

JANJEVO AND JANJEVCI – FROM KOSOVO TO ZAGREB

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Janjevci, one of the oldest ethnic groups of Croats, have lived in Kosovo for seven centuries, outside their mother country, among the majority of Serbs and Albanians. However, geographical isolation of their settlements, uninterrupted connections with their mother country (The Republic of Dubrovnik), and strong influence of the Roman Catholic Church have prevented their assimilation into a wider community. Crafts and trade were the principal occupations of Janjevo population, which have survived even after their emigration from Kosovo. The most important destination of emigrants from Kosovo was Croatia, especially its capital Zagreb. Since 1970s, East Zagreb with its small family houses has become their main colony, where they have been building houses, opening stores and workshops. Their accommodation to the new environment did not go very smoothly; in fact it was very troublesome, since patriarchal and traditional family relationships have survived up to the present day. The woman is still considered as a housewife and a mother, and woman's education is poorer than the man's education. However, new generations try to integrate into this new environment, but the result is the loss of their old speech, customs and their own culture, due to intensive assimilation process. In this way, they also lose a part of their own identity.

Key words: Janjevci, Kosovo, traditionalism, patriarchal qualities, emigration, Zagreb

Janjevci su kao jedna od najstarijih etničkih grupa Hrvata izvan matične zemlje živjeli tijekom sedam stoljeća na Kosovu, u okruženju većinskih naroda Srba i Albanaca. Geografska izoliranost njihova naselja, kontinuitet veza s matičnom postojbinom (Dubrovačka Republika), jak utjecaj Katoličke crkve spriječili su njihovu asimilaciju u širu zajednicu. Obrt i trgovina bila su glavna zanimanja Janjevaca koja su zadržali i nakon iseljavanja s Kosova. Hrvatska, a posebno Zagreb, najvažnija su odredišta iseljenih Janjevaca. Istočni dio Zagreba, s dominacijom malih obiteljskih kuća od 1970-ih godina postaje glavna gradska četvrt u kojoj Janjevci grade kuće, otvaraju trgovine i radionice. Prilagođavanje novoj sredini teklo je veoma teško, a patrijarhalni i tradicionalni odnosi u obitelji i zajednici održali su se do danas. Žena je još uvijek shvaćena kao domaćica i roditeljica, a stupanj njezine naobrazbe slabiji je nego kod muškaraca. Novije generacije Janjevaca, nastojeći se uklopiti u novo okruženje sve više zapostavljaju stari govor, običaje i vlastitu kulturu i intenzivnije se asimiliraju u novu sredinu. Time gube i dio vlastitog identiteta.

Ključne riječi: Janjevci, Kosovo, tradicionalizam, patrijarhalnost, iseljavanje, Zagreb

Introduction

Janjevo is a settlement in the eastern part of Kosovo Autonomous Territory, i.e. at the edge of Kosovo subregion including mountainous borderland as physical and political divide between Southserbian and Southmoravian region (ROGIĆ, 1974, ROGIĆ, ŽULJIĆ, 1961). It is located near the headwater of the small river Janjevka, right tributary of Sitnica, which is draining old volcanic mountainous zone (Fig.1).



Fig. 1 Geographical position of Janjevo within Southeastern Europe
 Sl. 1. Geografski položaj naselja Janjevo u prostoru Jugoistočne Europe

Janjevo belongs to the traditional mining district of Novo Brdo and Kopaonik, with important deposits of lead and silver. Such position enabled its economic development and growth. Apart from Novo Brdo, Janjevo was a well known centre in medieval Serbia.

Based on the privileges granted by the Serbian rulers from the Nemanjić dynasty, the Republic of Dubrovnik established its colonies in Serbia in 13th and 14th century. One of the most powerful was Janjevo, witnessed by the oldest document from

the year 1303.¹ It is commonly considered that the first medieval settlers in this area, except Albanians, were Serbs and Saxons (Germans who immigrated into Serbia as miners), and after arrival of the population from Dubrovnik, steady settlements were established (CARTER, 1972). There are dual theories on the origin of the settlement's name Janjevo, interpreting the name from the historical-geographical and linguistic point of view. The historical-geographical theory relates the name to the settlement Janjina on Pelješac peninsula, which belonged to the Republic of Dubrovnik in the Middle Ages. However, the linguistic theory highlights the connection between the settlement's name and poplar trees (janj). In Croatia, Bosnia and Serbia there are many settlements with the root "janj" in their name (ČOLAK, MAŽURAN 2000), as well as a popular female name Janja.

The interests of the Republic of Dubrovnik in Serbia were supported by the government over its consuls, and one of them resided in Janjevo. The members of the Dubrovnik community in Janjevo belonged to various social classes: to nobility and to common people, mainly to miners, merchants, goldsmiths, shoe-makers, brick-layers. After the Turkish incorporation of Kosovo in 1455, Janjevo started to develop as a typical oriental settlement. However, Dubrovnik managed not only to retain the privileges, but also to enlarge those gained during the pre-Ottoman rule within the Turkish Empire. Trade, mining and ore processing were still the principal occupations, but the settlement had become a typical mixture of Croatian or Latin population with Muslim, Orthodox and other settlers.

In accordance with the account made by the Bar archbishop Marin Bizzi², in 1610 in Janjevo there were 500 families, whereof 120 were Catholic, 180 Muslim and 200 Orthodox. In the 17th century, the Catholic and the Orthodox Church were opened in the settlement. The Catholic Church also organized the school in which Latin alphabet and grammar were taught, whereas the education was in Croatian – in the dialect from Dubrovnik. The war between the Habsburg Monarchy and the Turkish Empire (between 1638 and 1699) also affected the situation with the population and the economy of Janjevo (ROGIĆ, 1990). The Catholic population retreated together with the Austrian army, to the north, and the war devastated the Janjevo mines, resulting in cessation of all mining activities. In accordance with the data from 1722, in Janjevo there were only ten Catholic homes with eighty family members (TROJANOVIĆ 1906). Simultaneously with the emigration from Janjevo, there was also a process of immigration. These new Catholic immigrants came from Dubrovnik colonies in Kosovo: Novo Brdo and Kratovo in Macedonia, but also by the immigrants from Bosnia and south Croatia. The position of the Janjevo population greatly deteriorated during the war in 1877 and 1878 and the independent Serbian state, and later on by the establishment of the Kingdom Yugoslavia. The Croatian language and the Latin alphabet were more and more suppressed by the Cyrillic alphabet and old Catholic Croatian schools were supplanted with Serbian.

¹ In the letter of the Pope Benedict XI to the bishop Marin, in Bar, a catholic parish Gračanica is mentioned, and it is assumed that this parish was Janjevo. The settlement with the same name Gračanica was an Orthodox parish. Some historians agree with this difference (DINIĆ 1967, JIREČEK 1988, ČOLAK, MAŽURAN 2000).

² The report was sent in 1610 to the Pope Paul V on the occasion of a visit to Catholic parishes in Albania and Serbia. (BARJAKTAREVIĆ 1971).

Discussion

The Population of Janjevo

One of the leading Serbian geographers, J. Cvijić (1911) insists that in 1910, there were 515 houses in Janjevo, whereof 400 Catholic, 75 Albanian, 20 houses of muhađiri (refugees) from Serbia, two of Turks and 18 Gypsies' houses. The same author explains the origin of "Latins" (name for the Catholic Janjevci), and concludes that Glasnovići and Palići are the oldest and most numerous families, from Dubrovnik, with total number of 110 houses. Macukići and Gucići also came from Dubrovnik, whereas, in his opinion, Ivanovići came from Kratovo and from Gračanica in Bosnia. Brkići came from Hercegovina, from Široki Brijeg. Other authors (ČOLAK, MAŽURAN 2000) quoted Kačanik as the origin of the family Gečević. Cvijić and Barjaktarović (1971) claim that Čibarići came from Kratovo, whereas after Mažuran, Čibarići were older population of the Croatian agricultural settlement Letnica. Families like Mazareki and Golomeji came from north Albania. Among numerous families from Janjevo, there are also Beriše (Berišići), who came from Letnica, but are of Albanian origin. Krstići are an Orthodox family who, having lived in Janjevo in the course of time, were converted to Catholicism.

Tab. 1 National structure of Janjevo population between 1961 and 1991

Tab. 1. Nacionalna struktura stanovništva Janjeva od 1961 do 1991

Population	1961		1971		1981		1991	
	TOTAL	%	TOTAL	%	TOTAL	%	TOTAL	%
Croats	3052	81.13	3761	79.31	3,534	69.48	2,859	86.14
Albanians	302	8.03	576	12.51	1,078	21.19	59	1.78
Serbs	47	1.25	51	1.08	21	0.41	8	0.24
Gypsies	7	0.19	218	4.06	331	6.51	344	10.36
Montenegros	2	0.05	3	0.06	-	-	11	0.33
Macedonians	1	0.03	-	-	-	-	-	-
Muslims	-	-	20	0.42	14	0.27	15	0.45
Yugoslavs	15	0.40	1	0.02	2	0.04	2	0.02
Slovenians	6	0.16	-	-	-	-	-	-
Hungarians	-	-	1	0.02	1	0.02	1	0.03
Others	-	-	-	-	-	-	20	0.60
Total	3762	100.00	4742	100.00	5086	100.00	3319	100.00

Source: Population Census of SFR Yugoslavia in 1961, 1971, 1981, 1991.

A specific feature of Janjevci as the ethnic Croatian Catholic community abroad, in often hostile environment, is high birth rate. The census results from 1961 to 1991 indicate the absolute predominance of the Croatian ethnic group in Janjevo (Tab. 1). Their proportion varied from 69.48 per cent in 1981 to 86.14 per cent in 1991. The number of Croats grew until 1971, after which a decline occurred. Thus, the number of Croats in Janjevo, in the period between 1961 and 1971 increased from 3,052 to 3,761 inhabitants,

or by 23.20 per cent. Between 1971 and 1981 it decreased from 3,761 to 3,534 people, or by 6.00 per cent, and between 1981 and 1991 it decreased further by 19.10 per cent (from 3,534 to 2,859 people). The reason for this was intensified emigration of Croats from the settlement, but also from Kosovo, in general. The causes of such emigration are numerous, from the economic depression in Kosovo, better communication links with Croatia, but also due to constant conflicts between Serbs and Albanians, which created an atmosphere of fear among Croats. The second largest ethnic group are Albanians, with the proportion of one fifth (21.90 per cent) in 1981.

Due to their relocation to Priština and to other settlements with Albanian majority in Kosovo, by 1991 the number of inhabitants was reduced to less than 100 people. It is quite interesting to observe how the increased proportion of Albanians in the settlement caused decline in proportion of Serbs (Fig.2).

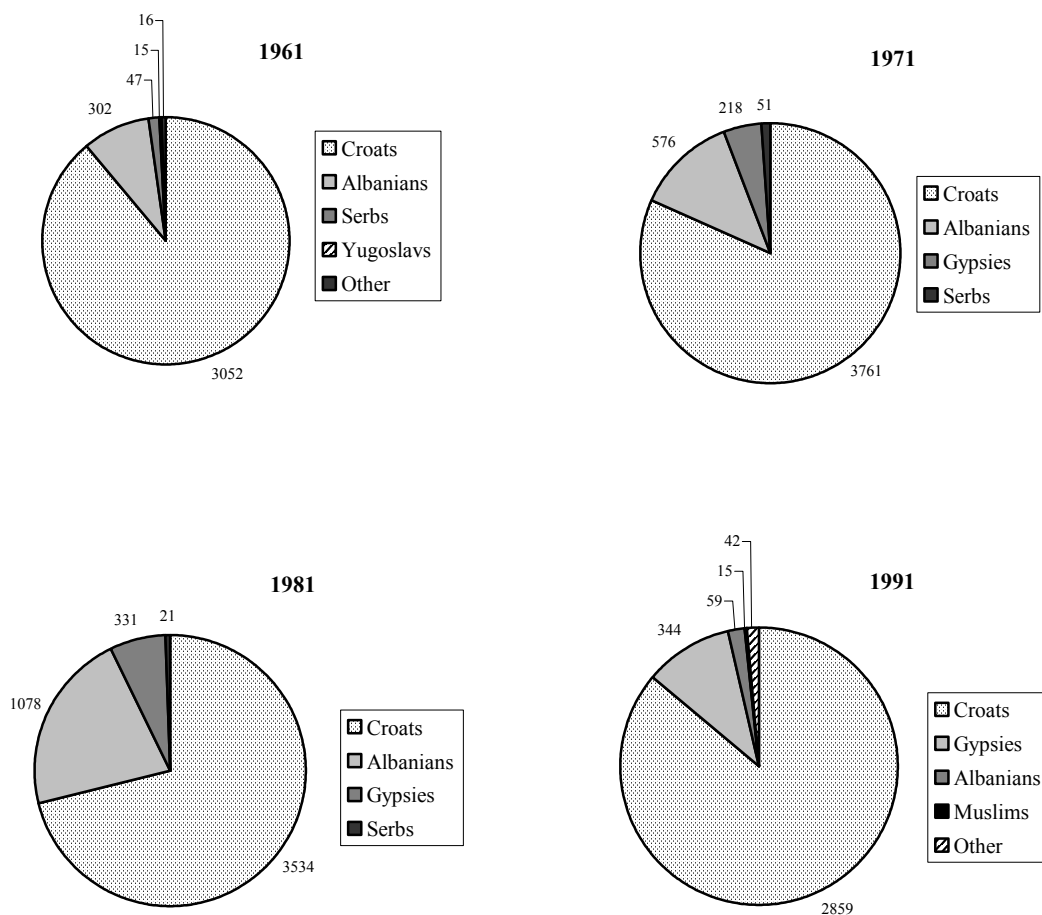


Fig. 2 National structure of Janjevo population between 1961 and 1991
 Sl. 2. Nacionalna struktura stanovništva Janjeva od 1961. do 1991.

Simultaneously, more and more Gypsies came to the settlement, which became the second largest ethnic group in Janjevo (10.36 per cent). In the whole settlement, and also in the Croatian community, as the largest in number, high birth rate has constantly been recorded. The age and sex structure of Janjevo (Fig. 3) records constant high natural increase of population. The age and sex structure of Janjevo displays vividly the youth population and its expansion.

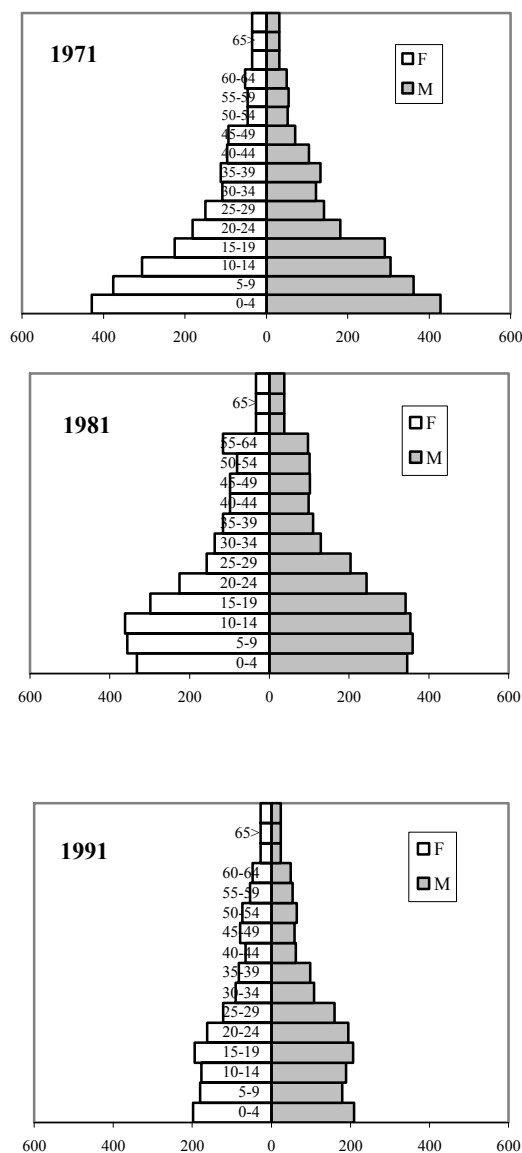


Fig. 3 Population pyramid of Janjevo in 1971, 1981 and 1991

Sl. 3. Dobno-spolna struktura stanovništva Janjeva 1971. ,1981. i 1991. godine

The proportion of young population (0-19 years) is fairly high, above 50 per cent (in 1961 – 53.90 per cent, in 1971 – 57.38 per cent, in 1981 – 54.05 per cent). Such a high rate of the young population is not characteristic for the European population and it may be compared to the rates in the Latin-American countries (Fig. 3). The decrease was recorded only in 1991, when this proportion fell for the first time under 50 per cent (46.19 per cent). A proportion of old population (60 and older) in the complete period of observation (1961 – 1991) was very low (less than 5 per cent). The largest population category is the youngest, category from zero to four years of age. In 1961, its proportion was 18.47 per cent and in 1991 12.26 per cent of the whole Janjevo population. In spite of complete depopulation, the Croats increased their proportion within total population of Janjevo, from 81.1 per cent (in 1961) to 86.1 per cent (in 1991).

Barjaktarović (1971) has already written on specific features of Janjevci as the ethnic population, highlighting the high birth rate as one of their peculiarities. Their families are numerous, with approximately six to seven family members, but there are often families with ten members and more.

In accordance with the census from 1991, there were 603 Croatian families with 3,319 members in Janjevo. One third of all households were the families with five to six members. Singles and two-member families account for the least proportion (Tab. 2).

Tab. 2 Family structure by number of family members in 1991

Tab. 2. *Obiteljska struktura prema broju članova 1991. godine*

Number of family members	Number of households	Rate (%)
Single	33	5.5
Two members	25	4.2
Three members	45	7.5
Four members	81	13.5
Five members	114	19.1
Six members	109	18.3
Seven members	80	13.4
Eight members	45	7.5
Nine members	27	4.5
Ten members and more	39	6.5

Source: Population Census of SFR Yugoslavia, 1991.

A hundred-year-old predominance of certain Janjevo families was maintained up to the end of the 20th century, and they became a root for new families. Thus, from Palići who include some 60 families, new families like Matić and Rucić were created, whereas from Glasnovići, the second largest family group (42 families) new families Tomkić and Topalović have their origin.

Among the Croats of Janjevo there are many names chosen by the saints' names celebrated on the day of children's birth or by the name of their parents. The most frequently used names for boys are: Josip, Ivan, Nikola, Marko, Antun, Roko, Sebastijan, Ignacije, Paško, and for girls: Marija, Lucija, Paulina, Jozefina, Nikolina, Ana,

Anastazija. Little children often have nicknames derived from their first name, and which are used all life long: Seba - Sebastijan, Tuna - Antun, Nace - Ignacije, Niki, Kolja - Nikola. Although Janjevci (being Croats) have not been assimilated with the neighbouring majority of Serbs or Albanians, but have preserved their religious and national identity, the language or the dialect was subject to the influence of Serbian, Macedonian and Turkish words, due to many centuries of common life in this area.

Tab. 3 Number of certain family names in the structure of Janjevo (1971)

Tab. 3. Broj pojedinih prezimena u strukturi Janjeva (1971.)

Family	Number of families	Affiliated families and their number	
PALIĆ	61	Matić	12
		Rucić	4
GLASNOVIĆ	42	Tomkić	28
		Topalović	2
ĆIBARIĆ	42		
BERIŠIĆ	40	Ancić 20	20
		Mazarekić 6	6
		Golomejić	21
MACUKIĆ	14		
CIRIMOTIĆ	9		

However, the sounds of the Janjevo speech are identical with the sounds of the Croatian literary language, except for the sounds "L" and "3 " (old sound dz). The Macedonian language affected the accentuation of words by elevation of the tone at the end of the sentence. In the speech, we often encounter "finish" (added sounds) – e.g. "ke" or "keno" (Eng. *here* = Mac. *ovde* = Janj. *ovdeke* or *ovdekene*). A school established in 1866, also contributed to the preservation of their own national identity and of language. Serbian authors (UROŠEVIĆ 1935, NUŠIĆ 1986) insist that the school was held in Serbian language and that Cyrillic alphabet was used. Contrary to this, Croatian authors (ČOLAK, MAŽURAN 2000) insist that over the last two hundred years, there has never been any Serbian school in Janjevo. The first Serbian school was founded only in 1913, after the First Balkan War, when Kosovo was attached to the Kingdom of Serbia. Between 1915 and 1918 (Austrian occupation), there was an elementary school in Janjevo, in Croatian and in Albanian language. Although girls were also included, their life after the school took a completely different course. After the school and even earlier, the boys began to assume responsibilities in the family businesses and often helped their parents in craftwork and in trade, but some of them continued with the education in Priština. In fact, the official politics in the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, and later, too, during the Communist regime, rendered any establishment of a high school in Janjevo impossible. The closest high schools were in Lipljani and in Priština, some 24 to 34 km away, which in conditions of bad and undeveloped traffic connections and without any financial support from parents, for the majority of Croats from Janjevo, was an insurmountable obstacle. Additional unfavourable circumstances were patriarchal reasons that prevented any further education of girls. From the puberty on, the girls have been prepared for their

future roles in life: for being wives and mothers. All this was even more intensified by psychological reasons; fear from the members of majority population: from Serbs and Albanians in Priština. Therefore, today, the women aged 50 and older are less educated and are often housewives. Patriarchal relationship and a psychological pressure brought about the "ghettoization" of the Croatian Janjevci, preventing their assimilation into a wider community, but it also caused much closer connection among themselves.

Life and customs in Janjevo

Religion and the Roman-Catholic Church played a big role in the preservation of their national identity. During the Turkish rule in Kosovo, the Roman Catholic Church was very active. At the end of 19th century, catholic community of "Virgin Mary's male admirers", which took care of the believers in the settlement, of their behaviour, of violation of moral principles (gambling, drinking), had a strikingly influential role. The central place in religious life belonged to St. Nicholas, the patron of the settlement and of the parish, to whom Janjevci attribute the merits for their survival in Kosovo. Among religious feasts, they gladly participate in a pilgrimage dedicated to the Virgin Mary of Letnica (which is celebrated on 15th August). The majority of Janjevo population would depart already on 26th July (St. Anna and Joachim's feast) to the village Letnica (Croatian catholic village of farmers and cattle breeders), where they stayed until 18th August. The family life continued even during the pilgrimage, because every family built a small hut (Cro. *zagrađe*) enclosed by a round wall. The premises or their accommodation were separated by woolen blankets. Even after their emigration from Kosovo, the majority of the Janjevo population went regularly to the pilgrimage to Letnica, up to the war in Kosovo.

Certain "ghettoization" of Janjevo community was also demonstrated by the appearance of the settlement. In the settlement, there are narrow, winding and closely built houses. The houses of the wealthy families had two floors and were built of stone, of bricks and covered by roofing tiles. The houses of the poorer families have one floor and are made of wood. In the average house, there are two rooms and a so-called house (kitchen). On the ground floor, there are stables and a larder (Cro. *izba*) and craft workshops. The houses are separated from the street by a high wall, or a plane. In the back courtyard, there is a lavatory, which is never built in the house.

Craft and trade were the most important occupation of the Janjevo population. The manufacture of certain things, mainly jewelry of precious and other metals and leather processing were original occupations until the era of industrial production. With the development of industry, the trade took lead and Janjevci started buying finished products at lower prices from wholesalers which they distributed in villages and fairs in the whole South-Eastern Europe. At the time when male members of the community were engaged in craft or trade, the position of the women was reduced to the house. Until the beginning of 20th century, the woman rarely went out of the house, except for feasts. Men also dressed more adequately for the outer world. They were dressed in civil suits whereas women were dressed in the Albanian "civil" folk costume. They wore a "fez" on their heads and outside the house – a scarf. The upper part of the body is dressed in shirt, and instead of a skirt they wear "Turkish trousers" over which they tie an apron. In the traditional society of Janjevo, a woman is respected as a wife, a mother and a housewife, meritorious for the maintenance of the community, but in terms of social relationship, she

is always holding second place, subject to her husband. In such society, the family is considered as a necessity; therefore, it has been quite common to marry young. Boys were thinking about marriage at eighteen already, and girls even earlier. The marriage among older people was considered an embarrassment. The society believed: "A woman is a man's destiny". Her secondary position in the society started even before the marriage. The parents chose a girl for their son, and she was the last one who was asked to give her consent, if at all. The woman always took her place at the table as the last one, after male family members were served; she was the earliest riser in the family in order to light the wood in the stove, so that her husband might get up in a warm room, and in the evening she always washed her husband's feet (ČOLAK, MAŽURAN, 2000).

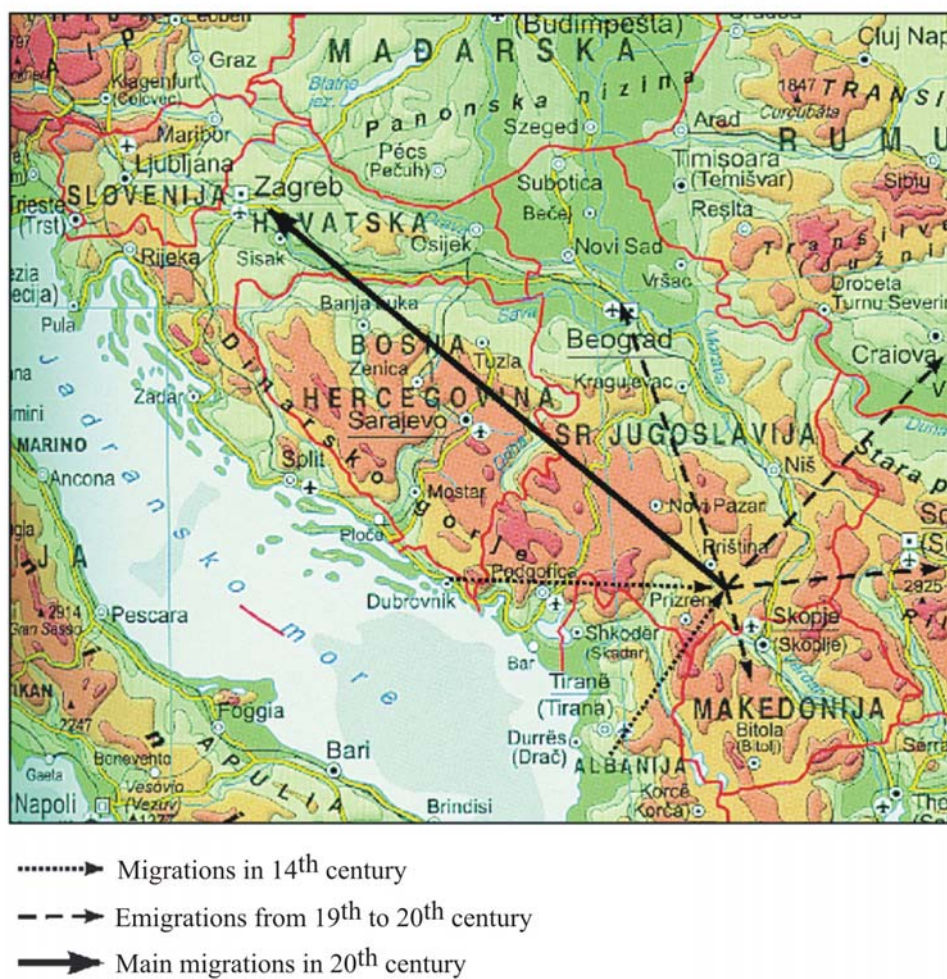


Fig. 4 Migrations of Janjevci during the history
 Sl. 4. Migracije Janjevaca tijekom povijesti

Research related to the emigration of Janjevo population from Kosovo

Since the beginning of 20th century, a more intensive emigration of the Janjevo population started, both from the settlement and from Kosovo. The reason for this was the earlier construction of the railway track Kosovska Mitrovica - Priština - Skopje, which bypassed Janjevo and separated it in terms of traffic connections from major urban and economic centres. Now, it became quite difficult to place the trade products from Janjevo to the market. Initially, the emigration was directed towards neighboring countries: Bulgaria, Romania and partly to North America. During this period, the least number of people went to Macedonia or Croatia (Fig. 4).

The war conflicts from the First Balkan War, and the First World War brought about a remarkable emigration of the Catholic population. A more intensive emigration into Croatia started during 1950s, especially along with stronger industrial development of Yugoslavia in 1970s. At that time, in 1969, there were 680 households in Janjevo with total number of 4,560 inhabitants (BARJAKTAROVIĆ 1971). In the period until the disintegration of Yugoslavia in 1991, some 697 families left Janjevo, whereof the major part went to Croatia (426 families). In accordance with the available data (census 1991), the emigrants were mainly engaged in crafts and trade. Furthermore, the census records a data that in Janjevo in 1991 there were 151 tradesmen, 114 craftsmen, and 121 workers. Among craftsmen, the most numerous were plastics manufacturers, leather merchants, brick-layers, turners, butchers, goldsmiths and caterers. Farmers (25) and cattle-breeders (6) were rare, which indicates that agriculture in Janjevo community was a completely neglected occupation, unlike in the neighbouring Croatian settlements: Letnica and Vrnakola.

Janjevci in Croatia and in Zagreb

It has already been mentioned earlier that from 1950s, more intensive emigration into Croatia occurred. Zagreb, as the strongest urban and industrial Croatian centre became the principal destination of numerous families from Janjevo. Even during the Second World War (in 1942) there was an idea to relocate Janjevo population from Kosovo to Zagreb, to Dubrava town district, but the first larger groups arrived only in 1947. They settled in town district Stenjevec, in West Zagreb. Dubrava, in East Zagreb, which was on the outskirts of Zagreb in 1950's, characterized by small family houses and scarce population, became the main destination of the Janjevo families only since 1959; more precisely of the families: Dodić, Brkić, Macukić who started with their traditional crafts. By the arrival of the Sebastijan Gucić family, the striking concentration of Janjevo trading community occurred, in the Konjšćinska Street and in the neighborhood.³ Since that period, Konjšćinska Street became a synonym for Janjevci, a category of cheap trade,

³ Today, Gucić family is one of the wealthiest and most respected families in Janjevci community. Their capital is based on traditional trade (textile wholesale). During 1990s Gucić family supported the policy of Croatian Democratic Union and former president Franjo Tuđman. The head of Gucić family then bought many factories and shops all over the country. Part of these factories has been shut down due to management problems, and the remaining capital was divided among Gucić's sons who developed one of the leading hypermarket chains (Getro) in the country and hotels in Istria.

of plastics craft and of goldsmiths. Up to the disintegration of ex-Yugoslavia, in 1991, approximately 4,000 members of Janjevo community lived in Zagreb. The attacks by the Yugoslav army and the Croatian War for Independence had very bad consequences for Janjevo community in Kosovo. An extremely hard feeling of psychological threat, a life in the environment of war conflicts between Serbs and Albanians has forced the rest of the Janjevo ethnic community – Community of Croats, to leave the place where they had survived for almost seven centuries. Due to political circumstances in Kosovo the census of 2002 was not made, and it was only possible to estimate the proportion of Croats who remained in Janjevo despite the situation. The Janjevo association in Zagreb assumes that only 300, mainly poor and elderly people stayed in Kosovo, who due to their financial situation were not able to leave the place. After 1995 some smaller groups of Janjevci settled down on an organized basis in Dalmatia, in Zadar district, more precisely in the settlement Kistanje – where Serbian minority was absolutely dominant in Croatia. However, the largest number of Janjevci is concentrated in Zagreb. The research on Janjevo families in Zagreb, conducted in March and April 2002 showed their areal concentration in the town districts of Dubrava, Central District, Črnomerec and Trešnjevka (Tab. 4). The analysis has shown that about 75 per cent of Janjevci live in Dubrava, (Fig. 5) mostly in Konjšćinska Street and in the neighborhood, whereas their proportion in Central District is ten times smaller (7.5 per cent).

Tab. 4 Spatial concentration of Janjevci in Zagreb, by town districts in 2002

Tab. 4. Prostorna koncentracija Janjevaca u Zagrebu po gradskim četvrtima 2002.

Town district	Total number of families	Rate (%)
Total Zagreb	669	100.0
Dubrava	502	75.5
Centar	50	7.5
Trešnjevka	43	6.4
Črnomerec	25	3.7
Novi Zagreb	16	2.2
Maksimir	11	1.6
Trnje	10	1.5
Sesvete	8	1.2
Susedgrad	3	0.4
Peščenica	2	0.3

The close connection of Janjevci families that settled in Dubrava is based on psychological sense of bonding and communal life in new environment, cheap land and rare population. Almost all newcomers from Kosovo build houses near their relatives, friends or former neighbors. Only a small part of the better educated population settled near town centre (Downtown, Trešnjevka, Maksimir).

It has been found out that in the new environment, too, the oldest families from Janjevo prevail: Palići, with 207 families and Glasnovići with 147 families, with the main concentration in Dubrava; Palići – 73.50 per cent, Glasnovići – 61.60 per cent. As for other families from Janjevo, the most numerous are: Berišići (90 families), Čibarići (66

families), Golomejići (42 families), Tomkići (27 families), Dodići (31 families), Gucići (21 families), Mazarekići (21 families), Macukići (24 families). Almost whole population of Golomejić family (90.50 per cent) is concentrated in Dubrava. The same applies to the concentration of Tomkići (100.00 per cent) and Mazarekići (95.20 per cent).

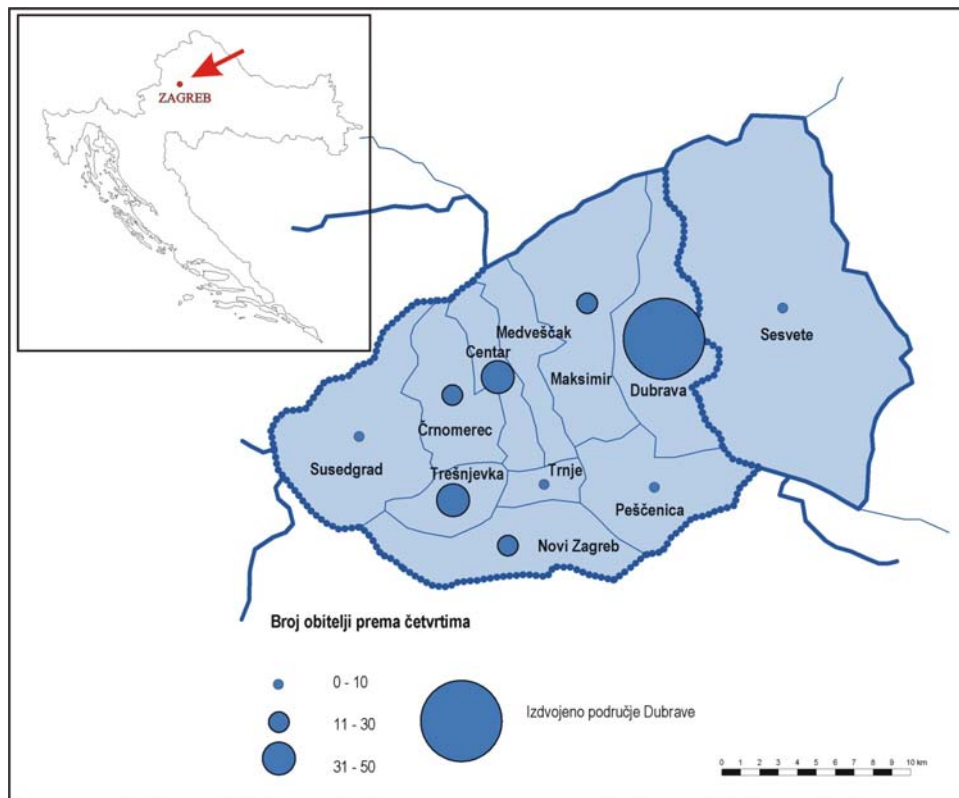


Fig. 5 Spatial concentration of Janjevci in Zagreb, by town districts in 2002

Sl. 5. Prostorna koncentracija Janjevaca u Zagrebu po gradskim četvrtima 2002.

Concerning other families, the most numerous are: Ancići, Ivanović, Ivkić, Rodić, Topalović, Antić, Brkić, Cirimotić, Đurić, Jozić, Kocić, Matić, Rucić and others. In terms of regional settlement of Janjevci, their second largest colony after Zagreb is Dalmatia (South Croatia), with 35.00 per cent, in the localities of Kistanje, Šibenik, Split. It is quite interesting that in Dubrovnik, in a place of their origin, only 2.40 per cent of Janjevo families in Croatia have settled down. Apart from the large attraction of the capital Zagreb, the reasons for this are presumably rather bad communication and traffic connections of Dubrovnik with other parts of Croatia. Actually, after the fall of the Republic of Dubrovnik under the Napoleon's rule in 1806, and later on under the Habsburg rule, the connections between the original homeland of Janjevci and Janjevo were broken. In addition to this, there is no direct road or a railway connection between Dubrovnik and Janjevo, and the travel lasts some 20 hours and more. In Eastern Croatia

(Slavonia), 24.90 per cent of Janjevci are concentrated, mainly in Osijek and Vukovar, whereas in Istria and in the North Coastland, there are 21.60 per cent of Janjevci, mainly in Rijeka and Poreč. (Fig. 6).

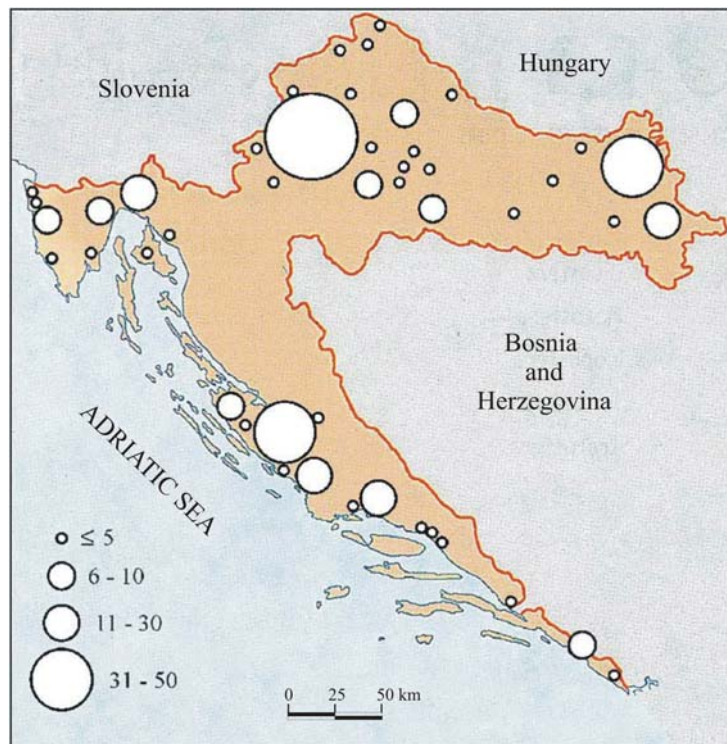


Fig. 6 Spatial distribution of Janjevci in Croatia in 2002

Sl. 6. Prostorna distribucija Janjevaca na području Hrvatske 2002.

Apparently, after their arrival in Croatia, Janjevci settled down in major towns. The only exception to this is Kistanje, but it was settled in an organized way for a larger group of families who all arrived at the same time (Tab. 5).

Tab. 5 Regional Distribution of Janjevci in Croatia, in 2002

Tab. 5. Regionalna distribucija Janjevaca u Hrvatskoj 2002.

Region and Settlement	Total Families	%
South Croatia	105	35.35
Kistanje	45	15.15
Šibenik	19	6.40
Split	11	3.70
Zadar	8	2.69
Dubrovnik	7	2.36
Knin	4	1.35

Trogir	2	0.67
Pag	2	0.67
Brela	1	0.34
Baška Voda	1	0.34
Benkovac	1	0.34
Cavtat	1	0.34
Makarska	1	0.34
Opuzen	1	0.34
Vodice	1	0.34
East Croatia	77	25.92
Osijek	33	11.11
Vukovar	24	8.08
Nova Gradiška	6	2.02
Požega	5	1.68
Zrinski Topolovec	3	1.01
Kutjevo	2	0.67
Đakovo	2	0.67
Belišće	1	0.67
Daruvar	1	0.67
Central Croatia (without Zagreb)	53	17.84
Bjelovar	10	3.37
Sisak	9	3.03
Samobor	5	1.68
Kutina	5	1.68
Varaždin	4	1.35
Karlovac	3	1.01
Ivanić Grad	3	1.01
Čakovec	3	1.01
Zaprešić	2	0.67
Ivanec	2	0.67
Čazma	2	0.67
Đurđevac	2	0.67
Velika Gorica	1	0.34
Jastrebarsko	1	0.34
Vrbovec	1	0.34
Istria and North Coastland	62	20.87
Rijeka	26	8.75
Poreč	10	3.37
Opatija	8	2.69
Crikvenica	5	1.68
Krk	4	1.35
Umag	3	1.01
Rovinj	3	1.01
Labin	2	0.67
Novigrad	1	0.34
Total	297	100.0

Croats from other Croatian enclaves in Kosovo, like Letnica and Vrnakol, settled down in central Croatia, around Bjelovar and Daruvar, in agrarian areas, where unlike other Janjevci they carried on their tradition in agriculture and cattle-breeding (cultivation of sheep). During 1990s this area became depopulated because the Serbian population emigrated from this part of Croatia, and the Croatian government decided to populate it with Janjevci. In the largest colony of Janjevci outside Zagreb, in Kistanje, the predominant families are: Palići (9 families), Glasnovići (8 families), Golomejići (7 families), Gucići and Tomkići, and Mazarekići (with 4 families each). Glasnovići are most numerous also in Šibenik (8) and Osijek (7), whereas Palići are most numerous in Vukovar (20), Osijek (15), Bjelovar (9), Kistanje (9) and Šibenik (8).

Life in new environment

After their arrival in Zagreb, the majority of Janjevo population completely changed their way of life and their economic activity. Craft is replaced by the wholesale trade of leather, textile and plastic products, and recently even electronic and electrical products. The goods are bought at wholesale at lower prices in Italy and Turkey, and resold in their own shops in Dubrava or in more expensive clothing boutiques all over the town. Over the last ten years, Janjevci have expanded their trade connections also to the Far East, to Singapore, Hong Kong, Beijing from where they supply the Croatian market with electrical appliances and toys.

A part of wealthier Janjevci is concentrated in Konjšćinska Street, where they have built completely different houses from those in Janjevo. New buildings are a mixture of business and ostentatious living. These are often two or three storey houses, with workshops or stores on the ground floor, whereas the apartments are upstairs. The house paints are mainly bright: yellow, rosy, blue but most façades are made of marble and glass. There are also lifts in more luxurious houses.

Initially, when Janjevci started to settle down in Dubrava, there was no intolerance among them and the domicile population. However, the problems arose later on, from 1980s onward, when Dubrava became a new town district of workers' residential homes. At the same time, the population from other parts of Croatia, mainly poorer families than Janjevci settled there, too. The financing capabilities of Janjevci, purchase of landlots, construction of large and ostentatious houses, owning of very expensive cars provoked a rather negative attitude from other people. In fact, Janjevci have been considered illiterate, primitive and uneducated settlers. New problems escalated in 1990s, when the Croatian economy encountered a depression; a lot of workers lost their jobs, standard of living decreased, but at the same time, Janjevo community experienced an economic growth. A part of them bought large Croatian enterprises and hotels. Sporadically, antagonism by the local population provoked additional troubles, in utilization of abusive language; in some cases they treated them like Serbs or Albanians (primarily because of their dialect) and denied their ethnic affiliation to Croats. Recently, the historical legacy and origin of Janjevci has been acknowledged appropriately. Sporadic intolerance of native population towards Janjevci resulted sometimes in their psychological segregation; they withdrew in their own ethnic community. Mutual contacts and companionship between Janjevci and local population are rare and are mostly bound to business relationships.

Since 1990s a part of native population expressed aversion to Croats who had come from Hercegovina, and who had also settled in East Zagreb. This topic has not been elaborated until now. One of the results was that the population from Janjevo and from Hercegovina has made more intensive cultural, religious and family (by marriages) relationships. In the mid-1990s, especially during the war between Serbs and Albanians in Kosovo, the groups of poorer Janjevci came to Zagreb, again and settled down on the outskirts of Dubrava. This comparatively new residential town district called "Palestina", "Koreja" and "Biafra" is an area of small houses, cobbled up without a building permit, and often without basic infrastructural conditions (water, sewage, paved roads). The situation of Janjevci who settled down in rural areas temporarily abandoned by the Serbian national minority due to war operations, was especially difficult. These were mainly poor agricultural and cattle-breeding families, of very poor education.

A constant feeling of threat among local population caused by the arrival of the newly settled unknown population, who even came from Serbia, resulted in occasional physical clashes. Over the last few years, a need for stronger assimilation into a local community is felt among members of the second and particularly of the third generation of Janjevci, mainly among those born in Zagreb. The majority of such children, especially those in Zagreb, completes their elementary education successfully and continues with high school education, and some of them even at the faculties. However, a significant part of children carry on with the tradition of their parents. After they finish elementary school, they start working in their parents' workshops and stores.⁴

The research that the first author of this paper conducted in "Dr. Ante Starčević" elementary school in Zagreb, in the town district of Dubrava (the school is located close to the largest concentration of the Janjevo population in Konjšćinska Street and in the neighbourhood) on the population of 108 Janjevo children, from seven to fourteen years of age, was aimed at studying their assimilation into the community through the education system. The analysis did not include the children in the first grade (18 pupils), since at the end of the first grade, there is no general scoring of pupils. The rate of Janjevo children in the whole population of pupils in the school amounted to 19.50 per cent.

A research demonstrated that Janjevo children still achieve poorer learning results than their age-mates among native population. The differences are less visible in lower grades. Whereas in the category *Others*, the rate of excellent pupils is higher than 50 per cent, with Janjevo children, it is reduced to only one third. However, the proportion of very good and good pupils is higher than with other children. In higher grades, a rate of excellent pupils in Janjevo population is only 9.20 per cent (Tab. 6), unlike 20.20 per cent with other pupils. The majority of Janjevo children complete their elementary education with very good: 43.50 per cent, with good: 26.00 per cent, with excellent: 16.70 per cent (Tab. 7). As for the category *Others*, 35.80 per cent of pupils completed the schoolyear with an excellent mark, only one third with a very good mark, and only one fifth with a good mark. The average grade of Janjevo children is 3.62 per cent, which is lower than with other pupils (3.91 per cent).

⁴ Owners of craft workshops and stores are mainly men. Women are quite rare, only in cases of their husband's death, when they take over the husband's business or if they are strong enough as persons and have struggled for and secured their position in the community.

Tab. 6 Comparative distribution of marks, with Janjevo children and with other children, in elementary school

Tab. 6. Usporedna distribucija ocjena janjevačkih učenika i druge djece u osnovnoj školi

Grade and marks	Janjevci		Others	
	Total	%	Total	%
2 –4 grade	43	100.0	268	100.0
Excellent	12	28.0	136	50.8
Very good	19	44.1	96	35.8
Good	10	23.2	33	12.3
Satisfactory	2	4.7	3	1.1
Unsatisfactory	0	0.0	0	0.0
5-8 grade	65	100.0	257	100.0
Excellent	6	9.2	52	20.2
Very good	28	43.1	70	27.3
Good	18	27.7	78	30.4
Satisfactory	12	18.5	51	19.8
Unsatisfactory	1	1.5	6	2.3

Source: "Dr Ante Starčević" Elementary School's Register, Zagreb, 2002.

Tab. 7 Scholastic scoring (general grades) of Janjevo children in the school year 2001/2002

Tab. 7. Uspjeh u školi (opći uspjeh) djece Janjevaca u školskoj godini 2001./2002.

Mark	Janjevci		Others		Deviations
	Total	%	Total	%	
Excellent –5	18	16.7	188	35.7	-19.0
Very good –4	47	43.5	166	31.6	+11.9
Good –3	28	26.0	111	21.2	+4.8
Satisfactory -2	14	12.9	54	10.3	+2.6
Unsatisfactory-1	1	0.9	6	1.2	-0.3
Total	108	100.0	525	100.0	0.0

Source: "Dr Ante Starčević" Elementary School's Register, Zagreb, 2002

There are several reasons to this: the Janjevo children are still less capable of speaking proper literary Croatian, their parents' educational level is often insufficient, so there is less possibility to obtain help. In addition to this, Janjevo children are much more obliged to help in the house (they have to help their mother or their father in the store), but there are also certain psychological factors (way of thinking, e.g. "My father will open me a store and I have a secure future, with or without an education").

The consequence of such attitude is also the fact that there is still an insufficient number of Janjevo community members with a faculty degree, with a master's or a doctor's degree. A research (PALIĆ 1995) showed that only 84 people or 1.00 per cent of the whole population have such a degree, where of the major part completed theology, as priests (30 people), liberal arts (13 people), medicine (12 people) and economy (11 people). Others completed law, technical and natural sciences. Among them there are 13 people with master's and 8 with PhD degree. Although the position of Janjevo women in the new environment has undergone gradual changes, their education and non-discrimination in the society still encounters considerable resistance, especially with the older generation. Only 26 women have a faculty degree.

Unlike children who increasingly make friendship with their age-mates in the local community, among Janjevo female population, this is quite rare. Companionship with women outside their ethnic group is only sporadic and superficial. The reason to this is nonacceptance by the environment and less possibility to go out freely due to the traditional patriarchal worldview. As for their appearance, Janjevo children do not differ from their environment, moreover, their comparatively wealthy financial status enable them to enjoy a prestigious and comfortable standard of living which provokes a negative response in their environment. However, in the family, there is still a patriarchal way of living, which changes only gradually, with the general economical and technological development of the whole society.

Conclusion

Janjevci are an ethnic group of Croats which survived in Kosovo for almost seven centuries. The major part of Janjevo families are of Croatian origin and of the Roman Catholic religion, however, the other part of population which considers themselves as Janjevci is of Albanian or of Orthodox origin. The reasons to this are: life among the Croatian majority in Janjevo, the common economic base of almost whole population (mining, crafts and trade), but also kinship (family links). Long-lasting encirclement by the majority of Serbs and of Albanians in Kosovo affected a specific national and cultural ghettoization of the Croatian Janjevci and prevented their assimilation. However, in terms of linguistics Janjevci imported in their language a part of Serbian and Macedonian words, accents, whereas their way of speaking and of expression has remained up to the present day.

Simultaneously with the development of industry from 1950s onward, Janjevci have increasingly oriented themselves towards trade as their main activity and they emigrated more and more into other neighbouring countries as well as into their mother country – Croatia. Their main destination became Zagreb, the largest urban, industrial and economic centre of Croatia. The traditional crafts, especially plastics manufacture and trade are further on, the predominant occupations of most Janjevci, and their market is

much bigger and richer. This provided Janjevci a considerable financial growth and high standard of living. However, in their new environment, they encounter a resistance by the native population that does not accept them because of their speech, culture, place of origin. Therefore, in Croatia, too, Janjevci have closed themselves as a separate group, fostering traditionalism and patriarchal qualities. Only recently, the young generations of Janjevci try more and more to assimilate themselves into a new community

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SAŽETAK

Ž. Šiljković, M. Glamuzina: Janjevo i Janjevci – od Kosova do Zagreba

Janjevci su gotovo 700 godina egzistirali na Kosovu kao najstarija hrvatska nacionalna manjina. Na područje današnjeg Kosova doselili su se na početku 14. st. (prema dostupnim podatcima 1303. g., ČOLAK, MAŽURAN, 2000) kao građani Dubrovačke Republike. Dubrovačka Republika imala je važnu ulogu u očuvanju nacionalnog identiteta Janjevaca sve vrijeme svog postojanja, štiteći i zastupajući prava i interese svojih građana. Osim državne vlasti o očuvanju vjerske i nacionalne pripadnosti brinula se Katolička crkva, koja je tu zadaću nastavila i nakon pada Dubrovačke Republike, sve do danas. Janjevačka je populacija ostala strogo zatvorena patrijarhalna zajednica, tradicijom, jezikom i vjerskom pripadnošću odvojena od susjednih srpskih i albanskih općina. Pripadnici drugih nacionalnih zajednica u Janjevo su se doseljavali u malom broju, osim albanskog stanovništva, ali samo u jednom kratkom periodu (1971.-1981.) kada su činili 12,51% odnosno 21,19% populacije.

Dobno-spolna struktura janjevačkog stanovništva u periodu 1961.-1991. g. pokazuje obilježja karakteristična za predtranzicijska društva, s visokim udjelom mlade populacije (46,19%), i s malim (< 5%) udjelom starog stanovništva. Iseljavanje Janjevaca u susjedne zemlje (Bugarska, Rumunjska) potaknuto je izgradnjom željezničke pruge Kosovska Mitrovica – Priština – Skopje na početku 20. st. Nakon II. svjetskog rata intenzivirala su se migracijska kretanja prema području Hrvatske. Najjači centar prihvata Janjevaca je Zagreb, odnosno njegov istočni dio. Najveći dio Janjevaca koncentriran je u četvrti Dubrava (75,5%), odnosno na području oko Konjščinske ulice.

Tradicionalna obiteljska trgovina, patrijarhalnost i konzervativizam obilježja su glavnine janjevačke populacije u Zagrebu. Raspad Jugoslavije i zaoštavanje međunacionalnih odnosa na Kosovu 1990-ih godina potaknulo je novu migraciju preostalog malobrojnog hrvatskog stanovništva na Kosovu, što je uzrokovalo demografsko praznjenje i depopulaciju hrvatskih naselja. Novopridošlo stanovništvo država je planski naseljavala na područja s kojih je nakon Domovinskog rata emigriralo srpsko stanovništvo (Dalmacija, područje Ravnih kotara i Bjelovarska regija). Između Janjevaca i lokalnog stanovništva postoje kulturološke, socijalne i ekonomske razlike, što onemogućuje intenzivnije društvene kontakte i asimilaciju Janjevaca u novu okolinu. No, i unutar janjevačke populacije postoje razlike, budući da je ranije doseljeno stanovništvo doživjelo određeni ekonomski napredak i značajan porast životnog standarda, za razliku od nove migracijske struje.