Inf.</i>	40	21
? - <i>S. Luca</i>	104	17
Prkos - <i>Percos</i>	130	9
Gorica - <i>Gorica</i>	102	13
? - <i>Podbargnane</i>	70	9
? - <i>Migliascha</i>	30	12
Smilčić Kula - <i>Smilchich Cula</i>	-	87
Radosna - <i>Radovin</i>	-	76
<i>Tot.</i>	629	538
Smoković - <i>Smochovich</i>	98	23
? - <i>Paprat</i>	-	55
? - <i>Terzi</i>	32	9
? - <i>Scrile</i>	28	12
? - <i>Ravanscha</i>	-	78
? - <i>Gladuse</i>	-	53
Dračevac Ninski - <i>Maburci</i>	-	-
Poličnik - <i>Polichnich</i>	-	130
Rupalj - <i>Rupagi</i>	187	23
S. Ivan Poličnik - <i>Polischane?</i>	39	10
Islam Grčki - <i>Stosia</i>	-	71
<i>Tot.</i>	384	464
<i>Full Total</i>	7,052	13,328

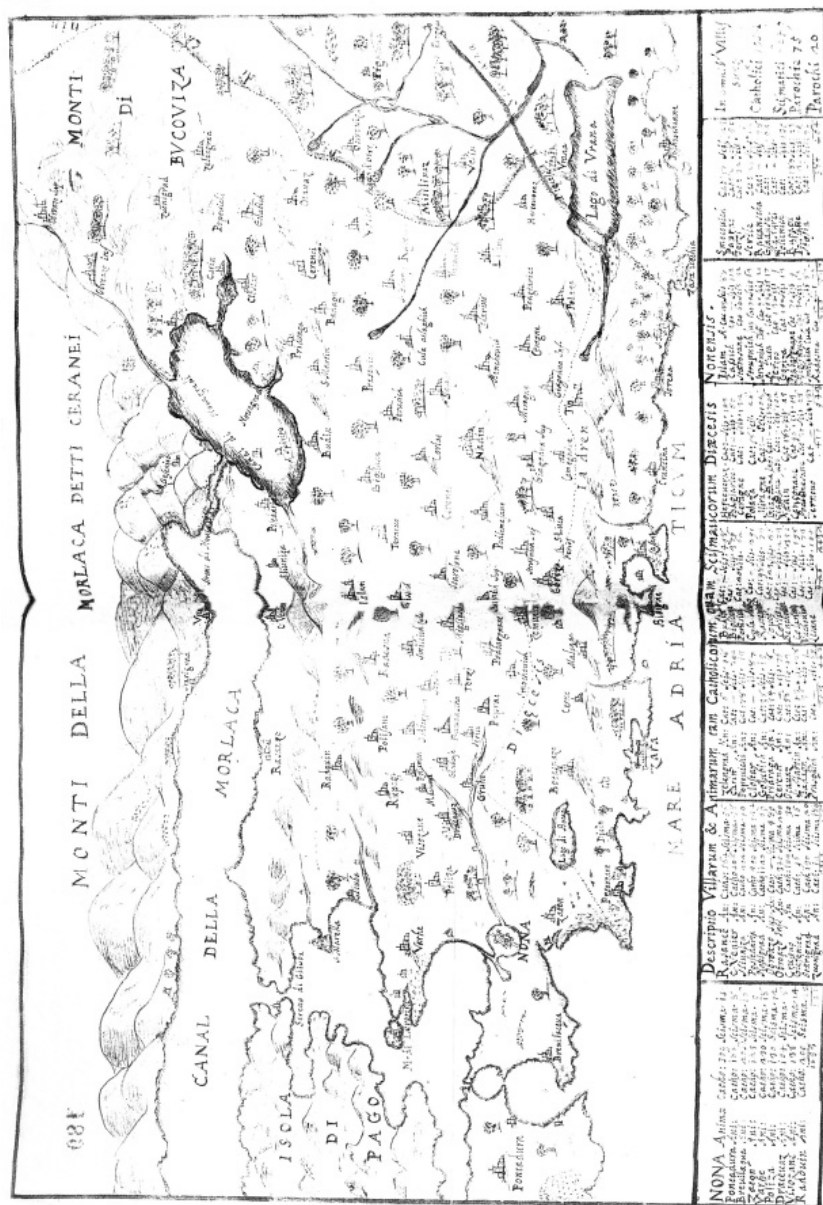


Fig. 1 - Original map of the Nin bishopric in 1692.

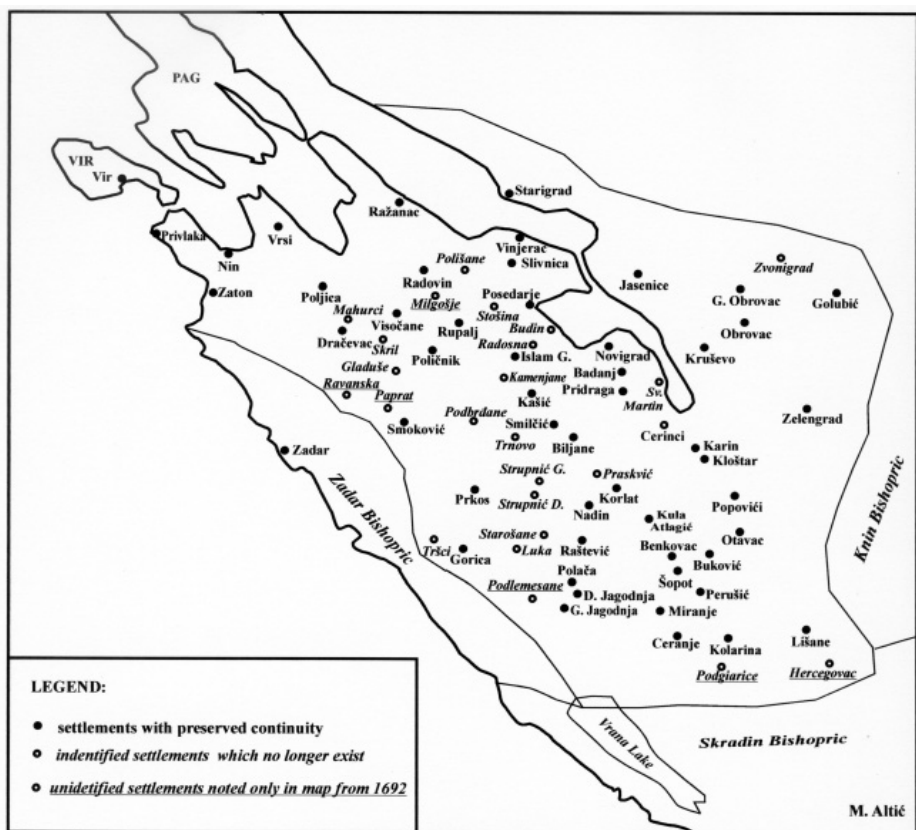


Fig. 2 - Reconstruction of the map of the Nin bishopric in 1692.

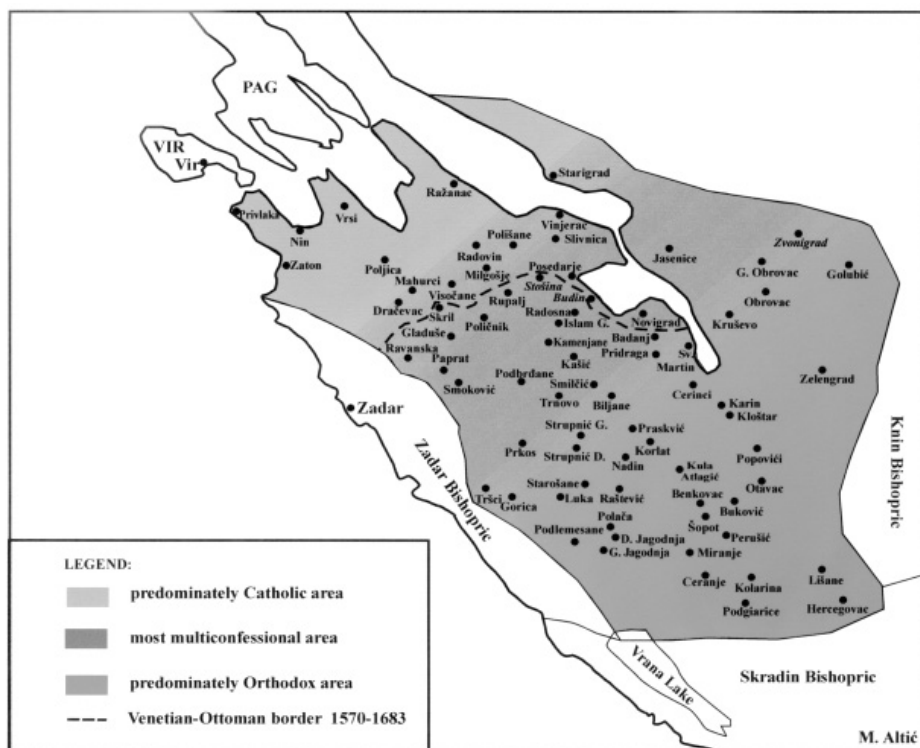


Fig. 3 - Ethno-confessional structure of the Nin bishopric in 1692.

Dubravka Mlinarić

**DISEASED AS ‘OTHER’
IN THE 18th CENTURY NORTHERN DALMATIA**

In a way to contribute to the Research Project “Triplex Confinium”, I am presenting an analysis of the whole panoply of perception varieties of sick individuals or communities, as different or “Others” in the Early Modern Northern Dalmatia, namely Ravni Kotari broader lowland region. This investigation is made as a part of a wider source searching for the area between Zrmanja and Krka rivers in the 18th, the latest century of the Venetian rule. The illness is going to be considered in the broadest possible perspective, from the point of view of social “contamination” and “divergence” to the real physical, and scarcely recorded mental diseases and physical disability¹. The attitude and reactions towards the diseased and incapable member were often found in narrative sources, such as travelogues, and they expressed the perception of diseased as “Other” from various aspects: from individual family perspective, local and broader community as popular opinion, church and state authorities, neighbouring state systems, and the diseased himself /herself.

The documents enable the reconstruction of the popular impression and expectation concerning the diseases, the role of the state, religion, faith and beliefs (local superstition) in fighting various diseases of those times. Ethnic, cultural, confessional, ethical or medical tolerance, namely “repressive tolerance,” in everyday life on the micro-historical scale is accelerated by the

¹ Illness is much more than just absence of health, combining various circumstances that influence human physical and mental status. «Health is a state of complete physical, mental, and social well-being and not merely the absence of disease and infirmity. According to the 1946 definition of the WHO. See S.M. MEADE and J.R. EARICKSON, *Medical Geography*, New York 2000, p. 2.

social and cultural experiences of different health status in relation to class, literacy, urban or rural background, etc. Moreover, history of *marginiaux* (sick and infirm people, beggars, slaves) on the religious, ethnic, political and economic Multiple Borderland. The identities and self identification of that particular marginal group were one of the crucial impacts on the perception of the “Other”, within the atmosphere of broader intolerance and exclusions, and, in spite of that, field experiences of co-habitation strengthened by the closeness of the Dalmatian triple border.

The various perceptions of the “sick Other”, often burdened with the prejudices and stereotypes, depend on the observer’s point of view. Therefore, the recorded “realities” and “truths” are different, depending on the “measuring scale” of a certain physician, local community member, family member², and patient as an individual, central state authorities or the observant from the abroad on this multibordering area. From the same perspective, special interest will be directed to the fluctuation on the borders and its transparency, especially in consideration with the military, transhumance shepherd or merchant migrations and the role of sanitation cordons.

The primary goal is to stress the differences in various kinds of ill member’s receptions, traced according to the various archival sources from the broader area of the triple-frontier Venetian, Ottoman and Habsburg *krajinās*. One kind of sources are feudal possession Borelli’s records (*Alberi Genealogici*³) that offer economical and demographical data, ecclesiastic lists (*Parish registers of births, marriages and deaths*), state official documents (Provveditori Generali’s, Stampe) and narrative literary sources, or travelogues of European travellers-physiocrats (Alberto Fortis and Balthasar Hacquet). By combining all four sorts of data I will try to deconstruct pieces of past realities and to analyze the everyday attitude towards sick limited by the very nature of the documents. The methodological approach presumed extensive investigation, identification and evaluation of different sorts of primary documents. By their mutual comparative analysis I aim to interpret the eighteenth century socio-cultural and confessional understanding of

² Sex was defining very important objective, since females (wives, daughters, and sisters) were more emotionally involved to cure and care of diseased family members, especially careful Morlac’s mothers, according to travellers, Fortis, and Hacquet.

³ Compare to: *Alberi Genealogici* of the Borelli feudo, in Državni Arhiv Zadar (DAZ), Archivio Borelli, vol. 98, population, Albero Genealogico (AG) di Tign, n. 72; AG di Vrana, n. 74; AG di Pacostiane, n. 71; AG di Torrete, n. 73; AG di Zarravechia, n. 75.

disease in the particular landscape of *Triplex* particularly on symbolic level of environmental perception and popular superstition.

The diseases and diseased persons were spread in the whole complex circumstances or context of living on the border.

Life in the lowland area of Ravni Kotari was in eco-geographical sense, as an area of economic production on the low level (extensive herding), strongly dependent on nature. The landscape is also defined by the random exchange of low karst and limestone hills and arable (fliš) valleys, crossed by numerous surface and undersurface water flows. Mediterranean and semi Mediterranean climate was another moderator of life and economic practices, especially when drinking water was considered, causing summer scarcity and winter abundance of water. Historical war circumstances, and economic predominance of transhumant herding, most appropriate for insecure turmoil times, caused degradation of soil (erosion) and biological layers (phytologic degradation), and finally depopulation. The complexity of geographic elements (water, lowlands) and the cultural landscape (closeness of the borders) shaped the adequate disease spreading conditions.

The 18th century was crucially dominated by the final stabilisation of the Venice state power after a few centuries of Ottoman-Venetian conflicts and wars, followed by the shifting of borders, depopulation and new colonisation. Deserted areas were still during the war and immediately after it populated by the semi nomadic shepherd Morlacs. For exchange, Morlacs obtained subordinate military defensive duties and represented a new economic power of land users and tax payers, who also exchanged predominate rural agricultural economies with the shepherd one. Everyday life was moreover threatened by the uskoks and hayduks attacks, as the local banditry of Morlacs' starving compatriots, engaged by the Venetian against Ottomans, but only occasionally receiving salaries for their service.

Economic productivity was very low, due to the duality of the land possessing and taxation system; while the *Acquisto vecchio* or *Old Possession* on islands and along the coastline kept the colonate feudal system of split feudal taxation (church, state, landowner)⁴, new colonists on *Acquisto nuovo* and *Nuovissimo* (land in the hinterland completed after peace treaties of Karlovci 1699 and Požarevac 1718) gained privileges of military feudal taxation (decima) that was no more than one tenth of production to the land owner, which was exclusively state. New inhabitants imported their

⁴ Sometimes the labourers were subordinate to more than one feudal instance, from both sides of the border.

extensive herding system, and changed rural arable lands, now destructed and deserted, into extensive herding pastures. New agricultural practice was undeveloped but also invalid and destructive for the cultural landscape.

Due to the average population density (30 inh. per square km) of the Ravni Kotari⁵, and the approximate of the 1 square km of land for feeding one nomad inhabitant of this economic system⁶ the agrarian overpopulation was introduced to the area, followed by scarcity of grain and food, by starvation and poverty. The main characteristic of the settling was unbalanced distribution.

The lowland area of early modern times experienced specific complex of diseases (epidemic, and endemic), within the social frame of poverty, ignorance, and starvation⁷. The recorded symptoms, as well as the *contemporary* medical knowledge could not help us to determine the exact disease, which is not our primary concern at the moment. We are more concerned to reveal the relationship of the ill person and his/her surrounding, self re-examination and the society's attitude toward the diseased. The specific marshy lowland was furthermore emanating "unhealthy air" from the deserted water flows and swamps, provoking number of endemic diseases that are known from documents under complex terminology such as fevers ("febbra", "terciana")⁸

⁵ Islands of Dalmatia were in general populated with 56.000 inhabitants or 28 per sq km while the hinterland area with 70.000 inhabitants or 12 per sqkm. See F. BARAS, 'Iz memoara maršala Marmonta. Ilirske uspomene 1806-1811', *Čakavski sabor*, 1977, pp. 81-82, p. 237. Ravni Kotari were at the end of the 18th ct inhabited by cca 60.000 people on 2.000 sqkm, or by 30 inhabitants per sq km. L. KOS, 'Bukovica i Ravni kotari', in *Benkovački kraj kroz vjekove*, Benkovac 1987, p. 70.

⁶ I. CRIKVENČIĆ and A. MALIĆ, *Agrarna geografija*, Zagreb 1988, p. 68.

⁷ Within the regular cycles of food production, and due to the Ottoman-Venetian wars and devastation the whole hinterland inland was in each decade of early modern times devastated with 6-7 years of starvation, since the Dalmatia was not producing enough. D. BOŽIĆ-BUŽANČIĆ, 'Glad, prosjaci, epidemije, higijenske i zdravstvene prilike u Dalmaciji krajem 18. i početkom 19. stoljeća', *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest*, 29 (1996), p. 138. Chronologically, there were ten horrible periods of starvation in Dalmatia: from 1714 to 1718, 1722-28, 1730-33, 1736-44, 1746-47, 1751-56, 1761-63, 1772-75, 1777-82 and finally 1788-94. Compare to Š. PERIČIĆ, 'Gladne godine u mletačkoj Dalmaciji XVIII. stoljeća', *Radovi Zavoda Jugoslavenske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti u Zadru*, 27/28 (1980-81), p. 184.

⁸ "Vanno soggetti alle febbri terzane a causa delle malaria che sviluppassi dal lago di Boccagnazzo e dalla palude di Nona, nel cui mezzo è situata la villa di Poglizza". C.F. BIANCHI, *Zara cristiana*, Zara 1879, vol. II, pp. 330-331.

"mal'aria"⁹, "l'aria cattiva", "poco sana aria"¹⁰, "insalubre l'aria"¹¹), shivering fits or swampy fevers, other waterborne diseases and dysentery. They were strengthened by the occasional outbreaks of epidemic diseases such as small-pox, the most horrible, most efficient in mortality sense and best recorded plaque outbreaks¹² and later in the 19th century typhoid or typhus and cholera¹³ attacks, that articulated complex "convivenza" of diseases or "pathocenosis"¹⁴ of Ravni Kotari. The reception duality of functionally different endemic and epidemic diseases was present in popular everyday life, as a mode for evaluation and acceptance of diseased. The endemic disease (such the swampy fevers, *terzianas*, and shivering fits) were, especially in the lower strata of inhabitants, accepted as usual, and normally spread in specific landscapes or human "niches". As the "local evil", contributing to the poverty, war and starvation, disease elements strengthen "vicious circles" of "bad air", "bad water", "bad land", and "bad life", since the majority of Morlacs lived on the very edge of human existence. Their reality was all comprised in a proverb: *A fame, bello et peste, libera nos, Domine!* "

On the other side pestilence epidemics, of leprosy, spreading of plague (pest or pox) or any other less fatal disease were much better recorded by the communities, provoking various kinds of authorities to react and prevent them. One of the reasons for such prompt reaction was the enormous

⁹ Although it was not identified as malaria, it was still named "demonic disease".

¹⁰ During the provveditore generale Gradenigo 1775, territories of Ravni Kotari were abundant of lands that were „la maggior parte dell'anno...e per conseguenza poco fertili... poco sana l'aria... soggetti li poveri abitanti (...) febri piu molta“. DAZ, Provveditori generali, G. Gradenigo, 1777, c. 182, c. 84, c. 84a, c. 85.

¹¹ In the second half of the 18th ct. rivers Krka and Čikola flooded the surrounding areas caused "insalubre l'aria...e quindi le Febri che ruina la lor salute, e li fa poi morire". DAZ, Provveditori generali, G. Gradenigo, 1775, fasc. 182, 381a, 40/7a.

¹² Highly effective outbreaks were recorded in 1710, 1729-31, 1744-47, 1764, and 1782-84 throughout the Dalmatia, coming from Bosnia mainly.

¹³ Another disease connected with the water was cholera, with parts of similar symptoms to malarial (fevers, shivering fits etc). "KOLERA, koja od više misecih raspružava se po daljnjim deržavam..."; in Znanstvena Knjižnica Zadar (ZKZ), sig. 38.487R 1029. Its outbreaks in Dalmatia were recorded in 1420, 1456, 1526, 1607, 1731, 1763, 1783/4 and 1815. Passim: *Relazione nosografico-statistica sull'epidemia colerosa 1836 ...di Francesco Lanza*; ZKZ, sig. 26401 R-528, p. 19.

¹⁴ The word was invented by Croatian physician and professor Mirko Dražen Grmek, according to the byocenosis, following the idea that all diseases of a certain population are mutually correlated and interdependent, in spite of their specific distribution within the community, or their appearance frequency in short or long term perspective. M. BERTOŠA, *Izazovi povijesnog zanata. Lokalna povijest i sveopći modeli*, Zagreb 2002, p. 267.

demographic deserting made by them, and high fatality or mortality and immediately demographic and economic harms done.

This analysis is going to be presented by the dualities, or even more, multiplicity of relations toward the sick person, acceptance or at least tolerance as merely bearing sick individual in the early modern Dalmatia.

First pair of ambivalence is presented by *urban and rural differences*¹⁵ in toleration of ill person. While the basic unity for personal care of diseased in the rustical areas and villages was family, the towns had its own organised institutions, very often within the church structure, or organised by state authorities: such as hospitals, lazarettos, quarantines or *cordon sanitaire*. Such monopolistic institution also regulated the economic trade ship, as a custom regulator, but by paradox was that the economic decadence came with the absence of Ottoman caravans from Bosnia in the 19th century. All participating institutions imposed "repressive tolerance" towards the diseased, as the test or a trial to "a decent Christian" for expressing charity, mercy and solidarity. On the other hand the villages were depended on pure family care for diseased which relied on strong emotional strings. Family care was also dichotomous within the family itself; while the members are expressing emotional closeness towards sick family member; male members stood for the broader family interests, depending on the economic or social importance of the diseased, e.g. capability to work. Therefore the senior system of healing was implemented, and an older male member subordinate to female and even male child¹⁶.

Another differentiating level of this complex relation was private, namely *individual relation* towards the sick, again realised mainly within the intimacy of family, which accepted a diseased member as something normal and usual. At the same time the *attitude of community*, various levels of authority; such as local community, state authorities¹⁷, church community

¹⁵ It can be also related to a centre-periphery differences in a broader sense. Another very important difference was the higher number of children and adult mortality rates in hinterland rural area (in ten houses more than 4 dead children per house in Tinj during the end of the 18th and early 19th century) while along the coastline and on islands families were not so numerous and the life conditions were more improved, so the mortality rates were lower. *Alberi Genealogici* of the Borelli feudo, DAZ, Archivio Borelli, vol. 98, population, *Alberi Genealogici di Tign*, n.72.

¹⁶ The death of the new-born was less traumatic, in inhuman world of early modern rural landscapes, than the lost of the cattle, crucial for the feeding of the rest of the family.

¹⁷ State authorities insisted on keeping the population's economic potential for taxation, so they reacted to diseases by delivering regulations aiming at prevention of diseases, printing leaflets, etc. All that was highly depending on popular implementation and acceptance. Due

or wider medical-sanitary authorities were to a certain extent different. One can find broader economic or sanitary scale of community interests¹⁸, and particular community actions motivated by adequate quantity of humanity and mercy. Feudal society reacted in a specific way, recognised in the taxation records of the *Alberi Genealogici* of Borelli's possession. Church or members of confessional hierarchy, although proclaimed mercy and opened charity institutions, escaped from contact with the disease on merely human level, expressing fear to stay in diseased areas¹⁹. By giving some distorted explanation, also due to general ignorance, Franciscans and Orthodox priests intensified some of popular superstition believes considering diseases, very old-fashioned und backward.

The local perception of a small community, especially rural, was to a great extent modified by popular religiosity and the evolution of the official practices. Another cognitive category was the impact of private superstition, that was reshaping everyday life, hand by hand with the popular medical practice and healing. Individual relations towards the sick were specifically expressed in works of foreign travellers, as European intellectuals (Fortis or Hacquet). Their attitudes towards diseased were "proper" reactions towards

to lack of money the authorities did not answer all the needs, like in 1769, when the City Council of Nin asked for river regulation support. DAZ, Privilegi di Nona, vol. IV, f. 121v-122r. M. NOVAK-SAMBRAILO, 'Političko-upravni položaj Nina u doba Mletačke Republike' *Radovi Instituta Jugoslavenske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti u Zadru*, 16-17 (1969), p. 187. They also supported individual physiocratic projects, like Borelli's or Manfrin's and imported reforms and new ideas of reclamation. "Da sva Vrilla, i Bunari, i Vodne jame budu u svakkomu sellu uzdarxana i svakko godiste occistiena za gliudsku Korist, i za dobro toliko potrebno xivini; A u ona poglia u koya tekku Rike, i Vrilla, dase Svakko godiscte izdubi jamme za zakratit sstete od Vode, radi cessa immatitese kray od reciniti Ryh, i Vrillov darxati cisti od trave, illiti Busse, koyebi moghle ustaviti riku, illi bi zatvorile Basstinu". DAZ, Stampe, 9/2 from 25.4.1956.

¹⁸ Few individuals also undertook some huge reclamation projects, such Borellis or Manfrin family in Nin area (*Vrsi*), drying the fertile lands, extending the agricultural potential and improving the life conditions by lowering malaria in the area. Their actions were motivated by the personal profit but they were successful to extent of their personal financial possibilities.

¹⁹ Nor just the ecclesiastic community left the town of Nin during the high mortality era but also the local government authorities left their positions in 15th century in fear of diseases such as malaria. Officials were even endangered by loosing their jobs if leave the place, but it couldn't stop them to find better and healthier place to live. G. PRAGA, *Atti e diplomi di Nona, Estratto dall'Archivio storico per la Dalmazia*, 1936, doc. XC, p. 110. Due to the malaria threatened city major, priests, and nuns of Nin also moved to Zadar, and the bishop Grassi, who suffered from cyclic shivering fevers, was approved to leave, but in spite of transfer, died. R. JELIĆ, 'Ninjani u zadarskim crkvenim maticama u XVI i XVII stoljeću', *Radovi Instituta Jugoslavenske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti u Zadru*, 16-17 (1969), p. 602.

the “Other”, not just because of different cultural circles travellers and sick local Morlacs belonged to, reflected in widely spread negative stereotypes about Morlacs²⁰ and intellectual “teaching” and “preaching”, but also because of the fear to communicate with diseased. The social attitude toward disease differed depending on the state power. While fighting each other for the territory or just bordering in south-eastern Europe, particularly in the Balkan Peninsula including the Croatian lands, Austrians, Ottomans and Venetians had established specific interrelations, with different medical systems. The attention of Christian side was drawn to the importance of sanitary borders (*cordone sanitaire*) to prevent the disease (especially pestilence) distribution and spreading, even across the porous borders, while Ottomans adopted that practice in the late 18th and 19th century. This was one of the reasons for rapid spread of diseases over the Ottoman borders from Bosnia, and also one of the reasons for relating “Ottomans” as “Others” not just in confessional or cultural but even in the medical sense²¹.

Official medical practice put its efforts to cure epidemic disease by prescription of medicines, that was advertised by state system of proclamations (*Stampe*)²² or private publications (leaflets and books).

²⁰ By belonging to the “superior European culture” and by being literate and educated Fortis, like the majority of others foreign intellectual travellers, “paludophobic” criticised and ironically commented some practically proved methods of malaria prevention within Morlacs as “them” or “barbars”, such as mosquitoes nets he has seen in Neretva region. “Svaki stanovnik te krajine ima svoj maleni šator da se zaštiti od komaraca i srodnih kukaca za spavanja; imućniji ljudi stoje pod šatorom od tankoga tkanja i danju, u ljetno doba. (...) Jedan mi je svećenik pokazao malu izbočinu ili kvrgu na čelu i tvrdio da mu je izrasla od uboda komarca. Za njega se može reći da je oštrouman čovjek; a rekao mi je kako sumnja da groznice što muče Neretljane mogu dolaziti od uboda tih kukaca jer oni, posisavši ribu ili četveronožnu strvinu ili zločudnu travu, dođu sisati ljude. Zaista, ne bi reklo da je nemoguće prenošenje neke mijazme, bolesti i na taj način, a sumnja je barem razumna”; in A. FORTIS, *Put po Dalmaciji*, Zagreb 1984, p. 242. By that admission he approved the importance of that “inferior popular culture”, as a step ahead of the scarce medical knowledge, but still express the scepticism of “elites” by doubting the possibility of anopheles transmission by mosquitoes. This kind of conflict communication can be traced in various life confrontations, confronting continental versus Mediterranean achievements or elements, Venetian versus Ottoman, autochthonous versus newly colonised, Roman versus Slavic etc, which all shaped the everyday life of Morlach world. F. BRAUDEL, *Civilizacije kroz povijest*, Zagreb 1990, p. 43.

²¹ Religious intolerance was focused towards Muslims as “Others”, if to marry to Christians, while the Ottoman’s subjects, especially merchants, or semi nomad population coming from Ottoman lands, were also “dangerous” for the spread of the disease.

²² One of the symbolic recommendations of a physician’s abilities was his success in curing Christian soldiers in Constantinople, where he was logistic support to European armies, presenting also superior European Christian science, medical practice, and symbolic civilisation as well.

Physicians and surgeons also shared their positive experience through seminars²³ or published memoirs²⁴.

On the other hand it was a great opportunity for false doctors and pharmacists, or even popular herbal masters to charge the people for the cure that was from times to times efficient, but it could also cause damage. Popular medicine was based on experience, but also motivated by mystic public beliefs²⁵, superstition and fatalism²⁶ towards the area they lived in, known as "Devil's area"²⁷, and "Doomed landscape", by foreigners in narrative as well as state official sources.

Special structure of diseases was highly divided on "social diseases", for instance foundlings (*esporea*) or illegitimate children (*illegitimi*), or male and even worse female widows, that were perceived as nothing but burden for the community. All those social handicap made the living more difficult in a patriarchal Morlach community, representing the broad scale of socio-cultural exclusions and inclusions, formed by the long-lasting experiences of coexistence. "Physical or physiological diseases" and diseased were different, including also body malformations and handicaps like blindness, mental diseases and retardation. If children were disabled even worse for them. Out of a total number of 232 houses in five villages of Ravni Kotari, only 6

²³ In early modern Dalmatia there were literary-economical intellectual institutions or Academies. Initially, an *Accademia agraria* was founded in Split in 1767. Other similar institution for exchange of ideas, modernisation of economy and *agricultural* experiments were in Zadar, Kaštela, Trogir and Dubrovnik.

²⁴ The records on the last Dalmatian plague attack is in the memories of local physician Grisogono. *Sopra il Morbo pestilenziale insorto nella Dalmazia Veneta l'anno 1783, Lettera del conte Pietro Nutricio Grisogono avvocato Veneto diretta al chiarissimo dottor Criastiano Wolf, medico Svedese, e socio delle Reali Accademie di Berlino, Lipsia, ec. Seconda edizione*, Mantova 1789. In ZAZ, sig. 26401, 21 R 658.

²⁵ Universal Morlach medicine, multiply tested and used, was a spirit drink, alcoholic drink with bits of gun powder or paper, given in a strictly dosed therapy: "Čaša jake rakije obično im je prvi ljekoviti napitak; ako bolest ne popusti uspu u nju poprilično papra ili puščana praha i tu mješavinu posrću. Kada to učine, dobro se pokriju ako je ima, ili se ispruže nauznak sučelice žarkom suncu ako je ljeto, da iznoje zlo, kako oni kažu. Protiv groznice trećodnevke imaju još sustavnije liječenje. Prvoga i drugoga dana uzmu čašu vina u kojem se nekoliko sati razmakao prstovet papra; trećeg i četvrtog udvostruči se kolicina. Vidio sam mnogoga Morlaka koji je savršeno ozdravio od toga neobičnog istjerivača groznice"; in Fortis, *Put po Dalmaciji*, p. 6.

²⁶ Patron saints were carefully chosen, so particularly famous in Dalmatia were St. Roko, St. Sebastian and St. Fabian. Another very common patron was Gospa od Zdravlja (Madonna della Salute). C. BOECKL, *Images of Plague and Pestilence. Iconography and Iconology. Sixteenth Century essays and Studies*, Kircksville 2000.

²⁷ Neretva was so called "area maledetta da Dio". FORTIS, *Put po Dalmaciji*, p. 242.

disabled children were recorded in app. 100 years, and moreover, not one of them reached adult age²⁸. Only one girl was taken care of as abandoned (foundling)²⁹, which is an enormously small statistical number of rural care for social problems of abandoned children, but it was interesting to be female. Such sad statistics can be also connected with the small importance of children as the demographic group, since they were not contributing to the economical prosperity. The expected life span of the newly born was 7-8 years, of adults between 25 and 30, and the mortality³⁰ varied depending on the epidemic circumstances³¹.

To conclude, on all those levels one can find duality if not multiplicity or all different scales of attitudes towards the diseased person, so the picture was not just black and white. Tolerance was on the one side, mainly within the intimate emotional framework of the family and very a close community circle like in rural territories of small local communities, while intolerance and conflict relations were at the other side. They were expressed by administrative regulations of the sanitary-medical authorities (quarantines, physics, doctors, surgeons) or state central authorities (*cordons sanitaires*).

The identity of a diseased person was defined, at least according to the records of the diseased intellectual in mental and physical way. Like in some other diseased (endogen) regions, inhabitants were undeveloped, apathic and pessimistic³². The sick, starving individual, mainly poverty surrounded, foundling, or physically challenged, with physical malformations, had

²⁸ Toma and Barica Komarich from Turanj were recorded both as blind and mentally challenged (*cieco e montecato*), Tomo, Luzia and Manda were disabled (*storpio*) and Nikola blind too. For further explanations see: Alberi Genealogici.

²⁹ Alberi Genealogici di Zaravecchia, n. 75, n. 40.

³⁰ In first 6 month of life increased to 70-90%. According the Parish registers, in Alavanja family from Karin at the end of the 18th as the beginning of the 19th century nine children under 8 years died, even 6 before they were 6 years old. Dubraja family lost 5 kids, 4 younger than 2 years old. *Župni Ured Karin, Anagrafi, Ak. 2066, 1790-1857, Dubraja, ff. 26-27, Alavanja, ff. 3-5.*

³¹ High mortality of children was often caused by unknown diseases. Fortis wrote: "Accrescimento o deteriorazione della popolazione dal principio del secolo in poi, e ragioni di esso comunemente credute tali. (...) Malattie alle quali sono ordinariamente soggetti. Mortalità e malattie de' fanciulli fino a' dieci anni. (...) Malattie straordinarie, eslegi, refrattarie, inesplicabili, dipendenti di qualche causa lontana". In *Ž. MULJAČIĆ, Putovanje Alberta Fortisa po Hrvatskoj i Sloveniji (1765-1791)*, Split 1996, p. VII.

³² "Qui dans leur fatalisme, dans leur stupide apathie, voient mourir leurs enfants dans se douter qu'ailleurs ou dans des circonstances plus heureuses, ils les conserveraient". M. DOBSON, *Contours of death and disease in early modern England*, Cambridge 1997, p. 303.

specific identities³³, subordinated to the society and that were integrated in, and exploited by that system while they can be of any use. Their integration into the broader community was also dependent on the possible interest or even economic power and capacity of their community to support them and offer them care and cure. Instead of all those mentioned, the demographic potential of diseased, if not endemic long-lasting destructive diseases as malaria³⁴, was much higher than those of starved and constantly hungry people. After the epidemic breaks, demographic sources often recorded extreme population compensation or reimbursement with the increase of birth- rates.

But one has to continuously have in mind that the recorded "realities", found from the sources we also used, were different, depending on the "evaluation scale" of a certain physician, or member of the local community, family, patient as an individual, central state authorities, or the observant from the abroad on the Triplex Confinium.

³³ The intellectuals also suffered from endemic disease, and from a description of a poet Obradović reflects the whole helplessness of a man. "Tresavica kako mi uzjaše za vrat, ni po što celu jesen i zimu neće da me se prođe, no svaki treći dan eto ti nje". In D. BERIĆ, 'Nov doprinos o Dositeju Obradoviću iz Dalmacije', *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku*, 52 (1935-49), p. 235.

³⁴ Such long-lasting and body distracting diseases causes huge physiological unbalances of the human body, and besides moral and psychological demolition provoked pessimism and lowered some abilities, like ability to work, to live, to walk and to procreate.



Fig. 1 - Krka Valey.



Fig. 2 - Upper Cetina Valey, lowland Dalmatian hinterland.



Fig. 3 - Miljašić Jaruga near village Briševo, spring time water level.

Achille Olivieri

TOLERANCE OR 'HUMANITY' IN ALBERTO FORTIS

The term *tolerance* appeared in Voltaire, between 1752, when he started to prepare materials and reflected about his *Dictionnaire Philosophique*¹, and 1763, the year when his *Tractate about Tolerance* began penetrating into European and Venetian culture. It was undoubtedly a moment which started a creative period in the history of intellectuals.

Yannick Seité confirmed that it opened a new cultural genre, *promenades*, about the research of historical forms of *tolerance* under a form of 'travels', 'illuminated' novels, *stories* full of 'virtuous' subjects about which Voltaire, Diderot and Montesquieu were inventors². The same *Philosophical Dictionary* was not formulated by Voltaire as an appendix to *stories* full of irony, attraction and rationale? *Tolerance* appeared between two opposing poles, almost Aesopian. Those (States) which created 'discordances' in front of those who speak about 'indulgence' and invoke 'benevolences, justice', synonyms of *tolerance*: 'because the interest is their God and they sacrificed all in order to show adoration to the monster'³. Rethink Voltaire and *Encyclopedie*, individuating with major lucidity the period from 1752 to 1763, seems opportune to the understanding of Alberto Fortis's itinerary and his *Travel to Dalmatia*. It is opportune to insert Alberto Fortis in his itinerary, where the encyclopaedism finds a peculiar periodization following the itinerary of *tolerance*.

¹ VOLTAIRE, *Dizionario filosofico*, Torriana (Foggia) 1993, pp. 5-8.

² Y. SEITÉ, *Romanzo*, in V. FERRONE and D. ROCHE (eds.), *L'illuminismo. Dizionario storico*, Roma-Bari 1988, pp. 301-315

³ VOLTAIRE, *Dizionario filosofico*, p. 431. See item *Tolerance*.

A figure 'endowed with curiosity', according to Franco Venturi⁴, Alberto Fortis was born in Padua in 1741, while his mother was married to Count Capodilista. This was a rich family, described in epigraphic research of Sertorio Orsato. According to Fortis's words, in *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire naturelle* published in Paris in 1802, the mother's marriage allowed him entrance to a *living room* of intellectuals and scientists, figures which he succeeded to be a part of and therefore to have them as his 'teachers'⁵. Figures like Giovanni Arduino, a seductive teacher who proposed to him "le goût des pérégrinations dans les montagnes, et c'est d'après sa manière de voir que j'ai commencé à combiner des idées, sur les différentes révolutions de notre globe et de leur antiquité". The terms are significant. They denote the imposition of a new intellectual vocabulary: *pérégrinations*, *révolutions*, transformations of the globe and research on its antiquity. The natural *sublime* which mute, explode, transforms itself, like the *sublime* of a 'primitive man' which Alberto Fortis traced, following the way of Rousseau and Vico. Those are subjects which appeared as most clear and most evident in his *Saggio poetico per servire di prodromo a un poema filosofico-teologico*, a work from 1786, published in London. The *sublime* became research, inquiry, history, 'experimental' observation. The term 'experimental' is revealing, it led to inquiries about societies and their function as a instrument to understand the presence of similarities of tolerances invented by Voltaire and amongst them 'benevolence' and research of a 'social concord' or 'humanity'⁶.

Viaggio in Dalmazia, in its splendid edition from 1774, published in Venice by Milocco print⁷, placed itself in the heart of this intellectual itinerary, undoubtedly very innovative, not only as scientific, as well as political and ethnographical literature which was dedicated to the research of forms of 'humanity' (a synonym of tolerance in Voltaire). These found their place on the pages full of revealed 'experience'. *Viaggio in Dalmazia*, which contains a chapter dedicated to the Morlachs, had a European fame. Its publication dates correspond to the diffusion of these discussions: Bern 1776, then 1778; London 1778, Bern 1797, while a section dedicated to customs (*les moeurs*) and habits (*les usages*) of the Morlachs was published partly in Bern in 1778, in Lausanne in 1792 and in Gothenburg in 1792. These dates correspond to

⁴ F. VENTURI, *Settecento riformatore*, vol. V/2, *L'Italia dei lumi. La Repubblica di Venezia (1761-1797)*, Torino 1990, p. 71.

⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 71-73.

⁶ VOLTAIRE, *Trattato sulla tolleranza*, Milano 1996.

⁷ A. FORTIS, *Viaggio in Dalmazia*, ed. by E. Viani, Venezia 1986.

publication of Voltaire's complete work and Condorcet's - a new intellectual sensibility was imposed in European culture⁸.

The *Viaggio* is a 'letter' which describes a travel through towns, islands, traditions of Dalmatia, dedicated to Jacopo Morosini⁹; it is a *promenade* under the banner of *Encyclopédie*. This work of Fortis was corroborated by a theme which became a 'mission' for merchants and noblemen of the Republic of Venice. 'Observation' and 'experimenting' of a new knowledge enlarged the limits not only of natural sciences as well as of 'humanistic' science. Alberto Fortis wrote to Jacopo Morosini¹⁰:

"Io mi sono prefisso di rendere conto delle varie osservazioni che ho già fatte e di quelle che sarò per fare d'ora innanzi nelle mie peregrinazioni, intraprese sotto gli auspici di nobilissimi mecenati patrizi, a quel picciolo numero d'illustri amatori o di celebri professori, co' quali mantiene in corrispondenza il vincolo fortissimo degli studi comuni".

On his pages, Alberto Fortis developed a procedure of 'observance' of the people and nature in all their aspects and therefore he 'peregrines' by written 'facts' traced in human sciences and nature, experimenting variations, changing tradition, reconstructing 'colours'. If Voltaire with his *Essai sur les mœurs* undoubtedly influenced him, Alberto Fortis alimented a theory about 'humanity' as a knowledge that transforms itself in a political design. Condorcet and his *Esquisse* are on the horizon.

The *Encyclopédie* laboratory can be seen on every page of Fortis's *Viaggio*. When he described the island of Uglian, where he stopped 'to make some observation', he focused on 'sweet customs' of the poor islanders which gave him a sensation of dear solitude, in which he was led by his usual melancholia, a part of his character¹¹. Then he fixed his attention on the habits 'of the inhabitants of the islands of Zara'¹² and in particular on the women and girls living there ("Io ho creduto che meritassero l'applicazione del mio disegnatore")¹³.

⁸ Between 1784 and 1789 Voltaire's *opera omnia* was published by Kehl publishers.

⁹ FORTIS, *Viaggio in Dalmazia*, p. 7: "Io dividerò le mie lettere, ora seguendo la separazione topografica dei distretti, ora il corso de' fiumi, ora il circuito dell'isole, ora la natura ed analogia delle materie".

¹⁰ *Ibidem*.

¹¹ "I dolci costumi di que' poveri isolani, mi rendevano cara quella solitudine, a cui m'aveva condotto l'abituale melanconia che forma oggimai il fondo del mio carattere". We don't accept Venturi's claim about this episode. VENTURI, *Settecento riformatore*, vol. V/2, p. 77. See FORTIS, *Viaggio in Dalmazia*, p. 11.

¹² *Ibidem*.

¹³ *Ibidem*, p. 12.

The passage from a written description to a drawing allow a preservation of these micro-societies of Dalmatia which reappear with its own 'nature'. Trees, waters, rocks, plants immerge themselves into human societies which return, as if by magic, into images and words which fix the observed facts. Therefore a traveller who observes became 'useful' to the 'Dalmatian nation'¹⁴. This 'science' permits the intellectual to 'reform ideas' and to approach into meanders of 'humanity' of a nation. It is a instrument of reform of political, environmental or religious ideas¹⁵: "Mi crederei il più fortunato di tutti i viaggiatori se, prima di finir d'esistere su la nostra terra, potessi essere convinto d'esser esistito utilmente"¹⁶. Alberto Fortis's goal, engaged with a strong desire, is to reform ideas discovering customs of a society.

This return to society, its movements and its traditions, is an aspect of a new knowledge which is enriched by history. Following, in this way, the destiny of scripture, it became an object of observing and describing. The scripture, in the form of enlarged 'letter', switch to drawings, represent and research that thread of political discussion which enriched a dimension of 'humanity' and its organisations.

Certainly, the encyclopaedism helps to understand the methodological importance of 'observation' in Alberto Fortis. All the same, there exists another variant of 'critical' encyclopaedism which came from the 16th century Paduan culture. The *experimentum* of Prospero Alpini - a doctor, a botanist and a traveller who discovered Egypt in *De medicina Aegyptiorum*, from 1591, and in *De plantis Aegypti*, from 1592 and published again in 1734 and 1735, could be seen as a forerunner of Alberto Fortis's literary model, although the instrument which he used was dialogue¹⁷. Travelling as a way to know "diversosque hominum mores... et observare". In this way *humanitas*, 'humanity' by Alberto Fortis, demonstrates its importance.

Encyclopaedists love Alpini and they suggest him to a innovative intellectuals view. According to Alpini, a female world break out, along with its climate, in his pages where an oriental town (Cairo) and its nature is described. Alpini's and Fortis's peregrinations have not only a symbolic *ratio*, but also, at the same time, a sentiment of nature and of human being.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 86.

¹⁵ *Ibidem*. Fortis' *Viaggio* seems inspired by the "sweetness of the customs" mentioned in Voltaire's *Trattato della tolleranza*, p. 37.

¹⁶ FORTIS, *Viaggio in Dalmazia*, p. 86.

¹⁷ G. LUSINA, 'Alpino (Alpini) Prospero', *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 2, Roma 1980, pp. 529-531.

This sentiment of 'humanity', which their peregrinations feed, conquest historical time and its depths. The *Viaggio* refers to Gianpaolo Gallucci's *Theatrum Mundi et temporis*, a tractate which appeared in Venice in 1583 and which influenced Fortis's way of thinking¹⁸. Another presence in *Viaggio in Dalmazia* concerns time, a renaissance time, as a frame of universe and human, which place itself next to the 'advance' of science and literature. This different articulation of time appears in the description of Zara¹⁹:

Il tempo, che ha fatto perdere sino alle vestigia della maggior parte delle città liburniche, ha sempre rispettata questa. Ella gode attualmente di tutto lo splendore che può convenire a una città suddita e probabilmente ha guadagnato col girare de'secoli, invece di perdere. La società di Zara è tanto colta quanto si può desiderarla in qualunque ragguardevole città d'Italia; né vi mancarono in verun tempo uomini distinti di lettere.

A human body is removed from times of misfortune and illness and directed to *happiness*. Alberto Fortis refers to a Federico Grisogono tractate, *De modo collegendi, pronosticandi et curandi febres, necnon de humana felicitate ac denique de fluxu et refluxu maris*, which was published in Venice in 1528²⁰.

'Humanity' indicates to these collective models which in terms of 'society' are stressed as: societies of learned men, societies of crafts, societies of land labourers. All of these gradations of societies reveal the influence of virtuous acts of men and time: any form of 'rationality' make a multiplication of conquests possible²¹. Venice is invited to observe and sometimes to have confrontation with the progresses of 'subject' towns²². In that way, the aristocratic Venice retook a role in the communication of experiences and was confronted with those Dalmatian towns which were remodelling people and nature.

Alberto Fortis loves those who experimented. The same 'humanity' needs experiments as strength of 'rationality'. The limit and conquest of a fruitful peregrination, it remains as a contrast to intellectual customs made 'in a time of ignorance', a term which Fortis used in describing 'Biograd or Alba

¹⁸ FORTIS, *Viaggio in Dalmazia*, p. 16.

¹⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 16-17.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 16.

²¹ *Ibidem*. These quotations refer not only to Alpini, but also to Voltaire's *Candide*. See VOLTAIRE, *Candide o l'ottimismo*, intr. by G. Galasso, Milano 1991.

²² FORTIS, *Viaggio in Dalmazia*, pp. 19-26.

maritime'²³. 'Ignorance' is opposite to *culture*. Amongst forms of culture, architecture has a deep sense. *Culture* incorporate meanings together with the term *customs*, putting it in tune with the term of 'humanity'. The description of *Castello della Vriana* (Vrana Castle) inserts a fine atmosphere²⁴:

In un manoscritto del Gliubavaz ch'io ho preso da me, e che appartiene al dotto e cortese signor conte Gregorio Stratico di Zara, trovasi una descrizione de' giuochi d'acque di que' giardini, dell'allora ben coltivata campagna vicina. Che cangiamento! I giardini d'Hali begh sono ridotti a un monte di macerie; le acque, che gl'innaffiano condotte dall'arte, scorrono adesso per alvei ineguali e scorretti, e unisconsi a quelle di molti rivoli, che cent'anni erano maestrevolmente incassati, per impaludare nel lago.

The description highlights an itinerary known to Alberto Fortis – a reading about Turkish culture and the architecture of their gardens, which represent a significant aspect of this vision of Dalmatia and its transformations which revitalise in the landscape as well as in libraries and collections of learned noblemen. The 'courtesy' of the learned noblemen defend it and suggest it as a view.

The 'humanity' grow rich by these intellectual variations, suggested by a landscape or by a collection of manuscripts. The arrangement of the history of Dalmatia around the idea of 'humanity' or 'rationality' to Alberto Fortis became a way to rediscover the universe of the apparent 'diversity' of folklore and ethnicity. Diversities that left, in landscapes of towns and *povere ville* (poor villages)²⁵, ancient tracks of their cultures - pirates, Morlachs "che portano il nome di borghi: uno di questi due casali è de'Morlacchi di rito Greco"²⁶. Then he added, when talking about Morlachs of the island of *Opus*: "Gli uomini vestono come tutti gli altri Morlacchi; le femmine, quando sono nella loro maggiore gala, portano un caftan, o sopravvesta, all'uso delle Turche"²⁷.

Turks appear in their historical greatness. Then follow folkloristic and religious traditions of Dalmatia and especially Greek and Orthodox rituals (a constant in the cultural tradition of 16th century Venetian ambassadors).

²³ *Ibidem*, pp. 22-23.

²⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 24.

²⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 26.

²⁶ *Ibidem*

²⁷ *Ibidem*.

Every part of the written page transforms itself in a *drawing*, including pirates²⁸:

Della formidabile popolazione di pirati che, nell'età di mezzo, dominava in questo paese, e che finalmente dopo lunghissime guerre fu da' Veneziani estirpata, non rimane monumento veruno. Sarebbe forse stato inutile il cercarne, anche se avessero occupato un luogo difeso dalle inondazioni, imperoché que' rapaci corsari probabilmente saranno stati privi di arti, e disprezzatori di posterì, come degli antenati loro.

The confrontation with great Roman constructions, their temples, aqueducts and *nobili edifici* invalidate other human appearances, among those pirates²⁹. In Alberto Fortis there is subtle intellectual issue of how to put these social and religious forms, which history left, in relation to Venice or the Roman Empire. The customs can represent a great impulse, through a knowledge of them, for transforming the ideas of a society. If Prospero Alpini, a *methodologue* (according to encyclopaedists) and an anticipator of Fortis, offers his reader a vision of Egypt and Cairo, Fortis presents a ideally partitioned Dalmatia into ethnics, religious and folkloristic societies and a great Turkish tradition: "Le campagne turchesche di Gliubuski dai laghi di Jesero, Jeseraz, Dena e Bachinsko-Blato"³⁰. The Turks presented as tyrants in some traditions of the 16th century became Turks who transformed the rural territory and enriched it.

Passing through history and erudition, Alberto Fortis transforms subjects which he analyses as 'utile' to 'reform' ideas and customs. When he describes Opus, an island, he tells about his attempt to reach Mostar and "...farvi disegnare il ponte antico che dà il nome a quella città mercantile"³¹. The "other", anticipating Condorcet, became an element of human history, of its evolution and rich growth, a lesson to Venetian and English noblemen.

As in Condorcet, the arts also prove differences and tunings between cultures or phases of social history. It is useful to observe terms and historical articulations in Alberto Fortis which were re-elaborated by late 18th century's encyclopaedists. Also important is the emergence of 'mercantile' societies, related to their pace and their economy culture, or observing the development

²⁸ *Ibidem*.

²⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 204.

³⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 206. "Io mi sono fermato parecchi giorni in Opus, cortesemente sofferto dalla nobile famiglia Noncovich". *Ibidem*.

³¹ *Ibidem*.

of the historical time of 'barbarian religions' which destroyed religious and cultural, Greek and Latin documents.

In this 'grammar' of societies there is a profound syntony with Voltaire, in his *Essai sur mœurs* (1756), and with Condorcet, in his *Esquisse* (1794). The term 'cammini' (ways), which Fortis used several times to denote itineraries of cultures in their performances, has its importance in a cultural system which modifies conceptual elements of history. An anthropological insight slips into this term on Fortis's pages, pointing out all the 'visible' documents, which reappear, coming from the space where they were located. Terms which return, hanging into a narrative speech which suggests them, although it is not able to develop their theoretic means. And yet they present themselves in their full strength, with a subtle charm, which is suggested by writing and drawings intertwined.

Through a narrative system based on observation and which draws its genesis from journeys and a recovered historical picture, Alberto Fortis involves a study of those populations which left 'traces' and seemingly disappeared. The societies of *Narenta* make a part of these serial of curiosity which have to be described and drawn upon. Mountain societies and *Morlacchis* also entered into Fortis's description. Because along with this cultural, or religious, or scholar history a 'physical history' emerged to which Alberto Fortis showed a sensible predilection; it is understood not just as natural history, but also as a history of customs and historical traditions³². And therefore he states³³:

Mi è venuto sospetto che si potrebbe forse rinvenire qualche cosa d'antico molto più addentro fra Merediti, e gli abitanti de' Monti Clementini che menano una vita pastorale, separate quasi intieramente dal commercio delle altre nazioni; ma chi può lusingarsi di penetrare impunemente fra quelle popolazioni affatto selvagge e impraticabili? Io confesso che mi sentirei coraggio bastevole per intraprendervi un viaggio, non solamente con l'oggetto di trovarvi delle antiche poesie, ma per conoscere la storia fisica di quelle contrade totalmente incognite.

In this way, Alberto Fortis offers all the elements for a general history of Dalmatia and the mountain populations constitute a large part of it. As for Helvetius, in his *De l'homme*³⁴, a complete human is investigated in collective,

³² *Ibidem*, pp. 60-62.

³³ *Ibidem*, p. 63. See also L. CIANCIO, 'Fortis, Alberto', in *Dizionario Biografico degli Italiani*, vol. 49, Roma 1997, pp. 205-210.

³⁴ VENTURI, *Settecento riformatore*, V/2, p. 169.

physical, natural and psychological ways. Alberto Fortis's 'physical history' represents this whole as dimensions of history, to which the 'imagination' is joined. This 'natural history' and human physic and his 'imagination' can be found in the pages dedicated to the Morlachs and to their traditions³⁵. The 'innocence and natural freedom' reappear in a sort of continuity with Vico and Rousseau, as an aspect of Morlach nature. All the while, the utopianism of *promenades* transformed into *viaggio* marks the pages dedicated to the Morlachs. The *brevetti superstiziosi* ('patents of superstition') are a habit which follows them during their life: *zapis* are a kind of patent where one can write "in capricciosi modi nomi santi, co' quail non si deve scherzare, e talora ricopiandone da' più antichi vi mescolano della male cose"³⁶.

According to Alberto Fortis's survey, *zapis* have double influences: they are useful in healing or protecting from illness, but at the same time they are intermediary with Turkish communities: "Anche i Turchi de' vicini luoghi ricorrono a fare de' *zapis* dai sacerdoti cristiani; il che dee non poco contribuire ed accrescere il concetto di questa merce". These are instruments full of 'concepts' which unify Turks and Morlachs around a superstition and a *habit*; a visual 'concept', which imply an idea of union and harmony. In this way, the religious habit changes. Turks who take *zapis* then celebrate masses dedicated to 'images of Our Lady', which, as observed Fortis, are habits not in accordance with Koran dictates³⁷. At the same time, Turks did not follow 'greetings to the holy name of Jesus'. When they met on their borders, travellers did not use to say, as was the habit in places near to the sea, "hvaljen Isus" (Glory to Jesus), but they preferred to say "hvaljen Bog" (Glory to God)³⁸. The border became a element that puts together and transforms a religious sensibility. The 'enlightened' author perceives the appearance of that word which was dear to Voltaire – God, placed over all religious forms and differences³⁹. Inside the diversities between the Turks and Morlachs is pointed out the rule of the internal borders of Dalmatia, which could be an example for Venetian society. The pages propose this significant variation.

Fortis then described some 'healing medallions' and 'Saint Helen's medallions' which apparently had great virtue against epilepsy and other

³⁵ FORTIS, *Viaggio in Dalmazia*, p. 51.

³⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 50. He search for a "sentimento dei Morlacchi": "la pura cordialità del sentimento". *Ibidem*, p. 51.

³⁷ *Ibidem*.

³⁸ *Ibidem*.

³⁹ VOLTAIRE, *Trattato sulla tolleranza*, pp. 147-148; a pray to God.

evil things⁴⁰. If in Louis XV and Louis XVI's France the Healer King has an archaeological role, Morlachs use the same image through healing coins. What is obvious from this description is not only the importance of a natural border, it is also religious and folkloristic elements inside which Morlachs and Turks have their meeting point. If a geographical border existed, there was also a border of the meetings of a 'religious humanity'. Hungarian coins *petice*, with the image of Our Lady with the baby Jesus in her arms, were legally used because of their image: "Il dono d'una di queste monete è carissimo sì agli uomini che alle donne di Morlacchia"⁴¹.

Border. A world of meetings, a laboratory of mental transformations, a prompter of different 'human' alchemies which become *customs*. Passing across these 'borders', the historian of *promenades* found his own intellectual custom as very 'rational': borders between pastoral societies and urban societies of the lowlands became religious, social and ethnic. This was a thin line where differences in culture and religions met. 'Disharmonies', as defined by Alberto Fortis, were gradually surpassed⁴²: for its remedies were found as well as the 'magic' of charlatans and witches. Innocence and 'natural' freedom of customs returns a fertile part of the history. Vico and Helvetius as well as Boulanger, intended to define this recovery. Disharmonies can be surpassed and eliminated by using instruments of 'superstitions'. Inside this society the role of 'superstitions' mutated: different cults and opposite ethnicities come closer. For Alberto Fortis 'harmony' was constructed by one society which placed the activity of a mechanism of acculturation. Even *Churches* and their 'confessions' are part of this frame as well as 'superstitions' which allow meetings⁴³:

Fra le due communioni Latina e greca, passa secondo il solito, una perfettissima disarmonia, e I rispettivi ministeri delle Chiese non mancano di fomentarla: I due partiti raccontano mille storielle scandalose l'un dell'altro. Le chiese de'latini sono povere, e sudice vergognosamente. Io ho veduto il curato d'una villa morlacca seduto in terra sul piazzale della chiesa ascoltare le confessioni delle femmine inginocchiateglisi di fianco; strana postura per certo, ma che prova l'innocenza del costume di que' buoni popoli.

⁴⁰ FORTIS, *Viaggio in Dalmazia*, p. 50.

⁴¹ *Ibidem*.

⁴² *Ibidem*.

⁴³ *Ibidem*.

The same churches, Latin or Greek, represent another imagined borderline. Friendships and hostilities are created and introduced and the borderline which create a ethnic separation between the world of the Morlachs and the world of 'Italians' is completely evident⁴⁴. It is necessary to defend the 'Morlach innocence'. Here *vendetta* and sanctification are identified. Where the appearance of the 'barbarism' of *vendetta* seems to be prevalent, there the *sanctification* of the offender could manifest itself: the offender transforms his image during a banquet which followed a ritual procession in a form of a renewed concord. In this case, the ritual became an ulterior space where a border between harmony and discord is deeply transformed. The description of the trial reveals that passage⁴⁵:

Il reo, dopo alcuni preliminari è introdotto nel luogo dell' assemblea strascinandosi per terra a Quattro zampe, e tenendo appeso al collo l' archibugio, pistola, o coltello, con cui esegui l'omicidio. Mentr'egli sta in così simile positura, si recita da uno o più parenti l'elogio del morto, che spesso riaccende gli animi alla vendetta e mette a un brutto rischio l'uomo quadrupede. È di rito, in qualche luogo, che gli uomini del partito offeso minacciando gli mettano alla gola armi da fuoco o da taglio, e dopo molta resistenza consentano finalmente a ricevere in denaro il prezzo del sangue sparso. Queste paci sogliono costare assai fra gli Albanesi; fra i Morlacchi alcuna volta s'accomodano senza molto dispendio, e in ogni luogo poi si conchiudono con una buona corpacciata a spese del reo.

From 'a quadruped man' to a man who is put into concord with the community through the ritual, the offender's course consumes the idea of a recognisable *harmony*. Alberto Fortis is a sharp ethnographer of Dalmatia, a great researcher of its micro-society and its internal movements - before Marcel Mauss, he offered an ethnographic interpretation of rituals and *idea of borders* which traced an anticipation in historiography. If in Marcel Mauss it is the gift to represent an act of breaking of the geographical and familiar borders, then in Alberto Fortis *rituals* and 'superstitions' have this specific role: ambiguity of social function of 'credulity' and its derivations together with a singular protective function of research in different ways of communications between groups and ethnicities. Ritual communication assumes the treatment of 'humanity' as a synonym of tolerance.

There are some descriptions of Morlach wedding rituals with the images of a 'golden ring' which could be found in popular songs, games with

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 46.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 47.

horses and the revelation of the real bride-to-be⁴⁶. Traditional rituals were differentiated when they were collocated in a European context: Morlach, 'Ukrainian', Icelandic, Swedish - Alberto Fortis confronted them: rituals as those which separate and unify, as imaginary borders which recreate other forms of culture. A *totemic* border became a internal space of society where the whole system of belief could be transformed. It is a creative ambivalence in Alberto Fortis's pages and in his *promenades* in Dalmatia, all the way to creating a fantastic world of *friendship* so obvious by Voltaire⁴⁷:

L'amicizia, così soggetta anche per minimi motivi a cangiamento fra noi, è costantissima fra i Morlacchi. Egli ne hanno fatto quasi un punto di religione, e questo sacro vincolo stringesi appié degli altari. Il rituale slavonico ha una particolare benedizione per congiungere solennemente due amici, o due amiche, alla presenza di tutto il popolo.

Friendship is related to other rituals. Deep in its formulation, it means a different position inside of society where this groups of 'friends' live in fidelity till death parted them. Every border is broken: remains only a ritual which proposes a different 'progress' of groups of youngsters who united in its name. 'Humanity' proposed its movements of sensibility.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 55.

⁴⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 46, pp. 54-59.

Jelena Lakuš

**MULTI-CONFESSIONAL PUBLICATIONS IN DALMATIA
OF THE “HOLY ALLIANCE” (1815-1848) –
ENDEAVOURING TO TOLERATE THE “OTHER”?**

Belonging primarily to the Mediterranean world with a Roman Catholic majority and a significant number of Greek Orthodox situated on the very edge of the Islamic world, with its unique development, and being a multiple borderland itself, Dalmatia is a challenge to the historian's attempt in reconstructing the overall ethno-confessional historical reality of the region. The census of the population inhabiting the region (*Popolazione. Le seguenti tavole dimostrative offrono lo stato della popolazione nel 1844*)¹, conducted according to the confessional rule² by Francesco Carrara clearly suggests that the issue of religious tolerance along the triple border is hard to avoid. With more than 80 per cent the Roman Catholics made up the large majority of the population, particularly in the districts of Dubrovnik and Split. A significant number of the Greek Orthodox population inhabited the region as well, particularly in the district of Kotor where they made up more than 70 per cent of the entire population. Distinction between the *Greci uniti*, that is, those members of the Eastern Christianity who accepted the authority of the Pope, and the *Greci non uniti*, as those who did not, was in the spirit of bringing the Eastern Christians to the Roman Catholic Church. The Jewish community inhabited the districts of Dubrovnik and Split,

¹ F. CARRARA, *La Dalmazia descritta dal professore dottor Francesco Carrara...: con 48 tavole miniate rappresentanti i principali costumi nazionali*, Zara 1846, pp. 110-113.

² This was a common practice until the middle of the 19th century, which means that in the first half of the 19th century no distinction in ethnic sense was yet to be made within the Roman Catholic population. The first ever census, creating a distinction between the Catholic Croats and the Catholic Italians, was completed in 1850. This suggests the extent to which religion played an important role in the earlier decades, in everyday life of the people as well as in their sense of identity.

while the Protestants appeared as an almost insignificant percentage. No inhabitants of the Islamic religious affiliation were recorded in the statistics. The awareness of their presence in the near neighborhood, however, was strongly felt.

Tab. 1 *Confessional Landscape in Dalmatia of the 1840s according to Francesco Carrara. Religious Affiliation vs. Districts.*

District	Catholics	Greeks United	Greeks <i>Disunited</i>	Protestants	Jews	Total
Zadar	102.859	524	44.542	11	1	147.937
Split	158.564	136	8.401	16	327	167.444
Dubrovnik	52.086	4	297	-	146	52.533
Kotor	9.762	-	24.440	-	9	34.211
TOTAL	323.271	664	77.680	27	483	402.125

In an overall historical context, such a diverse ethno-confessional landscape of the region reveals much information. At that time, the Austrian Empire dominated by the repressive politics of Chancellor Metternich, coincided with European politics which became subordinate to the categories of Christian thinking. The leaders of the Holy Alliance, identified with Christendom and comprising of Austrian Catholics, Prussian Protestants and the Russian Orthodox, aspired to influence European nations with Christian principles and values. In spite of the fact that the roots of Catholicism were challenged by the overall social, religious and political circumstances³, the Catholic Church of the early 19th century experienced a religious reawakening. Under the auspices of Romanticism and Restoration, a process of significant European catechetical awakening was occurring as well, which brought with it, both a revival of Catholic theology and religious instruction. The minds of men turned once again to Christianity and the Church⁴.

³ The Catholic Church was challenged by the 18th century growth of religious pluralism and philosophical empiricism, as well as by erastianism, political secularisation and liberal ideas of the 19th century.

⁴ "... Nemoxe-se zanikati da u nasa vrmena ne-ožituje-se opcheno i u stranputnicim jedno milo okrenutje oli kugenje na srichno povratjenje u karschanluk...". A. RICCARDI, *Dogodovstjeno povidjenje xivota Mariè Mörl iz Kaldara upisano od redoglavnika Antona Rikardi prineseno u ilirski jezik po jednomu učitelju kral. narodne ucionice S. Domenika* [The life of Mariè Mörl from Kaldar written by the Franciscan Antonio Riccardi translated in Illyrian language by one teacher of the royal national school St. Dominic], Split 1841, p. 51.

Bringing together historical-cultural and historical-anthropological aspects, the paper will discuss the most interesting topics in the history of tolerance and intolerance. Firstly, the identification and perception of the "Other," that is, the members of other ethno-confessional communities in the region, will be discussed. In other words, the paper shall endeavour to examine those considered the "Our" and those excluded from this population segment. Secondly, various stereotype examples shall be traced, implying their integration into ethno-confessional frames. Thirdly, the experience of co-habitation of the ethno-confessional communities inhabiting the region will be another scope of the research, pointing to the fact that the issue of religious tolerance can be observed from two points of view – on the one hand, the official attitude of the Austrian authorities towards the issue, and on the other, the religious tolerance or intolerance in everyday life. Finally, having in mind the overall political and cultural circumstances in the first half of the 19th century the intention is to identify a pattern of ecumenism within the entire triple border.

Presumably indicative of the level and character of interest that was given to the issues under concern, the publications printed in the printing houses along the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea – in Zadar, Split and Dubrovnik, will serve in this paper as the primary historical source material. The starting point is that all publications, no matter what the language, are to be considered an inherent part of the Croatian cultural and literary heritage⁵. They were all products of the intercultural and multi-confessional historical reality of the Dalmatian triple border and they all reflect the attitude of their authors towards their ethnic, religious and cultural identity, as well as their attitude towards the members of other religious or ethnic communities inhabiting the region⁶. However, while the vernacular was regarded as the language of the common people – the peasantry and common citizens, Italian was the language of the educated, who often possessed knowledge of the vernacular

⁵ Until the 1970s, Croatian literary critics almost ignored those literary works published in Dalmatia that were written in Italian. It was believed that only works written in Croatian belonged to Croatian literary heritage. In 1971, however, a Croatian literary historian Mate Zorić, opened a completely new view on the issue, claiming that the literary works in Italian language can and must be considered the part of Croatian culture. M. ZORIĆ, 'Romantički pisci u Dalmaciji na talijanskom jeziku', *Rad Jugoslavenske Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti*, 357 (1971), pp. 353-476.

⁶ In the environment of censorship, however, works that came out of the printing houses in Dalmatia did not express only the views and attitudes of their authors, but reflected ideas, attitudes and atmosphere of the period too and general circumstances in which they were printed. Shortly, historical circumstances largely directed the writing of the authors.

too, but used it almost exclusively within their homes. Namely, having been educated in Italian, they could more easily express their thoughts in that language. Furthermore, the Italian language also dominated the channels of communication with the neighbouring literary world. Some literary writers considering themselves to be members of the constituted and specific Slav-Dalmatian nation, attempted to reconcile their language and cultural duality, that is, the Italian language and culture, with Slavic ethnicity⁷. Their literary works best reflect their mental world and testify to equal acceptance of the Italian and Slavic culture⁸. Such circumstances resulted in some peculiar phenomenon: vernacular songs were recorded in their native tongue, whereas discussions about them were conducted in Italian⁹. In times when the ethnic identity was evolving and when the standardization of the vernacular was not yet accomplished, it is impossible to categorize Italian literary production, not belonging to the entire Croatian literary corpus. It should be remembered, that in the pre-revival and revival period, writing in language other than the vernacular did not necessarily imply opposition to the constitution of the modern nation. Moreover, literature often served national aspirations not only in works written in Croatian, but also in Italian, a trend also noticeable in the northern parts of Croatia, where many works imbued with national feelings were written in German¹⁰. The writers that won recognition by the

⁷ Slavic-Dalmatian ideology was largely grown up from within the foreign bureaucracies, the aristocracy, and the rich Croatian and Italian landowners. What made their ideology specific was a sense of close ties both to the Italian language and culture, and to their Slavic origins. However, they differentiated themselves from the Italians, convinced that Dalmatia was not Italian, neither in the ethnic nor historical sense. Having differentiated from other South-Slavs too, they supported the belief in existence of Dalmatian nation. Unable to deny any of the components of their cultural duality, they attempted to reconcile these differences in a specific form of Slav-Dalmatian particularism.

⁸ N. STANČIĆ, *Hrvatska nacionalna ideologija preporodnog pokreta u Dalmaciji. Mihovil Pavlinović i njegov krug do 1869*, Zagreb 1980, pp. 34-35.

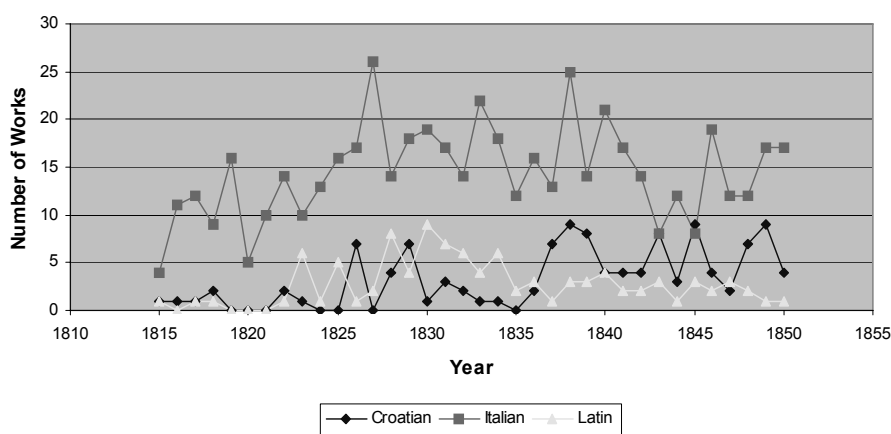
⁹ Numerous were cases like that, just to mention here Ivan Lovrić from Sinj, Đuro Ferić from Dubrovnik, Marko Bruerević from Dubrovnik too, and the Italian Francesco Maria Appendini.

¹⁰ While the literature of the 18th century had a crucial role in the ethic, intellectual and cultural edification of its readers, having primarily moral and didactic purpose, the 19th century, particularly from its third and fourth decade, gave it a new dimension – national. In other words, the authors recognized a need to turn their attention to the national issues working for the entire nation by their writings imbued with national romanticism. In that way they contributed to the national revival, or at least heightened a national pride. Moreover, it has been accepted an opinion that in the first half of the 19th century the authors paid more attention to the development of the national awareness than to the esthetic value of their works. In other words, poets were often politicians, while politicians were often poets.

Italian literary world for their works written in Italian should be regarded as much part of Croatian culture as Italian¹¹.

Therefore, under these circumstances it is not surprising, that Italian literary works (529 of them in the period between 1815 and 1850), were more numerous than literary works written in Croatian (171). However, the number of works written in Croatian increased towards the middle of the 19th century¹². A comparison of literary production in three most prevalent languages, that is, Italian, Croatian, and Latin, is best illustrated below by the chart representing the number of works published in each language. The chart demonstrates that literary production in Italian surpassed the production of all other languages, while at times, the production levels in Croatian and Latin equalled.

**Comparison of the Literary Production in Italian, Croatian and Latin
(1815-1850)**



Some literary historians have claimed that even the choice of the works to be translated in Croatian suggests that the authors were guided not that much by esthetic criterions, but rather by a feeling of the national duty and patriotism. They have asserted that translated was only what suited to the general spiritual climate of the age. M. GAVRIN, 'Pjesništvo narodnog preporoda u odnosu na njemačko i austrijsko pjesništvo', in A. FLAKER and K. PRANJIC (eds.) *Hrvatska književnost prema europskim književnostima od narodnog preporoda k našim danima*, Zagreb 1970, p. 56; M. KOMBOL and S. PROSPEROV NOVAK, *Hrvatska književnost do narodnog preporoda*, Zagreb 1992, p. 441.

¹¹ Rare were those, such as Niccolò Tommaseo, who succeeded in it.

¹² The early 1820s marked a very low level of literary production. The reason probably lies in a strict censorship imposed by the authorities, frightened by the looming danger from the Carbonari movement.

The publications in the Italian language include the almanacs, which at the time experienced their golden age, preparing the foundation for future periodicals and newspapers¹³. There were found six of the almanacs, all regularly published once a year – four printed in Zadar, one in Split and one in Dubrovnik. Since in Italian, the reading public of these almanacs was restricted only to those acquainted with the Italian language. No almanac has been found in the Croatian language, meaning that the larger part of the population could not have read it since they could not have understood Italian. Nevertheless, their content suggests that the almanacs were probably widely read and popular not only amongst the educated but also amongst other social layers¹⁴. Besides providing information on holy days, feasts, days of fasting, important historical events, information on the birthday of the Austrian Emperor and members of other significant European ruling families, these publications also offered to their readers the weather forecast for the entire year, notified the best time for the agricultural activity, and offered various health advice. They also published the reports on the lottery, and exchange rates, useful to merchants, and generally informed readers of new discoveries in the fields of science, crafts, agriculture, arts, etc. In addition, they existed for more than several decades¹⁵.

The most significant feature of these almanacs, however, was their ethno-confessional character which can be primarily inferred from their titles, best articulating the rich ethno-confessional landscape of the region. Thus, *Lunario Raguseo* (1800-1852), published in the printing house of Trevisan in Dubrovnik, afterwards in the printing house of Martecchini in Dubrovnik too, appeared under the full title *Lunario Raguseo Cattolico e Greco*, that is, *Lunario Cattolico, Greco ed Ebraico. Almanacco di Zara* (1804-1816), published in the printing house of Antonio-Luigi Battara in Zadar, appeared under the full title *Almanacco di Zara ad uso di tutta la Dalmazia ... contenente*

¹³ A demand for the almanacs was obviously quite a large as the publisher Battara, for instance, began their publishing at the very beginning of the printing activity of his printing house (*Almanacco di Zara* appeared in 1804, while *Almanacco di Zaratino* in 1806).

¹⁴ This was clearly expressed in one of the almanacs, which was intended for all social layers ("ad ogni classe di persone dimoranti in Dalmazia"). *Almanacco di Zara ad uso di tutta la Dalmazia*, Torchi di Antonio-Luigi Battara stamp. e libr., Zadar 1806, in Znanstvena Knjižnica Zadar (=ZKZd), 15 932 PER D-296.

¹⁵ *Il Rammentatore Zaratino* (1846-1920), for instance, existed on the literary market in the course of the early 20th century too. *Lunario Raguseo* (1800-1852) existed for around 50 years, *Lunario Dalmatino, Cattolico e Greco* (1825-1861) for 36 years, while *Lunario di Spalato* (1825-1852) for almost 30 years. *Almanacco di Zara* (1804-1816), however, was being published for a decade only, while *Il Morlacco* (1846-1850) gained only five editions.

il tre calendarj Cattolico, Greco ed Ebraico. Lunario Dalmatino (1825-1861), published in the printing house of Giovanni Demarchi in Zadar, afterwards in the printing house of the family Battara in Zadar too emerged as *Lunario Dalmatino Cattolico e Greco*, that is, *Lunario Dalmatino Cattolico, Greco, Ebraico*. The same year in the printing house Piperata in Split emerged *Lunario di Spalato* (1825-1852) as *Lunario di Spalato Cattolico ed Ebraico*. *Il Rammentatore Zaratino* (1846-1920), published in the printing house of the family Battara in Zadar, first appeared as *Il Rammentatore Zaratino: lunario Cattolico e Greco*, afterwards as *Il Rammentatore Dalmatino: lunario Cattolico, Greco, ed Ebraico*, and then as *Il Rammentatore Dalmatino: lunario Cattolico, Greco, Israelito e Turco* (or *Turco-Arabo*). *Il Morlacco* (1846-1850), published in the printing house Demarchi-Rougier in Zadar, possessed a full title *Il Morlacco: lunario Dalmatino Cattolico e Greco, Ebraico e Turco*, that is, in some periods, *Il Morlacco: lunario Dalmatino Cattolico e Greco*. As their titles suggest, apart from the Catholic calendar, they usually comprised of the "Greek" calendar, sometimes the Jewish calendar and the Islamic calendar. What this meant in the censorship environment of Chancellor Metternich, as well as in the environment of the Catholic revival of the early 19th century, is of particular concern in this paper.

All the calendars were not published continuously. Although it is quite difficult to identify the unique pattern of their appearance, some preliminary conclusions can be made. Almanacs were changing their titles in the course of time. Along with the Catholic and Greek Orthodox calendars¹⁶ appearing in all the almanacs, except in Split edition, which never included the Greek calendar, the almanacs at times offered to their readers the Jewish and the Islamic calendars. As a rule, the Islamic calendar simultaneously appeared with the Jewish calendar but not vice-versa. The Jewish calendar appeared for the first time in the *Almanacco di Zara* in 1816, then in *Lunario Dalmatino* in 1830, and in 1846 in the almanac *Il Morlacco*. From the 1860s onwards, the almanac *Il Rammentatore Zaratino* regularly printed the calendar of the Jewish ethno-confessional community. The Islamic calendar, however, emerged only in the almanac *Il Morlacco* and *Il Rammentatore Zaratino*, both published in Zadar: in the former, in 1846, and in the latter, in 1864. Almanacs in Split and Dubrovnik did not print the Islamic calendar, though offering at times the Jewish calendar. Since the Greek Orthodox community was relatively small in the district of Split, the publishers obviously did not

¹⁶ *Almanacco di Zara* from 1806 even clarified to its readers the difference between the old Julian calendar and the new one, Gregorian, explaining their origin.

consider it important to print the calendar of the Greek Orthodox community. Contrary, relatively large Jewish community in Split made them convinced in the necessity to publish the Jewish calendar too. On the other hand, although the percentages show that the Jewish ethno-confessional community was the largest in the Dubrovnik district, its almanac *Lunario Raguseo* printed the Jewish calendar only once, in 1842. Finally, quite influential and powerful, the Greek Orthodox community in Dubrovnik was reflected in the almanac too, continuously offering to its readers their calendar too.

The continuous appearance of calendars of the Catholic and Greek Orthodox confessions in all the almanacs, with the exception of the one published in Split, suggests that the Christian spirit was nourished at the time. Other literature of the age, without which it would be hardly possible to conceive and interpret the appearance of the multi-confessional publications and the context in which they emerged, reveals the same. Moral and didactic works as well as catechisms, which made a significant portion of the overall literary production in Dalmatia of the first half of the 19th century, with their specific form of questions and answers seemed to be most suitable to both the ecclesiastical and secular authorities in the edifying mission they ascribed to themselves. They reveal how the members of the dominant Catholic religious affiliation built their sense of identity, that is, how they were *taught* to perceive themselves. They were also *taught* how to perceive the “Others,” the members of other ethno-confessional communities inhabiting the region and how to *shape* their behaviour towards them¹⁷.

A common feature of all the catechisms was their Christian spirit. Believers were taught to live according to the Christian principles and nourish their Christian and Catholic identity¹⁸. Although they often possessed a sense of belonging to a particular ethnic community, expressed at the time in various terms – “Illyrian,” “Croatian,” “Slovinian,” etc. – the

¹⁷ However, the identity of the commoners is almost impossible to trace. Being for the most part illiterate they rarely left the written historical evidence which might reveal their identity. For this reason, research has mostly been restricted to those who possessed a certain level of literacy. Contending with a lack of sources, the gap can partly be bridged by researching those publications, read by or read to the general population during mass. These publications were mostly almanacs, catechisms, moral and religious writings which could make an impact on their lives.

¹⁸ “M[aestro]. Che cosa è questa Chiesa Cattolica? D[iscepolo]. È la congregazione di tutti i buoni Christiani, che sono in tutto il mondo.” *Breve compendio e facile metodo della dottrina cristiana per ammaestrare gli altri, ed apprendere da sè solo la verità più essenziali necessarie a sapersi da ogni cattolico, che brama efficacemente salvarsi dato in luce da un sacerdote cappuccino*, Dalla Stamperia di Giovanni Demarchi, Spalato 1815, p. 28.

mission of the catechisms was not to nourish the ethnic identity of their readers, but religious. For that reason, adherence to the Catholic Church was not identified with the adherence to a specific ethnic community, but was rather conceived in its cosmopolitan character¹⁹. Terminology used to designate the members of both religious communities inhabiting the region - *kršćani*, *Rimkinje*, *katolici*, *Latini* or *Latinci*, for the Roman Catholics, and *Rišćani*, *Ristjani* or *Rišljani*, *pravoslavni*, for the Orthodox, and the fact that no distinction in ethnic sense was made within the Roman Catholics, which was a common practice until the middle of the 19th century²⁰, suggests to which extent religion was considered an inherent part of the culture which the inhabitants belonged to and of their sense of identity. However, the same pattern was not applied in case of the members of other ethno-confessional communities: the members of the Islamic religious affiliation who lived in the near neighbourhood were entitled as the "Turks"²¹, while the members of the Orthodox Church were often called the "Greeks".

Tab. 2 - Terminology used for the Roman Catholics and the Orthodox

THE ROMAN CATHOLICS	THE ORTHODOX
Kršćani	Rišćani, Ristjani, Rišljani
Rimkinje	
Katolici	Pravoslavni
Latini, Latinci	

Therefore, who was a Christian? A Christian is one who belongs to the Catholic Church as the communion of all the Christians, one who received the sacrament of baptism, who believes and lives according to the teaching

¹⁹ The phenomenon of religio-ethnic identification, which is not the subject of the interest in this paper, is particularly interesting. Eric Hobsbawm, for instance, has claimed that although the world religions are universal by definition and therefore designed to evade ethnic, linguistic, political and other differences, there often emerged the phenomenon of religio-ethnic identification, which is not surprising at all as "religion is an ancient and well-tried method of establishing communion through common practice and a sort of brotherhood between people who otherwise have nothing much in common.". E. HOBSBAWM. *Nations and Nationalism since 1780. Programme, Myth, Reality*, Cambridge, 1990, p. 68.

²⁰ See footnote 2.

²¹ When the expression the "Turkish law" appeared in the sources, this referred to the religious rules of the Islamic community.

of Jesus Christ²². In other words, according to the teaching of catechism, a Christian might be considered the “Our.” Namely, while explaining who is a Christian, the authors of the catechisms considered necessary to explain who is *not* a Christian, an enormously significant fact in understanding the multi-confessional regions such as Dalmatia. In that group were set the “Turks,” in fact, the members of the Islamic confession, nonbelievers, adherents of idolatry, and the Jews. None of these were baptized²³. It is to be concluded that all those who were not Christians belonged to the group of the “Others”.

By making such a demarcating line between those who were baptized and those who were not, it might be possible to conclude that a potential for intolerance among the various ethno-confessional communities was constructed. To be aware of the difference between those who were baptized and those who were not did not necessarily lead to respect and a tolerant perspective towards the “Other”. On the contrary, the sources suggest numerous prejudices about the “Others,” that is, a lack of harmony among the members of different ethno-confessional communities, even intolerance in everyday life. Prejudices towards the “Others” or those not confessing the same religion as the majority of people living in the region, were deeply rooted among the commoners. It comes as no surprise that the Orthodox priest Đorđe Nikolajević felt compelled to publish in the magazine *Ljubitelj prosveštenija* a moral and didactic story about a good man Hristofor (*O Dobrom Hristoforu*), appearing in the column *Moralno i zabavno* (Moral and Diverting). Using the example of the deep friendship between a Catholic Mihailo Latinčić from a small town in Hungary and an Orthodox Christian Hristofor he attempted to illustrate how otherwise a good and honest man can be forced to hate others (or the “Others”) if he had been raised in the spirit of prejudices and fanaticism. The story starts with advice from Ivan Latinčić to his son Mihailo before escorting him off into the world. He warned him to stay away from the Lutherans and all other non-Catholics, encouraging him to believe only his Catholic brothers. Obviously aware of such examples all over Dalmatia, particularly among the ill-educated, Đorđe Nikolajević found it necessary to write about this issue, convinced that it was absolutely essential to combat religious fanaticism.

²² “M[aestro]. Siete voi *Christiano*? D[iscepolo]. Lo sono per grazia di Dio. M. Perchè siete *Christiano*? D. Perchè *sono battezzato*, credo, e professo la Fede, e legge di Gesù Christo”. *Breve compendio*, p. 6. Emphasized by J. L.

²³ “M[aestro]. E li *Turchi*, *gl’Infedeli*, *gl’Idolatri*, *gl’Ebrei*, sono membra della Chiesa? D[iscepolo]. Signor nò, perchè *non sono battezzati*”. *Ibidem*, p. 29. Emphasized by J. L.

Using the example of Mihailo Latinčić, who having realized the malevolence of religious intolerance and fanaticism, embraced the Orthodox Christian Hristofor Nikolajević sent to his readers a message of conciliation and a much needed sense of Christian unity. He also hoped to stop the emergence of new Christian denominations. Finally, he invited all Christians to pray for the Jews and all those not yet acquainted with the teachings of Jesus Christ²⁴. Similar thoughts were also heard from Catholic authors who claimed that the Greeks and Romans do not live in harmony. Considering this to be the foremost reason for the stagnation of education and economic prosperity in the region, they invited them to unite²⁵.

These various prejudices resulted from a shallow understanding of Christian teachings and an abandonment of the basic Christian truths. A believer who had only basic literacy and who possessed in his library only the catechism, read only occasionally, often interpreting the teaching of Jesus Christ quite freely. Reading was mechanical and automatic, devoid of any wish for deeper comprehension of religious truths. The catechism was inadequate for a complete religious and spiritual formation. Besides, the stories about the saints (*žitije svetaca*) that often described the outrage and violence made upon the Christians, which were very popular and willingly read particularly among the Orthodox, often sowed the seed of intolerance and hatred, inducing abhorrence towards all those who were non-Christians. Furthermore, for an ordinary believer a tolerance of the members of other ethno-confessional communities often implied a conversion to another religion. Christian love for the neighbour, for the fellow man was identified only with the love for the members of the ethno-confessional community to which individual belonged, not for the entire humankind. Sources testify that these prejudices were mostly learned at home although sometimes

²⁴ Đ. NIKOLAJEVIĆ, 'O Dobrom Hristoforu [About Good Hristofor]', in Đ. NIKOLAJEVIĆ (ed.), *Ljubitelj prosveštenija: Srbsko-dalmatinski Magazin*, Zadar 1845, pp. 65-98.

²⁵ "Ali medju Morlakim ima ne mali broj Gerkah, koji, utverđeni u poluvirstvo, ne živu u skladi, kako i baš naravno je kod ove naslidbe (da rečem s Fortisom), s Katolicima. I ovaj jest najglavniji uzrok, koi oprečuje se napredovanju Morlakah k izobraženju i već bolje k općinskome dobrostanju ... Ristjani oli Latinci, mi smo svi odkupljeni kervjom onoga covika slave i žalosti, koj nije znao nego ljubiti i osvetiti se dobročinstvom. Svima sviti ovo sunce, svima ova zemlja daje kruh, cvitje i grob. Ljubimo se prie, pa onda će sve smutnje izčeznuti kano magla. A ti Bože najmilii, ti nas nauči mir, ljubav i velikodušje, koje je u tvom čelu kano ogledalo nebeske vedrine; daj nam da se gledamo svi kano kita onoga stabla, koje je dignulo verhu sebe spasenje naše". Š. LJUBIĆ, *Običaji kod Morlakah u Dalmaciji sakupio i izdao S. Ljubić* [Morlachian Customs in Dalmatia Collected and Edited by Šime Ljubić], Slovoiskarnica bratia Battara, Zadar 1846, pp. 29-32.

teachers, local priests and catechists contributed to the spread of such negative attitudes and beliefs²⁶. Sometimes a small incident was enough to induce hatred among the members of different religions.

However, catechisms as well as moral and didactic works did not have the intention of spreading or support the spirit of intolerance, but quite contrary. People were taught to live in harmony with others, with the members of other ethno-confessional communities. An extract from the book on the obligations of the subordinates towards the Emperor suggests that the subordinates were taught to nourish a spirit of tolerance, to pray not only for their own emperor, but also for the rulers of the confessions different from their own²⁷. Continual messages of love towards others regardless of their faith imbued the literature of the age. In an extract from the book *How to educate and teach the young man: with a short appendix on how to behave at school and in the streets*, which was published in the printing house of the Battara brothers in Zadar in 1840, the Orthodox priest Đorđe Nikolajević conveyed a message that everyone had to avoid mocking the religious habits and faith of others. In short, people should respect another's religion²⁸. Similar words of love towards the fellow man no matter what the religion confessed Nikolajević continuously wrote in the popular magazine *Ljubitelj prosvještenija*²⁹.

²⁶ Drawing on the story of Hristofor, the Orthodox priest Đorđe Nikolajević propagated the same values to his faithful, that of tolerance and peaceful cohabitation. NIKOLAJEVIĆ, 'O Dobrom Hristoforu', pp. 65-98.

²⁷ "R[isposta]. Anco i regnanti che hanno una fede diversa dalla nostra tengono da Dio la loro potestà al pari di quelli che professano la nostra fede. ... R. I contadini possono essere stimati e felici in questo mondo e nell'altro vivendo in pace fra loro, ed eziandio con quelli di diversa religione. ... Si dee dedurre che siamo obbligati a pregare ancora per que'Sovrani i quali professano una religione diversa dalla nostra; giacchè al tempo di S. Paolo non v'era alcun Re cristiano". *Duxnosti podloxnika prama njihovu samovladaocu na sluxbu počétljivih učilištah. Doveri dei sudditi verso il loro monarca ad uso delle scuole elementari. Izdavanje Pervo. Prima Edizione.* Bratja Battara - Fratelli Battara, Zadar 1847, pp. 13, 20, 28. Emphasized by J. L.

²⁸ "Ni u čiji zakon ne dirajte, neka svak veruje, kako je naučen; ne rugajte se tuđim crkvenim običajima, ni tuđem veroispovedaniju; što drugi poštuju, ne treba ni vi da bezčestite; pustite nek se svaki onoga drži, što u svojoj glavi za najbolje nalazi; u tuđa predrasuzenija ne dirajte, da koga s tim ne uvredite". Đ. NIKOLAJEVIĆ, *Mladić kako treba da se izобрази: s kratkim dodatkom kako se treba na školama i po putu vladati preveo s njemačkog Georgij Nikolajević* [*How to educate and teach the young man: with a short appendix on how to behave at school and in the streets*], Knjigopečatnja Braće Batara, Zadar 1840, p. 205.

²⁹ "Ljubite svakoga čoveka kao svoga bližnjega, to vam Spasitelj zapoveda; ali ljubite svakoga Slavjanina, koe mu drago vere bio, kao svoga rodenoga brata, to vas ja preklinjem i molim". Đ. NIKOLAJEVIĆ, 'Slavnij, valjanij, vernij, velikij no razsejanij i pogaženij narode Srbski', in Đ. NIKOLAJEVIĆ (ed.), *Ljubitelj prosvještenija: Srbsko-dalmatinski Magazin*, Zadar 1848, p. 10.

However, what was not tolerated was atheism and disbelief since the one who does not possess the faith at all, does not stand in fear of God, and such a person cannot be an honest and obedient subject³⁰. Moreover, the book which taught the faithful how to confess their sins, preparing them for the moment of death, stated that discussing issues of faith with infidels was considered a serious sin that had to be confessed³¹. It was also forbidden to read all those books that deal with the religious issues and were not approved by the ecclesiastical and secular authorities³². Confessing one's sins, a person was also obliged to confess if he had denied his faith in Christ, if he had regretted becoming a Christian, or if he had denied his faith in the company of an infidel³³. As the *Almanacco di Zara* from 1806 stated, "the true enemies of religion are the liberals, hypocrites and impious men"³⁴.

Catechisms, however, demonstrated very clearly that members of the Greek Orthodox community, as those who belonged to the Eastern Christianity and who possessed the sacrament of baptism, were *included* in those who were considered the "Our." The attitude towards them was constructed in the framework of the spirit of fraternity, goodwill and unity. Such a fraternal and patronizing spirit can be primarily inferred from the terminology used for the Orthodox population, which made a distinction between those who recognized the Pope as their moral and spiritual authority and those who did not. The terminology itself ("Greci uniti"/"Greci non-

"Nemrzi na tvoga brata zbog njegove vjere, no ostavi da njegovo srce ispravi onaj, koi s nehom upravlja. ... Ljubite vašega bližnjega ... bez svake razlike; dobro cinite svakomu, koi se na vas uzda; nemrzite i negonite onoga, koi u vašu crkvu neide; svi smo sinovi jednoga Oca". Đ. NIKOLAJEVIĆ, 'Moralno i zabavno', in Đ. NIKOLAJEVIĆ (ed.), *Ljubitelj prosveštenija: Srbsko-dalmatinski Magazin*, Tipografije Braće Battara, Zadar 1845, pp. 65, 98.

³⁰ "D[omanda]. Chi non ha religione alcuna può egli essere un suddito probbo? R[isposta]. Chi non ha religione non teme Dio; e chi non teme Dio non può essere suddito probbo". *Duxnosti podloxnikah*, p. 24. Emphasized by J. L.

³¹ "Se avesse disputato con infedeli in materia di religione". *Breve e facile modo di richiamar a memoria ogni peccato*, Tipografia Martecchini, Ragusa 1850, p. 7.

³² "Se ha letto, ritenuto o ritenesse libri proibiti", *Ibidem*, p. 7. "M[aestro]. Quando si trasgredisce con l'opere? D[iscepolo]. Si trasgredisce col leggere o tenere presso di se senza licenza libri proibiti che trattino di Religione, col portar indosso garmenture per non esser feriti, coll'usare cose o segni superstiziosi con cui ottenere la sanità, ritrovar tesori, far innamorare, o far simonia". *Breve compendio*, pp. 42-43. Emphasized by J. L.

³³ "Se avesse negata la Fede di Christo o avesse avuto dispiacere di esser cristiano. ... Se essendo in compagnia di qualche infedele avesse avuto riguardo di farsi riconoscer cristiano. Se essendo in compagnia di questi avesse negato d'aver cristiano". *Breve e facile modo*, pp. 6-7. Emphasized by J. L.

³⁴ "I veri nemici della Religione sono i libertini, gl'ipocriti, e gli empj", *Almanacco di Zara ad uso del regno della Dalmazia per l'anno 1809*, Zadar 1809.

uniti”) suggests that in all probability this fraternal perception of Eastern Christians served the efforts of the Roman Catholic Church in subordinating the Orthodox population to the authority of the Pope³⁵. This was the subject matter of many pastoral letters at that time. In his pastoral letter the bishop Josip (Giuseppe) Godeassi, for instance, invited all those who were separated from the Roman Catholic Church, i.e., the Eastern Christians, to recognize the authority of the Pope as there is only one Lord, one faith, and one sacrament of baptism³⁶.

Tab. 3 - Terminology used for the Greek Orthodox population

THOSE WHO DID NOT RECOGNIZE THE AUTHORITY OF THE POPE	THOSE WHO RECOGNIZED THE AUTHORITY OF THE POPE
braća nesjedinjena [brothers not united]	
odcipljeni Grci [separated Greeks]	Grci sjedinjeni [united Greeks]
poluvirnici [half-believers]	
non-uniti	unijati, uniti
Grci non-uniti	Grci uniti
Grci scismatici, šizmatici	

Addresses to the Orthodox were not polemical in nature, but more often friendly persuasive invitations to return to the Roman Catholic Church. A Catholic author by the name of Petar Stijić dedicated his entire work *Kratki razgovor o istočnoj crkvi* (A Short Conversation About the Eastern Church) to his Orthodox friend Milutin, trying to convince him (as well as all the brothers of the “separated” Church) to return to the Roman Catholic

³⁵ See on the policy of the Catholic Church towards the Orthodox population in Dalmatia in: M. BOGOVIĆ, *Katolička crkva i pravoslavlje u Dalmaciji za vrijeme mletačke vladavine* Zagreb 1993.

³⁶ “I vi napokon, kojise u ovoj Darxavi nazivljete imenom Karstjanskim, daliste prinevoljno odcipljeni od Rimske Crkve, Majke i Učiteljice svih Crkva, a kojih ja Karstjanskom ljubavju garlim i očinskim dobrohotnjem, ah dao Bog da i vi poslisate moj glas, i dase učini jedno stado i jedan Pastir, kako je jedan Gospodin, jedna vira i jedno Karschenje”. JOSIP GODEASSI, *Knjiga pastirska redovnicim i puku splitskomu i makaranskomu Jozip Biskup. Epistola pastoralis ad clerum et populum Spalatensem et Makarskensem Josephus Episcopus* [Pastoral Letter to the Clergymen and the Commoners of Split and Makarska], Utesctenica Demarki - Tipografia Demarchi, Zadar 1841, p. 13.

Church³⁷. However, the Eastern Christians were always asked to renounce their religious fallacies and false beliefs, and accept four major points that differentiated the Eastern Christians from the Roman Catholics: (1) the supreme authority of the Pope (*pervenstvo rimskog pape*), (2) the Holy Spirit emanates from the Father and the Son (*proizhodenje Duha svetoga i od Sina; filioque*), (3) purgatory (*purgatorium*), and (4) transubstantiation (*pretvorenje hlěba bezkvasna u tělo Isukerstovo kod Latinah*)³⁸. "Separated brothers" were made to believe that Eastern Christianity had been more splendid during the first nine centuries of Christianity before the schism occurred, when the Greeks and Catholics had made decisions together on religious issues, had professed the same faith and recognized one spiritual authority, that is, the Pope. They also argued that twelve Greeks had sat on the throne of Saint Peter. Therefore, claiming that the Greek Orthodox were seduced, the Roman ecclesiastical authorities admonished them to unite with the Roman Catholics³⁹. Differences in customs and religious service, the religious authorities believed, do not necessarily cause differences in faith, as there is only one faith, the one taught by Jesus Christ and on which the apostle Peter built the Church. These invitations to reconciliation and a return to the Roman Catholic Church came not only from the supreme spiritual authorities and Catholic clergy, but also from the seculars who often depicted the relationship and the everyday life of the confessional

³⁷ "...Ti me koriš, što ja inače o jedinstvu vjere Isusove govorim: mislim, nego ti, nadalje kažeš, da su tebi bolje poznate staze istočnih Otaca nego meni, govoriš, da su bratja nesjedinjena, od kojih si gore i ti list, pravo učinila, što su se od rimske Cerkve odcepila, na posledku tverdiš, da su sve to bratja nesjedinjena učinila usljed svetog Pisma i Tradicije. Na sva ova odgovoriti ću ti na kratko u ovoj mojoj knjižici, a ti međutim zdravstvuj. ... Na posledku usudjujem se pred čelim svijetom izpovediti, da ja po ovom mom razgovoru nenakani nikoga uvrcdjivati oli razdraživati, radi česa će svaki iskreni čitatelj uvidjeti, da su pravedne sve bješede moje, budući u njima ništa krivog i opakog neima". P. STIJIĆ, *Kratki razgovor o istočnoj cerkvi na svjetlo izdao D.r. Petar Stijić* [A Short Conversation About the Eastern Church Came to the Light by Petar Stijić], Tiskom Demarchi-Rougierovim, Zadar 1848, p. 10.

³⁸ A manuscript *Razgovor Rasudno-Bogoslovni Iskazan u vise knjigah (sest Poslanicah) Upravljenih jednomu Gospodinu Hervatu Rischianinu Zakona odcipljenoga. Prinosenje Pervo. Od inostranskoga u Slovinski-Dalmatinski jezik od Popa Pervostoljne Cerkve Zadarske Matte Kurtovicha* [A Religious Conversation in Several Works (Six Pastoral Letters) Directed to Mr. Croat Christian of the Separated Church. First edition. From the Foreign Language Translated in Slovenian-Dalmatian by the Priest of the Church in Zadar Mate Kurtović], dated by 22nd of September 1842, dedicated its entire fifth chapter to the fallacies and wrong beliefs of the Eastern Christianity. According to the researches conducted up to now, it was not published, though was censored and corrected (possibly on 4th of March 1848). In ZKZd, 28 275 Ms 783.

³⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 11.

communities living in the triple border the way that would not be considered tolerant and peaceful⁴⁰.

Sometimes, however, these persuasions directed to the Eastern Christians to recognize the authority of the Pope were much harsher and severer. Members of the Orthodox Church were led to believe that the schism was nothing else than an act of Satan, and that the only *true* religion is the one professed in the Roman Catholic world⁴¹. Patriarch Photius was most singled out as the one who was most guilty of the schism. Since the Patriarch in Constantinople inherited his primate, the city was regarded as the centre of heresy. Contrary to this, the Roman Pope was regarded as the successor of St. Peter while Rome was being regarded as the centre of Christian unity⁴². In addition, celebration of religious feasts according to the “Greek schismatic” calendar was forbidden, even under the threat of excommunication. A command was given to follow the rites of the Roman Catholic Church and only in the days prescribed by the Roman Catholic calendar⁴³.

All of this points to the fact that tolerance towards Eastern Christians presumably existed only in the endeavors of the Roman Catholic Church to subordinate the Orthodox Church to the authority of the Pope. For this reason, only a few months after the proclamation of the constitutional rights in 1848, members of the Eastern Christianity in Dalmatia who accepted the authority of the Pope requested they be given “freedom of conscience” and “freedom of religious service,” promised to all by the constitution. In other words, they asked for a return to the faith confessed by their predecessors. They felt deceived by the authorities having convinced them that the recognition of the authority of the Pope would not mean a cancellation of their faith and customs⁴⁴. “Nothing can more impede freedom and peace in

⁴⁰ See footnote 25.

⁴¹ *Razgovor Rasudno-Bogoslovni*, 1842, p. 15.

⁴² *Ibidem*. The entire second chapter is dedicated to the patriarch Photius and the act of schism. STIJIC, *Kratki razgovor*, p. 66.

⁴³ “Si proibisce sotto pena si scommunicare l’abuso riprovevole di celebrare le Feste secondo l’uso Greco scismatico, e comandiamo d’ora in poi di celebrarle secondo il rito latino Romano, e in quali giorno che cadono secondo il prescritto del Calendario. I Parocchi che assisteranno a tali Feste restino sospesi a Divinis per otto giorni”. I. TOPIC, *Fra Giovanni Topich dell’ordine de’ minori osservanti per la permissione di Dio e grazia dell’apostolica sede vescovo d’Alessio, ed amministratore apostolico dell’archivescovato di Scopia, ai Curati e vice Curati ed al Popolo dell’una e l’altra diocesi, Salute e Benedizione*, Tipografia Martecchini figlio, Ragusa 1843, p. 30.

⁴⁴ They claimed that although many accepted the authority of the Pope and renounced their old beliefs, no one did it for the reasons of a deep conviction but rather for the reasons of greediness – they were paid for that. Some were also attracted by the promise of liberation from the prison or some other mercy promised by the Emperor. ‘Zahtjev pounijačenih Srba

a country than conflicts between churches along with an unequal and biased attitude of the government towards the various confessions" stated Božidar Petranović⁴⁵ in his letter to minister Stadion, asking for his people those rights that had been already granted to other peoples of the Monarchy⁴⁶. The policy of bringing the Eastern Christians into the Roman Catholic Church came to an end by the proclamation of the freedom of conversion from one Christian confession to another, which was guaranteed to everyone. Many "Greek united Christians" returned to their original faith⁴⁷.

Even if the Orthodox Christians were perceived as the "Others," the attitude towards them was much lighter and indulgent. It could be assumed that the attitude towards the "Others" was twofold: different towards the non-Catholic Christians, and different towards the non-Christians. The Jews, for instance, which the catechisms clearly separated from the Christians, were for the most perceived in ethno-confessional stereotypes as liars and people without chastity, uprightness and moral sense, as those who like to cheat and deceive. In short, they were a despised, distrusted and often a persecuted group. The young were particularly discouraged from making any contract with them⁴⁸. The entire section of the book *How to educate the young man* was dedicated to the Jews (*O Judama*), emphasizing that "what it has been written here about the Jews refers to those Jews who travel from one town to another vending their products"⁴⁹. These stereotypes were so

dalmatinskih Ministarstvu da im se omogući povratak na pravoslavnu vjeru, Drniš, 1. 10. 1848 [A Demand of the United Serbs from Dalmatia to the Ministry for the Return to the Orthodox Faith]', in *Ljubitelj prosvještenija: Srbsko-dalmatinski Magazin*, Zadar 1850.

⁴⁵ Božidar Petranović was a deputy of the district in Knin in parliament in Vienna.

⁴⁶ "...ništa ne može toliko omesti slobodu i mir jedne zemlje, kao crkveni razdori, i kao nejednako i pristrasno postupanje Vladino prema različnim verozakonima". Letter by Božidar Petranović to the minister Stadion, 24th November 1848", in *Ljubitelj prosvještenija: Srbsko-dalmatinski Magazin*, Zadar 1850.

⁴⁷ A detailed description of the conditions under which the individual could have returned to his religion was given in: 'Detaljni uvjeti pri prelasku s jedne vjere u drugu sadržani u: Odluka ministra u pogledu prelaska iz jednog zakona u drugi od 30. 1. 1849', in *Ljubitelj prosvještenija: Srbsko-dalmatinski Magazin*, Zadar 1850; *Oznanjenje C. K. Vlade za Dalmaciju o propisima pri prijelazu s jedne vjere na drugu*, N. 2647/522. *Notificazione dell'I.R. Governo della Dalmazia*, 22. 2. 1849, Državni Arhiv Zadar, Stampe 47, n. 14.

⁴⁸ "Čuvajte se koliko se više može, da ne bi kakvi poslova, mnogo manje kakvog interesa s Judama imali, budući da jedan hristianin ne može se nikad pouzdano osloniti na sovest, čestnost i zakletvu ovi ljudi. Oni su preko mere ponešeni za velikim dobitkom, i zato kad god mogu, gotovi su prevariti ... Židi ne smedu i ne mogu pred iskusnim trgovcima toliko lagati i varati, koliko pred neiskusnim mladicićima..." . NIKOLAJEVIĆ, *Mladić kako treba da se izобрази*, pp. 264-267.

⁴⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 264.

emphasized that a great distrust was directed even towards those Jews that accepted Christianity⁵⁰. Such ethno-confessional stereotypes were notified in the moral and didactic story *O dobrom Hristoforu* by Đorđe Nikolajević as well⁵¹. Finally, the sources also reveal that Jews were forbidden to keep in their service Christians, although some rights were granted to them. They were allowed for instance to ask for the help of a Christian physician in case of sickness. They were also permitted to ask for the help of a Christian in mercantile and transportation businesses. During the shabat they were allowed to ask the Christians for assistance in daily chores, such as, lighting a fire, or to switch the light or candle on. However, Christians must not stay at Jewish houses over the night. For transgressors, financial penalties were prescribed. In case the repeated transgressions, the transgressor could be exiled from the region⁵².

A similar attitude of distrust was also directed towards the Moslems who carried with them negative connotations. Both clergy and flock were warned in pastoral letters, even under the threat of excommunication, about the danger of accepting Turkish customs, such as doing their hair and wearing cloths of Turkish fashion⁵³. Entering the Church wearing the red fez was considered a desecration of the House of God⁵⁴. Furthermore, taking an oath over the bread and weapons according to the Turkish customs instead of the Scripture and the Cross according to the Christian tradition was also forbidden⁵⁵. These customs were considered secular, and as such, dangerous for the religious and spiritual well-being of the folk. The attitude towards the Muslim Turks pervaded the general European political scene. Christians,

⁵⁰ "Čuvajte se i od pokršteni Juda, koi su kad kod gori od nepokrštenjaka. Izvidite najpre u kakvoj je česti taj čovek, s koim vi poslužete, kod ostali ljudi". *Ibidem*, pp. 264-265.

⁵¹ NIKOLAJEVIĆ, 'Moralno i zabavno', pp. 65-98.

⁵² Notificazione, 10. 4. 1821, N. 5, 449/1.053. In ZKZD, 149 598, Misc. B. 8, p. 105. It was signed up by the baron Tomassich, Giuseppe Nobile de Weingarten, and dott. Niccolò Giachich. The source comprised the Emperor's patent of 26th November 1725 as well as the circular letter of 18th February 1803.

⁵³ "... come ancora riproviamo e fortemente condanniamo l'abuso di radersi tutta la testa lasciando un solo fiocco di capella alla maniera ottomana". TOPIĆ, *Fra Giovanni Topich dell'ordine*, p. 5.

⁵⁴ "... Proibiamo, sotto pena di sospensione da incorrersi *ipso facto*, a tutti gli Ecclesiastici, di portare indosso armi secondo il costume dei secolari, e portare sul capo Fes rosso e fustagne alla turca... con Fes in testa profanando così la santità della Casa di Dio". *Ibidem*, pp. 20, 26.

⁵⁵ "... proibiamo di far giuramento sul pane, e sullo schioppo alla foggia Turca: ma nelle necessità, e per comando di chi ha il diritto di esigerlo, si giuri o sul Vangelo, o sulla Croce". *Ibidem*, p. 30.

no matter what religion they professed, always found themselves united in speaking of the Turks. The Turkish sultan, as a non-Christian, was not permitted to join the Holy Alliance⁵⁶.

Having in mind the ethno-confessional stereotypes, as in case of the Jews, or rather the negative connotations, as in case of the Moslems, or a tolerant attitude towards the non-Catholic Christians it could be concluded that religious tolerance was neither unambiguous, nor one-leveled, nor unique and the same for everyone, but obviously did exist. The appearance of multi-confessional publications in such a political and cultural environment indicates that the authorities played a significant role in promoting tolerance within the triple border, which had already been prescribed by the Patent of Religious Tolerance of 1781 and grew towards the latter part of the 18th century⁵⁷. It has to be constantly kept in mind that the almanacs offered to their readers not only the Gregorian calendar of the dominant Roman Catholic community, but also the Julian "Greek" calendar, sometimes including the Jewish as well as the Islamic calendar. Furthermore, the fact that the almanacs recorded the passing of time⁵⁸, from the death of Muhammad, for example, or the beginning of the Ottoman Empire, arrival of Protestantism, the introduction of the Patent of Tolerance of 1781, the Tridentine Council, the suppression of the Jesuit order, etc. testify that there existed a certain sensibility towards a multi-confessional society.

⁵⁶ See footnote 3.

⁵⁷ The Patent of Religious Tolerance proclaimed by Joseph II in 1781 had already granted religious liberty to non-Catholic Christian subjects. In other words, it granted the private exercise of their religion to Lutherans and Calvinists. While leaving Catholicism the "dominant religion" of the State, and treating smaller confessions with extreme harshness, it allowed the Calvinists, Lutheran and Orthodox Churches to build their own places of worship and schools, won land, practice crafts and hold posts in the army and civil service, without being required to take an oath or attend a religious ceremony contrary to their consciences. For the first time, those who did not conform to the official faith could claim the rights of citizenship. However, the edict was of limited character as offered little to the Jews and nothing to the Unitarians and the Deists. Although the Jews were relieved of the obligation to wear a distinctive dress and of many other restrictions, they were still excluded from some careers. However, they could now enter many professions, including that of medicine. To conclude, the toleration did not entail the granting of complete freedom, but simply removal of specific restrictions. A state composed of Catholic believers who would attain salvation remained the personal idea of Joseph II. Nevertheless, the Patent was a dramatic reversal of traditional Habsburg policies, representing an important step toward a more liberal and tolerant attitude.

⁵⁸ To count how much time passed from certain events, significant not only for the region but for the entire humankind, was at the time a habitual practice in the almanacs.

However, though a certain level of tolerance existed, it was not identical for all. Therefore, it is fair to say that at that time, the development of religious tolerance was in its early stages. Although many sources gave evidence to invitations for peaceful co-habitation, directed mostly to the Orthodox, still the impression is that such an attitude served only to the final recognition of the authority of the Pope. As they were constantly warned to renounce their religious fallacies and errors, it could be supposed that the religious freedom was in fact denied to them. In other words, stronger emphasis was given to differences rather than similarities. This was most obvious in the attitude towards all non-Christians – Moslems, Jews, infidels and others. This assumption could be also reinforced by the fact that many sources notify religious intolerance in everyday life, or at least, perception of the “Others” in ethno-confessional stereotypes. Whether the religious intolerance can be found on the extensive level, or only individual cases of intolerance can be traced is the question that should be left open. It is sure, however, that the problem was recognized by the authors of the age.

In concluding, the emergence of the multi-confessional publications in such a cultural and political atmosphere was significant, due to the fact that they were intended for all ethno-confessional communities inhabiting the region, even those living in the near neighbourhood. It is safe to assume, that the Dalmatian triple border of the first half of the 19th century seemed to evolve in the direction of conservative ecumenism. This was far from today’s understanding of ecumenism, which does not seek the absolute ecclesiastical incorporation of the Eastern Orthodox Churches into the Roman Catholic Church, but rather accepts the differences among the various confessions while emphasizing their similarities.

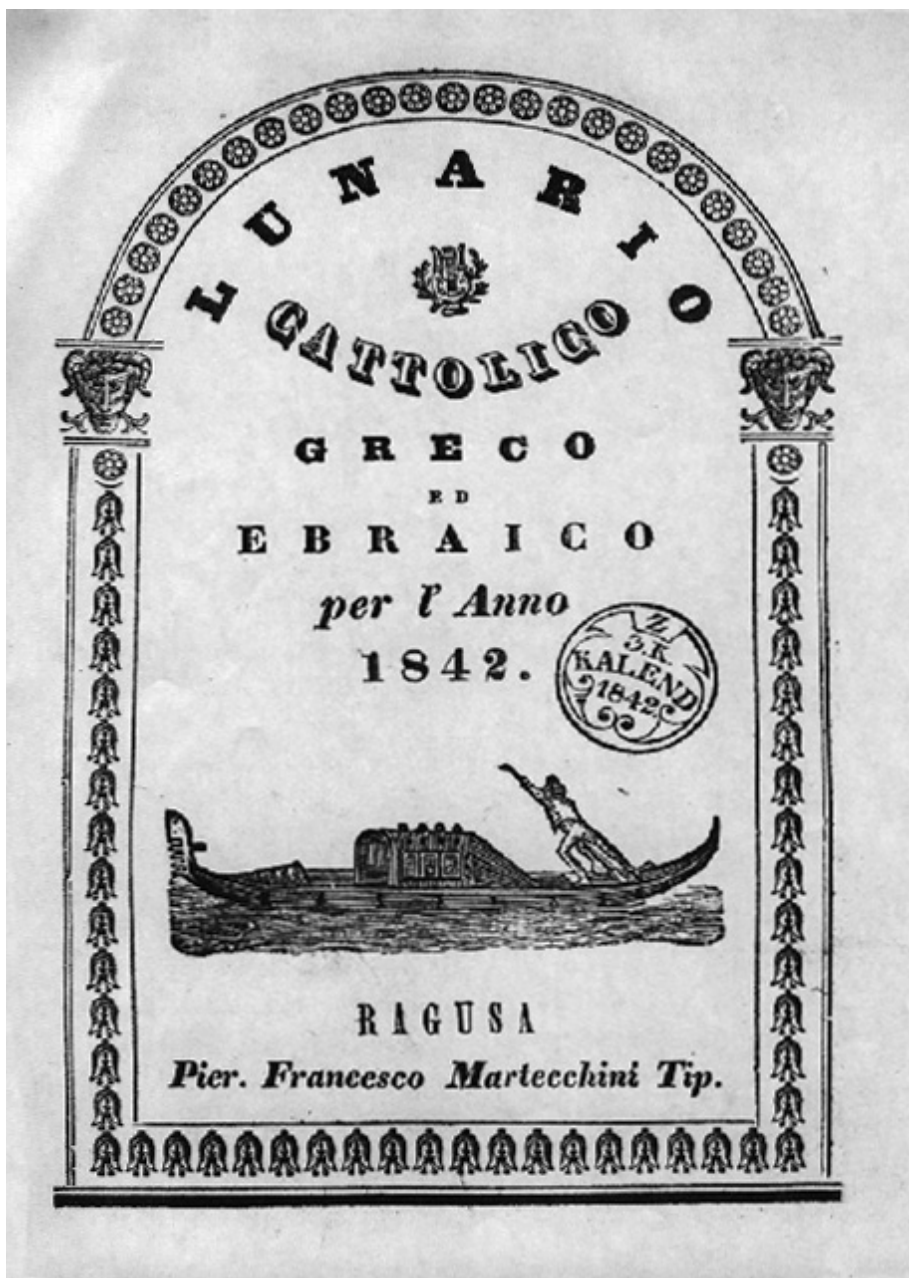


Fig. 1 - *Lunario Cattolico Greco ed Ebraico per l'Anno 1842*, Pier. Francesco Martecchini, Ragusa 1842.

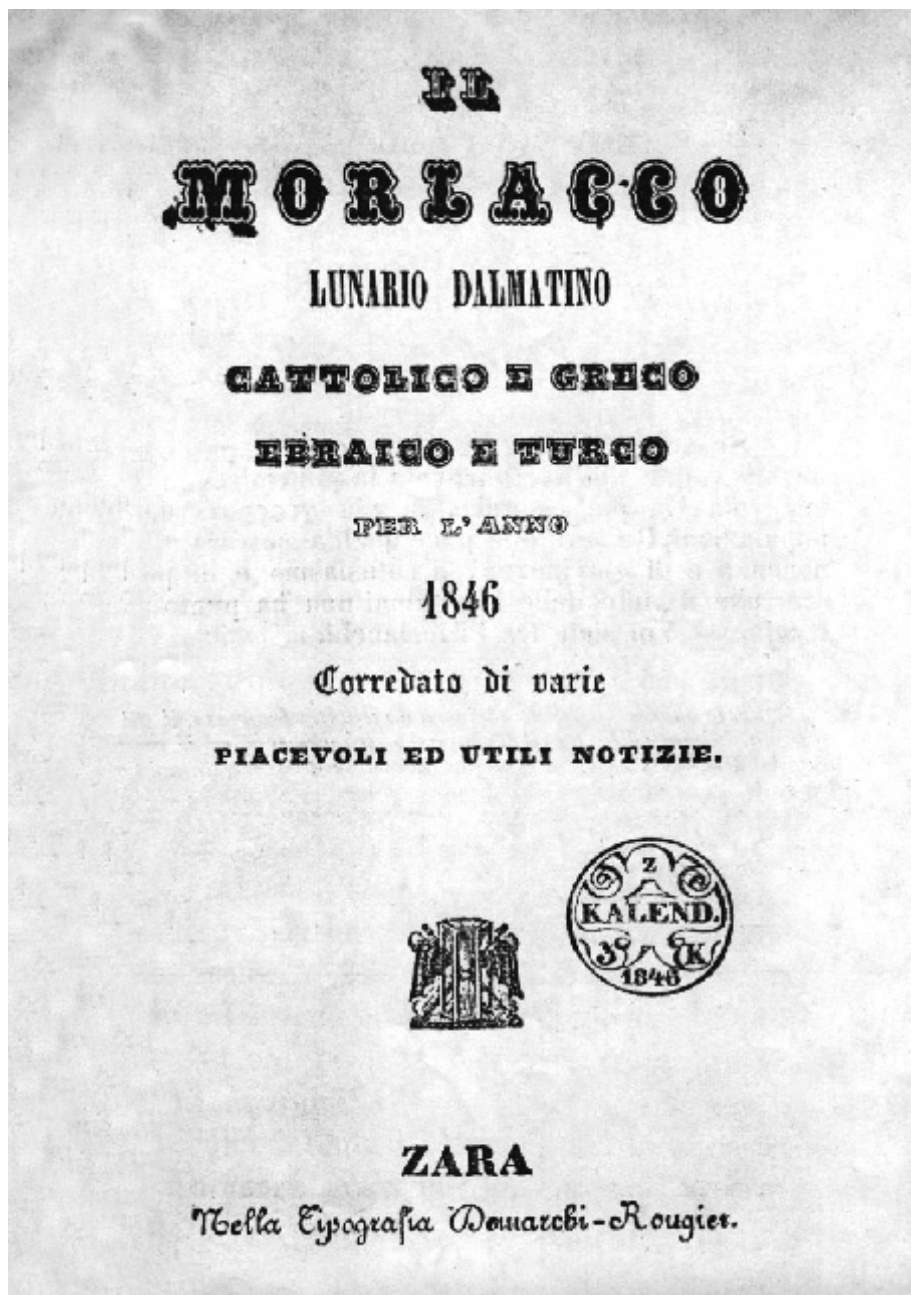


Fig. 2 - Il Morlacco. Lunario Dalmatino Cattolico Greco Ebraico e Turco per l'Anno 1846 Corredato di varie piacevoli ed utili notizie, Tipografia Demarchi-Rougier, Zara 1846.

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