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## Kultura versus Natura: o slavenskom i neslavenskom podrijetlu Hrvata

*Ovaj tekst posvećujemo uspomeni na Tomu Vinščaka*

*Istraživanja genetičara u Hrvatskoj, posebice profesora Jurića i Primorca, pokazala su da je današnja hrvatska populacija genetički 50% nasljednica izvornog stanovništa (haploidna grupa I "Croatian"), 25% slavenskog (R1A "Slavic") i 25% "ostalog" gdje je najprominentnija grupa "Basque" (R1B). Što to nači za istraživanja na području hrvatske humanistike i društvenih znanosti? Ne mnogo, jer prirodni geni ne igraju osobitu ulogu u formiranju glavnih duhovnih markera – jezika i kulture. Ipak postoji prostor za dobro smisljene zajedničke pothvate, no za njih nam treba prvo i prvo međusobno razumijevanje i tolerancija. Kako je lijepo napisao oko 1650. Blaise Pascal, ljudi posjeduju ili l'esprit de finesse (humanizam) ili l'esprit de géometrie (prirodne znanosti) i ti se "duhovi" teško sporazumijevaju. Srećom, pojedinaca koji posjeduju oba bilo je tijekom povijest, od Aristotela do Einsteina, a sam Pascal je sjajan primjer takva svestrana uma.*

*Ključne riječi: genetika, humanistika, društvene znanosti, hrvatska kultura, slavistika, rani srednji vijek.*

## Culture v. Nature: on Slavic and non-Slavic Origin of the Croats

*Genetic research in Croatia, in particular by Professors Jurić and Primorac, has indicated that the current population of Croatia is 50% heir to the original population (haplo group I "Croatian"), 25% Slavic (R1A "Slavic") and 25% "the rest," wherein the most prominent is the "Basque" group (R1B). What could this mean for humanist and social science research in Croatia? Not much as the natural genes do not play a key role in the formation of cultural markers – the language and culture.*

*Still, there is room for joint ventures, but in order to launch them we need first of all mutual understanding and tolerance. As Blaise Pascal nicely said around 1650, we possess either l'esprit de finesse (humanities) or l'esprit de géometrie (natural sciences), and those two kinds of «spirit» do not relate well. Luckily there have been, throughout history, from Aristotle to Einstein, quite a few people who possessed both, Pascal himself being a splendid example of such versatile mind.*

*Keywords: Genetics, Humanities, Social Sciences, Croatian culture, Slavic Studies, Early Middle Ages*

For several years I have been following the research of Croatian scientist into the genetic origins of the Croats, particularly by Professors Ivan Jurić and Dragan Primorac. I make no pretension of understanding the process of their research or methodology, but I can understand the results, i.e., that the current Croatian population are 50% the heirs to the indigenous population (haploid group I "Croatian"), 25% Slavic (R1A "Slavic") and 25% "the rest" within which the most prominent is the "Basque" (R1B)<sup>1</sup>. I apologize to my scientist colleagues for this naïve humanist simplification, but I would have to spend another lifetime to master their field and I do not have one. What applies to me applies, however, to the natural scientists too. In order to understand the cultural consequences of their research results, they would have to spend several lives to master a number of humanist and social science disciplines. This leaves us with the position which I have been maintaining most of my life, which is that the life is too short to master one's own discipline, let alone the others, and that the best we could do if we venture – as we, by the way, should – into the world of inter, multi and cross-disciplinary studies is to find reliable partners in other disciplines.

What the above data means for the research in Croatian humanities and social sciences?

To be very simple, that the Croats are Slavs to a very limited extent. On the other hand, the Croats, *Hrvati*, are Slavs as they speak a Slavic language and thus belong to the huge Slavic language speakers' community. Denying the migration of the Slavs/Croats to South Eastern Europe, in particular if based on dubiously informed non-native or non-Slavic authors is simply untenable. There are certainly grave and still unsolved issues concerning the origin of the Slavs, and the Croats, and of their

Više godina pratim istraživanja hrvatskih znanstvenika o genetskom podrijetlu Hrvata, posebice Ivana Jurića i Dragana Primorca. Ne pravim se da razumijem proces istraživanja i metodologiju, no nadam se da razumijem rezultate, to jest, da je današnja hrvatska populacija 50% nasljednica izvornog stanovništva (*haplo grupa I* "Hrvatska"), 25% Slavena (*R1A* "slavenska grupa") i 25% "ostatka" unutar kojeg je najprominentnija Baskijska grupa (*R1B*)<sup>1</sup>. Ispričavam se kolegama prirodnim znanstvenicima na ovoj naivnoj humanističkoj interpretaciji, no trebao bih još jedan život da ovladam njihovim područjem. Što vrijedi za mene, vrijedi dakako i za njih. Da bi razumjeli kulturne posljedice svog istraživanja i njima bi trebali dodatni životi. To nas ostavlja na poziciji koju sam podržavao cijelog života, to jest, život je prekratak da ovladamo vlastitom disciplinom, a kamoli da se upuštamo u druge i da je najbolje što možemo učiniti kad se upuštamo u interdisciplinare, krosdisciplinare i multidisciplinare studije, naći pouzdane partnere u drugim disciplinama.

Što gore navedeni podatci znače za hrvatsku humanistiku i društvene znanosti? Vrlo jednostavno, da su Hrvati Slaveni samo u ograničenim razmjerima. U drugu ruku, Hrvati su Slaveni jer govore slavenski jezik i tako pripadaju golemoj jezičnoj skupini govornika slavenskih jezika. Odbacivati selidbu Slavena/Hrvata u jugoistočnu Europu, osobito ako se to temelji na sumnjivim stranim odnosno neslavenskim autorima, nije prihvatljivo. Postoje naravno područja neriješenih pitanja o podrijetlu Slavena i Hrvata, o njihovom dolasku u zemlje koje danas nastavaju, kao što nedavni iscrpni pregled jasno pokazuje, no taj isti potvrđuje postojanje Hrvata, te također da bez obzira na podrijetlo, Hrvati su koristili slavenski jezik u doba svog pomicanja pre-

<sup>1</sup> V. BATTAGLIA et al., Y-chromosomal evidence of the cultural diffusion of agriculture in southeast Europe, *European Journal of Human Genetics*, London, 2008., pp. 1-11. – I. JURIĆ, *Genetičko podrijetlo Hrvata*. Zagreb, 2003. – I. JURIĆ, *Podrijetlo Hrvata*. Zagreb, 2011. – S. ROOTSI et al., Phylogeography of Y-Chromosome Haplogroup I Reveals Distinct Domains of Prehistoric Gene Flow in Europe, *American Journal of Human Genetics*, 75, New York, 2004, pp. 128-137. – O. SEMINO et al., The Genetic Legacy of Paleolithic Homo Sapiens Sapiens in Extant Europeans: A Y Chromosome Perspective, *Science*, 290, New York, 2000, pp.1155-1159.

<sup>1</sup> V. BATTAGLIA et al., Y-chromosomal evidence of the cultural diffusion of agriculture in southeast Europe, *European Journal of Human Genetics*, London, 2008., str. 1-11. – I. JURIĆ, *Genetičko podrijetlo Hrvata*. Zagreb, 2003. – I. JURIĆ, *Podrijetlo Hrvata*. Zagreb, 2011. – S. ROOTSI et al., Phylogeography of Y-Chromosome Haplogroup I Reveals Distinct Domains of Prehistoric Gene Flow in Europe, *American Journal of Human Genetics*, 75, New York, 2004., str. 128-137. – O. SEMINO et al., The Genetic Legacy of Paleolithic Homo Sapiens Sapiens in Extant Europeans: A Y Chromosome Perspective, *Science*, 290, New York, 2000., str.1155-1159

ma jugoistoku između 600. i 800. godine<sup>2</sup>. Istraživanja lingvista i kulturnih antropologa pa baš samo u Hrvatskoj, iako su to tek početci, pokazuju da su Hrvati bili jezično i kulturno "Slaveni" u trenutku kad su stigli u zemlju u kojoj danas žive. I ja sam sažeо nešto tih dokaza u nedavnim radovima, da ne govorim o drugim bolje upućenima od mene<sup>3</sup>.

Treba li proglašiti istraživanja prirodnih znanstvenika irelevantnim za naše napore? Ili da im dopustimo da proglaše kulturnu sastavnicu irelevantnom? Ni jedno ni drugo. Pažljivo čitanje Jurićeve knjige, to jest onih dijelova koje nadam se razumjem, ukazuje mi da ima tema koje se mogu uspješno zajedno razraditi.

Prvenstveno na pameti su mi zemljovidni rasprostranjenosti *haplo* grupa na temelju Jurićeve *studije 188* - muških subjekata na području Hrvatske po županijama<sup>4</sup>. Već i to je upitno jer je današnji sustav županija proizvoljan i lako se može promjeniti. Na primjer spajanje, Križevaca i Koprivnice besmisleno je i u suprotnosti je s povijesnom tradicijom koja se zasniva na logici prirodnog pejzaža. Jurićev je uzorak vrlo malen i ima možda smisla na nacionalnoj razini. Na primjer, u Istri Jurić uzima uzorce samo na području zapadno od Učke (Istarska županija), područje na kojem se može očekivati nizak stupanj slavenske zastupljenosti. A nijedan iz Meranije, obalnog poteza od Voloskog do Plomina (dio Primorsko-goranske županije), koji vrti slavenskim toponomima i krajobraznim strukturama<sup>5</sup>. Da je uzeo koji uzorak iz Lovrana ili Mošćenica, slika Istre bila bi zacijelo drugačija. Da bi koristilo humanističkim ili zajedničkim istraživanjima, trebalo bi pažljivo odabratи područja studije. Statistike izgledaju lijepo u prirodnim znanostima no u huma-

migrations to the present-day position, as a recent attempt at a thorough re-evaluation has amply demonstrated, but the same review equally amply shows that the Croats existed, and that whatever their origin may have been, they used a Slavic tongue at the time of presumed moving toward the South East between 600 and 800<sup>2</sup>. The research of linguistics and cultural anthropology just in Croatia, as initial as it has been, proves that the Croats were linguistically and otherwise culturally "Slavs" arriving to the land that they basically occupy now from somewhere else. I have myself summed up this evidence in several recent studies, to say nothing of those better informed and more experienced than myself<sup>3</sup>.

So what do we do? Do we declare the researchers of nature irrelevant to our efforts? Or do we let them call the cultural component irrelevant to the issue? I do not think so. A careful reading of Mr. Jurić's book, at least of the sections I hope I did understand, leaves me with a feeling that there are a number of themes we could fruitfully elaborate together. What follows is an attempt to list a number of such points hoping to start a dialogue useful for both hard sciences and humanist scholarship alike.

First of all, I have in mind the maps of the distribution of the haploid groups based on Mr. Jurić's survey of 188 male subjects throughout Croatia organized by the current county organization<sup>4</sup>. This in itself is dubious, as the current county system in Croatia is arbitrary and as such subject to change. For example, putting together the areas of Koprivnica and Križevci into one county runs against all historic tradition, as well as against the logic of the natural landscape. Next, Jurić's sample is extremely small, 188 male subjects, and it possibly makes

<sup>2</sup> A. V. MAJOROV, *Velika Hrvatska*. (Prijevod s ruskoga R. Pavičić i J. Žutić), Zagreb, 2012.

<sup>3</sup> V. BELAJ, *Hod kroz godinu*. (2. izd.), Zagreb, 2007. – R. KATIČIĆ, *Božanski boj*. Zagreb, 2008. – R. KATIČIĆ, *Zeleni lug*. Zagreb, 2010. – R. KATIČIĆ, *Gazdarica na vratima*. Zagreb, 2011. – V. P. GOSS, The Three Header from Vaćani, *Starohrvatska prosyjeta*, 3. ser., sv. 36, Split, 2009., str. 42-54. Ovom prigodom želio bih iznijeti neke ispravke tog teksta na temelju razgovora s profesorom Katičićem koje me upozorava da "Morava" i slična imena znače blatnjavu rijeku ili močvaru i ne moraju se nužno odnositi na etničku skupinu. Isto vrijedi za Hlijevljane, od "Hlijev" – štala i Bužane, koje treba vezati uz rijeku Bug. Zahvaljujem Akademiku Katičiću na korisnim ispracima.

<sup>4</sup> I. JURIĆ, *Podrijetlo Hrvata*, str. 85-99.

<sup>5</sup> I. JURIĆ, *Podrijetlo Hrvata*, str. 62, 66

<sup>2</sup> A. V. MAJOROV, *Velika Hrvatska*. (Translation from Russian by R. Pavičić and J. Žutić), Zagreb, 2012.

<sup>3</sup> V. BELAJ, *Hod kroz godinu*. (Second edition). Zagreb, 2007. – R. KATIČIĆ, *Božanski boj*. Zagreb, 2008. – R. KATIČIĆ, *Zeleni lug*. Zagreb, 2010. – R. KATIČIĆ, *Gazdarica na vratima*. Zagreb, 2011. – V. P. GOSS, The Three Header from Vaćani, *Starohrvatska prosyjeta*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ser. 36, Split, 2009, pp. 42-54. I would like to take this opportunity to make some correction to my text, e.g., Professor Katičić has pointed out that "Morava" and similar words signify a muddy river or marshlands and need not necessarily refer to an ethnic group. The same he has pointed out for the Hlijevljani, the word being derived from "Hlijev" – štala (stable), and Bužane, which should be linked to the river Bug rather than to Vuga. I thank Professor Katičić for his useful corrections.

<sup>4</sup> I. JURIĆ, *Podrijetlo Hrvata*, pp. 85-99.

sense, if any, on the national level. For example, in doing Istria, Jurić takes samples only from the land to the west of the Učka (Istria County), the territory which is expected to have little Slavic input, and none from Merania, the coastal region from Vodosko to Plomin (belonging to the Coastland-Highland County), a territory bursting with old Slavic place names and landscape structures<sup>5</sup>. Had he taken samples from Lovran or Mošćenice, the picture for Istria as a whole may have looked very different. Thus to have any value or validity for humanist, or joint, research, one should carefully select areas under investigation. Statistics look nice to hard sciences but in humanist research they are simply wrong, worse yet, misleading. People are individuals, each different, and can not be reduced to numbers. Statistically, if we were to count Florentine paintings of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, we would have little evidence of the flourishing Florentine Renaissance. Most of the output is traditional, call it "Gothic"! There is no massive switch from the "old" to the "new" style. The switch was executed at one single location, by a single master in a handful of wall paintings, by Masaccio in the Brancacci Chapel of Santa Maria del Carmine in Florence in 1427. And then, the new style was adopted by a minority in numbers, but the majority in power, the Florentine ruling elite. Thus one might say that Jurić's system has little more than an indicative value. Yet, this in itself may be a contribution.

Let us take a look at some areas (not counties) which share similar natural landscape characteristics, for example relative isolation from the outer world such as the Central Zagorje, Međimurje or the Požega Valley<sup>6</sup>. No Slavic group at all! Several young colleagues of mine, working on different projects, have noticed that all those areas are remarkable for representations of individual heads in medieval sculpture, from the Romanesque through the Late Gothic/Renaissance. Could it be that this is due to some tradition established long time ago<sup>7</sup>?

<sup>5</sup> I. JURIĆ, *Podrijetlo Hrvata*, pp. 62, 66.

<sup>6</sup> I. JURIĆ, *Podrijetlo Hrvata*, pp. 62-63, 67, 69.

<sup>7</sup> In particular I have in mind the upcoming doctoral thesis by Sanja Bernard, who is to be fully credited for what I have just said. Also I. PEŠKAN - V. PASCUTTINI JURAGA, *Mystical Figures from the Middle Ages in Northern Croatia*, in *Art History, the Future is Now. Studies in Honor of Professor Vladimir P. Goss*, Rijeka, 2012, pp. 356-370 (electronic publication, [www.romanika.net](http://www.romanika.net)).

nistici one su nekorisne, odnosno vode na krivi put. Ljudi su naime pojedinici, različiti jedan od drugoga, i ne može ih se svesti na brojke. Ako bi statistički pobrojali firentinske slike 15. stoljeća, našli bi malo dokaza o cvjetanju renesanse. Većina proizvodnje je tradicionalna, "gotička". Promjena se događa na jednom mjestu, rukom jednog majstora Masaccia u kapeli Brancacci crkve Santa Maria del Carmine u Firenci 1427. godine. Novi stil prihvata manjina, elita, koja međutim u svojim rukama drži većinu vlasti. Moglo bi se zaključiti da Jurićev sustav u najboljem slučaju ima indikativnu vrijednost. No, i to je vrijedan doprinos.

Pogledajmo neka područja (ne županije) koje dijele sličan prirodni okoliš, na primjer, sva su podosta izolirana od vanjskog svijeta - središnje Zagorje, Međimurje, Požešla kotlina<sup>8</sup>. Slavenskoj grupi niti traga! Niz mladih kolegica i kolega radeći na raznim projektima, primijetilo je da sva ta područja obilježava prikaz pojedinačnih ljudskih glava u srednjem vijeku - od romanike do renesanse. Je li tomu razlog neka davno prije ustanovljena tradicija?<sup>9</sup> Jurićeva israživanja mogu poslužiti kao indikacija da je takav zaključak moguć. Naravno, treba nam više primjera kao i intenzivnija obradba tog materijala. I naravno metodološki dogovor, što i kako točno istražiti.

Profesor je Jurić pokazao da *slavenska grupa* ima dominantni položaj u nekim područjima, koja, u suprotnosti s gore navedenima, služe kao tradicionalne tranzitne zone - gornja dolina Drave (Varaždin), dolina Lonje koja veže bazene Drave i Save (Zagreb) i područja uz tradicionalne puteve prema moru (Prigorje, Posavina, zapadna Moslavina, zapadna Bilogora). Začudo, *slavenska grupa* jedva da postoji uz donji tok Drave i Save i u istočnoj Slavoniji. Pokazuje li to da su se Slaveni ponajviše dosejavali smjerom Koprivnica/Varaždin - Zagreb - gorska Hrvatska - more? Može li se takva pretpostavka potvrditi "kulturom"<sup>10</sup>? U Bjelovarsko-bilogorskoj županiji pronađena je «slavenska» grupa - doduše

<sup>6</sup> I. JURIĆ, *Podrijetlo Hrvata*, str. 62-63, 67, 69.

<sup>7</sup> Posebice doktorat koji radi Sanja Bernard, kojoj pripada puna zasluga za ono što samo ovde iznio. Također I. PEŠKAN - V. PASCUTTINI JURAGA, *Mystical Figures from the Middle Ages in Northern Croatia*, in *Art History, the Future is Now. Studies in Honor of Professor Vladimir P. Goss*, Rijeka, 2012., str. 356-370 (elektroničko izd., [www.romanika.net](http://www.romanika.net)).

<sup>8</sup> I. JURIĆ, *Podrijetlo Hrvata*, str. 66, 69.

radi se o samo jednom uzorku<sup>9</sup>. No, iz zapadne Slavonije hrvatsko je stanovništvo masivno iseljavalo u 16. stoljeću pred Turcima. Danas tamo uopće nema izvornog hrvatskoga stanovništva pa bi "Slaveni" mogli biti doseljeni Srbi koji su stigli s Turcima ili s Habsburzima, zatim Slovenci, Slovaci, Česi pa čak i Mađari ili Austrijanci, koji su se doselili oko 1700. godine, nakon oslobođenja od Turaka. Što dovodi do ključnog pitanja - kako znamo koji se "Slaveni" (odnosno govornici slavenskog jezika) kriju pod nazivom *slavenske haplo grupe*. Jednostavno, ne znamo! A odgovor može dati samo humanistika i društvene znanosti.

Logično slijedi i propitivanje termina "hrvatski" za *haplo grupu I*. Njeni su nositelji bili na hrvatskom području tisućljeća prije dolaska Hrvata odnosno govornika slavenskog jezika koji zovemo hrvatskim. Isto tako nema jamstva da bi nositelji *slavenske skupine* bili Hrvati. Nemamo pred sobom izvornog hrvatskog doseljenika da ga ispitamo o njegovom iranskem, alanskem, sarmatskom, antskom... podrijetlu. Neizbjježan je zaključak - nisam prvi što ga nudim - da genetska istraživanja imaju malo ili nikakvo značenje za humanistiku i društvene znanosti. Geni ne određuju kulturne djelatnosti, bilo u duhovnoj bilo u materijalnoj sferi. Poznajem brojne hrvatsko-američke obitelji, u kojima su oba roditelja Hrvati, a djeca su im Amerikanci - baš kao sva američka djeca. To se mijenja samo ako roditelji posebno nastoje prenijeti nešto od svoje kulturne baštine na djecu, da djeca od najranije mladosti redovito posjećuju staru domovinu, odnosno da su neka od njih posebno intelektualno i emocionalno zainteresirana toliko da žele proučavati neki aspekt stare domovine.

Ipak, istovremeno, ne zaboravlja se podrijetlo. Čak i potomci imigranata 19. stoljeća znaju da su Hrvati, iako možda nemaju pojma što to znači.

Neki naši kolege iz prirodnih znanosti ne prihvataju doseljenje Hrvata. Pri tome su u krivu. Ne kanim opterećivati čitatelja s opsežnom dokumentacijom koju sam iznio u članku o Troglavcu iz Váčana u *Starohrvatskoj prosvjeti* iz 2009. godinu. I nakon najnovijih korekcija taj *dossier* jasno pokazuje da je to područje između 7. i 9. stoljeća bilo pod kulturnom dominacijom govornika slavenskog jezika (imena mjesta, pojedinaca, etničkih skupina) i nositelja slavenske kulture (mitologija, religija,

Professor Jurić's research could be legitimately used as an indication that such conclusion might be correct. Of course, we would need more samples as well as a more profound study of the visual arts material. Not to say that we need a methodological agreement on what exactly to do!

Professor Jurić has demonstrated a prominent role of the Slavic group in some areas which are, as opposed to the above, traditional transit areas, the upper Drava Valley (Varaždin), the Lonja Valley linking the Drava and the Sava Valleys (Zagreb), and the areas along the old traditional roads to the sea (Piedmont, the Sava Valley, western Slavonia, the western BiH region). However, it then comes as a surprise that the lower Drava and Sava valleys, and Eastern Slavonia show a considerable presence of the I group, with just some „Slavic“ presence. Could it be that the most prominent Slavic immigration happened indeed along the line Koprivnica/Varaždin – Zagreb – the Highlands – the Sea? Could such a supposition be confirmed by "culture"<sup>8</sup>?

The Bjelovar-Bilogora County reveals also the presence of the "Slavic" haploid group (based on a single sample, though)<sup>9</sup>. Yet, the entire Western Slavonia was subject to a massive emigration of native Croatian population around the middle of the 16<sup>th</sup> century and the Turkish occupation. There is no indigenous Croatian population there today. So the "Slavs" could be the Serbs that came with the Turks, or with the Habsburgs, the Slovenes, Slovaks, Czechs, even Austrians or Hungarians that settled there after the re-conquest ca. 1700. And having posed that question we can not avoid a more important and a more general one? How and do we know what "Slavs" hide under the carriers of Slavic haploid group? We do not! If at all, such question could be resolved by humanistic and social science research only.

What logically follows is to question the designation of the I group as "Croatian." Its bearers had been on the territory of Croatia millennia before any bearers of Croatian name and speakers of the Slavic Croatian tongue showed up there. And, as just stated, there is no guarantee that the bearers of the "Slavic" group were Croatian at all. We have no original Croatian settler to find out about his pos-

<sup>9</sup> I. JURIĆ, *Podrijetlo Hrvata*, str. 67.

<sup>8</sup> I. JURIĆ, *Podrijetlo Hrvata*, pp. 66, 69.

sible Iranian, Alanian, Sarmathian, Antian... origin. The inescapable conclusion, and mine is not the first of the kind, is that genetic studies have no or very little meaning for research in humanities and social sciences. Genes simply do not define one's cultural output, be it in material or spiritual area. I know many Croatian-American couples, both parents being immigrants from Croatia, whose children are simply as American as any other American children. This changes only if the parents make a concerted effort to pass some of the cultural heritage to their children, if the children regularly from a tender age visit the old country, if they for some intellectual or emotional reason want to study some aspect of the old country, etc.

However, at the same time, they do not forget their origin. Even the offspring of the immigrants from the 19<sup>th</sup> ct. clearly know that they are Croats, although they may have little understanding of what it means.

Yet, as opposed to our scientist colleagues we must not jump to conclusion that there was no migration of the Croats. I do not want to reiterate an outline of the most prominent, even material, traces of Slavic presence in Croatia discussed in my article on the Three-Header from Vaćani in SHP in 2009. Even when corrected, this "dossier" undoubtedly shows that the territory under consideration was culturally dominated, between the 7<sup>th</sup> and the 9<sup>th</sup> century by people belonging to the speakers of the Slavic tongue (place names, personal names, ethnic names), and Slavic culture (names referring to mythology, religion; the art, and traces of cultural materials at their sites, structures within the landscape)<sup>10</sup>. Here are a few remarkable new developments.

One of the most promising points of investigation is the small plateau of Trema to the east of Križevci, of which I have spoken more than once. As a new development I would like to introduce a story Professor Katičić has heard from a woman in Trema, having visited there with Professor Vinčak after an initial visit with myself. At the place called "Vražje oko" (Devil's Eye), a marshy piece of land with several springs and temporary rivulets, he had the lack I had never had of meeting the right person, who told him that at a certain spot she clearly indicated, a herd of stock disappeared underground

<sup>9</sup> I. JURIĆ, *Podrijetlo Hrvata*, p. 67.

<sup>10</sup> Please see note 3.

pejzažne strukture, tragovi umjetničkog stvaralaštva)<sup>10</sup>. Ovdje dodajemo nekoliko značajnih novih saznanja.

Mjesto koje vrlo mnogo obećava mala je visoravan *Trema* istočno od Križevaca o kojoj sam pisao više puta. Na obilasku *Treme* u društvu profesora Vinčaka, akademik Katičić čuo je mještankinu priču da je na položaju zvanom *Vražje oko*, močvarnoj površini s više izvora i privremenih potočića (koje sam već i ja povezao s bogom Velesom) i to na lokaciji koju je ona jasno pokazala, stado stoke propalo u zemlju, što se izravno veže uz djelatnosti *skotnog boga* Velesa, gospodara ovog i podzemnog svijeta. Na zapadnom Papuku koji, također postaje ključna točka ranoslavenskih istraživanja, čuli smo, profesor Katičić i ja, od našeg redovnog obavještajca, šumara gosp. Darija Šimunića da postoji priča da su Srbi (naravno doseljeni u 16. stoljeću) iz Lisine (staroslavenski "Suhi vrh" - dakle Perunov položaj) napustili svoje izvorno naselje nakon što je tijekom strašne oluje s neba pao umirući zmaj na stog sijena i prouzročio golemi požar. Bio je to naravno Veles, pobjeđen od Peruna nedaleko od *Poganog vrha*, lijepe piramide koju danas više znanstvenika prepoznaje kao Perunovu točku u monumentalnom mitološkom pejzažu, svetom trokutu, koji je po našim podatcima rekonstruirao profesor Belaj. Veles ima sjedište na *Petrovu vrhu* a Mokoš na položaju slavnog samostana *Sv. Margarete u Bijeli*. Golema polja ruševina u *Gornjim Borkima*, a također u *Crkvištu* (*Pogano*, *Sv. Peter*), *Draganacu te Bijeli*, zahtijevat će godine arheoloških istraživanja. Priča koju smo čuli preživjela je do danas među srpskim doseljenicima, pet stoljeća nakon što je zadnji izvorni hrvatski stanovnik napustio prekrasnu planinsku dolinu Bijele. Dobro je da se naši *dossieri* i dalje popunjavaju<sup>11</sup>.

Dodajući ranijim zaključcima, pokušati ću pomalo drsko i bezbožno baciti pogled na neke nove obavijesti koje donosi nedavno prevedena i već spominjana knjiga. Autor A. Majorov na dva mesta spominje da su se ljudi iz južne Poljske deklarirali

<sup>10</sup> Vidi bilj. 3.

<sup>11</sup> R. KATIČIĆ, *Božanski boj*, o sukobu Peruna i Velesa. Također V. P. GOSS, *Registar položaja i spomenika ranije srednjovjekovne umjetnosti u medurićeju Save i Drave*. Zagreb, 2012., str. 60. – V. P. GOSS, The Three Header from Vaćani, *Starohrvatska prosjedla*, 3. ser., sv. 36, Split, 2009., str. 42-54, 43-44 (Trema), 45-46 (Pogano, St. Peter).

američkim imigrantskim vlastima kao "Bijeli Hrvati" u drugoj polovini 19. stoljeća<sup>12</sup>. Kao američki državljanin rođen izvan SAD-a jamčim vam da američki INS ne grijesi. Ta vijest je u skladu s onom koju je profesor Vinščak donio s putovanja u zapadnu Ukrajinu 2012. godine. U okolici Lviva kad bi rekao da je došao iz Hrvatske, neki su mještani odgovarali: "Vi ste dakle jedan od onih naših koji je otišao na jug pred više od 1000 godina"<sup>13</sup>. To je "usmena predaja", no kako je veliki antropolog, Jan Vansina tvrdio u svojoj klasičnoj knjizi *Oral tradition as History*, također i prvorazredni povijesni materijal<sup>14</sup>. Ljudi dobro znaju tko su i otkuda dolaze stoljećima nakon samog dogodaja, to jest, zavijek. Ovome treba dodati vijesti iz poglavlja 30. i 31. Konstantina Porfirogeneta (poglavlje 31. dio je izvornog rada), koji je živio jedva stoljeće nakon dogodaja koje opisuje. Car kaže da su Hrvati pokršteni pod knezom Porinom (Borna), dok umetnuto poglavlje 30. to ponavlja uz dodatak da su se dosečili pod Porginim (Borninim) ocem. Ovdje imamo poprilično jasnu sliku o tome kada su Hrvati stigli u Dalmaciju. Posebice zato što se upravo navedeno može potvrditi pouzdanim toponomastičkim studijama i izvješćima arpskih putopisaca<sup>15</sup>.

<sup>12</sup> A. V. MAJOROV, *Velika Hrvatska*, str. 55, 164.

<sup>13</sup> Usmena obavijest na kojoj sam osobito zahvalan. Nedavna prerana smrt profesora Vinščaka golem je gubitak za hrvatsku humanistiku.

<sup>14</sup> I. VANSINA, *Oral Tradition as History*. Madison, 1985.

<sup>15</sup> Ne tvrdim da sam riješio neke od brojnih nejasnosti i dvoznačnosti u poglavlјima 29., 30. i 31. u *De Imperando imperio*. No ono što slijedi zadovoljava moje omiljeno geslo: što jednostavnije to bolje. Glavni lik, Borna, pojavljuje se u poglavlju 30 (Porin, M. ANČIĆ, *Vrela*, u: *Hrvati i Karolinzi*, (ur. A. Milošević), vol. 2, Split, 2000., str. 270; o poglavlju 30, koje Ančić s pravom smatra doprinosom franačke historiografije, ubačenim između izvornih bizantinskih poglavlja 29. i 31., vidi: M. ANČIĆ, *Vrela* str. 267.) kao vladar koji je zaslужan za pokrštavanje Hrvata, što potvrđuje i bizantsko poglavlje 31. Razlika je što poglavlje 30. govori o rimskim misionarima, dok poglavlje 31. pripisuje glavnu ulogu caru Herakliju, a poglavlje 29. Baziliju I. (867.-886.). U poglavlju 31. Borna se naziva "Porga" uz napomenu da su se Hrvati doselili u Dalmaciju pod Porginim ocem. Borna je poznata osoba u franačkim izvorima (V. P. GOSS, The "Croatian Westwork" Revisited, *Ars*, 43, Bratislava, 2010., str. 21), a čini se da se danas javlja i kao arheološka stvarnost (A. JURČEVIĆ, Nalazi ranokarolinškog oružja i konjaničke opreme u doba formiranja Hrvatske Kneževine, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, 3. ser., sv. 38, Split, 2011., str. 138-140). Poteškoča leži u tome da se Borna

– a clear reference to the activities of the *skotni bog* (God of Cattle), Veles, the Lord of this and the netherworld. At the Western Papuk which is on its way to become a major early Slavic point, Professor Katičić and myself were told by our regular informer, Mr. Dario Šimunić, forester, how the Serbs of Lisina (old Slavic "Dry Hill") left their original settlement as one day, during a horrible storm, a dying dragon fell down from the sky into a haystack and made a terrible conflagration. It was of course Veles defeated by Perun, not far from the Pogani vrh, identified so far by several scholars in various disciplines, as the Perun point of a monumental "sacred triangle" defined by Vitomir Belaj on my original suggestion, Veles' point being the Petrov Vrh (St. Peter's Peak), Mokoš having her apartments at the site of the famous medieval monastery of St. Margaret at Bijela. Huge fields of ruins at Gornji Borki, as well as at Crkvište (Pogano St. Peter), Draganac and Bijela itself will supply years of archeological work. The story has survived among the Serb immigrants until today, almost five centuries after the last indigenous Croat had left the area fleeing the Turks. It is indeed good that the dossiers of the key sites continue to expand<sup>11</sup>.

To add to conclusions I have made before, I would like, in a possibly somewhat brazen and irreverent way point to some new information provided by the recent book already quoted. At two spots in the book A. Majorov states that the people from Southern Poland declared themselves "White Croatian" to American Immigration officials in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>12</sup>. As a foreign born American citizen I vouch that the INS does not make mistakes. This information is fully in harmony with information brought back from his 2012 trip to western Ukraine by Professor Vinščak. In the area of Lviv when asked where he was from and having answered that he was Croatian the local people said: "So, you are one of those ours who went South more than a 1000 years ago"<sup>13</sup>! This is "oral

<sup>11</sup> R. KATIČIĆ, *Božanski boj*, on the clash between Perun and Veles. Also V. P. GOSS, *Registar položaja i spomenika ranije srednjovjekovne umjetnosti u međuriječju Save i Drave*. Zagreb, 2012, p. 60. and V. P. GOSS, The Three Header from Vaćani, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ser. 36, Split, 2009, pp. 42-54, 43-44 (Trema), 45-46 (Pogano St. Peter).

<sup>12</sup> A. V. MAJOROV, *Velika Hrvatska*, pp. 55, 164.

<sup>13</sup> Oral communication for which I am extremely grateful.

tradition,” but as the great anthropologist, Jan Vansina, has shown in his classic book *Oral Tradition as History* it is also first-class historical evidence<sup>14</sup>. People know who they are, and where they come from centuries after the fact, i.e., for ever. Add to it the information of the chapters 30 and 31 in Constantine Porphyrogenitus (the latter chapter being a part of the original volume) who lived a little more than a century after the events described in his work. He says that the Croats were baptized under Duke Porin (Borna) whereas the inserted chapter 30 confirms this, while adding that they came under Porga’s father, and so we have, in my opinion, quite a firm picture of where from and when some of the Croats arrived at Dalmatia. Especially, as the above could be supported by reliable place name studies and Arab traveler reports<sup>15</sup>.

<sup>14</sup> I. VANSINA, *Oral Tradition as History*. Madison, 1985.

<sup>15</sup> This is not to claim to have solved some of the numerous uncertainties and ambiguities in the chapters 29, 30, and 31 of the *De Imperando Imperio* yet what follows satisfies my stand of “the simpler the better.” The key figure, Duke Borna, appears in the chapter 30 (Porin, M. ANČIĆ, *Vrela*, in *Hrvati i Karolinzi*, (ed. A. Milošević), 2 vols., Split, 2000, p. 270; on chapter 30, which Ančić rightly sees as a contribution of Frankish historiography, inserted between the original, Byzantine, chapters 30 and 31, M. ANČIĆ, *Vrela*, p. 267.) as the ruler who caused the baptism of the Croats, confirmed in the byzantine chapter 31. The difference is that the chapter 30 speaks of Roman missionaries, whereas the chapter 31 assigns the key role to Emperor Heraclius, and the chapter 29 to Basil I (867-886). In 31 Borna is called «Porga» with a note that the Croats arrived to Dalmatia under Porga’s father. Borna is a well-established figure in Frankish sources (V. P. GOSS, The “Croatian Westwork” Revisited, *Ars*, 43, Bratislava, 2010, p. 21), and he also seems to be emerging as an archeological reality (A. JURČEVIĆ, Nalazi ranokarolinškog oružja i konjaničke opreme u doba formiranja Hrvatske Kneževine, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ser. 38, Split, 2011, pp. 138-140). The only difficulty concerning Borna is that in the chapter 31 he is also related to the time of Emperor Heraclius. This I take as a firm indication that the Heraclius story in general is a Bytantine invention at the moment of a confrontation with the West. Bar that and to restate: the Croats came under Borna’s father, and were baptized under Borna, most likely at the Crkvina in Biskupija. See also the Croatian and English text of the three relevant chapters prepared by A. Mutnjaković in V. P. GOSS, *Pre-Romanesque Architecture in Croatia*. Zagreb, 1996, pp. 220, 229, 230, 232. Also H. LOWMIANSKI, *Hrvatska pradomovina*. Rijeka, 2004, pp. 72-74. For a recent evaluation of Porphyrogenitus in general, A. V. MAJOROV, *Velika Hrvatska*, pp. 9-31.

Nedavna su istraživanja naglasila, mislim ispravno, ulogu kneza Borne. Kako je uspjelo odvojiti pretkrščanski od kršćanskog sloja grobova u *westverku* Sv. Marije u Crkvini, postavljena je privlačna hipoteza da u jednom od najodličnijih grobova počiva prvi hrvatski kršćanski knez. Tako Crkvina u hrvatskoj povijesti zauzima mjesto Jellinga u Danskoj - mjesto gdje po vladarevoj zapovjedi zemlja prihvata novu vjeru. U tom svjetlu misao profesora Jurića da hrvatska etnogeneza ustvari počinje nakon migracije vrijedna je pažnje iako ne bezrezervne<sup>16</sup>.

Slaveni koji su se smjestili u Dalmaciju i Panoniji između oko 600. i oko 800. nisu izvorno pučanstvo tih zemalja. Jezik kojim su govorili bio je za domaće strani jezik. Koliko je meni poznato ne postoji klasični izvor koji bi spominjao Hrvate i njihov jezik na području starog Ilirika. Klasični su autori bili dobro obaviješteni čak i o onome što se zbivalo izvan granica klasične civilizacije, a pohlepno su gutali vijesti antikne etnologije. Ipak, ne poznaju nikakve Slavene ili Hrvate u Panoniji i Dalmaciji. Jezici, dalmatinski i panonski latinski i slavenski nisu se prožimali. Naprotiv, odavno je već Skok pokazao da je postojala neka vrsta lingvističkog apartheid-a. Na kraju romanski je gotovo potpuno nestao<sup>17</sup>.

u poglavlju 31. veže na doba cara Heraklija. Smatram to jakom indikacijom da je cijela priča oko Heraklija bizantska invencija lansirana u času konfrontacije s karolinškim zapadom. Bez toga: Hrvati su došli pod Bornim ocem i pokršteni su pod Bornom kod Crkvine u Biskupiji. Vidi također hrvatski i engleski tekst relevantnih poglavlja kako ga je pripremio A. Mutnjaković u: V. P. GOSS, *Pre-Romanesque Architecture in Croatia*. Zagreb, 1996., str. 220, 229, 230, 232. Također H. LOWMIANSKI, *Hrvatska pradomovina*. Rijeka, 2004., str. 72-74. Za nedavnu reevaluaciju Porfirogeneta, A. V. MAJOROV, *Velika Hrvatska*, str. 9-31. Slažem se s Ančićem da se Konstantinu ne može vjerovati bez podrške u drugim materijalima poput toponima i arapskih pisaca. Vidi H. LOWMIANSKI, *Hrvatska pradomovina*, str. 103-126, i V. BELAJ, *Hod kroz godinu*, (re Ibn-Rusteh), str. 138.

<sup>16</sup> A. JURČEVIĆ, Nalazi ranokarolinškog oružja, str. 138-140. – M. PETRINEC, *Groblja od 8. do 11. stoljeća na području ranosrednjovjekovne hrvatske države*. Split, 2009., str. 66-72. – *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy*. (Ur.: N. Berend), Cambridge, 2007., str. 82, 84, 86. – G. HOJVANG, *Jelling kirke*. Jelling, 2010. – I. JURIĆ, *Podrijetlo Hrvata*, str. 231-234

<sup>17</sup> P. SKOK. *Slavenstvo i romanstvo na jadranskim otocima*, 2. vol., Zagreb, 1950.

Ono što je vrijedno u genetskim studijama jest da potvrđuju da su doseljeni Hrvati/Slaveni preuzeли mnogo od domaće rimske kulture. Govoreći 23. travnja 2013., u HAZU o svojoj knjizi *Sretan grad*, Andrija Mutnjaković je ponovio misao izrečenu u uvodu mojoj knjizi *Pre-Romanesque Architecture in Croatia* (Zagreb, 2006.), to jest, da nema razloga da ne prihvativmo kulturu izvornog stanovništva, odnosno svake skupine koja prethodi dolasku Slavena, kao dio svoje povijesne i kulturne baštine. Mutnjaković, provjerio sam, ne prati genetska istraživanja, dakle samostalno dolazi do sličnih zaključaka. Koristeći kao primjer istarske pretpovijesne kastejlere, Mutnjaković je lucidno ukazao na još nešto: da su Slaveni došli kao ruralni, neurbani narod i da su se stoga mogli identificirati s ruralnom rimskom provincijalnom kulturom Ilirika. I ja sam neovisno predlagao slične teze<sup>18</sup>.

Ako nam je potreban zaključak, predlažem slijedeće. Znanstvenici prirodnjaci potvrdili i ojačali značaj kontinuiteta u hrvatskoj kulturi. U našim razgovorima profesor Jurić je više puta naglašavao taj čimbenik. Ponudio bih mu primjer, zaista slavan - Vučedol, koji on s pravom smatra jednim od najvažnijih preistorijskih nalazišta uopće. No već samo ime Vučedol nije samo lingvistički slavensko, nego je i duboko je vezano uza slavensku mitologiju. Vučedol je vučja dolina, ne bilo kojeg vuka (u tom bi slučaju bio *Vukov dol*), nego mjesto gdje je Juraj-Jarilo proveo mladost čuvajući Velesove vukove, prije nego što je usred ljeta prešao rijeku (ovdje Dunav) i oženio Maru-Moranu<sup>19</sup>. Uzvisina Vučedola (kakav *contradictio in adjecto!*) bila je naseljena i u srednjem vijeku, no dosada ta faza nije ozbiljnije istraživana, iako izgleda da postoje dokumeti istraživanja otprije i tijekom Drugoga svjetskog rata u Arheološkom Muzeju u Zagrebu<sup>20</sup>. Dobro pirpremljena i naciljana istraživanja na odbanim mjestima i materijalu mogla bi nam puno reći o tim pitanjima kontinuiteta i promjena.

<sup>18</sup> V. P. GOSS, *Pre-Romanesque Architecture in Croatia*, Zagreb, 2006., uvod: A. Mutnjaković.

<sup>19</sup> V. BELAJ, *Hod kroz godinu*, poglavljia: "Prošel je, prošel pisani Vuem, došel je, došel zeleni Juraj" i "Na gori Bilo gori, na Ivana dvori", str. 425. – R. KATIČIĆ, *Zeleni lug*.

<sup>20</sup> Usmena informacija bivšeg ravnatelja Muzeja, Ante Rendića-Miočevića za koju sam osobito zahvalan. Također vidi i tekst uz panel "Muzej i R.R. Schmidt na Vučedolu", na izložbi "I palača i muzej", Arheološki muzej, Zagreb, 4. travnja - 6. lipanj, 2013.

Recent research has highlighted the role of Bor-na, I should say, deservedly so. As it has become possible to disentangle pre-Christian rulers' tombs in the westwork of St. Mary's at Crkvina in Biskupija from the Christian one, a felicitous suggestion has been made that the most distinguished tomb contains the body of the first Christian Croatian prince. Crkvina thus assumes the role Jelling for example, played in Denmark – the place where on a ruler's order a country accepted Christianity. In the light of this, Professor Jurić's contention that the "ethogenesis" of the Croats started upon migration, albeit debatable, is well-taken<sup>16</sup>.

The Slavs that came to Dalmatia and Pannonia between ca. 600 and ca. 800 were not the original population of those regions. The language they spoke was for the natives a foreign tongue. To the best of my knowledge there is no classical source that mentions the Croats or their tongue on the territory of the old Illyricum. The classical authors are well-informed and avid consumers of ancient ethnology, way beyond the borders of the Romanitas, yet they are not aware of any Slavs or Croats in Dalmatia or Pannonia. The languages, Dalmatian/Pannonian Latin and Slavic did not experience much of an interchange. On the contrary, as Skok demonstrated long ago, there was something close to linguistic apartheid. In the end the Romance lost out nearly 100%<sup>17</sup>.

What is, however, valuable and correct in the view of the genetic studies, is that the immigrant Slavs assumed much of the local Roman culture. Speaking on April 23, 2013, at the Croatian Academy on his newest book, *The Happy City*, Andrija Mutnjaković repeated the contention he made in the preface to my book *Pre-Romanesque Architecture in Croatia* (2006), i.e., that there is no reason we

I agree with Ančić that Constantine can not be trusted unless supported by other materials, as place names and Arab travellers. See H. LOWMIANSKI, *Hrvatska pradomovina*, pp. 103-126, and V. BELAJ, *Hod kroz godinu*, (re Ibn-Rusteh), p. 138.

<sup>16</sup> A. JURČEVIĆ, Nalazi ranokarolinškog oružja, pp. 138-140. – M. PETRINEC, *Grobila od 8. do 11. stoljeća na području ranosrednjovjekovne hrvatske države*. Split, 2009, pp. 66-72. – *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy*. (Ed. N. Berend), Cambrdige, 2007, pp. 82, 84, 86. – G. HOJVANG, *Jelling kirke*. Jelling, 2010. – I. JURIĆ, *Podrijetlo Hrvata*, pp. 231-234.

<sup>17</sup> P. SKOK. *Slavenstvo i romanstvo na jadranskim otocima*, 2. vols., Zagreb, 1950.

should not see the culture of the indigenous population, plus any other group preceding Slavic immigration, as being a part of our historical and cultural heritage. Mr. Mutnjaković, I am sure, was not aware of genetic investigations in 2006, neither is he today. By using Istrian pre-historic forts as a key example, Mutnjaković has very perspicaciously identified something else; that the Slavs came as a rural, non-urban people and had a lot of affinity with the rural, Roman provincial culture of the Illyricum; a contention I have also proposed independently<sup>18</sup>.

If a summary is needed, I would venture the following. What the natural scientists have done is to reinforce the importance of the continuity in the culture of the Croats. In our conversations Professor Jurić has insisted several times on the continuity factor. I would like to offer him one, a truly glorious one, to contemplate – Vučedol, which he rightly identifies as one of the greatest pre-historic sites in the world. But the name Vučedol itself is not just Slavic, it is heavily immured in early Slavic mythology. It is a valley of the wolves, not just any wolf (which would be *Vukov dol*), but the place where Juraj-Jarilo spent his youth tending Veles' wolves, before he, at midsummer turned Ivan, escaped across the river (the Danube) and married Mara-Morana<sup>19</sup>. The hill of Vučedol (what a contradiction in terms!) continued to be settled throughout the Middle Ages, yet no serious study of the medieval Vučedol fort has been made, although, apparently there are records of its exploration before and in the course of the World War2 in the Archeological Museum of Zagreb<sup>20</sup>. Also, well-planned joint ventures, targeting carefully selected areas or types of material may teach us a lot exactly about this key issue of continuity and change.

However, the major prerequisite is mutual understanding and tolerance. My personal experience of natural scientists is that they consider themselves omnipotent and omniscient, and any research that

Glavni preduvjet ostaje međusobno razumijevanje i tolerancija. Moje osobno iskustvo glede prirodnih znanstvenika je da se smatraju svemoćnim i sveznajućim te da istraživanja koja nisu provedena po njihovim pravilima, nisu vrijedna spomena. Humanisti pak, doživljavaju prirodne znanstvenike kao napuhane i arogantne, bez razumijevanja za ljudske vrednote, stvaratelje nuklearnih bomba i genetski modificirane hrane. Nažalost i jedna i druga simplifikacija su donekle točne. Osobno sam doživio da i neki moji dobri prijatelji među prirodnjacima smatraju ono što propovijedaju evanđeoskom istinom, nešto gdje nema mjesta za zatucane humaniste, dok su sami spremni bilo kada provaliti u područje humanistike i društvenih znanosti i učiti humaniste njihov posao. Sreća je da s obje strane rova ima ljudi koji ne misle tako. Pred više stoljeća Blaise Pascal (1623.-1662.) je u svojim *Pensées* (oko 1654.) identificirao dva tipa ljudskog duha: *l'esprit de géometrie* i *l'esprit de finesse* – duh znanosti i duh humanistike<sup>21</sup>. Pascal, i sam sjajan primjer obojega, trebao bi poslužiti kao duhovni voditelj ka suradnji dvaju znanstvenih područja. Srećom neki veliki duhovi čovječanstva - Aristotel, Plinije, Boetije, Piero della Francesca, Leonardo, Paracelsus, Dürer, Descartes, Newton, Bošković, Einstein, Heisenberg, Bohr, Nervi... bili su obdareni s oba duha.

<sup>21</sup> B. PASCAL, *Pensées*. Paris, 1962., str. 216-218.

Zahvale: Autor se zahvaljuje kolegama iz MHAS-a na dugogodišnjoj kolegijalnoj i konstruktivnoj suradnji. Posebno se zahvaljuje profesorima Ivanu Juriću i Dragunu Primoracu za informaciju o njihovim genetskim studijama. Profesoru Juriću još za našu dugotrajnu kolegijalnu iako pokatkad oštru debatu o gore iznesenim pitanjima. Profesoru Draženu Vikiću Topiću za primjerak knjige A. Majorova. Posebno se zahvaljujem akademiku Radoslavu Katičiću za njegovu trajnu potporu i širokogrudnu kritiku i savjet. Konačno, iskreno se zahvaljujem mom stalnom sudaru na terenu, dr. Goranu Jakovljeviću Višem muzejskom savjetniku Gradskog Muzeja u Bjelovaru, te njegovim terenskim dojavljivačima Stevi Hudji i Dariju Šimnuniću, kao i Zoranu Tokiću, akademском slikaru i restauratoru u navedenom muzeju.

<sup>18</sup> V. P. GOSS, *Pre-Romanesque Architecture in Croatia*, Zagreb, 2006, introduction by A. Mutnjaković.

<sup>19</sup> V. BELAJ, *Hod kroz godinu*, chapters «Prošel je, prošel pisani Vuem, došel je, došel zeleni Juraj» and «Na gori Bilo gori, na Ivana dvori» p. 425. – R. KATIČIĆ, *Zeleni lug*.

<sup>20</sup> Oral information by the former Director, Ante Rendić-Miočević for which I am extremely grateful. Also text on the panel "Muzej i R.R. Schmidt na Vučedolu", exhibition "I palača i muzej", Arheološki muzej, Zagreb, April 4 - June 6, 2013.

does not fall within their rules is not worth its name. On the other hand, humanists tend to see natural scientists as pompous and arrogant brutes having no understanding of human values, the makers of nuclear weapons and genetically modified foods. The unfortunate fact is that those oversimplifications are partially true. I have myself found natural scientists, even close friends, ready to see what they preach as Gospel Truth, something a poor humanist can not and should not try to penetrate, whereas they consider themselves fully entitled to invade humanist and social science areas to teach humanists and social scientists their own business. The fortunate fact is that on both side of the trench there are people who think otherwise. Centuries ago Blaise Pascal (1623-1662) has in his *Pensées* (ca. 1654) identified two types of human spirit: *l'esprit de géometrie* and *l'esprit de finesse* – the spirit of sciences and the spirit of humanities<sup>21</sup>. Pascal, a superb example of both, could serve as a guiding spirit of any co-operation of the two spiritual fields. Luckily, many great spirits of human kind – Aristotle, Pliny, Boetius, Piero della Francesca, Leonardo, Paracelsus, Dürer, Descartes, Newton, Bošković, Einstein, Heisenberg, Bohr, Nervi... where endowed with both.

<sup>21</sup> B. PASCAL, *Pensées*. Paris. 1962, pp. 216-218.

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