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**Ragusa (Dubrovnik) in the 19th century: nations, religion, identities.
From Slavism to the Serb Catholic idea: new perspectives
about an uncommon city**

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Introduction and Research question

If we were to try to give a synthetic definition of Yugoslavia, we could say that it had been a State made up of different religious communities, which at the end of its history paid the price of not being able to live peacefully with its deep internal diversity. In the 1990s a tragic tribute of blood was the watershed that closed a history in which cultural projects and political actions emphasized the affinity between neighboring peoples having a similar if not identical language. These moments of ideal closeness and harmony of political intentions alternated with moments of distrust and distance between "us" and "them", between Serbs and Croats, Orthodox and Catholics, but also between Christians and Muslims.

The paroxysm of violence which occurred in the final break-up both of the Yugoslav state and of its basic idea, had been a very specific historical fact, whose dynamics are certainly not to be investigated here. Nor do I intend to fall into the sin of anachronism, a vision that is tempting to the historian and which, however, is misleading as few others. In our view, indeed, it would be anachronistic, for example, to say that the Yugoslav idea was unworkable from its outset, in the light of what happened afterwards.

Rather, I believe that the final outcome of the whole process should not predetermine our judgment on its various historical phases, in terms of teleology or in terms of assessments on an alleged inevitable destiny, given the premises. To the contrary, another issue in our opinion would be to allow so to speak the final outcome to ask us further questions, to discuss again about the ideas and about the discourses that these ideas have fuelled. In this sense, I could say that the final outcome does not predetermine our answers to the Yugoslav problem, but rather it can help to ask ourselves further questions in order to study it even better, in its historical genealogy.

Therefore, I will focus on a specific phase of this genealogy – the events in nineteenth-century Ragusa/Dubrovnik and in Dalmatia – a phase that concerns a local dimension but which, for a number of reasons that I will explain, had important relevance to the whole pre-Yugoslav context.

Those who study the nineteenth and twentieth centuries of the pre-Yugoslav peoples cannot help but be struck by the alternation of moments of understanding and collaboration with moments of distrust and conflict between different "nations" (the Croatian and the Serbian ones) which during the nineteenth century had

defined themselves exactly as "nations". Yugoslavism, which in a nutshell can be defined as the cultural and political paradigm that generated twentieth-century Yugoslavia, appears to have been a strong idea when those pre-Yugoslav peoples had experienced times of difficulty, due to pressures from neighboring states and empires and from more numerous and more culturally structured peoples.

On the contrary, one gets the impression that the Yugoslav idea had been weak in those times when, for various reasons, these pressures were weakening.

In what is probably the best study – at least in Italian historiography – that had tried to understand what Yugoslavism was, Egidio Ivetic concluded his reflection by writing that "the very multiple nature of Yugoslavism and of what it had represented, has been its constant destructive factor". The Italian historian of Istrian origin, then, specified that to really exist, a "pure" Yugoslavism would have had to stop being "a disguised Croatism or a disguised Serbianism". It should have achieved a true synthesis of the multiple elements ("civilizations") that had made up the Yugoslav peoples. And it should have really put on the same level "the Baroque, the Byzantine icon and the Koran". It would have been necessary to reach that synthesis which to the contrary – Ivetic notes – has been realized in the Albanian case, "through a shared ethnic substratum, a shared language and a common project for the future".

In other words, a common civilization "capable of not being dominated by its own history" and which should have been inspired – as in fact between 1912 and 1914 some pre-Yugoslav intellectuals actually did but, in retrospect, without success – by Americanism, that is by the ideology of the United States. But Yugoslavia, a land that like few others had been on the multiple border of different empires and civilizations, had not been able to reach such a synthesis¹.

Especially after the wars of the 1990s, international historiography produced numerous works that already from their titles indicated concepts such as that of a

¹ E. Ivetic, *Jugoslavia sognata. Lo jugoslavismo delle origini*, Milano, 2012, pag. 175 (hereinafter: Ivetic, 2012). This does not mean that attempts had not been made to achieve these syntheses. But they – in retrospect – have not been successful. Cfr. A. B. Wachtel, *Making a nation, breaking a nation. Literature and cultural politics in Yugoslavia*, Stanford, 1998 (hereinafter: Wachtel, 1998). On the policies of building a Yugoslav national identity in the period between the two world wars, cfr. P. Troch, *Nationalism and Yugoslavia. Education, Yugoslavism and the Balkans before World War II*, London-New York, 2015. On the relationship between religion, Churches and nationalisms in Titoist and post-Titoist Yugoslavia, cfr. K. Buchenau, *Orthodoxie und Katholizismus in Jugoslawien 1945-1991. Ein serbisch-kroatischer Vergleich*, Wiesbaden, 2004.

State destined to die because of its irresolvable contradictions, or that of an "idea that failed"².

A particular attention to the problems existing in the relations between Croats and Serbs also existed among contemporary observers, during some earlier historical periods.

In 1923, for example, while the "first" Yugoslavia had only been founded five years earlier and it was governed by the centralist Serbian monarchy, the apostolic nuncio to Belgrade, *monsignor* Ermenegildo Pellegrinetti, sent to the Holy See one of his numerous reports concerning the internal political situation of the new State, the differences between centralist and federalist parties, the contrasts between nationalities and, obviously, about the situation of the Catholic Church in a country with a slight Orthodox majority³. The nuncio, who often in his documents showed a lucid capacity for analysis of that context, wrote at the end of his report that "it has become evident that it is impossible to destroy in one year the differences created by a thousand years of history and of different religion and civilizations. Byzantium and Rome, the East and the West they touch each other again, but they don't mutually harmonise"⁴.

In the specific context that I will study here, i.e. Ragusa/Dubrovnik, between the end of the 1880s and the beginning of the 1890s there was a very lively controversy about the nationality – understood in the contemporary meaning of the term – of one of the greatest cultural protagonist of the city during the Early

² See for example S. P. Ramet, *The three Yugoslavias. State building and legitimation 1918-2005*, Washington-Bloomington, 2006; D. Djokić (ed.), *Yugoslavism. Histories of a failed idea, 1918-1992*, London, 2003; A. Pavković, 'Yugoslavism: a national identity that failed?', in L. Holmes and Ph. Murray (eds.), *Citizenship and identity in Europe*, Aldershot, 1999, pp. 147-157.

³ What I could briefly define as the Vatican perspective on Yugoslavia, although external to our chronological period of study, is a reservoir of themes and of documentation very useful for understanding the Yugoslav religious questions and, in some ways, even the nineteenth-century background. In Italian historiography, a very important work on this subject is M. Valente, *Diplomazia Pontificia e Regno dei Serbi, Croati e Sloveni (1918-1929)*, Split, 2012 (hereinafter: Valente, 2012). Also useful is the seminal article on the theme by P. Blasina, 'Santa Sede e Regno dei Serbi, Croati e Sloveni. Dalla missione di dom Pierre Bastien al riconoscimento formale (1918-1919)', *Studi Storici*, 35, 1994, 3, pp. 773-809. On the negotiations between the Holy See and interwar Yugoslav State in view of the drawing up of a concordat, see I. Salmič, *Al di là di ogni pregiudizio. Le trattative per il concordato tra la Santa Sede e il Regno dei Serbi, Croati e Sloveni/Jugoslavia e la mancata ratifica (1922-1938)*, Roma, 2015.

⁴ *ASV, Arch. Nunz. Jugoslavia, busta 3, ff. 63r-66v (f. 66v)*, Pellegrinetti to the Secretary of State Gasparri, Belgrado, 28 March 1923 (draft). The original version of the report is cited also in Valente, 2012, pp. 200-202.

Modern Age, the poet Ivan Gundulić⁵. The various political souls of the city (Croatophiles, Orthodox and Catholic Serbophiles and Autonomists Italophiles) claimed Gundulić as "one of them". An observer of these facts, who especially in previous decades had also been personally involved in the political life of the city and of the region, namely the consul of the kingdom of Italy Luigi Serragli, left us a lively description of the day in 1893 on which the monument to Gundulić was erected, that can still be seen today in one of the most famous places in beautiful Dubrovnik. Even if he was not a complete outsider, Serragli sent a report to the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs which is a very interesting source because described the facts from an external point of view, as an observer who wants the Italian government in Rome to have a precise idea. What he wrote at the end of his report was that "the liveliness of the competitions between Serbs and Croats, fomented by religious disagreements, is a fact that politics must take into account, in the inevitable struggles that one day there will be in the Balkan peninsula"⁶.

The above mentioned testimonials are just two examples, but it would be interesting to extend that kind of research to offer a wider overview of what could be described as "the concern for the future of Yugoslavia" before Yugoslavia had come into existence, or during its early stage of existence.

In this research I have focused on a particular "laboratory", both of the Yugoslav idea and of other national ideas typical of the region. These ideas were concurrent but also complementary. I will observe the path that during the nineteenth century led local politicians, intellectuals, representatives of the clergy – in a word, the local Dubrovnik elites – from a generic Southern Slavism to contemporary and competing Croatian and Serbian national ideas, passing also through a discourse of collective identity which was peculiar to Dubrovnik, i.e. the ideas of the Serb Catholic movement.

This observation point, Ragusa/Dubrovnik, presents various reasons of interest: its history from the Middle Ages onwards as an independent Republic and the legacy left by that past in terms of local pride; the recognition by 19th century Southern Slavic patriots and intellectuals of Ragusa's fundamental role in the development of a Southern Slavic culture throughout the centuries; last but not least, the fact that some interesting figures in the political, cultural and "national" history of nineteenth-century Dalmatia came from Dubrovnik.

⁵ As regards the choices made in this work regarding place names and personal names, I refer to the following chapter "A premise on names, languages, quotations".

⁶ *ASMAE, SP 1891-1916, busta 87, pos. 15 Austria-rapporti politici 1894-1896*, "Feste per il poeta Gondola", Serragli to the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ragusa, 28 June 1893 (unnumbered sheets).

Ragusa's "heavy" history, in terms of cultural heritage and "discourses of identity"⁷, produced a cohabitation of past worship and public use of history for present political purposes. The nostalgia for the glorious past and a certain self-pity for the "peripheric" situation that the city incarnated in the nineteenth century under Austria produced a particularly favorable context for the development of political projects for the future.

More generally, it is worth noting that nineteenth-century Dalmatia has proven to be a very interesting context in which both to analyse the impact of nation-building processes in European contemporary age and to test some general assumptions about those processes. On the one hand, these former Venetian and Ragusan estates on the East coast of the Adriatic – which passed definitively under Austrian rule at the dawn of the Restoration – presented some issues that were partly common to other Southeast European areas during this period.

The presence of an elite, in this case Italian-speaking, socially and culturally dominating the rest of the Slavic-speaking population was an element which could also be found in Bohemia, where the dominant elite instead was German-speaking.

Some further elements that nineteenth-century Dalmatia shared with other regions of that age were the presence of a still incomplete formation of national identities⁸ and the gradual development – albeit in a peculiar way – of secularisation in society and culture⁹.

⁷ In the context of Ragusan studies, although regarding a different historical period, the effective expression “discourses of identity” had been used by L. Kunčević, ‘Civic and ethnic discourses of identity in a City-State context: the case of Renaissance Ragusa’ in B. Trencsényi and M. Zászkaliczky (eds.) *Whose love of which country? Composite States, national histories and patriotic discourses in Early Modern East Central Europe*, Leiden-Boston, 2010, pp. 149-175 (hereinafter: Kunčević, 2010).

⁸ A fundamental innovation in the historiographical studies on the Habsburg period has occurred since the 1980s. Undermining the presumptions of more traditional scholarship, new research had focused on topics such as the phenomenon of national indifference of the lowest social classes, the development of specific form of loyalties to the imperial frame and the importance of approaching the history of individuals and groups eschewing the nation- and nationalism-based frames as the only possible interpretative schemes. A penetrating discussion of these themes is provided by Tara Zahra, ‘Imagined Noncommunities: National Indifference as a Category of Analysis’, *Slavic Review*, 69, 2010, 1, pp. 93-119 (hereinafter: Zahra, 2010). For an overview on the vast body of literature produced in the past thirty years and for a criticism of the persistence of outdated viewpoints, see Pieter M. Judson, “‘Where our commonality is necessary...’: Rethinking the End of the Habsburg Monarchy’, *Austrian History Yearbook*, 48, 2017, pp. 1-21 (5-8) (hereinafter: Judson, 2017).

⁹ An important aspect of the phenomenon, although not the only one, concerned the education system and the loss of the dominant role of the Catholic Church in it. The process had been underway since 1848 and the reforms continued during and after the Neo-Absolutist decade by means of compromise solutions. See Gary B. Cohen, *Education and middle-class society in imperial Austria 1848-1918*, West Lafayette, 1996 (hereinafter: Cohen, 1996). Later, further reforms introduced secular management of higher education. In my case study, I will talk about the secularisation of the Dubrovnik Gymnasium in 1868.

However, the Dalmatian case also presented undeniable peculiarities highlighted by seminal studies published in recent years. A common element to these works is the description of a situation which was very fluid still up to the second half of the nineteenth century, as far as the consolidation of national identities was concerned. From this point of view, the Dalmatian situation appeared to be even more complex with respect to other territories of the Habsburg monarchy.

Clewing has convincingly argued for the presence of five collective identities among the local elites (Illyrian, Croatian, Serbian, Slavo-Dalmatian, Italo-Dalmatian) at the turn of 1848¹⁰.

Cetnarowicz's book, first published in Polish and then translated into Croatian and German, is perhaps the most convincing attempt to show the cultural and political transition from a broader ("Slavic") national idea to more exclusive (Croatian and Serbian) national identities in the region during the nineteenth century¹¹.

Thanks to the Croatian historian Josip Vrandečić, moreover, we also have a very detailed history of the Dalmatian cultural and political Autonomist movement closely linked to the Italian-speaking elites. It was a political faction which only from the second half of the nineteenth century would become decidedly opposed to the Slavic-Croatian party¹².

Of fundamental interest for the history of the Italian-speaking communities in Dalmatia are the works of Luciano Monzali who, by means of a diplomatic history perspective, has made great use of sources from the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs¹³.

Finally, Ivetic's recent research on the genealogy of national contrasts in the region (adopting a *longue durée* perspective), should not be overlooked¹⁴.

¹⁰ Konrad Clewing, *Staatlichkeit und nationale Identitätsbildung. Dalmatien in Vormärz und Revolution*, München, 2001 (hereinafter: Clewing, 2001).

¹¹ Antoni Cetnarowicz, *Narodni Preporod u Dalmaciji. Od slavenstva prema modernoj hrvatskoj i srpskoj nacionalnoj ideji* [The national revival in Dalmatia. From Slavism to modern Croatian and Serbian national ideas], Zagreb, 2006 (hereinafter: Cetnarowicz, 2006).

¹² Josip Vrandečić, *Dalmatinski autonomistički pokret u XIX. Stoljeću* [The Dalmatian Autonomist movement in the 19th century], Zagreb, 2002 (hereinafter: Vrandečić, 2002).

¹³ Translated in English language, see Luciano Monzali, *The Italians of Dalmatia. From Italian Unification to World War I*, Toronto-Buffalo-London, 2009 (1st Italian ed. Firenze, 2004), (hereinafter: Monzali, 2009).

¹⁴ Egidio Ivetic, *Un confine nel Mediterraneo. L'Adriatico orientale tra Italia e Slavia (1300-1900)*, Roma, 2014 (hereinafter: Ivetic, 2014).

The research I am presenting here is inspired by this strand of studies and deals with a particular cultural and political movement, that of the Serb Catholics, which developed from the late 1840s onwards mainly in the city of Dubrovnik. They espoused a Serb national identification (*Srpsstvo*, Serbianness) though being Roman Catholics by background. In doing so they broke the pattern that was predominant at the time as well as today, for which only those Southern Slav peoples who belonged to the Orthodox Christian confession could be properly called Serbs.

I will discuss the ideas and the transgenerational development of this movement. By making use of a particularly homogeneous corpus of sources related to the period 1898-1904, I will also apply a network analysis methodology to identify some characteristics of that final phase of the movement itself (it was a final phase, but at the same time it was also a culminating point of its history).

The organizing principle of my research is given by the observation of how religion (understood as institutions but also as individual sensibilities) came into relation with the attempt to build a collective identity that in a certain sense wanted to transcend it. If one looks at the fate of the Serb Catholic movement after the Habsburg period, it is clear that we are focusing on a process that ended in failure. This attempt to untie the Serbian national identity from the Orthodox Christian confession – or, which is the same, this attempt to link the Catholic confession to a nationality like the Serbian one, that until then was considered exclusive of the Orthodox South Slavs – did not succeed. It did not cross the boundaries of the Serb Catholic movement, which gradually lost influence until it became marginal and then practically disappeared in the early Yugoslav period. Nowadays, according to a field research that has been made in Dubrovnik, addressing the issue with the local population constitutes a kind of taboo¹⁵. After all there is little wonder, considering the trauma caused by the bombing of Dubrovnik in 1991 by the Yugoslav army, controlled by Serbian and Montenegrin forces.

Today the Serb Catholic idea could be imagined as something definitively handed over to the archives, to an imaginary folder that would contain the cultural and political phenomena to which only a few historians are interested in. However, it makes sense to question the reasons why we have created that imaginary folder and organized its content. Recent and – in our opinion – very convincing

¹⁵ See Ivica Šarac, 'The Catholic Serbs—a 'Hidden Minority' on the Adriatic Coast', in Christian Promitzer, Klaus-Jürgen Hermanik and Eduard Staudinger (eds.), *(Hidden) Minorities. Language and Ethnic Identity between Central Europe and the Balkans*, Vienna–Berlin, 2009, pp. 177–188.

historiography has drawn attention to the usefulness, especially in the study of Balkan nationalisms, of surveying the ideologies and the political groups “in their making”, instead of considering the national ideologies and communities “as frozen-in-time entities”.

If we start from this hypothesis – and my research intends to do so – it is evident that the ethnic and national groups of the present are not conceivable as something that have always existed as such and that are unchangeable. One cannot help but consider the range of differences between national or quasi-national projects of the past and consequently those factors that made one agenda successful in the following decades and another not¹⁶.

This hypothesis leads us to wonder about how and why the shifting of collective identity markers have articulated the development and the mutual entanglement of national affiliations which competed in Dalmatia during those decades so crucial to the genesis of nationalisms.

As can be clearly seen from the studies on Southern Slavism mentioned earlier, the local elites placed emphasis on different meanings depending on political and cultural circumstances, both internal and external ones. The "Slavic-Ilyrian" language in a first phase, but also the search for a common history beyond the historical territorial divisions between empires and potentates; at a later stage, especially from the 1860s onwards, a central role was played by the opposition to an “Other” which was perceived more and more as a foreign body, namely that part of the Italophone element which was more concerned with Autonomist and (only from 1900s onwards) Pro-Italian stances.

By the final decades of the nineteenth century, however, religion had come to be considered as the fundamental identity marker. That was the moment when a very precise idea about national identities had become established, the one for which a South Slavic Catholic could only be a Croatian, or at most a Slovenian (in the Istrian region), while a South Slavic Orthodox Christian could and should only be a Serb.

This brings us to the point where the historical, rather than doctrinal, separation between Catholic and Orthodox Christians began to be perceived as the fundamental boundary to define not only who was Croatian and who was Serbian,

¹⁶ “Those that failed deserve no less attention than those that proved to be historically successful”. Cfr. Tchavdar Marinov, ‘Introduction to Section One: Nations and National Ideologies in the Balkans’, in Roumen Daskalov and Tchavdar Marinov (eds.), *Entangled Histories of the Balkans: National Ideologies and Language Policies*, vol. 1, Leiden-Boston, 2013, pp. 3-11 (p. 3).

but also who was part of the West and who was still tied to the Byzantine world, namely to a different and in many ways treacherous "Levantine" East.

This is not a mere hypothesis, in our opinion. This concept had been explicitly stated within the documentation I will mention. This shows that it is not just an *ex post* historiographical interpretation, but rather an idea embedded in the mentality of that time.

And it is from here that I can finally pose my research question. Why Croatian Catholicism came to exclude the Serb Catholics, considering them as a too dangerous element to be incorporated in South Slav Catholicism? Or, put in other words, why a supra-religious Yugoslav identity proved to be unrealisable, despite the fact that in previous decades many elements had seemed to lead in the opposite direction? And what was the role of the Catholic Church in this process?

As we shall see, one cannot speak of the attitude of something like "the Catholic Church as a whole" because it is necessary to differentiate between the Holy See on the one hand and the local bishops on the other hand. Moreover, at a different level, one must distinguish between the clergy in direct contact with the people and the one which was engaged in politics (although in some cases the two types coincided in the same persons). However, by making an abstraction, it is possible to reflect on the role of the Catholic Church and of the clergy when it came to the formation of a supra-religious national belonging in this specific case.

Between the 1870s and the 1900s, many Catholic Dalmatian bishops and priests looked at the Serb Catholics as dangerous "liberals" and as bearers of religious indifferentism. They were accused of dangerous closeness to the Orthodox Serbs and to Greater Serbian aspirations over Dalmatia. It goes without saying that Catholic clergy in Dalmatia had a strong influence on Croatian national movement. Especially in rural areas, Catholic priests constituted the intellectual elites and they engaged often in politics, both from the pulpit and in representative assemblies. However, this 'national' attitude by local Catholic clergy generated concern on the part of high Catholic hierarchies (the Roman Curia).

Nationalism and Catholic ecclesiology, as it is well known, had generally a troubled mutual relationship during the nineteenth century. To the local bishops Rome assigned the task to moderate national passions but, in the end, they proved not successful in doing this. It could also happen that it was the bishops' own 'national' engagement – especially for what concerned the use of Slavic as liturgical language – to concern the Holy See. We will cite and discuss archival documentation that shows this dynamic as it unfolded.

Finally, it is necessary to anticipate something about an adjective that is crucial for understanding the historical development of Catholicism in nineteenth-century Europe. The adjective is 'liberal'. It was used by Serb Catholic intellectuals in positive sense (they claimed to be 'liberal', as opposed to other obscurantist and reactionary countrymen), while in the arguments of Catholic clergy in Dalmatia, being 'liberal' meant being dangerously progressive in the political and social spheres and, ultimately, something close to apostates in the religious sphere. It was not only about the contrast between traditionalists and progressives. Positioning oneself on one side or the other implied a choice in terms of national affiliation. Being a 'liberal' and feeling a Serb, according to the documentation which I have analyzed, could only have meant being an outsider, both with respect to the true Catholic faith and to the idea of Croatian nation as it was developing in this period.

This study will cover a wide chronological span, from the end of the Republic of Ragusa to the threshold of the twentieth century.

The choice of the *terminus a quo* is more immediately explainable: with the end of the Republic of Ragusa, the territory of this former city-state started a radically new historical phase. Once it lost its independence, it also underwent a phase of economic crisis. A series of radically new problems also opened up: the inclusion in a vast multinational empire, in which ancient Ragusa was a border territory, a geographical periphery; the reflection of its elite towards new forms of collective identity, to integrate and/or replace the "strong identity" rooted in the centuries, that is, the sense of belonging to the Republic of Ragusa¹⁷; the beginning of coexistence of the majority Catholic population with a minority of Orthodox denomination¹⁸, not very large in number but strong financially and over the decades increasingly influential in political terms.

The decision to conclude our research in the very first years (1902-1904) of the twentieth century is explained by the fact that this *terminus ad quem* coincides both with the peak of the national-political contrasts between Croats and Serbs in Dubrovnik and at the same time with the start of the subsequent rapprochement

¹⁷ Especially within the aristocracy of Ragusa, having become subjects of Austria created negative reactions. More than in political terms properly - in fact, it never promoted in a broad sense initiatives of rebellion against Vienna - its reaction developed in a sense that I could define as emotional. It is well known indeed that many Ragusan aristocrats decided not to marry and not to have children, precisely to avoid that their descendants were "slaves" of Austria, instead of free in their own state, as had been the case with previous generations.

¹⁸ During its centuries of existence, as we shall see, the very Catholic Republic of Ragusa did not tolerate the presence of Christian Orthodox communities in its territory. However, there was a Jewish community.

between Croatian and Serbian politicians in the Habsburg provinces of Croatia-Slavonia and Dalmatia¹⁹. It was a radical discontinuity with the decades immediately preceding and in fact historiography refers to this period as *Novi Kurs* (New Course). It had among its causes the unprecedented intensity of political factors such as the perception by the Southern Slavs of excessive German and Hungarian hegemony in the Habsburg Monarchy and of economic reasons such as - to remain in Dalmatia - the escalation of the serious crisis resulting from the collapse of wine production. Moreover, especially in Croatia, the new generation of young university students, intellectuals and politicians trained in Prague and influenced by the Slavic ideas of the Bohemian intellectual and politician Tomáš Masaryk had a strong influence on the restoration of a dialogue between Croats and Serbs²⁰.

I felt it was necessary to stop my research at the threshold of this watershed of pre-Yugoslav history, because with the *Novi Kurs* and the new geopolitical context created especially after 1908²¹, the pre-Yugoslav problem took on new features. It is certainly possible to apply to this period some conceptual cores that were formed or that reached their full development in the nineteenth century, such as the Southern Slavic or “Illyrian” cultural and political solidarity, for example, but also the push of the nascent modern Croatian and Serbian nationalisms towards religious exclusivism. At the same time, some elements of the New Course marked an evident discontinuity with the previous phases on which I will instead dwell. These new elements were the greater political pragmatism on the part of the

¹⁹ The Habsburg province of Croatia-Slavonia, whose capital was Zagreb, was part of the Hungarian part of the double Austro-Hungarian monarchy, born after the constitutional compromise of 1867. Dalmatia, on the other hand, remained in the Austrian part, under which it was even before 1867.

²⁰ From the 1890s onwards, in the wake of the Pangermanism’s development, Pangermanist political ideas also emerged in the Habsburg monarchy on the side of the German-speaking element and these elements, together with international economic processes, made the Habsburg Slavs fear the so-called *Drang nach Osten*. In Croatia-Slavonia, moreover, it was in particular the assimilating language policies of the local Hungarian political authority that generated discontent among the Croats. Another important element of these years was the violent *coup d’état* of June 1903 in Belgrade, which brought back to power the royal dynasty Karadorđević, more Russophile than the Obrenović and less disposed to policies of political and economic subordination towards Austria-Hungary. For a summary of the events described, see Ivetic, 2012, pp. 133-144. A still very influential monographic study on *Novi Kurs* is R. Lovrenčić, *Geneza politike “Novog Kurša”* [The genesis of the New Course politics], Zagreb, 1972. On the *Drang nach Osten* as a catchword and as a political concept, see H. C. Meyer, *Drang nach Osten: fortunes of a Slogan-Concept in German-Slavic Relations, 1849-1990*, Bern, 1996.

²¹ In 1908 Austria-Hungary formally annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina, which it had occupied since 1878 when it replaced the Ottoman administration. It was a severe blow to Serbian and Croatian aspirations on these two regions. The Yugoslav question, because of this event, became the subject of international debate. Important was the work of the Scottish journalist Robert Seton-Watson.

Croatian and Serbian elites and the birth of their explicit and more structured political coalition, the rise of a new generation of politicians and activists, the changed geopolitical context in the Habsburg Empire, the emergence of a new form of cultural and political Yugoslavism²².

Therefore, there were the persistence of "structural" elements, but also the entry into the scene of the above mentioned new decisive factors, typical of the few years between 1903-1904 and the crucial 1914. Given the particular intensity and novelty of this period, therefore, I thought it appropriate to stop our research at the threshold of it and have preferred to give priority to the previous phase, the nineteenth century in which these elements have experienced the phase of their origin and without which subsequent developments can hardly be understood. Preparing a study that had worked together on the nineteenth century and on *Novi Kurs*, moreover, would have proved to be too broad a task for the nature of this dissertation. I have studied in more detail the nineteenth century of Dubrovnik, aware that the pre-Yugoslav history of this city must also be integrated with the events after 1904, which may be the subject of a future work.

The topic of Serb Catholics has been dealt with in diametrically opposed ways by Croatian and Serbian historians, both in the Yugoslav period and later. Croatian ones have supported the total groundlessness of Serbian aspirations for Dubrovnik, judging the Serbian Catholics at best as somewhat naïve intellectuals in love with an idea that lacked any historical or national basis. At worst, they were considered as the vanguard of pan-Serbian propaganda against Dubrovnik's historical belonging to the Croatian nation²³.

²² The particularity of the period of *Novi Kurs* is also testified by the fact that it has attracted the interest of specific studies, which have isolated it as a historical moment with its own specific characteristics. See for example N. J. Miller, *Between Nation and State. Serbian politics in Croatia before the First World War*, Pittsburgh, 1997.

On the Croato-Serbian coalition and its activity in Dubrovnik, but from 1908 onwards, see M. Živanović, *Dubrovnik u borbi za ujedinjenje 1908-1918* [Dubrovnik in the struggle for the national union, 1908-1918], Belgrade, 1962.

²³ On the first phase of the Serb Catholic movement, namely in the 1840s and earlier 1850s, see I. Banac, 'The Confessional "Rule" and the Dubrovnik exception: the origins of the "Serb-Catholic" circle in Nineteenth-Century Dalmatia', *Slavic Review*, 42, 1983, 3, pp. 448-474 (hereinafter: Banac, 1983). General assessments regarding also the second phase of the movement in the 1880s and 1890s are T. Macan, 'O pristupu srpskokatoličkom fenomenu. (U povodu nekih interpretacija)' [An introduction to the Serb Catholic phenomenon. (On some recent analysis)], *Dubrovnik. Časopis za književnost i znanost, Nova Serija*, 1, 1990, 1-2, pp. 232-246 and V. Benković, 'Dubrovački Srbi-katolici i »novi kurs« u hrvatskoj politici 1903.-1905.' [The Serb Catholics of Dubrovnik and the *novi kurs* in the Croatian politics 1903-1905], *Dubrovnik. Časopis za književnost i znanost, Nova Serija*, 1, 1990, 1-2, pp. 211- 231.

On the other hand, Serbian historians have argued that Serb Catholics were Serbian patriots with a liberal and progressive mentality, untying nationality and religious confession, emancipating themselves from the exclusivist attitude carried out by the Croatian Catholic clergy. In the works most connoted by interpretations with nationalistic veins, the reasons why Dubrovnik would have been intimately linked to the Serbian world have been reiterated²⁴.

Faced with a historiographic panorama in which it is evident that the weight of ideology and of political interpretations had a heavy influence on the formulation of historical judgments²⁵, it seemed necessary to study the problem through new sources which, as far as I know, had never been used before for such a topic. I have thus chosen to address the problem also by means of the analysis of the documentation kept in the archives of the Holy See, as well as in the archives of the diocese of Dubrovnik.

In fact, I wondered whether through documentation produced by Catholic clergymen linked to Dubrovnik it would have been possible to identify some elements relating to the Serb Catholic movement, which seemed to us to be missing from the historiographic literature on the subject²⁶.

²⁴ The most useful study in Serbian historiography is K. Milutinović, 'O pokretu Srba Katolika u Dalmaciji, Dubrovniku i Boki Kotorskoj 1848-1914' [On the Serb Catholic movement in Dalmatia, Dubrovnik and the Kotor Bay 1848-1914], in Krestić, Vasilije (ed.), *Zbornik o Srbima u Hrvatskoj* [Collection of essays about Serbs in Croatia], vol. 1, Beograd, 1989, pp. 33-90. See also S. Borak, *Srbi Katolici* [The Serb Catholics], Novi Sad, 1998 and J. Mitrović, *Srpstvo Dubrovnika* [The Serbianness of Dubrovnik], Beograd, 1992.

A dated but still useful work, published in its first edition in 1939 by an author who in the previous years had been also diplomatic representative of Serbia and then of the SHS Kingdom in the Vatican, is L. Bakotić, *Srbi u Dalmaciju od pada Mletačke Republike do ujedinjenja* [The Serbs in Dalmatia from the fall of the Republic of Venice to the national unification], Banja Luka, 2013 (1st ed. Beograd, 1939).

²⁵ A recent book that – although written by a non-academic scholar – provides a balanced synthesis and interpretations disconnected from excessive ideological influences, is N. Tolja, *Dubrovački Srbi Katolici. Istine i Zablude* [The Serb Catholics of Dubrovnik. The Truth and the Fallacies], Dubrovnik, 2011 (hereinafter: Tolja, 2011).

²⁶ To our knowledge, the historiographical literature on the Serb Catholics had never made use of Vatican documentation. The only historiographical study focused specifically with the Slav nationalities question in Austrian Dalmatia which had used Vatican archival sources is Cetnarowicz, 2006.

This does not mean that there have been no studies based on Vatican sources that have touched on related aspects. They have been, in fact, although they have focused more on the diplomatic relations of the Holy See. I refer to the monograph of A. Gottsmann, *Rom und die nationalen Katholizismen in der Donaumonarchie. Römischer Universalismus, habsburgische Reichspolitik und nationale Identitäten 1878-1914*, Wien, 2010 (hereinafter: Gottsmann, 2010), and *idem*, 'Papst Leo XIII. und die „jugoslawische“ Versuchung. Montenegro, San Girolamo und die südslawische Frage in der Diplomatie des Hl. Stuhls', *Römische Historische Mitteilungen*, 49, 2007, pp. 457-510 (hereinafter: Gottsmann, 2007). Gottsmann's excellent general pictures touches only marginally on the theme of Dubrovnik and of the Serb Catholics. Very useful studies on Vatican sources that touch on related topics (the Concordat

I am aware that my study can only be a piece in a mosaic of research already existing and yet to be carried out, which has studied and will study other specific contexts in the multiple pre-Yugoslav landscape: Dalmatia, of course, and then Bosnia and Herzegovina, or the ancient Habsburg Military Borders, and obviously Croatia and Serbia proper as well as the other former Yugoslav regions, understood as long-term historical realities.

Recently, the Italian historian Francesco Benigno has published a stimulating critique on the thought of the sociologist Zygmunt Bauman²⁷, in particular on his vision of the concept of identity in the world that was prior to globalization and in the world of globalized contemporaneity, two dimensions which, here simplified, can be defined respectively as "solid" and "liquid", in the latter case using the terms of Bauman himself.

The case study of Dubrovnik and of its processes of formation of Croatian and Serbian national identities, seems to us to tell a world of "fluid" identities, far from being solid, fixed and immutable, and certainly prior to the current era which, by simplifying, can be defined as the era "of globalization". In a broader sense, it seems to us that such a discourse can also be formulated with regard to the entire pre-Yugoslav cultural and political space.

At the same time, this panorama of fluid identities went through a series of evolutions, about a century long but perhaps starting from the very period I am studying, at least in Dubrovnik.

From fluid and multiple identities, to less and less fluid and more and more exclusivist identities; from a generic Slavism to the distinct forms of Croatism and Serbianism. It was a non-linear process, which also saw deviations from this seemingly unambiguous line to arrive at those forms of respectively cultural and political Yugoslavism, the first one "from below", so to speak, and the second one "from above", i.e. promoted by the two Yugoslav States.

But then, again, a further simplification of identity occurred going from Yugoslavism to arrive (or to return) to Croatism and Serbianism, which is the process that happened first under track in the last decades of Socialist Yugoslavia

between the Holy See and, respectively, Serbia and Montenegro) are R. Tolomeo, 'Le relazioni serbo-vaticane dal congresso di Berlino alla prima guerra mondiale', in G. De Rosa and G. Cracco (eds.), *Il papato e l'Europa*, Soveria Mannelli, 2001, pp. 341-380, and F. Caccamo, 'La politica orientale della Santa Sede e il Concordato con il Montenegro del 1886', in M. G. Del Fuoco (ed.), «*Ubi neque erugo neque tinea demolitur*». *Studi offerti a Luigi Pellegrini per i suoi settant'anni*, Napoli, 2006, pp. 55-83.

²⁷ F. Benigno, 'Identità', in *idem* (ed.), *Parole nel tempo. Un lessico per pensare la storia*, Roma, 2013, pp. 31-56.

to "explode" then in the 1980s and 1990s. From the multiple declinations of the inclusive (generic Slavism, pre-Yugoslav Yugoslavism, Serbian Catholic idea, and then the Yugoslav Yugoslavism) to the declinations of the exclusive, of the simplification of the identities ("I am Croatian", "I am Serbian").

Here, it seems possible to say that history denies, or at least questions, those perspectives which, although suggestive ones, show us solid worlds and an idealised past that it has been lost. Once established that the world was complex even "once", it remains only a task which is simple to say but complex to accomplish. That is, to analyse the ideologies and the discourses that animated them in a specific historical period, with the immediate aim of understanding them better and not taking them for granted.

If I will succeed at least in part in this difficult task, I will be happy with my work.

A premise on names, languages, quotations

CROATIAN, SERBIAN, SERBO-CROATIAN? How to classify the language spoken by Slavic peoples in Dalmatia during the period considered in this dissertation? The question is not so trivial, inasmuch the political fragmentation of the former Yugoslavia had paved the way to a widespread reconsideration of the categories which were generally accepted up to early 1990s. I do not say nothing original in pointing out that the politics of language in the Southern Slavic area had been crucial both in the construction and in the dissolution of the Yugoslav State. As for the Yugoslavian epoch, the language spoken by its inhabitants (or, to be more precise, by the Slavic inhabitants of Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia, Montenegro and Serbia) was identified as Serbo-Croatian and it was commonly known as such also outside the country.

As the linguist Ronelle Alexander has pointed out¹, the situation has been complicated by the fact that not all the actors involved had viewed the issue in the same light. The existence of such an unified language has been judged - mainly by the Croatian side - as a fiction imposed by the leaders of Yugoslavia. The current post-Yugoslav language situation has been generated precisely by this controversy. After the Yugoslav dissolution, several closely related languages have been internationally recognized as distinct languages: Bosnian-Bosniak, Croatian, Serbian and recently Montenegrin language too².

Despite the fact that Serbo-Croatian no longer officially exists as such, for the purposes of the present work I have chosen to continue using this label when it comes to identifying the most widely spoken family of dialects among the Southern Slavs. This does not in any way imply a value judgement on the above-mentioned dispute. Rather, our choice derives from the mere fact that choosing to use one of the present-day labels would have created more problems than it would have solved.

¹ R. Alexander, 'Language and identity: the fate of Serbo-Croatian', in R. Daskalov and T. Marinov (eds), *Entangled Histories of the Balkans. Volume One: national ideologies and language policies*, Leiden-Boston, 2013, pp. 341-417.

² On 11 December 2017, the language spoken in the present-day State of Montenegro has been officially recognised by the International Organization for Standardization as a separate language from Serbian. See <http://www.balkaninsight.com/en/article/montenegrin-language-gained-international-recognition-12-12-2017> (consulted on July, 2018).

On the other hand, in some cases I will need to use the adjectives “Slavic/Slavonic” or “Illyrian”, in order to translate into English or summarise some primary sources that used them.

Even if today speaking of “Slavic language” or “Illyrian language” sounds old-fashioned, choosing to use “Croatian language” or “Serbian language” could conversely have caused misunderstandings and errors. In fact, it would have been historically incorrect to say that publicists - who felt they were Serbs - “wrote in Croatian” (and vice versa). Or, to give another example, it would also sound very questionable to affirm that a Dalmatian intellectual of the mid-nineteenth century - who claimed precisely the harmony between Croats and Serbs - wrote in “Croatian language”, while he himself spoke proudly of concepts such as “Illyrian language” and “Illyrian national awakening”.

This problem of definitions also worried a nineteenth-century author who wrote an history of journalism in Dalmatia in previous decades. In a long footnote to his book published in 1899, Pietro (Petar) Kasandrić (1857-1926) explained this issue in a clear way, which deserves to be mentioned in full as it represents a very effective understanding of the argument I am using here, as well as a clear-cut representation of how much the political climate in Dalmatia had changed at the end of the nineteenth century, compared to that of 1840s, in terms of sensitivity to certain national issues:

“In the historical period of which these pages deal with, the Italian speakers called ‘Illyrian’ or more commonly ‘Slav’ the language of Croatian and Serb people which, being common to both, is called Croatian by the former, and Serbian by the latter. At that time, in Dalmatia, neither ones nor the others stood on ceremony to hear it called in one way or another [‘Illyrian’ or ‘Slavic’]; today, in some cases, if you use one expression instead of another you are blundering and you’re even insulting someone - on the basis of the intention that you put in it or of the intention that others attribute to you. That is why we have preferred to leave the old definition [that of ‘Illyrian language’]; which, among other things, also has the advantage of better expressing the harmony that at the time bonded these two races³.”

³ *Il Giornalismo Dalmato dal 1848 al 1860. Appunti di Pietro Kasandrić, Zara, Stab. Tip. Edit. Sp. Artale, 1899, p. 95: “I termini ‘lingua illirica’ e ‘lingua slava’, sebbene antiquati ed impropri, vengono adoperati in tutto questo lavoro, perchè trovandosi nelle citazioni che vi ricorrono, l’usare quello di ‘lingua croata’ avrebbe in alcuni casi determinato, coi criteri d’oggi, contraddizioni ed equivoci. - Al tempo di cui trattasi in questi cenni, i parlanti italiano dicevano ‘illirica’ o più ordinariamente ‘slava’ la lingua dei Croati e dei Serbi, che, comune ad entrambi, viene chiamata croata dai primi, serba dai secondi. Allora, in Dalmazia, all’udirli chiamare così o colà né gli uni né gli altri si formalizzavano; oggi, in certi casi, ad usare una locuzione invece dell’altra si commette uno sproposito e - secondo l’intenzione che ci si*

Finally, I believe that another *ipse dixit* that can support the goodness of our choice can be found in the opinion expressed in 1901 by an authoritative historian of Bohemian origin, Constantin Jireček, who inserted the following note when he proposed the definition "Slavonic" to indicate the language used by the medieval testimonies that he presented in his work. Of course, the interest of Jireček's opinion also lies in the fact that it also expressly concerns the nineteenth century, not just the Middle Ages:

“Slavonic, previous phase of Serbo-Croatian language, which is defined in medieval Dalmatian texts as *lingua sclava, sclavica, sclavonica, sclavonesca*; Illyrian language, and later Southern Slavic and recently Serbo-Croatian in scientific literature of the nineteenth century”⁴.

DUBROVNIK OR RAGUSA? As a general rule, in this work I will use the Slavic toponym *Dubrovnik*, coinciding with the toponym used in English, to refer to this city within my own discourse and when I will cite or discuss Croatian, Serbian and Yugoslav historiographies dealing with the city.

But in order to remain more faithful to the primary sources with which I have worked, I have chosen to use the same toponyms that have been used in the original texts. Translating into English the quotations from documents and historiographical works that have employed the Italian toponym *Ragusa*, therefore, I will make use of the same toponym. The same will be true for those eventualities when I will report in an indirect form (i.e. summarising) the contents of certain documents which employed *Ragusa*.

The Italian, Latin, French, German or English written historical sources from the period considered, as well as the documentation of the time written by Slavic

mette o vi si attribuisce - perfino un'ingiuria. - Per ciò abbiamo preferito lasciare la vecchia dizione; la quale ha pure il vantaggio di esprimere meglio quella concordia di sentimenti e di intendimenti che allora affratellava le due stirpi”.

⁴ (Italics in the original text). Jireček's book on Roman heritage in medieval Dalmatian towns (a milestone in Dalmatian historiography) was published in German language, in Vienna in 1902, under the title *Die Romanen in den Städten Dalmatiens während des Mittelalters*. Here, I use the Italian version published by the *Società Dalmata di Storia Patria* in Rome. Cfr. ‘Constantin Jireček. L’eredità di Roma nelle città della Dalmazia durante il Medioevo’, *Atti e Memorie della Società Dalmata di Storia Patria*, 9-11, 1984-1986, 3 voll. (vol. 9, pp. 15-16): “Sl. = Slavo, fase precedente del serbocroato, definito nei testi medievali della Dalmazia lingua *sclava, sclavica, sclavonica, sclavonesca*; lingua illirica, e successivamente slava meridionale e da ultimo serbocroato nella letteratura scientifica del XIX secolo”. The quotation is contained in the part of the first volume of the work dedicated to the explanation of the abbreviations used there.

individuals in Italian language, referred to the city as *Ragusa* (*Raguse* in French), in accordance with the toponym which was used from the Middle Age onwards (with the occasional variant of *Ragusi* or - even more rare - *Raugia* or *Rausi*). As a consequence, when referring to those documents I have considered an anachronism to use the name *Dubrovnik*.

I will follow the same rule when I would refer to other locations, such as Zadar (in Italian *Zara*) or Split (in Italian *Spalato* or, more rarely, *Spalatro*). The version used in the cited primary source or in the cited historiographical work will be used by myself too, whereas in my own discourse I will use the toponym which is commonly accepted in English language.

RAGUSEO, RAGUSAN, DUBROVČANIN The Italian term *Raguseo* (*Ragusei* in its plural form) indicated the name for the city's inhabitants, as well as for the citizens of the former Republic of Ragusa. Furthermore, it was used as the adjective to indicate everything that was related to Ragusa (e.g. the dialect, the literature, the ships etc.). The Slavic versions of *Raguseo* in their singular nominative cases are both *Dubrovčanin*, which indicates more precisely the inhabitants, and *Dubrovački*, which is the adjective to connote everything else connected to the city. But these adjectives have no precise translation in English, something that conversely does not happen with other terms such as "Parisian" or "Viennese". This matter of fact is demonstrated by the frequent use of expressions such as "from Dubrovnik", or "of Dubrovnik" within the historiographical literature in English. In our opinion, the term "Ragusan" can be applied not only for the citizens of the Republic of Ragusa, but for the nineteenth-century citizens of Habsburg Dubrovnik too. As for the toponym, I argue for the necessity to maintain the terms used in the documentation. At the same time, using the expression "of Dubrovnik" will be necessary when translating into English some Serbo-Croatian locutions such as *Dubrovački Srbokatolički pokret* (which means "the movement of the Serb Catholics of Dubrovnik").

PEOPLE'S NAMES Ivan Gundulić, or Giovanni Francesco (sometimes Gianfrancesco) Gondola? Antun Sorkočević or Antonio Sorgo? Each of these pairs of names indicate the same person. The first term of each pair indicates the Serbo-Croatian version of the name, while the second one indicates the Italian version. Here too the question of which form to choose is not a trivial one. Dalmatia and Dubrovnik were a border space and its inhabitants were multilingual persons, at least those who belonged to the social and cultural elites. Especially in the nineteenth century, using one form rather than another implied a clear political

connotation by those who did the choice. The case of the seventeenth-century poet Ivan Gundulić is emblematic. To designate him with the Italian spelling was a way through which the Italian minority in Dalmatia remarked its opposition to what it called the “Croatisation” of Dalmatian cultural heritage. That even some Slavophile writers had written about Gundulić in Italian and using the Italian form of the name should not amaze, since in Dalmatia this language was used in public and even private communication (within the elites) up to the 1860s⁵. Furthermore, it could happen to find some unambiguous Italian surnames such as “Serragli” or “Tomaseo” rendered in the Slavicised forms “Seralji” or “Tomaseo”.

As a first general rule, I will keep on my choice to respect sources as much as possible. Consequently what I consider the most logical option is to follow the spelling of the name contained in the primary source or in the historiographical reference which are considered. To avoid any misunderstandings, in certain cases it will be necessary to show in brackets the alternative version of a person’s name, particularly in its first occurrence. Following this specific rule and clarifying potential misunderstandings in the event that they could occur, I believe I could protect myself from any accusation of having made a choice for extra-scientific reasons, such as an intent of “nationalize” anyone.

A second and more specific question regards those names that are absolutely Slavs, that is to say lacking of any Italian version. Here, the first problem lies in the fact that the first names pertaining to this group of individuals were often Italianised within the sources (e.g. “Michele” for “Miho”; “Giovanni Augusto” for “Ivan August”). Obviously, the Italianised form will be maintained only when I will cite specific sources. Within our own discourse, instead, only the Serbo-Croatian form of the first name will be used. A correlated problem is connected to an orthographic question. During the nineteenth century, the Italian-written texts did not employ diacritic signs such as “č” (rendered with a simple “c”) and “ć” (rendered with the letters “ch”), nor distinguished between “K” and “C”. Consequently, it could happen to find “Michele Claich” instead of “Miho Klaić” or “Giovanni Augusto Casnacich” instead of “Ivan August Kaznačić”.

Finally, a clarification about the case of one of the main protagonist of the Slavic national awakening in Dubrovnik between the 1840s and the 1880s, Medo Pucić. In point of fact, formally his real name was Orsato de Pozza. He was

⁵ The example of “Gondola” used by Slavophile writers in 1841 will be analyzed in chapter 1. In chapter 2, I will discuss another case pertaining to the 1890s, that of an Italian-written text published with educational aims which used the Slavic spelling of some notable poets and dramatists from the sixteenth-century Dubrovnik.

baptized with these name and surname and these were the personal informations registered in the archive of his *alma mater*, the University of Padova in Italy. From his early twenties, he began to sign his literary publications as “Medo Pucić”, which was nothing more than the Slavic translation of his original name and surname. From his choice a sort of double identity has derived. It could happen that his brother Niko Veliki referred to him as “Orsat” (a Slavicised form of “Orsato”) still in the 1860s within his private epistolary correspondence with a Ragusan Slavic intellectual. As a publicist in Dalmatia, Orsat was always mentioned as “Medo Pucić”. To the contrary, his books in Italian which were published in Italy or in Zadar mentioned him as “Orsatto Pozza” (“Orsatto” was a variation of “Orsato”). Here too, staying close to the source text and using from time to time the form which occurred there appears to be the best option.

On the contrary, choosing to use only one of the two form of his name does not seem to us a valid solution. This last stance has been instead adopted by Dominique Kirchner Reill in her recent and remarkable study dedicated to Medo Pucić and to other Dalmatian intellectuals of this period. After explaining the double name’s question, Reill clarifies that in her book she had opted to use only the Slavicised form, “which would aid an interested reader in finding him in Serbo-Croatian language indexes, the only place where he is known”⁶. Things are not exactly like that. Although today Pucić is undoubtedly more renowned to a vast public in present-day Croatia and Serbia than in Italy, some of his texts signed as “Orsatto Pozza” do exist in Italian libraries and play a role for the Italian scholar which studies this period.

Just an example: in 1867 he published an essay on Balkan politics in the Florentine review *Nuova Antologia*, a text which is noteworthy to understand Pucić/Pozza’s thought on some questions of our interest in this dissertation. Consequently, it does not seem correct to completely neglect his original name and to refer to him only by means of the Slavic pseudonym, notwithstanding that the latter has been considered as his primary identity marker.

QUOTATIONS The primary sources of our dissertation are mostly in Italian and in Serbo-Croatian language. Even an accurate translation can often fail to completely give back the meaning of a text, especially of a nineteenth-century one. That is the reason why I have chosen to transcribe the quoted text in its original language within the footnotes.

⁶ D. K. Reill, *Nationalists who feared the nation. Adriatic Multi-Nationalism in Habsburg Dalmatia, Trieste, and Venice*, Stanford, 2012 (hereinafter: Reill, 2012), p. xvi.

1. Dubrovnik after 1808. A steady but ambitious decline

1.1. The basic coordinates

1.1.1 Why study Ragusa after the end of the Republic?

At the beginning of a beautiful essay published in the early 1980s, the Croatian-American historian Ivo Banac wondered why the nineteenth-century history of Dubrovnik had been so neglected by scholars until then. As a matter of fact, we know a lot about the ancient Republic of Ragusa and its two most glorious centuries, the fifteenth and the sixteenth, and also about the dramatic seventeenth century as well as about that century of recovery and great changes that was the eighteenth. On the nineteenth-century Ragusan history, instead, there remained a question mark, generated by a sort of historiographic vacuum. Banac's explanation was that probably this history had not been written because nobody wanted to know it. We know little about the most recent past of this extraordinary city, Banac argued, because historians are naturally attracted by the periods of greatest economic and cultural prestige. The history of Ragusa/Dubrovnik in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, on the other hand, does not have these characteristics. During those centuries, Banac writes, “the clocks stopped” and this city “became little more than an elegant if tarnished symbol which was alternately admired and reviled”¹.

Certainly within the community of historians who are interested in Ragusa things have partially changed, since Banac wrote that essay. In 1999 an important monograph on the decades immediately following the fall of the Republic of Ragusa was published, but it deals only with events up to 1848².

Banac himself, in the years immediately following the above mentioned essay, published an influential article dedicated to the origins of the political and

¹ I. Banac, ‘Ministration and desecration: the place of Dubrovnik in modern Croat national ideology and political culture’, in I. Banac, J. G. Ackerman and R. Szporluk (eds.), *Nation and ideology: essays in honor of Wayne S. Vucinich*, New York, 1981, pp. 149-174 (p. 149) (hereinafter: Banac, 1981).

² S. Ćosić, *Dubrovnik nakon pada Republike (1808.-1848.)* [Dubrovnik after the fall of the Republic (1808-1848)], Dubrovnik, 1999 (hereinafter: Ćosić, 1999).

cultural phenomenon of the Serb Catholics of Dubrovnik in the period of the 1840s and 1850s, only mentioning briefly the developments that this movement had in the following decades³.

More recently, however, the panorama of specific studies on nineteenth-century Dubrovnik has been enriched by further contributions, mainly coming by the flourishing school of scholars of the Institute for Historical Sciences in Dubrovnik⁴, which has placed them alongside its main object of research, that is the investigations on Ragusa in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age. Among other things, this institute has the merit of publishing a scientific journal in English and also some monographs in that language.

Finally, to conclude this brief review of the state of the art that will in any case be supplemented by further appropriate bibliographical references in the course of our work, it is also right to mention the substantial monograph in Croatian of a scholar with an academic background but which is now outside the university world, Nikola Tolja, dedicated specifically to Serb Catholics in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries⁵.

Ultimately, it can be said that although things have improved since that 1981 Banac essay, it is still possible to underline how the history of Dubrovnik in the last two centuries lacks a comprehensive monograph, an all-encompassing work which could go beyond the however interesting studies on specific aspects of cultural, political or demographic history, and finally draw as complete a picture as possible. Yet the reasons for doing this work would certainly exist. Ragusa in the nineteenth century in fact seems to us an interesting case of a space in search of an identity.

In this regard, it should not be forgotten that even Dalmatia itself, which was the geographical and political space that embraced Ragusa – without, as we shall see, exhausting Ragusan specificities – experienced a particularly intense search for its own identity in the nineteenth century. Within the Dalmatian elites in the nineteenth century, the existence of multiple ways of understanding their collective identity is a fact now acquired by historiography. The nineteenth century in

³ Banac, 1983.

⁴ The institute is the Dubrovnik section of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (*Hrvatska Akademija Znanosti i Umjetnosti*). His full Croatian name is *Zavod za Povijesne Znanosti u Dubrovniku*. During the months in which I was writing this thesis, unfortunately its director Nenad Vekarić, an important scholar of Dubrovnik history, died prematurely. I did not have time to meet him personally, but I know that it would have been a very stimulating intellectual meeting.

⁵ Tolja, 2011.

Dalmatia saw the gradual growth of at least three developing national consciousnesses: the Croatian, the Serbian and the Italian ones. Some recent studies have depicted an even more complex picture⁶, in that period.

Adopting a *longue durée* perspective, Egidio Ivetic has drawn the conclusion that it is necessary for scholars of this area and, more broadly, for those who study the entire Eastern Adriatic coastal region, to distance themselves from current national paradigms, returning instead to a deep reading of historical sources from the Early Modern Age onwards in order to see the very complexity of the cultural and social history of Dalmatia⁷.

Discussing the entangled nineteenth-century biographies of six prominent cultural activists within the Adriatic “multi-national” space, Dominique Kirchner Reill⁸ has contributed to a paradigm shift in the Habsburg studies that have been underway for several years now and which have undermined the presumptions of a more traditional scholarship. This new approach has focused on topics such as the phenomenon of national indifference of the lowest social classes⁹, the development of loyalties to the Imperial frame and the importance of approaching the history of individuals and groups eschewing the nation and nationalism as the only possible interpretative frameworks¹⁰.

In Ragusa too it is possible to observe in action the elements outlined by this research framework. However, what particularly strikes attention when studying Ragusa in the nineteenth century is the strong persistence of its past. The memory of the Republic and its jealous independence, the exaltation of all that distinguished it (the political and social institutions, the role of its writers in cultivating Slavic literature and at the same time in being included in European culture), represented a reservoir of ideas from which the Ragusan elites in the nineteenth century always continued to draw. Although it no longer existed as an autonomous political community, the *Natione Ragusea* continued to be present as a

⁶ Clewing, 2001.

⁷ Ivetic, 2014.

⁸ Reill, 2012.

⁹ For a discussion about the potential of this approach, see Zahra, 2010.

¹⁰ In a recent article, Pieter Judson offers a comprehensive bibliography on this historiographical trend, underlining that old-fashioned nation-based approaches still survive in popular historical imagination as well in some scholarly narratives about the Habsburg Empire. See Judson, 2017, pp. 5-8. A summary on the state of the research in L. Cole, ‘Visions and Revisions of Empire: reflections on a new history of the Habsburg Monarchy’, *Austrian History Yearbook*, 49, 2018, pp. 261-280.

discourse of identity¹¹. It was not only the object of study of scholars (local and not), but also the ideal horizon towards which one looked during those decades of crisis in the city, which has become the periphery of a province that was in turn peripheral to an empire, the Austrian one, towards which an ambivalent attitude was sometimes nourished.

It was from this omnipresent and very emotionally charged discourse of identity that the modern national awareness developed in Ragusa. It was first a supra-national¹² Illyrian-Slavic identity then, following the political dynamics in place since the 1870s in the Dalmatian macro-context, it divided into Croatian and Serbian national identities.

This dynamic has also occurred in the rest of Dalmatia, but in Ragusa it is necessary to consider another distinctive fact, in addition to the strong and pre-existing local identity. This is the dispute between Croats and Serbs for appropriation in the respective national key of the city's past.

On closer inspection, there was a paradox. On the one hand, there was a deep-rooted pre-national identity, the Ragusan one. On the other hand, from the end of the 1830s onwards, there have been various attempts to attribute Ragusa's identity and history to a specific national field, that of Serbia and, much later, that of Croatia. The intention was therefore to attribute a "modern" national connotation to a pre-modern identity.

In Ragusa an intense cultural and then political activity has operated for years with the aim of transforming a strong identity, full of meanings and ancient, in an identity equally strong but modern. This process involved some fascinating elements to be studied: the re-reading of the past, the definition of the nationalities in progress, the discussion of cultural and political options that then did not give rise to long-lasting fruits, but that in the moment in which they existed represented horizons in which some people had believed.

¹¹ A recent study in English that convincingly applies the category of "discourse of identity" to the ways in which the community of Ragusa narrated itself during the Modern Age, is that of Kunčević, 2010.

¹² The term supra-national, in this context, is used from a contemporary point of view. At the time, instead, the Illyrian-Slavic identity in Dalmatia could well be defined as "national", even though it was a multiple "nation", in which different identities converged. What in hindsight turned out to be the two fundamentals identities were the Croatian one, which was in its process of formation (in the process of "integration", one might say using the term used in Croatian historiography) and a Serbian identity that was more structured in terms of Orthodox confessional belonging. However, these two elements had in common the same language, albeit with some internal nuances of difference, and this was a key factor in establishing a shared identity.

This ideal battle for the attribution of Ragusa's identity to Serbian national field, followed particularly from the 1870s onwards by the parallel Croatian claim, has strongly characterized the nineteenth-century history of Ragusa. And also that of the southern Slavic peoples, so much so that an expert on the subject as Ivo Banac said that “to a considerable degree the conflict between Croat and Serb national ideologies was a matter of the Ragusan inheritance”¹³.

In this work, I want to discuss this rivalry and follow it to its peak, the 1890s. To do so, I have chosen to adopt a long-term perspective, to isolate some key elements in Ragusa's understanding. What I have called the basic coordinates. In doing so, I have set myself the goal of always keeping an eye that oscillates between the local and extra-local dimensions, between Ragusa and Dalmatia, but also between Ragusa and the rest of the Southern Slavic world, without neglecting political entities such as the Habsburg Empire and cultural entities first and then also political ones such as Italy. And, of course, the religious factor, so important in shaping modern national identities among the southern Slavic peoples.

1.1.2 Nostalgia and the cult of the past

To give an exhaustive account of the amount of historiographic literature produced about the Republic of Ragusa, it would take a great many pages, even if only to bring together the works produced in recent decades. In addition, the studies on Ragusa during its independence and its period of greatest economic and cultural importance (from 14th to the early 17th centuries) are divided into several areas: there are cultural and political perspectives centered on Republican institutions and on their illustrious men; a broad line of research on Ragusan trade relations in the Balkans and in the Mediterranean; studies that are more focused on the city and its daily life, including demographic analysis and perspectives on subordinate social groups¹⁴.

¹³ Banac, 1981, p. 161.

¹⁴ A recent introduction to the various themes of Ragusan history is R. Harris, *Dubrovnik. A History*, London, 2006 (1st ed. 2003), (hereinafter: Harris, 2006).

An anthology of studies in Italian that has the merit of gathering contributions from the most illustrious scholars (including Yugoslav ones) of Ragusan and Adriatic studies in the 1980s, still fundamental today, is A. Di Vittorio (ed.), *Ragusa e il Mediterraneo. Ruolo e funzioni di una Repubblica marinara tra Medioevo ed Età moderna*, Bari, 1990.

Among the recent Croatian historiographic literature, a study dedicated to the self-representation of Ragusa between the mid-fourteenth and the early seventeenth century is L. Kunčević, *Mit o Dubrovniku*.

The main *topoi* of Ragusan self-representation, even if modified by modern interests, emerge still today not only in historiography, but also in other kind of public discourse, such as schoolbooks, politics and even tourist marketing. They are the discourse on the origin of Ragusa from the Roman colony of Epidaurus¹⁵; the discourse on the city-state's liberty and the ideology of republicanism, ideally indebted to the republican ideologies of Venice and Florence¹⁶; last but not least, the discourse on the frontier of Christianity, with the insistence on Ragusa's role as the last geographical outpost of Catholicity on the border with the Ottoman Empire, a giant with which the little Republic had had peaceful trade relations thanks to its rich public finances that allowed it to pay an annual tribute to the sultan¹⁷.

Even in the period I am dealing with in the present work, i.e. the post-republican nineteenth century, there was a persistent reference to the greatness of the city's past, almost always veined with nostalgia and regret, within what I might call (using a contemporary expression) the public discourse in Ragusa and about Ragusa. This discourse had been implemented with these connotations both by local intellectuals and by foreign visitors and scholars.

"Ragusa owes its main historical importance to trade". So began an essay entitled "Il passato di Ragusa" ("The past of Ragusa"), which originally appeared in 1862 and was re-published in 1881¹⁸ in an anthology of texts by its author, Ivan

Diskursi o identitetu Renesansnoga grada [The myth of Dubrovnik. Discourses on identity of the Renaissance city], Zagreb-Dubrovnik, 2015 (hereinafter: Kunčević, 2015).

In recent years, Nenad Vekarić has published a monumental work in several volumes dedicated to biographies and genealogies of the Ragusan aristocracy through the centuries. Cfr. *Vekarić, Vlastela Grada Dubrovnika*.

¹⁵ Epidaurus (Epitaurum, or Epidaurum) was an ancient Greek colony, then a Roman colony, located at the modern-day Cavtat (Ragusavecchia), few kilometres south of Dubrovnik. The city was destroyed by the Avars in the seventh century and its inhabitants refuged in what then became Ragusa.

¹⁶ I find this comparison with Florence (Ragusa as "the Florence of the Adriatic") also in a brief Italian essay with irredentist tones that will be published in 1919 in Rome by Luigi de' Serragli, nephew of the homonymous Ragusan merchant and politician who had been for some decades the consul of the Kingdom of Italy in Ragusa until 1902, the year of his death, and of which I will talk widely in this work. The text is Luigi de' Serragli, *Ragusa, la Firenze dell'Adriatico*, Roma, *Tipografia dell'Unione Editrice*, 1919 [published as an excerpt from the magazine *Le Vie del Mare e dell'Aria*, 2, 1919, 13-14].

The comparison with Florence – apart from the motivation linked to the prestigious cultural role of Ragusa – had its reason for being also in the fact that the variant of Italian spoken in Ragusa among the cultured persons until the nineteenth and early twentieth century had more common features with the Tuscan variants than with those of Veneto that were instead prevailing in other Dalmatian coastal cities.

¹⁷ For a summary on these *topoi* and for the observation that, *mutatis mutandis*, these self-representations still persist in current public speeches, see Kunčević, 2015, *passim* and esp. pp. 267-270.

¹⁸ *Alcune pagine su Ragusa di G. Augusto Kaznačić*, Ragusa, *Tipografia editrice di Giuseppe Fiori*, 1881, pp. 1-10 (pag. 2) (hereinafter: Kaznačić, 1881).

August Kaznačić¹⁹. But trade in itself is not sufficient to explain the long and glorious history of the Republic, nor its absolute uniqueness within the Adriatic and Mediterranean world. According to Kaznačić, talking about the importance of commerce for Ragusa, one cannot avoid putting it in relation with "the wise laws that favoured its development"²⁰. The Ragusan scholar then gives some examples: the prohibition of the slave trade, "already decided in 1417 by the city institutions"; the public health laws defined as particularly advanced for the times and that were able to defend the city from a natural enemy as dangerous as the frequent earthquakes were, namely the plague²¹; the establishment in 1432 of a hospice for foundling children²².

These laws and their positive effects, Kaznačić notes, could only flourish in the shadow of a lasting peace. Here the diplomatic skills of the Ragusan people came into play. They were able to maintain independence even being surrounded by powers of incomparable size. The kingdom of Hungary in the late Middle Ages and then, since the fourteenth century, the Ottoman Empire with which a trade treaty was signed as early as 1359, and then Venice, of course, always kept at a safe distance.

Kaznačić's essay is particularly useful as a compendium of all the leitmotifs of Ragusan pride. There is praise for the work of Benedetto Cotrugli, a Ragusan merchant who in the fifteenth century wrote a treatise on "the art of trade" later

¹⁹ Ivan August Kaznačić (1817-1883) was a physician, a publicist and historian. His father Antun was a writer too – mainly a poet – well known in the Ragusan cultural scene especially in the first half of the 19th century (see paragraph 2.3.1). Ivan August studied medicine in Vienna and then in Padua. From 1848 he worked as a doctor in his home town, Ragusa, where he spent his entire life. As we will see in detail in the following pages, he lived the Slav cultural movement as a protagonist from the 1840s onwards, making its themes known also through publications in the Italian peninsula (Trieste). For a biographical profile, see I. Pederin and K. Pranjko, 'Ivan August Kaznačić (Casnacich, Kaznacich; Giovanni Augusto, Ioannes Augustus)', in *HBL*, 2009. A monograph dedicated to him is that of S. Stojan, *Ivan August Kaznačić - književnik i kulturni djelatnik* [Ivan August Kaznačić - literate and cultural operator], Zagreb, 1993. In English-language historiographic literature, the most important study about him is Reill, 2012, *passim*.

²⁰ Kaznačić, 1881, p. 2: "[...] le provvide leggi che ne favorirono lo sviluppo".

²¹ *Ibidem*, p. 9: "[...] leggi sanitarie, che potrebbbero servir di modello a tutte le istituzioni presenti in questo ramo".

²² Another testimony to the pride felt towards this institution can be found in one of the periodical reports on the conditions of his diocese sent by the bishop of Ragusa Vincenzo Zubranich (Vicko/Vinko Čubranić) to the Holy See. According to the tradition, writes the bishop in 1863, the orphanage of Ragusa was older than all other similar institutions in "educated Europe". He made a similarly proud statement about the institute for poor girls, "among the first of its kind". Cfr. *ASV, Congr. Concilio, Relat. Dioec., busta 674 A*, "Relatio status Ecclesiae Rachusinae ad Sacram Romanam Congregationem Concilii", Ragusa, 31 March 1863, unnumbered sheets.

published in Venice in 1573²³; there is exaltation of early modern Ragusan scholars and clergymen, great creators of Slavic literature as well as erudite connoisseurs of Greek and Latin culture. Finally the role of Catholicism is mentioned, as deeply rooted in a small republic that was also and above all protected by the Pope, "who never ceased to shelter Ragusa from any danger that threatened it"²⁴.

At the same time as Kaznačić's essay was re-published, a Trieste-based publisher printed a book by Giuseppe Gelcich (1849-1925) on the history of the Ragusan merchant navy and of the Republic's health protection institutions. Gelcich was an historian native of Cattaro (Kotor), as well as a teacher at the Nautical School of Ragusa. In 1881 he was appointed to the newly created post of superintendent of historical and artistic monuments in Cattaro and Ragusa and from 1885 was responsible for the inventory of Ragusan archive's documents. He wrote all his works in Italian²⁵.

His book was commissioned by the Austrian authorities on the occasion of the Austro-Hungarian Exposition held in Trieste in 1882 for the fifth centenary of the Habsburg government over the Julian city. In a passage from the book, Gelcich states that "the Ragusan people did not ignore the greatness of their institutions; the national writers agree in magnifying them and the wisdom of their ancestors. But they always do so in connection with the political and religious splendour of their country and only to give them an even greater prominence"²⁶.

On the one hand the main element of the book is the exaltation of the Ragusan maritime civilization, of its trade and merchant navy that produced the city's wealth, but also of the regime of laws and regulations that have tried as much as possible to keep the plague away from the city. It was not always possible to succeed in this and the book is full of descriptions of the catastrophic epidemics

²³ It is the famous treatise *Della mercatura et del mercante perfetto*. In Croatian historiography, the author is known under the name of Benedikt Kotruljević.

²⁴ Kaznačić, 1881, pag. 2: "Ma il protettore cui stava a cuore più che ad ogni altro la conservazione di Ragusa, e che non cessò d'interporsi a suo vantaggio in qualunque pericolo la minacciasse, era il Romano Pontefice".

²⁵ See the biographical profile by S. Ćosić, 'Josip Jelčić (Giuseppe Gelcich; Gelčić; Gjelcich; Đelčić)', in *HBL*, 2005.

²⁶ *Delle istituzioni marittime e sanitarie della Repubblica di Ragusa. Informazione storica documentata del Prof. Giuseppe Gelcich I. R. Conservatore dei Monumenti storico-artistici per i preesistiti Circoli di Ragusa e Cattaro. Pubblicazione dell'I.R. Governo Marittimo in occasione della Esposizione Austro-Ungarica in Trieste. Trieste, Stab. Tipogr. di Lod. Herrmanstorfer, 1882, p. Ix (hereinafter: Gelcich, 1882): "I Ragusei non ignorarono la grandezza delle loro istituzioni: gli scrittori nazionali le magnificano concordemente, esaltando ad ogni occasione la sapienza dei padri, che le dettarono. Lo fanno però sempre dipendentemente dai fasti politici e religiosi della patria, e solo per dare a questi un maggiore risalto".*

and decimations of the local population, as well as of the systems to avoid anarchy in those conditions (such as the departure of the nobles to places free from contagion).

On the other hand, between the lines, Gelcich seems to mean that the cult of the Ragusan past, although sacrosanct and more than motivated, must be based on documents and ought "ask to the archive". There the greatness of Ragusa could be better understood and there was a need for this work to be done also regarding subjects that according to Gelcich had been previously underestimated, such as the merchant navy and health institutions. According to Gelcich even the history of Ragusa written by Francesco Maria Appendini at the beginning of the nineteenth century – a work that at its time had been very influential – omitted to study well the institutions through which Ragusa favoured its merchant navy and those through which it tried to protect itself from the plague²⁷.

Gelcich's aforementioned veiled criticism of Ragusan early modern annalists ("the national writers") was not completely new. With even greater verve, it had been Francesco Maria Appendini (1768-1837) himself who expressed it eighty years earlier in his *Notizie istorico-critiche*, a two-volume historical work published in 1802-1803 and dedicated to the Senate of Ragusa. Appendini was an Italian Piarist Father coming from near Turin who in 1792 had been sent to teach at the *Collegium Rhagusinum* run by his own religious order and then he stayed in Ragusa for the rest of his life, with the exception of his very last years spent in Zara (Zadar). Appendini studied the Slavic language, taught and was very active in the local literary scene, also dealing with linguistics, publishing an important grammar of the Southern Slavic language (*Grammatica della lingua illirica*, 1808). A scholar of John Locke's treatises, although not in favour of radical social changes, Appendini promoted proposals for reform of the Ragusan school during the last republican years, inviting the nobles to send their children to study abroad, especially in Italy. Education would have allowed the noble youth of Ragusa to create a better future for the city and to avoid the dangers of nepotism. Together with the nobles more sensitive to the ideas of the French Enlightenment and English Rationalism, he took part in the meeting of the *Società patriotica* (Patriotic Society)²⁸. Appendini maintained his role at the Ragusan *Collegium* even under the French, as well as under the Austrians. This earned him some criticism of

²⁷ *Ibidem*, pag. x.

²⁸ R. Seferović, 'Politička retorika Francesca Marije Appendinija pred kraj Republike' [Political rhetoric of Francesco Maria Appendini on the eve of Republic's fall], *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Dubrovniku*, 53, 2015, 2, pp. 311-349.

opportunism, but it is the opinion of recent research that they were generally unjust²⁹.

He conducted extensive research on Ragusan history and literature. In the introduction to his *Notizie storico-critiche*, which according to Miljenko Foretić had been "a cultural fact of the first order in our area"³⁰, Appendini argued that the writings of various annalists, including Mauro Orbini and other important names such as Luccari, Ragnina, Razzi, are "either lacking in order, and good criticism, or they do not target anything but detached and partial subjects"³¹.

With even greater clarity, in one of his books of 1884, Giuseppe Gelcich reiterated that around the very distant events of Ragusan history "the most innocent of vanities, that is, the municipal vanity" added details that can easily be defined as legendary. Probably the annalistic narration of the deeds of various more or less likely characters "wanted to be an allegory of the obstacles overcome by the Ragusan to support their municipal freedom", threatened by various enemies,

²⁹ *Ibidem*.

³⁰ There are entries dedicated to Appendini in both Croatian and Italian biographical dictionaries. For the quotation, see M. Foretić, 'Franjo Marija (Francesco Maria) Appendini', in *HBL*, 1983. See also A. Pitassio, 'Francesco Maria Appendini', in *DBI*, vol. 3, 1961.

³¹ F. A. Appendini, *Notizie storico-critiche sulle antichità, storia e letteratura de' ragusei divise in due tomi e dedicate all'eccelso Senato della Repubblica di Ragusa. Ragusa, dalle stampe di Antonio Martecchini. Con licenza de' superiori*, 2 voll., 1802-1803, (vol. 1, p. viii) (hereinafter: Appendini, 1802-1803). In his negative evaluation of the writers of the past, certainly Appendini also wants to put in good light his *magnus opus*, which in his intentions should have been the definitive work in which "we briefly give the true idea of the ancient Ragusan people and of the Republic of Ragusa".

The first printer in Ragusa appeared in 1783 (the Venetian Carlo Antonio Occhi; when he went bankrupt, Occhi was replaced in the business by his typographer, Andrea Trevisan). The books of Appendini were the first works printed out by his successor, Antonio Martecchini, cfr. V. Čučić, 'Prvi tiskari u Dubrovniku: s popisom tiskane građe' [Early printers in Dubrovnik: including the book inventory], *Vjesnik bibliotekara Hrvatske*, 48, 2005, 3-4, pp. 108-158 (p. 145) (hereinafter: Čučić, 2005).

Antonio Martecchini also had Venetian origins and it was in the lagoon city that he learned the profession of printer and bookseller, but then he had to leave Venice for economic reasons and move to Ragusa at the dawn of the nineteenth century, as he himself confesses in the preface to the first complete Italian translation of the renowned poem *Osman (Osmanide)*, in Italian), written in Slavic (Illyrian) by the seventeenth-century Ragusan poet Ivan/Đivo Gundulić (Giovanni Francesco Gondola). Cfr. *Versione libera dell'Osmanide poema illirico di Giovanni Fr.co Gondola patrizio di Ragusa. Colla di lui vita scritta dal Padre Francesco Maria Appendini delle Scuole Pie. Ragusa, per Antonio Martecchini*. 1827 (p. 5) (hereinafter: *Versione libera dell'Osmanide*, 1827). This work, dedicated to the "Ateneo di Venezia", contained a biographical profile of Gundulić written by Appendini himself. On Gundulić, see below and esp. paragraphs 2.3.2 and 2.3.3. On Antonio Martecchini, see also I. Arsić, *Dubrovački štampari i izdavači XIX veka i njihova izdanja* [Dubrovnik printers and publishers in the 19th century and their editions], Banja Luka-Beograd, 2009 (2nd ed.), esp. pp. 17-21 (hereinafter: Arsić, 2009).

starting from the Saracens in the early Middle Ages³². Among the myths loaded with excessive imagination, Gelcich counts also the story of Orlando, or Rolando, who according to the annalists was the nephew of Charlemagne and had been described in his courageous deeds of rescue to the city besieged by the Saracens.

The history of Orlando/Rolando, with greater or lesser critical distance from the sources, was also taken up by foreign authors in their historical notes on Ragusa which, as often happened, were combined within their travel writings on Dalmatia. An example is a well-known book by sir Arthur Evans, a famous English archaeologist who in 1876 – still young – published his account of a journey on foot through Bosnia during the anti-Ottoman insurrection of that period. Evans, after mentioning the events narrated by the Ragusan chroniclers and noting that in some ways they agree with some facts of the historical “Orlando”, notes however that the statue erected in his honour by the Ragusan actually dated back to five centuries after those events with the Saracens³³.

On closer inspection, therefore, the cult of the past in nineteenth-century Ragusa should not be understood as a monolithic reality. It undoubtedly existed, even if already in the late nineteenth century an awareness was slowly developing that approached a more modern critical sense, as we can see from these few examples just mentioned.

As a result of this long process of acquiring critical awareness, historians of our decades have deconstructed some "myths", such as the abolition of slavery³⁴, which was conversely supported also by Gelcich himself³⁵.

³² *Dello sviluppo civile di Ragusa considerato ne' suoi monumenti storici ed artistici. Memorie e studii del Prof. Giuseppe Gelcich I. R. Conservatore per i preesistiti Circoli di Ragusa e Cattaro. Ragusa, Carlo Pretner Tip. Edit., 1884, pp. 4-5.*

³³ *Through Bosnia and the Herzegovina on foot during the insurrection, August and September 1875, with an Historical Review of Bosnia, and a glimpse at the Croats, Slavonians, and the ancient Republic of Ragusa by Arthur J. Evans, B.A., F.S.A., with a map and fifty-eight illustrations from photographs and sketches by the author, London, Longmans, Green, and Co., 1876, p. 396.* About the statue, Evans writes in a footnote: “Alas ! that I should have to record that the statue dates at least five centuries later than Orlando's time”.

Compare Evans' way with the almost contemporary one by a French traveller, who merely retraces the history of the annalists, also saying that the gratitude of the Ragusan drove them to make the statue for Rolando already when he was still in the city (which is false, as we have seen, or at least that was not the statue that still exists). Cfr. *Excursion artistique en Dalmatie et au Monténégro par M. Charles Pelerin, Paris, Imprimerie de Dubuisson, 1860, p. 21* (“La reconnaissance des Ragusiens fit élever à Roland une statue en marbre. Ce brave chevalier, ne voulant point être dépassé en courtoisie, fit cadeau à la ville du buste du vaincu, à titre d'hommage”).

³⁴ The decrees of the government of Dubrovnik of 1416 and 1418 have been interpreted even in recent decades as a total abolition of slavery by the Republic. That the things were not exactly like that was instead argued by other twentieth-century scholars, one above all Bariša Krekić. The Bosnian slave trade,

1.1.3 The “Slavic Athens”

Dubrovnik is undoubtedly a unique city in modern-day Croatia. Its glorious past, together with the prestige of its Early Modern literature generally acknowledged by the South Slavic high culture, has made this city a focal point in the work undertaken by the South Slavic elites (Croatian, Dalmatian and Serbian ones) during the nineteenth-century to strengthen the place of their ancient heritage within the European culture and to debate on its widely South Slavic nature, or to the contrary – as we shall see - on its mutually exclusive belonging (Croatian appropriation, Serbian appropriation).

Ivo Banac noted how the appreciation of what has been connected to the concept “Dubrovnik” has not been always unanimous, nor was it lacking in controversial issues³⁶. From our point of view, this very interesting fact only confirms the centrality of Dubrovnik in Southern Slavic and Croatian culture. One could say that only what is really notable could deserve to be desecrated or venerated, generating an appeal that, in both senses, has remained constant for decades and decades of intellectual life.

Dubrovnik had been therefore important as a symbolic place. Its name was associated with a concept (the “Slavic Athens”) whose usage had not been limited to South Slavic intellectuals but was also shared by some external observers, as emerges from travelogues and nineteenth-century essays dealing with the city. Interestingly enough near a century later, in the climate of the Neo-Slavism movement, Prague too was dubbed the “Slavic Athens” in 1908, a remark received

particularly the one from Ragusa to Italy, was more limited than abolished by these decrees and even if moral reasons were at their basis, they were also urged by the protests of the lords of nearby Bosnia. Moreover, the citizens of Ragusa could continue to buy people on this market and use them as servants for their own domestic needs. When in 1466 the authorities of Ragusa once again pronounced themselves against the slave trade, the decision to prohibit it under threat of very severe penalties was triggered above all by the fact that in the previous decades the phenomenon of the sale of Christian slaves to the Ottomans had continued. Among studies on this subject in English, I point out B. Krekić, ‘Dubrovnik as a pole of attraction and a point of transition for the hinterland population in the late Middle Ages’, in *Migrations in Balkan history*, Belgrade, 1989, pp. 67-76. A mention of the matter is present in Harris, 2006, p. 158. See also Z. Janeković-Römer, ‘Nasilje zakona: Gradska vlast i privatni život kasnosrednjovjekovnom i ranonovovjekovnom Dubrovniku’ [The Violence of Law: City Government and Privacy in Late-Medieval and Early-Modern Dubrovnik], *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Dubrovniku*, 41, 2003, pp. 9-44 (p. 32).

³⁵ Gelcich, 1882, p. viii. However here the author, while noting that England only abolished the slave trade in 1824, admits that the decision of Ragusa, as well as for moral reasons, was also based on the need to settle disputes with the lords of Bosnia. Here Gelcich refers to the 1466 measure (see previous note).

³⁶ Banac, 1981.

with enthusiastic acceptance even by the mayor of Zagreb, as Claire Nolte has noted³⁷. Furthermore in 1912, during the inter-Slavic meeting of the gymnastics societies *Sokol* held in Prague, the Czech city was honoured again with this epithet, which meant that it was considered “a center of cultural life like Athens in ancient Greece, and the Czechs became the teachers of the other, more backward, Slavic peoples”³⁸.

According to John V. A. Fine jr, who quotes the Croatian literary historian Branko Vodnik, the reference to Dubrovnik as the “Slavic Athens” can be already traced back to Andrija Kačić-Miošić (1704-1760), a Dalmatian Franciscan monk who has been very influential in the Southern Slavic literature, thanks in particular to his “*Razgovor ugodni naroda slovinskog*” (“Pleasant Conversation of Slavic People”, first edition 1756), an history in verse of the Slavic people³⁹.

At this point, it will also be useful to illustrate the use of the term “Illyrian”⁴⁰ adopted by a particular figure of the Dubrovnik aristocracy, Tomo Bassegli (Baseljić/Basiljević) (1756-1806), who wrote in French a treatise on his project for the reform of the Republic of Ragusa between the last years of the 18th century and the very first years of the 19th century. He did it under the influence of the ideas of the Enlightenment and of the French Revolution. As a matter of fact, Tomo Bassegli was a fervent Francophile and during the last years of the eighteenth century in Ragusa this was not only a cultural orientation⁴¹, but a real choice of political field, inherent to what were considered to be the more advantageous guidelines and interests of the Republic in the international diplomacy.

³⁷ C. Nolte, *The Sokol in the Czech Lands to 1914. Training for the Nation*, Basingstoke-New York, 2002, pag. 164.

³⁸ *Id.*, ‘All for One! One for All! The federation of Slavic Sokols and the failure of Neo-Slavism’, in P. M. Judson and M. L. Rozenblit (eds.), *Constructing Nationalities in East Central Europe*, New York-Oxford, 2005, pp. 126-140 (pag. 135).

³⁹ J. V. A. Fine jr, *When ethnicity did not matter in the Balkans. A study of identity in pre-nationalist Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia in the Medieval and Early-Modern periods*, Ann Arbor, 2006, pag. 293 (hereinafter: Fine, 2006).

⁴⁰ As we shall see, the term “Illyrian” will be used to indicate the Southern Slavic populations in a broader sense.

⁴¹ It has also been noted that Bassegli, who was a great collector of books, also had a great interest in English philosophical, historical and literary authors. He learnt English language during his years studying law abroad, particularly in Göttingen, a path which he had undertaken (but not concluded) thanks to the support and recommendation of Alberto Fortis. Cfr. V. Kostić, ‘Interes za engleski jezik i kulturu u Dubrovniku uoči pada Republike’ [Interest in English language and culture in Dubrovnik on the eve of the fall of the Republic], *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Dubrovniku*, 49, 2011, pp. 191-207.

In this political choice, and also in his ideas for reform in his *patria*, Tomo Bassegli went in exactly the opposite direction to that of his family, lined up with the so-called *Salamanchesesi* (*Salamankezi*) families, which were supporters of the concept of purity of blood and adverse to any marriage ties with those families accepted in the Ragusan aristocracy after the decimation of the population occurred as a consequence of the 1667 earthquake. On the contrary, the patrician houses which accepted the new nobles and amalgamated with them were identified as *sorbonesi* (*sorbonezi*). It has been argued that this fracture within the Ragusan patriciate emerged with greater vigour around the middle of the eighteenth century, that it caused damage to the traditional decision-making mechanism within the councils and that it was ultimately a major factor of the crisis of the patriciate⁴². After the fall of the Republic, the still-living members of the two groups tended to abandon endogamy, so that the last Ragusan nobleman who could be called "of pure blood" was Nikola (Nikša) Gradi (1825-1894)⁴³. As we shall see Gradi, a lawyer and a writer with many interests, was eventually a supporter of the Serbian origin of the Ragusan population and very close to the movement of the Serb Catholics of the late nineteenth century⁴⁴.

The text of Tomo Bassegli that interests us here has been at the center of an exciting case of rediscovery. In fact, it was never published during the life of its author, nor in the following decades. Until the 1950s it remained among the manuscripts of the Dubrovnik archive, kept in the papers of his family that after his death became extinct, while the name survived in the new branch Bassegli-Gozze,

⁴² This is not the place to further explore these fascinating themes of Ragusan history. I limit myself to mentioning a useful recent work to which I also refer for an overview of the existing bibliography on the conflicts within the Ragusan patriciate, which however have their roots already at the beginning of the seventeenth century. Cfr. S. Ćosić and N. Vekarić, 'The Factions within the Ragusan Patriciate (17th-18th Century)', *Dubrovnik Annals*, 7, 2003, pp. 7-79 (hereinafter: Ćosić and Vekarić, 2003). The first record using the terms *salamankezi* and *sorbonezi* can be traced in a report of an anonym in the service of Maria Theresa who visited Ragusa in 1774 and 1775. Cfr. *ibidem*, p. 58.

⁴³ Cfr. *ibidem*, p. 76. Ćosić and Vekarić rest on a 1925 article by Milan Rešetar, a prominent Ragusan intellectual and academician, very close to the Serb Catholic movement at the end of the nineteenth century, and of which I will speak much later, particularly in chapter 4.

⁴⁴ A recent extensive profile of Gradi in I. Lukežić, 'Posljednji dubrovački vlastelin-pjesnik Nikša Matov Gradi (1825-1894)' [The last nobleman-poet from Dubrovnik, Nikša Matov Gradi (1825-1894)], *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Dubrovniku*, 46, 2008, pp. 137-225 (hereinafter: Lukežić, 2008) and in I. Arsić, 'Antun Fabris, Nikša Gradi, Luko Zore i ostali pisci Novije Dubrovačke Književnosti - Gradacija Srpske kulturnoistorijske zaboravnosti' [Antun Fabris, Nikša Gradi, Luko Zore and other writers of Dubrovnik New Literature - Different levels of omission in Serbian cultural history], in B. Dimitrijević (ed.), *Jezik i književnost u kontaktu i diskontaktu: tematski zbornik radova* [Language and Literature in contact and not: thematic selected works], Niš, 2015, pp. 149-162 (hereinafter: Arsić, 2015).

which in turn extinguished in 1950⁴⁵. It was the then young linguist Žarko Muljačić who first made the text known to the public in various studies that he started to publish in the 1950s.

Bassegli's dissertation, written as it has been said in a good French, is unfinished and was part of an *Essai sur la République de Raguse*, while the title *Plan de réforme de la République de Raguse* with which it is commonly known was later affixed by an unknown hand⁴⁶. An excerpt from the *Essai* has been recently published in English in an anthology of texts on the emergence of the Modern "National Idea" in Central and Southeast Europe⁴⁷.

The concept exposed in the *Essai* that is most relevant to us is the project of a "Republic of Illyria", with capital in Ragusa, which in Bassegli's dream should have included Croatia, Slavonia, Serbia, Bosnia and the whole of Dalmatia. According to Lovro Kunčević, this is the first documented example in Ragusa of the idea that all South Slavs could and should all live together in one independent state. "Not even the greatest Slavic or Dalmatian enthusiasts of Renaissance and Baroque Ragusa - writes Kunčević - considered bringing into question its independent statehood in the cause of an ethnic ideology"⁴⁸. However, this Croatian scholar notes that in Bassegli too, in the end, the very strong sense of "civic patriotism" prevailed over the other, albeit present, "identity discourse", the one that Kunčević has defined - as we have seen in the previous pages - "the ethnic discourse", which in various ways sometimes had emerged in the Republic of Ragusa to underline its linguistic and cultural ties with the community of Slavic, Illyrian or Dalmatian peoples. The Ragusan patriotism, however, led Bassegli to indicate its city as the capital of the new Illyrian republic.

One can certainly question the actual circulation of Bassegli's ideas during those months in which Ragusa was experiencing the twilight of its long independence. In fact, according to a detailed account of Ragusa's political groups compiled in 1803 by the nobleman Mato Pozza, Tomo Bassegli was counted

⁴⁵ For this genealogical information, and for a synthetic profile of the figure, see M. Foretić, 'Tomo Basiljević (Baseljić, Bazilić, de Basilio, Bassegli)', in *HBL*, Zagreb, 1983. The greatest expert on Tomo Bassegli, the linguist Žarko Muljačić, believes that the most correct form of the surname is "Baseljić", because the servants of the family in the eighteenth century called them "Basseglich". Cfr. Ž. Muljačić, 'Tomo Baseljić-Bassegli, oratore e scrittore in sei lingue', in F. Ferluga Petronio (ed.), *Plurilingvism v Evropi 18. stoletja* [Multilingualism in Europe in the 18th century], Maribor, 2002, pp. 337-348.

⁴⁶ The writing of the dissertation is dated by Ćosić (following Muljačić) to exactly 1804. See Ćosić, 1999, p. 28.

⁴⁷ Cfr. *Discourses of collective identity*, vol. 1, 'Tomo Bassegli: patriotic musings', pp. 312-318 (translated by Teodora Shek Brnardić) (hereinafter: 'Tomo Bassegli: patriotic musings').

⁴⁸ Kunčević, 2010, p. 171.

among the Francophiles, yes, but also within the group of *monarchici* (monarchists)⁴⁹. The fact is that in his *Essai* there is no trace of monarchy, quite the contrary. In the heart of the Slavs, he writes, "it would be possible to establish patriotism and the purest republicanism". His insistence on the alleged national character of the Slavs is repeated several times: according to Bassegli they are a people marked by "frugality" and "severity of manners". The Illyrian republic would not be a particularly rich state, but the innate qualities of its "nation" would give rise to a state that "would also have fewer desires and needs". Their virtues and their "patriotic zeal" have been preserved despite all the oppressors they have had over the centuries, and here Bassegli did not spare "the most odious Venetian aristocracy", which had never managed to make the Dalmatians Venetians; the Austrians, who despite their "iron yoke" never made the Croats German; much less the Turks, against the Bosnians and Serbs⁵⁰.

The pro-French optics of Bassegli's writing must be emphasised once again. Besides the ideal involvement for the values deriving from the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars, a component of political realism in his reasoning should not be overlooked. A good connoisseur of the European intellectual currents of the period, as well as of international political events, a man like Bassegli must also have been well aware that, without a redefinition both of its internal nature and of its relations with foreign powers, his beloved Ragusa would have had very little chance of remaining free and independent.

After all, the ideas he professed were explicit in this regard: the new Illyrian republic would have to enjoy loyal protection from France and would have deserved it "because her existence serves as a formidable obstacle against the despots from the North, because she is capable of preventing them from penetrating into Italy, and because she can secure French domination over the Adriatic"⁵¹. His political utopia, based on the principles of the Enlightenment and on the physiocratic thought⁵², did not however translate into radical secular Jacobin

⁴⁹ However, as Ćosić and Vekarić point out, the political affiliation of the *monarchici* can be defined as "completely vague" and their support "was more of a traditional tendency towards one of the great powers, aimed at reinforcing the international position of the Republic of Dubrovnik". Cfr. Ćosić and Vekarić, 2003, pp. 74-75.

⁵⁰ All the quotations are from 'Tomo Bassegli: patriotic musings', p. 316.

⁵¹ *Ibidem*, p. 317.

⁵² About the circulation in Ragusa of the ideas of the Neapolitan jurist and philosopher Gaetano Filangieri, also mediated by the stay in the Republic of Alberto Fortis, who was in close contact with the Bassegli family, some notes in Ž. Muljačić, 'Dubrovački prosvjetitelji i Gaetano Filangieri (Prilog

ideas. In any case, the opening of the aristocracy's ranks also to the middle classes and even to families of peasant origin⁵³, therefore, were part of an utopian (in retrospect) design that sought to update a state model that had become outdated, in the light of European enlightenment ideas with which Bassegli had been in contact during his university stays abroad and through his readings. What he wanted to promote were social reforms, yes, but without radically revolutionary methods⁵⁴.

The sad story of Bassegli's marriage, however, testifies that despite the presence of the "French" current among the city's nobility, in Ragusa at the end of the eighteenth century life for a "progressive" was quite difficult. In 1786 Bassegli married Maria (Mimi) von Born, daughter of Ignaz, eminent mineralogist and head of a Masonic lodge in Vienna, but not endowed with a license of nobility that could be considered adequate by the customs of the Dubrovnik aristocrats. He led his wife to Ragusa, where they lived for a couple of years, but the local nobles boycotted him to the point that he left for Naples. In the Italian city he met Filangieri⁵⁵, and then settled in Vienna. He returned a few years later to Ragusa, but not with his wife, who interrupted the relationship, and not even with his little son, who died on the way back.

Mimi von Born made a new life in the United States where he remarried and became known as Mary Rivardi. In a way, she succeeded in what her former husband had failed. In 1802 she opened a French school for girls, near Philadelphia, inspired by new teaching experiences of the European encyclopaedists⁵⁶.

As for Bassegli, what eventually happened to Ragusa in 1808, two years after his death, would have added insult to injury.

povijesti demokratske misli u starom Dubrovniku)' [The Ragusan enlighteners and Gaetano Filangieri (a contribution to the history of democratic thought in old Dubrovnik)], *Dubrovnik*, 8, 1965, 1, pp. 36-40.

⁵³ Cfr. the preface by Teodora Shek Brnardić to 'Tomo Bassegli: patriotic musings', p. 315.

⁵⁴ On this point, see the reflections (taken from Muljačić) in S. Ćosić, 'The fall of the Dubrovnik Republic and the establishment of the French administration in Dubrovnik in 1808 and 1809', *Dubrovnik annals*, 2, 1998, pp. 55-98 (p. 67).

⁵⁵ Cfr. M. Foretić, 'Tomo Basiljević (Baseljić, Bazilić, de Basilio, Bassegli)', in *HBL*, Zagreb, 1983.

⁵⁶ On the life of this interesting figure, see the very recent contribution of V. Franić Tomić, 'Prilozi za biografiju Mimi von Born, supruge hrvatskog prosvjetitelja Tome Basseglia' [Some contributions to the biography of Maria (Mimi) von Born, wife of the Croatian enlightener Tomo Bassegli]. *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Dubrovniku*, 56, 2018, 1, pp. 299-361.

1.2 Ragusa and Austria

1.2.1 How to modernise “deep” Dalmatia

The Habsburg province of Dalmatia was composed of territories that for many centuries before had remained separate from each other⁵⁷. Many historiographical studies have noted that in spite of this administrative unification, still throughout the entire nineteenth century the differentiations between the territories of the former Venetian Dalmatia, those of the former Republic of Ragusa and those of the Bay of Kotor (Bocche di Cattaro, or the former *Albania veneta*) were clearly noticeable⁵⁸. In addition to the distinction of customs and traditions between coast and hinterland, typical of many Mediterranean societies, there was also a profound cultural separation between Dalmatian coastal urban centers, which were open to cultural influence and migrations from the Italian peninsula, and interior Dalmatia, whose village communities were homogeneously Slavic and linked to other social models, such as the patriarchal society of Morlachs populations mainly dedicated to sheep farming.

From 1813-1815 onwards the new Habsburg administration began a wide-ranging work to give greater homogeneity to the "new" Dalmatia, to shape its

⁵⁷ The end of the Turkish-Venetian wars with the Treaty of Passarowitz in 1718 and the beginning of the decline of Ottoman power in Europe deeply marked the borders of Dalmatia. Venice increased its Dalmatian territories inward. Thus were born the borders of Dalmatia that still exist today. In recent years, specific studies have been produced on this area (Venetian Dalmatia and the strictly connected borderlands of Ottoman and Habsburg Empire) as a crossroad of patterns of civilization, over a wide time span. Cfr. E. Ivetic and D. Roksandić (eds.), *Tolerance and intolerance on the Triplex Confinium. Approaching the “Other” on the Borderlands Eastern Adriatic and beyond 1500-1800*, Padova, 2007; D. Roksandić and N. Štefanec (eds.), *Constructing border societies on the Triplex Confinium*, Budapest, 2000. Specifically about eighteenth-century Venetian Dalmatia, cfr. F. M. Paladini, “*Un caos che spaventa*”. *Poteri, territori e religioni di frontiera nella Dalmazia della tarda età veneta*, Venezia, 2002; L. Wolff, *Venice and the Slavs: the discovery of Dalmatia in the Age of Enlightenment*, Stanford, 2001 (hereinafter: Wolff, 2001).

⁵⁸ There are countless nineteenth-century texts in which the distinction between Ragusa and the rest of Dalmatia was particularly underlined. This concept was reiterated in the context of the cult of Ragusan own past and specificity which, as we have seen in paragraph 1.1.2, was a fundamental characteristic of the nineteenth-century Ragusan "mind", as well as of the perception of its history by non-Ragusan. See for example the story of Ragusa published in 1876 by the Ragusan priest Stjepo Skurla, who cited a passage from a travel account published by the *Wiener Zeitung*, according to which "those who arrive in Ragusa full of impressions of Dalmatian life, soon realize that they are in a city that is a world unto itself [...] the stranger feels surrounded by a culture that meets him from everywhere". Cfr. *Ragusa. Cenni storici compilati da Stefano Skurla Canon. Onor. Profess. Ginnasiale, Zagabria 1876. A spese dell'Autore. Tipografia sociale*, 1876, pp. 114-115.

infrastructures, judicial and fiscal institutions and to create a ruling class composed of officials and employees, often from other Habsburg regions⁵⁹.

To dwell on the contents of a book published in 1821 by Giuseppe de Brodmann⁶⁰ is useful to have some ideas on how an Austrian official, as this author was, saw Dalmatia in those years when Vienna was laying the foundations of its system of government in this province.

Still in the early 1830s, Brodmann was an influential author in Austrian governmental circles. Clewing noted how in one of his report sent to the Emperor Francis I in 1834, the governor of Dalmatia Lilienberg clearly showed having used Brodmann as a source by means of his very faithful repetition of some *Memorie politico-economiche*'s passages about the mines⁶¹.

It is curious to note, however, that when it was written between 1817 and 1818, Brodmann's extensive work (335 pages long) was not favourably received by Austrian censorship, indeed the manuscript was rejected in 1819 because of the presence of some critical observations about the behaviour of the Austrian government in the various regions discussed in the book. However, the author managed to circumvent the censorship and publish the work in Venice in 1821 and then, in 1822, to obtain a sort of *post hoc* approval of the work by the censorship. The circulation of the book was allowed in the so-called *erga schedam* mode, that is, it could only be read by an audience of intellectuals who, however, were not allowed to circulate copies⁶².

Already from the first words of its section dedicated to Dalmatia, Brodmann's book conveys the idea of an exotic land, to be discovered beyond any

⁵⁹ "A summary of this issue in E. Ivetic, 'La patria del Tommaseo. La Dalmazia tra il 1815 e il 1860', in F. Bruni (ed), *Niccolò Tommaseo: Popolo e Nazioni. Italiani, Corsi, Greci, Illirici*, Roma-Padova, 2004, pp. 595-623, (pp. 597-603) (hereinafter: Ivetic, 2004). Classic monographs that have addressed these aspects are also R. Petrović, *Nacionalno pitanje u Dalmaciji u XIX. stoljeću (Narodna stranka i nacionalno pitanje 1860-1880)* [The national question in Dalmatia during the 19th century (The People's Party and the national question 1860-1880)], Sarajevo-Zagreb, 1982 (first edition 1968) (hereinafter: Petrović, 1982); N. Stančić, *Hrvatska nacionalna ideologija preporodnog pokreta u Dalmaciji. Mihovil Pavlinović i njegov krug do 1869* [The Croatian national ideology within the revival movement in Dalmatia. Mihovil Pavlinović and his circle up until 1869], Zagreb, 1980.

⁶⁰ G. de Brodmann, *Memorie politico-economiche della città e territorio di Trieste, della penisola d'Istria, della Dalmazia fu veneta, di Ragusi e dell'Albania ora congiunti all'Austriaco Impero, di G. d. B-n. Venezia dalla tipografia di Alvisopoli*, 1821, pp. 177-180 (hereinafter: Brodmann, 1821).

⁶¹ Cfr. Clewing, *Roher Diamant Dalmatien*, pp. 146-147.

⁶² Information on Brodmann's problems with censorship is provided by I. Pederin, 'Austrijska cenzura od 1810. do 1848. i njezin utjecaj na razvitak knjižnica u Dalmaciji' [The Austrian censorship from 1810 to 1848 and its influence on the development of libraries in Croatia], *Vjesnik Bibliotekara Hrvatske*, 30, 1987, 1-4, pp. 19-44 (p. 25).

prejudice: "It is amazing how little Dalmatia is known," writes Brodmann, arguing that geographers knew Africa better than the lands and peoples of "Dalmatia, Ragusa and Albania"⁶³. And the aim of the book is repeatedly reaffirmed to be to make known to the Austrian imperial government its new province and its needs. A land of paradoxes, which would have the resources to feed a population three times bigger than that actually existing, and which instead "is very often tormented by hunger".

Brodmann notes the deep distinctions between cities (noticing here the strong Italian cultural imprint) and the country (for which he uses a term with hard connotations, "barbarity"), praises Alberto Fortis' account as a rare example of a report on Dalmatia written without being too impressed by the imagination. Predictably, the Austrian official has no words of esteem for the long Venetian government and for the shortest but nevertheless harmful, according to him, French interregnum.

Most Catholic clergy in rural places, Brodmann writes, "profess the Catholic religion without knowing what it consists of". They are described as ignorant and that fact in his opinion sets a bad example to the people, fuelling roughness, ignorance, violence and that forms of misconduct that Brodmann attributes to internal Dalmatia, problems that could only be solved by means of new laws, rigorous, not general but instead specifically tailored to the specific needs of the province⁶⁴.

The text then reviews practical remedies for Dalmatian poverty and underdevelopment: to establish public warehouses for wheat; to encourage and modernize agriculture, rather than sheep farming; to spread modern advances, for example in the processing of olive oil; to build new roads, and here Brodmann mentions some sections made between Ragusavecchia (Cavtat) to Castelnuovo (Herceg Novi) and from the latter place to Cattaro and Budua (Budva) in 1818 for the arrival of the emperor of Austria Francis with the empress in Dalmatia.

Soon thereafter, Brodmann mentions what, as we shall see, will remain in the following decades a very widespread idea in the projects to improve conditions in Dalmatia, namely the need to facilitate trade with Bosnia and make it flow to

⁶³ By Albania, the author means Bocche di Cattaro, the so-called "Austrian Albania", cfr. Brodmann, 1821, p. 313. As we can see, the title of the work itself confirms once again the fact that the former Venetian Dalmatia, Ragusa and the Bocche di Cattaro were considered to be three areas each one with a distinct identity.

⁶⁴ *Ibidem*, 1821, pp. 195-196.

Dalmatian ports⁶⁵. And then he dedicates a paragraph specifically to the theme of the suppression of some Catholic dioceses in Dalmatia, a theme that as we have seen in the previous paragraph had been on the government agenda in those very years⁶⁶.

Insisting on the need to provide Catholic clergy with a better education, he goes so far as to say that the ignorance of the clergy in the countryside, as well as that of the rural populations, "forms the first and main obstacle to any radical reform of Dalmatia". It was at first an educated clergy that should be formed, only in this way could the education of the populations be improved because, he concluded his reasoning, "before issuing the laws it is necessary to make man capable of receiving them". This better education, Brodmann adds, should also be combined with the teaching of the Italian language because - it goes without saying - Dalmatian country parish priests only knew the Slavic language⁶⁷.

The granting of a salary to priests would have improved their morality, freeing them from having to seek means of subsistence from the parishioners. The measure, Brodmann writes, should also have been adopted for the "59 Greek parish priests" (namely Serb Orthodox), who are defined as being "even more ignorant than Catholic parish priests"⁶⁸.

As far as Ragusa is concerned, after having retraced her history in a rather pedantic way and having provided a series of analytical data about Ragusan merchant fleet in previous years and its trade, Brodmann notes that currently the local aristocracy was particularly heavily indebted. This deficit, once the merchant fleet that guaranteed it had disappeared, was in real danger of never being able to be paid.

Then, perhaps to compensate for the criticism elsewhere directed at the Austrian government, Brodmann concludes this part by saying that in a condition

⁶⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 233-234.

⁶⁶ The author dedicates a note to show his satisfaction at the fact that his ideas on the subject, written in 1817 and 1818, had in fact been followed by the decisions of the imperial government, precisely in that sense suggested by him. Cfr. *ibidem*, pp. 249-250.

⁶⁷ Brodmann, 1821, pp. 250-251: "La crassa ignoranza del villico ed anche del Clero campestre forma il primo e principale ostacolo a qualunque radicale riforma della Dalmazia [...] Innanzi di emanare le leggi conviene rendere capace l'uomo di riceverle [...] Dunque coll'istruzione sollecita de' Parochi, alla quale unir si dovrebbe la cognizione della lingua Italiana, oltre la propria Sclava, conviene incominciar la riforma della Dalmazia".

⁶⁸ *Ibidem*, pag. 252. Elsewhere, Brodmann has no words of respect for the population of the Orthodox faith, especially that of the Bocche di Cattaro. Using an argumentation that was often present in nineteenth-century documentation, the author argues that their nature is "ignorant, superstitious, fanatical". Cfr. *ibidem*, pag. 330.

of lasting peace and thanks to the powerful Austrian government that will not make the Ragusan suffer as many tributes as in the past, the commercial activity of the city will be able to flourish again and, with it, its welfare too⁶⁹.

As for his criticism on the government, the one that stands out is its exaggerated forecast of tax revenues from such a poor land. If the products of Dalmatian agriculture and industry will not be increased, Brodmann says, it will be impossible for that land to pay the government about 700,000 florins⁷⁰.

At least as far as the districts of Ragusa and Cattaro were concerned, during the first four decades of Austrian government the authorities in Vienna agreed *de facto* with Brodmann, who had written that "the tithe is unjust [and] disproportionate"⁷¹. Ragusa and Cattaro indeed were long exempted from paying this tax (called *la decima*), which elsewhere in Dalmatia was paid in kind by farmers until 1837, and only then in money⁷². In 1850, the exemption ceased for Ragusa and Cattaro, but instead of the tithe a land tax was established on the basis of the land register. The following year, the tithe will be abolished on the islands of the Split district. Similar decision will be taken a few months later for the entire district of Zadar. From January 1852, the land tax will replace the tithe throughout Dalmatia⁷³.

In conclusion of this paragraph, it seems appropriate to dwell on some biographical notes about Brodmann, an author who proves to be important as a source for various issues concerning the Austrian government in Dalmatia during the early decades of the nineteenth century. These themes will remain central for a very long period of time, after the publication of the book. In a way, Brodmann's themes will remain a constant feature of Austrian government action and also of the plans for the future drawn up by the ruling classes in Dalmatia, as we shall be able to mention.

Giuseppe de Brodmann was from Gorizia, a town at the foot of the Julian Alps in the East of Friuli. The first biographical indication of him in nineteenth-

⁶⁹ *Ibidem*, pp. 295-298.

⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 274-276: "Considerando la somma povertà di questo Paese, desta meraviglia come esso sia capace di dare presentemente una rendita al Governo di 700mila fiorini in circa". The passage in question is also mentioned in Ćosić, 1999, pag. 179, which states that Dalmatian tax revenue in 1818 was about 225,000 florins, much less than the Vienna forecasts criticized (rightly, evidently) by Brodmann.

⁷¹ Brodmann, 1821, pag. 258.

⁷² Cfr. Ćosić, 1999, pag. 179, based on *Memorie sulla Dalmazia di Valentino Lago. Cav., ed ex-Consigliere di Finanza Austriaco in Dalmazia. Volume Primo. Venezia, Stab. Naz. di G. Grimaldo, 1869*, p. 392 (hereinafter: Lago, 1869).

⁷³ Information provided by Lago, 1869, pp. 396-397.

century literature, to the best of our knowledge, can be found in the Bibliography of Dalmatia and Montenegro⁷⁴ published in 1855 in Zagreb by Giuseppe Valentinelli⁷⁵. From the inventory of the archival fund of the Austrian government's administrative unit in Gorizia, we can draw further confirmation that Brodmann was originally from this city. There is a document from 1804, in fact, which establishes the reimbursement of expenses incurred by Brodmann and Antonio Glavatitsch "for the mission to Istria carried out in 1797"⁷⁶.

Brodmann's book is introduced by a preface initialled "G. d. B-N" and dated "Trieste, 20 April 1818", in which the author reports that he had served for twelve years the Emperor of Austria, between Istria, Dalmatia, Albania and Trieste⁷⁷. It seems that from that moment on, his career as a government official has continued incessantly in Trieste. According to an official almanac of 1835, in that year Brodmann was still in Trieste, as "councillor" ("*assessore*") in the organ called "*Magistrato politico-economico*"⁷⁸ and he is even mentioned as an official in 1848⁷⁹, unless it is a case of homonymy, impossible to exclude altogether.

⁷⁴ *Bibliografia della Dalmazia e del Montenegro. Saggio di Giuseppe Valentinelli, membro della Società Slavo-Meridionale etc. A spese della società stessa. Zagabria, 1855. Coi tipi del Dr. Ljudevito Gaj, 1855, pp. 55-56 (hereinafter: Valentinelli, 1855). See also B. Stulli, 'Građa o stanju u Dalmaciji 1818. God.'* [Sources on Dalmatian conditions in 1818], *Zbornik Odsjeka za povijesne znanosti Zavoda za povijesne i društvene znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti*, 13, 1983, pp. 119-190 (p. 128).

⁷⁵ Valentinelli speaks of Brodmann as "a native from Gorizia, he had been secretary of the first Austrian domination in Dalmatia in 1797": "L'autore goriziano, già segretario della prima dominazione austriaca in Dalmazia nel 1797 [...]".

The abbot Giuseppe Valentinelli (1805-1874), originally from Ferrara, as a young scholar was a librarian at the seminary of Padua and then from 1845 Prefect of the Venetian *Biblioteca Marciana*. He is remembered for his important description of the thousands of manuscripts in this library, as well as for various other bibliographic and archival works. In 1845 he published also a bibliography of Dalmatian manuscripts preserved at the *Marciana*. A biographical profile of Valentinelli in G. Occioni-Bonaffons, 'Necrologia. Giuseppe Valentinelli', *Archivio Storico Italiano, Serie Terza*, 21, 1875, 87, pp. 528-531. By Valentinelli's own admission, he did not know "the Illyrian language" and therefore, according to him, his book was rather an essay on Dalmatia more than an all-encompassing bibliography. He composed the work while in Venice and, among the contacts (which he himself defined as "infrequent") with Dalmatia, the name of Francesco Carrara stood out, a scholar that I shall mention later (Valentinelli, 1855, pp. III-IV). However, his work remains a valuable tool for scholars of Dalmatia.

On the importance of Valentinelli's work, a Croatian point of view in P. Rogulja, 'Giuseppe Valentinelli', *Crkva u svijetu*, 27, 1992, 1-2, pp. 78-81 (hereinafter: Rogulja, 1992).

⁷⁶ Dorsi, *Atti Amministrativi di Gorizia*, p. 79.

⁷⁷ Brodmann, 1821, p. 3.

⁷⁸ *Scematismo dell'Imperiale Regio Litorale Austriaco-Illyrico. Trieste. Stampato dagli Eredi Coletti, 1835, p. 201.*

⁷⁹ *Manuale Provinciale del Litorale Austro-Illyrico[sic] per l'anno 1848. Trieste. I. Papsch & C. tip. del Lloyd Austr., 1848, p. 7.*

During the 1820s, his work in Trieste was targeted in a very irreverent way for the times by the Istrian poet Pasquale Besenghi degli Ughi (1797-1849), who dared to challenge censorship and target an influential official such as Brodmann with an invective in the form of a poetic apologue. This information can be found in a youthful work (his graduation thesis at the German University of Prague, 1914) by the Triestine writer Giani Stuparich (1891-1961), focused precisely on the works of Besenghi degli Ughi, a satirical poet with Italian liberal and patriotic orientations⁸⁰, which felt outraged because one evening in Trieste Brodmann ordered his arrest for reasons that seemed completely futile. The apologues of the Istrian poet were published in Padua in 1828 and immediately targeted by Austrian censorship⁸¹.

In a book published at the end of the nineteenth century by the Triestine writer Giuseppe Caprin, there is a reference to the episode and a not exactly flattering judgment on Brodmann, which is defined as "bully" and "easily irritable", a temperament often ready, says Caprin, to unleash the gendarmes against petty crime⁸²: he was a reactionary, in other words.

Passages from Brodmann's book on the human and cultural landscape of Trieste from the early 19th century, so ethnically varied, have recently been interpreted as iconic descriptions of a paradigm, that of the heterogeneity and elusive multiplicity (in particular, from present "national" point of view) of the Eastern Adriatic in the first half of the century. And Brodmann himself, precisely because of those pages, has been identified as a "Romantic" writer, all emotionally fascinated by the cosmopolitanism of Trieste. This definition does not seem to us to be fully acceptable, in the light of a more complete reading of Brodmann's biography⁸³.

⁸⁰ The manuscript of the "*Italienische Hausarbeit*" of Stuparich has been published in W. Fischer (ed.), *Giani Stuparich. L'opera di Pasquale Besenghi degli Ughi*, Trieste, 2016. For details of the works, both published and unpublished, by Besenghi degli Ughi in which Brodmann is targeted, see *ibidem*, pp. 52-53; 60; 63; 78; 84; 86.

⁸¹ *Ibidem*, pp. 35; 55. The episode of the arrest of Besenghi degli Ughi must have occurred in a period between the early 1820s and 1827, namely the year in which he left for Greece, where he stayed until 1829 and also participated in an insurrection. Not even from the best biographical profile of the poet available so far, from whom I derive this information, is it possible to have greater precision in this regard. Cfr. E. Aphi, 'Pasquale Giuseppe Besenghi degli Ughi', in *DBI*, vol. 9, 1967.

⁸² G. Caprin, *Tempi andati. Pagine della vita triestina (1830-1848)*. Trieste. *Stabilimento Artistico-Tipografico G. Caprin*, edit. 1891, pp. 362-363: "Di carattere prepotente e di temperamento facilmente irritabile [...] teneva in mano le briglie della piccola polizia vigilante le trecche, i minuti contravventori della legge". Caprin was also one of the sources of Stuparich's thesis.

⁸³ For the use of Brodmann's Trieste pages in this key, and for his definition as a "Romantic", see Reill, 2012, pp. 44-45.

1.2.2 The changing city: demography

In a study that among its main theses has the one for which the Austrian censuses have altered the numbers of Italian populations in Dalmatia (decreasing them), the eminent Italian historian and statistician Diego De Castro⁸⁴ provide us with a useful overview of the demographic statistics available on this area from the eighteenth century onwards. He notes the evident inaccuracy of the censuses made during the Venetian domination. This was due both to inaccuracies in the survey and to the fact that the administrative dimensions and borders of Venetian Dalmatia varied several times, still until 1781. According to De Castro, the first comprehensive statistic is that referring to 1781, and that is published by the Austrian official of Italian origin, Valentino Lago, in his *Memorie sulla Dalmazia* published in 1869⁸⁵, a work still useful for analytical detail, historical synthesis and balance.

From these data, notes De Castro, we obtain the information that the population of the entire Dalmatia would have grown at a rate of 1% per year between the mid-eighteenth century and 1781.

Subsequently, according to the reconstruction carried out by De Castro, Giovanni Luca Garagnin with his *Riflessioni economiche-politiche sopra la Dalmazia* published in Zadar in 1806 produced the first statistics with information on the distribution of the population in the various territorial areas of Dalmatia. These figures refer to 1796, but do not include information about the Republic of Ragusa.

Crossing statistical documents produced at the time of the French domination of Dalmatia, after 1806, one obtains the data for which between that year and 1813 the Dalmatian population had a significant decline overall, about 7%. This was due to plagues and famines that followed in that period, as well as wars and hunger, phenomena well known to contemporary authors⁸⁶.

An official volume published in 1862, on the occasion of the first publication of great Dalmatian census of 1857's data, offers a useful summary of the demographic data in the dying Republic of Ragusa. "Even if the official statistics of the Republic of Ragusa are not known", as the volume of 1862 noted,

⁸⁴ D. De Castro, 'Cenno storico sul rapporto etnico tra italiani e slavi nella Dalmazia', in Università di Cagliari. Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di Scienze Politiche, *Studi in memoria di Paola Maria Arcari*, Milano, 1978, pp. 261-304 (hereinafter: De Castro, 1978).

⁸⁵ The statistics are in Lago, 1869, part 2, p. XXIV.

⁸⁶ De Castro, 1978, pp. 273-275.

it can be deduced from a manuscript memory of the Ragusan aristocrat Bartolomeo Bettera (who later became an official of the Austrian administration) that in 1806 the Republic had a population of about 30,000 inhabitants. The territory of Cattaro, in terms of population, was about two thirds of that of Ragusa (20,000 inhabitants)⁸⁷.

According to the statistics compiled in April 1808 by the French administrator for Ragusa and Cattaro, Dominique Garagnin, the city and its entire state just ceased to exist had a total population of 31,245 inhabitants, of which 4175 in the center of the city walls. Just over 1500 people lived in the two villages just behind the walls, namely Pille (Pile) and Plocce (Ploče).

The most populous municipalities, with 4691 and 5628 inhabitants respectively, were those of Canali (Konavle) and Slano. The population of the Orthodox Christian confession recorded 108 units, mostly men (68), while the Jewish community was larger (227 units), but still very small compared to the total population⁸⁸.

Grouping together the indications provided by various official or unofficial publications up to the 1890s, De Castro draws the conclusion that in the Austrian century, Dalmatia had an overall improvement in the demographic situation. The increase is constant (from a total population oscillating around 350,000 up to the 1830s, to a total around 600,000 at the end of the nineteenth century). The only critical moment, from this point of view, is that of the decade 1847-1857, due to famine and cholera epidemics. The Ragusa district shares this trend. Between 1815 and 1857, its total population increased from 41,000 to 52,000⁸⁹.

In the Dubrovnik State Archives, in the archival fonds bequeathed by the priest and historian Niko Gjivanović the younger⁹⁰, there is a handwritten

⁸⁷ *Statistica della popolazione della Dalmazia. Edita dalla Giunta Provinciale [Compilata dall'Assessore Sig. Luigi Serragli], Zara 1862. Tipografia Battara, pag. 130 (hereinafter: Serragli, 1862).*

⁸⁸ Data cited in Ćosić, 1999, pag. 47.

⁸⁹ It should be reiterated that not all data used for this analysis should be considered at the same level of reliability. Cfr. De Castro, 1978, pp. 276-279, which also takes over data already contained in the 1862 *Statistica della popolazione della Dalmazia*.

⁹⁰ There were two Catholic priests with the same name and surname having a relevance in the history of Ragusa in the second half of the nineteenth century and (the younger of the two) also in the first half of the twentieth century. Their surname is sometimes also written as Đivanović, for example in the *Šematizam* of the diocese of Dubrovnik. The one to whom we refer in this paragraph is Niko Gjivanović the young (1876-1949), consecrated priest in 1899. He always pursued his ecclesiastical career in his home town of Ragusa.

The other Niko Gjivanović (1840-1913), the older, was born on the island of Lastovo, one of the westernmost islands of the Dalmatian archipelago, a possession of the ancient Republic of Ragusa. In

document entitled "*Stato Generale delle Cure delle diocesi di Ragusa e di Stagno 1818*" (General report on the parishes in the Dioceses of Ragusa and Stagno, 1818)⁹¹. The document is a manuscript written in Italian, which provides the list of all the parishes of both the dioceses, the names of the parish priests (all secular priests, except a Benedictine parish priest in Santa Maria Maddalena, in the Breno plain, *Župa Dubrovačka*) and the indications on the number of residents of the Catholic confession, of the Orthodox and of the Jews.

From the comparison of its handwriting with other documentation kept in the archives of the diocese of Ragusa, it emerges with sufficient certainty that the author of this manuscript is the Ragusan priest Rafael Radelja (1769-1831), who from 1814 until his death was the diocesan secretary and Canon of the cathedral⁹². I do not know how and why Niko Gjivanović the younger came into possession of this manuscript. Surely, and his personal archival fund proves it, this priest was a very fruitful writer of local history, careful collector of all kinds of information, handwritten and printed, on these issues. From the title of the document, which speaks of "diocese" instead of "archdiocese" of Ragusa, it can reasonably be said that it was written after 1828, the year in which, as I have already anticipated, this downgrading of status took place, precisely from archdiocese to diocese.

From these data, therefore, it emerges that the parish of Ragusa (the only parish within the city's fortified walls) had 3360 parishioners. There were also 24 Orthodox (defined as "*Greci*", but they were Serbian Orthodox) and 220 Jews living in its territory. The only other parish in which the presence of Orthodox Serbs is witnessed is that of Pille, with 333 people (Catholics amount to 1634). As can be seen from the comparison with the data of the French administration of 1808, therefore, the population of Orthodox confession in Ragusa had therefore tripled in ten years.

1886 he was appointed to the prestigious post of canon of the Church of San Girolamo degli Illirici in Rome. We will return to talk about him in the fourth chapter.

For biographical information on these two priests, see *Šematizam Dubrovačke Biskupije*, respectively pag. 367 and pag. 332.

⁹¹ *HR-DADU 272 Osobni Fond Niko Gjivanović, kut. 4, Svežanj XXXII, "Broj stanovništva starom Dubrovnikom"*.

⁹² I am grateful to the archivist of the diocese of Dubrovnik, Antun Koncul, for this useful indication on the authorship of this document. With regard to Radelja's ecclesiastical career, cfr. *Šematizam Dubrovačke Biskupije*, pag. 301. To his ecclesiastical commitments Rafael Radelja (1769-1831), also known as Rafael Radeljević and Raphael Radechia, also combined literary amusements in full classicist style, together with an activity as a copyist of ancient Ragusan authors, such as of the eighteenth-century biographer and historian Serafino Maria Cerva (Serafin Marija Crijević) and of the poet Raimondo Cunich (Rajmund Kunić).

This overall picture on the Orthodox presence in Ragusa in those years is substantially confirmed by the data of 1821 recorded by the Orthodox parish priest Makarije Grušić. These data⁹³ are interesting not only because they indirectly confirm the verisimilitude of the manuscript in the Gjivanović archive⁹⁴, but also because they list the names of the Serbian families present in the city, the composition of the family nucleus with the possible presence of sons residing abroad, and above all they differentiate between Serbian Orthodox subjects from Austria and Serbian Orthodox subjects from the Ottomans territories, i.e. those who came in particular from Bosnia and Herzegovina and, theoretically given the time, also from Serbia proper. This second group is in clear majority (222 Ottoman subjects, compared to 147 Austrian subjects). For those families that have members residing outside Ragusa, in this group the cases that are recorded almost always indicate that the relative is in Bosnia.

With regard to the demographic situation of Ragusa in the very first years of the new Austrian administration, interesting studies have been carried out concerning emigration. According to the registers compiled by the government authorities, in 1817 there were 200 Ragusan residents living outside the city for various reasons. Most of them were tradesmen, shipowners and sea captains⁹⁵.

There were also clergymen who lived outside the city for different reasons: for example, it is written of the Franciscan Antonio Agich that "he has lived in Rome since 1815 on his whim", while another Franciscan, Father Giuseppe da Punta, has been in Sicily for seven years, where he was expatriated so as not to take the oath to the French government in 1808⁹⁶. There were traders who flee for debts, but there were above all nobles and other persons who have had a high cultural background, for whom a place such as Ragusa that was no longer a city-state with its needs of a political and diplomatic apparatus, did not offer attractive opportunities for existence.

⁹³ They are edited in Srpska Pravoslavna Crkvena Općina u Dubrovniku; Arhiv Srbije, *Kultura Srba u Dubrovniku 1790-2010: iz Riznice Srpske pravoslavne crkve Svetoga Blagovještenja* [The culture of the Serbs in Dubrovnik 1790-2010: from the treasure of the Serbian Orthodox Church of the Holy Annunciation], Dubrovnik-Beograd, 2012, pag. 400.

⁹⁴ The population of Orthodox confession in 1821 was 369, while in 1818 it was 357.

⁹⁵ V. B. Lupis, 'Dubrovčani u iseljeništvu poslije pada Republike' [Ragusan emigrants after the fall of the Republic], *Povijesni prilozi*, 36, 2009, 36, pp. 161-183.

⁹⁶ On the Dominican and Franciscan friars who refused in 1808 to take the oath to Napoleon, see Ćosić, 1999, pag. 84.

Finally, there were the irreducible Republicans, such as Antonio Sorgo, "rich landowner who lives on his whim in Venice. He owns a lot of property in Ragusa, he is a talented young man, but also a bad person"⁹⁷.

Antun Sorgo (also called in some historiographical work as Antun Sorkočević, 1775-1841), descendant of one of the most important aristocratic families of the Republican era, was a diplomat, scholar and musician. He had been the diplomatic envoy of the Republic to Paris in 1805 being a member of the so-called "Francophile" movement within the Senate. After 1808, together with another nobleman who had the fate of a political exile (Vito Bettera⁹⁸), he was part of the small group of aristocrats who dreamed of a utopian restoration of the Republic of Ragusa⁹⁹.

1.2.3 The changing city: public constructions

The engineer Lorenzo Vitelleschi¹⁰⁰ started to work for the new Austrian government in 1816, being appointed as the supervisor of the public buildings in the *Circolo* of Ragusa, as well as in Cattaro. As soon as Vitelleschi returned to Dubrovnik in 1816¹⁰¹ the chief informer of the Austrian authorities in the city, Fra Inocent Čulić (Ciulich), kept an eye on him and sent a report to the provincial direction of the police in Zadar. The engineer was described as a talented professional, able to speak Italian, French, Slav and Latin. Furthermore, the informer noted that there were no criminal records in the engineer's family¹⁰².

⁹⁷ The short personal files mentioned can be found *ibidem*, pag. 172. Regarding Antonio Sorgo, it was written that "è giovane di talento, ma cattivo per se solo".

⁹⁸ Vito Maria Bettera (1771-1841) sided with the Russians in 1806. In the years 1810s and 1820s he tried to obtain support for his utopian plans for the restoration of the Republic through Russian and English contacts. After the Napoleonic wars, he tried to oppose the Austrian government, published brochures in England against "the usurpation of Ragusa", but after a few years he was forced to return to the Austrian Empire. He spent six years in prison and died as an exile in Mukačevo, in what is now Ukraine, in 1841. Cfr. M. Foretić, 'Vito Marija Bettera', in *HBL*, 1983.

⁹⁹ *Vekarić, Vlastela Grada Dubrovnika*, vol. 6, 'Antun Luka-Ignacijev Sorgo', pp. 219-223.

¹⁰⁰ Lorenzo Vitelleschi (in some documents indicated as "Vitaleschi") was born in Lesina (Hvar) in 1773. The date of his death is unknown. His manuscripts relating to his work as a public engineer in Ragusa constitute a very important historical and iconographic source for the history of the city from the beginning of Austrian rule until the very early 1830s. These manuscripts, one from 1827 and one from 1830-1831, had been published respectively in *Vitelleschi's manuscript / Lupis* and *Vitelleschi's manuscript / Tolomeo*.

¹⁰¹ He had been active in the city under the previous French government, too.

¹⁰² The report of Fra Čulić is cited by Čosić, 1999, p. 185.

The Franciscan monk Čulić (1782-1852) was a very peculiar figure of bibliophile, archivist and police informer. He was born in Split and studied theology in Rome, coming to Ragusa in 1806. Besides being a confidant of the Austrian authorities, he was a great collector of manuscripts and printed works on the history of Ragusa. His collection made the library of the Franciscan monastery in Dubrovnik, the *Male Braće*, one of the most important in Dalmazia and Croatia¹⁰³.

What were Vitelleschi's duties as manager of the Austrian civil engineering in Dubrovnik? In a strictly technical sense, the office he directed depended from the *Landesgubernium* in Zadar. By means of the budget that the provincial government provided, Vitelleschi supervised the fixing up and the *ex novo* building of all those structures that had a public end-use. One of his assignment was that of proposing and planning the public works and thereafter, in case of approval by the central authorities, to organize the public invitation to tender that would have selected the contractors. As far as religious buildings were concerned, the allocation of financial resources depended upon the diocese and not upon Vienna.

It appears undisputed that he did not limit himself to a desk job. Thanks to his multifaceted talent which included mathematics, engineering and painting¹⁰⁴, he produced such a huge amount of quality documentation that makes one think of a man who was extremely passionate about his work.

Let us focus in his work on public buildings. Among Vitelleschi's projects, what has been defined as the most significant¹⁰⁵ concerns the Orthodox church of Ragusa, which, however, was not built during his time. The Austrian official, in addition to the preparatory drawings, also left the following introductory text: "For some years now the Greek population [i.e. Serbian Orthodox] has grown a lot in Ragusa, because of the repeated emigration of many families from nearby Ottoman Bosnia, for this reason their only existing church is too small". The idea of the new Orthodox church building is ambitious, it will have to look good, especially outside, wrote Vitelleschi, and if it is to be built "it will be a new ornament for

¹⁰³ B. Šurina, 'Inocent Čulić (Ciulich)', in *HBL*, 1993.

¹⁰⁴ According to Rita Tolomeo, he held a degree in mathematics, graphic arts and building engineering (cfr. *Vitelleschi's manuscript / Tolomeo*, pag. XI). Stjepan Čosić notices that Vitelleschi studied mathematics and painting and specialized in water engineering and in salt extraction plants (cfr. Čosić, 1999, p. 185).

¹⁰⁵ *Vitelleschi's manuscript / Tolomeo*, p. XII.

Ragusa"¹⁰⁶. But despite these good intentions, Vitelleschi will not have the opportunity to transform the project from paper to reality.

The major problems in Ragusan building heritage¹⁰⁷ depended from two causes, one human and the other one natural. The Russo-Montenegrin attack of 1806 and the damages that it caused were still an open wound, whereas the high seismic risk proved to be a persistent feature of Ragusa, as the earthquakes of 7 August 1823 and 17 April 1827 demonstrated.

One of the areas that Vitelleschi considered most damaged by the attacks of 1806 was that of Lapad, a part of the namesake peninsula which is located immediately northwest of the ancient city and which is directly opposite the village and the port of Gravosa (Gruž). The author explained that the houses of Lapad had been all burned by the Montenegrins and at the time he writes there remained only the vast gardens, the walls and ruins of the magnificent villas that were there¹⁰⁸. But before arriving at the largest harbour of Ragusa, Vitelleschi offers us a nice description of the suburb of Pille (Pile), through the road that from the namesake gate on the western side of the fortified Ragusan walls continues towards Gravosa in a north-west direction. This is described as the most beautiful and most popular promenade in Ragusa. Starting from Pille gate, he found the nicest houses on both sides of the road, all with green gardens. These spaces of rest and retreat, which were at the same time also a representative status symbol, emphasized the wealth

¹⁰⁶ *Vitelleschi's manuscript / Lupis*, p. 164. In the Tolomeo's edition, which refers to the manuscript of the very early 1830s, the chapter on the Orthodox church's project is not present, but the text is quoted in a note from the editor, cfr. *Vitelleschi's manuscript / Tolomeo*, pp. 91-92.

¹⁰⁷ A useful introduction to the topic of Ragusan palaces and villas in Z. Janeković Römer, *The Frame of Freedom. The Nobility of Dubrovnik between the Middle Ages and Humanism*, Zagreb-Dubrovnik, 2015, pp. 475-491 (hereinafter: Janeković Römer, 2015). The author dwells on the meaning of status symbols that land ownership and estate represented for the Ragusan nobles since the late Middle Age; illustrates the norms that ruled the testamentary provisions, in order to prohibit any form of land transfer outside the family; outlines the differences in the urban development of Ragusa compared to other Dalmatian and Italian cities, where there was a more clear-cut distinction between the noblemen's residential quarters and that of commoners.

A clustering was however present in Ragusa, but it was not guided by defensive reasons, because of the republic's steadily stable political situation. The main aim was rather that of creating and maintaining a building where the various generations of the family would live through the centuries, a place of memory and identity. Janeković Römer also develops interesting considerations about what in contemporary terms is called urban planning. A certain uniformity of architectural design, especially as regards to town palaces, depended on the prescriptions of the government for not impairing the harmony of the urban whole, as well as on the patrician tendency to imitate one another.

¹⁰⁸ Cfr. *Vitelleschi's manuscript / Tolomeo*, p. 62.

of the owners, being characterized by frescoes, loggias, chapels, sculptures, fishponds¹⁰⁹.

The description of the panorama that Vitelleschi saw on the sea is poetic and evocative: it deserves to be mentioned also because it gives an idea of the maritime movement of the time, to and from the port of Gravosa¹¹⁰.

In his manuscript subsequent to 1830, Vitelleschi wrote that the recent two earthquakes did not cause major catastrophe, as the famous one of 1667 did, albeit they produced injuries to many buildings and, understandably, the population took fright¹¹¹. References to the seismic phenomena in Ragusa are present also in the book published in those years by Franz Petter (1789-1853), an Austrian-born German teacher who taught at the Ragusan gymnasium from 1823 to 1826, and then moved to the gymnasium in Split. Petter, a graduate of the Imperial-Royal *Realakademie* in Vienna, has been defined by Konrad Clewing as the most

¹⁰⁹ Cfr. Janeković Römer, 2015, p. 486. There is a wide literature on the history and styles of the villas of the Ragusan nobles, an architectural typology which included both the residences in the immediate vicinity of the city and in the rural suburbs, as well as in the nearest islands. In general, see among others B. Šišić, *Dubrovnik Renaissance gardens. Genesis and design characteristics*, Zagreb-Dubrovnik, 2008; N. Grujić, *Dubrovački ljetnikovac. The Villa of Dubrovnik*, Zagreb, 2003; F. Kesterčanek, 'Nekoliko arhivskih podataka o gradnji dubrovačkih ljetnikovaca XVI. stoljeća (s posebnim osvrtom na Gučetićevo ljetnikovac u Rijeci dubrovačkoj)' [Some archival information on the construction of the Ragusan villas in the sixteenth century (with specific notes on the Gučetić villa in Rijeka Dubrovačka)], *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 18, 1970, 1, pp. 75-95.

On the fortified villas-castles in Split and Trogir, different from the Ragusan ones, see C. Fisković, 'Osobitost Trogirsko-Splitskih kaštela ljetnikovaca' [The peculiarities of the villas-castles in Trogir and Split], *Kulturna baština*, 1981, 11-12, pp. 29-45.

On the similarities (mainly, the influences of the ancient Roman world) and the differences between the villas of Ragusa, the Venetian villas and other examples in the Mediterranean, see M. Muraro, 'Civiltà delle ville di Ragusa', *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 21, 1980, 1, pp. 321-331.

On the garden of the villa Crijević (Cerva) in Pile and the influences of late Renaissance French culture, see I. Fisković, 'Maniristički vrt Crijevića u Dubrovniku' [The Mannerist garden of the Crijević family in Dubrovnik], *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Dubrovniku*, 2003, 41, pp. 175-210. On the villas of Lapad, see the classic C. Fisković, *Kultura Dubrovačkog Ladanja (Sorkočevićev ljetnikovac na Lapadu)* [The culture of the Ragusan holiday resort (the Sorkočević villa in Lapad)], Split, 1966 and T. Kuljiš, "Mleci" na Lapadu. *Ljetnikovac Paska Frana Sorkočevića* ["Venice" in Lapad. The villa of Pasko Frano Sorkočević], Dubrovnik, 2002.

¹¹⁰ Cfr. *Vitelleschi's manuscript / Tolomeo*, p. 61: "If you look south, you will see the immense Adriatic bordering on the skies, which is always dotted with boats and ships navigating in various directions" ("Se al mezzogiorno fissi lo sguardo, eccoti l'immenso Adriatico che contermina coi cieli sempre di naviglii, e di barche seminato che solcano per varie parti").

¹¹¹ Cfr. *Vitelleschi's manuscript / Tolomeo*, pp. 37-38. "Il paese è anco sottoposto ai tremuoti. Il più terribile fù[sic] quello del 1667 che rovesciò quasi tutta Ragusa. Quelli dei 7 Agosto 1823, e 17 Aprile 1827 non cagionarono che delle lesioni a molti edifici, e dello spavento agli abitanti". Here Vitelleschi also mentioned the damage caused to buildings by the strong air movements that sometimes accompany storms. These hurricanes were so strong that they also uprooted olive trees.

excellent expert of Dalmatia during this period¹¹². His main work *Dalmatien in seinen verschiedenen Beziehungen*, Clewing explains, was only published in 1857 in two volumes in Gotha, four years after his death in Kotor as a result of a travel accident. Probably, as Petter himself explained in a letter to the Serbian linguist and ethnographer Vuk Karadžić in 1835, his voluminous work had remained entrapped in the mesh of Austrian censorship, so as not to allow him at the time to know if and when it would be published¹¹³. However, a shortened version of his treatise was published in Prague between 1833 and 1834¹¹⁴, with an Italian translation published in a single volume in Zadar in 1834¹¹⁵.

Within this Italian version of the book, I found that Petter wrote that Ragusa, as well as the entire coastline up to Albania and the Ionian islands, is particularly prone to earthquakes:

“In 1667 almost the entire city was destroyed, and today you can still see houses in ruins that were not rebuilt; which is why today they build very solidly. I too have experienced for myself some of these extravagant natural phenomena, which really make you shiver”¹¹⁶.

Petter also mentioned the consequences of the 1806 war fires. His description is not as precise as that of Vitelleschi and does not refer specifically to Lapad. Rather, it speaks of the suburb of Pille in general, saying that the fires of

¹¹² Clewing, *Roher Diamant Dalmatien*, 2015, p. 31. Not as favorable is the judgement on Petter’s work given by the Croatian historian Ivan Pederin, according to whom the *opus* of this “highly educated German teacher” inaugurated a genre within the German-language travel literature dedicated to Dalmatia, that of “encyclopedic treatises” devoid of any artistic character and burdened by “a pedantic and indiscriminate descriptivism”. Cfr. I. Pederin, ‘La Dalmazia nelle relazioni di viaggio austriache e tedesche’, *Aevum*, 49, 1975, 5-6, pp. 485-505 (p. 485), (hereinafter: Pederin, 1975).

¹¹³ Clewing, *Roher Diamant Dalmatien*, p. 32.

¹¹⁴ F. Petter, *Geographische Skizze von Dalmatien*, in J. G. Sommer (ed.), *Taschenbuch zur Verbreitung geographischer Kenntnisse. Übersicht des Neuesten und Wissenswürdigsten im Gebiete der gesammten Länder- und Völkerkunde*, vol. 11, Prag 1833, 1–136 and vol. 12, Prag 1834, 154–213, cited by Clewing, *Roher Diamant Dalmatien*, p. 32, who notes that at first glance there are significant similarities between this version of Petter’s work and the structure of the long report that the governor of Dalmatia Wenzeslaus Vetter von Lilienberg sent to Emperor Francis I in 1834. However, Clewing explains, on a closer inspection it is clear that Lilienberg simply used as a guideline (but without citing him explicitly) the work of Petter, whom he probably also knew personally.

From Pederin, 1975, p. 485, we know also that Petter published a second, revised and enriched version of his “*Geographische Skizze (...)*” in 1841 in Wien, entitled “*Das Königreich Dalmatien*”.

¹¹⁵ *Compendio geografico della Dalmazia con un’appendice sul Montenero del Professore Francesco Petter socio della R. Società Botanica di Ratisbona. Versione dal tedesco con tre incisioni in acciaio. Volume Unico. Zara 1834 coi tipi de’ Fratelli Battara*, (hereinafter: Petter, 1834).

¹¹⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 170.

1806 affected almost all the beautiful houses and villas in the area, except those closest to the city walls that were defended by the cannons of the fortresses Mincetto and San Lorenzo: “A great deal of ruined houses will immortalise the memory of this misfortune”¹¹⁷.

Vitelleschi too gives us the information on the fact that in the early 1830s there were still visible in Ragusa ruins and many precarious parts of walls caused by the earthquake of 1667 which resulted in more than 5,000 victims and, among other things, was also preceded by a violent tremor in 1639 that had already damaged the city¹¹⁸.

¹¹⁷ *Ibidem*, pp. 170-171.

¹¹⁸ Cfr. *Vitelleschi's manuscript / Tolomeo*, p. 43.

2. Increasingly radical: inclusivist Slavism

2.1 The religious divide

2.1.1 Ragusa and the Orthodox “schismatics”

Ancient Ragusa was situated on the border with Balkans Orthodox “schismatics” populations, with the Ottoman Muslims and up to a point also with the “heretics” belonging to the so-called Bosnian Church. In religious and cultural sense, it was a totally Catholic city-state, who lived in a delicate geopolitical position. The claim of performing an important mission in the name of the Catholic religion was an ever-present rhetoric¹.

During the Early Modern Age, the clergy of the diocese of Ragusa also played an important role of connection with Catholicism in the Balkans occupied by the Turks and this was done through the chapels present in the trade colonies of the Ragusan merchants, especially in the territories of present-day Macedonia, Serbia and Bulgaria. In those Ottoman-occupied territories there was a phase in which the missions, directed first by the bodies in charge of the Holy See and then specifically by the Congregation of Propaganda Fide founded in 1622, were supported logistically by the Ragusan merchants themselves, and this was an integral part of the policy of alliance between the Holy See and the Republic.²

Within the territorial border of the city-state, public worship by members of other religions or denominations had always been prohibited by the republican laws. However the immigration of populations from the Balkans, even Orthodox, who fled Turkish rule, was allowed, but always with the explicit prohibition to introduce their own cults and to be buried in Ragusan territory. Maintaining this policy became increasingly difficult from the end of the seventeenth century, during the rise of Russian power with Tsar Peter the Great³.

In independent Ragusa, one important criteria of belonging to the civic community was therefore to be Catholic. The status of *civis* was in principle

¹ L. Kunčević, 'The Rhetoric of the Frontier of Christendom in the Diplomacy of Renaissance Ragusa (Dubrovnik)', *Dubrovnik annals*, 17, 2013, pp. 37-68.

² A. Molnár, *Le Saint-Siège, Raguse et les missions catholiques de la Hongrie Ottomane 1572-1647*, Rome-Budapest, 2007.

³ A. Bacotich, 'La lotta contro l'Ortodossia slava a Ragusa dall'epoca di Pietro il Grande fino al decadimento della Repubblica', *Archivio Storico per la Dalmazia*, 2, 1927, 3, pp. 169-181.

restricted only to Catholics, although some rare exceptions where the government granted Ragusan citizenship and even nobility to Orthodox or Bosnian “heretics” did occur. But this was only for the benefit of persons very powerful in economic and political sense in the Balkan territories⁴ and yet for them also the above mentioned prescriptions remained.

There is what could be called a real founding myth to justify – and at the base of – such a relationship between Ragusa and Catholicism. Tradition has it that in 1212 St. Francis of Assisi embarked on the Italian Adriatic coast to go to the East. A violent storm forced the ship on which he was travelling to land in Ragusa, then the Italian monk found shelter in a small church that stood where in subsequent centuries the church of the Jesuits would be built. The “poor of Assisi”, therefore, at that moment would have expressed a prophecy to the rulers of Ragusa, namely that the Republic would have retained its independence if and only if it had kept intact its Catholic faith.

This event, real or not, had a strong echo still in the nineteenth century. It was mentioned in 1864 by a Ragusan Franciscan monk, in a book published in Trieste on the history of the presence of his Order in Ragusa. It is from this text that I have taken up this formulation of the matter⁵.

The increase in the population of Orthodox confession in Ragusa that gradually occurred since the fall of the Republic led to a logical consequence, namely the increasingly frequent occurrence of mixed marriages. These social facts were unprecedented for a former city-state that, as we have seen, had made catholicity a flag and a fundamental factor of identity for many centuries. It was not only the Orthodox who were the protagonists, but also those belonging to other Christian denominations. This is testified by an exchange of letters in 1824 between the Congregation of Propaganda Fide and Petar Milković, vicar who at that time had the provisional jurisdiction of the diocese of Ragusa after the death of the last bishop Nikola Ban in 1815 and the failure to appoint a successor.

In the face of a phenomenon of unknown proportions in Ragusa, Milković turned to the Holy See for the specific case of a Calvinist captain who intended to

⁴ Kunčević, 2010, pag. 158.

⁵ *Cenni storici sui Minori Osservanti di Ragusa raccolti dal P. Giovanni Evangelista Cusmich dell'Ordine stesso. Trieste: Tipografia del Lloyd Austriaco, 1864, pag. 9.* The book also mentions the story of the Orthodox monks who were driven out of the Pelješac peninsula (Sabbioncello) in 1333 after it was annexed by the Republic of Ragusa. These monks had been there since 1260, in a monastery built "by Queen Helena, wife of Stephen the King of Russia". The Franciscans of the Province of Bosnia came in their place. Cfr. *ibidem*, p. 12.

marry a Catholic woman. It is possible that it was an Austrian army soldier stationed in Ragusa: this is only a hypothesis not directly supported by the sources, but it seems to be plausible.

The marriage had actually already taken place and Milković was therefore in the position of having to request the necessary faculties to grant dispensation from the impediment of marriage and, therefore, to regularize the situation from the canonical point of view. From the reply that the Congregation of Propaganda Fide sent to Milković on 26 June of 1824, one can read: "With regard to the proposed doubt on the mixed marriages that seem to begin to occur there [in Ragusa], you must remember that the Church had always detested and blamed them, and therefore Your Lordship cannot give its consent". However, the letter continues, in the particular case of this public marriage that has already taken place, the Congregation announced to the vicar that it will ensure that he obtains the faculties to grant the dispensation, under certain conditions however⁶. What these conditions were is clarified by the *Rescritto di Facoltà*, namely the answer with which Propaganda Fide in this case allowed the vicar Milković to sanction the regularity of that marriage. The conditions were as follows: the Catholic woman had to make a rigorous commitment to convert her Calvinist husband and to baptize her children, both male and female, and to educate them as Catholics⁷. Propaganda Fide, in the subsequent letter which accompanied the *Rescritto di Facoltà*, exhorted Milković to the utmost rigour in verifying that these conditions were put into practice and to not fail to recall once again that such marriages were not well seen by the Catholic Church, inasmuch they "could cause serious scandal in a country where they never occurred before"⁸.

Without any claim of exhaustiveness, I have dwelt on this specific case as it represents a concrete example of how the Holy See in this period regulated the question of mixed marriages. This is an example of how the local ecclesiastical

⁶ *ACPF, Lettere, vol. 305, 1824, Propaganda Fide to the apostolic vicar of Ragusa, Rome, 26 June 1824 (draft), f. 411rv*: "Quanto al dubbio proposto sui Matrimonj misti che sembrano incominciare ed aver luogo costì, ella abbia in vista, che dalla Chiesa sono stati sempre detestati, e riprovati, e quindi che V. S. non può prestarvi il consenso".

⁷ *ACPF, Regestum Facultatum 1670-1895, Facultates Extraordinariae ab anno 1760 usque ad 1850, vol. 1817-1827, 3 June 1824, (draft), f. 235v-236r (f. 236r)*: "[...] monita in super dicta muliere Catholica de gravissima obligatione curandis pro viribus conjugis acatholici conversionem, et educandi, ut supra, Prolem utriusque Sexus in Catholica Religione".

⁸ *ACPF, Lettere, vol. 305, 1824, Propaganda Fide to the apostolic vicar of Ragusa, Rome, 3 July 1824 (draft), ff. 453v-454r*: "Detestando la Chiesa simili matrimonj, e potendo riuscire di grave scandalo in un paese dove non furono mai in uso torno a ricordarle che si rimette alla Sua coscienza la esecuzione, onde avverta che siano verificate quelle condizioni che nel Rescritto si appongono".

hierarchies interfaced with the Holy See to ask the solutions of what in ecclesiastical language are called *dubia*. One can ask why Propaganda Fide was interpellated by an ecclesiastic who was not a missionary and who, moreover, wrote from a territory such as Ragusa that was not a mission territory. It is not uncommon to find documents sent to Ragusa or sent from Ragusa in the archive of Propaganda Fide. The geographical proximity of the city to the Ottoman border and therefore to the missions *in partibus infidelium* made the city an important point of passage in the route of the missionaries from the Italian peninsula to these territories. This particular status extended in a sense to the whole of Dalmatia. In the *Scritture riferite nei Congressi* archival series of the Propaganda Fide archive, there is also a sub-series dedicated to Dalmatia, inserted together with other mission lands in the strict sense. This set of documents concerns Ragusa, for the reasons set out above, and especially Cattaro (Kotor), a city of the Austrian Empire a little further south, where the Catholic population was in the minority compared to the Orthodox.

As can be imagined, mixed marriages were a particularly central issue in mission territories and/or in those territories where Catholics live together with populations of other confessions or religions. In the Catholic Church, the regulation of mixed marriages dates back to the late Middle Ages, starting with the doctrines of Ugucione da Pisa. It was from that moment that a distinction was made between the impediments to marriage due to the disparity in worship (*disparitatis cultus*, i.e. those cases in which one of the two would-be spouses is not baptized) and those caused by the so-called mixed religion (*mixtae religionis*, in which one of the spouses is "heretic" or "schismatic", i.e. respectively Protestant and Orthodox). Already immediately after the Council of Trent, there was a jurisprudential pluralism within the Catholic Church and from the seventeenth century there were three congregations of the Roman Curia charged with resolving doubts (that of the Council, that of the Holy Office and that of Propaganda Fide). Furthermore, there was also the competence by the various bishops of the territories in which such marriages occurred. It has been observed that research into the controversies that arose from this situation constitutes an excellent point of observation on the logic of action of post-Trent Catholicism and leads to the conclusion that in practice the judgment of the Church was issued *de agendo*, that

is on the basis of principles of practical utility rather than on the exclusive basis of theoretical assumptions⁹.

As for Propaganda Fide, it should be remembered that its sphere of intervention was not limited only to the territories of evangelization (the missions *ad infideles*), but also to the territories where heretics and schismatics lived, as well as to the activity of preservation of the faith in Catholic communities of ancient or even recent conversion¹⁰. As Giovanni Pizzorusso has noted in a study dedicated specifically to the missions *ad infideles* – but this observation seems worthwhile to be extended also to territories of different connotations, such as Ragusa – the missionaries found themselves having to maintain a subtle balance between respect for marriage orthodoxy and the prospect of "losing some souls".

As for the practice of decision-making, then, it emerges in the long run a close collaboration in particular between the Holy Office and Propaganda Fide. In the case of Ragusa that I have just illustrated, it is only the latter congregation that intervened, but from the study of Pizzorusso it emerges that in most cases the doubts came from the missions to Propaganda, and then this congregation transmitted them to the Holy Office, which in turn communicated the decision to Propaganda, that finally sent the decision to the missionaries.

The analysis of the responses formulated in Rome by theologians and jurists shows how the interaction between the doctrinal norm and missionary practice represents for the Holy See an important effort of knowledge of the world, and of adaptation of Tridentine Catholicism¹¹.

2.1.2 The “eyes” of the Roman Curia: a premise

Before addressing some significant aspects of the history of Catholicism in Dalmatia and in Ragusa and of the interconfessional relations from the mid-19th century onwards, it will be necessary to provide some general notes regarding the *Congregazione degli Affari Ecclesiastici Straordinari*, an institution of the Roman

⁹ Cfr. P. Scaramella, ‘I dubbi sul sacramento del matrimonio e la questione dei matrimoni misti nella casistica delle congregazioni romane (secc. XVI-XVIII)’, *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée*, 121, 2009, 1 2009. *Administrer les sacrements en Europe et au Nouveau Monde: la curie romaine et les dubia circa sacramenta*, pp. 75-94 (esp. pp. 79-80).

¹⁰ Cfr. G. Pizzorusso, ‘I dubbi sui sacramenti dalle missioni «ad infideles»: percorsi nelle burocrazie di Curia’, *Mélanges de l'Ecole française de Rome. Italie et Méditerranée*, 121, 2009, 1 2009. *Administrer les sacrements en Europe et au Nouveau Monde: la curie romaine et les dubia circa sacramenta*, pp. 39-61.

¹¹ Cfr. *ibidem*, *passim*.

Curia whose activity and archival documentation will be analyzed often in our research since it represent a very useful tool to study the history of Catholicism and of the Holy See from the Restoration age onwards.

The Congregation was established by Pope Pius VII, soon after his return in Rome, subsequent to Napoleon's abdication and the concomitant ending of the reclusion in France of the pontiff. The English name of this institution is "Sacred Congregation for the Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs" and the date of its establishment is 19 July 1814¹². According to Roberto Regoli, one of the leading experts on the subject, all the hypotheses that had antedated its establishment in 1790 or 1800 must be discarded, since they had confused this Congregation with other Congregations that had similar names¹³.

Anyway, its birth is situated in a very special moment in the history of the Church. From 1809 to 1814, when the Pope was exiled, the Roman Catholic Church remained "almost acephalous, in danger of falling into a perfect anarchy", as the cardinal Bartolomeo Pacca wrote in a memorandum¹⁴. Pacca was among those in the Roman Curia who suggested Pius VII to establish the new Congregation and, from his memorandum, we know how he perceived this interruption in the government of the Church, due to the problem of the Pope to communicate with the cardinals and the bishops and also to the difficulties in the functioning of the Congregations and of the Tribunals to which the clergy and the believers from all around the world usually turned to.

This situation, he argued, would have led to a vast sort of problems: abuses and violation of the ecclesiastical norms in the dioceses, failures to appoint bishops, and consequently a countless range of appeals and pleas to Rome as soon as the situation had returned to normality. An improvement of the administrative

¹² The official denomination "Sacred Congregation for the Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs" endured until the reform of the Roman Curia set by Pope Paul VI in 1967, when the Congregation took the name of "Council for the Public Affairs of the Church" becoming a body distinct from the Secretariat of State, though closely related to it.

With the Apostolic Constitution *Pastor Bonus* by Pope John Paul II, this Council was incorporated in the newly established Section for Relations with States (one of the two sections of the reformed Secretariat of State: the other is the Section for General Affairs).

¹³ R. Regoli, 'Il ruolo della Sacra Congregazione degli Affari ecclesiastici straordinari durante il pontificato di Pio XI', in C. Semeraro (ed.), *La sollecitudine ecclesiale di Pio XI. Alla luce delle nuove fonti archivistiche. Atti del Convegno internazionale di studio. Città del Vaticano, 26-28 febbraio 2009*, Città del Vaticano, 2010, pp. 183-229, (pag. 183), (hereinafter: Regoli, 2010).

¹⁴ A. Quacquarelli, *La ricostituzione dello Stato Pontificio, con una memoria inedita su 'Il mio secondo ministero' del Card. Pacca*, Città di Castello-Bari, 1945, pp. 160-161, cited in L. Pásztor, 'La Congregazione degli Affari Ecclesiastici Straordinari tra il 1814 e il 1850', *Archivum Historiae Pontificiae*, 6, 1968, 1-4, pp. 191-318, (p. 194); (hereinafter: Pásztor, 1968).

workflow of the Secretariat of State (the senior institution of papal diplomacy¹⁵) would have proven to be necessary, in order to cooperate with the ordinary activities of Roman Congregations normally responsible for the questions connected to the conditions of the dioceses and for the matters related to the clergy and to the appointments of bishops and canons (the *Congregazione del Concilio* and the *Congregazione dei Vescovi e Regolari*).

The idea suggested by Pacca and accepted by the Pope was to establish a permanent advisory body. The first composition pattern of the newly formed Congregation was as follows: eight cardinals, a Secretary with voting rights and five *consultori* (consultants), that were clergymen with the title of abbot (soon after they became eight). A degree of flexibility with regard to the subjects and geographical areas to be treated immediately distinguished the functioning of the Congregation for the Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs. At least initially, the eight cardinals chosen corresponded to the Prefects of the main Roman Congregations¹⁶. Regardless of the contested issue of the continuity of this Congregation with the two Congregations established in 1790 and in 1800, respectively to face the problems with the French Revolution and to arrange the Concordat with Napoleon, it has been argued that the advisory body established in 1814 “came up clearly as a tool of the Restoration”¹⁷ since, as cardinal Pacca wrote to Francesco Luigi Fontana informing him of his appointment as Secretary of the Congregation, the upheavals that have occurred in recent years “have caused considerable problems with regard to Religion”¹⁸.

¹⁵ D. Alvarez, ‘The professionalization of the Papal Diplomatic Service, 1909-1967’, *The Catholic Historical Review*, 75, 1989, 2, pp. 233-248, (p. 234), (hereinafter: Alvarez, 1989).

¹⁶ In his recent doctoral thesis focused both on the history of the Roman Catholic Church between the end of 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries, and on the Barnabite Superior General (*Preposto Generale*) Francesco Luigi Fontana’s biography, Marco Ranica depicts some aspects of the Congregation for the Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs in the early years of its existence. Fontana, who was appointed as a cardinal in 1816, acted as the first Secretary with voting rights of the Congregation. See M. Ranica, *L’Intransigenza nella Curia: il caso di Francesco Luigi Fontana (1750-1822)*, History. Université Paris-Saclay, 2017, esp. pp. 270-277, (hereinafter: Ranica, 2017).

¹⁷ Pásztor, 1968, p. 195. See also L. Pettinaroli, ‘Les *sessioni* de la congrégation des Affaires ecclésiastiques extraordinaires: évaluation générale (1814-1938) et remarques sur le cas russe (1906-1923)’, *Mélanges de l’École française de Rome - Italie et Méditerranée modernes et contemporaines* [En ligne], 122-2 | 2010, mis en ligne le 01 juillet 2013, consulté le 05 juillet 2016 (p. 4), (hereinafter: Pettinaroli, 2010).

¹⁸ The expression is located in the following discursive context: “Riflettendo la Santità di Nostro Signore, che tanti anni di vertigine, e di sconvolgimenti hanno cagionato dei sconcerti notabili in materia di Religione, e che spetta all’Apostolica Sua sollecitudine l’apprestarvi un salutare rimedio [...]”. The letter sent by Pacca to Fontana is cited extensively in Ranica, 2017, pp. 270-271, while Pettinaroli, 2010, p. 4 only mentions those words regarding the “vertigine” and the “sconvolgimenti”.

A further clarification regarding the subjects dealt with by the *Congregazione degli Affari Ecclesiastici Straordinari* seems to be necessary to define more precisely its role. As Lajos Pásztor has pointed out¹⁹, its jurisdiction on the relations between the Church and the States extended to matters of very different scope, such as the aspects of the laws concerning the schools and the role of the clergy on them; the ecclesiastical properties; the ecclesiastical jurisdiction; the establishment of dioceses and their administration; the negotiations with civil governments for the appointments of the bishops and for the implementation of the concordats with the Holy See²⁰. The exclusively spiritual, moral or disciplinary matters concerning the clergy on every side of the Catholic world were not excluded from the Congregation's tasks. It happened that for various reasons this advisory body also had to deal with some subjects that were not strictly its own, as occurred in February 1848 with Vincenzo Gioberti's book *Il Gesuita Moderno* (a subject that would have been more a matter for the Congregation of the Index)²¹.

The jurisdiction of the Congregation was therefore ample and, above all, not named specifically. It had to intervene on an *ad hoc* basis, by examining the problems for which its opinion was asked. This meant that, within those issues that the Congregation dealt with, it intervened only at a specific point of the process, without managing the entire *iter*. This specific nature influenced in turn also its internal structure. As a matter of fact, it did not have a body of employees for the

It is worth noting that Laura Pettinaroli published her useful work before the recent reorganization (January 2011) that had moved the archive of the Congregation for the Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs from the *Archivio Segreto Vaticano* to a new separate archive within the Vatican State. That is the reason why in her study - as well as in all the studies published before this reorganization - the archival documents of the Congregation are indicated as placed in the *ASV (Archivio Segreto Vaticano)*, while in my research I have cited them indicating the current location.

¹⁹ Pásztor 1968, pp. 195-196. For the transcription of the operating rules established in 1814, see *ibidem*, pp. 197-198.

²⁰ It should however be kept in mind that, with regard to the concordats, this pattern was not always repeated. For example, during the pontificate of Pius VII (1800-1823) not even a concordat was examined by the cardinals of the Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs. Similar situations also occurred during other pontificates, until the one of Pius XI (1922-1939). See R. Regoli, 'Decisioni cardinalizie ed interventi papali. Il caso della Congregazione degli Affari Ecclesiastici Straordinari', in L. Pettinaroli (ed.), *Le gouvernement pontifical sous Pie XI: pratiques romaines et gestion de l'universel*, Roma, 2013, pp. 481-501 (p. 482).

²¹ For the Gioberti case, cfr. R. Regoli, 'Congregazione degli Affari Ecclesiastici Straordinari', in *Dizionario Storico Tematico 'La Chiesa in Italia'*, vol. II, 2015 (hereinafter: Regoli, 2015). In any case, Gioberti's book was included in the *Index Librorum Prohibitorum* (List of prohibited books) by means of the decree of the Congregation of the Index issued on 30 May 1849. Cfr. H. H. Schwedt, J. Schepers and D. Burkard (eds.), *Römische Bücherverbote. Edition der Bandi von Inquisition und Indexkongregation 1814-1917*, Paderborn-München-Vienna-Zürich, 2005, pp. 177-178.

processing of the various practices²², but rather it had available a number of consultants who were to provide their opinions acting as experts in relation to various issues assigned.

The heterogeneous nature of the affairs addressed by this Congregation (a sort of “grand council of the Church”, as it has been defined by some authors already in the nineteenth century²³) implies that the study of its documentation can provide very useful research material for the historians, regarding both the internal administration of the Roman Catholic Church as a global institution and its relations with kings and sovereigns, with the civil governments and with a variety of individuals from different statuses and roles (ecclesiastical or not).

The one with the Secretariat of State is a very organic bond and since its foundation it was explicitly defined that the only matters of competence of the Congregation for the Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs were those transmitted to it by the Secretariat itself. The Congregation did not have its own headquarters, as the other Roman Congregations did (e.g. the Congregation *de Propaganda Fide* or the Holy Office), since its meetings took place at the premises of the Secretariat of State.

As Laura Pettinaroli has pointed out, there always remained a certain degree of ambiguity with regard to its institutional positioning. Is it more appropriate to define it as a proper Congregation, entirely comparable to the other more ancient institutions in the Roman Curia, or rather is it more correct to think of it as a mere advisory body available to the Secretariat of State? It has been therefore claimed that this ambiguity has resulted into a kind of “institutional fragility” throughout the history of the Congregation, or at least until 1925 when Pope Pius XI made it clear that the Secretariat of State involved an inner section intended to deal with “Extraordinary Affairs” and stated that a Prefect, namely the Secretary of State, must have been at its head²⁴.

David Alvarez has underlined that the Secretariat of State throughout its centuries-old history can be defined as an “executive office”, directly engaged with foreign representatives, while the Congregation for the Extraordinary Ecclesiastical

²² This is a clear difference from the quadripartite structure presented by other Roman Congregations, formed by cardinal, important and less important officials, and consultants. See Pettinaroli, 2010.

²³ A. Giobbio, *Lezioni di diplomazia ecclesiastica dettate nella Pontificia Accademia dei Nobili Ecclesiastici*, vol I, Rome, 1899, p. 257, as cited in Pettinaroli, 2010, pag. 5.

²⁴ Pásztor, 1968, p. 200; Pettinaroli, 2010, pag. 5 and (for Pius XI’s reform) pag. 6. Roberto Regoli points out that this Pius XI’s reform put an end to a unique anomaly: that of a permanent Congregation devoid of a Prefect (see Regoli, 2015, and Regoli, 2010, pag. 196).

Affairs had no direct contacts with the government of the states²⁵. According to Pásztor, at least considering the specifications fixed at its beginning, it would be wrong to assume that all its next activities were conducted under these early-stage rules. There were successive modifications that contributed to conferring its organizational structure and a decisive factor will be the different personality of the pontiffs and of the Secretaries of State that will follow one another from 1814 onwards. Their cultures and their ideas on the governance of the Church had a decisive influence on the activity of this important dicastery of the Roman Curia²⁶.

Before concluding this introductory discussion, it will be necessary to dwell on what the *Sessioni* are²⁷. A *Sessione* (session) was the periodical meeting of the cardinals members of the Congregation for the Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs. These meetings were called *congregazione plenaria* or *congregazione particolare*, depending on the presence of all the cardinals members, or just a part of them. They were convened in order to discuss one or more issues, concerning one or more different territories. The meetings took place in the Vatican, more precisely in the *camere* (the premises) of the cardinal Secretary of State and this practice remained unchanged from 1814 until at least 1911. Basically, it can be said that the convocations of the *Sessioni* were discontinuous and depended on the will of the Pope and/or the Secretary of State to involve the Congregation in some specific decisions. Depending on the peculiarity of some issues, there was also another way of meeting, that of the mixed congregations (*congregazioni miste*) in which some cardinals member of other Roman Congregations were also convened. On some occasions, the Pope himself participated at the meetings and in these events the minutes indicated that the sessions had taken place *coram Sanctissimo*. However, normally the resolutions by the *Sessioni* were presented to the Pope and in those cases the minutes usually contained a precise formulation at the end of the document²⁸.

Looking at the features of the documentation kept in the archival series *Rapporti delle Sessioni*, it is possible to provide some further information on how these meetings worked. Generally, each one of the *Sessioni*'s folder includes two

²⁵ Alvarez, 1989, p. 234. Here, this author seems to suggest that the Secretary of State had always been the Prefect of the Congregation. This is not really correct, since as we have just seen it was only from 1925 that the two figures started to coincide.

²⁶ Pásztor, 1968, p. 202.

²⁷ The following brief clarification relies upon Pettinaroli, 2010, pag. 8. See also the introductory statements contained in Regoli, 2010, that otherwise is focused on Pius XI's pontificate.

²⁸ The formulation written by the person taking the minutes is "*Et facta, eadem die, Beatissimo Patri per me infrascriptum relatione, SS. mus resolutiones Em.orum Patrum approbare dignatus est*".

parts: the *ponenza* (or *posizione*, that is a printed dossier received by each cardinal when summoned to the meeting) and the *verbale* (the minutes where the discussion between the Cardinals was recorded). As a rule, the *ponenza* started with a report (*relazione*) about the issue to be discussed. This kind of document was very often anonymous²⁹ and included a presentation of the problem and the description of the previous decisions taken by the Holy See regarding that specific case or similar ones. In the end, the report includes a list of *dubbi*, that are the doubts expressed in the form of queries asked to the cardinals. These were the true agenda of the session and it was to respond to them that the discussion among the cardinals took place, which was recorded in the minutes.

In addition to the *relazione*, the *ponenza* also included a collection of different documents such as diplomatic correspondence between the Secretariat of State and the Nuncios abroad, letters and reports from bishops and clergymen, opinion from consultants, newspaper articles, texts of laws or decrees by the Pope and by the Congregations. The original versions of these documents are generally contained in other archival series, both in the archive of the Secretariat of State and in the Congregation's archive, amongst its national series, whose cataloging depends on a geographical logic. The documentation pertaining to the *Sessioni* also has a further feature. It is a first-hand source on the ideas and choices of those men (the cardinals) who influenced the Holy See's policy more closely.

2.1.3 Wolves or lambs?

From 1797 onwards, there were profound changes in the ecclesiastical organization of Dalmatia. The new governments – first the Austrian one, then the French government and again the Austrian from 1814-1815 – with different motivations wanted to make radical changes in the system of ecclesiastical subdivision and (the French) also into the system of dioceses and religious orders' estates. The inhabitants and clergy of a territory such as Dalmatia was, composed of numerous dioceses, small and often poor, saw with great disadvantage the gestation of the project that, with the Austrians, led eventually at the end of 1820s to the suppression of some dioceses and the downgrading of the status of others.

²⁹ Usually, its author is an official of the Congregation but it also occurred that it was written by a cardinal, as noted by Pettinaroli, 2010.

After 1815, the Austrian government in fact made sure that the appointment of new bishops instead of those who have died was suspended, waiting to the entire organization was redefined. In 1817, the Emperor of Austria obtained from the Holy See the privilege of being able to appoint bishops – which anyway were officially appointed by the Pope, later – also in the territories of the former republics of Venice and Ragusa.

Between 1817 and 1828 a long series of diplomatic negotiations between Rome and Vienna took place. The empire insisted that the many existing dioceses were too much poor and unable to have a truly independent life. The reduction and unification of some dioceses and their assets would create new and more solid dioceses, to which Vienna promised its help. In 1828 the negotiations ended and with the papal bull *Locum Beati Petri* the Holy See sanctioned the new reorganization of the system of the Dalmatian dioceses. One of the measures concerned Ragusa, which was deprived of the title of archdiocese to become a simple diocese, subject to the only remaining archdiocese, that of Zadar, and incorporating the suppressed dioceses of Stagno and Curzola³⁰.

The Vatican documentation concerning the period immediately after 1814-1815 is of considerable interest as regards the description of the conditions of the Dalmatian dioceses, of the Catholic clergy of those places and above all as regards interconfessional relations with the Orthodox people. The situation of Dalmatian Catholicism was desolating: there were dioceses already deprived of their pastor since some years (as many as ten dioceses, in early November 1815, were in this situation) or about to lose him soon, as administered by very aged bishops; the cessation of priestly ordinations occurred from the beginning of the French occupation; with the exception of the seminary of Spalato, Dalmatia lacked an institution for the education of aspiring priests. All these elements were brought to the attention of the Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs in 1816, in a long memory which also feared that many high representatives of the Dalmatian clergy, having heard the rumor that – as in fact will happen the following year – the emperor would have a decisive role in the nomination of bishops, could in the future take care more to please "Caesar", than to carry out their pastoral duty without other ends³¹.

³⁰ On these negotiations see S. Kovačić, 'Ristrutturazione delle circoscrizioni ecclesiastiche in Dalmazia', in G. Padoan (ed.), *Istria e Dalmazia nel periodo asburgico dal 1815 al 1848*, Ravenna, 1993, pp. 255-291.

³¹ *S.RR.SS., AA.EE.SS., Austria, pos. 25, fasc. 6, ff. 53r-56r*, "Memoria sui Disordini generali della Dalmazia in materie ecclesiastiche 1815".

It is not clear who is the author of this report, as the document is not signed. The author in the text defines himself as an ecclesiastic who knows well the situation in Dalmatia and who is an expert on the territory, having preached Lent there for twelve years in a row³². The solutions suggested to the Holy See to remedy to the sad religious situation are the prompt nomination of new bishops and the reopening of the *Collegio Illirico* (Illyrian College) of Loreto on the Italian Adriatic coast of the Marche region, seat of an important Marian sanctuary and since the sixteenth century the place of training of many of priests and missionaries from Dalmatia and other Balkan Slavic and Albanian areas (it will be reopened only in 1834)³³.

Another report presenting the same situation and further interesting information to the Holy See is available in the archives of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide³⁴. Its author is most probably the same of the above-mentioned report, since some text passages are almost identical. This document also explicitly mentions the contribution in terms of information which had been given by the "*Penitenziere*³⁵ *Illirico al Vaticano*". His name is not indicated, but I have ascertained that in those years this position was held by the Franciscan Antonio Tommaseo³⁶, a Dalmatian of Sebenico (Šibenik) who was the paternal uncle of Niccolò Tommaseo (1802-1874)³⁷ as well as his first teacher.

³² *Ibidem*, f. 54v: "Questo è l'infelice Stato della Dalmazia, che io conosco non per altrui relazione, ma per una oculare, e sperimentale scienza, che ebbi occasione di acquistare, esercitando or in una, or in un'altra delle sue Città la Quadragesimale Predicazione per dodici seguenti anni".

³³ The Illyrian College of Loreto was closed twice, in 1797 and 1798, because of the French occupations of the Papal State in which the sanctuary was located. After the Congress of Vienna and the return of the Papal State to normality, the restoration of the building only began in 1828 and the reopening of the Illyrian College was decided by Pope Gregory XVI in 1834. In the meantime, from 1822, the *Congregazione Lauretana* financed the studies of four Illyrian students per year at the *Collegio Urbano de Propaganda Fide* in Rome. Cfr. S. Kovačić, 'Il Collegio illirico presso il Santuario della Santa Casa di Loreto 1580-1798', in F. Grimaldi and K. Sordi (eds.), *Pellegrini verso Loreto. Atti del Convegno Pellegrini e Pellegrinaggi a Loreto nei secoli XV-XVIII Loreto 8-10 novembre 2001*, Ancona, 2003, pp. 217-249 (pp. 236-239) (hereinafter: Kovačić, 2003).

³⁴ *ACPF, SC Dalmazia*, vol. 21, ff. 1r-4r, "Stato della Chiesa in Dalmazia". Within the geographical subdivision adopted by the Propaganda Fide archive, the category "*Dalmazia*" includes news coming from dioceses such as Cattaro and Ragusa with its associated diocese of Trebinje in Herzegovina (which was subject to Propaganda Fide's jurisdiction). Ragusa was important as a place of transit for missionaries coming from Italy, as already mentioned.

³⁵ "*Penitenziere*", in this case, indicates a priest who was in charge of confessing the pilgrims who visited the main basilicas in Rome: there were "national" *Penitenzieri*, such as the "Illyrian" one mentioned in the present case; they allowed pilgrims to have a priest who knew their language, for the purpose of the sacrament of Reconciliation.

³⁶ The sources from which I have obtained information on the presence of Antonio Tommaseo in that office in Rome are *San Girolamo il Dottore massimo dimostrato evidentemente di patria istriano*.

In this further document on the general ecclesiastical situation in Dalmatia I have also found some interesting information about Benedikt Kraljević, who in 1810 was appointed by Napoleon as Orthodox bishop in Sebenico, a diocese which had been established two years earlier by the French, in order to have jurisdiction over the Orthodox faithful of Dalmatia. This appointment was seen as a major problem for the Catholic Church in Dalmatia.

According to Antonio Tommaseo's information, the Austrian government continued to pay Kraljević the salary of 1,500 florins that had been previously granted to him by the French and, above all, the Orthodox bishop "enchants the simple with his manners", so much so that several Catholics attended his Masses, his processions and even received the Sacraments from him. Citing the famous Aeneid verse about Sinon's deception of the Trojans, with which the Greeks managed to introduce the horse to Troy, the report expressed concern about the presence of this "Greek" (in the sense of Eastern confession, not of nationality) in Dalmatia and about the effects it could have in terms of conversions of Catholics to Orthodoxy³⁸.

Yet, Benedikt Kraljević will remain associated with the most intense attempt to lead the Serbian Orthodox of Dalmatia to union with Rome. A person with an uncertain biography, probably originally from Thessaloniki, he was in contact between 1818 and 1821 with the Austrian government, which intended to lead the Serbian communities towards uniatism. Much has been written about Kraljević and the attempts at uniatism favoured by Austria in which he was the main protagonist. Historiographical analysis on him have been greatly influenced by the

Apologia del can. co Pietro Stancovich socio di varie accademie contro la risposta di D. Giovanni Capor dalmatino. Trieste: presso Gio. Marenich tipografo, 1829, p. 6; and R. Ciampini, Studi e ricerche su Niccolò Tommaseo, Roma, 1944, esp. pp. 31-37. On Niccolò Tommaseo, see Reill, 2012, passim.

³⁷ Niccolò Tommaseo had been a writer, essayist and linguist, as well as an important cultural and political polemicist in Dalmatia and in the Italian peninsula. I will mention him again.

³⁸ Cfr. *ACPF, SC Dalmazia*, vol. 21, ff. 2v-3r: "Secondo le relazioni del Penitenziere già più volte lodato un altro [*sic*] male per la Religione Cattolica in Dalmazia è che i Francesi fecero venire dalla Bosnia un Vescovo Greco Scismatico, e lo stabilirono in Sebenico con una pensione di 1500 zecchini, e gli dettero il miglior de Monasterj soppressi per residenza, cioè quello delle Benedettine, e gli affidarono anche la chiesa aderente al medesimo, la quale è la più frequentata dal Popolo. [...] Il Governo Austriaco prosiegue a pagargli l'anzidetta pensione. Or questo Greco è di sommo inciampo ai miseri Dalmati. E esso ordina i suoi ministri con tutta la libertà; celebra le sue funzioni con gran pompa, scaltamente s'accommoda il genio di ognuno, incanta i semplici colle sue maniere, e questo 'ignari scelerum tantorum artisque pelasgae' si portano alla sua chiesa, alle sue processioni, e perfino ai suoi sacramenti. Cade così sempre più la Religione Cattolica, e si diminuisce il numero dei fedeli".

A letter from the Prefect of Propaganda Fide, Cardinal Francesco Fontana, to the Secretary of State Ercole Consalvi, in the same worried tone, is in *ACPF, Lettere*, vol. 303, ff. 26v-28r, 19 January 1822 (draft).

contemptuous judgements (one above all: he would have been a "wolf disguised as a lamb") that were expressed in autobiographical literary works written by Serbian Orthodox clerics who in various ways were the protagonists of the events in question³⁹.

These attempts eventually caused a great deal of discontent among the Serbian people in Sebenico; an attack on Kraljević occurred in which one of his clergyman died and so the Orthodox bishop was forced to flee and leave Dalmatia for good. A well-documented account of these events appears in a memoir written in the spring of 1896 by Francesco Uccellini, Catholic bishop of Cattaro, and which was requested of him by the Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs at a time of particular interconfessional polemic in Dalmatia, when the Serb Orthodox bishop of Zadar Nikodim Milaš had just published a pastoral letter to his people with very polemical tones against Rome and uniatist attempts. The document is printed in the proceedings analysed by the *Sessione* of the Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs which in May 1896 dealt with this problem and the religious situation in Dalmatia⁴⁰.

Uccellini commented on the pastoral of Milaš, in which the latter had condemned the attempts at uniatism, defining Kraljević as "a bishop ready to sell the Orthodox faith for money", describing the events of 1818-1821 and mentioning with the following phrase the subsequent temporary suspension of the attempts at uniatism: "The tempters [...] saw that one cannot joke with the things that are sacred to the people"⁴¹.

³⁹ Recent studies supporting this thesis have been published in Italian and Serbo-Croatian by Persida Lazarević Di Giacomo. See P. Lazarević Di Giacomo, 'Venededikt Kraljević, istorijski i literarni činilac triju životopisa iz Dalmacije (G. Zelić, K. Cvjetković, S. Aleksijević)', *Naučni sastanak slavista u Vukove dane*, 36, 2007, 2, pp. 183-195 and *ead.*, 'Il primo tentativo sistematico di unione delle Chiese in Dalmazia. La figura di Benedetto Kraglievich tra storia e letteratura', in F. Caccamo and S. Trinchese (eds.), *Adriatico contemporaneo. Rotte e percezioni del mare comune tra Ottocento e Novecento*, Milano, 2008, pp. 255-278.

See also M. Fin, 'La polemica confessionale fra i serbi ortodossi e il clero cattolico in Dalmazia fra XVII e XIX secolo. La vicenda di Gerasim Zelić', *Studi Slavistici*, 11, 2014, pp. 23-47.

⁴⁰ *S.RR.SS., AA.EE.SS., Rapporti delle Sessioni*, 1896, num. 772 bis, stampa 536(a), ff. 43-58, "Note di Monsig. Uccellini Vescovo Cattolico di Cattaro".

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, ff. 14-42 (f. 31-32), Italian translation of Milaš's pastoral letter. Milaš also gave his interpretation of the facts in a book that he would publish at the beginning of the 20th century. Cfr. N. Milaš, *Pravoslavna Dalmacija. Istorijski pregled*. Novi Sad. Izdavačka knjižarnica A. Pajevića, 1901, pp. 514-524.

In his reconstruction of the facts, Uccellini mentioned the correspondence between Kraljević and the Austrian authorities from 1818 onwards, citing precise dates and references of the letters. Vienna intended to lead the Serbs of Dalmatia towards uniatism, in order to avoid the influence of Russia on them, which was considered a serious danger by Austria. Kraljević was invited by the Austrian authorities to Vienna, where he presented his own memorial in which he described his Orthodox clergy as "immersed in ignorance and fanatic", then he obtained from the Austrian government that three Uniate priests from Galicia be sent to Sebenico, to the seminary that Kraljević himself intended to found. The metropolitan bishop of Lemberg sent these Uniate priests to Vienna, ordering them to grow a beard (like the Orthodox priests) and to prove that they knew "the Illyrian language and the Italian language", in order to be subsequently sent to Dalmatia.

Already in October 1820, however, according to Uccellini's reconstruction, Kraljević's behaviour had begun to arouse suspicion on the part of the Orthodox Serbs of Sebenico and of the surrounding area. A secretary of the bishop appropriated his letters, some among the Serbian Orthodox population wrote to the emperor and to the Serbian metropolitan of Karlovci, Stefan Stratimirović; then a conspiracy was finally organized to kill Kraljević. In Sebenico's square two assassins fired at the carriage that was supposed to carry the Orthodox bishop, but he was not on board that day. Canon Stupiulski and the local military commander, Colonel Grümmer, were killed. Kraljević first escaped to Zadar and then to Italy and died in Venice in 1859, where he was buried ("still being a schismatic", note Uccellini) in the church of San Giorgio⁴².

Uccellini then mentioned another episode, the killing of an Orthodox priest who became Uniate in the district of Drniš, in 1834. The conclusion of the Catholic bishop of Cattaro, written in 1896, was as follows: "All the guilt is poured on the propaganda from Rome and on the Catholic clergy. But neither the clergy nor the propaganda were involved in the attempts at Union that I have mentioned. The documents show that these attempts were the work of the [Austrian] government in secret collaboration with bishop Kraljević"⁴³.

⁴² These events are described by Uccellini in *S.RR.SS., AA.EE.SS., Rapporti delle Sessioni*, 1896, num. 772 bis, *stampa* 536(a), *ff.* 43-58 (*ff.* 48-54), "Note di Monsig. Uccellini Vescovo Cattolico di Cattaro".

⁴³ *Ibidem*, *f.* 55: "Tutta la colpa viene riversata sulla propaganda di Roma e sul clero cattolico. Ma né il clero né la propaganda ci entrava nei tentativi di unione di sopra accennati. Dai documenti risulta che questi tentativi sono stati opera del governo di secreta cointelligenza col Vescovo Kraljevic".

2.2 Searching for the nation

2.2.1 Ragusa: the last classicists

As we have seen, Luca Stulli had maintained many contacts with the Italian scholars even after his return to Ragusa from his studies in Bologna. But who exactly was Stulli? His cultural activity is useful as an observation point on an important transition occurred on the cultural scene of Ragusa in the period between the years 1820s and 1830s.

Using the epitaph written by Stulli's brother Vlaho, Stjepan Ćosić has argued that in all probability Luca was born in the small village of Šumet (Gionchetto), near Ombla (Rijeka Dubrovačka), around 8 kilometres north-east of Ragusa. The Stulli family, although being known in Ragusa since the end of the fifteenth century (also in the Slavic variant Stulić), was not part of the republican nobility⁴⁴. There were two branches of the family and a famous member of the other branch was Joakim Stulli (1730-1817), a Franciscan who worked for decades on a trilingual dictionary of Italian, Latin and "Illyrian" language⁴⁵.

Luca Stulli, together with other local Ragusan intellectuals such as Baro Bettera, Rafo Andrović, the Chersa brothers (Antonio and Tommaso), contributed to his city being one of the last resorts of Latinism in Europe. They modelled themselves on Early Modern Ragusan Latinists and on the classicism that came from models such as Roman *Arcadia*. From the time of its arrival in the city in 1814, the Austrian police were suspicious of this circle of francophile intellectuals, of whom Stulli was also a member, but it has been noted that these fears of revolutionary mines were completely unjustified on his part. Although the Ragusan Francophiles were opponents of the local aristocracy, they turned out to be lacking in a well-defined political line and even less in their ability to influence the masses. They were culturally classicist, politically conservative and incapable of intercepting the dissatisfaction of the agrarian part of society in the Ragusan

⁴⁴ S. Ćosić, 'Luko Stulli i dubrovačka književna baština' [Luko Stulli and the literary heritage of Dubrovnik], *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Dubrovniku*, 41, 2003, pp. 259-286 (p. 263) (hereinafter: Ćosić, 2003).

⁴⁵ Joakim Stulli, as well as his correspondents in Ragusa and elsewhere, tended to use the term "Illyrian" when writing in Latin or Italian and the term "Slavic" ("*Slovinski*") when using that language. The term "Croatian" was used mainly when referred to the language spoken in the Croatian region. Only in some cases, "Croatian" had appeared as a synonym for "Illyrian". On this aspect, see Fine, 2006, pp. 525-529.

territories, also because they themselves (the Francophiles) benefited from the system of agrarian relations based on various systems of tenant farming⁴⁶. Neither the French nor the Austrian governments, in fact, changed the system of agricultural relations typical of the Ragusan area. The transfer of land to the farmers was not favored. Although being legally free, the Dalmatian farmers and in particular the Ragusan ones were economically subordinate to the owner of the land they worked: the Serbian-Croatian term that defines this status is *kmet*⁴⁷.

The francophile attitude of Stulli and his circle had more intellectual than political motivation. It was a fascination for the "spirit of the times", for the Enlightenment ideas, but it had no revolutionary aspiration in political terms. Rather, it was an attempt to adapt the traditional Ragusan patriotism to the new times, but with moderation. According to Ćosić, Stulli under the influence of Antun Sorgo had probably entered the masonic lodge *L'étoile Illyrienne* to which, according to a 1833 document, some members of his intellectual circle such as the Chersa brothers certainly belonged. But not even the adhesion to Freemasonry produced in them a revolutionary spirit in the political sense. And their sudden "conversion" to the new Austrian regime is a further proof of this fact⁴⁸.

Actually the city's intellectuals and poets expressed very soon their warm welcome to the new Austrian sovereignty. On 14 February 1814, all the clergy and employees took an oath of allegiance to the Emperor of Austria. The new zealous subjects wanted to ensure their protection by the new Caesar and so a panegyric literature of mediocre aesthetic value originated. It was certainly not comparable with the past Ragusan literature, but for the historian it represents still an effective document on this time of transition⁴⁹. Stulli immediately published a collection of verses in Italian praising the "triumph of the Church by the weapons of Francis I"⁵⁰. This attitude of Ragusan intellectuals continued in the following years and members of the Catholic clergy were engaged too, e.g. the Dominican Angelo

⁴⁶ Ćosić, 1999, pp. 28-31.

⁴⁷ Petrović, 1982.

⁴⁸ Ćosić, 2003, pp. 267-268.

⁴⁹ A review of such literature in A. Noe, 'La letteratura panegirica all'occasione della riunione di Ragusa all'Impero Austriaco', in *Atti e Memorie della Società Dalmata di Storia Patria (Roma)*, 26, 2004, 6, pp. 99-135.

⁵⁰ *Il Trionfo della Chiesa dovuto alle gloriosissime armi della Cesarea Regia Maestà di Francesco I. Imperatore di Austria, re di Ungheria e Boemia etc. etc. Sestine del dottor L. Stulli. Ragusa, presso Antonio Martechini, 1814.*

Maslach (Anđeo Maslač), the secular priest Rafael Radelja and the Franciscans themselves of the city monastery⁵¹.

These were very conventional forms of art, therefore, that showed a persistent classical literary taste and a political attitude towards the new sovereign. As is evident reading these texts, there was a desire to restore order, after years in which little Ragusa had known the war on its own territory. Certainly it was also hoped that this order had brought (or, to be more precise, had brought back) prosperity to the no longer independent city. This project for the future, at least among these intellectuals, did not yet foresee the adoption of the "national" Slavic language as a sign of emancipation or of creation of a new identity. Even in high literature the time was not yet ripe to adopt the Slavic language, at least in the vision of these Ragusan intellectuals, who considered the "national" language not standardized enough to compete with Italian and Latin⁵².

“Let us preserve our very sweet verses [the poetic literature of Ragusea in Slavic]; let us work for their conservation, let us bring them together in a single corpus, and if there are few manuscripts, let us multiply them by means of the press, let us do everything possible to keep intact this precious heritage [...] because from the moment when Ragusan people began to be a nation, our language did not undergo those changes that occur because of the raid of foreign peoples”⁵³.

This is how Stulli expressed his ideas in the preface to his translation from Latin of three chronicles of the disastrous earthquake of 1667. To his friend Niko Andrović, in this text, he presented a sort of manifesto of ideas shared by his contemporaries. The literary heritage that has made the people of Ragusa the most civilized of all the Slavs, Stulli writes, must be defended and claimed. But still there was no one who will be able to ennoble this language and to produce a work that would make "classical" the language of the Southern Slavs, such as the others

⁵¹ This literature consisted of hymns "for the Emperor's birth day" and epigrams in homage to "his recovered health". Between 1824 and 1829 there are at least nine examples of these small publications, with verses in Latin and Italian. Cfr. Valentinelli, 1855, pp. 294-295.

⁵² Ćosić, 1999, pp. 300-302.

⁵³ (Luca Stulli), *Le tre descrizioni del terremoto di Ragusa del 1667 di Gradi, Rogacci, Stay. Versione dal latino. Venezia 1828 Tipografia di Giuseppe Antonelli. Simone Occhi ed.:* “Abbiansi dunque a caro i dolcissimi versi nostri; si provvegga alla loro conservazione, tutti in un corpo si adunino, e dove ora il numero degli esemplari n'è scarso, perchè vanno manoscritti, si moltiplichino per mezzo della stampa, e si adoperi al possibile per mantenere intatta così preziosa eredità, nel che noi vantaggiamo di fortuna molti popoli, perciocchè dal momento che i Ragusei cominciarono ad essere nazione, la nostra favella non patì alcuno di quel mutamenti che vengono per irruzione di genti strane, [...]”.

“classical” languages. Nevertheless, in the following decades new Ragusan intellectuals will change this vision under the influence of cultural movements born outside the city, but which looked to Ragusa as the historical glory of the Southern Slavic literature.

2.2.2 Expanding the Croatian nation

According to the parameters of the Habsburg world, the Croatian people could be considered as a "historical people", since the kingdom of Dalmatia-Croatia-Slavonia had enjoyed nominal institutional continuity. They shared this characteristic with the Poles and Czechs and this represented an institutional advantage and a reason for socio-cultural prestige⁵⁴.

The concept of the Dalmatian-Croatian-Slavonian kingdom, or Triune kingdom, has its roots in early medieval history, when according to some sources (the treatise of the Byzantine emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, above all) the Croatian kingdom also would have extended to certain areas of the Adriatic, in competition with the colonies of Latin-speaking populations, which were the last traces of ancient Roman Dalmatia⁵⁵.

This status of “historical people” to the Croats was not unanimously recognized as such within the European intelligentsia of the nineteenth century. Banac cites, for example, a contemptuous judgment expressed by Friedrich Engels at the time of the revolutions of 1848-1849. In fact, the closest collaborator of Karl Marx, faced with the liveliness of Hungarian nationalism and its assimilationist claims on the Southern Slavs, mocked the latter by saying that their golden age had been in the eighth and ninth centuries, and certainly not in those years⁵⁶. But what exactly was this historical and institutional heritage that the Croats perceived as the main and undeniable source of their political rights?

⁵⁴ Ivetic, 2012, p. 62.

⁵⁵ According to Ivo Banac, such distant origins of the Triune kingdom would make the Dalmatian appellation “yet another Croat regional term”. Cfr. I. Banac, *The national question in Yugoslavia. Origins, history, politics*, Ithaca-London, 1992 (first ed. 1984), pag. 36 (hereinafter: Banac, 1992). To compare with Fine, 2006, pp. 176-183, which supports a radically different interpretation: according to him, the Triune Kingdom would be a myth implying a Golden Age Great Croatia, rather anachronistic, rather anachronistic as a concept, as well as capable of generating dangerous nationalist fantasies.

⁵⁶ Banac, 1992, pag. 70. Engels, in the quote quoted by Banac, used the expression “panslavism”, meaning Slavic integration in the broadest sense.

First of all, we must point out that we are talking about traditions which were mainly rooted in the nobility in the regions of Croatia and Slavonia, that were based on the historical memory of an independent Croatian kingdom existed in the early Middle Ages, which included some outpost on the Eastern Adriatic shore. Anyway, as Mirjana Gross amongst others has pointed out, the ideal effectiveness of those traditions was limited to the top structures of feudal society: only they were “the Croatian political nation”⁵⁷.

Specialist scholars of the Middle Ages have highlighted the crucial role played by mythology in the creation of Croatian historical memory and self identity. For example, according to Neven Budak, it was the gentry living in central Croatia that invented the election by their ancestors of king Koloman in 1102, in order to support their own nobility claims, and what was depicted as being their voluntary submission to the Hungarian St. Stephen’s Crown⁵⁸. This union of Croatia with Hungary represented the end of the former’s independence but also the voluntary acceptance on the part of Croatian *natio politica* of the Hungarian Crown. The traditions of their medieval state, therefore, were considered to have been kept alive by the enduring existence of the Croatian Diet (*Sabor*) headed by the *Ban* (governor). This union of Croatia and Slavonia with Hungary lasted until 1918.

Having touched on this point, a clarification is necessary. This particular role assigned to the past and to its partially mythological construction is not an exclusive feature of the Croatian cultural context. In order to remain in the Southern Slavic space, what had happened in the Serbian cultural and historiographic landscape is no different. In both contexts, but also in Bulgaria and Romania, historiography has played an important role in nation-building processes since the nineteenth century. There are two ideas that in particular have shaped the way of constructing national historiographical narratives of these peoples. These are the concepts of “historical rights” and of “historical continuity”, to use the terms adopted in his comparative reflection by the Romanian historian Marius Turda.

⁵⁷ M. Gross, ‘On the integration of the Croatian nation: a case study in Nation Building’, *East European Quarterly*, 15, 1981, 2, pp. 209-225 (p. 211).

⁵⁸ N. Budak, ‘Croatia between the myths of the nation state and of the common European past’, in C.-F. Dobre, I. Epurescu-Pascovici, C. Ghiță (eds.), *Myth-Making and Myth-Breaking in History and the Humanities. Proceedings of the Conference held at the University of Bucharest, 6-8 October 2011*, pp. 51-72 (pp. 56-57) (hereinafter: Budak, 2011). For a very sceptical viewpoint on the historical existence of the Triune Kingdom, see Fine, 2006, p. 177.

To define what had happened to these two concepts from the nineteenth century to the present day in the pages of Bulgarian, Croatian, Romanian and Serbian historians (but also in what more generally can be called the public discourse in these countries), Turda uses the word "canonization". The glories of the past, it doesn't matter if at least partially manipulated, or read from a not always objective angle; the idea of a teleological unity of its own people, and of a history that only needs to be reiterated and glorified, rather than being deconstructed or questioned; finally, to return to using the words of Turda, the constant objective of demonstrating "the continuity of the nation and its intimate relationship with the territory it occupied (or should have occupied)"⁵⁹. All this constitutes a mechanism of cultural production and a fuel for political action, which however has not had a monopoly among identity-building projects in these countries.

At this point of my summary reconstruction, I consider very explicative on the theme of nineteenth-century Croatian historiographic narrative a long quotation from a text written in 1860 by Franjo Rački (1828-1894), a Catholic priest, esteemed historian and one of the leaders and refounders of the party that from 1861 onwards will be the *Narodna Stranka* (National Party)⁶⁰, which had been banned by government authorities between 1851 and 1860 and previously had been founded in 1841 in Zagreb under the name of *Ilirska Stranka*⁶¹. Moreover, Rački's name is closely linked to that of Josip Juraj Strossmayer, bishop of Đakovo in Slavonia. Both, as we will see later, will be protagonists of the political and cultural life not only of Croatia-Slavonia, but of the entire pre-Yugoslav cultural space, in the second half of the nineteenth century.

In 1860, we said, Rački wrote a text entitled "Jugoslovjenstvo" (Yugoslavism), which was published in three episodes between September and

⁵⁹ M. Turda, 'National Historiographies in the Balkans, 1830-1989', in C. Lorenz and S. Berger (eds.), *The Contested Nation. Ethnicity, Class, Religion and Gender in National Histories*, Basingstoke-New York, 2008, pp. 463-489 (quotations are taken from p. 475 and p. 477).

⁶⁰ The word "*narod*" in Serbo-Croatian means both "people" and "nation" and the adjective "*narodan*" (declined "*narodni*") means both "popular" and "national" (see for example the respective entries in the dictionary Deanović-Jernej, 1970, p. 451). Commonly, English-speaking historians which refer to the Croatian and Dalmatian *Narodna Stranka* translate it with the expression "National Party". The same applies, for example, to the translation of this expression into Italian.

The choice seems to be the most consistent also in reference to the historical context: just think that the newspaper of the *Narodna Stranka* was called *Il Nazionale* ("The National"), at least in the early years of its existence, when it was written in Italian. Then it will be called the *Narodni List*.

⁶¹ On the birth of the *Narodna Stranka* in Croatia-Slavonia, see among others Ivetic, 2012, p. 105 and the entry 'Narodna Stranka' in *Hrvatska enciklopedija* online at <http://www.enciklopedija.hr/natuknica.aspx?ID=42989>.

October of that year in the Zagreb newspaper *Pozor*. It is a milestone of the Yugoslav movement. Concerning the deep historical relationship between Croatia and Hungary, it is an effective synthesis of how this link was still conceived in the mid-nineteenth century, and it is all the more interesting because the author, Rački, is unanimously recognized as a fundamental figure of Croatian and Yugoslav historiography of his time, whose value is still recognized today, as well as an intellectual particularly experienced in these issues, because as a historian he had addressed them intensely⁶².

“The Croats, therefore, want to be under the single Hungarian Crown with the Magyars. [...] They want their Croatian Kingdom to be unified with the Hungarian one, but neither as a *pars adnexa* nor as some kind of an *appendix*, but as a *regnum socium, regnum foedere iunctum*. [...] Hungary and Croatia are two *regna, regna coordinata*, and not *subordinata* until the end of time. [...] by joining the Hungarian Crown, the Croats have never given an inch of their political independence and administrative autonomy. Croatian unification with Hungary was personal (*unio personalis*), i.e. it was the union of two kingdoms sharing the same king”⁶³.

Such concepts, as it has been argued, imply a legitimist way of thinking and a historicist national apologetics. Banac had argued that a fundamental author to understand this way of thinking and its nineteenth-century evolutions is the nobleman from Senj, Pavao Ritter Vitezović (1652-1713), “the first Croat national ideologist to extend the Croat name to all the Slavs”⁶⁴. Dalmatia, in this pan-Croatist vision, was part of a "revived Croatia" by virtue of the appropriation made by early medieval Croatian kings. The idea of Great Croatia, therefore, with its emphasis on historical right but also on a Slavic communality capable of bearing the weight of confrontation with neighboring powers (the Habsburgs and Venice, at the time of Vitezović) became the most powerful argument in the hands of Croatian thinkers to support their struggle for autonomy and statehood.

⁶² Neven Budak, while recognizing Rački's dignity as a "serious scholar", attributes to him the error of having claimed that the Croatian king Tomislav was crowned in the year 925, and at the root of this error - according to Budak - there would have been a more or less conscious will “to make the Croatian kingdom much older than the Hungarian one”. But Budak also points out that while Rački's interpretation can still be part of a serious scientific debate, the one on the same theme always provided in the nineteenth century by the Croatian historian Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski would be "an excellent example of deliberate myth-making". Cfr. Budak, 2011, pp. 62-63.

⁶³ I quote from the English translation published in *Discourses of collective identity, vol. 3/1*, ‘Franjo Rački: Yugoslavism’, pp. 57-66 (p. 62) (translated by Iva Polak).

⁶⁴ Banac, 1992, pp. 72-76.

According to Banac, this process of elaboration of Croatian identity did not lead to an exclusive vision of "what it means to be Croatian" or, in the terms used by the author, to "integralist definitions of nationhood", at least until the 1850s⁶⁵. This elaboration, moreover, would have been the basis of that phase of the "Croatian revival" known as the Illyrian movement, in the 1830s and 1840s. Faced with the imminent danger of Hungarian nationalism in Croatia-Slavonia and its claims to supplant the autonomy of the Croatian "nation" starting with the replacement of Hungarian for Latin, until the 1840s the official language of the Sabor of Zagreb, the Illyrian movement realized that it was necessary to formulate a concurrent political and cultural program. It was no longer enough to refer to the ancient Croatian autonomy, nor to a movement limited only to Croatia-Slavonia. Instead, a broader program would have been necessary, referring to a larger identity, the Illyrian one, in order to recall with this term the name of the people who, in their idea, had given rise to all the Southern Slavs.

2.2.3 Early adventures of cross-confessional Serbianism

The title of this paragraph paraphrases the one of an eighteenth-century literary work that can easily be defined as a real milestone in Southern Slavic culture globally understood. I am talking about the semi-autobiographical novel of what is generally considered as the first modern Serbian writer, Dositej Obradović, titled *Život i priključenija Dimitrija Obradovića narečenog u kaluđerstvu Dositeja, njim istim spisat i izdat* ("Life and adventures of Dimitrije Obradović, in his monastic name Dositej, written and edited by himself")⁶⁶.

In addition to informing us that Dositej was the name that the teenager born in Čakovo, Banat (present-day Romania) and soon orphaned assumed when he

⁶⁵ On the contrary, according to Banac, to what happened with Serbian national ideology, where the role of the Serbian church would have been an overwhelming assimilationist factor. Cfr. *ibidem*, pag. 75.

⁶⁶ The work was published in Leipzig in two volumes between 1783 and 1788, by the Breitkopf printing house. Taking up a reflection by Wladimir Fischer on the editorial history of Obradović's autobiographical account, it can be said that it had been generally considered as a single and coherent work, even if it was published twice, and the publication of 1788 was more than anything else a collection of letters related to the volume *Basne* ("Fables"), published by Obradović in the same year. Furthermore, this second part differed markedly from the first part in terms of the language used. Cfr. W. Fischer, 'The role of Dositej Obradović in the construction of Serbian Identities during the 19th century', *Spaces of Identity*, 1, 2001, 3, pp. 67-87 (p. 72-73) (hereinafter: Fischer, 2001). This linguistic peculiarity is not secondary since Obradović also plays an important role in the history of the Serbian literary language.

became an Orthodox monk in 1757 and left his adoptive family, this title is also repeated in the English-language volume dedicated to a selection of translations from Obradović, a book which was published in 1953 and reissued in 2011⁶⁷.

The main reason why an oft-quoted passage from an Obradović text of 1783⁶⁸ is particularly relevant for our discussion lies in the fact that it expresses a "cross-confessional vision of the Serbian nation"⁶⁹. The excerpt in question is as follows:

“The territory where Church Slavonic is spoken is not less than that of France or England, excluding a minor difference in pronunciation which occurs in all other languages too. Who does not know that the inhabitants of Montenegro, Dalmatia, Herzegovina, Bosnia, Serbia, Croatia (apart from the Muži), Slavonia, Srem, Bačka and the Banat (except for the Romanians) speak one and the same language? Speaking on behalf of the peoples who live in these kingdoms and provinces, I understand the Greek Church as much as the followers of the Catholic Church, not excluding the Bosnian or Herzegovinian Turks either, since law and religion can change, but kinship or language can never change”⁷⁰.

⁶⁷ The title of the book is *The life and adventures of Dimitrije Obradovic : who as a monk was given the name Dositej written and published by himself*. Its editor and the translator of Obradović’s text is George Rapall Noyes. The first edition was published in Los Angeles.

⁶⁸ In the English translation, the title of this text is *Letter to Haralampije*. It is a brief work of a correspondence nature that was also published in Leipzig in 1783, at the printing house Breitkopf, in the first book of the *Život i priključenija Dimitrija Obradovića [...]*. Cfr. the edition of the *Život i priključenija Dimitrija Obradovića [...]* published by the *Narodna Knjigopečatnja* of Danilo Medaković in Zemun, 1850, book 1, pp. 117-127, from which it appears that the letter was sent from Leipzig on 13 April 1783 (probably, date of the Julian calendar).

⁶⁹ Expression quoted from E. Hajdarpasic, *Whose Bosnia? Nationalism and Political Imagination in the Balkans, 1840-1914*, Ithaca-London, 2015, p. 21 (hereinafter: Hajdarpasic, 2015).

⁷⁰ The cited translation is in *Discourses of collective identity*, vol. 1, ‘Dositej Obradović: Letter to Haralampije’, pp. 218-222 (p. 222) (translated by Krištof Bodrič).

The Srem region (*Srem* in Serbian, *Srijem* in Croatian, *Syrmien* in German) is located on the southern side of the Pannonian plain. Nowadays, it is part of the autonomous province of Vojvodina, in Serbia. Bačka and Banat are two other historical regions that are not far from this area. These are still nowadays multi-ethnic regions and belong respectively to Serbia and Hungary, and to Romania, Serbia and (in small part) Hungary.

With regard to the expression "Bosnian or Herzegovinian Turks", Obradović means the populations in these two region which are of Muslim faith but of Slavic ethnicity, and converted to the religion of the Ottoman occupiers. He specifies this interpretation with the following sentences: “A Bosnian or a Herzegovinian Turk is a Turk by law, but as far as language and kinship are concerned, whatever his great-grandfathers were, so will the last of his descendants be: Bosnians and Herzegovinians, until God decrees the end of the world. They are called Turks while the Turks rule that land; and when the real Turks return to their homeland where they came from, the Bosnians will remain Bosnians, and will be like their ancestors were”. Cfr. *ibidem*, p. 222.

This excerpt has been cited by countless authors and has been very commonly interpreted as, on the one hand, the emblem of the ideal of religious tolerance by a Serbian Orthodox like Obradović (although a very peculiar one) and, on the other hand, as the first expression of a non-exclusivist vision of the Serbian nation. A different idea, therefore, from the traditional one because no longer tied exclusively to the Orthodox religious confession, nor even to the Christian religion alone, but only to the language spoken by the (Serbian, according to this idea) masses, language that was therefore understood in a (pre)romantic sense as the fundamental code of a people's identity.

With regard to this passage, or rather to the recent translation into English that I have cited, further clarifications are necessary starting with that relating to the term *muži*, used by Obradović himself and that in Bodrič's recent translation remains unchanged⁷¹. All the authors who have dealt with this text, or at least the significant sample I have consulted, agree that with this clarification Obradović intended to exclude from the group of the community that spoke "one and the same language" the Croats of northwestern Croatia, the geographical area in which the *kajkavian* variant of Serbian-Croatian is spoken.

It is interesting to note that this conception was part of a theoretical framework that had been subsequently outlined by means of scientific formulations (based on the paradigms of the times, of course) by the first studies of Slavic linguistics, and which had subsequently been taken up by some historians in their studies, thus helping to spread these ideas to the cultured public not only in the Southern Slavic context, but also in that of the German-speaking area.

In his *Geschichte von Serwien und Bosnien* published in Halle in 1801⁷², for example, Johann Christian von Engel re-proposed the idea of the fundamental linguistic unity of the peoples in a wide area ranging from Istria to Montenegro, from Slavonia to Bosnia. A sharing of the same language, the Serbian, from which a common ethnic affiliation arose. The theory to which this historian referred was that of the Bohemian philosopher and historian Josef Dobrovský, who had claimed

⁷¹ The sentence, in the original Serbian text, is developed as follows: "Ko ne zna da žitelji crnogorski, dalmatski, hercegovski, bosanski, serbijski, horvatski (kromje muža), slavonski, sremski, bački i banatski osim vlaha, jednim istim jezikom govore?". I quote from the 1850 edition of the *Život i priključenija Dimitrija Obradovića [...]* and for the exact rendering of the pre-reform Cyrillic characters used in that edition in the contemporary Serbian Cyrillic characters (which here I have transliterated into Latin alphabet), I rely on a recent online edition, namely *Antologija Srpske Književnosti. Dositej Obradović, Pismo Haralampiju*, online at <https://books.google.it/books?id=CVaZAgAAQBAJ>.

⁷² The complete title of the book is *Geschichte von Serwien und Bosnien: nebst einer Fortsetzung der Denkmäler ungrischer Geschichte und der historischen Literatur der ungrischen Nebenländer*.

that the only genuinely Croatian dialect was precisely the *kajkavian*, the one that as we have seen Obradović excluded from the community of language and therefore of (proto-)nation that he had in mind⁷³.

According to Ivo Banac, what would later become the distinctive mark of Vuk Stefanović Karadžić's theory⁷⁴ (i.e. the idea that all those who have *štokavian* as their own dialect, are ethnically Serbian) would have originated from the "erroneous teachings" of scholars prior to the famous Serbian linguist. In particular, according to Banac, the error of considering *štokavian* as a Serbian dialect was inaugurated by the German historian Ludwig von Schlötzer, and then continued by all the other pioneers of Slavism, including Dobrovský and Šafařík. In this way, an artificial reduction in the size of the Croatian population would also have been argued, because in accordance with the typically romantic principle that it is the language used to make a people, it followed that the speakers of *štokavian* could not be Croatian⁷⁵.

In the wake of these ideas of Obradović, it is also interesting to note the work of Sava Tekelja (1761-1842), a rich Serbian notable from Hungary, who in 1805 published in Vienna a geographical map in two thousand copies relating to the potential national aspirations of Serbs. He sent 500 copies to the leaders of the insurrection that was taking place at that time in the Ottoman province of Serbia. Between 1804 and 1805, Tekelja sent memorials to Napoleon and the Habsburg Emperor Francis I⁷⁶ to win their favor for the creation of an "Illyrian Kingdom" from the Adriatic to the Black Sea. A kingdom that, in order to be formed, would have to overcome the main obstacle that faced it, namely the religious differences that divided peoples who spoke the same language.

As a logical consequence of this pattern of thought, there was Tekelja's assertion that all the Serbian-speaking Slavic population of the Balkans (that were, according to him, those peoples already mentioned by Obradović throughout the various pre-Yugoslav regions) were to be considered as Serbs. They were utopian

⁷³ The reference to Engel and Dobrovský has been made by D. T. Bataković, 'A Balkan-Style French Revolution? The 1804 Serbian Uprising in European perspective', *Balkanica*, 36, 2005, pp. 113-128 (p. 118) (hereinafter: Bataković, 2005).

⁷⁴ Karadžić (very often both the scholarship and the public discourse in general call him simply "Vuk") is considered to be the father of the modern Serbian language, as well as the most important promoter of the literary and cultural exaltation of the folk songs of the Serbian people. The bibliography on this linguist, philologist and ethnographer is huge. For a recent summary, see Hajdarpasic, 2015, pp. 21-37, also for an assessment of his role in the process of Bosnia and Herzegovina's discovery by the Serbian and Croatian elites in the nineteenth century.

⁷⁵ Banac, 1983, p. 451.

⁷⁶ Bataković, 2005, pp. 118-120.

projects, with very few real political consequences. However, they deserve to be mentioned in a genealogy of those ideas that influenced in the 1830s and 1840s the Illyrian intellectuals of Serbian origin and then, in the following decades, also the movement of the Serb Catholics of Dubrovnik.

2.2.4 Ragusan Serbianism

One angle from which it is possible to interpret the cultural movement of Illyrism, born in Zagreb in the early 1830s, concerns its relationship with the popular masses. These Croatian intellectuals and nobles, who were beginning a cultural battle in the name of their own language and in the name of a broader Southern Slavic identity, also wanted to create a shared public sphere, in which the majority of the population would have been no longer excluded because of lacking knowledge of the two vehicular languages used in Croatia-Slavonia until then, namely Latin and German. This process, which had been going on for some years among the Croatian elites because of the reverberations of the Enlightenment ideas, underwent a strong acceleration in 1825, when the so-called Pressburg Diet (today's Bratislava, then on Hungarian territory) paved the way for what became a real nightmare for Croatians, namely the introduction of Hungarian as the language of public administration and education in schools. In 1830, knowledge of the Hungarian language became a prerequisite for public employment and for being a lawyer.

However, in 1834 government permission was granted to publish a Croatian newspaper in Zagreb, which was called *Novine Horvatske* (Croatian News), with a literary supplement entitled *Danica Horvatska, Slavonska i Dalmatinska* (Croatian, Slavonian and Dalmatian Morning Star)⁷⁷. Already from its title, it is clear that this newspaper and its founder, Ljudevit Gaj (1809-1872) addressed a wider audience than that closely linked to the territories of Croatia-Slavonia and, more importantly, to the people who spoke the *kajkavian* dialect existing mainly around Zagreb and in Croatia proper.

⁷⁷ For an up-to-date introduction in English to the Illyrian movement see the preface to 'Ljudevit Gaj: Proclamations' in *Discourses of collective identity*, vol. 2, pp. 230-237. An older but still useful summary is that of E. Murray Despalatović, *Ljudevit Gaj and the Illyrian Movement*, Boulder, 1975.

The reference to the historical concept of the Triune Kingdom is evident. According to Gaj, Slavonians and Dalmatians, "sons of the same country", should have joined their efforts with the Croats, and so all "Croats of the ancient State" would have gathered in the same "*kolo*"⁷⁸.

For the purposes of our specific research, it is useful to note that Gaj, in the programmatic text of his newspaper in 1834, addressed the community of Southern Slavs who shared the same language and the same "race" in a particular way. In the list of peoples to which it is addressed, in fact, he differentiated the inhabitants of Ragusa from the rest of the Dalmatians⁷⁹. In the second programmatic proclamation issued in 1835, then, Gaj will choose to expand the scope of his cultural program, starting with the change of name of the cultural supplement in *Danica Ilirska* (Illyrian Morning Star).

In the same months (precisely in 1836), the magazine of the Serbs of Dalmatia, founded by a Serbian Orthodox from Sebenico (Šibenik), Božidar (Teodor/Teodoro) Petranović (1809-1874), was printed first in Karlovac and then in Zadar. Petranović had already written in Gaj's newspapers in 1835 and the complete name of this periodical is *Ljubitelj prosvještenija, Srbsko-dalmatinski magazin*. This magazine had a parallel and complementary function to that of the Illyrian movement.

In Yugoslav historiography, within a research on the subscribers to this magazine that for detail and balance still remains useful today⁸⁰, the term "national integration" has been used also with regard to the Serbian Orthodox communities

⁷⁸ The term "*Kolo*", in Serbo-Croatian, is a term that indicates both a characteristic form of collective folk dance in the round, but also has the derived meaning of "društvo", ie "society", "circle", "company". Cfr. the entry in *Deanović-Jernej, 1970*. In the nineteenth-century publications analyzed in our research, the image of the "*kolo*" is often used in phrases that are intended to recall the need to group around a common ideal.

The quotations from Gaj's articles shown here are taken from S. Obad, 'Doprinos Ljudevita Gaja širenju Ilirstva u Dalmaciji' [Ljudevit Gaj's contribution to the spread of Illyrism in Dalmatia], *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu*, 3, 1973, 1, pp. 123-138 (pag. 125) (hereinafter: Obad, 1973). This historian in that article stands out for a form of historical determinism, as is evident when he writes that "Gaj knew that the Dalmatians of the Catholic religion are genetically Croatian" ("Gaj je znao da su Dalmatinci katoličke vjere genetički Hrvati") (*ibidem*).

⁷⁹ "Illustrious and the Most Honourable Gentlemen of every Estate and Order of the celebrated Slavic nation of the southern parts, in other words: the Croats, the Slavonians, the Dalmatians, the citizens of Dubrovnik, the Serbs, the Carniolans, the Styrians, the Carinthians, the Istrians, the Bosnians and other Slavs, as well as other friends and patrons of our race and language, I salute you all" (cfr. the English traduction in 'Ljudevit Gaj: Proclamations', in *Discourses of collective identity, vol. 2*, pag. 235).

⁸⁰ B. Prpa-Jovanović, *Srbsko-Dalmatinski Magazin 1836-1848. Preporodne ideje Srba u Dalmaciji* [The *Srbsko-Dalmatinski Magazin* 1836-1848. Ideas of national rebirth among Serbs in Dalmatia], Split, 1988 (hereinafter: Prpa-Jovanović, 1988).

of Dalmatia. It was with this magazine, writes Branka Prpa-Jovanović, that the Serbs of Dalmatia also began their journey to their own "*nacionalna integracija*". The objectives were to spread the diffusion of a form of Southern Slav language provided with spelling and standardized rules; to educate the masses through the publication of cultural, literary and historiographic works; to bring out the Dalmatian society, conservative and perceived as immobile, from the exclusive dominance of the Italian language in culture and social institutions.

Especially in its early years, at least until 1844, the *Srbsko-Dalmatinski Magazin* will address not only the Serbs of Dalmatia, but all Slavo-Dalmatians, as well as Croats from Croatia proper and even Slovenes (e.g. it will publish works by the Slovenian poet Stanko Vraz)⁸¹. Authors and supporters of the newspaper will be the Ragusan Antun Kaznačić, the Bosnian Franciscan friar Ivo Frano (Ivan Franjo) Jukić⁸², the intellectual of Makarska Stjepan Ivičević⁸³. In this first phase, until the prohibition of the name "Illyrian" by the Austrian authorities in 1843, the texts published by some Orthodox priests on the *Srbsko-Dalmatinski Magazin* will be marked by confessional tolerance⁸⁴.

The *Srbsko-Dalmatinski Magazin* had subscribers not only in Dalmatia (although this was the region that provided the most), but also in Bosnia, Herzegovina, Croatia-Slavonia, Hungary and only marginally in Montenegro. In Dalmatia as well as in other territories, the most represented social groups within the subscribers were Orthodox merchants and priests⁸⁵.

Ragusa, as we have seen, did not have a population of Orthodox denomination as numerically relevant as that of other places in northern Dalmatia (Knin, Skradin, Vrlika, Benkovac, Obrovac, Šibenik, Drniš, Zadar, Šibenik). However, it will be precisely a Serb from Ragusa, the Orthodox parish priest Đorđe Nikolajević, one of the authors that on the *Srbsko-Dalmatinski Magazin* will

⁸¹ *Ibidem*, pag. 10.

⁸² Ivan Franjo Jukić (1818-1857), a Franciscan friar born and raised in Bosnia, came into contact with Illyrian and Serbian activists during his studies in Hungary. Fascinated by Vuk Karadžić's studies of the language and folklore of Herzegovina, being in contact also with Gaj's circle in Zagreb, he had ambitious plans for the production of school textbooks on Bosnia, publications and cultural societies. But despite promising initial contacts with the Ottoman governor Omer-pasha Latas, in 1852 his cultural activism was perceived as a threat by the Ottoman authorities and Jukić was expelled from Bosnia. Cfr. Hajdarpasic, 2015, pp. 39-41.

⁸³ About the cultural activity of Ivičević and his intellectual contacts beyond the borders of Dalmatia, much information in Reill, 2012, *passim*.

⁸⁴ Prpa-Jovanović, 1988, pag. 10.

⁸⁵ *Ibidem*, pp. 109-140. Prpa-Jovanović's analytical study of subscribers to the magazine stops in 1848.

repeatedly support the idea that Dubrovnik, as a city and as a culture, belonged to the Serbian world.

How can be explained the apparent paradox of such an intense cultural action, in a context in which the Serbian Orthodox community was so small? The answer lies in the cultural prestige of Ragusa, in the existence of its rich ancient literature and of its archives. Nikolajević in the 1830s conducted much research⁸⁶ on the diplomatic documents of the Republic of Ragusa written in the Cyrillic alphabet (in order to communicate with the lords and potentates of the inner Balkans). This cultural prestige of Ragusa had also affected the directions that ideas about the standardization of Southern Slavic language were taking exactly in those years.

While Vuk Karadžić had vigorously argued that the purest and most noble form of the Serbian language should be found in the *štokavian* dialect spoken in Herzegovina (and not instead by the ecclesiastical Slavonic, as the tradition imposed instead), Gaj and the Illyrists had a convergent and at the same time divergent opinion. They too were in favour of the *štokavian* variant, but the historical example that they had indicated as the most prestigious was the variant that had been used in the literature of Ragusa, especially in that of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries⁸⁷. Gaj and the Illyrists, therefore, wanted to find an intellectual background to their choice of *štokavian*, also drawing on the writings of Dositej Obradović⁸⁸.

But let us back to Nikolajević. In addition to carrying out archival research, his activity in Ragusa was also important from the point of view of education for the Orthodox community. He founded a Serbian confessional school, which was an

⁸⁶ Banac, 1983, pag. 453.

⁸⁷ The theme of nineteenth-century linguistic disputes between Southern Slavic intellectuals has been dealt with by an extensive academic literature, including international one. Recent summaries used here are the preface to 'Ljudevit Gaj: Proclamations' in *Discourses of collective identity*, vol. 2, pp. 230-237 and Ivetic, 2012, esp. pp. 97-103.

⁸⁸ There were no major differences between the *štokavian* standards developed by Vuk and Gaj, except in the reference example (respectively Herzegovina and Ragusa) and in the chosen alphabet (respectively, Cyrillic alphabet and Latin alphabet). There were controversies, but in 1850 the so-called Vienna Literary Agreement was reached, signed by the two "masters" and their collaborators. However, Karadžić always believed that those who spoke *štokavian* were ethnically Serbs. Another important cultural fact about Dalmatia is the choice of the Illyrian magazine *Zora Dalmatinska* directed by Ante Kuzmanić between 1844 and 1849 not to follow Gaj's variant, especially as regards spelling, but rather to exalt a Slavo-Dalmatian direction.

important model in the framework of the process that would later lead to the equalisation of religious rights for Orthodox in Dalmatia⁸⁹.

The making of the personal acquaintance between Karadžić and Nikolajević, which according to some scholars took place exactly in Ragusa in the middle of the 1830s or in 1841, and the research made by the latter in the city's historical archives were the origins of the first claim regarding the Serbian identity of the literature in ancient Ragusa⁹⁰. Between 1838 and 1840, combining his literary and archival studies with Karadžić's theories, Nikolajević published a series of articles on *Srbsko-Dalmatinski Magazin* with the eloquent title "*Spisatel'i dubrovački koi su Srbskim jezikom, a talianskim slovima pisali*" ("Ragusan writers who wrote in the Serbian language, using the Italian alphabet")⁹¹.

It was Božidar Petranović who took a further step with his articles for the *Srbsko-Dalmatinski Magazin* arguing that the Dalmatian, Ragusan and Kotor Bay inhabitants had to be considered Serbs⁹² inasmuch they spoke Serbian language.

It must be stressed again that Karadžić's theories involved the assumption that all *štokavian* speakers had to be considered, ethnically, to be Serbs. Given that the *štokavian* dialect of Herzegovina was spoken also in Ragusa, although with some slight differences, the outcome of this theory from the Serbian side was the claim that Dubrovnik was historically a Serb city, no matter if its inhabitants had been always Catholic.

2.3 Illyrism sub specie Ragusinae

2.3.1. A "new" language for an "aged" city

25 March 1831 was a very solemn day for Ragusa. Since the death of Nikola Ban on 15 April 1815⁹³, the diocese was devoid of his own bishop. As we have

⁸⁹ Banac, 1983, pag. 453. The process will be a long one. As the Austrian official Valentino Lago reported in his important book of 1869, freedom of worship for the Orthodox was first granted in December 1861 in the district of Cattaro, and then was extended to all other places in Dalmatia in February 1864. Cfr. Lago, 1869, pp. 406 and 410.

⁹⁰ On the issue of the actual meeting between them, two partly different accounts are in Banac, 1983, p. 454, and in Ćosić, 1999, p. 329.

⁹¹ Banac, 1983, pag. 454, argues that these articles were full of inconsistencies, errors and omissions, permeated by a polemic vein rather than by true literary criticism.

⁹² 'Geografičesko-statističeski pregled Dalmacie' [A geographical-statistical chart of Dalmatia], *Srbsko-Dalmatinski Magazin*, 3, 1838, pp. 40-42, cited in Banac, 1983, p. 454.

already seen, the papal bull *Locum Beati Petri* in 1828 degraded the former archdiocese of Ragusa to the level of a diocese. The new bishop of Ragusa appointed in 1831 was Antun Giuriceo (1778-1842), born on the island of Veglia (Krk) in the Bay of Kvarner. His appointment was decided by the Emperor on 1 November 1829, while the Papal designation followed on 5 July 1830⁹⁴. From 1827 to 1830, after having been the secretary of the bishop of Gorizia for the previous eight years, Giuriceo had been counselor for religious affairs at the provincial government in Zara⁹⁵.

He took possession of the diocese only on 25 March 1831. Within the manuscript *Notizie di Ragusa* edited by Rita Tolomeo, there is a watercolour which depicts the scene of the entrance of the new bishop in the city⁹⁶. Vitelleschi's watercolour illustrates the procession that preceded Giuriceo and the bishop himself while they were parading along the space in front of the *Palazzo Pubblico* (the present-day *Knežev dvor*, namely the Rector's Palace that was the seat of the government of Ragusa during the republican times). A numerous crowd surrounded the procession from both sides of the street.

The description of the *Palazzo Pubblico* provided by Vitelleschi is worth to be quoted, as it shows us how the cult of Ragusa's past also emerged from certain news conveyed by the collective memory – but widely controversial, as we will see – related to its architectural heritage. In particular, Vitelleschi rested on the peristyle of the building, namely the columned porch on the facade, discerning which elements derived from more ancient constructions and which were newest.

He wrote that according to a highly-esteemed tradition which was in vogue at the time, “the columns’ stocks, their pedestals, the capitals and the archivolts would have belonged to the Asclepius temple in Epidaurus”. Their architectural

⁹³ *Šematizam Dubrovačke Biskupije*, p. 24.

⁹⁴ *Vitelleschi's manuscript / Tolomeo*, p. xxii.

⁹⁵ A. Dračevac, ‘Antun Giuriceo (Juriceo), biskup’, in *HBL*, 1998. The new bishop of Ragusa was the paternal uncle of another Antun Giuriceo (1819-1878), who was himself an ecclesiastical (a Jesuit Father, precisely) and from 1859 to 1874 participated in many missions of evangelisation among the low classes in Dalmatia, Istria and Slavonia. His entry in *Croatian Biographical Dictionary* defines the Giuriceo family as an aristocratic family of Krk. Cfr. M. Korade, ‘Antun Giuriceo, misionar i vjerski pisac’, in *HBL*, 1998.

⁹⁶ *Vitelleschi's manuscript / Tolomeo*, table XVII. It is precisely the presence of such information on the arrival of Giuriceo that makes certain that the Vitelleschi's manuscript edited by Tolomeo is subsequent to the one which the Austrian engineer wrote in 1827 and which have been edited in *Vitelleschi's manuscript / Lupis*.

features, he wrote, “demonstrate that for sure they belonged to ancient building, for the most part”⁹⁷.

According to Vitelleschi, however, only two capitals seemed to be truly ancient, namely the ones depicting cupids dancing “with delicate and natural gestures, yet partially consumed by the time”. The fact that the other capitals were “composed by foliage following a winding course, weaved together in different ways and with agility”⁹⁸ suggested to Vitelleschi that “their state of conservation reveals a very posterior time [of construction, as compared to the other elements allegedly coming from Epidaurus] since, in addition to the worse implementation of their sculpture, it is highly unlikely that those leaves would have preserved if those capitals would have come from [Epidaurus’] ancient ruins”⁹⁹.

In conclusion, Vitelleschi wrote that “in this building the only ancient elements are the columns, their pedestals and just two capitals. One could easily distinguish them since the stone of most ancient elements is whiter, smoother, with a more robust structure, whereas the recent elements are made by a darkest stone, which is not smooth and it is more easy to engrave”¹⁰⁰.

Two other details of Vitelleschi’s description are worth citing. The first is the annotation on the probable collapse of the second floor during the big earthquake of 1667, a hypothesis which according to him was demonstrated by some cracks and damages in several parts of the building, as well as by some repaired elements¹⁰¹. The second detail regards the intended use of the ground floor and more generally of the entire building. While in the manuscript of 1827 Vitelleschi noted that the local trial court was located “in a thin space”¹⁰² within the ground floor, the absence of this notation in the posterior manuscript reveals that the trial court itself had been moved in the meanwhile. In the second manuscript, the presence of the *Circolo*’s (the local civil authority) offices is anyway attested for what concerns the first floor of the building¹⁰³.

⁹⁷ *Vitelleschi’s manuscript / Tolomeo*, p. 10. Some notes on the role of the foundation myth linked to Epidaurus in the historiography on Ragusa have been provided in paragraph 1.1.2.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 10. The editor of this manuscript, Rita Tolomeo, points out that this passage on such specific details is not present in Vitelleschi’s manuscript of 1827 edited by Lupis. Cfr. *ibid.*, p. 85, note 44.

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 11. Tolomeo notes that the manuscript of 1827 does not include this passage.

¹⁰¹ *Ibidem*.

¹⁰² The sentence used by Vitelleschi in 1827 is “in cui [al pianterreno] è assai ristrettamente collocato il Tribunale Collegiale”. Cfr. *ibid.*, p. 85, note 42.

¹⁰³ “Il pubblico Palazzo di Ragusa residenza altrevolte Ducale, ora è destinato agli Uffici del Circolo, ed all’alloggio della primaria Autorità circolare”. *Ibid.*, p. 11.

Vitelleschi did not describe Giuriceo's entrance in Ragusa. However, there are many sources regarding this event. Suffice it to say that in 1831 all the publications printed in Ragusa by Martecchini (at the time still the only one printing house in the city) were dedicated to celebrating the new bishop's arrival¹⁰⁴. The form of these texts was mainly that of poetical address, through which the Ragusan *literati* exercised their erudition in Latin, Italian and also in Illyrian, as it was called the local Slavic language at the time. Despite the occasional nature of these texts and their encomiastic character, to get a glimpse on these publications throws light upon the thoughts of the Ragusan intelligentsia in a moment when the city seemed to rediscover a bit of importance, at least for what concerns the ecclesiastical jurisdiction. Moreover, it will be useful also to summarily describe the cultural atmosphere of the very moment when late classicism in the city began to fade and the Illyrian generation started. The presence of Slavic-written poetic compositions within these publications could be interpreted as one of the first signs, among others, that the times were ready for claiming the poetic dignity of Slavic idiom. Last but not least, one of these publications reveals a tiny but however interesting detail on Ivan August Kaznačić's adolescence.

When Giuriceo arrived in the city, in fact, some students of the Ragusan *Ginnasio* were invited to write short essays in prose and verse to celebrate the event and together celebrate the patron saint of the city San Biagio (St. Blaise/Sveti Vlaho)¹⁰⁵. The young Ivan August¹⁰⁶ therefore wrote an "Illyrian poem" which, however, in the booklet published by the publisher Martecchini was inserted in its Italian version. The Illyrian language was also chosen by a scion of the Natali aristocratic family, Matteo Natali¹⁰⁷.

¹⁰⁴ In 1831 Martecchini issued six publications, all dealing with Giuriceo's coming. Besides the little poetic anthologies, there were also the Latin and the Slavic versions of his first pastoral letter. For the list, cfr. Čučić, 2005, p. 154. On Antonio Martecchini, see paragraph 1.1.2.

¹⁰⁵ *Le lodi di S. Biagio, vescovo e martire, protettore della città e diocesi di Ragusa. Esercizio di belle lettere tenuto dagli scolari dell'I.R. Ginnasio in occasione che l'illustrissimo e reverendissimo monsignore Antonio Giuriceo prese possesso della sua Sede Vescovile. Ragusa: dalla tipografia Martecchini, 1831.*

¹⁰⁶ For a profile of Ivan August Kaznačić, see paragraph 1.1.2.

¹⁰⁷ So it is not totally correct to say – as Reill, 2012, p. 121 does – that “in 1831 when students at the local middle school (*ginnasio*) were asked to write an essay honoring the city's patron saint, only Ivan August Kaznačić wrote in the local Slavic dialect. All the other children recited their patriotic odes to Saint Blaise (Sveti Vlaho) in Italian”.

As I have anticipated, bishop Giuriceo printed his first pastoral letter in both Latin and Slavic¹⁰⁸. The fact that the new bishop had a positive predisposition towards the use of the Slavic language can also be seen in the indication given to the parish priest of Grudda (Gruda) in the rural area of Canali (Konavle)¹⁰⁹. This communication, kept in the manuscripts of the Dubrovnik Scientific Library, states that the parish priest should have given "a precise explanation in Illyrian" of the public letter through which Giuriceo informed the people of the concession of the extraordinary Jubilee by Pope Gregory XVI¹¹⁰.

From the book of anecdotes and memoirs of Josip Bersa¹¹¹, we learn that in 1836 bishop Giuriceo, together with the Illyrist poet and lawyer Antun Kaznačić (1784-1874, father of the aforementioned Ivan August)¹¹², was successful in asking the Austrian administration to restore the civil festivities for the day of San Biagio, on 3 February. The feast in fact had been abolished by the French and this prohibition had been maintained for the first twenty-two years of the Austrian government. The authorities feared in fact that this feast would bring dangerously back to life feelings of Ragusan patriotism and preferred to ban it. In 1836, the restoration of the feast did not take place without precautions on the part of the government. In fact, it was decided that the cannons at the top of the fortified walls of Ragusa should be directed towards the interior of the city and that cannons should also be prepared at the city gates. The military garrison was ready to suppress any excessively patriotic demonstration. The feast will therefore be celebrated again, with a single interruption in 1875, when dangerous show of

¹⁰⁸ Respectively A. Giuriceo, *Epistola pastoralis ad clerum et populum dioecesis Ragusinae. Ragusii: typis Martecchinianis*, 1831 and *idem, Kgniga pastjerska redovnickomu skuppu i puku biskupie dubrovacke Antun Giuriceo. U Dubrovniku: pritjesctegnima Martekinskiem, MDCCCXXXI*, 1831.

¹⁰⁹ The way of dressing of the inhabitants of the Canali area is described with watercoloured tables in *Vitelleschi's manuscript / Tolomeo*, pp. 67-69. The dresses of these rural populations are called "national clothes".

¹¹⁰ *ZKD, ZR, Rkp.* 357/1, non-numbered sheets. The letter to the people is dated 16 May 1833. On the flap of the last sheet, the indication to the parish priest appears, handwritten and signed by Giuriceo, bearing the date of 20 May 1833.

¹¹¹ In paragraph 3.2.2 I will provide some more precise information on Bersa, an important figure in Dalmatian culture between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and on his book.

¹¹² Antun Kaznačić (1784-1874) studied law in Genoa, where his father Ivan Antun was chancellor in the consulate of the Republic of Ragusa between 1803 and 1805. After the fall of the Republic he worked as a lawyer. Poet, scholar of Ragusan literature and author of verses in Slavic, he was close to the Illyrian movement since the 1830s. He collaborated with almost all the magazines in Dalmatia, including the Serbian ones, until the 1860s. Cfr. I. Pederin and K. Pranjo, 'Antun Kaznačić (Casnacich, Kaznacich)', in *HBL*, 2009 and Ćosić, 1999, p. 311.

support to the anti-Ottoman insurgents in nearby Herzegovina were feared by the government¹¹³.

As far as Antun Kaznačić is concerned, his affiliation to Freemasonry - at least as far as 1814 is concerned - is proven by a document quoted by the historian Stjepo Obad¹¹⁴.

It is worth noting that his Masonic affiliation – I am not able to establish if and when it continued in the following decades – did not prevent Antun Kaznačić from having a good relationship with bishop Giuriceo, as we can see from the episode above mentioned, nor with his successor Jederlinich, who in 1851 will ask the Holy See to grant an honor to Antun Kaznačić for services rendered in his social position "to the cause of the Catholic Religion"¹¹⁵.

Antun Kaznačić is also a key figure in the first contacts between Illyrism and Dalmatian intellectuals. In 1834 he established correspondence with Ljudevit Gaj, sending him the text of a popular poem in Slavic, translated into Italian and Latin by other Dubrovnik intellectuals¹¹⁶. In 1835 he published in the *Gazzetta di Zara*, the only newspaper in Dalmatia at the time, a manifesto entitled "*Della lingua e letteratura illirica in Dalmazia*" ("On Illyrian Language and Literature in Dalmatia"), claiming that all the most important works of European literature could be translated into the language of the Southern Slavs and that the variety spoken in Ragusa could have the same role as Tuscan had in the creation of the Italian literary language¹¹⁷.

In 1841 Ljudevit Gaj together with fellow Illyrist Antun Mažuranić visited Ragusa and stayed there for about a month. At that time there were already some Ragusan writing for his *Danica*, including Kaznačić himself, Antun Rocci¹¹⁸ and Medo Pucić. The Austrian authorities in Zara had instructed the authorities in and around Ragusa to supervise their stay. Among other things, some hindrance was

¹¹³ J. Bersa, *Dubrovačke Slike i Prilike (1800.-1880.)* [The gleanings from Dubrovnik (1800-1880)], Dubrovnik, 2002 (first ed. Zagreb, 1941) (hereinafter: Bersa, 2002), p. 132.

¹¹⁴ Obad, 1973, p. 125.

¹¹⁵ *ACPF, SC Dalmazia*, vol. 21, the Pro-Secretary of State Giacomo Antonelli to the Prefect of Propaganda Fide, Rome, 23 June 1851, f. 242rv. Cardinal Antonelli, at the request of the Pope himself, asked the Prefect of Propaganda Fide for his opinion on the request that came from the bishop of Ragusa.

¹¹⁶ Obad, 1973, p. 125.

¹¹⁷ Ćosić, 1999, p. 311.

¹¹⁸ Precisely in those years Antun/Ante Rocci (1818-1862) became a priest (to be exact, on 30 November 1840). After a year of service on the island of Lastovo (Lagosta), he began to be a parish priest in Pile, Ragusa. Then in 1844 he went to Vienna to continue his studies. He obtained a doctorate in theology and returned to Ragusa in 1846, serving in the St. Blaise's church. From 1851 until his early death in 1862, he served as military chaplain. See *Šematizam Dubrovačke Biskupije*, p. 318.

caused to the innkeeper who hosted them for having accepted the two without presenting their passports, which they had forgotten in Cattaro, the previous stage of their trip to Dalmatia¹¹⁹.

Some interesting details on Gaj's stay are contained in a letter of the younger Luigi Serragli. In honour of Gaj, a "patriotic" lunch was held at which Antun Kaznačić, Antun Rocci and other Ragusan intellectuals recited verses in Slavic and Latin. Serragli himself, who was not certainly a Slavic "patriot", was present at lunch and from this we can also understand how at the time the political divisions were not so radical in Ragusa. "This man [Gaj] is fascinated by Ragusa and the Slavic literature of Ragusa", writes Serragli to his friend Miho Messi, then a doctor in Spalato¹²⁰. Messi was writing a history of Ragusa in Italian. When Serragli informed Gaj of this, the latter was dismayed by the choice of language made by Messi¹²¹. After all, Serragli suggests to the friend, Messi could always have replied that it was too late for him to learn a new language, which he obviously didn't already know. The assessments that Serragli makes in his letter regarding the relationship between Gaj, the Austrian Government and the issue of Slavic nationalities are also interesting:

“It seems that this man of letters [Gaj] acts on behalf of the Austrian government which, however, learned a little late to deal with the Slavs' way of thinking. It may believe that it can fight Russian Greek Slavism [i.e. Serbian] with Austrian Catholic Slavism, but I think it is deluding itself, and that Greek fanaticism, both in the Austrian Slav provinces and in the neighbouring Turkish Slav provinces that may soon be coming to Austria, is for the moment indomitable, and that even if it were not, Austria does not have the ability to handle feelings, nor does it appreciate the words of nationality, language, homeland and so forth”¹²².

¹¹⁹ N. Kojić, 'Boravak Ljudevita Gaja u Dubrovniku 1841.' [The stay of Ljudevit Gaj in Dubrovnik in 1841], *Dubrovnik. Umjetnost - Nauka - Društvena pitanja*, 1, 1965, pp. 45-56.

¹²⁰ ZKD, ZK, *Korespondencija* n. 122, letter n. 1, Serragli to Messi, Ragusa, 24 June 1841.

¹²¹ *Ibidem*: “Avendogli detto che tu stai per scrivere una Storia di Ragusa in italiano si è mostrato indispettito del non aver tu scelto piuttosto la lingua illirica per questo sacro lavoro. Aspettati dunque una predichetta su questo proposito (...)”

¹²² *Ibidem*: “Questo letterato pare che agisca nelle viste del Governo Austriaco che ha imparato veramente un po tardi a far conto della ragione Slava. Esso crede forse di poter combattere lo Slavismo Greco Russo con uno Slavismo Cattolico Austriaco, ma credo che si vada illudendo assai, e che il fanatismo Greco, tanto delle provincie Slave Austriache, quanto di quelle Slave Turche che all’Austria toccheranno forse fra poco in sorte, sia per ora indomabile, e che quand’anche non lo fosse, l’Austria non ci ha grazia a maneggiar sentimenti, né le stanno bene le parole di nazionalità, lingua, patria etc.”.

Serragli then informs his friend Messi that, according to what is said in Vienna, when the Ottoman Empire collapses, "an Illyrian kingdom will arise, including Croatia, Slavonia, Bosnia and Dalmatia, and that this will help to paralyze the too dangerous force of the Magyars" (let us remember that we are still in 1841, and in light of what will happen in 1848-1849 with regard to the Magyars, we can not deny Serragli to have a certain intuition of political things). Moreover, precisely to promote this outcome, the Austrian politician of Bohemian origin Franz Anton von Kolowrat-Liebsteinsky would have entrusted Gay with this "political-literary mission". Here, too, Serragli shows that he has the pulse of the situation, writing that "this minister protects a lot Gaj"¹²³.

Luigi (alias Lujo, as it is signed for example in this letter) Serragli (1808-1902)¹²⁴ is a prominent figure in the history of Ragusa in the nineteenth century. He had been a merchant, an Autonomist politician and the consul of the Kingdom of Italy in Ragusa for almost three decades, the last three decades of the century. He was also related to Konstantin Vojnović, an important figure in the Dalmatian Slav movement, who had married Serragli's daughter, Marija¹²⁵.

Serragli was born and raised in Ragusa, but his father Giovanni came from Ancona, an Italian city on the central coast of the Adriatic¹²⁶. It is possible to argue that his relationship with the peninsula remained alive. In those same months, in fact, he wrote to his friend Messi that "I have always loved and I strongly love my father's country, I would like to see it great and happy, and I think it can not be as such, without unity, independence and freedom"¹²⁷.

The sentence is part of a reasoning that Serragli is making about his readings of that period (in particular, he is criticizing the historian Carlo Botta, 1766-1837). From these lines, we know what he was thinking about the Italian *Risorgimento* in

¹²³ The protection given by Kolowrat to Illyrism, even with permission to print its own newspaper in Slavic, is a fact confirmed by historiography. See 'Kolowrat-Liebsteinsky, Franz Anton Graf', in *BioLexSOE online*,

URL: <<https://www.bioplex.ios-regensburg.de/BioLexViewview.php?ID=1157>>

¹²⁴ The dates of birth and death (1816-1880) given in recent essay that also speaks of his figure are incorrect. I refer to D. K. Reill, 'A mission of mediation: Dalmatia's multi-national regionalism from the 1830s-60s', in L. Cole (ed.), *Different paths to the nation. Regional and national identities in Central Europe and Italy, 1830-70*, Basingstoke-New York, 2007, pp. 16-36 (p. 23).

¹²⁵ On Konstantin Vojnović, see paragraph 3.1.3.

¹²⁶ The information is contained in the register of marriages of the parish of Ragusa city. On 15 February 1832 Luigi Serragli married Cristina Givovich, born in Ragusa eight years before him. Cfr. *ABD, Matične Knjige Dubrovačke (Nad)Biskupije (Sig. 7), Matična Knjiga Vjenčanih Grad 1832-1857*, pag. 1.

¹²⁷ ZKD, ZK, *Korespondencija* n. 122, letter n. 4, Serragli to Messi, Ragusa, 15 December 1842: "Io ho amato sempre ed amo fortemente la patria di mio padre, e vorrei vederla grande e felice, nè credo possa esserlo senza unità, indipendenza e libertà".

that period still in its infancy: greater unity among the Italian populations would have been even more important than independence, and preparatory to that; the Napoleonic adventure, with the creation of an Italian kingdom, is seen with regret, because if it had lasted longer, the birth of an independent kingdom could have been probable and natural. After the fall of Napoleon, the Italian populations returned to their centuries-old divisions and "let themselves be divided again", to be then punished by foreign powers. In the present moment, writes Serragli, "nothing can help Italy. I believe that once Napoleon fell, all hope died for her". He even believes that "maybe when the word Nation will stop to make sense in Europe, then Italy will not have come to have its own nationality yet"¹²⁸.

In a letter of three years later always to his friend Messi¹²⁹, Serragli returns to talk about the history of Ragusa on which he is still working. It seems that the work is well underway and Serragli praises Messi's idea, matured in the meantime, to print it both in Italian and Illyrian. The occasion gives him an opportunity to reflect: of course, Ragusan history is the history of its aristocracy and Serragli, although he defines himself as democratic "out of feeling and rationality", knows well that "for those times [the aristocracy] was the best form of government possible"; but Messi must not fall into a "posthumous patriotism", as Antun Sorgo¹³⁰ did ("don't you see how ridiculous he is?", Serragli writes). Times change, civilizations progress, even Slavic civilizations. "So let's let them do it. They are still groping around, but they go on. Are we Ragusan wrong to learn their language, to be missionaries for them? Haven't the Greeks finally conquered Rome?¹³¹".

And at the end of the reasoning, Serragli leaves us a sentence that can be a perfect epitome of a feeling that a cultured man, in the Ragusa of the Slavic awakening, could nourish towards the future, when he started to reflect on the

¹²⁸ Ibidem: "Ora siamo in tempi che all'Italia non può più nulla giovare. Io credo, che caduto Napoleone, sia morta per lei ogni speranza (...) e forse prima la parola Nazione cesserà di avere un senso in Europa di quello che l'Italia giunga a godere di una nazionalità. Eppure poteva averla se Napoleone durava soli 10 anni di più!".

¹²⁹ ZKD, ZK, *Korespondencija* n. 122, letter n. 5, Serragli to Messi, Ragusa, 28 May 1845.

¹³⁰ On Antun Sorgo, see paragraph 1.2.2.

¹³¹ ZKD, ZK, *Korespondencija* n. 122, letter n. 5, Serragli to Messi, Ragusa, 28 May 1845: "“Lasciamoli dunque fare; essi vanno brancolando per vie torte avanti, ma vanno. Noi Ragusei facciamo forse male ad imparar la loro lingua per esser loro missionarj? [...] Non hanno infine i greci conquistato Roma?”. Here obviously the reference goes to Horace's phrase "Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit et artes intulit agresti Latium" ("Greece, the captive, took her savage victor captive, and brought the arts into rustic Latium", as translated in S. E. Alcock, *Graecia Capta. The Landscapes of Roman Greece*, Cambridge, 1996, p. 1).

inevitable and radical transformation of the city. Classicism was coming to an end; Ragusa's culture was becoming more and more totally and proudly Slavic. In the eyes of an Italophile like him, it was the advent of the "barbarians", but perhaps it wasn't all bad. Of course, that "posthumous patriotism" would have continued to exist, but the time had come when it too would have been fully inserted into a nineteenth-century national narrative, not yet fully Croatian, but Slavic:

“Isn't it better to sit at the first place of a barbarian's table than instead to starve to death among the scrolls, smelling the withered laurels? But this had been always the mistake that the fallen gentlemen made. It's nonsense to imagine that the world will weep at our grave”¹³².

2.3.2 Towards a Yugoslav Gundulić

Ivo Banac has pointed out that Marin Držić (Marino Darsa, 1508-1567), which today is considered as the most important dramaturgist and comedy writer of the whole Dalmatian Humanist period¹³³, “was almost unknown to the Illyrian generation” and that the reputation of this great Ragusan comic dramatist began to overshadow the one of Ivan Gundulić only since the 1940s¹³⁴. Perhaps the reason lies in the fact that it was the Marxist literary criticism in Titoist Yugoslavia that began to interpret Marin Držić's literary voice as a commoner who rose up against the Ragusan aristocracy in the name of popular aspiration to democratic principles. It was the prominent Croatian writer Miroslav Krleža who paved the way to this interpretation in 1948¹³⁵.

However, if one looks at the anthology of fifteenth- and sixteenth-centuries Ragusan poets that was edited by the Ragusan aristocrat Medo Pucić in Vienna in

¹³² ZKD, ZK, *Korespondencija* n. 122, letter n. 5, Serragli to Messi, Ragusa, 28 May 1845: “Non è meglio seder al primo posto della tavola di un barbaro che morir di fame fra le pergamene annusando gli appassiti allori? Ma questo fu sempre l'errore degli scaduti gentiluomini. È una sciocchezza l'immaginarsi che il mondo piangerà sulla nostra tomba”.

¹³³ M. Garzaniti, ‘L'altra sponda dell'Adriatico fra Umanesimo e Rinascimento’, in P. Pinelli (ed.), *Firenze e Dubrovnik all'epoca di Marino Darsa (1508-1567). Atti della Giornata di studi, Firenze, 31 Gennaio 2009*, Firenze, 2010, pp. 13-22 (p. 18).

¹³⁴ Banac, 1981, p. 155.

¹³⁵ F. Švelec, J. Šonje, L. Županović, ‘Marin Držić (Darsa, Dersa)’, in *HBL*, 1993. However (cfr. *ibidem*), apart from sixteenth- and seventeenth-century editions, Marin Držić's masterpiece *Dundo Maroje* was edited only in 1867 within a number of the *Dubrovnik. Zabavnik Narodne štionice dubrovačke*, the periodical of the Ragusan and *narodnjak*-oriented reading society. Then his complete works were edited in 1875 in Zagreb and the first review studies came out in 1871 and 1890.

1844¹³⁶ at the print house of the congregation of the Mechitarists (also spelled Mekhitarists)¹³⁷, an exception to the general Banac's statement does emerge. An important Illyrist (albeit with a very peculiar profile) such as Medo Pucić did include Marin Držić (here spelled "Maroje Dàržić") in his anthology, together with other ten important Ragusan authors whose works had been selected from the manuscripts owned by Pucić's family.

However, according to Banac, what made the Illyrians so much attracted by Gundulić was the Ragusan poet's "solemnity, his love of bucolic settings, and his cult of Ragusan liberty, which they understood in the most literal sense"¹³⁸.

A systematic exposition of how historiography and literary criticism in Yugoslavia, present-day Croatia and Serbia have provided reading keys to interpret Gundulić as well as other Slavic Ragusan and Dalmatian prominent authors would be a really interesting topic, inasmuch it would allow to clarify how the mainstream political and cultural ideas influenced the interpretation of the past. Here I can only introduce a very brief discussion on such an issue.

During the Yugoslav period the historian Kosta Milutinović – in an article on Ragusan cultural activism from the 1860s onwards – rated Ivan Gundulić and his almost contemporary Junije/Džono Palmotić (Giunio Palmotta, 1607-1657) as

¹³⁶ Orsat Pocić, *Slavjanska Antologia iz rukopisah dubrovačkih pjesnikah. Knjiga pàrva. U Beču 1844. Tiskom O. O. Mekitaristah* [Slavic Anthology collected from manuscripts of Ragusan poets. First Book. Vienna 1844. Printed at Mekitarists] (hereinafter: Pocić, 1844). Medo Pucić signed the introduction of the book using an odd mixture of his Italian and Slavic names. As far as I know, the second part of the anthology was never published. On the *Slavjanska Antologia*, see also Čosić, 1999, p. 323. In his almost contemporary biographical dictionary, the abbot Šime Ljubić (Simeone Gliubich) erroneously mentioned 1845 as the year of publication of *Slavjanska Antologia*, cfr. 'Orsato (de) Pozza', in *Dizionario biografico degli uomini illustri della Dalmazia compilato dall'Ab. Simeone Gliubich di Città Vecchia membro di parecchie accademie. Vienna, 1856. Rod. Lechner Librajo dell'I.R. Università. Zara. Battara e Abelich Libraj*, 1856 p. 261 (hereinafter: Gliubich, 1856). On Medo Pucić and Šime Ljubić, see below.

¹³⁷ The one of this Armenian Catholic congregation of Benedictine monks in Vienna had been an important printing house for the cultural life and the literature of all South Slavic peoples. Without pretension of exhaustiveness, it is possible here to mention that it published the Serbian Dictionary of Vuk Stefanović Karadžić (*Srpski rječnik, istolkovan njemačkim i latinskim riječma, Wien, bei den P. P. Armeniern*, 1818), with a second edition in 1852; the same author's collection of Serbian folk songs (*Srpske narodne pjesme. Knjiga Prva. U kojoj su različne ženske pjesme. U Beču, u štampariju Jermenskoga Manastira*, 1841); the renowned poem *Gorski Vijenac* of the Montenegrin Orthodox bishop Petar Petrović Njegoš (*Gorski vienac. Istoričesko sobitie pri svršetku XVII vieka sočinenie P. P. N. Vladike Crnogorskoga. U Beču, slovima Č. O. O. Mehitarista*, 1847). Cfr. also G. Wytrzens, *Slawische Literaturen-Österreichische Literatur(en). Herausgegeben von Fedor B. Poljakov und Stefan Simonek*, Bern, 2009, p. 337. On Njegoš, a key figure in the political landscape as well as in Southern Slavic culture and literature, see amongst others Z. Zlatar, *Njegoš's Montenegro: epic poetry, blood feud and warfare in a tribal zone 1830-1851*, New York, 2005.

¹³⁸ Banac, 1981, p. 155.

“the first *slovinci* in the Adriatic, two protagonists of the South Slavic thought and of a Pan-Slavic solidarity”. Through them, the need of a South Slavic rapprochement was foreshadowed, even though their poetic visions were “still indefinite and insufficiently concrete”¹³⁹.

A modern-day scholar who has studied in depth the *Osman* and its reception, Zdenko Zlatar, describing the themes of that poem “conceived after Tasso’s *La Gerusalemme liberata*” and which “deals with a topic dear to the Counter-Reformation sensibility: of Pride before the Fall, of the mutability and instability of all things”, makes it clear that the most relevant thematic element consists of “the victory of the Cross over the Crescent, of the triumph of ‘true’ religion, Christianity, over the ‘false’ one (Islam), and of the impending demise of that scourge of Christendom, the Ottoman Empire”. Moreover, dealing with the programmatic nature of Gundulić’s poem, Zlatar notes that its “in-built message” is

“a manifestation of Dubrovnik’s belief in the revival of the fortunes of the [South] Slavs, and thus a manifesto of Dubrovnik’s own brand of Pan-Slavism usually referred to as ‘Slavism’ [slovinstvo]. Đivo Gundulić’s *Osman* is both a Pan-Slav and an anti-Turkish epic”¹⁴⁰.

On closer inspection, this idea of Gundulić as a forerunner of what happened in the centuries after appears to have been deeply rooted also in Yugoslav official ideology of the interwar period. King Aleksandar I Karađorđević pronounced the following sentence, within his speech during his visit to Dubrovnik on 27 September 1925:

“[...] What Gundulić foresaw by means of his yearning vision, today has come true. Now Dubrovnik finds itself within its greater land, where a worthy, beautiful and solemn role waits for it. [...] Now Dubrovnik, which had been throughout the centuries the example of our culture and civilisation, will not interrupt this line and, having who to take as an example, it will let the light shine on itself and on us, keeping high the values of its lavish tradition”¹⁴¹.

¹³⁹ K. Milutinović, ‘Političke koncepcije dubrovačkih slovinaca’ [The political ideas of the Ragusan *slovinci*], *Jugoslavenski Istorijski Časopis*, 3-4, 1976, pp. 57-92 (p. 57), (hereinafter: Milutinović, 1976).

¹⁴⁰ Z. Zlatar, *The Poetics of Slavdom. The mythopoeic foundations of Yugoslavia*, vol. 1, New York et al., 2007, pp. 7-8 (hereinafter: Zlatar, 2007) (square brackets are in the original text).

¹⁴¹ King Aleksandar’s speech is quoted by a contemporary account, the one of Stanislav Krakov, ‘Preko Visokih Dečana i Lovčena u Primorje’ [A journey through the Orthodox monastery of Visoki Dečani and Mount Lovćen, to the Litoral], in *Almanah Jadranska Straža za 1926. Godinu* [Yearbook of the Adriatic

This passage of the king's speech is included within a detailed report of his 1926 travel through Kosovo, Montenegro and Dalmatia, signed by Stanislav Krakov¹⁴² and published in the yearbook of the *Jadranska Straža* (The Adriatic Guard), an association which was established in Split in 1922, whose first president up to 1928 was the Catholic priest and politician Juraj Biankini which was one of the central figures of Croatian politics in Dalmatia from the 1870s onwards¹⁴³. The *Jadranska Straža*, born during a moment of high tension with Italy regarding the Adriatic question, stimulated "a particular Yugoslav maritime-oriented identity", promoting the recognition of ethnic, cultural and political rights of the new state on this sea, portrayed as a crucial point within the state ideology of *narodno jedinstvo* (national oneness)¹⁴⁴.

Nevertheless, the connection of Gundulić to Yugoslav national thought did not appear to be a sort of dogma, even in the 1920s. One year before king Aleksandar's speech in Dubrovnik, the renowned *Srpski Književni Glasnik* (the Serbian Literary Review) published an article which complained any such

Guard for 1926], izdaje Jadranska Straža, Glavni Odbor, Beograd, 1926, pp. 57-143 (p. 111), cited also in S. Nedeljković, 'Srpska Društva u Dubrovniku na početku 20. Veka' [Serbian societies in Dubrovnik at the beginning of the 20th century], *Zbornik Matice Srpske za Društvene Nauke*, 122, 2007, pp. 165-178 (p. 176), [hereinafter Nedeljković, 2007].

¹⁴² Krakov's author career started on the front lines between 1914 and 1918. This figure of novelist, moviemaker and journalist has for long been considered controversial in former Yugoslavia, due to his support to general Milan Nedić during the Second World War. Recently, some Serbian authors has supported the relevance of his literary work, arguing that Krakov - emigrated in Switzerland after 1945 - has been unjustly ostracised by Yugoslav literary criticism due to his anticommunism. Cfr. N. Marinković, 'Stanislav Krakov: the Polemical Context of the Life of the Man from the Balkans', *Serbian Studies. Journal of the North American Society for Serbian Studies*, 22, 2008, 2, pp. 189-199.

¹⁴³ Juraj Biankini (1847-1928), born in the island of Hvar, was the editor of the *Narodni List* (on which see paragraph 2.2.2) from 1871 up to 1918. During his long political career, he passed through four phases: the *narodnjak* one (1871-1892); the *pravaš* one (1892-1903); the one of supporter of the *Novi Kurs* (1903-1918) and finally the one of support of unitarist Yugoslavism (1918-1920). Cfr. S. Obad, 'J. Biankini', in *HBL*, 1983 (hereinafter: Obad, 1983). On Biankini, see also paragraph 4.2.2.

¹⁴⁴ I. Tchoukarine, 'The Contested Adriatic Sea: the Adriatic Guard and Identity Politics in Interwar Yugoslavia', *Austrian History Yearbook*, 42, 2011, pp. 33-51. Despite its success in terms of individual adhesions (e.g. 68,000 members in 1935) and its multiform activity (publishing houses, summer camps and training ship, promotion of the tourism), over the course of the 1930s a gap grew between the association and the Yugoslav government, which supported it because of its unitarist Yugoslavism but started disapproving more and more its perduring anti-Italian tone during the gradual reconciliation between Belgrade and Rome.

operation of creating a national prophet out of Gundulić, Kačić or Njegoš (to whom the article was specifically dedicated)¹⁴⁵.

Certainly, the fact that Gundulić had used the Illyrian language for the *Osman* fascinated generations of pre- and post- Yugoslav intellectuals, starting right from the Illyrists. This also led to some overstatements, being that

“[the Illyrists] unabashedly compared his work [Gundulić’s one] with the greatest classics of the Western world. ‘Rejoice, oh glorious Illyria’, wrote Dimitrije Demeter (1811-72) at the bicentennial of Gundulić’s death in 1838, ‘for you can be proud of your Gundulić no less than Greece of its Homer and Italy of Dante’”¹⁴⁶.

I can add that the Homeric comparison is also witnessed well before Illyrism. I already have found it in the polemical text that in 1776 the young Dalmatian Giovanni Lovrich (Ivan Lovrić, 1754-1777), a medical student in Padua, wrote to counter the famous book on Dalmatia written by the Italian abbot Alberto Fortis:

“The high thought, the sweet poetry and the naturalness of the rhyme that can be admired in him [in Gundulić] must make the Illyrian nation, and especially his homeland [Ragusa], superb for having produced his own Homer. The most educated Dalmatians today no longer use their own talent to compose poetry in their native language and some of them, for fear of being considered barbaric, even say they ignore that language (foolishly believing that this is a virtue)”¹⁴⁷.

Lovrich’s comparison had its own resonance¹⁴⁸, so much so that it was also mentioned by Appendini, almost thirty years later, in his *Notizie storico-*

¹⁴⁵ M. Bogdanović, ‘Vratimo Njegoša literaturi’ [Let’s return Njegoš to literature], *Srpski Književni Glasnik*, 2nd ser., 16, 1925, 7, pp. 577-579, cited in Wachtel, 1998, p. 106. The passage on Gundulić, as translated by Wachtel, goes as follows: “National ideologues have created a prophet out of him, a precursor to Yugoslav thought, and they have placed him as a link in the chain with which they avidly connect Gundulić and Kačić, and then through Strossmayer and Prince Michael to our days”.

¹⁴⁶ Banac, 1981, p. 155. For the citation of Demeter’s article, see ‘Gundulić’, *Danica Ilirska*, 50, 15 December 1838, 4, pp. 197-198 (“Raduj se dakle slavna Ilirio, jer ne manje nego Grecia svojim Omerom, a Italia Dantom možeš se i ti tvojim Gundulićem dičiti!”).

¹⁴⁷ *Osservazioni di Giovanni Lovrich sopra diversi pezzi del viaggio in Dalmazia del signor abate Alberto Fortis, coll’aggiunta della vita di Soçivizca. A Sua Eccellenza E. Maffio Albrizzi gravissimo senatore veneto. In Venezia, MDCCLXXVI. Presso Francesco Sansoni. Con licenza de’ superiori*, 1776, p. 132.

¹⁴⁸ And it could not be otherwise, since Lovrich’s publication was part of a wide-ranging debate among the intellectuals of early Romanticism, between Italy and the Southern Slavic world, which also reached the giants Goethe and Herder, connected to the ethnographic discovery of Dalmatia and of the Morlachs peoples, as well as – and above all – the heritage of poetry and popular epic. From this point of view, the

*critiche*¹⁴⁹. As for Fortis, it cannot be said that the Paduan abbot¹⁵⁰ despised Ragusa and its literature, so much so that when an enlarged French version of his *Viaggio in Dalmazia* was to be published in 1801, he imagined adding a part on the city of Gundulić. There is only one small detail to note, however: in his letters to his acquaintances Fortis spoke of Ragusa as "one of the most cultured cities in Italy", a phrase that opened the way to countless discussions about his "national" opinion about Dalmatia¹⁵¹.

On the part of the Italians of Dalmatia, as we shall see, they judged Gundulić's work certainly in a not so exciting manner. They were probably influenced by the opinion of Niccolò Tommaseo who, however, cannot be accused of aversion to Southern Slavic literature, having been a great lover especially of their popular epic:

“The Illyrian poetry of Ragusa is almost all of Italian art and imitation. Many pagan poets were translated in Ragusan [*sic*]; this was a sterile luxury of art and patience. In its native language, Ragusa has the Osmanide, a poem modelled on the forms of the now too well-known epics, but which is praised today by other families of Slavic peoples”¹⁵².

At this point in the discussion, it will be useful to give some hints about the events that led to the late first printing (1826) of the poem *Osman*, prepared for publication by the Franciscan Ambrozije Marković (Ambrogio Marcovich) from

famous *Viaggio in Dalmazia* (“Journey to Dalmatia”) of the Venetian priest Alberto Fortis received European wide attention and contributed decisively to the "discovery" of this land in the eighteenth century. See Wolff, 2001; Reill, 2012, *passim*. About the Lovris-Fortis controversy (Fortis did not despise the Morlachs, on the contrary he appreciated their barbaric innocence in a Rousseauian spirit) see M. R. Leto, ‘La “fortuna” in Italia della poesia popolare serbocroata dal Fortis al Tommaseo’, *Europa Orientalis*, 11, 1992, 1, pp. 109-150 (pp. 121-124) (hereinafter: Leto, 1992). A Lovrich's excerpt on Morlachs translated into English and with a useful introduction by Teodora Shek Brnardić is in *Discourses of collective identity*, vol. 1, ‘Ivan Lovrić: The customs of the Morlachs’, pp. 57-64.

¹⁴⁹ Appendini, 1802-1803, vol. 2, p. 262.

¹⁵⁰ Fortis (1741-1803) studied theology but there is no evidence that he was ever ordained a priest. He had the title of abbot, which he kept even after leaving the Augustinian order in 1771. Cfr. L. Ciancio, ‘Alberto Fortis’, in *DBI*, vol. 49, 1997.

¹⁵¹ On this phrase by Fortis and on the related debate, see a summary in Leto, 1992, p. 115.

¹⁵² “Poesia quasi tutta di arte e di imitazione italiana, è la illirica di Ragusa. In raguseo tradotti non pochi poeti pagani; sterile lusso d'arte e di pazienza. Ragusa ha nella lingua natia l'Osmanide, poema foggiato sulle forme delle omai troppo note epopee, ma lodato oggidì da altre famiglie di popoli slavi”. Cfr. *Storia civile nella letteraria. Studii di N. Tommasèo. Ermanno Loescher, Roma Torino Firenze, 1872.*

Ragusa¹⁵³. An edition printed in Cyrillic characters was printed the following year, in 1827, in Buda¹⁵⁴.

In the very last years of the 18th century – before, there were no publishers in Ragusa, as I have already anticipated – the intellectuals of the Republic took seriously the idea of finally printing it, but nothing was done also because of the opposition of the Senate, motivated by the anti-Turkish character of the poem and the desire to maintain good relations with the powerful neighbor¹⁵⁵. There was also a philological difficulty, as we learn from the preface written by Appendini to the first Italian translation of the poem published in Ragusa in 1827¹⁵⁶. The person who was most involved in preparing the *Osman* for printing had in fact realized that the abundance of manuscripts was anything but a facilitation. Appendini mentions the words that this person, Gianluca Volanti, had written in his unpublished preface in Italian: the manuscripts were often altered, with missing pieces and important differences between one and the other and this also made it difficult to reconstruct the narrative plot¹⁵⁷. Then there was the problem of two entire missing parts (the fourteenth and fifteenth), to complete which a first attempt was made on the occasion of Volanti's attempt of edition, by the poet from Ragusa

¹⁵³ The three-volume *editio princeps* is *Osman spjevagne vitescko Giva Gundulichja vlastelina Dubrovackoga. Osnanjegnem djellaa Gundulichjevieh, i scivotom Osmanoviem priteceno, sdârscjagnima Pjevagnaa naresceno, Nadomjeregnima stvarji od Spjevaoza u kratko narecenieh, i Isgovaragnem rjecji tkomugodi sumracnieh sljedjeno. U Dubrovniku, po Antunu Martekini*, 1826. The list of subsequent editions can be found in Zlatar, 2007, pp. 447-448.

¹⁵⁴ Cfr. G. A. Casnacich [Ivan August Kaznačić], 'Giovanni F. Gondola', in *Galleria di ragusei Illustri. Ragusa Pier-Francesco Martecchini Editore tipografo e libraio*, 1841, p. 8* (hereinafter: Casnacich, 1841). (*) This book is not organized with a continuous page-numbering. Each chapter (corresponding to a biographical profile) has its own pagination from the number 1 onwards, that starts again each time from scratch.

¹⁵⁵ Ćosić, 1999, pp. 292-293, citing Muljačić in this regard.

¹⁵⁶ The first Italian translation dates back to the end of the eighteenth century, but it was lost. Cfr. Zlatar, 2007, p. 448 and D. Fališevac, 'Ivan Gundulić (Dživo, Giovanni, Johannes; Gondola, Plavčić, Plavković)', in *HBL*, 2002. Some extracts of *Osman* translated into Latin and Italian were published in Appendini, 1802-1803, *vol. 2*, pp. 262-268. Niccolò Giachich (alias Nikola Jakšić), a lawyer and public servant of Zara, had already made the Italian translation a few years before 1827 and handed over an extract to Tommaseo, who published it in Venetian literary magazine in 1824. Cfr. Valentinelli, 1855, p. 218, also cited in Rogulja, 1992, p. 81. Today it is established that Giachich was the author of the translation published in 1827, although this book strangely does not mention it. See also S. Bonazza, 'Ivan Gundulić nella scienza letteraria italiana', *Glas CCCLXXIX Srpske akademije nauka i umetnosti. Odeljenje jezika i književnosti*, 15, 1996, pp. 115-126 (hereinafter: Bonazza, 1996).

¹⁵⁷ Cfr. *Memorie sulla vita, e sugli scritti di Gianfrancesco Gondola patrizio raguseo Autore del Poema Illirico intitolato L'Osmanide* [written by Francesco Maria Appendini], in *Versione libera dell'Osmanide*, 1827, pp. 1-55 (pp. 28-32).

Pjerko Sorkočević (alias Pierco Sorgo)¹⁵⁸. After Volanti's death in 1808, Appendini bought his manuscript but the poem was not published for other years. Not only for fear of the Turks, but also for the concerns of the two new governments of Ragusa, first the French and then the Austrian. To the authorities, the *Osman* in those years appeared to have unbearable contents. The Austrian censorship did not respond to the requests for permission presented by the publisher Martecchini in 1821, 1823 and 1825, the year in which it finally gave its consent¹⁵⁹. Curiously, Father Marković did not know that Volanti's work was in the hands of Appendini, or so he writes while reconstructing his work. Fortunately for him, he found a bad copy of Volanti's manuscript in the rich library of the Franciscans of Ragusa. With the help of the librarian Father Benigno Albertini and the priest Radelja (see paragraphs 1.2.2 and 2.2.1), Marković composed the text of the *editio princeps*. Yet his purpose was not to publish it, but only - he says with a modesty perhaps rhetoric - to donate it to the library of his monastery. But the rumours arrived to Martecchini, who after repeated requests obtained Marković's consent for the publication¹⁶⁰. This is how *Osman* came out to the literary public of Ragusa and beyond. However, we will have to wait a few more years for a widespread rise of its cult, also connected to political values.

¹⁵⁸ Gianluca Volanti (alias Đanluka Volantić, 1749-1808), for many years held public positions in the secretariat of the Republic of Ragusa. He began to deal with *Osman*, its introduction and notes as early as 1795, to the delight of the circle of Ragusan classicist intellectuals, including the Chersa/Krša brothers (on whom see paragraph 2.2.1), who were also – well before the Illyrists – enthusiastic about "our Homer". Cfr. Arsić, 2009, p. 102. Volanti, according to Appendini, was a great connoisseur of the Illyrian language and carried out public functions for the Republic "for more than forty years". Cfr. *Grammatica della lingua illirica compilata dal padre Francesco Maria Appendini delle Scuole Pie professore di eloquenza nel collegio di Ragusa. Ragusa MDCCCVIII. Presso Antonio Martecchini con licenza de' superiori*, 1808, p. xvii.

¹⁵⁹ Documentary quotations and literature summaries on the subject in Arsić, 2009, pp. 103-108. The presence in Martecchini's bookshop of books by Hume, considered anti-Catholic, had also caused him some problems with the civil and religious authorities in 1822.

¹⁶⁰ *Lettera del p. lettore Ambrogio Marcovich minore osservante ad un suo amico sulla Osmanide di Gianfrancesco Gondola ultimamente per le sue cure stampata a Ragusa, e su alcune relazioni da lui date circa le Opere del medesimo Gondola. Venezia. Simone Occhi editore, 1828, pp. 5-9.*

2.3.3 A Southern Slavic “Homer”

In 1838 a man of letters from Sebenico, Marco Antonio Vidovich¹⁶¹, published the second Italian translation of the *Osman*, dedicating it to the bishop of Ragusa, Giuriceo¹⁶². A few months later, in November 1839, Marco Antonio and his wife Ana Vidovich, an important bilingual poetess, found themselves travelling companions of Niccolò Tommaseo, on board the steamer that took him to Ragusa. Upon his arrival¹⁶³, the already famous intellectual from Sebenico¹⁶⁴ would have found waiting for him Antun Kaznačić, the government employee and writer Baro Bettera (of which we will discuss shortly) and the publisher Pier Francesco (Petar Frano) Martecchini (1806-1900), the son of the already mentioned Antonio who had continued his publishing activity after the father's death in 1835. Martecchini and Antun Kaznačić were planning an ambitious project in those very months, a book entitled *Galleria di ragusei illustri* containing 24 biographies and 26 lithographic portraits of the most illustrious figures in the cultural history of Ragusa¹⁶⁵. During Tommaseo's visit, the project was already in full swing and

¹⁶¹ Marco Antonio Vidovich (alias Marko Antun Vidović), together with other Dalmatian intellectuals including the already mentioned Giuriceo, is part of that period of Dalmatian cultural history which according to Croatian historiography was marked by Italianity (*talijanština*). The use of Italian language, in them, did not prevent a strong interest in Slavic literature and identification in Slavo-Dalmatian and then, only gradually and especially after 1848, Croatian culture. For the cultural climate of these decades, see Vrandečić, 2002, pp. 56-67. A summary in Ivetic, 2014, pp. 210-215. On the influences of anti-tyrannical literature and on the Slavo-Dalmatian idea in the historical tragedies written by Vidovich between 1858 and 1862, see S. Perković, *Il concetto di tirannide nelle tragedie di Marco Antonio Vidovich*, Sveučilište u Splitu, Diplomski Rad [University of Split, Graduation thesis], 2017, URL: <<https://urn.nsk.hr/urn:nbn:hr:172:425026>>.

¹⁶² *L'Osmanide poema epico di Gian-Francesco Gondola di Ragusa dall'Ilirico in Italiano tradotta per Marc-Antonio Vidovich di Sebenico. Ragusa coi tipi di Piet. Francesco Martecchini*, 1838.

¹⁶³ S. Stojan, 'Tommaseo in Dubrovnik', *Dubrovnik annals*, 2, 1998, pp. 99-107 (hereinafter: Stojan, 1998).

¹⁶⁴ Tommaseo learned the Slavic language well only as an adult, even though he listened to it as a child, thanks to his mother Caterina Chevessich. It was in 1839 that he wrote his first work in "Illyrian", an elegy dedicated to his mother - who died on 8 September of that year - and which was printed in Venice in 1840. And always in those months of 1839, being in Corsica, Tommaseo learned of Fortis' book and from there, according to his own testimony, was born his interest in the Southern Slavic popular poetry, to which he dedicated important works. See S. Bonazza, 'La ricezione di Niccolò Tommaseo in Croazia e in Serbia', *Atti della Accademia Roveretana degli Agiati. Classe di Scienze Umane, Lettere ed Arti*, 4, A, 2004, 2, pp. 187-205.

¹⁶⁵ The book should also have had a second edition with further biographies, but it was not printed. The lithographs were made in Venice, but from Martecchini's archives it emerges that the author of the drawings that were made to copy the original portraits was Martecchini himself. Pier Francesco in fact also had a talent for drawing and painting. Born in Ragusa from a Venetian father, in his long life he fully assumed the Ragusan identity and the "local patriotism", even if in the 1870s he will be close to the

Antun Kaznačić played an important role in it. The Ragusan authors who were gathering were young and promising figures, such as the poet priest Antun Pasko Kazali and then two students in Padua: Ivan August Kaznačić – Antun’s son – and Orsatto Pozza, the noble Ragusan who had not yet decided to call himself Medo Pucić¹⁶⁶. Tommaseo decided to contribute to the book and in fact wrote four biographies. It was thanks to his interest that some Italian intellectuals, including Francesco Dall'Ongaro, Luigi Carrer and Ignazio and Cesare Cantù, also offered their texts¹⁶⁷.

The *Galleria di ragusei Illustri* was not a product of Zagreb Illyrist *milieu* but the Illyrist ideas influenced it. However, it did not include a profile of Marin Držić. This could indirectly confirm Banac’s assertion on the secondary role attributed to this dramatist by the Illyrist generation, even if a doubt remains on the possibility that he had been mentioned within the book, as we will see within the following pages dealing with one unclear passage in it.

Be that as it may, the undoubtedly honourable task of writing the portrait of Ivan Gundulić was up to Ivan August Kaznačić, who himself found unavoidable to reiterate the theme of the Ragusan poet as the “Southern Slavic Homer”¹⁶⁸ and configured the discourse in an Illyrist mood, mixed with local Ragusan pride. The prelude is marked by a precise interpretation of the past. Ragusa had been “the heir of Roman liberty” as well as “the shelter of the sacred flame”, while the Turkish invasion “destroyed the most flourishing Southern Slav provinces” and “the victorious barbarity devastated every landmarks of Illyrian nationhood”. Many Slavs managed to “escape from the odious yoke” and sought defense allying with strangers. Only a few of them (“the last remains of that unfortunate nation”) took shelter in Ragusa, an “oasis of civilization”¹⁶⁹.

Autonomists. For these details, see the dated but still very useful V. Foretić, ‘Dubrovački tiskar i knjižar 19. stoljeća Petar Franjo Martecchini kao crtač, akvarelist i ljubitelj starina [The Ragusan 19th century printer and bookmaker Petar Franjo Martecchini as an artistic draughtsman, a watercolourist and an antiquity lover], *Prilozi povijesti umjetnosti u Dalmaciji*, 10, 1956, 1, pp. 230-256 (hereinafter: V. Foretić, 1956).

¹⁶⁶ On the genesis of the name change and its dating to 1843, see Reill, 2012, p. 127.

¹⁶⁷ Stojan, 1998, p. 103.

¹⁶⁸ Casnacich, 1841 (see the note in paragraph 2.3.2 for an explanation of the particular pagination of the *Galleria di Ragusei Illustri*). The sentence which contains the comparison goes as follows: “La letteratura illirica non aveva una Epopea, e Gondola volle esser l’Omero dei Slavi del mezzogiorno”. This essay was reissued in Kaznačić, 1881, pp. 50-60.

¹⁶⁹ Casnacich, 1841, p. 1: “L’invasione turca avea distrutte le più fiorenti provincie slave del mezzogiorno, e quelle che erano sfuggite all’odioso giogo cercarono nell’alleanza straniera, difesa contro la minacciante rovina. Ma nel mentre che la barbarie vittoriosa distruggeva col ferro e col fuoco ogni monumento della nazionalità illirica, sorgeva la piccola Ragusi ad asilo e custodia della sacra fiamma.

Kaznačić remarked that the “Illyrian-Ragusan literature” experienced its own brightest epoch at the beginning of the 16th century whereas at the end of this century it started to lose its original purity. The influence of Italian culture at that time is described in the following way:

“Being detached from all the other Northern Slavic lands, both for geographical and political reasons, Ragusa replicated every cultural evolution of neighbour Italy, and the intellectual ties between the two nations became tighter more than ever at the end of the sixteenth century”¹⁷⁰.

Kaznačić then revisited the first steps of Gundulić’s literary activity, mentioning his translations of Italian works. What the poet was looking for, it is said, was to impress lasting footprints in the “Illyrian literature”. He felt much attracted to the study of Illyrian language and literature, to which he dedicated the time left free by the activities in the republican magistratures and by the domestic occupations¹⁷¹.

It can be said that this essay will enjoy a good reputation in the years to come, given that in 1856 Šime Ljubić¹⁷² will cite it almost entirely in his entry on Ivan Gundulić that will be published in his *Dizionario biografico degli uomini*

Così gli ultimi avanzi di quella sventurata nazione trovavano ricetto presso gli eredi della romana libertà, in questa oasi di civiltà, in questa Ragusa, ove la letteratura slava veniva coltivata con sì costante e generoso affetto dai suoi bardi che preferivano l’eco dei loro monti deserti al plauso rumoroso di terre straniere (...).”

¹⁷⁰ *Ibidem*, p. 1: “Separata e per distanza e per interessi politici da tutti i paesi slavi del nord, Ragusa ebbe a ripetere dalla vicina Italia ogni progresso nella coltura, e i vincoli intellettuali tra le due nazioni si strinsero più che mai alla fine del decimo sesto secolo”.

¹⁷¹ *Ibidem*, p. 2: “Gli ozi involati alle domestiche e alle pubbliche cure raddolciva collo studio della lingua e letteratura illirica, cui sentivasi tratto da irresistibil forza”. The same sentence in ‘Giovanni Francesco Gondola’, in Gliubich, 1856, pp. 161-166 (p. 161). See also the following footnote.

¹⁷² Šime Ljubić (1822-1896), born in Hvar to a French mother and a father's family of ancient Bosnian nobility, also studied as a boy in Ragusa with the Piarist Fathers. Italian was the language of his education and also the language he used for his writings and notes. In the 1840s he approached the Dalmatian Slavic movement and also argued with Ivan Zaffron, who later became bishop of Ragusa in the 1870s, claiming that the inscriptions found on ancient coins showed that the Slavic language had been used even in very remote times. A priest since 1847, he worked hard for the introduction of the Slavic language in the courts and in public administration. Not without conflict with the ecclesiastical authorities, he continued his historical research approaching the Yugoslav program of Strossmayer and Rački and claiming the Slavic nature of Dalmatia. His negative interpretation of Venetian rule over Dalmatia would have greatly influenced subsequent Croatian historiography. He received honorary awards both from Francis Joseph and Victor Emmanuel II of Italy. Information taken from R. Tolomeo, ‘Simeone Gliubich’, in *DBI*, vol. 57, 2001.

illustri della Dalmazia. This influent historian yet did not use the premise written by Kaznačić that I have cited above¹⁷³.

Kaznačić offered his own interpretation on the multifaceted effects of Italian influence on Ragusan literature. I will dwell on this statement also comparing it with an opinion on the same subject that will be published in Ragusa fifty-three years later. They are of interest not only for historians of Southern Slavic literature, but more generally for those who study the evolution of relations between Italy and *Slavia* in the nineteenth century.

The Slavic drama – Kaznačić used this adjective and the adjective “Illyrian” interchangeably – would perhaps have eventually reached the same heights reached by the Spanish drama, considering the late fifteenth-century achievements of Ragusan Slavic literature, namely the works of the poet and dramatist Mauro Vetrani (Mavro Vetranović, also known as Mavro Vetranić Čavčić, 1482-1576)¹⁷⁴, as well as the comedies of one “Darsich”¹⁷⁵. This would have been happened, if

¹⁷³ Ljubić correctly acknowledged having take advantage of historiographical works and biographies collections which had been published before his own work, especially those of the first half of the nineteenth century such as Appendini’s, Carrara’s and other authors’ works. The *Galleria di Ragusei Illustri* was praised by Ljubić as “a precious collection of biographies (...) written by national and foreign authors which are currently amongst the most renowned ones”. Both the quotations are in Gliubich, 1856, p. vi.

¹⁷⁴ See L. Plejić-Poje, ‘Mavro Vetranović’, in *HBL*, 2016 for this author. A late nineteenth-century essay on him is the very interesting work of the scholar and pedagogist Giorgio Carić (Juraj Carić), published as an insert within the Italian-written curriculum of the Dubrovnik Nautical School in 1894-1895. See G. Carić, ‘Del poeta raguseo Mavro Vetranić Čavčić (1482-1575)’, Carlo Pretner, Ragusa 1895, in *Decimoquarto Programma dell’I. R. Scuola Nautica di Ragusa per l’anno scolastico 1894-1895, edito dalla Direzione dell’I. R. Scuola Nautica*, Ragusa, 1895, (hereinafter: Carić, 1895), pp. 1-36. The *Skupni Katalog* (a union catalog of Croatian libraries), classifies this text as a discrete bibliographic entity and enumerates two copies of it, preserved in Zadar’s Scientific and University libraries. A copy of Carić’s essay inserted within the printed curriculum of the Dubrovnik Nautical School does exist in the university libraries of Giessen and of Eichstätt-Ingolstadt. The latter copies are at the following Url: <[urn:nbn:de:bvb:824-dtl-0000031176](http://nbn:de:bvb:824-dtl-0000031176)> and that are what I have consulted. The school curricula that were printed in Habsburg Dalmatia used to include learned essays; it was a quite common feature for this kind of publications. On paragraph 4.2.3 I will deal with this author’s homonymy with another Juraj Carić, a Catholic clergyman which will become the bishop of Split in 1918.

¹⁷⁵ In Casnacich, 1841, p. 2, it is not specified if the author was referring to Džore Držić (Giorgio Darsa, also known as Diore de Darsa, 1461-1501) or rather to his relative Marin Držić. Since he mentioned the “comedies” of one “Darsich”, one could argue for Marin Držić. However, the hypothesis that Kaznačić was pointing at Džore Držić could also be corroborated by the context of the sentence, focused on the late fifteenth-century literature. Further references to this latter author in D. Fališevac, ‘Džore Držić’, in *HBL*, 1993. In his corresponding *Dizionario* entry, Ljubić called Džore Držić “the Ragusan Dante” and the “most ancient national poet”. See ‘Giorgio Darsich’, in Gliubich, 1856, p. 99. It is a further demonstration that such challenging comparisons were a common trend within the proud Dalmatian historiography of the time.

“(...) the influence from Italian pastoral literature, from the *Aminta* and from the *Pastor fido* - precious gems of Italian literature, but not imitable models, and in any case inferior to the real drama for what concerns their moral values - would not have led astray the Ragusan talents too. Gondola underwent this influence for what concerned his dramatic works, but this fact did not prevent him from being inspired from nobler stimulus imposed by his patriotic sentiment”¹⁷⁶.

The essay continued pointing out how “the study of foreign literatures” made Gundulić so much devoted to harmonic and mellifluous language to the point that sometimes “he sacrificed the robustness and the strength [of the Illyrian language] to the advantage of harmony”. According to Kaznačić this flaw – “barely visible in the great poet” – made unbearable the works of Gundulić’s many imitators and led to the beginning of “Illyrian-Ragusan” literature’s decline. The portrait followed with a description of *Osman*’s plot (Gundulić’s masterpiece) and after having praised the first two Italian translations published in Dubrovnik between 1827 and 1838, the Ragusan writer expressed the fervent wish that a third one would appear soon¹⁷⁷; one could wonder if the other two did not meet Kaznačić’s expectations, but there are not more assertion on this within the text. However, the third Italian translation will never appear¹⁷⁸.

¹⁷⁶ Casnacich, 1841, pp. 2-3: “tutti questi ben augurati esordii avrebbero forse condotto il dramma slavo a quell’altezza cui toccò lo spagnuolo, se l’Italiana influenza del genere pastorale, se l’Aminta e il Pastor fido, gemme preziose dell’italiana letteratura, ma non imitabili modelli, e di molto inferiori nell’utilità morale al vero dramma non avessero traviato anche gl’ingegni ragusei. Il Gondola si risentì di quell’influsso nelle sue produzioni drammatiche, ma non tanto da non seguire più nobili ispirazioni dettate da un patriotico [*sic*] sentimento”.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 6: “Comparvero finora due traduzioni in lingua italiana, che lasciano ardentemente desiderarne una terza.”

¹⁷⁸ Zlatar, 2007, p. 448.

3. Mid-century transition to modernity

3.1 Plans for the future

3.1.1 Origins of the Serb Catholic idea

The history of the Serb Catholic group of Dubrovnik can be divided into two stages. The first went from the end of the 1830s and had a mainly cultural character, meaning that this claim of *Srpstvo* remained circumscribed to intellectual media (poetry and principally literary reviews) and topics. The second stage, from the 1880s onwards, had a mainly political character, although cultural and historiographical issues were an integral part of its activism.

This distinction arises from generational motivations and from the different general coordinates of these two periods. It is only from the 1860s onwards that political nationalisms in the Austrian lands had their momentum, fuelled by the constitutional regime and the political institutions (firstly, such provincial assemblies as the Dalmatian *Sabor*) made possible by the Habsburg monarchy¹.

Dealing with the origins of the Serb Catholic group in its first period, the key figures are Medo Pucić (1821-1882) and Matija Ban (1818-1903), both Ragusan intellectuals with a Catholic background.

The first Ragusan native to make a display of *Srpstvo* was Orsato Pozza, alias Medo Pucić, descendant of an eminent family in the history of the *Repubblica di Ragusa*. He decided to slavicize his name while studying law at University in Padova². His relationship with the Italian cultural world fluctuated from an overt

¹ Some influential protagonists of Habsburg studies remind us not to forget the mainly loyalist attitudes of these political nationalisms, which in general did not desire the breakdown of the Monarchy nor the creation of independent national entities, pushing rather for moderate solutions such as (in the case of the Croat-driven *Narodna Stranka*, or Popular Party) the administrative union between the provinces of Dalmatia and Croatia-Slavonia inside a multinational state. For some recent general assessments of the problem, see Judson, 2017, p. 5 and Gary B. Cohen, 'Nationalist Politics and the Dynamics of State and Civil Society in the Habsburg Monarchy, 1867-1914', *Central European History*, 40, 2007, 2, pp. 241-278. On the Yugoslav plans of 1860s and on the role of bishop Strossmayer in them, see paragraph 4.1.

² In a book which, in its English version, was published after the First World War in order to receive international attention on the danger represented for Dalmatia by the Italian expansionist aims, the Ragusan noble and diplomat Lujo Vojnović will argue that the Pozza family is native to the interior of Serbia and that its representatives who carried out diplomatic tasks for the Republic of Ragusa signed themselves with the Slavic version of the name, namely "Počić". So, there are two different versions, a

rejection of the alleged oppressive Venetian rule over Dalmatia, a stance expressed writing for the Trieste-based review *La Favilla* during the early 1840s, to a fascination with the *Risorgimento* movement.

Pucić felt a fascination with Serbian ancient and recent history (the prestigious greatness of its medieval kingdom, the uprisings against Ottoman rule at the beginning of 19th century) as well as with the epic poetry and myths of Serbian oral literature. According to Banac, in 1841 his poem *Bosanske davorije* (“The Bosnian Marches”) included the first explicit statement of *Srpstvo* by a Catholic from Ragusa³, as well as an invitation to Serbian patriots “to seize their guns” in the Ottoman occupied lands⁴.

But it would be reductive to describe Pucić only as a Serbian nationalist. He was influenced by the *Zeitgeist* of the 1830s and 40s, a period of intense cultural activism among the South Slavic elites, marked by a rediscovery of local folklore and by a claim for the dignity of Illyrian/Slavic language and heritage. At the same time, Pucić was an active protagonist in generating that atmosphere, writing poetry, essays and articles, in Dalmatia as well as in the Habsburg Italian lands.

Pucić is included among the six individual profiles (Niccolò Tommaeo and Ivan August Kaznačić are included among them) that Dominique Reill has described in terms of “Adriatic multi-nationalism” while deliberately evaluating as reductive the identification of this intellectual in terms of exclusively Serb Catholic nationalism. It is a good point, in our opinion, provided that this important part of Pucić’s biography is not totally neglected. Differently, it would remain inexplicable why after his death he actually became a sort of tutelary deity for the Serb Catholics of the 1890s.

The other protagonist of this early phase of the Serb Catholic movement, Matija Ban, showed an even more complex profile. During his youth in Ragusa, he was educated by a learned Dominican and entered the seminary, but very soon gave up his religious career and then moved to Turkey, where he married a Greek woman. According to his biographers, in the 1840s he was in contact with the

diatribe that we often find in the interpretations of the history of Dubrovnik. For Vojnović, Pozza is the Italianization of a Slavic surname. According to other interpretations, "Pucić" is the Slavicisation of "Pozza". The book of Vojnović is *Dalmatia and the Yugoslav movement, by Count Louis Voinovitch with a preface by Sir Arthur Evans, London, George Allen, 1920* (pag. 142).

On the question of the Italian rather than Slavic nature of Ragusan nobles’ family name, cfr. S. Bertelli, *Trittico. Lucca, Ragusa, Boston, Roma, 2004*, esp. pp. 56-62.

³ Banac, 1983 p. 455. See Ćosić, 1999, pp. 330-331 for a description of the various versions of these verses.

⁴ Hajdarpasic, 2015, pag. 93.

inner circle of Ilija Garašanin, the minister of the Principality of Serbia which played a crucial role in the elaboration of the first designs for expansion of the Serbian state, in order to encompass all the Serbian people outside its borders (notably, those living in the Ottoman lands)⁵. His diplomatic activities continued later on. In the 1860s, for instance, while acting as the chief propagandist of Prince Mihailo's government in Beograd, Ban was directly engaged in Serbia's goals of fomenting insurrections in Ottoman provinces⁶.

Regarding his role in the early period of the Serb Catholic movement, it should be considered that Ban returned to Dubrovnik in 1848, after some years of diplomatic and more or less covert activities around the South Slavic Balkans. Similarly to his fellow citizen Pucić, his pro-Serbian ideas went hand in hand with his support for the idea of the administrative unification of Dalmatia and Croatia-Slavonia under the Habsburg crown. Within the Serbian-oriented activism in Croatia and Dalmatia, this last stance was eventually to radically change during the following decades. Opposition to this unification would become a key issue of Serbian politicians outside the Principality (later, from 1882 onwards, Kingdom) of Serbia.

Nevertheless the first phase of the Serb Catholic movement coincided with a political and cultural collaboration between Serbs and Croats, which lasted until 1879, when a split occurred in the Dalmatian *Narodna Stranka* and the Dalmatian Serbs founded the *Srpska Narodna Stranka* (Serbian National Party).

But in 1848 the political atmosphere was totally different. As a consequence of the uprisings which occurred in the Austrian Empire, the proclamation of 15 March issued by the Emperor Ferdinand I gave freedom to the press. In Ragusa, Ban and Pucić exposed their ideas in a weekly written in Italian and called *L'Avvenire*, written in Italian and edited by Pucić's former colleague in the Triestine *La Favilla*, Ivan August Kaznačić. Even though inspired by a (post) Illyrian orientation, the weekly was the means by which Ban and Pucić tried to reach a relatively ample audience with their ideas: the identification of *štokavci* (namely, the Štokavian speakers) as Serbs; consequently, the numerical reduction

⁵ D. Bataković, *The foreign policy of Serbia (1844-1867). Ilija Garašanin's Načertanije*, Belgrade, 2014; Paul N. Hehn, 'The Origins of Modern Pan-Serbism - The 1844 Načertanije of Ilija Garašanin: an analysis and translation', *East European Quarterly*, 9, 1975, 2, pp. 153-171.

⁶ D. MacKenzie, *The Serbs and Russian Pan-Slavism 1875-1878*, Ithaca, 1967, esp. pp. 7-11 (hereinafter: MacKenzie, 1967). Cfr. Hajdarpasic, 2015, pp. 93-98, on Ban's activities and the Serbian political strategy from the 1840s onwards (a crossconfessional vision, with an appeal to the freedom of Slavic peoples which, according to the author, was at odds with Serbia's "staunchly Orthodox outlook".)

of the Croatian people's size and, finally, the necessity for them to join the Serbian nation to become stronger. Writing a long essay on the recent history of the Slavic revival in the Empire, Matija Ban explicitly defined the Serbs as "the purest and most energetic Slavic race, which preserved the memory of its own ancient bravery, independence and greatness through centuries lived in subjugation". The Serbian uprisings of the early 19th century, according to Ban, paved the way for a reform in the literary field (alluding implicitly to that of Vuk). Here stated is his idea about the Croatian's role in this process: "The good Croats generously adopted the Serbian dialect giving up their own dialect, then they merged with the Serb family thus starting the fusion of different South Slavic branches into one"⁷.

L'Avvenire ceased very soon, in 1849. Ban and Pucić founded the yearly *Dubrovnik - cviet narodnog književstva*, expressing once more the Serb Catholic linguistic idea (the same dialect as a mark of the one population – the Serb – comprising members from both the Catholic and Orthodox confessions) as part of a (post) Illyrian oriented periodical. According to Stjepan Ćosić, ultimately these two intellectuals could be considered as "Illyrian with a Serbian national consciousness", rather than Serbian national integralists proper (referring with this latter definition to the disciples of Vuk and of the official politics of the Serbian Principality)⁸.

The actual influence of Vuk Karadžić's linguistic theory on the Serb Catholic movement is still a controversial issue in the historiography. Nikola Tolja has criticized the opinions of the mainstream of Croatian historians, arguing that Vuk's theory explains only partially the origin of the Serb Catholic idea. Instead, Tolja explains its rise in connection with the peculiar conditions of Dubrovnik during Habsburg rule, namely the transition from a rich city-state to the condition of a periphery in an empire. The most convincing of Tolja's arguments are the following: there were nearly no Serb Catholic activists in other *Štokavian*-speaking territories in Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia; apart from those in Dubrovnik and the Kotor Bay, another group of Serb Catholics, albeit small, is recorded in Split and in Kaštela, which are *Čakavian*-speaking territories; and finally, were Vuk's theory the main reason for the rise of the movement, it would hardly be explainable that the Serb Catholics committed to Serbian exclusivism only four decades after the spread of the Serbian linguist's theory and the efforts of Ban and Pucić.

⁷ 'Esame delle questioni politico-slave. Cenno storico sul movimento degli Slavi', *L'Avvenire*, 27, 1849, 1, 3 February, p. 1 (this was the first part of the essay, which continued over the next eight issues).

⁸ Ćosić, 1999, pp. 325-336.

Tolja therefore concludes that the other reason to be considered in order to understand the rise of the second period of the Serb Catholic movement (more politically oriented and widespread than the first one) is the deeply-rooted desire of Dubrovnik's elites to make their city great again. This Serb Catholic ideology, with its emphasis on the independence of Serbia and Montenegro as an example to be followed by the South Slavic people, came from disillusionment with the Austrian rule over the city⁹.

A disillusionment which is widely recorded by many sources. One of many is the following:

“Today's Dubrovnik is only a pale shadow of the ancient Dubrovnik. Many churches and palaces have disappeared, the outskirts of the city lie in ruins [...] The Rector's Palace has been converted into a residence for Austrian civil servants”.

This is a part of a travelogue written by Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, one of the first Croatian professional historians. During his 1856 visit, he felt a mixture of admiration for the faded glory of “the Slavic Athens” and of sadness at its present conditions. He worked in the historical archives, describing the narrow spaces of the former Chancellor of the Republic's Office, the lack of monitoring of the documents and the inadequate cleaning of the glorious building¹⁰.

3.1.2 Catholicism and public education (Juraj Pulić)

In the pages of that real volcano of ideas that *L'Avvenire* was, we also find a broad and ambitious dissertation on what should be the new principles of public education in the Austrian Empire, a text which, according to Kasandrić, received praise even outside Dalmatia¹¹ being a few months later published as a distinct

⁹ Tolja, 2011, pp. 299-303.

¹⁰ I. Perić, ‘Dubrovnik i Dubrovčani u očima Ivana Kukuljevića Sakcinskog’ [Dubrovnik and his citizens described by Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski], in *id.*, *Dubrovačke teme XIX. stoljeća* [Portraits of Dubrovnik from the 19th century], Zagreb, 1997, pp. 5-35 (pp. 13-15) (hereinafter: Perić, 1997). During his visit to Dubrovnik, the Croatian Kukuljević Sakcinski had a cordial meeting with the Serbian priest and scholar Đorđe Nikolajević (*ibid.*, p. 20): both were conducting historical research in the city archives. This is further evidence of cultural collaboration between Serbian and Croatian intellectuals during those years, notwithstanding the rise of the Serb Catholic idea.

¹¹ Kasandrić, 1899, p. 108.

booklet. The pen that signed those reflections was that of Juraj Pulić (Giorgio Pulich/Pulich, 1816-1883) who was another example of a Ragusan which was successful and honoured outside of his hometown during this period: a fate similar, therefore, to that of Matija Ban and Medo Pucić, in this period, as well as to that of other important figures of the Slav national movement in Dalmatia in the following years, such as Miho Klaić or, a later generation, the priest and politician Ivo Prodan.

Pulić became a Catholic priest in 1840, after having also studied at the prestigious Augustineum in Vienna¹². After 1842, after finishing his studies, he returned to Ragusa¹³ and in 1849 he began to teach religious education in the local Gymnasium in that time run by the Piarist Fathers. From 1844 to 1849 he had been the chancellor of the diocesan curia¹⁴. However, from 1851 his career will take place elsewhere, in Zara, then in Spalato from 1862 and finally also in Trento.

His unsigned reflections on the necessity of Austrian system of public education were published in several episodes in *L'Avvenire* between 14 October and 25 November 1848¹⁵. Erroneously, Dominique Kirchner Reill has attributed their authorship to Medo Pucić¹⁶, but it is undeniable from the testimony of

¹² For a brief biographical profile, see J. A. Soldo, 'Juraj Pulić', in *ÖBL* 1815-1950, *Bd.* 8 (*Lfg.* 39, 1982), p. 330.

¹³ While still studying in Vienna, in a letter to an aristocratic friend in Dubrovnik, the young Pulić expressed the awareness that "the circumstances today are such that they make it very difficult if not impossible for me to be sent beyond the borders of the diocese of Dubrovnik [once I have finished my studies]". No further specification of these reasons emerged from the documentation consulted. For the letter, cfr. *HR-DADU-276 Osobni Fond Dr. Ernest Katić, Spisi Đura Pulića*, E 1-7, *kut.* 10, E 2 290 CCXC 15, Pulić to Niccolò Luigi Pozza, Vienna, 16 December 1840. Various documents concerning Pulić (letters written by him or to him and letters from other people concerning him) can be found in the archival fond donated by Ernest Katić's heirs to the Dubrovnik State Archive. Katić (1883-1955) was a lawyer, dramatist and collector of documents about Ragusan people, families and events. As a result, his archival fond contains only a small amount of personal documentation, while instead it is above all a veritable mine of all-round historical documentation about Ragusa, especially in the 19th century.

¹⁴ The information can be inferred precisely from the letter sent to him by bishop Jelderinić at the beginning of the 1849/1850 school year, in which Pulić was informed that he was awarded with the professorship in the Ragusan Gymnasium, a request supported by the bishop himself, and he was cordially invited to leave the office of chancellor. Cfr. *HR-DADU-276 Osobni Fond Dr. Ernest Katić, Spisi Đura Pulića*, E 1-7, *kut.* 10, E 4 306 CCCVI 47, Jelderinić to Pulić, Ragusa, 31 October 1849.

¹⁵ 'Sul progetto dei principii fondamentali del sistema dell'istruzione pubblica in Austria', *L'Avvenire*, 1, from 14 October 1848 to 25 November 1848, numbers 11 to 17.

¹⁶ Reill, 2012, pp. 222-223 and p. 297.

Kasandrić and above all from the booklet that was later published using both these various episodes and some changes¹⁷, that their author was Pulić.

These articles were born as a commentary and response to the project of reform of public education in the Austrian monarchy developed by Franz Seraphin Exner, which was published in the *Wiener Zeitung* between 11 and 21 July of that year. These ideas of an educational reform gained momentum with the fall of prince Klemens von Metternich and of the old government in March 1848. The new Austrian minister of public instruction, Franz Freiherr von Sommaruga, worked for a profound renewal of the university education system, which was to be inspired by the German institutions and the principles of freedom of study and of teaching. He also commissioned Exner, a professor of philosophy in Prague, to study a redesign project of secondary and higher education. The result of these ideas of liberal reform was precisely his *Entwurf der Grundzüge des öffentlichen Unterrichtswesens in Österreich* ("Draft of the basic principles of public education in Austria")¹⁸.

Although Pulić, because of his political work from 1861 onwards, had been commonly included among the liberal exponents of the Slav national party in Dalmatia, and especially of his (conspicuous) ecclesiastical wing, reading his 1848 reflections on the subject of public education one cannot help but notice his detachment from certain theses of the liberal circles of Vienna. This does not mean that he did not have a more liberal vision than certain comrades on his side, e.g. the priest of Makarska Mihovil Pavlinović, but in any case Pulić's ideas were a concrete demonstration of the different ways in which one could have been liberal in that historical period, according to his own context and culture of origin.

In a paragraph significantly entitled "True liberalism", it was he himself, by means of an articulated writing and his certainly not incendiary but nevertheless admonitory tones, who established the boundaries between his ideas and some aspects of the governmental project. In the conclusions of his reflections, the purposes of which were defined as "presenting the rocks to be avoided and the gaps to be filled" within the project, Pulić claimed to have noted the contradictions

¹⁷ *Sul progetto dell'istruzione pubblica in Austria. Osservazioni pubblicate nell'„Avvenire” di Ragusa ora rivedute dall'autore Giorgio D.r Pullich Professore nell'Istituto filosofico ec., Ragusa Tipografia Martecchini*, 1849 (hereinafter: Pullich, 1849).

¹⁸ On this topic, see Cohen, 1996, pp. 20-31. For a summary of Exner's project, from a perspective focused on the implications in Croatia-Slavonia, see also V. Švoger, 'The 1848-1849 Revolutionary Turmoil – Incentive for Changes in Croatia's Education System', *Povijesni prilozi*, 53, 2017, 53, pp. 163-184.

of the document, to have "complained about its irreligiosity" and to have "smelled the snake of despotism among the wide stratum of liberalism"¹⁹.

"In Austria, the revolution is now a *fait accompli*," wrote Pulić. Well, if, as he hoped, every Constitution is nothing more than a transposition of the Gospel and "the equality before God translated into political language", then the most effective means to implement it is the education of the people, to whom public instruction must always be duly coordinated. And the Catholic bishops, Pulić warned, will have to pursue their apostolic independence by guarding themselves against "a liberalism that tends to wear the guise of anarchy and a Power that finds it hard to dismantle the guise of absolutism". This was what society expects from the Church, destined to remain the only "principle of order and stability" once society has emerged from the "tremendous battle that shakes and blows it up"²⁰.

In other passages of his writing, Pulić had insisted on his version of the fundamental distinction between education and instruction. Education is the teaching that forms the moral man, and the social man, and is the very foundation of society; while education has as its object purely human knowledge and science proper²¹. After quoting Pascal and his thesis of man's innate religiosity, and affirming that without the principles of moral obligation "power is nothing more than strength and obedience is nothing more than servitude"²², Pulić reiterated that the maximum degree of social union and harmony among men can only be achieved by subjecting everyone to "an immutable and divine norm of beliefs". On what such a norm is, its clarification is as follows: "outside Catholic Christianity, it does not exist"²³. A system in which the education of the people is separated from the Church, Pulić said, and in which political society is totally separated from

¹⁹ Pullich, 1849, pp. 55-56.

²⁰ *Ibidem*, pp. 57-58: "In Austria la rivoluzione oramai è un fatto [...] Che si è voluto? L'uguaglianza dinanzi alla legge? Ebbene se dessa non è che l'uguaglianza dinanzi a Dio tradotta in lingua politica, e se quindi ogni *carta* non è che versione su giù del Vangelo, qual altro mezzo più atto ed efficace ad attuarla dell'educazione strettamente tale cui sempre sia debitamente coordinata l'istruzione? [...] badi il Vescovato cattolico basato soltanto sulla centrale Pietra di unità e costituito nella naturale sua indipendenza tra un liberalismo che tende a indossar la veste dell'anarchia ed un potere che stenta a sdossarsi quella dell'assolutismo, badi bene di sostener energicamente e con apostolica libertà l'importante parte che da lui attende la società convulsa, la quale sortita che sarà dalla tremenda pugna che la scuote ed insanguina non avrà che la Chiesa per rinvenire un principio di ordine e di stabilità, un legame morale, la vita" (italics in the original text).

²¹ Pullich, 1849, pp. 8-9.

²² *Ibidem*, p. 10.

²³ *Ibidem*, p. 11: "Assoggettare perciò tutti senza eccezione a una norma immutabile e per conseguenza divina di credenze (quel che fuori del cristianesimo cattolico non si dà) è il produrre tra tutti la massima possibile intima unione [...]".

religious society, could only produce generations raised either in "skeptical indifferentism" or in "absolute atheism"²⁴. The State for Pulić can therefore organize public education, but the education of consciences must be left to the Church: therefore, far from any Josephinism, and citing also the re-proposal of an ancient motto also made by Pope Pius IX, the new system under study should have "left to Caesar what is Caesar's, and to God what is God's". The result was once again an energetic invitation addressed to the bishops to vigorously claim seminaries and religious education in civil society, asking for their teaching also in high schools and universities.

These concepts, originally published in the issue 13 of *L'Avvenire* of 28 October 1848, were commented favourably - especially with regard to the seminars - by a correspondence sent from Lissa to the *Gazzetta di Zara*²⁵, a periodical that was in a particular condition in those months: official newspaper of the Government since its establishment in 1832, continued in theory to be under the control of the Government also with regard to its unofficial pages, but nevertheless in the convulsive months of 1848 and in the discussions for and against the annexation of Dalmatia to Croatia-Slavonia, it became a kind of *unicum*, publishing the notifications of the Government and at the same time a whole series of news and communications from the province of tenor against the Government itself. Especially from July 1848, his political orientation became more and more contrary to the incorporation of Dalmatia to Croatia-Slavonia. At the beginning of 1849, the government dissolved the contract with the publishers Battara and the *Gazzetta di Zara* ceased to be an official newspaper²⁶.

Returning to Pulić's writing, which went on proposing 4 years of duration of the Gymnasium and not 8 as proposed by Exner's project, so as not to lose valuable years to young people not predisposed to classical studies, a further reason of interest concerns specifically its vision on the public education in Dalmatia and on the question of the language of instruction. In his province, according to the young and resolute Ragusan priest, the popular schools must concentrate their teaching on the themes of agriculture and navigation. The exclusive use of the Slavic "mother tongue", however, would not be advisable for the schools along the Dalmatian coast, because there the Italian cultural imprint was stronger than the "national" one and therefore it would be good to teach both

²⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 12-14.

²⁵ 'S. (Articolo Comunicato)', *Gazzetta di Zara*, 27 November 1848, 65, p. 372.

²⁶ Kasandrić, 1899, pp. 37-84.

in Italian and in Slavic. By setting up special professorships for teaching Slavs in both high and low schools, this language could "evolve to the maturity that is necessary to be used in literature and science"²⁷.

At the time Pulić wrote, the political situation in Austria continued to move rapidly. By the summer of 1848 the Minister of Education von Sommaruga had already been replaced, the improvement of the Austrian military fortunes in the Alps and Bohemia favoured the limitation of the most radical reform tendencies and the new emperor Francis Joseph, after having established the Constitution in March 1849, suspended it in December 1851 inaugurating the decade of the so-called Austrian neo-absolutism. However, it has been noted that in the neo-absolutist decade the planned reforms in the field of public education were not stopped, but continued, albeit with the conservative and anti-Josephinist imprint of the one who was minister of public education from 1849 to 1860, namely the Catholic aristocrat of Bohemian origin Leo Thun-Hohenstein. Under Thun, the modernization of the Austrian educational system, the raising of academic standards, the transformation of curricula and partial freedom of teaching were implemented with compromise solutions that safeguarded respect for conservative political principles and Catholic religiosity. However, almost all the provisions of Exner's 1848 plan were implemented²⁸.

At least until 1859, Juraj Pulić was considered a politically loyal teacher by the Austrian government of Dalmatia. This is proved by a letter sent to him by governor Lazar Mamula in 1859. Mamula, who had probably met Pulić during his service as an officer in Ragusa between 1850 and 1852²⁹, informed the Ragusan

²⁷ Pullich, 1849, p. 38: "Sì all'agricoltura ed alla navigazione deve sovra ogni altra cosa esser diretta presso noi l'istruzione popolare [...] Siccome però i nostri lidi per abitudine di vita e per adottata cultura rilevano in sè il colore italiano molto più del nazionale, non sarebbe forse più confacente allo scopo, che invece di adottare sul momento *per la popolazione del litorale* l'uso esclusivo della lingua materna nell'istruzione si continuasse di adoprare e questa e l'italiana istituendo frattanto apposite cattedre sì nelle scuole inferiori che nelle superiori per l'insegnamento della lingua nazionale la quale così si evolvesse alla maturità necessaria per essere di ovvio uso nella letteratura e nelle scienze?" (italics in the original text).

²⁸ For a summary of the educational reforms of the decade in the Monarchy, see Cohen, 1996, pp. 23-36. An even broader summary in C. Aichner, B. Mazohl (eds.), *Die Thun-Hohenstein'schen Universitätsreformen 1849-1860. Konzeption-Umsetzung-Nachwirkungen*, Wien-Köln-Weimar, 2017. See also P. Wozniak, 'Count Leo Thun: a conservative savior of educational reform in the decade of Neoabsolutism', *Austrian History Yearbook*, 26, 1995, pp. 61-81. A general framework on the theme of public instruction in these decades in R. Anderson, 'The idea of the Secondary School in Nineteenth-century Europe', *Paedagogica Historica*, 40, 2004, 1-2, pp. 93-106.

²⁹ In the first decades of the second Austrian rule in Dalmatia, the role of garrison commander stationed in Ragusa was often one of the steps that led to subsequent appointment as provincial governor. This is true

priest that "many Dalmatian [university] students in Vienna show sympathy for Italy and express the desire for their homeland [Dalmatia] to be annexed to it". According to the Austrian governor, this fact proved that in Dalmatian gymnasiums the boys were not educated well enough to become "faithful subjects and sincere partisans of their legitimate government". It was not intended to be a criticism of Pulić's work, who was indeed praised for his activity as a director at the gymnasium of Zadar. However, wrote Mamula, he was obliged to have doubts about the education given in the other provincial secondary schools and therefore asked Pulić to give him an accurate description of how young people were trained in Spalato and Ragusa. Pulić was judged to be a suitable subject for this, since the previous year, wrote Mamula, he had carried out a mission of supervision "to get to know the gymnasiums of those two cities more closely"³⁰.

However, this esteem on the part of Mamula did not prevent Pulić from being transferred to the Gymnasium in Trento in 1863. This transfer was interpreted as a retaliation by the Austrian authorities in Dalmatia, because of his political activism in favour of the introduction of the Slavic language in public education, a position to which by 1861 the Ragusan priest had begun to devote much energy³¹.

In the early 1860s, with the restoration of the Constitution in the empire and the start of a system of representative democracy, the theme of public education will be declined on the side of what should be the language of instruction, whether Italian or Slavic.

Juraj Pulić will be one of the protagonists of this season in the ranks of the Slav national party in Dalmatia. In fact in addition to his career as a teacher this ecclesiastical intellectual will also have an intense political commitment in the *Narodna Stranka*. He was a member of the Dalmatian Diet in the first mandate of his foundation, from 1861 to 1864, and also from 1867 to 1870, always elected in the college of Ragusa, although he no longer lived there³².

After his retirement in 1877 Pulić moved to Rome and became canon of the church of *San Girolamo degli Illirici*, where he pursued his historical and

of Mamula's predecessor, Tursky, as well as for his successors Rodić and Filipović. Cfr. Perić, 1997, pp. 84-85.

³⁰ HR-DADU-276 *Osobni Fond Dr. Ernest Katić, Spisi Đura Pulića*, E 1-7, kut. 10, E 4 306 CCCVI 43, Mamula to Pulić, Zara, 20 December 1859.

³¹ Vrandečić, 2002, pag. 119.

³² I. Perić, *Dalmatinski Sabor 1861-1912. (1918.) god.* [The Dalmatian Diet 1861-1912 (1918)], Zadar, 1978 (hereinafter: Perić, 1978). On his activity in the *Sabor* in favour of Slavic linguistic rights in schools and courts between 1861 and 1864, see Cetnarowicz, 2006, pp. 76-85.

philosophical studies. In his life, he managed to accumulate a substantial economic capital, as can be seen from a copy of his will kept in the archive of the diocese of Ragusa. He was a prudent man in the management of his finances, so much so that at the time of his death he had as many as 70,000 florins invested in seven Austrian public debt bonds, as well as other more public investments in bonds of Italian municipalities such as Viareggio, the small Sicilian town of Caltanissetta and also Florence³³.

His sisters Maria and Lucia were named as universal heirs and until their death they would have had access to these funds. After their death, Pulić ordered that his income be used for a number of charitable purposes in "his beloved homeland, the city of Ragusa". His capital was therefore destined to financially support the institutions of public charity, the civic hospital, the seminary and the town hall. Pulić also ordered the establishment of scholarships for Ragusan boys "poor but promising, preferably sons of shoemakers or other craftsmen", subsidies for poor girls "Christianly educated, preferably daughters of shoemakers or sailors", and finally also for a student of nautical science, to be identified among the young people of Ragusa or of "the territory of the ancient Ragusa State". Finally, his personal library was destined for the episcopal seminary in Ragusa, so that it could also be used by the citizens³⁴. As executor of the will, Pulić appointed Konstantin (Kosto) Vojnović (1832-1903), an important figure in *Narodnjak* politics since 1861, originally from Herceg Novi in the Bocche di Cattaro but lived in Ragusa and then in Split. He was a lawyer, professor at the University of Zagreb refounded by bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer in 1873 and had been one of the most active supporters of the unification between Dalmatia and Croatia-Slavonia. He was also Lujo Vojnović's father (who, unlike him, as we shall see, would take sides with the Serbian political orientation, among the Serb Catholics), as well as the father of the important poet and playwright Ivo Vojnović. In the letter of condolence written in Italian and sent to the sisters of Pulić in Rome as soon as he

³³ One can get an idea of how substantial this sum was by considering that, in 1880, bishop Strossmayer announced that he would have supported with a thousand florins every year the creation of an ambitious cultural work such as the new Dictionary of "the Croatian or Serbian language" edited by the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts in Zagreb. For the indication of this figure, see *Korespondencija Rački-Strossmayer*, vol. 2, doc. 637 (p. 307), attached to Rački to Strossmayer, Zagreb, 29 September 1880.

³⁴ A copy of Pulić's will can be found in *ABD*, Sig. 2, B.D., Ser: *Spisi dubrovačkih biskupa*, Pser: *Presidijalni spisi (Presidiali) biskupa* 1883-1889 (separate folder not numbered, sheets not numbered). At the end of the transcription of the will there is a note also in Italian, written by bishop Mate Vodopić and dated "Ragusa 2 settembre 1883", which certifies the agreement of the copy with the original of the will, with which it had been previously compared.

heard of his death, Konstantin Vojnović said that "I have lived with his soul for 36 years, a schoolchild, [he has been for me] a friend, a counsellor, I can say a father". As for Strossmayer, Vojnović wrote that the bishop of Đakovo had "lost his old beloved fellow disciple, and one of his dearest friends"³⁵.

Andreas Gottsmann has noted that despite being a friend of Strossmayer (a key figure in Croatian and Yugoslav history throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, which I will discuss in detail later) Pulić did not fully share his positive views regarding Russia³⁶.

The one published in 1849 was the first but not the last of his texts dedicated to pedagogy, philosophy and religion and their connection with broadly public education issues. These publications already at the beginning of the 1850s had earned him the attention and honors of his contemporaries, so much so that as early as 1856, abbot Šime Ljubić included him in his *Dizionario Biografico* of the eminent Dalmatian men³⁷. He did not only publish his works in Dalmatia, but also in Milan and Trieste (where in 1855 he printed e.g. one *Propedeutica filosofica ad uso dei ginnasi*) and later in Trento.

In one of his works of 1866 published in this last city³⁸, the initial dedication to his "beloved Ragusa" is very indicative of how this priest and intellectual judged the consequences of a particular understanding of the concept of freedom, whose standard bearer fifty years earlier had deprived his own Ragusa precisely of its own version of the freedom, that is its long-standing independence. Here we find again that resentment towards the French domination of the first fifteen years of the century, which I have already noticed in other texts published in Ragusa immediately after 1814, not least by members of the clergy. In 1866, the now mature Pulić did not fail indeed to hurl his arrows at Napoleon, the "great Corsican, exterminator, restorer, leveler", who "slaughtered" Ragusa "in the agony of [his] falling life"³⁹.

³⁵ HR-DADU-276 *Osobni Fond Dr. Ernest Katić, Spisi Đura Pulića*, E 1-7, kut. 10, E 2 290 CCXC 32, Konstantin Vojnović to Lucia Pulić, Pest, 28 May 1883 (typewritten transcription probably by Ernest Katić).

³⁶ Gottsmann, 2010, p. 368.

³⁷ Cfr. Gliubich, 1856, p. 262.

³⁸ That same year Pulić donated fifty copies of this work to the provincial government in Zara and with the proceeds of their sale (50 florins), according to his wishes, two subsidies were financed to relatives of Austrian soldiers who were victims of the naval battle of Lissa between Italy and Austria, on 20 July 1866. Cfr. HR-DADU-276 *Osobni Fond Dr. Ernest Katić, Spisi Đura Pulića*, E 1-7, kut. 10, E 4 306 CCCVI 50, Luogotenenza della Dalmazia to Pulić, Zara, 22 April 1867.

³⁹ Cfr. *La nuova teodicea del secolo decimonono esposta e discussa dall'I. R. Direttore Ginnasiale Giorgio Dr. Pullich. Trento presso Giovanni Seiser tipografo-editore*, 1866, p. 1 ("dal gran Corso

Shortly before his death, Pulić came very close to being appointed bishop of Ragusa. In the archive of the Apostolic Nunciature in Vienna, there is a document that shows how in 1882 the people and clergy of his city had endorsed his nomination very much, and that the Holy See - as well as the Austrian government - would have had nothing to object to. The only difficulty that could have prevented his appointment - and in fact prevented it - was Pulić's precarious state of health, which was also well known to the Austrian Minister of Religious Affairs, Siegmund Conrad-Eybesfeld⁴⁰. Comparing this *nulla osta* on the part of the Holy See with the episcopal nomination of Pulić, which emerges clearly from the document cited, one cannot fail to notice the radical difference with what another apostolic nuncio to Vienna, Mariano Falcinelli Antoniaci, had done eleven years earlier.

In the early months of 1871, the seat of Ragusa being vacant after the sudden death of the bishop Čubranić, Falcinelli wrote a letter to the archbishop of Zara, Pietro Doimo (Petar Dujam) Maupas, in which he showed strong perplexity about the possible nomination of Pulić. To appoint as bishop the one whom the nuncio considered "an exaggerated Slavic partisan" ("*un partigiano slavo esagerato*") would have been in his eyes a way of indirectly favouring the Orthodox element, especially in a situation such as that of Ragusa, in which in those years an ever greater public relevance of the schismatic element was looming⁴¹.

Falcinelli's fear of Pulić's national ideas is not surprising when one considers the climate at the beginning of the 1870s: the uprising of the majority of the popular Orthodox masses in the Bocche di Cattaro, and the rise of Baron and General Gavril Rodić (Gavril/Gabriel Rodich), of Orthodox confession, to the provincial government of Dalmatia, will create particular alarm, especially on the part of some Dalmatian bishops, such as that of Cattaro, who feared a pro-Orthodox government policy in Kotor Bay and protested because of the presence

battagliero sterminatore restauratore livellatore nell'agonia della vita cadente sgozzata"). Pulić continued his dedication to Ragusa, which "among the Illyrian cities was once [...] the most glorious", writing that the small page it wrote in the history "will remain an eloquent monument to the use and abuse of freedom", thereby evidently implying the Napoleonic abuse of the concept of freedom: "Fra le città un tempo illiriche [...] la più gloriosa [...] la pagella [here the word is evidently understood in the diminutive sense of "pagina", namely "page"] per te riempita nella storia starà eloquente monumento dell'uso dell'abuso della libertà".

⁴⁰ *ASV, Arch. Nunz. Vienna, busta 597, f. 297rv*, the nuncio Serafino Vannutelli to the Secretary of State Ludovico Jacobini (draft), Vienna, 6 January 1882.

⁴¹ The letter of the nuncio Falcinelli to archbishop Maupas, kept in the *Archivio Segreto Vaticano*, is mentioned by Cetnarowicz, 2006, p. 168.

in the Gymnasium of Cattaro of “pseudo-Catholic teachers, partisan of the schismatics”⁴².

Pulić, as I have said, will never become bishop of Ragusa, and it also appears strongly doubtful, with the eyes of the present, that he might have been plausibly considered as a dangerous Panslavist. The solidity of his loyalty to the Church of Rome has never been in doubt and also his approach to dialogue with Orthodoxy was less open than Strossmayer's one, as also noted by Gottsmann's evaluation mentioned above. It is true that during the 1860s, as part of the political controversy in Ragusa between the Autonomists and the *Narodnjaci*, Pulić was attacked by the former and defined as a "heretic" because he was in favour of the construction of an Orthodox church in the city⁴³. It seems to us that this episode, more than an alleged Pulić's "heretical" attitude, is more like revealing his liberal attitude in interconfessional relations at that time. It should also be noted that in the 1860s, Croats and Serbs were political allies in Dalmatia, facing the Autonomists in particular.

Falcinelli's judgment towards him is interesting not so much for his (contestable) adherence to reality, but as a testimony to a certain bond that, still at the end of the nineteenth century, certain circles of the high Catholic ecclesiastical hierarchies formulated between Slav national activism, visions of Southern Slavic or Croato-Serbian political and cultural solidarity and a dangerous and presumed "panslavism" dressed in cassock. It can be said that, at least in the perception of certain Catholic ecclesiastics, the pro-Slavic activism of a person like bishop Strossmayer - and of many other less famous ecclesiastics - was seen as "Slavism" in the smell of dangerous nationalism, still in the early decades of the twentieth century.

This subject is very broad to deal with: I limit to merely noting an element taken from Vatican archival documentation relating to the period after the First World War and to the religious situation in the newly constituted Yugoslavia. Dealing with the problem of some priests in Croatia who did not respect the obligation of ecclesiastical celibacy, the envoy of the Holy See to Yugoslavia, the Belgian Benedictine Father Pierre Bastien, wrote that in the diocese of Đakovo (the diocese that Strossmayer had held up until 1905, the year of his death) in that year 1919 a better situation could have come about, if there had been in the past less

⁴² See for example the letter of the bishop of Cattaro, Juraj Markić, attached to a report of the Apostolic nuncio in Vienna, Ludovico Jacobini, to the Secretary of State, cardinal Antonelli, in *ASV, Segr. Stato, anno 1875, rubr. 247, fasc. 4., ff. 124r-125r*, Cattaro, 19 February 1875.

⁴³ This episode is mentioned by Vrandečić, 2002, pag. 243.

involvement in Slavic politics (by Strossmayer), and more attention to the discipline of the clergy⁴⁴.

3.2 Ideas, numbers and controversies

3.2.1 Young Ragusan liberals grow up (Miho Klaić)

Among the Ragusan protagonists of the Slav national movement in Dalmatia after 1848, within the generation that appeared on the scene of public life in the 1860s, a personality that undoubtedly deserves much attention is Miho (Mihovil) Klaić (1829-1896)⁴⁵.

Of bourgeois origin (in documents relating to his parliamentary career, he is referred to as a “landowner”⁴⁶) and with a scientific and non-humanistic cultural background, he has been a man who, like few others, has embodied the political ideas and cultural aspirations of the *narodni preporod* generation or, at least, of a very specific part of it, that of moderate liberals. Unlike the personalities of older Ragusa we have known so far, Klaić's profile is that of an all-round politician. He was not an aristocrat, like Medo Pucić, and he had no aspirations for high literature. He was not an academic scholar of international renown, how it will begin to be Baltazar Bogišić since the mid 1860s (on Bogišić, see paragraph 3.2.3). He was not even a man who, like Ivan August Kaznačić, spent his life in his hometown, carrying out his profession there and at the same time engaging in cultural and political activities.

Klaić, who was a teacher of physics and mathematics⁴⁷, never taught in his hometown. From 1855 he was employed at the gymnasium of Zadar but later his professional life moved forward by fits and starts, alternating periods of leave, including forced leave, with years in which he became a school superintendent,

⁴⁴ *S.RR.SS., AA.EE.SS., Austria-Ungheria, pos. 1448, fasc. 584, ff. 2r-15r (f. 9rv), Bastien to Gasparri, Roma, 29 July 1919: “Già sotto il defunto Strossmayer si lagnava della disciplina del clero, codesto Prelato essendosi più preoccupato della politica slava che della sua diocesi, nella quale vi sono pure preti concubinari e scandalosi”.*

⁴⁵ In the sources of the time written in Italian, his name and surname are often rendered as "Michele Claich".

⁴⁶ Perić, 1978, pp. 217-218.

⁴⁷ After having studied as a boy for a period at the Barnabites in Italy, in Livorno, he graduated in architecture in Padua in 1853. Cfr. T. Macan, ‘Miho (Mihovil) Klaić’, in *HBL*, 2009 (hereinafter: Macan, 2009)

also working in Koper (Capodistria), until his retirement in 1871⁴⁸. The center of his life was political activity, in which he proved to excel, right from the start of the new phase in the Austrian Empire that followed the neo-Absolutism of the 1850s. He has been a member of the Dalmatian Diet in Zadar and of the Imperial Council in Vienna for decades, being known as a great protagonist of parliamentary oratory challenges. He has also carried out his battles in the other way that was typically experienced by political leaders in the nineteenth century, that is writing in the newspapers.

As it has been written by what is probably his most attentive biographer, Trpimir Macan, Klaić was fully a man of his time, “pervaded with confidence in the progress of humanity, in the healthy character of technical civilization within a democratic-liberal society ennobled by Christian tradition”⁴⁹. A moderate and realistic politician, whose liberal principles in nineteenth-century Dalmatia cast on him the light of a sort of anti-clerical, in a meaning that must be declined through a careful analysis of that specific historical and cultural context.

Main leader of the *Narodna Stranka* since 1863, he was a protagonist of crucial moments in the political life of the Slavs in Dalmatia for almost forty years: the establishment in Zadar of the house organ *Il Nazionale*, later *Narodni List*, in 1862; the polemics with the party’s wing that had a clerical orientation, the one represented by the priest of Makarska Mihovil Pavlinović; at the turn of the mid-1860s, carrying on the battle for the introduction of the Slavic language in public administration and schools in Dalmatia, he also conducted an operation of political rapprochement with the liberal wing of the Autonomist Party.

A supporter of the Croatian-Serbian alliance even after 1880, when the Serbs left the *Narodna Stranka*, when thereafter the confessional tensions between the two peoples got worse he reinforced his hostility to the most radical wing of his own party. His political ideas oriented towards moderation will make him a harsh critic of the Croatian Party of Right, the most radical political formation in the Croatian context.

So even before dedicating himself to a career as a member of Dalmatian Diet, Klaić had already begun to live in Zadar. And it was from the capital of Habsburg Dalmatia that he wrote a letter to his friend Niko Veliki Pucić⁵⁰ in

⁴⁸ Between 1863 and 1865 he was fired (it seems for political reasons) and in that period worked with the theater of Zadar, until 1866 when he became school superintendent. Cfr. *ibidem*.

⁴⁹ Macan, 2009.

⁵⁰ Nikola Marko-Marijin Pozza (1820-1883) was the older brother of that Medo Pucić of whom I have already talked extensively before. Another younger brother bore the same main baptismal name, Niko. So

Ragusa, which is an interesting document of what the younger Klaić thought about issues then burning (the Crimean War was in full swing) such as Russian absolutism and the Eastern question, and also to read between the lines a certain sarcastic discontent that he harboured against some exponents of the Catholic Church in his hometown⁵¹. Emperor Nicholas I of Russia had died a few days before: Klaić's letter, written in Italian with some Slav sayings, dated 29 March 1855, while the tsar died on 2 March (New Style date).

“But, if he [Nicholas I] embodies a greatness and as such I admire him, I do so from the point of view of the Russians, of Eastern civilization and of the Slavic races subject to Muslim barbarity. The ambition moved him, certainly; but it was an ambition supported by a vast intelligence and by an iron will, which made it possible for him to carry out plans that others would not even dare to dream of”⁵².

The thirty-year reign of Nicholas I, which had ended just in the days when Klaić wrote, was the period in which the official Russian ideology had been eloquently enunciated in the terms of “Orthodoxy, autocracy and nationality”, formally proclaimed by count Sergey Uvarov, the emperor's minister of education⁵³. In his letter, Klaić showed a developed perception of Russian events and their repercussions on Europe. With regard to the first factor of the triad (orthodoxy) the young Dalmatian teacher believed that, rather than for theological reasons, Nicholas had argued the importance of the role of religion as "the only

the two were distinguished by the addition of the adjective *Veliki* (literally "big", in the sense of age of majority) and *Mali* ("small"). After studying at the gymnasium in Ragusa and for two years also at the seminary *Santa Maria della Salute* in Venice, in 1838 he returned to the city as he was designated to carry on the economic affairs and the management of the income of his rich family, especially the supervision of agricultural holdings. From 1860 and throughout the decade he will begin a prestigious political activity at the regional level, supporting the battles of the *Narodna Stranka* for the unification of Croatia-Slavonia and Dalmatia. A full profile in *Vekarić, Vlastela Grada Dubrovnika, vol. 6, Odabrane Biografije (Pi-Z)*, 2015, pp. 59-63.

⁵¹ *Korespondencija Klaić, doc. 1*, Klaić to Niko Veliki Pucić, Zadar, 29 March, 1855.

⁵² *Ibidem*, pp. 121-122: “Ma se è grande e come tale lo ammiro, lo faccio al punto di vista Russo, e della civiltà orientale, e delle razze slave sommesse alla barbarie musulmana. Ambizione lo moveva, sia; ma ambizione sorretta da vasta intelligenza e ferrea volontà, che gli resero possibile il compimento di piani, che altri non avrebbe osato sognare nemmeno”.

⁵³ Cfr. A. Miller, *Romanov Empire and Nationalism: Essays in the Methodology of Historical Research*, Budapest, 2008 (esp. pp. 139-160); *id.*, ‘The Romanov Empire and the Russian Nation’, in S. Berger and A. Miller (eds.), *Nationalizing Empires*, Budapest-New York, 2015, pp. 309-368 (esp. pp. 321-325); N. V. Riasanovsky. ‘Nationality’ in the State Ideology during the Reign of Nicholas I’, *The Russian Review*, 19, 1960, 1, pp. 38-46; N. V. Riasanovsky, ‘Nicholas I Tsar of Russia’, *Encyclopædia Britannica*; C. H. Whittaker, ‘The Ideology of Sergei Uvarov: an Interpretive Essay’, *The Russian Review*, 37, 1978, 2, pp. 158-176.

cement capable of keeping compact the immense jumble of Slavic races under his rule, devoid of other elements of union". One could suppose that "once the Russian nationality had been rooted in their hearts", the tsar would have been more elastic also on this point, and even the Catholic Church "would have to stop counting him among its most ardent persecutors"⁵⁴.

Certainly, a young man with liberal ideas such as Klaić could not look favourably on the authoritarian attitude of the tsar, and in fact he wrote that Nicholas "harmed the liberal cause of the West", even if "as a Russian, he had to do so" in order to protect his peoples "from the contagion of modern ideas" which the tsar, being a "high spirit", did not really hate as he showed instead. Unfortunately for him and for those who suffered, he persecuted "those who loved the country" and wanted to free it "of the old feudal leftovers"⁵⁵.

As for the Eastern question, with a hint of bitter irony Klaić wrote that "I have become Russian" (adding "*malgré moi*"), but at last he found himself recognizing how much the question, after Menshikov's mission⁵⁶ and the military defeats suffered by the Russians, "has been reduced to its true terms of petty dynastic ambition"⁵⁷.

⁵⁴ *Korespondencija Klaić*, doc. 1, Klaić to Niko Veliki Pucić, Zadar, 29 March, 1855, p. 122: "Se difese e sostenne l'ortodossia, più che passione di questioni teologiche, io credo lo facesse perchè lo credeva unico cemento atto a tenere compatta l'immensa razzaglia di schiatta slave soggette al suo dominio, e prive d'altri elementi d'unione; ed è supponibile che una volta, per mezzo de' suoi sforzi diretti all'estensione della forza, alio sviluppo della letteratura, all'incremento della gloria della Russia, radicata ne' cuori la nazionalità russa e tolti i pregiudizii di razza, anche su questo punto sarebbesi mostrato più corrivo, e la Chiesa cattolica soprattutto avrebbe dovuto cessare d'annoverarlo fra i suoi più accaniti persecutori".

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 122.

⁵⁶ Alexander Sergeevich Menshikov was the Russian military commander in the first half of the Crimean war. Just before the conflict, in May 1853, he was the Russian diplomatic envoy to Constantinople with the task of negotiating with the Porte the definitive solution to the question of the Holy Places. Russia insisted that its role as protector of the Ottoman Empire's Orthodox Christians be recognized. The refusal to grant these rights and the Russian reaction led to the outbreak of the Crimean War. On Nicholas I, the Christians and Turkey, see amongst others J. Fairey, 'Russia's Quest for the Holy Grail: Relics, Liturgics, and Great-Power Politics in the Ottoman Empire', in L. J. Frary and M. Kozelsky (eds.), *Russian-Ottoman Borderlands: the Eastern Question Reconsidered*, Madison, 2014, pp. 131-164; E. M. Kane, *Pilgrims, Holy Places, and the Multi-confessional Empire: Russian Policy Toward the Ottoman Empire Under Tsar Nicholas I, 1825-1855*. Princeton, 2005; G. H. Bolsover, 'Nicholas I and the Partition of Turkey', *The Slavonic and East European Review*, 27, 1948, 68, pp. 115-145. On Menshikov's mission, see T. Royle, *Crimea: the Great Crimean War, 1854-1856*, New York, 2014, esp. pp. 34-49.

⁵⁷ *Korespondencija Klaić*, doc. 1, Klaić to Niko Veliki Pucić, Zadar, 29 March 1855, p. 122: "Non parlerò della présente questione orientale, nella quale malgré moi (...) sono divenuto Russo, dopochè l'orgoglio spiegato dapprincipio nella missione Menčikof [Menshikov], fu dai Turchi colle disfatte al Danubio largamente punito, e dopochè spoglia delle sonore parole con cui si volle onestarla, la questione fu ridotta ai suoi veri termini di meschina ambizione dinastica".

After a sarcastic reference to the intricate nature of the Austrian administration and to the bureaucratic hardships that he has recently experienced for sending a book from Zadar to Niko Veliki Pucić⁵⁸, Klaić dedicates the second part of this letter to instruct his friend to confidentially find some information in Ragusa. Klaić had learned from their common friend Juraj Pulić that there was a priest and school inspector, Luigi Pavissich, who while being in Ragusa the year before had spoken ill of the school inspector for Dalmatia, Vincenzo Koren, because he would have liked to take the latter's place⁵⁹. Klaić, then, asked his friend in Ragusa to find out who Pavissich has spoken to.

Luigi Cesare Pavissich (1823-1905; Croatian bibliographies render his name also as Vjekoslav Cezar Pavišić) was born in Makarska, central Dalmatia, was ordained priest in 1847 and taught Italian literature at the *Orientalische Akademie* in Vienna. From 1853 he worked as a school inspector for elementary schools in Dalmatia, then in Carinthia, Trieste and Istria, then again in Dalmatia from 1862. He was a priest with liberal views, resolutely oriented towards the protection of the Italian culture and language in the Monarchy, and published numerous works of a historiographic, poetic, celebratory nature, as well as translations. In 1856, although still young, his reputation as a scholar in Dalmatia was already so remarkable that abbot Ljubić dedicated an entry to him in his biographical dictionary published in 1856⁶⁰.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*: “Quanti andirivieni mi toccò fare, e quante bollette, assegni, dichiarazioni, ed altri simili insetti. Tutto merito della nostra ammirabile e semplice amministrazione. Dio ce la conservi!”

⁵⁹ From a 1841 blue book for the province of Como, in the then Austrian crown land of the Kingdom of Lombardy-Venetia, we know that a Vincenzo Koren was counted as a professor of German language and literature at the *I. R. Liceo* of Como. Cfr. *Almanacco della Provincia di Como per l'anno 1841. Anno 4. Como presso i figli di C. A. Ostinelli Tipografi Provinciali*, p. 18.

During the 1840s Koren had served as provincial school inspector in Trieste. He was of Slovenian origin and died in 1862. Cfr. L. Šimunković (ed.), ‘Kronika splitske gimnazije od ljeta Gospodnjega 1817./18. do godine 1866./67.’ [Chronicle of Split gymnasium from the year of grace 1817/18 to 1866/67], *Građa i prilozii za povijest Dalmacije. Državni Arhiv u Splitu*, 23, 2010/2011, p. 272. This author, mentioning the requiem Mass in memory of Koren promoted by the gymnasium of Split on 29 November 1862, states that he worked as an inspector for the gymnasiums of Dalmatia since 1850. In the official bulletin of laws and decrees of the Habsburg government for Dalmatia, I found a decree of 10 August 1850 in which the provincial school authority was established and Koren, as a school inspector in Trieste, was in charge of assisting the government and the new authority in the direction of Dalmatian gymnasiums. Cfr. *Bollettino delle leggi e degli atti del governo della Dalmazia. Puntata XXIII. Dispensata e spedita li 1. Ottobre 1850, Zadar, 1850*, p. 362.

⁶⁰ Cfr. Gliubich, 1856, pp. 248-249. For a broader biographical profile, see S. Cella, ‘Luigi Cesare Pavissich’, in *ÖBL 1815-1950, Bd. 7 (Lfg. 34, 1977)*, p. 361. On Pavissich's correspondence during the 1840s with the writer and politician Stjepan Ivićević, who from 1848 will also be mayor of Makarska, see Reill, 2012, pp. 34-35 and *passim*.

What is important to stress here however is the certainly non-empathic way in which Klaić refers (in all likelihood) to the bishop of Ragusa of that period, Toma Jederlinić, as well as to the local representatives of the Society of Jesus: “I am not able to tell you with whom [Pavissich] has spoken, but probably with the *Monsignore*, that dear pearl, or with the Jesuits, or with some other similar personage”⁶¹.

The Jesuits had returned to Ragusa exactly in those months. This religious order, suppressed by Pope Clement XIV in 1773 and then reconstituted by Pius VII in 1814⁶², had been restored in the city thanks to the imperial resolution of 14 December 1853. In 1854, bishop Jederlinić entrusted Italian Jesuits to teach in the city's gymnasium. It was at that moment that the Piarist Fathers – the religious order of which Francesco Maria Appendini⁶³ was also a member and which in that years no longer had a sufficient number of clerics for this task – handed over to the Jesuits the gymnasium, the relative goods and also the church of *Sant'Ignazio*, that however had been built by the Jesuits themselves between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries⁶⁴.

On the role of Pavissich for the knowledge and dissemination of the thought of the Italian philosopher Antonio Rosmini (1797-1855) especially during the 1880s, cfr. G. L. Bruzzone, ‘P. Sebastiano Casara e Mgr. Luigi Cesare Pavissich’, *Rosmini Studies*, 4, 2017, pp. 231-274; N. Poloni, ‘L’inedito epistolario di Luigi Cesare Pavissich e la diffusione del pensiero rosminiano’, *Annali di Storia Moderna e Contemporanea*, nuova serie, 4, 2016, 4, pp. 213-270 (for Pavissich’s ideas on education and pedagogy, esp. pp. 220-224).

⁶¹ *Korespondencija Klaić*, doc. 1, Klaić to Niko Veliki Pucić, Zadar, March, 29, 1855, p. 123: “Con chi abbia parlato non saprebbe dirvelo, ma probabilmente con quella cara perla del Monsignore, o con i Gesuiti, o con qualche altro simile personaggio”.

With regard to the probable identification of bishop Jederlinić with the “*Monsignore*”, I also rely on the note to this effect made by Beritić, the curator of these letters’ edition. Cfr. *ibidem*, p. 123, note 9.

⁶² Within a vast bibliography on the history of the Jesuits and in particular on the period from their suppression to their re-establishment and beyond, I will mention only the following recent works: R. A. Maryks and J. Wright (eds.), *Jesuit survival and restoration: a global history, 1773-1900*, Leiden, 2015; T. W. Worcester, ‘A Remnant and Rebirth: Pope Pius VII brings the Jesuits back’, *Conversations on Jesuit Higher Education*, 45, 2014, Article 4, pp. 5-6.

⁶³ On Francesco Maria Appendini, a pivotal figure in the cultural life of Ragusa in the first decades of the nineteenth centuries, see paragraph 1.1.2.

⁶⁴ This event, which was to be the indirect cause of a dispute regarding Jesuits’ estate properties in Ragusa between the diocese and the Dalmatian provincial government at the end of the 1860s, with interventions also by Francis Joseph in person, will be described in detail in various letters that the then Bishop of Ragusa Vincenzo Zubranich (Vicko Čubranić) sent to the Holy See between 1869 and 1870. See in particular *ASV, Segr. Stato, anno 1870, rubr. 247, fasc. 2, f. 28r*. It is from this document that I derive the specific information on the transfer of the gymnasium from the Piarists to the Jesuits. The bishop and the Jesuits feared that after the secularization of the Gymnasium, who will take place in 1868, also the Church of *Sant'Ignazio* could have become property of the State. The dreaded consequence of this fact, wrote the bishop to Rome, would have been the fact that Ragusan Serb Orthodox, being very wealthy,

The fact that a young intellectual with liberal ideas such as Klaić did not have excessive sympathy for the Jesuits was not surprising, in Dalmatia as elsewhere in those years. What for the Jesuits was defined as "a difficult rebirth", in fact, had inevitably influenced the perception that a certain intelligentsia had of them, as defenders of the political and social relations of the *ancien régime*, incarnation of the counterrevolution, enemies of modernity and of political and social novelties; the synthesis of what was considered reactionary within the Catholic Church⁶⁵.

Furthermore, in Ragusa there was another reason for anti-Jesuitism. At the city gymnasium between the second half of the 1850s and the 1860s the Italian exponents of the Society of Jesus taught in Italian. This was a reason for further aversion, in the eyes of those who with a completely new energy (still unthinkable in previous decades) began to claim the full rights of the Slavic language in school and public life. And Klaić will be among them.

After all, with the return of the Jesuits in the 1850s and with their role in educating the young people of the city in Italian language, it can be said that a dynamic similar to that which was already underway in the eighteenth century has reappeared. I can base this statement by noting that in a passage from his influential book published in 1821 (on which see paragraph 1.2.1) the Austrian government official Giuseppe de Brodmann had no doubt that it was precisely the presence of the Jesuits that would have been a crucial element in keeping the Slavic language in Ragusa in the background. After noticing that the original inhabitants of Ragusa after the collapse of the Roman Empire were of Italic origin, and after stating that the Slavic language was brought to the city from the eleventh century onwards by emigrants from Bosnia and Serbia, Brodmann in fact writes that "[the Slavic language] did not take hold until after the suppression of the Jesuits in Ragusa in 1772, Jesuits who were not in favour [of the use] of the Slavic language"⁶⁶.

could even have bought this historic Catholic church, to make it the new Orthodox church they wanted to have in Ragusa. See in particular *ibidem*, f. 29r.

⁶⁵ On the historical issue of the hostility against Jesuits and on its features see G. Miccoli, 'L'avversione per i gesuiti: un capitolo non secondario della storia della Compagnia di Gesù', *Cristianesimo nella storia*, 38, 2017, 2, pp. 543-581 (esp. 568-570; the expression quoted can be found on p. 568).

⁶⁶ G. de Brodmann, *Memorie politico-economiche della città e territorio di Trieste, della penisola d'Istria, della Dalmazia fu veneta, di Ragusi e dell'Albania ora congiunti all'Austriaco Impero*, di G. d. B-n. Venezia dalla tipografia di Alvisopoli., 1821, pp. 290-291: "I primi cittadini di Ragusa erano assolutamente oriundi Romani dall'Italia, che, come ovunque, diedero il tuono per tutti i secoli avvenire. Sino al secolo XI in Ragusa non si udiva che l'Italica favella; soltanto nei tempi posteriori portarono i

Considering the context of the sentence and also the ironic veins of this part of the letter, the epithet that Klaić uses to define Pavissich is certainly not cordial and consists of a slang expression (“*burida Dalmatinska*”)⁶⁷ composed of a Slavic adjective (which means “Dalmatian”) and a noun of probably Italian origin⁶⁸ or, more precisely, a dialectal word from Northern Italian regions such as Romagna⁶⁹, or Emilia⁷⁰, or the pre-alpine regions of Ticino⁷¹. In the particular type of Venetian dialect which was spoken in Zara, instead, “*burida*” meant “lie, untruth”; in Trieste and in Zara there were also the variants “*boridón/buridón*”, with the meaning of “braggart”⁷², and those latter seems to be the most likely solutions to this question of terminology, considering that Klaić lived in Zadar.

I have dwelt on this letter because it seems to us to be a valuable testimony of the formative phase of the ideas of such an important Ragusan within the *narodni preporod*, Miho Klaić. In the years to come, his liberal ideas and his aversion to the traditionalist view of the role of the Church in society will lead him to argue with his party colleagues.

As for Pavissich, his career will continue successfully. In 1867 we will find him again in Trieste, in the prestigious role of councilor of the *Staatshalterei* (*Consigliere di Luogotenenza*). When the new church dedicated to Saint Paschal Baylón, built in his own property by Baron Pasquale Revoltella, will be consecrated, Pavissich will publish a commemorative booklet and will send a copy to Florence as a tribute to the king of Italy Victor Emmanuel II. The book will first reach the Italian consul in Trieste, who in first asking the government in Florence if the king would have liked the tribute, has words of praise for Pavissich. At the

numerosi emigrati Bosniachi e Serviani la lingua Slava in Ragusi: essa per altro non prese decisivo piede, se non se dopo la soppressione dei Gesuiti del 1772 in Ragusa, i quali non le erano favorevoli”.

Note *en passant* Brodmann’s use of the generic term “Slavic” as an adjective for the idiom spoken by populations of non-Italian origin.

⁶⁷ *Korespondencija Klaić*, doc. 1, Klaić to Niko Veliki Pucić, Zadar, 29 March, 1855, p. 123: Pavissich is defined as “true type of *burida Dalmatinska*” (“vero tipo di *burida Dalmatinska*”).

⁶⁸ I found no trace of the term “*burida*” in the “Illyrian” dictionaries of the time, let alone in the contemporary Serbian-Croatian *Deanović-Jernej*, 1970.

⁶⁹ In the dialect of the Italian region of Romagna, “*burida*” stands for “adversity”, “danger” but also for “fear that makes the heart beat”. Cfr. Antonio Morri, *Manuale domestico-tecnologico di voci, modi, proverbi, riboboli, idiotismi della Romagna e loro corrispondente italiano segnatamente ad uso delle scuole elementari tecniche ginnasiali, Persiceto, Tipografia Giambattistelli e Brugnoli*, 1863, p. 174.

⁷⁰ In the dialect of Imola, a city near Bologna, the voice “*burida*” is recorded with the meaning of “cold wind”. See *LEI*, fasc. 60°, vol. 6, 1998, pp. 1071-1072.

⁷¹ In Ticino, the meaning recorded by etymological studies is that of “storm, rain, short storm”. Cfr. *ibidem*.

⁷² Cfr. *ibidem*, pp. 1075-1076.

time it was not obvious that an ecclesiastic had such good relations with the new Italian kingdom⁷³.

His paths and those of Klaić will ideally meet again in 1880, when the abbot of Makarska went to Vienna together with a deputation of eminent Italo-Dalmatian intellectuals to protest against the decision of the government of Vienna to make Croatian the language of instruction in the secondary schools of Split and to downgrade Italian to the status of a foreign language. Pavissich went to Vienna with Arturo Adolfo Mussafia (1835-1905), an illustrious philologist and university lecturer in Vienna, of Sephardic Jewish origin and Italo-Dalmatian sentiments, later converted to Catholicism in 1855, and with Antonio Lubin (1809-1900), a priest and distinguished Dantean, himself a university lecturer and supporter of Italian cultural rights in Dalmatia⁷⁴.

The mission of the three intellectuals was unsuccessful. The times and political circumstances had become much more favourable to Klaić's ideas, at least as far as the elevation of the status of the Slavic language in Dalmatia was concerned.

3.2.2 A troubled transition between two bishops

These were the last times of the Republic of Ragusa. An unspecified day in one of the last years of the eighteenth century, there were two young girls, servants of the noble families of the city, who spent a moment of rest talking near the church of San Biagio. One said to the other, "Hello, little Lucija, congratulations on your trousseau. You're really good and renowned (you look good and healthy)". Her friend, all cheerful and smiling in the face, replied: "Thank God for everything, and thank you for your compliments, and for considering that I am renowned; after all, what do I miss?". To this joking question, immediately a male voice intervened with great transport and said: "You don't miss anything but a

⁷³ *ASMAE*, 1861-1887, *Divisione 'delle Legazioni' e 'Divisione Consolare'* (1861-1868), busta 910 (*pacco 272*), letters from the consul Giovanni Domenico Bruno to the Foreign Minister Pompeo Di Campello, Trieste, 22 May and 11 June 1867. Following the positive response of the king, Pavissich will ask Bruno also to forward a further copy to Florence, this time to be delivered to Niccolò Tommaseo.

⁷⁴ On the mission to Vienna of the three Italo-Dalmatian intellectuals, see Monzali, 2009, p. 107 and R. Tolomeo, 'Adolfo Mussafia', in *DBI*, vol. 77, Roma, 2012.

husband!”. It was the voice of a young soldier, who being so close to the two girls could heard what they were saying, without them even noticing him⁷⁵.

This is how Pero Rešetar and Lucija Diklić, the parents of Božo and Pavo Rešetar, met each other (in the sources of the time in Italian language, their surname was rendered as "Rescetar"). The former son, Božo (*alias* Natale) Rešetar (1799-1878)⁷⁶, will eventually became an important priest and canon of the Ragusan cathedral and already in 1821, before his ordination to the priesthood in 1825, he was appointed teacher at the elementary school for men founded by the French and which from 1817 worked in some areas of the convent of the Dominican Friars⁷⁷; the latter, Pavo Rešetar (1809?-1880)⁷⁸, became an important official of the Habsburg government and, from 1852 to 1877, had been the first Ragusan-born to exercise the important role of *Capitano Circolare (Okružni Poglavar)*, i.e. the highest official of the Habsburg civil administration in the town⁷⁹. The anecdote about their knowledge is told by *dum* Božo himself, who according to Josip Bersa put it in writing in his memoirs⁸⁰.

As in every episode narrated in Bersa's evocative book, no precise archival or memorialistic sources are quoted to support the reconstruction⁸¹. These

⁷⁵ Cfr. Bersa, 2002, pp. 277-278: “Jednoga dana - piše dum Božo - sastanu se pred crkvom Sv. Vlaha, dubrovačkog parca, dvije mlade sluškinje. Jedna je kazivala drugoj: - Lucija Mala, čestitam ti spravu. Baš si dobra i famoza (lijepo i zdravo izgledaš). - njena drugarica, sva vesela i nasmijana lica, odvrćala je: - Hvala Bogu na svemu, a hvala i tebi na tvojim komplimentima, kad nahodiš, da sam famoza; napokon što mi manjka? - Na ovaj šaljivi upit nečiji muški glas odmah i s velikim učešćem preuze: Drugo ti ne manjka nego muž! - To bijaše glas jednoga mladog vojnika, koji se desio tako blizu, da je mogao motriti Luciju Malu i slušati, što su djevojke govorile, a da ga one ne opaze (...)”.

⁷⁶ For the indication on Božo's year of birth and year of death, I rely on *Šematizam Dubrovačke Biskupije*, pp. 323-324.

⁷⁷ Ćosić, 1999, p. 192.

⁷⁸ Bersa's indication of the year of birth of Pavo Rešetar is not precise, it is limited to saying that the age difference with his brother Božo was ten years. Much more precise is the indication on the death of Pavo, occurred in August 1880. Cfr. respectively Bersa, 2002, p. 278 and p. 282.

⁷⁹ Ćosić, 1999, p. 172.

⁸⁰ Bersa, 2002, p. 277.

⁸¹ The quotation given in the previous notes seems to us useful also as a perspective on the Slavonic language spoken in Dubrovnik during the nineteenth century. Within it, I find at least three words (“famoza”; “komplimentima”; “manjka”) that have clear similarities with Italian words “famoso” (famous), “complimenti” (“congratulations”) and “mancare” (“to lack”). The dictionary *Deanović-Jernej*, 1970, reports all three of these items, actually without specifying if they are Italianisms or not. On the one hand, I can imagine that in 1970 these three words had fully entered the Serbian-Croatian language. On the other hand, as far as “famoza” and “komplimenti” are concerned, their absence from the important vocabularies published at the end of the nineteenth century by the Yugoslavia Academy in Zagreb (cfr. respectively *Rječnik Budmani*, vol. 3, 1887-1891 and *Rječnik Budmani*, vol. 5, 1898-1903) makes us reasonably suppose that in that period these words were considered as regionalisms so close to the respective Italian words that they did not even deserve to be mentioned.

characteristics represents the weakness of Bersa's book as a source, although it is common opinion among Croatian historians that the events narrated are absolutely plausible, learned by Bersa from witnesses and anecdotes which he faced with during the period he lived in Dubrovnik, between the nineteenth and twentieth centuries⁸².

In this specific case, it can be noted that the reconstruction of Bersa can be considered particularly reliable, since the author was closely related to the Rešetar family. His father's sister had married Pavo in 1845 and Josip Bersa himself, as a child, often spent time with the Rešetar family in Ragusa⁸³.

The writer of Zadar origin also offers us an interesting detail of the history of Ragusan customs, when he writes that as a child he helped children and adults of the Rešetar family to prepare the Nativity scene on Christmas Eve, specifying that this custom did not exist at the time of ancient Dubrovnik and that the Rešetar family was among the first (the very first one in an absolute sense, according to Bersa) to adopt a tradition that "arrived in Croatia from abroad"⁸⁴. The period to which he refers is between 1865, the year in which the family of the writer moved to Dubrovnik from Zadar, when Josip was three years old⁸⁵, and approximately the first half of the 1870s.

That of the Rešetar is a classic example of a family that at the time of the Republic of Ragusa "was confused within the impersonal multitude of peasants"⁸⁶ and that only with the fall of the aristocratic government came to occupy a leading role in city life. In addition to Božo and Pavo, this family from Čilipi, a small village in the Konavle area adjacent to the city and where the Dubrovnik airport is

As far as the verb "manjka" is concerned, again in a volume of the dictionary of the Yugoslav Academy (cfr. *Rječnik Budmani-Maretić*, vol. 6, 1904-1910, p. 450) I find expressly mentioned its derivation from the Italian verb "mancare", with a rich lexicographic reconstruction of its occurrences and respective modifications by Slavic authors from the sixteenth century onwards.

⁸² With regard to these limits of Bersa's work, which is nevertheless held in high regard by Croatian and Serbian historians as an almost first-hand source for the history of Ragusa in the nineteenth century, I refer to the considerations developed in S. Ćosić, 'Predgovor drugom izdanju' [Foreword to the second edition], in Bersa, 2002, pp. 11-28 (hereinafter: Ćosić, 2002). Josip Bersa (1862-1932), born in Zadar but raised in Ragusa, was a writer, a poet and an archaeologist. He wrote in Serbo-Croatian and in Italian. Although his book does not follow the canons of scientific historiography, it is nevertheless a fascinating and evocative work, and it is written in a very beautiful way.

⁸³ As regards the specific case of his anecdotes on the Rešetar family, it is Bersa himself who explicitly states that he is better informed about it than about other families, since the Rešetar were closely related to the Bersa. Cfr. Bersa, 2002, p. 277. For information about the marriage of Josip Bersa's aunt to Pavo Rešetar, see *ibidem*, p. 280.

⁸⁴ Bersa, 2002, pp. 281-282.

⁸⁵ For this biographical information on Bersa, see Ćosić, 2002, pp. 11.

⁸⁶ Bersa, 2002, p. 277.

currently located, will also give birth to Milan Rešetar (1860-1942), a famous Slavist, historian and literary critic who, as we shall see, will be one of the leading exponents of the most intellectual wing of the Serb Catholic movement.

But let us return to focusing on the figure of Božo Rešetar and on a particular episode in his ecclesiastical career, namely his nomination as vicar of the diocese of Ragusa a few days later the death of bishop Jederlinić on 11 August 1855. The period of his administration, which lasted almost two years, was not without problems. In April 1856 a very critical report on Rešetar's work reached the Holy See. The Congregation for the Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs was involved and the document was brought to the attention of the Pope himself⁸⁷.

The document is very favourable to the work of the deceased bishop Jederlinić, which is praised for having established the seminary in the city and for his attitude towards the government authorities in defending the prerogatives of the Church. His work is put in contrast with what in a few months his temporary successor Božo Rešetar had begun to do.

The first thing that can be seen in the dossier is the attitude of the Holy See toward the problems that were reported. Before Pope Pius IX in person, on 23 April 1856 it was decided to order the Papal nuncio to Vienna to put pressure on imperial authority, so that the new bishop of Ragusa could be appointed as soon as possible. In the meantime, it would have been necessary for the nuncio to obtain further information on the "disorders" ("*disordini*") that the anonymous informant complained were occurring after the death of bishop Jederlinić⁸⁸. It is also useful to see the instruction that the same day was sent from Rome to Vienna for the diplomatic representative of the Holy See, the cardinal of Corsican origin Michele Viale Prelà, who just a few months before had been the interlocutor of the Habsburg Monarchy in the negotiation of the Concordat that was signed on 18 August 1855.

In the letter to Viale Prelà, the Secretariat of State admitted that at the moment it was not in a position to have certain arguments about the truthfulness and accuracy of the facts narrated by the informant, but however it seemed good

⁸⁷ The dossier with the problems of the diocese and the decision taken by the Secretariat of State are in *S.RR.SS., AA.EE.SS., Austria, pos. 203, fasc. 130, ff. 29r-42v*.

⁸⁸ Cfr. *ibidem*, f. 31r. As a preamble to the text of the information received from Ragusa, a note written by an official of the Congregation appears in which it is indicated the decision to solicit the nuncio of Vienna to speed up the imperial proposal of the new Bishop. This is an operative indication given directly by the Pontiff, as is evident from the presence of the formula "Ex audientia SS.mi" (*Ex Audientia Santissimi* = from an audience with the Holy Father).

for the Pope to solicit the nuncio and thus speed up the appointment of a "suitable and zealous" successor to Jederlinić, inasmuch "this is the most appropriate means of remedying the disturbances that are reported, if they really exist"⁸⁹.

At this point, it is necessary to go into detail of the criticisms that were addressed to the vicar Božo Rešetar. On a personal level, the Ragusan priest received no charges at all, being defined as a man "with austere principles", even if "he had often contradicted the deceased bishop when he was alive"⁹⁰. The problem was that during his months of diocesan administration Božo Rešetar had made decisions in discontinuity with the administration of Jederlinić. Moreover - and in this regard the informant notes in a certainly not neutral way that Božo's brother was "the political leader of the city" - according to what is charged to him, it can be considered that his choices were also conditioned by external influences. Let's see in detail.

The atmosphere among the most important priests of the diocese immediately after Jederlinić's death is described with tense traits. During the Chapter which elected Rešetar as vicar, Jederlinić was accused by some of having arbitrarily disposed of church property and charitable institutions. One of the canons of the Chapter even said that there was no diocese more disordered than Ragusa and that church properties had been squandered. But in reporting this agitation, the informant openly takes up the defenses of the deceased bishop. The accusations by the canons were in fact merits for Jederlinić, according to his report: to have instituted the diocesan seminary⁹¹ and entrusted it to the Jesuits,

⁸⁹ *S.RR.SS., AA.EE.SS., Austria, pos. 203, fasc. 130, f. 40r*, the Secretariat of State to the nuncio in Vienna, Rome, 26 April, 1856, (draft): "(...) è sembrato opportuno a Sua Santità di ordinare che si scriva in proposito all'Em.za V.ra, interessandola ad adoperarsi coll'usata sua destrezza ed attività, acciocché colla maggiore possibile sollecitudine si faccia luogo alla nomina di un idoneo e zelante Vescovo di quella chiesa, essendo questo il mezzo più acconcio a rimediare agli accennati disordini, qualora realmente esistessero".

⁹⁰ *Ibidem*, f. 31r.

⁹¹ According to the historiographical book by the priest Stefano Skurla, bishop Jederlinić used the bequests of the local congregation of priests (*Congregazione dei Preti*) to establish the seminary in 1851. When he wrote his book, which was published in 1876, Skurla mentioned the presence of about 5000 volumes in the seminary library. Cfr. *Ragusa. Cenni storici compilati da Stefano Skurla Canon. Onor. Profess. Ginnasiale, Zagabria 1876. A spese dell'Autore. Tipografia sociale*, 1876, p. 111 (hereinafter: Skurla, 1876). The Ragusan *Congregazione dei Preti* was established in 1391 and its statutes were approved by the Popes in 1483 and 1595. Every priest in the diocese could take advantage of the bequests that made up its property, in case he came to be in poverty. Cfr. *ibidem*, pp. 48; 64. Stefano Skurla (Stjepo Skurla, 1832-1877; in some sources of the time his surname is sometimes rendered with "Scurla") entered the service of the chancellery of the diocesan Curia at a very young age during the period of Jederlinić, remaining there under the following bishop. As a priest, he preached in Slavic at the church of St. Blaise. He was also editor of the diocesan blue book. Cfr. *Šematizam Dubrovačke Biskupije*, p. 323.

which Jederlinić had returned to Ragusa; to have brought in the city an Italian religious congregation, that of the nuns called *Ancelle della Carità* (the Handmaids of Charity); to have restored numerous churches in the diocese and to have left his own precious sacred furnishings to them, through his will⁹².

As in any organization, the choice of a new hierarchy may leave some people dissatisfied. This was also the case in the diocese of Ragusa, and the informant noted⁹³ this by quoting the disappointment suffered by the priest Nicolò Giurian (Niko Đuran)⁹⁴, Jederlinić's most important assistant and who aspired to be named his temporary successor. According to the report, then, after his election Božo Rešetar put in place a sort of spoils system, firing top personnel of the bishop's Curia, such as Matteo Giuppanovich (Mato Županović)⁹⁵ and the chancellor Tommaso Jederlinich (Toma Jederlinić, also written as "Jderlinich"), namesake and nephew of the deceased bishop⁹⁶. He immediately changed the times of Masses, lightened the priestly work of the Chapter's canons, exempting them from celebrating the festive Masses at the cathedral. The even more interesting fact is that in this way privileges were put in place with respect to the most important

⁹² *Ibidem*, f. 31r. The nuns *Ancelle della Carità* were founded in the 1840s in Brescia, Lombardy, by Paola Di Rosa (1813-1855). The constitutions of the congregation were approved by the Pope in 1851. Immediately afterwards the approval of the Emperor of Austria also arrived. The *Ancelle della Carità* spread in the early 1850s to various places in Lombardy and Friuli. Ragusa, in 1853, was their first seat outside the Italian peninsula. In Dalmatia, two years later, they also settled in Split, where they still exist. The founder Paola Di Rosa was canonized in 1954 with her religious name, Maria Crocifissa Di Rosa. Cfr. S. Veneziani, 'Santa Maria Crocifissa Di Rosa', in *DBI*, vol. 70, 2008.

⁹³ *S.RR.SS., AA.EE.SS., Austria, pos. 203, fasc. 130, f. 31rv.*

⁹⁴ Born in 1792 and ordained priest in 1815, from 1833 Giurian was dean and canon in Ragusa, also receiving the title of abbot. Between 1837 and 1839 he was also vicar for the diocese of Trebinje, in Ottoman Herzegovina, before the task of administering this diocese was entrusted to the bishop of Ragusa. Cfr. *Šematizam Dubrovačke Biskupije*, p. 318.

⁹⁵ After starting his ecclesiastical career in the seminary of Zadar, Giuppanovich was a professor in the theological school of the Franciscans in Ragusa, his native town. In the Curia since 1853, he was then professor of Latin and Italian at the Jesuit-led gymnasium. Cfr. *Šematizam Dubrovačke Biskupije*, p. 322. In the diocesan blue book of 1853, his role was referred to as "bursar". Cfr. *Status cleri et animarum dioecesis rhacusinae, ineunte anno domini 1853, Rhacusii, Typis Martecchini*, 1853, p. 6.

⁹⁶ Like his uncle, he grew up in Omišalj, on the island of Krk. He became a priest at a very young age, at 22, in 1851, and was consecrated in Ragusa. Cfr. *Šematizam Dubrovačke Biskupije*, p. 321. When the *Narodna Stranka* won the municipal elections in Dubrovnik in 1869, Jederlinich junior was elected municipal councillor. Cfr. M. Foretić, 'Prelazak dubrovačke općine u narodnjačke ruke' [The passage of the Municipality of Dubrovnik into the hands of the narodnjaci], *Časopis Dubrovnik*, 1967, 2, pp. 57-75 and Tolja, 2011, p. 92.

He also came to obtain the important honorary title, granted by the Holy See to deserving priests, of "Secret Chaplain of His Holiness" (*Cappellano Segreto di Sua Santità*). He died quite young, just in 1872. The information is obtained from *ACPF, Lettere*, vol. 367, 1872 Part 1, Rome, 14 May 1872 (draft), ff. 690v-691r.

priests of the diocese, all the more unacceptable - according to the source - because the less important priests instead they were required to respect punctually their pastoral duties. The faithful, according to this protest received by the Holy See, were certainly not well impressed by these facts⁹⁷.

Moreover, the provisional administrator of the diocese seemed to want to challenge the very independence of the seminary as an institution and demanded that its economic reports were submitted to the government authorities, "to whom only he [Rešetar] bears respect" whereas, on the contrary, Jederlinić "never wanted to recognize the competence of the secular authorities in this matter"⁹⁸.

The provisional administration of Božo Rešetar seems to distance itself from Jederlinić's period also in relation to an important and ancient institution of Ragusa, the society of public beneficence called *Opera Pia*. Testamentary bequests for charitable purposes were deposited within this institution from the beginning of the fourteenth century and grew steadily, so much so that before the fall of the Republic its patrimony amounted to around six million of Ragusan ducats. Materially, this money was deposited abroad in Rome, in Genoa and in Naples but because of the upheavals that occurred between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, writes Maschek, "they perished miserably" and remained available only the capital located in the territory of Ragusa, and these were also reduced because of the numerous fires of houses and homes occurred during the Montenegrin invasion of 1806. Because of them, in fact, many real estate assets that served as collateral for those capitals had disappeared⁹⁹. However, at the beginning of the 1830s, the heritage of the *Opera Pia* continued to be considerable. The governor of Dalmatia, Lilienberg, in a report to the Austrian Emperor Francis I considered its

⁹⁷ *S.RR.SS., AA.EE.SS., Austria, pos. 203, fasc. 130, f. 31rv.* "Ai 15 d'Agosto fu con discapito del culto divino cambiato l'orario delle sagre funzioni, dispensati i Capitolari dal turno delle Messe festive stabilito dal def. Vescovo nella Cattedrale a maggior comodo della popolazione, e tolta del tutto la Messa solita celebrarsi a mezzo giorno. Da quest'epoca s'introdussero tali disordini nelle sagre funzioni che realmente il popolo ne deve rimanere scandalizzato, perché soltanto agli inferiori si ingiunge la letterale osservanza delle leggi ecclesiastiche, ed il Capitolo impunemente le può infrangere".

⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, f. 31v: "[...] non ostanti le evidenti dimostrazioni fatte in contrario, il Vicario, andava impugnando la legalità della fondazione [...] pretendeva soltanto che venissero conformati tutti i Resoconti per sottoporli alle censure ed osservazioni delle Autorità laiche, alle quali soltanto egli deferisce, ed il def. Vescovo mai in simil affare volle riconoscerle competenti".

⁹⁹ *Manuale del Regno di Dalmazia per l'anno 1871 compilato colla scorta di dati ufficiali da Luigi Maschek Consigliere Imperiale, Direttore degli Uffici d'Ordine dell'I. R. Luogotenenza dalmata. Anno I. Zara. Tipografia Fratelli Battara, 1871, pp. 269-270.* See also Skurla, 1876, p. 64.

investments at home and abroad to be very meaningful and quantified them as 764,283 gulden¹⁰⁰.

The bishop of Ragusa was president of the commission that ran the institute. Our source on the events of 1855-1856 in the diocese states that Božo Rešetar had succeeded in a few days in getting the civil government authorities to obtain what they had been aiming for years, that is to remove or diminish the influence of the bishop in the *Opera Pia*. Although news had already reached Ragusa about the signing of the Concordat between Austria and the Holy See, not even a month after Jederlinic's death, on 3 September 1855, the vicar during a session of the chapter "was not ashamed to abdicate" the right that belonged to him and "handed over the supervision on the institute, which is by its nature ecclesiastical, to the civil authorities, it seems reserving for himself only the honor of reviewing the economic accounts at the end of the year". The damage that the pious institutions may suffer from this act, as our source argues, will be demonstrated in the future¹⁰¹.

There is one last question raised in this source that deserves to be seen, and it concerns the system for the recruitment of new clergy that was put in place by Božo Rešetar. The criticism by the informant is also useful because it offers us a testimony on the global state of the Ragusan Catholic priesthood in the mid-nineteenth century, providing us with an interesting analysis of the roots of this state of affairs that can be placed at the time of French domination. Between 1806 and 1816, in fact, almost no new priests were consecrated in Ragusa. The French government "forbade the youth to take the clerical habit". From 1830 onwards, the consequences of this lack of generational change began to be felt and so at that time, in the mid-1850s, the diocese was short of priests and had to leave some rural parishes uncovered or having two parishes administered by a single priest.

There were some aspiring priests, but both Jederlinić and his predecessor Giuriceo had preferred not to consecrate individuals who were too young. Between

¹⁰⁰ Cfr. *Clewing, Roher Diamant Dalmatien*, pag. 251: "Die Opera Pia in Ragusa besitzt ein sehr bedeutendes Vermögen". Clewing (cfr. *ibidem*) notes that the large amount of the *Opera Pia*'s assets can be seen in comparison with the annual budgets of the Dalmatian state administration which in 1847, for example, presented a total expenditure amounting to slightly more than 1.93 million Gulden.

¹⁰¹ *S.RR.SS., AA.EE.SS., Austria, pos. 203, fasc. 130, f. 31rv.* "Le Autorità laiche vollero spesse volte togliere questo diritto o almeno imminuirlo, ma il Vescovo Jederlinich seppe mantenerlo intatto fino alla morte, e difatto soltanto il 3 settembre 1855 quindi soli ventidue giorni dopo la sua morte non ostanti le sicure notizie della succeduta conchiuisione del Concordato il Vicario Capitolare in pubblica seduta non si vergognò di abdicare a questo Diritto, e consegnare tutto l'Istituto per natura sua ecclesiastico alla direzione della civile Podestà, riservandosi a se [*sic*] come pare il solo onore di rivedere alla fine dell'anno i Conti. Di quanto danno potrà riescire quest'atto alle pie istituzioni lo proverà il futuro".

October and November 1855, however, Božo Rešetar as vicar issued two notices of competition for the conferral of numerous parishes and, it seems from what our source reports, he made public through one of these notices that "the exams would be easy and there would be indulgence [on the part of the examiners]". Anyway there were a few failures, but the exams could be taken again after a few days.

The conclusion drawn from these facts was that the vicar had allegedly wanted to put in bad light Jederlinić government of the diocese and favor some clerics by appointing them as parish priests, even if "by conduct, culture and age they are not suitable for that"¹⁰². Finally, in contravention of the canonical laws of the time, it seems that the vicar wanted to appoint parish priests also for those diocesan units whose boundaries were still in discussion during the previous bishop's administration, which in fact was thinking of merging or dismembering certain parishes of the diocese¹⁰³.

This difficult period of transition lasted only a short time, and already in 1856 the new bishop Vincenzo Zubranich (Vicko/Vinko Čubranić, 1802-1870)¹⁰⁴ arrived. He also came from the island of Krk like Giuriceo and Jederlinić, his two predecessors in the new historical phase of the diocese of Ragusa after its downgrading in 1828. Just like Jederlinić, Zubranich too studied theology in Padua. He had only become bishop of Kotor a few years earlier, in October 1854, and the Holy See officially transferred him to Ragusa on 19 June 1856¹⁰⁵. His solemn entrance into the city took place on 19 October 1856. One can imagine that a first sign of discontinuity with the previous troubled year was the decision of the

¹⁰² *Ibidem*, f. 32r: "[...] la misura fra le altre la più nociva per la Diocesi, è quella del Concorso aperto alle Parocchie [*sic*], perché con essa non si è avuto di mira il bene del popolo e l'indiminuta osservanza de' sacri Canonici ma soltanto il desiderio di collocare a Parocchie individui che forse per condotta, scienza ed età non sono adatti, ma che pur si vorrebbero vedere assicurati". On the question of examinations for the conferral of parishes, the expressions used in Italian are as follows (cfr. *ibidem*, f. 32rv): "Quando poi coll'Avviso 30 Novembre a.p. si aprì il concorso a 21 Parocchie [*sic*] [...] e si dichiarava nello stesso Avviso di Concorso 'che gli esami sarebbero stati facili e che si sarebbe usata indulgenza' con che violentavansi gli Esaminatori, la massima parte del Clero giovane accorse agli esami, colla certezza di ottenere facilmente i migliori posti. Gli Esaminatori Prosinodali esclusero bensì qualcheduno ma che giova se gli esami si possono ripetere e dopo 8 o 14 giorni riaprendosi il Concorso alle stesse Parocchie i medesimi possono comparire?".

¹⁰³ *Ibidem*, f. 32v.

¹⁰⁴ The recent almanac of the Diocese of Dubrovnik reports "Vicko" as its baptismal name. Cfr. *Šematizam Dubrovačke Biskupije*, p. 320. In the Croatian biographical dictionary, the "Vinko" version is used. Cfr. A. Lešić, 'Vinko Čubranić', in *HBL*, 1993.

¹⁰⁵ *Notizie per l'anno MDCCCLVII dedicate all'Eminentissimo e Reverendissimo Principe il Signor Cardinale Giovanni Brunelli del Titolo di Santa Cecilia, Arcivescovo Vescovo di Osimo e Cingoli ec. ec. Roma, Tipografia della Rev. Cam. Apostolica, 1857, p. 171.*

new bishop to bring Giuppanovich and Jederlinich *junior* back to the key positions of the chancellery in the diocesan Curia, from which they had been removed¹⁰⁶.

This was not the only sign of discontinuity. During the period of Čubranić, the contrasts between the ecclesiastical authority and the civil government (and, in particular, its highest authority in Ragusa, that is Pavo Rešetar) will certainly not be lacking, reaching very intense peaks. All the opposite of the compliant attitude towards the government held by Božo Rešetar, at least reading the source we have dealt with in these pages, which we consider useful also by virtue of the information given regarding the conditions of the local Catholic clergy, in a wide interval of time.

3.2.3 “Crescente numero Graecorum”

Certainly, Vincenzo Zubranich (Vicko/Vinko Čubranić) wanted to give a strong sign of his presence from the very first days of his episcopate in Ragusa. From the autograph manuscript kept in the Dubrovnik Research Library, in fact, we learn that already on 5 January 1857 the new bishop informed his clergy on the institution of the diocesan ecclesiastical court for matrimonial cases. But this information is only the beginning of the manuscript. This official letter, written in Italian and dated 9 March 1857, is in fact an official instruction sent by Čubranić to all the parish priests of his diocese¹⁰⁷. Already at the beginning of the second paragraph of the document – dedicated more specifically to the behaviour that must be adopted by the parish priests towards couples who intend to marry – Čubranić seemed to want to establish a difference, a real change of pace compared to the years that preceded him. After recalling the sacramental value of marriage and also specifying that civil government also had the right to issue laws on the subject – the Concordat between the Holy See and Austria had in fact been signed

¹⁰⁶ For a journalistic chronicle of Čubranić’s entrance, see ‘Ragusa, 23 October’, *Salzburger Kirchenblatt*, 13 November 1856, 46, p. 366. According to the *Status cleri et animarum* published the following year, the official assumption of the government of the diocese took place on 18 October. For this last information, and for the appointments of Giuppanovich and Jederlinich *junior*, cfr. *Status cleri et animarum dioecesis rhacusinae, ineunte anno domini 1857, Venetiis, Typis F. A. Perini, S. Canciani, n. 5400*, 1857, p. 3.

¹⁰⁷ *ZKD, ZR, Rkp.* 418, non-numbered sheets. From our bibliographic research, there are no evidence of this letter’s printed copies preserved nowadays.

just two years earlier, in 1855 – the new bishop exhorted indeed the parish priests to "instruct the people on the nature and conditions of these [matrimonial] contracts, given that the necessary importance has not been given to them for some time now"¹⁰⁸.

A whole series of instructions follows, which refers to the traditional discipline of the Catholic Church with regard to the phases prior to marriage: verification of any impediments; the need to verify the education of future spouses in the religious concepts and prescriptions, because otherwise "the new generations will give few good children to the Church, and even fewer good subjects to the State and good members to society"¹⁰⁹; parish priests are recommended to keep special registers in which to collect the declarations signed with the reciprocal promises of marriage of the spouses, also signed by two witnesses. In addition, Čubranić reiterates the absolute prohibition for priests to meddle in matters relating to gifts between spouses and their families. In the cases of those parishes that did not have the old registers because they were lost or destroyed¹¹⁰, the parish priests should have done their best, calling to witness relatives and elders of the village, to determine the possible presence of impediments to marriage and, in case of doubt, postpone the celebration until they are resolved.

Particular attention was required, especially to the parish priests of the district of Ragusa proper and namely most in contact with the urban environment, towards the cases confirmed or suspected of syphilis: for that matter, there was also a decree of the provincial *Luogotenenza* prohibiting marriages to those infected by this disease. The bishop added a note of Christian piety, with the recommendation to the parish priests to act "with much charity [...] so as not to add further affliction to those who are already afflicted, and perhaps are not guilty of their own fault"¹¹¹.

¹⁰⁸ To Caesar what is Caesar's, to God what is God's: it is with the well-known evangelical phrase that Čubranić exhorts his priests to scrupulously observe the prescriptions of the civil laws on marriage. As regards the passage to the next paragraph "Capo II. Doveri peculiari dei Parrochi [*sic*]", the sentence relating to the bad habits established in previous years in the diocese reads as follows in Italian: "Sarà cura dei Parrochi d'istruire i popolani sulla natura e condizioni di questi contratti (*matrimoniali*), ai quali da qualche tempo non veniva dato alcun peso e valore".

¹⁰⁹ Cfr. *ibidem*, part 2, second paragraph "Prima di procedere alle pubblicazioni": "[...] e in questo modo le nuove generazioni daranno pochi buoni figli alla Chiesa, e molto meno buoni sudditi allo Stato, e Membri alla Società".

¹¹⁰ This was the case - as asserted by the bishop himself - of some parishes of Ragusa whose archives had suffered damage during the incendiary Montenegrin raids in 1806. Cfr. *ibidem*, part 2, third paragraph "Riguardo ad alcuni casi particolari della Diocesi".

¹¹¹ Cfr. *ibidem*.

So far, therefore, the episcopal letter addressed issues that were shared by many if not all dioceses, not only in Dalmatia and not only at that time, but for several centuries. Issues that were an important part of that intense work of regulating social life and access to the sacraments put in place by the Catholic Church after the Council of Trent, as well as by means of the official pronouncements of the Popes in subsequent centuries. There is also a paragraph dedicated to the custom, established in some districts of the diocese, of abducting (even using weapons) a girl from her father's house, to marry her even without the consent of her parents, or even if she is promised bride to another man. The bishop therefore ordered his priests not to give in to any pressure and demand that the woman be restored to freedom and that the aspiring spouses make a solemn declaration of consent before witnesses who must be in every sense extraneous to both the kidnapper and the kidnapping.

Finally, in the Episcopal letter there is also a passage closely linked to the peculiar context of Ragusa in this century, a city where the presence of the population of Orthodox confession had increased considerably, even though it did not reach very high figures, in comparison to other Dalmatian cities such as, above all, nearby Cattaro (Kotor). Čubranić indeed addresses the issue of mixed marriages and reaffirms that the Catholic Church has always strongly disapproved of them. "We have the confidence that very few of them will take place in this diocese", he writes, exhorting the parish priests to "oppose all possible difficulties every time the case arises" and especially not to neglect to instruct the aspiring spouse of the Catholic confession on the doctrine of Rome in this regard¹¹². The Ragusan priests should persuade the aspiring spouses that mixed marriages "are never happy", because "it is impossible" for the Catholic spouse, "convinced as he/she should be of the divinity and truth of his own religion" to bear that the spouse "lives in error and, because of not guilty ignorance or because of indifference, runs to the perdition". If these recommendations do not prove to be useful, the priest would have to suspend every step, to submit a report to the bishop and then to act on what would be prescribed to him¹¹³.

¹¹² Cfr. *ibidem*, part 2, fourth paragraph "Riguardo ai matrimonj misti": "La Chiesa ha mai sempre riprovato i matrimonj misti, e si nutre ferma fiducia, che ben pochi avranno luogo in questa Diocesi. Ciò non ostante all'occasione il Parroco opponga tutte le possibili difficoltà, e specialmente non tralasci d'istruire la parte cattolica nella dottrina della Chiesa in proposito [...]".

¹¹³ Cfr. *ibidem*, part 2, fourth paragraph "Riguardo ai matrimonj misti": "[...] e le faccia toccare con mano, come queste unioni non riescano mai felici, giacch'è impossibile, che il cattolico, persuaso come deve essere della divinità e veracità della propria religione veda, senza scomporsi, come l'altro conjuge, [...] viva nell'errore, e per incolpata ignoranza o indifferenza, corra alla propria perdizione. Ove tutto ciò non

As already noted, Catholic doctrine in these cases provided for the possibility that mixed marriages could only take place after the granting of a special dispensation (“*dispensa*”) in favor of the Catholic spouse, with a commitment on his/her part to educate the children according to the Catholic religion. Particularly where Catholics shared the same territory with non-Catholic Christian populations, and even more so in the areas of Catholic missions in the midst of non-Christian populations, it happened that, even in the presence of this normative framework, the local bishops or missionaries turned to the institutions of the Roman Curia to ask for advice and instructions on particular cases¹¹⁴.

A specific case relating precisely to the years we are talking about allows us to see a concrete example of the practice of submitting *dubia* to Rome, and leads us to deduce that even a bishop - which will be eventually destined for roles of a certain importance in his ecclesiastical career - might need to turn to the Holy See, even for cases that would seem apparently easy to resolve. This case concerned Luigi Ciurcia (Ljudevit Ćurčija), bishop of Scutari in the Albanian territories of the Ottoman Empire, who was among other things a Franciscan friar from Ragusa¹¹⁵.

In May 1861, the Prefect of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide Alessandro Barnabò wrote to Ciurcia in order to answer to some of the latter’s doubts concerning mixed marriages. In the first case it was a matter of matrimonial cases involving Catholics and Muslims of Albanian ethnicity in the Scutari diocese. The text of the letter from the Roman cardinal is emblematic: he believed that the questions posed by Ciurcia were all in all easy to resolve¹¹⁶. There were

giovasse, sospenderà ogni passo ulteriore, che, dietro dettagliato rapporto, gli verrà prescritto dall’Ordinariato”.

¹¹⁴ For an overview of the implications of these issues for the jurisdictional system of the Roman Curia, see paragraph 2.1.1.

¹¹⁵ Limiting ourselves only to the nineteenth century, I note that there were several Franciscan friars from Ragusa or from the immediate surroundings, who had played a role in the Catholic missions in the nearby Ottoman territories. Within the documentation of the historical archive of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide, in fact, there are numerous references to Franciscan Fathers of Ragusan origin who worked in the neighboring dioceses *in partibus infidelium*. Furthermore, in those decades three Ragusan Franciscans were appointed as bishops in those dioceses. They were Benigno (Beninj) Albertini (1789-1838), Urbano Bogdanovich (Urban Bogdanović, 1806-1863) and, indeed, Luigi Ciurcia (1818-1881). The first and the third one had been bishops of Scutari, respectively from 1832 to 1838 and from 1859 to 1866, while Bogdanović acted as apostolic administrator of the diocese of Skopje from 1845 to 1863, albeit being based in Prizren, Kosovo.

On Ciurcia and his ecclesiastical career that will also lead him to have apostolic roles in Egypt, see M. I. Brlek, ‘Ljudevit (Alojzij, Lujo, Ivan) Ćurčija’, in *HBL*, 1993.

¹¹⁶ *ACPF, Lettere*, vol. 352, 1861, Barnabò to the bishop Ciurcia, Rome, 18 May 1861 (draft), f. 235rv. The first case concerned a Catholic who had converted to Islam and had married a Muslim woman. This man then converted again to Catholicism and intended to marry a Catholic woman. Barnabò replied that

therefore two possibilities: either the bishop of Scutari had some gaps in the doctrinal question on marriages and he had to remedy to it, or he was looking for an authoritative answer from Rome to his doubts. In this second case, Barbabò would have made an exception and, for that time, would have given the answers¹¹⁷, leaving it understood however that in the future Ciurcia would have done better to resolve them on his own, without asking for the intervention of Propaganda Fide, who "has the task of overseeing the missions and cannot deal with the most minimal questions to be dealt with by the bishops"¹¹⁸.

The question of mixed marriages will be of great concern to bishop Čubranić in the years to come. Evidence of this can be found in his reports on the state of the diocese sent to the Congregation of the Council in the Vatican. In 1863 he wrote that in Ragusa the Orthodox were increasing more and more and the presence of exponents of other Protestant confessions too. The latter were, in particular, public servants sent to the city by the government or soldiers for the local military garrison. "Very often mixed marriages take place – the bishop writes – and my predecessors obtained the faculties from the Holy See to grant the necessary dispensations".

Allowing mixed marriages could be defined as a kind of lesser evil. Especially in the case of Catholic women who want to marry an Orthodox man, if they did not have permission from the Catholic Church they would be indirectly induced to convert to Orthodoxy in order to contract marriage. Consequently, the difficulty of obtaining dispensations from the Holy See could translate into an even

this was absolutely right, because marriage between Muslims has no value for the Catholic Church and therefore that man did not run any risk of bigamy. In the second case, the possibility was denied that a Catholic woman, while her husband was still alive, could legitimately marry a Catholic man, a widower, despite the favorable sentence pronounced by an Orthodox bishop.

¹¹⁷ From the beginning of his pontificate, Pope Pius IX had held Alessandro Barnabò in high esteem, entrusting him with the role of secretary of Propaganda Fide in 1848. In 1856 the Pope appointed Barnabò cardinal and Prefect of the Congregation dedicated to the missions throughout the world. He maintained this role until his death in 1874. In the second volume of his monumental biography of Pius IX, Giacomo Martina gives interesting assessments of the personality of Barnabò. Resuming the studies on the documentation of Propaganda Fide conducted by the eminent German scholar Josef Metzler, who had been also for a long time archivist of the Congregation, the myth of Barnabò's despotic character is debunked, even though Martina admits that because of his energetic character, this cardinal could sometimes be unpleasant to those who were accustomed to more diplomatic behavior. Cfr. G. Martina S. J., *Pio IX (1851-1866)*, Roma, 1986, pp. 357-359.

¹¹⁸ *ACPF, Lettere*, vol. 352, 1861, Barnabò to the bishop Ciurcia, Rome, 18 May 1861 (draft), f. 235v: "[...] la S.C. [the Sacred Congregation, editor's note] avendo delle missioni l'alta sorveglianza non può occuparsi di tutte le cose anche più minute, ed ama che di queste se ne carichino i rispettivi Superiori locali".

greater problem for the Catholic Church, and the bishop wants to make Rome aware of that¹¹⁹.

As for the Protestants registered among the residents of Ragusa, their number in that period was completely irrelevant. According to the 1857 census and subsequent updates that were integrated into the 1862 publication edited by Luigi Serragli, then deputy to the Dalmatian Diet¹²⁰, there were only four Protestants throughout the district. However, the number of people that the census recorded as *forestieri* (foreigners) was quite substantial: taking into account only the municipality of Ragusa, which stretched from Gravosa southeast to Plat, at the gates of Ragusavecchia, the foreigners were 919, out of a total resident population (both the one present in the city and the one temporarily not present) of 9506. And it is therefore precisely among this component that those (public and military employees) to whom the bishop referred should be identified, when speaking of mixed marriages with Protestants. More than half of these 919 (554) lived in the city centre, i.e. within the fortified walls.

As for the Orthodox community in the district of Ragusa, their quantification was around 183 residents¹²¹. We can not help but notice a very significant decrease compared to the 350 units indicated in the data published between 1846 and 1848 by the *Srbsko-Dalmatinski Magazin*. Such a figure would therefore contradict bishop Čubranić's alarming statement regarding the “*crescente numero graecorum Schismaticorum*”¹²².

A final note about the Jews living in Ragusa. Their religious community was the largest after the Catholic one if we consider those who lived permanently within the city walls, thus excluding those Protestants belonging to the group of public officials and military, whose specific number is not however indicated

¹¹⁹ *ASV, Congr. Concilio, Relat. Dioec., busta 674 A*, “Relatio status Ecclesiae Rachusinae ad Sacram Romanam Congregationem Concilii”, Ragusa, 31 March 1863, unnumbered sheets, paragraph § IX: “In hac Civitate crescente numero graecorum Schismaticorum, et publicorum officialium a Gubernio destinatorum, militumque praesidium hoc constituentium, inter quos saepe variarum confessionum Protestantes reperiuntur, succedunt saepissime matrimonia mixta, et praedecessores mei necessarias facultates ad dispensationem a Sancta Sede obtinuerant. [...] ad avertenda damna quae a difficultate obtinendi dispensationes in Religionem redundare inceperunt, maxime ad evitandas apostasias feminarum catholicarum, quae quandoque a schismaticis seductae contrahendi matrimonii causa ad schisma transiere”.

¹²⁰ Serragli, 1862, pp. 27-29 (the data relating to the municipality of Ragusa can be found on page 27). All the data that I quote also in the following lines are taken from this source.

¹²¹ To be exact, there were 51 "non-united Greeks" (*grecci non uniti*) residents in the town centre; 72 in the Pile suburb and 59 in the Ploče suburb. All Orthodox residents in the district of Ragusa lived within the borders of the municipality of Ragusa itself, with the exception of one person living in Ragusavecchia.

¹²² The data indicated by the *Srbsko-Dalmatinski Magazin* is quoted by Prpa-Jovanović, 1988, p. 20.

within the generic group of "foreigners". The Ragusan Jewish community was of ancient origin¹²³, mainly located within the city walls and there their number in the census of 1857 was twice that of the Orthodox (107 Jews and 51 Orthodox). But their presence in Pile and Ploče was irrelevant, only 14 people in all, and therefore in the municipality as a whole the Orthodox community was the second largest religious community in order of size (in total, 183 Orthodox and 121 Jews)¹²⁴.

In his next report sent to Rome on 1869, Čubranić returned to the subject of mixed marriages reiterating that every time the problem had aroused again he asked the Holy Office for the faculties to grant dispensations, to prevent the "*pars catholica*" from passing to the schism. He makes no mention of the Protestants and in relation to the Orthodox – the number of whom, the bishop writes, had increased even more – he specifies that they came to the city from the nearby Turkish provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina¹²⁵.

Other sources also attest that during the 1860s the commercial activities of the Orthodox Serbs from Bosnia were experiencing a particularly successful moment. In fact, they had founded colonies of merchants along the Sava river, in Trieste and also in Ragusa. The fact that they controlled most of the trade routes within the Balkans and that they had a large availability of monetary capital is also attested by the Austrian officer Thoemmel in his historical-political study on Bosnia published in 1867¹²⁶.

The 1869 report by Čubranić presents another reason for interest: with regard to the demeanour of his people the bishop also mentions the local implications of the political situation in the whole of Dalmatia, which is going through years of rapid change. After saying that because of the factional spirit the

¹²³ The Jewish presence in Ragusa dates back to the fourteenth century and there are numerous studies dedicated to it, particularly concerning the Early Modern Age. On its long-term history see B. Stulli, *Židovi u Dubrovniku* [Jews in Dubrovnik], Zagreb 1989; V. Miović, *The Jewish ghetto in the Dubrovnik Republic (1546-1808)*, Zagreb-Dubrovnik, 2005; *Id.*, *Židovski rodovi u Dubrovniku (1546.-1940.)* [Jewish families in Dubrovnik (1546-1940)], Zagreb-Dubrovnik, 2017.

¹²⁴ Serragli, 1862, pag. 27.

¹²⁵ *ASV, Congr. Concilio, Relat. Dioec., busta 674 A*, "Ad Sacram Congregationem Concilii Tridentini Interpretum. Relatio de Visitatione Canonica Vincentii Zubranich Episcopi Ragusini", Ragusa, 12 November 1869, unnumbered sheets, paragraph IX "De Populo": "[...] numerum Graecorum Schismaticorum in dies augetur in hac civitate, per accessionem finitimorum ex Turcica Hercegovina et Bosnia. Haec circumstantia occassionem [*sic*] saepius praebet matrimoniis mixtis ineundis, et ego - ne ad schisma pars catholica transeat - S. Officium Universalis Inquisitionis, toties quoties, pro necessariis facultatibus impetrandis, supplicem adeo, ut hujuscemodi matrimonia, juxta conditiones praescriptionesque canonicas contrahi possint".

¹²⁶ Cited in R. Okey, *Taming Balkan nationalism. The Habsburg 'Civilizing mission' in Bosnia, 1878-1914*, Oxford-New York, 2007, p. 10.

moral sense of the population is weakening – an argument that we will also find in other Ragusan bishops' documents of this kind – the competition between the two main political camps in Dalmatia is mentioned. They are divided by different ideas both political and national. These divisions had already given rise to "serious scandals", not in Ragusa, but in nearby places. In his diocese, Čubranić concludes, there have been no serious events, from his point of view, and it is important that in the future, "thanks to the prudent influence of the clergy", they will continue not to occur¹²⁷.

The events of the following decades put his statements in a curious light. In fact, the role of the Catholic clergy in the context of the Slav national movements in Dalmatia will not only be that of "prudent" moderator, so much so that the Roman Curia itself in the 1890s will have to deal with it. And the political-national opposition existing in the 1860s between the elite of Italian language and culture and the Slavic masses (and their political representatives), will develop particularly in Ragusa from the end of the 1880s in a further key, that of the opposition between Croats and Serbs. But we will talk about this in the following pages and chapters.

At this point, however, it is necessary to make some references to the political situation in Dalmatia in the 1860s. This decade is of crucial importance for establishing the political framework that will exist until the First World War.

During the peak years of the Italian *Risorgimento*, from 1848 to 1861, to create a link between the Italian national question, the Eastern question and the Habsburg nationalities became the guideline of Turin's international politics with Cavour¹²⁸. Dalmatia will not enter into the territorial claims of the kingdom of Italy in the chessboard of foreign policy and in the ideology of its nationalism, if not at a very late stage, shortly before the First World War, only for some territorial Dalmatian areas, and with different motivations (of a military and strategic nature, rather than national) from those related to the Italian claims on Trieste, Istria or Trentino.

¹²⁷ *Ibidem*: "[...] nunc addendum est - in hisce etiam regionibus, partium odium, spiritumque divisionis moralitatis sensum aliquantum labefactasse. - In tota Dalmatia, populus in duas partes scissus est, quae a quaestionibus politicis et nationalitatis sensu prodiere. Scandala gravia, multis in locis proximis, evenerunt; at gratia Omnipotentis, in hac Diocesi, dissensus partium nullum grave factum usque adhuc protulit - et fiduciam habeo, prudenti influxu Cleri, etiam in posterum, nil sinistri eventurum".

¹²⁸ Dated but still fundamental on Cavour and these issues is A. Tamborra, *Cavour e i Balcani*, Torino, 1958 (hereinafter: Tamborra, 1958), esp. pp. 14-17. See also Monzali, 2009, pp. 31-33 and *ad vocem*; F. Guida, 'The Italian Risorgimento and Southeast Europe (1848-1870)', in V. G. Pavlović (ed.), *Italy's Balkan strategies (19th-20th Century)*, Belgrade, 2014, pp. 11-27.

Until 1866, Italy helped the Hungarian revolutionaries abroad, with the aim of creating pressure on Austria. With regard to Serbia, Italian foreign policy had a series of fluctuations that do not need to be rebuilt here. In the background, there was for Italy an interest in the role of Serbia as an attractor of potential revolts in the Military Borders, to the detriment of Austria. However, it did not favour the revolts of the Slavs in Bosnia and Herzegovina and the solution of the Eastern Question, except with the thought that an expansion of Austria in the Balkans could have entailed the transfer from Austria to Italy of the Italian-speaking territories still under its dominion¹²⁹.

The war events of 1859¹³⁰ caused the Habsburg Monarchy to lose the wealthy crownland of Lombardy, as well as the annexation to Piedmont of the small states of Modena and Tuscany, previously connected to the Habsburg dynasty.

For Vienna, the Italian events constituted a double watershed. Francis Joseph's decision to take over the command of the armies before the decisive Austrian defeat of Solferino on 24 June 1859 caused an unprecedented repercussion on the positive reputation of the dynasty itself¹³¹. Austria's military capability proved not sufficient, as it had been instead in 1848-49. Already at the turn of the mid-1850s the monetary resources of the Austrian State had reached the point of overstretch also because of the strong financial impact of the two years of mobilization of the army between 1854 and 1856 for the Crimean crisis. In the short term, war defeat in Italy sanctioned the end of the militarist neo-absolutism of the 1850s. In the following years, which however were not exempt from wars for Vienna, Austrian military budget was cut from 179 million florins in 1861 to 96 million in 1865¹³².

For Austria the second watershed sanctioned by the defeat of 1859 was the political one. After Solferino, Francis Joseph became convinced that the regime that had marked the last ten years in the empire had not been able to prevent political instability or even to guarantee financial solidity to the State. Just as in

¹²⁹ L. Aleksić-Pejković, 'The Serbian Question in Italy's Balkan policy until the First World War', in *ibidem*, pp. 81-102 (hereinafter: Aleksić-Pejković, 2014).

¹³⁰ A. Blumberg, *A carefully planned accident. The Italian war of 1859*, London-Toronto, 1990; F. C. Schneid, *The Second War of Italian Unification 1859-61*, Oxford, 2012. See also J. Komlos, 'Louis Kossuth's activities during the second war of Italian independence', *East European Quarterly*, 11, 1977, 1, pp. 43-63.

¹³¹ P. M. Judson, *The Habsburg Empire: a new history*, Cambridge (Ma)-London, 2016, p. 220 (hereinafter: Judson, 2016).

¹³² L. Cole, *Military culture and popular patriotism in late imperial Austria*, Oxford, 2014, pp. 45-46.

1848 the first thing done by the Habsburg dynasty to try to appease the revolutionary forces against the *Vormärz* regime was to remove the powerful minister Metternich, in 1859 it was the turn of other excellent removals, first of all that of minister Alexander Bach and then also of the minister of police Johann Kempen-Fichtenstamm. As the new minister of the Interior, the emperor appointed Agenor Romuald Gołuchowski¹³³, originally from the Austrian province of Galicia, in present-day Ukraine, father of Agenor Maria, who was to be minister of Foreign Affairs from 1895 to 1906.

Already on 15 July 1859, three weeks after Solferino, Francis Joseph promised the Habsburg people reforms in legislation and state administration through a proclamation. At the end of May 1860 the Imperial Council was convened, after its composition had been extended in March of that year to include representatives from various parts of the empire.

The Croatian councillors, who together with the representatives of Bohemia and Tyrol were part of the federalist majority in the Imperial Council, openly put on the agenda the question of the union of Dalmatia, an Austrian province, with Croatia-Slavonia, formally a province of the kingdom of Hungary, to restore the ancient Triune Kingdom (on which see paragraph 2.2.2). It was the representative of Dalmatia, the nobleman of Zadar Francesco Borelli, who opposed the proposal arguing that there was no Croatian historical right over Dalmatia and, although the majority of the Dalmatian people were of Slavic language and spirit, they did not wish to cancel their individuality by merging with Croatia-Slavonia¹³⁴.

Josip Juraj Strossmayer, bishop of Đakovo in Slavonia¹³⁵ and a member of the Imperial Council, supported the opposite view. After the separation of

¹³³ The parallelism between the decisions taken in these two moments of crisis of the monarchy is drawn from D. L. Unowsky, *The pomp and politics of patriotism. Imperial celebrations in Habsburg Austria, 1848-1916*, West Lafayette, 2005, p. 46.

¹³⁴ For the reconstruction of these events, see Monzali, 2009, pp. 33-51.

¹³⁵ Josip Juraj Strossmayer (1815-1905), born in Osijek and trained culturally and theologically in Pest and Vienna, in 1850 became bishop of a diocese with large properties and therefore very rich, that of Đakovo. He used these resources for cultural patronage and political activism. A man of great culture, of fervent political imagination and capable of far-reaching ideals, in politics and culture as well as for what concerned the relations between the Catholic Church and the Orthodox Churches, he was a fundamental figure in the nineteenth century of the Southern Slavs. As Egidio Ivetic wrote very effectively, the scope of the Strossmayer character and the vastness and variety of his actions are such that every historian will find in them different aspects to focus on (cfr. E. Ivetic, *Jugoslavia sognata. Lo jugoslavismo delle origini*, Milano, 2012, pp. 115-116). He was a patron and promoter of the Yugoslav Academy; he was a politician, and especially during the 1860s he was at the center of all the major issues relating not only to the Croats, but to all the South Slavic peoples; furthermore, he was a protagonist at Vatican Council I, siding with those who opposed the proclamation of the dogma of papal infallibility. In the 1880s, he

Dalmatia from Croatian lands in the past centuries, he argued that groups of foreigners, not Slavs, strangers to the local population but dominating them in a cultural and political sense, would have established themselves along the Dalmatian coast. Therefore, if a province of Dalmatia had been constituted with its own Diet, it would have been dominated by such foreign elements, and therefore it would have been useless for the interests of the majority of the local population¹³⁶.

By means of the *Oktoberdiplom* on 20 October 1860, Francis Joseph seemed to follow the federalist guidelines of the majority of the Imperial Council. Imperial power was reaffirmed, but legislative and judicial aspects were delegated to the provincial Diets to be reconstituted or created from scratch. This first reorganization proposal was never put into actual practice and favoured the large landowners¹³⁷.

Following pressure from Croatian politicians, in December 1860 the emperor established the reintroduction of Croatian as an administrative language in Croatia-Slavonia and, while stating that he would have taken into account the requests for the re-establishment of the Triune Kingdom, he believed that any final decision should be postponed until Dalmatia had its own Diet and thus the opportunity to express its political will.

The Italian-speaking elites of the main Dalmatian coastal towns – particularly the municipality of Spalato led by Antonio Bajamonti¹³⁸ – rose up against this possibility. The Dalmatian Diet, when established, should have taken the final

worked for the nationalisation of the liturgical language among the Southern Slavic Catholics, being an advocate of the rapprochement of the Christian churches in the Balkans. Strossmayer can be interpreted as an ecclesiastic of liberal visions, although anchored in traditional ideas such as the duty and right of the Catholic Church to supervise public education.

¹³⁶ An important text for understanding the political and historiographical vision behind these ideas was written in 1861 by Konstantin Vojnović (on which see paragraph 3.1.3): *Un voto per l'unione ovvero gl'interessi della Dalmazia nella sua unione alla Croazia e all'Ungheria. Dell'avvocato Costantino Vojnović. Spalato, Libreria Morpurgo, 1861.*

¹³⁷ B. Jelavich, *Modern Austria. Empire and Republic, 1815-1986*, Cambridge, 1987, pp. 60-61.

¹³⁸ Antonio Bajamonti (1822-1891) was a rich landowner, who became a doctor studying in Padua but soon abandoned his profession to devote himself to the political activity. Already during the 1850s he was a supporter of a programme of modernization of Spalato, aiming at making it a great Balkan port. Bajamonti was a liberal sympathizer in the economic and political fields and – as Luciano Monzali reports citing archival documentation – between 1853 and 1856 he was kept an eye on by the Austrian authorities as a liberal activist hostile to the neo-absolutist regime. He was the main leader of the Dalmatian Autonomist Party from 1860 onwards, as well as one of the main supporter of the important role of Italian culture and language in Dalmatia, but he never was an Italian irredentist, as Monzali himself repeatedly points out. Cfr. L. Monzali, 'Dalmati o italiani? Appunti su Antonio Bajamonti e il liberalismo autonomista a Spalato nell'Ottocento', *Clio*, 38, 2002, 3, pp. 419-465 (hereinafter: Monzali, 2002); for the notes by Austrian information service, see Monzali, 2009, p. 36.

decision on the matter. A key phrase of Bajamonti's thinking, pronounced on the occasion of that public statement and whose concept will be repeated several times in the following years, was that "even if the Dalmatian were Slav, he would never be Croatian by choice!"¹³⁹. However, the main ideologue of Dalmatian autonomists was Niccolò Tommaseo, although he had not lived in Dalmatia for several years¹⁴⁰.

It was in 1860 that the Dalmatian Autonomist party was born. It became the focus for different group of regionalists, by bringing together the traditional municipalist approach present in the political conception of the various urban elites of coastal Dalmatia, the regional idea supported in the past by Dalmatian enlightened writers, the feeling of belonging to a Slavic-Dalmatian nation, "Slavic by nationality and Italian by culture"¹⁴¹, but also that particular category of identity, Italo-Dalmatian, still present in this period, as highlighted by authoritative scholars¹⁴². According to Ivetic, Clewing's varied panorama should be complemented by an Italian identity *tout court*, at least for those who had recently emigrated from the peninsula to Dalmatia¹⁴³.

It should also be noted that the element that for brevity we can define as "Italian" within the Dalmatian population in this period has not yet developed a form of nationalism precisely Italian, let alone irredentism. In the course of the nineteenth century and in particular in the phase - especially after the 1840s - in which the Slav national movement gained momentum, in Dalmatia one could define oneself as "Italian" because he or she felt ideally connected to the Italian cultural nation, without meaning an irredentist aspiration. One could also be defined as Italophile, even being of Slavic ethnic origin, if he was a sympathizer to the Autonomist movement, which until the 1890s still maintained a multi-ethnic nature¹⁴⁴. It is precisely to define them that the term *talijanaš* existed in the Serbian-Croatian language, a word which in its plural nominative case is declined as *talijanaši* and which was often used in public discourse at the time. It can be translated as "Italianized" and had a rather negative connotation. His basic idea

¹³⁹ "[...] il Dalmata quand'anche dovesse essere Slavo, non sarà mai Croato per elezione!". Cited by Monzali, 2009, p. 37.

¹⁴⁰ Monzali, 2009, pp. 37-38.

¹⁴¹ For a discussion on the historical genealogy of these ideals and on the passage from cultural regionalism to the political Dalmatian autonomist movement, see Vrandečić, 2002.

¹⁴² For the period up to 1848, on the subject of the multiple (pre)national collective identities in Dalmatia, see Clewing, 2001.

¹⁴³ Ivetic, 2014, pag. 211.

¹⁴⁴ Examples of public speeches by Autonomist exponents who still in the 1890s declared the presence within their movement of "pure Italians", of "Italianized" as well as of Slavo-Dalmatians who recognized the usefulness of using the Italian language, are cited by Monzali, 2009, p. 163.

was that the Italo-Dalmatians were actually Slavs, who had culpably renounced their original identity, choosing to Italianize themselves.

Furthermore, analysing Cavour's attitude towards the territorial expansion of the Savoy monarchy, it is clear that Dalmatia had been completely absent from these aims. The Piedmontese statesman, despite being determined in his struggle against Austria, was never prone to excessive radical territorial claims in the Adriatic space, in Trieste and in Trentino, that could meet the disfavour of other European powers. He explicitly stated that annexing the Croatian and Serbian outlet on the Mediterranean (i.e. Dalmatia) would have meant to severely antagonize these peoples. Subsequent Italian governments will not deviate from this line¹⁴⁵.

What was happening in Ragusa at the beginning of the 1860s? On 1 March 1860 Medo Pucić signed the introduction to his Italian translation of the lessons given by the Polish poet Adam Mickiewicz on Serbian folk literature at the Collège de France in Paris. These lessons had been originally printed in 1843 in Polish and German, while the translation by the Ragusan intellectual was based on the French version of the texts, published in 1849. "On the title page I have replaced the name *Canti serbi*, as Mickiewicz called them, with *Canti Illirici*, to indicate to the Italian reader with a more common, though less exact, entry the country of which it is about", wrote Medo Pucić. But this did not exempt him from specifying more precisely what was being talked about in the work he was going to introduce. These "Serbian Songs", wrote Pucić, were "the heritage of that privileged part of the Slavs living in the *Illirio* [i.e. Illyria] who occupy Slavonia, Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia, Herzegovina and a part of Dalmatia".

After this ethnographic hint, the author did not miss the opportunity to express his very special form of Serbian pride, a pride, we remember, which manifested itself in an aristocratic Ragusan of Catholic extraction, as well as the vast majority of the population of his former city-state: "[The Serbs] speak the best dialect, have had and have the best history and the best literature"¹⁴⁶. In a nutshell,

¹⁴⁵ Monzali, 2009, p. 41. On Italian foreign policy regarding the issue of nationalities subject to Austria and Turkey in the 1860s, see also F. Guida, *L'Italia e il Risorgimento balcanico*. Marco Antonio Canini, Roma, 1984, pp. 187-188 and *passim* (hereinafter: Guida, 1984).

¹⁴⁶ *Dei canti popolari illirici. Discorso detto da Adamo Mickiewicz nel Collegio di Francia a Parigi e tradotto da Orsatto Pozza con una appendice dei testi illirici citati dall'autore*. Zara. Fratelli Battara Tipografi Editori, 1860, p. 3: "[...] patrimonio di quella privilegiata parte degli slavi abitanti nell'Illyrio che occupano la Slavonia, la Servia, il Montenegro, la Bosnia, l'Erzegovina ed una parte della Dalmazia, formano la famiglia serba, [...], parlano il miglior dialetto, hanno avuto ed hanno la miglior storia e la miglior letteratura". The introduction is signed "Ragusa, 1 March 1860".

we find here a very effective synthesis of the particular Serbian-led Illyrism that Medo Pucić had been carrying on for decades and which did not prevent him from being defined as "our" (i.e. "southern Slavic") "excellent patriot" by bishop Strossmayer, a year later.

It is interesting to note how Niko Veliki Pucić comments on his brother Medo's latest literary work. He did so in a letter written soon after Medo's publication and sent to Baltazar Bogišić (1834-1908), then still a university student in Vienna, but which in the following years will become an academic considered one of the most important figures of southern Slavic culture in the second half of the nineteenth century:

“Orsat, my brother, has translated the lesson of Mickiewicz [...] In order to reconcile the Dalmatians with their native language and to show them the treasure that it contains, it seems that it was necessary to use a foreign language!! How far are we? And how much must we guard ourselves from dangerous illusions, that can make us look at least like fanatics.... Let's be patient, the *Vidov Dan* will come”¹⁴⁷.

Niko Veliki Pucić's letters often had a rapid and sometimes disorienting pace, dealing with private economic affairs and quickly moving on to general political issues. Here the reference to the need to "guard ourselves from dangerous illusions" is not entirely clear. Is it possible that the fanatical attitude that his brother Medo and perhaps himself indirectly were in danger of encountering could have consisted of having written that book in Slav instead of in Italian? If so, that bilingual phrase about *Vidovdan* (St Vitus Day, Serbian national and religious holiday, commemoration of the Battle of Kosovo in 1389) could sound like a kind of hope for a Serbian-led Southern Slav future liberation. Moreover, especially in those years, the role of Serbia was considered by many to be homologous to that of Piedmont within the Italian *Risorgimento*¹⁴⁸. Even in the government circle of

¹⁴⁷ *Korespondencija Niko Veliki Pucić, doc. 1*, Niko Veliki Pucić to Baltazar Bogišić, Ragusa, 13 May 1860: “Orsat mio fratello ha tradotto la lezione di Mickievic [*sic*] sui canti popo-lari serbi in Italiano [...] Per riconciliare i Dalmati colla patria lingua e mostrarli il tesoro da essa racchiuso conviene servirsi d'una favella straniera!! *Kolikosmo daleko?* e come bisogna guardarsi da illusioni pericolose, che ci possono almeno far passare per fanatici... pazienza *doć će Vidov dan*” (italics added).

Niko Veliki Pucić wrote with that typical mix of perfect Italian and Slavic expressions, typical of the nineteenth-century cultured Ragusan people. He was fluent in both languages, Italian and Slavic, and often alternated between them even in the same letters.

¹⁴⁸ It seems that the first to formulate the hypothesis that the principality of Serbia could become the Piedmont of the Southern Slavs was a Croatian, the publicist Imbro Tkalac, in 1853, but in a context related to Austro-Slavism (that vision for which Croats, Serbs and Slovenes had to cooperate culturally

prince Mihailo Obrenović and among the Serbs of Hungary the idea of Serbia as a "South Slav Piedmont" was present, as attested among others by a report of the Italian consul in Belgrade Stefano Scovasso at the end of 1861¹⁴⁹.

If, on the other hand, the sentence on the risk of passing for fanatic had been sarcastic, the following words could also have taken on a less serious connotation. Perhaps a dig made at his brother Medo and at his pro-Serbian fervours? This seems less likely, given that in those years political collaboration between Croats and Serbs was at its peak in Dalmatia too. However, considering the frequent presence of sarcastic tones in Niko Veliki's correspondence, we do not feel we can completely exclude this second hypothesis.

His correspondent Baltazar Bogišić, originally from Cavtat (Ragusavecchia) near Ragusa, at this time was about to begin his brilliant career as an academic, a scholar of the customary law of the southern Slavic peoples, historian and ethnographer. As a librarian in Vienna, from 1863 onwards, he will be in contact with the most eminent Slavist scholars of the time. The first academic studies that earned him a great reputation were already published in the second half of the 1860s. In 1869 he was invited to teach Southern Slavic law history at the University of Odessa¹⁵⁰. In the following decades he worked on Montenegro's new civil code and continued his academic career in a European dimension. At the end of the 1890s (see paragraph 5.3) the Serb Catholic press in Dubrovnik often celebrated Bogišić with the connotations of pride of the Ragusan homeland as well as a "Serbian academic", considering him a leading exponent of the cultural and political dimension of Serb-Catholicism. On the other hand, especially after his death, historians and intellectuals assigned him proto-Yugoslav, Yugoslav and finally Croatian identities.

At the end of the mentioned letter, Niko Veliki Pucić informed Bogišić that he was worried about the expected increase in the tax burden in the Austrian empire. The commentary with which he closed his reflection gives us an insight into the perception of a Ragusan landowner – as Niko Veliki was – in that period,

and to unite politically, but remaining within a Habsburg monarchy of a federal nature). Cfr. Ivetic, 2012, p. 113. Tkalac from 1861 was in Vienna, where he published the newspaper *Ost und West*, then moved to Italy, where he became an official in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. See A. Tamborra, *Imbro I. Tkalac e l'Italia*, Roma, 1966.

¹⁴⁹ DDI, *series I*, vol. 1, doc. 347, Scovasso to Ricasoli, Belgrade, 16 October 1861. This document is prior to another Scovasso's report of December 1861, which according to Aleksić-Pejković, 2014, p. 88, was instead the first document to contain the use of this expression.

¹⁵⁰ A biographical profile and wide literature about him are available in M. Foretić, B. Tomečak, 'Baltazar (Baldo, Valtazar) Bogišić', in HBL, Zagreb, 1989.

about the economic conditions of his territory: “I do not know how things will go in the other provinces, but regarding the *Circolo* [the district] of Ragusa I know well that it cannot give anything more, as it had been impoverished because of the tax burden borne in years of poor agricultural harvest; you cannot get money from hungry people...”¹⁵¹. Pucić's concerns ("there is talk of new taxes to meet the urgent needs of the Empire") were not unfounded. In fact, in those very months the Habsburg Monarchy was experiencing a dangerous descent towards fiscal collapse and the repercussions of its foreign policy, with the defeats suffered in the Italian peninsula, were causing problems in obtaining loans on the international financial markets¹⁵².

For the young Ragusan scholar, the oldest of the Pucić brothers was not only a friend, but also a benefactor, a sort of patron. According to the Croatian scholar Ivo Perić, author of specific essays on the figure of Niko Veliki, he encouraged Bogišić to continue his studies and also helped him financially¹⁵³. The fact that Bogišić felt a strong gratitude to Niko Veliki and his brother Medo in those years can also be seen in a letter a few months later, written this time by Bogišić himself, who was now in Berlin for his studies. In a city that seemed to him "another world" than what perhaps with a bit of irony he called "the Celestial [Austrian] empire", Bogišić was also finding a printing house to entrust with a new edition of the poems by Medo Pucić, which in this Italian written letter was curiously referred to as "Gospar Orsat" (Sir Orsat)¹⁵⁴, combining a Slavic term not with his Slavic name "Medo", but with a Slavic version of the Italian name "Orsatto"¹⁵⁵.

Then, when magnifying the beauty of Prague recently visited, Bogišić was able to confess his partiality of judgment as a Slav, who believes that this city "somehow belongs to us"¹⁵⁶.

¹⁵¹ *Korespondencija Niko Veliki Pucić, doc. 1*, Niko Veliki Pucić to Baltazar Bogišić, Ragusa, 13 May 1860: “Si parla intanto di nuove gravezze per sopperire agli urgenti bisogni dell’Impero. Io non so come la cosa andrà nelle altre provincie so bene che il Circolo di Ragusa depauperato dalle contribuzioni riscosse in anni di sterile raccolta non può dar nulla di più e che da gente affamata non si cava denaro...”.

¹⁵² Judson, 2016, p. 220.

¹⁵³ Perić, 1997, pp. 78-79.

¹⁵⁴ "Gospar" is a regional variant of the word "Gospodin", meaning "Sir". Cfr. *Deanović-Jernej, 1970*, p. 189.

¹⁵⁵ *ZKD, ZK, Korespondencija n. 58*, letter n. 1, Baltazar Bogišić to Niko Veliki Pucić, Berlin, 8 December 1860.

¹⁵⁶ Humboldt, wrote Bogišić, was undoubtedly right to declare Prague as the fourth most beautiful landscape in Europe. But according to him, however, the Bohemian city would have deserved an even better judgement. Cfr. *ibidem*.

Meanwhile, the issue of the Eastern question also emerges in the public debate of the Dalmatian and Ragusan elites. In the very first days of 1861, Strossmayer sent a letter to Marino de Giorgi, an aristocrat member of the *Narodna Stranka*¹⁵⁷, and through him to all the "patriots" of Ragusa. One can imagine that the letter was of great importance to Slav political activists in Ragusa, since it was immediately printed in Italian and in Slavic by the publisher Martecchini¹⁵⁸. The bishop writes that the union of "our beloved sister Dalmatia" ("*diletta sorella nostra*") with Croatia can only take place within the framework of a freedom guaranteed by the Constitution. Otherwise, such a union would be just a "simple illusion". Such unification would strengthen Dalmatians and Croats within them and ensure their influence on the Eastern question and on the liberation of "our poor brothers who have suffered for so many centuries under the heavy rule of the Turks, despite the efforts of European diplomacy". If God and good fortune smile at the Slavs, then "the hand of the stranger" can no longer keep the brothers so far from the brothers. Similar opinions, bishop Strossmayer writes, had been also supported "by our excellent patriot, Count Orsatto Pozza"¹⁵⁹ in the Croatian newspaper *Pozor*.

¹⁵⁷ On the Giorgi *Casata* (alias Đordjić, also spelled Đurđević) see Prlender, 'Đurđević [family]', in *HBL*, Zagreb, 1993. From the seventeenth century onwards, because of the complex kinship between the various Ragusan aristocratic families – whose members were married only to each other – the *Casata* will take the surname Giorgi-Bona (see *Vekarić, Vlastela Grada Dubrovnika*, vol. 2, p. 262).

In 1817 the Giorgi family was one of the 19 aristocratic families that survived in Ragusa: to be precise, considering the number of branches and male exponents, it was in seventh place behind the Sorgo, Gozze, Pozza, Ghetaldi, Natali and Bona families. In that year there were two branches of the Giorgi family, with eight male members (cfr. Ćosić, 1999, p. 207). Not too surprisingly, the Giorgi were among the families to whom the Austrian government had soon confirmed the title of nobility (cfr. *Schematismo Provinciale della Dalmazia per l'anno 1828. Zara 1828. Dalla stamperia di Giovanni Demarchi Tipografo Governiale*, p. 158). When visiting the cathedral of Ragusa in the mid-1850s, the English traveller William Frederick Wingfield noticed the altar of the Giorgi family among the objects of greatest artistic interest. This English author, wrongly, notes that the Giorgi family was included in the ranks of the Ragusan aristocracy after the 1667 great earthquake. But this is a conspicuous inaccuracy, given that already at the beginning of the fourteenth century the family could boast of several of its members within the Grand Council. The book is *A tour in Dalmatia, Albania and Montenegro; with an historical sketch of the Republic of Ragusa from the earliest times down to its final fall. By W. F. Wingfield, M. A. Oxon; M. D. Pisan. London: Richard Bentley, New Burlington Street, Publisher in Ordinary to Her Majesty, 1859.*

¹⁵⁸ *Lettera di S. E. Monsignor Vescovo di Djakovo Giorgio Giusep. Strossmayer I.R. Consigliere Intimo, Consigliere dell'Impero e Gran Conte di Veröcze. Al Sig. Marino de Giorgi. Ragusa, Tipografia Martecchini*, 1861 (the letter bears the date of Djakovo, 4 January 1861). A copy of the printed letter can also be found in *HR-DADU-257 Obitelj Čingrija, X-7A, a-1 and a-2.*

¹⁵⁹ "Dall'ottimo nostro patriota, il conte Orsatto Pozza" (in the Slavic version, "vrlog našeg domorodca kneza Orsata Pucića").

Marino de Giorgi (also known mainly as Marin, *alias* Marinica Giorgi, 1824-1897)¹⁶⁰ was one of the most important Ragusan lawyer and was elected three times deputy in the Dalmatian *Sabor*, always in the ranks of the *Narodna Stranka*, for a total of ten years of permanence in the provincial Diet: from 1861 to 1864, elected together with Miho Klaić for the *curia* of the landowners of the Dubrovnik district; in 1867 elected for the *curia* of the rural municipalities of the district of Korčula, Ston, Orebić and Pelješac, but in the same year he gave way to Natko Nodilo; finally, he was elected for the term 1889-1895, again in the category of landowners of Dubrovnik¹⁶¹.

The relationship of the brothers Pucić with Strossmayer lasted many years and was always friendly from both sides. Let us pause for a moment on the judgment that in those very months Niko Veliki had to give of the famous Croatian-Yugoslav bishop and patriot. It seems interesting to us because it was contained in a private communication, a letter of Niko Veliki Pucić to Marinica Giorgi, and therefore is to be assumed as a sincere expression. Moreover, it is a portrait of Strossmayer that goes beyond the rhetoric present in certain historiography, as well as in the texts of the time. Niko Veliki reports having met him in Slavonia and having been admired by his "brilliant genius" and by the

¹⁶⁰ He was the niece of Marija Giorgi-Bona, a noblewoman in whose salon the best intellectuals of Ragusa gathered at the end of the eighteenth century. He owned the beautiful villa Sorgo-Sorkočević in Lapad and a rich library. See *Vekarić, Vlastela Grada Dubrovnika, vol. 5*, "Marin (Marinica) Nikolin Giorgi-Bona", pp. 53-54.

He studied law in Padova, graduating in 1849. From some archival documents relating to his youth, it is possible to get an idea of how in the middle of the century, even for an aristocrat like him, obtaining a job in the public administration was an objective not to be despised. In January 1848, he asked to be admitted as a trainee without pay at the *Capitanato Circolare* (the administrative authority) in Ragusa. The local authorities informed the provincial government in Zadar that they have nothing against it, as Marino was considered "a young man of very good character" and there was no note of demerit about his conduct (political, evidently): see *HR-DADU-81 Okružno Poglavarstvo Dubrovnik (I.R. Capitanato circolare di Ragusa), Presidialni Spisi, 1848, kut. br. 1-300, n. 8/p*, Capitanato Circolare di Ragusa to the Dalmatian Provincial Government, Ragusa, 26 January, 1848 (draft): "Il petente è un giovine di buonissima indole, che assolve gli studj come dai prodotti documenti, e nulla qui consta a carico della di lui condotta".

The procedure for hiring on probation lasted a few months, but always from these documents we know that once unlocked the procedure, Giorgi proved hesitant to accept and to start his career as an employee: see *HR-DADU-81 Okružno Poglavarstvo Dubrovnik (I.R. Capitanato circolare di Ragusa), Presidialni Spisi, 1848, kut. br. 301-500, n. 301/p*, Capitanato Circolare di Ragusa to the Dalmatian Provincial Government, Ragusa, 22 July 1848 (draft). It therefore seems clear that, when he was about to graduate, the young Giorgi was considering with increasing seriousness the possibility of embarking on a career in law, discarding the possibility of becoming a public servant who had probably left open as a safe fallback. Once he became a lawyer, he started to practice the profession in his city for several decades, during which he had been also a council member of the Chamber of lawyers in Ragusa (see *Narod*, 4, 28 January 1887, 8, p. 3).

¹⁶¹ Perić, 1978, pp. 215; 218; 221.

"magnanimity of his heart". Qualities, according to Niko Veliki Pucić, which however were "a little ruined by his immense self-love". Strossmayer is painted as a "poet", a word followed in the letter by an Italian expression, "*per nostra disgrazia*", which is difficult to translate: it literally means "to our misfortune", but it does not have such a negative meaning as it appears from the English translation; it is rather a sort of benevolent lamentation. Strossmayer's being a poet, in this sense, appeared to be a potential source of problems for the Slav movement, even if from Niko Veliki's expression it can be understood how he felt that the advantages deriving from this imaginative temperament would have outweighed the disadvantages.

The issue is even better understood as we move forward in the reading. Strossmayer "tends to exchange the signs of his imagination for reality", but "he is a man of action". And with an ironic phrase, Niko Veliki adds that "since he is not a general, he is therefore not dangerous for our future", thus making an explicit reference here to Jelačić, in the context of Niko Veliki's critical assessment of the consequences of the events of 1848-1849¹⁶². The undated letter, however, can certainly be dated to 1860 or 1861. Niko Veliki in fact, in a very critical passage towards Austria says that "the Southern Slavs hate the *Schwabe* [derogatory term for Austrians and Germans in general] and all remember with pain how eleven years ago their enthusiasm was abused"¹⁶³.

3.2.4 Ragusan demographics between 1840s and 1870s

Some observations on the figures that we have available for two important areas of Ragusa from the mid-nineteenth century onwards will help us to insert the general observations made so far in a more specific context. The areas in question are those of the districts of Pile and Ploče (*Borgo Pille* and *Borgo Plocce*, as they

¹⁶² A typewritten transcription (probably made by Ernest Katić) of the letter sent by Niko Veliki Pucić to Marinica Giorgi is preserved in *HR-DADU-276 Osobni Fond Dr. Ernest Katić, Spisi Đura Pulića*, E 1-7, kut. 10, E 3 305 CCCV 2 a), f. 4: "In Slavonia m'abboccai coll'Egregio Vescovo Strossmayer. Le sue brillanti qualità d'ingegno, e la magnanimità del suo cuore sono un tantino guaste da immenso amor proprio. E' poi poeta per nostra disgrazia e soggetto a prendere i segni della sua fantasia per realtà. Però è uomo d'azione, e non essendo generale non è pericoloso pel nostro avvenire, come era l'altro poeta Jellacich [Jelačić]".

¹⁶³ Ibidem: "I Slavi del mezzodì detestano i Schwabe ed a tutti pesa sul cuore la memoria del come si abusò del loro entusiasmo undici anni sono [*sic*]". Here Niko Veliki clearly refers to the action of the Croatian *Ban* Jelačić in 1848-1849 against the Hungarian Revolution and the lack of gratitude on the part of Austria, which did not grant autonomy to the southern Slavs.

were named in Italian). Both districts are located outside the fortified walls of Ragusa, respectively in a north-western and eastward direction in relation to the city centre. In chapter 1 we have already had the opportunity to talk about these two areas, in particular of the damage suffered by the villas of Pile during the Montenegrin attacks of 1806 and of the presence of the *lazzaretto* and the customs in Ploče, at the border with the Ottoman territories.

What was the evolution of the population in these two suburbs, particularly since the mid-nineteenth century? In the following pages, we will describe this aspect of Ragusa's demographic history and, in this way, we will give an example of how and under what conditions it is possible to orient oneself among the existing statistical data.

Although separated from each other, in the nineteenth century Pile and Ploče have always been part of the same parish subdivision. To be precise, until 1850 the status of this ecclesiastical administrative unit was not exactly that of a real parish. Until that year, in fact, its official status was that of *Cappellania curata de' Borghi Pille e Plocce*¹⁶⁴, the term "*Cappellania*" indicating a type of ecclesiastical body in which a priest has the task of celebrating Mass in a specific church¹⁶⁵. It was not a parish, formally, and the residents were under the pastoral care of the chaplain of the local church. In 1850 it acquired the status of parish (today it is called *župa Sv. Andrije Apostola*; in official diocesan documents of the 1850s, it was called *parochia S. Andreae Apostoli*), as a consequence of the increase in the number of residents in these areas of the city¹⁶⁶. Later the parish will also be indicated by the name of *Borghi di Ragusa*, encompassing the suburbs of Pile and Ploče as well as a village on the Mount Srđ called Bosanka.

In particular, the village of Pile represented the north-west direction of expansion of the city. It was the largest settlement outside the walls, but still close to them. It was a place where people lived maybe for a few years, passing through, for the time they lived in the city for work reasons.

It must be pointed out that the parish records are a problematic source to examine the demography of Pile, Ploče and Bosanka, as well as of the whole city.

¹⁶⁴ The definition appeared for example in *Schematismo della Diocesi di Ragusa per l'anno 1844, dalla Tipografia Martecchini, Ragusa*, p. 12. Here, it was reported that the Catholic inhabitants of Pile and Ploče were 1600, more than an half of those who lived in the parish inside the city walls (3000). On the accuracy of these data, see the following pages.

¹⁶⁵ The *Cappellania* was established in 1512 at the ancient Romanesque church of Sant'Andrea in Pille and its chaplains had since then had the task of the cure of souls for the faithful who lived outside the walls, both to the west and east. Cfr. *Šematizam Dubrovačke Biskupije*, p. 47.

¹⁶⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 47.

There are direct evidences that the parish priests in the diocese of Ragusa were not always so accurate in maintaining their register of births, marriages and deaths, especially in rural areas¹⁶⁷. When one reads the yearly almanacs of the diocese that contain the collections of data from all the parishes, it seems as if some data regarding the population had been copied number for number, year after year. For instance, the annual reports of the diocese published by Martecchini from 1852 to 1855 reported the same number of *animae* in the newly-established parish of Pile and Ploče, namely 1918¹⁶⁸. The same is true for the annual report that was published in Venice in 1857¹⁶⁹. Similar repetitions can also be seen later. Between 1858 and 1861, the *Status cleri et animarum* repeated each year the figure of 2000 *animae*, of which 1700 had already received First Communion. In this period, the volumes (which we do not quote in full for reasons of brevity, but which we have consulted) continued to be printed in Venice, and no longer in Ragusa, as had happened before and how it will resume to happen after, for reasons that are not yet clear.

Between 1862 and 1866, to give another example, again from the volumes printed in Venice we can see that the population of that parish - which in those

¹⁶⁷ In his *relatio* sent in 1867 and in 1869 to the Holy See, the bishop Vicko Čubranić underlined that problem, blaming the “laziness” of some priests and remarking that the lack of a sufficient number of clergymen in the diocese prevented to provide the parish priests of small villages with some assistants for the administrative tasks. On this issue, see *ASV, Congr. Concilio, Relat. Dioec., busta 674 A*, “Alla Sacra Congregazione del Concilio. Relazione sulla Visita canonica della Diocesi di Ragusa”, Ragusa, 13 June 1867, unnumbered sheets.

With regard to the problem of parish priests who “out of laziness” did not keep records of births, deaths and marriages as they should, paying more attention to civil dispositions on that matter, rather than to the prescriptions of the Roman Ritual, the bishop makes a mention in *ASV, Congr. Concilio, Relat. Dioec., busta 674 A*, “Ad Sacram Congregationem Concilii Tridentini Interpretum. Relatio de Visitatione Canonica Vincentii Zubranich Episcopi Ragusini”, Ragusa, 12 November 1869.

¹⁶⁸ See for instance *Status cleri et animarum dioecesis rhacusinae, ineunte anno bisextili 1852, Rhacusii, Typis Martecchini*, p. 10; *Status cleri et animarum dioecesis rhacusinae, ineunte anno domini 1853, Rhacusii, Typis Martecchini*, p. 10. Here for the sake of brevity I give the exact references of only two of these publications, but I would like to point out that I have also consulted the publications of 1854 and 1855 (in 1856 the volume was not printed), in order to verify what I am arguing. Also the figure (1679 individuals) relating to how many faithfuls in the parish have already received First Communion remains unchanged in these years.

¹⁶⁹ *Status cleri et animarum dioecesis rhacusinae, ineunte anno domini 1857, Venetiis, Typis F. A. Perini, S. Canciani, n. 5400*, p. 11. A similar reiteration occurred in other official publications, such as those of 1870 and 1873: there, the recorded number of parishioners was 2011, with the additional clarifications about the number of *animae* in Ploče and in Bosanka (respectively 205 and 61, in both cases). Cfr. *Schematismus cleri dioecesis Ragusinae pro anno MDCCCLXX, cui adnectitur status dioecesis Marcano-Tribuniensis, Venetiis, ex typographia Aemiliana*, p. 31; *Schematismus cleri dioecesis Ragusinae pro anno MDCCCLXXIII, cui adnectitur status dioecesis Marcano-Tribuniensis, Ragusii, Typis Pet. Francisci Martecchini*, p. 33.

years was called "*Tre Chiese- Tri Crkve*" - continued to amount to 2000 *animae*, but from 1862 onwards they had begun to offer different data for Pile (which had 1745 *animae* each year out of the total of 2000 of the parish), Ploče and Bosanka¹⁷⁰. Consequently, from these sources it emerges a growth of 300 inhabitants with respect to 1844.

Nevertheless, these figures (1600 inhabitants in 1844; 1918 in 1852, 1853 and 1857; 2011 in 1870 and 1873) account for a quite significant decrease, especially with regard to the 1840s, when one compares them to the 2164 Catholic inhabitants in Pile and Ploče registered in a document of 1818, to which it is necessary to also add 333 more inhabitants of Orthodox confession that this source recorded in Pile¹⁷¹.

Krivošić had noticed that between 1828 and 1857 there was a negative difference of 120 units between births and deaths in a territorial unit that he has identified as *župa Pile*, without specifying if the suburb of Ploče has been included or not in his evaluation¹⁷². The author only specifies that this estimate does not include the abandoned infants and those persons who died in hospitals. This clarification does not seem superfluous, inasmuch Pile until 1887 hosted a structure which gave shelter to the foundlings, that in the documentation of the 1850s was called *Casa di Pietà alle Pille*¹⁷³.

In his *Memorie sulla Dalmazia*, Valentino Lago quoted the data from a not better specified *Bollettino provinciale* of 1854 (in all likelihood, it was the official publication *Bollettino provinciale degli atti ufficiali per la Dalmazia*) according to which in this year the Catholic inhabitants in Pile, Ploče and Bosanka were 2006¹⁷⁴, a somewhat different data (a 4.5 per cent increase) from the one recorded by the *Status cleri et animarum* this year.

¹⁷⁰ See for example *Schematismus cleri dioecesis Rhacusinae pro anno 1863 cui adnectitur status dioecesis Marcano-Tribuniensis, Venetiis, Typis F. A. Perini*, p. 55.

¹⁷¹ See paragraph 1.2.2.

¹⁷² S. Krivošić, *Stanovništvo Dubrovnika i demografske promjene u prošlosti* [The population of Dubrovnik and the demographic change in the past], Dubrovnik, 1990, pp. 94-95.

¹⁷³ The structure was built in Pile after the big earthquake of 1667: previously it was located within the city walls, near to the Franciscan monastery, and it was also called *Ospedale ai sette scalini*. In 1887, the structure for the abandoned children moved to the new Dubrovnik hospital. Between 1830 and 1852, in the register book of Dubrovnik foundlings there were all together 1460 records of baptisms, with 15 declarations by married parents who acknowledged the child as their son. Cfr. A. Šupuk, 'O matičnoj knjizi dubrovačkih nahoda i njihovim prezimenima (ab anno 1830-1852)' [On the register of births of Dubrovnik foundlings and their surnames from 1830 to 1852], *Anali Historijskog odjela Centra za znanstveni rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Dubrovniku*, 15-16, 1978, pp. 321-356.

¹⁷⁴ Lago, 1869, p. LXII. On page XLII, Lago specifies that his data referred to Catholic population, except in those cases where the acronym "gr. n. u." [*greco non unito*] was used.

Notwithstanding the fact that Lago published his book in 1869, he did not make use of the Austrian census of 31 October 1857, which was understandably considered as the most relevant existing official source by the book *Statistica della popolazione della Dalmazia*, published in 1862 by the provincial council of Dalmatia and edited by one of its member, Luigi Serragli, later the consul of the Kingdom of Italy in Ragusa. According to the 1857 census, Pile, Ploče and Bosanka had an overall Catholic population of 1797 inhabitants, namely the 48% of the Catholic population of the City parish, that is the parish located within the city walls (3708)¹⁷⁵.

These data deserve further clarifications, being articulated in much detail. They registered the different religious affiliations, distinguished the residents from the foreigners that lived in a given suburb, albeit providing the religious affiliations for the residents only. Moreover, the 1857 census took note of the number of residents that proved to be “absent”, that is to say that did not live in the specific area where they were recorded. But this census did not specify how those latter groups were composed with regard to religious affiliations of their members.

We do not know if the parish priests registered only the Catholics “present” residents, rather than the “present” and the “absent” ones. Therefore, we have elaborated the data of the 1857 census in order to have two figures available for the comparison with both the above-mentioned possibilities.

According to the 1857 census, the Catholics residents in Pile, Ploče and Bosanka (both those who were actually living there and those living elsewhere) were respectively 1354, 376 and 67: the total Catholic population of the parish, therefore, was of 1797 persons. If we assume that the parish priest recorded both the “present” and the “absent” Catholic residents, than we have a 6.3 per cent difference in the 1857 census data, with respect to the 1918 recorded by the *Status cleri et animarum* this year.

In order to make a further comparison, we have acted as follows. We have calculated an estimate of how many Catholics there were within the group of 158 residents which were absent from Pile and Ploče in 1857 (respectively 121 and 37 “absent”) (there were no Bosanka residents who proved to be “absent”). This estimate is based on the assumption that the ratio between Catholics and non-Catholics “absent” residents in Pile and Ploče did not deviate from the ratio between Catholics and non-Catholics “present” and “absent” residents in Pile and

¹⁷⁵ Serragli, 1862, p. 27.

Ploče (1730:148). From this estimate, it emerges that probably these two groups of “absent” residents included respectively 114 and 32 Catholics.

The difference between the census and the *Status cleri et animarum* would be even greater (13.9 per cent, instead of 6 per cent), if one assumes that the parish priest had considered exclusively the “present” Catholic residents in his data. In this case, we would have this situation: 1918 in the *Status cleri et animarum*; 1651 in the census (this last number being our estimate of the total number of “present” Catholic residents, originated subtracting 114 and 32 from 1797).

Finally, a precision: it is evident that within the cited page of the *Statistica della popolazione della Dalmazia* the label that defines the entry of the “absent” residents is incomplete, due to a print error. In fact, within the second column from the right the label is “*indigeni*” instead of the label “*indigeni assenti*” that is adopted within all the remaining pages.

The 1869 census included a joint registration of the City parish with that of Pile, Ploče and Bosanka. According to an estimate done by the renowned expert in Dubrovnik demography, Nenad Vekarić, the Borghi di Ragusa parish in 1869 had some 1805 inhabitants: however, this figure include the non-Catholics residents too¹⁷⁶. To conclude our discussion about the evolution of the population in Borghi di Ragusa parish, it is necessary to cite also the collection of data published by Luigi Maschek in 1872, elaborated by the Imperial Royal Central Statistics Commission to complement the data of the 1869 census with the changes occurred in the meantime. From these data, the population of Bosanka, Pile and Ploče in

¹⁷⁶ A. Violić-Koprivec and N. Vekarić, ‘Baptism and Marriage Witnesses of the Catholics of Dubrovnik (1870-1871)’, *Dubrovnik annals*, 21, 2017, pp. 97-137, (p. 101-102) (hereinafter: Violić-Koprivec and Vekarić, 2017). In this article, the authors assume that the ratio between the population of City and Pile-Ploče parishes based on the 1857 census remained constant in 1869. They have based their estimate on the 1857 data available in the manual of Korenčić, 1979, therefore working on a ratio between City and Pile-Ploče that is assumed as 3869:1945. But here a problem emerges: according to the *Statistica della popolazione della Dalmazia*, these last two figures do also include the not-Catholic residents (both the “present” and the “absent” ones) respectively in the City parish and in the Borghi di Ragusa (Pile, Ploče and Bosanka) parish.

To estimate the population of Borghi di Ragusa in 1869, I have acted as follows. In accordance with Violić-Koprivec and Vekarić’s methodology, I assume too that the ratio between the population of City and Borghi di Ragusa parishes would have remained constant from 1857 to 1869. Yet I have substitute their couple of figures (3869:1945) with another couple of figures (3708:1797) which indicates the ratio between the Catholic residents (and only them) of the City parish and those ones of the Borghi di Ragusa parish. Consequently, our estimate of the City and Borghi di Ragusa populations are, respectively, 3627 and 1758 Catholic residents. Instead, the data of the diocese of that year define the following situation: Villages of Ragusa 2011 parishioners (1745 in Pile, 205 in Ploče, 61 in Bosanka); City, 3540 parishioners. Cfr. *Schematismus cleri dioecesis Rhacusinae pro anno 1869, cui adnectitur status dioecesis Marcano-Tribuniensis, Venetiis, Typis Perinianis*, 1869, pp. 29-31.

1872 amounted to 2105 inhabitants: here, again, this figure includes the non-Catholics residents as well. However, unlike the 1869 census, this source provides a separate registration for these three suburbs¹⁷⁷.

3.2.5 On baptisms and Catholic devotion

*“Nato il giorno diecisette Aprile alle ore 2 a.m. del 1864, battezzato li 8 Maggio 1864. Nome, cognome e domicilio della madre: Anna Colendich abitante al Borgo Plocce. Nome, cognome e domicilio del padre: Niccolò Fabris abitante al Borgo Plocce. Maritati li 11 luglio 1853 nella Parrocchia di Curzola. Cattolici entrambi. Il Padre Tagliapietre. La Madre figlia d'un maccellajo[sic]. Ha assistito al parto la mamma Vincenza Lopina”*¹⁷⁸.

These are the informations about Antun Fabris' birth on 17 April 1864: this man will become the main leader of the Serb Catholic movement in 1890s Ragusa. For now, let us stay only on these data provided by the records of the *Borghi di Ragusa* parish, outside the fortified walls of the city centre. From the document we learn that Fabris' family lived in the Ploče suburb at the time of the child's birth.

An even more interesting piece of information is that concerning the long temporal distance between his birth and his baptism. It will give us the opportunity to formulate some observations relating to a particular aspect in Ragusan society in that period, that is the failure to respect a prescription of the Catholic Church relating precisely the timing of baptism.

The midwife who attended at Fabris' birth, Vincenza Lopina, was one of the more expert and more frequently mentioned ones in that period¹⁷⁹.

¹⁷⁷ Cfr. *Repertorio delle località del Regno di Dalmazia elaborato dall'I. R. Commissione Centrale di Statistica sulla base dell'anagrafe 31 Dicembre 1869 e con riguardo alle modificazioni posteriormente avvenute nel compartimento giudiziario e comunale pubblicato per cura di Luigi Maschek Consigliere Imperiale, Direttore degli Uffici d'Ordine dell'I. R. Luogotenenza dalmata, Zara, Tipografia Fratelli Battara, 1872, p. 22 (hereinafter: Maschek, 1872a).*

¹⁷⁸ “Born on 17 April 1864 at 2 a.m., christened on 8 May 1864. First name, surname and residence of the mother: Anna Colendich, residing at Borgo Plocce. First name, surname and residence of the father: Niccolò Fabris, residing at Borgo Plocce. They married on 11 July 1853, in the parish of Curzola. Both Catholics. The father, a stonecutter. The mother, a daughter of a butcher. The midwife Vincenza Lopina was present at the childbirth”. Cfr. *ABD, Matične Knjige Dubrovačke (Nad)Biskupije (Sig. 7), Matična Knjiga Rođenih župe Pile 1851-1865*, p. 92.

¹⁷⁹ Cfr. K. Puljizević, *U ženskim rukama. Primalje i porođaj u Dubrovniku (1815-1918)* [In women's hands. Childbirth in Dubrovnik (1815-1918)], Zagreb-Dubrovnik, 2016, p. 118. The Slavic version of her name provided here is Vice Lopina.

The parish priest Ivo Lupis¹⁸⁰ christened Fabris three weeks after his birth. Such an interval between the birth and the baptism was not strange in Dubrovnik during the 1860s. Even in the absence of specific and general data regarding the *Borghi di Ragusa* parish in that decade, it is possible to make some observations regarding this particular aspect of Catholic religious life in Ragusa in the light of an analytical study of Violić-Koprivec and Vekarić conducted on the registers of the *župa Grad* (the City parish of Dubrovnik) for the years 1870 and 1871, covering a territory and a chronological arc very close to the case of Fabris¹⁸¹. From this analysis it emerges indeed that the majority of baptisms in that parish during that period were administered between two and four weeks after the child's birth, in spite of the official prescription by the Roman Catholic Church that exhorted and exhorts to christen as soon as possible the newborn infants, inasmuch Baptism is considered as the new birth that frees the human being from the original sin.

The total number of the baptisms examined in Violić-Koprivec and Vekarić's article amounts to 149¹⁸². This *corpus* excludes the emergency baptisms, namely those cases when the child was in imminent danger of death. In those cases it was the midwife who could baptize the child and she did it immediately after the birth. We have an example of a similar case on 4 April 1864 when Vincenza Lopina christened the infant who was born immediately before Fabris in that parish, one Steffano Smokvina son of Pietro Smokvina and Maria Domincovich, who anyway survived and was brought to the church on 18 April for the necessary fulfillments¹⁸³.

The long interval of time between birth and baptism was a new phenomenon, if we compare it with the Ragusan records of 1770 that have been studied by other authors, which indicate that in this year the infants were mainly

¹⁸⁰ Ivo Lupis (1817-1891) spent almost his entire career as a priest in Pile, where he began to work in 1841 as an assistant of his uncle, the chaplain Pero Lupis. Cfr. *Šematizam Dubrovačke Biskupije*, p. 329. Both Ivo and Pero oversaw the registers of the structure for abandoned children in Pile. Cfr. A. Šupuk, 'O matičnoj knjizi dubrovačkih nahoda i njihovim prezimenima (ab anno 1830-1852)' [On the register of births of Dubrovnik foundlings and their surnames from 1830 to 1852], *Anali Historijskog odjela Centra za znanstveni rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Dubrovniku*, 15-16, 1978, pp. 321-356.

¹⁸¹ A. Violić-Koprivec and N. Vekarić, 'Baptism and Marriage Witnesses of the Catholics of Dubrovnik (1870-1871)', *Dubrovnik annals*, 21, 2017, pp. 97-137 (hereinafter: Violić-Koprivec and Vekarić, 2017).

¹⁸² *Ibidem*, pp. 105-110.

¹⁸³ *ABD, Matične Knjige Dubrovačke (Nad)Biskupije (Sig. 7), Matična Knjiga Rođenih župe Pile 1851-1865*, p. 92.

baptised within the first two days after the birth¹⁸⁴. As Violić-Koprivec and Vekarić argue comparing the local situation in 1870-1871 with the contemporary ones in Rome and Paris, in this respect the Ragusan trend did not run counter to what happened in these big European cities, also regarding the choice of celebrating the baptismal rite in Sunday, which was adopted in more than half of the cases included in the Dubrovnik *corpus* (the parents of Antun Fabris did it, too). The same occurred also in rural areas, such as the district of Konavle south of Dubrovnik¹⁸⁵.

In any case, in the period considered and in the regions of Dalmatia and Croatia-Slavonia it would not be appropriate to talk about real constants. Two other studies by Dubrovnik scholars have examined the situation in the same years (1870-1871) respectively in two parishes of the island of Korčula (Curzola) near Dubrovnik¹⁸⁶ and in the parish of Drenovci¹⁸⁷, a village in Slavonia near the Bosnian border. In both cases the children were baptised soon after the birth and in Drenovci there was an overwhelming trend to celebrate the sacrament on the same day of the childbirth.

From a relation sent in 1907 to the Congregation of the Council in Rome by the bishop of Ragusa Josip Marčelić, we learn that the custom – which up to that moment had been always adopted in the diocese – of baptizing within 15 days of birth was less and less respected, given that many infants were taken to the baptismal font after a few months. The bishop noted that this infringement (“*abusus*”) had gradually become widespread mainly in the city, while the rule was more respected in rural areas of the diocese. Furthermore the bishop repeated implicitly the argument that both he and his predecessor Mato Vodopić had already reiterated several times in their reports on the state of the diocese, namely that religiosity was stronger in the Ragusan countryside than in the city centre, where

¹⁸⁴ V. Stojanović and N. Lonza, ‘Godparenthood in Eighteenth-Century Dubrovnik: Children, Parents and Godparents as Knots of Social Networks’, *Dubrovnik annals*, 19, 2015, pp. 71-98, cited in Violić-Koprivec and Vekarić, 2017.

¹⁸⁵ Violić-Koprivec and Vekarić, 2017, pp. 107-108.

¹⁸⁶ D. Vučijević and I. Lazarević, ‘Mreža kumova u Blatu i Pupnatu na otoku Korčuli u drugoj polovici 19. stoljeća’, *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Dubrovniku* [The network of spiritual kinship in Blato and Pupnat on the island of Korčula in the second half of the Nineteenth Century], 56, 2018, 2, pp. 479-500 (pp. 486-490).

¹⁸⁷ A. Džono Boban and I. Ipšić, ‘Krsni i vjenčani kumovi u župi Drenovci (1870-1871)’ [Godparents and Marriage Witnesses in the Drenovci Parish (1870-1871)], *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Dubrovniku*, 56, 2018, 2, pp. 501-530 (pp. 506-508).

the religious indifferentism especially among the youth was put in relation also to “the bad books that come to us mainly from Italy”, as Vodopić wrote in 1885¹⁸⁸.

As for Marčelić in 1907, when he concluded his paragraph on baptisms, he stressed that he had tried to eliminate the violation of the rule and that he would have continued to do so¹⁸⁹.

In the other reports to the Congregation of the Council that we have consulted neither Marčelić nor his predecessors never mentioned the problem of the baptisms before. Nonetheless the studies that we have cited as well as the case of Fabris itself demonstrate that the custom of baptizing children later than the time required by the Catholic Church was present in Ragusa since the 1860s. It can be deduced that after all the local ecclesiastical authorities in the second half of the nineteenth century did not judge this phenomenon so widespread and/or so worrying. It is clear that this lack of respect for the rule had already existed for some time in Ragusa, but it was only in 1907 that the bishop felt the need to officially inform the Holy See promising that he would eradicate it. One may think that he decided to write that sentence also – and understandably – for justify himself. Faced with a custom that was deep-rooted among his flock although not permitted by the Church, to show little determination to eradicate it would have put him in a bad light in front of the agency in the Roman Curia responsible for judging bishops’ pastoral activities.

One may also think that there was a certain degree of elasticity in the application of the standards. Within the archival documentation of Ragusan municipality and administrative authorities in these decades – a large deposit of useful informations, which would become even more useful to the scholars if it would had further inventories and/or archival reorganizations – precious testimonies can be found, sometimes even by chance. We know, for example, that in September 1867 the doctors of the city hospital performed an autopsy on a man

¹⁸⁸ *ASV, Congr. Concilio, Relat. Dioec., busta 674 B, Ragusa, 7 April 1885, unnumbered sheets, paragraph VII “Del popolo”*: “L’indifferentismo religioso è cagionato dai tristi tempi in cui viviamo. Grazie a Dio vi sono molte persone colte, che danno di sé buon esempio frequentando le chiese e le pratiche di pietà. La gioventù, com’ebbi anche a deplorare nella mia ultima lettera pastorale, data fuori per il tempo quadragesimale, è pervertita in special guisa dalle cattive letture. Dall’Italia soprattutto [*sic*] ci vengono de’ pessimi libri; le famiglie poi non sono così timorate di Dio come lo erano una volta; e da ultimo anche le scuole lasciano delle volte molto a desiderare”.

¹⁸⁹ *ASV, Congr. Concilio, Relat. Dioec., busta 674 B, “Relatio status ecclesiae Ragusinae in Dalmatia occasione quartae visitationis ad limina Episcopi Josephi Marčelić”, Ragusa, 14 October 1907, ff. 1-24 (f. 23)*: “Praesertim in civitatibus irrepsit abusus non afferendi ad S. Fontem infantem intra 15 dies - uti semper in dioecesi usus erat - sed post aliquot menses. Ordinarius curavit et curat, ut, quantum potest, talem abusum tollat”.

who had died of suicide with a gunshot to his head. The autopsy report presents some reasons of interest: it contains, for example, a detailed description of the man's clothing, which really makes us 'see' closely how a man between the ages of fifty and sixty dressed at the time in Ragusa¹⁹⁰. In the margin of the report, a statement signed by a public official and by the parish priest Pero Đivović stated that it was the dramatic economic condition of the suicide victim and its "strong mental alteration" that led him to the tragic gesture. Consequently it was established that the ecclesiastical burial should not be denied to that man¹⁹¹. As can be seen, despite the known stigmatization of suicide by the Church, ecclesiastical legislation left and leaves room for interpretations linked to particular cases that in this specific situation were assumed by the parish priest, not by the bishop.

Another example of flexibility can be seen in the invitation that in January 1867 bishop Čubranić addressed to the public authorities to encourage attendance at the popular schools held on Sundays, even under penalty of fines for those guys who did not attend them. From this document, it can be seen that also if Sunday is the Lord's Day, this did not prevent it from also being dedicated to the education of young boys and girls who could not attend school during the week, because they worked¹⁹². However, the issue of Sunday work will remain a sensitive one. In 1885, bishop Vodopić will stigmatize "civil laws, which give full freedom to work, provided that work is not carried out in the vicinity of the churches". This meant that some people did not observe the precept of attending Mass on religious holidays¹⁹³.

¹⁹⁰ *HR-DADU-0089 Općina Dubrovnik (Comune di Ragusa) - Dubrovnik (1815-1918)*, 1867, kut. 476 [this group of unbound documents also has the following indication on a loose sheet at the beginning of the package: *Okružje Dubrovnik G. 1867 Nesređeni svežanj I*] [hereinafter, I will indicate this group of document as *HR-DADU-0089 Općina Dubrovnik*, 1867, kut. 476 (...)], "Ragusa li 10 Settembre 1867 nella Cella mortuaria dell'Ospitale Civile": "Un cadavere di sesso maschile dell'apparente età di 50 ai 60 anni: vestito di Paletot di lana cenericcia, camicia bianca di tela, una cravatta di seta nera al collo, un Gilet di tela russa biancastro, calzoni di stessa roba e colore, tiracche di cotone, mutande di cotone [...] al collo due pezzi di medagliette sacre, stivaletti col lastico ai piedi, calzette di cotone".

¹⁹¹ *Ibidem*: "[...] il commissario politico ed il M. R. Sig. Parroco sottoscritti premessa tra loro analoga discussione su quanto loro consta da praticati rilievi intorno [...] alla sua condotta morale e sociale, come pure sulle circostanze di lui economiche[sic] negli ultimi tempi notoriamente strettissime[sic] trovano di concludere che una forte alterazione mentale del momento abbia travolte le facoltà mentali [...] In conseguenza di che stabiliscono concordamente non doversi negare [...] la tumulazione ecclesiastica".

¹⁹² *HR-DADU-0089 Općina Dubrovnik (Comune di Ragusa) - Dubrovnik (1815-1918)*, 1867, kut. br. 1-400, n. 1184/337, Zubranich to the I. R. Capitanato Circolare, Ragusa, 15 January 1867. The bishop also announced that he would have used his influence on the teachers "so that they would have been available for this very useful purpose".

¹⁹³ *ASV, Congr. Concilio, Relat. Dioec., busta 674 B*, Ragusa, 7 April 1885, unnumbered sheets, paragraph VII "Del popolo": "Se non si può mettere il conveniente riparo all'inosservanza de dì festivi è

Moving on to the level of cultural life, further useful elements emerge that allow us to describe religious life in Ragusa in the 1860s, meaning by this term the complex interweaving of ecclesial norms, social behavior and interactions between clergy and society. We start this rapid recon since 1863, when the *Narodnjak* newspaper *Il Nazionale*, still written in Italian, was excluded from the Dalmatian Autonomists Reading Rooms (*Gabinetti di Lettura*) after a controversy between the newspaper's editor Natko Nodilo and Tommaseo. So it was that bishop Strossmayer subsidised a Slavic reading room in Ragusa and on 10 February 1864 he donated 400 florins for this purpose¹⁹⁴. The foundation of Slavic reading societies (*Narodne Čitaonice*) in main Dalmatian cities in the early 1860s was a central tool for the organizational strengthening and the social rootedness of *Narodna Stranka*, as well as an important factor of cultural growth for the Slavic populations¹⁹⁵. The *Narodna Štionica Dubrovačka* was officially opened on 15 December 1863 and elected Strossmayer as the first honorary member. It received newspapers, making them available to the public, it bought books, organized political conferences and cultural meetings, exhibitions and concerts¹⁹⁶. Its rooms showed a portrait of Strossmayer in plain sight, as we learn from the letter sent by the bishop of Đjakovo to the Ragusan institution on 10 February 1864, in which he announced that he would be honored to be considered a founding member as well. For this very reason, he informed the Ragusan activists that he had donated the 400 florins.

Strossmayer's congratulations were certainly a formal act of courtesy, anyway his words contained an explicit recognition of Ragusa's role not only in the Slavic past, but also in the Slavic resurgence: "I wish with all my heart that as soon as possible our ancient Dubrovnik will return to being what it once was, namely: our guide in civilization and national education and our glory in the whole world, a glory of which we are still proud today"¹⁹⁷.

da attribuirsi alle leggi civili, che danno piena libertà di lavorare, basta che non sia nelle vicinanze delle chiese. Ma ringraziando il Signore, chi entra in questa città di domenica vede subito ch'è giorno di festa, e l'inconveniente si ha da lamentare in alcune singole persone".

¹⁹⁴ Vrandečić, 2002, p. 120.

¹⁹⁵ Cfr. Petrović, 1982, p. 213 and *passim*; see also Monzali, 2009, p. 66. For a summary on their genesis and on the phenomenon which was chronologically preceding it, namely that of the *Gabinetti di Lettura*, see J. Lakuš, 'Reading Societies and their social exclusivity: Dalmatia in the first half of the 19th century', *Libellarium*, 1, 2008, 1, pp. 51-74. The Slavic reading society in Split was founded on 30 September 1862. See Lago, 1869, pag. 408.

¹⁹⁶ On the Dubrovnik *Narodna Štionica* in those years, see Perić, 1997, pp. 78-79.

¹⁹⁷ A copy of Strossmayer's letter is preserved in *HR-DADU-276 Osobni Fond Dr. Ernest Katić, Spisi Dura Pulića*, E 1-7, kut. 10, E 2 290 CCXC 5: "Želeč iz svega srca, da nam naš stari Dubrovnik, čim

The reading room in Ragusa since 1865 was chaired by Niko Veliki Pucić and it published a yearbook, *Dubrovnik. Zabavnik Narodne Štionice Dubrovačke*. Bogišić, writing to Niko Veliki from Vienna, congratulated on the success of the initiative, hoping that "in our Spanish Dubrovnik" – probably an ironic notation concerning the Habsburg dynasty and its Spanish branch – the spirit that seemed to have awakened "will not fall asleep again". However, Bogišić did not hide his fear that the *Zabavnik* would not last long, as a similar magazine published in the early 1850s by Medo Pucić and Matija Ban¹⁹⁸. The first yearbook came out at the end of 1866, published in Spalato by the printer Antonio Zannoni¹⁹⁹. In fact, the Ragusan Martecchini required too much money for the *Narodna Štionica*'s budget²⁰⁰. Niko Veliki Pucić tried to find subscribers in order to keep the price of the publication low. He wrote to Canon Franjo Rački, Strossmayer's right-hand man, whom he had met in Vienna and Zagreb in 1861²⁰¹. *Zabavnik*'s first issue²⁰² had 524 pages and was a direct result of the Ragusan cultural atmosphere of Ragusa born in the 1840s: a mix of cultural early-stage Yugoslavism and of emotional and political identification with Serbia and its mythical heroes; a peculiar variant of Illyrism that did not just want to join Dalmatia with Croatia, but rather to exalt the "Slavic Athens" within a Southern Slavic and at the same time Serbian romantic patriotism. It is significant that the 1867 *Zabavnik* was opened by a short but intense Medo Pucić poem, entitled *Poma* (Palm tree). To the poet, this exotic plant represented the otherness with respect to a given environment. Pucić verses,

prije, ono postane što je njegda bio, to jest: vodjom našim u narodnoj prosvjeti i slavom našom u cielom svijetu, kojom se i danas ponosimo [...]”.

¹⁹⁸ ZKD, ZK, *Korespondencija* n. 58, letter n. 2, Baltazar Bogišić to Niko Veliki Pucić, Vienna, 10 March 1864, also cited in Perić, 1997, p. 79. The yearbook to which Bogišić refers was called *Dubrovnik, cviet narodnog književstva* and was published in 1849, 1850 and 1851.

¹⁹⁹ In that year Zannoni published also the statute of the *Narodna Slavjanska Čitaonica* of Sebenico, a text that well describes the atmosphere of substantial bilingualism among the educated social groups of a Dalmatian coastal town of that period. It is written in both Italian and Serbo-Croatian, with alternating pages, and among the rules of the new institution you can read things like "our aim is to promote [...] Slavic education in every social class of the city", "the society pursues its aim [...] through academic meetings with reading and discussion held in Slavic or in Italian", or "all social acts are written in the Slavic and Italian languages". In the social discussions, the member had the right to choose in which of the two languages to express himself. Cfr. *Statuto della Narodna Slavjanska Čitaonica in Sebenico / Pravila Narodne Slavjanske Čitaonice u Šibeniku, Spalato. Tipografia di Antonio Zannoni, 1866*.

²⁰⁰ Perić, 1997, pp. 81-83.

²⁰¹ *Korespondencija Niko Veliki Pucić*, doc. 15, Niko Veliki Pucić to Franjo Rački, Dubrovnik, 22 June 1866, also cited in Perić, 1997, p. 82.

²⁰² *Dubrovnik. Zabavnik Narodne Štionice Dubrovačke za godinu 1867. Uregjen god. 1866. U Spljetu Brzotiskom Antuna Zannoni, 1866*.

beyond their aesthetic value²⁰³, had a strong political orientation. Just as the palm tree does not bear fruit, Pucić sings, so too foreign domination is only intended to suck energy from the territory where it is a foreigner. The land where this "palm" had been transplanted was not a generic "Slavic homeland" but "the Serbian coast" (*Srpsko primorje*)²⁰⁴, a definition through which a topical subject of his vision and of the Catholic Serbs who will come after him was transmitted: Dubrovnik and the Bay of Kotor were not to be considered as Dalmatia, since they were fully Serbia, or rather the Serbian outlet to the sea. The text of "*Poma*" was reprinted in 1879 in Pančevo (a predominantly Serbian town, at the time on Hungarian territory) in the collection entitled *Pjesme Meda Pucića Dubrovčanina* ("Poems by Medo Pucić, Ragusan writer"). Its political message continued to exert influence in the following years too. In 1900 it was reprinted in the pages of the *Kalendar Dubrovnik* yearbook²⁰⁵, edited by Antun Fabris, the most influential exponent in the Ragusan Serb Catholic movement of the end of the century. Furthermore, between 1900 and 1902, the students with the most markedly pro-Serbian ideas in the Ragusan gymnasium created a secret student newspaper entitled precisely *Poma*. As we shall see, at that time the Dalmatian political climate had radically changed not only because of the lost harmony between Croats and Serbs, but also because of the attitude of the Austrian authorities towards similar concepts. In fact the student newspaper *Poma* was targeted as a carrier of Serbian irredentist propaganda and ended up in trouble, with an internal investigation at the gymnasium.

But let us return to the 1867 *Zabavnik*. It is clear that its address was a Southern Slavic one – and also cross-confessional – in the broad sense. There were contributions by Matija Ban (the tragedy *Car Lazar*, dedicated to Serbian prince Lazar Hrebeljanović, killed in the battle of Kosovo in 1389), by Ivan August

²⁰³ The weakness of *Poma* in terms of poetic aesthetics was also highlighted by contemporary literary criticism, which at the same time underlined its moral vigour and patriotic strength. A review of these opinions in K. Bakija, 'Pjesnički opus Orsata Meda Pucića' [The poetic work of Orsatto Medo Pucić], in *Zbornik radova – Međunarodni znanstveni skup Nauka i suvremeni univerzitet (Komparativna istraživanja slovenskih jezika, književnosti i kultura)*, *Filozofski fakultet Niš*, 2013, pp. 431-454 (esp. pp. 446-451).

²⁰⁴ "Vita pomo! pobožna te ruka / I u srpsko primorje presadi, / I prem često sjever klance hladi, / U kršu nam rasteš sredi kuka; / Al ti uzrast gorostazan nije, / Al ne može plod ti da dozrije, / Al korisna nijesi ma ni kom ... / Puki nakit kraju surovom! [...]". Cfr. *Dubrovnik. Zabavnik Narodne Štionice Dubrovačke za godinu 1867*, p. 4.

²⁰⁵ *Dubrovnik Kalendar za godinu 1900. Godina IV. Dubrovnik, izdanje i naklada Srpske Dubrovačke Štamparije A. Pasarića*, 1899, pp. 134-136. In this edition the reference to "*srpsko primorje*" is replaced by a more general reference to "*naše primorje*" ("our coast") (see p. 135).

Kaznačić and also by Nikša Gradi²⁰⁶. Furthermore, the section entitled *Narod* contained some popular novels from Herzegovina edited by Vuk Vrčević²⁰⁷; poems by the Montenegrin Orthodox priest Jovan Sundečić²⁰⁸ and also a text by Nićifor Dučić, an archimandrite native of Herzegovina whose presence in Ragusa just in that 1867 was noted with suspicion by the local authorities because of his contacts with the Russian consul in the city²⁰⁹ (on this episode we will return to talk in paragraph 4.1). In addition, this *Zabavnik* also contained epigraphic and historical writings by the Ragusan Catholic priests Antun Pasko Kazali²¹⁰, Lovro Kukuljica²¹¹ and future bishop Mato Vodopić²¹², as well as a historiographical text by Petar Franasović²¹³, himself a Catholic priest native of Curzola.

²⁰⁶ On Gradi, see Lukežić, 2008 and Arsić, 2015.

²⁰⁷ An Orthodox *Pope* and collaborator of Vuk Karadžić in the collection of Serbian folk songs, Vuk Vrčević (1811-1882) was originally from Risan in the Bay of Kotor. He had been also the secretary of the Prince of Montenegro, Danilo. From 1868 he was a corresponding member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts. In 1892 his son Stevo will be a member of the founding group of the Serb Catholic *Dubrovnik* newspaper. He had political commitments in the Bay of Kotor, was a high school teacher and also a respected Dantean scholar. Cfr. A. Ferri, 'Stevo V. Vrčević - Italijanista' [The Italianist Stevo V. Vrčević], *Filološki Pregled. Časopis za stranu filologiju*, 40, 2013, 2, pp. 117-134.

²⁰⁸ Jovan Sundečić (1825-1900) was an Orthodox priest of Bosnian origin, professor at the Orthodox seminary of Zadar, poet and for a period the secretary of Prince Nikola of Montenegro. For a brief introductory profile of this important figure of the Slavic movement at the time of the greatest concord between Croats and Serbs, see Lukežić, 2008, pag. 183.

²⁰⁹ The Russian consulate in Ragusa existed since 1788 and its nature was more and more tied to intelligence and diplomatic activities than to the protection of trade and interests of Russian citizens, almost completely absent in the area. After 1856 and the Russian defeat in Crimea, its role (as well as that of Russian consulates in Scutari and Sarajevo) increased its importance, in parallel with the Russian policy of strengthening its influence in the Balkans. Cfr. R. Petrović, *Ruski konzulat u Dubrovniku od osnivanja do 1878. godine* [The Russian Consulate in Dubrovnik from its foundation to 1878], Dubrovnik, 2010 (hereinafter: Petrović, 2010).

²¹⁰ On him, see paragraphs 2.3.3 and 4.1.

²¹¹ Lovro Kukuljica (1828-1871), born in Cavtat (Ragusavecchia), was a priest in rural parishes of the diocese of Ragusa and since 1855 taught at the local seminary. Cfr. *Šematizam Dubrovačke Biskupije*, pag. 321. Since 1864 he has been a member of the *Društvo za povjestnicu jugoslavensku* (Association for Yugoslav History), founded in Zagreb by the Croatian historian and archivist Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, who also founded the homonymous magazine. Since 1861, Kukuljica has been known for its political commitment to the Ragusan *Narodnjaci*. Cfr. Perić, 1997, *passim*.

²¹² Tolja has argued against some Serbian historians who have defined as "Serb Catholics" Vodopić, Kazali, Skurla, Kukuljica and other Catholic priests who collaborated with *Zabavnik* and then with the review *Slovinac* (see paragraph 4.1). It is more correct to say, Tolja argues, that they were *ilirci*, i.e. supporters of a cultural Yugoslavism and of the need for political harmony between Croats and Serbs. Cfr. Tolja, 2011, *passim*.

²¹³ Petar (Pero) Franasović (1819-1883) was a classic exponent of that generation of activists (including many Catholic priests) who between the 1840s and 1880s committed themselves to a broadly understood Slav patriotism and in favour of the use of Slavic language in Dalmatian society. Cfr. the introduction to *Korespondencija Alibranti-Franasović*.

The presence of so many priests in the pages of a laical cultural publication must not suggest that the attitude of the Ragusan Catholic clergy in this period was always so benevolent towards the Slavic culture and the commitment of the clergymen towards it. The local Jesuits (many of whom however came from Italy) were until 1868 the only teachers (using the Italian language) of the city gymnasium and were anything but open or tolerant towards their students' interest in Slavic culture and language. An enlightening testimony is the one left by Luko Zore, writing as an eighteen-year-old student to the more mature countryman Baltazar Bogišić (both were born in Cavtat). Luko Zore (1846-1906) is a very important figure in the political and cultural history of Dubrovnik since the 1870s. He graduated in Vienna following Fran Miklošić's Slavistics courses then taught in the secondary schools of Zadar, Kotor and Dubrovnik. He will become a member of the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts and also of the Yugoslav Academy of Zagreb. He will be a fervent supporter of the Serb Catholic idea, as we shall see, but in his political commitment both in the *Sabor* and in the *Reichsrath* in Vienna he will always remain a member of the *Narodna Stranka*, which will eventually attract criticism on him from both the Croatian and the Serbian sides²¹⁴.

In 1864 Zore attended the Jesuit-run gymnasium and the Ragusan seminary. He had already been in contact with Bogišić who at that time was in Vienna to carry out the prestigious task of librarian in the Court Library. He had already begun his collection of ethnographic material on Dalmatian populations, especially on those of the Ragusan coast. Zore wanted to help him researching local songs, novels and traditions about baptisms, weddings and funerals. He needed to ask Bogišić on the correct way of transcribing the folk tales, being them closely linked to the dimension of orality and expressed in particularly mixed language, provided with many words of Italian origin. Zore knew that it was something that certainly did not sound new in Bogišić's ears, "since you know the Dubrovnik dialect very well"²¹⁵. An even greater obstacle added to the philological difficulties, namely the open opposition that the Jesuit Fathers who watched over his education manifested about this work. Zore in a later letter reported that even while he was in Cavtat two Jesuit Fathers surrounded him accusing precisely of the fact that he was intent on collecting folk poems. The young student could do no more than admit that he was

²¹⁴ On Zore, see Arsić, 2015.

²¹⁵ *Korespondencija Zore*, doc. 1, Zore to Bogišić, Dubrovnik, 12 April 1864: "Piesme je lasno pisati jer kako ih tko nareče tako treba pisati, dali nije tako s pripovijestima i pričam; opisat ih kako pripovijeda tko, nije vjerojatno, jer mieša ma svakojakih riečih a ponajviše talianskih, kako vi vrlo dobro poznate narječje Dubrovačko".

doing just that and the two Jesuits answered him harshly, warning that this activity belonged to the "*narodnost*", that is to the sphere of the national/popular, that this attitude would have been badly seen by the government and that Zore should have abstained from it until he was a student²¹⁶. Zore added that he proudly told them that the government actually welcomed this activity and that it protected nationalities and languages. But then, he writes again, once back in Dubrovnik he would have had problems being readmitted to the seminary. A seminary that he saw as "a prison". The Jesuits prevented the pupils from reading books in Slavic, on pain of being expelled. In addition, young students were forbidden to attend the *Narodna Štionica*²¹⁷.

In his memoirs, Josip Bersa recounts an episode that he did not live in first person, having entered the gymnasium of Ragusa after its secularization. At the time of the Jesuits the pupils were invited to take from their homes those books which were forbidden by the Church and take them to the direction of the gymnasium. Later these books would be burnt in the schoolyard in front of all the teachers and students. Particularly targeted were the poems of the Venetian patriot Arnaldo Fusinato, but here probably the motives of the Jesuits were more political than moral²¹⁸.

As for Bogišić, his work of collecting and analysing documentation concerning *narod* (especially ancient Southern Slavic legal customs) was about to bear its first illustrious fruit. Between 1866 and 1867 he published on Slavic customary law an essay and a book, the latter in Zagreb entitled *Pravni običaji u Slovena*. This work was positively reviewed by Niccolò Tommaseo, a fact not easily predictable given the nature of the latter, often engaged in critical battles in newspapers and magazines, often capable of reprimanding and tearing apart the works of Slavic and Italian authors who turned to his intellectual authority in search of advice or certificates of esteem²¹⁹.

²¹⁶ *Ibidem*, doc. 2, Zore to Bogišić, Dubrovnik, 11 November 1864: "Vi možda još nijeste do Beča došli kad amo padoše Jezusovca dva u Cavtat i odmah me ukliještiše da ja sam poslan za kupit pjesme. Ja nemogoh drugčije reći neg kako je istina da ću mimogred što god sakupiti, oni me odmah obznaniše da to spada na narodnost, da je to crno od vlade gledano, i da ja se okanim tega budući da sam još u Gimnaziji [...]"

²¹⁷ *Ibidem*, doc. 1, Zore to Bogišić, Dubrovnik, 12 April 1864: "Ovdje u Sjemeništu mi postupamo u predanju i strahu i krijemo pod ključ sve slavenske knjige, inačije bi nam se otele. Hvala Bogu, za malo će trajat ovaj zatvor ... Zabranjeno nam je već i čitaonicu ovdješnju posjetiti i onud izlaziti, upravo smo kako u zatvoru [...]"

²¹⁸ Bersa, 2002, pp. 209-210. See also Milutinović, 1989, p. 42.

²¹⁹ Some examples in Reill, 2012, pp. 74-76.

Tommaseo's good judgement is testified by the 1867 letters preserved in the National Library of Florence. Bogišić wrote from Vienna on 5 April 1867, appealing to Tommaseo as the glory of Dalmatia (the young scholar here defined himself as “a Dalmatian”), a patriot who had not disavowed his homeland, asking him to judge his work that he had sent him²²⁰.

With a modesty that seems to be sincere, Bogišić explained that his own was only a first attempt to systematize Slavic customary law, a task completely new not only in the Southern Slav world but also in the whole Slavdom (“*u cjelomu Slavenstvu*”). In his reply, written in Italian, Tommaseo showed that he has read the book of the young scholar, pointing out that his gratitude for the book received was not just formality. Tommaseo’s one was in fact a “sincere praise” (“*schietta lode*”) and he lauded Bogišić in the first place for having included in his research also the popular proverbs, from which – he said – one can find valuable information about public and private customs and on the nature of each people. The subject of Bogišić's book, condensed into a small volume, would have deserved at least five volumes, Tommaseo wrote²²¹.

Then he gave this advice. “Your book aimed at being both legal and historical, scientific and popular. It would have been better if you would had a more directly popular intent, in order to make known to each other the brothers of the scattered [Slavic] family”²²². This target would not have excluded the use of a scientific approach and in return it would have made the “symbolic” part of the law even better understood. According to Tommaseo in fact this Slavic *corpus* of laws, which also has a “poetic” part in itself, was fully understandable to the people, since it is the people who inspires the laws to the legislators²²³.

²²⁰ *BNCF, Carteggio Tommaseo*, 57.16, Bogišić to Tommaseo, 5 April 1867: “[...] ipak i do danas ostaste vjernim i ljubaznim sinom rodnoj zemlji te pratite pažljivim okom njezine povoljne i nepovoljne zbove”. The compiler of the Florence National Library’s inventory, being misled by the unclear writing, dated this letter to 5 April 1857, but it is a mistake. The data of Bogišić's biography, as well as the signature in which he defines himself as “*addetto alla Biblioteca Palatina, Vienna*”, allow to be certain that the year of the letter is instead 1867.

²²¹ *BNCF, Carteggio Tommaseo*, 57.17, Tommaseo to Bogišić, (draft; date not indicated, but the year is 1867, or at most 1868).

²²² *Ibidem*, ff. 2-3: “Il suo libro non poteva essere insieme giuridico e storico, scientifico e popolare. Meglio, se l’intento suo fosse più direttamente popolare, per far conoscere gli uni agli altri i fratelli della sparsa famiglia, e se a tal fine eleggevassi un linguaggio semplice e affettuoso”.

²²³ *Ibidem*, f. 3: “Ciò non vietava che fossero bene determinate le notizie attenenti alla scienza; e ch’Ella toccasse, come saviamente fa, della parte simbolica del diritto, la quale, essendo insieme poetica, è accessibile al popolo e grata, anzi ai legislatori ispirata e comandata da lui”.

Tommaseo can certainly not be accused of aversion to the Serbian people²²⁴. However in his reply to Bogišić, after having noticed the influence of canon law on the Slavic customary laws²²⁵, we also find the following sentence: "It would have been better for you to note that the Poles, the Bohemians, the Dalmatians, and all those among the Slavs who moved less away from the Western Church, have given more fruits of civilization, and proved a little better suited to provide them²²⁶. The conclusion of the letter, however, can be imagined to have been very encouraging for Bogišić: "Stay with the people, draw fully from it. And accept my thanks for what you have done and what you will do"²²⁷.

3.2.6 Curzola and Ragusa

Let us return on Antun Fabris birth. Even though his parents lived in Ploče, a few meters from the walls of the city center²²⁸, they were not *ragusei* in the broad sense of the word, that is to say people from the territories of the former Republic of Ragusa, as they came from the island of Korčula, where they married in 1853. The history of the relations between this island and Ragusa deserve to be briefly discussed. This will help to better understand why, despite their geographical proximity, these islanders cannot be counted strictly among the Ragusans.

This Southern Dalmatian island, divided from the peninsula of Pelješac by a narrow channel, although very close to Ragusa, has been practically always outside the territories of the former Republic, except from 1413 to 1416. While they acquired the Pelješac peninsula in 1333, Korčula always remained a sort of

²²⁴ And from the Serbian side, at least in Ragusa, he will be remembered even decades later as a "sincere friend of the Serbian name and people". See for example *Dubrovnik Kalendar za godinu 1900. Godina IV. Dubrovnik, izdanje i naklada Srpske Dubrovačke Štamparije A. Pasarića*, 1899, p. 199.

²²⁵ *BNCF, Carteggio Tommaseo*, 57.17, Tommaseo to Bogišić, ff. 3-4.

²²⁶ *Ibidem*, f. 4: "Importava notare come i Polacchi, i Boemi, i Dalmati, e quelli tra gli Slavi che men si divisero dalla Chiesa d'occidente, abbiano fornito più frutti di civiltà, e si dimostrino a fornirne un po' meglio adatti".

²²⁷ *Ibidem*, f. 6: "Stia col popolo; attinga ad esso. E accolga i miei ringraziamenti per quanto ha fatto e farà".

²²⁸ In the midst of 19th century, the Borgo Plocce still hosted the *Lazzaretto* and the *Bazzaro* (the bazar, as spelled in the contemporary version of the Italian language used by the civil servants in the administrative documentation). Since the Early Modern Age this area had been the most important of Dubrovnik's borders with the nearby Ottoman lands and the traditional arrival point of the caravans coming from Hercegovina and Montenegro.

forbidden dream for the Ragusans, which already in the last years of the twelfth century had attempted to establish their authority over this island, as well as over Brač and Hvar, these being strategic points for controlling salt routes²²⁹. Both the Korčulans and the Ragusans had been ruled by Venetian *comites* until 1358, even if in the context of their respective traditions of thoroughly defended autonomy. The one of Korčula is commonly considered to be the oldest of the municipal *Statuti* (statutes) in Dalmatia. It dates back to 1214, while the *Liber statutorum civitatis Ragusii* is from 1272²³⁰. A comparison between the statutes of Korčula and Ragusa is present within the *Prolegomena* that Baltazar Bogišić and Constantin Jireček put as a preamble to their edition of the Ragusan *Liber*, edited in 1904 by the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts in the series *Monumenta historico-juridica Slavorum meridionalium* (vol. 9)²³¹.

There were many connections between the two communities: both shared veneration to San Biagio; many stonecutters as well as large quantity of stone came from Korčula to Ragusa. After the pivotal event of the sale of its Dalmatian dominions by Ladislas of Naples to Venice in 1409, the Ragusans proved their commitment to Sigismund of Luxembourg and despatched ships against Ladislas' fleet, after his attack on Korčula. In June 1413, they convinced Sigismund to grant them possession of this island, as well as of Brač and Hvar. But Ragusa managed to maintain this situation for only three years, facing the resistance of the local nobility, who continued to rule Korčula in parallel with the count sent there by Ragusa.

Finally in 1416 Sigismund's wife, Barbara, made the concession of the islands being revoked, in order to grant them to a vassal of the Hungarian Crown²³².

Ragusan annalists, as well as the nineteenth-century historians who based themselves on their chronicles, had stressed that Ragusa's dominion over these

²²⁹ For a recent summary of this topic, see I. Prlender, 'Dubrovačke teritorijalne pretenzije prema srednjodalmatinskim otocima' [Dubrovnik's territorial aspirations over the islands of Central Dalmatia], *Historijski zbornik*, 67, 2014, 1, pp. 1-9.

²³⁰ An extract of the statutes of Korčula is given by Lago, 1869, pp. 184-191. On Korčula, its statutes and Venetian rule, see amongst others G. Ortalli, 'Il ruolo degli statuti tra autonomie e dipendenze. Curzola e il dominio veneziano', *Rivista Storica Italiana*, 98, 1986, 1, pp. 195-220 and E. Orlando (ed.), *Gli accordi con Curzola 1352-1421*, Roma, 2002.

²³¹ Cfr. *Liber statutorum civitatis Ragusii compositus anno 1272. Cum legibus aetate posteriore insertis atque cum summariis, adnotationibus et scholiis a veteribus juris consultis Ragusinis additis nunc primum in lucem protulerunt, praefatione et apparatu critico instruxerunt, indices adjecerunt V. Bogišić et C. Jireček, Zagrabiae*, 1904, pp. XXI-XXII.

²³² For a summary in English on these events, see Harris, 2006, pp. 36-39 and pp. 54-55

islands was not destined to last, as it arose from intrigues and imprudence and the city was not able to cope with the predictable hostility of the islanders, who were afraid of becoming its vassals. The fate of the inhabitants of those coastal lands acquired by Ragusa in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries was badly suited to islanders who had much stronger traditions of autonomy.

When he is speaking about queen Barbara's revocation of the concession, Giacomo Luccari (Jakov Lukarević, 1551-1615) mentions explicitly of how "our indolence and imprudence" facilitated the decision of the queen²³³. Giovanni Cattalinich (Ivan Katalinić, 1779-1847) and the Ragusan Catholic priest Stefano Skurla (Stjepo Skurla, 1832-1877) both quoted a passage from the 1451 chronicle of Junio (Giunio) Resti (Junio Restić), in which the annalist admitted that with all his good will, he could not defend the behaviour of the Senate of Ragusa during the taking of Korčula and of the other islands. The usual honesty and justice of the Senate were not applied in those circumstances. The violent nature of the takeover, and the islanders' fears of ending up with an unacceptable vassalage condition, were the factors that made it impossible for Ragusa's domination to be long-lived²³⁴.

In the end, in 1420 Korčula fell again into the hands of Venice, under which it remained until 1797. It is said that the inhabitants of Ragusa lost their possession thanks to an ingenious stratagem of the Venetians, who terrorized them by placing a fake fortress and wooden cannons on an islet near Ragusa which they owned.

²³³ I am quoting from the edition that was printed in Ragusa almost two centuries after the first edition in Venice, 1605. Cfr. *Copioso ristretto degli annali di Ragusa di Giacomo di Pietro Luccari, Gentiluomo Raguseo. Libri quattro dedicati all'eccelso Senato di Ragusa. Ragusa 1790, nella Stamperia Pubblica presso Andrea Trevisan con licenza de' Superiori*, p. 137: "Ma dopo tre anni Barbara moglie del Re Gismondo, figliuola del Conte di Cilia suscitatrice delle nuove ragioni, fece rinvocare la cognizione dell'isole fatta dal Re; come quella ch'essendo stipolata senza consenso della dieta del regno era invalida. Con la qual occasione aiutandola la melansaggine ed imprudenza nostra, riebbe (come qui di sotto diremo) l'isole".

²³⁴ For Cattalinich and Skurla, cfr. respectively *Storia della Dalmazia esposta da Giovanni Cattalinich, I. R. Maggiore in pensione. Tomo II. Zara, co' Tipi dei Fratelli Battara*, 1835, p. 240 and *Ragusa. Cenni storici compilati da Stefano Skurla Canon. Onor. Profess. Ginnasiale, Zagabria 1876. A spese dell'Autore. Tipografia sociale*, p. 11. The passage from Resti is quoted with some small differences in the two books. Here, I cite Skurla's version: "Io scrivo la storia – dice Resti nella sua cronaca mss. – ma non so difender il senato in una così fatta azione; so [*sic*] bene che in tutte le sue procedure ha mostrato rettitudine e giustizia. Negli archivi pubblici nulla trovo per cui si devenne ad una così violenta azione, trovo bensì, che per questo motivo fra poco tempo di poi non si potessero conservare le isole di Curzola, Lesina e Brazza sotto il dominio della repubblica di Ragusa, mentre quei isolani, per timore che li succedesse come a quei di Primorje, operarono tanto che si sottrassero dal di lei vassallaggio".

Pressed by this fake threat, the Ragusans proposed to Venice to give her Korčula in exchange for that islet²³⁵.

Given these premises it is certainly not surprising that in his booklet describing the present conditions of the former Ragusan Republic's territory, published in 1868 with the simple title of "Ragusa", the nobleman Matteo Zamagna (Mato Zamagna, also known as Mato Zamanja, 1800-1870) explicitly declared that he had to exclude Korčula from his descriptions, "because it was never part of Ragusan possessions". Zamagna did so even if the imaginary traveller, to whom his sort of cultured *ante litteram* tourist guide was dedicated, could not help but notice Korčula situated to his right, when arriving to Ragusa from north-west²³⁶.

We think that it is useful to mention this passage as a representation of the fact - founded, as we have seen, on what happened from the Middle Ages onwards - that Korčula, although very close to Ragusa, was not - so to speak - Ragusa. It was and it is close to it, and at the same time it was distant from it and from the former republican space.

The fact that Antun Fabris, one of the leading exponents of a political movement that, among other things, made the claim of Ragusan pride its strong point, had origins from Korčula, does not seem to us to be a negligible fact. Rather, this fact seems to have been a real sign of the times. A demonstration of how, at the end of the nineteenth century, one could become a central figure in the cultural and political life of Ragusa, even having his family origins in a territory that, because of its historical vicissitudes, was outside the confines of the Ragusan world.

²³⁵ Gardner Wilkinson, 1848, *vol. 1*, pp. 257-258. These circumstances are quoted also by the Charles Pélerin, cfr. *Excursion artistique en Dalmatie et au Monténégro par M. Charles Pélerin, Paris, Imprimerie de Dubuisson, 1860*, p. 18.

²³⁶ "Ragusa", *Spalato, tipografia di Antonio Zannoni, 1869*, p. IX: "Converrà però che il Lettore voglia immaginarsi di giungere dalla Dalmazia propriamente detta, per introdursi nel già Stato di Ragusa, lasciando alla parte destra la città e l'Isola di Curzola anticamente chiamata Nigra Corcyra, la quale non avendo formato parte de' Ragusei possedimenti, sebbene ora appartenga ad una Diocesi stessa, non può essere compresa nel mio lavoro". On Zamagna and his early literary activity in a folk genre typical of Ragusa, see Cfr. J. Obradović-Mojaš, 'Kolende Mata Zamagne' [The *kolende* of Mato Zamagna], *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Dubrovniku*, 51, 2013, 2, pp. 389-460 (p. 393).

4. Increasingly radical: exclusivist nationalisms

4.1 The Serb Catholic movement between the 1870s and 1900

As Rade Petrović pointed out in his studies, the roots of some of the internal dynamics of *Narodna Stranka* in this period must be sought outside Dalmatia¹, within the clash between liberal and conservative ideas of society and politics, between those who acted in the name of liberal ideas and those who – in the press, in politics and within the clergy – embraced instead the conservative ideas of the Catholic Church, which was facing the new modern world that came into being after the French Revolution, the secularization of society, the gradual end of the old absolutist states. During the years we are dealing with in this part of our research, a rigid contrast between the Church and modernity is affirmed. A key moment is certainly Pope Pius IX's 1864 encyclical *Quanta Cura* and, attached to it, the document *Syllabus*, with a list of what were considered the main errors of the present era. But the history of the struggle between the Church and modernity begins earlier, when the intransigent Catholic culture of the first half of the nineteenth century – and also Pius IX himself with the 1849 encyclical *Noscitis et nobiscum* - proclaimed its interpretative scheme of the European history of the last three centuries, with the following genealogy: the origin of evils in the Reform of Luther; the increase in the distance between Church and society with the Enlightenment; liberalism, socialism and communism as the errors arising from the French Revolution².

Despite its specific dynamics, even the pre-Yugoslav space was influenced by the great paradigm shift, namely secularisation, which in the 19th century radically changed the relations between religion and society³. Secularisation,

¹ See for example his useful summary in R. Petrović, 'La Dalmazia e la "questione romana"', in *Id.* and R. Tolomeo (ed.), *Il fallito modello federale della ex Jugoslavia*, Soveria Mannelli, 2005, pp. 429-446 (hereinafter: Petrović, 2005).

² On the Italian case, but with extensive global discussions, see G. Miccoli, 'Chiesa e società in Italia fra Ottocento e Novecento: il mito della cristianità', in *Id.*, *Fra mito della cristianità e secolarizzazione*, Casale Monferrato, 1985, pp. 21-92; and D. Menozzi, *La chiesa cattolica e la secolarizzazione*, Torino, 1993.

³ Valuable historical overviews are C. Taylor, *A secular age*, Cambridge (MA)-London, 2007; H. McLeod and W. Ustorf (eds.), *The decline of Christendom in Western Europe, 1750-2000*, Cambridge, 2003 and R. Rémond, *Religion and society in modern Europe*, Oxford, 1999. A recent discussion on the

however, has not meant the total disappearance of religion from the panorama of European social and political life⁴. National narratives continued to use religion as a crucial element of their discourse, even if in this process it is necessary to consider religion not so much as a system of dogmas, but as a more fluid form of collective identification⁵.

To remain in the space of South-Eastern Europe, religious belonging played a crucial role in the construction of national identities and of peoples' collective memories even in the age of secularisation. In what have been defined as "collectivistic religions" – in the nationalities of Orthodox confession (e.g. Serbia, Bulgaria) as well as in the nationalities of Catholic confession (Croatia or, in a further geographical area, Poland) – religious belonging had been a critical factor in defining the boundaries of a particular collective identity and its borders with the Other, both national and religious⁶. From this point of view, the universalistic nature of the Catholic Church has not prevented that even among Croatians – as far as we are studying here – the close link between nationality and religion was the protagonist of nineteenth-century history, with similar dynamics (even if not entirely superimposable) with those underway among the Orthodox Christian peoples⁷. Within this historical phenomenon, however, there have been some

state of research regarding the category of secularization in P. Harrison, 'Narratives of secularization', *Intellectual History Review*, 27, 2017, 1, pp. 1-6 (the cited issue of this magazine provides further interesting contributions).

⁴ O. Blaschke, 'Das 19. Jahrhundert: Ein Zweites Konfessionelles Zeitalter?', *Geschichte und Gesellschaft*, 26, 2000, 1, pp. 38-75. See also S. Berger and C. Lorenz, 'Conclusion: Picking up the Threads', in *Idd.* (eds.), *The Contested Nation: Ethnicity, Class, Religion and Gender in National Histories*, Basingstoke-New York, 2008, pp. 531-552.

⁵ Useful reflections and national case studies on the complex interweaving of secularization and of the history-writing activity by academics and, more generally, by subjects that produce meaning, can be found in J. C. Kennedy, 'Religion, Nation and European Representations of the Past', *ibidem*, pp. 104-134.

⁶ S. Jakelić, *Collectivistic Religions: Religion, Choice and Identity in Late Modernity*, London-New York, 2016 (1st ed. Farnham, 2010).

⁷ For a useful comparative work on the Greek, Serbian, Romanian and Bulgarian cases and on their different dynamics of state-church relations, conceptions of the past and inter-religious hierarchical relations, see L. N. Leustean (ed.), *Orthodox Christianity and Nationalism in Nineteenth-Century Southeastern Europe*, New York, 2014. On the particular form of sacralisation of the nation in the Serbian context, see K. Buchenau, 'Svetosavlje und Pravoslavje. Nationales und Universales in der serbischen Orthodoxie', in M. Schulze Wessel (ed.), *Nationalisierung der Religion und Sakralisierung der Nation im östlichen Europa*, Stuttgart, 2006, pp. 203-232. For an anticlerical experience in the context of the controversy of some Serbian politicians and *literati* against the hierarchy of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Hungary, see B. Aleksov, 'Jovan Jovanović Zmaj and the Serbian Identity between Poetry and History', in Mishkova, D. (ed.), *We, the People: Politics of National Peculiarity in Southeastern Europe*, Budapest, 2009, pp. 273-305, URL: <<http://books.openedition.org/ceup/2077>>.

fringe exceptions albeit significant from an analytical point of view, such as the Serb Catholic movement to which we will devote more detail in this chapter.

If we analyze the political life of the Dalmatian *Narodna Stranka* in the 1860s, we see that in the comparison between the liberal wing (Miho Klaić, Lovro Monti and especially from the 1870s another Ragusan, Pero Čingrija) and the clerical wing (the priests Mihovil Pavlinović and Juraj Biankini above all), particular importance was given to what was happening in the Italian peninsula. The Roman Question had its influence here too. The clerical wing of the *Narodnjaci* accused the new kingdom of Italy born in 1861 of wanting to usurp the temporal power and the territories of the Pope, to bring its capital to Rome.

The clerical wing, mostly composed of priests, had a great influence on the population of the rural districts. In the debates held at the Dalmatian Diet in 1863 and 1866, the demands made by the clerical wing brought together both Catholics and Orthodox within the *Narodna Stranka*. The school question was a crucial issue in those years, with Klaić who in 1866 expressed his opposition to the function of school inspectors assigned to members of the clergy. His intervention was opposed by the deputies Zaffron and Maupas, bishops, but this line of thought of separation between State and Church in matters of public education was agreed to by the autonomist deputy Luigi Serragli⁸.

The great influence of both Catholic and Orthodox clergy in this phase lies in the fact that in the Dalmatian countryside priests were often the only educated persons, the only ones who could have a political influence when the representative democratic system was just beginning. Since ecclesiastical life was a factor of social mobility, many of these priests were in turn sons of countryside. However, it cannot be said that all the ecclesiastics (whether secular or belonging to religious orders) of the Dalmatian countryside were totally alien to the dimension of bilingualism. In fact they had mainly received their education in the Italian language, whether they had studied at home or – even more so – whether they had studied in Italy. Here we are referring not only to those clergymen who had studied theology in Dalmatian seminaries and in Italian language, but also to those who attended seminaries and/or universities in Italy, especially in Padua, as in the already mentioned cases of Jederlinich and Zubranich, who will become bishops of Ragusa.

Then there is an additional element, namely the role of the Illyrian College in Loreto for the education of young clerics of Dalmatian, Herzegovinian and

⁸ Petrović, 2005, pp. 431-433.

Albanian origin between 1834, when it was opened again and entrusted to the Jesuits, and 1860, when the Piedmontese government expelled the Fathers and confiscated the college once it had annexed the former papal region of the Marche⁹. Dalmatian, Herzegovinian and Albanian pupils studied there and later were destined to be initiated into a missionary career in Albania and in Ottoman Bosnia and Herzegovina. The archives of Propaganda Fide contain numerous documents relating to these "*alunni*"¹⁰. The Congregation took care of them even after they left Loreto, as it did for those who had studied at the College of Propaganda in Rome: it received their periodic relations (*lettere di stato*) by means of which the missionaries updated on their own activities or requests; it settled internal disputes within the missions and worked to resolve any problems with the Ottoman authorities; in general it took care of organizational details of their journeys from Italy to the missions (for example the request for passports). Through these documents very interesting informations emerge about the life of these clergymen in the space between the Italian peninsula, the Dalmatian coast and the interior of the Balkans. The bishops of the dioceses *in partibus infidelium* (e.g. Scutari) or of the dioceses on the border with the mission lands such as Ragusa¹¹, recommended their promising young boys, often from poor families, so that they could be accepted into the college of Loreto¹². Between 1834 and 1860 there were not many places available: 12 Illyrian pupils per year, because the others had to be Italian. The Illyrian *alunni* were Austrian subjects (those from the diocese of Cattaro, in an area with a predominantly Orthodox population) or

⁹ On the Illyrian College in Loreto, see above paragraph 2.1.3. The 1860 episode will be described in these terms in 1896 by the Secretary of State of the Holy See, Cardinal Mariano Rampolla del Tindaro, during a *Sessione* dedicated to the religious-political problems of Dalmatia, explaining that at that time negotiations were under way with the Italian State in order to restore the college. Negotiations that will not have results, I can add. Cfr. *S.RR.SS., AA.EE.SS., Rapporti delle Sessioni, Sessione 772bis*, minutes of the debate of 8 June 1896, f. 3r: “[Rampolla]: Prima del 1860 v'era a Loreto il Collegio Illirico diretto dai Gesuiti, per formare un buon clero; fù[*sic*] incamerato dal Governo italiano. Ora si sta trattando di rivendicarlo e di ristabilirlo.”

¹⁰ The archival units that I have consulted about the period under consideration are *ACPF, SC Dalmazia vol. 20 1828-1845* and *ACPF, SC Dalmazia vol. 21 1846-1860*.

¹¹ On the peculiar condition of Ragusa, see above paragraph 2.1.1.

¹² An example of request by the bishop of Ragusa Jederlinich to have two young aspiring missionaries from Trebinje accepted in Loreto is in *ACPF, SC Dalmazia vol. 21 1846-1860*, ff. 146-147, Jederlinich to the Propaganda, 16 May 1848. For an example of the bureaucratic and also State security problems that in the particular period of 1848-1849 some missionaries of Dalmatian or Albanian origin – coming from Loreto – experienced when entering Austrian territory, see *ibidem*, ff. 160-168 (concerning Pasquale Guerini and Tommaso Tripovich).

Ottoman subjects (those from Trebinje, territory under the administration of the Bishop of Ragusa since 1839)¹³.

However, Loreto was not only a place of formation and study for clergymen destined to become missionaries but also for those who would later exercise pastoral activity in the parishes of the Dalmatian coast. These cases were few in number, as noted in a detailed study on the subject¹⁴. However, they did exist and I can cite one example, such as the career of a canon from the island of Hvar (Lesina) called Francesco Cassandrich. From his biographical profile, reconstructed at the beginning of the 1890s in a report received from the papal nuncio to Vienna Luigi Galimberti and forwarded to the Holy See, it is clear how the training and ecclesiastical career of a Dalmatian priest in the mid-nineteenth century could be organized, with mobility both towards Italy and within Dalmatia itself. Cassandrich indeed was born in Lesina in 1839, attended the first classes of the gymnasium in Ragusa managed by the Jesuit Fathers, then he obtained a place as a student in Loreto at the *Collegio Illirico* and remained there until 1860. He then returned to Ragusa, again to study with the Jesuits, then attended the central seminary in Zadar and was ordained a priest in 1865 in Hvar¹⁵.

To have an Italian education in no way meant being indifferent to the use of the Slavic language, as we have seen for example in the case of Šime Ljubić. Indeed since the 1860s among the first priests politically engaged in the Slavic movement we find ecclesiastics such as Mihovil Pavlinović (1831-1887), which after an initial period of general Slavic orientation, became the standard bearer of political Croatianism in Dalmatia¹⁶. Since the beginning of the activity of the Dalmatian *Sabor* in 1861 and after the failure of the Dalmatian annexation to Croatia-Slavonia, the introduction of the Slavic language in public administration and schools became the main political objective of the *Narodna Stranka* and the

¹³ Kovačić, 2003, p. 239 and p. 249.

¹⁴ *Ibidem*, p. 249, note 146.

¹⁵ *ASV, Arch. Nunz. Vienna, busta 641*, "1890-1891, Relazioni sui vescovi e sui capitoli e dispacci ricevuti", ff. 113 rv.

¹⁶ At the dawn of the Slavic movement in Dalmatia between 1859 and 1862, Pavlinović's youth phase was reconstructed ex post by a historian and ethnologist from Makarska, Miroslav Alačević, in a letter he wrote four decades later to Antun Fabris, leader of the Serbian Catholic movement in Ragusa in the 1890s. Alačević remembers those years of activism "for the national question and for liberal ideas" together with Klaić, the priest Ivan Danilo and Pavlinović himself, complaining about the "political-clerical croatism" that would later prevail among the ranks of the *narodnjaci*. Cfr. *ZKD, ZK, Korespondencija* n. 108, Miroslav Alačević to Antun Fabris, Split, 5 June 1900.

core of the public debate in those years¹⁷. However, around the middle of the decade the Dalmatian political landscape was particularly fluid. Croats and Serbs were lined up in the same party, the *Narodna Stranka*, and between 1863 and 1864 the autonomist wing headed by Bajamonti established a political alliance with the *Narodnjaci* of more liberal tendencies (e.g. Klaić and the Serb from the Kotor Bay Stjepan Mitrov Ljubiša), that was called precisely Liberal Union (*Unione Liberale*). It was a pact based on mutual convenience: Bajamonti, who hoped to return to be the mayor of Spalato, was willing to make concessions about the public use of the Slavic language, provided that the *Narodnjaci* renounced the idea of union with Croatia and promised the respect for Italian culture in Dalmatia¹⁸.

A letter from Strossmayer to his friend Rački in 1865 gives a good idea of that period of convergence. The bishop had just been informed by Pavlinović of the fact that within the party an agreement had been reached to nominate to the *Sabor* some "Dalmatian patriots" such as Ljubiša (*narodnjak*, but Serbian) and then the Ragusan *narodnjaci* Niko Veliki Pucić and Miho Klaić, then Pavlinović himself, the *narodnjak* Jozo Antonietti and – "if he agrees to" – Bajamonti himself. Strossmayer concluded the information by saying to Rački: "I think this is a very important thing"¹⁹. At the suggestion of Klaić and Pavlinović, Strossmayer was persuaded to buy shares in the *Associazione Dalmatica* (Dalmatian Association), the joint stock company created by Bajamonti for raising money from investors and savers to help commerce and industry in Spalato, as well as financing public buildings, schools and roads²⁰. This happened in 1867 and in the intentions of the two leaders of the *Narodna Stranka*, Strossmayer's entry into Bajamonti's society

¹⁷ This theme, referred to as "*ponarođivanje školstva*" ("nationalisation of schools"), has been extensively analysed by the historiography. Within a wide range of literature and many contributions dedicated to specific local realities, here I limit to mentioning the general pictures relating to 1860-1870 by Cetnarowicz, 2006, pp. 75-80; I. Perić, 'Početna dostignuća dalmatinskih narodnjaka u borbi za ponarođavanje školstva', *Radovi Zavoda za Hrvatsku Povijest Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu*, 6, 1974, 1, pp. 53-85, and Perić, 1978, pp. 173-177.

¹⁸ On the *Unione Liberale*, see Cetnarowicz, 2006, pp. 80-89; Monzali, 2009, pp. 67-70; Vrandečić, 2002, pp. 116-125.

¹⁹ *Korespondencija Rački-Strossmayer*, vol. 1, doc. 31, Strossmayer to Rački, Đakovo, 24 June 1865.

²⁰ Through the *Associazione Dalmatica*, Bajamonti succeeded in twenty years in transforming Spalato from a small agricultural town into a modern city. The initiatives carried out were a new aqueduct starting from the ancient structure of the Roman era, gas lighting, the opening of cultural institutions and new schools also with "Slavo-dalmatian" as language of instruction, the construction of a new district called *Procurative* and the expansion of the port, as well as initiatives to promote mutual aid of workers and craftsmen. See Monzali, 2002, pp. 437-439. Bajamonti's modernization and embellishment of the city is recognized also by Croatian historiography. See among others J. Grabovac, 'Ante (Antonio) Bajamonti', in *HBL*, 1983.

would have the effect of bringing the latter closer to the politics of the *narodnjaci*. To invest in Split a part of the rich heritage of his diocese, in Strossmayer's intentions, should have yielded a return to be used for the Yugoslav Academy and for the construction of the seminary in Đakovo, but the investment did not have the expected results, both in political and financial terms. In the end the question of Strossmayer's shares, together with the accusations of irregularities in the management of the *Associazione Dalmatica*, will be important factors in the fight of the *Narodnjaci* against Bajamonti from the end of the 1860s onwards²¹.

Back to the general context, 1866 represented an important watershed for Italo-Austrian relations, because of the Third Italian War of Independence fought between June and August and the defeat of the Italian Navy in the Dalmatian waters of the island of Lissa (Vis). The background: when it became clear to the governments of Turin and then Florence that it was impossible to obtain Veneto by diplomatic means, in the early months of 1866 Italy began a complex negotiation with Prussia, between mutual mistrust and the continuing opposition of Bismarck to any hypothesis of Italian annexation of Trentino and of the areas of Tyrol inhabited by Italians²². In the context of the now signed secret treaty between Italy and Prussia on 8 April 1866 and of the first diplomatic skirmishes with Austria, a possible landing of Italian troops in Dalmatia (as a strategic place from which to conduct a military manoeuvre against Austria) returned to be an object to the attention of Italian maneuvers behind the scenes²³. The Italian consul general in Belgrade, Stefano Scovasso, tried to involve the government of the principality of Serbia in an insurrection against Austria, in which the *Grenzer* (i.e. the troops under the orders of the Habsburg Empire, stationed at the Military Borders in

²¹ I. Perić, 'Suradnja Josipa Jurja Strossmayera sa znamenitim suvremenicima iz Dalmacije' [Josip Juraj Strossmayer's collaboration with important contemporaries in Dalmatia], *Diacovensia*, 3, 1995, 1, pp. 189-200 (p. 193).

Strossmayer's attempts to recover the funds paid to the *Associazione Dalmatica* will continue for years, also involving the provincial government. In his correspondence with Rački, there are references to the case as far back as in 1880s. Klaić also offered his cooperation in the dispute to recover the funds. Cfr. *Korespondencija Rački-Strossmayer*, vol. 1, *docc.* 83; 87; 122; 133; 293; 330; 400; vol. 2, *docc.* 567; 568; 575; 576; 577; 607; 608; 641; 643; vol. 3, *docc.* 752; 775; 789; 811; 816; 991.

²² For a summary on this Italo-Austrian war and its aftermath, and for further bibliography, see Monzali, 2009, pp. 71-92.

²³ There had been Italian attempts to land in Dalmatia – always quite unrealistic – already in the early 1860s. They involved Italian diplomatic agents, Garibaldi and Garibaldinians, Hungarian and Polish patriots abroad and also – for logistical support – the Serbian government. Between 1864 and 1866 these attempts came back to life. These facts have been well analyzed, using Austrian, Dalmatian provincial government and Italian diplomatic documentation, by Cetnarowicz, 2006, pp. 51-66 and 99-107. See also Guida, 1984, pp. 223-225.

Croatia-Slavonia) would have to play a very important part before the official outbreak of hostilities. Scovasso's activities are also revealing in that they speak of bishop Strossmayer's work behind the scenes in an anti-Austrian key, as well as of the military approach of Croats and Serbs in a Yugoslav key. Moreover, this documentation offers us a testimony, albeit indirect, about Strossmayer's activity with the Serbian emissaries in the months prior to August 1866, namely the moment when the contacts between the Croatian bishop, the Serbian prince Mihailo Obrenović and his minister Garašanin were most intense²⁴. A key role was played by the former Austrian officer Antonije Orešković, who in the following years will be an important collaborator of the Serbian government. Scovasso called it a "Strossmayer's creature"²⁵.

In May 1866 many Austrian troops were concentrated in Dalmatia, the General Staff was transferred from Ragusa to Kotor, while the soldiers who were in Ragusa had been moved to Venice. Croatian *Grenzer* replaced them in Ragusa. The mobilization of the *Grenzer* took place so quickly that even the uniforms were missing, but the Austrian military leaders had been aware of the risks of their insubordination and in Pančevo they made them swear an oath of allegiance to the Emperor²⁶. At the end of May, from Belgrade it came also the news that Bismarck too was manoeuvring with Orešković and perhaps (the dubitative expression is of Scovasso himself) with the Serbian government, to raise the *Grenzer* remained in

²⁴ That the same king of Italy, Vittorio Emanuele II, was considering sending an agent to Croatia, "to work in the Military Borders", can be demonstrated as early as October 1865. Cfr. *DDI, series I, vol. 6, doc. 158*, the king's head of Cabinet, Verasis, to the secretary-general for Foreign Affairs, Cerruti, Torino, 7 October 1865. See also *ibidem, docc. 520; 526; 544*.

The plan that Scovasso was trying to implement was as follows: "[...] to ensure that the Serbian government prevented the *Grenzer* still present on the border from leaving; to stimulate as far as possible a revolution against Austria in Croatia and Slavonia; thus, a landing of volunteers or other troops somewhere on the Dalmatian coast would be possible [...]". Cfr. *ibidem, doc. 565* (p. 650), Scovasso to La Marmora, Belgrado, 5-6 May 1866.

²⁵ *Ibidem* (p. 651): "M. Orescovitch est un habile officier des Grenzer remarquable pour son énergie. C'est la créature de Monseigneur Strossmayer". Here Scovasso began to speak of that collaboration between Serbian government and emissaries with Strossmayer, aimed to create a Yugoslav liberation movement, which will reach its peak the following year. For the past three years, says Scovasso, Orešković has come to Serbia to convince Garašanin to support a Croatian uprising, take over Bosnia and establish a Slavic Kingdom that would include Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia, Herzegovina, Bosnia and Serbia: "The Croats would like it to be called the Slavic Kingdom, while the Serbs want to call it the Serbian Kingdom".

On the evolution of the talks in those days of May 1866 between Scovasso, Garašanin and Orešković in Belgrade, see also *ibidem, docc. 567* (Minister La Marmora warned Scovasso that he could start investing money in the plan to start – 5 or 6,000 francs – but he absolutely had to refrain from any action in the Ottoman provinces); 572; 575; 590.

²⁶ *Ibidem, doc. 591*, Scovasso to La Marmora, Belgrado, 10 May 1866.

the Military Border, still in order to facilitate the penetration in Hungary and Croatia by a corps of Italian and Slav volunteers to land in Dalmatia. As with the Italian negotiation, Prussian agents were also faced with the question of the economic cost of the operation (there was talk of about a million francs needed to unleash it). However, Scovasso was blocked by the express instruction from Florence not to create unrest in the Turkish provinces. For Italy, therefore, "the worst side of the plan" was that "Strossmayer's party represented by Orešković" aspired more to the Turkish territories than to the Austrian ones. Nevertheless, Scovasso wrote, "it would pass over the body of Austria to get to conquer (helped by Serbia) Bosnia, Herzegovina, Dalmatia and together with the Serbian principality constitute the Yugo-Slav kingdom"²⁷. At the beginning of June, it was already clear that the plan was doomed to failure. "Almost all the leaders of the anti-Austrian party had left [from Croatia]," Scovasso wrote. Garašanin himself told the Italian consul that "any money spent on renewing relations will be lost"²⁸.

Italy declared war on Austria on 20 June. After the Prussian victory on Austrian army in Königgrätz (Sadowa) and before the battle of Lissa, a report from Scutari had informed Florence that the allocation of Austrian troops in Istria and Dalmatia was "little to fear" – with the exception of Pola (Pula) – and that in Ragusa and Zara "fortifications and garrisons [are] insignificant"²⁹. The fact that at the beginning of the war the port of Ragusa was not in an efficient state of defence is also supported by a contemporary observer – the captain Walter James Wyatt – in a publication of the following year³⁰.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, doc. 664, Scovasso to La Marmora, Belgrado, 27 May 1866: "Mais il est clair que le parti Strossmayer représenté par Orescovitch en veut bien plus à la Turquie qu'à l'Autriche. Cependant il passerait peut-être sur le corps de l'Autriche pour arriver à conquérir (et dans cette oeuvre il serait aidé par la Serbie toute entière) la Bosnie, l'Herzégovine, la Dalmatie et avec la principauté Serbe constituer le Royaume Jugo-Slave [...]". On the negotiations between the Prussian agent and Orešković in early June, and Bismarck's wait-and-see attitude on the occasion, cfr. *ibidem*, doc. 689.

²⁸ Garašanin froze his enthusiasm saying that his government no longer intended to do anything against Austria or Turkey. According to Scovasso, this attitude was related to Russia's warning to Belgrade not to create problems for the moment in Turkey. Cfr. *ibidem*, doc. 720, Scovasso to La Marmora, Belgrado, 7 June 1866.

In Yugoslav historiography, research on these events has been provided by V. Krestić, *Srpsko-hrvatski odnosi i jugoslovenska ideja 1860-1873: studije i članci*, Beograd, 1983, pp. 236-243, as well as by Ljiljana Aleksić-Pejković's studies.

²⁹ *DDI*, series I, vol. 7, doc. 151, the consul in Scutari, Bosio, to the Foreign Minister, Visconti Venosta, Scutari, 17 July 1866.

³⁰ *A Political and Military Review of the Austro-Italian War of 1866, with an account of the Garibaldian Expedition to the Tyrol, a review of the future policy of Italy, and her present financial difficulties. By Capt. W. J. Wyatt, (unattached) formerly of the Radetzky Hussars. London: Edward Stanford, 6, Charing Cross, S.W., 1867, p. 11. This author, with regard to the military power of Pola, disagrees with the Italian*

As for Strossmayer, his contacts with the Serbs for a secret Yugoslav plan continued, especially after Austrian defeat³¹. In the published correspondence of Strossmayer and Rački, there are useful references to the contacts of the bishop with Garašanin and Orešković up to 1869³². However, with the signing of the *Ausgleich* in early 1867, the scenario changed radically and every hypothesis of a federalist reform of the Monarchy left room for the now realized Austro-Hungarian dualism.

The Austro-Hungarian constitutional compromise profoundly restructured the institutional landscape. The Habsburg state was reformed by means of the creation of a very special political system, a peculiar polity to define which one historian had used the evocative image of "an egg with two yolks"³³. The two entities had their own parliament, they shared foreign and military policy and certain aspects of financial policy, through joint ministers who were responsible to the Emperor. Delegations from both parliaments had the task of meeting annually and discussing common budgets³⁴.

The new balance of the Monarchy cost Strossmayer problems with the authorities. In a letter to Rački in April 1867, he describes a conversation he had

informant mentioned above, by saying that "Austria's principal naval ports on the Dalmatian frontier, are Pola, Zara, Lissa and Ragusa, none of which at the commencement of the war were in an efficient state of defence".

³¹ Garašanin in 1859 suspected Strossmayer of being a "Vienna agent". In the early 1860s, the main and only intermediary of secret contacts between Serbs and Croats in Yugoslav key was the Serb Catholic Serb of Ragusa, Matija Ban, but these contacts resumed intensively only after the 1866 Austrian defeat, when the hopes of a Yugoslav kingdom independent of both Vienna and Constantinople were strengthened. Still useful on these facts is G. Stokes, 'Yugoslavism in the 1860's?', *Southeastern Europe*, 1, 1974, 2, pp. 126-135. Summaries of these events are in Ivetic, 2012, pp. 65-66 and 92-94 and I. D. Armour, *Apple of Discord. The 'Hungarian Factor' in Austro-Serbian relations, 1867-1881*, West Lafayette, 2014, pp. 31-33 (hereinafter: Armour, 2014).

³² See amongst others *Korespondencija Rački-Strossmayer*, vol. 1, *docc.* 46; 53; 68; 74; 85.

³³ C. Clark, *The Sleepwalkers. How Europe went to War in 1914*, London, 2012, p. 65 (hereinafter: Clark, 2012).

Power was divided between the German and Hungarian national components of the Empire. A double Monarchy whose supreme leader was the Emperor, but which in fact saw the existence of two distinct political units, the Austrian Empire (including Dalmatia and Ragusa) and the Kingdom of Hungary (called respectively Cisleithania and Transleithania, using as a geographical reference point the river Leitha).

³⁴ The literature on the Austro-Hungarian compromise of 1867 is obviously very extensive. Here I have based on the recent summaries by Judson, 2016, esp. p. 262 and A. Roshwald, *Ethnic nationalism and the fall of Empire: Central Europe, Russia and the Middle East, 1914-1923*, London-New York, 2001, pp. 8-19. A recent and detailed reconstruction of the years immediately preceding the *Ausgleich*, with particular reference to the Hungarian context, can be found in Á. Deák, *From Habsburg neo-absolutism to the Compromise, 1849-1867*, Boulder-New York, 2008.

with the emperor himself, not at all pleasant for the bishop, who was forced for some time to leave Croatia and go into a sort of exile in Paris³⁵.

Bosnia, still part of the Ottoman empire ("the sick man of Europe"³⁶) will become the central theme of complex diplomatic negotiations in the years to follow. From the correspondence between the Austro-Hungarian consul in Belgrade in 1868, the Hungarian Benjámín Kállay, and the Hungarian statesman Gyula Andrassy, we know that before and after prince Mihailo Obrenović's assassination on 10 June 1868, they considered as possible the peaceful acquisition of Bosnia by Serbia, by means of a peaceful persuasion of the Ottoman side. This plan had the dual purpose of defusing the Yugoslav movement, creating discontent in the Croats, and to remove Serbia from Russian influence. However it was evidently in contradiction with the political address of Friedrich Ferdinand von Beust, the Monarchy's foreign minister. The Balkan states, wrote Beust in official documentation, should remain small and divided. And if Bosnia had to change hands, then at least a partial occupation by the Monarchy would have been necessary³⁷.

The defeat of the Italian Navy in Lissa – despite which, the young kingdom could still acquire Veneto from Austria – caused a worsening of the contrasts between Italian and Slavic movements in Dalmatia. As Luciano Monzali pointed out in his studies, Croatian and Serbian elites argued that the Autonomists were identifiable with Italian irredentism although in the 1866 war, actually, there had been no propensity from the Italians of Dalmatia towards the reign of Victor Emmanuel II, which for its part never wanted to conquer Dalmatia, but only in case to use it as a strategic point in the war against Austria. The Dalmatian people as a whole were loyal to the Monarchy.

³⁵ *Korespondencija Rački-Strossmayer, vol. 1, doc. 49*, Strossmayer to Rački, Vienna, 29 April 1867. Francis Joseph openly threatened Strossmayer. If he had opposed dualism, the bishop would also have risked "coercion measures". Strossmayer recounts the conversation in the following way: "Mene su dakle po svomu mnijenju napravili *unschädlich*, to jest danas sam imao audijenciju kod Cara, koji mi reče: 'Ovo je moja volja i zapovijed, da Vi branite poznati mađarski program. Ako toga ne ćete, Vi ne smijete na sabor; reći Vam imam otprto, da, ako bi se usprotivili, da sam pripravan *Zwangsmassregeln* prot Vami upotrebiti'. Autentični izraz, kojim se je poslužio, jest: *Ich werde gewiss auch vor Zwangsmassregeln nicht zurückschrecken*'. Možete si misliti, što je na to poštena moja duša osićala i što su mi usta izustila. Ja nikom na svijetu za ljubav moje osvjedočenje ne mijenjam, a sili se dakako protiviti ne mogu. Zato idem za koje vrijeme u Francusku, što ću dakako i učiniti. Ovo Vam zato pišem, da ako bi protivnici, koji su silu prot meni upotrebili, počeli se blatom na me bacati il sumnjičiti me, da se istinito stvar predstavi".

³⁶ For an history of this concept, see A. Çırakman, *From the "terror of the world" to the "sick man of Europe": European images of Ottoman Empire and society from the Sixteenth century to the Nineteenth*, New York [etc.], 2002 (on the origin of the metaphor, see p. 164).

³⁷ Armour, 2014.

In Ragusa, for example, the mayor Vincenzo Vuletich (Vid/Vice Vuletić Vukasović)³⁸ received an official recognition from the emperor, as a form of gratitude for Ragusan loyalty during the war and its assistance to wounded soldiers³⁹.

After the war Italy and Austria began to have more courteous diplomatic relations, which led to the signing of the Triple Alliance in 1882. In the early days of 1867, however, a fact happened in Ragusa that shows how the peaceful climate struggled to become customary for the two ancient rivals. On the afternoon of 7 January 1867, an Italian Navy warship called *Formidabile* was sailing from Venice towards Brindisi in Southern Italy. Because of the bad weather, its captain chose to approach the port of Gravosa. At that point it could be expected that the *Formidabile*, a ship from a country which was no longer an enemy, could land in port. But within the military force in Gravosa someone may still have his nerves shaken too much by the recent war and decided to pull a cannon shot at the Italian ship, which ended up in the water just ten meters from it. So the Italian captain Matteo Civita sent a motor boat to the port to ask for an account of the incident and the local authorities told him that it was a mistake, as from 18 October they had the order to let Italian ships land freely⁴⁰. Then – also because the weather conditions improved – the captain Civita decided to leave for Brindisi without landing in Gravosa. This decision also cost him a reprimand from the Italian Navy for "not having enforced the national flag"⁴¹.

³⁸ Vuletić Vukasović was the last mayor of the city belonging to the Autonomist party, until 1869. He was also an historian and an ethnologist. At the end of the twentieth century he would approach the movement of Serbian Catholics. A profile in Tolja, 2011, p. 72.

³⁹ HR-DADU-0089 *Općina Dubrovnik (Comune di Ragusa) - Dubrovnik (1815-1918)*, 1867, kut. br. 1-400, n. 8/p, the *Capitano Circolare* Pavo Rešetar to the municipality, Ragusa, 8 January 1867. For praise of the rescue committee for the wounded, see *ibidem*, "Riservato 1867", n. 55/p, Rešetar to the municipality, Ragusa, 17 February 1867. On Pavo Rešetar, see above paragraph 3.2.2.

⁴⁰ I have found the document in which the head of the civil authority of Ragusa informed the provincial government in Zara of the presence of the *Formidabile*, of its intention to landing and of the sending of the motor boat to ask for permission. But no mention is made of the cannon shot. Cfr. HR-DADU-0089 *Općina Dubrovnik*, 1867, kut. 476 (...), n. 9/p, Rešetar to the provincial government, Ragusa, 7 January 1867 (draft).

⁴¹ A dossier with various documents about the fact can be found in *ASMAE, Divisione 'Politica' (1867-1888), Rapporti in arrivo, busta 1252*. On the official protest of the Italian government with the Austrian one and on the punishment of the military responsible for the cannon shots, documentation can be found in *DDI, series I, vol. 8, docc.* 146 and 155. On the now fully friendly relations with Vienna, also proven by the prompt resolution of the case, see also *ibidem, doc.* 192 (p. 251), the Foreign Minister Visconti Venosta to the Italian diplomatic representatives abroad, Firenze, 17 February 1867.

Meanwhile, the influence of Russian agents was growing in Ragusa, in the framework of the events linked to the uprisings in Herzegovina⁴². The end of the Montenegrin-Ottoman war of 1861-1862 had not brought an end to the tensions in the nearby Ottoman province. From the outside, the turmoil was also seen as the appearance of the principle of nationality, gradually coming along with the principle of religious identification, which during the centuries of Turkish rule "had concentrated the last surviving elements of the autonomous and national life of Christian peoples subject to Turkey"⁴³.

Let's focus on 1867, because in this year there are interesting testimonies showing Ragusa as the epicentre of secret activities of Russian agents and Serbian activists coming from the Ottoman provinces, activities which were under the careful observation of an Italian agent, Oscarre Passera, who despite having spent just a few months working in Ragusa has left us some undoubtedly interesting documentation⁴⁴. The year begins with a report from Ragusavecchia, near the Ottoman border, directed to the civil authorities of the district, which in addition to

⁴² The 1860s saw a worsening of the Slavic-Ottoman conflict in Bosnia and Herzegovina and also in the principality of Serbia itself, where a Turkish military presence was still existing. Montenegro played an important role in the uprisings in Herzegovina, out of coreligionist solidarity but also because of the fact that Montenegrins aspired to use the Herzegovinian plains for agriculture, a more favorable context than their mountainous and barren territory. After the Montenegrin victory in the battle of Grahovac in 1858, the small principality did not succeed, however, in acquiring the outlet to the sea in Kotor, another objective that in this case disturbed the Austrians. The situation was analyzed in the instructions sent by the Italian Foreign Minister Giacomo Durando in 1862 to the new diplomatic envoy to Constantinople, Camillo Caracciolo di Bella, edited in *DDI, series I, vol. 2, doc. 476*, Durando to Caracciolo di Bella, Torino, 5 July 1862 (esp. pp. 493-495). On the Italian ideas regarding the Eastern Question expressed in this document, see Aleksić-Pejković, 2014, p. 88.

⁴³ In 1867, this concept is expressed by identical words in both the instructions sent by the Italian government to the diplomatic envoys to Constantinople and St. Petersburg. Cfr. respectively *DDI, series I, vol. 8, doc. 518*, the Foreign Minister Di Campello to Bertinatti, Firenze, 16 May 1867 (p. 644) and *DDI, series I, vol. 9, doc. 101*, Di Campello to Caracciolo di Bella, Firenze, 29 July 1867 (p. 91). In the first of these two documents (on p. 644), the idea is also supported that the influence of the Orthodox religion, and the Catholicism's influence that was being introduced, will feed mutual fanaticism and provoke very serious disagreements between the inhabitants of the same territories.

⁴⁴ Oscarre Passera (1836-1928), born in the Piedmontese city of Alessandria, was appointed deputy consul in Ragusa on 16 March 1867, but was only able to reach the Dalmatian city at the end of July 1867. Already at the end of November 1867 the Italian government transferred him to a diplomatic mission in Egypt. Cfr. *La formazione della diplomazia nazionale*, p. 559. Information about the fact that Passera reached Ragusa from Trieste only on 23 July 1867, and still on that date without the Austrian government had released the exequatur necessary for his consular functions, are contained in *ASMAE, 1861-1887, Divisione 'delle Legazioni' e 'Divisione Consolare'* (1861-1868), busta 910 (pacco 272), the consul Giovanni Domenico Bruno to the Foreign Minister Pompeo Di Campello, Trieste, 24 July 1867.

informing about the spread of cholera in Trebinje also makes known the constant influx of military supplies, directed there by the Ottoman consul in Ragusa⁴⁵.

A few days after he arrived in Ragusa, Passera immediately wrote a report to the Italian government in which he traced the identikit of the Russian consul in Ragusa, Konstantin D. Petkovič, who had held that position already for eight years. Although he said he was born in Odessa, Passera writes, Petkovič was of Ottoman Slavic origin⁴⁶ and by 1867 had acquired Russian citizenship. "Very well introduced in the intrigues that this consulate of Russia has always had in Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina" and provided "with very strong means of corruption and propaganda", according to Passera Petkovič had already succeeded many times in introducing in Bosnia cases with weapons for the rebels. The cases came from Russia and Petkovič, with the support of the Russian embassy in Vienna, was able to get them through Ragusa, declaring that they contained tea and wine⁴⁷. A few days later, Passera wrote another report, informing of the presence of "Russian agents of both sexes in Ragusa, coming from Montenegro" and noting that such presences could create problems for Austria with Turkey. However, the Italian agent notes, the political authority of Ragusa does little to prevent such intrigues. As for the Eastern Question, Passera defines it rather as a matter of "Muscovite ambition", which sooner or later risks creating a war⁴⁸.

A valuable point of observation on movements in Herzegovina was the lazaretto. The doctor Biagio Sciarich (Vlaho Šarić) in those months sent information reports to the city authorities, based also on the testimonies he collected from merchants crossing the Ottoman border. In one of these documents he wrote that "the Slavic spirit, incited by Russian propaganda, is in constant ferment both in Montenegro and in Herzegovina"⁴⁹. In those months, Pavo Rešetar received reports from Zara and invitations to provide information on Russian emissaries. In one of his reports in July 1867 the *Capitano Circolare* indirectly agrees with Passera, mentioning in fact the presence in Ragusa of a Russian

⁴⁵ HR-DADU-0089 *Općina Dubrovnik*, 1867, kut. 476 (...), n. 4, unsigned report to Pavo Rešetar, Ragusavecchia, 1 January 1867.

⁴⁶ According to Petrović, Petkovič was born in Macedonia. Cfr. Petrović, 2005, p. 48.

⁴⁷ ASMAE, 1861-1887, *Divisione 'delle Legazioni' e 'Divisione Consolare'* (1861-1868), busta 910 (pacco 272), Passera to the consul Bruno in Trieste, Ragusa, 4 August 1867, attached to Bruno to Di Campello, Trieste, 16 August 1867.

⁴⁸ ASMAE, *Divisione 'Politica'* (1867-1888), *Rapporti in arrivo*, busta 1252, Passera to Bruno, Ragusa, 25 August 1867, attached to Bruno to Di Campello, Trieste, 23 September 1867.

⁴⁹ HR-DADU-0089 *Općina Dubrovnik*, 1867, kut. 476 (...), n. 1/p, Sciarich to the *Presidio Circolare*, Ragusa, 3 January 1866 [but the date is clearly incorrect. The year is 1867, as understandable from the references in the text].

woman, a certain Anna Kauroche, who came to town with a daughter who was a child. This woman was described as very active in establishing relations with the notables families of Ragusa, even if Rešetar confesses that he was unable to understand what intrigues he was committing. Then he informed about the passage in the city of Nićifor Dučić, a Serbian archimandrite from Herzegovina, suspect of having links with Russian propaganda. Rešetar wrote in fact that Dučić was seen in the company of the Russian consul Petković⁵⁰.

Yet, there were those among the Serbs of Ragusa who considered the Russian influence on the Southern Slavic movement as detrimental. In January 1867, Medo Pucić published an essay signed as Orsatto Pozza on an important Italian magazine, the *Nuova Antologia* of Florence⁵¹. It was aimed to present to the Italian public the Yugoslav question, or "Yugoslav-Serbian" question as Pozza sometimes called it within his text. Between the two "dying"⁵² empires, the Austrian and the Ottoman ones, Pucić writes that there was a people struggling to resolve its national cause, just as Italy did only a few years earlier. Pucić did not hide the fact that the solution of the Yugoslav question and the related Eastern question would imply "the destruction of the two Turkish and Austrian empires", and the rearrangement "of the East on its natural basis, therefore with the Slavic preponderance"⁵³. The author, before dwelling on the historical reconstruction of the vicissitudes of the Slavic Balkans from the Middle Ages onwards, made a similarity between the Italian and Serbian national causes: both are the manifestation under different forms "of the consciousness of the contrast between the past glory and the modern shame"⁵⁴. He praised the Serbian emperor Dušan, his intention to conquer Byzantium to keep the unfaithful Turks out of Europe and speaking of the battle of Kosovo in 1389 he defined Serbia as the battlefield in which Turks and Christians fought for the fate of Europe and "our civilization"⁵⁵.

When Venice took what Pucić defined as the centre of Croatian kingdom, i.e. Dalmatia, the Venetian domination did not seem so bad to the Croatian "brothers", compared to the Turkish one in the neighbouring territories. The only

⁵⁰ *Ibidem*, n. 173/p, Ragusa, 27 July 1867. On Dučić, a Serbian state official, an Orthodox priest from Herzegovina and a writer, who will be active in Serbian propaganda in Bosnia and Herzegovina for decades, see Hajdarpašić, 2015, p. 61; p. 104; pp. 111-112; p. 116; p. 132.

⁵¹ O. Pozza, 'La Serbia e l'Impero d'Oriente', *Nuova Antologia di Scienze, Lettere ed Arti*, vol. 4, fasc. 1, pp. 422-449, January 1867.

⁵² *Ibidem*, p. 423.

⁵³ *Ibidem*.

⁵⁴ *Ibidem*, pp. 424-425.

⁵⁵ *Ibidem*, p. 427.

exception of freedom on the eastern coast of the Adriatic, Pucić wrote, was the "Serbian Republic of Ragusa", where "from the encounter between the Slavs and the Italians a spiritual union was born that will always be of utmost importance for Serbia". The Ragusan people, Pucić wrote in this kind of *summa* of his thoughts on his city, "were the only Serbs to have the advantage of welcoming the Latin civilization at home, and being kidnapped by the sweetness of the Italian Muses they created a Serbian literature that for 4 centuries was the faithful echo of them"⁵⁶.

And here is Pucić's judgment on Russian influence in the Balkans: it originated from Austrian oppression, which forced the "Yugo-Slavs or Serbian" peoples to look to Russia as their protector. But such a power has so far created more problems than benefits to them, indeed it has discredited these peoples in the face of Europe because "it [Europe] has long believed that every rebellion in Serbia, Greece, Walachia and Montenegro was nothing more than an order issued by St. Petersburg"⁵⁷. Speaking of the recent revolts and wars in the Balkans, he accused the Russian consul in Montenegro of having pushed the Principality into war against the Ottomans, which costed Montenegrin defeat in 1861-1862⁵⁸.

Finally, speaking of the "Yugo-Slavs of Croatia and Slavonia", the aristocrat from Dubrovnik repropounded the arguments published almost twenty years earlier in *L'Avvenire di Ragusa*. A true apotheosis of Vuk's thought, destined for the Italian public:

"If the dialect is sufficient to define a people, then the Slavs of Croatia and Slavonia belong to the Serbian branch in Slavonia and in the Military Borders, while those of Civil Croatia belong to the Slovenian branch; but even the latter, [...] having adopted the Serbian language as their official language, the Serbian literature as their own literature, the Serbian lands as their own lands, only designating them as Croatian, then this name replacement does not change anything to the reality of things, and the cause of the Croatian kingdom is always the Serbian cause"⁵⁹.

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, pp. 429-430: "Interpolata nel territorio veneto sulla costa dalmata esisteva ab antico l'industre e commerciante repubblica serba di Ragusa, ed essa sola, a malgrado dei Turchi, durò fedele alla libertà, alla nazione ed alla civiltà occidentale fino a Napoleone I (1806). Quivi dall'incontro dello Slavo e dell'Italiano nacque un connubio spirituale che sarà sempre per la Serbia di massima importanza. I Ragusei [...] ebbero soli fra i Serbi il vantaggio di acclimare in casa propria la civiltà latina, e rapiti dalla dolcezza delle muse italiane crearono una letteratura serba che per 4 secoli ne fu l'eco fedelissimo".

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 432.

⁵⁸ *Ibidem*, pp. 436-437.

⁵⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 445: "Gli Slavi della Croazia e Slavonia, se il dialetto basta a far manifesto un popolo, appartengono al ramo serbico nella Slavonia e nei confini militari, ed al ramo carnico nella Croazia civile;

The revolts and rebel activism of the 1860s will be very little, compared to the great revolt of Herzegovina (the *Hercegovacki ustanak*)⁶⁰ that broke out in 1875 in Nevesinje, led by Mićo Ljubibratić, in a context of rural poverty, years of bad harvest and exasperation for Ottoman government's tax collection. In the summer of 1875 the situation escalated, a real international conflict broke out in 1876 which also involved Montenegro and Serbia, and attracted the attention of the whole of Europe. In 1877, as is known, Russia entered the conflict, after the promised Ottoman reforms failed. The war ended with the 1878 Berlin Congress, after which Austria-Hungary acquired formally the administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina, occupying the former Ottoman provinces as a measure to protect the people there.

Ragusa was a centre of crucial importance, especially in the events of 1875 and 1876: it was the place where the diplomatic agents of the Great Powers met, to seek mediation with the Ottoman authorities and with the insurgents for the sake of peace⁶¹; in Dalmatia, and especially in Ragusa for geographical reasons, there was an intense flow of ten of thousands civil refugees from the areas of the insurrection⁶²; exactly in Ragusa, the support committee for insurgents and refugees coordinated by Pero Čingrija – an exponent of the *narodnjaci* at the Dalmatian *Sabor* who from 1878 will be mayor of Ragusa for many years – will be very active not only in humanitarian support, but also in economic and military support (supply of weapons) to the insurgents, as well as in political initiatives, such as contacts with the Bosnian Franciscans and encouragement to village

ma anche quest'ultimi, dacchè formularono le loro viste sull'avvenire, avendo adottato la lingua serba per lingua ufficiale, la letteratura serba per letteratura loro, le terre serbe per terre loro, designandole solo col nome croato, tale sostituzione di nome non cangia nulla alla realtà della cosa e la causa del regno croato è sempre la causa serba”.

⁶⁰ For a recent English summary of the events, see H. Grandits, ‘Violent social disintegration: a nation-building strategy in late-Ottoman Herzegovina’, in H. Grandits, N. Clayer and R. Pichler (eds.), *Conflicting loyalties in the Balkans: the Great Powers, the Ottoman Empire and nation-building*, London-New York, 2011, pp. 110-134 (hereinafter: Grandits, 2011). For a discussion of the events seen from the perspective of the Catholic clergy in Herzegovina, see R. Valle, “*Despotismo bosnese*” e “*anarchia perfetta*”. *Le rivolte in Bosnia e in Erzegovina nelle corrispondenze alla Propaganda Fide (1831-1878)*, Milano, 2003, esp. pp. 85-237.

⁶¹ Within the copious documentation produced internationally by the press and diplomatic services, I provide below some indications on a selection of Italian diplomatic documentation that has more to do with the events that took place in Ragusa. On diplomatic agent negotiations in Ragusa, see *DDI, series II, vol. 6, docc.* 64; 184; 202; 273; 291; 344; 364; 377; 397; 411; 447; 587; 601; 604; 614; 629; *DDI, series II, vol. 7, docc.* 10; 12; 27.

⁶² Grandits, 2011, p. 122-123, which underlines how the committess for supporting the refugees also had “a quite unambiguous ‘nationalistic’ agenda”. See also see *DDI, series II, vol. 6, docc.* 291; 629; 641.

leaders to participate in the insurgency⁶³. It was a period of Slavic harmony in which, at least until the moment in which differences of opinion as to the policy pursued by Montenegro occurred, the confessional differences had no influence on the common work of the activists, despite the Catholic clergy in Herzegovina (except for some individual exceptions) did not support the revolt, afraid that the victory of the insurgents mainly Orthodox would result in the transition from the Turkish yoke to the yoke of "schismatics". Last but not least, Ragusa in 1875-1876 was also the arrival point of the Italian garibaldinian volunteers who – from an internationalist point of view that was interested in the ideal of freedom of peoples and not in the Italo-Slavic contrasts in Dalmatia – created many problems for the Italian government, which saw them as anarchist adventurers and did not want to create contrasts with both the Turks and the Austrians⁶⁴.

In the pages that follow we will deal with the second period of the Serb Catholic movement, when the antagonism with Croatian activists in Ragusa began and evolved. But first it will be necessary to discuss an important element of the context, namely the widespread feeling among local elites to live in a city that suffered an allegedly unjust crisis and wanted to regain its importance.

This attitude was quite common among the elites in Ragusa. We could cite as an example the editorial published in the inaugural issue of *Gušterica*, the first political journal published in the city after the end of *L'Avvenire* in 1849⁶⁵. Comparing the Ragusan history with the fall and rise experienced by Miho Pracat, a local early modern banker turned philanthropist, the author (the Serb Catholic Nikša Gradi) expressed the hope that Dubrovnik could return to its past glory, overcoming the second big catastrophe of its history (the first one being the

⁶³ Grandits, 2011, p. 128. An extensive documentation concerning the logistic support activity of the committee of Ragusa can be found in *HR-DADU-257 Obitelj Čingrija, X-7Ba, kut. 12*. Many information on the contacts between Čingrija and Miho Klaić, still often in Italian language, in *Talijanska pisma Miha Klaića*. On the supply of weapons also from Trieste, some information in *DDI, series II, vol. 6, docc. 326; 360*.

⁶⁴ On the subject of Italian volunteers, a useful summary of the studies in Italian and Serbo-Croatian language can be found in E. R. Terzuolo, 'The Garibaldini in the Balkans, 1875-1876', *The International History Review*, 4, 1982, 1, pp. 111-126. On monetary contributions sent in Herzegovina by Russian sympathizers, see MacKenzie, 1967, p. 73-76. Amongst the primary sources produced by Italian agents and government, see *DDI, series II, vol. 6, docc. 345; 485; 528; 585; 617; 623; 633; 655*; references are also in *Talijanska pisma Miha Klaića* and in *ASMAE, Divisione 'Politica' (1867-1888), Rapporti in arrivo, busta 1255*.

⁶⁵ The very first periodical published in Dubrovnik after the Habsburg neo-absolutist period from 1849 to 1859 was the review *Slovinac*, but its articles dealt only with literary and historical topics. A detailed study on Dubrovnik's press in I. Perić, *Dubrovačka Periodika 1848-1918* [The periodicals in Dubrovnik 1848-1918], Dubrovnik, 1980 (hereinafter: Perić, 1980).

earthquake of 1667), namely “the French Revolution and Napoléon Bonaparte which deprived the city of its independence”. The article goes on manifesting a wish in its final remark which is a clear sign of an intention not to irritate the Austrian censors, though eventually they would sanction *Gušterica* for some of its following issues: “Melancholic and dejected, Dubrovnik passes its days regretting its former prosperity; nevertheless it still hopes to resurge again, under the present government”⁶⁶.

The defence of the Serbian language (as it was now called) against what was perceived as the danger of germanization was another topic of *Gušterica*'s polemical articles⁶⁷. In March 1883, the newspaper printed a vitriolic text denouncing the government's will to introduce German as the main teaching language in Dalmatian schools. “We had Italian bureaucrats until yesterday. After some years of hard struggle we got rid of some of them, but you would say that we have benefited little from this, considering that nowadays we have ... men ... rulers ... *nur deutsch!*”⁶⁸.

To have a more complete picture of the language situation of Austrian Dalmatia beyond *Gušterica*'s polemic, at least two facts shall be mentioned: first, the official language of the Dalmatian elective assembly in Zadar (the *Sabor*) changed from Italian to Serbo-Croatian only in 1883⁶⁹; second, the linguistic situation in the monarchy's bureaucracy was directly influenced by the variety of languages spoken in the Habsburg lands. From 1887 onwards, the civil servants had to perform compulsory language examinations, even if already employed. Many of them were plurilingual speakers, due to their origins and/or to the universities where they studied. A very significant case concerning such situations is that of the Ragusan Antonio Martecchini jr. (1832-1913), son of the publisher and printer Pier Francesco Martecchini and grandson of Antonio Martecchini *senior* (see respectively paragraphs 2.3.3 and 1.1.2).

⁶⁶ ‘Šta će Gušterica?’ [Why Gušterica?], *Gušterica*, 1, 1882, 1, 1 November, p. 1.

⁶⁷ E.g. ‘Što se čini u Zadru?’ [What's happening in Zadar?], *Gušterica*, 1, 1883, 10, 15 March, p. 1, contains this sentence: “Old and young sons of this land are dismissed from the civil service, and new individuals are introduced into it. Some of them are German, some Hungarian. According to what we have heard, some among them neither speak nor understand the Serbian language” (“Stari se ljudi i sinovi ove zemlje otpuštaju iz javnijeh služaba, a uvagjaju se novi, a izmegju njih neki Nijemci i Magjari, od kojijeh jedni, kako čujemo, niti govore, niti razumiju srpskog jezika”).

⁶⁸ ‘Nijemčenje’ [Germanising], *Gušterica*, 1, 1883, 11, 1 April, p. 1: “Do jučer imali smo talijanskog burokrata, poslije nekoliko godina ljute borbe nekako smo ga se trsili, ali regbi da nam je to slabo koristilo jer evo nam sada.... čovjeka gospodar *nur deutsch!*” (italics are in the original text).

⁶⁹ B. Jelavich, *History of the Balkans*, vol. 2, Cambridge, 1983, p. 57.

Antonio Martecchini jr. had a prestigious career as a judge and, as he says in an autobiography kept in the State Archives in Dubrovnik⁷⁰, in his childhood he used the Slavic language⁷¹ with his parents and grandfather, all of Italian origin. He attended schools in Italy – in Loreto, where he got teased because of his deficient Italian – and again in Ragusa (but in Italian), then attended universities in Vienna and Graz, reaching an excellent level of knowledge of German, which he had also studied previously, through private lessons, along with French. His bilingualism, cultivated with passion, caused him some headaches with the supporters of the Slavic movement. He always tried to keep himself equidistant between the parties, even if from a document of 1901 we know that in that year the coalition between Serbs and Autonomists thought it at least possible that Martecchini jr. could vote for them in the elections for the Dalmatian *Sabor*⁷².

In his career as a judge, especially from the 1880s when the question of introducing the Slavic language into the public administration became more intense, he translated legal texts both from German into Italian and from Italian into Serbo-Croatian, works that were subsequently distributed all across Dalmatia and to the province's judges. He also translated from Slavic to Italian, as he did in 1900 for the Civil Code of Montenegro, drawn up by Baltasar Bogišić when he was Minister of Justice in the Balkan principality⁷³. This work earned him an award from the Royal House of the kingdom of Italy (the Order of the Crown of Italy and the title *Commendatore*⁷⁴). From the documents I have found in the archives of the Italian Foreign Ministry, we know that in 1899 Martecchini jr. sent

⁷⁰ About which I base myself on the synthesis present in M. Wolf, *The Habsburg Monarchy's many-languaged soul. Translating and interpreting, 1848-1918*, Amsterdam-Philadelphia, 2015 (1st Austrian edition, 2012), pp. 64-66 (hereinafter: Wolf, 2015). Previously, this documentation had already been analysed in V. Foretić, 1956, pp. 233-234.

⁷¹ In this regard, he uses the expression "Serbo-Croatian language" ("*lingua serbocroata*").

⁷² *ZKD, ZK, Korespondencija* n. 123, letter n. 2, Mato Harlović to Antun Fabris, undated, but definitely from 1901. Harlović, a supporter of the Serbian-Autonomist coalition, informed Antun Fabris about the possibilities of receiving votes in certain colleges. Speaking of the voting intentions of some notables, he also mentioned Martecchini jr.: "Ako stari preds. Martecchini ima pravo na glas – a mislim da ima – rikurite da ga uvrste (ako se može računat na nj)", which means: "If the old president has the right to vote [it was the vote for the landowners' electoral college] - and I believe he has – please request review, so that he can be included (in case it is possible to count on him)". In 1901 Martecchini jr. retired. His last position was as president of the court of Cattaro.

⁷³ The work was published in Spalato and was entitled *Codice civile del principato del Montenegro*. See also *Dubrovnik. Kalendar za godinu 1902. Izdanje i naklada Srpske Dubrovačke Štamparije A. Pasarića*, Dubrovnik, 1901, p. 119.

⁷⁴ Wolf, 2015, p. 65.

a copy of his translation to Queen Elena of Italy who, being of Montenegrin origin, evidently appreciated the thought very much⁷⁵.

But let us return to the effervescent pages in the Ragusan press of the early 1880s. In 1883, *Gušterica* also printed a comment which allows us to understand the attitude of this phase regarding the religious question. Remarking on an article published by *Le Moniteur de Rome* which defined *Gušterica* as a Serb Orthodox oriented newspaper, the Dubrovnik-based periodical claimed that “we are friendly with imams, rabbis, *pope*, Catholic clergymen and every kind of priests, because we know that they can benefit the people if they want to, and they want to [...]. But we are not available to anyone religious community, be it Catholic, Orthodox, Hebrew or Muslim; by means of our weak energy, we are just committed to safeguarding the moral and material interests of the Serbian people in general, and particularly in Dubrovnik”⁷⁶.

The issue of 15 October 1883 was the last one for *Gušterica*. But Gradi and other Serb Catholics of Dubrovnik very quickly founded another periodical, *Glas Dubrovački*. The Serb historian Kosta Milutinović has published an archival document very meaningful in the understanding of the political orientation of the new journal and, more generally, of the Serb Catholic movement in this phase. The document is the draft of a contract stipulated between Gradi and four representatives of the Dubrovnik middle-class (Gradi himself coming from a noble family). There was among them one Antun Pugliesi, who eventually became a deputy in the Dalmatian *Sabor* and the leader of the *Srpska Narodna Stranka* in the early 1900s. The signatories committed themselves: “to never blend with Croats, because we feel ourselves to be Serbs”, although a political collaboration with them was admitted as a hypothesis; to actively resist any administrative unification of Dalmatia with Croatia; to oppose the Autonomist party; and to struggle against germanization and magyarization⁷⁷.

The second commitment was clearly consistent with the new orientation of Serbian politics in Dalmatia after the split of the *Narodna Stranka* in 1879 and marked an important difference with the first Serb Catholic period. The third

⁷⁵ Informations about the award to Martecchini jr. are contained in *ASMAE, AMB. VIENNA, busta 171, fasc. 2 Decorazioni*, folder “Martecchini Antonio, dec. 1901”, esp. the letter of the Italian consul in Zara, Milazzo, to the Italian Ambassador in Vienna, Nigra, 25 April 1901, where it is wrongly said that the Martecchini family came from Bergamo (while instead, as we have seen, grandfather Antonio Martecchini senior was Venetian).

⁷⁶ ‘Dubrovačke vijesti’ [Dubrovnik news], *Gušterica*, 1, 1883, 10, 15 March, p. 3.

⁷⁷ Milutinović, 1989, pp. 57-58.

commitment was eventually to be undone in the 1890s, since an electoral alliance of Serb Catholics and Autonomists was to be organized in Dubrovnik⁷⁸.

During the 1870s and 1880s, a set of circumstances contributed to the increase and eventual success of Serbian-oriented elites in the fields of economic and social life in Dubrovnik. By 1890, this group of Orthodox and Catholic Serb figures gained the majority in the municipal council, governing the city until 1899.

In the *Ginnasio* classrooms, the influence of pro-Serbian teachers over the pupil's education during the 1870s and 1880s is a circumstance that both the historiography and some contemporaries have recognized as unequivocal. The Catholic priest Vice Medini, who would eventually become a Croatian nationalist, writing in the Croatian-oriented local newspaper *Crvena Hrvatska* in 1903 recalled the atmosphere of "literary Serbianism" which dominated over the students in the 1880s⁷⁹. The editor of *Crvena Hrvatska*, Frano Supilo⁸⁰, while defining the Serb Catholic idea in terms of "*egzotična biljka*" (an exotic plant) and "*moda*" (a trend of the moment), remarked on the influential role of the *Ginnasio* teachers Stjepan Castrapelli and Pero Budmani⁸¹, "propagators of Serbism and influencers of other Serbian apostles". Furthermore, Supilo credited the same role to the cultural review *Slovinac*, issued between 1878 and 1884⁸². In a letter addressed, in this same

⁷⁸ T. Rajčić, 'Srpska politika u Dubrovniku u XIX. stoljeću (Njeni korijeni, uspon i pad od 40-ih godina do 1899.)' [Serbian Politics in Dubrovnik during the 19th century (Origins, rise and fall from 1840s to 1899)], in A. Bralić, E. Mislav Lukšić, J. Vrandečić, M. Trogrlić (eds), *Zbornik Stijepa Obada* [Essays in honour of Stijepo Obad], Zadar-Split-Zagreb, 2010, pp. 467-486, esp. pp. 476-482.

⁷⁹ V. Benković, 'Dubrovački Srbi-katolici i »novi kurs« u hrvatskoj politici 1903.-1905.' [The Serb Catholics of Dubrovnik and the *novi kurs* in the Croatian politics 1903-1905], *Dubrovnik. Časopis za književnost i znanost, Nova Serija*, 1, 1990, 1-2, pp. 211-231 (p. 213).

⁸⁰ In the 1890s, Supilo (1870-1917) was the most important journalist on the local Croatian-oriented press. He led the *pravaši* of Southern Dalmatia, i.e. the adherents of the nationalist *Stranka Prava* (Party of Croatian Right). From the end of the 1890s onwards, he resided in Rijeka becoming a protagonist of the so called *novi kurs* period, which saw a political alliance between Croatian and Croatian Serb politicians. During the First World War, he was one of the leader of the Yugoslav Committee. See S. Matković, 'Frano Supilo', in *HBL*, 2016.

⁸¹ Budmani (1835-1914) was a teacher, a member of the Dalmatian *Sabor* for the *Narodna Stranka* between 1870 and 1876 and a philologist. As a lexicographer, in 1883 he became the editor-in-chief of the Serbo-Croatian Dictionary of the Yugoslav Academy in Zagreb, sponsored by the Catholic Bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer. See M. Mogaš, 'Pero Budmani', in *HBL*, 1989.

⁸² 'Moda' [Trend], *Crvena Hrvatska*, 12, 1891, 1, cited in Tolja, 2011, p. 271. This author admits the influence of *Slovinac* and its *slovinstvo* (namely, a slavist cultural attitude, heir of the Illyrian ideas of the 1830s and 1840s) over the appearance of the second Serb Catholic movement, while criticizing some Serbian historians that had interpreted this Dubrovnik-based review as a Serbian organ *tout court*. Tolja calls attention to the presence of some Catholic priests such as Antun Liepopilli and Antun Kazali, later Croatian-oriented, among the collaborators on *Slovinac*. See Tolja, 2011, p. 268.

period, to the Croatian politician Fran Folnegović, Supilo labelled the Serb Catholics “Professor Budmani’s pupils”⁸³.

The influence of Serbian activists gradually became stronger over the administration of local clubs such as the *Narodna štionica* (the civic reading room), the *Dubrovačka građanska muzika* (the city concert band) and the *Dubrovačko radničko društvo* (the city workers organization). This kind of association represented a crucial space for political discussions and, in a wide sense, for the consolidation of national allegiance, in Dubrovnik as well as in the main Dalmatian cities. As a reaction to the serbianization of these institutions, the Croatian elites founded their own local clubs⁸⁴.

Finally, the Serb movement in Dubrovnik benefited from the economic power held by some of the Orthodox merchants who settled in the city during the second half of the century: a minority (near to 6% of the total urban population) which thanks to its financial resources was able to support political serbianism as well as the Orthodox community, sponsoring the construction of an Orthodox church in the city centre in 1877. On the political field, it took advantage of the crisis of the local *Narodna Stranka* and the dissatisfaction of the city elites with its political activity in the last two decades. So, the Croatian-oriented party chose not to campaign for the municipal elections of 1890, won by the Serb-Autonomist coalition. According to Supilo, this victory would have been facilitated by many cases of vote buying. Other kind of irregularities would have happened in 1894, during the second municipal elections won by the Serb-Autonomist coalition⁸⁵.

In 1891, when the Croatian oriented *Crvena Hrvatska* started publishing, the most passionate period of political fighting between Serbs and Croats in Dubrovnik began. Soon (in 1892) the Serbian side founded its own newspaper, the weekly *Dubrovnik*, which became the main propagator of the Serb Catholic idea. Nevertheless, one of the first explicit Serb Catholic manifestos was published in Zadar by the official organ of *Srpska Narodna Stranka*. The author was a lawyer from Makarska (central Dalmatia), Lovro Pavlović, who openly appraised the Serb Catholic movement to be “the most meaningful event inside the national

⁸³ *Korespondencija Supilo*, p. 29.

⁸⁴ Benković, 1990, p. 211-212; Rajčić, 2010, pp. 474-476.

⁸⁵ I. Perić, ‘Među stranačke političke borbe u Dubrovniku za prevlast u Općinskom vijeću (1890-1899)’ [Political Parties and competition for supremacy on the Municipal Council in Dubrovnik, 1890-1899], *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Dubrovniku*, 42, 2004, pp. 207-229.

. For the Supilo’s report on the alleged corruption in 1890, see *Korespondencija Supilo*, pp. 29-30.

movement in Dalmatia”. Pavlović argued that the Serbs and the Croats express “two different cultural trends in the same people”. The resulting argument concerned the question of a dualism between Western and Eastern cultural traditions (the Croats supposedly belonging to the former, while the Serbs to the latter): “The Catholic Serbs refuse cultural dualism; they think that it is prejudicial for the natural advancement of the nation and stress the necessity of a cultural union as a necessary condition for our survival in the midst of cultural nations that are stronger than us [...]”. Being a Catholic Serb, Pavlović acclaimed the role of the Serbian Orthodox Church in the preservation of Serbian identity under Ottoman rule. “It has a national role both for Orthodox and for Catholics”. In the end, even if “our nation” would succumb in the “struggle to survive”, the Serb Catholic movement “would remain the most serious attempt of Catholic people to protect their national existence”⁸⁶.

From its very beginning, the weekly *Dubrovnik* stated its intention to avoid every confessional quarrel. “To us, every Serb is equal and dear, regardless of his religion. We will not ask them how they cross themselves, nor if they perform the Muslim bowing prayer”⁸⁷. Starting a series of articles entitled “Faith and Politics”, the Serb Catholic newspaper dealt with the idea of religious tolerance (*vjerska tolerancija*) which, in its argumentative strategy, was directly connected to a “liberal” view of the world. “We will never confuse religious faith and nationality, since one should show one’s nationality by other marks, and different believers can belong to the same nationality, as the civilized countries show us”⁸⁸. Soon after, the *Dubrovnik* countered Supilo’s *Crvena Hrvatska* by playing it at its own game, labelling Croatism “an exotic plant”. In the same article, the Serb editorialist blamed those who allegedly abused “faith in Jesus Christ, whose foundation is love between persons [...] using it as a cause of scandal among brothers in blood”⁸⁹. In this article a very frequent topic of the *Dubrovnik*’s argumentation appeared, namely the possibility of existence of a trans-confessional and trans-religious Serbian nation, on the model of the German nation made by Protestants and Catholics. As already mentioned when talking about Dositej Obradović, this idea had some antecedents. More recently, it was contained in a 1845 text by Vuk

⁸⁶ ‘Srbi Katolici’ [Catholic Serbs], *Srpski Glas*, 9, 1890, 11, 28 February (12 March), pp. 2-3.

⁸⁷ ‘Naš program’ [Our program], *Dubrovnik*, 1, 1892, 1, 3 July, p. 1.

⁸⁸ ‘Vjera i politika’ [Religion and politics], *Dubrovnik*, 1, 1892, 7, 14 August, p. 1.

⁸⁹ ‘Vjera i politika III’ [Religion and politics III], *Dubrovnik*, 1, 1892, 9, 28 August, p. 1.

Karadžić, namely a letter that the linguist addressed to the Serb bishop and scholar Platon Atanacković⁹⁰.

The *Dubrovnik* was well aware that this idea could have received criticism from some Catholic clergymen, notwithstanding that there were some Serb Catholic priests in Dubrovnik, such as Canon Ivan Stojanović and the priest and ethnographer Andro Murat. Arguing that Catholicism shall be considered antithetical to every kind of nationality-based struggle among its believers, the *Dubrovnik* exhorted its readership to break with the idea that *Srpsstvo* was a danger to the Catholic confession. In the following pages, I will show through some Vatican archival documentation that the Dalmatian Catholic high clergy did not share this idea at all.

The article *Vjera i politika III* is also meaningful since at its very end is included a wish which is useful in explaining what kind of constituency the Serb Catholic movement had: “The *inteligencija* will be always on our side and on the side of liberal and patriotic principles, which we are supporting”.

This point allows me to focus on the social identity of the movement’s supporters and representatives. First of all, it is worth to take into account the lack of demographic data on the Serb Catholic group, since as is known the Habsburg census registered only language and not ethnic affiliation, nor such intra-ethnic distinctions as the ones I am presenting. To determine the actual size of the Serb Catholic community, I have some options to consider. One could rely on some data presented by works which were published during the period being considered, or slightly later. But in this case we must bear in mind the apologetic and/or political tone of this literature. For instance, in a book first published in 1939, the Serb Catholic Luj Bakotić, of Split, argued that at the turn of the 20th century there were around twenty-five thousand Catholic Serbs spread across Dalmatia⁹¹. “The majority of them belonged to the intellectual social class, but there were also workers and peasants among them”⁹².

More recently, an important Serbian historian has claimed that from 1830s onwards the Serbs in Dalmatia “were reinforced with another 100,000 urban Serbs

⁹⁰ Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, Sava Tekelija, *Pisma Visokopreosveštenome Gospodinu Platonu Atanackoviću, Pravoslavnome Vladiči Budimskome o Srpskome Pravopisu, sa osobitijem dodacima o Srpskom jeziku* [Letters to the Reverend Platon Atanacković, Orthodox Bishop in Buda, about the Serbian orthography, with specific attachments about Serbian language], Wien, 1845, p. 20. Quoted in Hajdarpasic, 2015, p. 31.

⁹¹ L. Bakotić, *Srbi u Dalmaciji od pada Mletačke Republike do ujedinjenja* [The Serbs in Dalmatia from the fall of the Republic of Venice to the national unification], Banja Luka, 2013, p. 5.

⁹² *Ibid.*, p. 177.

of Roman Catholic faith spread from central Dalmatia to Dubrovnik, who embraced Serbian national identity”⁹³.

By contrast, most Croatian historians who have dealt with the Serb Catholic movement have underlined Serb Catholics’ scarce numbers, counterbalanced by a powerful use of political and cultural propaganda⁹⁴. This approach is clearly inspired by Supilo’s thought.

In his *summa* of the topic, Tolja has tried to provide an account at least of evident supporters of the movement, considering the signatories of the various open letters published in the *Dubrovnik*. Furthermore, he has intersected the sources to describe the main social groups in the Serb Catholic movement: members of the *inteligencija* (some of them coming from noble Ragusan families), members of the bourgeoisie and/or the highly educated, those priests who expressed liberal views, high school and university students, and finally some workers, artisans and peasants. To justify this last assertion, Tolja cites some obituaries published by the *Dubrovnik* and once again some open letters, with the indication of the geographical origins of the signatories in order also to evidence the spread of the Serb Catholic movement to the outskirts of Dubrovnik populated mainly by peasants⁹⁵.

As already mentioned, the attempt to demonstrate the historical Serbianness of Dubrovnik and of its ancient literature was a key issue of Serb Catholic activism. From the opposite side, the Croatian elites answered these attempts by supporting the very opposite theory, that is the historical continuity of the Croatian nature of the city, of its language and of its literature. In addition to the articles of the *Crvena Hrvatska*, it is worth mentioning a pamphlet published anonymously, but later attributed to the teacher and linguist Marcel Kušar⁹⁶.

In the Serb Catholic case, the dualism between Orthodox and Catholics did not totally explain the effective dynamics of this antagonism. In the period and in the context that I consider here it is possible to catch sight of two more kinds of dualism.

⁹³ Bataković, 2014, pag. 93.

⁹⁴ See for example T. Macan, ‘O pristupu srpskokatoličkom fenomenu. (U povodu nekih interpretacija)’ [An introduction to the Serb Catholic phenomenon. (On some recent analysis)], *Dubrovnik. Časopis za književnost i znanost, Nova Serija*, 1, 1990, 1-2, pp. 232-246, which disapproves Milutinović, 1989.

⁹⁵ Tolja, 2011, pp. 363-395.

⁹⁶ *Dubrovčani, jesu li Hrvati?* [Are the Dubrovnik People Croat?], Dubrovnik, 1892. Ten years before, Kušar published some articles in the *Slovinac*: this is a further proof of the non-exclusive Serbian orientation of this review and of the “soft” borders between Croatian and Serbian elites until the end of 1880s. A profile of this author in K. Pranjko, ‘Marcel Kušar’, in *HBL*, 2013.

The first is a separation inside the Dalmatian Serbian cultural and political field. The contested issue was the relationship between *Srpstvo* and the Serbian Orthodox confession. The Serb Catholic group of Dubrovnik supported an idea of trans-confessional Serbianness, but their views were not accepted by everyone in the *Srpska Narodna Stranka*, the Dalmatian Serbian party born after the *Narodna Stranka* split of 1879.

The conservative members of the party, led by the Orthodox Dalmatian bishop Nikodim Milaš, identified *Srpstvo* with *pravoslavlje* (the Orthodox faith). They demanded the establishment of schools exclusively for Orthodox pupils, but when in 1897 a new association was founded to improve the education of the Serbian community (*Srpsko Bratstvo*, i.e., Serbian Brotherhood), the progressivist wing of the party managed to place a Serb Catholic from Split, Ignjat Bakotić, in its presidency. His secular view of schooling contrasted with the conservatives' ideas and an intense debate within the Serbian party was the outcome⁹⁷.

These two groups were also different in regard of their attitudes towards the Austrian government and its representative in Dalmatia: the conservative wing, rooted in the northern part of the province, was more willing to settle for a compromise with the government and also with the Croatian politicians, in order to obtain advantages for the Serbian people; the progressivist wing, also called liberal wing, gathered around the Serb Catholic group and the newspaper *Dubrovnik*, was influenced by the Principality of Montenegro in its more radical political attitude, increasingly hostile towards Austria's rule⁹⁸.

The Orthodox Bishop Nikodim Milaš in his autobiography has expressed a very negative judgment on the Serb Catholic group, in particular regarding its attitude at the end of the 1890s: "They imagined that all the liberal Croats would have been attracted by their programme and that they would have become 'Catholic Serbs' too. But they have not realized that all this Catholic *Srpstvo* gathered together only a dozen or even less of Dubrovnik's ambitious learned people, which attracted maybe one hundred or so ignorant or almost ignorant citizens, by means of economic subvention; furthermore, for those ambitious

⁹⁷ Milutinović, 1989, pp. 49-51.

⁹⁸ On the separation between the liberal-radical and the conservative wings of the Serbian party in Dalmatia, see Tihomir Rajčić, 'Sukobi unutar Srpske Stranke u austrijskoj pokrajini Dalmaciji 1897.-1902.' [The conflicts within the Serbian Party in Austrian Dalmatia between 1897 and 1902], *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru*, 41, 1999, pp. 247-260, and *id.* 'Vrhunac sukoba unutar srpskog nacionalnog pokreta u austrijskoj Dalmaciji 1902./1903.' [The peak in the conflicts within the Serbian national movement in Austrian Dalmatia 1902/1903], *RadZ*, 40, 1998, pp. 413-424.

learned people this Catholic *Srpstvo* was and is nothing more than an empty self-promotion”⁹⁹.

The second kind of dualism was the juxtaposition of liberals and conservatives in the Catholic world. *Mutatis mutandis*, this was the Dalmatian version of the competition between the Roman Catholic Church’s traditionalism and the secularization of society which was epitomized by the “indifferentism” condemned by Pope Pius IX in his 1864 *Syllabus*. From this point of view, the Serb Catholic group represented an embodiment of the liberal attitude which some traditionalist Catholic circles could have interpreted as standing in opposition to the Church.

This perception was evident in a series of articles published in 1879 by *La Dalmazia Cattolica*, (later called *Katolička Dalmacija*) a traditionalist Catholic newspaper which was edited in Zadar from 1870 by a group of the local seminary’s teachers. It is a short story about an imaginary apparition in contemporary Dubrovnik of Stefan Dušan Nemanjić, a medieval Serbian king, who describes to the narrator his own revenge project against the Catholics and Austria. Dubrovnik, the “Slavic Athens”, will eventually become the “Serbian Athens” thanks mainly to the Serbs of Croatia, says the imaginary Dušan. The author of the short story used this fictional plot to explicitly condemn a Serb-oriented Catholic priest from Split, Jakob Grupković¹⁰⁰, and a former Catholic priest who was soon to become a Waldensian pastor, namely Ljudevit Vuličević¹⁰¹. Furthermore, the imaginary Dušan took for granted that his pan-Serbian project would gain even more unexpected supporters: “We have the liberal, the atheist, the journals and the journalists on our side [...]”¹⁰².

In 1880 *La Dalmazia Cattolica* changed its name in *Katolička Dalmacija* and the new editor, the Catholic priest Ivo Prodan¹⁰³, oriented it even more closely towards *pravaš* Croatian nationalism, combined with a traditional view of

⁹⁹ Nikodim Milaš, *Autobiografija. Studije; Članci (priređio episkop dalmatinski Fotije)* [Nikodim Milaš. Autobiography. Essays; Articles. Edited by the Dalmatian Bishop Fotije], Beograd-Šibenik, 2005, pp. 78-79.

¹⁰⁰ On the Serbianism of this teacher and priest, see Bakotić, 1939, p. 178.

¹⁰¹ A biography of this peculiar Serb from Ragusa - even if he lived always abroad, mainly in Italy - is Angelo Tamborra, *Ljudevit Vuličević tra Slavia e Italia*, Roma, 1986.

¹⁰² ‘La Torre Mincetta. Racconto fantastico di Filopatro’, *La Dalmazia Cattolica*, 10, October-November 1879, 82-84, 86-87.

¹⁰³ Ivo Prodan (1852-1933) was born in Janjina, on the Pelješac peninsula, near Ragusa. After studying in Ragusa and the first years of pastoral service in his native land, he moved to Zadar at the end of the 1870s.

Catholicism¹⁰⁴. The *Slovinac* proved to be a suitable target for its vigorous polemic, a polemic which in 1880 voiced strong disapproval of the writings of the Catholic priest Ivan Stojanović published by the Dubrovnik review and inspired by Diderot's *Le Neveu de Rameau*¹⁰⁵.

Ivan Stojanović (1826-1900), a Catholic priest, writer and historian, was an important figure of the Serb Catholic movement. In 1886 Prince Nikola of Montenegro proposed him to the Holy See as the new bishop of Antivari (Bar), the only Catholic diocese in this principality. According to the draft preserved in the Dubrovnik Diocesan Archive, the Bishop of Dubrovnik, Mato Vodopić, who had been asked for an opinion by the Vatican secretary of state Ludovico Jacobini, answered negatively, writing that Stojanović's nomination "would make a bad impression on the authentic Catholics"¹⁰⁶.

The official reports from Dubrovnik catholic bishops to the Vatican include some explicitly negative judgements on Serb Catholics. In his 1895 *relatio ad limina* the Bishop Josip Marčelić blamed them for an allegedly insincere faith. Having informed the Roman *Curia* of the religious indifferentism in the city, counterbalanced by the devotion of the peasantry in the outskirts, he dealt with the political struggles and wrote: "The so called Serbian faction which supports its national religion is very harmful to the Catholic faith, as are some Catholics who support it, showing an hostile spirit towards the Catholic religion"¹⁰⁷.

¹⁰⁴ In 1880 Prodan received a letter from Propaganda Fide containing the appreciation of the Congregation to his donation of 85 florins for the missions. It is also a useful testimony of how the Roman Curia in that period judged the relationship between patriotism and Catholicism. The Prefect Giovanni Simeoni praised *La Dalmazia Cattolica* for "supporting the interests of the Catholic Church by courageously defending its rights" and wished him perseverance in his undertaking. Through his mission, Simeoni writes to Prodan, "you will render a beautiful service to your homeland, whose interests are joined with those of the Holy Church just as the love for the true religion brings with it the true love of the homeland". Cfr. *ACPF, Lettere, vol. 376*, 1880, Simeoni to Prodan, Rome, 6 July 1880 (draft), f. 351rv: "[...] mi è noto che V. S. col suo giornale della Dalmazia cattolica è tutta intesa a sostenere gli interessi della cattolica chiesa propugnandone coraggiosamente i diritti, non posso non congratularmene con Lei. Mi auguro quindi che Ella sarà perseverante nella sua impresa e per quanto è a me ne la esorto poichè in tal modo Ella renderà un bel servizio alla sua patria i cui interessi vanno congiunti con quelli della S. Chiesa come l'amore della vera religione porta seco il vero amore della Patria".

¹⁰⁵ See *Katolička Dalmacija*, 74, 75, 76, 77, 1880 and esp. 'Nekoliko opazaka' [Some remarks], *Katolička Dalmacija*, 11, 1880, 79, 25 October, pp. 1-2. For Stojanović's text, see 'Gjore', *Slovinac*, 3, 1880, 8, 16 April, pp. 146-156 and 'Gjore', *Slovinac*, 3, 1880, 9, 1 May, pp. 162-169.

¹⁰⁶ *ABD, Sig. 2, B.D., Ser: Spisi dubrovačkih biskupa, Presidiali (Atti riservati)*, 1886, (separate folder not numbered, sheets not numbered): Jacobini to Vodopić, Roma, 26 May 1886, n. 66858; *ibid.*, Vodopić to Jacobini (draft), Ragusa, 1 June 1886.

¹⁰⁷ *ASV, Congr. Concilio, Relat. Dioec., busta 674 B*, Ragusa, 13 August 1895, unnumbered sheets: "Maximi detrimenti pro fide catholica est factio sic dicta serbica, quae religionem nationalem tulit, hinc etiam aliqui catholici qui huic factioni politice indulgent, animum alienum a religione catholica gerunt".

Five years later, in his second *relatio ad limina* the bishop Marčelić explicitly blamed the newspaper *Dubrovnik* denouncing its alleged anticlerical attitude. Arguing that the Croat and Serb factions had a religious “*substratum*”, he wrote: “The Serbs are all schismatics, but some among them in the city are liberal Catholics. As their newspaper *Dubrovnik* shows, they stand against the Catholic clergy, generally they manifest an oriental mind and declare themselves as adversaries of Western Latin culture”¹⁰⁸.

4.2 Italianness and Slavia, a showdown

4.2.1. “Moderate your words”: diplomacy and irredentism

According to the long travelogue published in 1892 by the writer from Zadar Giuseppe Modrich, in this period the small town of Vallegrande (Vela Luka) on the western side of the island of Curzola had around 2,000 inhabitants and its port was considered as a flourishing marketplace. Its favourable geographic position made it an increasingly prosperous commercial hub, albeit with a brief history behind it, having developed only during the previous fifty years.

The economic output of this port’s commercial activities and of the agricultural industry of the island were directly connected with the rapid growth of Vallegrande’s population during the second half of the nineteenth century. Its harbour was the port of call of the whole island’s production and this economic development did not remain without consequences, for what concerned the presence of a modern and relatively numerous urban class¹⁰⁹.

If we rely on the figure of two thousand residents cited in 1892 by Modrich, and compare it with other available statistics, the increase in population of this center is self-evident. In the 1857 census, 1218 residents were registered, all Catholics¹¹⁰. From the 1869 census, an increase of about three hundred residents

¹⁰⁸ *Ibidem*, Ragusa, 1 July 1900, unnumbered sheets: “Serbi enim sunt omnes schismatici et aliqui catholici liberales in civitate residentiali. [...] ut apparet ex eorum ephemeride “Dubrovnik” infensi sunt in clerum catholicum, generatim magis imbuti spiritu orientali, adversarios se ostendunt etiam contra cultura occidentali latinae”.

¹⁰⁹ G. Modrich, *La Dalmazia romana-veneta-moderna. Note e ricordi di viaggio. 1892 L. Roux e C. - Editori. Torino-Roma*, 1892, p. 161 (hereinafter: Modrich, 1892).

¹¹⁰ Cfr. Serragli, 1862, p. 24.

emerges¹¹¹. But the increase in population in Vallegrande did not seem destined to stop, so much so that the bishop of Ragusa Josip Marčelić in 1900 wrote that the parish of the village had reached 3300 souls¹¹².

Modrich summarised the relationships between Vallegrande and the rest of the island in the following way¹¹³: in his opinion, Vallegrande represented the future of Curzola, whereas the town of Blatta (Blato) with its “4,000 inhabitants, almost all of them well-to-do”¹¹⁴, embodied the spirit of the island’s present time. As regards the town of Curzola on the east coast of the namesake island, with its fortified architecture and the gorgeous cathedral adorned by the once renowned local stonecutters¹¹⁵, Modrich noted that it was the living representation of the island’s glorious past¹¹⁶. That of stonecutter had been a prominent profession within the workforce in Curzola during the Early Modern Age, due to the presence of the renowned stone quarries in the island. Still in 1892, Modrich argued, this economic activity was a core business of the island. Incidentally, the father of the Serb Catholic leader Antun Fabris, who emigrated from Curzola to Ragusa between the 1850s and the early 1860s, was himself a stonecutter, as we have already seen. Other relevant economic activities in the island, according to Modrich, were wine growing and (partially) the shipyards, albeit this last industry was suffering in Dalmatia as well elsewhere due to the gradual replacement of

¹¹¹ Cfr. Maschek, 1872a, p. 12. The exact figure is 1513 residents.

¹¹² *ASV, Congr. Concilio, Relat. Dioec., busta 674 B*, “Relatio secunda canonica visitationis Ep. pi Ragusini in Dalmatia, occasione secundi ipsius itineris ad limina”, Ragusa, 1 June 1900 (unnumbered sheets: the following data is indicated in the paragraph “§3. De clero seculari”): “Cooperatore stabili et perpetuo indiget praesertim paroecia Velaluka in dioecesi Corcyrensi, quae nunc 3300 animas numerat”. The fact that here the bishop uses the expression “diocese of Corcyra” is either a typo or a way of referring to the no longer existing diocese of Curzola. In fact – see paragraph 2.1.3 – it had been abolished in 1828 and in 1900 its status was that of “deanery”, as Marčelić himself more correctly indicates a few lines above about the description of his pastoral visit: “[...] dein a 16 Augusti ad 6 Septembris a. 1897 visitavit decanatum Corcyrae Nigrae, olim dioecesim Corcyrensem”.

¹¹³ The Italian sentence written by Modrich, which I paraphrase above, is undoubtedly vivid. It goes as follows: “Curzola rappresenta il passato dell’isola, Blatta il presente, Vallegrande l’avvenire”. Cfr. Modrich, 1892, p. 161.

¹¹⁴ Modrich noticed that in Blato an “almost patriarchal confidence regulates all the commercial businesses, both the big and small ones”: “Noto che i 4000 cittadini di Blatta sono quasi tutti ricchi e che, in quei paraggi, una fiducia quasi patriarcale regola tutti gli affari commerciali, piccoli e grandi”. *Ibid.*, p. 161.

¹¹⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 159.

¹¹⁶ Modrich dedicates a few lines of his travelogue to the description of the *Moreška*, a traditional sword dance which recalled the Spanish battles of the *Reconquista* and is performed still nowadays. *Ibid.*, p. 160.

sailing ships by the steamships for commercial shipping during the nineteenth century¹¹⁷.

Between May and June 1893, Vallegrande suddenly became a place of not negligible importance on the agenda of the Italian government. At dawn on 21 May, a group of seven local Slav inhabitants attacked four Italian sailors that were said to have been on board their own sail ships, namely two *pieleghi* or, according to other sources, *trabaccoli*, both these Italian words indicating two slightly different kind of traditional fishing boats which were commonly used in Adriatic at the time. A few days later, Rome received the reports of the Italian vice consul in Split, Attilio Monaco, to which a communication regarding the incident sent by the consul in Ragusa Luigi Serragli was attached¹¹⁸.

Thus began the procedure that usually was carried out with regard to the frequent similar cases which occurred during this period in Dalmatia: the Italian Embassy in Vienna coordinated the requests made to the Austrian Foreign Office in order to identify and punish the guilty, with the consuls and the other diplomatic representatives being charged with the task of soliciting local authorities to act. So in the archive of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs there is also a group of documents which deal with the Vallegrande's incident and with its diplomatic and judicial aftermath. On 16 June 1893 the Foreign Minister Benedetto Brin informed the Italian ambassador in Vienna, Costantino Nigra, on the fact that the sailors had presented a complaint to the Italian vice consul in Split about the assault they had suffered¹¹⁹.

During this period, the political debate in Italy was already inflamed by the issue of mistreatments suffered in Dalmatia by Italian fishermen and workers. As Luciano Monzali has pointed out, the attention that Italian public opinion and ruling class dedicated to this question was often fueled by sensationalist news which in some cases exaggerated the incidents for political and nationalistic purposes. The problem anyway did exist and in Italy there was also a sincere concern over the interest both of the compatriots (identified with the term

¹¹⁷ An overview of this topic in V. Ivančević, 'Nekoliko podataka o korčulanskoj brodogradnji iz 19. Stoljeća' [Some data on Korčula shipbuilding activities in the 19th century], *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti IC JAZU u Dubrovniku*, 18, 1980, pp. 271-312.

¹¹⁸ *ASMAE, SP 1891-1916, busta 295, pos. 46 Trieste-Dalmazia-Incidenti vari-espulsioni-aggressioni-arresti*, Serragli to the minister of Foreign Affairs (Brin), Ragusa, 10 June 1893.

¹¹⁹ Cfr. *ibidem*, the minister Brin to the ambassador Nigra, Rome, 16 June 1893.

regnicoli, i.e. subjects of the Italian kingdom) and for the native Italophile Dalmatian element¹²⁰.

Amongst the members of Italian parliament, especially those of Venetian origin as well as those belonging to the liberal Left wing often denounced publicly the frequent incidents that involved the sailors from Chioggia, a coastal town near Venice from where many of the latter sailed towards Dalmatia in order to fish there. The discussion that took place in Rome at the Chamber of Deputies (*Camera dei Deputati*) on 31 March 1892 was very significant inasmuch it was a vivid representation of the various aspects of irredentist-oriented positions regarding the national question in the eastern Adriatic shores at that time. The presumed anti-Italian politics carried out by the Austrian government, the radicalism of the Croatian parties and the political influence of Croatian priests on it, as well as the accusations to the teachers as agents of Croatian propaganda in the schools, were the arguments that the deputies Salvatore Barzilai, Matteo Renato Imbriani and Roberto Galli advanced vehemently within their interrogations to Antonio Starabba di Rudinì, the Sicilian marquis which from 6 February 1891 was for his first time the President of the Council of Ministers as well as the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Italian kingdom¹²¹.

Barzilai, in particular, made references to an aggression suffered by some Italian fishermen in Sebenico, “who were walking towards the village of Provicchio singing Italian verses, maybe some Torquato Tasso’s ones”. The incident, he argued, formed part of a chain of similar events which demonstrated

“an exasperated struggle against the Italian national element [in Dalmatia], which is persecuted from all sides, by priests from the pulpit, by panslavists in the squares, by teachers in the schools, [a struggle which is] conducted tenaciously with the assistance and with the support of government agents”¹²².

The attitude of the Italian government, Barzilai argued, was reprehensible for what concerned the protection of Italian communities and culture in Dalmatia. In his opinion, the political alliance between Rome and Austria-Hungary had been

¹²⁰ Monzali, 2009, p. 178-180.

¹²¹ From 31 December 1891 up to the fall of his Cabinet on 15 May 1892, the Sicilian statesman took also the Agriculture, Industry and Commerce portfolio.

¹²² *AP, Camera dei Deputati, Tornata del 31 marzo 1892*, pp. 7546-7550 (p. 7546), Barzilai’s speech (also cited in Monzali, 2009, p. 180): “Si tratta di una lotta a morte giurata contro l’elemento nazionale italiano, perseguitato in tutti i modi, dai preti sul pergamo, dai panslavisti nelle piazze, dai maestri nelle scuole, proseguita tenacemente con l’assistenza e con l’appoggio degli agenti governativi”.

interpreted in a too much accommodating way by the Italian government. To be a partner of the Triple Alliance, which had been renewed for the third time on 6 May 1891, should not automatically imply “to assist indifferent, and sometimes in an accomplice way, to the war down there by the Slavs against the Italians”. The correct attitude, according to the Triestine deputy, was rather that one adopted by Germany who, although an ally of Vienna, never neglected the protection of German population within the Austrian empire¹²³.

When the deputy Matteo Renato Imbriani intervened in the discussion to support Barzilai’s arguments, he strengthened the previous statements by using in the guise of a slogan the maxim *divide et impera* (divide and rule) to accuse the Austrian government of encouraging divisions among its subject nationalities to reduce the possibilities of rebellions. That this was not what could be defined as a politically correct affirmation in these years was indirectly confirmed by the repeated and severe invitations “to moderate your words” that the president of the Chamber Giuseppe Biancheri addressed to Imbriani¹²⁴.

When the irredentist deputy stated that Italian populations throughout the Habsburg Empire would always declare their feelings by means of the motto *Viva l’Italia!* (Hurrah for Italy) “until they will be reunited with the mother country”, the president Biancheri admonished Imbriani by saying that “these are not words to say. We must respect the treaties that bound Italy with other nations!”. Imbriani managed to have the final word, so the draft of this parliamentary session registered a sentence of him that – if read in the light of what will happen in 1915 – certainly sounds interesting: “History is a continuous sequence of ripped up treaties; and this last one [the Triple Alliance] violates Italian public law”¹²⁵.

¹²³ *AP, Camera dei Deputati, Tornata del 31 marzo 1892*, p. 7547, Barzilai’s speech.

¹²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 7547: “Imbriani: [...] *Divide et impera!* Questa è la massima che applica il Governo austro-ungarico. Ed è naturale! / Presidente: Temperi le sue parole, onorevole Imbriani. / Imbriani: Le diverse nazionalità deve aizzarle l’una contro l’altra per poterle... / Presidente: Temperi le sue parole! / Imbriani: ... per poterle tenere sotto l’impero”. The Ligurian politician Giuseppe Biancheri (1821-1908), a former deputy in the Piedmontese parliament, performed the duty of *Presidente della Camera* for 15 different periods between 1870 and 1898. Because of his unanimously recognised political mediation skills, in those years Biancheri came to be considered as “the president” *par excellence*. Cfr. C. Pinzani, ‘Giuseppe Biancheri’, in *DBI*, vol. 10, 1968.

¹²⁵ *AP, Camera dei Deputati, Tornata del 31 marzo 1892*, pp. 7546-7550 (p. 7548), Imbriani’s speech and Biancheri’s intervention: “Imbriani: [...] gli italiani di quelle nobilissime Provincie oppresse e vituperate, emettono ognora, ed emetteranno sempre, il grido di «Viva l’Italia!» finchè non saranno ricongiunti alla madre patria. / Presidente: Onorevole Imbriani, queste non sono parole da proferirsi. Rispettiamo i trattati che uniscono l’Italia ad altre nazioni! L’onorevole Papadopoli ha facoltà di parlare. / Imbriani: La storia è una serie continua di trattati stracciati; e questo ultimo è uno strappo al nostro diritto pubblico nazionale”.

Then the deputy Barzilai reentered in the debate with a question strictly connected with Ragusa, asking to the prime minister Rudinì if it was true or not that the Italian consul Serragli had recently requested a government grant of one thousand *lire* in order to support an Italian school in the city. Furthermore, Barzilai asked Rudinì if it was true or not that he rejected Serragli's request. The prime minister did not answer and Barzilai took the opportunity to a further harsh criticism towards the Italian government¹²⁶.

Despite the subscription of new Italo-Austrian and Italo-German trade agreements, Rome's negotiations with its two allies – they were started by Francesco Crispi in early 1891 and continued by Rudinì between February and May of the same year – “failed to bring about effective and cogent political cooperation with Austria-Hungary in the Balkans and any real improvement in the living conditions of the Italian and Italophile population in the Habsburg Empire”¹²⁷. Rudinì replaced Crispi's proactive doctrine¹²⁸ with a more renunciatory foreign policy, defined by Italian historiography and by contemporary documents as *politica di raccoglimento*, a somewhat untranslatable Italian expression meaning an orientation towards a less aggressive colonial policy and a containment of public expenditure. With regard to the Balkans, Rudinì was inclined to the conservation of the *status quo* and in case it was not possible to maintain it, he considered that Italy should have supported Austria-Hungary's territorial expansion towards South-East, namely in Albania and Macedonia. That of approving a possible *inorientamento dell'Austria* (a concept which entailed Vienna's eventual acquiring of new territorial provinces in the Balkans) was a longstanding element within the most moderate Italian reflections on foreign policy, from the 1844 Cesare Balbo's book *Delle speranze d'Italia* to Francesco Crispi. Rudinì's expectation from this strategy was presumably that of obtaining,

¹²⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 7550.

¹²⁷ L. Monzali, ‘The Balkans and the Triple Alliance in Italian Foreign Policy, 1882-1903’, in V. G. Pavlović (ed.), *Italy's Balkan strategies (19th-20th Century)*, Belgrade, 2014, pp. 61-79 (p. 70). This essay provides several references to Italian and British diplomatic documents regarding the negotiations. On this phase of the Triple Alliance, Monzali concludes that Italy remained actually highly dependent on Austria-Hungary and Germany initiatives.

¹²⁸ On Crispi and his complex political figure, a thorough full-length study is C. Duggan, *Francesco Crispi 1818-1901. From Nation to Nationalism*, Oxford-New York, 2002, esp. on this period pp. 473-635. Crispi's attitude to Italian irredentism in Austria was twofold: publicly he wanted to suppress it, because it damaged relations with the Monarchy; but behind the scenes he supported more moderate irredentism and for this reason in 1890 he financed the *Società Dante Alighieri* (a society working to promote Italian patriotism and Italian culture in Austria), provided that it hindered Barzilai's candidature for parliament. Cfr. *ibidem*, pp. 544-545.

into an undefined future, some territorial acquisitions for Italy on the “unredeemed” lands¹²⁹. Again, it must be pointed out that he was not alone in this hope.

On the whole, the first Rudini Cabinet had a short life. In the end, his plan for containment of public expenditure¹³⁰ through the reduction of army’s corps met with opposition from king Umberto I and from military circles. Rudini’s alternative plan of fiscal tightening was opposed by his Finance minister Giuseppe Colombo. The resignation of the Sicilian statesman was therefore the logical consequence of this situation¹³¹. His successor was Giovanni Giolitti (1842-1928), a centrist liberal which is unanimously considered amongst the most important politicians in Italian history.

The one that began on 15 May 1892 and lasted until 15 December 1893 was the first Cabinet presided over by Giolitti, who from 1901 to 1914 would eventually be the Italian Prime Minister as well as the Minister of the Interior for several other times. After the Great War and before the Fascist Regime, Giolitti will also preside over a brief but important Cabinet between 1920 and 1921, under which the Treaty of Rapallo was concluded, being this diplomatic achievement an important albeit temporary settlement of the Italo-Yugoslav controversy over the respective borders. However, in Italian historiography it is just the period between 1901 and 1914 that is commonly defined as *età giolittiana* (the Giolittian Era)¹³².

¹²⁹ Cfr. G. Carocci, ‘Avvertenza’ to *DDI, series II, vol. 24*, Rome, 1996, pp. IX-XI (pp. IX-X), who considers that the rancorous contemporary statement of baron Alberto Blanc, Italian ambassador at Constantinople, about an alleged Rudini’s anti-Triplicism, is not confirmed by the documents. On the contrary Rudini, also because he wanted to discredit any insinuation in this sense, performed as a loyalist Triplicist and he did it to such an extent that any Italo-French rapprochement proved to be impossible, notwithstanding that Rudini himself desired it.

¹³⁰ The industrialists from Northern Italy were the main supporters of the *politica di raccoglimento*, lobbying to lessen colonial expenses in order to give the State a stronger capacity to intensify industrialization at home. Rudini for his part would have wanted to rely on loans by French banks, but the failure of the rapprochement with Paris impeded this plan. France did not want to restore friendly relations with Italy until Rome would have been bounded to the Triple Alliance. For a recent discussion of these themes see S. Ecchia, *L'Italia nei rapporti con le Grandi Potenze e l'Impero ottomano nell'età della sinistra storica. Diplomazia, finanza e investimenti ferroviari*, Torino, 2018, pp. 28-29.

¹³¹ G. Astuto, ‘Antonio Starabba marchese di Rudini’, in *DBI, vol. 89*, 2017.

¹³² Particularly during the 1950s and in 1960s, Giolitti and the Giolittian Era had been widely studied topics by Italian historiography as well as by some international scholars which have devoted their attention to the history of Italian political system and modernization. For a wide-ranging bibliography, see E. Gentile, ‘Giovanni Giolitti’, in *DBI, vol. 55*, 2001 (hereinafter: Gentile, 2001). For a recent revisitation which discusses if and how the analysis of the Giolittian Era can still provide useful interpretative keys to understand the development, the crisis and the final collapse of the liberal State in Italy, see M. Scavino, ‘Ripensare Giolitti?’, *Passato e Presente*, 19, 2011, 83, pp. 137-152.

The birth of the first Giolitti Cabinet of 1892 was the object of much debate. The fact that king Umberto I had given the task of forming the new government to Giolitti unleashed the anger of Francesco Crispi, who had hoped to receive a new appointment after the fall of his Cabinet on February 1891. There were bipartisan protests too amongst the more aged deputies which had experienced the *Risorgimento* firsthand, inasmuch Giolitti was considered extraneous to the national-patriotic *milieu*¹³³.

That was the Italian political context during the weeks of the Vallegrande incident and of its aftermath. Six days before the instructions sent by the Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Giolitti Cabinet, Benedetto Brin, to the Ambassador Nigra in Vienna, that I have cited above, Brin himself received a report from Ragusa on 10 June 1893. By means of it, the Italian consul there Luigi Serragli informed Rome of the aggression occurred to the Italian fishermen in the Dalmatian port, defining it as a “savage assault” (“*un attacco bestiale*”)¹³⁴, and argued that the incident had political but also economic motivations. Furthermore, he defended himself from the accusation of being a Croatophile.

Let us first analyse the reasons for this last assertion. In his letter, Serragli announces to enclose a copy of the complaint submitted by the sailors to the Italian vice consul of Split. This complaint is not present in the file of the archive of the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and despite our research it has not been possible to find it elsewhere. That document probably contained unfavourable remarks against Serragli, who therefore felt obliged to defend himself with Minister Brin:

“[from the attached document] Your Excellency will understand the false and ridiculous reason why [the attacked sailors] preferred to turn to that vice consul [of Split] instead of to the consul of Ragusa, who can’t be charged with Croatism, on the contrary he is known in Dalmatia as the ‘Nestor’ of the Autonomists, because when he was deputy to the Diet of Zadar he opposed the Croats for several years”¹³⁵.

¹³³ Gentile, 2001.

¹³⁴ *ASMAE, SP 1891-1916, busta 295, pos. 46 Trieste-Dalmazia-Incidenti vari-espulsioni-aggressioni-arresti*, Serragli to Brin, Ragusa, 10 June 1893.

¹³⁵ *Ibidem*: “Un attacco bestiale fu commesso di notte da alcuni abitanti della borgata di Vallegrande sita alla estremità occidentale dell’isola di Curzola contro due barche italiane ch’erano ancorate in quel porto. La lagnanza che rivolsero i marinai di queste al Viceconsole di Spalato sono espresse nel qui unito allegato, dal quale Vostra Eccellenza comprenderà il falso e ridicolo motivo per cui preferirono di rivolgersi a quel Viceconsole anziché al Console di Ragusa, il quale non sa che sia [*sic*] odore di Croato,

In addition to comparing himself to the Nestor of Greek mythology, a character present in the Iliad and the Odyssey as a typical figure of senile wisdom, Serragli pointed out that the blame for the misunderstanding can certainly not be attributed "to those poor four illiterate sailors, but to the editor of the report"¹³⁶.

The protests made by Serragli to the local authorities and by Nigra in Vienna to the Austrian Ministry of Foreign Affairs had a rapid effect, so that in a few days the seven individuals held responsible for the attack were sentenced, two of them to ten days of arrest and five instead to six days of arrest. In the letter in which the district captain of Curzola Matteo (Mato) Groscetta¹³⁷ informed Serragli of these convictions, the same official denied that Italian subjects had been usually attacked and insulted on the island in the preceding period. The complaint lodged for the attack on Vallegrande was the first of its kind and moreover, according to Groscetta, the Italian sailors later claimed to have signed their complaint blindly. "The unknown compiler of the complaint", writes the Austrian official, must have wanted to exaggerate the real conditions of the village with regard to the safety of Italian subjects, and must have done so "for his own particular reasons"¹³⁸.

The identity of who wrote that complaint remains uncertain. For other reasons, as we have seen, Serragli too criticized the hand that had written that complaint. In his presentation of the facts however the Italian consul in Ragusa is not very clear. In any case, we have some reason to rule out the possibility that the Italian vice consul in Split, Attilio Monaco, might have been involved in the construction of an overly inflated complaint. A few months earlier, on 14 January

ma è invece conosciuto in Dalmazia come il Nestore degli Autonomi perché i croatofili combatterò più anni quando era deputato alla Dieta di Zara”.

¹³⁶ *Ibidem*: “Ma di ciò quei poveri 4 marinai illetterati [*sic*] non sono responsabili, sibbene il redattore del ricorso”.

¹³⁷ Groscetta was an experienced, long-time official of the Austrian administration. As early as 1873 he was in the service of the telegraph directorate in Zadar. Cfr. *Manuale del Regno di Dalmazia per l'anno 1875 compilato da Luigi Maschek Consigliere Imperiale. Anno V. Zara. Tipografia di Giovanni Woditzka*, 1875, p. 116. He was promoted to the rank of *Bezirkshauptmann* in 1892. Cfr. ‘Amtliches’, *Neue Freie Presse*, Evening Paper 19 February 1892, 9873, p. 5.

¹³⁸ *ASMAE, SP 1891-1916, busta 295, pos. 46 Trieste-Dalmazia-Incidenti vari-espulsioni-aggressioni-arresti*, Groscetta to Serragli, Curzola, 11 July 1893, original enclosed with Serragli to Brin, Ragusa, 14 July 1893: “[...] per istessa deposizione protocollare di trè [*sic*] degli italiani che firmarono l’additata Denunzia, mentre il quarto ne era assente, e per la circostanza che non pervennero prima Denunzie di sorta né a questa, né all’ autorità giudiziaria, le cose non stanno né punto né poco, come lo volevano fare credere non gl’italiani, confessi di avere firmato alla cieca la querela, bensì l’ignoto estensore della denunzia, cui per motivi suoi particolari avrà piaciuto presentare sotto un punto di vista non corrispondente al vero le condizioni locali di Vallegrande [...]”.

1893, in fact, Monaco had shown his inflexibility with the captains of some Apulian and Venetian fishing boats anchored in the port of Split, who had hoisted the Italian flag at half-mast at the invitation of the local Autonomists, in order to commemorate the anniversary of the death of the former mayor Antonio Bajamonti. Their gesture, according to Monaco, constituted an undue interference by Italian subjects in local political matters.

In Split – as Monaco had been able to see in the few months he had already been there – almost all the incidents with the "Slavs" were not caused by racist hatred but by "private resentments" and they were "isolated facts, without any importance, [...] exaggerated and distorted methodically by newspapers inspired by one of the parties for their own interest, they have formed the legend of the 'Italian-hunting', which has a very limited basis of truth"¹³⁹.

As a consequence, it seems not as likely that a diplomat who only four months before had showed these opinions¹⁴⁰ could have deliberately emphasized the protest for the facts of Vallegrande.

The Austrian justice system, however, chose a particular severity against the perpetrators of the aggression. The Court of Appeal of Zadar decided to listen again to the attacked and ordered a new trial¹⁴¹. In November of that same year, the man who had been identified as the main perpetrator of the attack, Petar Vlasić, was sentenced to one month's imprisonment by the court of Ragusa. As the prosecutor had appealed, in the second instance few weeks later the sentence was increased to three months in hard prison¹⁴².

¹³⁹ *ASMAE, SP 1891-1916, busta 87, pos. 15 Austria-rapporti politici 1894-1896*, Monaco to the consul general in Trieste Malmusi, Spalato, 6 February 1893, copy enclosed with Malmusi to Brin, Trieste 9 February 1893: "Dai pochi mesi che dimoro qui mi sono formata la convinzione, che credo giusta, che quasi tutti gli incidenti nati a Spalato da un preteso odio di razza contro gli italiani, non sono stati che semplici fatti isolati, di nessuna importanza, e occasionati da rancori privati, come ne succedono in ogni parte del mondo, e che poi, esagerati e falsati metodicamente dai giornali ispirati da uno dei partiti per l'interesse proprio, abbiano costituito la leggenda della 'caccia all'italiano' che non ha che una ben limitata base di vero".

¹⁴⁰ Attilio Monaco is a figure who has attracted interest for his profile as a cultured man, with vast interests, as well as a brave diplomat. At the end of 1894 he left Split, first moved to Edirne (cfr. *Gazzetta Ufficiale*, 15 November 1894, 268, p. 5539) and then between 1894 and 1896 was sent to Erzurum in Anatolia to work on an investigation for the Italian government about the massacres of Armenians by the Ottoman Empire. Regarding this mission, see M. Sciarretta, 'Attilio Monaco (1858-1932). Un console italiano a Erzerum durante i massacri hamidiani', *Rassegna degli armenisti italiani*, 13, 2012, pp. 11-21.

¹⁴¹ *ASMAE, SP 1891-1916, busta 295, pos. 46 Trieste-Dalmazia-Incidenti vari-espulsioni-aggressioni-arresti*, Nigra to Brin, Vienna, 18 July 1893.

¹⁴² The Italian government was informed by means of the report *ibidem*, Nigra to Blanc, Vienna, 5 February 1894.

4.2.2 Wines, clauses and crises

We anticipated that as soon as the attack occurred, Serragli mentioned one of the factors that most impacted on the relations between Italy, the Italophile element in Dalmatia and the local Slavic populations in the last years of the nineteenth century, namely the custom agreement between Rome and Vienna which was known as the Wine Clause.

“Dalmatian wine producers had strongly remonstrated against the well-known clause through which the import of Italian wine in Dalmatia had been enabled for a not so affordable customs tariff (around 8.5 *lire* for gross hectolitre), therefore this may well be the cause of the assault, inasmuch that place [the island of Curzola] is a big exporter of wine”¹⁴³.

Serragli’s evaluation about the moderate extent (“*non tanto mite*”) of the Wine Clause derivated by his political bias. In point of fact, researches on Dalmatian economic history during the 1890s had convincingly argued that the combined effect of the Wine Clause and of the spread of grapevine diseases caused instead a marked impoverishment of the local peasants, being this a key factor for the intensification of the overseas emigration from Dalmatia. Although this process became more drastic at the end of the century, its prelude dated back to some years before: as regard to Australia, for example, it has been noticed that “the first-known Croatian settler” in the Western coast was a man coming from the Šipan island (Giuppana), near Dubrovnik. This emigrant was called Vicko Vuković and he anglicised his name to John Vincent after arriving in 1858¹⁴⁴. Emigration was a phenomenon that worried the religious authorities, as can be seen in the report of the bishop of Ragusa Josip Marčelić sent to the Holy See in 1900. It happened that those who had gone to the United States, to Australia and New Zealand then returned home. If the money they earned was a positive element for the local economy, it could not be said so because of the cultural influences that according to the bishop they had received during their new lives: “Unfortunately sometimes

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, Serragli to Brin, Ragusa, 10 June 1893: “Dalla famosa clausola che fece ammettere l’importazione del vino italiano in Dalmazia con un dazio di entrata non tanto mite (8 1/2 lire circa per ettolitro di peso sporco) si fece dai produttori un gran caso, ne [*sic*] sarebbe strano che da questa causa fosse risultato l’attacco in quel luogo forte esportatore di vino”.

¹⁴⁴ J. Jupp (ed.), *The Australian People. An Encyclopedia of the Nation, its People and their Origins*, Cambridge, 2001 (1st ed. 1988), p. 242.

together with money they also bring new vices, religious indifferentism and less honest customs”¹⁴⁵.

86% of Dalmatian residents were involved in agriculture activities even if fertile land was for the most part scarce. Nevertheless, Dalmatia did not have a capitalistic agrarian production; the tenant farming system had led to high fragmentation of the holdings and to the predominance of small farmsteads; the owners were not particularly interested in improving methods and technologies nor to implement capitalistic business; in general, marked unfavourable features of the soil made even worse the situation along the seacoast and on the islands where, for a variety of reasons, grapevines had become the main crop from the second half of nineteenth century onwards¹⁴⁶.

What was happening in Italy was a factor which, for better or for worse, influenced the tendencies of Dalmatian viniculture. Particularly from 1851 there had been a marked decrease in Italian wine production, because of a breakout of *oidio* (*Uncinula necator*) almost everywhere in the peninsula, a fungus that causes powdery mildew of grape, making the fruits useless for producing wine. Dalmatian producers had therefore the opportunity to increase their export to Italy. Consequently, the Eastern Adriatic shores saw a large planting of grapevines to the point that in many cases they replaced olive trees¹⁴⁷.

However, as a contemporary source tells us, this disease spread in a variable way also in Dalmatia, from the end of 1852, particularly affecting the vineyards along the coast and the older plants. It was particularly intense until 1858, then slowly decreased, although until 1866 it did not extinguish completely, remaining strong especially in the districts of Ragusa and Cattaro. According to this source, the ancient variety of vine *malvasia* of Ragusa was "completely lost". However, there was also a side effect worthy of note: in 1852 the producers not affected by the disease, especially those of Split and Traù (Trogir), managed to sell their wine

¹⁴⁵ *ASV, Congr. Concilio, Relat. Dioec., busta 674 B*, “Relatio secunda canonica visitationis Ep. pi Ragusini in Dalmatia, occasione secundi ipsius itineris ad limina”, Ragusa, 1 June 1900 (unnumbered sheets: I cite from the paragraph “§8. De populo”): “[...] multi ex dioecesi in Americam migrantur, his ultimis temporibus in Australiam et Novam Zelandam. Major pars denuo in patriam redit, sed proh dolor aliquando cum pecunia etiam vitia nova inferunt, indifferentismum religiosum et mores minus honestos”.

¹⁴⁶ L. Antić, ‘The Economic Causes of Emigration from Croatia in the Period from the 1880's to the First World War’, *Povijesni prilozi*, 14, 1995, 14, pp. 291-300 (hereinafter: Antić, 1995).

¹⁴⁷ Cfr. Antić, 1995. On the *oidio* breakout in Italy, see G. Pedrocco, ‘Un caso e un modello: viticoltura e industria enologica’, in P. P. D’Attorre, A. De Bernardi (eds.), *Studi sull’agricoltura italiana. Società rurale e modernizzazione*, Milano, 1994, pp. 315-342 (particularly pp. 317-319), (hereinafter: Pedrocco, 1994).

at a price four times the usual, that is twenty silver florins per barrel, instead of four or five¹⁴⁸.

Curzola, together with Brač (Brazza), Hvar and Vis were amongst the focal points of grapevine plantation in the Dalmatian islands, while the hinterlands of Zadar and Šibenik were the hubs of production in the mainland. The period from 1875 to 1894 has been defined as the golden age of Dalmatian viticulture, a sort of a boom¹⁴⁹ which was directly facilitated, as already mentioned, by the crisis in other European production areas caused by *oidio* at first and then by peronospora (a parasite that causes downy mildew of grape). This conjuncture had favourable effects in the growth of Dalmatian rural middle class, also facilitating new economic links between the coast and the mainland¹⁵⁰. Viticulture during the 1870s and 1880s occupied a third of the arable land in Dalmatia, but quantity did not make quality. Wine-making techniques were not improved by oenology and Dalmatian wines were chiefly bought by French producers¹⁵¹, who blended them to their own wines

As the Italian vice consul in Split, Francesco Mainoni d'Intignano, put it in 1889, grape growing and wine production had made considerable progress, but the farmers preferred to sell quickly and easily their wines, instead of improving their quality: "It could be said that a variety of Dalmatian wine does not exist in the strict sense"¹⁵². Anyway the Dalmatian wine lovers did not have exactly this

¹⁴⁸ Lago, 1869, pp. 397-398: "La vite, detta malvasia di Ragusa, la più apprezzata pei vino-liquori della Dalmazia, perduta del tutto. I proprietari di viti, accidentalmente non colpiti dalla malattia, locchè si ebbe a verificare più di tutto lungo la costiera di Spalato-Traù, pervennero di vendere il loro prodotto al prezzo favoloso di fiorini venti di argento per barila, quando il medio ordinario si aggira fra li quattro e li cinque".

¹⁴⁹ A. Čuka, L. Mirošević, J. Faričić, V. Graovac Matassi, 'Phylloxera Revisited: the Spread of Grapevine Disease in Dalmatia and its Influence on Socio-economic Development and Agricultural Landscape', *Anali za istrske in mediteranske študije - Annali di Studi istriani e mediterranei - Annals for Istrian and Mediterranean Studies, Series Historia et Sociologia*, 27, 2017, 1, pp. 101-118 (hereinafter: Čuka et al., 2017).

¹⁵⁰ Cfr. Ivetic, 2004, p. 607, based also on I. Karaman, *Privreda i društvo Hrvatske u 19. stoljeću* [Economy and Society in Croatia during the nineteenth century], Zagreb, 1972, pp. 115-125.

¹⁵¹ R. Kraljević, *Vinogradarski slom i demografski rasap južne Hrvatske u osvjet 20. stoljeća* [The crisis of viticulture and the demographic fall in Southern Croatia at the dawn of the twentieth century], Split, 1994 (hereinafter: Kraljević, 1994).

¹⁵² *ASMAE, SP "A" 1888-1891, busta 8, fasc. 2 Rapporti politici. Irredentismo (1889-90), sottofasc. IV Dalmazia*, "Condizioni politico-economiche del distretto consolare di Spalato", report of the vice consul in Split Francesco Mainoni d'Intignano enclosed with Malmusi to Crispi, Trieste, 30 December 1889, p. 37 (hereinafter: Mainoni d'Intignano, 1889): "La coltura della vite e la fabbricazione dei vini in Dalmazia ha fatto nell'ultimo decennio vari e sensibili progressi, ma cercandosi piuttosto ancora dai proprietari la facilità dello smercio, anziché di ottenere una qualità di vino superiore, può dirsi che manca il tipo del vino dalmato".

opinion. Take, for example, the frequent comments made by Giuseppe Modrich in his 1892 travelogue. This writer and publicist, who hailed from Zara, understandably enough sang the praises of the dessert wines from Sebenico (amongst which he included also *maraschino* which, more precisely, is a liquor obtained from Marasca cherries), of “*vugava*” and “*zerljenak*” varieties on the island of Brač, as well as of the sparkling wines of Omiš (Almissa), near Split (“*prosecco spumante d’Almissa*”) which Francesco Radman’s winery produced “following modern standards”¹⁵³.

Nevertheless, the export of Dalmatian wines grew considerably during these decades and Split became a prominent outlet for this commerce¹⁵⁴. Unfortunately for the Dalmatian wine producers, the boom lasted for relatively few years. In terms of total Dalmatian wine production, the highest amount of hectolitres dates back to 1888 (1,743,584 hl), slightly larger of the one registered in 1878 (1,710,800) and the area occupied by vineyards increased during those ten years (81,853 ha and 76,974 ha, respectively)¹⁵⁵. According to Modrich, in 1891-1892 the average annual value of Dalmatian wine export was around 16 millions of florin and certain islands such as Vis, Brač and Korčula “have reached an unexpected degree of wealth”¹⁵⁶. In 1889, according to Čuka and colleagues, problems started with the spread of peronospora¹⁵⁷, which after all was already present in Dalmatia at least from 1886, as it can be deduced by the following advertisement published that year by a Zadar-based review.

¹⁵³ Modrich, 1892, respectively p. 81 (“Nè intendo defraudare della lode dovuta due vini di Sebenico, la maraschina prelibatissima e il potente tartaro: sono vini di *dessert*, che godono oramai fama europea”); p. 140 (“Sono nettari a dirittura, degni delle mense dei sovrani e dei numi dell’Olimpo”); pp. 170 and 175-176, where amongst Radman’s Omiš wines a *Moscato Rosa* as well as an overtly imperfect but cheap “*champagne paesano*” are mentioned too.

¹⁵⁴ The main firms dealing with wine exports from Split were those of Anđeo and Petar Katalinić and of the one of the Ilić family. Anđeo Katalinić had acted also as Greek consular agent from 1873 up to his death in 1896. Cfr. G. Tudor, ‘Konzulati i konzuli u Splitu za vrijeme druge Austrijske uprave (1815.-1914.)’ [Consulates and consuls in Split during the second Austrian administration (1815-1914)], *Kulturna baština*, 2017, 42-43, pp. 31-50, (p. 36). On the pivotal role of Split for the wine export, see also Modrich, 1892, p. 120.

¹⁵⁵ This data are quoted from Čuka *et al.*, 2017, p. 106.

¹⁵⁶ Modrich, 1892, p. 64: “Il fatto è che, da qualche anno, la Dalmazia esporta vini ricercatissimi per l’importo medio di 16 milioni di fiorini, e grisantemo per altri 4 milioni. [...] Tant’è vero che certi distretti e certe isole, come Lissa, Brazza, Curzola, ecc., hanno oramai raggiunto un grado insperato di benessere”. The author provides also a precise data regarding Brač (“the island exports 150,000 hectolitres”). Cfr. *ibidem*, p. 140.

¹⁵⁷ Čuka *et al.*, 2017, p. 108. Regarding the Split district, the Italian vice consul Mainoni d’Intignano confirmed too that peronospora appeared in 1889, but in this period it was successfully treated. Cfr. Mainoni d’Intignano, 1889, p. 37.

Macarsca, 11 agosto.

Il concerto dato ieri sera dalla locale Società Filarmónica ebbe un risultato lusinghiero, e nel corso di un caldo concerto, la sua la era ripieno, e si presero parte molti frequentatori del maestro, de Zapp, furono cantati opportunamente dalle Signorine allieve e da Signorini dilettanti. — L'abbaco signa Genesiana Tutti non fecero le doti del genitore e canto con intonazione buona ed esattezza la *Voce d'argento* cantata per soprano del M. G. Ciommo.

Continua nello studio e ricerca perfetta. La signora allieva Nicoletta Pastore che nel suo stornello *Una stella* del M. G. Milotti fu singolarmente modesta ed estremamente simpatica accoppiò una voce delicata chiara ed intonata, piena per cui, continuando nello studio, facilmente del naturale suo trasporto per la musica, poteva raggiungere la perfezione. Brava e brava.

Il polverizzatore di canoni popolari slavici scritto dal nostro M. G. Cesare Corbelli, piacque moltissimo e fu eseguito molto bene. Lode al maestro. Lode in fine alla solerte Direzione e specialmente al presule Sig. Pietro Molinaro, che non risparmiò cure e fatiche, nella società, raggiungendo il precupito suo scopo cioè l'istruzione nella musica.

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Advertisement of a portable equipment for watering the grapevines with lime-water, against peronospora.

Cfr. *Scintille. Periodico di lettere, scienze ed arti*, 1, 15 August 1886, 11, p. 4

In the Ragusan district the 1890 grape harvest was damaged by the drought rather than by peronospora. The parasite appeared in many vineyards but it was energetically tackled by means of copper sulphate. In the end, this grape harvest was evaluated as qualitatively better with respect to the previous year, although the harvest was smaller¹⁵⁸.

From Giuseppe Modrich we know that peronospora affected as well the Cetinska Krajina region in the montane inland of Split, particularly the area around the town of Vrlika (Verlicca). Visiting the town, Modrich met the major Josip (also known as Joso) Kulišić which, moreover, was one of the leaders of the *Srpska*

¹⁵⁸ These informations are provided by the Italian consul in Ragusa on 25 September 1890 and are summarised in *Bollettino del MAE*, 1890, vol. 2, fasc. 3, p. 432.

Stranka in Dalmatia. That of Vrlika was amongst the Dalmatian areas with the greater Serb Orthodox population. Taking into consideration the entire *Comune politico* of Vrlika (the town with all the surrounding villages), the Orthodox population was repeatedly registered as numerically slightly superior to the Catholic one¹⁵⁹.

Kulišić, characterized as a “distinguished gentleman” which received Modrich in a “European-style and elegantly garnished office”, described as “acceptable” the economic conditions of Vrlika and of the surrounding county, even though “recent poor crops and the presence of peronospora in the vineyards had made worse the public wealth”¹⁶⁰. Regarding Josip Kulišić, it should be noted that this landowner had been a public figure for many decades in Vrlika as well as a leading figure of Serbian-oriented Dalmatian political life. We know that by 1872 he was already a civil servant (*Segretario*) in the local municipality¹⁶¹. In 1880, being already the major of Vrlika, he replaced the landowner Tanasije Ristović in the Dalmatian parliament, remaining a deputy up to 1883 and being again elected in 1889, in 1895, in 1901 and 1908, always in the voting constituency of Drniš, Knin and Vrlika¹⁶².

The big plague of European viniculture, namely phylloxera, appeared in Dalmatia only in 1894. First noted in England in 1859 and scientifically described since 1863 and named as *Phylloxera vastatrix* by a French botanist in 1868, during the 1860s and the 1870s this insect widely damaged grapevines’ roots in France and from 1879 appeared also in Italy and Spain¹⁶³. The disease spread from the northwest to the Dalmatian area, gradually appearing in Istria and on the Kvarner islands in 1880, albeit it began to affect seriously Dalmatia only during the early 1890s¹⁶⁴. In August 1890 the Italian vice consul in Split Mainoni d’Intignano was able to make a statement that in those years sounded as a beautiful dream for mostly European wine producers: namely, the absence of phylloxera from

¹⁵⁹ For the numerical preponderance of the inhabitants of Orthodox confession in Vrlika, see for example the data of 1862 (4335 Vs 4134 inhabitants, respectively) and of 1872 (4533 Vs 4233 inhabitants). Cfr. respectively Serragli, 1862, p. 14 and *Manuale del Regno di Dalmazia per l’anno 1872 compilato da Luigi Maschek. Anno II, Zara. Tipografia Fratelli Battara*, 1872, p. 112 (hereinafter: Maschek, 1872b).

¹⁶⁰ Modrich, 1892, p. 405.

¹⁶¹ Maschek, 1872b, p. 113.

¹⁶² Perić, 1978, pp. 219-225.

¹⁶³ Italian wine export benefited from peronospora and phylloxera breakouts in France during the 1860s and 1870s. The increase in production occurred mainly in Southern Italy, whereas Lombardy and Veneto after Italian unification lost the advantageous export agreements they had before with the Habsburg Monarchy. Cfr. Pedrocco, 1994, pp. 323-324.

¹⁶⁴ Čuka *et al.*, 2017, pp. 109-110.

Dalmatian vineyards, to which it could also be added the success of treatments against peronospora¹⁶⁵.

It was since February 1892 that Dalmatian journals reported that phylloxera began making its approach towards the province¹⁶⁶. In five years the disease affected the entire Zadar hinterland¹⁶⁷, while central Dalmatia got involved between 1901 and 1909. Central Dalmatian islands and southern Dalmatia underwent a major breakout only after 1912. The strongest fall in wine production occurred from 1897¹⁶⁸.

Therefore, the opening of the Habsburg market to the wines coming from Italy made Dalmatia jumping out of the frying pan into the fire. Thanks to the concessions made by Austria-Hungary towards Italy in the course of Triple Alliance's extension in 1891, Italian wines were allowed to be sold on the Monarchy without customs protection for domestic producers¹⁶⁹.

As a consequence of this commercial agreement, imports of Italian wines grew heavily. The average price in Austria decreased from 25 to 30 crowns per 1 hectolitre down to 5.6 to 12 crowns, a terrible misfortune for Dalmatian producers, previously producing from 40 to 50 percent of the total Austrian wine¹⁷⁰.

In January 1893 the export of Italian wines in the Monarchy had already risen in a noticeable way. The Autonomist newspaper *Il Dalmata* noted that always more frequent shipments of Italian wine from the Apulia region had made those western Adriatic ports regaining position, after the deadlock experienced

¹⁶⁵ Cfr. 'Commercio e navigazione nel porto di Spalato durante il 1° semestre dell'anno 1890. Rapporto del nob. avv. Francesco Mainoni d'Intignano, r. vice console a Spalato. 17 agosto 1890', *Bollettino del MAE*, 1890, vol. 2, fasc. 2, pp. 297-303 (p. 299): "La Dalmazia, libera fortunatamente dalla fillossera, non aveva da temere per la vite, colpita in altri paesi da varie malattie, che la peronospora, la quale aveva fatta una comparsa nella primavera, ma di cui non vi è più alcuna traccia oggidi, essendo stata combattuta dalle irrorazioni di solfato di rame e dalla costanza di una propizia stagione estiva".

¹⁶⁶ Čuka *et al.*, 2017, p. 110.

¹⁶⁷ For a contemporary account on the phylloxera attack in the island of Ugljan (Ugliano) near Zadar in 1894 and on the inspection made by the specialists sent by the provincial government, see for example 'La fillossera', 29, *Il Dalmata*, 7 July 1894, 54, p. 3. The Autonomist journal did not spare its criticism on the government measures, arguing that "in Dalmatia phylloxera has been noticed after several years of permanence" ("E' già enorme che la fillossera sia stata avvertita in Dalmazia dopo parecchi anni di permanenza").

¹⁶⁸ Čuka *et al.*, 2017, p. 110.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibidem*, p. 110. See also I. Perić, "Vinska klauzula" u pretposljednem trgovinskom ugovoru između Austro-Ugarske i Italije i njene posljedice u Dalmaciji' ["Wine clause" in the penultimate trade contract between Austria-Hungary and Italy and the consequences it caused in Dalmatia], *Rad Jugoslavenske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti. Razred za društvene znanosti*, 18, 1978, pp. 257-296.

¹⁷⁰ Data quoted by U. Brunnbauer, *Globalizing Southeastern Europe. Emigrants, America, and the State since the late Nineteenth century*, Lanham, 2016, pp. 66-67.

because of bad Italo-French commercial relations. Citing the opinions of some Austro-Italian producers from Cervignano del Friuli and from Trentino, *Il Dalmata* noted how the Wine Clause had had positive effects for the export of Austrian wines from these regions to Italy (particularly to Veneto) and that Apulian wines could not hope to be appreciated by the Austrian consumers there. But this is not all: notwithstanding these unexpected positive consequences, the newspaper did not spare a brief but sharp criticism of the Wine Clause. The only Austrian subjects who had been damaged were actually the Dalmatian ones, wrote the Autonomist journal in a typical *in cauda venenum* conclusion¹⁷¹. Within the same number of the Zadar-based newspaper, an article on phylloxera did also appear. To compare it with the article on the Wine Clause is interesting also to understand how *Il Dalmata*'s disposition towards Italy was not one-directional. This second article informed the readers that the rumours on an alleged spread of the disease amongst the vineyards in Italian Adriatic shores had been officially denied by Italy through diplomatic channels. *Il Dalmata* displayed a certain amount of satisfaction for this fact, arguing that those rumours had been previously spread by "Anti-Italian" Croatian journals¹⁷².

If one examines in depth the origin and the developments of the Wine Clause by means of Italian diplomatic documentation, further interesting details emerge. Dalmatian wine producers benefited greatly from the worsening of relations between Italy and France and particularly from the breaking of their commercial treaty between 1886 and 1888. Political relationships between Rome and Paris began deteriorating after 1870, fueled by French resentment for Italian neutrality during the Franco-Prussian war. The convergence of Italy with Austria-Hungary and Germany and the first signing of the Triple Alliance in 1882 increased French mistrust towards Rome. When in December 1886 Italy denounced the previous 1881 treaty adopting a decisively protectionist policy by means of new customs tariff, an open trade war with France began, which lasted until the end of the 1890s¹⁷³. From 1888 onwards, the export of Italian wine to

¹⁷¹ 'Gli effetti curiosi della clausola', 28, *Il Dalmata*, 25 January 1893, 7, p. 3: "Dunque i soli danneggiati rimangono i dalmati".

¹⁷² 'La fillossera', 28, *Il Dalmata*, 25 January 1893, 7, p. 3: "E ciò [the Italian official denial], principalmente, a smentita dei giornali croati, che, in odio all'Italia, gridavano".

¹⁷³ A contemporary account on 1886-1888 crisis from a French point of view (the author, Albert Billot, acted as French Ambassador in Rome between 1890 and 1897) is *La France et l'Italie. Histoire des années troubles 1881-1899 par A. Billot Ancien Ambassadeur. Tome Premier. Paris. Librairie Plon, 1905, 2 voll. (vol. 1: pp. 75-96)*. Still useful treatments are also G. Cavallaro, 'I negoziati italo-francesi per il rinnovo del trattato di commercio e la rottura doganale del febbraio 1888', *Rassegna storica del*

France experienced very significant decrease, especially with regard to those wines that French producers usually bought in order to blend them to their own wines. On the contrary the export to France of high-quality wines mainly produced in Central and Northern Italy did not stop, but these represented a small share of total Italian exports to that country. As a result, the impact of Italo-French customs break was stronger in Southern Italy¹⁷⁴. As we shall see soon, it was precisely the wine producers of Apulia and Sicily who put pressure on the Italian government when the new trade agreements with Austria-Hungary were struggling to take off soon after 1891.

At the end of 1889, Mainoni d'Intignano described the wine commerce situation as follows:

“As regards this product [the wines], Dalmatia is therefore a competitor for Italy, and all the more because its blending wines enter French market with a reduced customs tariff of only 2 francs for hectolitre, furthermore Dalmatia could take advantage of the termination of commercial treaty between France and Italy, French commercial representatives have been sent here to find a replacement for Italian wines”¹⁷⁵.

During the negotiations conducted by the Rudinì Cabinet, a very expert Italian diplomat such as Costantino Nigra noted that remarkable changes in better as regards to Italian wine exportation in the Monarchy would be an illusory task, particularly in front of the complaints expressed by Austro-Hungarian Chambers of Commerce. The Italian ambassador in the Monarchy's capital noted that the only thing that he could do with the Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs, Gustav Kálnoky, was to persuade him of the political importance of these commercial negotiations and of the necessity for him to influence his colleagues in the Cabinet. To discuss with Kálnoky of technical issues would have been useless, inasmuch – according to Nigra – he did not study them, nor he would have done it in the future¹⁷⁶.

Risorgimento, 63, 1976, 2, pp. 209-234, and P. Milza, *Français et Italiens à la fin du XIXe siècle. Aux origines du rapprochement franco-italien de 1900-1902*, Rome, 1981, 2 voll., vol. 1, pp. 49-84.

¹⁷⁴ Pedrocco, 1994, pp. 324-325.

¹⁷⁵ Mainoni d'Intignano, 1889, pp. 65-66: “La Dalmazia è quindi per questo prodotto rivale dell'Italia, tanto più che i suoi vini da taglio sono all'entrata in Francia sottoposti ad una piccola Dogana, a franchi cioè 2 per ettolitro, ed ebbe ad approfittare della cessazione del trattato commerciale fra Francia e Italia, le case di commercio francesi avendo spediti i loro rappresentanti in questa piazza a trovare un sostituto ai vini Italiani”.

¹⁷⁶ *DDI, series II, vol. 24, doc. 408*, Nigra to Rudinì, Vienna, 1 September 1891.

The statements that Nigra wrote to the head of the Italian government are also interesting for his criticism on Italian tendency – in the State apparatus but also amongst private enterprises – to buy foreign products. “Italians do manufacture few products and they buy too much from abroad, without a real necessity”. Foreign wines were served at gala lunches, Nigra wrote, and the queen of Italy Margherita of Savoy should impose to her ladies-in-waiting to use Italian hats, instead of the “horrific French hats”. The Ambassador wrote also that he would have suggested it directly to the queen¹⁷⁷.

The commercial treaty between Italy and Austria-Hungary was finally signed on 6 December 1891¹⁷⁸, yet in June 1892 the two sides were still discussing the date of entry into force of new reduced duties for the import of wines in both the states. At the beginning of that month the Italian *chargé d'affaires* in Vienna, Giuseppe Avarna, was still intent in convincing the Austro-Hungarian government to quicken the entry into force of the treaty, but the Monarchy insisted on waiting three months more in order to have time to safeguard its own wine producers. In the end, Italy agreed¹⁷⁹. Some months earlier, Nigra had showed his pessimism about the possibility of achieving the reduction of railway tariffs. In Austria, the Italian ambassador wrote, “there is a still alive memory of the strong opposition against the recent treaty’s wine clauses, that has been manifested both in Parliament and outside it”¹⁸⁰.

Even after these obstacles had been overcome, it cannot be said that the whole matter continued to go smoothly. By means of 10 August 1892 Austrian ordinance, new prescriptions were issued for the certificates of origin of wines to be imported in the Monarchy. The Italian government, pushed also by Apulian and Sicilian wine producers, argued that the ordinance violated the commercial treaty and issued a diplomatic protest¹⁸¹. Rome menaced to take commercial reprisals

¹⁷⁷ *Ibidem*: “[...] Nella maggior parte dei nostri alberghi, detti di primo ordine, i vini italiani non figurano nemmeno sulla lista dei vini”.

¹⁷⁸ On the preparatory stages of the treaty negotiations under the Rudini Cabinet, the most interesting published documents are in *DDI, series II, vol. 24, dd. 34, 124, 144, 186, 281, 284, 288, 311, 408, 505*. The documents dealing with the difficulties that aroused immediately before the signing between Rome and Vienna and the role of Germany are *ibidem, dd. 501, 505, 518, 519, 522, 524, 525, 527, 529, 530, 531, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 544, 578, 671*.

¹⁷⁹ Cfr. *ASMAE, AMB. VIENNA, busta 150, fasc. 1 Rapporti dell’Incaricato d’Affari - Avarna (maggio-novembre)*, Avarna to Brin, Vienna, 1 June 1892 (draft).

¹⁸⁰ Cfr. *ibidem, busta 150, fasc. 5 Minute rapporti politici - Nigra*, Nigra to the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Vienna, January, 25, 1892 (draft): “Sono presenti ancora alla memoria di tutti in questo paese le violente opposizioni fatte in parlamento e fuori alle clausole del recente trattato relative ai vini italiani”.

¹⁸¹ Cfr. *DDI, series II, vol. 25, dd. 101, 102, 103, 104, 106, 107, 108*.

upon Austro-Hungarian trade and Giovanni Giolitti, at the time Prime Minister and Minister of Interior, threatened to retaliate by banning Monarchy's beer exports to Italy¹⁸².

At the end of August 1892 Vienna conceded to apply new reduced tariffs on wines that had been sent from Italy before the ordinance of the certificates of origin was issued¹⁸³. During these negotiations, the Austro-Hungarian Minister of Foreign Affairs Kálnoky admitted that his task was difficult, inasmuch he had to mediate the opinion of three Austrian as well as three Hungarian ministers, "each one with his own opinion"¹⁸⁴.

At the beginning of October 1892 further problems aroused when Austria prohibited wagons loaded with Italian grapes destined for Germany to transit on Austrian territory. The *ratio* of this measure was connected to the Bern Convention of 1881 for the prevention of the extension of phylloxera, which required that pressed grapes should be transported inside big barrels with a capacity of at least 5 hectolitres, in order to facilitate the fermentation process and the death of phylloxera¹⁸⁵. The controversy between Rome and Vienna was solved by a *modus vivendi* proposed by the Monarchy and through the adoption of safety measures, namely the precautionary disinfestation treatment of the wagons using potassium sulphate¹⁸⁶.

The Wine Clause lasted until 1901 when it was not renewed despite the negotiations that Italian diplomacy began with the Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister, Agenor Maria Gołuchowski, appointed to that role in 1895. During the 1890s, therefore, the widespread discontent in Dalmatia with the economic

¹⁸² DDI, series II, vol. 25, doc. 109, Brin to Nigra, Roma, 27 August 1892. Through this communication, the minister of Foreign Affairs informed the Ambassador in Vienna about a telegram received from Giolitti, by which the latter stated that a great part of Austro-Hungarian beer did not comply with Italian sanitary rules. Austrian hostile attitude would have led Giolitti to ban this product from Italy: "Contegno Governo austro-ungarico nella questione dei vini dispensa il Governo italiano da eccessivi riguardi che mi ero fin qui piegato ad usare per la birra proveniente di costà. Risulta da analisi chimiche che la massima parte della birra fabbricata nell'Impero austro-ungarico è composta in modo vietato dai regolamenti sull'igiene. Perciò a contare da martedì, come misura di polizia sanitaria, ne impedirò entrata nel Regno".

¹⁸³ DDI, series II, vol. 25, dd. 111, 113, 114, 124.

¹⁸⁴ See *ibidem*, doc. 127.

¹⁸⁵ DDI, series II, vol. 25, doc. 141, Brin to Lanza, Roma, 6 October 1892. Lanza, at the time Italian ambassador to Berlin, was involved in the issue inasmuch Austrian measure would have damaged commercial agreement between Italian producers and German buyers.

¹⁸⁶ DDI, series II, vol. 25, dd. 142, 143, 145, 146, 174. Further documentation regarding this negotiation in ASMAE, AMB. VIENNA, busta 150, fasc. 1 *Rapporti dell'Incaricato d'Affari - Avarna (maggio-novembre)*, esp. Avarna to Brin, Vienna, 25 October 1892 (draft) and the attached copy of the *Projet de Déclaration* by means of which the Italian government accepted the *modus vivendi* proposed by Vienna.

consequences of this trade agreement did not have any effect on the government in Vienna. Even the appeal made by Dalmatian Croatian politicians directly to the Emperor could not change the course of things.

On 13 December 1894, in fact, a delegation led by the Ragusan deputy Miho Klaić was received by Francis Joseph and presented him with a memorandum on the economic situation of Dalmatia. The crisis in the Dalmatian wine sector was according to Croatian deputies a direct consequence of the Wine Clause. In addition to Klaić, the delegation consisted of deputies Gajo Filomen Bulat, Juraj Biankini¹⁸⁷ and Virgil Perić, along with other representatives of Dalmatian municipalities. This information, together with a brief but detailed description of what happened at the meeting, is contained in the report sent by the counsellor of the Italian Embassy in Vienna, Avarna, to the then Ministry of Foreign Affairs Alberto Blanc¹⁸⁸.

“The Emperor replied to this address by promising that he would invite his government to turn its full attention to Dalmatian viticulture and to provide for the improvement of the general economic situation of the province“¹⁸⁹.

A not insignificant detail noted by Avarna was that Klaić, notoriously an advocate for Croatian linguistic rights in Dalmatia, expressed his greeting to the Emperor initially speaking "in Croatian", a language in which "he expressed the feelings of devotion and loyalty to the person of the Emperor on the part of the Dalmatian population". Klaić gave the rest of his speech in German in the part dedicated to the wines issue and this, it should be said between the lines, is also an interesting information almost at first hand on the way in which the political elites of the Monarchy addressed their supreme leader. Avarna could not help but notice that this linguistic choice by the Croatian deputy was disrespectful, from the point

¹⁸⁷ A member of the Imperial Parliament of Vienna since 1892, from the beginning of this period he joined the current of internal opposition in the *Narodna Stranka*, together with Virgil Perić. Biankini, in controversy with the "opportunist" current of Klaić and Bulat, already had left the National Party in 1892, founding together with Perić and four other deputies the *Hrvatski Klub*. In the following years he was one of the founders of the Dalmatian branch of the *Stranka Prava*, also as chairman of *pravaš* executive committee in 1897. Cfr. Obad, 1983. See also paragraph 2.3.2.

¹⁸⁸ *ASMAE, SP 1891-1916, busta 87, pos. 15 Austria-rapporti politici 1894-1896*, Avarna to Blanc, Vienna, 14 December 1894.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibidem*: “L’Imperatore rispose a tale allocuzione col promettere che avrebbe invitato il suo governo a rivolgere tutta la sua attenzione alla viticoltura dalmatina ed a provvedere al miglioramento della situazione generale economica della provincia”.

of view of an Italian diplomat, "since the delegation represented a province in which the language generally spoken is Italian"¹⁹⁰.

The other element of interest in the meeting, according to Avarna, was its own motivation. It was a further demonstration that the Dalmatian population continued to vehemently attack the wine clause stipulated with Italy¹⁹¹.

As we have already mentioned, the worst effects of the phylloxera crisis began after 1897. The response from the local authorities was implemented, a provincial commission was established with the task of encouraging the planting of American rootstocks¹⁹², establishing experimental vineyards in various areas, including Čibača near Ragusa, and raising awareness among farmers through educational publications on the techniques of care and prevention. However, it has been argued that the government's response was not commensurate with the scale of the problem and its consequences. The prevention measures failed, the number of vineyards replanted was much smaller than those destroyed, the decision of the Austrian government to encourage the renewal of wine crops through ten-year interest-free loans did not work, not least because it was established that the Dalmatian provincial government should have contributed half to the financing of the initiative. But the poor state of its finances prevented it from doing so¹⁹³.

It will be useful at this point to mention the data that appeared in a study published in Italy in 1913 by the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, as a stand-alone supplement to the ministerial bulletin¹⁹⁴. The author of the booklet, the Italian vice consul in Ragusa Ugo Sabetta¹⁹⁵, presents retrospectively the main data

¹⁹⁰ *Ibidem*: "[...] questa deputazione quantunque rappresentante una provincia, in cui la lingua generalmente parlata è la lingua italiana, si espresse nella sua allocuzione a S. M. in croato e quindi in tedesco".

¹⁹¹ *Ibidem*: "[...] la clausola dei vini stipulata coll'Italia continua a essere fatta segno di vivissimi attacchi per parte di popolazioni dalmatine".

¹⁹² American rootstocks were resistant to phylloxera. Their use was the instrument through which European viticulture, during different periods, managed to overcome this enormous crisis.

¹⁹³ See Čuka *et al.*, 2017, p. 110; Kraljević, 1994; I. Lajić, 'Utjecaj društveno-ekonomskih i demografskih promjena na iseljavanje s dalmatinskih otoka u 19. i prvoj polovini 20. stoljeća' [The effects of socio-economic and demographic changes on out-migration from the Dalmatian islands in the 19th and the first half of the 20th century], *Migracijske i etničke teme*, 5, 1989, 4, pp. 307-324 (p. 318).

¹⁹⁴ *Il Distretto Consolare di Ragusa. Rapporto del Dott. Ugo Sabetta R. Vice Console. Ministero degli Affari Esteri. Direzione Generale degli Affari Commerciali. 1913. Marzo, Roma, Tipografia Elzeviriana, Francesco Marcolli & C., 1913* (hereinafter: Sabetta, 1913).

¹⁹⁵ Sabetta had been transferred to Ragusa with measures issued between August and September 1911. Previously he had been vice consul in Derna, a port city in eastern Libya, until a few weeks before the outbreak of the Italo-Turkish war (1911-1912) for the control of Tripolitania and Cyrenaica. Between 1910 and 1912, he had edited two other publications for the Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, dedicated

about the economy and trade of Ragusa and its hinterland and therefore his information are useful also regarding the 1890s period.

The first thing that stands out is that, as the incipit to the paragraph dedicated to the local population, Sabetta maybe with an oversimplification has no doubt in stating that "the population of this district is of Serbian race as that of Herzegovina and Montenegro"¹⁹⁶.

According to data provided by Sabetta and relating to the whole of Dalmatia, between 1900 and 1910 there had been an increase in emigration more than double compared to the increases recorded in the two previous decades (+4.9% between 1900 and 1910; +2.1% between 1890 and 1900; +2.7% between 1880 and 1890). The low yields, the phylloxera damage to vineyards, the problems caused by olive fruit fly were indicated as the main cause of emigration by farmers¹⁹⁷. This 1913 report confirms that in previous years phylloxera damage to vines had also occurred in the hinterland of Ragusa and Curzola. The measures to combat the phenomenon were appreciated by Sabetta, because the planting of American vines resistant to phylloxera was said to be at a good stage. In 1908, Sabetta notes, the government established an experimental plant nursery in Breno, in the area of Župa dubrovačka south of Ragusa. Thus, even the most reluctant farmers were being persuaded to apply the teachings of the agronomists¹⁹⁸.

4.2.3 Italianism on its last legs

In 1894, when a teacher of the Dubrovnik Nautical School called Juraj Carić¹⁹⁹ wrote a long essay on Mavro Vetranic Čavčić, many things had already

respectively to Derna and to Italian emigration to Tunisia. Information on his transfer to Ragusa is taken from *Gazzetta Ufficiale*, 18 January 1912, 14, p. 350.

¹⁹⁶ Sabetta, 1913, p. 9: "La popolazione di questo distretto è di razza serba come quella dell'Erzegovina e del Montenegro".

¹⁹⁷ *Ibidem*, p. 10. Although it was already present in the past, the olive fruit fly had caused the greatest damage in 1912-1913. Sabetta notes that the district of Ragusa supplied about half of the Austrian olive oil production. Cfr. *ibidem*, p. 12.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, p. 13.

¹⁹⁹ Juraj Carić (1854-1927) should not be confused with his namesake Juraj Carić (1867-1921), a Catholic priest who fulfilled important positions in the seminary and in the gymnasium in Zadar between 1892 and 1906, when he was appointed as Canon in Makarska. In 1918 he will be appointed as the Split-Makarska bishop. In 1919 he will go in Paris to attend the Paris Peace Conference. During that journey he stopped in Rome, from where he sent a report to Pope Benedict XV in order to describe the political and religious situation in the newly established Kingdom of the Serb, Croats and Slovenes, especially

changed in Habsburg Dalmatia. The political hegemony of the Autonomist party in the Dalmatian Diet had already ended by 1870. As a result of the elections held in July of that year, the Slavophile *Narodna Stranka* won for the first time the majority of the seats (24 deputies *versus* 16 Autonomist ones). Even though this electoral victory marked a milestone in Dalmatian political life, it was only between 1879 and 1885 that the National Party became the leading political force after having won the *Reichsrat* elections of 1879 and 1885 and the local elections in Split in 1882, a city which until that moment was considered the second stronghold of the Autonomists after Zadar. Dalmatia in those decades also began to live a deep change in the educational policy. The Croatisation of the schools – as it was called in the documentation of the time – resulted in an almost complete overturning of the past situation. Italian language became considered as a mere foreign language and it was taught as such²⁰⁰.

The Dubrovnik Nautical School was an exception on this landscape, inasmuch here Italian continued to be the teaching language still in the 1890s. The views on literature and language issues expressed (in Italian language) in 1895 by one of its teachers explain vividly to what extent the radicalisation of the opinions had arrived at the end of the century. Carić's text has many reasons of interest. The illustration of Vetranić's poetry (in this text, a detail worth of note is the use of Slavicised versions of ancient poets' names, within an Italian-written essay) is preceded by a picture of the language question and of the Slavic peoples' history in Dalmatia and in Ragusa which supported the thesis of the deeply Slavic connotation of these lands and of the alien nature of Italian language in the Ragusan Middle Age too.

What is important to note here is Carić's treatment of a topic which Ivan August Kaznačić addressed 54 years before in his Gundulić's portrait mentioned above, namely the negative influence of Italian sixteenth-century literature. Despite having a non-literary cultural education (he studied nautical science, mathematics and physics)²⁰¹, Carić displayed having read Slavic and Italian literary history, as

regarding the area of Italian-occupied Dalmatia. Both Juraj Carić the teacher and Juraj Carić the clergyman were born in Svirče, on the Dalmatian island of Hvar. I can not tell if they were relatives.

²⁰⁰ Monzali, 2009, pp. 83-85. Here, the author criticizes this policy as simplistic and ideological. According to his thesis, this Croat nationalist-oriented program did not understand that Dalmatian Italo-Slavic bilingualism was not the mere product of a supposed Venetian age-old colonialism, but rather the epiphenomenon of a complex situation: the borderland nature of Dalmatia.

²⁰¹ He studied in Trieste, where he also collaborated with local Italian journal *Il Cittadino*, and in Graz. After having worked for two years as a sailorman, from 1882 he started to teach in a Nautical School in Bakar (Buccari). In 1890 he moved to Dubrovnik, pushed according to his biographer by the impossibility

well as having followed enthusiastically the nineteenth-century revival of South Slavic oral-traditional epic poetry (he quoted Tommaseo and Kaznačić). This latter truly Slavic heritage, in Carić's words, were replaced by the inane and heavy trend of Renaissance Petrarchism. Džore Držić and Šiško Menčetić (Sigismondo Menze, 1457-1527) despite having been praiseworthy as the first Ragusan lyrical poets, neglected the "freshness and the vehemence" of traditional Slavic poetry. Their Petrarchism was

"Neither a starting point, nor a goal. These were not national elements, but scrap from overseas. (...) an emaciated art, full of rheumatism (...) brief and sudden flights within a cloud that was raining tears, yet still they showed how much our literature could have raised its consciousness, if it had sought its own form in the popular creations"²⁰².

But this did not happen, as Carić complained. The Slavic Ragusan literature did not influence the evolution of the nation from whom it had arisen²⁰³. Or, rather, it was just a question of time.

"The new movement had to draw fully from the beauty of the language that, pure and virgin, had been climbing down from the mountains already for centuries"²⁰⁴. It was Ivan Gundulić, in Carić's words, that by means of his poetry

to use Croatian-written textbooks during the government of the Magyarophile *Ban* of Habsburg Croatia-Slavonia, Károly Khuen-Héderváry. From 1901 to 1908 he was a deputy in the Dalmatian *Sabor*. Retired prematurely from his teaching work in 1914 because of being disliked by Austrian government, in 1918 he was interned in Hvar during the Italian military occupation. Thereafter, the new Kingdom of SCS appointed him as school superintendent. Cfr. N. Kolumbić, 'Juraj Carić', in *HBL*, 1989.

²⁰² Carić, 1895, pp. 9-10: "Il Držić G. ed il Menčetić, che furono a Ragusa i primi poeti lirici, si arruolarono come i poeti Francesi, Spagnuoli, Inglesi e più tardi i Tedeschi nelle file de' Petrarchisti, sebbene avessero avuto sotto il naso le liriche produzioni del popolo, le quali, ancor oggi, dopo quattro secoli, non sono appassite e conservano tutta la freschezza e l'impeto dell'affetto. Al rapido movimento, all'originalità della lirica popolare, vennero sostituite la pesantezza e le melensaggini de' rimatori italiani. Non punto di partenza e non meta. Non elementi nazionali, ma rottami d'oltremare. Non una nuova letteratura, ma qualche cosa che era vecchio in sul nascere e che bisognava ringiovanire. Non perfezionamento di lingua, non novità di concetti; (...) un'arte tistica e piena di reumi; (...) brevi e rapidi voli in una nube che pioveva lagrime, ma tali, che pur dimostrano, quanto alto sarebbe salita la nostra letteratura, subito in sul nascere, quando nelle produzioni popolari essa avesse cercato la forma".

²⁰³ Carić, 1895, p. 10: "Cresciuta sola restò isolata; non influì sullo sviluppo della nazione, dalla quale surse [*sic*] e dormì, quasi per secoli, il sonno de' morti".

²⁰⁴ *Ibid.*: "Poggiando sopra basi così solidissime, per quanto ammalato fosse, il nuovo movimento doveva porsi in equilibrio coll'ambiente, nel quale [*sic*] s'innestava, e salire. Per salire doveva rifare un po' di strada, e la rifece, per attingere alla bellezza dell'idioma, il quale, puro e vergine, era disceso da' monti da secoli".

“outdid those Italian masters that had inspired him, because *Osman* is a truly national poem, both in form and content”²⁰⁵.

Kaznačić and Carić dealt with the same problem and reached similar conclusions, but their tones were somewhat different. Discussing the Italian literary models, the former mentioned the pastoral poetry of Tasso and Guarini, whereas the latter indicated the Petrarchism. Both Kaznačić and Carić looked at the negative effect of these models on Ragusan literature, but Carić was more caustic. From his sentences, a more radical stance emerges. At the time when he wrote, a cultural and political phenomenon had reached its climax: the self-perception by the Slavic Dalmatian culture that an age-long period of foreign influence, pervasive and ultimately considered as detrimental, was on its last legs.

This situation can also be understood by looking at the aspects of religious life in Ragusa, and specifically at the instruction given to aspiring priests in the seminary and public preaching in the churches.

We have already dwelt on the role of the Jesuit Fathers of Italian origin in the educational system of Ragusa, until 1868 in the public system, and after the secularization of the Gymnasium only at the seminary. Even in 1885, before the revolt of the clerics that led to the abandonment of the seminary by the Jesuits, the priests of this order still imparted education to clerics in those subjects that the other boys studied in the secularized gymnasium.

But precisely in that year the situation changed due to new legislative provisions and, as bishop Mato Vodopić informs us in one of his relations to the Congregation of the Council sent to Rome in 1888, the program of instruction in the Seminary started to have to follow the same program that was used in the schools run by the civil government.

As the bishop notes: since the Slav had already become the language of instruction at that time in the schools of Ragusa (with the exception, as we have seen, of the Nautical School), the Jesuits had very few priests of their Order capable of giving instruction in Slavs, precisely because they were mainly Italian. A solution was thus reached: the clerics began to attend the government gymnasium, as far as subjects not strictly linked to pastoral and theological preparation were concerned²⁰⁶. In 1888 Vodopić did not see any problems in this

²⁰⁵ *Ibid.*: “E la letteratura irradiò serena e maestosa con Ivan Gundulić, il quale specchiandosi ne’ grandi maestri d’Italia, li superò, poichè il suo poema, l’Osman, è un poema nazionale e per forma e per contenuto”.

²⁰⁶ *ASV, Congr. Concilio, Relat. Dioec., busta 674 B, Ragusa, 31 May 1885, unnumbered sheets, paragraph § VI, “Del Seminario”*: “L’istruzione nel Seminario dovette esser regolata secondo il piano

fact, but in the reports written by the clergy of Ragusa (including bishop Marčelić) to the Holy See in the years immediately following, the "mixing" of the aspiring priests with the "normal" students would cause problems, in terms of the decline in vocations.

With regard to the use of the Italian language in public preaching at the end of the century, the evaluations expressed by bishop Marčelić in his 1903 report are very interesting²⁰⁷. After illustrating that the Divine Word was proclaimed in "Croatian language" throughout the diocese, the bishop pointed out that during Lent Italian language was sometimes also used in the celebrations in Curzola, while at the Cathedral of Ragusa (also for Lent) the ancient custom was maintained whereby the cult was entrusted three times a week to preachers from Italy.

This was a custom dating back to the time when the language of instruction at the city gymnasium was Italian. But now, the bishop notes, in the schools of Ragusa the Slavic was used and the people understand less and less the Italian language. Recently, there had been also a public protest in the cathedral, with the faithful leaving the church when the Italian preacher began the rite²⁰⁸.

And there was also a paradox: those who understood Italian better ("the scholarly youth") very rarely attended churches. Therefore, concludes the bishop, it would be appropriate for the Holy See to intervene to regulate the question, because the preaching in Italian was judged as "useless" and furthermore as a cause of political disagreement²⁰⁹.

d'istruzione delle scuole governiali; imperocchè il Governo se permette l'istituzione di scuole private, vuole che le medesime s'attengano ai suoi regolamenti. Ora la lingua d'istruzione nelle nostre scuole è la slava, ed i PP. Gesuiti non aveano che poche persone del loro ordine, che potessero prestarsi all'istruzione nella detta lingua".

²⁰⁷ *ASV, Congr. Concilio, Relat. Dioec., busta 674 B*, "Relatio ad S. Sedem tertiae canonicae visitationis Ep. pi Ragusini in Dalmatia Josephi Marčelić, occasione tertii ipsius itineris ad Sacra Limina 1903", Ragusa, 18 October 1903, unnumbered sheets, paragraph "De populo".

²⁰⁸ *Ibidem*: "Hoc vero anno prima vice aliqui contra hanc consuetudinem protestati sunt publice, exeuntes in corpore ex ecclesia, quando praedicator sermonem incoepit suum".

²⁰⁹ *Ibidem*: "Certe ex populo nullus fere hodieum intelligit praedicationem in lingua italica. Ex juventute studiosa vix quidam. Qui repraesentant, ut hodie dicitur, intelligentiam et qui capere possent italicum, vix et raro in ecclesiam veniunt. Hinc praedicationis non solum inutilis evadit, sed propter factionum dissidia etiam occasio scandali".

4.3 The Serb Catholics and the Holy See

In December 1895 the archbishop of Zara, Grgur Rajčević, was on the verge of issuing a strong condemnation of the editorial policy adopted by the magazine *Katolička Dalmacija*²¹⁰.

"For reasons of great religious interest, which is seriously compromised by the current editorial line of the periodical", Rajčević asked the bishops of the remaining Dalmatian dioceses to sign a document by means of which all priests and secular and regular clerics under their jurisdiction would be officially forbidden "under pain of mortal sin" to read and associate (i.e. to subscribe) to *Katolička Dalmacija*²¹¹. The events that followed that act, however, were an open challenge to his authority. Only the bishops of Lesina, Spalato and Sebenico signed the letter, while those of Cattaro and Ragusa refused to do so. The apostolic nuncio to Vienna, Antonio Agliardi, was first interested in the question precisely by the bishops of these last two dioceses, namely Francesco Uccellini and Josip Marčelić.

Agliardi was experiencing a difficult diplomatic situation in Vienna in those very months, inasmuch as he was frowned upon by the emperor and government circles who even called for his removal because of his actions in the Austro-Hungarian political field²¹². The prelate informed the Secretariat of State in the

²¹⁰ Since the beginning of the 1880s, the periodical published in Zadar had changed the title from *La Dalmazia Cattolica*, used since its foundation in 1870, to *Katolička Dalmacija*. This transformation was followed by the almost total use of Serbo-Croatian language in its articles, instead of Italian. However, this gradual change had already begun at the end of the 1870s.

²¹¹ A copy of the text in Italian language which was sent by Rajčević to the bishops of the suffragan dioceses is attached to a long memoir on the matter, sent by the bishop of Cattaro, Francesco Uccellini, to the Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs on 29 December 1895. Cfr. *S.RR.SS., AA.EE.SS., Austria-Ungheria, pos. 752, fasc. 326, f. 14rv.*

The question of *Katolička Dalmacija* and the attitude of the Holy See was dealt with by Gottsmann, 2010, pp. 119-125. Here I provide a reading of the same documents consulted by the Austrian scholar, but paying attention to the presence of the question of the Serb Catholics within them.

²¹² Antonio Agliardi (1832-1915) began his career as a pontifical diplomat in 1885 in India. From 1889 to 1893 he was apostolic nuncio to Munich and from 1893 to 1896 he played this important role in Vienna. It has been written that Agliardi "was not an old-fashioned diplomat, concerned only with courts and governments", but also turned his interest to the Catholic masses (cfr. F. Fonzi, 'Antonio Agliardi', in *DBI, vol. 1*, 1960). Furthermore, Vienna had resentment towards the Holy See and in particular towards the Secretary of State, Rampolla, considered Francophile, because despite the mission to Rome in March 1895 of the Archbishop of Prague, Schönborn, it was not possible to dissuade the Holy See from sending blessings and expressions of consent to the Christian Social movement. Cfr. *ASMAE, SP 1891-1916, busta 87, pos. 15 Austria-rapporti politici 1894-1896*, Nigra to the Minister of Foreign Affairs Alberto Blanc, Vienna, 8 December 1895. Information on the mission of Schönborn is also provided in *ASMAE*,

Vatican about the initiative taken by the archbishop of Zara, developing some interesting considerations. According to Agliardi, in fact, Rajčević "has a reputation for being compliant with the government" and therefore it may be that "without realizing it, he has followed the inspirations of those who see in the newspaper only an opposition to the dominant politics in Dalmatia". The nuncio then notes that the archbishop would not have had the courage to adopt "such an odious measure" on his own, inasmuch as he knew he was not much loved by his people and perhaps feared "a popular demonstration against, as happened to him last year"²¹³.

Here the nuncio probably refers to an episode that took place in Zara in July 1894. It all began with a brief article by the Autonomist organ *Il Dalmata*, who was based precisely in Zadar. The article reported that some people, living near the city Seminary, had informed the newspaper that a few nights before there had been a party on the premises of the seminary. According to those neighbours, the nuns who were employed in the service of the Seminary itself also took part in the revelry. The article went on launching veiled insinuations and called for a clarification of the situation, which if true would have been very serious, "because the clerics can't even talk to those nuns. In any case, the directors of the seminary should take steps to stop those very strange noises [coming from the seminary], because they are disgusting"²¹⁴.

Immediately after the article was published, archbishop Rajčević and the director of the Seminary (who at that time was Francesco Uccellini, shortly afterwards appointed bishop of Cattaro) claimed in an open letter that the

AMB. VIENNA, busta 157, fasc. 5 Politica interna Austriaca, the Italian Embassy in Vienna to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Vienna, 5 March 1895 (draft). On the irritation of the Hungarian liberals at Agliardi's support for the Catholic party, and at the protests of the Hungarian government against the interference of the papal representative, see also *ibidem*, the Italian Embassy in Vienna to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Vienna, 4 May 1895 (draft).

On the Christian Social movement and its anti-Semitic tendencies, the classic work is J. Boyer, *Political radicalism in late imperial Vienna. Origins of the Christian Social movement, 1848-1897*, Chicago, 1981.

²¹³ *S.RR.SS., AA.EE.SS., Austria-Ungheria, pos. 752, fasc. 326*, the nuncio Agliardi to the Secretary of State, Vienna, 3 January 1896, ff. 3r-4v (f. 3v): "Veramente Monsignor Arcivescovo di Zara è in fama di esser ligio al Governo, e può darsi che senza accorgersi abbia seguito le ispirazioni di chi vede solamente nel Giornale un'opposizione alla politica dominante in Dalmazia. Certo è che tale misura odiosa non ha voluto l'Arcivescovo adottare da solo, non essendo egli molto amato e forse temendo una dimostrazione popolare contraria, come gli avvenne lo scorso anno".

²¹⁴ 'Al seminario teologico', *Il Dalmata*, 29, 7 July 1894, 54, p. 3: "Si asserisce che all'allegria abbiano presa parte anche le suore addette alla pia casa; la qual cosa, se vera, riuscirebbe gravissima, poichè i chierici non pônno neppur conversare con esse. Ad ogni modo i preposti al seminario provvedano a far cessare rumori assai strani, che disgustano".

accusations were totally false and that *Il Dalmata* was a public enemy of the Catholic faith²¹⁵. Predictably, the matter created a series of bitter controversies. *Il Dalmata* immediately published an article criticising the archbishop, accusing him of having responded with no less than "a pastoral letter" to a small article, which with due caution – according to the Autonomist newspaper – had reported the statements of a respectable citizen, a certain Ottaviano Raimondi, who according to the newspaper was still willing to repeat his version of the facts, under oath, along with other witnesses.

The newspaper then accused the archbishop of feeling malevolence toward the city of Zara arguing that if its editorial staff was really "an enemy of the Catholic religion", then it would follow that even the newspaper's subscribers, namely "almost all the citizens of Zara", "are worthy of eternal fire". Here comes a typical subject of the political controversy of those years between a certain liberal press and a certain Catholic clergy of Croatian national orientation, a controversy which was present also in the *Dubrovnik* newspaper of Ragusa, namely the claim against what was called "clericalism". *Il Dalmata* in fact claimed to be "a devout son of the Catholic religion"; his frequent praise of "good bishops and priests" would allegedly have been the testimony of this fact. "We – wrote *Il Dalmata* – are better Catholics than the many who make religion the means to vent low grudges", and here a hit was thrown between the lines at the Croatian clergy²¹⁶.

The echoes of the controversy soon spread throughout Dalmatia. In Ragusa, bishop Marčelić and all the clergy of the town sent a letter of solidarity to the archbishop Rajčević, deploring "the insults to which he was unworthily subjected on the occasion of the pastoral letter of 8 July"²¹⁷.

²¹⁵ Cfr. J. Vrandečić, 'Demonstrations of the Italian community in Zadar against Archbishop Gregory Rajčević in 1894', in A. Jakir and M. Trogrlić (eds.), *Klerus und Nation in Südosteuropa vom 19. bis zum 21. Jahrhundert*, Frankfurt am Main, 2014, pp. 59-70 (hereinafter: Vrandečić, 2014).

²¹⁶ 'Una pastorale!!!', *Il Dalmata*, 29, 11 July 1894, 55, p. 2: "Al nostro foglio, eco del sentimento cittadino, aderisce l'intera cittadinanza; onde, per le parole di sua signoria illustrissima e reverendissima, ne deriva che anche i nostri aderenti sono una manica d'acattolici tanto fatti; santi soli, anzi angeli, gli alunni del seminario. [...] Noi (e con noi i cittadini tutti) non siamo che veri e devoti figli della religione cattolica e la proclamiamo altamente in ogni occasione, e col lodare vescovi e preti buoni nel nostro foglio e con fatti di pietà e con omaggio sincero alle consuetudini ecclesiastiche [...]".

In the next issue, a statement by the witness Ottaviano Raimondi in support of his version of the facts would be published. Cfr. 'Comunicato', *Il Dalmata*, 29, 14 July 1894, 56, p. 3.

²¹⁷ A minute of the letter written in Italian with the date 16 July 1894, with the signature of Ivan Stojanović immediately after the signatures of bishop Marčelić and of the first Canon of the Chapter Grgur Boschi, is preserved in *ABD, Sig. 2, B.D., Ser. 20 Spisi dubrovačkih biskupa, Pser 1 Presidiali-Atti Riservati*, 1894, br. 1-64 (unnumbered sheets). In the same position there are also two copies of the

But something big happened in Zara instead. After the number of *Il Dalmata* of 11 July was banned by the State Attorney's Office, immediately on 12 July a large demonstration took place in front of the archbishop's palace. People protested in support of *Il Dalmata* and clashes between them and the police also occurred. Two months later, the local authorities transferred Vitaliano Brunelli from Zadar to Koper; he was a professor at the city gymnasium and one of the leaders of the Autonomist movement in Zara, who was considered to have been one of the instigators of the protest²¹⁸.

Let us return to the *Katolička Dalmacija* question. It is necessary to read once again the dispatch sent by Agliardi to inform of the controversy - such, in fact, could be effectively defined - between Rajčević and the bishops of Ragusa and Kotor, regarding the attitude to be maintained with the most important Catholic newspaper in the province.

The fact that two bishops of his Ecclesiastical Province had refused to sign his motion of condemnation, Agliardi writes to the Secretariat of State, was a problem not only for Rajčević, but for all Dalmatian Catholicism. If this fact had become public, it would have caused scandal among the clergy and faithful and could have had other consequences, "in a country in which schismatics are protected and take advantage of every circumstance to make proselytes"²¹⁹. Agliardi announced that he had already written to the archbishop of Zadar advising him to let the Holy See decide the question of *Katolička Dalmacija*.

Under the direction of Ivo Prodan, a priest and politician very close to the Croatian nationalist orientation *pravaš* (the Croatian Party of Right, born of the ideas of the mid-nineteenth century apostle of Croatianism, Ante Starčević), the editorial orientation of *Katolička Dalmacija* had evolved. From the defence of traditional Catholic values and polemics against the Serbs of Dalmatia, there was a more vigorous polemic against the legislation of the Habsburg Empire on public schools, civil marriage and inter-religious relations, approved on the basis of liberal principles between 1868 and 1874. As for its moral and dogmatic line, says

pastoral letter of Rajčević, also written in Italian, of 8 July 1894, with the accusations addressed to *Il Dalmata*.

²¹⁸ For these informations, cfr. Vrandečić, 2014.

²¹⁹ *S.RR.SS., AA.EE.SS., Austria-Ungheria, pos. 752, fasc. 326*, the nuncio Agliardi to the Secretary of State, Vienna, 3 January 1896, ff. 3r-4v (f. 4r): "[...] il fatto che due Vescovi si sono rifiutati a sottoscrivere la condanna che doveva essere collettiva di tutta la Provincia Ecclesiastica costituirebbe per sè stesso quando divenisse pubblico una causa di ammirazione e di scandalo pel Clero e pei fedeli e potrebbe arrecare altre gravi conseguenze in un paese dove gli scismatici sono protetti e di ogni circostanza approfittano per fare proseliti".

Uccellini, Prodan's newspaper is not objectionable. Condemning him as the archbishop of Zadar would like to do would be something incomprehensible to the Dalmatian people²²⁰. In addition, the bishop of Dubrovnik, Marčelić, notes in a letter of the same days addressed to the Apostolic Nunciature of Vienna, "the clergy, having ceased this newspaper, will cling to other newspapers of the province, which are all more or less inclined towards liberalism"²²¹.

We have a clear statement from the minutes of the session of the Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs convened on 8 June 1896 of the thoughts at the highest levels of the Catholic Church about the situation in Dalmatia at that time²²². The phrase with which Cardinal Serafino Vannutelli, who had been nuncio to Vienna between 1880 and 1887, said: "Dalmatia has three causes of disorder: the parties, the government and the episcopate" is icastic. The observation returns that the strategy put in place by the government of the Empire is that of divide and rule. The Serbian party, "schismatic and very hostile to the Catholic Church", had for some years no longer cooperated politically with the Croatian party. In order not to give in to the request to transform the Austro-Hungarian dualism into an Austro-Hungarian-Slavic trialism, the government "fights the Croatian party and favors the Serb, to whom the Italian is often allied. Therefore, the Government opposes the Catholic Church and unconsciously favours the Schismatics".

Vannutelli continues: "It is impossible to suppress the parties; however, they can be moderated; the episcopate can moderate the Croatian clergy, and the Government can be asked what is possible". In his speech, Secretary of State Rampolla showed political realism by saying, among other things: "The Church cannot directly engage with the Government, opposing nationalities; this would alienate peoples; however, it can moderate parties, especially the Clergy".

Coming to deal specifically with the case of Katolička Dalmacija, Vannutelli praises the work of the nuncio in Vienna to prevent its suppression. The "Memoir on the religious situation in Dalmatia" written by bishop Uccellini is one of the documents on which the session of the Congregation of Cardinals finds itself reasoning. It is an articulated document that starts from historical considerations and arrives at the present situation, dealing with the conditions of schools and gymnasiums in which by now the Croatian language has replaced Italian and above

²²⁰ *Ibidem*, Uccellini to Agliardi, Cattaro, 29 December 1895, ff. 8r-12v (11v).

²²¹ *Ibidem*, Marčelić to Agliardi, Ragusa, 30 December 1895, ff. 6rv.

²²² *S.RR.SS., AA.EE.SS., Rapporti delle Sessioni*, 1896, num. 772 bis, draft of the meeting held on 8 June 1896, ff. 1r-2r.

all with the not easy relations with the Serbian Orthodox in Dalmatia. In 1885, the then director of the Orthodox Seminary of Zadar, Nikodim Milaš, published the book *Slavenski apostoli Kiril i Metodije i istina pravoslavlja* on the Slavic apostles Cyril and Methodius, claiming that they belonged to the Orthodox Church in direct contradiction with the encyclical *Grande Munus* of Pope Leo XIII²²³. Milaš became Orthodox Bishop of Zadar in 1890.

Uccellini pauses to illustrate the evolution of "Serbism" in Dalmatia and, speaking of the Serbian Catholic element, writes: "In politics this party dreams of the restoration of the schismatic empire par excellence of Dusciano (Car Dus'an), to which the Serbs also claim Dalmatia. A small fraction of Catholics, recruited from among university youth, also earned this idea. The gymnasium of Ragusa, where professors oriented toward the Serbian idea had been hiding in the teaching staff, produced the greatest number [of those young Serbian Catholics]. In religion these Catholics profess to be liberals, but they have great hatred against Catholicism. According to them Eastern Orthodoxy is the protection of the nationality of the Slavs. It is constantly observed that if there is among the Catholic clergy some very rare individual who professes himself Serbian in politics, this one hears, speaks and writes even sometimes in a manner not very favorable to Rome"²²⁴.

The risk, says the bishop of Cattaro, would be especially for the most educated classes of society. "The most serious danger that threatens Catholicism on this side is the propaganda it [the Serbian party] makes among young scholars. Some rich and influential individuals, invaded by the spirit of the sect, seek and find proselytes with the specious theory that the Slavs without Orthodoxy will not be able to effectively oppose the attempts of their own de-nationalization"²²⁵. As

²²³ Cfr. also Gottsmann, 2010, pag. 114.

²²⁴ A printed version of the long report written by the bishop of Kotor can be found in *S.RR.SS., AA.EE.SS., Rapporti delle Sessioni*, 1896, num. 772 bis, "Allegato al N. XVIII. Memoria sulla situazione religiosa della Dalmazia", ff. 110-127 (quotations taken from f. 115): "In politica questo partito sogna la ristorazione dell'impero per eccellenza scismatico di Dusciano (Car Dus'an) [*sic*], al quale rivendicano i serbi anche la Dalmazia. A questa idea fu guadagnata anche una piccola frazione di cattolici, reclutati fra la gioventù universitaria. Il ginnasio di Ragusa, dove si erano annidati nel corpo insegnante professori serbizanti [*sic*], ne diede il maggiore contingente. In religione tali cattolici si professano liberali, covano però grande astio contro il cattolicesimo. Secondo loro l'ortodossia orientale è la salvaguardia della nazionalità degli slavi. Costantemente si osserva che se vi è fra il clero cattolico qualche rarissimo individuo che si professa serbo in politica, questo tale sente, parla e scrive anche talvolta in maniera poco favorevole a Roma".

²²⁵ *Ibidem*, f. 120: "Il più grave pericolo che minaccia il cattolicesimo da questo lato si è la propaganda che fa fra la gioventù studiosa. Alcuni individui ricchi e influenti, invasati dallo spirito di setta, cercano e

for the weekly *Dubrovnik*, writes Uccellini, it would have the mission of "keeping close to the cause of Serbianism the Catholics who earned it".

According to Uccellini, Serbianism, however exclusive and fanatical it may be, "flaunts and preaches liberalism and seeks allies among the fashionable liberals" in urban centers, such as Ragusa, where religious indifferentism among the educated classes thrives²²⁶.

The line suggested by Uccellini regarding the permission to the *Katolička Dalmacija* to continue its work, will be the line married by the Vatican Secretariat of State. Rampolla will order the Archbishop of Zadar Rajčević to summon the other Dalmatian bishops to a conference in which to analyze the case of Prodan's periodical.

Pope Leo XIII spoke directly, and on 26 June 1896 he ordered Rajčević to summon his suffragan bishops as soon as possible to discuss urgent matters such as the liturgical language and the discipline of Catholic clergy and newspapers. The *Katolička Dalmacija*, the pontiff's intimation, should be helped financially. While it is necessary to monitor that she does not publish content that is inappropriate for religion and ecclesiastical discipline, it is right to allow her a certain freedom of thought²²⁷.

The existence of the Serbian Catholics of Ragusa came again to the attention of the Congregation for Extraordinary Ecclesiastical Affairs in 1899. At the beginning of the year, Rome received an evidently anonymous letter, signed "Stay", with an evident reference to Benedetto Stay, a priest, Latinist and philosopher of the eighteenth century who also held important positions in the Roman Curia. In that letter Cardinal Rampolla was asked to translate from the Slav the printed pamphlet which was sent as an attachment. Such a reading, Stay says, would have been necessary to Rampolla for "the quickest correction of our bishop Marčelić, who seriously abuses the episcopal power". The letter also contains a threat: if the Holy See would have not correct the bishop's behavior, "Stay" said he

trovano proseliti colla speciosa teoria che lo slavo senza l'ortodossia non potrà efficacemente opporsi ai tentativi della propria snazionalizzazione".

²²⁶ *Ibidem*, f. 120: "Ragusa [the *weekly Dubrovnik*] ha per missione speciale di tenere stretto al carro del serbismo i cattolici guadagnati alla causa. Per quanto informato al fanatismo scismatico, gretto ed esclusivo entro il recinto della propria casa e comunità religiosa, il serbismo in piazza ostenta e predica liberalismo e fra i liberali alla moda cerca di preferenza e trova alleati. Le nostre cittadelle e borgate hanno dei sedicenti liberali in proporzione assai di più delle grandi città mondiali. L'indifferentismo religioso in questi piccoli nidi si mostra bene spiccato. Le chiese e i sacramenti sono poco frequentati".

²²⁷ A copy of the papal letter in *ADB*, Sig. 2, Ser. *Spisi dubrovačkih biskupa*, Pser. 1, *Presidijalni spisi (Presidiali) biskupa* 1893-1899, br. 4-46, fn. The text in turn accompanies the copy of a letter of July 6, 1896 sent by the nuncio Agliardi, which had been received by Uccellini.

was ready to disclose the brochure²²⁸. A few days later, Rampolla received a letter from Marčelić, in which the bishop stated that he knew that there was a pamphlet against him circulating in Rome, but that he did not know much more about it. He then asked for confirmation as to whether this was true and, to protect his honour, also asked for an investigation to be opened into the accusations against him, so that he could defend himself²²⁹.

The booklet is a 14-sheet print entitled *Dubrovačka*, bearing the date "Ragusa, 1899", without any editorial indication²³⁰. It is in an open letter to Marčelić and in the first lines the authors, who called themselves "the last ancient Ragusan", announced to the bishop that they had noticed a series of shortcomings in his pastoral behavior²³¹: the bishop was accused of excessive severity towards some parish priests and of giving too much credit to some accusations of immorality against them coming from the people which – according to the writers of the booklet – were evidently motivated by personal grudges and revenge; Marčelić was accused of spending too much government money on the modernization of the seminary in Ragusa and at the same time was blamed of ensuring that some well-off priests leave money to support the seminary after their death.

The Congregation for Ecclesiastical Affairs then immediately appointed a consultant in the person of the Franciscan Stjepan Marija Ivančić, who at the time held the office of Procurator General of the Third Order Regular of St. Francis in Rome²³². He energetically defended Marčelić, breaking down all the allegations:

²²⁸ *S.RR.SS., AA.EE.SS., Austria-Ungheria, pos. 809, fasc. 365, ff. 18rv, Ragusa, 2 January 1899*: "Si degni S. E. far tradurre la qui unita querela scritta[sic] in lingua slava per la più sollecita correzione del nostro Vescovo Giuseppe Marcelich che gravemente abusa del potere episcopale. Lasciarlo ancora un sol mese senza rimprovero sarebbe un atto criminoso e di danno alla Diocesi. A cagione di che noi abbiamo estesa e fatta stampare la qui acchiusa doglianza, pronti in caso contrario a divulgarla senza indugio con sommo nostro dolore".

²²⁹ *Ibidem, f. 34r, Marčelić to Rampolla, Ragusa, 17 January 1899*: "Mi fu detto che a Roma circola un libello scritto da Ragusa contro di me. Di questo libello nè io, nè il mio clero, per quanto a me consta, non sappiamo nulla. Prego Vostra Eminenza di rendermi avvisato se ciò sia vero. Desidero a difesa[sic] della dignità vescovile che sia liberamente aperta un'inchiesta sulle accuse fattemi".

²³⁰ A copy of the booklet is present *ibidem, ff. 20r-26v*. According to the bibliographic research carried out in Croatia, it seems that there are not other copies in the public libraries in that country.

²³¹ *Ibidem, f. 20r*. The sentence used is "kako ostatak starih dubrovčana".

²³² Ivančić's report in defense of Marčelić is *ibidem, ff. 28r-33v*, from the Basilica of Sts. Cosmas and Damian [home of the central government of the Order], Rome, 10 January 1899. Ivančić (1852-1925), a native of the island of Cres (Cherso) in the Kvarner Bay, served as Procurator General in Rome from 1897 to 1903. He wrote works on religious history and Glagolitic liturgy. Cfr. I. Petrović, 'Stjepan Marija Ivančić', in *HBL*, 2005 and T. Galović, 'Fra Stjepan M. Ivančić kao povjesničar' [Friar Stjepan M.

the condemnations issued by the bishop against priests guilty of immorality – priest which, as Ivančić writes, were priests known in the diocese for their behaviour - were rather a source of pride for Marčelić; the same goes for his commitment to improving the seminar; the brochure, the Franciscan writes, was also full of contradictions, because on the one hand it accused Marčelić of being a servant of the government, on the other he was blamed of inciting families not to send their children to lay public schools; the accusations of not observing the duty of residence were false, according to Ivančić, because Marčelić was very close to the people and often visited rural parishes, where he celebrates the sacraments, e.g. going to Curzola when there was an epidemic of typhoid. In short, the consultant argued that the accusations in the booklet were all about putting the clergy against the bishop and putting the bishop in a bad light towards the government.

Ivančić's arguments were convincing for the Holy See. At the end of January, cardinal Rampolla wrote to Marčelić confirming that the booklet exists and also informing him of its threatening content. At the same time, the Secretary of State told the bishop that "here no importance has been given to the content of the booklet, so it is not necessary now to open the inquiry you are asking for"²³³.

Ivančić's report explicitly mentions Serb Catholics as the source of inspiration for the *Dubrovačka* booklet. To be precise, he argued that the style in which it was written showed that its author was "a schismatic Serb, inspired by some Serbo-ophile Catholic priest"²³⁴. Ivančić noted that these Serbo-ophile Catholic priests are the only ones in the city who had an aversion to the bishop. Ivančić added:

"Those three or four presumed legitimate and pure scions of the ancient Ragusan nobles, who fraternize with the schismatic Serbs who are sworn enemies of all that is linked to Catholicism and to the Pope [...], they accuse the zealous bishop of bullying two or three priests, who unfortunately stained themselves with immorality

Ivančić as historian], *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu*, 47, 2015, 1, pp. 207-253.

²³³ *S.RR.SS., AA.EE.SS., Austria-Ungheria, pos. 809, fasc. 365, f. 38r*, Rampolla to Marčelić, Rome, 30 January 1899: "[...] realmente mi pervenne [...] un libello anonimo di 16 paginette col titolo "Dubrovačka,, Nella lettera d'accompagnamento si diceva che quella stampa verrebbe divulgata, ove la S. Sede non mettesse riparo, entro un mese, ai supposti abusi del potere episcopale. Siccome però non si è data qui nessuna importanza al contenuto di quell'opuscolo, così non mi sembra a proposito di aprire ora l'inchiesta a cui accenna V. S. Non mi resta quindi che profittare dell'occasione per rinnovarle i sensi della sincera stima [...]"

²³⁴ *Ibidem, f. 28r*: "Lo stile di esso riguardo alla lingua ed al contenuto ci appalesa che esso è scritto da persona serba-scismatica, ispirato da qualche sacerdote cattolico-serbizzante".

and who were condemned by the bishop to perform spiritual exercises. [...] It follows that those who defend these priests against the bishop must not have very honest customs"²³⁵.

But the second big issue in those very years that brought the Serb Catholics to the Vatican agenda was what in historiography had been called as the San Girolamo affair. Between 1901 and 1902, in fact, the Serb Catholic group *latu sensu* interacted directly with the Holy See achieving notable diplomatic success and even the change of a Papal decision. The heart of the dispute was the official denomination of a church and a boarding school for young priests in Rome, the *Istituto di San Girolamo degli Illirici*²³⁶. Through a statement contained in the *Lettere Apostoliche Slavorum Gentem*, Pope Leo XIII on 1 August 1901 officially agreed with a request which came from the Croat clergy demanding a change in the name of the *Istituto*. According to the Croat spokesperson in Rome, Josip Pazman, who was also the dean of San Girolamo before the beginning of the dispute, the name had to be changed because “*Illirici*” identified an ancient tribe totally different from the present-day Slavs. Nor would they have considered the name “*Slavoni*”/”Slavs” correct, since from their point of view the Catholics in the Southern Slav lands had to be identified exclusively with the Croatian people. Pazman proposed to the Holy See the new name *Collegio Croato* (Croatian Boarding School)²³⁷.

The Roman Cardinals who discussed the question during the session of the *Congregazione per gli Affari Ecclesiastici Straordinari* of 27 June 1901 were well

²³⁵ *Ibidem*, f. 28v: “Quei tre o quattro pretesi legittimi e puri rampolli degli antichi nobili Ragusei, che fraternizzano coi serbi scismatici nemici giurati di tutto ciò che sa di cattolico e di Papa, a grave danno della propria coscienza, ed a scandalo del buon popolo raguseo, accusano il zelante Vescovo di certe soperchierie contro due o tre Sacerdoti, i quali purtroppo si macchiarono d’immoralità, ed i quali furono da esso condannati a fare gli esercizi spirituali. [...] persone note nella Diocesi per il loro troppo leggiero comportamento. Ne segue che i difensori di questi contro il Vescovo non devono esser troppo delicati di costumi”.

²³⁶ The San Girolamo affair has been illustrated with many details by Gottsmann 2007 and Gottsmann 2010 and by Z. Grijak, ‘Barski nadbiskup Šimun Milinović (1886-1910) i Svetojeronimska afera’ [The archbishop of Bar Šimun Milinović (1886-1910 and the San Girolamo affair], in L. Čoralić (ed.), *Hrvatsko-Crnogorski dodiri / Crnogorsko-Hrvatski dodiri: identitet povijesne i kulturne baštine Crnogorskog primorja. Zbornik radova* [Croatian-Montenegrin and Montenegrin-Croatian relations: the identity of the historical and cultural heritage of the Montenegrin coast. A collection of essays], Zagreb, 2009, pp. 489-520. Here Grijak does not make use of Vatican archival documentation, focusing instead on Lujo Vojnović’s documentation preserved in Croatian national archives. On Vojnović, see the next pages.

²³⁷ *S.RR.SS., AA.EE.SS., Austria-Ungheria, pos. 885, fasc. 398*, Pazman to the Cardinal Serafino Vannutelli, Roma, 19 April 1901, ff. 27r-31r (f. 30v).

aware that the Croatian request had a political nature (i.e., “the evocation of a Greater Croatia”)²³⁸, but finally the Pope agreed to it.

The diplomatic outcomes of the Papal decision were problematic. The Austro-Hungarian government was unsatisfied with a decision which it interpreted as detrimental for Italians and Serbs in Dalmatia. Furthermore, on 29 August 1901 a group of Dalmatian Italians residing in Rome even occupied the ecclesiastical building to protest against the pro-Croatian Papal decision²³⁹. The Principality of Montenegro, willing to play the role of the standard bearer for the Serbian world, sent a Memorandum to the Vatican, claiming that a *Collegio Croato* would have involved the exclusion of the Catholic Serbs of Dalmatia and of the Catholic Montenegrins from the possibility of sending their young seminarists to study in Rome. The government of Prince Nikola sent an emissary to the Vatican, the diplomat and writer Lujo Vojnović, who was a notable Serb Catholic from Ragusa.

The exclusive identification of the Catholics in the Southern Slav lands with the Croats, according to the *Memorandum*, was detrimental to the principality’s independence, since it would have positioned under Croatian influence the Catholic population²⁴⁰ in the Montenegrin diocese of Antivari (Bar). Furthermore, it would have disregarded the Serb Catholics, “who are truly Serbs and not just Slavs who like to call themselves Serbs”²⁴¹. With reference to ancient pontifical documents which would have allegedly equated Croats and Serbs under the name “*Illirici*”, the *Memorandum* underlined that the *Slavorum Gentem* would have eventually undermined the universal nature of the Roman Catholic Church, denying the very existence of the Serb Catholics²⁴². By means of this document and of the diplomatic activities of Vojnović in Rome, Montenegro requested the

²³⁸ *Ibid.*, ‘*Pro-Memoria. Sulla trasformazione dell’Istituto di S. Girolamo degl’Illirici*’, 27 June 1901, ff. 8r-11r, (f. 9v).

²³⁹ According to the leader of Dalmatians in Rome, Tito Alacevich, this resounding action was intended to defend a Dalmatian (not an Italian nor Serb) right. See ‘La questione di San Girolamo’, *Il Dalmata*, 36, 1901, 104, 28 December, p. 1 (Alacevich’s open letter to the main newspaper of Dalmatian Italians). The interpretation provided by the *Congregazione*’s Cardinals was totally different. According to them, the occupation was an act of *irredentismo* (i.e., of Dalmatian Italians’ nationalism) with the complicity of the Italian government. See *S.RR.SS., AA.EE.SS., Austria-Ungheria, pos. 885, fasc. 398, ‘Relazione*’, 14 November 1901, ff. 42r-51r (f. 45v) and *ibid.*, ‘*Promemoria*’, Roma, 7 September 1901, ff. 54r-56r (f. 54v).

²⁴⁰ It is worth mentioning that these Catholic Montenegrins were mainly of Albanian origin.

²⁴¹ A copy of the *Memorandum* sent from Cetinje to Vojnović in Rome on 25 October 1901 is in *S.RR.SS., AA.EE.SS., Austria-Ungheria, pos. 885, fasc. 398, pp. 69r-73r (70v)*.

²⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 71v.

addition of the expression *pro serbica gente* in the official denomination of the *San Girolamo* institution.

The negotiations were complex: there came into play the interests of Austria to avoid that its religious politics be influenced by an external subject, such as Montenegro; the interests of Italy itself, inasmuch the seminary and the church were on Italian territory, even if ecclesiastical goods, and obviously the interests of the Holy See, which wanted to satisfy the aspirations of the Croatian bishops, but at the same time did not want to diminish the universalistic scope of its mission, excluding the Serb Catholics.

Finally, in March 1902 Pope Leo XIII decided upon a compromise solution, appointing the institution with the name *Collegium Sancti Hieronymi Illyricorum*.

Before the Montenegrin *Memorandum* arrived in Rome, the Serb Catholics of Dubrovnik managed to reach the heart of the Catholic Church through a telegram to the Vatican secretary of state, Rampolla del Tindaro, complaining the exclusion of the “Serb name” from the *Slavorum gentem*, a “name” which allegedly would have been considered as historically tied with the lands to which the pontifical document was addressed.

The weekly *Dubrovnik* published the text of the telegram in its number of 22 September 1901, which we show in the following page. In addition to the political value of the act, this publication is also an important document in the history of the Serbian Catholic movement, because it allows to have a list of names (large, considering the size of the city) on sympathizers of the Serbian Catholic idea in 1901, in the city and surrounding territories.

življaj, hoće li se i jedno evropsko pitanje primaknuti riješenju, koje pravo i pravica zahtijevaju, hoće li moćna riječ evropskih država obustaviti krvoproliće u južnoj Africi te udovoljiti pravdi, — sva ova pitanja pretresaju se u listovima . . .

Dubrovačke vijesti

Srbi katolici kardinalu Rampolli. —

Ove sedmice poslat je kardinalu Rampolli u Rim ovaj telegram:

Eminentissimo Cardinali Rampolla
Roma-Vaticano

Dignetur Eminentia Vestra deferre ad pedes sanctissimi patris papae Leonis XIII. animi dolorem quo afficiuntur Srbi pertinentes Catholicae fidei, incolae veteris Ragusinae civitatis, ex urbe et vicis, omissi serbici nominis causa in Brevi quo reformatur collegium Sancti Hieronymi, quum nomen serbicum, uti ex historicis monumentis publicisque traditionibus atque moribus clarissime patet, in partibus quibus Breve adplicatur omnino praevaleat.

(Neka se udostoji Vaša Eminenca podnijeti na noge presvetoga oca pape Lava XIII. izraze žalosti Srba katolika, žitelja stare dubrovačke države, iz grada i okolice, što je u breve-u, kojijem se je sveto-jeronimski zavod preustrojio, bilo mimoigjeno srpsko ime, koje po povjesnijem ispravama i narodnijem tradicijama i običajima u stranama na koje se breve odnosi sasvijem prevlagjuje).

Adamović Vicko, Arsete Frano, Arsete Ivo, Ag. ci Simo, † Asanovića Antuna, † Asanovića Bara, Asanović Božo, † Asanovića Gjura, Asanović Jero, † Asanovića Mata, † Balarina Iva p. Iva, Balarin Ivo Kule, Balarin N., Balarin Pero, Balarin Vicko, Balcani Vice, Banac Pero, Baronjak Božo, Barović Baro, Batinić Baldo, Batinić Antun, Beno Ivo, Benussi Antun, Beusan Andro, Bcuta Pasko stud. jur., Bibica Frano st., Bibica Frano ml., Bijele Ivo, Bijele Vlaho, Birimiša Karlo, Bogojević kap. Ivo, Bona marquis Luko, † Bogdana Mata, Bogdan Miho, Bogdan Pasko, † Bogdana Pera, Bogdan Stjepo, Brangjolica Antun stud. jur., Brangjolica Ivo, Brangjolica Miho, Brangjolica Tomo, Buconjić Nikola, † Buića Ana, Buić Luka, Buić Miho, Buovac Mato, † Butrice Marina, Birimiša Vas. stud. jur. Car

Pitarović kap. Ivo, Pitarović I. Ivo, Povia Gajetan, Pozza grof L. Mato, Pagliesi — Dr. Antun, Pagliesi — Dr. J-ro, Radulić Ivo, Radulić Gjuro, Regio Ivo, Relja Ivo, Roza Alberto, Rubricius Ivo, Rudić Bela, Salvesani Antun, Salvezani Petar, Sašilo Marko, Sakrestan Jozo, Scick Frano, Savinović Gjuro, Sekula Luko, Suhor Lujo, Sunara Vlaho, Spiletak Ivo Gagre, Svilokos Pero abs. jur., Šabadin Antun, Šarić Matej, Skrabo Ivo, Škrabo Jozo, Šoletić Antun, Šoletić Lujo, Šoletić Miho, Šubert Ivo, Šubert Frano, Šubert Lujo, Šutić Ivan, Šutić Niko, Šteger B. ž., Talaja Stjepan, † Tevšića Miha, Tevšić M ho Mihov, † Tevšića Nika, Tomašević Marko, Tomašević Melo, Tomašević Riko, Tomašević Stijepo, Toussaint Miho, Vajnović Antun, Vuličević Antun, Vukasović Ivo, Zaccagna Gulijelm, Zipfel Antun, Zore Tonko stud. ing.

Gornji su potpisnici iz Dubrovačke općine.

Bacelj Bariša, Bianchi A., Bijelić Antun, Burin Pasko, Družić Frano, Fagioni J., Gatić Gjuro, Gozde grof Luka, Guljelmović Ivo, Jelić M. Ivo, Kazilari Ivo, Knežević B.žo, Knežević Ivo, Knežević Miho, Kusija Niko, Kusijanović Ivo, Kušelj Pero, Lica B.žo, Lonza Gjuro, Lonza Mato, Lonza Stijepo, Lučić Petar, Malošević Miho, Malošević Stjepan, Marković Ivo, Matković Ivo, Mazara M. Stijepo, Matijašević Pero, Medini Antun, Milić Marko, Milijas Antun, Muratti Miho, Papi kap. Ivo, Papi Marin, Paskojević Antun, Paskojević A. Antun, Pašeta Ivo, Pašeta Jozo, Perdića Božo, Peričević Pavo, Peš L. Ivo općinski prisjednik, Rajčević Vlaho, Tičić Simo, Trojanović pok. A. Ivo, Stjepanović M. Nikola glavar sela Prožure, Sakno P., Šišić Mato, Vianelo Niko, Vodnica Ivo, Vragolov Mato, Vragolov Gjuro.

Gornji potpisnici su iz općina dubrovačkoga kotara.

Razumije se samo po sebi, da ovdje nijesu ni iz daleka potpisani svi Srbi katolici iz Dubrovnika i okolice. Kratkoća vremena i važnost stvari nije dopustila, da se pričekala, dok se više potpiša pokupi. Dosta je i ovo-liko, da se dokaže sv. stolici u Rimu, da je biskupi ni u kome pogledu nijesu tačno izvjestili.

Molimo prijatelje i jednomišljenike, da svaki u svome krugu i u svome mjestu nastavi kupiti potpise, pa da ih šalje uredništvu, koje će ih u listu iznijeti i u Rim poslati.

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Rampolla received the telegram and wrote to the Ragusan bishop Marčelić, asking him to inform the Serb Catholics that “their protest is not justified since they belong to the Slavic people, so they too could benefit from the right accorded to the bishops of Ragusa to send pupils of Slavic descent and Slavic-speakers to the *Collegium* of San Girolamo”²⁴³.

According to the draft preserved in the Dubrovnik Diocesan Archive and also to the original of the letter preserved in the Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Marčelić’s refused politely to comply with Rampolla’s request and offered his own interpretation to the cardinal Secretary of State. The very reason for the Serb Catholics’ complaint, according to the bishop, was allegedly intrinsic to their nationalist pretensions. “According to them, the Serbian people is the national majority both in Dalmatia and in the neighbouring provinces”²⁴⁴.

From these documents, it could be argued that the Holy See and the Dalmatian high Catholic clergy displayed differing attitudes towards the Serb Catholics. The Vatican, at least until 1903 (when Pope Leo XIII died), was well disposed towards them. During the San Girolamo affair, Leo XIII was willing to meet their request about the name change and to do it *pro bono pacis*²⁴⁵.

The Secretary of State himself, Cardinal Rampolla, manifested his good disposition towards the Montenegrin request (despite the diplomatic problems it had created with Austria) by writing to the Archbishop of Vrhbosna Josip Stadler, a strong supporter of the Croatian reasons in the matter, and explaining to him that: “The Holy See cannot impose the name of Croats on those who absolutely refuse it”²⁴⁶.

The Dalmatian Catholic clergy was instead very suspicious towards the Serb Catholics, perceived to be a “liberal” enemy and a kind of fifth column within the Croatian Catholic flock.

²⁴³ *ABD, Sig. 2, Ser. Povjerljivi Spisi Atti Riservati, 1900-1909*, file year 1900, Rampolla to Marčelić, Roma, 19 September 1901, n. 65526. Rampolla’s draft is in *ASV, Segr. Stato, anno 1902, rubr. 7, fasc. 2, f. 46rv*.

²⁴⁴ *ABD, Sig. 2, Ser. Povjerljivi Spisi Atti Riservati, 1900-1909*, file year 1900, Marčelić to Rampolla (draft), Ragusa, 27 September 1901. The original of the Ragusan bishop’s letter is in *ASV, Segr. Stato, anno 1902, rubr. 7, fasc. 2, f. 85rv*.

²⁴⁵ The Pope’s positive disposition is clearly affirmed by the preparatory report that introduced the Cardinals’ meeting of 9 February 1902. See *S.RR.SS., AA.EE.SS., Austria-Ungheria, pos. 885, fasc. 398, ‘Relazione’, 9 February 1902, ff. 66r-68v (f. 67r)*.

²⁴⁶ *ASV, Segr. Stato, anno 1902, rubr. 7, fasc. 3, f. 49rv*, Rampolla to Stadler, Roma, 16 December 1901 (draft): “[...] la Santa Sede la quale non può imporre il nome di croati a coloro che lo rifiutano assolutamente, si trova nella ineludibile necessità di prendere in considerazione le sue osservazioni [alluding to Montenegro’s requests]”.

A comment published by *Srđ*, a cultural review founded by the Serb Catholics of Dubrovnik at the beginning of 1902, greeted enthusiastically the pontifical decision by which “[...] that dangerous theory, which confused Church and nationality with each other among the South Slav Catholics, has been refused forever”²⁴⁷. The Croatians were disappointed. The Franciscan Ivančić, whom we have seen at work on the previous pages in the question of the *Dubrovačka* booklet, will entrust his ideas to a huge historical book printed in Rome in Italian²⁴⁸. In the Archivio Segreto Vaticano a memorial is kept without date and without signature but which certainly dates back to September or October 1901. Comparing the calligraphy with that in Ivančić's report on *Dubrovačka* and considering the very learned and specialized tenor of this memorial, it is likely that its author was also Ivančić. Reconstructing the history of the church of San Girolamo degli Illirici in Rome, of the confraternity and of the hospice since the late Middle Ages, the author reiterates that these institutions were designed *ab initio* for the South Slavs – therefore, any claim of the Italians of Dalmatia would be without foundation – and, within the South Slavs, for the Croats specifically. As for the term "Croatia", the author invited the Holy See to note that

"the names Croatia and Croatians have a double meaning: in the first one it denotes a province, a country; and in this meaning the Croatians are different from the Dalmatians, from the Slavonians, from the Bosnians and from the Istrians. But in their other meaning, these terms indicate nationality and in this meaning there is no opposition between Croats from Croatia and between Croats from Bosnia, Dalmatia, Istria and Slavonia. It is in this second meaning that we use the name of Croatia and the Croats"²⁴⁹.

²⁴⁷ *Srđ*, 1, 1902, 8, 30 April 1902, p. 372.

²⁴⁸ *La questione di S. Girolamo dei Schiavoni in Roma in faccia alla storia e al diritto ed il Breve di S.S. Leone XIII "Slavorum gentem" / studio di F.S.I, Roma. Tip. Capitolina D. Battarelli, 1901.*

²⁴⁹ *ASV, Segr. Stato, anno 1902, rubr. 7, fasc. 2, ff. 2r-18r (f. 6r):* “Si noti però che il nome Croazia e Croati ha doppio significato: nell’uno denota una provincia, un paese; ed in tal significato i Croati si oppongono ai Dalmati, ai Slavoni, ai Bosniaci ed Istriani. Ma nell’altro significato denota la nazionalità, nel quale non v’è opposizione tra i Croati di Croazia e tra i Croati di Bosnia, Dalmazia, Istria e Slavonia. In questo ultimo significato noi adoperiamo il nome della Croazia e dei Croati”.

4.4 From Serb Catholic to Yugoslav art (Marko Murat)

We will dwell here on some letters of Marko Murat (1864-1944) addressed to Antun Fabris, editor of the weekly *Dubrovnik* and leader of the Serb Catholic movement, inasmuch they are very illustrative not only of the widespread use of loan words, but also of the peculiar Ragusan mix of Serbo-Croatian, Italian words and Slavic words clearly derived from Italian lexicon. Another reason of interest of his letters is the fact that Murat and Fabris were peers and also long-time friend²⁵⁰. The manner in which the painter spoke to his journalist friend were frank and straightforward, beyond any pleasantries, sometimes abrupt, but always in a brotherly way. Marko Murat's letters represent a valuable source of documentation to realize how two cultured friends were talking in private in the *fin de siècle* Dubrovnik.

Within the *corpus* of Fabris correspondence, maybe these letters are the most interesting with regard to the distinctive trait of the language used. The description of the Ragusan way of speaking which Giuseppe Modrich did in his book a few years before immediately comes to mind:

“The conversation of the Ragusans fascinates, it is always witty, polite, brilliant. When they speak their mother tongue, the Slav, they make it a poem, overcoming all the South Slavs for what concerns the high grammatical quality; when they speak Italian, you could think that you are dealing with some Florentines. And when they talk to each other, they speak a dialect which is a very pretty and charming mix of Slav and Italian. The Ragusan are able to express whole sentences with Italian words and Slav accentuation, and vice versa. For example: let's go *setando* (from the verb *setati*, to stroll) up to Bella Vista”²⁵¹.

²⁵⁰ According to Sofija Božić, Marko Murat painted portraits of Antun Fabris as well as of Ivan Stojanović, but they are lost. It seems that these works were particularly successful. Cfr. S. Božić, *Srbi u Hrvatskoj i Jugoslovenska Država 1918-1929* [The Serbs in Croatia and the Yugoslav state 1918-1929], Beograd, 2015, p. 605 (hereinafter: Božić, 2015).

²⁵¹ Modrich 1892, p. 290 [the italics are in the original text: here Modrich means the Serbo-Croatian verb “*šetati*”]: “La conversazione dei ragusei, sempre arguta, diplomatica, geniale, vi affascina. Se parlano la loro madrelingua, la slava, ne fanno un poema linguistico, superando, nella perfezione delle forme grammaticali, tutti gli slavi del sud; se parlano italiano, li direste fiorentini. E quando parlano tra loro, adoperano un dialetto di prammatica, un amalgama graziosissimo di slavo e di italiano che vi incanta. Sono capaci di esprimere frasi intiere con parole italiane e accentuazione slava. E viceversa. Eccovi un esempio: ‘andiamo *setando* (dal verbo *setati*, passeggiare) fino a Bella Vista”’.

In 1900, the main preoccupation of Marko Murat was the promotion of his *magnum opus*, the oil painting *Dolazak cara Dušana u Dubrovnik* (“The Emperor Dušan’s arrival in Dubrovnik”), a majestic depiction of the second coming of the Serbian sovereign in the city in 1350, whose dimension were 5 x 3.20 metres²⁵². Marko Murat informed his friend Fabris on 12 February 1900 on the conclusion of his important work, writing from Belgrade²⁵³. The painter lived in the Serbian capital city since 1894, when he was invited there by Milenko Vesnić, who at that age was a deputy in the Serbian *Skupština* for the People’s Radical Party and the Minister of Education. Murat met Vesnić in Munich, where the former had attended the Academy of Fine Arts from 1886 to 1893 and the latter had done his PhD in Law²⁵⁴. Once having concluded the Academy, Murat spent brief periods in Italy, in Paris and in Dubrovnik. Notwithstanding that in the second half of the nineteenth century the Dubrovnik’s hinterland gave birth to three important painters such as Murat himself, Vlaho Bukovac and Mato Celestin Medović, at the end of the 1890s the city still did not have a specialised exhibition space, which was eventually put into place only in 1945, even if the idea of its establishment dated back to the interwar period. In the absence of an Art Gallery, the paintings were exhibited in the shop windows alongside the *Stradun* (mainly the shops of Stjepan Bravačić and of M. Mitrović), at the renowned pharmacy Šarić, at the

²⁵² These informations are provided in *ZKD, ZK, Korespondencija* n. 88, letter n. 2, Marko Murat to Antun Fabris, Beograd, 14 September, 1900. More precisely, the coming of the *Car Dušan* painted by Murat was the second one that the Serbian sovereign did in Dubrovnik. He did the first one in 1331, acting as young prince. Cfr. Vukmirović, 1965, p. 262 note 17.

²⁵³ *ZKD, ZK, Korespondencija* n. 88, letter n. 1, Marko Murat to Antun Fabris, Beograd, 12 February 1900.

²⁵⁴ Marko Murat was born in the Šipan island, the largest of the small archipelago of the Elaphites, a few km northwest of Dubrovnik. There he attended the primary school with the renowned priest, poet and translator Antun Pasko Kazali as a teacher. Then Marko Murat attended the Catholic seminary in Dubrovnik. His maternal uncle was Vice Palunko, an important priest of the diocese. The prospective painter continued his theological studies in Zadar, but his talent was noticed by Ljudevit (Luj) Vranyczany-Dobrinović, a Croatian nobleman who sponsored his subsequent studies in Munich. While still in Zadar, Marko Murat was instructed in painting by the Franciscan monk Josip (Giuseppe) Rossi (1843-1890), who was born in Trieste, trained in painting in Venice and made works of art for churches in Zadar and in Dubrovnik (St. Blaise church and Franciscan monastery). Cfr. P. M. Pejić, ‘Slikar fra Josip Rossi’, *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru*, 46, 2004, pp. 325-333. Here and onwards, the informations on Marko Murat’s biography are taken also from Božić, 2015, pp. 603-606 and from I. Viden, ‘Muratova (auto)biografska uzgrednica’ [Autobiographical fragments of Marko Murat], *Kolo. Časopis Matice hrvatske*, 2, 2007, URL: < <http://www.matica.hr/kolo/307/muratova-autobiografska-uzgrednica-20502/>> (hereinafter: Viden, 2007).

Čitaonica, at the *općinska kavana* (the council-run coffee shop) and at the town hall²⁵⁵.

Marko Murat was appointed by Vesnić as *učitelja veština* (master of arts) in the Belgrade gymnasium. At the beginning of 1894, when the government led by Sava Grujić was overthrown, the political fortunes of Vesnić halted for some years, during which he continued to teach International Law at the Beograd *Velika Škola* (the Advanced School that soon after grew into the main Serbian University). Marko Murat and Vesnić remained good friends and the painter made two portraits of him in 1894 and in 1902²⁵⁶. His job in Belgrade did not prevent Murat from returning to Dubrovnik. From an essay on woman painters in Dubrovnik between the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, we know that Marko Murat, together with Bukovac and Medović, was considered to have been a mentor of Domenika (Dome) Suhor (1854-1940), who in 1896 had her own atelier in Pile²⁵⁷. Furthermore, Murat drew the face of another Ragusan woman painter, Jelka (also known as Jelena) Bizzarro, within his *Dolazak cara Dušana u Dubrovnik*²⁵⁸. As for the rest, Marko Murat revolved around Belgrade and the Serbian world. This is indirectly confirmed also by a recent analytical study on the participation of Croatian artists in the more important international exhibitions of this period. It emerges that the Ragusan painter played an ephemeral role within the network that has been formally defined considering the data gained from the catalogues of these exhibitions. Marko Murat participated only at the International Art Exhibition held in Zagreb in 1891, resulting absent from subsequent exhibitions, such as the Croatian Salon in Zagreb (1898) or the Austro-Hungarian exhibition in Sankt Petersburg (1899), whereas Vlaho Bukovac emerged as the artist who participated in more events and with most artworks²⁵⁹.

²⁵⁵ S. Žaja Vrbica, 'Fundus Umjetničke galerije Dubrovnik' [The fonds of the Art Gallery of Dubrovnik], *Informatica museologica*, 31, 2000, 1-2, pp. 97-100.

²⁵⁶ Božić, 2015, p. 604.

²⁵⁷ V. B. Lupis and S. Žaja Vrbica, 'Prilog poznavanju prvih dubrovačkih slikarica' [A contribution to the study of women painters of Dubrovnik in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century], *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Dubrovniku*, 52, 2014, 2, pp. 521-548 (p. 524).

²⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 533. She was the daughter of Lujo Bizzarro, a supporter of the Serbian party in Dubrovnik and the granddaughter of the poet Ivan Bizzarro. The fact that Jelka/Jelena was depicted by Marko Murat is mentioned also in M. Foretić, 'Bizar (Bizzarro)', in *HBL*, 1983. From 1896 onwards the family surname turned into Ohmućević Bizzarro.

²⁵⁹ I. Kraševac and Ž. Tonković, 'Umjetničko umrežavanje putem izložaba u razdoblju rane moderne – sudjelovanje hrvatskih umjetnika na međunarodnim izložbama od 1891. do 1900. godine' [Artistic Networking in Exhibitions during the Early Modernist Period: participation of Croatian Artists in International Exhibitions (1891–1900)], *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti*, 40, 2016, 1, pp. 203-217

In September 1900, the *Exposition Universelle Internationale de 1900* in Paris (the Paris Universal Exposition) was in full swing²⁶⁰. The painting *Dolazak cara Dušana u Dubrovnik* had been exhibited at the pavilion of the Kingdom of Serbia together with the works of other valued Serbian painters, such as Pavle (Paja) Jovanović, Rista Vukanović and Stefan Todorović, among others. That pavilion was located near le Pont d'Alma and it was designed by Milan Kapetanović, a professor at the *Velika Škola*, who planned the building in Serbian-Byzantine architectural style²⁶¹.

During these weeks, Murat sent to Fabris a letter from Belgrade, whose manuscript bore the bigger inscription in red pencil “*importantissimo*” (“very important”, in Italian). Writing in Serbo-Croatian Cyrillic, the painter introduced his request to Fabris saying that his brother Andro had scolded him for not having made an adequate promotion of his masterpiece. It was something he was not capable of, wrote Marko Murat, therefore he decided to turn to his old friend in

(hereinafter: Kraševac and Tonković, 2016). Evidently, this study enumerates Marko Murat in the group of “Croatian artists” in reason of his place of birth, independently from the Serbian national ideas that the painter eventually expressed.

²⁶⁰ The world’s fair in the French capital was held from 14 April to 12 November 1900. As a cultural and economic event, it surely represented a milestone due to its unprecedented dimensions; it was an occasion where the world “was to be put on display to an extent hitherto unknown (...) Altogether attracting more than 50 million spectators over the course of seven months, it set a record that was broken only at Expo 67 in Montreal”. Cfr. A. C. T. Geppert, ‘Paris 1900: the Exposition Universelle as a Century’s Protean Synthesis’, in *id.* (ed.), *Fleeting Cities. Imperial Expositions in fin-de-Siècle Europe*, New York, 2010, pp. 62-100 (pp. 62-63).

²⁶¹ Antun Fabris wrote a detailed description of the Serbian pavilion in the edition 1901 of his *Kalendar*. His account praised the Serbian participation to the Paris event as a portrayal of national pride. The expositions of paintings and of traditional dress, together with the images and of the descriptions of economic, handicraft and mining Serbian activities, all these elements contributed to the success of the pavilion, which was built “in resemblance with the Studenica Serbian Orthodox monastery [near Kraljevo, in central Serbia]”, founded by the Serbian medieval king Stefan Nemanja. “All that was exhibited - Fabris wrote - had a cultural, economic or generally practical meaning. All the specialists stated that Serbia has taken the first place amongst the Balkan states with respect to the multiplicity, the abundance and the value of the items exposed” (“Sve što je izloženo, imalo je kulturni, privredni ili uopće praktični značaj. Svi stručnjaci tvrdili su, da je Srbija sa svojom izložbom zauzela prvo mjesto među balkanskijem državama u pogledu raznovrsnosti, bogatstva i vrijednosti izloženijeh prijedmeta”). Fabris noticed also the presence within the pavilion’s arcades of an ethnographic “museum”, where every distinctive folkloric trait (“private, public and religious”) of the Serbian world was exhibited, “coming from all the lands where Serbian peoples lives”: there were six groups of waxworks, covering subjects from Scutari to “Gjakova” [Đakovica, in present-day Kosovo], from Novi Pazar to Macedonia, from Montenegro, Croatia, Slavonia, Dalmatia and Southern Hungary, and of course from Bosnia and Herzegovina. Cfr. A. F. [Antun Fabris], ‘Paviljon kraljevine Srbije na svjetskoj izložbi u Parizu’ [The pavilion of the Kingdom of Serbia at the Paris Universal Exposition], *Dubrovnik. Kalendar za godinu 1901. Izdanje i naklada Srpske Dubrovačke Štamparije A. Pasarića*, Dubrovnik, 1900, pp. 120-125.

Dubrovnik, providing him with some general informations from Paris and asking him to publish an article on the weekly *Dubrovnik*²⁶².

Amongst these informations, Marko Murat included an account of the critiques on his painting published by some international reviews such as *Le Progrès artistique*, *Le Ménestrel* and the *English Gazette*. With a bit of an artist's vanity, Marko Murat maintained that those critiques privileged his work over the painting of Paja Jovanović exhibited at the Serbian pavilion, requesting Fabris not to mention this last element in order to not offend Jovanović's touchiness²⁶³. Then, Fabris was informed that both Marko Murat and Bukovac were awarded at the Paris Exposition ("As far as I know, me and Bukovac have been the only Ragusan painters that have been awarded")²⁶⁴. The lion's share of the expositions in the

²⁶² ZKD, ZK, *Korespondencija* n. 88, letter n. 2, Marko Murat to Antun Fabris, Beograd, 14 September, 1900: "Dragi moj Toni, grdi me Andro što ne pravim reklame za moga „Dušana". Ja to ne umijem, nego ću rijet' tebi dvije riječi, a ti ako nađeš za dobro veži ih i napiši ako ćeš *artikuo* [that is a sort of Italianism, or a Slavicisation of the Italian term *articolo*, meaning "article". Vukmirović, 1965, p. 261, defines this word as a *Dubrovčanizam*] od kilometra za tvoj Dubr. [the weekly *Dubrovnik*, written in Latin alphabet]. Hoćeš li?"

²⁶³ *Ibid.*: "Strane kritike o njoj se lijepo izražuju. Reklo bi se da stavljaju nad Jovanovićevu (ali to nemoj kazati, znaš? da se ne uvrijedi njegova osjetljivost". Marko Murat here referred to the painting *Proglašenje Dušanovog zakonika u Skoplju* (The proclamation of Dušan's Law Codex), cfr. Vukmirović, 1965, p. 261, note 10. The recent scholarship refers to this painting using the title *Krunisanje cara Dušana* (The coronation of Emperor Dušan), cfr. J. Milojković-Djurić, 'Mutual Illuminations: articulating National Legacies in the Balkans and Eastern Europe around the turn of the Nineteenth Century', *Serbian Studies. Journal of the North American Society for Serbian Studies*, 21, 2007, 2, pp. 191-200 (hereinafter: Milojković-Djurić, 2007). There are six other versions of this painting, cfr. L. Filipovitch Robinson, 'Paja Jovanović and the Imaging of War and Peace', *Serbian Studies. Journal of the North American Society for Serbian Studies*, 22, 2008, 1, pp. 35-52 (p. 48) (hereinafter: Filipovitch Robinson, 2008); this last article provides also ten illustrations of Jovanović's works and an up-to-date bibliography. Paja Jovanović (1859-1957) was a central figure in Serbian and later in Yugoslav art. He was born in Vršac, in present-day Vojvodina, at the time a Hungarian county, and studied painting in Vienna, thanks to scholarships funded by *Matica Srpska* and then by the Austrian government (cfr. Filipovitch Robinson, 2008, pp. 36-37). His famous historical composition *Seoba Srba* ("The Serbian migration") dedicated to the migration of Serbian into Hungarian territory in 1690 was commissioned by the Serbian Patriarch Georgije Branković and was designated for the Millennium Exhibit in Budapest in 1896. It has been pointed out that Jovanović's monumental paintings were exalted as the apotheosis of the Serbian past and as the highest achievements of Serbian pictorial art: a manifestation of the spiritual climate and of Serbian national pride at the turn of the twentieth century. Cfr. J. Milojković-Djurić, 'The Roles of Jovan Skerlić, Stevan Mokranjac, and Paja Jovanović in Serbian Cultural History, 1900-1914', *Slavic Review*, 47, 1988, 4, pp. 687-701.

²⁶⁴ ZKD, ZK, *Korespondencija* n. 88, letter n. 2, Marko Murat to Antun Fabris, Beograd, 14 September, 1900.

Croatian-Slavonian space within the Hungarian pavilion had gone to his fellow citizen, Vlaho Bukovac, who presented nine paintings²⁶⁵.

Marko Murat's main aim in that moment, however, was to find a buyer for his painting and so he asked Fabris to help him for the purpose of attracting interest of some well-to-do Ragusan. The maximum price set by the author was twenty-four thousand golden Francs, negotiable. Fabris's task would have been to try to entice "Niko Divanović to buy the painting for the Reading Society of from his own house". In the case that Fabris would have proposed other potential buyers, the painter could have agreed but he recommended circumspection and if the potential buyer would have been a friend of his, Murat would have contacted him directly²⁶⁶. By means of a *post scriptum* where he switched from Cyrillic to Latin alphabet, the painter suggested an argument that would have been appealing both to Fabris and to potential buyers: the *Dolazak* should have not ended up in foreign hands, inasmuch

"it is very important that the painting would remain in Dubrovnik, being it an outstanding document of the ancient Serbianness of Dubrovnik. If it would not be bought by a single person, in that case let us make sure that the Serbs of Dubrovnik will buy it collectively"²⁶⁷.

Just over a month later, Marko Murat reiterated his request, taking the occasion to thank Fabris for what he has done in the meantime and also for asking him to intercede with the Orthodox church commune in Trebinje in Herzegovina in order to be entrusted with the frescoes in local religious buildings: this is an

²⁶⁵ Two of them - *Tri slike iz Danteove komedije* (Three images from Dante's Divine Comedy) and *S morske obale* (From the shores) - were presented unfinished. *Le Progrès artistique* acclaimed the performance of Croatian painters and coined for them the epithet *zagrebačka škola* (the Zagreb School). Cfr. Kraševac and Tonković, 2016, p. 215 and p. 209. Marko Murat did not mention it, but also Paja Jovanović was awarded in Paris: the French authorities bestowed him the title of *Officier d'Académie* (cfr. Milojković-Djurić, 2007, p. 192), as well as Murat himself and Bukovac..

²⁶⁶ *ZKD, ZK, Korespondencija* n. 88, letter n. 2, Marko Murat to Antun Fabris, Beograd, 14 September 1900: "[...] a neka ti glavna cijelj bude da Niko Divanović kupi sliku za štionicu ili za njegov dom. Udesi stvar kako bolje umiješ. Ako znaš da bi mu kogod mogo o tome govoriti s nadom u bolji uspijeh, javi mi ko je to, te ako je moj prijatelj sam ću mu pisati, a ako je tvoj ti ćeš mu preporučiti. Je li? Velika opreznost i diplomacija!". Despite the research done, I have not been able to complete these few informations provided by Vukmirović, 1965, p. 261, note 12 regarding this Niko Divanović: "a notable and well-to-do citizen, owner of a beautiful building in Pile, president of the Reading society".

²⁶⁷ *Ibid.*: "[...] da bi bila grehota da slika pođe u tuđe ruke, da ona mora ostati u Dubrovniku kao jedan veliki dokumenat staroga srpstva Dubrovnika. Pa ako neće jedan, neka je svi Srbi Dubr. [*sic*] zajedno otkupe! *Capio?* [this last word is a Slavicisation of the Italian term *capito?*, meaning "Do you understand me?"]".

interesting detail that reveals how Marko Murat - a Catholic - did not feel any embarrassment in applying for the painting of religious subjects in an Orthodox church²⁶⁸. Regarding the *Dolazak* question, he urged Fabris not to be demoralized and confessed that he was constantly thinking about his masterpiece and about the Serbs of Dubrovnik.

“I believe that the Serbs in the city should be very interested in so a noteworthy event of their history, that a fellow countryman has artistically portrayed, and I think that they should buy the painting, if not for anything else, for make the Croats envy it! - It is necessary in my opinion that the *Omladina* [the *Srpska Dubrovačka Akademska Omladina*, namely the Union of Serbian Ragusan university students] gets going with becoming passionate to that question and that it starts to collect the money. Please, suggest it to them“²⁶⁹.

All this fervor in the end did not get the desired result and Marko Murat in 1901 donated his painting to queen Draga in Belgrade²⁷⁰. Within his correspondence with Fabris, the *Dolazak* will be mentioned only another time, when he sent to Fabris a photograph of the painting, asking him to publish it under the condition that the photograph itself would have been reproduced through

²⁶⁸ Marko Murat has learnt about the break of the agreement between the Orthodox church commune and the Montenegrin painter Marko Gregović. This fact sparked his interest in being appointed for this work and therefore he asked Fabris to gather information on the question. In this letter, he took also the occasion to complain that he (“the Serbian painter Marko Murat, of Dubrovnik, their nearest neighbour”) had been ignored by the Orthodox commune of Trebinje. Cfr. *ZKD, ZK, Korespondencija* n. 88, letter n. 3, Marko Murat to Antun Fabris, Beograd, 31 October, 1900: “Dozno sam, da se je pokvarila pogodba koju je slikar g. Gregović bio sklopio sa crkvenom opštinom u Trebinju za slikanje tamošnje crkve pravoslavne. Kada bi uslovi bili povoljni, ja bih se vrlo rado latio toga posla, a mislim (*fra parentesi*) [Italics added: here the painter switched from Cyrillic to Latin, and from Serbo-Croatian to Italian; *fra parentesi* means “by the way”] da je i pametnije bilo, da su se gospoda odmah sjetila srpskoga slikara Marka Murata, Dubrovčanina, najbližega susjeda svoga”. Fabris was entrusted to ask the commune to not appoint any other painter, at least until the negotiation with Gregović would have come to an end, in one way or another. However (cfr. Vukmirović, 1965, p. 263, note 20) things went differently and the Trebinje paintings were entrusted to Tanasko Popović, a local painter trained in Vienna.

²⁶⁹ *Ibid.*: “Mislim još neprestano da će Srbima Dubrovčanima biti toliko stalo za jedan tako važan fakat u njihovoj istoriji, umjetnički na platno prenesen od jednog njihovog slikara, da ga nabave, ako ni za što drugo, a ono da njime izbijaju Hrvatima oči! - Treba, mislim, da se Omladina pokrene, prene, da se zagrije za tu stvar i skupi novac. Molim te dakle, da ti to Omladini prišapneš“.

²⁷⁰ Vukmirović, 1965, p. 262, note 17. Marko Murat will maintain cordial relations with the Obrenović royal couple. In autumn 1902, during a stay in the village of Orašac near Dubrovnik where his brother Andro was the local parish priest, he sent a birthday greeting telegram to the queen Draga. In a letter to Fabris, he mentioned the thank-you note received from the queen’s lady-in-waiting from Niš. Cfr. *ZKD, ZK, Korespondencija* n. 88, letter n. 10, Marko Murat to Antun Fabris, Orašac, 2 October, 1902.

heliography. The same condition was fixed regarding the picture postcard²⁷¹ of the *Dolazak* that would have been distributed by Jozo Škrabo, a retailer who had his shop in the Gundulić square and for several years was a member of the board of the *Srpska Dubrovačka Građanska Muzika* (the Serbian Marching Band of Dubrovnik)²⁷².

The Ragusan painter remained a very welcome figure at the Serbian royal court, even after the violent 1903 coup that led to the bloody assassination of the king Aleksandar Obrenović and of his spouse Draga Milićević Lunjevica²⁷³. From 1904 to 1906, thanks to the mediation of his friend Lujo Vojnović, Murat was the art teacher of the young prince Aleksandar Karađorđević and in 1905 he was amongst the founders of the Belgrade Academy of Fine Arts. Furthermore, in Belgrade he was part of a circle of intellectuals such as the Dalmatian Serb Simo Matavulj, the Croatian writer Antun Gustav Matoš and the Croatian sculptor Ivan Meštrović, amongst others. Around 1906 he also contributed to *Lada*²⁷⁴, the first fully South Slavic society of artists which was founded in Sofia on 29 December 1904²⁷⁵ and gathered together members from Croatia, Serbia, Slovenia and even Bulgaria²⁷⁶.

²⁷¹ ZKD, ZK, *Korespondencija* n. 88, letter n. 14, Marko Murat to Antun Fabris (number VI in Vukmirović's edition). The letter lacks indication of the place from where it was sent, as well as of the date, but probably it was written in 1901, considering that the photograph of the *Dolazak* would eventually appear within the first not numbered pages of the yearbook *Dubrovnik. Kalendar za godinu 1902. Izdanje i naklada Srpske Dubrovačke Štamparije A. Pasarića*, Dubrovnik, 1901. In the same publication (pp. 129-194) there was also a historical short novel titled *Priček Cara Dušana u Dubrovniku* [The welcome of Emperor Dušan in Dubrovnik], not signed but attributed to Vid Vuletić Vukasović.

²⁷² Vukmirović, 1965, p. 264, note 29.

²⁷³ The bibliography on the 1903 coup is very vast. See at least the vivid account in Clark, 2012, pp. 3-5 and the classic W. S. Vucinich, *Serbia between East and West. The events of 1903-1908*, Stanford, 1954, pp. 46-59.

²⁷⁴ Viđen, 2007.

²⁷⁵ R. Vučetić, 'Jugoslavenstvo u umjetnosti i kulturi – od zavodljivog mita do okrutne realnosti (Jugoslavenske izložbe 1904.-1940.)' [Yugoslavism in art and culture - from seductive myth to harsh reality (The Yugoslav exhibitions 1904-1940)], *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, 41, 2009, 3, pp. 701-714 (p. 705) (hereinafter: Vučetić, 2009).

²⁷⁶ Since its foundation, there were two different tendencies within *Lada*: one interpreted the South Slavic space as a federation of nations and cultures, whereas the other identified with a unitarist Yugoslavism. Those who belonged to the latter tendency eventually left *Lada* at the end of 1908 in order to establish another society, called *Medulić*, with Vlaho Bukovac at the head and the leadership of Ivan Meštrović. This society did its first exhibition in Zagreb in November and December 1910, focusing on the battle of Kosovo 1389 under the motto "in spite of unheroic times" quoted by Ivo Vojnović. Cfr. Ivetic, 2012, pp. 163-164; Banac, 1992, p. 204. For the perception of Austro-Hungarian diplomacy on the foundation of *Lada*, see *A-UiS*, vol. III, doc. 10, Karl von Braun to Agenor Gołuchowski, Sofia, January 5, 1905; *ibid.*, vol. IV, doc. 251, Wilhelm von Storck to Agenor Gołuchowski, Sofia, July 19, 1906, interesting for the use of the expression "südslavische Phantasie" regarding the attitude of the journalists and of the students

During the first decade of the twentieth century, the figurative arts gave new momentum to the Yugoslavism²⁷⁷. Starting from the first Yugoslav art exhibition which was organized in Belgrade in 1904, a series of events played a great role in bringing together Croatian, Serbian, Slovenes and also Bulgarian artists, in order to reaffirm and at the same time to create a common cultural space²⁷⁸.

In 1911, Marko Murat participated to one of these events, which resulted in a milestone for this period. We are talking about the International Exhibition of Art held in Rome in 1911 to celebrate the fiftieth of the Italian unification. The kingdom of Serbia participated with its own pavilion where several artists from Habsburg Croatia and Dalmatia exhibited as well, due to the Viennese authorities' refusal to arrange a separate exhibition of the monarchy's South Slavs. The highlights of the Serbian pavilion, as it is known, were Ivan Meštrović's sculptures, parts of his never built Kosovo or St. Vitus (*Vidovdan*) Temple. The first statues had already been presented in Vienna and Zagreb exhibitions in 1910. Much has been written about Meštrović as a "poet of the Yugoslav race" and a "prophet of Yugoslavism" and about his powerful sculptures, standard bearers of an eclectic Yugoslavist style²⁷⁹, of a synthetic and multicultural Yugoslav art²⁸⁰ or rather of a Yugoslavism's primordialist variant²⁸¹.

What is important to stress here is close chronological proximity between Meštrović's period and those years when competing Croatian and Serbian

convened in a *Lada* event: "Die Maler und Bildhauer (Präsident der „Lada“ ist der chechische Maler Weschin) wollen alles vermeiden, was der Ausstellung einen provokatorisch politischen Anstrich geben könnte. Journalisten und Studenten hingegen dürften den Anlass gerne ergreifen, um ihre südslavische Phantasie auf dem Gebiete der hohen Politik schweifen zu lassen. Die hiesigen panslavischen Organe präludieren auch schon in dieser Tonart und emmittieren die Ansicht, que les débats des dits congrés feront passer des nuits blanches aux fonctionnaires du Ballplatz [*sic*]".

²⁷⁷ For a recapitulation on the cultural climate in the 1900s until 1914 in the light of the evolution of the Yugoslav idea, see Ivetic, 2012, pp. 160-177.

²⁷⁸ Vučetić, 2009; D. Tošić, *Jugoslovenske umetničke izložbe 1904-1927* [The Yugoslav Art Exhibitions 1904-1927], Beograd, 1979.

²⁷⁹ Banac, 1992, pp. 202-205

²⁸⁰ Wachtel, 1998, pp. 55-59; p. 111 and p. 125 (Meštrović and his art as a "heroic multicultural synthesis").

²⁸¹ In a recent essay, Aleksandar Ignjatović has disapproved what he has defined as the canonical interpretation initiated by Wachtel on Meštrović's art and on its relation with the pre-Yugoslavia Yugoslavism. Criticising the interpretation based on the concept of "Yugoslav synthesis", Ignjatović had argued that "the Vidovdan Temple was decisive for the cultural imagination of Yugoslavism's primordialist variant, based on the idea of South Slavs as a single, primordial nation, united by common descent, pre-schismatic historical unity, and, most important, the obliteration of cultural and religious differences between Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes". Cfr. A. Ignjatović, 'Images of the Nation Foreseen: Ivan Meštrović's Vidovdan Temple and Primordial Yugoslavism', *Slavic Review*, 73, 2014, 4, pp. 828-858 (p. 831).

ideologies diverged intensely, in Dubrovnik and in Dalmatia as well as in Croatia-Slavonia. In a few years, a transition occurred that would have bewildered a not well-versed spectator. In the field of the visual arts, a growing collaboration between Croatian and Serbian accompanied the same process that in the political field was taking place with the *Novi Kurs*.

The personal trajectory of Marko Murat is exemplary in this sense. In 1900, as we have seen, he dreamed about becoming an epic poet of the Serbianness of Dubrovnik, a painter whose piece on emperor Dušan would have overshadowed that of the esteemed Serbian master Paja Jovanović²⁸². In the following years, Marko Murat moved towards an increasingly anti-Austrian and Yugoslavist attitude, collaborating with those artists who tried to create a common cultural reality amongst the South Slav. From a strictly artistic point of view, coeval critics and colleagues noted how he was capable of a lyrical mood in painting: the Mediterranean sun of his birthplace, incorporated in pictures which were “impressions full of light and air”, opened new possibilities for the Serbian painting²⁸³. He will remain a peculiar border figure between the Serbian world of Belgrade, where he will continue to work, and his native Dubrovnik, where he will return after the First World War.

²⁸² Jovanović’s painting exhibited in Paris has been considered by a reviewer as “a history lesson on the greatness of the Serbian past and the legitimacy of its contemporary territorial claims”, as well as the representation of “the apex of a sophisticated and cultured society governed by a code of laws he [Dušan] had authored”. The painter made it clear that the coronation of Dušan occurred in Skoplje and this element was intended to give support to the contemporary Serbian claims on Macedonia. Cfr. Filipovitch Robinson, 2008, p. 49.

²⁸³ M. Adamović, ‘Retrospective’ section in the Serbian pavilion at the 1911 Universal Exposition in Rome. An artistic cross-section of the period’, *Balkanica*, 27, 1996, pp. 301-314. The judgement on the “impressions full of light and air” is of the Serbian female painter Nadežda Petrović, quoted *ibid.*, p. 304. According to Vera Ristić, author of a monograph on Marko Murat, by means of his *Proleće* (Spring) in 1894 “a Serbian painter painted sunlight for the first time”, quoted *ibid.*, p. 303.

5. Mapping the Serb Catholic movement (1898-1904)

5.1 Not just aristocrats

The birth certificate of Antun Fabris that we have mentioned on paragraph 3.2.5 is interesting as it shows two facts which contribute to the description of this journalist and intellectual. First of all, he was christened on 8 May 1864, so he was formally a Roman Catholic.

This is a useful fact to remember, if we consider a frequent argument used in this period by Croatian activists and by a large part of the Dalmatian Catholic clergy against the Serb Catholic movement: that is, the accusation of their being unauthentic Catholics, a group of “liberals” imbued with Serbianism; a kind of fifth column of the pan-Serbian political propagandists, inside the Catholic (and Croatian) flock.

Leaving aside here discussion about Fabris’ compliance with the Catholic mainstream of the time not to mention his personal religious faith, we can be sure at least of the fact that Fabris was officially a Roman Catholic. This is a good starting point in the description of Fabris’ personality. Despite any “confessional rule”, in fact, he felt profoundly engaged in *Srpstvo* (Serbianism) and in the Serbian national idea.

Furthermore, the birth certificate sheds light on the humble origins of his family. Having a stonecutter as a father was surely very different from being born into a noble Ragusan family. The aristocratic background was a feature certainly present among some adherents of the Serb Catholic movement, beginning with its pioneer Medo Pucić (1821-1882) but, as the case of Antun Fabris shows, in its stage of maximum growth the Serb Catholic movement succeeded in gathering individuals from a wide spectrum of social identities.

Some descendants of old Ragusan families, such as the diplomat and writer Lujo Vojnović, were still protagonists in the movement. But it can be argued that the Serb Catholic idea seduced a composite group of citizens: members of the elite groups of the population (teachers, professionals, lawyers), but also students and workers coming from different social classes, including the humbler ones.

The identification of the Serb Catholics *sic et simpliciter* with the descendants of Ragusan patrician families is an oversimplification. Admittedly, it is true that harking back to the ancient municipal identity and to the glorious aristocratic past of the Ragusan Republic was frequent in the public and private discourses of the Serb Catholics¹. In 1899, as we have already shown, the authors of the anonymous pamphlet *Dubrovačka* against the bishop Josip Marčelić described themselves as “the still standing old Ragusan citizens”². Therefore, the connection between this good-old-times nostalgia, the legitimization derived from it and the discontent with some contemporary situations of Ragusan city life is certainly an element worth considering.

However, it would be reductive to argue that this would be the primary point in the description of the Serb Catholic movement during the 1890s. The social structure, the cultural baggage and the ideological claims of this movement were actually a more complex matter and we argue that the following description of what we will define “the Antun Fabris network” supports our argument in a convincing way.

Finally, mentioning the extra-Dubrovnik origin of his family allows us to focus upon another interesting detail. During the period we are dealing with, the Serbo-Croatian dialect mainly spoken on the island of Korčula was not the *Štokavian* used in Ragusa (as it was, generally speaking, in Serbia, Montenegro, Bosnia, Herzegovina, though with different kinds of pronunciations), but the *Čakavian* dialect, as in a major part of the central and northern coastal and island area of Dalmatia and in Istria. Some of the political antagonists of Antun Fabris did not relent from highlighting the *Čakavian* origin of his family. This issue was not merely linguistic or socio-cultural; it was, rather, political. As we have already discussed, Dubrovnik’s belonging to the linguistic area of the *Štokavian* dialect was one of the most important arguments supporting the Serb Catholics’ claims of the Serbianness of the city and of its past. However, the fact that a Serb Catholic leader actually came from a *Čakavian* area constituted, not surprisingly, a polemic argument in the hands of some local Croatian publicists of the time. How could a *Čakavian* speaker – or, at least, a descendant of *Čakavian* speakers – convincingly declare himself to be a Serb and support the Serbianness of the *Štokavian* Dubrovnik? This was precisely the

¹ The presence of this topos within private conversations will be exemplified in the following pages, while some epistolary correspondences of Antun Fabris will also be illustrated.

² *S.RR.SS., AA.EE.SS., Austria-Ungheria, pos. 809, fasc. 365, f. 20r.*

meaning which could be read between the lines of the comment published by the Croatophile journal *Crvena Hrvatska* after the publication of the first issue of *Srđ*, the literary review edited by Fabris and other Serb Catholic activists in Dubrovnik from the beginning of 1902³.

5.2 Challenges and opportunities of a quantitative study in history

Our aim here is to analyse two groups of primary sources, both connected to the role of Antun Fabris as a political activist and as an intellectual, and both related to the same time frame (1898-1904). The first one (we will define it as corpus A) is made up of 177 letters that Fabris received between 1898 and 1904 from 68 individuals (activists, writers, scholars and journalists from the Habsburg Empire and from abroad). Two of these letters were signed by more than one person⁴. Unfortunately, the letters written by Fabris himself to those correspondents are not preserved in this archive except for one letter, sent to the Serb politician of Kotor, Đuro Vukotić⁵. Some letters which he wrote to the Serb Catholic academician Baltazar Bogišić are preserved in the latter's personal archive and library, both located near Dubrovnik, in the small town of Cavtat⁶, whereas the letters sent by Bogišić to Fabris and Vacchetti are preserved in the Research Library in Dubrovnik⁷.

The second group of sources (we will define it as *corpus B*) comprises a vast group of signed newspaper articles. We will focus on the social and national identities of their authors. All these articles were published between 1898 and 1904 by two Dubrovnik-based periodicals edited by Antun Fabris: the literary review

³ 'Rodilo brdo smiješnog miša' [The mountain gives birth to a ridiculous mouse], *Crvena Hrvatska*, 12, 3, 18 January 1892, cited in Tolja, 2011, p. 610.

⁴ *ZKD, ZK, Korespondencija* n. 52, Jovan Skerlić and others to Fabris, Belgrade, 12 December 1902; *ibid.*, *Korespondencija* n. 79, Svetozar Pribičević and others to Fabris, Zagreb, 27 May 1903. Both letters were signed by an editorial staffer of a political newspaper: the first letter came from the Belgrade based *Odjek*, while the second one came from the Zagreb based *Novi Srbobran*.

⁵ *ZKD, ZK, Korespondencija* n. 99, Antun Fabris and others to Đuro Vukotić, Dubrovnik, 27 April 1898.

⁶ This gap in the archival documentation has been noted also by the authors of a Croatian encyclopedic item about Fabris. See N. Jednačak and M. Foretić, 'Antun Fabris', in *HBL*, 1998. It is interesting to note how this item defines Fabris as "Croatian by birth", but that "in Dubrovnik then he connected himself with the minority group of Serb Catholic intellectuals".

⁷ Some letters that Fabris sent to Bogišić are edited in V. M. Vukmirović, 'Preписка Valtazar Bogišić-Antun Fabris' [The correspondence between Valtazar Bogišić and Antun Fabris], *Savremenik. Mesečni Književni Časopis*, 13, 1967, XXVI/7, pp. 676-682 (hereinafter: Vukmirović, 1967).

Srđ, which was published twice a month starting from 15 January 1902, and the yearbook *Dubrovnik. Kalendar Katolički, Pravoslavni, Muhamedanski i Jevrejski* (Dubrovnik. Catholic, Orthodox, Muslim and Jewish Calendar) published until 1903. The articles published by the weekly *Dubrovnik*, edited by Fabris from 1895 until his death, are not considered within this corpus B because a sizeable number of them were not signed, so they would not have provided in a significant way that information which we are looking for in the present part of our study.

Srđ took its name from the namesake mount (also spelled Srdj), which is the upland that dominates the city of Dubrovnik: in the following pages, we will deal with its meaning for the Serb Catholic movement. Regarding the *Kalendar Dubrovnik* (as we will refer to it hereinafter, for the sake of brevity), this periodical was more than a mere calendar, even though the typical information provided by a calendar (in this case a pluralistic one, from a religious-confessional point of view) was an integrant part of it. Nevertheless, the more interesting contents published in the *Kalendar Dubrovnik* were literary works, scholarly essays on the history of Dubrovnik, and biographies of notorious citizens or more broadly of renowned Serbs from Dalmatia or from Serbia proper. The editorial typology of the *Kalendar* was not a monopoly held by the Serb Catholic group, nor by Dubrovnik's press. From the midst of the 19th century, and particularly during its last decades and then up until the end of the Habsburg age, other examples of such publications were common in Dubrovnik as well as in other Dalmatian cities⁸.

As already mentioned, this *corpus B* includes all the signed articles published by these two periodicals between 1898 and 1904, except for those written by Fabris himself. We have focused on this time frame in order to investigate a group of sources pertaining to the same chronological period as that of *corpus A*. We assume that these two chronologically homogenous groups of sources complement each other and we deduce this from a particular feature of *corpus A*, namely the recurring mentions of newspaper articles made by the major part of the *corpus*' correspondents. There were different kinds of mentions: it often happened that a letter was a sort of companion text for an attached article; sometimes the correspondents asked Fabris for an extension of the deadline for

⁸ Often these almanacs had an interconfessional character. Cfr. J. Lakuš, 'Multi-confessional publications in Dalmatia of the "Holy Alliance" (1815-1848) - Endeavouring to tolerate the "Other"?', in E. Ivetic and D. Roksandić (eds.), *Tolerance and intolerance on the Triplex Confinium. Approaching the "Other" on the Borderlands Eastern Adriatic and beyond 1500-1800*, Padova, 2007, pp. 327-348. On the Dubrovnik-based periodicals, the most detailed account is Perić, 1980.

their forthcoming articles' shipping. In other cases, a correspondent could simply offer his contribution to Fabris' newspapers, while the actual shipping of the articles was postponed until an acceptance came from Dubrovnik.

It goes without saying that these kinds of communications are not unexpected in the epistolary correspondence of a journalist. However, what we are specifically claiming here is that we have to imagine Fabris not as a contemporary editor-in-chief, assisted by a group of colleagues. On the contrary, he did alone the major part of the work connected to his newspapers, especially for the weekly *Dubrovnik*, while in the case of *Srđ* he was supported by his fellow Serb Catholic activist Luko Zore.

Fabris had an administrative staff which took care of the bureaucratic and financial part of the workflow, but the editorial activity was his alone. This detail is documented in a biographical essay about him, which was published in one of the contemporary leading cultural reviews in Belgrade, the *Srpski Književni Glasnik*, soon after Fabris' death, by one of his most habitual correspondents (at least according the information provided by *corpus A*) and also a personal friend, the Serbian scholar Pavle Popović.

“Do you know what it means [to be the editor of the *Dubrovnik*]? It is not exaggerated to say that it means to be alone, without colleagues, with anybody else but you to write the columns, except, eventually, a few news correspondents from other cities”, Popović writes.

Here, Fabris had been described as a kind of heroic workaholic, always occupied in reading and writing, one who the Serbian journalists would have had to imitate, especially “the editors of some *listića* [small newspapers, said with a detrimental connotation] here in Belgrade”⁹. We will return later to the topic of the relationship between Fabris and the Belgrade journalists and intellectuals.

To get to the point: resting on the reading of the letters in *corpus A* and on the very informative biographical profile written by Popović, we can affirm that every article published in *Srđ* and in *Kalendar Dubrovnik* (that is, all the sources of *corpus B*) had previously been approved by Fabris. A logical consequence of this quite clear fact is that a personal interaction between Fabris and each one of those authors took place during the typical steps of a journalist's collaboration (the proposal or request for one article, then the shipping of the draft, and so on). Moreover, we can postulate that some epistolary correspondences took place

⁹ Pavle Popović, ‘Antun Fabris’, *Srpski Književni Glasnik*, 13, 1904, 5, pp. 351-359; *ibid.*, 13, 1904, 7, pp. 512-519; *ibid.*, 14, 1905, 1, pp. 46-58. The citation is taken from the first part of the essay, p. 353.

during these interactions. We assume that they occurred at least between Fabris and those authors who were not living in Dubrovnik at the time at which they proposed or sent their articles. It did, though, also occur that writers sent letters to Fabris while themselves living in Dubrovnik. For instance, this was the case with Walter Ljubibratić, a Serb Orthodox who taught Italian at the Dubrovnik gymnasium and published a literary essay on the poetry collection “Maternità” by the Italian poetess Ada Negri¹⁰.

Our argument is that the data which we can extract from *corpus B* regarding the social and national identities of these newspaper articles’ authors can contribute to our analysis of the network connected to Antun Fabris and consequently to the Serb Catholic movement as that network appears from the study of *corpus A*. Both the articles’ authors and the epistolary correspondents were individuals connected to Fabris. Both these groups of individuals were part of a larger group, namely the group of individuals which in the period being considered maintained a personal relation with Fabris and *latu sensu* with the Serb Catholic movement¹¹.

The systematic description of the social and of the national identities of those persons allows us to focus on a particular aspect of our broader topic and to answer the following set of research questions: Who were the persons with whom Fabris interacted during his journalistic and political activities? Do their social and national identities tell us something more about the worldview that an activist had, within the South Slavic political and cultural space, at the end of the “long 19th century”? And finally, what are the implications of this case study within our broader research on the Serb Catholic movement and on the national question in Habsburg Dalmatia?

We are well aware that answers to these questions would cover only a part of the whole historical problem. In other words, we must remember that while *corpus A* includes a large part of the epistolary correspondence of Antun Fabris which is actually preserved in the archives, it does not constitute the totality. Moreover, it goes without saying that his epistolary network covers only a part of the whole historical phenomenon of the Serb Catholic movement, even though it

¹⁰ ZKD, ZK, *Korespondencija* n. 89, Walter Ljubibratić to Antun Fabris, Dubrovnik, 1 April 1903. On this teacher belonging to the Serb Orthodox community in Dubrovnik, see Tolja, 2011, p. 303.

¹¹ I owe this particular suggestion about the integration of these two *corpora* to Vlad Popovici, Lecturer at the Babeş-Bolyai University Cluj-Napoca (Romania). I have discussed an earlier version of my research during the workshop ‘Elites, Groups, Networks. Collective Actors in Central and Southeast Europe from the 18th to mid-20th Centuries’, organized at the Institute for East and Southeast European Studies in Regensburg (Germany) by Popovici himself, Judit Pál and Oana Sorescu-Iudean, on 8 and 9 May 2017.

can be considered as a meaningful case study because of his remarkable dimensions, of the individuals which it gathered together and of the importance of many issues which are discussed within the letters.

At the same time, the selection of our *corpus B* excludes for the already mentioned reasons the articles of the weekly Dubrovnik. Nevertheless, among the individual profiles and among the questions raised by the sources analysed here, it is possible to find and to discuss some crucial issues of our more global topic: for instance, the important question of the boundaries between the Serb Catholic movement (or, better to say, between a particular group of Serb Catholics in the period considered) and other groups of activists and/or intellectuals, who belonged to different collective identities. To anticipate one of our conclusions, we will see that those borders were less rigid than expected, at least during the period considered here.

Furthermore, the chronological limitation of the study presented in this chapter must be taken into account. This is another reason for which the conclusions discussed in the following pages do not claim to extend to the entire history of the Serb Catholic movement. Yet the time frame 1898-1904 is crucial in our topic of research, inasmuch as it includes: the peak of the political conflicts between Croats and Serbs in Dubrovnik and more broadly in Dalmatia; and the beginning of the *Novi Kurs* period, with the concomitant end of this conflict. To focus on the Serbian side, this time frame includes: the peak of the political conflicts within the Serbian party in Dalmatia; the worsening of the attitude of the Austrian provincial government toward the Serbian activists, a trend epitomized by Fabris' arrest and incarceration in Dubrovnik during the autumn of 1902; and, last but not least, the Serb Catholic movement's involvement between 1901 and 1902 as an active protagonist in a diplomatic international *affaire*, the *San Girolamo degli Illirici* question, side by side with other actors such as the Holy See, the Dalmatian and Croatian Catholic high clergies, the Italian and Austro-Hungarian governments, and a group of Italophile Dalmatian irredentists in Rome.

Thus, the time frame discussed in this chapter represents only a small part of the whole history of the Serb Catholic movement, but it is an important one.

Let us make some final remarks about the theoretical implications of this chapter. Despite the fact that we have defined as a network the group of individuals gathered around Antun Fabris and his journals, we will not make use of the

concepts or the methods of Social Network Theory (SNA)¹². During our preparatory studies, we have been truly inspired by some recent works which pertain to what is called historical network research, a very promising field of historiographical studies¹³. However, our approach here is largely driven by the specificity of our data and it cannot readily accommodate any particular existing method of analysis¹⁴.

A discussion about the very existence of methods suitable more generally within these kinds of studies would be a fascinating topic, but it would also be outside the purposes of the present work. We can only suppose that the establishment of more shared methods for dealing with complex historical networks will come to pass, in parallel with the growth of the scientific literature on this specific field of historiographical studies.

What will follow is an attempt to gain some insights from both a formal analysis of the data extracted from our collection of sources, and the products of the visualisation tool adopted to read those data. Those data have already been analysed and interpreted in a qualitative way (i.e., by more traditional historiographical means) elsewhere in this thesis. Here, we will deal with them in a quantitative way. As has recently been argued, visualisation matters, but not in itself. It is, rather, a complementary way of dealing with historical documents. As the historian Claire Lemerrier puts it, “trying, even only for a while, to think in terms of systematic collection of data and/or explicit hypothesis testing has

¹² For a general introduction, see S. Wasserman and K. Faust, *Social Network Analysis: Methods and Applications*, New York, 1994; S. Borgatti, M. Everett, J. Johnson, *Analyzing Social Networks*, London, 2013.

¹³ M. Düring and M. Stark, ‘Historical Network Analysis’, in G. A. Barnett (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Social Networks*, London, 2011; A. Baillot, ‘Visualisation des réseaux: apports, défis et enjeux du travail sur les données historiques. Numérisation de masse et traitement des grands corpus de textes utilisant des méthodes des humanités numériques’, Mar 2015, Stuttgart, Allemagne, <https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-01130425>. On epistolary correspondence studies, see J. M. Imízcoz Beunza, L. Arroyo Ruiz, ‘Redes sociales y correspondencia epistolar. Del análisis cualitativo de las relaciones personales a la reconstrucción de redes egocentradas’, *Redes. Revista hispana para el análisis de redes sociales*, 2011, 21, pp. 98-138. For an application of network analysis to a nineteenth-century conspiracy group, see M. Brejon de Lavergnée, ‘Mythes politiques et analyse de réseaux. La Congrégation à Paris sous la Restauration’, *Histoire & Mesure*, XXIV-1, 2009, pp. 157-188.

¹⁴ Though it deals with much larger and more complex database of epistolary correspondences, a study which has inspired us very much due to the interesting methods employed is M. T. Comsa, M. Conroy, D. Edelstein, C. Summers Edmondson, C. Willan, ‘The French Enlightenment Network’, *The Journal of Modern History*, 88, 2016, 3, pp. 495-534.

heuristic virtues, as it helps to discover some bias in the sources and prejudices in the interpretation that otherwise would have gone unnoticed”¹⁵.

We will analyse the social and national identities of those individuals who were connected with Antun Fabris from 1898 to 1904. Thanks to the study of the biographical information available on these individuals, we have extracted a collection of data which are situated in the historical period considered. That is to say that those individuals have been defined in those ways which we have considered to best correspond to their actual situation exclusively within this time frame.

Some examples will make this point clearer. When in 1904 he wrote two short stories and submitted them to Fabris for publication in *Srđ*, Ivan Đaja was a twenty-year-old university student in Paris¹⁶. He had to wait until the end of his academic studies in 1909 to become a physiologist, and some years more to become a prominent one. Consequently, the attributes which define his social identity in our database are “student” and “writer”. Eventually he was also to become a freemason, but this attribute has been considered not pertinent for our analysis, because we could not demonstrate that he was enrolled in freemasonry as early as 1904.

Another example: when he spent some periods engaged in archival study in Dubrovnik and, afterwards, when he became an epistolary correspondent from Belgrade¹⁷, the Serbian literary critic Pavle Popović was still a teacher at the King Alexander Obrenović I high school. He became an academic professor at the newly founded Belgrade University only some months later. Consequently, this important figure of Fabris’s network does not receive the attribute “academician” which

¹⁵ C. Lemerrier, ‘Formal network methods in history: why and how?’, in *Social Networks, Political Institutions, and Rural Societies*, Brepols, Turnhout, 2015, pp. 281-310
<https://halshs.archives-ouvertes.fr/halshs-00521527v2>

¹⁶ *ZKD, ZK, Korespondencija* n. 87. Đaja wrote to Fabris on 4 February and 11 March 1904. For the record, both his short stories were published on *Srđ* some months later, on 31 July and 16 December 1904, respectively.

¹⁷ For the letters sent by Pavle Popović to Antun Fabris, see *ZKD, ZK, Korespondencija* n. 71. The letters included in this collection are edited in V. M. Vukmirović, ‘Dopisivanje Srpskih Književnika s Dubrovčaninom Antunom Fabrisom’ [The correspondence of Serbian writers with the Ragusan Antun Fabris], in V. Djurić (ed.), *Zbornik Istorije Književnosti. Srpska Akademija Nauka i Umetnosti. Odeljenje Literature i Jezika. Knjiga 5* [Selected works on Literary History. Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts. Branch of literature and language. Vol. 5], Beograd, 1966, pp. 121-169 (hereinafter: Vukmirović, 1966).

pertains to other scholars such as, for example, the Serb Catholic of Dubrovnik Milan Rešetar¹⁸.

We are convinced that such an approach will return a more precise image of the persons who wrote to Fabris, and of those who wrote for him in his newspapers. Putting it in other words, it could help us historians in reconstructing more faithfully the world in which he lived. Moreover, this caution could prevent us from superimposing non-pertinent information such as Ivan Đaja's subsequent status as physiologist instead of the contemporaneous status as student. To have an epistolary connection with an established physiologist means something different from reading the enthusiastic letter of a young chap, regardless of the bright future that he will eventually inhabit. As we will see soon, such kind of analysis can inform us in greater detail about the circulation of ideas among the South Slavic elites in the period being considered, by means of considering exactly which cities were more central, which nationalities were more represented among a cultural review's editorial staff, and which professions were predominant among those who shared the same attributes.

On closer inspection, the following analysis can contribute to a profitable full immersion in the world of a Serb Catholic activist at the end of the 19th century. From a general point of view, it is an attempt to give back the voice of a past which has often been read starting from ideological or nationalistic assumptions. The only prerequisite which we invoke here is the contextualization of our object of analysis in its own time, trying to put aside what we already know about it. The dwarf could and should climb down from the giants' shoulder, but only to climb up again with a slightly different view¹⁹.

We believe that this caution could help in the understanding of the history of a contested issue such as the Serb Catholic movement, in so far as it guides us to investigate it firstly as its own protagonists' actions were meant and intended, as evidenced both by their discourses and by their social and political profiles.

¹⁸ For the letters sent by Milan Rešetar to Antun Fabris, see *ZKD, ZK, Korespondencija* n. 67. The letters addressed to Fabris which are inserted in this collection are edited in V. M. Vukmirović, 'Preписка Rešetar-Fabris' [The correspondence between Rešetar and Fabris], *Savremenik. Mesečni Književni Časopis*, 10, 1964, XX/8-9, pp. 213-224 (hereinafter: Vukmirović, 1964).

¹⁹ Within a totally different topic of research (the roots of the *mafia* and *camorra* in 19th-century Italy, investigated by means of a deep immersion in a wide range of the "discourses of the time"), Francesco Benigno has convincingly reiterated an always useful caveat for historians. It is necessary to not use the future to shed light on the past, because "the future is not a cognitive asset for the historical actors: they would not have been able to forecast it, nor to understand it". Cfr. F. Benigno, *La mala setta. Alle origini di mafia e camorra 1859-1878*, Torino, 2015, p. XVIII.

Otherwise, we would run the risk of letting our interpretations be based only on current historiographies, with their own biases.

5.3 Cultural and political activism between Dalmatia and Europe

Fabris has to be considered both as an intellectual and as a political activist. He graduated in Slavistics at the Wien University under the direction of the renowned Croatian linguist Vatroslav Jagić and before focusing exclusively on his journalistic activities he was a teacher in the high schools of Zadar and Split (from 1889 to 1895). He was not to leave behind his interest in literary criticism, writing essays concerning some of the relevant protagonists of Dubrovnik literature from the Early Modern age until the 19th century.

The manifold nature of his profile is revealed also by the diverse range of his correspondents. A close look at what their professions were will show this definitely. Furthermore, we could say that Fabris' network reveals an important feature of dissemination in the South Slavic geo-political space, as well as in the European space. It offers useful insights into how ideas and news circulated in *fin de siècle* South-East Europe, what kinds of intellectuals and politicians were involved in this circulation, and from which cities they communicated with each other.

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Let us first present a general view of the political landscape of Austria-Hungary in 1899 and of its borders.



Source: D. H. Lange "Volksschul-Atlas", Dreihundertste Auflage, George Westermann in Braunschweig, 1899. Online on <https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Austria-Hungary1899.JPG>

In the map above Ragusa/Dubrovnik appears as a peripheral point in the southern part of Austrian lands, near to the borders with the occupied province of Herzegovina and also with the Principality of Montenegro.

In the following map, the distribution of Antun Fabris' epistolary correspondents through Europe is presented.



This map has been produced using the web-based visualisation platform Palladio, developed by the ‘Humanities + Design’ research lab at Stanford University.

See <http://hdlab.stanford.edu/palladio/>



The same map, focusing on South Slavic space.

THE ANTUN FABRIS' NETWORK: main places and their relative importance



The above graph shows the geographical distribution of epistolary *corpus A*. Some clarifications are needed here. First, ten correspondents among those of Beograd are co-signatories of just one letter (that of Jovan Skerlić, see above). It could be discussed whether the specific weight (importance in relation to the historian's queries) of signing a letter written by others is equivalent or not to that of writing and sending a letter individually. The same situation applies to the

Zagreb group, where three of six persons mentioned are co-signatories of one letter (the leader of the Croatian Serbs, Svetozar Pribićević, with his political partners Bude Budisavljević and Jovan Banjanin, see above). The second point is that the ratio of the number of letters per city to the number of correspondents per city deserves to be read carefully. Let's take the Orašac example. The correspondents from this small coastal village situated some kilometers north of Dubrovnik were the brothers Andro and Marko Murat: respectively a Catholic priest and a renowned painter, both Serb Catholics. Together they wrote a large group of letters (Marko Murat is the most frequent among Fabris' correspondents²⁰, see the next graph).

Let us consider the case of Zagreb. Regarding the main city of Croatia-Slavonia, we can observe quite a small number of letters with quite a large number of correspondents. That is to say that the Zagreb group can be considered potentially interesting due to its internal variety, regardless of its small size.

Third, the lack of some data within the letters must be taken into account while we pursue the systematic accuracy of this kind of mapping. The group of letters from unidentified cities is the third in order of size²¹.

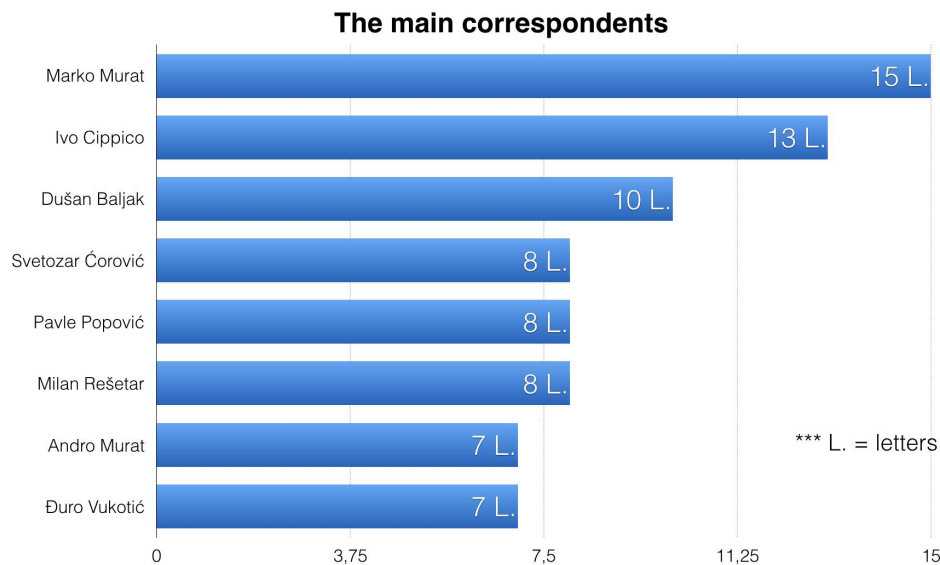
Finally, this graph does not mention some cities outside the Habsburg Empire whose number of occurrences is very low. But citing them could help us to get a picture of geographical dissemination amongst élite individuals. Therefore, it is worth mentioning: two letters sent from Rome in 1901 and 1902 by the painter Marko Murat; a letter sent from Geneva (in 1902) and another from Lausanne (date not mentioned explicitly, but it is reasonable to place this letter in 1903) by Jovan Dučić, a student with literary interests at the time²²; a letter sent from Prague in 1899 by the Czech journalist Josef Holeček; a letter sent from Cetinje in 1900 by the diplomat Lujo Vojnović, a Serb Catholic of Dubrovnik who served there as Montenegro's Minister of Justice and who between 1901 and 1902, as already shown, was the principality's representative to the Holy See during the San

²⁰ For the letters sent by Marko Murat to Antun Fabris, see *ZKD, ZK, Korespondencija* n. 88. Almost all the letters included in this collection are edited in V. M. Vukmirović, 'Preписка Marko Murat-Antun Fabris' [The correspondence between Marko Murat and Antun Fabris], *Savremenik. Mesečni Književni Časopis*, 11, 1965, 3, pp. 260-269 (hereinafter: Vukmirović, 1965).

²¹ A general clarification connected to this point: through my qualitative analysis of these sources (the editing of the letters and biographical research on the correspondents) I can reasonably reach some conclusions about some missing data on dates and/or the cities where the letters were written. I assume those conclusions as "affirmative" data inside our data collection. I have left the interrogative point on some data only when a reasonable hypothesis has not been possible.

²² Later, he would become an important writer and a diplomat.

Girolamo question; a letter sent from London in 1900 by the academician Baltazar Bogišić; and a letter sent from München in 1900 by the writer Simo Matavulj.



Among those frequent correspondents, there were only two individuals who filled an official representative role in the contemporary Austrian political system: the Dalmatian Serb Dušan Baljak²³ and the Serb of Kotor Bay Đuro Vukotić²⁴.

Here it is worth pointing out also that quantity does not (always) constitute quality, concerning the letters' interest to the historian. Certain letters are just business cards of few words²⁵. In some cases, the same content is reiterated in a quite similar way by a correspondent across his letters²⁶. But there are some infrequent correspondents who wrote interesting content in just a single letter. Such is the cases in the letter sent by the Croatian journalist and politician Frano Supilo²⁷, by the Croatian zoologist Spiridion Brusina²⁸ and by Lujo Adamović, a Serb Catholic who during those year was a renowned botanicist in Belgrade²⁹.

²³ Baljak was one of the leaders of the so-called 'liberal' wing of the Serbian party in Dalmatia, together with Fabris himself. He had been a deputy in the Dalmatian provincial assembly (the *Sabor*) from 1892 to 1900 and also to the *Reichsrat* in Wien until 1907. See S. Obad, 'Dušan Baljak', in *HBL*, 1983.

²⁴ Vukotić, a retired teacher in the period considered, had been a deputy in the Dalmatian *Sabor* from 1883 to 1885 and from 1889 to 1908, belonging to the Serbian party in Dalmatia. See Perić, 1978.

²⁵ Two examples in Lujo Vojnović's group of letters: one is an invitation for the New's Year Eve, the other one is a message of condolences for Fabris' sister death. Cfr. *ZKD, ZK, Korespondencija n. 44*, letters number 3 and 4, without date and without place.

²⁶ E.g. the reiterated request which the Dalmatian writer Ivo Cippico addressed to Fabris, in order to ask him to help selling his book *Primorske duše* in Dubrovnik. See *ZKD, ZKD, Korespondencija n. 54*, letters number 1, 2, 3, 4, 5.

²⁷ Once he had moved from Dubrovnik to Rijeka, Supilo (who during the 1890s had been the main journalistic antagonist of the Serb Catholic movement) wrote to Fabris to ask him the publication on the *Dubrovnik* of an article in which he would have defended his reputation from some criticism published by

The Serbian correspondents from Zadar, Split, Mostar, Novi Sad and from the kingdom of Serbia used unsurprisingly the Cyrillic alphabet, except the Serb Orthodox politician Dušan Baljak who wrote sometimes using the Latin alphabet, while the Croatian correspondents used always the Latin alphabet. A more surprising fact is that both the alphabets were used across the various letters of some correspondents, like Milan Rešetar, Lujo Vojnović, Marko Car and Marko Murat (all of them being Serb Catholics: the mixed use of both the alphabets was indeed an important feature of the movement). Marko Murat, like his brother Andro, sometimes mixed the two alphabets in the same letter.

As much as the majority of Dalmatian *inteligencija* in the Habsburg period (and before it), Fabris was familiar with the Italian language. This is proved also by a letter written in Italian by his colleague in the *Dubrovnik* and in the *Srđ* Miše Vacchetti³⁰. Many correspondents, while writing in Serbian-Croatian language, also mixed some Italian sayings or idiomatic expressions (i. e. Lujo Adamović, Simo Matavulj, Marko Car) into their discourses.

In one of his letters, Marko Murat wrote an entire sentence in Italian. It is worth mentioning this in part because the painter here dealt with Ivan Stojanović, the Catholic priest and Canon of the Dubrovnik cathedral who declared himself as a Serbian, raising the hostility of a large part of the local Croatian Catholic clergy. After Stojanović's death, also some Serb Orthodox from Beograd also paid homage to him. According to Marko Murat the *Mitropolit* of Beograd, Inokentije, planned to celebrate a *parastos* (a *requiem*) in the Orthodox Church. So, the painter wrote to Fabris: "That is new, further evidence that the Orthodox Serbs are not

other journals and concerning his alleged relationships with the Austrian government in Bosnia. Supilo asked the favour to Fabris, exhibiting a personal esteem towards him as "an honest man". See *ZKD, ZK, Korespondencija n. 62*, Supilo to Fabris, Rijeka, 31 May 1901.

²⁸ This renowned Croatian scientist asked Fabris to publish a personal defense against some articles published by the Dubrovnik-based newspaper *Crvena Hrvatska*. See *ZKD, ZK, Korespondencija n. 102*, Zagreb, 6 July 1901. Brusina, born in the Dalmatian city of Zadar, is famous for his zoologist studies on the Adriatic sea fauna (especially on the shells) and was a notorious freemason. See Josip Balabanić, 'Spiridion Brusina', in *HBL, vol. 2*, Zagreb, 1989.

²⁹ See *infra*.

³⁰ *ZKD, ZK, Korespondencija n. 110*, Dubrovnik, undated, but probably after 8 August 1901, as it could be argued from the letters sent to Fabris by Baltazar Bogišić (cfr. *ibidem, Korespondencija n. 58*). Vacchetti's and Bogišić's letters dealt with the work in progress of the publication of Bogišić's biography on the *Kalendar Dubrovnik*, which began in the 1899 issue of the yearbook. In that issue, the caption under Bogišić's photo defined the Cavtat-born scholar as a *srpski naučenjak* ("Serbian scholar"). Nowadays, Serbian and Croatian scholars both claim Bogišić as (respectively) a Serbian or a Croatian national glory.

religious fanatics and that theirs (attitude) is rather a political opinion. The Croats harm Catholic principles while disguising their Croatism as Catholicism”³¹.

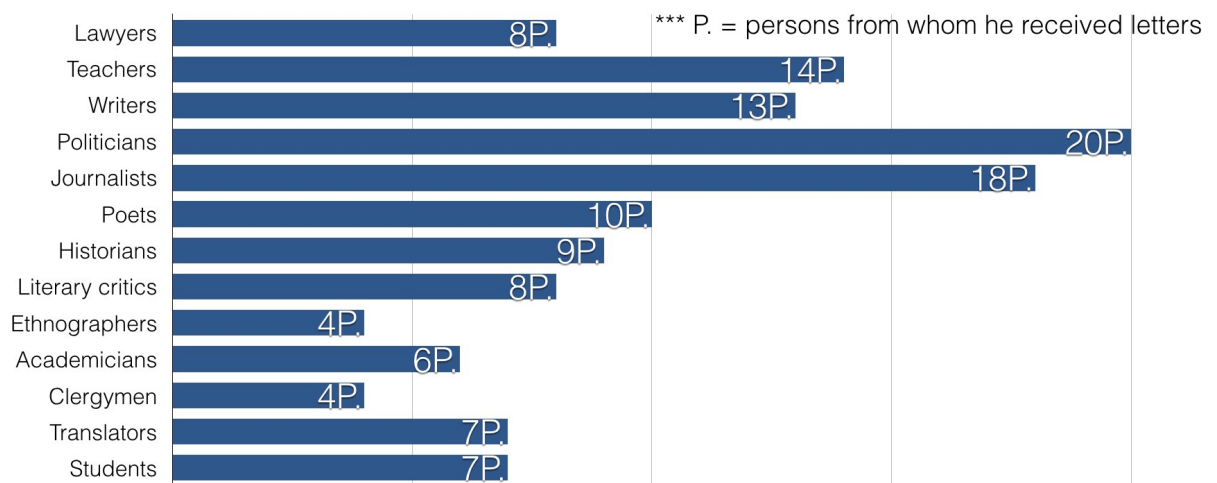
Dealing with what we have defined as the social identities of the correspondents (namely, their profession and/or status), we have created a metadata schema (that is to say, a controlled vocabulary including a limited group of attributes, such as “student”, “academician”, “writer” etc.) and applied it to those individuals. As already mentioned, those attributes are valid only when applied to those periods in the respective life of each correspondent. Furthermore, in this metadata schema each individual has been described with multiple and partially hierarchical-structured attributes. This solution in our opinion describes well each individual’s social identity, insofar as our aim is to capture the way in which Fabris perceived those individuals when he interacted with them. In this way, for example, the Herzegovinian Serb “student” Vladimir Ćorović is identified also with the attribute “poet”, inasmuch as this is the adjective that suits well with his literary activities in the period considered and that this is also the connotation with the same Fabris most likely attributed to him when receiving his letter. Actually, Vladimir Ćorović was still far from being the renowned historian which he would eventually become³². Another example: Frano Supilo in our schema has been considered such as a “journalist” and as a “politician”. Both the attributes describe well his identity in the period being considered. So, his name makes part of both the social identity groups represented in the following graphs together with the other most frequent attributes in this field.

The controlled vocabulary is partially hierarchical in nature in that, for example, the more general attribute “scientist” will be assigned in addition to the more specific attribute “zoologist” or “botanist”, and so on.

³¹ The Italian phrase is: “Una prova di più che fra i serbi ort.[*ortodossi*] non v’è fanatismo religioso ma giudizio politico, ed i croati fanno pessimo servizio alla cosa cattolica mascherando di cattolicismo il loro croatismo”. See *ZKD, ZK, Korespondencija n. 88, letter n. 3*, Marko Murat to Fabris, Belgrade, 31 October 1900.

³² *ZKD, ZK, Korespondencija 75*, Vladimir Ćorović to Fabris, date not mentioned, city of shipping not mentioned (but most likely Mostar).

Who were his main correspondents?



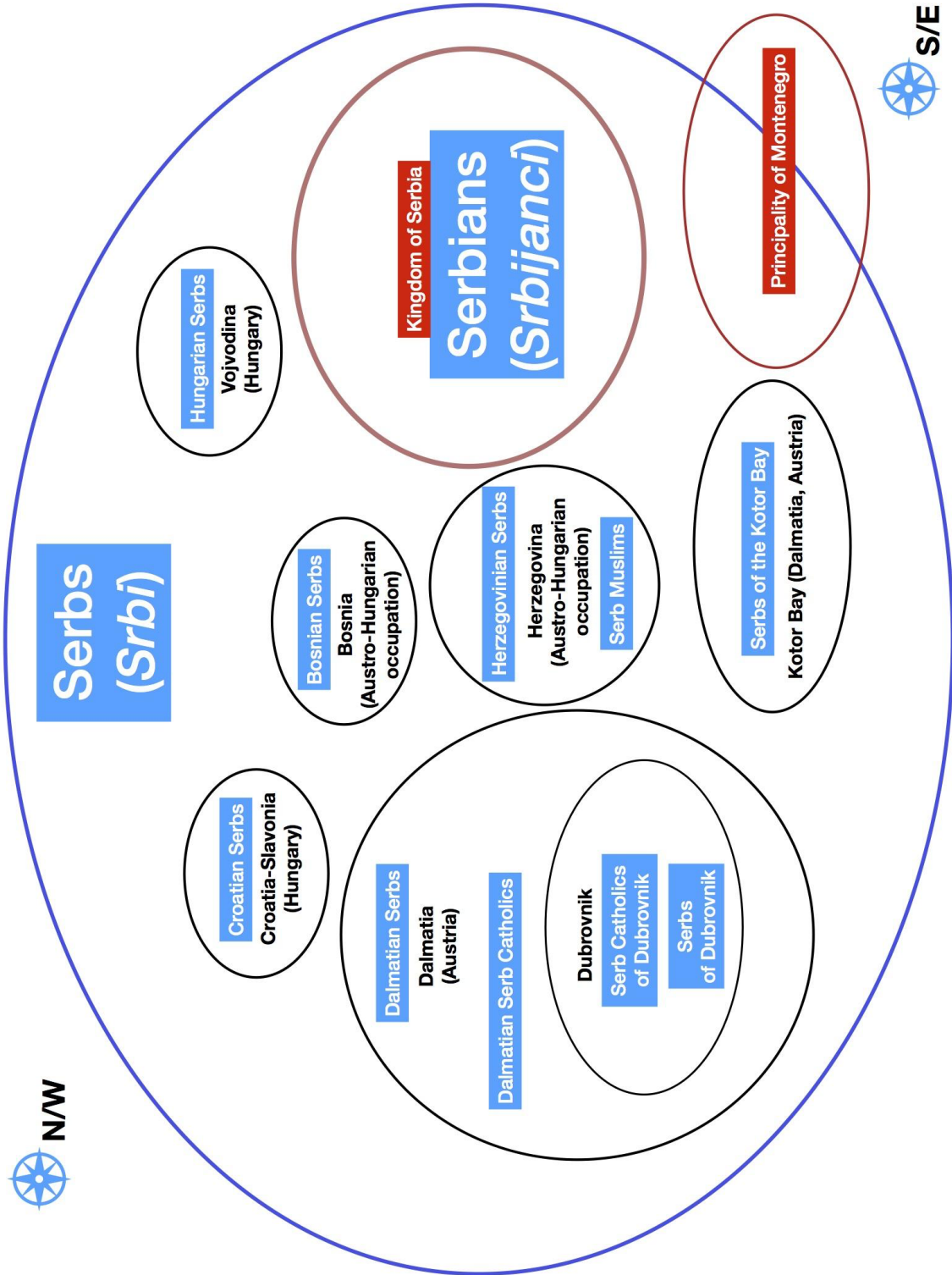
The presence of so many well-educated individuals in the *corpus A* confirms the relevance of the intellectual dimension in this network. This is perhaps not surprising, considering that the communications often dealt with questions regarding the cultural review, and also considering that this historical period is still far from the age of mass politics which will follow in later decades. However, what stands out is the high variety of what we have call the gro-national attributes of the correspondents. Before discussing this point, we will try to describe the complex landscape of geographical and national affiliations which were displayed by the South Slavic territories around the turn of 20th century. The following schema deals only with the Serbian people, both those living in the Habsburg Empire and those living in the Kingdom of Serbia. The basic distinction we propose here is that between ‘Serbians’ (*Srbijanci*), the Serbs of the Serbia proper, and the ‘Serbs’ (*Srbi*), who are those member of the Serbian people living elsewhere³³.

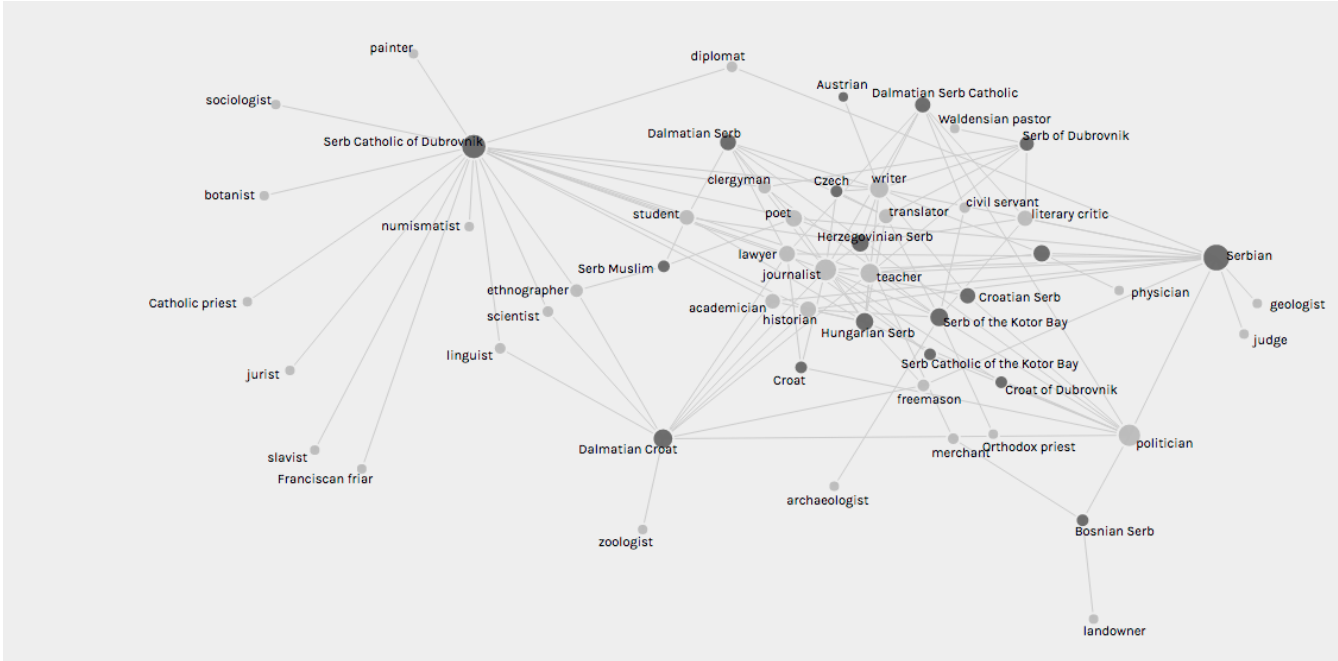
Being a Dalmatian Serb in this period meant a somewhat different condition than being a Hungarian Serb. The same is true for those Serbs living in the post Ottoman provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We have already discussed how geopolitical events over the centuries shaped the national question in South Slavic lands. What is interesting here is the verification of a fact which is widely accepted by scholars in this field: the South Slavic movement, even with its regional and national differentiations, had a global character, at least among the cultural and

³³ This widely adopted differentiation has been discussed recently also by D. Rusinow, ‘The Yugoslav idea before Yugoslavia’, in D. Djokić (ed.), *Yugoslavism. Histories of a Failed Idea 1918-1992*, London, 2003, pp. 11-26.

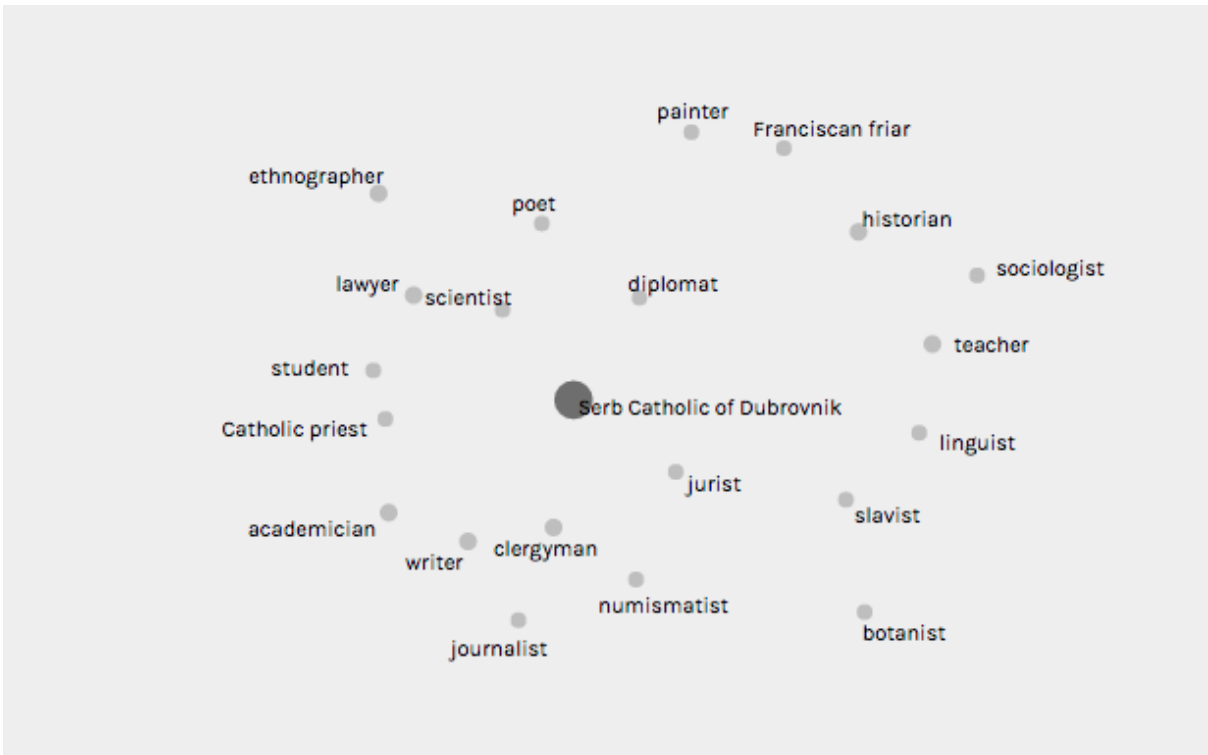
political elites which formed the movement before the age of mass politics. This means that intellectuals, politicians, activists and clerics (sometimes all these roles occurring in the same individual profiles) from all over the South Slavic lands communicated actively among them.

Still, this is not a surprise. However, the present case study confirms this assumption through an analytical study and proposes a particular interpretation concerning the Serb Catholic movement which we suppose to be valid at least in regard of the sources analysed here.



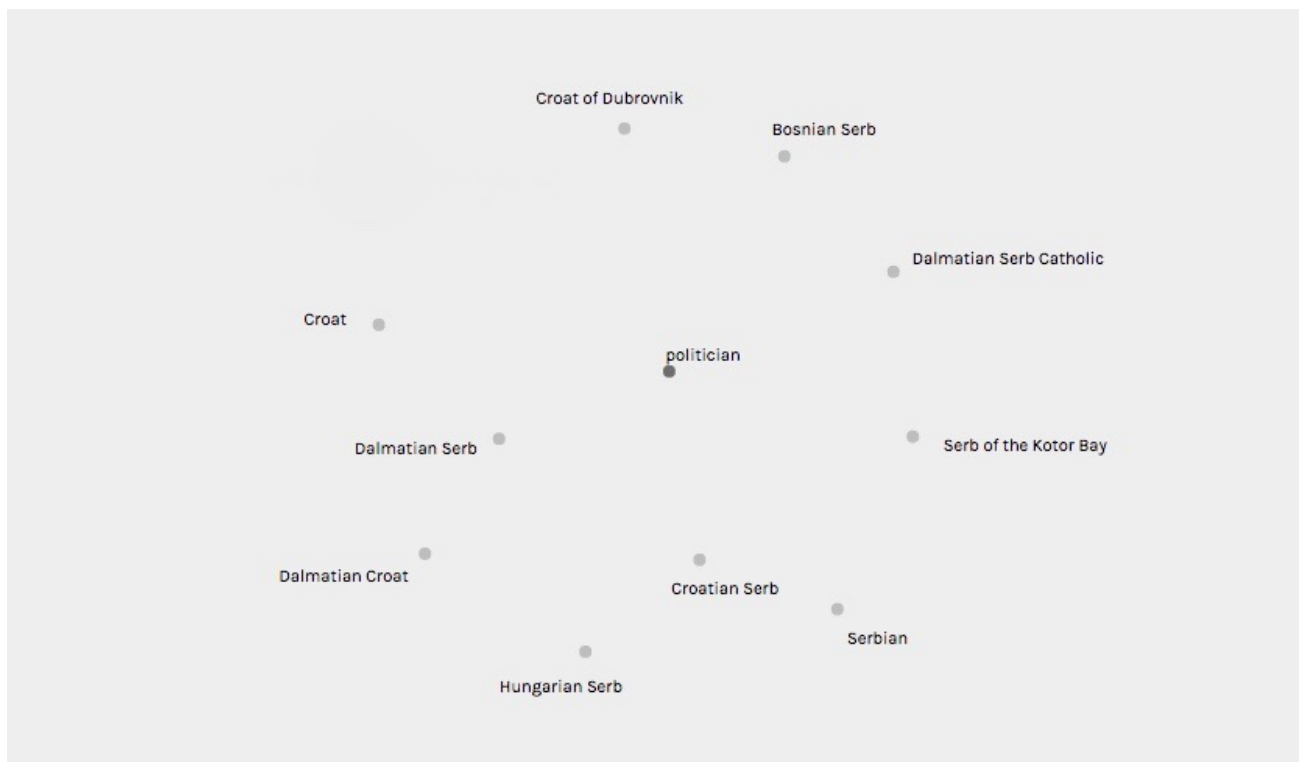


(The area of each circle is proportional to the number of persons sharing the respective attribute)



This visualisation reveals that amongst the geo-national subgroup of the “Serb Catholics of Dubrovnik” there were no politicians, referring with this attribute to those who carried out an official political role (e.g. member of the Dalmatian *Sabor*) in the period being considered. Such kind of individuals did, though, belong to other national/geographical subgroups, such as the “Dalmatian Serb Catholic” one.

The following graph represents which geo-national attributes pertained to “politicians”.



Of course, the above mentioned detail does not imply that the individuals in the geo-national subgroup “Serb Catholics of Dubrovnik” did not express political stances in a broader sense. At the same time, there were some “Dalmatian Serb Catholic” here represented such as the lawyer Ignjat Bakotić who was deputy at the Sabor and deeply engaged in the quarrel within the Serbian party in Dalmatia against the ‘conservative’ wing and the Orthodox Bishop Nikodim Milaš.

The profile of the Serb Catholic group which emerges from this data is that of a group of scholars and writers, with some clergyman (the Catholic priest Andro Murat and the Franciscan friar Augustin Pavlić).

Through the epistolary correspondence of Antun Fabris, we could say that he was well connected with intellectuals and politician from the Kingdom of Serbia, as well as from the Austrian occupied Bosnia and Herzegovina. He had some relations with Croatian elites such as the already cited Supilo and Brusina, or with Šime Mazzura, the organizer of the Habsburg Slavs journalistic convention which took place in Dubrovnik on 8 April 1901³⁴.

The Serb Catholics of Dubrovnik were deeply involved in politics. Those were the years in which the quarrel within the Serbian party in Dalmatia between ‘liberals’ and ‘conservatives’ was at its peak.

This is certainly one of the most interesting topics in the letters. We must not forget that the Serb Catholic group gathered around Fabris was also made up of intellectuals and scholars. Certainly, the Serbian idea and of the Serbian national affiliation was a common topic in their conversations, as emerges reading the letters. But it would be wrong to identify them merely as pan-Serbian nationalists, as some Croatian historians have done in the past.

That the cultural (if not political, at least until 1903 and the *Novi Kurs*) collaboration between the Serb Catholic movement and some members of the Croatian and Dalmatian elites was a matter of fact is demonstrated also by the geo-national attributes shared by the main collaborators of *Srđ* and *Kalendar Dubrovnik*, which we have extracted through the analysis of *corpus B* (see above for this methodological differentiation).

The following schema describes the findings of our analysis on the biographical profiles of those who signed their articles with their own name or even with a pseudonym, in those cases where identification has been possible³⁵.

³⁴ ZKD, ZK, *Korespondencija n. 126*, Zagreb, Mazzura to Fabris, 15 March, 1901.

³⁵ Tolja too has worked on the contents of *Srđ* and he has also highlighted this review was not Serbian-exclusivist. Our research integrates his own, by means of a wide biographical research on the authors. This has allowed us also to decipher some pseudonyms not deciphered in Tolja, such as the one (“Mita”) used by the young Serb Catholic activist Frano Kulisić. This emerges from the documents related to the internal enquiry at the *Ginnasio* in Dubrovnik in 1902, which sought to identify and punish political agitators amongst the students. Suspected hidden meetings, particularly those of pro-Serbian pupils, and a secret student newspaper called *Poma* were the other key issues of the enquiry. The existence of contacts between Fabris and some student was raised in the interrogatories. The archival documents are in *HR-DADU-170*, *kut.* 427, “Disciplinski postupci protiv učenika” [Disciplinary suits against students], unnumbered folios; *ibid.*, “1902/03 Istraga o agitaciji među učenicima” [1902/1903 Enquiry on agitations amongst the students], e.g., pp. 1; 10; 32.

name	tot. of articles	age	social identity	geonational identity
Arsen Wenzelides	37	around 20	literary critic, translator	Dalmatian Croat
Kalist Tadin (Dr. Torkvato)	34	around 25	clergyman, Franciscan friar	Croat of Dubrovnik
Vid Vuletić Vukasović (Živko)	26	around 49	teacher, historian, ethnographer	Serb Catholic of Dubrovnik
Luko Zore	24	around 56	writer, literary critic	Serb Catholic of Dubrovnik
Vice Adamović	17	around 64	pedagogue, historian, translator	Serb Catholic of Dubrovnik
Petar M. Kolendić	16	around 21	literary critic, historian, student	Serb Catholic of Dubrovnik
Kosta Majkić	16	around 30	writer, journalist	Bosnian Serb
St. K. Pavlović	14	around 20	translator, diplomat, lawyer, poet	Serbian
Nedjib Bey	12	?	diplomat, writer	Turkish
Jovan Dučić (Đivo)	12	around 28	poet, student, translator, literary critic	Herzegovinian Serb
Antun Krespi	12	around 35	civil servant, journalist, translator, literary critic	Dalmatian Croat, Croat of Dubrovnik
Vicko Matov Tripković	12	around 32	writer, teacher	Serb of the Kotor Bay
Antonio Vučetić	12	around 59	historian	Serb Catholic of Dubrovnik
Nikola T. Janković	11	around 30	civil servant, writer	Serbian
Dušan Tamindžić	11	?	student, poet, writer	Herzegovinian Serb
Svetozar Čorović	10	around 27	writer, poet, merchant	Herzegovinian Serb
David S. Pijade	9	around 23	poet, literary critic, translator	Herzegovinian Serb
Baltazar Bogišić	7	around 68	jurist, ethnographer, historian, sociologist	Serbian, Jewish
Ilija Ivačković	7	around 17	literary critic	Serb Catholic of Dubrovnik
Milan Pavlov Jovanović	6	around 53	jurist	Hungarian Serb
Walter Ljubibratić	6	?	teacher, literary critic, translator	Croatian Serb
Stevan Sremac	6	around 47	writer, teacher, freemason	Serb of Dubrovnik
Đorđe Lazić (Marinko)	5	?	poet	Hungarian Serb, Serbian
Jakov A. Popović	5	?	clergyman, Orthodox priest, translator, teacher, historian, writer	Bosnian Serb
Lujo Vojnović (L. V.)	5	around 38	diplomat, lawyer, historian, writer, poet	Serb Catholic of Dubrovnik
Vladimir Čorović	4	around 18	poet, student	Herzegovinian Serb
Osman Đikić	4	around 23	student, poet, ethnographer	Herzegovinian Serb
Simo Matavluj	4	around 50	writer	Dalmatian Serb
Mihailo Miron	4	?	poet	
Andro Murat	4	around 34	clergyman, Catholic priest, ethnographer	Serb Catholic of Dubrovnik
Ivan Stojanović	4	around 73	clergyman, Catholic priest, historian, writer, poet	Serb Catholic of Dubrovnik
Aleksa Šantić	4	around 34	poet	Herzegovinian Serb
Jakov Šantić	4	?	poet, translator	Herzegovinian Serb
Ivo Cippico	3	around 37	writer, civil servant	Dalmatian Serb Catholic
Damijan Omčikus	3	?	writer, teacher?	
Maks/Maksimilijan Sardelić	3	?	translator, historian, journalist	Dalmatian Serb Catholic
Uroš Trojanović	3	around 21	poet, student	Serb of the Kotor Bay
Ljudevit Vuličević	3	around 64	Waldensian pastor, clergyman, writer	Serb of Dubrovnik

Strangely enough, severe criticism against Fabris can be found in some of the letters sent by Milan Rešetar, a renowned academician and linguist and a Serb Catholic of Dubrovnik. When, in 1903, the *Dubrovnik* published a critical article against the academician Vatroslav Jagić, Rešetar's father-in-law, Rešetar reproached Fabris for the “*revolver-presse*” style of his weekly³⁶. Rešetar had also expressed criticism after having read the draft of the manifesto which circulated at the end of 1901 among Serb Catholics regarding the orientation of the new review *Srđ*. “I don't like it, it seems to me a political statement rather than a literary manifesto”. In addition, he disapproved of its signatories being exclusively political activists instead of *literati* and expressed scepticism regarding the possibility of Fabris finding collaborators for *Srđ* outside Dubrovnik. Rešetar argued for harmony (*jedinstvo*) to be pursued with Croats, at least in the literary field. The linguist reaffirmed his Serbian sentiment, pointing out that it had to be meant as a cultural rather than a political stance. He reiterated his opinion on the Serb nature of ancient Dubrovnik's literature, notwithstanding his preference to remain in the background and to write a few articles for *Srđ* but without signing a manifesto which risked being attractive only to Dubrovnik's Serbs³⁷.

His pessimism would eventually prove unfounded, because the new cultural journal hosted contributions from various Croatian writers and scholars from Dubrovnik as well as from Dalmatia and Croatia-Slavonia (see the data above).

After the first issue of *Srđ* was published, two other Serb Catholics (the academician and botanist Lujo Adamović³⁸ and the painter Marko Murat³⁹) wrote to Fabris in order to criticize the poor quality of its contents.

The *Srđ* question sheds light on the existence of divergences within the Serb Catholic movement in this period. Two different souls (one based on cultural-scholarly purposes, the other on a more political activism) coexisted and sometimes came into conflict. Due to the political and scholarly contents that he wrote, and also to his intellectual background (he graduated in Slavistics at the Wien university), Fabris' profile shared both these tendencies. Moreover, this

³⁶ ZKD, ZK, *Korespondencija* n. 67, letter n. 7, Rešetar to Fabris, Wien, 15 April 1903.

³⁷ *ibidem*, letter n. 6, Rešetar to Fabris, Wien, 31 October 1901.

³⁸ While the *Dubrovnik* could be considered one of the best Serb journals in the Balkans, Adamović wrote, the *Srđ* would have risked being considered the worst, providing useful arguments for Croatian criticism. See ZKD, ZK, *Korespondencija* n. 63, Adamović to Fabris, Beograd, 26 January 1902.

³⁹ “We all are amazed: how could you allow the publication without having enough articles?”. See *Ibid.*, *Korespondencija* n. 88, Murat to Fabris, letter n. 7, Roma, 11 February 1902.

question illustrates some quarrels within the movement, allowing it to be described in a more detailed way.

In conclusion, a monolithic image of the Serb Catholic movement would not be correct. Briefly, here is one more piece of evidence on this. Both Rešetar and the Beograd-based scholar Pavle Popović in their letters expressed their criticism about Luko Zore, which was one of the leaders in the movement. Rešetar charged Zore with political opportunism, arguing that he would have moved to the Serbian side because the Croat side had rejected him⁴⁰. Instead, Popović's criticism dealt with Zore's scholarly quality ("he is totally inadequate to edit the journal"), focusing on some of his reviews published on *Srđ* and on the alleged poor quality of the first issues of the review⁴¹.

How did the Fabris story end? We could say, in short, that it ended up with a lot of judicial trouble, for him and for his newspapers. There are many seizure decrees preserved in the archives of the District Court of Ragusa, by which the authorities sanctioned the content of numerous articles, especially those of a political nature published in the *Dubrovnik*. To remain in 1902, it happened that the copies were seized because they contained passages considered offensive to the civil authority of Kotor, accused in a correspondence from that city of having committed illegality to favor Croatian candidates in the elections for the Dalmatian *Sabor*⁴². Then there were the accusations concerning the articles that dealt with the "occupied provinces", that is Bosnia and Herzegovina. In February 1902, copies of the *Dubrovnik* were seized on charges of sedition, since an article charged the Austrian authorities with "persecuting Muslims" and "destroying their faith by prohibiting Koranic education and sermons in the mosques"⁴³. Two months later, the accusations will concern the criticism of the *Dubrovnik* of the provisions concerning those who emigrated from Bosnia and Herzegovina without permission⁴⁴.

But the biggest trouble for Fabris is yet to come. This time it will be a poem published in *Srđ* that will cost the Ragusan journalist dearly, much more than just the seizure of his newspaper. When the *Srđ* published the poem *Bokeška noć* – the

⁴⁰ ZKD, ZK, *Korespondencija n. 67*, letter number 6, Rešetar to Fabris, Wien, 31 October, 1901.

⁴¹ ZKD, ZK, *Korespondencija n. 71*, letter number 2, Beograd, Popović to Fabris, 14(27) September 1902. This letter was sent nine months after the beginning of *Srđ*'s publications, but it dealt mainly with the articles published on its first issue.

⁴² HR-DADU-0324 *Okružni Sud u Dubrovniku (I. R. Tribunale circolare a Ragusa)*, Sek "Pr" Tiskovine, 1899-1910, kut. 1, Pr. 2/2/1, the public prosecutor's office to the Court of Ragusa, 7 January 1902.

⁴³ *Ibidem*, Pr. 4/2/1, the public prosecutor's office to the Court of Ragusa, 25 February 1902.

⁴⁴ *Ibidem*, Pr. 6/2/1, the public prosecutor's office to the Court of Ragusa, 16 April 1902.

work of a student from the Kotor Bay named Uroš Trojanović – in its issue 19 of 16 October 1902, the accusation was one of high treason, both for him and for Fabris. The accusation is that the poem was intended to violently detach the Kotor Bay from Austrian territory, as the verses alluded to the Serbian flag waving from the ships in front of the coast, to the dawn that seems to smile to this scene and to the cries of joy of the mountain dwellers on the background, while seeing the "old mother". The invitation of the poetic text was to get rid of the "parasitic snake" and to do it quickly, so that the face of the Bay would shine like the sun and the dawn could illuminate the struggle of the Serbian youth.

After the seizure of the review's copies, the judicial authority also decided to indict Trojanović and Fabris for high treason and to order their arrest while awaiting trial⁴⁵.

A few months after leaving prison, Trojanović and Fabris will die. The first died at the beginning of January 1904⁴⁶, while the second died on 14 October 1904. *Srđ* gave the mourning news on its issue number 19, the same number as the publication that two years earlier was indicted.

⁴⁵ *Ibidem*, Pr. 16/2/1, the public prosecutor's office to the Court of Ragusa, 20 October 1902, for the newspaper copies' seizure. *Ibidem*, Pr. 16/2/1, Ragusa, 29 October 1902, on the high treason charge and the arrest warrant for Fabris, Trojanović and the printer Pasarić.

⁴⁶ 'Nad grobom pravnika Uroša Trojanovića' [At the tomb of the lawyer Uroš Trojanović], *Srđ*, 3, 1, 16 January 1904.

CONCLUSIONS

The research underlying our dissertation makes no claim to present an exhaustive history, neither of Dubrovnik nor of nationalities' questions in nineteenth-century pre-Yugoslav space. Like any historical exposition, it is a selective account, which has identified a research question, a problem and – investigating it – has tried not to arbitrarily mutilate the world around this problem.

Within the time frame whose choice I have justified in the introduction, I have tried to outline the main political and cultural events in the history of Dubrovnik, linking them as far as possible with the political and cultural events in the rest of Austrian Dalmatia. Since this is a region that in the nineteenth century had a clearly recognizable borderland status, both on a cultural and linguistic level, it seemed necessary to us to insist particularly on the relationship between Dalmatia and Italy, understood as a linguistic and cultural area and only then, since 1861, also understood as an independent State.

In general, I have tried to maintain a diversified approach, integrating political history, history of ideas and social history. It was not an *a priori* choice, but an approach dictated by the variety of types of sources that I have considered useful for my research.

A particular attention has been paid to a specific political and cultural movement that found in nineteenth-century Dubrovnik a particularly fertile ground to grow, develop and become influential. Among this city's elites, in fact, at the end of the 1840s a peculiar encounter was born between the feeling of belonging to the Serbian identity and the rooting in the Catholic background, which has constituted a fundamental element of identity for the entire Republican Dubrovnik history. Those who believed in such a meeting of ideas - initially a narrow elite in the 1840s, which became an increasingly broad and influential opinion movement in the city and region in the late 1890s - were precisely called the Serb Catholics.

The members of this cultural and political movement laid claim to the historical Serbian nature of Dubrovnik and claimed that their Roman Catholic background was not incompatible with the Serbian national identity that they felt

as their own. Their idea of a cross-confessional and language-based national community was harshly criticized by the Croatophile political activists, by some Dalmatian Catholic bishops, especially in the 1880s and 1890s, and also by the Orthodox bishop Nikodim Milaš, the main authority of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Dalmatia in the last decades of nineteenth century.

In this research, I have also tried to reconstruct the history of Ragusa (Dubrovnik) in the nineteenth century, after the end of its independence as a Republic. With its entry into the Habsburg Empire in 1815, the city lost economic importance, but did not lose its centrality in the field of Southern Slavic culture, being the place that produced the most important literature in this language in the early Modern Age.

In our work, the "myth" of Ragusa often returns, as a "discourse of identity" and as nostalgia for the past. Political independence and cultural prestige become the background on which local intellectuals and activists begin to imagine a new identity for this city.

These concepts are the leitmotif of our analysis, which is not limited to an approach to cultural history. We have tried as much as possible to verify the incidence of wider themes and events in the context of Ragusa. Interconfessional relations between Catholics and Orthodox Serbs in Dalmatia; the legacy of the Italian language and culture in Dalmatia; the relations between Dalmatia and Italy, which have been analyzed by means of a paradigmatic case, the controversy of the so called Wine Clause in the 1890s; the development of new national or supranational ideas, such as Illyrism. All these factors have played a decisive role in the nineteenth-century history of Ragusa. At the same time, Ragusa has had a great influence on the evolution of the new collective identities that were born during the pre-Yugoslav century.

In a certain sense, the emergence of a cross-confessional and language-based national idea - such as that of the Serb Catholics - was something to be expected, considering the strong ties between nationalism and secular worldviews in 19th century Europe. The nineteenth century in fact saw the emergence of secular ways of thinking the community and the nation.

But in general terms, more than a prevalence of liberal ideas over religious allegiance, in our research context we can speak of a dialectical relationship, or of a coexistence. The activism of the Serb Catholics can be seen as an attempt to connect their national allegiance to something that was not the widely-known and accepted overlapping between Serbianness and Orthodox religious identity.

Those who criticized them most, especially in the last decade of the 19th century, were some Croatophile bishops and clergymen, whose main objections were exactly the adherence of the Serb Catholic group to “liberal” ideas and their supposed being a kind of fifth column of the “schismatics” Serbs within the Croatian Catholic flock.

Here, the traditional nineteenth-century controversy between Catholic conservatism and liberal ideas went hand in hand with national polemics, inasmuch another object of dispute was the belonging of Ragusa to the Croatian rather than to the Serbian world, the latter opinion playing a crucial part in the Serb Catholics’ discourse.

It is also true that in the construction of Croatian national idea - at least up to a certain point - one of the central figure was the Catholic bishop of Djakovo in the Habsburg province of Croatia-Slavonia, Josip Juraj Strossmayer, which has been defined as one of the most important examples of the influence of liberal Catholicism in 19th century East Central Europe and was the main propagator of the Yugoslav idea, together with his collaborator and friend, the canon and historian Franjo Rački.

Their ideas of South Slavic cultural and political collaboration did not leave the religious aspects aside. The target of reconciling Croats and Serbs religiously was always present in their activity. From the end of 1870s, Strossmayer’s campaign for the revival of the Slavonic liturgy in the Catholic worship and his attempts to obtain authorization from the Pope and the Roman Curia went exactly in this direction.

As this important case shows, therefore, far from having been completely marginalized, the religious question retained a crucial part even in those decades of secularized nationalism. Of course, it did it in very different ways and Strossmayer’s liberal Catholicism (that, however liberal, had at its center an ideal characterized by a deeply religious connotation) was not exactly comparable to the anti-Serb Catholics attitude of some Dalmatian bishops. But still, both cases reveal interesting details on how the landscape of the national ideas’ construction was variegated in the pre-Yugoslav space.

It can be said not only that in our context of analysis religion has not been marginalized, but also that it has found different ways of expressing its centrality. A rediscovered centrality, we could add, in the light of those also existing ideas that with a certain strength - even in Dalmatia - were pushing the construction of the nationhood in a liberal sense.

It is not our intention to establish a firm continuity between the activities of Strossmayer and Rački, on the one hand, and those of the Serb Catholics, on the other hand. What is relevant here is just to note how liberal ideas - both those of a Catholic political leader as Strossmayer and those of laical activists as the Serb Catholics - did not prosper unopposed, both in Croatian and Serbian sides.

However, from the present-day perspective it may seem that what eventually happened at least for some aspects contradicted the *Zeitgeist* of the time and in particular the prevalence of secular nationalism. All the efforts for South Slavic (or, more precisely, Croatian-Serbian) religious rapprochement or at least for the creation of a cross-confessional national community did not emerge finally as a victorious force. The Croats and Serbs eventually split up along religious lines.

In our opinion, this research has yielded some interesting results. From the documents identified, in fact, the picture emerged of what the Croatian Catholic clergy thought of the Serb Catholics and how it judged their attitude toward religion and nationality. In addition, it was possible to identify some documents that testify to the relative attitude of the Roman Curia, understood as the body that assists the Pope in the spiritual direction of Catholics in the world and also as the summit of the Roman Catholic Church understood as an institution that, from a temporal point of view, relates to the States and to phenomena of the political world such as - in the period considered - the emergence of nationalisms.

It was interesting, in our opinion, to note that the attitude of local bishops and clergy expressed with regard to Serb Catholics within their reports on the ecclesiastical and political situation in Dubrovnik, was similar if not worse than the judgment they had on Serbian politicians of the Orthodox faith. Furthermore, for what concerned the Serb Catholics, their opinions showed a strong negative prejudice. Croatian bishops and clergy did not consider as sincere the Catholicism of these Dubrovnik activists and suspected the latter's attitude as "liberal", a term understood here with all the negative prejudices that it had in the vision of an ecclesiastic of the second half of the nineteenth century, free from any inclination to Modernism. On the part of the Holy See, at least during the pontificate of Leo XIII, which is the period most directly studied with regard to the Serb Catholics, the attitude was instead more conciliatory, the Catholic Church being an institution with a universalistic vocation.

Studying the phenomenon of Serb Catholics using Vatican archival documentation is therefore of further interest, in addition to the clarification of the reading of this phenomenon given at the time by the local Catholic high clergy (an

aspect only partially touched by historiography so far). This additional reason for interest is that the results of this study can provide a further, albeit limited, contribution to the vast field of research concerning the relationship between the Catholic Church and the nationalisms in general and, more specifically, the nationalisms within a multinational empire but with a strong Catholic imprint, such as the Habsburg empire.

Here, a further clarification is needed regarding the usefulness of our case study in the evaluation of more general issues. In our opinion, by means of the Serb Catholics' history an extremely fecund point of view can be furnished for the study of the above-mentioned split-up. The origins and the different phases of the Serb Catholic movement can tell us something interesting about a relationship, that between Croats and Serbs, which in the nineteenth century had experienced alternating phases.

It is appropriate to say that the Serb Catholics were the third party within these couples of terms. Here was a problem, that of a border identity situated between two poles which had been converging, then separating, and then converging again along the 'long nineteenth century'. Was the Serb Catholic identity to some extent too fluid, too hybrid, in order to be accepted by the two other poles? Such an assumption comes out easily, looking to some reactions both from Croatian and from Serb Orthodox sides, particularly at the end of 1890s, when the Serb Catholic movement had its momentum.

The religious impregnations of Croatian and Serbian nationalism continued to exist, like an underground river. The century of secularization has produced fluid identities and promises of peace and collaboration between Serbs and Croats, in the name of the common language, in the name of an ethnicity that, beyond the different religion, had been perceived as shared. We all know that these promises were ultimately not kept. Ragusa, through this study, can offer us a local point of view, but at the same time a global one, to investigate some aspects of this complex history of two peoples who wanted to be the same people, without succeeding.

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ABD = Arhiv Biskupije Dubrovačke [Archive of the Diocese of Dubrovnik],
Dubrovnik.

Funds or series consulted:

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(Arch)Diocese of Ragusa]

Matična Knjiga Vjenčanih Grad 1832-1857 [Marriage register of the parish Grad
/City]

Matična Knjiga Rođenih župe Pile 1851-1865 [Register of births in the parish of
Pile]

Presidijalni spisi (Presidiali) biskupa [Documents and official correspondences of
the bishops]

Spisi dubrovačkih biskupa [Documents pertaining to the bishops of Dubrovnik]
Presidiali-Atti Riservati

ACPF = Archivio Storico della Congregazione *de Propaganda Fide*, Roma.

Funds or series consulted:

*Lettere = Fondo Lettere e Decreti della Sacra Congregazione e Biglietti di
Monsignor Segretario*

*Regestum Facultatum 1670-1895, Facultates Extraordinariae ab anno 1760
usque ad 1850*

SC Dalmazia = Scritture riferite nei Congressi (first series, geographical zone
Dalmatia)

ASMAE = Archivio Storico Diplomatico del Ministero degli Affari Esteri, Roma.

Funds or series consulted:

Divisione 'delle Legazioni' e 'Divisione Consolare' (1861-1868)

Divisione 'Politica' (1867-1888), *Rapporti in arrivo*

SP "A" 1888-1891 = Serie Politica 1888-1891

SP 1891-1916 = Serie Politica 1891-1916

AMB. VIENNA = Italian Embassy in Vienna

ASV = Archivio Segreto Vaticano, Città del Vaticano.

Funds or series consulted:

Arch. Nunz. Vienna = Archivio della Nunziatura Apostolica a Vienna

Arch. Nunz. Jugoslavia = Archivio della Nunziatura Apostolica in Jugoslavia

Congr. Concilio = Congregazione del Concilio

Relat. Dioec. = Relationes Dioecesium

Segr. Stato = Segreteria di Stato

BNCF = Biblioteca Nazionale Centrale, Firenze.

Funds or series consulted:

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HR-DADU-276 Osobni Fond Dr. Ernest Katić, Spisi Đura Pulića [Ernest Katić's fond, documents pertaining to Đuro Pulić]

HR-DADU-0324 Okružni Sud u Dubrovniku (I. R. Tribunale circolare a Ragusa) [District Court of Ragusa]

S.RR.SS. = Archivio Storico della Sezione per i Rapporti con gli Stati della Segreteria di Stato, Città del Vaticano

Funds or series consulted:

AA.EE.SS. = Archivio della Congregazione degli Affari Ecclesiastici Straordinari

Series: *Austria; Austria-Ungheria; Rapporti delle Sessioni*

ZKD = Znanstvena knjižnica, Dubrovnik [Research Library, Dubrovnik]

Funds or series consulted:

ZK = Zbirka korespondencije [Epistolary collection]

ZR = Zbirka rukopisa [Collection of manuscripts]

B.D. = Biskupija Dubrovačka [Diocese of Dubrovnik]

br. = broj [number]

busta = file

doc. = document

docc. = documents
fasc. = *fascicolo* [folder]
f. = *foglio* [sheet]
ff. = *fogli* [sheets]
kut. = *kutija* [box]
n. = *numero* [number]
pos. = *posizione* [position]
Pser = *Potserija* [Subseries]
r = *recto*
Rkp. = *rukopis* [manuscript]
rubr. = *rubrica* [rubric]
rv = *recto + verso*
Ser = *Serija* [Series]
Sig. = *Signatura* [Shelf mark]
sottofasc. = *sottofascicolo* [sub-folder]
v = *verso*
vol. = volume
voll. = volumes

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