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# The Yougoslavic Littoral on the Adriatic Sea:

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## Nationalities in the Yougoslavic Littoral.

Arthur Gavazzi, Professor in the University of Zagreb and Member of the Yougoslavic Academy of Science and Arts.

## Historical Survey on the East Coast of the Adriatic Sea.

By Dr. F. de Šišić, Professor in the University of Zagreb and Member of the Yougoslavic Academy of Science and Arts.

## III. Yougoslavic Civilization on the Adriatic.

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## Yougoslavia as Economical Territory.

p Lukas, Head-master of the High Commercial School at Zagreb.

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## II. Historical Survey on the East Coast of the Adriatic Sea.

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## Nationalities in the Yougoslavic Littoral.

By Dr. Arthur Gavazzi.

Professor in the University of Zagreb and Member of the Yougoslavic Academy of Science and Arts.

On the first of December 1918 the sovereign State of Yougoslavia was founded. Its area is about a quarter of a million of square km, that being 8 times the area of Belgium and 7 times that of Holland, but owing to its being thinly inhabited the population of 14 millions is only double that of Belgium.

This new state comprehends all those countries which have until lately belonged to Servia, Montenegro, Austria, and Hungary. The population forms a compact and homogeneous mass with only some sporadic foreign ethnic elements; as for instance Germans, Hungarians, Russians, Slovaks, and Italians. As these foreign elements are numerically insignificant in proportion to the number of the Yougoslavs, they may truly be considered as small national oases.

The Yougoslavs began to emigrate from their old country (about the Carpathian mountains) into their present one in the middle of the sixth century A. D. Part of the Romanic autochthons disappeared by degrees before the new-comers, part survived in fortified littoral towns, part again remained in mountains where they lived like shepherds. In towns, very few of the Romanic families preserved their nationality, whereas those in mountains not being numerous were absorbed by the Slavs. It is well-known that Venice, during her rule, oppressed the Yougoslavs and tried to denationalize them that she might, supported by renegades, lay the foundation for her imperialistic ends on the eastern shore of the Adriatic. But with small success, because only in littoral towns, especially at Zadar (Zara), some Yougoslavs turned Italians. But when the Yougoslavic littoral came under the Austrian rule, hard times were

in store for the population. The German rulers of Austria applied their proved methods of persecuting the Yougoslavs and pampering the Italians as their sworn friends.

The motives to that treatment are to be found in the political conditions of the Yougoslavs. In the first decades of the last century, the idea of the ethnic unity of the three branches of the Yougoslavs began to spread under the name of "Illyrism". When that name was not generally accepted, because it did not suit the national feeling of all Yougoslavs, the well-known Croatian bishop Joseph George Strossmayer gave that idea a much sounder basis. Conformably to the adopted and quite natural ethno-geographical principle that the Croats, Servians and Slovenians are by origin Slavs speaking the same language (but several dialects), and to the fact that they are situated to the south of the Germano-Hungarian zone, he began to propagating the idea of the union of these three national branches under the name of "Yougoslavs".

But the idea of national unity involved also the political union which has ultimately been realized now, after many sufferings and trials of that nation. The aspirations of the Yougoslavs after their political unity have been the bugbear of Austrian Germans and Hungarians, who knew full well that with the realization of these aspirations their own rule and power must break down as the consequence of the Yougoslavs' having become masters in their own home. It became necessary to counteract to the idea of the political union of the Yougoslavs. To gain its ends, the Austro-Hungarian government found in the Italians of the Croatian sea-coast the best expedient, being sure that they could not impair its own power, because they were not numerous enough.

Into populous towns having government offices Austria introduced Italian as official language and Italians were appointed chief officials. They have been favoured everywhere and even in taking the census, Austria being convinced that she was running no risk by suffering their number to be fraudulently increased by a couple of ten thousand. The census was garbled to the disadvantage of the Yougoslavs but to the advantage of the Italians to such a degree that this proceeding disgusted even scholars. N. Krebs, professor in a university, frankly says, "The objection made on the part of the Italians that the Austrian Government garbled the census to the advantage of the

Yougoslavs cannot be sustained, because even random tests of the census show that a census carefully taken would reduce the number of the Italians". The scholar K. Czörnig jun. expresses himself more strongly on the government's suffering the commissioners of the census to be influenced by their political convictions. Among many instances he mentions the following one. In the island of Lošinj (Lussin), there is the village of Nerežina in which the commissioner for the census found in 1880. 706 Italians and 340 Yougoslavs. Consequently, an elementary school with Italian as the language of instruction was founded, but on the discovery that the overwhelming majority of children did not know even a word Italian, the school had to be turned into a Yougoslavic on the demands of the parents themselves. According to his opinion, every Austrian census in the Yougoslavic littoral, having been taken in such a manner, should be accepted with great reserve.

An important factor which greatly influenced the census returns in the Yougoslavic littoral is the notorious "Lega Nazionale" (National League). Liberally subsidized by the Italian Government, it has mostly founded elementary schools among the Slav population, accommodating the children gratuitously with clothes, shoes, school-books, and stationery in order to bring over a large number of them. The League has been successful in denationalizing by these means but few of the poor and distressed Yougoslavs, but the majority have remained true to their nation. Although these "official" census returns are unreliable, we must use them for lack of better ones.

We shall give in detail the proportion of nationalities by dividing the whole littoral into 4 natural groups,

a) the first of them comprehending the mainland of Dalmatia with the neighbouring islands except the two islands of Rab (Arbe) and Pag;

b) the second, the islands of the Quarnero: Rab, Pag, Krk, Cres, and Lošinj;

c) the third, the coast region from the boundary of Istria to that of Dalmatia i. e., from the town of Rijeka (Fiume) to the river Zrmanja;

d) and the fourth, forming the peninsula of Istria.

### A. The Mainland of Dalmatia.

The population of **Dalmatia**, according to the Austrian census returns of 1910. amounted to 634.855 inhabitants, 611.211 or more than 96·3% of them being Yougoslavs, and 18·028% or 2·8% Italians, which shows that Dalmatia is eminently a Slav country. Still, Italy will according to the stipulations of the so-called London Treaty sever from Dalmatia the following districts of administration and jurisdiction :

	Yougoslavs.	Italians.
District of jurisdiction Zadar*	50.003 or 80·4%	11.574 or 18·6%
"    "    "    Biograd	8.599 " 99·7 "	20 " 0·2 "
"    "    administration Hvar	26.293 " 97·7 "	586 " 2·2 "
"    "    "    Korčula**	21.186 " 98·0 "	436 " 2·0 "
"    "    "    Knin	54.653 " 99·5 "	186 " 0·3 "
"    "    "    Benkovac	43.945 " 99·8 "	84 " 0·2 "
"    "    "    Šibenik	56.004 " 97·1 "	968 " 1·7 "
District of jurisdiction Trogir	28.789 " 99·1 "	239 " 0·8 "
"    "    "    Sinj	43.008 " 99·3 "	106 " 0·2 "
"    "    "    Imotski	42.018 " 99·8 "	46 " 0·1 "
"    "    "    Vrlika	13.696 " 99·9 "	5 " 0·0 "
Totals	388.194 or 96·1%	14.250 or 3·5%

For all the unreliability of these Austro-Italian census returns everybody may easily judge for himself of the national character of these districts of Dalmatia, where there are 96% of Yougoslavs and 3½% of Italians or their adherents.

### B. The Islands of the Quarnero.

The official census returns of 1910 give 54.000 inhabitants in the islands of Quarnero (Pag, Rab, Krk, Cres, Lošinj),

42·300 or 78% of them being Yougoslavs

and 9·700 or 18%

Italians.

Consequently, the "Italians" form one fifth of the whole population

\* Two of the administrative districts belonging to Zadar, i. e. Rab and Pag, both of which the Italians would also like to annex, have been omitted and added to the group comprehending the islands of Quarnero.

\*\* The district of jurisdiction Pelješac has been left out of the administrative district of Korčula, as not occurring in the stipulations of the London Treaty.



of the islands of the Quarnero, and the majority of that 5<sup>th</sup> part lives in larger places, as the following table shows:

	Italians.	Yougoslavs.
In the town of Krk	1494 or 86·8 <sup>o</sup> / <sub>10</sub>	226 or 13·2 <sup>o</sup> / <sub>10</sub>
" " " " Cres	2255 " 55·7 "	1798 " 44·3 "
" " " " Great } " " " " Lošinj }	865 " 54·7 "	716 " 45·3 "
" " " " Little } " " " " Lošinj }	3569 " 75·5 "	1161 " 24·5 "
Totals	8183 67·8 <sup>o</sup> / <sub>10</sub>	3901 32·2 <sup>o</sup> / <sub>10</sub>

Of all the "Italians" who live in the islands of the Quarnero 84·3% are concentrated in the above-mentioned towns, whereas all other places are entirely Yougoslavic.

### C. The Croatian Littoral.

The seaboard extending from the Istrian (at Rijeka) to the Dalmatian boundary is called by the name "**Croatian Littoral**". The population amounts to a total of 125.192 inhabitants, 49.806 of which belong to Rijeka with its sub-communities alone.

According to the official census returns of 1910 there were in the Croatian littoral

Yougoslavs:	Italians:	Other nationalities:
90.461 or 72 <sup>o</sup> / <sub>10</sub>	25.004 or 20 <sup>o</sup> / <sub>10</sub>	9.727 or 8 <sup>o</sup> / <sub>10</sub>

All the 20% of the "Italians" live in the town of Rijeka, which is divided into the town proper in the narrowest sense and the sub-communities Drenova, Kozala, Plase. The inhabitants of these sub-communities [and the adjoining place Sušak] are thorough Yougoslavs, while in the town there are some Italians but a great many more adherents of the Italians\*. No living man will consider persons whose names are Grošić, Grbac, Štiglic, Korošac, Širola etc. and who are leaders and spokesmen of the Italian party at Rijeka as true Italians, for they have pure Yougoslav names, they were born in Yougoslav country, and they are descended from Yougoslav parents.

\* The Yougoslavs call by a special name "Talijanaši" those Yougoslavs who own to be Italians although they are obviously Slavs having no distinctive Italian traits.

Besides the census returns of 1910 we shall also state those of the years prior to 1910 in order to comment upon them.

Rijeka	Total Population	Yougoslavs	Italians	Hungarians
1880	20.981	10.227 or 49%	9237 or 44%	397 or 2%
1890	29.494	13.478 „ 46 „	13.012 „ 44 „	1.062 „ 4%
1900	38.955	16.197 „ 42 „	17.354 „ 45 „	2.842 „ 7%
1910	49.806	15.692 „ 32 „	24.212 „ 49 „	6.493 „ 13%

A glance at these figures should convince us of the relative (in 1910 even an absolute) decline of the Yougoslavs and the increase of the Italians at Rijeka. Some recent political events will enable us to understand these official Hungaro-Italian census returns.

When the Dualism was established in Austria-Hungary in 1867, Trieste, the important shipping port, remained in possession of Austria. Hungary was also sorely in need of such a seaport.

In 1868 a contract was made between Hungary und Croatia, but as the Hungarians could not come to an understanding with the Croats about Rijeka, they, being stronger, simply took that town with its adjoining district from Croatia, thus creating a separate political body. They completed their occupation by beginning to persecute the Yougoslavs of Rijeka. All the existing elementary schools for 13.000 Yougoslavs were closed, and Italo-Hungarian were founded for the 13.000 Italians (in 1890). Nor were the Yougoslavs allowed to found their own elementary schools at their own cost. All that happened with the knowledge, consent, and even support of the Austrian sovereign. The Italians and Hungarians have gone on instilling hatred of all that was Slav into the minds of children with the view to denationalize as many of the Yougoslavs as possible.

Considering the methods which were used in taking the census for many years past, there is no doubt that there are more Yougoslavs than Italians at Rijeka. The members of the commission for taking the census in Dalmatia and Istria usually asked the Yougoslavic illiterate people whether they knew Italian, and on their answering the question in the affirmative they simply put them down as Italians. But if we should apply the same method and ask the inhabitants of Rijeka whether they knew Slav, there could not be found a single Italian ignorant of Slav, because all know and speak that language.

That is the best proof that Rijeka, even if it were Italian, could not live without the Yougoslavic neighbourhood and its hinterland.

Besides these Italians, Rijeka numbers a great many of their friends, the Hungarians. They were sent by their government to serve as officials on railways and in public offices, and as teachers in schools with the task of instilling into the Italians the love for their "beloved mother", Hungary. That policy has been carried on to excess so that the 16.000 odd Yougoslavs have not a single member in the town-council, whereas the 6.000 Hungarians have 12 members; all the rest belongs to the Italians.

As the Hungarians and the Italians are absolute masters, they try to justify their rule by using as the best expedient the census returns which they arrange and garble to the disadvantage of the truth and the Yougoslavs.

For all that persecution, almost all industry, wholesale business, capital, and merchant shipping are in the hands of the Yougoslavs. To the Italians of Rijeka, only the support of the bribed street-boys, vagabonds, and the green youth of from 20—25 years (called "Young Rijeka") has been left, which terrorize the peaceful and industrious Yougoslavic inhabitants.

#### D. The Peninsula of Istria.

The Austro-Italian census returns for 1910. give as the number of the inhabitants of the **Istrian peninsula** about 344.000 which were distributed according to their nationalities as follows:

	Yougoslavs.	Italians.
In the district of jurisdiction Kopar:		
Kopar	20·5 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>n</sub>	78·9 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>n</sub>
Pasja Vas	99·9 „	0·1 „
Dolina	99·8 „	0·0 „
Marezige	99·9 „	0·0 „
Muggia-Milje	20·8 „	78·6 „
Očisla	99·6 „	0·1 „
Pomjan	83·4 „	16·6 „
In the district of jurisdiction Pirano:		
Isola	25·1 „	74·4 „
Pirano	15·8 „	82·9 „
In the district of jurisdiction Buzet:		
Buzet	96·0 „	3·9 „
Roč	93·4 „	6·3 „

In the district of jurisdiction Podgrad:		
Podgrad	99·8 „	0·1 „
Jelšane	99·9 „	0·0 „
Materija	99·9 „	0·0 „
In the district of jurisdiction Volosko:		
Kastav	99·2 „	0·4 „
Lovran	73·8 „	15·6 „ ??
Mošćenice	99·6 „	0·4 „
Veprinac	83·7 „	0·8 „
Volosko	60·2 „	4·9 „
In the district of jurisdiction Buje:		
Buje	8·1 „	91·8 „
Novi grad	0·0 „ ??	100·0 „ ??
Grožnjan	27·4 „	72·6 „
Umag	5·6 „	94·4 „
Crni Vrh	0·1 „ ??	99·9 „ ??
In the district of jurisdiction Motovun:		
Motovun	66·9 „	32·8 „
Oprtalj	34·0 „	66·0 „
Višnjan	51·4 „	48·4 „
Vižnada	38·6 „	61·1 „
In the district of jurisdiction Poreč:		
Vrsar	52·7 „	47·1 „
Poreč	32·3 „	67·4 „
In the district of jurisdiction Pazin:		
Tinjan	97·9 „	2·0 „
Boljun	99·3 „	0·6 „
Žminj	97·3 „	2·7 „
Pazin	91·8 „	7·9 „
In the district of jurisdiction Labin:		
Labin	84·8 „	14·8 „
Plomin	73·3 „	11·1 „
In the district jurisdiction Rovinj:		
Kanfanar	76·3 „	23·6 „
Bal	7·3 „	92·6 „
In the district of jurisdiction Vodnjan:		
Barbana	97·7 „	2·3 „
Vodnjan	43·5 „	56·3 „
Sv. Vinčenat	80·3 „	19·4 „

In the district of jurisdiction Pula:

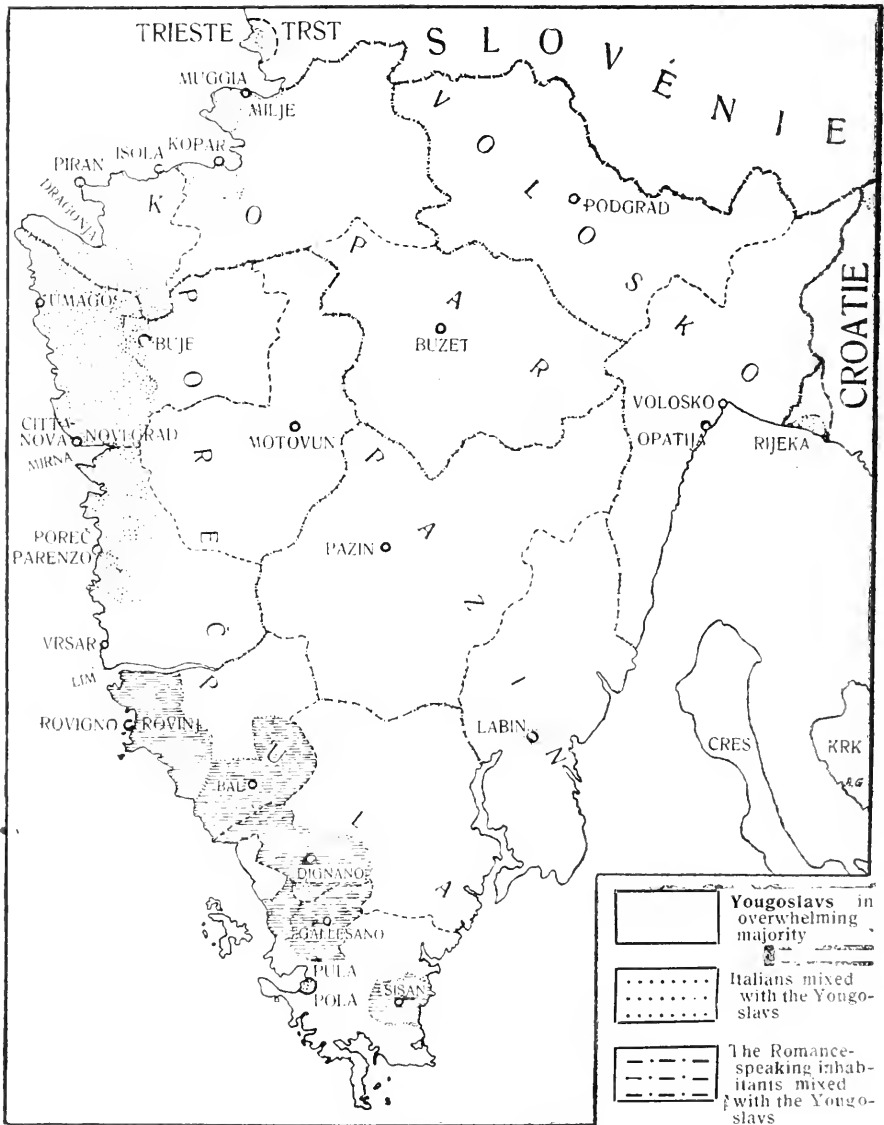
Pula	31·3 „	58·9 „
Rovinj (town)	1·1 „	96·1 „
Average percentage	54·9% „	38·8% „

The remaining: 2·8% „ are other nationalities and 3·5% „ strangers.

It is evident even from these official returns that the whole of the eastern and central Istria is entirely Yougoslavic, whereas only the western Istria would seem to be Italian. But one gross mistake, at least, must be corrected in these returns, as being too striking. From the ancient "lingua rustica" two old-Romance dialects developed. The northern one died out some decades ago, and was substituted in the town proper of Milje by the Italian, and in its neighbourhood (Škofije, Hribi, Plavje etc.) by the Slav language. The southern ("istriotto") one has partly been preserved but mixed with Italian words in the boroughs of Sisan, Gallesano, Bal, Fasana, Dignano (Vodnjan) and Rovinj (ca 20.000 men). Into these two old-Romantic regions the Yougoslavic language edged itself separating entirely the "Romanic" coast region of the northern Istria from that of the southern Istria, thus reaching the sea between the mouth of the river Mirna and that of the river Lim, and surrounding the Italian town of Poreč (Parenzo) on all sides. Consequently, there is on the western coast of Istria no such thing as the continuity between different "Italian" or "Romanic" national groups. The language of these Yougoslavs has remained pure and unmixed except in the administrative district of Buje and the northern parts of the districts of jurisdiction, Motovun and Poreč. The language of these parts is formed by a more or less copious influx of Italian words according to the greater or smaller distance from these "Italian" towns on the coast.

The Austro-Italian officials, taking the census of these parts, did not understand that Yougoslavic dialect, and simply put down all the inhabitants as Italians. According to N. Krebs, there are about more than 15.000 persons speaking that dialect and they ought to be considered as Yougoslavs.

Taking that mistake in the census returns into due consideration, and observing perfect impartiality to the Italians in other respects, there are,



Ethnographic map of the Istrian Peninsula according to the Austro-Italian official census returns of 1910.

	Yougoslavs	Italians
In the district of jurisdiction		
Buje	12.337	9.398
Motovun	16.613	4.833
Poreč	8.775	8,325
Total	37.725	22,556
In the official returns	18.996	41.285
consequently	18.729 more	18.729 less.

After this correction there would remain in the Istrian peninsula

Yougoslavs: 207.993 or 60·4%  
& 115.440 or 33·5% Italians,

but an impartial judge would hardly find 30% true-born Italians.

Now we see that all that is Italian is concentrated in certain towns of the western coast of Istria, for example:

In Kopar (Capodistria), Muggia (Milje), Isola (Ižola), Umago, Parenzo (Poreč), Rovigno, and Pola (Pula).

In all these places there are according to the Austro-Italian census returns 58,471 Italians and their adherents besides 15,964 Yougoslavs. More than one half of all the Italian inhabitants of the Istrian peninsula live in these **seven** towns. Other Italians are spread all but over the larger places of Istria being everywhere in large minority. From the aforesaid follows that the whole rural population of Istria is entirely Yougoslavic, whereas the towns have, it is true, a population preponderantly Italian but greatly mingled with Slavs. If an impartial commission should scrupulously examine the inhabitants of every village of the debatable zone of the western coast strip of Istria on the subject of their nationality, the result would be that hardly 30.000 true-born Italians would be numbered.

About the nationality of the population of the neighbourhood of **Trieste** the noted Italian author of novelettes Dal' Ongaro says, "We must not judge by the language spoken in the town proper, because people from all parts of the world assemble there; we must enter the peasants' hovels in the neighbourhood to make sure of what people those are". True, in Trieste proper predominates the Italian population, but that town is only an Italian oasis on Slavic soil. The region from Trieste to Monfalcone is inhabited solely by Yougoslavs and the territory inhabited by Italians begins only at Monfalcone, ex-

tending over Zagraj (Sagrado) and Cormons to the west. Even on this territory there are a great many places which were Yougoslavic, but have successfully been Italianized by Austrian Italians. Such places are: Monfalcone (Tržič), Redipuglia (Predipolja), Gradisca (Gradišče), etc, but fortunately, the majority of the inhabitants of Gorica have remained and will remain Slav.

From Trieste (exclusive of that town) to Spič, the southernmost boundary of Dalmatia, there are, we repeat, according to the Austro-Italian census, in the Yougoslavic littoral 951,965 **Yougoslavs** or 81% and only 168,172 i. e. 14% Italians.

A foreigner travelling over the Yougoslavic littoral is very apt to be deceived by appearances, if he does not endeavour to make himself acquainted with the inhabitants, their customs, manner of life, and their culture.

The lady Professor Emily Greene Balch of the Wellesly College, author of the book "Our Slavic Fellow Citizens" (New York 1910.), makes in it the following clever observations:

"Italy with its architecture and captivately pleasing manner of life as well as Turkey with its costumes and customs of the neighbouring East, hide from the strangers eye the Slavic nucleus. We naturally approach objects from the most familiar side, and just in the same way as we are familiar only with the germanized forms of Slavic names — Agram for Zagreb, Lemberg for Lwów — we are also familiar only with the Italian forms of the names of places. We say Fiume instead of Rijeka; Ragusa instead of Dubrovnik; Montenegro instead of Crna Gora. But this nomenclature as well as the Venetian look of towns and the Italian language spoken in hotels deceive the foreigner. It is true that the Italian population predominates in the smaller districts of Goricia and Gradisca and in the town of Trieste, but the rest of the population of the whole Adriatic coast belonging to Austria and Hungary is essentially Serbo-Croatian. In Dalmatia, which country the tourist is usually apt to consider as the second and more picturesque Italy, more than 97% of the population speak Croatian or Serbian, both being the same language, only written with different characters".

All the aforesaid facts irrefutably prove **that the population of the eastern coast of the Adriatic is Yougoslavic.**



## Historical Survey on the East Coast of the Adriatic Sea.

By **Dr. Ferdo de Šišić,**

Professor in the University of Zagreb and Member of the Yougoslavie Academy of Science and Arts.

The Yugoslavs appear late on the historical stage, for in former times they had no important independent political organization. They were, so to speak, introduced into the world by other nations, chiefly by the Goths and Avars. Only through the struggles against these military organized nations, did the need of grouping themselves into greater tribes, arise among the Slavs. At the head of these tribes was a Duke and besides him, we read of, a council of notables. In this manner, organized into units, the Yugoslavs then passed into the present South-Western Ukrajina and Polska, and penetrated into the Byzantine Empire at the beginning of the 6<sup>th</sup> century of our Era. They entered the region of the lower part of the Danube. According to all this they do not, at the beginning of their history, appear as a united nation with a single aim, like the Goths or the Franks, but are scattered. Just for this very reason the Slav expansion and settlement on the Balkan Peninsula was accomplished by degrees only, without any special events taking place: similar to water dripping through something or, to an inundation slowly moving forward. Even this proceeding the Yugoslavs effected in the second half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, in company with the Avars. At that time they had already settled in the present Bulgaria, Servia, Macedonia, the South-western Hungary, Croatia, Slavonia, Bosnia, Hercegovina, Crna Gora (Montenegro), Istria, Dalmatia i. e. on all the present Slav territory, as far as the Italian frontier, around the river Soča on the west, and up to the source of the rivers Mura and Murica on the north. Under the Byzantine Empire, allied with the Avars, they invaded the province of Dalmatia for the first time towards the end of the 6<sup>th</sup> century and then more frequently and with

stronger forces in such a manner, that already in the year 600 Pope Gregory I feared the Slavs might overrun Istria and even Italy. Nevertheless, as late as the beginning of the 7<sup>th</sup> century the present Dalmatian sea-coast was spared; but after the tragical death of the Byzantine Emperor Mauricio (602), when anarchy had broken out in the Empire, Dalmatia was exposed to invasion. Besides many of the flourishing Roman towns, finally about 614 perished glorious Salona, the ancient centre of the Roman provinces of Dalmatia, and with her the power of the Byzantine Empire in the north-west of the Balkan Peninsula. The misery of the Byzantine Empire had reached its culmination when the Slavs and Avars attacked Constantinople itself in 626. But the Slavs were defeated on the sea and then retraced their steps, whereupon the Avars left the battle field. The defeat of Constantinople was a heavy blow dealt to the dominion of the Avars, as it was an evident sign of their weakness. Their subjects hitherto, the Slavs, rushed upon them from all sides and reed themselves from the power of the Avars on the whole territory from the Sava to the Adriatic and thus finally about the middle of the 7<sup>th</sup> century, during the reign of the Byzantine emperor Heraclius, they settled for good in their present countries. During the invasion of Dalmatia, extending over many years, the ancient Roman element mostly disappeared, saving themselves only partly on the neighbouring islands of Krk (Veglia), Cres (Cherso), Lošinj (Lussin) and Rab (Arbe) and in some fortified Roman towns on the coast; such as Zadar (Zara) and Trogir (Trau). Part of the refugees from the destroyed Salona found shelter in the palace built for himself by the emperor Diocletian already at the beginning of the 4<sup>th</sup> century, at the time of his resignation of the purple robe. That vast palace quite close to the sea-shore was nevertheless also plundered but not destroyed; in this way offering sufficient safety and shelter. Little by little they established permanent habitations for themselves, and in this manner founded the town named Spalatum, the present Split (Spalato). In the south-east again, the surviving inhabitants of the ancient town Epidaurum ran away to a certain neighbouring small island, quite close to the mainland, and by and by they built a town called Ragusa (Slav: Dubrovnik). Though the Byzantine Empire on account of incessant wars with the Arabs could not devote much care to the rest of its subjects with whom it had

lost every direct communication on the mainland, the Slavs, even after the ruin of Salona, still considered the Byzantine Empire their master and protector; at the same time keeping up their ancient Christian traditions. It was only after the loss of the exarchate of Ravenna (750) that the Empire devoted more care than ever to the rest of the former province of Dalmatia. By degrees, friendly relations between the rest of the Romans and the neighbouring heathen Slavs improved and under such circumstances it was possible to think of a sort of restoration of former conditions. First of all, the archbishopric at Split was reestablished, as successor to that destroyed with Salona, and was dependent on the Patriarch of Carigrad (Constantinople); further about 780 the Mausoleum of the Emperor Diocletian was transformed into the cathedral of St. Dujmo (bishop and martyr of Salona 304). Political organization had its centre in the well-preserved town of Zadar (Zara), where, under the title of strateg or proconsul, the imperial governor resided. Subject to him were the towns of Trogir (Trau), Split (Spalato), Dubrovnik (Ragusa), Kotor (Cattaro) and the islands of Krk (Veglia), Cres (Cherso), Lošinj (Lussin) and Rab (Arbe). This authority was entitled to bear the name of Dalmatia (le thème de Dalmatie) and was an integral part of the Byzantine Empire.

Meanwhile, the Slavs expanded over the vast territory of the Balkan Peninsula and its north-west neighbour, the ancient Roman province of Pannonia and Noricum, but without the ambition to form a united state, striving only to find room for their patriarchal tribal organization i. e., to continue the same kind of political life in their new country, as they had lived in their old home. On the eve of the 9<sup>th</sup> century, they established several small states on the Adriatic coast two of which were the principal ones. The territory of Croatia, the first state, extended from the mouth of the rivulet Raša (Arsa) in the present South-Eastern Istria to the mouth of the river Cetina, in the present Midlands of Dalmatia; the second, that of Servia, lay south-east on the banks of the rivers Piva, Tova and Lim. Later on, from these two centres, the name of Croatia extended to the Drava in the north and to the Neretva, in the south; while the name of Servia spread towards the north into the present South-Eastern and Eastern Bosnia, and towards the south-west into the present Southern Dalmatia, Hercegovina, and Crna Gora (Montenegro). Thus it happened that the very same nation, speaking the very

same language, and known at first, in ancient times, under the collective name of Slavs, later on, began to form into two separate bodies under the two genealogical names of Croats and Servians. Hence through centuries the political power of the one or the other tribe respectively, so that the political national name embraced now a larger now a smaller territory; hence the shifting of political centres, and subjects appertaining to different religions: the Croats professing as their established religion that of the Roman Catholic Church, and the Servians that of the Greek [Orthodox] Church; hence at last, the splitting of one and the same ethnical unit into two independent factors. It has been left to a more fortunate and judicious future to correct what the past had so fatally neglected. The political history of the eastern Adriatic coast begins at the end of the 8<sup>th</sup> and the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century. Then the army of Charles the Great conquered Istria and soon after subjugated Croatia as far as the mouth of the Cetina, while Dalmatia, i. e. the islands of Krk (Veglia), Cres (Cherso), Lošinj (Lussin), Rab (Arbe), and the towns of Zadar (Zara), Trogir (Trau) and Split (Spalato) remained under the Byzantine Empire.

At the beginning of the 9<sup>th</sup> century the Croats were baptized by Frank missionaries, after which event a particular Croatian bishopric was created in the town of Nin (Nona) owing direct obedience to papal authority. Otherwise, the Emperor Charles the Great gave the Croats a complete autonomy with a Duke at their head, chosen by the people's own will, the Emperor confirming the choice. Only in military affairs the Croatian Duke submitted himself to the Markgrave of Furlan (Friaul), and was, moreover, bound to render certain yearly tributes to the Emperor. When after many decades, under the weak successors of Charles the Great his vast empire had fallen to pieces, Croatia ought to have come under the Germans. This change, however, caused an insurrection among the Croats ending in 877 with their delivery, and Croatia became quite an independent state on the coast of the Adriatic Sea. The present Southern Dalmatia and Crna Gora came under the supreme power of Byzantium, on which occasion the Servians in these parts were baptized and brought within the pale of the Greek Orthodox Church. The Servians also lived under the sceptre of their own Dukes, independently ruling over their nation. Only the towns of Dubrovnik (Ragusa) and Kotor (Cattaro) conti-

nued to belong to the Byzantine Empire. Meanwhile the Croatian state began to increase in power under the dynasty of the family of the **Duke Trpimir**, which dynasty reigned nearly continuously until the end of the 11<sup>th</sup> century. About 924 Croatia became a kingdom and obtained from the Byzantine Empire the administration of the above-mentioned Dalmatian islands and towns when they had finally seceded from the church of Constantinople and come over to the Church of Rome.

The contemporary emperor of Byzantium Constantine Porphyrogenitus "nous a donné une idée des forces militaires de la Croatie au X. siècle. Il lui attribue la faculté de lever une armée de 100.000 fantassins et 60.000 cavaliers. Sa flotte se montait à 80 sagènes, capables de contenir chacune 40 hommes, et à cent condures, montées par dix ou vingt hommes. Cela suppose — dit M. Rambaud, de l'Académie française — une population de seize cent mille à deux millions d'habitants". With this strong military force Croatia was able to repulse the enemy from her frontiers. And, indeed, the Emperor Constantine, — and some other Byzantine Chronicles confirm this — tells us that the Bulgarian troops of the Emperor Simeon who was at war with the Croats, were totally defeated by them. Croatia advanced also in civilization and it is most characteristic of her relations to the Holy See at that time that she knew how to retain the use of the Slav language in the Church, which privilege she has partly preserved up to the present day.

"Plus voisine d'ailleurs de la mer et des peuples polices, c'est elle qui, au X. siècle, est à la tête de la civilisation slavillyrienne", says M. Rambaud. At the end of the tenth century internal disorder began to weaken the country. The Doge Peter Orseolo profited by this opportunity and obtained the consent of the Byzantine Empire to take under his protection and administration the Dalmatian towns and islands. Thus, in 1000 Venice, for the first time, acquired temporary power on the east coast of the Adriatic Sea. Some years later, about 1069, when Croatia had again become stronger, the Dalmatian islands and towns returned under the administration of her rulers. **King Peter Krešimir** got them entirely into his power. This King was the restorer of the power of the Croatian State. He himself says in an authentic document that "Almighty God" has enlarged his State by land and sea.

His town-residences were Nin (Nona) and Biograd (Zara Vecchia on the sea), then called "Zadar naš dalmatinski" (our Dalmatian Zara), and he bore the title of King of Croatia and Dalmatia as well. After his death (1074) internal troubles broke out in Croatia which were temporarily appeased in the reign of King **Dimitrija Zvonimir**, who was crowned at Solin (Salona), not far from Split (Spalato), by the Papal Nuncio of Pope Gregory VII. This King reigned with an iron hand over the whole of Croatia, from the Drava to the Neretva and over all the Dalmatian towns and islands, but again after his death one disturbance followed another with greater force than ever. Under the influence of Dimitrija Zvonimir's wife, who was the sister of the Hungarian King Ladislav, a Hungarian party formed among the Croatian nobility, who in their turn invited **King Ladislav** into Croatia and offered him the Croatian crown. Ladislav did not succeed in keeping order, any more than his successor **Koloman** who was crowned with the Croatian crown as king of Croatia and Dalmatia at Biograd. On that occasion he took an oath pledging his word that he would not infringe any of the public and state rights of the Kingdom of Croatia. Henceforth Hungary and Croatia will have the same ruler but will remain two separate kingdoms, joined into one state-community only by the person of the king. At the coronation at Biograd Koloman, as the legitimate ruler of the Croatian and Dalmatian Kingdoms, engaged, moreover, that he would regain the towns and islands of Dalmatia the administration of which Venice had again recovered during the period of anarchy in Croatia. The Byzantine emperor who had always a decisive word to say in these matters, ceded Dalmatia to Koloman in 1107, as he wanted to make an alliance with him against the Normans in Southern Italy. When after some years the friendship and alliance between King Koloman and the Emperor Alexis Komnenos was dissolved, Venice began the fight for Dalmatia. Henceforth, the conflict between the Hungarians and Croats on one side and Venice on the other side for the possession of the east coast of the Adriatic Sea lasted without any break from 1115—1358. The most striking fact during that struggle is that the Dalmatian towns and islands themselves most decidedly opposed the Venetians and would by no means subject to their power. It was especially Zadar (Zara), the most important Dalmatian town, that always rebelled against the Republic of St. Mark, whenever she hoped to get help from the Hungaro-Croatian King. Only by force

Venice succeeded in getting a firm footing in the Dalmatian towns and on the Croatian coast. The most important of all these Venetian expeditions is the one of 1202 when the Doge conducted a whole crusade, (the well-known fourth Crusade). He ought to have led it to Palestine, but as the whole crusade, in reality, stood in the service of the avaricious and covetous Venice, it finished under the walls of Constantinople and never saw the Holy Land. The most glorious success after many years' hard struggles with Venice by land and sea was gained by **King Ludowick I.**, when after many years' fighting Venice was finally forced to make peace at Zadar 1358 and renounce her right to the whole coast from Rječica (Fiumara) to Cattaro. It was Ragusa's (Dubrovnik) turn, then, to come under the protection of the Hungaro-Croatian Kings (from 1358—1526).

Ragusa preserved its independency and the constitution of an aristocratic republic, while Kotor [Cattaro] which had otherwise with the whole of Bocca di Cattaro from the 11<sup>th</sup> century onwards been within the boundary of the Servian State, got only temporarily under the Hungaro-Croatian king. Once more, as is well-known, between 1358—1413, the Croatian navy [Admiratus regnorum Croatiae et Dalmatiae] began to flourish.

**The permanent Venetian occupation on the soil of the present Dalmatia commenced only at the beginning of the 15<sup>th</sup> century,** after the death of Ludowick I. (1382), when the long, many years lasting struggles for the crown had finally quite weakened Hungary and Croatia. Then that occupation, covering many decades, took place in a peaceful manner. The cession of Dalmatia began in July 1409, when Ladislav of Naples, the rival king of Sigismund of Luxemburg (1437) had, after long bargaining and negotiating, sold to the Doge for 100,000 ducats all that was just then in his power in Dalmatia: the town of Zadar, the villages of Vran and Növigrad, and the island of Pag. At the same time Ladislav resigned in favour of Venice, not only his rights as king of Hungary, Croatia and Dalmatia, but also his titles to all the rest of Dalmatia. The rumour of the shameful treachery of Ladislav of Naples caused great uneasiness and vexation in the Dalmatian towns and islands, the greater part of the inhabitants surrendering voluntarily to Venetian power on the basis of a treaty, in this manner saving at least as much as possible of their ancient autonomy. Among the first to yield to

Venice was Zadar and then the following towns and islands took example by her: the islands of Cres and Rab, and the town of Nin 1409, Skradin 1411, Šibenik (after a long siege) 1412, the islands of Hvar, Brač, and Korčula, and the towns of Trogir, Split and Kotor 1420, Omiš 1444, and finally the island of Krk (1481). Close upon the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century Venice had in her power all islands and all towns lying on the coast, except Dubrovnik. **Simultaneously the name "Dalmatia" extended also over those sea-side towns and islands which had not until then formed the geographical notion Dalmatia**, by which name the islands of Krk, Osor and Rab and the towns of Zadar, Trogir and Split exclusively were understood before the 15<sup>th</sup> century. **All the rest of the land** in the immediate neighbourhood, like Klis [quite close to Split and Knin and Sinj], **still belonged to the kingdom of Croatia** (in regno nostro Croatiae). To make a difference between these oldest possessions of hers and those she had acquired in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Venetian republic began to call them "aquistò vecchio" (ancient acquisition) in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. Boka Kotorska was named Venetian Albania (Albania Veneta), and separated from Dalmatia by the republic of Dubrovnik (Ragusa). Such a politically-geographical situation subsisted up to the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, that is to say, till Venice found a new rival in the **Turkish Empire** which after the fall of Serbia (1459), Bosna (1463), and Hercegovina (1480), threateningly began to approach the littoral of the Adriatic Sea.

Already in the first half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century the army of the sultan Bajazid II invaded Croatia in the vicinity of Knin and Sinj, and soon after arrived at Split and began to besiege it, Šibenik, Trogir and Klis sharing the same fate. Hard times began for Croatia, since from the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century the whole country was brought into subjection by the Turks. Only the fortified sea-side towns remained in the power of Venice, living a desperate life full of incessant fear and vigilant defence. This state of things continued till the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century. At this time the name Dalmatia was identical with Venetian possessions, while Turkish possessions went under the name of "pašaluk Bosna" (the Province of Bosnia governed by a pasha). **The politically-geographical ancient name of Croatia disappeared in the course of the 16<sup>th</sup> century from the country now called Dalmatia.** Meanwhile, about the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup>



century the twenty-four years' war (**The Candian War**) had broken out between the Venetians and the Turks in which war the volunteer **Croatian and Servian troops greatly helped the Venetians hoping that they themselves would on that occasion shake off the intolerable Turkish yoke.** Already in the 14<sup>th</sup> century the Servians had begun to settle on the territory of modern Dalmatia, to the north of the mouth of the Cetina, but the principal settlements were established in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries on the territory of the so-called Bosna of to-day. — The country to the south of the Cetina and Neretva respectively was from time immemorial a part of Servia, or properly speaking, of the Bosna-Hum state formation, and populated chiefly by Servian inhabitants. The Candian War finished with the peace in 1669. On that occasion Venice resigned the island of Candia (Crete), but as indemnity she got her possessions on the Adriatic coast enlarged. The new boundary stretched along the coast, determined by a range of mountains, from the gulf of Novigrad to the lower Cetina, so that Klis necessarily came under the Venetian power. That boundary got the name **linea Nani**, after the Venetian ambassador. Subsequently, this territory was termed "aquisto vecchio" (the ancient acquisition). The **Turkish war** was continued until 1684, when after the well-known Turkish catastrophe before Beč (Vienna) Venice joined Austria and Poland as ally. During that new 15 years' war **the Venetians acquired, but chiefly with the blood of the Croats and Servians** who greatly helped them, Sinj in the north and Herceg Novi (at the entrance of Boka Kotorska) in the south. After that the Treaty of Karlovci (in Srem) was concluded in 1699, by which the new boundary was fixed between Venice and Turkey, and determined by a certain Venetian Grimani after whom it was named **linea Grimani**. The boundary was drawn in a very simple manner; the places Knin, Sinj, and Gabela on the Neretva were joined by straight lines without any regard to the mountains and elevations. Around every one of these places a neutral and defensive zone was left stretching away from it to a distance of an hour's walk in every direction. In the south Venice acquired nearly the whole of Boka Kotorska and Budva. By the **linea Grimani**, accordingly, was marked the boundary of the possessions called "**nuovo aquisto**" (new acquisition), which, of course, extended into the interior **of former Croatia**, at that time named Dalmatia.

In 1714 the Turco-Venetian war broke out afresh, and ended with the Treaty of Požarevac on the Danube (1718). That treaty determined the **linea Mocenigo** which remained the boundary of the Venetian Dalmatia up to the fall of the republic of St. Mark (1797) or, to put it differently, that **is the same boundary, which Dalmatia, Bosnia and Hercegovina have kept until now**, the only exceptions being the most southern point of Spič (Spizza) which the late Austro-Hungarian monarchy got later in 1878, and the territory of the former republic of Dubrovnik between the mouth of the Neretva and Herceg Novi. A newly acquired possession within the lines of Mocenigo and Grimani was the „aquistò nuovissimo”, with which the name of Dalmatia extended to the east into the former Croatia. From this explanation we see clearly that **the present politically-geographical notion of Dalmatia to the north of the Neretva comprises just that territory which the Venetians possessed on the east coast of the Adriatic Sea before the fall of their republic**. This possession was formed partly through the voluntary surrendering of the littoral towns and islands in the 15<sup>th</sup> century and partly through the heroism and sacrifices of the Croats and Servians under the Venetian colours in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. As has been already mentioned, Dubrovnik with its territory and Boka Kotorska (Albania Veneta) form exceptions, never having belonged to the Venetian Dalmatia. One more thing must be explained. The Venetian districts adjoining the republic of Dubrovnik got conceded by a clause of the Treaty of Požarevac (1718), that a small piece of land to the north and south of their territory, should be assigned to the Turks, who in this way came in contact with the Adriatic Sea. — Thus was formed the enclave “Neum-Klek” at the mouth of the Neretva and Sutorina, at the entrance of Boka Kotorska; both these parts even now belong to Hercegovina which borders on the sea only here. After the fall of the Venetian republic and the Treaty of Campoformio, the whole Dalmatia with the islands of the Quarnero, and the Boka Kotorska (as a former Venetian possession) fell to Austria’s share. Dubrovnik still remained an independent republic. Immediately at the rumour of the fall of the hitherto ruling republic, the whole Dalmatia, especially the peasantry, began to rise, for they feared the power of the wicked Jacobites i. e. the French, who had been slandered by the Franciscans. In all classes of the population

unanimously the desire arose to unite Dalmatia to Croatia, and the Austrian general Mato Rukavina, a Croat from Lika, was greeted with enthusiasm as the representative of the Hungaro-Croatian king. But no union with Croatia was effected, for the Austrian government was displeased with it and showed it partly officially and partly not officially, because it regarded Dalmatia as its booty. Some years later, however, Austria lost Dalmatia, which was by the Treaty of Požun (1805) ceded to the Emperor Napoleon, who united Dubrovnik and Boka di Cattaro with the rest of Dalmatia. **Thus for the first time in history, at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century the name of Dalmatia tallied with all that territory which is understood when we speak of the Dalmatia of to-day.** In 1809 moreover, Napoleon, by the Treaty of Schönbrunn, got the larger part of Croatia [the territory on the right bank of the Sava as far as the mouth of the Una], Kranjska (Carniola), the southern part of Koruška (Carinthia), Istra with Trst (Triest), and all the islands of the Quarnero. This territory Napoleon claimed in order to get a straight overland communication with Dalmatia, which had until then been joined to the kingdom of Italy, though her governor Vincent Dandolo ruled over it independently. In 1809 Napoleon took away Dalmatia and ed her to the rest of his southern Slav countries creating ria (les Provinces Illyriennes) and putting at her head the general Marmont. Short as the rule of the French in the Yougoslav countries was, it has left an indelible impression on the popular mind and is still fresh in their remembrance as an ideal rule. **Never has the nation of the Yougoslavs had such a noble and benevolent governor and chief as was general Marmont the the "Duc de Raguse".**

Administration, schools, jurisdiction, economical organization, all bore the character of lasting institutions, because the French had devoted themselves to the administering of national wants. The islands of the Quarnero, Cres, Krk, Lošinj and Rab were also united with the country, **La Croatie civile**, to which Napoleon had joined the east part of Istria, too. The fall of Napoleon, therefore, is one of the heaviest blows that the Yougoslav countries have ever sustained (1815). With the return of the Austrian rule, the question of the union of Dalmatia with Croatia arose again, but the government of Vienna opposed to it and even favoured the Italian population knowing well that the idea of such a union would

never find sympathy with them. The Austrian government, moreover, would not return the territory on the right bank of the Sava down to the sea to Croatia until the year 1822., and when it finally did return it, the east part of Istria, and the islands of Cres, Krk, and Lošinj were taken from Croatia and incorporated with Istria, to which province these islands had never belonged. The island of Rab was returned to Dalmatia. This state of things has remained up to the present day. The idea of a national union baffled the imperial orders of suppression, because it continued spreading and winning the hearts of the people from the Soča to the sea-shore in the West and as far as Timok and Vardar in the East. That feeling of the people on the sea-coast was not unknown to the famous Italian patriot and statesman Cavour, who in 1860 declared in the following words :

“It is necessary to avoid every expression which would give rise to any doubt that the reign of the King (Victor Emanuel) aspires not only to the possession of Venice, but Trieste as well, together with Istria and Dalmatia. I know very well that in the sea-side towns the greater part of the population according to race and sentiments is Italian, but the rest of the population in the country belongs to the Slav race exclusively; for this very reason, without any other serious motive, we should have a conflict with the Croats, Servians, Magyars and Germans, if we should show such aspirations and the wish to sever this great part of central Europe from them.

Every word referring to this, however recklessly uttered, would become a dangerous weapon in the hands of our enemies. They would all know how to profit by it and rouse the English against us, for the English themselves would hardly look on benignantly and favourably, if the Adriatic should again become, as in the period of the Venetian republic, a dominion on Italian seas“. [See Chiala, Lettere del Conte Cavour, Vol. IV.]

We feel thoroughly persuaded that the present leaders of the Italian nation will remember these words of the creator of modern Italy, and hope that they will not convince themselves of the depth and truth of these words to their own detriment.

## Yougoslavic Civilization on the Adriatic.

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At the moment when the two brothers, St. Cyril and St. Method (born at Saloniki in 863), were commanded by the Emperor Michael, and invited by the Moravian Prince Rostislav, to visit Moravia, — the first as a theologian and missionary, the second as a politician and organizer — there was in their venerable hands the first Slav book. The culture being at that time higher in Constantinople than in Western Europe, the Slavs turned in the direction from where the dazzling rays of civilization came forth. Still, already at that first moment, they stamped the borrowed Byzantine civilization with their own characteristics: the first Slav book was a translation from Greek, but it was written in **Glagolica, the Slav alphabet**, and its spirit was Slav, too. Thus the first Slav book means resistance of Prince Rostislav to the German policy and civilization, lest, under pretence of Christianity, the Frank state should for ever destroy the political liberty of the young Slav nations which had only lately appeared in the history of nations. Western Christianity, united by the dead Latin language, was fettered and cramped, and it was the German theologians who gave it more and more a dogmatic character. Eastern Christianity had more liberty, tolerating beside the Greek a number of national eastern Churches. Consequently, the Slavs turned to the East where they saw more liberty and culture, being of opinion that there could be no true civilization without liberty, nor true liberty without civilization.

The first nascent Slav civilization had found its home in Moravia from where, as from its focus, it began to influence the Slav tribes in the south and in the north, but only for two decades, because the State of Moravia was just then destroyed by the Germans and Hungarians. The state was overthrown, but in its civilization, though quite young,

there was such an inherent and imperative self-assertion of life and development destined for all the Slavs, that it could not perish with the state and was transplanted into Yougoslavia. Influenced directly by the Greek sphere, the Bulgarians and Servians substituted the newly invented Cyrillic alphabet (which had been formed after the Greek characters) for the older Glagolitic.

Being within easy reach of the Greek Church, these two nations remained dependent on Constantinople during the time of the Schism. The hardest struggle was in store for the Croats, the Yougoslavic tribe which had on its migration from the North reached the Adriatic. Partly an agricultural and civilized, partly a wild and warlike tribe, they suddenly appeared on the shores of the Adriatic, having a natural religion which had not yet reached its mythological stage. They were destined, through centuries of hardest struggles, to defend the eastern coast of the Adriatic, and to get at the head of the Yougoslavs in their intellectual progress, in those most civilized parts of the Yougoslavic soil, on the ruins of the Roman Empire, with no one between them and the wide world. On the Adriatic, from Duklja to Raša, they founded their state, the oldest kingdom on the territory of the late Austria-Hungary. Irresolute at first between the East and the West, that state turned at last towards the West. Although the Croats adhered to the Church of Rome, they managed to preserve entirely their national character even in their mediæval civilization. It is on the Adriatic that the **National Church** with the church **Slavonic language, liturgy, and books**, written in glagolitic characters, has been founded. To the vigour and peculiarity of the Yougoslavic spirit on the Adriatic bears witness not only the aforesaid fact, being a phenomenon in the history of the Church of Rome, but also the fact that the catholic national church has been preserved to this very day, though on a much smaller territory. For all the unlimited political and ecclesiastical power which the popes had in the Middle Ages; in spite of all the higher dignitaries in the church being foreigners; notwithstanding the tyrannical oppression of the Venetian republic: the primitive glagolitic priest stubbornly and inflexibly persevered in the building up of his national church and national mediæval civilization on the Adriatic, in Dalmatia, in the Croatian Littoral, in Istria and in the islands.

When the **German Reformation** had tried to reach Rome through the Yougoslavs, and had founded a printing-office at Urach (in Germany near Tubingue) where there were printed books for the Yougoslavs in all three alphabets (glagolitic, Cyrillic, and Latin), the best instructed glagolitic priests from Istria and the Croatian Littoral, as, Stephen Konsul the Istrian, Anthony Dalmatin, George Cvečić, George Juričić, and others, assembled at Urach to work as men of letters and propagate Protestantism in the Slavic South. Vlacić, called Mathias Flacius Illyricus, by turns professor in the universities of Wittenberg, Jena, Strasburg, and Antwerp, and in the full sense of the word an encyclopaedist and leader of the Reformation besides Luther and Melancton, was also born in Istria. The glagolitic priests accepted the printed books with ardent zeal, because the high Latin clergy had purposely left the low i. e. the glagolitic clergy without any books in order to make them illiterate and ultimately to destroy the Slav books and liturgy. Though the Protestant books were printed in Slav characters, they did not make any proselytes among the Slav clergy, who remained what they had been: national priests. They did not care for the hair-splitting theological discussions; they always hated the high clergy for being foreigners; they succeeded in defending the vernacular in their church; they married and lived the family life, in spite of the Council of Trent, so that the Reformation could not bring them anything new that could gain them over. Several valuable works of that mediaeval literature, showing a considerable skill and scholarship of that national clergy, have been handed down to us. Such works are: the **missal of Prince Novak** and the **missal of Hrvoja**, the Duke of Split, exquisitely illuminated, dating from the first years of the 15<sup>th</sup> century<sup>1)</sup>. Very important is the **Vinodol Code** (1288), one of the oldest collections of Slav national customary (common) law. Very interesting is the **Gospel of Rheims** (1395), now in the library of the town of Rheims, on which French Kings took their oath when they were crowned. V. Jagić says about the exertions of the glagolitic clergy, "Had all those books, the larger and smaller fragments of which are at the present day to be found in heaps at Zagreb, Ljubljana, St. Petersburg, Vienna, Prague, and elsewhere in private hands,

<sup>1)</sup> Missale Glagoliticum Hervoiae, Ducis Spalatensis. Recensuerunt V. Jagić, Thalloczy, F. Wickhoff — Vienna 1891.

been preserved, the Croatian glagolitic clergy ought to be praised as model of industry in copying. If one day, a collection of the most beautifully written and illuminated specimens of that kind of literature should happen to be photographed and published, the whole foreign and domestic impartial literary world would admire one page of the Croatian mediaeval culture<sup>1)</sup>°.

In the Middle Ages, the Yougoslavs had two centres of civilization and culture. The first centre was in Old Servia where a great and rich national culture had taken root under the influence of Constantinople, but was crushed in its prime by the invasion of the Turks. The second centre, which withstood the onslaughts of the Hungarians, Turks, Venetians, and Germans, was on the Adriatic. The merits of these centres for the civilization and their own nation are very great. The national church and the glagolitic literature have been secular ramparts with which the Yougoslavs on the Adriatic have surrounded themselves, their country, and their souls, against their sworn enemies and have proved that none of the four enemies has succeeded in tearing them from the Adriatic. The Hungarians and the Turks have proved too weak, for they have successfully been repulsed: the Venetians failed in their policy, because the Slavs suffered and outlived it; and the Germans have in vain tried to impair their national character, because the Yougoslavs have assimilated only the good qualities of their civilization without any injury to their own national characteristics.

## II.

In the Middle Ages, the Yougoslavs on the Adriatic were obliged to shelter themselves from the onslaughts of so many enemies, but at the time of the **Revival of Learning (Renaissance)** they had to come forward and to vie with the neighbouring Italy, which had become the cradle of the new European civilization. The Renaissance, like all great movements, being of a national and universal character, created the great national Italian literature, and had a great influence upon all civilized nations of Europe. The Yougoslavs on the Adriatic were the first to follow suit. In the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 15<sup>th</sup> century their own Renaissance sprung up which is not only the oldest and richest

<sup>1)</sup> V. Jagić and B. Vodnik: A History of Croatian Literature, Zagreb, 1913. p. 24.



in the history of the civilization of all Slavs, but also has an eminent place in the civilization of Europe.

There were already among the Humanists a great many Yougoslavs who wrote prose and poetry in Latin and Greek. Elias Crijević (Aelius Lampridius Cerva), born at Dubrovnik (Ragusa), the disciple of J. Pomponius Laeta, was crowned poet laureate in the Quirinal. The Franciscan monk, George Dragišić (Georgius Benignus), born at Dubrovnik, and disciple of the Dominican monk Jerome Savonarola, humanist and theologian, was the teacher of John Medici, hereafter the famous Pope Leo X. Andrew Paltašić (Andreas de Paltascichis de Cattaro), born at Kotor, is known as one of the earliest printers in Italy. His younger colleague by profession Dobruško Dobrić (Boninus de Boninis), born at Dubrovnik, became famous as printer, bookseller, and editor at Verona, Brescia, and Lyons, at the end of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. Lucian Lovranac (Luciano de Laurana), born at Lovran in Istria, was the architect of the magnificent palaces at Urbino and Gubbia, being himself the pupil of Bramante, the builder of St. Peter's. **Andrew Medulić (Andria Schiavone)**, born at Šibenik, the pupil of Tizian, became famous as painter in Italy. Still more famous was the **miniaturist Julius Klović (Giulio Clovio, 1498—1578)** who was born in Grižani, in the Croatian Littoral. His prayer-book in the library of the Museo Nazionale at Naples is considered as one of the greatest works of miniature painting, and one of his precious missals is in the possession of Lord Holford in England<sup>1)</sup>. The Yougoslavs on the Adriatic did not only partake of the great benefits of the progress of the new epoch in Italy, but they also contributed to the Renaissance, thus earning an eminent place among the artists and men of genius of their times.

The political affairs on the Adriatic at that time were not favourable to literary and scientific pursuits. The Hungaro-Croatian king, Ladislav of Naples, on seeing that he was unable to keep his throne, sold for 100.000 ducats the towns of Zadar, Novigrad, Vrana, and the island of Pag with all his titles to the whole Dalmatia to the Venetians who, having in the course of the 14<sup>th</sup> century extended their rule over the whole coast of the Dalmatian Mainland and over the islands, retained their dominion over them until the fall of their own republic in 1797.

<sup>1)</sup> Bradley: The Life, Times and Works of Giulio Clovio, London 1891.

At the same time, after the fall of Serbia (1459), Bosnia (1463), and Hercegovina (1482), the Turks began to press against the inland of Dalmatia, and even got as far as the towns on the coast. Dalmatia, oppressed by the Venetian rule from the sea, and endangered from the interior by the Turks, could not form a centre of her own culture where the Yougoslavic Renaissance would have freely developed, but her men of genius had to quit their home and to live and work abroad. There was no political liberty in Dalmatia under the Venetian rule, and where there is no liberty there is no progress. But, fortunately, there was on the Adriatic the small **Yougoslavic republic of St. Blaise, the town of Dubrovnik**, which became the centre of the intellectual progress of the littoral Yougoslavs. In "Dubravka" (1628), the pastoral play of John Gundulić, that political liberty of Dubrovnik which attracted the oppressed Dalmatian people, has beautifully been symbolized in the scene where the distressed old man Fisher, a fugitive from the outrages of the Venetians, joins the free shepherds, on the occasion of the celebration of the liberty of Dubrovnik, to find refuge in his old age, in "the sweet nest of the dearly loved liberty".

From the 15<sup>th</sup> century on, such a beautiful, vigorous, and rich Yougoslavic literature of Renaissance (consisting of epic, lyric, and dramatic works) sprung up at Dubrovnik that any great nation could be proud of it. Even great Slav nations have no such literature at that period of history. It is owing to liberty only that the Yougoslavic genius was able to create such a literature on so small a territory as was that of Dubrovnik. The poets of Dubrovnik kept abreast with their greatest contemporaries in Italy as the following instance shows. The translation of Tasso's *Aminta*, done by Dinko Zlatarić, was published in print earlier than the Italian original.

Although German scholars have never cared for the literary history of small Slav nations, the appearance of the Renaissance at Dubrovnik arrested their attention. W. Creizenach, professor in the University of Cracow, has written a special chapter on the dramatic works of the Dubrovnik poets (in his work "The History of the Modern Drama", Halle 1901, pp. 506—526, "On the Serbo-Croatian Drama in Dalmatia"). He has assigned an honourable place in the history of modern drama to **Marin Držić**, the greatest writer of comedies at Dubrovnik in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Of his fantastically allegorical pastoral play "Plakir" he

says, "That is at any rate one of the most attractive works of the fantastically-realistic mixed kind which later on found its unattainable paragon in Shakespeare's "A Midsummer-Night's Dream".

W. Creizenach has written only on the drama in Dalmatia and Dubrovnik in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, but **the greatest Yougoslavic poet on the Adriatic, John Gundulić**, born at Dubrovnik (1588—1638), appeared only in the 17<sup>th</sup> century. His pastoral play "Dubravka" and his romantically-heroic epic poem "Osman" can be boldly compared to the greatest poetical works of that time. "Dubravka" is quite an original pastoral play, free of the conventional sentimentalism which abounds in the Italian dramas of that kind. It is full of poesy, deep ethical feeling, lofty ideas of liberty, and inspired by great patriotism. While some Italian literary critics think "Aminta" the best work of Tasso, we can say that "Dubravka" is in every respect a superior work. Similarly, M. Murko, professor of Slav languages and literature in the University of Leipsic, considers "Osman", a romantic epic poem of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, where the contemporary desperate struggle of Christendom with the Turks is described (in which struggle the Yougoslavs produced the greatest heroes and innumerable nameless martyrs), as a literary work of greater merit than Tasso's "Jerusalem Delivered"<sup>1)</sup>.

In the 14<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries, the Venetian Dalmatia had besides a homogeneous Slav population outside the towns a great number of patriots among the educated classes in towns. No wonder, that great men of letters arose at that time also in Dalmatia. **Marko Marulić** (1450—1524), born at Split, was not only celebrated as a Yougoslavic poet at home, but he enjoyed also a European reputation as one of the deepest Christian thinkers on the eve of the Reformation. His Latin works have been translated into French, Portuguese, German, and Italian, and have been printed in Florence, Venice, Basle, Cologne, Paris and Antwerp. In the island of Hvar, two great and quite original poets were born: **Hanibal Lucić** (1485—1553) and **Peter Hektorović** (1487—1572). Lucić is a fine lyric and as a dramatist he made ample use of the national tradition and motives in his drama "Robinja" (The Woman-slave) which Creizenach con-

<sup>1)</sup> M. Murko: Die Südslavischen Literaturen. Die Kultur der Gegenwart. Teil I. Abt. 9. Leipzig 1908.

siders to be of great significance in the history of modern European drama, being among the first attempts at the drama with a secular romantic subject. Only after Lucić the romantic secular drama sprang up among the English and the Spaniards. Owing to the growing oppression of the Yougoslavs on the part of Venice, that kind of drama could not develop, so that the rich and brilliant Yougoslavic traditions which are so beautifully concentrated in the national epic poetry, remained without any importance for the Yougoslavic drama until the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Peter Hektorović is the author of the piscatory epic poem "Fishing" in which, for the first time in the Yougoslavic literature, the national epic poetry is represented by some specimens full of its characteristic vigour. The Russian scholar N. Petrovskij who has written a whole book on Hektorović, points out the importance of the poet's ideas which are uncommonly democratic for his time, and the great artistic merit of his "Fishing", considering the conventionalism in the poetry of that kind in Italy. Hektorović, a country gentleman, associates quite intimately with his Fishermen-bards, expressing freely his democratic sentiments, and as an artist he is a thorough realist who outstripped his contemporaries for full three centuries<sup>1)</sup>.

In Northern Dalmatia the patriotism of the educated classes was even stronger than that of those at Split and Hvar, because the oppression of the Turks and Venetians was most keenly felt in the neighbourhood of Zadar, the centre of the Venetian government. Jan Hasišteinský z Lobkovic who visited Zadar on his voyage to St. Sepulchre in 1493., describes that town in his itinerary as follows. "This town is rather large and some of the Venetian gentlemen (signori) live here. Greek and Latin, but mostly Slav, languages are spoken here, and the town is surrounded by homogeneous Slav population. The town is situated in a clean country which is here in the neighbourhood called Slav<sup>2)</sup>". From which words we infer that Zadar looked like an old Greek colony; the Venetian officials and colonists gave it only slightly an Italian aspect, but on the whole it was still, after nearly a whole century of Venetian rule, a Slav town, owing to its own inhabitants and to those of its neighbourhood. It is quite natural, then, that Zadar was the birth-place of Peter

<sup>1)</sup> П. Петровскій: О сочиненіяхъ Петра Гекторовича. Казань. 1901.

<sup>2)</sup> Jan Hasišteinský z Lobkovic: Putování k svatému hrobu. Prag 1907.

**Zoranić**, the author of the pastoral novel "Mountains", the most patriotic work of the old Yougoslavic literature on the Adriatic.

Marulić, Lucić, Hektorović, and Zoranić are great and original types of the Yougoslavic literature, but after them only a few, greatly inferior poets appeared on the territory of the Venetian Dalmatia. Venice ruled over Dalmatia as over her colony, sucking the very blood of the people and exhausting the land. By cutting timber for ship-building, she disafforested the land, and the common people were left to shed their blood in the struggles with the Turks, while the educated classes became slowly denationalized. For that very reason scarcely any patriotic vernacular literature is to be found in such an atmosphere, deprived of all political liberty, at the time when Dubrovnik produced its greatest poets. The works of literature which have been produced in that part of Dalmatia would do credit to any literature of that time.

Although there is some literary production to be found in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, there are no great works of genius among them, to represent the progress and the ideas of the whole nation, because the educated classes were incapable of understanding the feeling, ideas, and ideals of the large mass of the people, being already estranged from their nation. Some writers endeavoured to keep alive the national idea and feeling only among the common people.

The Franciscan monk and army-chaplain of the Dalmatian soldiers in the Venetian army, Philip Grabovac, published in his "Anthology of People's Poetical Discourses" (Venice 1747) one poem, in which he dwelled on the former glory and the contemporary torpor of Dalmatia, and urged her on to shake off the foreign yoke. In another poem he pointed out to the people that they fought everywhere, shedding their blood only to the advantage of a foreign ruler. Owing to these poems Grabovac was put into chains at Verona and thrown into prison at Venice, where he succumbed to the rough usage in 1750. His successor, the **Franciscan monk Andrew Kačić**, acted with more prudence striving for the same end. Sent by the Pope to superintend the Franciscan monasteries, he travelled all over Bosnia and Hercegovina, where he learned how to work for his people even under the Turkish despotism, and in dealing with the Turks he adopted the opportunism of the Bosnian Franciscans. He published "The Entertaining Discourse of the Slav

People" (Venice 1756), a book in which he poetically and in one unbroken series described the whole Yougoslavic heroic age, full of the struggles with the Turks. He wrote it in the manner of the Slavic bards, the guslars (= fiddlers) i. e. gifted men of the people who sing epic poems (on national heroes renowned for their deeds in the secular struggle with the Turks), accompanying them with a fiddle. That work of his has become the first universally popular national book and has been read throughout Yougoslavic countries to this day. The guslars even sing his poems, there being no great difference between them and their own. Thus Kačić was the first man to propagate the idea of national unity and the trust in national strength at the time when the country of the Yougoslavs was oppressed and dismembered. These ideas were only implied in his poems, as he could not express them plainly for fear of a fate similar to that of Grabovac, so that he praised even the Doge of Venice and some Venetian captains, although with a bad grace.

When in 1667 a destructive earthquake had demolished nearly the whole town of Dubrovnik and brought the Republic to the very brink of ruin, while the weakened Turks laid it under more and more heavy tribute as their vassal, the political liberty of Dubrovnik grew more and more apparent only. With the decreasing trade the prosperity of its inhabitants declined, because the Mediterranean had lost its importance after the discovery of the New World, so that the foundation of its prosperity was shaken. The style of literature became stiff, and ultimately, also the educated classes of that town became estranged from their own nation, because they were brought up by Jesuits in Latin and modern Italian literature which was already in its decadence. The creating power, once so strong and original, degenerated into mere imitation under Italian and French influence. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, a theatre was established at Dubrovnik where only Molière's comedies were played. About 20 of his comedies were adapted and the scene was laid at Dubrovnik. The stiff pseudo-classicism reigned supreme. But even at that time of general decline, **Roger Bošković**, a man of genius, was born. As one of the greatest men of his time, he earned a world-wide reputation as a mathematician, physicist, astronomer, and philosopher, and is considered as the father of the dynamic atomism.

It is interesting that at the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century a Frenchman, born at Lyons, **Mark Bruyère Desrivaux** was the greatest and most national poet at Dubrovnik, the town which was already completely imbued with foreign ideas. His father was French consul at Dubrovnik and the young Desrivaux acclimatized himself to his new country. While other Dubrovnik poets vied with one another in writing Latin poetry (Raymund Kunić made the Latin version of the Iliad, and Brno Zamanja that of Odyssey), he, a true-born Frenchman, avoided the pseudo-classicism, having found in the neighbourhood of Dubrovnik the national bard guslar, the living Homer, who comprehended better the spirit of the age. The model of his writings was national poetry. Although a Frenchman by birth, he wrote the purest Slav, upbraiding with bitter satire the poets of Dubrovnik for their estrangement from their nation. According to Rousseau's ideas he is an adherent of the natural manner of life which was still unimpaired in the neighbourhood of Dubrovnik, and he is given to that favourite idea of his not only theoretically but with all his heart. Of all the poets of Dubrovnik Bruyère Desrivaux had approached most nearly those contemporary ideas from which Romantic poetry sprung up after the declining pseudo-classicism. His uncommon poetical individuality proves that the Yougoslavic genius on the Adriatic has many attractive qualities which even a foreigner and member of a great civilization can make his own and develop them, when suddenly the national feeling of the educated classes of a people is momentarily flagging. Dubrovnik is the first Yougoslavic town where the French influence became general in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. What Marin Držić was to the people of Dubrovnik in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, Molière became to those of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. At that time, French was generally spoken so that the very writers who adapted Molière's comedies reproached the ladies with their fashion of speaking too much French. Dubrovnik is also the first town where a true-born Frenchman, by valuing the characteristics of the Yougoslavic national genius, proved that there is a possibility of harmony and mutual improvement between the Yougoslavic and the French genius and civilization. It is true that the intellectual progress on the Adriatic was very slow in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, but other Slav countries are the worst off for that matter, because that time was the time of decadence with many of even greater nations. For all that,

the 18<sup>th</sup> century solved one important problem on the Adriatic: it prepared the soil for the French occupation which brought the Yougoslavs ideas of political and intellectual regeneration.

### III.

**The Yougoslavs** i. e. the Croats, Servians and Slovenians, are one nation which has lived on a continuous ethnographic territory for centuries. That nation **settled on the borderland between two worlds, the Western and the Eastern, and founded its first state and civilization at the time when the antagonism between these two worlds was strongest.** The belonging of the Yougoslavs to two spheres, different in civilization and policy, is due to the following circumstances. Their country itself, with its configuration and traditions has contributed to the formation of separated provinces, so that the principle "Divide and impera" has always been a natural means of power for the Yougoslavic rulers. Nor have they ever had, all at the same time, one ruler either of their own or foreign blood. But the tragedy of their history lies in the circumstance that the territory inhabited by them is perhaps the most important in Southern Europe. That territory has become desirable and very likely necessary to all their, unfortunately, stronger neighbours for their own expansion, so that owing to the oppression of foreign nations, Yougoslavia has been dismembered as no other country in the history of the world. Consequently, the Yougoslavs could not attain to a uniform intellectual development until the 19<sup>th</sup> century, because each small province lived its own separate life. But the most ardent Slav spirits of the past centuries cherished the Yougoslavic idea which aspired to national independence and union. Their trust in great Slav nations proved a failure. Gundulić's Osman remained only a beautiful poetical dream dreamt of the Polish state as the deliverer of the Yougoslavs. After Gundulić, there arose in the 2<sup>nd</sup> half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century **George Križanić**, the great political theoretic who, looking up to Russia with hope, visited himself that mysterious country with the view to regenerate her that she might, when once regenerated, deliver all the Slavs. With that object he wrote his "Politics" for the Russian rulers. At the time, when financial and political struggles in Europe had begun, he expounded how Russia ought to accept the western civilization, but should



shake off the influence of Germany which exhausted her economically; once free, she would become a strong and entirely Slav state, able to deliver and unite all other Slavs. Russia did not comprehend the great Yougoslav, and as a reward for his ideas he had to spend the prime of his life as exile in Siberia (1661—1676).

In the 19<sup>th</sup> century the Yougoslavic idea became the cornerstone of the Yougoslavic ideology in spite of all political differences and dissensions; the educated classes cherished that idea which lastly grew on the nation itself, permeating through all the separated provinces of Yougoslavia. It was again on the Adriatic that the revolution in the manner of solving the problem of the political and intellectual union of the Yougoslavs was first suggested and brought about by the French.

In 1797 the Republic of St. Mark ceased to be, and Dalmatia, exhausted, poor, depopulated, and with educated classes estranged from their own nation, was delivered from the Venetian rule. By the Treaty of Požun, Dalmatia came under Napoleon's rule and in 1808 he occupied the old Republic of Dubrovnik, too. The Treaty of Schönbrunn gave him Carniola, some districts of Carinthia, Styria and Tyrol, the Austrian portion of Istria and Croatia, and the territory to the south of the river Sava. Napoleon greatly valued these countries, considering the Yougoslavs, as he once said it himself, as his guard mounted over the gates of Vienna. After a separation of many centuries, the whole Yougoslavic coast of the Adriatic with large inland districts was united in one hand, having one government and one political and national mission of its own. **Napoleon founded the "Provinces d'Illyrie"** in 1809 by rounding off his newly acquired territory and granting it an independent organization. In that Illyria, especially in the most neglected parts of the Venetian Dalmatia, the French applied themselves first to the raising of the material well-being, but they also soon laid the foundation for the culture of the mind of the people. National education was promoted by new elementary schools: 25 grammar-schools and two colleges (at Zadar and at Ljubljana) were founded. At that time, some places in Dalmatia had a grammar-school where there has none been re-established under Austrian rule. At Zadar, the first Yougoslavic newspaper, the "Kraljski Dalmatin", was published in 1806. School-books and books for the common people were published in the ver-

nacular, forming thus the base for higher education. All that was adapted to the character and the aspirations of the people.

The French have been the first to give the Yougoslavs the modern interpretation of the word "nation", by which word, from that time on, not only the peers, the gentry, and the clergy have been meant, but the middle classes and the peasants, too. Serfdom was abolished in Illyria (in Bosnia, under the German and the Hungarian rule, it has been retained up to the present), and all classes enjoyed the same rights. All felt free, as the following occurrence shows. When the owner of an estate on the Austrian territory had brought an action against his former serfs on this side the river Sava, which was French, the peasants proudly answered him in the Latin verbal process of the court, "Galli sumus, ergo liberi". (We are French and, therefore, free).

The French have been the first to solve the political and intellectual Yougoslavic problems logically, on the basis of the national idea. Contrary to the Austrian tradition which separated and dismembered the Yougoslavic country, Napoleon was the first to unite it. As the first united Yougoslavic state, Illyria gave a new life to the idea of national unity of all Yougoslavs, and if Napoleon had not been overthrown, the remaining Yougoslavic countries, which were still under the Austrian, Hungarian and Turkish rule respectively, would soon have joined her. The problem of the union of the intellectual classes by means of a common literature was also solved in theory.

Marcel de Serres, a man of letters, who later on published "Voyage en Autriche, un essai statistique et géographique sur cet empire", Paris 1814, was the reporter on Yougoslavic affairs in Napoleon's head-quarters. In that work he sets forth very sound views on a uniform Yougoslavia. Moreover, the French took into consideration the opinions of Yougoslavic men of letters and tried to solve such problems in concord with them.

Besides the political unity, the intellectual unity had also to be brought about. The unity of government and education in schools urgently required a common language and orthography, because up to that time nearly every province had used in literature both its own dialect and orthography, which was usually borrowed from the nearest neighbour (Italian, German, Hungarian). The question of the language of literature and orthography was consequently the fundamental question of our intellectual unity.

Influenced by the French, Joachim Stulli published the "Vocabulary of the Italian, Illyric, and Latin Languages" 1810, and dedicated it to Marmont, the governor of Illyria. F. M. Appendini published the "Grammar of the Illyric Language" 1808. Both these books were printed at Dubrovnik, while the "New-Illyric Grammar" 1812. by Simon Starčević was printed at Trieste. **Common to all these books is the principal idea that the Yougoslavs are one and the same nation, speaking the same language, although many dialects,** of which the dialect called "štokavski" should be adopted as the common language of literature, being the most beautiful and being spoken most extensively; and lastly, that a common orthography should be chosen which should suit the characteristics of the language.

Although the French Illyria, with the political and intellectual centre on the Adriatic, had disappeared with Napoleon, and was again divided into several provinces under different governments, the idea itself of the Illyric state continued to live. Although short, the life of Illyria was sufficiently long for the idea of national unity to strike root and live, but its life and further development have been difficult, because every government after the French has suppressed the Yougoslavic national aspirations. The struggles of the Yougoslavs for their union have been much harder than those of other nations, because the Austrian, Hungarian, and Turkish governments opposed themselves to it with all their power, seeing well that it was a sure means for the propagating of political ideals. But simultaneously with Napoleon's fall, the hero of Topolica, Karadorde (the Black George), delivered Servia from the Turks and made her the political Piedmont of the Yougoslavs. **The focus of the intellectual movement from which the idea of national union continued to be propagated was in Croatia at Zagreb.** Young ardent spirits, mostly students fresh from colleges, set on foot the movement of National Regeneration, continuing to build on the same foundation, using even the same name and the same methods, as they were used in the Napoleonic Illyria. Unfortunately, that movement at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century failed to unite the Yougoslavs both politically and intellectually.

Not being politically connected with any European people, the Yougoslavs had in 1848, the year of revolution, to defend with arms their language from the Hungarians, who tried to force them into accepting their own. They demanded a fede-

ralistic reorganization of Austria, being persuaded that only in such a state they could be free and able to deliver their fellow-countrymen in Bosnia and Hercegovina from the Turkish yoke.

The process of the intellectual union made rapid progress towards its realization. Up to the time of that Regeneration every province had its own literature, written in its own peculiar dialect and orthography. but from that time there have been only three branches of one literature, the Servian, the Croatian, and the Slovenian. **Between the Croatian and the Servian literature there is no other difference than that of alphabet, the Servians using the Cyrillic characters and the Croatians the Latin. There is only a slight difference in language between the Serbo-Croatian and the Slovenian literature.**

Although the movement of the "National Regeneration" failed to accomplish the national union, it gave the Yougoslavs common ideas about the political and intellectual union, which ideas grew more and more distinct, especially after the failure in 1848, when Bach's absolutism was introduced instead of the expected federalism.

At the express desire of the Turkish Government which had taken the alarm at the Illyric idea being propagated in Bosnia and Hercegovina (which were still under its rule), the Austrian government forbade the use of that name as early as 1843. It was then that the name "Yougoslav" as the common name of the Servians, Croatians, and Slovenians sprung up.

In the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Yougoslavic idea became the motto of the leader of the Croatian people, the **great bishop John George Strossmayer**, the famous free-thinking orator in the Vatican Council (1869/70). It is under that name and with the view of a definitive union that the whole national and political life of the Yougoslavs has developed up to the present.

In 1867 Strossmayer **founded the "Yougoslavic Academy of Science and Arts" at Zagreb** with the view to making it the centre of learning of the Servians, Croatians, and Slovenians. But also the literary union has greatly been aspired to. It is true that all the three branches of one nation, the Croatians, Servians, and Slovenians produced works of high literary merit in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but the slight remaining differences between these three tribes must be removed so that one common

Yougoslavic literature may be created for the 12 millions of Yougoslavs, in which literature the Yougoslavic genius will find its adequate expression. It was already Count John Drašković, the political leader of the movement of the "National Regeneration" in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, that had tried to remove the only difference between the Servian and Croatian literatures by trying to persuade the Croatians to adopt the Cyrillic alphabet. He failed, but the leader of the modern Servian intellectuals, John Skerlić, M. A., said on the congress of the Yougoslavic men of letters held at Ljubljana in 1910, that he answered for the Servians they would adopt the Latin alphabet.

Thus the idea of national unity has always been embodied in the greatest men of Yougoslavia. The process of welding together the component parts of a uniform Yougoslavic intellectual life, having arrived at the stage where the political union of the Servians, Croatians and Slovenians into one state, **under the national dynasty of the house of the Karađorđević** (which house has given us the deliverers of Servia and Yougoslavia) is a logical and quite natural end of all the efforts made hitherto, the Yougoslavic problem is definitively solved.

The Yougoslavs are only at the beginning of their new life. Being free and united, they have now to create a civilization of their own, and in performing that difficult task they will have to earn the same reputation as is that which they have earned as warriors, having always been ranked among the first. Heroism has become the strongest trait in the Yougoslavic character and that heroism always espoused the cause of civilization against barbarism. The secular struggles of the Yougoslavs with the Turks have been the ransom paid by the European civilization, lest it should be crushed and overthrown by the fury of the Turkish hordes.

Vladislav Menčetić, a poet of Dubrovnik, was right in saying already in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, when he praised the heroes of the noble race of the Counts of Zrinjski,

"Italy would have been drowned by the waves of slavery long ago, did not the Ottoman surge break on the Croatian shores".

The sea-washed country on the Adriatic is the cradle of the oldest and greatest Slav civilization; it has to keep on connecting the

Yougoslavs with the wide world; it has the greatest and brightest traditions; it gave birth to men of genius; as, the sculptor John Meštrović, the painter Blase Bukovac, the poets John Mažuranić, Sylvius Kranjčević, John Vojnović, and Vladimir Nazor. That country will remain to be the focus and the source of the Yougoslavic civilization, but if it should be dismembered, the future life of the Yougoslavs would be injured. **Consequently, the integrity of the Yougoslavic territory on the Adriatic may be considered as the categorical imperative of the Yougoslavic political life and civilization.**



# **Yougoslavia as Economical Territory.**

(General Outlines).

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## **The Basis of economical development.**

Space is the base of every economy, being part of the surface of earth on which man moves and where he develops his physical and mental powers. In the second place, economy depends on natural conditions, originating in geological, morphological, climatic, floral and faunal conditions of a country. The influence of the geographical position is also very important. In the third place, economy depends on man's labour, because all the gifts of nature would remain a dead stock, if man would not exploit them, and develop the economy according to certain social laws. The methods of exploiting them are dependent on the mental productive powers of man, the influence of which is shown in the technics and the organization of work. Economy is, in the first place, work with Nature, and in the second place, struggle against Nature.

Taking its area, geographical position, natural wealth, and water-power into consideration, we may consider Jougoslavia as a rich country. As to the degree of material culture, it is at the beginning of economical development, because its natural wealth and water-power have only begun to be utilized, and the benefits accruing from culture are on the increase.

## **2. Area, position, boundary.**

The area of Jougoslavia is about 250.000 square km. i. e. somewhat larger than that of Great Britain, exclusive of Ireland (the area of Great Britain being 231.000 square km).

It includes the states of Servia and Montenegro and the Jougoslavic portions of the former Austria-Hungary, forming an intermediate area between Central Europe, the Aegean Sea, and the Mediterranean.

While the kingdom of Serbia, as a state between the rivers Morava and Vardar, forms the centre of the Balkan Peninsula and joins Central Europe to the Balkan Peninsula, the Aegean Sea, and Asia Minor, — the Yougoslavic parts of the late Austro-Hungarian monarchy are situated intermediately between the Alpine and the Danubian countries on one side, and the Mediterranean on the other side. But while the kingdom of Serbia obstructs the way to those political powers which aim at a wider sphere and expansion between Europe and Asia (the Orient Express Train to Bagdad; the creation of a Central Europe), the Yougoslavic portions of the late Austro-Hungarian monarchy are the object of struggle between the Alpine and the Danubian countries and powers, and those powers which operate on the Adriatic.

From Soča (Isonzo in Italian) to Bojana, the Yougoslavs live in one uninterrupted chain, flanking the eastern coast of the Mediterranean. While the sea forms a natural, indubitably defined boundary, there is a difference of opinion between the Yougoslavs and the Italians about the inland boundary.

Italy is, to be sure, one of the most perfect geographical individualities of the Continent, a unit with a natural boundary, owing to its configuration from Sicily to the Alps. This natural configuration is the strength of Italy so that two nations could develop upon it, the ancient Romans and the modern Italians. When the Roman Empire had crossed that natural boundary, it lost its national character and became, so to speak, an international vehicle for the whole civilization of the peoples living on the shores of the Mediterranean. After the downfall of the Roman Empire only, Italy found itself within its natural boundary, within which the Italian nation developed.

During the time of its expansion, the boundaries of Italy were extended as far as the river Raša in Istria (Arsa in Italian), but at no time farther. This expansion, not being justified geographically, stopped of itself during the migration of nations so that even the name of Italy was lost on that geographically different strip of land. What different effects are produced by territories with a natural boundary, may be observed best on the ethnic and other conditions of both countries. While in Italy all the races and even their masters, as Goths, Normans, and Longobards assimilated with the original inhab-



itants and became Italians. Istria got quite a different ethnic look. In spite of the dominion of Venice, lasting for upwards of a thousand years, the Romanic inhabitants have remained only partly in towns and partly on the western coast, obeying the geographical law of resistance, according to which the remnants of the declining nations take refuge either in mountains or along the coasts (the Celts in Wales, Brittany, Normandy; the Greeks in Asia Minor) of the sea.

In order to form a true idea of the geographical position of those parts of Istria for which the Italians maintain to be theirs, we must bear in mind the natural contour-lines of the whole Europe.

The European continent may be divided into two natural halves, the western with a multiform coast-line, and the eastern, the massive one. The boundary of the eastern half is the line from the Dniester to the Vistula, and of the western one, that from Danzig to Trieste.

To the east of the first line, is situated the continental trunk of Europe, and to the west of the second line, extends a kind of European peninsula with an oceanic and half-oceanic climate. In the centre lies the intermediate portion where the influence of both the halves on the climate, flora, fauna, and culture is to be seen.

The most important line in general, and the most marked line of culture that divides the Romanic and the Teutonic from the Slavonic races and languages is that of Danzig-Trieste. Both the Teutonic and the Slavonic races overstep that line in some places, but this occurrence is so slight that it does not alter the essential of the problem. The Slavs have crossed this boundary line and entered the Lombardic plain like a wedge; the Italians have preserved themselves on the western coast of Istria, but all these shiftings of the line i. e. the existence of the Slavs beyond it, and that of the Italians on this side of it, could easily be disposed of on the national principle according to Wilson's ideas. To claim these provinces for Italy on geographical or some other grounds or on account of the watershed, is just as bold as were the arguments of some Austrian geographers who claimed the Lombardic plain for Austria on the ground of its being the watershed of the Apennines.

Not only the ethnographical principle, but also the geographical one speaks for the Slavs. On leaving Italy and crossing

the Soča (Isonzo) one comes upon quite a different geological structure and configuration. The Chalk bordering upon the sea near Tržić (Montfalcone) stretches away down to the river Bojana. The islands near the coast, to judge from their form and their mountains, rising in the same direction as those of the mainland, are nothing but portions of the mainland, detached from it in consequence of the secular sinking of the Dalmatian and Istrian coasts, by which process the sea entered the valleys, thus forming canals and creeks, whereas the mountains remained protruding out of the sea like islands. Geographically, the coast of the mainland and the islands of the sea form an organic whole, one part of which cannot be separated from the other without mutilating the whole organism. The boundary which separates Italy from Yugoslavia is situated in the centre of the Adriatic along its axis.

To claim the eastern coast of the Adriatic on the ground of geography, seems to be as absurd as are the claims of Germany upon the Finnish coast. But it seems that the Italian geographers confound the geographical belonging together of the Dalmatian and Istrian islands and coasts with the well-known law of the connecting power of the sea. To be sure, the sea does not connect only the two opposite coasts of one sea, but all the coasts in the world, but that is only a connection of commerce and traffic, whereas other, stronger reasons, must be decisive for a political connection. That was easy in former times, when the whole existing political and commercial life was lived near the coast of the sea, but nowadays, when whole continents are organized, and their means of communication counterbalance the advantages of the sea, the coasts are only mediators between the sea and the inland.

In the geographically-political respect, the sea operates as a boundary, that is to say, it separates the states, whereas its uniting power shows itself only in commerce and traffic. (There is an English saying very expressive of this phenomenon, "Opposite shores, opposite spirit").

### 3. Climate.

The climate, in the first place, is mentioned only to render the floral and cultural differences between the seaboard and the inland more conspicuous, and in the second place, to attract the attention to the Dalmatian Riviera which, concerning

the warmth of its winter months, surpasses the French and other winter resorts.

The main factors which determine the climate are the latitude, the configuration, and the position relative to the sea.

As to its latitude, Yougoslavia belongs to the temperate zone; the consequence of the configuration and elevation of the inland above the sea-level is the remarkable difference of temperature between winter and summer. On account of its position on the coast, Yougoslavia has a small strip of coast with the same Mediterranean climate and its characteristics as Italy and southern France.

Decisive for the climate of Yougoslavia is the range of mountains which rise abruptly at the sea, parallel to its coast. The inland is cooler, because the mountains keep back the sea air, and at the same time raise the temperature of the seaboard which grows warmer than other places having the same Mediterranean position.

This is best illustrated by the average yearly temperature and by the average temperature of the coldest month of the year.

	Average yearly temperature	Average January temperature
Dubrovnik (Ragusa) . .	16·7 <sup>0</sup> Centigrade	9·2 <sup>0</sup> Centigrade
Korčula (Curzola). . .	17·1 <sup>0</sup> „	9·8 <sup>0</sup> „
Hvar (Lesina) . . . .	16·5 <sup>0</sup> „	9 <sup>0</sup> „
Nice . . . . .	15·5 <sup>0</sup> „	8·4 <sup>0</sup> „
Athens . . . . .	16·8 <sup>0</sup> „	8·2 <sup>0</sup> „
Naples . . . . .	16 <sup>0</sup> „	8·4 <sup>0</sup> „

The heat stored up in the water and evaporated during winter is limited only to the narrow sea-strip, which consequently has a higher temperature, whereas the air is much

cooler at the distance of only a hundred or two meters from the sea, where the sea stops influencing the air and where the mild continental climate begins with its oscillations in the warmth, and the flora of Central Europe and the Black Sea

#### 4. Population.

The population of about 14 millions is divided into three tribes: — the Servians, the Croats, and the Slovenians. Originally, there was no difference between them. The boundaries between them are due to the influence of different civilizations and a long separated life in history. Still, the feeling of being of one and common stock and race always remained alive among them and the present events are a logical consequence of that feeling.

The territory inhabited by the Yougoslavs has the peculiarity of not forming such a unity as that of France or England, but of consisting of several small provinces. Only the Servian territory, extending along the two rivers, the Morava and the Vardar, may be defined as the Morava-Vardar state. Other Yougoslavs inhabit the tracts of land in Istria, Croatia, Dalmatia, and Bosnia, which tracts, geologically speaking, belong to the Chalk formation, and then portions of the eastern Alps and the plain about the central Danube. While southern Croatia, Dalmatia, Bosnia, Hercegovina, and Montenegro have for their common orographic backbone the Great and the Little Kapela\*), the Plješivica\*), and the Danubian Alps with two slopes, one to the North, and the other to the South, towards the sea, — Slovenia, and the Croatian and Slovenian territories are bounded by two rivers, Sava and Drava, thus forming one whole which stretches towards the east without any visible boundaries.

Of all the Yougoslavs the Slovenians are farthest to the west, occupying just those parts of the eastern Alps which are situated between the sea and other Alpine countries. This circumstance was fatal to their future development, because they succumbed to the stronger Germans so that they never founded a state of their own as did other Yougoslavs who could develop freely owing to their position.

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\*) Mountain-ranges.

To the east of them the Croats occupied the land between the two rivers, Drava and Sava, and then portions of the western part of Istria, and Dalmatia with its well indented coast. Innumerable are the islands, creeks, and canals, open to the south and west, so that their inhabitants were strongly influenced from that direction as long as the seaboard and the inland were not politically organized. The coast region not being fertile and of small area, a large state was never founded there, although it was here that the centre of the Croatian state and the small dominions of the mercantile republic of Dubrovnik lay. This country has always been the object of continual struggles between maritime and continental powers.

Ethnically there is no difference between the Yougoslavs. In spite of the mixing with other races, a uniform type, called the Dinaric race, formed the peculiarities of which are tall stature and brachycephalic skulls. His researches led W. Ripley, the English anthropologist, to the conclusion that modern Illyrians (Albanians) and Serbo-Croats form a physically uniform type, which is known in science by the name of Dinaric race. Thus, the assertion of some Italian scholars that the inhabitants of Istria and Dalmatia ethnically belong to the Italian nation is scientifically untenable\*).

\*) It is to be emphasized that there are some Italian writers (one of them is Carlo Errero with his ethno-linguistic map) who mix up the ethnical and the linguistic arguments with the view to be able to produce a more numerous Italian population.

The chief characteristic of a nation is the will by which every individual expresses his belonging to a certain social body. Renan is, therefore, right in asserting that this avowal is expressed by the everyday's plebiscite. That the language is also one of the chief factors which govern the will, is self-evident, but the language alone does not form a nation. The Irish for instance, speak English, and the Norwegians Danish, but this linguistic phenomenon will mislead no one to declare the Irish to be English, or the Norwegians to be Danish, for the simple reason that these peoples will not consent to it. Secondly, the Italian language is not so generally spread in the country, as it might at first appear to a person coming from the sea, who is very apt to be influenced by his first impressions he gets in towns, where he meets Italian-speaking people. While it is spoken by many in towns, it is hardly spoken by any one in the interior of the country. The Italians cannot claim the country on linguistic grounds, because the percentage of the Yougoslavs who speak Italian badly, is as large as is that of the Italians speaking bad Slavic. If the Italian language seems to be more largely spread than it really is, that is due to two facts, namely firstly, to old memories which are still lingering.

## 5. Production and Wealth.

### a) Agriculture.

Yugoslavia is an eminently agricultural country; it is even, considering the percentage of the population engaged in agricultural pursuits, at the head of all agricultural countries in Europe<sup>1)</sup>

Still, the system of tillage in most parts is rather primitive, because neither modern machines nor scientific methods for the cultivation of the soil are used so that it does not yield its best. For all that, the soil yields abundant crops, and the output could be considerably increased, if scientific methods (the use of machines, compost etc) were used in tilling.

In the appended tables the staple products with their yield are stated, although many useful plants (hemp, flax, fruits) which are also largely grown have been omitted, because official returns are not available.

Although the grain growing area is large, the relative output is not so large as might be expected. While in Denmark a hectare (1 hectare=10.000 square meters) yields 30 q (1 q=100 kg) of wheat, and in England 21q, the most fertile soil (loess) of Yugoslavia, along the banks of the Danube, yields only 16.2 q, although the soil is by far more fertile than that of England or Denmark. The difference is still greater in other districts. The whole output of cereals will be sufficient for the population, and part of it will remain for export (about 15 millions of q flour). In proportion to its population Yugoslavia will occupy the

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but are slowly fading away, and secondly, to the old Austrian policy. Being in possession of Lombardy, Austria wanted to have in Dalmatia the same opportunities of culture as in Italy, for which reason she continued building Italian schools with the object of getting officials for her Italian territory. The more recent Austrian policy aimed at securing the support of the few Italians against the union of the Yugoslavic population, in which effort it was successful for a long time.

<sup>1)</sup> In agriculture were engaged in 1910:

In Servia	84 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	In Italy	59 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
„ Bosnia & Hercegovina	88 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	„ France	49 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
„ Croatia & Slavonia	85 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	„ England	13 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
„ Dalmatia	83.7 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>	„ Russia	75 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>
„ Slovenia	65 <sup>0</sup> / <sub>0</sub>		

## Agricultural statistics of Yugoslavia for 1910.

	Wheat	Rye	Barley	Oats	Maize	Potatoes	Plums	To- bacco	Wine	
	in 1000 quintals									
	per ha					per ha			1000 hl	
Servia . . . . .	4,500	450	1,500	800	8,400	15	240	17	1,000	
Dalmatia . . . . .	300	38-225	130-424	17	350	8.2	400	28	1,200	
Slovenia (Carniola) and southern Styria . . . . .	572	421	192	404	494	13.4	3,700		715	
Istria . . . . .	103	8.7	27	27	160	6.3	1,200		450	
Bosnia and Hercegovina . . . . .	776-256	100-333	682-978	750	2,500	10.9	1,373	36	100	
Croatia and Slavonia . . . . .	4,000	700	450	1,000	6,500	15	7,800		700	
The region about the Da- nube . . . . .	12,000	580	830	2,400	19,300	28	3,000		580	
Montenegro and the Ser- vian district about the Vardar	22,251-256	2,298-458	3,812-402	5,398-000	37,704-100		17,713	4,302-400	99.7	4,745

Area 53,200 km<sup>2</sup> with 2.2 millions of inhabitants; no returns available.

fourth place in Europe with 160 kg per head a year, the amount:

of Bulgaria	being 400 kg per head
of France	" 228 " " "
of Roumania	" 348 " " "
and of Yougoslavia	" 160 " " "

In the production of maize, Yougoslavia will be at the head of all maize growing countries in Europe, its yearly output being from 30 to 40 millions of quintals (1 q = 100 kg), while other countries remain far behind,

Roumania producing	28 millions q
Italy	" 21 " "
France	" 6 " "
Spain	" 7 " "

As maize is the staple food of the Yougoslavic peasant, a large quantity of wheat will remain for export.

Besides the abundant yield of useful plants (hemp, flax, tobacco, beet-root, chrysanthemums) and fruits (plums, almonds<sup>1</sup>, figs<sup>2</sup>, apples, pears, carobs; vegetables and oil-yielding plants; as, rape and olives<sup>3</sup>), the forests of Yougoslavia represent an enormous value, their aggregate area amounting to upwards of ten millions of acres i. e. more than double the area of Belgium. Large quantities of timber (stave-wood) were exported into France and Italy before the war. The export of timber will increase, but the means of communication must be improved.

### b) Cattle Rearing.

Depending on the soil and climate, the cattle rearing differs in various districts. As the rainfall in summer is very light in the Mediterranean zone in the south, the soil becomes quite dry and yields no forage crops, thus making cattle rearing impossible. In the interior, the rainfall is abundant and even heavy, to that the grass yields ample crops (from two to three cuttings) and makes cattle raising very profitable. The best breed is to be found towards the west, in Slovenia (Carniola) and in some parts of Croatia (dairying and stock-breeding), but the breed towards the east is inferior.

<sup>1</sup>) The annual produce of Dalmatia & Istria was 17,000 q.

<sup>2</sup>) The annual produce of Dalmatia was 60,000 q.

<sup>3</sup>) The annual produce of olive-oil of Dalmatia amounted to 40,000 hl, and that of Istria to 6000 hl.



## Cattle Rearing etc.

	Cattle	Horse	Sheep & Goats	Swine	Poultry,
Servia . . . . .	1,000,000	152,617	3,800,000	900,000	Official returns not available
Croatia and Slavonia . . . . .	1,200,000	350,000	950,000	1,100,000	
Slovenia . . . . .	506,000	59,000	86,000	544,000	
Istria . . . . .	64,490	21,000	203,000	17,209	
Bosnia and Hercegovina . . . . .	1,300,000	224,000	2,500,000	511,000	
Dalmatia . . . . .	104,714	42,000	1,100,000	70,844	
The Danubian district . . . . .	839,000	516,000	1,900,000	1,300,000	
Montenegro & the Vardar district of Servia . . . . .			Unknown		
Total . . . . .	5,014,204	1,364,617	10,539,000	4,443,053	

The total of sheep amounts to about 15<sup>1)</sup> millions. In proportion to its population, Yougoslavia occupies the second place in Europe with 107 sheep on 100 inhabitants, while there are in

<sup>1)</sup> Exclusive of Montenegro and the Servian districts about the Vardar, only 10<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> millions, but although there are no official returns available, the number of sheep on that territory may be estimated at 4<sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> millions.

Bulgaria	189	sheep	on	100	inhabitants
Roumania	96	"	"	"	"
Spain	81	"	"	"	"
Great Britain	59	"	"	"	"
France	43	"	"	"	"
Italy	4	"	"	"	"

The inhabitants of the southern Yougoslavia chiefly live on mutton.

The official returns for the number of poultry are not available, but it is well-known that Yougoslavia has supplied the markets of London and Western Europe with eggs and poultry.

Dairying is very profitable in Slovenia which exported milk and butter, while Servia exported frozen beef.

In hog raising, a very important item of export, Yougoslavia occupies the 4<sup>th</sup> place, having

on 100 inhabitants	28	hogs,	while
Denmark has	54	"	
Germany	"	35	"
and Roumania	"	29	"

The chief export of Servia up to the present was frozen beef and pork, and pork-fat, which products will also increase in future.

### c) Minerals.

The geological upheavals of the crust of earth which formed the surface of Yougoslavia gave it the minerals proper to the strata of different formations. Lead, iron, copper, and gold\*) ore is to be found in the Archaic and Palaeozoic formations of Bosnia and Servia. In the Mesozoic formation of the southern Chalk Alps lead and zinc ore, quicksilver, and coal are found, while there are coal strata in the Tertiary of Istria and Dalmatia. The chief minerals are:

1. coal\*\*) of which (the coal-mines of Pëčuh excluded) about 32 millions q (= 3.2 millions of tons) were produced annually.

\*) Servia produced only 450 kg of pure gold, 900 kg of pure silver but 7000 tons of copper ore a year.

\*\*) To this total contributed:

Slovenia	18	millions	q
Bosnia & Herc.	8.4	"	"
Servia	0.4	"	"
Croatia & Slavonia	1.1	"	"
and Dalmatia & Istria	the rest.		

Italy produces only 5 millions q; hence her greediness for the coal-mine Siverić in Dalmatia!

The expert geologist Dr. Frech estimates the coal deposits of Bosnia at about 3<sup>3</sup>/<sub>10</sub> milliards of tons.

2. Idria, in Carniola, furnished 200 q of quicksilver, valued at 3.9 millions of crowns.

3. Yougoslavia abounds also in deposits of valuable iron ore. The most important mine is that at Vareš in Bosnia, which produces with its iron-smelting blast-furnaces 500.000 q raw iron from 1.6 millions q of iron ore. During the war, a still better ore was found at Ljubija. There is also sulphur, zinc, and lead ore, but the mines, not being worked intensively, yield little.

Southern Croatia and Dalmatia possess in their Chalk formation an immense quantity of boxit, containing aluminium, of which in Istria alone 200.000 q were produced during the war.

There are also great quantities of marl to be found in all parts of Yougoslavia, especially in Croatia und Dalmatia, which country even exports it.

Excellent building-stone and marble are found in large quantities in the quarries of Velebit and in Dalmatia, and the magnificent palace of Diocletian at Split (Spalato) and the Parliament of Vienna have been built partly of the stone quarried in the island of Brač and partly of that, in the island of Korčula in Dalmatia. The quarry Unešić exports its marble.

Yougoslavia abounds in mineral springs beneficial to health (and mineral waters) of which only some are mentioned here :

Koviljača in Servia.	
Ilidže near Sarajevo.	
Topusko	} in Croatia.
Krapinske Toplice	
Varaždinske „	
Stubičke „	
Sutinske „	

There is a spa at Lipik, the waters of which contain iodine, and another at Split in Dalmatia, and one more at Rogatec, in Styria, both of them, containing sulphur.

#### d) Industry.

The problem of industry is everywhere eminently the problem of social organization and division of labour, which both require a certain degree of civilization and density of population. In the second place, the development of industry de-

depends on the quantity of raw material, the available capital, the home and foreign markets, the cleverness of workmen, the enterprising spirit of individuals, and the position of the country. In Yougoslavia many of these conditions are favourable, although the quantity of coal and iron is insufficient to secure a flourishing industry and a large export. Some day, the coal will be replaced by the inexhaustible water power stored in the rivers.<sup>1)</sup>

Up to the present, industry has been carried on a small scale on account of the shortness of raw material at home and the home-work. Large factories are still in their infancy and Yougoslavia will entirely depend on foreign import for a long time to come.

Textile industries are undeveloped, (mostly home-work) and all cotton goods, linen manufactures, woollens, silks, and even ready-made clothes had to be imported. Superior manufactures, as fine linen (called bez) in Bosnia, national embroidery and lace in Slavonia and Dalmatia (Pag, Konavle), carpets in Pirot, in Serbia, are produced by some home industries. With regard to the work and tasteful patterns, that lace can be compared with the fabric of Flanders.

<sup>1)</sup> Besides coal, the remarkable water power that nature has lavishly provided in the many mountain streams is ready to be utilized. Part only of these streams have been examined, and according to the results obtained by the engineer Schenkel ("Chalk formation and its water power") and the technical engineer Baučić (whose studies about the Dalmatian rivers have not yet been published) there are available:

	in the province of Lika	200.000 h. p.
	"    "    river Rečina	2.000 "
	"    "    "    Ričica	15.000 "
	and in the rivers of Dalmatia about	195.000 "

The hydraulic works on the river Krka are in process of construction, and when completed they will produce 33.000 h. p., while those of the river Cetina will produce 36.000 h. p. A reservoir for 100.000 h. p. is being constructed, and when all these works will be completed, they will constitute a source of power which will be the first in Europe, while it is now only the second.

The river Trebinjica in Hercegovina could furnish a power of from 70 to 80.000 h. p. so that the aggregate amount of the water-power supplied by the rivers of the Chalk formation would be 600.000 h. p. One horse-power working one hour requires 1.5 kg of coal with 7000 calories. 600.000 horse-powers working one hour require 35,000.000 q of coal. Consequently, the available water-power is equivalent to 35,000.000 q of Cardiff coal a year.

Food industry is better developed and some products of this kind are exported. This industry includes tinned meat and sardines, salami (a kind of very good meat sausage), prunes, dried figs, various kinds of jam, especially plum-jam, then spirits, as pure alcohol, various kinds of liqueur (maraschino, rosgoglio), cognac, muscat-wine, and plum-brandy, called šljivovica. There are some breweries and a sugar factory, but the output of beer and sugar is insufficient for the home consumption. Tobacco is grown in all parts, but mostly in Bosnia and Hercegovina.

Lumber business is also carried on. Saw-mills saw up a great quantity of timber for export, but as to the manufacture of furniture and other kinds of wooden ware Yougoslavia depends on the import. There are some factories of furniture which are well-known for the quality of their ware, but their output is also insufficient. Tanning is mostly done in small tannery-yards. There is a great tannery at Zagreb considered as the largest in Austria-Hungary, but for all that all leather manufactures are imported. The chemical production of some articles is on the increase and they are even exported while other [e. g. matches] suffice for the home consumption. There are also some factories of cement (Portland) exporting largely (especially that in Split, Spalato) into Italy Egypt, Africa, and Argentine.

The ship-building industry is greatly behind the demand in spite of several dock-yards, so that a great many ships had to be built in England on which country Yougoslavia will depend for ships also in future.

All other industries are either in their infancy or non-existent. Yougoslavia will have to import railway engines and carriages, motor cars, aeroplanes, telephonic and telegraphic apparatuses and wires, all sorts of sensitive and delicate instruments, physical apparatuses, sextants, complete school-equipments for object-teaching, as terrestrial globes, maps, compasses, atlases, scientific books, objects of luxury, jewellery, watches, dresses and dressing-materials, linen manufactures cotton-goods, woollens, silks, thread, ready-made clothes, chemicals, colours, weapons, photographic apparatuses and accessories, drugs and medicines, etheric oils, soaps, binoculars.

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<sup>1)</sup> The production of carbid and compost at Šibenik and Dugi Rat [near Split, Spalato] is already well known throughout Europe. The latter factory of carbid produced 80 tons of carbid a day during the war and seems to be the first in Europe considering the amount produced.

prisms, brass, sugar, coal for harbours & railways, porcelain goods, pottery, hunting-apparel, guns, rice, India-rubber, jute, colonial goods etc.

#### e) Commerce and Traffic.

There is not a single department of Government in which the maxim, "Divide and impera", so cherished by the Habsburgs, was observed as consistently as in the department of traffic and commerce. The highways of traffic are a very strong and important means in the political life of such a state as the Danubian monarchy was. The ruling nations, the Germans and Hungarians, built commercial routes with the object, firstly, to secure their own interests, and secondly, to use them as a means of separating different parts of Yougoslavia from one another. The best illustration of this principle are the facts that central Dalmatia, the nucleus of the whole province (considering its area) is not joined by rail to Bosnia, its natural interior, and that Croatia has no direct connection by rail with Dalmatia. These facts mean: divide, whereas the fact, that Vienna and Budapesth are connected with the sea by direct lines, means: impera. The journey from Zagreb to Split (Spalato) takes 39 hours, but that from Vienna and Munich to Trieste only from 12 to 13 hours. — The Yougoslavs too, to be sure, had a certain profit of these railways, but they were politically isolated and nationally weakened by them, because these railways carried the language, spirit, and power of the ruling nations into their own country. These railways were the greatest pioneers of German and Hungarian ideas, because German and Hungarian schools have been erected everywhere along their tracks, with the view to colonize their own people and to denationalize the Slavs.

With respect to the railways, Yougoslavia occupies the 12<sup>th</sup> place among the European states, having about 10000km of railways i.e. 4 km of railway on 100 square km of area. The first task of Yougoslavia will be to build a line with double tracks which will join the West with the East and replace the former European line of the Orient Express Train. The state should also at once begin with the building of the lines:

Zagreb-Knin-Split-Šibenik along the valley of Una, and Belgrade-Sarajevo-Split.

The construction of good and long roads is also an acute problem, many new roads and the keeping in proper repair of

the existing ones being wanted. In this respect Dalmatia is much better off, because most of the roads were built by the French\*) a century ago.

For the foreign commerce Yougoslavia has the sea with a sea-coast of about 2000k m in length, abounding in natural harbours, but only a few of them are built and equipped as large frequented har-

\*) What the French did for Dalmatia, is to be seen from the characteristic and authentic testimony of the Austrian Emperor, Francis I. who visited that country after the French had left it. When all his questions about the builder of different buildings, bridges, roads, schools etc. were uniformly answered by the people that they were built by the French, the emperor is said to have once uttered the following words. "It is a pity that that people should not have remained here for some years longer, for all the roads and public buildings in the country would have been built by them".

Without taking into consideration those few years (1797—1806) of Austrian rule, the French came into Dalmatia after a Venetian rule of 7 centuries. The Venetian rulers recruited soldiers, imposed taxes, disafforested the land, turning it into a stone desert, but did nothing at all for the country. To show how the Venetians governed Dalmatia, we cite as an impartial witness the official newspaper "Il Reggio Dalmatia" (Kraljski Dalmatin) which in its leader of the 12<sup>th</sup> of July 1806 writes. „Governors, ignorants, and spies, turned that flourishing province into a sad and desolate country“.

With these words Vincent Dandolo, the first French governor of Dalmatia characterizes the Venetian rule in that country. It is to be emphasized that Dandolo himself was a Venetian by birth, but had, on account of his democratic ideas, to leave Venice for France from where he was sent as governor to Dalmatia.

The architectural monuments must not be ascribed to the Venetians, because they were erected by, and at the cost of the citizens themselves who vied' with one another in erecting new, and conserving old monuments. For the lack of means many monuments were completed only after many centuries, hence the different styles in which one and the same church is built. That was the case with the church at Šibenik which remained unfinished till the Austrian occupation, and was completed with the means contributed by the Austrian Government. The recollections of a people cannot be perverted or misrepresented. How well the people remember the noble rule of the French — that noble and great nation —, and how they hate the memory of the odious Venetian rule and then that of Austria! It is an interesting fact that the French gave rise to the idea and also laid the first foundation to the unity of the Yougoslavs by founding the Kingdom of Illyria. The first of all Croatian newspapers, "Kraljski Dalmatin", was also founded by them. And now, a century after, the Italians have scarcely entered that country when they take down and smash to pieces Croatian marble inscriptions from churches and cemeteries, and forbid to the clergy to preach Croatian to their fold! All that happens at the time, when Wilson's principles have been accepted throughout the world!

hours. In the course of past years several steamship companies with Yougoslavie capital have been formed, and numerous ships for long and short voyages, built. The most important companies are:

Dalmatia . . . . .	34	steamers with	9.130	Reg. gross-tonnage	
The Hungaro-Croatian S.S.Co.	42	" "	17.448	" "	at Fiume
The Austro-Croatian S.S.Co.	3	" "			in the island of Krk
„Libera Navigazione“ . . . .	6	" "	40.000	Reg.	} at Rijeka
Orient . . . . .	6	" "		gross-tonnage	
G.S.S. companies at Dubrovnik (Ragusa) . . . . .	36	" "			with the total of 110.000.

The chief harbours which will prosper on account of their natural position and local opportunities are Trieste, Rijeka—Sušak (Fiume), Šibenik, Split, and Gruž (Dubrovnik, Ragusa).

The direction of the commerce on the Mediterranean lies in its axis i. e. along the length and not the width of it. The Apennines and the Dinaric Mountains rise abruptly at the sea, turning their backs to the Mediterranean. Italy has always gravitated towards the Tyrrhenian Sea, where the coast abounds in natural harbours and where most towns are situated, whereas Jugoslavia, in spite of its unfavourable orographic configuration, has always been obliged to gravitate towards the Mediterranean, having no other access to the sea.

The Venetians occupied the eastern coast (i. e. Dalmatia), because they wanted their way to the East to be free. Dalmatia was only their base, not their market.

The economical conditions of Jugoslavia will direct and form her trade-policy, which will be very simple. She will want and consequently import manufactured goods, and she will export raw material, especially food (cereals) and timber.

### f.) Harbours.

The centre of the commerce of the world having shifted to the shores of the Atlantic ocean, no harbour in the Mediterranean can rise to the importance of an emporium.

With regard to its commerce, Trieste was the 12<sup>th</sup> harbour in Europe before the war, but it will not retain that place in future, because part of the central and specific inland which formerly depended on, will be detached, from it. As Trieste has not risen to its importance by its own political power, it has been unable to develop commercially, whereas Venice was strong, and always on its guard, lest a new commercial centre should arise



near it as competitor. The rise of Trieste is due to the political and commercial organization of its hinterland, but the moment, when its interests will be contrary to those of that hinterland, its prosperity must decline. It is a matter of course, that in solving the problem of its future master, the specific national and economical interests of Trieste and its neighbourhood should be considered. Trieste is essentially an Italian town, but opportunity should be given to the Slav minority of 32% to develop freely, the more so, because its neighbourhood is essentially Jugoslavic, and because both the railways which join Trieste with its near and distant hinterland traverse a country inhabited by Slavs.

It is interesting to know what different opinion of Trieste the present Italian Foreign Minister Sonnino expressed in 1881. He wrote in the Weekly Review of 29. March 1881,

"The position of Trieste is more favourable to German trade; its population is mixed as that of every other town approaching our eastern boundary. It would be an exaggeration of the principle of nationality to claim Trieste as belonging to Italy by right".

In these very words Sonnino expressed his opinion of Trieste and the boundary on the Soča (Isonzo), but what then, must be his opinion of Istria, where the percentage of Italians is below 30%, and Dalmatia where it is hardly 2.5%?

While there can be no doubt about the national character of Trieste without its neighbourhood, the question of Fiume has quite a different aspect. In spite of the forced denationalization of the Yougoslavs on the part of the allied Italians and Hungarians, the ethnographic differences in the town proper are so slight that they cannot decide to whom the town has to belong, the less so, because the whole near and distant neighbourhood is entirely Jugoslavic.

Although Fiume does not form an item of the Italian aspirations even according to the London Treaty, which surrenders at discretion great portions of Yougoslavia to the Italians, they have occupied that town. The reason why is obvious. After the loss of Trieste, there would remain to the Slovenian part of Yougoslavia one more access to the sea i. e. the branch line of the Southern Railway Company, leading from St. Peter to Fiume. To stop this only remaining access to the sea, the Italians occupied that line and the town of Rijeka (Fiume)

as well, so that Yougoslavia should be shut out from the world and compelled to use the Italian harbour for her foreign commerce.

But the Rijeka question is not local nor one of Italy and Yougoslavia only, but it is an international question, because also other Great Powers have commercial interests in that town which are even greater than those of Italy. The official returns show that its sea-borne imports\* amounted to 7.75 millions q. and exports to 8.53 millions q. The fact that the amount of its exports is larger than that of its imports (quite the reverse of Trieste) shows that Fiume is by far more dependent on its hinterland than on the sea. The exports to Italy were 846.000 q, reaching the value of 15 millions of crowns i. e. 7.5% of the value of all the imports of Italy.

Imports	q	Value in crowns	Exports	q	Value in crowns
England	1.5 mill	22 mill	Italy	2.05 mill	25 mill.
India	1.9 "	49 "	England	1.03 "	29 "
The United States	611.000 q	17 "	The United States	670.000	12 "
Dalmatia } Istria }	1 mill	26 "	Dalmatia & } Istria }	1.6	43 "
Italy	846.000 q	15 "	British Colonies in Asia	319.000 q	11 "
			France with } Algiers & } Tunis }	770.000	11 "

Of the whole value of the exports Italy participates with 13%, which clearly shows that Italy depends commercially more on the Yougoslavic hinterland of Rijeka (Fiume) than does

\* The imports of Trieste being 21.4 millions q and exports 9.3 millions q.

that hinterland depend on Italy. The last-mentioned exports and imports show that Rijeka (Fiume) is economically rather more English, American, Indian, and Yougoslavic than Italian.

Taking the trade by rail into consideration, the kingdom of Servia shares in it with 8 times, and the central districts on the Danube, with 200 times the amount of the Italian trade. The commercial interests of Yougoslavia and Italy should not clash at Rijeka (Fiume). To evade that conflict, another harbour should be determined by that state which will be the master of Rijeka (Fiume). Consequently, the Yougoslavic hinterland is much more necessary to Rijeka (Fiume) than Rijeka (Fiume) to Yougoslavia.

Rijeka is, to be sure, the most convenient seaport for the western portion of Yougoslavia, but a state can transfer the traffic even to more distant seaports by imposing retaliatory, preferential and transit tariffs and duties, and by reorganizing the railways and the sea-routes, for it is to be hoped that Italy will not occupy the whole coast with the only view to prevent Yougoslavia from taking the above-mentioned measures.

The impartial Italian writer Angelo Vivanti ("The Adriatic Irrendentism") is right in saying, "The policy of territorial acquisition to which the new-nationalism would like to push Italy appears, then, within the boundary of the Adriatic to be an economical absurdity".

The sphere of interest of the harbour of Šibenik is in the hinterland of Dalmatia, Western Bosnia and Central Croatia (the same meridian passes through Šibenik and Zagreb).

The Italian aspirations after that seaport and the whole district stretching as far as Knin, cannot be justified at all on the ground of national interests, because that is one of the most Yougoslavic parts where there is not one "n" of Italians. Italian aspirations after that district are nothing but egoistic greediness for the cataracts of the river Krka and the coal-mines.

Moreover, the Italians do not stop here, but they want to have the whole watershed of the river Butašnica i. e. even a part of Bosnia. Behind Knin, there is a corner with the only natural access from Dalmatia to Bosnia. Here passes the railway-track Steinbeis, and as far as here will be built the Lika railway which is approaching its completion. By occupying that part, Italy would completely separate Dalmatia from Bosnia and Croatia. That would be a sore place

and a cut to the quick into the body of Yougoslavia, and we reject as absurd the very thought of its possibility.

### Conclusion.

From the aforesaid follows that Italy can claim the eastern coast of the Adriatic on no national, geographical or economical grounds, but that her claims proceed only from an egotistical desire of conquest.

These brutal ideas of conquest were embodied in the Central States which have not been defeated until the civilized part of mankind, led by Wilson, has put forward the idea that all nations have equal rights to liberty and independence; upon which the brutal force succumbed to that idea.

The manner in which Italy behaves towards the Yougoslavs is still worse than was that of Austria. While the polyglot Austria offered violence to her nationalities and spread her language and power pretending to observe the laws, Italy, being nationally homogeneous and a stranger to Austrian methods and tricks, openly uses brutal force. Her occupation of the eastern coast of the Adriatic is only one step to the realization of her imperialistic ends.

Italian writers who write about the yet unrecovered parts of Italy (Malta, Nice, Corsica), and consider, 1<sup>stly</sup>, her position along the centre of the Mediterranean with the adjoining Tunis (where there is a great number of Italian colonists), and 2<sup>ndly</sup>, her having one third of all the inhabitants round the large basin, require of her a larger sphere of action in the Mediterranean than was that which she has had of lately.

Before solving the greater problem, that namely, of the Mediterranean, the smaller one must be solved. All the more important islands must be occupied; Pola, Šibenik, and Valona must be fortified, and the Adriatic must be made "Mare clausum" (a closed sea), and no other nation must be suffered to grow strong on it.

The Germans and the Hungarians will abide every international complication in order to destroy combined the new organisms of small nations. Yougoslavia will be the first to

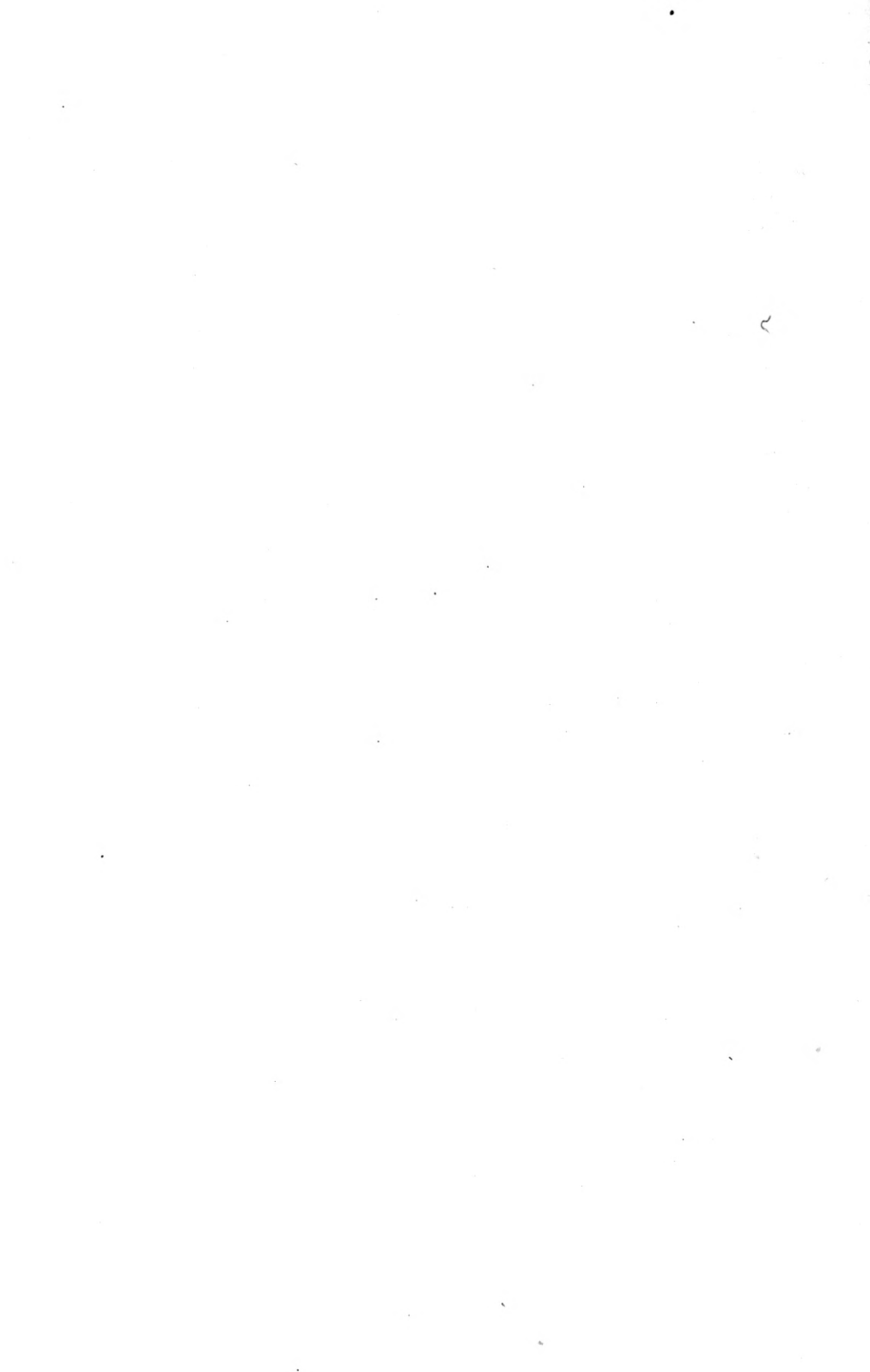
obstruct their way and guard the access to the Orient, which access Germany wanted to monopolize for Bagdad and Egypt in order to destroy the English Empire.

But besides these reasons, the Western Powers and the United States will, by creating a free Yougoslavia, realize the principle of nationality and the right of every nation to decide freely on its own future, which principle has been proclaimed by Wilson and accepted by the Powers as their programme.

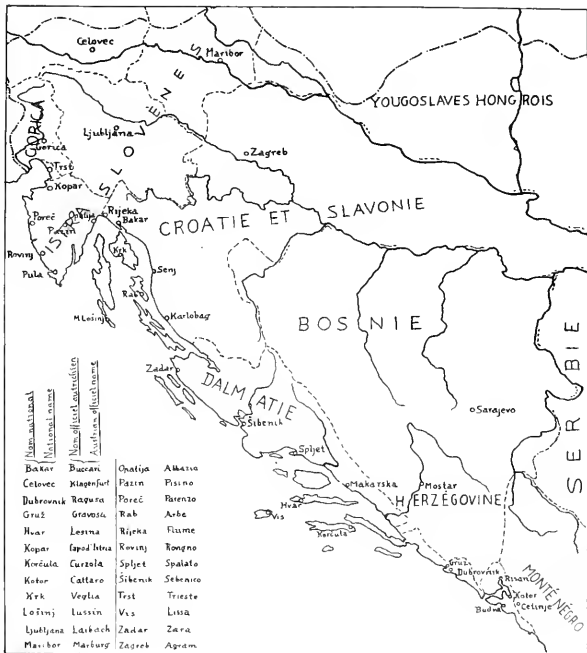
The problem of the Balkans and that of the Adriatic peremptorily demand an impartial solution in favour of the Yougoslavia; that problem is also of great European importance.

The Slav and Teutonic races are neighbours on the line Danzig-Trieste everywhere except on a small strip of land on the Soča and in Istria where the Italians are neighbours of the Slavs. Until now the Germans have not all understood these Slavs and have even shown open enmity towards them. It is in the interest not only of the Romanic race itself but in the general interest of the European civilization that the Slavs should not encounter the same hatred on the part of the Italians with respect to their just national and political aspirations. That nation which will understand their national spirit and form a true idea of their development will be able — considering the great demographic vitality of the Slavs — in concord with them to play the greatest part in the destiny of Europe. —





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