

The Illyrian movement and the construction of the South Slav-Croatian identity

The study of construction, deconstruction and reconstruction of South Slav-Croatian identity

based on the literary works of Vraz, Preradović and Mažuranić



by
Barbara Klen B.A.
0299502

Thesis in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
Master of Arts

Presented to

Prof. Dr. J. Th. Leerssen

University of Amsterdam
International School for Humanities and Social Sciences
European Studies

Amsterdam
May 2008

Illustration on the previous page shows the painting of Croatian artist Vlaho Bukovac ‘*Slava Njima*’ (Glory to them) from 1898. The artwork depicts an imaginary scene created to glorify the exponents of the Illyrian movement. The painting was made to decorate the festive scene curtain of Zagreb’s Croatian National Theater.

Index

Introduction	1
1. The Illyrian movement in Croatian history	5
1.1 The history of Croatian statehood – from independence to the Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom.....	5
1.1.1 Habsburgs on the Hungarian-Croatian throne	6
1.1.2 Fragmentation of the Croatian Kingdom – 16 th and 17 th century.....	7
1.1.3 18th century – between Austrian and Hungarian centralization.....	8
1.1.4 The 19th century	15
1.2 Croatian National Revival and Illyrian movement	16
1.2.1 The Illyrian movement's impetus and leaders	18
1.2.2 Cultural and political basis of the movement – Gaj and Drašković	20
1.2.3 Ilirske narodne novine – official beginning of the Illyrian movement	24
1.2.4 From 1843 till 1848 – The Illyrian movement during the suppression of the Illyrian name.....	27
1.2.5 1848 and 1849 – The impact of the Illyrian movement on Croat and Serb political cooperation and Slavic unity.....	29
1.2.6 1850 – The impact of the Illyrian movement on Croatian and Serbian language unity	31
1.3 Evaluation of the Illyrian movement – gains and accomplishments	33
2. Croatian and Illyrian character in the works of Vraz, Preradović and Mažuranić	35
2.1 Stanko Vraz – from Slovenia to the Illyrian movement	35
2.1.1 Vraz – his auto-image of country and fellow countrymen	38
2.2 Petar Preradović – General and Poet	43
2.2.1 Preradović – His vision of country and fellow countrymen	45
2.3 Ivan Mažuranić – Poet, politician and Ban	52
2.3.1 Mažuranić – Croatia, South Slavs and Illyrians.....	53
2.4 Evaluation of the work of Vraz, Preradović and Mažuranić	56
3. The Illyrian movement in Croatian literature	60
3.1 The Illyrian movement in books published before 1991 – periodization and definition.....	60
3.1.1 The literary work of Vraz, Mažuranić and Preradović in anthologies and schoolbooks	61
3.1.2 South Slav cooperation and unification in pre-1991 books	64
3.2 The Illyrian movement in books published after 1991	65
3.2.1 Vraz, Mažuranić and Preradović in post-1991 anthologies and schoolbooks	66
3.2.2 South Slav cooperation and unification in post-1991 history books	69
3.3 Evaluation of the presentation of the Illyrian movement in Croatian books and schoolbooks	72
4. Conclusion	74
Appendix	78
For further references:.....	80
Bibliography	81

Introduction

The concept of national identity as an important factor in international politics has been promoted by the Constructivist theory of International Relations. Since the 1980s there have been many studies attempting to demonstrate the impact of both political and cultural elites and the interaction with the ‘other’ in the construction of that same national identity. This paper is not the first work addressing identity formation in the former Yugoslavia and the forces which played a role in it. What distinguishes this work is the fact that it owes its existence to several spheres of interest: international politics, history and literature. Therefore it is a true product of interdisciplinary research.

The Illyrian movement began in Croatia in the 1830s. Its center was Zagreb. The movement was inspired by preaching of Slovak poet Kollár about Slav unity and his ideas about Slav solidarity. Those thoughts, combined with the pressures of Habsburg political leadership wanting to put an end to an already very limited Croatian independence, resulted in the formation of the Illyrian movement. The name “Illyrian” was chosen to accentuate the bond between the 19th century South Slav inhabitants of the Western Balkans and the ancient Illyrian tribe which inhabited the Western Balkan region during the Classical Era. Thus the proponents and leaders of the Illyrian movement wanted to express both continuity of tradition and the bond between different South Slavs through their common Illyrian background.

Sources written during the 20th century claim that during the timeframe of the Illyrian movement – from 1835 through the 1850s – the Croatian national consciousness was awakened and formed. The 19th century was a period of national identity formation in many European states which makes the Croatian Illyrian movement unexceptional in this context in European history. However, what makes the Illyrian movement unique is its dual nature. The national identity which was formed was not purely Croatian but rather a mixture of South Slav (Illyrian) and Croatian identity. This fact on its own is remarkable and becomes even more curious when one starts to observe Yugoslav and Croatian identity formation. What can be noticed is that the same Illyrian writers have been (and continue to be) used to make Croats believe in the two very different identities: their Yugoslavian identity and their exclusively Croatian identity.

The central argument of this work is the following: The twentieth century has seen two separate Croatian identity orientations: the South Slav (Yugoslav) and the Croatian. It is not

accurate that the literary works circulating at the time of the Illyrian movement were the principal influence on the formation of today's Croatian identity. The work of the Illyrian writers and the exponents of the movement – which is today being presented as the cornerstone in the formation of Croatian self-consciousness – cannot be defined as the source of an exclusively Croatian identity. Illyrian authors have rather constructed the South Slav-Croatian identity and orientation. The analyses conducted in this thesis shows that the purely Croatian identity was not constructed by Illyrian writers but rather by a cultural elite who later defined and analyzed the canon of the Illyrian authors.

The goal of this thesis is to show how it is possible to promote two opposite issues, two opposite identities, while using the same discourse. This thesis will show how in the case of Croatian identity formation the context became more important than the original text. In addition, it will be shown how literary works can be misrepresented in order to support ideas which they may or may not have initially promoted. In order to support this idea, the thesis is divided into three chapters. They can also be read separately because they deal with three different phenomena but when combined they support the central statement of this work.

The first chapter is devoted to the introduction of the Illyrian movement and to the context in which it fits into the broader frame of Croatian history. In order to explain the reasons behind the development of the Illyrian movement, it is necessary to show the position that the Croatian state found itself in. The Croatian state had to defend itself against attempts of Magyarization and Germanization, coming from the Hungarian Kingdom and from the Austrian Empire respectively. Croatia began the 19th century as part of the Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom which was a part of the larger entity of the Austrian Empire. Both of these bodies wanted to incorporate Croatia into their own territory and to suppress the growing Croatian national consciousness. To defend against this suppression a group of young intellectuals started promoting and defining a particular Croatian identity. This group of intellectuals saw Croatia as a part of a greater South Slavic entity, which is why they adopted the Illyrian name. In addition to giving an account of the historical context encompassing the period from the 7th century, the first chapter describes the Illyrian movement from 1835 till the 1850. The chapter ends with the description of two events, one political and one cultural, which are considered the peak of Illyrian activity. The political event encompasses the conviction of ban Jelačić and the Vojvodina Serbs that they should support one another and even form a political entity within the Austrian Empire. The cultural event is the signing of the Vienna Literary Agreement (1850), in which Croats and Serbs proclaimed the unity of the Serbian and

Croatian languages. The idea behind the declaration was that Croats and Serbs belonged to one nation which should therefore have one language.

The second chapter of this thesis focuses on the literary work written by the three most prominent writers of the Illyrian movement: Stanko Vraz, Petar Preradović and Ivan Mažuranić. After a short biography for each of these authors, parts of their literary opus are analyzed in order to highlight the rhetoric that the most influential cultural workers of the Illyrian movement used in order to awaken the national consciousness of their fellow countrymen. In this chapter only the works of these three authors written between 1835 and 1850 are examined as this is the time frame which is defined as the period of the Illyrian movement. Preradović is the only of the three authors who also wrote in the period after 1850 but these works fall outside the focus of this paper. The focus of the chapter is on the motifs the three authors used in order to describe and define Croatian and Illyrian national character and identity. It is necessary to present the actual works and ideas of these three authors in order to show what the original focus and goal of their literary work was.

In the third chapter the focus of the paper moves from the period of the Illyrian movement to the period of Tito's Yugoslavia and finally to the period of the Croatian statehood which started in 1991. This final chapter focuses on the way the Illyrian movement's proponents, events and accomplishments are presented in various texts including school books, published during this time. Because the Illyrian movement is defined as the period in which the foundation for the formation of Croatian self-consciousness was laid, I have decided to analyze and compare the descriptions and explanations of original texts in different secondary sources. These texts, published during both the Yugoslavian period and post 1991 offer to explain and present the Illyrian movement to the Yugoslavian and Croatian population. This chapter is of great importance for the understanding of the way in which the Illyrian movement had been portrayed and is being portrayed to students and to the broader Croatian and Yugoslavian population. The literary works by Vraz, Preradović and Mažuranić written during the Illyrian movement are rarely presented to the public in their entirety and are much less read than the selected parts of the three authors' literary opus chosen by different literary critics. That is why the secondary sources on the literary works of Vraz, Preradović and Mažuranić – together with the literature about the Illyrian movement – were and still are of great importance for the formation of Croatian national consciousness and national identity. If the works that were written to awaken Croatian national consciousness are considered to be a foundation in the formation of Croatian identity, then the literature about the Illyrian movement and its authors has to be considered an important layer which rests upon this

foundation. The foundation is the basis and inspiration but the upper layer is more accessible to the contemporary public and is therefore more influential in the formation of public opinion.

1. The Illyrian movement in Croatian history

When discussing the formation of Croatian national identity one has to analyze the period of the Illyrian movement.¹ The movement, which was born in the 1830s, had two important components – a cultural one and a political one. These components cannot be viewed apart from one another. This chapter will place the Illyrian movement within the broader context of Croatian history, explain the developments which led to the Illyrian movement, and introduce the three authors who are central to this paper: Ivan Mažuranić, Petar Preradović and Stanko Vraz.

1.1 The history of Croatian statehood – from independence to the Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom

Explaining and analyzing the Illyrian movement and its proponents can not occur without understanding the political situation in which Croats found themselves in the first half of the 19th century. Political and cultural products of the Illyrian movement are a direct reaction to the Hungarian attempted Magyarization of Croatia and to the Austrian attempt to implement a Germanization of all non-Germans within the Austrian Empire. The movement of Croatian national awakening and the Illyrian movement were results of many different political developments which took place in the geographic area of present day Croatia since the 7th century. It is believed that originally Croats came from the East and North of the Carpathian Mountains. In the first half of the 7th century, Croatians migrated and resettled on the territory which is today the Republic of Croatia. In the 10th century, under king Tomislav who had united Pannonia and Dalmatian Croatia, Croatia became an independent kingdom. It was only in the short period of less than two hundred years that Croatia was an independent kingdom.² However, no matter how short this period was, the fact that Croatia was at one time an independent kingdom with its own set of political rights made a case for all future claims. These claims included the demands and aspirations which would follow in the centuries to come and which looked back at this time hoping for the eventual return of an independent Croatia.

¹ Ilirski pokret or Ilirizam are the Croatian words that denote Illyrian movement.

² Perić, 1998: 10-13.

After the death of Stephen II, the last descendent of the Croatian dynasty Trpimirović, in 1102 Croatia entered into a personal union with Hungary.³ Croatian nobility was not compelled by force to join Hungary. They voluntarily decided to sign the *Pacta Conventa*. This treaty between the Hungarian king Coloman and the Croatian nobility – who thereby accepted Coloman as holder of both the Croatian and the Hungarian throne – assured the Croatian nobles to retain their holdings and to get exemptions from any kind of taxation.⁴ Having entered the state union with Hungary, the Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia – also known as the Triune Kingdom – still did not give up its statehood. Its sovereignty was narrowed but its territorial unity was preserved. It had its own ruler, the *Ban*⁵ and later its own parliament, the *Sabor*.⁶ It further retained its corpus of law, its court system, its currency and its army.⁷ This meant that from that time on, Croatia and Hungary would be joined in personal union as two sovereign kingdoms which had one king. It was agreed that the Hungarian kings would have a separate coronation for the Kingship of Croatia and Dalmatia and that the Croatian *Sabor* would continue to meet and discuss all matters of national interest.⁸ This situation was to last for another five hundred years.

1.1.1 Habsburgs on the Hungarian-Croatian throne

In the 16th century, due to the Turkish conquest, both Hungary and Croatia were losing territory to the Ottoman Empire. In the year 1526, the Turkish army defeated Hungarian and Croatian armies in the battle of Mohács. Louis II, king of Hungary and Croatia, was killed in this clash with sultan Suleiman II.⁹ The vacant Hungarian throne had to be occupied and after much unrest and a civil war in Hungary, it fell to the house of Habsburg. The Croatian parliament *Sabor* and the Hungarian pendant *Diet*, expressing the wish of the gentry, decided in 1527 to give their support to the Habsburg house. Thereby, the Croatian and Hungarian Kingdom accepted Ferdinand of Habsburg, archduke of Austria, and the Habsburg family as its new rulers.¹⁰ It is important to note that some areas of what makes up today's Croatia were left outside the Habsburg Monarchy. These parts therefore never became part of the Habsburg Empire, which embraced both the Croatian and

³ Pandzic B. and S. Pandzic, 1954: 16-19.

⁴ Perić, 1998: 42-48.

⁵ Ban (Latin ‘Banus’); an old Croatian title, signifies a ruler, sovereign prince.

⁶ Pandzic B. and S. Pandzic, 1954: 15.

⁷ Perić, 1998: 49-50.

⁸ Perić, 1998: 42.

⁹ Perić, 1998: 86.

¹⁰ Perić, 1998: 93-96.

the Hungarian kingdoms. Istria was gradually, from the 13th century onward, conquered by the Venetian republic which by the first half of 15th century held the entire coastal belt and even parts of hinterland. The Habsburgs acquired the rest of Istria in the course of the 15th century. From this point on Istria was under two administrations: the Austrian and the Venetian. In the process, the Venetians gradually tried to spread their power into Dalmatia as well. By the 15th century, they had even set up a separate administration for this region. The city of Dubrovnik nevertheless stayed independent, first as an autonomous city commune and then from the 15th century on as the Republic of Dubrovnik. It held sovereign authority in its own area but also recognized the protection of the Hungarian-Croatian kings from the 14th till the 16th century. From that time until the year 1808, it was recognized as being under the protection of the Ottoman Empire.¹¹

1.1.2 Fragmentation of the Croatian Kingdom – 16th and 17th century

Both the 16th and 17th centuries were marked by sizeable territorial losses of the Croatian lands which were the result of the Ottoman invasion of Europe. This invasion had been in progress since the 14th century. At the beginning of the 16th century, Croatia had been reduced to approximately 50.000 square kilometers.¹² These territorial losses contributed to the fragmentation which led the Habsburgs to decide to form a new territorial unit on the territory of the Croatian kingdom. Following this, in the 16th century Ferdinand II, archduke of Austria, formed *Vojna Krajina* (the Military Border). The new territorial unit was situated along the Ottoman border and was taken from the authority of the Croatian *Ban* and *Sabor*.¹³

Since they became rulers of both Croatia and Hungary, the Habsburgs had a wish to reduce the status of Croatia to yet another Habsburg possession and to remove its special rights. This desire for a strong central government in Vienna had started already with Ferdinand I. This imperial policy caused dissatisfaction and unrest among the Croatian and Hungarian nobility.¹⁴ The nobility was dissatisfied with the growing centralism of the Habsburgs and with its lack of initiative to confront the Turks. The Habsburg rulers wanted to annul the Croatian-Hungarian personal union and with it the statehood of Croatian and Hungary.¹⁵ After Vienna signed a peace

¹¹ Perić, 1998: 62-66 and 68.

¹² Perić, 1998: 80-94.

¹³ Gazi, 1973: 97-100.

¹⁴ Gazi, 1973: 96-107.

¹⁵ Perić, 1998: 101.

treaty with the Ottoman rulers in the 17th century – rather than pushing for further liberation of occupied Croatian and Hungarian lands – huge dissatisfaction spread.

Dissatisfaction with imperial policy in 1671 led to an important event which is known as the Zrinjski conspiracy. Dissatisfied with the lack of territorial integrity of the country and the fact that they did not assume *Ban* position over the Military Border, the Croatian noble families Zrinjski and Frankopan tried to organize an insurrection and remove the Habsburgs from the Croatian-Hungarian throne. Petar Zrinjski misjudged the international situation and counted on Ottoman support. Soon after the Habsburgs discovered the plans of this conspiracy, representatives of the Zrinjski and Frankopan family were tried for high treason. Their execution marked the end of two of the most outstanding feudal families of Croatia who had played decisive roles in Croatian history.¹⁶ The Zrinjski and Frankopan families held the post of *Ban* as their family entitlement so there were no other noble Croat families who reached the same level of power. Without the Zrinjski and Frankopan families, Croatia was left without an aristocracy capable of bringing independence to Croatian lands. The position of *Ban* was left vacant for ten years and when a new *Ban* was appointed he as well as his successors was one of the Hungarian magnates who had settled in Croatia.¹⁷ It is important to know this in order to understand the situation in 19th century Croatia. The fact that Croatia at that time had no powerful and numerous noble families meant that Croat nobles would be more inclined to support Hungarian nobles rather than their fellow countrymen.

1.1.3 18th century – between Austrian and Hungarian centralization

After the Siege of Vienna in 1683, Habsburg rulers decided to switch from defensive to offensive strategies against the Ottomans. This led to the general liberation of the Hungarian territories and the partial liberation of Croatian lands.¹⁸ Dalmatia and Istria were still under Venetian domination and the Military Border was also left as a separate administrative unit within the Habsburg Monarchy.¹⁹

In the course of the 18th century, Austrian emperors as well as Croatian-Hungarian kings started to practice an even more centralist and absolutist rule over their lands. As large areas of

¹⁶ Gazi, 1973: 105-109.

¹⁷ Gazi, 1973: 109.

¹⁸ Gazi, 1973: 111-114.

¹⁹ Pandzic B. and S. Pandzic, 1953: 28-30.

Hungarian territory were liberated from Turkish rule, Hungarian leadership was stimulated to renew their aspiration for the political emancipation from the Habsburgs. In the process, they also hoped to achieve political supremacy over Croatia. The Croats in return counted on the protection of the Habsburg court against renewed Hungarian pretensions. Croatia was weak and it was caught between two centers of power, the Habsburg and the Hungarian one. Both of these power bases had their own agendas. In 1767, Maria Theresa established a separate Croatian government, the Royal Council in Zagreb, in order to make Croatia more independent from Hungary. However, after vigorous protest in Budapest, the empress reversed this decision and in 1779 she subordinated Croatia to the Hungarian government (the Regency Council).²⁰ This was the first time that Croatia was subjected to control of the Hungarian government.²¹ Maria Theresa's son, Joseph II, further centralized the powers of the government. In 1784, he imposed German officials and the German language throughout the Empire. In Croatia he made a few territorial concessions to Hungary such as the town of Rijeka and the region of Međimurje.²²

The French revolution of 1789 had a large impact on the Austrian Empire in that it reflected a growing dissatisfaction with autocracy and centralism. As the nobility was the main political force in Hungary and Croatia and given the long tradition of the Hungarian-Croatian state, the Croatian and Hungarian nobility also were accustomed to close cooperation. On the one hand, the experience of Habsburg absolutism, centralism and Germanization taught them to jointly confront any continuation of anti-national administrative policies. On the other hand, they appreciated the firm Habsburg stance against new post-revolutionary France and they supported the Emperor.

Since Croatia had been put under the control of the Hungarian government from the time of Maria Theresa it was decided in *Sabor* in 1790 that the Hungarian Regency Council's jurisdiction over Croatia would be recognized until the lands under Venetian and Ottoman rule were reintegrated within Croatia and until Croatia had enough funds to finance its own government.²³ This decision caused many disputes between the Hungarians and Croats due to the fact that the Hungarian political leadership started interpreting the mutual Hungarian-Croatian government as simply a device for the integration of Croatia into Hungarian territory. As Hungarian political leadership was gaining strength, it started promoting the use of the Hungarian language in Croatia, convincing Croats that this would be a powerful shield against Germanization. The Croatian *Ban*

²⁰ Perić, 1998: 115-120.

²¹ Gazi, 1973: 117.

²² Perić, 1998: 115-120.

²³ Perić, 1998: 120- 122.

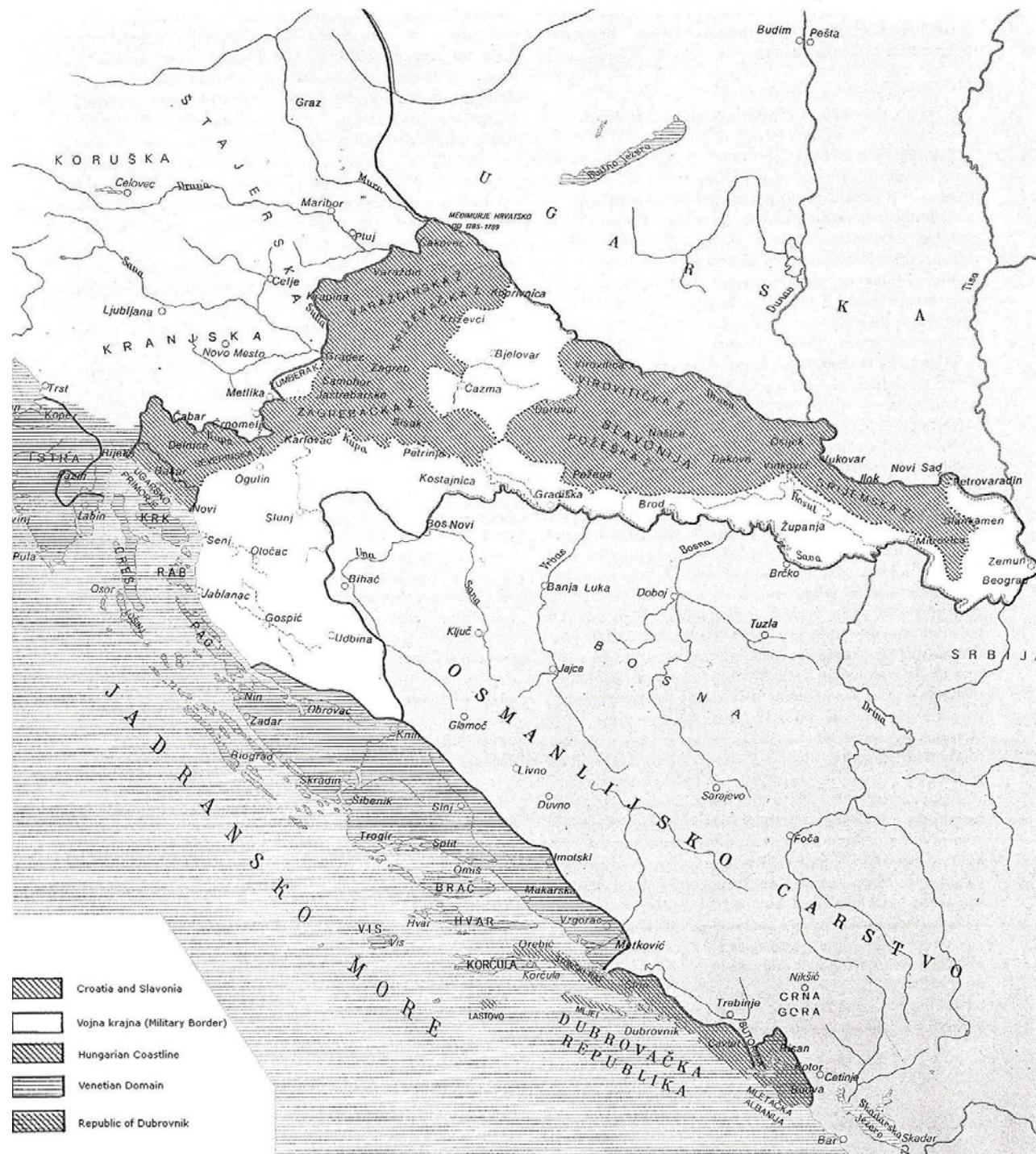
and its deputies were strongly opposed to this, seeing it as equally threatening as previous attempts of Germanization. They defended the continuation of the use of Latin, as an efficient shield against both Germanization and Magyarization. Hungarians also started making claims on Slavonia, advocating its incorporation into Hungary.²⁴

By the end of the 18th century, Austria and France were at war. The outcome of this war would be of major importance to the future control of Croatian lands. Although Austria took the territories of the abolished Venetian republic (Istria, Kvarner Islands and Dalmatia) in 1797, it was already in 1805 after being defeated by France, that Istria and Dalmatia had to be ceded to France. These were the circumstances under which Croatian lands entered the 19th century.²⁵

²⁴ Perić, 1998: 120-122.

²⁵ Perić, 1998: 120-126.

Croatian lands at the end of the XVIII Century



²⁶ Stančić, 1986: 16-20., Maps on pages 11 to 14 are taken from this book and their legends have been adapted in language for the readers convenience.

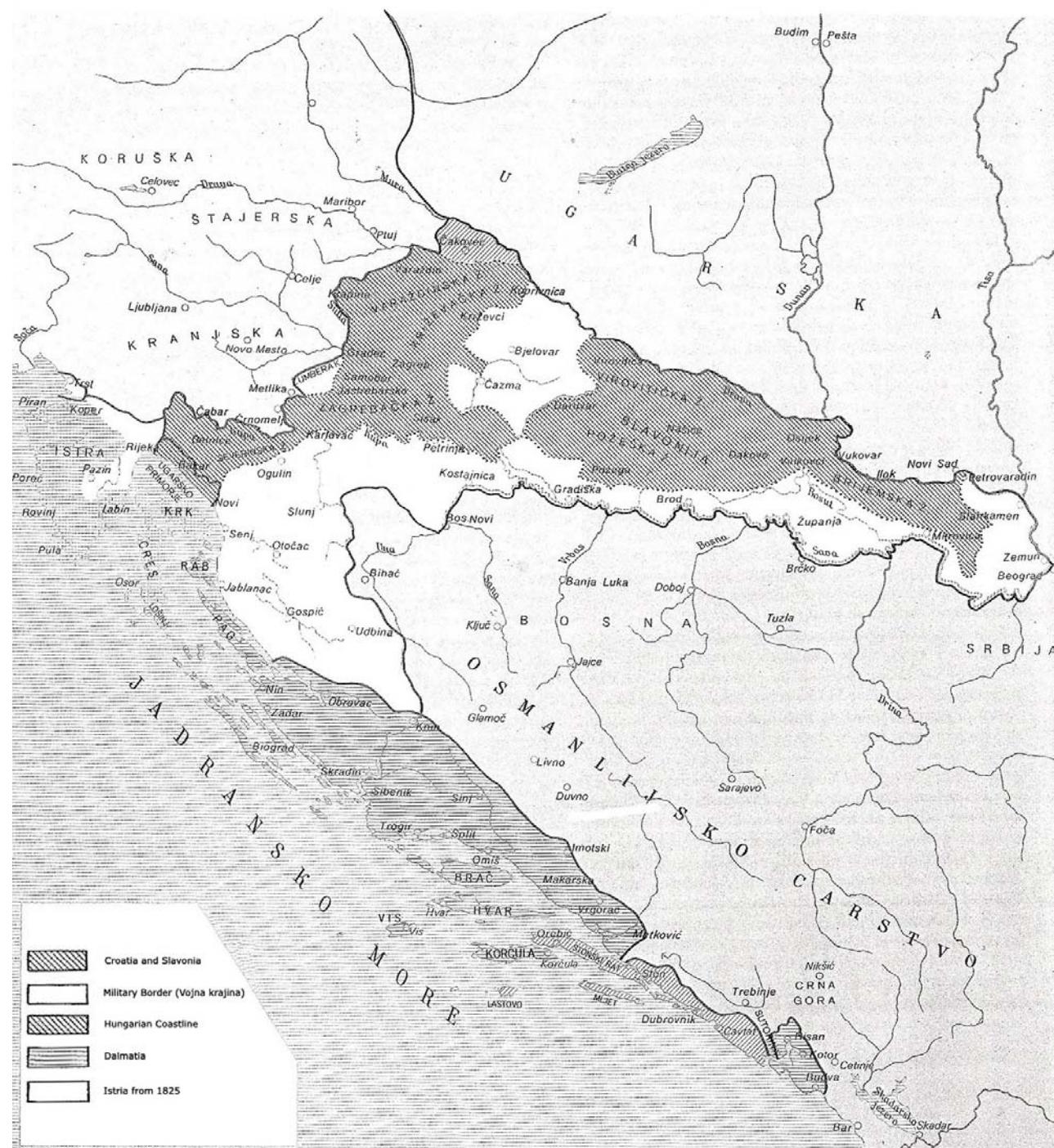
Illyrian Provinces and Croatia 1805-1813



Austrian "Kingdom of Illyria" between 1816 and 1822



Croatian Lands between 1822 and 1848



1.1.4 The 19th century

In 1808, the French had also officially conquered the Republic of Dubrovnik which became a part of their territory together with some parts of the Military Border district between the Sava and the sea.²⁷ To govern all of its conquered Slovenian and Croatian territories the French made one administrative unit, the Illyrian Provinces. At the same time, the rest of Croatian territory was dependent on decisions by both the Hungarian and Austrian centers of power. This dual dependency would have an influence on the events leading to the Illyrian movement. On the one hand, Croatia needed Vienna's support to pursue its aspirations for unification. Croats hoped that the Habsburgs would eventually allow all Croatian lands they possessed to unite. Croats also needed the support of Austria in order to counterbalance Hungarian demands on Croatian territory. On the other hand, Croats also needed Hungarians. Croatian and Hungarian nobles were united in their struggle against Austrian centralization and Germanization. Since the time when Croatia was left without its most powerful noble families, Croatian nobles had become dependant on the support of their Hungarian counterparts. Croatia was therefore in the 19th century not only territorially fragmented, it was also torn between two centers of power. It was dependent on both of them and needed their mutual support in order to achieve the unity of Croatian lands.

The Austrian Emperor and Croatian-Hungarian king Francis II imposed absolutist rule on Croatia and Hungary from 1812 – 1825, which meant that neither the Croatian *Sabor* nor the joint Croatian-Hungarian Parliament were called into session during that time. The goal of this absolutism was to overcome the resistance of these two parliaments to the emperor's policies and administrative changes.²⁸

After the collapse of Napoleon's empire, the great European powers – Austria, France, Russia and the United Kingdom – assembled at the Congress of Vienna in 1814-1815 and attempted to return to the pre-revolution situation of monarchial states.²⁹ As Croatia was part of the Austrian empire, decisions about future Austrian policies would also influence the political life of Croatia after 1815. During the Congress of Vienna, one verdict which had consequences for the

²⁷ Perić, 1998: 120-126.

²⁸ Perić, 1998: 128-130.

²⁹ Leerssen, 2006: 126.

future of Croatian lands was that regarding the destiny of Napoleon's Illyrian provinces: it was decided that the Illyrian Provinces would be returned to the Austrian Empire.³⁰

Although the territory of the entire Triune Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia finally found itself after the Congress of Vienna within one state, it was not reunited. Vienna had no wish to reunite the Illyrian Provinces with the rest of Croatian territory. In 1816, it was decided to organize these provinces as a separate kingdom under Austrian rule: the Kingdom of Illyrian provinces. Dalmatia also became a separate kingdom – the Kingdom of Dalmatia.³¹

In the 19th century, Croats were divided into several political bodies: Croatia, Slavonia, Military Border, Istria and Dalmatia, all of which were under Austrian rule.³² Although the Kingdom of Croatia still formally existed, it can hardly be said that it had any characteristics of a separate political body. Croatian autonomy was very restricted and it was dependent on both Hungary and Austria.³³ The idea of unifying Croatian lands was contrary to the wishes of Vienna. The Habsburgs feared that this would strengthen Croats and that a more powerful Croatia – together with already strong Hungary – could endanger the integrity of the Habsburg Monarchy. Naturally, the Habsburgs were not willing to fulfill Hungarian and Croatian requests for administrative restructuring.

1.2 Croatian National Revival and Illyrian movement

Already in the initial stage of analysis, one is confronted with two denominations of the developments which partially overlap. Various authors express differing views of what they regard as comprising the “Croatian National Revival” and “Illyrian movement”. When one talks about Croatian National Revival, the Illyrian movement is always a part of it. However, the Illyrian movement does not stand synonymously for the Croatian National Revival because the time frame of the latter is somewhat larger.³⁴ Since this work is focused on the Illyrian movement, the period of time discussed in the paper will span from 1836 till 1850. There is a general consensus that 1836 was the year when the Illyrian movement began. It was the year when the name of *Horvatske novine* (Croatian Newspaper) was changed into *Ilirske narodne novine* (Illyrian National

³⁰ Perić, 1998: 128-130.

³¹ Perić, 1998: 128-130.

³² Gazi, 1973: 129.

³³ Gazi, 1973: 127.

³⁴ According to authors Živančević, Frangeš, Ježić, Barac and Revlić.

Newspaper) and similarly when the Croatian language started to be called the Illyrian language.³⁵ Nevertheless, there is disagreement among scholars about when the Illyrian movement ended. Some authors argue that the year 1874 was the final one because it was then that *Matica Ilirska* (The Illyrian Queen Bee) was renamed into *Matica Hrvatska* (The Croatian Queen Bee).³⁶ However, most authors suggest the end of the movement as being in the time period between 1843 – when the Illyrian name was officially forbidden by Austrian authorities – and the year 1849, when the absolutist regime was introduced and the majority of the authors active in the Illyrian movement stopped with their work related to it.³⁷ Due to the fact that this paper focuses on the works of Mažuranić, Preradović and Vraz, the year 1850 will be considered as the final year of the Illyrian movement. By the end of the 1840s, all these authors ceased to continue with their activities related to the Illyrian movement. Mažuranić ended with his work in literature and went into politics, the literary works of Preradović published during his lifetime were all written by the end of the 1840s and Vraz died in 1851.³⁸

Generally the main impetus behind the Illyrian movement was the idea of Slav unity and that of the Southern Slavs in particular. The authors were mostly younger men, born around 1810 as the children of peasants, children born into noble families without property or they were of bourgeois descent. The representatives of the movement extolled and promoted the similarities between Southern Slavs.³⁹ Their end goal was a unified literary language along with the political unity of Southern Slavs.⁴⁰ The Illyrians had acquired their ideas of Slavdom from the contemporary Slovak cultural intellectuals Kollár and Šafárik who both had a broad Slavic outlook.⁴¹ Kollár and Šafárik were often advising and inspiring the proponents of the Illyrian movement through personal connections with Illyrians and through mutual correspondence.⁴² The Illyrians embraced Kollár's idea of Slavic solidarity. According to this school of thought, all Slavs were a single people who were divided by their use of four dialects: Russian, Czech, Polish and Illyrian. According to Kollár, Southern Slavs were therefore Illyrians.⁴³ Following this idea, the representatives of the Illyrian movement regarded South Slavs to be descendants of the Illyrians –

³⁵ Ravlić, 1965: 1, 34 and 35.

³⁶ Ravlić, 1965: 1, 34 and 35.

³⁷ According to Živančević, Frangeš, Ježić

³⁸ Prosperov Novak, 2004: 8-11, 16-24 and 27-32.

³⁹ When talking about South Slavs, the following today's nationals are included: all the Slavic nations of the former Yugoslavia and Bulgarians.

⁴⁰ Živančević M. and I. Frangeš, 1975: 7.

⁴¹ Barac, 1955: 107.

⁴² Živančević M. and I. Frangeš, 1975: 199.

⁴³ Barac, 1955: 107.

the ancient inhabitants of the Roman provinces Dalmatia and Pannonia⁴⁴ – and wanted to apply the Illyrian name to all South Slavs.⁴⁵

The proponents of the Illyrian movement planned to realize their political and cultural ideas through the use of literature and wished that all South Slavs would recognize the Štokavski dialect as their literary language. The Štokavski dialect was chosen because it already had a reputation. It had been used in the past by Dubrovnik writers whose works were considered the peak of Croatian literary expression till this point in time. It was also the language in which the folk poems collected by Vuk Stefanović Karadžić were written.⁴⁶ The writers believed that the Štokavski dialect would reunite the best of both Serbian and Croatian traditions. By choosing the name of the ancient Illyrian tribe, the representatives of the movement wanted to appeal to the broadest amount of people. Although the center of the movement was in Zagreb, Croatian lands were fragmented so the Illyrian name would appeal to more inhabitants of the territory than using the Croatian name. Additionally, the use of the Illyrian name was politically safer due to the Magyar and Austrian attempts to suppress the rising of Croatian national consciousness.⁴⁷

1.2.1 The Illyrian movement's impetus and leaders

In the 19th century, all political power in Croatia was concentrated in the hands of the nobility and the high clergy. In comparison to their Hungarian counterparts, the Croatian nobility represented an insignificant minority in society. Until the year 1848, Croatia was a feudal territory with the peasantry bound in serfdom. It is important to note that the official language was Latin which was used by the nobility to deliberately estrange itself from the masses. The majority of bourgeoisie on the territory of the Kingdom of Croatian and Slavonia used the German language.⁴⁸ The situation in Istria and Dalmatia was different. Due to the long period under rule by the Republic of Venice, the Italian language had a strong tradition of being used in public life. From the time of the French conquests, the French language had entered the spheres of public life as well. The Croatian language was neglected by officials in all regions of Croatia, but spoken by the majority of people who could be regarded as powerless in a political sense.⁴⁹ An additional problem was the fact that

⁴⁴ Goldstein, 1999: 60.

⁴⁵ Barac, 1955: 107.

⁴⁶ Barac, 1955: 105-110.

⁴⁷ Ravlić, 1965: 39-41.

⁴⁸ Barac, 1955: 105.

⁴⁹ Barac, 1955: 109.

even those Croats, who spoke Croatian, did not speak the same language. In different regions different dialects were in use. Kajkavski, Čakavski and Štokavski (for more information see Appendix and maps) dialects were spoken by Croats who also made use of several different orthographies.⁵⁰

In this situation, the ruling class of Hungarian feudalists started demanding the introduction of the Hungarian language to the entire territory of Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom. The political representatives of Croatia understood how this was a clear attempt to magyarize Croatia. Earlier, when Latin was being used as an official language by different nations under Hungarian domination, no one felt threatened. However, the introduction of Hungarian would change the political situation completely. Although this Hungarian attempt to influence Croatian culture only stimulated resistance from the Croatian side, Hungarian authorities were still persistent. They demanded the introduction of Hungarian in schools and proposed that speaking Hungarian should be a precondition for becoming a teacher or a civil servant.⁵¹ As a reaction to these attempts, the Croatian nobility first defended Latin as the official language in order to keep its own special position in the social hierarchy. This is understandable as it can be viewed with respect to the Hungarian and Croatian nobility's support for each other while defending their privileges against the reforms attempted by the Habsburgs.⁵² However, by the beginning of the 1830s the resistance of the Croatian nobility to the language policy had vanished.⁵³ In 1827, the Croatian *Sabor*, after a long period of resistance, agreed to make Hungarian an obligatory course in all higher schools in Croatia. In 1833, the study of Hungarian was also proclaimed an obligatory course for all *Gymnasia* on Croatian territory.

The Hungarian authorities at that time already did not consider Croatia a separate kingdom but as a part of Hungary. The reaction to the Magyarization was a two-tier one. On the one hand there were the Croatian politicians who were either resigned to or tried to fight the Hungarians via legal channels by proving that Croatia had joined Hungary voluntarily and therefore Hungary had no right to force its language upon Croatia.⁵⁴ On the other hand there was also a more radical group who promoted a broad political, economic and cultural program in order to strengthen the Croatian position. From the ranks of this latter group a new cultural and literary political and social movement – the Illyrian movement – was born.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ Barac, 1955: 109.

⁵¹ Barac, 1955: 105-110.

⁵² Ježić, 1993: 183 and 184.

⁵³ Barac, 1955: 106.

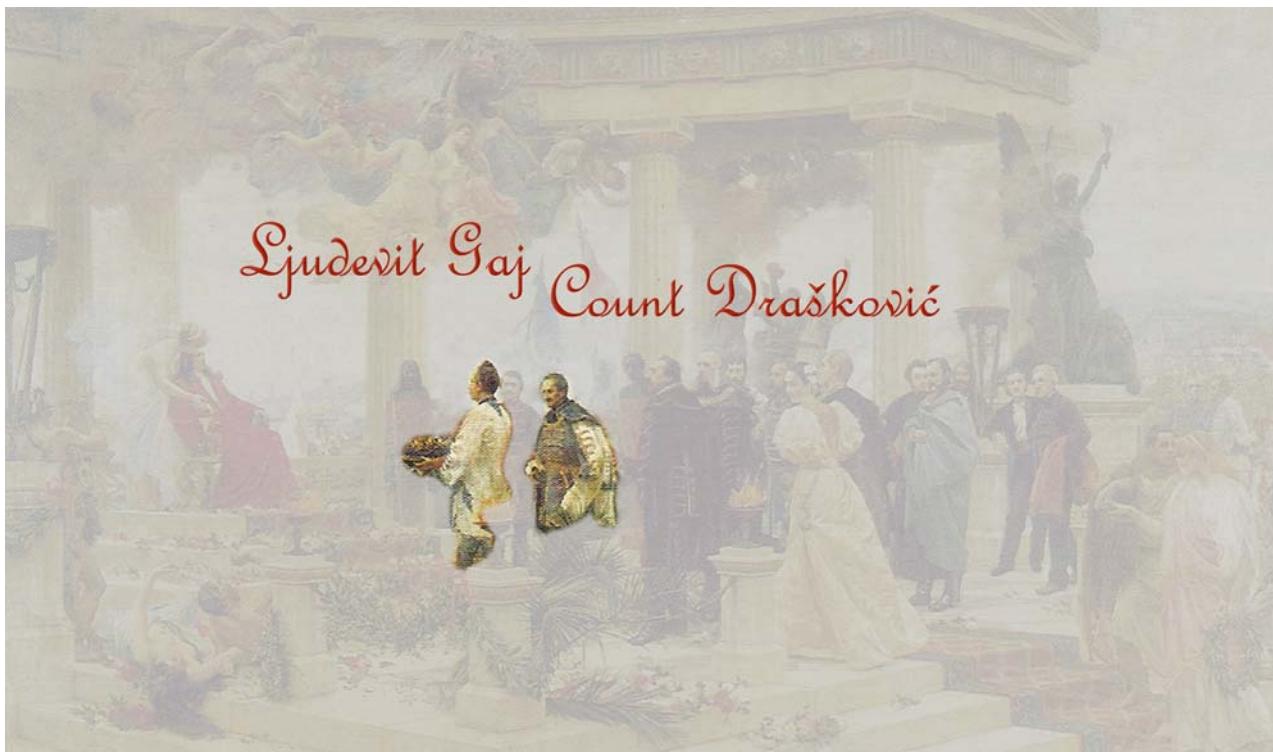
⁵⁴ Ježić, 1993: 184-186.

⁵⁵ Barac, 1955: 106.

The Illyrian movement had both political and cultural goals. The cultural and literary aspects of the movement were more accentuated because the proponents hoped that by making the culture and its language strong, the political position would also become stronger. Viewed politically, the whole Illyrian movement was a powerful counterbalance to Hungarian attempts at imposing their dominance. Unlike the weak resistance by the Croatian feudal lords, the representatives of the Illyrian movement inspired the Croatian masses with their faith in the magnificence of their nation, which was even a part of something much bigger: of Yugoslavdom and Slavdom.⁵⁶

1.2.2 Cultural and political basis of the movement – Gaj and Drašković

It is impossible to analyze the Illyrian movement without discussing Ljudevit Gaj, the leader of the movement, and Count Janko Drašković who were both of essential importance to the movement's development.



Gaj was not only the leader of the movement but also the link between the three authors who are essential for this thesis. All three were acquaintances of Gaj. Vraz got to know Gaj as early as in

⁵⁶ Barac, 1955: 106.

1827 while studying in Graz.⁵⁷ In 1835 and 1836, Mažuranić and Vraz were in contact with Gaj due to the fact that both of them published several of their writings in Gaj's newspaper.⁵⁸ Preradović did not publish in Gaj's *Danica* but left behind a written record of his correspondence with Gaj. In a letter dating from 1847, Preradović writes about the large impression Gaj had made on him during their meeting.⁵⁹ Preradović was not the only one to recognize the abilities of Gaj: during the thirties and forties, Gaj succeeded in attracting a large group of young people who shared his ideas. He managed to gather them around himself in Zagreb. They established a program with both minimal and maximal goals. The minimum was a wish to secure Croatian independency and to defend territorial integrity. The next step would be the liberation of all Croatian lands, followed by the unification of the South Slavs, later also all other Slavs.⁶⁰

Like the majority of Illyrians, Gaj was educated in Vienna, Graz and Pest where he became acquainted with those who would later be his comrades in the Illyrian movement. In the autumn of 1828, Gaj moved from Graz to Pest in order to begin his studies in law. In Pest he got to know Jan Kollár⁶¹ whose Pan-Slav ideas had already inspired him before.⁶² Kollár also introduced Gaj to Šafárik.⁶³ Šafárik's thoughts, expressed in his book *Geschichte der slawischen Sprache und Literatur nach allen Mundarten* (Offen, 1826) made an impact on Ljudevit Gaj.⁶⁴ From Šafárik he understood what an important tool language can be and he immediately started working on the empowerment of the Croatian language.⁶⁵ These efforts resulted in a book that Gaj published in 1830 in Buda. It was a small but extremely important book, written in both Croatian and German: *Kratka osnova horvatsko-slavenskoga pravopisanja – Kurzer Entwurf einer kroatisch-slavischen Orthographie*. In *Kratka osnova* Gaj explains the necessity of loving and taking care of the national language and the urgent need to end up with all, under foreign influence established orthographies. Gaj also expresses what he has learned from Kollár and Šafárik: he claims that there is only one Slavic language which is split into four dialects. Those four dialects are Russian, Polish, Czech and

Gaj's first proposal

č
ž
š
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ȝ
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ń

⁵⁷ Ježić, 1993: 197.

⁵⁸ Prosperov Novak, 2004: 16, 27 and 29.

⁵⁹ Tadijanović, 1968: 149.

⁶⁰ Živančević M. and I. Frangeš, 1975: 17 and 18.

⁶¹ From 1819 to 1849 Jan Kollár lived in Pest where he was a priest of an evangelic community.

⁶² Ježić, 1993: 197.

⁶³ Ježić, 1993: 197.

⁶⁴ Ježić, 1993: 192.

⁶⁵ Živančević M. and I. Frangeš, 1975: 15 and Ravelić, 1965: 23.

Illyrian. He also suggests a new simpler orthography for the Kajkavski dialect: one letter for one sound (see table).⁶⁶ He explains that by introducing this kind of orthography, Croats would become closer to Czechs, Poles and Slovaks who are also already using diacritical signs.⁶⁷ This book presented both the sentiments and the cultural program of an entire generation of young authors: the unity of all Croats using one orthography and the need for a single literary language as well. This was in preparation for the next step which was planned – a stronger connection to other Slavic people.⁶⁸

Gaj's proposals were not entirely new. Before him Kašić (1575-1650) a Croatian writer and linguist had already proposed a similar reform of writing with somewhat different signs.⁶⁹ Later the Croatian writer, historian, linguist and publisher Vitezović (1652-1713) also promoted the use of tilde (~) above letters *l* and *n*. Gaj's proposal of the new orthography was not accepted. The only source in which it was applied had remained Gaj's book *Kratka osnova*.⁷⁰ However, Gaj did not give up. In the 1835 article *Pravopisz* (The orthography) he suggested using another new orthography. This time he did not as in *Kratka osnova* limit himself to Croatia but suggested a new orthography for the Illyrian language for the entire Slavic South. Gaj took over the Polish ē and he replaced tilde (~) with the checkmark (^) in the letters č, ž, š. In *Kratka osnova* he did not need two different diacritical signs above the letter *c* as the orthography presented in *Kratka osnova* was made for the Kajkavski dialect which does not distinguish the differences in pronunciation between what is today in Croatian marked as č and ē. Instead of the letters *d*, *g*, *l*, *n* with the tilde above them Gaj now suggested *dj*, *gj*, *lj*, *nj* (with a comma on the *j* instead of a dot).⁷¹ Gaj's innovation was in his acceptance of signs which other Slavs had also introduced to the contemporary Latin alphabet. That, together with the patriotic and Pan-Slavic spirit which Gaj's articles contained, mobilized the young generation of Croatia. They finally saw

Gaj's first proposal	Gaj's reviewed proposal
č	č
ž	ž
š	š
đ	dj
ǵ	gj
ǵ	lj
ń	nj

⁶⁶ Ježić, 1993: 191.

⁶⁷ Moguš, 1995: 151.

⁶⁸ Ježić, 1993: 191.

⁶⁹ Ježić, 1993: 197.

⁷⁰ Moguš, 1995: 151-153.

⁷¹ Moguš, 155 and 165.

a comprehensive direction and goal after the numerous disputes that Croatian and Hungarian politicians had had regarding the language issue.⁷²

After finishing his studies in Pest, Gaj returned to Croatia where he decided to start publishing a newspaper in the Croatian language. In 1834, he got permission from emperor Francis I to publish a paper but only if it would not cover any political news.⁷³ The emperor's request to ban political news is completely understandable when one thinks of the political situation that existed in this time. Those in power in Vienna, although fearing the awakening of Croatian national consciousness, still needed the support of Croats. As Hungarians were becoming more powerful, Vienna needed the support of loyal Croats to counter this increasing power. Gaj was considered a leader by the whole young generation of politicians and writers in Croatia at that time. From the time when he published *Kratka osnova* to 1835 when he started publishing his newspaper, his activities and those of his followers can be demarcated as the activities comprising the movement of *Croatian National Revival*.

Besides Gaj, another man who can be considered a leader of the Illyrian movement is count Janko Drašković. Although a count and much older than other followers of the movement, he decided to join them. As Gaj was not a封建ist, it was Drašković who represented the strivings of the Illyrians to the authorities and higher classes of society.⁷⁴ His most important book *Disertacija* was published in 1832. In this work, Drašković explains how Croatia had never been conquered by Hungary but much more had voluntarily decided to be merged with the Hungarian Kingdom in order to maintain its rights. *Disertacija* explains the entire political program of the generation which was active around 1830. In addition, it contains advice for Croatian representatives in the common Hungarian and Croatian parliament. Janko Drašković proposed to create out of all the historical Croatian territories together with the Slovenian Illyria (official name for Slovenia at the time) a larger Illyrian Kingdom. This process should take place under the rule of Austrian Emperor and therefore make it a legal arrangement. Drašković wrote *Disertacija* in Croatian, in the Štokavski dialect. By using the Štokavski dialect, Drašković gave an impetus for its acceptance. He defended its usage by emphasizing its ancient roots and by referring to ancient Croatian books (thinking of Dubrovnik traditions) written in the Štokavski dialect.⁷⁵ Besides his most important work *Disertacija*, another important book also written by Drašković is *Ein Wort*⁷⁶. Therein he

⁷² Ježić, 1993: 197.

⁷³ Ježić, 1993: 197.

⁷⁴ Barac, 1955: 108.

⁷⁵ Ježić, 1993: 194-197.

⁷⁶ Full titel: Ein Wort an Illiriens hochherzige Töchter über die ältere Geschichte und neueste literarische Regeneration Ihres Vaterlandes.

addresses the situation of Croatian women and attempts to liberate them from Habsburg influences and awaken their national consciousness.⁷⁷

The work of both Gaj and Drašković therefore form the basis for the development of the Illyrian movement. Gaj provided the cultural and literary program of the Illyrian movement and Drašković supplemented it with the political program.

1.2.3 Ilirske narodne novine – official beginning of the Illyrian movement

Writers active at this time and involved in stimulating Croatian national awakening first wrote in the Kajkavski dialect. This was because almost all of them were from Croatia proper where the Kajkavski dialect was spoken. Soon they were joined by fellow writers from other regions. All these authors were aware of the difficulties they were facing; they understood that by having no literary language and no official and united orthography the development of Croatian literature was hampered. Thereby also the development of unity between Croats and other Slavs was held back. Until the period of the Illyrian movement the literature of Croats had been developing under different political and social circumstances and influences. A single direction and purpose was required. To solve this problem, writers within the movement of the Croatian National Revival popularized the literature of Dubrovnik and Dalmatia; these were written in the Štokavski dialect and they were part of the oldest Croatian literary traditions. This literature was supposed to demonstrate the ancientness of Croatian culture. Writers active at this time also drew attention to the beauty and depth of Croatian and Serbian folk poetry, this being in accord with their Romantic views, which were also written in the Štokavski dialect. Young Illyrians were also aware that choosing the Štokavski dialect would bring them closer to Serbs: Vuk Stefanović Karadžić was at that time pleading for the Štokavski dialect to be accepted by Serbs.⁷⁸ Choosing the Štokavski dialect was for the representatives of the Illyrian movement a logical step towards South Slav unity.

The problem of not having a common orthography and a single literary language was solved in 1836, under the initiative of Ljudevit Gaj. He understood the importance of having a printed newspaper and knew that a newspaper would be a precious instrument to influence and educate people. *Novine Horvatzke* (*Croatian Newspaper*) and its supplement, a literary magazine

⁷⁷ Barac, 1955: 108.

⁷⁸ Barac, 1955: 107-109.

Danicza Horvatzka, Slavonzka y Dalmatinzka (Croatian, Slavonian and Dalmatian *Danica*, *Danica* meaning Morning Star in Croatian), were both published in 1835 for the first time. Although at the beginning they were published in the Kajkavski dialect and the old orthography was used, Gaj decided to make a significant change from issue number 29 on.⁷⁹ Backed by his fellow writers and followers, Gaj announced in the last issue of 1835 that from 1836 on *Novine Horvatske* would change its name to *Ilirske narodne novine* (*Illyrian National Newspaper*) and the magazine would become *Danica Ilirska* (*Illyrian Danica*). Gaj also explained how the *Ilirske narodne novine* together with *Danica Ilirska* would be written in the Štokavski dialect and how the new orthography he had proposed in 1830 would be implemented.⁸⁰

Gaj's *Danica* should not be viewed and judged by the quality of the literary work which was published in it. There were only few authors published – Mažuranić and Vraz for example – whose work indeed was of high value. Most of the content can be regarded as patriotic declarations from people who wanted to show their support for the new national movement. Authors writing for the paper were still in the process of learning Croatian and some articles were their first literary attempts in a language that they were only commencing to master. Besides poems, other sorts of articles were published as well. These included material written by Croatian authors (Lucić, Zrinski and others) who wrote in previous centuries. The ancient works were supposed to be examples of proper use of language and style. Additionally, historical articles were published in *Danica*. These were filled with examples of famous episodes from the national past and prototypes of good patriots. The articles were neither educational, nor were they of high literary quality but rather lacked true historical findings.⁸¹ They were published with the goal to awaken patriotic feelings in the readers.

All the dealings of the Illyrian activists before 1836 are considered to be a part of the movement of Croatian National Revival. The year 1836 – when Gaj changed the name of his paper – is considered to be the beginning of the Illyrian movement. From then on all activities of Croatian National Revival occurred under the Illyrian name. Everything was being “Illyrized” – including the name of the language, the people and the literature.⁸² Illyrism can be considered as “Panslavism in small”, promoting the love, unity and mutual understanding of Southern Slavs who should also support each other culturally and politically. In the beginning, Hungarian authorities within the Croatian-Hungarian kingdom were very pleased by the new developments concerning

⁷⁹ Ježić, 1993: 197 and 198.

⁸⁰ Ravlić, 1965: 33-35.

⁸¹ Ježić, 1993: 198.

⁸² Ježić, 1993: 200.

Croatian National Revival. The change of name from Croatian to Illyrian seemed conducive to the political incorporation of Croatia into Hungarian territory. The term Croatian was consequently removed from public use. The Illyrian name, which had a long tradition of usage, seemed politically harmless to both Hungarians and Austrians. However, the term “Illyrian” encompassed all South Slavs and hence addressed a wider audience. While the Croatian National Revival was concerned with only the 1,300.000 inhabitants of Croatia and Slavonia, the Illyrian movement was suddenly addressing more than 12 million people. Croatians and Slavonians began to understand themselves as a part of a vast Illyrian Slavic tribe and the Illyrian idea of uniting with their Slav brothers gave a key impulse to Croatian self-consciousness.⁸³

Besides the literature, which remained the primary vehicle of Illyrian sentiment and which played a major role in stimulating the awakening of national awareness, Gaj and his followers undertook a number of other cultural initiatives. Besides his work for *Danica*, which was for the most part propaganda, Gaj aspired to create cultural institutions which would regulate and coordinate literary, artistic and scientific life. Consequently in 1836, Gaj proposed the foundation of a society for national education. This kind of society was only created in 1867, but it was in the thirties and forties that its foundations were laid.⁸⁴ The year 1840 also saw the foundation of the national theater. In 1842 the miscellany *Kolo* (The weel), a new literary publication, went into print. In larger towns (Varaždin, Karlovac, Križevci) reading rooms and libraries (*čitaonica* in Croatian) were founded to promote and cultivate the national consciousness and to stimulate education. In the cadre of these institutions, the *Matica Ilirska* (see chapter 2.2) was organized in 1842.⁸⁵ *Matica Ilirska* assumed the task of publishing books, ensuring itself a prominent role in the ongoing national awakening.

The workers of the Illyrian movement with their publications, poems, plays and newspapers made a huge impact on the awakening of Croatian national consciousness. The movement which Hungarian and Austrian authorities at first dismissed as insignificant, in time grew to wholly unanticipated proportions. The continuing success of the Illyrian movement caused increasing alarm in Budapest. By the year 1840, Hungarian political authorities had fully understood the threat of the Illyrian name. Officials tried to suppress the movement both directly – through police action – and indirectly by denouncing it to the emperor in Vienna as seditious. Conspicuously, the Croatian nobility openly sided with Hungarian authorities for the sake of their

⁸³ Ravlić, 1965: 32-35 and Ježić, 1993: 201.

⁸⁴ Ježić, 1993: 201.

⁸⁵ Barac, 1955: 110.

class privileges.⁸⁶ Inside Croatia, supporters of Hungarian-Croat unity objected to Illyrian political ideas. In order to combat Illyrian goals, those Hungarians and Croats who supported the Hungarian-Croatian unity and cooperation founded the Croatian Hungarian Party in 1841. Illyrian supporters called these people *madjaroni* (from Magyar). The *madjaroni* requested the dismissal of the Illyrian name and replacement of the Štokavski with the Kajkavski dialect. They advocated a return to the old orthography. In response to these developments politically active supporters of the Illyrian movement decided to organize their own political party – the Illyrian party. During the course of the 1840's, there were numerous open and violent clashes between these two parties, on several occasions resulting in injuries and even deaths.⁸⁷

This unrest gave the Hungarian political leadership grounds to raise the issue of the Illyrian movement in Vienna, alleging that the movement's supporters not only planned to separate Croatia from Hungary – but were striving to create a greater Illyria only to secede (along with Slovenian regions) from Austrian dominion. Following these complaints, in 1843 Austrian emperor Ferdinand I decided, given its negative impact on Hungarian-Croatian relations, that the Illyrian name could no longer be tolerated. This led to the suppression of the Illyrian name. Nonetheless, the Ferdinand I continued to support the Croatian language and special rights, in order to counterbalance Hungarian power.⁸⁸

1.2.4 From 1843 till 1848 – The Illyrian movement during the suppression of the Illyrian name

In 1843, Gaj had to change the name of his newspaper back to *Narodne novine*. After the Illyrian name was prohibited, Gaj himself was blamed for it. Vraz claimed that Gaj precipitated the prohibition by trying to push through his political agenda under the Illyrian name rather than focusing exclusively on cultural aspects. Ivan Mažuranić wrote in the unpublished sonnet *Izgubitak imena Ilirskog* (The loss of Illyrian name) how honest leaders are a rare thing. Although Gaj promoted the cultural and literary goals of Illyrism, he had always considered literature as a means to accomplish political goals. Not being of noble birth, he could not play an important role in the

⁸⁶ Barac, 1955: 108.

⁸⁷ Ravlić, 1965: 1, 40-45.

⁸⁸ Ježić, 1993: 204.

political life of Croatia and consequently aspired to replace what he saw as an outmoded system with one in which he could participate.⁸⁹

In spite of the prohibition of the Illyrian name, the activities of the Croatian National Revival and Illyrian movement did not simply stop. The Illyrian party changed its name to *Narodna stranka* (National Party) and the literary language was from then on called Croatian. In addition to the prohibition of the Illyrian name, increasing Hungarian censorship acted to stifle Croatian literary endeavor. Nonetheless, although many works were left unpublished, the writers were undaunted. Some of them published their work abroad whilst others managed to publish their work in Croatia in spite of the censorship. Mažuranić's *Smrt smajl age Čengića* was published in 1846 and in the same year Preradović published his poem collection *Pervenci*.⁹⁰ Thus it can be seen that, despite the prohibition of the Illyrian name, the authors discussed in this paper continued intensively with the work of the Illyrian movement. For this reason the year 1843 can not be taken as the last year of the Illyrian movement.

After 1843, the clashes with the Hungarian faction in the common Parliament at Pressburg continued. In 1844, the Hungarian parliament passed a ruling mandating the introduction of Hungarian as the official language for offices and schools in Hungary, Croatia, Slavonia and Primorje. Previously, schools had only provided a (mandatory) Hungarian language course. This new decision meant that Hungarian would become the language of instruction for the entire curriculum. Further to this, the legislation ruled that from 1853 on, only Hungarian speakers would be permitted to become clerks.

Another interesting turn took place in 1845 when the emperor decided to allow the Illyrian name again but this time only in literature for denomination of one united literary language and literature. Censorship also became somewhat milder. The university of Zagreb opened a department for Illyrian language and literature. Finally in 1847, the decision was taken to replace Latin, which was used for jurisdiction and in Sabor, with the Croatian language,⁹¹ thus introducing Croatian into public life.⁹² These developments however did neither mean complete relaxation of censorship nor the end of repression both from the center in Vienna and from the Hungarian side. The emperor continued to push his centralist and absolutist agenda and consequently Vienna was unwilling to allow different nations under the Habsburg crown to gain more power.

⁸⁹ Ježić, 1993: 205.

⁹⁰ Ježić, 1933: 205 and 206.

⁹¹ Štokavski

⁹² Ježić, 1993: 207.

1.2.5 1848 and 1849 – The impact of the Illyrian movement on Croat and Serb political cooperation and Slavic unity

The revolution in Paris of 1848 stimulated unrest and protests on Austrian soil, which in return had consequences for developments within the Habsburg Empire. The Revolution that broke out in Hungary in March 1848 impacted on Croatia in the form of a Hungarian request for more autonomy and for tighter incorporation of Croatian lands within the Hungarian kingdom. At that time, Croatian politicians had sent a committee to Vienna calling for the emperor to convoke the Croatian *Sabor* and demanding the preservation of the territorial integrity of Croatia. At the same time preparations commenced for a great national assembly to replace the *Sabor* in Zagreb. Many prominent people from Croatia, among them Gaj and Mažuranić,⁹³ proposed that the imperial court should appoint Colonel Josip Jelačić, a loyal Austrian officer and a Croat who embraced the ideas of Illyrism, as a new Croatian Ban. Vienna agreed and Jelačić was nominated in late March 1848. Jelačić's installation ceremony as Ban in June 1848 was one of strong symbolism: in the absence of the bishop of Zagreb, Jelačić took the oath before patriarch Josip Rajačić who was the head of the Serbian Orthodox Church in the Habsburg monarchy. At the same time the 'National Assembly' in Zagreb adopted *Narodna Zahtjevanja* (the Demands of the People), the program of the national movement in Croatia in 1848 and 1849. The 'Demands' emphasized that the Slav people of Dalmatia, Slavonia and Croatia wished to remain loyal to the Habsburg dynasty and to continue living in the framework of Hungary, but that they desired autonomy. They also demanded the unification of Dalmatia, Slavonia and Croatia and an independent government which would answer to the Croatian *Sabor*. These requests stood in contradiction to the new Hungarian constitution that laid down the division of the state and considered Croatia a mere dependent part of Hungary.⁹⁴

By June of 1848, the relations between Hungary and Croatia had become even tenser as no agreement had been reached on the issue of Croatia's state-law position in relation to Austria and Hungary. June 1848 also witnessed the culmination of the Illyrian efforts towards Slavic unity in the form of both pan-Slav rapprochement and Serbian and Croatian rapprochement. The pan-Slav rapprochement was demonstrated during the Slavic Congress which was held in Prague. During the congress, 340 representatives of the Eastern, Southern, and Western Slavs came together to

⁹³ Živančević M. and I. Frangeš, 1975: 33.

⁹⁴ Goldstein, 1999: 67-70.

discuss their common concerns and interests and to formulate a common program.⁹⁵ Palacky, the respected Czech historian and activist was the president of the Congress, Šafárik was head of the Czech-Slovak section and Stanko Vraz, one of the most prominent Illyrians, also joined the Slavic Congress as a delegate from Croatia. The results of the Congress in Prague proved to be more modest than initially expected. Any idea of uniting all Slavs into a federal state proved fruitless. The Austro-Hungarian Slavs considered it more beneficial and realistic to remain loyal toward the Austrian emperor.⁹⁶ The moderate majority in the Congress considered continued cultural and political advance within Austria as the best defense against the German and Magyar nationalism that had become even more apparent during the Revolutions of 1848.⁹⁷ Consequently, the Slav Congress of 1848 proclaimed in the document, entitled the *Manifesto of the Slav Congress to the Peoples of Europe*, the loyalty of the Slav nations to the Austrian emperor.⁹⁸ The manifesto also expressed pleas for political recognition of, and equal status for Slavic nationality in Austria as was already accorded with the German and Hungarian nationalities. The support for other Slavs living beyond the borders of the Habsburg empire, Poles and those who lived under the Ottoman rule, was also articulated in the Manifesto together with the plea directed towards the aggressors of these Slavs to change their attitude.⁹⁹ Although the Prague Congress was supposed to demonstrate and confirm the unity and brotherhood of all Slavs, after the Congress it became obvious that Pan-Slavism was splitting in two wings: Austro-Slavic and Russophile.¹⁰⁰

In Croatia, the promoters and supporters of the Austro-Slavic wing prevailed as Austro-Slavism seemed to be a more feasible solution for the Croatian political situation at that time. In that context, we can also observe Jelačić's actions promoting the unification of Serbs and Croats within the Habsburg Empire. The *Sabor* demanded the transformation of the Austrian monarchy into a constitutional federation with a central parliament for joint affairs. In it Croatia, together with Slovenian lands and parts of Hungary (today's Vojvodina in Serbia),¹⁰¹ would be one of the federal units. To make a move in this direction, Jelačić strengthened his ties with the Vojvodina Serbs. This was the first more or less organized and conscious movement towards close cooperation between Croatian and Serbian political leaders.¹⁰² These attempts to achieve unity with other Slavs, influenced by the Illyrian movement, were unacceptable to Hungarian rulers. The

⁹⁵ Thaden, 2000: 103.

⁹⁶ Guins, 1949: 125 and 126.

⁹⁷ Thaden, 2000: 103.

⁹⁸ Guins, 1949: 125 and 126.

⁹⁹ Trzeciakowski, 2000: 25-27.

¹⁰⁰ Živančević M. and I. Frangeš, 1975: 43.

¹⁰¹ In Vojvodina Serbs were in the relative majority at that time and Croats a significant minority.

¹⁰² Goldstein, 1999: 69 and 70.

Hungarian leadership had already been fighting against the Illyrian movement since the beginning of the forties and had no wish to grant more freedom to Slavs at its own expense. Croatian-Hungarian relations continued to deteriorate.

As the revolutionary ferment in Hungary did not abate by September 1848, Vienna became more concerned for its potential consequences for the Austrian monarchy. The Austrian emperor decided to use Ban Jelačić in order to suppress the Hungarian upheaval. Jelačić hoped that by helping Vienna, Croats would get more support in their struggle against the Hungarian attempts to make Croatia a mere dependent part of Hungary.¹⁰³ In September 1848, Jelačić and his troops crossed the river Drava and entered Hungary. The Croatian army alone could not break Hungarian resistance so Jelačić was appointed the commander-in-chief of the imperial forces in Hungary. By the summer of 1849, the combined armies managed to break Hungarian resistance.¹⁰⁴

However, Jelačić's hopes for Croatian autonomy were not fulfilled. Already during the war of 1849, Austria imposed a constitution which withdrew all of Croatia's and Hungary's constitutional rights. The empire changed its political community into a centralized, inseparable, hereditary and constitutional Austrian monarchy. In both the cultural and political spheres this meant hard times for Croatia. After 1849, when Austria proclaimed its absolutist regime, most of the work related to the Illyrian movement ceased. Nine years of absolutist government brought terror, prosecution and fear on all non-German nations within Austria. German became the official language and language of instruction in all schools. The people inside Austria's reach only regained some freedom with the overthrow of the absolutist government which occurred as a consequence of Austria's defeats in Italy in 1860.¹⁰⁵

1.2.6 1850 – The impact of the Illyrian movement on Croatian and Serbian language unity

Although the use of the Illyrian name had been again allowed in literature since the year 1845, it never regained widespread use. In a political sense it became completely meaningless.¹⁰⁶ However, that did not mean that Gaj and his Illyrian comrades abandoned their hopes of one unified South Slav language. Some exponents of the Illyrian movement believed that Serbs and

¹⁰³ Prosperov Novak, 2004: 12-16.

¹⁰⁴ Goldstein, 1999: 70-71.

¹⁰⁵ Barac, 1955: 120.

¹⁰⁶ Ježić, 1993: 206 and 207.

Croats are one people; others believed that Croats and Serbians should become one nation. The founder of the Serbian literary language, Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, also hoped that Serbs and Croats would manage to reach an agreement and that they would opt for a diminution of the differences between the Serbian and Croatian languages. Karadžić believed that the similar languages would be a step towards Serbs and Croats becoming one nation sharing one literature.¹⁰⁷

The peak of these Illyrian and Serbian dreams about one united Croatian and Serbian language was reached in 1850 with the signing of the *Bečki književni dogovor* (Vienna Literary Agreement). This convention was a manifesto calling for the creation of a common language for all Croats and all Serbs supported by the belief that Serbs and Croats are one nation. In the first sentence of the Vienna Literary Agreement this can already be seen:

'Znajući da jedan narod treba jednu književnost da ima [...] sastajali smo se ovijeh dana da se razgovorimo, kako bismo se, što se zasad više može, u književnost složili i ujedinili.'

Knowing that one nation should have one literature [...] we gathered here these days to talk in order to agree and unite in literature, as much as it is possible for the time being.¹⁰⁸

The Vienna Literary Agreement was signed by Serbian philologists and writers, Vuk Karadžić and Đuro Daničić together with five Croatian ‘men of letter’: Ivan Mažuranić, Dimitrija Demetar, Stjepan Pejaković, Ivan Kukuljević and Vinko Pacel.¹⁰⁹ Although the Vienna Literary Agreement at first glance appears to be the crown of Illyrian literary aspirations, this convention was not widely accepted by the Croatian or Serb public. Serbs opted for a different variant of Štokavski than that recommended by the Vienna Convention. It is important to note that the leader of the Illyrian movement, Ljudevit Gaj, did not want to sign the Vienna Agreement. He detached himself from it by writing in *Narodne Novine* how he doubted the benefits of the Agreement. In the same way, Ivan Mažuranić, one of the people who signed the Convention, decided in 1862 to introduce the version of Croatian that Gaj was promoting into Croatian schools rather than follow the agreement he had signed in 1850 in Vienna.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ Jonke, 1971: 180-182.

¹⁰⁸ Živančević M. and I. Frangeš, 1975: 36.

¹⁰⁹ Jonke, 1971: 181.

¹¹⁰ Jonke, 1971: 187-190.

1.3 Evaluation of the Illyrian movement – gains and accomplishments

The Illyrian movement had two aspects: one literary, the other political. When evaluating the movement's accomplishments, political and cultural aspects have to be analyzed separately. It is clear that the Illyrian movement did not accomplish the unification of Croatian lands. This only became possible in the 20th century when the Austrian-Hungarian Empire dissolved at the end of World War I.¹¹¹ It was only after the end of the Second World War and the formation of Tito's Yugoslavia that the majority of the territory inhabited by Croats was united¹¹² and gained the outline which the Republic of Croatia has today. Although the Illyrian movement did not immediately accomplish its political goals it served as the basis for uniting the Croatian people and also for connecting with other Southern Slavs.¹¹³ It would be wrong to say that none of the Illyrian political ideas were realized. The Illyrian movement gave an important impulse for all the later political developments in both the 19th and the 20th century.

Besides the indirect political accomplishments, the Illyrian movement also had several valuable direct accomplishments in the literary and cultural field. Without doubt, the Illyrian movement found its greatest success in literature. The leader Gaj, his followers and other Illyrian writers succeeded in promoting the old Dalmatian and Dubrovnik literary tradition and its Štokavski dialect. The Illyrians managed to unite the separated Croatian lands in a metaphorical sense with a single orthography and a single literary language. Thus the Illyrians established a stable base for the further development of modern Croatian literature. They furthermore managed to inspire some national pride in fellow Croats and later generations on the territories inhabited by Croats. They gave the people a vision of Croatia and a vision of the possibility of a broader union with other Slavs. It is this vision that has inspired and set in motion all the later political developments on the territory inhabited by Croats. In the period of the Illyrian movement, many people tried to make their contribution to Croatian literature. Although countless poems and literary works were written, only a few authors active in this period left work which is today considered a valuable heritage in Croatian Literature. Mažuranić, Preradović and Vraz are the three authors who appear in every anthology of Croatian literature and their poems are an obligatory part

¹¹¹ Perić, 1998: 191-196.

¹¹² Perić, 1998: 223-226.

¹¹³ Croatia made part of three different political formations which consisted of different South Slav states/republics: Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (1918-1929), Kingdom of Yugoslavia (1929-1941) and Yugoslavia (1941-1991).

of every Croat's basic schooling. That alone is a sufficient reason to analyze their Illyrian work in order to find out what kind of vision of Croatia and Illyria they had.

2. Croatian and Illyrian character in the works of Vraz, Preradović and Mažuranić

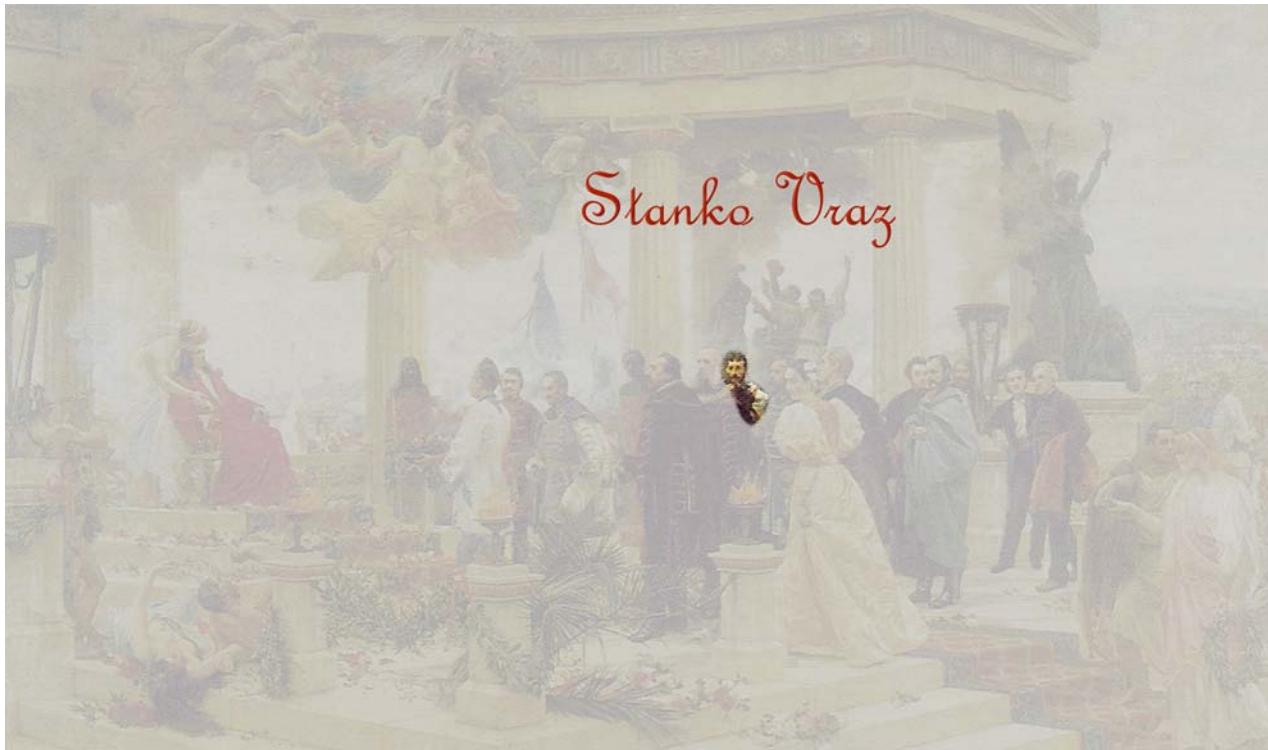
The first half of the 19th century was a period of Croatian National Revival. Nowadays this period is characterized as the time when Croatian national consciousness was awakened and formed. It is widely acknowledged that the literary authors and cultural workers were instrumental in the formation of Croatian national consciousness. Therefore, in order for one to find out what was defined as the true Croatian character or as the essence of Croatian identity, it is necessary to turn to the works written during the Illyrian movement. There is broad consensus that Stanko Vraz, Petar Preradović and Ivan Mažuranić constitute the three most significant authors of the period between 1835 and 1850. This chapter is therefore dedicated to these three authors and the auto-image of their home country and its people presented in their work. The goal of the chapter is to present and analyze the images and motifs that Vraz, Preradović and Mažuranić created and presented in order to stimulate the national awakening of their fellow compatriots. The following pages provide brief biographies of Preradović, Mažuranić and Vraz together with parts of their literary opus relevant to this paper.

2.1 Stanko Vraz – from Slovenia to the Illyrian movement

Stanko Vraz was born as Jakob Frass in Slovenia in 1810. He went on to study law and philosophy in Graz.¹¹⁴ During this period, two people were to have an immense influence on the young scholar: Kollár and Gaj. While discovering Kollár's work, Vraz became passionate about Kollár's ideas and his vision of Slavdom. It was also in Graz, in 1833, that Vraz met Gaj and became zealous about the Illyrian movement. Vraz abandoned law and returned to Slovenia upon finishing his studies of philosophy. In Slovenia, he soon produced his first literary efforts and sought to publish his writings. Initially, however, he encountered opposition from the leading Slovenian romantic writer of the time, Prešeren. This opposition stemmed from the dialect in which Vraz was writing and its being different from the one used by Prešeren and his followers. Stanko Vraz was

¹¹⁴ Martinčić, 1994: 4.

writing in East Slovenian dialect whereas Prešern was promoting the dialect of the Kranj region (Central Slovenia). After this rejection, Vraz decided to leave Slovenia and joined the Illyrian movement. This meant for him that he had to learn the Štokavski dialect, which he used exclusively after 1837.¹¹⁵ He joined the Illyrians with the conviction that Slovenians, Croats and Serbs could not hope to develop a strong literature separately.¹¹⁶



Vraz, a gifted linguist and critic, also mastered all other Slavic languages, together with German, English, Spanish and French.¹¹⁷ He was the first Croatian writer for whom literature was his sole profession. In his literary work, he also introduced new poetic forms to Croatian literature – amongst them Sonnet – and wrote romances and ballads.¹¹⁸ Furthermore, Vraz was one of the first systematic critics in Croatian literature who – contrary to common practice during the Illyrian period – did not praise every declaration of patriotism. Nevertheless, he wrote positively about those he considered to possess quality: amongst them Mažuranić and Preradović.

In 1842, Vraz founded the magazine *Kolo* which soon became the most earnest literary magazine of the Illyrian movement.¹¹⁹ Vraz set the foundation for his fame with his *Dulabije* (Đulabije is a word of Turkish derivation denoting a sort of delicious red apple)¹²⁰ which he started

¹¹⁵ Živančević M. and I. Frangeš, 1975: 90-92.

¹¹⁶ Franičević M. (ed.), *Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti: Stanko Vraz-Petar Preradović*, 1965: 8.

¹¹⁷ Martinčić, 1994: 8 and 9.

¹¹⁸ Barac, 1955: 113 and 114.

¹¹⁹ Živančević M. and I. Frangeš, 1975: 92 and 100.

¹²⁰ Barac, 1955: 113.

publishing in Gaj's *Danica* in 1837. In 1840, he published the first and second part of his four-part collection of *Dulabije* in book form.¹²¹ Unlike others, who produced patriotic poems depicting wars and struggles,¹²² Vraz wrote *Dulabije*, the only Illyrian collection of intimate lyric poetry.¹²³ The collection of short poems is dedicated to Vraz's 'muse', Ljubica Cantilly. By the choice of form and content of *Dulabije*, which are both strongly connected to other Slavic literary works, Vraz once again accentuated his dedication to the idea of Slav brotherhood. The *Dulabije* collection is written in a form of a Polish folk poem called *Krakowiak* and the verses are directly inspired by the content of Kollárs's *Slávy dcera* (Slav'a daughter).¹²⁴ In *Slávy dcera*, Kollár simultaneously celebrates his fraught love for a young woman and his transubstantiation of this desire into a national worship of the personification of the Slavic race: the goddess Sláva.¹²⁵ In *Dulabije*, Vraz writes about the woman he admires in the first two parts of the collection. The third and a fourth part were written after Ljubica got married to another man and later died. That is why in the third and the fourth part of *Dulabije*, Vraz interchanges the love for Ljubica with his love towards his homeland and his people together with a deep love for the whole of humanity.¹²⁶

Vraz had very clear views on the necessity of the separation of literature and politics. Although Gaj was the person who attracted Vraz to the Illyrian movement and who even influenced him to move to Zagreb, Stanko Vraz strongly opposed Gaj's actions whereby the leader of the Illyrian movement tried to use literature to accomplish political goals. However, after the events of 1848 Vraz also approached politics with his literature: he wrote several political epigrams in response to the events.¹²⁷ In these he expressed his resentments towards the political events and towards Gaj.¹²⁸

Vraz considered himself a follower of Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, who was collecting and editing folk literature. He considered Karadžić's poetry a prime example of the Southern Slav literary language and criticized the work of the Dubrovnik and the Dalmatian writers. In his letter sent from Graz to Mažuranić in 1836, Vraz explains how in spite of the respect he has for the Dalmatian writers with their taste and wisdom, he still thinks that there is too much Italian

¹²¹ Martinčić, 1994: 7.

¹²² Types of Illyrian poetry made to awaken national consciousness and a will to fight are called *budnice* (in Croatian 'buditi' means 'to wake up') and *davorije*.

¹²³ Živančević M. and I. Frangeš, 1975: 94 and 95.

¹²⁴ Prosperov Novak, 2004: 18.

¹²⁵ Leerssen, 2006: 155.

¹²⁶ Franičević M. (ed.), *Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti: Stanko Vraz-Petar Preradović*, 1965: 19.

¹²⁷ The revolution of 1848 resulted in changes to the Austrian Monarchy in general and to Croatia in particular. Josip Jelačić was selected as the new *Ban* and Croats were undecided whether or not to support Vienna's policy oriented towards the suppression of the Hungarian revolution. Some wanted to support Vienna, hoping that this would result in Austrian support for the unity of Croatian lands; others, like Vraz, were against this support for Austrian policies.

¹²⁸ Franičević M. (ed.), *Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti: Stanko Vraz-Petar Preradović*, 1965: 10 and 11.

influence in the language they used. In their work, Vraz misses the lively elements which are common to Serbian and other Illyrian folk poetry. Folk poetry transmits the spirit¹²⁹ of the people and adds livery elements to the literature.¹³⁰ Stanko Vraz's opinion was that the purpose of Illyrian literature as a whole was to create an artistic literature which would be based on folk poetry.¹³¹ He strongly believed that this literature should be simple, understandable, genuine – based on his peoples' tradition – and accessible to all people, not only for a minority of highly educated individuals. Stanko Vraz's own words summarize best his idea of the ideal to which Illyrian literature should aspire:

‘Svrha svakog književstva jest i mora da bude silaziti narodu, iskopati ga iz blata sirovosti i uždića na svijetli vrh izobraženosti, prosvijetiti ga.’

The purpose of every literature is – and it must be – to descend to the people, to dig the people out of the dirty roughness and to enlighten them, to elevate them to the shiny peak of education.¹³²

2.1.1 Vraz – his auto-image of country and fellow countrymen

When presenting Vraz's way of seeing and portraying his homeland and its people, *Dulabije* is an essential source of information. This collection of love poems starts with an explanation about the location of the events which are described in it.

‘Sred zemlje Slovinske	Somewhere in Slavic land
<i>Bio se grad vidjeva,</i>	White town you can see,
<i>U tom bijelom gradu</i>	In that white town
<i>Ponosite djeva.</i> ’ ¹³³	There is a proud lady.

The proud lady described is the beautiful Ljubica who lives in her white town. In the first 113 short poems which form the first part of the *Dulabije* collection, Vraz describes – in a style resembling the one Petrarca used to honor his Laura – how the beautiful lady Ljubica captured his heart. He

¹²⁹ In his original letter he writes 'živa krv' which in Croatian means *living blood*

¹³⁰ Živančević M. and I. Frangeš, 1975: 93.

¹³¹ Barac, 1955: 114.

¹³² Živančević M. and I. Frangeš, 1975: 100.

¹³³ Franičević M. (ed.), *Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti: Stanko Vraz-Petar Preradović*, 1965: 48.

loves and honors this angel-like, black-eyed woman and there is nothing left for him but to be a prisoner of his love.¹³⁴

In the second part of *Dulabije*, Vraz changes the focus from Ljubica to himself.¹³⁵

<i>'Onkraj Ilirije</i>	In Illyrian land,
<i>Grad stoji na stijeni,</i>	Town on rock is standing,
<i>U tom gradu tuži</i>	In that town a spellbound
<i>Junak zatravljeni'</i>	Hero is crying

He calls himself a son without a homeland (*sin domaći, lišen domovine*). Vraz is excited and joyful while celebrating the beautiful landscapes of his country, such as Triglav, Klek, Kalnik, Sava and Drava. These are only a few of the landmarks that Vraz mentions in the verses of *Dulabije*. Triglav and Klek are Slovenian mountains. Kalnik is a Croatian mountain. The Sava river runs from Slovenia to Serbia and bypasses Croatia and Bosnia. The Drava river rises in Italy but passes through both Slovenia and Croatia before it joins the Danube near Osijek in Croatia.

Vraz furthermore proudly celebrates his honorable countrymen who fight for their Slav homeland and calls them *hrabri vitezovi* (brave knights)¹³⁶. Yet he is saddened at the sight of many unfaithful Slavic sons and daughters who deny their homeland and their mother tongue.¹³⁷ The poet warns of the consequences to come upon the nations which are not in concord. To exemplify, he uses the motif of the Turks.¹³⁸

<i>'Turci, braćo, Turci</i>	My brothers, The Turks
<i>Sa srđbom se kletom</i>	with their damnable anger
<i>Digoše ko pako</i>	arose like the hell
<i>Nad nesložnim svijetom.'</i>	Above disunited men

From the evocation of his beloved woman, Vraz later moves to the evocation of his beloved land and fellow countrymen. In the verses he interchanges the love for Ljubica with his love for

¹³⁴ Franičević M. (ed.), *Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti: Stanko Vraz-Petar Preradović*, 1965: 48-64.

¹³⁵ Franičević M. (ed.), *Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti: Stanko Vraz-Petar Preradović*, 1965: 66 and 67.

¹³⁶ Franičević M. (ed.), *Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti: Stanko Vraz-Petar Preradović*, 1965: 77 and 78.

¹³⁷ Franičević M. (ed.), *Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti: Stanko Vraz-Petar Preradović*, 1965: 68-70.

¹³⁸ Franičević M. (ed.), *Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti: Stanko Vraz-Petar Preradović*, 1965: 179-180.

landscapes, people and his homeland.¹³⁹ In the third part of *Dulabije* he at first expresses his heartache when Ljubica marries another man, and shortly after his grief is compounded when Ljubica dies. Stanko is miserable because of the death of his love but also miserable because his nation is suffering injustices at the hands of its unfaithful people and foreigners alike.¹⁴⁰ Nevertheless, Vraz is not discouraged. He believes that better times will come for his Slavic people:

*'Ej ustatiće Marko
Kad dođe to doba,
I Matjaš sa svojim
Vojaci iz groba;*

*Sveti mač će u ruci
Ići od roda k rodu,
Noseć u krilu staru
Vjeru i slobodu.'*

Marko'll arise
when that time shall come,
Matjaš with his soldiers
from the grave as well.

Holy sword in hands,
will be passed from kin to kin
on the lap they'll carry
Old faith and freedom.

Vraz does not know when exactly these better times would come. Nevertheless, he advises his fellow countrymen to be prepared, because those who fight for Slavdom will not be left without glory. Vraz evokes the images of the legendary Slovenian king Matjaš and the heroic Serbian *kraljević Marko* (Prince Marko), who would both emerge to join the fight for Slavdom. *Kraljević Marko* was a heroic 14th century Serbian prince who was later regarded as savior and protector of the local people during the period of Turkish yoke.¹⁴¹

In the fourth and last part of *Dulabije*, Vraz moves beyond his love for the homeland and Slavic brotherhood; his focus shifts to humanity as a whole:

*'Svi narodi braća,
Svi su božja čeda,
Na njih jedno nebo
i jedan bog gleda.'*

All nations are brothers,
everyone is God's son,
Upon them one sky
and God one.

¹³⁹ Franičević M. (ed.), *Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti: Stanko Vraz-Petar Preradović*, 1965: 90-95.

¹⁴⁰ Franičević M. (ed.), *Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti: Stanko Vraz-Petar Preradović*, 1965: 96 and 197.

¹⁴¹ Franičević M. (ed.), *Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti: Stanko Vraz-Petar Preradović*, 1965: 100-105.

Like a prophet, Vraz warns all nations to treat each other with respect and love. Those who do not treat their brothers well will not have a good future. He predicts a bright future and freedom for humanity if everyone would see his fellow humans as brothers. Vraz calls everyone to join the circle of humanity:¹⁴²

*'Brat budi Vlah Nijemcu
A Nijemac Slovencu.'*

Be a brother Serb to German
And German to Slovene.

While reading *Dulabije*, one could easily come to the conclusion that Vraz feels no more connected to Croatia and the Croatian people than he does to Slovenia and Slovenians or indeed Illyria in general. However, *Dulabije* is not the only collection of poems in which Vraz wrote about his feeling for the homeland and its people. Vraz's epigrams and satirical poems are another rich source of information about his feeling of belonging. In some of them he presents us the auto-image of his country and his fellow countrymen. The three most representative poems are *Uj-Horvat* (Uj-Croat),¹⁴³ *Mana i Grijeh* (The vice and the sin) and *Hrvat pred otvorenim nebom* (Croat facing the open sky). In the first poem Vraz criticizes Croats who support the Hungarians. He describes them as people who care neither for their own language and country nor for the poor peasants who they are exploiting. The poem is divided in four stanzas, of which three¹⁴⁴ end with identical couplets. They possess harmonic rhythm and ease so that they immediately get stuck in one's mind.¹⁴⁵

'Taj, Hrvatska braćo, nij' naš brat,

That one, (my) Croatian brothers,
is not our brother,

Nij' brat, nij' brat, neg je Uj-Horvat.'

He is not brother, he is not brother,
he is Uj-Croat.

¹⁴² Franičević M. (ed.), *Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti: Stanko Vraz-Petar Preradović*, 1965: 105-108.

¹⁴³ Uj - when pronounced - resembles the Croatian word 'fuj'. This expression is commonly used when one wants to express how repulsive something is.

¹⁴⁴ The fourth one ends with almost identical couplet, but in this one the words 'hrvatska braćo' (Croatian brothers) are replaced with 'hrvatski braco' (Croatian brother). In this sense that line should be translated as: That one, that Croatian brother, is not our brother, he is not brother, he is not brother, he is Uj-Croat.

¹⁴⁵ Franičević M. (ed.), *Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti: Stanko Vraz-Petar Preradović*, 1965: 23 and 24.

In *Mana i grijeh* Vraz presents a clear picture of the Croatian self-image. The poem is constructed as a dialog between a Croat and his friend. By analyzing the words of the Croat we find out how Croats saw themselves at the time:¹⁴⁶

'Zar li mi Hrvati nijesmo dobri ljudi,

Mirna, krotka srca, bezazlene čudi?

Veselo sve trpeć ko glub il ovca!

Mučeć se za druge bez slave i novca!

Pa nas svijet opet bez pomilovanja

Ko zlotvore grdi, ko guje proganja.'

Aren't we Croats good people,

With our peaceful, submissive heart, harmless character?

Joyfully we bear it all like a sheep or a dove!

We agonize for others, without fame and money!

And still, merciless world scolds us

as malefactors, as snakes it prosecutes us.

It is a gloomy portrait that Vraz paints; Croats see themselves as goodhearted people who work hard without ever receiving any reward for the good that they do. According to Vraz, many enemies are taking advantage of Croatian good-heartedness. Although a peaceful character can be seen as something good, in the context of constant abuse this characteristic becomes a rather negative character trait. It shows weakness and an inability to stand up for ones rights. This presentation of meek, dove-like peacefulness of Croats is neither the invention of Vraz nor of the 19th century writers. As early as the era immediately following the Christianization of Slavs in the ninth-century, Byzantine emperors perceived Slavs as lambs. In the 17th century, Moravian Jan Amos Comenius again stressed the dove-like peacefulness of the Slavs. However, the one who had the most influence on the formation of the 19th century Slavic self-image was Johann Gottfried Herder. He characterized Slavs as one nation of peaceful toilers of the soil embodying the best ideals of mankind.¹⁴⁷

In his *Hrvat pred Otvorenim nebom*, Vraz repeats the message of these previous poems. He does so by telling a story in which God opens heaven in order to give each nation a special gift. The poem is divided in two parts. In the first, all nations are quick to decide and they demand special things. Amongst them are the Turk and Hungarian who demand the enslavement of other nations. Like all other nations, they receive the gift they demanded from God. When the Croat's turn comes, however, he is unable to offer a request. He asks God for an extension of a few hours

¹⁴⁶ Franičević M. (ed.), *Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti: Stanko Vraz-Petar Preradović*, 1965: 1965: 130.

¹⁴⁷ Naarden , 2007: 238-240.

in order to be able to talk to his brothers and decide something that every Croat will be able to agree upon. God grants him that wish. However, the Croats can not decide among themselves what to ask from God and eventually God closes his gate. Consequently, the Croats fall upon hard times. In the second part of the poem, Vraz is calling his fellow countrymen to wake up because God had reopened his gate. He is telling his brothers to hurry up, to decide what they want and to change their destiny.¹⁴⁸

Looking at the verses presented, it can be concluded that Vraz really believed in and identified with the Illyrian idea. Born in Slovenia, but choosing Zagreb and ‘Illyria’ as his new home, this passionate exponent of the Illyrian movement truly believed in the brotherhood of Slavs. The auto-image of Croatia and Croatians that he presents to us is occasionally and at points unclear. Can we even speak of a Croatian auto-image if Vraz feels himself to be Illyrian? The answer to this question is yes, because Croatia is part of Illyria thus when Vraz writes about Illyrians, he also speaks of Croats. However, it is precarious to call this author solely Croatian. This would mean to single out only a few aspects of his work. Labeling Vraz and categorizing his work would be convenient but at the same time would deny many aspects of his artistry. It can not be claimed that he regards Croatia as his only home. His home is a beautiful Illyrian land which includes Slovenian people and landscapes, alongside with Croatian landscapes and Croats, as praised in *Dulabije*. Vraz loves his Illyria and it pains him to see his country under foreign influence and under foreign powers. Vraz loves his Slavic brothers but feels disappointed to see how they betray their Slavic mother country. The auto-image of Croats that he presents to us is twofold. On the one hand, Croats are peaceful and honorable people, tortured and discriminated against. On the other hand, they are indecisive and though they suffer under foreign rule, continue to betray their homeland. Their hesitancy and inability to unite, results in an enslaved and sad country.

2.2 Petar Preradović – General and Poet

Together with Ivan Mažuranić and Stanko Vraz, Petar Preradović is considered to be the most prominent and popular poet of the Illyrian movement. He was born in 1818 in the *Vojna Krajina* region¹⁴⁹ into a Serbian orthodox family.¹⁵⁰ After finishing his elementary school education in

¹⁴⁸ Franičević M. (ed.), *Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti: Stanko Vraz-Petar Preradović*, 1965: 1965: 138-143.

¹⁴⁹ Brešić, 1999: 117.

Durđevac a town in the territory of *Vojna Krajina*, he began an army career at the Theresian Military Academy of Wiener-Neustadt, considered to be the oldest Military Academy in the world.

¹⁵¹ There he spent eight years, which resulted in nearly the entire loss of his mother tongue. Consequently, his first verses were written in German. After a fire in 1834 had destroyed almost all of Neustadt, Preradović's professor requested that all students would describe this event. This request resulted in Preradović's first poem: *Der Brand von Neustadt*. Preradović alone admitted that his Slavic and national consciousness were awoken only after his teacher at the academy Tomaš Burian – a famous Czech translator – started teaching him and other Slavic pupils about Slavic unity. He relearned his mother tongue after visiting his mother and sister but similar to Vraz, he never felt completely fluent in the Štokavski dialect.¹⁵² Preradović joined the Illyrian movement in the early forties, during a time when it was already reaching its zenith.



As a soldier he was constantly moved with his unit around the territories of today's Austria, Hungary, Italy and Croatia. It was only when he was stationed in Zadar (Dalmatia), that he became an ardent promoter of the Illyrian idea in Dalmatia. It was in Zadar in 1844 that he published his first poem written in his mother tongue: *Zora puca* (The dawn is breaking). He wrote the song for the first issue of a Dalmatian magazine *Zora Dalmatinska* (Dalmatian Dawn) of which he was also editor and one of the most important contributors. In 1846, Preradović published his first book of

¹⁵⁰ Lord, 1963: 262.

¹⁵¹ Brešić, 1999: 117.

¹⁵² Franičević M. (ed.), *Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti: Stanko Vraz-Petar Preradović*, 1965: 1965: 353.

poems *Prvenci* (First poems) in Zadar, a collection which established him as a superb writer.¹⁵³ Due to his military profession, Preradović could not choose where to live, so although he wanted to be in Croatia he was only briefly able to stay with the Austrian army in Zadar and Zagreb. Subsequently he was transferred to Hungary and later back to Austria. He married twice, for the first time to the Italian Pavica del Ponte whom he had met in Zadar. She died quite young and Preradović later remarried, this time to a German, Emma Regner.

Apart from serving in the military – which he always disliked but was never able to escape from due to financial pressures – he wrote many poems and did some translation work. He translated Dante, Byron and Manzoni into Croatian and also other works from Czech to German. The only two collections of poems published in his lifetime were *Prvenci* from 1846 and *Nove Pjesme* (New poems) published in 1851 in Zagreb. The majority of his opus is comprised of lyric poems but he also wrote several epic poems. Amongst those is his major work, *Kraljević Marko* (The prince Marko), a play written between 1848 and 1850. Preradović failed to give final form to the almost complete drama *Kraljević Marko* which was published in 1873, after his death.¹⁵⁴

As mentioned above, there are many poems that this prolific author wrote after 1851 and before his premature death in 1872 in Austria, but those were published in a period which can by no means be considered part of the Illyrian movement, thus these works had no influence on the formation of the Croatian auto-image during the Illyrian period. In order to see what kind of vision of Croatia Preradović portrays during the time of the Illyrian movement, we will take a closer look at his works written up until 1851.

2.2.1 Preradović – His vision of country and fellow countrymen

Preradović wrote many patriotic poems so the best way to understand his vision and the ideas he had of his country is to enter the world of his verse. He himself had already systematized his poems and divided them into several categories, in the process placing patriotic poems in the category of *pjesme rodoljupke* (patriotic poems).¹⁵⁵ In order to understand his motives, it is important to bear in mind how his life was determined by his military career. His verses are only

¹⁵³ Živančević M. and I. Frangeš, 1975: 125 and 126.

¹⁵⁴ Franičević M. (ed.), *Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti: Stanko Vraz-Petar Preradović*, 1965: 180-194 and 211.

¹⁵⁵ In Croatian, *rodoljuban* means the ones who loves (celebrates) his own kind, species, kin but this word is translated as *patriotic* in English. The root of the English word is *patria* (country) and the base of the Slavic word is *kin* (people). Because the base of the Slavic word is people and not a particular land, it is impossible to absolutely determine which land these authors were referring to.

accessible if one understands how Preradović spent the vast majority of his life outside his home country. In his letter to Vraz from 1845, he describes how everything that he writes about his country, he finds by reaching to his dreams where he stored all the experiences he had before leaving his land. He explains to Vraz how he feels that he will always wander somewhere between the foreign night and the native day.

The poem *Putnik* (Traveler) from 1844 – which has been a part of the Croatian school curriculum for many years – is a description of his entire life experience.¹⁵⁶

*'Bože mili, kud sam zašo!
Noć me stigla u tudjini,
Neznam puta, neznam staze,
Svud go kamen noge gaze,
Sve se strašna pustoš čini.

Tudjincu siromahu
Još je veći mrak u mraku,
Još je tvrdja zemlja tvrda!'*

Dear god, where am I!
Night has caught me in a foreign country,
I don't know the way, I don't know the path,
beneath my feet only stones,
Everything seems like a horrible desert.

To a poor foreigner
Darkness seems even darker
Hard ground even harder!

In this poem the lonely traveler calls out to god and his motherland. He exclaims that he is in the middle of a foreign country and can not find a place to rest. He remembers his mother's words warning him of foreign countries and the impossibility of finding love or protection there. Foreign countries have their own sons and daughters; there will not be space for a foreigner. The traveler encounters a cottage and the foreign mother that he finds there denies him a place to rest and to warm up. She asks him why is he not in his own land. Hearing these words the traveler hurries towards his land. He weeps with joy and addresses his homeland:¹⁵⁷

*'Primi opet svoje dijete,
Do vieka će tvoje biti,
Ljubit tebe svako doba,
U tvom polju daj mu groba,
Tvojim cvijećem grob mu kiti!'*

Receive again your child,
Forever yours it will be,
It will love you in all times,
On your fields give him a grave,
And decorate it with your flowers!

¹⁵⁶ Živančević M. and I. Frangeš, 1975: 132 and 134.

¹⁵⁷ Rački (ed.), 1873: 83-86.

Preradović often evokes the image of his homeland, calling her mother and emphasizing his loyalty. In *Pozdrav domovini* (A Greeting to homeland) from 1849 he writes:¹⁵⁸

<i>'Zdravo da si, domovino mila, Moja majko zdravo, zdravo, zdravo bila! Pozdravlja te vjeran sinak tvoj.'</i>	<p>Hello, my precious homeland, My mother hail, hail, hail to you! Your faithful son is greeting you.</p>
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His verses often recognize the beauty of his homeland. In *Pozdrav domovini* he continues:¹⁵⁹

<i>'Svi su liepi u svom krasnom resu, Svi su lijepi, ali svi skupa niesu, Što si, majko, meni samo ti.'</i>	<p>Everyone is beautiful in their own way, They are beautiful – but even together They do not mean that what you, my mother, mean to me.</p>
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Analogous to Vraz, who denounces Croats who are not proud of their land, Preradović adopts a similar tone when addressing unpatriotic Dalmatians in his poem *Dalmatin* (Dalmatian) from 1845. Those who do not show love towards their mother tongue and prefer using foreign languages Preradović considers blind and not as true Dalmatians. He writes that a genuine Dalmatian is proud of his heroic ancestors and does not dream of foreign lands. The real Dalmatian stays faithful to his land, does not abandon his home country and speaks his own language:¹⁶⁰

<i>'Ali pavi Dalmatin Ljubi jezik materin!'</i>	<p>A real Dalmatian Loves his mother's language!</p>
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He concludes this poem by calling Dalmatians to join their Slavic brothers:

<i>'Nieste slavni samo vi- Slavjani smo, braćo, svi!'</i>	<p>Not only you are great – All of us, my brothers, are Slavs!</p>
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¹⁵⁸ Rački (ed.), 1873: 128 and 129.

¹⁵⁹ Tadijanović, 1968: 83.

¹⁶⁰ Rački (ed.), 1873: 100-102.

Preradović was furthermore strongly influenced by Kollár's ideas of Slav unity; hence in many poems he adjures his fellow countrymen to embrace the Slavic unity and to denounce foreign influences. He celebrates Slavic unity in the poem *Poljakom* (To the Polish) from 1850:¹⁶¹

<i>'Više ruka može Više, kad se slože, Više braće skupa Dalje naprijed stupa.'</i>	More hands can do more when they come together, More brothers when together Also march much further.
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And he greets Russians in the poem *Rusinom* (To the Russians) from the same year:¹⁶²

<i>'Za budućnost bolju Svaki pravi Slavjan, Znam, da se veseli, I rad sebe vama Dobar uspjeh želi.'</i>	About the better future Every real Slav is I know, happy, and for his own good, He wishes you, good luck!
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All these motifs – Slav unity, loyalty to the homeland, fighting for its honor, denouncing the unfaithful sons and daughters who do not show appreciation for their own language and land – together with denunciation of people who prefer foreign modern countries, their values and customs – are to be found in the drama *Kraljević Marko*. The events presented in the drama take place somewhere in the Slavic South, in Bosnia. The protagonist is Stevan Radoslavić, a young man who was found as an orphan infant by Slavic fairies who later brought him to a Bosnian village. Stevan grows up in this Bosnian village but when he becomes a mature young man, the fairies again take him to teach him about the beauty and power of the Slavic spirit and land. They encourage him to go to Bosnian lands and to teach other Bosnians with whom he grew up about the importance of Slavic unity. The fairies go on to explain Stevan that only united will the Slavic people be able to wake the long dead prince Marko to lead them in the fight for their freedom and Slavdom.¹⁶³

¹⁶¹ Rački (ed.), 1873: 133.

¹⁶² Rački (ed.), 1873: 134.

¹⁶³ Rački (ed.), 1873: 588.

*'Da ćeš ustati još jednom u žiće
I svom rodu vratiti slobodu,
Kad u rodu narodnost oživi
I nebude više izdajica.'*

Your body will get up once again
And to your kin you will bring freedom,
Then when national consciousness awakens
And when traitors are no longer there.

When he returns from the mountain fairies Stevan goes to his fiancé Anka, relates to her the message that he was given and the knowledge that he gained from the fairies. Stevan describes how he has been shown the beauty of Slavic lands:¹⁶⁴

*'A treću me godinicu,
Svud vodiše po našem rodu,
Koji jednim imenom se zove:
Rod slovinski iliti junački.'*

During the third year,
They (fairies) have shown me our kin,
the name of which is:
The kin of Slavs or the heroic kin.

Stevan further explains what the fairies have shown him about the Slavic people. Through his words we see what Preradović thought about the state of affairs in Slavic lands:¹⁶⁵

*'Dost ljepote ima i dobrote,
Al još više nevolje i tuge!
U snu gluhom, kao mrtvo telo,
Jos počiva-nezna ništa za se,
I nemari za narodnost svoju.'*

There is a lot of beauty and goodness,
But even more of despair and sadness!
In a deep dream, as a dead body,
it's still sleeping, without any knowledge,
And it does not care for its own nationality.

Stevan also explains to other villagers what the fairies had taught him:¹⁶⁶

'Rod svoj ljubiti i žrtvovati mu žiće moje do zadnje kapi krvi.'
You have to love your Slavic race and sacrifice for it all what you have, unto the last drop of your blood.

¹⁶⁴ Rački (ed.), 1873: 504.

¹⁶⁵ Rački (ed.), 1873: 504.

¹⁶⁶ Rački (ed.), 1873: 514.

Through the words of Stevan, Preradović again criticizes those who do not fight for their Slavic motherland and betray it:¹⁶⁷

*'Srebro i zlato zaobiesti ljude,
Čovjek plane nepoznatim strastmi.
Nema mira pod domaćim krovom
Preko mora brodi u tudjinu,
Zaboravi rod i domovinu [...]'*

Gold and silver makes people vain,
Man starts to burn with unknown passions,
He finds no peace under his roof,
He sails towards the foreign lands and
Forgets his own kin and homeland [...]

Stevan, the hero of this play, has a clear mission. He and his loyal friends are to spread out to Slavonia, Croatia, Bulgaria, Serbia and Bosnia where their country men, although facing different enemies – Turks, Austrians, Hungarians – are in need of same new strength. That strength would come in the form of happy news of new power and a bright future which awaits all Slavic brothers. Through the characters in this play, Preradović also reveals his auto-image of the Slavic people. Several passages accentuate how Slav women are different from foreign ones:¹⁶⁸

*'Mi smo žene, ali smo Slovinke,
To će reći: jaoh si ga onom,
Koji dirne u naše poštenje!

Kod nas srdca za čast i poštenje.'*

We are women, but we are Slavs,
That means: unfortunate creature
Who tries to dishonor us!

Here there is still respect for honor and
honesty.

The main message presented through *Kraljević Marko* is that the Slavic race is beautiful but has been asleep for too long. Those who are not loyal should beware:¹⁶⁹

*'U božjoj velikoj milosti
Smilovanja svaki grešnik ima,
Izdajici jedinom medj svima
Bog pravedni nikad ne oprosti!'*

In god's great mercy,
there is a pity for all sinners,
only the traitor
Will never get his forgiveness!

¹⁶⁷ Rački (ed.), 1873: 539.

¹⁶⁸ Rački (ed.), 1873: 571-573.

¹⁶⁹ Rački (ed.), 1873: 578.

The most significant advice that Preradović gives through Stevan's words is:¹⁷⁰

<i>'Stavite se jedan do drugoga,</i>	Go and join each other
<i>Sjednjenjem govorite glasom</i>	Speak in one united voice
<i>Tada će se čuti vaše ime</i>	Only then others will hear your name
<i>I svijet će vas nazivati njime.</i>	And they will call you by it.
<i>Oj budite složni medju sobom,</i>	Oh, be congruent together,
<i>Popustite svak od svoje strane,</i>	Each of you has to give in,
<i>Primite se svestranog jedinstva!</i>	Join the unity!
<i>Ljubite se, braće jednokrvna!'</i>	Love one another, brothers of same blood!

Preradović – like Vraz – does not only exclusively call Croatia his homeland. His homeland is Illyria and he regards Illyrians as his fellow countrymen. He feels strongly connected to all Slavs and defines the identity of his own people by comparing them to different Non-Slav ‘Others’: mainly developed ‘Western’ countries. Although Preradović also writes about Turks, as in the work of Vraz they are perceived merely as a physical threat. The psychological threat to national consciousness and the national identity of Illyrians addressed in Preradović’s work, does not come from Turks but from more developed countries. Hungarians and Austrians are the ones who Preradović perceives as the real threat and the real ‘other’ as their values are threatening the purity of the Illyrian and South Slav character. Similarly to Vraz, Preradović believes strongly in Slav unity and brotherhood. Both authors were significantly influenced by Kollár’s ideas. Preradović exclaims in his writings that he cannot find anything more beautiful than his motherland. But his relation to her people is twofold: on one hand he loves the countrymen who he regards as virtuous and honorable people who still cherish the values – honesty and integrity – which the developed world is leaving behind. On the other hand, Preradović condemns his countrymen: they betray their country and are not united in defense of the unity of their Slavic kin. They embrace foreign values and cultures and deny the treasures of their motherland. This means that Preradović, just as Vraz, portrays a two-sided image of his people.

¹⁷⁰ Rački (ed.), 1873: 541.

2.3 Ivan Mažuranić – Poet, politician and Ban

Ivan Mažuranić was born in 1814 into a peasant family in the town of Novi, near Rijeka. Unlike Vraz and Preradović, he completed both *gymnasium* and later university – where he studied law – on the territory of today's Croatia.¹⁷¹ After finishing gymnasium in Rijeka, he moved to Zagreb in order to study at the local university. The only significant period Mažuranić spent outside Croatia was one year of studying philosophy in Szombathely, Hungary. In Zagreb he became acquainted with Gaj and developed great enthusiasm for the ideas of the Illyrian movement.¹⁷²



Through the movement he not only discovered how ancient and rich the Slav culture was, but also learned to appreciate folk poems and folk customs.¹⁷³ After finishing his studies, Mažuranić became an excellent jurist and mathematician. He was actively engaged in literature and writing only during his younger years. In 1848, after the collapse of the feudal system, he became a national deputy in the Croatian *Sabor* where he immediately distinguished himself as an active politician. Following that in 1873, Mažuranić became Ban of Croatia. He was the first commoner in history to receive this high office. In his political views he represented the young, progressive

¹⁷¹ Barac, 1955: 110.

¹⁷² Franičević (ed.), *Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti: Ivan Mažuranić -Matija Mažuranić*, 1965: 10.

¹⁷³ Barac, 1944: 14 and 15.

Croatian bourgeoisie. This political wing wanted to organize the country along Western-European lines. While he held the ban position, Mažuranić reorganized the school system and the administrative apparatus.¹⁷⁴ He held the position of ban for seven years, until the year 1880. After leaving this function, he withdrew from politics altogether. He spent the last years of his life enjoying reading, astronomy and mathematics and eventually died in 1890.¹⁷⁵

Although his intensive engagement with literature lasted only to 1848¹⁷⁶, it can be argued that he produced the work of the highest quality amongst the Illyrian writers. After Gaj founded his *Danica*, Mažuranić became one of *Danica*'s most esteemed associates. In *Danica* he published a number of lyric poems, aphorisms, articles, commentaries and translations between 1835 and 1848. His most important work, *Smrt Smail-age Čengića* (The death of Smail Aga Čengić), was published in 1846 and is still considered to be one of the most remarkable products of Croatian literature.¹⁷⁷ In order to understand the self-image of the country and people that Ivan Mažuranić presents, we will have to take a closer look at some of his verses.

2.3.1 Mažuranić – Croatia, South Slavs and Illyrians

Following his introduction to Gaj and after observing developments that led to the publication of Gaj's newspaper Mažuranić started collaborating with *Danica*, contributing from the second edition on. In 1836, Mažuranić wrote the poem *Danici Ilirskoj* (To Illyrian Danica) in which he celebrates Danica, the brilliant star, and asks her to shine upon his beloved Illyrian home.¹⁷⁸ In 1836, Mažuranić wrote the following in Gaj's *Danica*:¹⁷⁹

‘Opstojnost i ime kojega puka ne zavisi od zemlje ili sile, ni od sreće, nego od neizbrišljivosti negova narodna značaja (karaktera).’

The survival and the name of a nation depend neither on land nor on force. Neither does it depend on luck. It depends on the indelibility of the national character.

¹⁷⁴ Barac, 1955: 110, 111.

¹⁷⁵ Franičević (ed.), *Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti: Ivan Mažuranić -Matija Mažuranić*, 1965: 11 and 12.

¹⁷⁶ His only connection with literature after 1848 was a position that he held; he was for several years the president of *Matica Ilirska*, Barac, 1945: 57.

¹⁷⁷ Barac, 1955: 110.

¹⁷⁸ Franičević (ed.), *Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti: Ivan Mažuranić -Matija Mažuranić*, 1965: 80.

¹⁷⁹ Franičević (ed.), *Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti: Ivan Mažuranić -Matija Mažuranić*, 1965: 115.

This means that Mažuranić also believed in the importance of national character and in its significance for the development of a nation. Therefore it is necessary to further explain what he thought was the character of his people. The poem that reveals some of his thoughts – *Vjekovi Ilirije* (The centuries of Illyria) – dates from 1838. Here, Mažuranić gives a brief presentation of the history of Illyrian lands. He starts with describing ancient times of freedom, when everything was green, peaceful and when young Illyrians were enjoying their land and their love:¹⁸⁰

<i>'Jošte ne bje bratska nesloga, [...] Do ilirskih srdaca doprla; Mir i sloga svuda carevaše, Nit o mojem i tvojem što znaše.'</i>	Disunity among brothers, did not reach Illyrian hearts yet; Unity and peace were reigning, Words like <i>yours</i> and <i>mine</i> did not exist.
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However, these times could not last forever. Mažuranić describes how this peaceful period ended by the invasions of violent intruders. Not only did the Romans come, but from the north Tatars and Huns arrived, Turks were threatening from the east and Franks from the west. War broke out, Illyrians were enslaved and the blood of its beloved sons flooded the entire Illyrian homeland. However, some brave Illyrians did not give up:¹⁸¹

<i>'Boj se bije na ilirskom polju, Boj krvavi, i grozno se kolju S ljutim zmajem naši vitezovi.'</i>	There is a battle on Illyrian field. It's a bloody battle, A slaughter between our knights and the horrible dragon.
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Mažuranić also mentions Kraljević Marko and Ban Zrinski in this poem as examples of brave heroes who fought against the Turkish evil. He finishes the poem in a positive tone. He explains how the bloody conflicts fought by the Illyrians were stimulated by old internal grudges and strife. However, in Mažuranić's poem, disunity is replaced by unity which promises a brighter future for the Illyrian people.

Ivan Mažuranić, much like the other two authors, truly believed in the Illyrian cause. He deemed that Croats, Slavonians and Serbs have the same origin, thought that they shared one

¹⁸⁰ Franičević (ed.), *Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti: Ivan Mažuranić -Matija Mažuranić*, 1965.; 89-94.

¹⁸¹ Franičević (ed.), *Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti: Ivan Mažuranić -Matija Mažuranić*, 1965: 92-94.

language and considered them as one nation.¹⁸² He expressed these thoughts in his article *Hervati Magjarom* (Croats to Hungarians) from 1848. This article was written as a reaction to general Hungarian attempts to rule over Slavs.

The most important topic of Mažuranić's works was connected with an event that occurred in the year 1840. In that year, a group of Montenegrins killed the Turkish feudatory *Smail-aga Čengić* on *Mljetičko polje* (Mljetnik field). Smail-aga died in a battle against the local population which was led by *Novica Cerović*, *Đoko Malović* and *Šujo Karadžić*. The attack on Smail-aga was organized in revenge for the defeat at *Grahovo* in 1836, when Smail-aga defeated Montenegrins and killed eight members of the powerful family *Petrović*.¹⁸³ Both Serbian and Croatian papers covered the incident extensively. Fueled by his Illyrian and Slavic enthusiasm, Mažuranić referred to it in *Smrt Smail-age Čengića*. The work expresses both the social and the national aspects of the Illyrian movement: the struggle of the oppressed against the privileged and the feeling of unity among the South Slavs. Mažuranić, a Croat, demonstrated these Illyrian virtues by taking an episode from Montenegrin history as the theme for his greatest work. Not only did he want to express his admiration for the Montenegrin fighters, but also wanted to transmit his aspirations for national freedom and show his hatred for the country's oppressors. It was not Mažuranić's goal to present the incident in detail but to use the case of *Smail Aga* as an illustration to describe the sufferings of his people under foreign rule during past centuries. Mažuranić presented the heroic behavior of his people who were suffering together while keeping their faith in victory over their tyrants. *Smrt Smail-age Čengića* is divided into five scenes: *Agovanje*, *Noćnik*, *Četa*, *Harač* and *Kob*. Therein Mažuranić described the plunder, killing and rape committed by Smail-aga and his people against the captive Montenegrins, the assembling of the oppressed Montenegrin people, their preparation for revenge, their attack on the tyrant, and his death. The last scene describes the despot's posthumous fate: after his death, Smail-aga was ridiculed and regarded as a cowardly figure. The power of this work is rooted in its conciseness and in the substance of its phrasing. Using as few words as possible, Mažuranić presented a concise history of the Illyrians during centuries of struggle against the Turks. He presented their suffering, pride, poverty and their willingness to die heroically for the freedom of their land.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸² Franičević (ed.), *Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti: Ivan Mažuranić -Matija Mažuranić*, 1965: 120.

¹⁸³ Gazzari, 2006: 36.

¹⁸⁴ Barac, 1955: 111-112.

'Kroz poljanu mrka krvca teknu:

Niti pisnu, niti zubi škrinu.

Poljana se napuni tjelesa.'

Dark blood is floating through the valley:

They are very silent, you can not even hear
their teeth moving.

Dark valley is full of dead bodies.

The central meaning in this work is not to be found in its description of one of countless clashes with the Turks – rather it is in its presentation of the character and behavior of the Illyrians in their century-long struggle against various oppressors. Keeping in mind the situation in the region in 1845, it becomes clear how this work raised support for the Illyrian struggle against Turkish, Hungarian and Austrian despots.

The image Mažuranić portrays in his work is similar to the images presented in the work of Vraz and Preradović. He too feels strongly connected to the South Slavs and is promoting their unity. Once more, it is difficult to address the auto-image of Croats as distinct from other images as they are presented together with other South Slavs. Mažuranić also expresses a contradictory image of Illyrians. On one hand, they are honorable and kind people with strong values that differentiate them from the values of the ‘other’. They are neither aggressive nor warlike nor given to conquest or plunder. On the other hand, through their own disunity and internal strife they undermine their own strength and bring foreign domination upon themselves.

2.4 Evaluation of the work of Vraz, Preradović and Mažuranić

Although the three authors discussed have different backgrounds¹⁸⁵, all three of them became passionate exponents of the Illyrian movement and its cultural aspirations. All three authors accepted the Štokavski dialect. Throughout their literary opus, they encourage the unity of Illyrians and promote the characteristics of Slav people. It is interesting to observe that despite being the only ethnic Croat of the three, it is Mažuranić who focuses predominantly on the Turkish ‘other’ in his writing. However, it remains a fact that authors active in Croatia during the Illyrian period wrote about both Eastern and Western ‘others’. It is clear, furthermore, that these two ‘others’ constitute two distinct threats and consequently must be addressed separately. When introducing the Turkish ‘other’, all authors use it only to distinguish themselves from the values and customs

¹⁸⁵ A Slovenian who moved to Croatia and began to consider it his second homeland, a Serbian who was born in Croatia and a Croat from Croatia.

of the Ottoman Empire. However, the threat presented by the Turks, is merely a pure physical one – that is to say the threat of invasion and subjugation. The threat from the east is not a threat to the Illyrian psyche as the alien values of the Turks are not absorbed by Illyrians, but rather contact with the Turks serves only to reinforce a distinct national character. The relationship with the Western (here essentially understood as ‘more developed’ and thus also including Hungary) is somewhat more complicated. The Western ‘other’ is less brutal and wild but also more dangerous. The reasons for demarking the Western ‘other’ as the greater threat are twofold. First, the Ottoman Empire by the 19th century was already in decline and did not form as great a threat as it had in previous centuries. Conversely, the Western ‘other’ was getting more powerful and its values exerted greater influence on the Croats and Illyrians than Ottoman values ever had. The authors feared that through contact with the Western ‘other’ the national character of Croats and Illyrians could change and become less authentic.

Just as there are contradictions between the two different ‘others’, there are also two contradictions in the auto-image of the people that Vraz, Preradović and Mažuranić present. The first contradiction is formed by the existence of two auto-images. It is impossible to present an exclusively Croatian auto-image formed by the three authors, as none of them make a clear distinction between Croats and other South Slavs. They all promote South Slav brotherhood and they consider Croats as a part of the larger Illyrian nation. The second contradiction arises from the description of the self-image of Croats and Illyrians in the works of the three authors. Reading Vraz, Preradović and Mažuranić, one could conclude that the Illyrians – and therefore also Croats – are a very contradictory people. However, this is not uncommon when different nations are characterized in literary works. The final result of a historical process in which old stereotypes give way to their inverted new counterparts is one of strongly ambivalent imagery. The available discourse concerning any nation's character usually tends to be highly contradictory.¹⁸⁶ According to this premise, the French could be presented as Cartesian rationalists, or could be characterized as passionate emotionalists. Swedes can be either melancholically suicidal or rational and sexually liberated. On one hand, the Spanish can be cruel and aggressive but on the other hand they can be Carmen-style passionate people.¹⁸⁷ This brings us to an underlying pattern: Most national images can – with all their contradictory manifestations – be reduced to an "imageme", a blueprint that underlies specific actualizations of images that we find in literature. Imagemes are characterized

¹⁸⁶ Leerssen, 2000: 13.

¹⁸⁷ Leerssen, 2000: 12 and 13.

by their ambivalent polarity and they take the form of the ultimate cliché which is current for all nations. That cliché is the following: nation X is a nation of contrasts.¹⁸⁸

When applying this to the Illyrian-Croatian case, it means that the contradictory images that we have encountered in the work of Vraz, Preradović and Mažuranić are not a special phenomenon. Croats, as a part of the Illyrian tribe, are also a nation of contrasts. The contradiction is that on one hand, they are presented as honorable and goodhearted people but on the other hand, there are images that show us a crowd of people who are unable to speak with a unified voice, a crowd who is indecisive and unable to act together. It seems that authors active in the Illyrian period want to make this ignorant but goodhearted mass a united nation. The authors are the ones who are planning this: the impulse is coming from above, not from below.

Vraz, Preradović and Mažuranić present contradictory manifestations of the Croatian-Illyrian character and while analyzing them one can attempt to uncover an imageme that lies at the root of all the other different images. After the analyses of the literary work of Vraz, Preradović and Mažuranić, it can be concluded that all three of them employ an imageme of Croats which could be called the imageme of a ‘hesitant idealist’. This broad imageme has the potential to provide enough material to support an explanation for the manifestation of the Croatian spirit in a range of characters. The Illyrian or Croat can be portrayed as kind and honest: he wants the best for everyone because his intentions are pure. He can be an honorable person who can fight for his compatriots and his motherland, defying all odds. To him it does not matter if fellow citizens are traitors, he still follows his noble idealistic goals. On other occasions, the hesitant aspect of his character can take over: his indecisiveness can be so acute that he becomes phlegmatic, not supporting his country and compatriots. The manifold options to achieve something for his country make him unsure which path to choose and result in the continuation of the status quo. Croats and Illyrians can be standing still and waiting for the moment when it will be clear to them which path is the best to be taken. They can sometimes be hesitant even to the point of betraying their own values and taking on the values of the ‘other’.

By presenting this imageme, the explanation is provided for the use of opposite characteristics by the three chosen authors. The characteristics ascribed to Croats and Illyrians have been elucidated and we saw the images used by the writers who are considered to be the most important authors of the Croatian national awakening. However, it should be noted that characteristics which would separate the Croatian identity from other South Slav ones are not immediately apparent. Vraz, Preradović and Mažuranić lived in the time when the existence of the

¹⁸⁸ Leerssen, 2000: 13.

Illyrian nation was a reality, so they can not be blamed for leaving us without more extensive explanations of their separate Croatian identity. Nonetheless, the works of the three authors have been used during both the Pre-Yugoslavian and the Pre-Croatian era in order to gain support from the people on the territory of today's Croatia: first for a Yugoslavian and later for a Croatian state. In examining how these same authors were enlisted to accomplish opposite goals, the following chapter will focus on the presentation and analysis of the three authors' literary work during the Yugoslav and Croatian period.

3. The Illyrian movement in Croatian literature

This chapter will leave the time of the Illyrian movement and focus on what has occurred in relation to the movement in more recent history. The focus of the analyses shifts from the work written by Vraz, Preradović and Mažuranić to the works written about these three authors. The emphasis here is on the books written after the movement wherein different authors comment upon and evaluate the accomplishments of the Illyrians. This chapter will be divided in two parts. The first one will focus on the representation of the Illyrian Movement, Vraz, Preradović, and Mažuranić in the books and schoolbooks written in the period when Croatia was a part of Yugoslavia.¹⁸⁹ The second part of the chapter will portray the image of Vraz, Preradović, Mažuranić and the Illyrian movement as it was portrayed in the books and schoolbooks published after Croatia's independence in 1991. The goal of this chapter is to present the variety of interpretations arising from the same source. It will be demonstrated that the same authors were used in different times and contexts in order to give Croatian people a sense of belonging to two different homelands: Yugoslavia and Croatia.

3.1 The Illyrian movement in books published before 1991 – periodization and definition

Although numerous authors in Yugoslavia have written articles and books about the Illyrian movement and its exponents, there has never existed a consensus about the timeframe, definition and importance of the movement. Each of the authors puts his or her emphasis on different aspects in order to support his or her own claims. Regardless of the differences, it can still be said that before 1991 there was a consensus of taking the year 1836 as the beginning of the Illyrian movement. The definition of the final year of the movement has always been more contentious. There are several authors who take the year 1843, when the Illyrian name was prohibited, as the final year of the movement.¹⁹⁰ Šicel¹⁹¹ is one of the authors who insist on taking the year 1843 as

¹⁸⁹ Referring only to the time period of the existence of Tito's Yugoslavia: 1945-1991.

¹⁹⁰ Šicel, 1982: 56.

¹⁹¹ It is important to note how Šicel published books about Croatian literature both before 1991 (1971, 1982) but also after 1991 he appears as the author and co-author of Croatian school books for Croatian language and literature.

the final year of the political and social activities of the Illyrians. He emphasizes how after that year, all the movement's activities withdrew from the broad Slavic outlook to the narrower Croatian outlook.¹⁹² However, the majority of the authors who had published books on this topic before 1991 placed the end of the movement later. Suggested dates include 1848, 1850, 1866 and even 1873.¹⁹³ It cannot be denied that the definition of the end year is of major importance: the perspective on the ideas and accomplishments of the movement changes significantly depending on the literary works and historical events which are included.

Disregarding the lack of a general consensus on the end of the movement it can still be said that before 1991 the majority of published books agreed on one thing: the Illyrian movement was both a cultural and political initiative striving for the unity of the South Slavs. The movement's desire to unify South Slavs both culturally and politically was praised as the impetus which provided the basis for later Yugoslav unity.¹⁹⁴ In his literary analyses, Antun Barac, a prolific literary critic of Croatian literature of the 19th and 20th century, explains how the Illyrian movement had inspired the Croatian people with faith in the magnificence of their nation and its place in Yugoslavdom and Slavdom.¹⁹⁵ In 1965 Jakša Ravelić wrote in *Ilirska knjiga* (The Illyrian book) published by *Matica Hrvatska* of how the Illyrian movement was an important 19th century initiative for the rapprochement of Yugoslav nations.¹⁹⁶ In 1975 Živančević in the article *Ilirizam* (Illyrian Movement) explained how although the Illyrian movement did not result in immediate revolutionary changes, it has provided a basis for the idea of Yugoslavdom.¹⁹⁷ It can be concluded that all the pre-1991 authors agree that the Illyrian Movement did not accomplish its goal of cultural and political unity of the South Slavs. They furthermore acknowledge the Illyrian movement's impact on the later Yugoslav political unity.

3.1.1 The literary work of Vraz, Mažuranić and Preradović in anthologies and schoolbooks

All three authors can be found in every anthology of Croatian literature and they are an essential part of the schoolbooks for the course of Croatian language and literature. There is a consensus

¹⁹² Šicel, 1982: 56.

¹⁹³ Matković, 1882: 143., Barac, 1955: 105., Živančević M. and I. Frangeš, 1975: 66., Ravelić, 1965: 7.

¹⁹⁴ Matković, 1982: 143., Barac, 1955: 107., Živančević M. and I. Frangeš, 1975: 47., Ravelić, 1965: 74.

¹⁹⁵ Barac, 1955: 107.

¹⁹⁶ Ravelić, 1965: 74.

¹⁹⁷ Živančević M. and I. Frangeš, 1975: 47.

about Vraz, Mažuranić and Preradović being the three most important authors of the Illyrian movement. In the literary anthologies Vraz is usually presented either as a Slovenian who joined the Croatian Illyrians¹⁹⁸ or as both a Slovenian and Croatian writer. In the Croatian schoolbooks dating from the 1970's¹⁹⁹ he is presented as a Slovene who had joined the Illyrian circle. However, already before 1965 there had been attempts to turn Vraz into an exclusively Croatian author. Barac, in *Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti* (1965) (Five centuries of Croatian literature) – the most famous anthology of Croatian literature – warns about editors of Vraz's *Dulabije* who change some verses in order to erase the Slovenian character of *Dulabije*. Barac quotes the frequently altered verses: the name of the king Matijaž is replaced by the name of the Croatian nobleman Zrinski and the verses:

'Brat budi Vlah Nijemcu
A Nijemac Slovencu.'

Be a brother Serb to German
And German to Slovene.

are transformed into:

'Brat budi Vlah Nijemcu
A Nijemac Slovjencu.'

Be a brother Serb to German
And German to Slav.

Barac further explains how Vraz, in his literary collection, is celebrating and praising both the Croatian and Slovenian countryside and Slavdom. Barac presents Vraz as the most devoted Illyrian writer who truly believed in the Slavic brotherhood through literature.²⁰⁰

In schoolbooks dating from the sixties, seventies and eighties of the 20th century, when presenting the opus of Stanko Vraz, the editors present the verses in which Vraz praises both the Slovenian and Croatian countryside: Velebit and Triglav.²⁰¹

In books published before 1991 Petar Preradović had already been somewhat altered. In the first anthology written about his life and work which was published in 1873, the name of his father is *Jovan* (John) – which is a Serbian version of the Croatian *Ivan* – and it is written that he was born into a Christian-orthodox family.²⁰² In that anthology the editor Franjo Marković explains

¹⁹⁸ Šicel, 1982: 50., Barac, 1955: 113., Franičević M. (ed.), *Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti: Stanko Vraz-Petar Preradović*, 1965: 18.

¹⁹⁹ Rosandić D. and M. Šicel, 1975: 58. The school-book written by Rosandić and Šicel was in use also in the sixties.

²⁰⁰ Franičević M. (ed.), *Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti: Stanko Vraz-Petar Preradović*, 1965: 26.

²⁰¹ 71st poem of *Dulabije* in the books of Rosandić D. and M. Šicel, 1975: 57.

²⁰² Rački F.(ed.), 1873: 7-8.

that regardless of his Serbian-orthodox roots, Preradović is a passionate Croat. In some of the books published during the Yugoslav period there is still mention of Preradović's Christian-orthodox roots.²⁰³ However, where the name of his father is mentioned, it is changed into Ivan Preradović.²⁰⁴ In anthologies published before 1991, there is much reference to Preradović's pan-Slavic orientation and his strong feeling of South Slavic brotherhood. He is presented as the poet-ideologist of the Illyrian movement.²⁰⁵ Besides the plethora of pro-Slavic and pro-Croatian poems by Preradović published in the anthologies, his drama in lyrics, *Kraljević Marko*, is often presented and recognized as the synthesis of Preradović's thought on his nation and its mission.²⁰⁶ Likewise the schoolbooks for *Hrvatsko-srpski jezik i književnost* (Croatian-Serbian language and literature) in Croatia in the sixties and the seventies present the drama *Kraljević Marko* as a literary work that glorifies the power and greatness of the Yugoslav nation.²⁰⁷

Mažuranić, the only one of the three authors with exclusively Croatian origins, was before 1991 depicted as a passionate Illyrian, a promoter of South Slavic brotherhood. Anthologies written on the topic of Mažuranić are dominated by his pro-Slav poems and by *Smrt Smail-age Čengića*. It is explained that in his poetry, Mažuranić praises Slavdom and the South Slavs. *Vjekovi Ilirije* (The centuries of Illyria) is depicted as the poem in which Mažuranić expresses the Illyrian movement's program together with his personal hopes for the future Illyrian nation. According to Mažuranić the Illyrian country will succeed in becoming an ideal nation.²⁰⁸

Smrt Smail-age Čengića is always presented as Mažuranić's most important work. *Smrt Smail-age Čengića* is praised as an example of a national literary work of both Croatia and Yugoslavia.²⁰⁹ It is also proclaimed to be the best product of Croatian literature during the Illyrian period.²¹⁰ Besides Smail-aga and Mažuranić's poems, different authors also present the important political article which Mažuranić wrote just before he ended his literary career and entered politics: *Hervati Magjarom*.²¹¹

²⁰³ Tadijanović, 1968: 152., Barac, 1955: 179.

²⁰⁴ Tadijanović, 1968: 152.

²⁰⁵ Ravelić, 1965: 60.

²⁰⁶ Živančević M. and I. Frangeš, 1975: 126., Franičević M. (ed.), *Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti: Stanko Vraz-Petar Preradović*, 1965: 196-204., Šicel, 1982: 67.

²⁰⁷ Rosandić D. and M. Šicel, 1975: 95.

²⁰⁸ Živančević M. and I. Frangeš, 1975: 38-39 and 60.

²⁰⁹ Barac, 1955: 112.

²¹⁰ Živančević M. and I. Frangeš, 1975: 24.

²¹¹ Franičević M. (ed.), *Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti: Ivan Mažuranić -Matija Mažuranić*, 1965: 116-130., Živančević M. and I. Frangeš, 1975: 34.

3.1.2 South Slav cooperation and unification in pre-1991 books

The two events that have been characterized as the peak of the manifestation of the Illyrian movement's cultural and political ambitions also found their way into books and schoolbooks in the former Yugoslavia. *Bečki književni dogovor* written in 1850 was described during the 1960s, as the end result of the Romantic ideals that Karadžić and Gaj, the cultural representatives of both Croats and Serbs, had. In 1965, Jonke wrote that *Bečki književni dogovor* was the peak of Croatian and Serbian aspirations to manifest becoming one nation with a single language. Jonke adds that the content of the Vienna Literary Agreement clearly demonstrates these aspirations to unify. The signatories of the declaration aspired to a unitary nationhood in addition to using a single language. Jonke mentions Ivan Mažuranić as one of the signatories of the declaration.²¹² In addition the books published in the 1970s describe *Bečki književni dogovor* as the zenith of Illyrian literary and cultural aspiration. However, Živančević also explains that common beliefs regarding *Bečki književni dogovor* in Croatia are incorrect. Živančević writes how Ivan Mažuranić disagreed with the basic principles of the Vienna Agreement. Unlike the Vienna Agreement's advocacy that the Croatian and Serbian language should be based on one dialect, Mažuranić believed that no dialect is good enough to become a literary language. He believed that it would be better to create a new unified Croatian and Serbian literary language by taking the best parts of each dialect. These parts would be enriched with previous literary elements found in the books of authors from previous centuries. Authors who published their work in the 1970s point out that even though Mažuranić did not agree completely with *Bečki književni dogovor* he had no reservations signing that agreement. They believe he viewed a higher political and cultural potential in the Vienna Agreement and therefore could sign it with a clear conscience.²¹³

The political cooperation between Croats and Vojvodina Serbs can best be viewed through the official ideology. This official ideology or 'preferred truth' was the focus of history textbooks taught in secondary schools. In textbooks published in the seventies and eighties, the sections entirely devoted to the Illyrian movement explain how although the Illyrian movement did not accomplish South Slav unity, it was the foundation for the development of the Yugoslavian idea among the South Slav people. Different authors explain that although the Illyrian movement's accomplishments remained limited to the territory of Croatia, there were in 1848 nonetheless

²¹² Jonke, 1971: 180-181.

²¹³ Živančević M. and I. Frangeš, 1975: 35 and 36.

attempts of cooperation between Croats and Serbs. It is explained how Serbs from the Vojvodina territory, which was at that time the part of the Austrian empire, initiated a movement which requested a formation of a separate autonomy for the Serbs in Vojvodina, within the Austrian empire, and its merger with Croatia. Hungarian political leadership was against this idea which in the end even resulted in armed conflicts between Serbs and Hungarians. The end result of the Serbian movement was Vienna's acceptance of the independence of Serbian Vojvodina. However, although it acquired autonomy, Vojvodina was to remain part of the Hungarian Kingdom and was not allowed to unify with Croatia.²¹⁴

3.2 The Illyrian movement in books published after 1991

After the year 1991, the definition of the timeframe, accomplishments and importance of the Illyrian movement continued to be disputed. It is interesting to note that from the period of Croatia's independence the consensus about the year that the movement began disappeared. Although some authors still take the year 1836²¹⁵ as the beginning of the Illyrian movement, the majority of authors now mark the beginning of the movement either in 1835²¹⁶ or in the beginning of the 1830s.²¹⁷ The books published in Croatia after 1991 also do not reach a consensus as to when the Illyrian movement ended. Although some authors take 1848²¹⁸ as the final year, the vast majority of the post-1991 authors of both history and schoolbooks mark the year 1843 as the year when the movement ended.²¹⁹ Limiting the Illyrian movement to the timeframe that extends only until 1843 entirely changes its definition and its accomplishments.

Although the movement was viewed until the end of 1990 as having both political and cultural aspects, according to the majority of post-1991 books it is seen as predominantly a political initiative. It is explained that Gaj introduced the Illyrian name due to his naive and unrealistic ideas about South Slav political unity.²²⁰ The authors of post-1991 schoolbooks explain how it is logical that Gaj's South Slav orientation ended by the end of the 1840s, after his adopting of a purely Croatian orientation.²²¹

²¹⁴ Matković, 1881: 144.

²¹⁵ Ježić, 1993: 199., Gazzari, 2006: 7.

²¹⁶ Mirošević (ed.), 2001: 164, Perić, 1998: 144-145.

²¹⁷ Juričić, 1996: 2., Rosandić, 1996: 47., Merkl, 2003: 9.

²¹⁸ Perić, 1998: 144.

²¹⁹ Ježić, 1993: 199., Juričić, 1996: 2., Merkl, 2003: 9., Gazzari, 2006: 7.

²²⁰ Merkl, 2003: 18., Juričić, 1996: 10.

²²¹ Juričić, 1996: 10., Merkl, 2003: 18.

The most important innovation presented in the new textbooks is the change of the Illyrian movement's definition. It is interesting to compare two schoolbooks published in 1996 which were approved by the Croatian ministry of education as official books for the course of Croatian language and literature. In one of these two books the author explains how *Ilirska pokret* (Illyrian Movement) and *Ilirizam* are two different names for the same development. The author further explains how some younger literature historians are calling this period *hrvatski narodni i književni preporod* (Croatian National and Literary Revival) and how this movement is both a national-political and cultural initiative.²²² The authors of the second book explain how *Ilirska pokret* and *Ilirizam* are not simply different names for the same developments. According to their explanation the Illyrian movement is a political initiative that is placed within the period of *Croatian National Revival*. Authors add that the Illyrian movement's main ideologist was Ljudevit Gaj and that the whole movement lasted from 1830 to 1843. By the term *Ilirizam* these authors define a notion which depicted the idea of cultural unity of the South Slavs during the time of the Croatian National Revival.²²³ The phenomenon of attributing different definition to *Ilirizam* and *Illyrian Movement* continued after 1996: although edited by different authors, the textbooks published in 2003, have separate definitions for *Ilirska pokret* and *Ilirizam*.²²⁴

3.2.1 Vraz, Mažuranić and Preradović in post-1991 anthologies and schoolbooks

The first visible difference from pre-1991 texts is a new methodological approach. The authors of the texts on Croatian National Revival invite readers to compare the literary work by Vraz, Preradović and Mažuranić with the poetry written during the Homeland War in Croatia.²²⁵ This allows for a direct connection to be formed between the struggles during the Croatian National Revival and the war which lasted in Croatia from 1991 to 1995.

Unlike the literary analysis' written during the 1960s and 1970s, where Croatian literary historians accentuated that Vraz wrote mainly in Slovenian until the year 1839,²²⁶ the author of the *History of Croatian literature* published in 2004 claims that Stanko Vraz wrote exclusively in

²²² Rosandić, 1996: 47.

²²³ Juričić, 1996: 2.

²²⁴ Merkler, 2003: 9.

²²⁵ Juričić, 1996: 12., Merkler, 2003: 20.

²²⁶ Rosandić and Šicel, 1975: 64., Franičević M. (ed.), *Pet stoljeća hrvatske književnosti: Stanko Vraz-Petar Preradović*, 1965: 14.

Croatian after the year 1837.²²⁷ Another anthology written exclusively about Stanko Vraz explains that “the historical mistake of the introduction of the Illyrian name into Croatian National Revival should be forgiven to Vraz easier than to the other Illyrian writers as Vraz was only a newcomer”.²²⁸ Prosperov Novak, the author of this anthology, does not further explain on which basis Stanko Vraz would have joined the Croatian National Revival in case that the Illyrian name and the Illyrian ideals of South Slav unity had not been introduced by the Illyrian proponents in Zagreb.

When focusing on Croatian language and literature books used in secondary schools, it is important to note how they all publish verses from all four parts of *Dulabije*. All the textbooks, though written by different authors, published by different publishing houses and dating from different years, quote the same verses from the fourth part of *Dulabije*. Those are the lyrics which were already disputed during the Yugoslav period; Barac, as early as 1965 warns how some authors attempt to diminish *Dulabije*’s Slovene character and increase its Slav characteristics. Out of four schoolbooks analyzed, only Rosandić, in a book from 1996 edits it in a way that seems to adhere to the advice of Barac:²²⁹

*‘Brat budi Vlah Nijemcu
A Nijemac Slovencu’*

Be a brother Serb to German
And German to Slovenian

Unlike Rosandić, the editors of the other official Croatian language and literature schoolbooks publish the verses of Vraz:²³⁰

*‘Brat budi Vlah Nijemcu
A Nijemac Slovjencu’*

Be a brother Serb to German
And German to Slav

The origins of Petar Preradović are explained in different ways in books published in the 1990s. Although some authors point out that he was born into the family of a Serbian soldier in Krajina,²³¹ the majority of anthologies and all schoolbooks state only that Preradović was born into a soldier’s family from Krajina. There is no mention of either his Serbian orthodox roots, nor is

²²⁷ Prosperov Novak, 2004: 16.

²²⁸ Martinčić, 1994: 13.

²²⁹ Rosandić, 1996: 28.

²³⁰ Juričić, 1996: 18., Merkler, 2000: 25., Gazzari, 2006: 22.

²³¹ Prosperov Novak, 2004: 20.

there any mention of his father's name.²³² Schoolbooks describe Preradović as a person who spent much of his youth outside his home country and who embraced Croatia as his true and only homeland only after getting acquainted with the ideas of the Illyrian movement.²³³

Unlike in the textbooks published before 1991 where Preradović's drama in verse *Kraljević Marko* was characterized as the summary of this writer's vision concerning his people and homeland, the new schoolbooks do not mention *Kraljević Marko* when listing his most important literary works.²³⁴ In one anthology where *Kraljević Marko* is mentioned, the author points out that Preradović barely commenced writing this drama in verse.²³⁵ The same author also explains how Preradović – much like the other Illyrian authors – praised Slav and South Slav ideology because “that was expected from all literate people at that time”.²³⁶

The presentation of the writer and politician Mažuranić in post-1991 textbooks is also altered compared to what was published and accentuated during the Yugoslav time. The poems, written by Mažuranić, wherein he describes his fascination by Slavdom and his devotion to the Illyrian cause no longer form a part of official schoolbooks. Editors of the schoolbooks published in the 1990s and also in the schoolbooks published after the year 2000 put the most emphasis on the presentation of *Smrt Smail-age Čengića*. This literary work is proclaimed to be the most valuable product of the Croatian National Revival.²³⁷ Unlike before 1991 when both the South Slav and Croatian character of this literary work were accentuated, post-1991 schoolbooks contain no mention of the South Slav orientation of Mažuranić's work. New textbooks do not offer explanations regarding Mažuranić's choice of the event from Montenegrin history as the basis for his most important literary work. In the historical anthologies of Croatian literature published after 1991, different authors explain that the reason for the plot of the most important Croatian epic poem taking place in Montenegro has no connection to Mažuranić's real life preoccupations. Mažuranić's choice of Montenegro is justified by a romantic sensibility which was popular at that time.²³⁸

The post-1991 authors emphasize the importance of Mažuranić's article *Hervati Magjarom*. Schoolbooks mention *Hervati Magjarom* as a work which was inspired by political

²³² Rosandić, 1996: 31., Juričić, 1996: 35., Merkler, 2003: 44., Gazzari, 2006: 25., Brešić, 1999: 118.

²³³ Juričić, 1996: 40., Merkler, 2003: 49.

²³⁴ Rosandić, 1996: 31., Juričić, 1996: 35., Merkler, 2003: 44., Gazzari, 2006: 25.

²³⁵ Brešić, 1999: 119.

²³⁶ Brešić, 1999: 119.

²³⁷ Juričić, 1996: 25, Merkler, 2003: 33., Rosandić, 1996: 20.

²³⁸ Prosperov Novak, 2004: 30-31.

developments in Croatia in the 1840s.²³⁹ This article is attributed the most important Croatian political work.²⁴⁰ Regardless of the praise for the document, none of the schoolbooks and anthologies give an account of the text as being Mažuranić's explanation of Serbs and Croats belonging to one nation who should have a single language.

3.2.2 South Slav cooperation and unification in post-1991 history books

Unlike the Croatian language and literature books, whose content is altered without causing much agitation in Croatian public life, the reaction to alterations in history books is very different. Already by the end of the 1990s and especially with the new political regime that came into power after the death of the first Croatian president Franjo Tuđman in 2000, debates concerning the content of the new Croatian history schoolbooks occurred. The debates were mainly focused on the desirable way of describing Croatian history during *Nezavisna Država Hrvatska* (The independent state of Croatia) from 1941 to 1945 and on the depiction of the *Homeland War*.²⁴¹ The two different camps represented by Goldstein and Perić, are discussed in this thesis because they are also authors of the articles on the Illyrian movement which will be presented in this chapter. In debates on the content of Croatian history books Goldstein calls for a 'Detuđmanisation' of the schoolbooks. Detuđmanisation means moving away from the nationalistic way of presenting history which was promoted by the first Croatian president Franjo Tuđman. Perić on the opposite argues for a historical *Croatocentrizam* (Croato-centric view) and claims that these books are written for Croatian children who should be taught the Croatian national spirit.²⁴²

When writing about the Illyrian Movement Perić regards the *Croatian National Revival* and the Illyrian movement as two names for the same developments. He explains how although Gaj took the Illyrian name with the hope that other South Slavs would join the movement, all that was accomplished was cooperation and support of a very few Serbs from Vojvodina.²⁴³ Perić writes how Croatian National Revival and the Illyrian Movement achieved a high degree of success between 1845 and 1848: it reawakened and gave direction to the Croatian national consciousness, laid foundations for the emerging modern Croatian nation, laid the groundwork for Croatian national education and culture, contributed to the growth of modern Croatian literature, and

²³⁹ Rosandić, 1996: 25., Juričić, 1996: 25.

²⁴⁰ Prosperov Novak, 2004: 31.

²⁴¹ Pandža, 2000:1, Prlender, 2001: 7., Ančić *et al*, 2007: 1., Matejčić, 2005:1., Kalogjera-Brkić, 2007:1.

²⁴² Pandža, 2000:1.

²⁴³ Perić, 1998: 147.

strengthened the use of the common Croatian language and orthography.²⁴⁴ Perić does not explain why Illyrians chose Štokavski as a common Croatian language. There is also no mention of the Vienna Literary Agreement but Vuk Stefanović Karadžić is addressed. Perić explains how Karadžić did not accept Illyrian ideas, how he collected folk poems in Croatian lands and published them as Serb Folk Poems, and how he declared that all speakers of Štokavski were Serbs. In this way, Perić describes Karadžić as practically attempting to eliminate the Croats as a nation and therefore being the best-known and the most influential advocate of Greater-Serbian expansionism thus far.²⁴⁵

Ivo Goldstein approaches the subject in a somewhat different way in his history book. For him, the *Illyrian Movement* developed into what became known as the *Croatian National Revival*. According to him the Illyrian leaders chose the Štokavski dialect as the foundation for the standard language because this dialect was most widespread among Croats and also spoken by Serbs. They made plain their wish to incorporate the broader South Slav language community into the movement right from the beginning believing that there is a single Illyrian nation which includes all South Slavs.²⁴⁶ Goldstein explains that the Illyrian movement's leaders hope to spread their ideas to Slovene and Serbian national territory – above all hoping to establish links with the Serbs in Vojvodina – proved fruitless, although some enthusiasm for Illyrism was established. Goldstein describes both Jelačić's installation ceremony where he had taken the oath before the Serbian patriarch in the Habsburg monarchy in 1848 and Jelačić's strengthening of his ties with Vojvodina Serbs.²⁴⁷ According to Goldstein, after the collapse of the aspirations in 1848, the disappointment gradually gave way to a greater realism and in the 1850s two Croatian ideologies of national identity were born: one was Yugoslavism – a Yugoslav orientation – and the other was exclusive Croatian nationalism. Yugoslavism grew on the foundation of Illyrism and it further continued the program of forging links between South Slavs in the Monarchy. It connected Croatian national consciousness to the sense that Croats belonged to the broader family of Slavs, primarily in the cultural sense, and that Yugoslavism was the best framework for the small and weak Croatian nation. Therefore, although the Illyrian movement remained a Croatian national movement, it had two important results: it laid the foundations for Croatian national consciousness and it enriched Croatian identity with the feeling of belonging to a South Slav community.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁴ Perić, 1998: 153.

²⁴⁵ Perić, 1998: 146-149.

²⁴⁶ Goldstein, 1999: 60.

²⁴⁷ Goldstein, 1999: 70.

²⁴⁸ Goldstein, 1999: 71, 74 and 75.

Croatian history schoolbooks published in the post-1991 period also presented a variety of different information. In the history schoolbook published in 1991 the Illyrian movement is the name of the heading of a section. The movement is described as a political and cultural movement with an agenda to connect South Slavs. The political cooperation between Croats and Vojvodina Serbs in 1848 is also presented. The conclusion of the chapter is that the Illyrian movement had laid foundations for the Yugoslavian idea among South Slavs.²⁴⁹ This textbook is no longer approved by the Croatian Ministry of education and sport.²⁵⁰

In the schoolbook for history which is currently approved by the Croatian Ministry of science, education and sport and which was first published in 2000, Croatian National Revival is the heading of the section. This schoolbook also explains that Croatian National Revival and Illyrian movement are two names for the same developments which took place between 1835 and 1848. The authors of this schoolbook further explain that the exponents of the Illyrian movement tried to place the development of the Croatian nation within a broader, South Slav and Illyrian framework. Gaj is identified as one of the leaders of the Croatian National Revival and as the leader of the Illyrian movement. In addition, cooperation with Serbs is presented in this school book. It explains that the Christian orthodox patriarch Josip Rajačić, gave Ban Jelačić a blessing during Jelačić's inauguration as new Croatian Ban. It is also pointed out how Ban Jelačić and *Sabor* representatives during the session of *Sabor* in June expressed plans of uniting Croatian lands with the two other Habsburg South Slav entities: Slovenia and Serbian Vojvodina.²⁵¹

Another schoolbook published in 2001 – also still approved by the Croatian Ministry of science, education and sport – shows a somewhat different picture. The Illyrian movement is not the name of the separate heading anymore, the name of the heading is *Croatian National Revival* and the name of its leader is Ljudevit Gaj. A new methodological approach is being practiced: in the beginning of the section, pupils are informed that in this chapter they will learn how the exponents of the national revival tried to solve the political situation of Croatian people, how they defended national identity, sovereignty, language, and culture and laid the foundation for a modern Croatian nation and Croatian independence.²⁵² The authors of the schoolbook explain that from the work of the exponents of the Illyrian movement a program of Croatian national ideology was formed. This grew together with the understanding of belonging to a Croat nation and with the love for the Croatian language and people. The authors present a wish for the unity with other

²⁴⁹ Matković, 1882: 239 and 242.

²⁵⁰ Official website of the Croatian ministry of science, education and sport, (2008) 'List of approved schoolbooks'

²⁵¹ Agićić, 2000: 152, 156 and 167.

²⁵² Mirošević (ed.), 2001: 165.

South Slavs as an idea soon discredited. This idea was founded on the soon rejected belief that Illyrians were the ancestors of the South Slavs. There is no mention of the cooperation with Serbs in this schoolbook.²⁵³

3.3 Evaluation of the presentation of the Illyrian movement in Croatian books and schoolbooks

In this chapter we have seen the way in which the Illyrian Movement and its main exponents are depicted in different books dating from two different periods. A uniform general conclusion about both periods cannot be made. Furthermore, a uniform conclusion about each of the periods cannot be made either. To make a conclusion as accurately as possible based on the examined sources, one might start by defining what the Illyrian movement – for the majority of the mentioned authors – was not in each of the two periods.

During the time of Tito's Yugoslavia the Illyrian Movement was not a movement which had exclusively laid down foundations for Croatian modern national individuality. Before 1991, authors acknowledged that it reawakened and gave direction to the Croatian national consciousness but they do not claim that it had laid foundations for the emerging modern Croatian nation nor that it laid down the groundwork for Croatian national education and culture. For the majority of the post-1991 authors the Illyrian Movement is not a movement which had laid the foundation for a Croatian sense of belonging to other South Slavs. According to them the Illyrian Movement did not help in creating an ideology which sees Croatia as a state which belongs to a larger Yugoslav community. However, one has to be careful when attempting to strictly divide the two periods. There were authors which did not concur with this view. The examples of these are Šicel in the Yugoslav time and Goldstein in the period after Croatia's independence.

Official ideology changed dramatically after Croatia stopped being a part of Yugoslavia which can most of all be seen when one focuses on the official schoolbooks for Croatian language and literature and on the schoolbooks for history. When reading books edited by authors in either period, the reader can never know whether a claim is based on facts; how much of it is based on official ideology and how much is the author's own invention while trying to make a new and original point. In both periods, the authors accentuate different events and different literary works. In some cases authors even change some verses and names.

²⁵³ Mirošević (ed.), 2001: 166.

During the Yugoslav period, debates did not occur very often regarding the truthfulness of the official schoolbooks. Debating and challenging the official ideology was against the nature of the communist regime. Having said this however one can certainly not draw the conclusion that the existence of current debates on schoolbooks automatically makes these books closer to being accurate. The only improvement is that open debates make people more aware of the lack of an ‘eternal truth’ in schoolbooks and of the propagandist tendencies of these. The fact that the Croatian ministry of science, education and sport nowadays approves books containing differing views on the Illyrian movement also means that there is no official consensus about the Illyrian movement.

Some think that the plethora of different publications and internet sources might be enough to make pupils aware of the existence of different interpretation of facts. One can always choose to find books written by different authors and compare his or her own school’s books with other sources. Those who give this argument seem to be forgetting that the majority of the Croatian population will not go searching for new sources. Their schoolbooks will remain the primary source of their knowledge and the basis for their thoughts on the history and literature of Croatia. Schoolbooks are one extremely powerful tool and those who have authority to write and approve them should know that they are not only depicting the history in them, but they are also influencing the future through them.

4. Conclusion

Writing this thesis proved to be more challenging and exciting than initially expected. Although the Illyrian movement is not a part of recent history, the events that took place during the movement and the works that were written from 1835 to 1850, still have a large influence on Croatian identity formation and the nations' self-consciousness. Therefore the literary works of Vraz, Preradović and Mažuranić together with the description of the events and accomplishments of the Illyrian movement are the object of diverse analyses and interpretations.

Finding sources proved to be more difficult than expected. Acquiring primary literature in languages other than Croatian or Serbian proved to be impossible: many sources are not yet translated, the ones which are translated are virtually impossible to find. The translation of the chosen parts of the literary opus of the three selected authors was challenging. Secondary literature is available in several languages (English, German and French) but the problem the reader of secondary literature faces is the variety of interpretations and explanations provided. Both the primary and secondary sources lack consensus on the exact period of the Illyrian movement, which results in a variety of explanations and analyses. There are authors who limit the Illyrian period to 1843, resulting in their interpretation of the movement varying notably from the ones who see the years 1848 or even 1873 as the end of the movement.

This research began as the search for the Croatian self-image and its roots, leading me to orient myself towards the Illyrian movement. Since this period is described in many books – including the schoolbooks provided to me during my secondary school education in Croatia from 1995 to 1999 – as the period in which the Croatian national consciousness was awakened, the first logical step was to focus on the literary works and the authors, which the school books describe as the crucial factors in the building of Croatian national consciousness. Although my initial search was oriented towards finding the roots of the real Croatian national identity in the Illyrian movement, in the process I arrived at a conclusion containing the following aspects:

In the Illyrian movement's works and accomplishments I found the basis for a Croatian-South Slav orientation. Further research and analyses of the secondary literature and books written after the Illyrian movement, brought me to the foundation of the real Croatian identity. My conclusion is that the only real Croatian identity was built in the years after the Illyrian movement: the Illyrian movement's products were used and interpreted by the cultural and political workers

active after the Illyrian movement, in a way that it gives the impression that Illyrians already in the 1830s fought for Croatia as we know it today. The authors of secondary literature – especially the ones after 1991 – make interpretations of the Illyrian movement which detach it from its initial South Slav initiative and transform it into a purely Croatian oriented action.

I have reached this conclusion by analyzing three different topics, which are explained in the three chapters. The first chapter shows that the Illyrian movement was a reaction of the cultural and political elite in Croatia to the political pressures coming from both Austria and Hungary. Influenced by the 19th century cultural worker Jan Kollár who promoted the union and mutual support of different Slavic people towards one another, the exponents of the Illyrian movement hoped that the union between different South Slavs would improve their position within the Austrian Empire and Hungarian Kingdom. They promoted the brotherhood between South Slavs and saw the Illyrian land as their homeland. It cannot be denied that the Illyrians had a broad South Slavic orientation, rather than the suggested exclusively Croatian orientation. Illyrian efforts culminated in a few very important cultural and political results which took place between 1848 and 1850. These results show the Croatian and Serbian rapprochement. In the political field this was demonstrated by the cooperation of Ban Jelačić and the Vojvodina Serbs and their mutual hope for the possible autonomy of Croatian lands and Serbian Vojvodina within the Austrian Monarchy. On the cultural side the rapprochement was demonstrated by the signing of the Vienna Literary Agreement between Croatian and Serbian men of letters. In that declaration they proclaimed the unity of the Croatian and Serbian language explaining how one nation – referring to Serbs and Croats – should have a single language. By showing these events, which were the result of the efforts of the Illyrian movement's exponents, it is clear how their efforts and plans were not only Croatian-oriented. They had a plan for a broader South Slav union which would not limit itself to the Slavonian, Croatian and Dalmatian lands.

The second chapter is devoted to the literary works of the three most prominent Illyrian authors. They are the ones who are described in Croatian schoolbooks, history books and literary anthologies as the ones who did the most for the awakening of the Croatian national consciousness. In post-1991 books they are described as those who defended the Croatian national identity. The analyses shows a side of their work which is not often accentuated: Vraz, Preradović and Mažuranić felt connected to the Illyrian land, not exclusively to Croatia. The ideas that are promoted in their work are accentuating a Croatian-South Slav identity and not a purely Croatian identity. Therefore, it is not correct to present these authors as the ones who were fighting for a Croatian land and promoting a purely Croatian identity. When analyzing the work of Vraz it

becomes clear that he cannot simply be considered as a Croatian author. He was also a Slovenian author but most of all, a man who felt himself to be a citizen of Illyria. He demonstrated his devotion to the Slavic cause and unity by attending the Slavic congress. The work of Preradović also shows his devotion to Illyria. He is not writing only of Croatia but his work shows a broader South Slav orientation. The same can be said about Mažuranić whose main literary work *Smrt Smajla Čengića* has a topic which is related to Montenegro. Mažuranić writes about the struggle of Montenegrins, not about the struggle of Croatians. Mažuranić was also a person who in the name of Croatians put his signature on the Vienna Literary Agreement in 1850. Therewith he signed a document which had a goal to promote the unity of Serbs and Croatians through a single language.

The conclusion of the third chapter which is dedicated to articles written about the Illyrian movement brings us closer to finding the source of the real Croatian identity. It becomes clear that many of the authors who analyzed the Illyrian movement present it in a way which does not show its South Slav orientation as its most important component but rather as a movement of exclusively Croatian orientation. Therefore, these authors regard the Illyrian movement as promoting the Croatian national idea. The fact that the Illyrian movement did not succeed in uniting South Slavs does not mean that the South Slav unification was not its goal. The literary opus of the ensemble Vraz, Preradović and Mažuranić together with the events that took place in the cadre of the movement clearly shows its South Slav orientation. Nevertheless, this cannot be said about different secondary literature written during both Yugoslavian times and the post-1991 period. While reading secondary literature one gets an impression of the Illyrian movement as a cornerstone in the formation of Croatian national identity.

Combining the conclusions of the three chapters, the general conclusion of this thesis is the following: it is not that the literary works and actions that were shaped in the time of the Illyrian movement were the biggest influence on the formation of today's Croatian identity. The work of the Illyrian writers and the exponents of the movement which today is being presented as the cornerstone in the formation of Croatian self-consciousness is not the work which can be defined as the exclusive source of Croatian identity. The original Illyrian works have rather formed a basis for the South Slav-Croatian identity and its orientation. The twentieth century brought two different Croatian orientations: Yugoslav and Croatian. The analyses conducted in this thesis shows that the works of the same Illyrian writers were used during both Yugoslav times and during the period when the Croatian state was formed to justify and support two different identities. The

purely Croatian identity was not constructed by Illyrian writers but rather by a cultural elite who later canonized and interpreted the opus of the Illyrian authors.

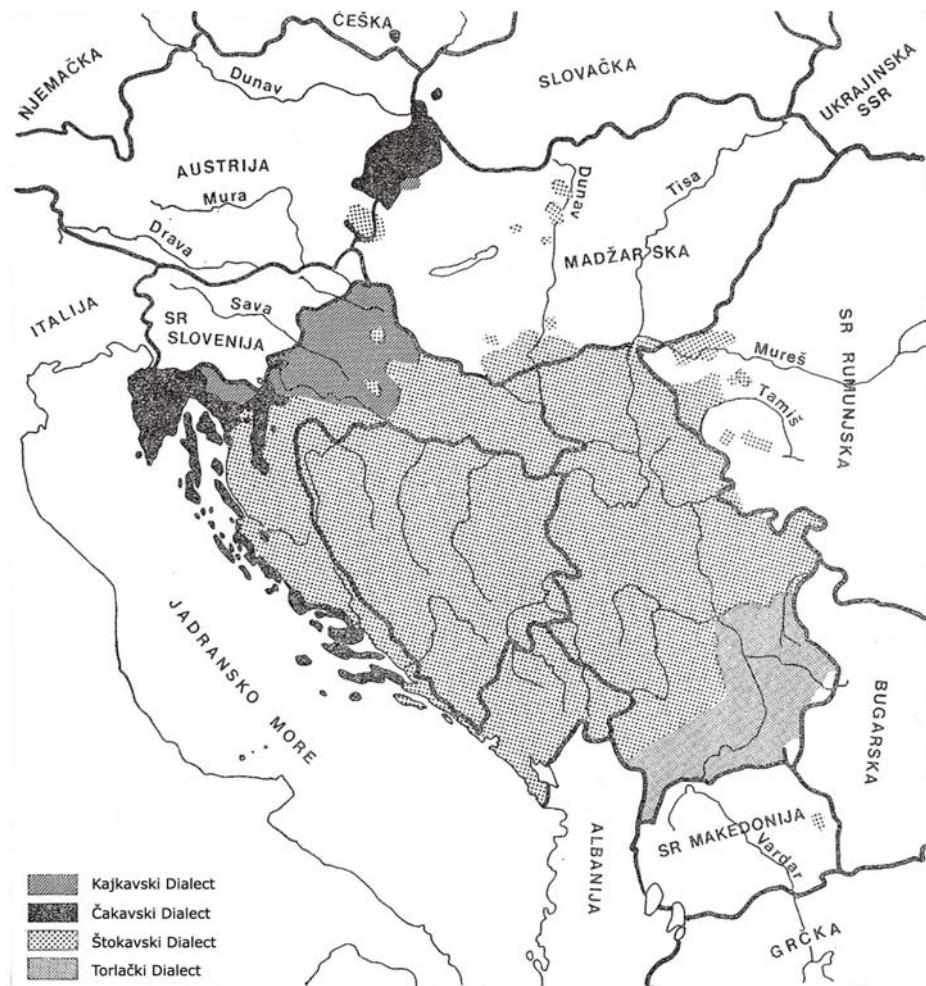
Although the topic of this thesis has a South Slav and Croatian orientation, the findings can be applied to other fields as well. What has been shown is that one has to be alert while using sources and that secondary literature can be at times misleading. The secondary sources can present a picture or accentuate only a certain idea pointed out in the primary sources. In this way, a situation can be created where the message transmitted by the secondary source does not correspond to the original. The picture that is presented is somewhat gloomy: no one is able to analyze all primary literature and we are also forced to rely, as a result of language barriers, on secondary sources. With my final conclusion I am not pleading for the rejection of all secondary sources, my thesis is also that kind of source. I am only pleading for the use of as many sources as available.

Appendix

While Serbians and Montenegrins exclusively use the Štokavski dialect, Croats in addition also use the Čakavski and the Kajkavski dialect. The names of the three dialects are based on the relative and interrogative pronoun ‘what’ which in these three dialects sounds differently. In Štokavski, Čakavski and Kajkavski it respectively sounds *što*, *ča* and *kaj*.²⁵⁴ Due to migrations of the population and dialectic overlapping, it is impossible to precisely define the borders which encompass the speakers of the Čakavski dialect.²⁵⁵

256

Croatian and Serbian dialects on a map of Yugoslavia from 1989



²⁵⁴ Kostrenić M. and M. Protega, 1958: 447.

²⁵⁵ Peco, 1989: 206-209.

²⁵⁶ Flaker A. and K. Pranić, 1978: 62.

The area where Čakavski is nowadays being used is not large. Roughly speaking these regions include: the Kvarner islands and some islands of Dalmatia, one part of Lika and Gorski Kotar together with a thin costal belt which encompasses Split and a few of the villages and small towns South of Split. One has to keep in mind that Čakavski is a dialect and that it is not uniform. There are many differences between Čakavski which is spoken in different villages and regions and therefore it is impossible to list all the peculiarities of the Čakavski dialect. The following are a few characteristics which make Čakavski different from the Štokavski and Kajkavski dialects:²⁵⁷

1. J in Štokavski becomes Đ in Čakavski: preja, meja: preda, meda.
2. Čr instead of Štokavski cr: črv, črn: crv, crn.
3. Šć instead of Štokavski št: šćap, dvorišće: štap, dvorište.
4. Different accentuation: instead of four accents system of Štokavski, the speakers of Čakavski use only three accents.
5. Lexical and grammatical differences in comparison to Štokavski.
6. Vocal ě becomes in some parts i, in some parts e, in some parts both i and e and sometimes also je.

Similar to the Čakavski dialect, in the Kajkavski dialect we encounter a problem when trying to precisely define its geographical borders. Nevertheless, the majority of the speakers of the Kajkavski dialect live in the areas north of the river Kupa – an area which encompasses Zagreb, Varaždin, Križevci and Bjelovar.²⁵⁸ Much like the Čakavski dialect, the Kajkavski dialect is not uniform which results in many differences from area to area. However, there are several characteristics which make the Kajkavski dialect different from the Štokavski and Čakavski dialects:²⁵⁹

1. Consonant V comes in front of the vowel U: vučitel.
2. tvr becomes tr: četvrти, tvrd: četrти, trd
3. There is a special interrogative pronoun for objects: kei, ke, kai.
4. Different accentuation: instead of four accents system of Štokavski, the speakers of Kajkavski use only three accents.
5. Lexical and grammatical differences in comparison to Štokavski.

²⁵⁷ Peco, 1989: 206-209.

²⁵⁸ Peco, 1989: 246-247.

²⁵⁹ Peco, 1989: 248 and 249.

For further references on the topic of Croatian dialects, please see:

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