

ROLE OF LATIN IN A MULTINATIONAL RELIGIOUS COMMUNITY OF THE 18TH CENTURY SLAVONIA

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The purpose of this paper is to explore, on the basis of the chronicle of the Franciscan monastery in Našice (Croatia), the role of Latin in creating and preserving national identity. The chronicle is an internal document, written in Latin, which gives us insight into multiplicity of nations and languages that formed the Franciscan community in the small Slavonian town in the eighteenth and the nineteenth century. Croats, Hungarians, Germans, Slovaks, etc., were coming from and serving in parishes throughout the Habsburg Monarchy, exposed to different cultural, scientific and social influences while bringing their own values with them. Latin enabled their communication, governed their daily liturgical schedule, brought them orders from higher instances, and described their history and daily life in their own words. Latin also made them a part of a much larger international group, the Catholic Church, giving them another, non-national kind of identity.

Key words: Franciscan order, Habsburg Monarchy, Latin language, national identity, eighteenth century

Introduction

This paper is a case study of an eighteenth century religious community, the members of the Franciscan order, situated in a monastery in a Croatian town of Našice in Slavonia. It will explore, through the documents written in

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their own words, the various identities of these men. Politically, they belonged to the Habsburg Monarchy, religiously, to the Catholic Church, nationally, to the various nations that formed the monarchy at the time. The paper will also show how Latin language helped them unite these identities.

One of the problems the authors of this paper faced was determining the national identities of individuals whose names are usually written only in Latin, in an empire consisting of numerous nations in mixed-nation kingdoms with various languages. The national identity was therefore inferred from the data found in various schematisms¹ for particular years, listing their place of birth, languages they were familiar with, and sometimes even their own commitment to a certain nation.



Picture I. Croatia in 1785. Historical map published by Stjepan Srkulj, *Hrvatska povijest u devetnaest karata*, (Zagreb, 1937), p. 65.²

¹ E.g. *Schematismus cleri archi-dioecesis Zagradiensis*, *Schematismus Almae Provinciae S. Joannis a Capistrano ordinis minorum S. P. Francisci regularis observantiae*, *Schematismus observantis FF. minorum provinciae S. Joannis a Capistrano extensae per Hungariam, Austriam et Slavoniam*...

² Lovorka Čoralić, ed., *U potrazi za mirom i blagostanjem: Hrvatske zemlje u 18. stoljeću* (*In search of peace and prosperity: Croatian lands in the eighteenth century*), (Zagreb: Matica

Political situation in Slavonia in the eighteenth century

The region of Slavonia had been under the Ottoman occupation for over a hundred years when, near the end of the seventeenth century, in 1683, the Austrian-Hungarian-Croatian army began to liberate the conquered territories. In 1687 the Ottoman army leaves the small Slavonian town of Našice and it becomes a part of the Kingdom of Croatia, while a big part of the neighbouring territory belonged under the administration of the Military Frontier, which extended to most of the new border areas.

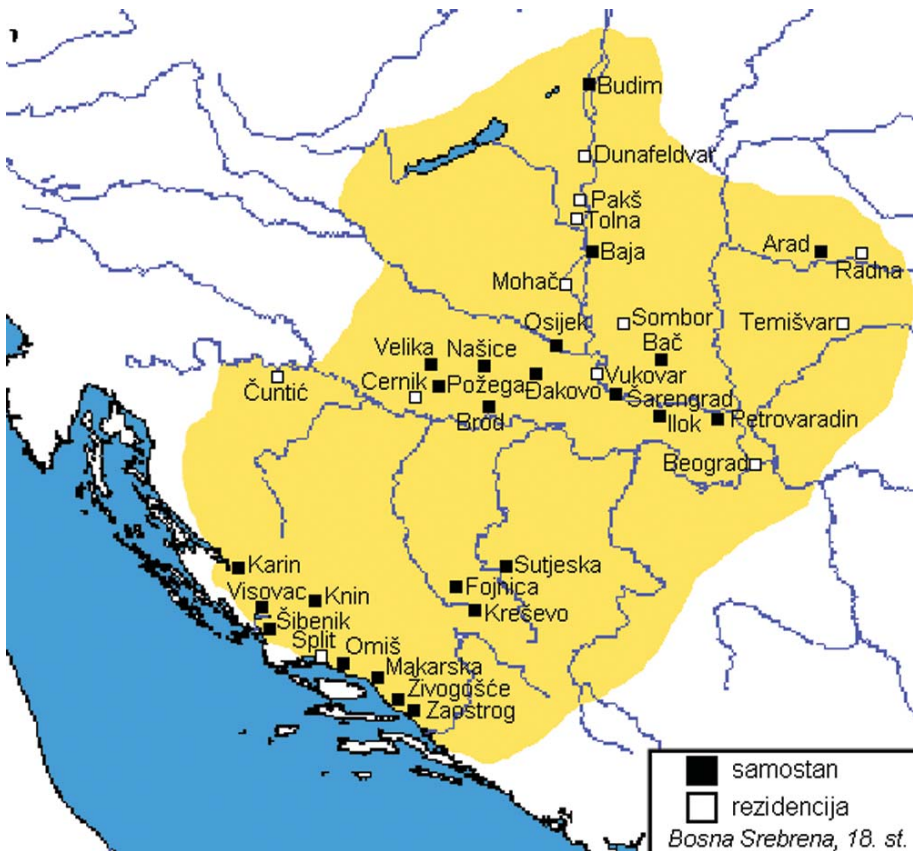
The re-conquest presented the Habsburg monarchy with various problems. Most of the non-Christian population retreated to the Ottoman territory, while the newly reconquered lands remained poorly developed and quite uninhabited. Early eighteenth century, therefore, is a time of repopulation in areas of Slavonia, Lika, Krbava etc. and their integration into institutions and conditions of the Habsburg Monarchy. Number of priests in those areas is also low, sparking a number of actions (such as missions, parochial reorganisations, settling of new priests etc.) from the Catholic Church.

As far as the church structures are concerned, Našice belonged to the Franciscan province *Bosna Argentina* (Croatian: *Bosna Srebrena*). During the eighteenth century this province was reorganised a couple of times. Firstly, in 1735 the coastal region of Dalmatia has seceded to become a new Province of St. Caius (today, the Province of Most Holy Redeemer). In 1757 the Province of Bosna Argentina is suppressed and two new institutions are established: the Custody of the Holy Cross of Bosna Argentina, which included the territory still under the Ottoman rule (roughly corresponding to today's Bosnia and Hercegovina), and the Province of Saint John Capistran, including the reconquered Slavonia, Syrmia and parts of Hungary (as well as the town of Našice).

Franciscans had a special position during the Ottoman rule: Sultan Mehmed II allowed them, by a *firman* (*ahdnama*, imperial decree) of 1463, to move freely within the Empire, perform worship in churches and convents without persecution, and educate in convents. Therefore, they served as guardians of the national identity during the years of occupation. The Franciscans in Našice were no exception: the monastery in Našice was closed only between 1596 and 1620, and burned when the Turks were leaving the city in 1687. The edu-

hrvatska, 2013), 5. This book is also an extensive introduction to various areas of life in Croatia during this period: political, ecclesiastical, everyday life, international relations, etc. A useful overview of the various uses of Latin in the Habsburg lands can be found in Gábor Almási and Lav Šubarić, ed., *Latin at the Crossroads of Identity: The Evolution of Linguistic Nationalism in the Kingdom of Hungary*, (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2015).

educational role of the Franciscans in the life of society will be visible throughout the eighteenth century and also all the way to the modern age.³



Picture II. Našice in the Franciscan province of Bosna Argentina in the beginning of the eighteenth century (*samostan* = monastery, *rezidencija* = residence).⁴

³ Šime Demo, Maja Rupnik-Matasović, Tamara Tvrtković, Milan Vrbanus, ed., *Zapisnik Franjevačkog samostana u Našicama, knjiga I (1739.-1787.)* (*The Chronicle of the Franciscan Monastery in Našice*), (Zagreb – Slavonski Brod – Našice: Hrvatski institut za povijest; Hrvatski institut za povijest - Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje; Zavičajni muzej Našice, 2010), XVI-XIX, XXI-XXXV, 5-9, 23-27. Cf. also Robert Skenderović, "Sudjelovanje slavonskih franjevaca u nacionalnom pokretu podunavskih Hrvata tijekom 19. i početkom 20. stoljeća" ("Role of Slavonian Franciscans in the national movement of the Danubian Croats during the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century"), *Scrinia Slavonica* 6/1 (2006): 194-216.

⁴ Picture is available as "Bosnasrebrena18.PNG" under Creative Commons licence at <https://hr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Datoteka:Bosnasrebrena18.PNG#metadata>.



Picture III. Franciscan monastery and church of St. Anthony of Padua in Našice today.⁵

1. The *Protocollum*

In the eighteenth century, every convent was obliged to keep a record of the events that happened in and around it. These documents are variously named: protocols, chronicles, annals (usually *protocolla* in Latin). In literature they count for a marginal historiographic genre. Firstly, their scope is limited by the existence of a certain institution in a certain area. Although they are a valuable source of historical information, describing the events chronologically year by year, they are also subjective and selective. The description, as well as the selection of events described, depends on the opinion of the writer of the chronicle (protocolist) at a certain period of time. Different protocolists tend to have various styles of notation and quite different sense of what is important enough to be noted. Consequently, in some years we find a detailed account of all the religious, political and social occasions that were going on in nearer or farther vicinity of a convent, while in some other years we do not even have the names of the members of the Franciscan community there. Of course, as dedicated as a protocolist may be, the records are always more concerned with church problems, liturgical organisation and local events than with anything else outside the convent.

⁵ Photo courtesy of Mislav Gregl.

Table I: the list of protocolists in the Našice convent⁶

(prior to 1757)	various handwritings
(1757-58)	(Ivan Pavlović, vicar ?)
(1761? – 1764)	Kapistran Glavaš
1765	Filip Radić
(1766-1774)	various handwritings
1775	Petar Čavčić
VIII 1776-77	Silvester Hungar
II – X 1778.	Filip Čevizević
(V 1779 – III 1780)	(Lovro Staklenčić?)
(1780 -81)	various handwritings; including Staklenčić in VIII 1780 and III-VII 1781, Gruičić IX-XI 1780
1781	Ivan Gruičić
(VIII – XII 1782)	(Lovro Staklenčić ?)
1783	Mihael Zajmović
1784 – 1788	Marijan Lanosović
1788 – 1793	Lovro Staklenčić
1794 (1791 – 1794)	Josip Ulić
1795 – 1796	Vid Ivić
(1796)	(Tobias Röckl, abbot ?)
1797 – 1799	Franjo Solan Đurošević
(1800)	(Tobias Röckl, abbot ?)
1801 – VIII 1805	Klement Oriovčanin
VIII – XI 1805	Johann Herodek of Dukla
XI 1805 – IV 1806	Dániel Papsó
1806 – V 1810	Stjepan Zečević
1810 – VIII 1811	Johann Nepomucen Pendl
VIII 1811 – VII 1812	Paul Glötzl
1813	Benvenut Klasz
1814	Rafael Lopatkay
X 1814 – 1815	Peter Becker
1816	Tadej Stojanović
7 VIII 1817 – 1818	Adalbert Horvat
1819	Rafael Lopatkay
1820	Erazmo Tomeček

⁶ The list includes the time from the first record in 1739 up to the year 1820, since this is the period covered by the first two published volumes of the *Protocollum*, and it can still be considered a part of the Early modern period. This is also the period covered by this paper.

It was also the language of science and literature throughout Europe for centuries, and it served to unite Europe in one *Res publica litteraria* that shared its ideas and knowledge regardless of the national boundaries. In the Franciscan chronicle of Našice (*Protocollum antiqui conventus Divi Antonii thaumaturgi Nassicis*), that begins in a year 1739, there is an exceptional period when the records were written in Croatian, 1848 – 1856, which is easily explained: it is a time of Illyrian movement, Croatian national revival. After 1905, the language of the records will regularly be Croatian until the present day.

We can usually identify the protocolists: sometimes they sign their names, sometimes they are listed in a table that gives us the names and duties of the members of the community. Sometimes, however, we have no means of establishing their identity. It is interesting to see the names of these writers (Table I), because we can see that they belong to different nationalities. There are five Germans (Röckl, Herodek, Pendl, Glötzl, Becker), two Slovaks (Klasz, Tomeček) and a Hungarian Slovak (so called in the schematism, Papsó) in the list. Nevertheless, they still all use Latin as the official language of their records (some, of course, being more proficient and fluent than others).

2. Determining nationalities and their relations

2.1. Nationality of the Našice Franciscans⁸

The list of the protocolists in Table I serves as an introductory example for the study of national identities of the members of the Franciscan community in Našice. At the beginning, it needs to be said that most of the names are given in their Latinised form, but it is usually quite straightforward to determine the nation a person belongs to. It was mentioned before that in do-

⁸ All the examples come from the Franciscan chronicles of the monasteries in Slavonia: Našice (most data stem from this document and the examples in this paper are from it if not otherwise noted), Brod, Šarengrad and Osijek. Cf. Šime Demo, Mislav Gregl, Maja Rupnik-Matasović, Tamara Tvrtković, Milan Vrbanus, ed., *Zapisnik Franjevačkog samostana u Našicama I; Zapisnik Franjevačkog samostana u Našicama, knjiga II (1788.-1820.)* (*The Chronicle of the Franciscan Monastery in Našice II*), (Zagreb – Slavonski Brod – Našice: Hrvatski institut za povijest; Hrvatski institut za povijest - Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje; Zavičajni muzej Našice, 2012); Josip Barbarić, ed., *Kronika Franjevačkog samostana u Brodu na Savi* (*The Chronicle of the Franciscan Monastery in Brod upon Sava*) I-II (1706-1787 / 1806-1833), (Slavonski Brod: Matica hrvatska – Ogranak Slavonski Brod 1995 and 1997); Josip Barbarić, ed., *Ljetopis Franjevačkog samostana u Šarengradu I (1683-1853)* (*The Chronicle of the Franciscan Monastery in Šarengrad*), (Šarengrad: Franjevački samostan Šarengrad, 2002); Stjepan Sršan, ed., *Osječki ljetopisi (1686-1945)* (*The Osijek Chronicles*), (Osijek: Povijesni arhiv u Osijeku, 1993).

ubtful cases the authors relied on other documents indicating the provenance and language skills of the individual. Sometimes, the protocolists also feel the need to express a person's provenance more precisely. This can be done in a number of ways:

- 1) determination by city: e. g. *Laurentius a Buda; Petrus a Baja*⁹
- 2) determination by region: e. g. *Ioachimus Koller, natus ex Moravia* (Joachim Koller, born in Moravia)¹⁰
- 3) determination by nationality:
 - *commissarius admodum reverendus pater Ioanes Baptista Calvatoni, Gallo-Italus* (this was actually a "commissioner, very reverend father Giovanni Battista Calvatoni, Gallo-Italian," who visited the Province in 1767, not a resident Franciscan)¹¹
 - *horsum dispositus est pater Franciscus Vexich, Dalmata Provinciae Sanctissimi Redemptoris* ("father Franjo Vežić, Dalmatian of the Province of the Most Holy Redeemer, was transferred here /to Našice/". Dalmatian was a common designation for Croats in Venice in this period, e.g.)¹²
 - *Valentinus Maier, Bavarus, Vukovarino Nassicas adpultit pro cellarista* ("Valentin Maier, a Bavarian, came to Našice from Vukovar to be a cellarer")¹³
- 4) various other determinations (usually city and nation combined):
 - *frater Mathias Shnedich, studens philosophiae Possega oriundus, natione Illyrus* ("brother Matija Šnedić, a student of philosophy, originally from Požega, a Croat¹⁴ by nation")¹⁵
 - *pater Hieronymus Andrassevich, natione Illyrus, Posseganus* ("father Jeronim Andrijašević, a Croat by nation, from Požega")¹⁶

⁹ *Zapisnik Franjevačkog samostana u Našicama I*: 10, 14.

¹⁰ *Zapisnik Franjevačkog samostana u Našicama I*: 26.

¹¹ *Zapisnik Franjevačkog samostana u Našicama I*: 60.

¹² *Zapisnik Franjevačkog samostana u Našicama II*: 150. Cf. Lovorka Čoralčić, Maja Katušić, Maja Matasović "Svjedočanstva uklesana u kamenu - grobnice i nadgrobni natpisi Bokelja, Budvana i Barana u Mlecima i na otocima mletačke Lagune (16. - 19. stoljeće)", *Croatica Christiana Periodica*, 40, 78 (2016), 105-138.

¹³ *Zapisnik Franjevačkog samostana u Našicama II*: 92.

¹⁴ *Illyrus* can also denote other Slavic nations on the territory of ancient Illyria, but in these texts it usually designates people speaking a štokavian variant of Croatian, *Croata* being a person speaking kajkavian Croatian, and *Rascianus* usually designating the Serbs.

¹⁵ *Zapisnik Franjevačkog samostana u Našicama II*: 88.

¹⁶ *Zapisnik Franjevačkog samostana u Našicama II*: 122.

- *frater Simon Heitmanek, philosophiae studens, Bohemus Altomautensis* (“brother Simon Heutmanek, a student of philosophy, Bohemian of Vysoké Mýto”)¹⁷
- *multum venerandus pater David Engerth, ... guardianus; diligens et intelligens florum cultor natione Franco, patria Bambergensis* (“very reverend father David Engerth, ... guardian: diligent and intelligent cultivator of flowers, a Franconian¹⁸ by nation, his homeland being Bamberg”)¹⁹
- *Franciscus Leskovacz, ... Slavonita Brodensis* (“Franjo Leskovac, ... a Slavonian of Brod”); *Remigius Matkovich, ... Slavonita Cernekiensis* (“Remigije Matković, a Slavonian of Cernik”)²⁰

Helpful data for determination of nationality is also the office of a preacher for a certain nation. For instance, monastery in Našice usually has a preacher for German nation (or language: it has various names throughout the text; see Table II) as well as a preacher for Croatian. The preacher for German is necessary because there is a numerous German minority in the territory of Našice (see below), and these priests are always of German nationality and fluent in German. The same applies for Croatian and other languages, making this office a good predictor of the nationality of the holder.

Table II: Preachers in German and Croatian in the monastery in Našice

Lingua Germanica	
Vitus Tribl, contionator annualis Germanicus	1761; 1762; 1764; 1765
Matthaeus Roid, contionator Germanicus annualis et catechista Germanicus	1777
Laurentius Finckner (Fünckner), cooperator parochiae nationis Germanicae, cooperator in lingua Germanica, Germanus et Germanorum capellanus	1782; 1783; 1788; 1789
Franciscus Hoffmann, Germanicus concionator	1786
Tobias Röckl, cooperator pro natione Germanica	1795
David Engerth, concionator Germanicus	1801; 1802
Constantius Steiner, concionator Germanicus	1816
Lingua Illyrica	
Vitus Ivich, concionator festivalis Illyricus	1782; 1783
Michael Zaimovich, contionator dominicalis Illyricus	1782; 1783
Franciscus Szomborcsevich, concionator Illyricus	1801
Clemens Orovcsanin, concionator Illyricus	1801
Emericus Kollar, concionator Illyricus	1803

¹⁷ *Zapisnik Franjevačkog samostana u Našicama II: 214.*

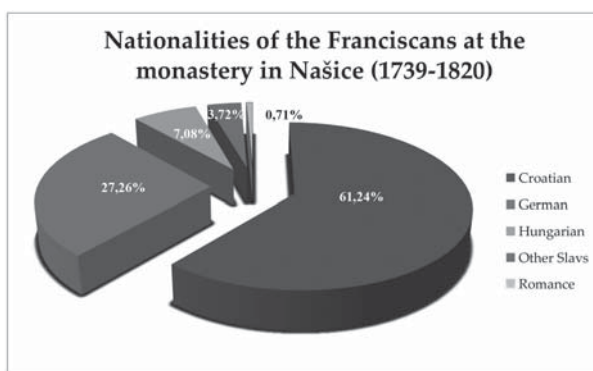
¹⁸ Franconia is a German historic region (as well as a language area) that includes northern parts of today Bavaria and provinces on its western border.

¹⁹ *Zapisnik Franjevačkog samostana u Našicama II: 216.*

²⁰ *Zapisnik Franjevačkog samostana u Našicama II: 232.*

Taking into account all the information that we find in the chronicle, we can construct an image of the national structure of the Franciscan community in the monastery in Našice (Chart I). It takes into account all the people (mentioned in the records) who passed through the monastery in the period of c. eighty years. It can serve as an illustration of all the Franciscan monasteries in Slavonia in the eighteenth century because, as far as it can be seen from the preserved chronicles, the situation was almost identical in all of them. Moreover, it was usually the same people circulating between convents as a result of regular movements of the monks.

Chart I: Nationalities of the Franciscans at the monastery in Našice



2. 2. Nationality of lay people

The *Protocol* also gives us information about the nationality of various lay people that had some connection with the monastery and the life within it. This is useful data for determining the social and economic status of certain minority groups. In this way, for instance, we learn that the construction workers came mostly from Italy.

- *Hoc mense dealbata est per Italos turris, frontispicium, ecclesia forinsecus, ...* “This month the Italians whitewashed the belfry, the façade and the outside of the church...” (July 1780)²¹
- *Die 8. inopinate advenerat murarius quidam, Italus, quo cum reverendus pater guardianus contractum inierat, ut murum /.../ repararet ...* “On the 8., unexpectedly there came a stonemason, an Italian, and the reverend father made a contract with him to ... repair the wall...” (July 1810)²²

²¹ *Zapisnik Franjevačkog samostana u Našicama I*: 94.

²² *Zapisnik Franjevačkog samostana u Našicama II*: 146.

These Italians were usually sent to Našice in order to carry out a specific task: to whitewash the monastery or to repair it in smaller or greater extent. We find them in Našice in 1780 and 1810, and in 1814 there is a carpenter (*asciariae artis*) *Franciscus Ballerius*,²³ whose surname (*Ballerio*) seems to point to the conclusion that he is also an Italian, although his nationality is not specified. It is interesting to note that he is summoned by the count of Našice, Vincent Pejačević, to build a scaffolding for lifting the bells into a belfry, since there was no crane so high available.

In 1815 we find another foreign construction worker in Našice, this time a stonemason from Silesia.

- *Initio huius mensis sodalis murarius Silesita conductus est, ut tecta conventus et ecclesiae repareret /.../* “At the beginning of this month a member of the stonemasons guild from Silesia was hired to repair the roofs of the monastery and the church” (August 1815)²⁴

In 1817, when the Italians are here again, we discover the reason for importing work force: they are cheaper and more hardworking than the locals.

- *Murarii Itali, ... hodie laborem suum feliciter consumarunt. Videbitur forte alicui hos nominatos murarios excessivo precio conductos fuisse, cum intra tam breve temporis spacium finivere laborem suum; verum notandum hic venit, quod si alii domestici murarii huiates conducti fuissent, etiamsi precio leviore, sed cum necessariis requisitis et manualistis, haec reparatio altiore precio constitisset; memorati autem Itali nullis paegmatibus, sed unico tantummodo quotidie manualista usi ea adhibita in labore- diligentia, quod intra breve tempus et minoribus sumptibus labori suo hodie finem posuerant, ac sequenti die exoluti, ad domesticos lares discesserunt.* “The Italian stonemasons ... today finished their work successfully. Perhaps someone will think that they were hired for an excessive price, since they had finished their work in such a short period; but it has to be noted here that, if other local stonemasons had been hired, even for a lower price, with all the necessary supplies and manual workers the reparation would have been costlier. On the other hand, the Italians mentioned did not use any scaffolding, and only one manual worker per day, being so diligent in their labour that they finished the work today, within a short period and with lower costs. The next day they were paid and went towards their family homes.” (September 1817)²⁵

²³ *Zapisnik Franjevačkog samostana u Našicama II*: 214.

²⁴ *Zapisnik Franjevačkog samostana u Našicama II*: 234.

²⁵ *Zapisnik Franjevačkog samostana u Našicama II*: 278-280.

In the year 1787 we also find the record of new villages being founded on the estates Kutjevo and Valpovo (Našice is situated in between) where the serfs from Franconia are to be settled: German is predominant, if not the only language in these villages.

- *Eodem hoc anno ad dominium Kuttieva illocati novi coloni ex Franconia et novus pagus Kulae erectus est. Item, in dominio Valpovensi Kravicae ex iisdem Franconis consurrexit pagus 36 domorum.* “In this same year the new serfs from Franconia were settled on the Kutjevo estate and the new village of Kula was erected. Also, on the Valpovo estate, out of the same Franconians rose the village of Kravice, /consisting/ of thirty-six homes.” (January 1787)²⁶

2.3. National identity awareness

As we have seen, the protocolists felt the need to determine a person's provenance or nationality in the records. This serves to prove that there existed a sense of affiliation to certain nation or region. Records concerning various types of events (ecclesiastical as well as secular) being held in a vernacular language also testify to the awareness of belonging to a certain nation, and show us the ways of establishing a national identity. It should, however, be noted here that German is, besides being a language of the numerous minority in Slavonia, also becoming the official language in the Habsburg monarchy in this period.

We find that the gospels and epistles, as well as the Sacred Rule of the Franciscan order (*Sacra Regula*) are read mostly in Latin, but sometimes also in German and in Croatian. From the *Protocol* of the monastery in Slavonski Brod we learn that the *Litany of the Saints* is sung in Croatian (it was recorded in 1737 that the custom of singing in vernacular has been introduced after the visit of apostolic missionaries). Early morning masses during Advent (*Rorate masses*) are also held partly in Croatian.

- *A die Cinerum ad Dominicam usque Palmarum exclusive ad primum sacrum legitur Evangelium lingua vernacula quotidie.* “From Ash Wednesday to Palm Sunday, gospel during first mass is exceptionally being read in vernacular language every day.” (March 1786)²⁷
- *Sacra Regula cum Testamento omni quadrante anni partim Latine, partim vero Germanice aut Illyrice legatur.* “Sacred Rule and the Scrip-

²⁶ *Zapisnik Franjevačkog samostana u Našicama I: 206-208.*

²⁷ *Zapisnik Franjevačkog samostana u Našicama I: 164.*

ture on Ember days every year should be read partly in Latin, partly in German or Croatian.” (July 1796)²⁸

- *Lecta est sub refectione meridiana Sacra Regula idiomate Latino, ad noctem vero idiomate Germanico.* “During midday refreshment Sacred Rule was read in Latin, and in the evening in German language.” (March 1798)²⁹
- *Remansit autem pius usus post abitum eorum cantandi “Lytanias Lau-retanas” idiomate vulgari post datum signum pulsus “Ave Maria” ab incolis huiatibus, ... nunc usque ...* “After their /sc. the missionaries’/ departure there remained up to this day the pious practice of locals singing the Litanies of the Saints in the vernacular following the sign by the bell with *Ave Maria...*” (1737)³⁰

The bishop of Zagreb, Maksimilijan Vrhovac (1787-1827) is one of the central figures of cultural and political life in Croatia at the end of the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth century. As a kind of a forerunner of Illyrian movement, it is indicative that he gives a sermon in Croatian during his visit to Našice in 1800.

- *Maximilianus Verhovacz, episcopus Zagrabiensis ... finito hoc ascendit cathedram et concionabatur Illyrico idiomate...* “Maksimilijan Vrhovac, the bishop of Zagreb, upon finishing ascended to the pulpit and preached in Croatian language.” (July 1800)³¹

In 1817 it is written that Adalbert Horvat, the monastery preacher, is also giving a sermon in his mother tongue, Croatian.

- *Multum venerandus pater Adalbertus Horvath, actualis concionator ... dixit concionem lingua nativa Illyrica...* (August 1817)³²

A note that the vicar Antun Janković has received a poem in Croatian as his fifty-years-of-priesthood-anniversary gift from the administrator of Podgorač, Ivan Balatović, is an indirect indication that friars are speaking Croatian among themselves.³³

²⁸ *Zapisnik Franjevačkog samostana u Našicama II: 42.*

²⁹ *Zapisnik Franjevačkog samostana u Našicama II: 50.*

³⁰ *Kronika Franjevačkog samostana u Brodu na Savi I: 78.*

³¹ *Zapisnik Franjevačkog samostana u Našicama II: 70.*

³² *Zapisnik Franjevačkog samostana u Našicama II: 276.*

³³ There are, unfortunately, very few clues as to how the communication within the monastery between members of various nations worked: Latin was always a possible solution, but it is probable that the various vernaculars were used among various groups.

- *Dein /lecti sunt/ sat copiosi versus Illyrici et bene concinnati a patre Ioanne Balatovich, ...* “Then the bountiful verses in Croatian, aptly composed by father Ivan Balatović, were read... “ (June 1805)³⁴

Awareness of national identity and expression of national pride in a slightly different manner is also attested by the record from the *Chronicle* in Brod in 1814 about putting up the paintings depicting themes from Croatian history in the dining room of the monastery.

- *Duae tabulae cum totidem ramis vitrisque, quarum una Memoriam provinciae Sancti Ioannis a Capistrano, altera vero Memoriam conventus Sanctissimae Trinitatis Brod, nexu chronologico resuscitatam, continet, ... in refectorio penes Crucifixum appensae sunt. ... Itidem duae aliae tabulae, ... quarum una Memoriam ecclesiarum Bosnensis et Sirmiensis, altera vero Memoriam ducum et banorum Regni Slavoniae...* “Two plates with the same number of frames and glass panels, one of which shows the history of the Province of St. John Capistran, and the other that of the Monastery of the Most Holy Trinity in Brod, told in a chronological order, were suspended in the dining room next to the Crucifix... And in the same manner two other plates, ... one of which has the history of the churches in the Dioecese of Bosnia and Syrmia, and the other that of the kings and *bani* (viceroys) of the Kingdom of Slavonia” (1814)³⁵

The *Protocol* of Brod also says that one of the locals, legal representative of the Franciscans (*syndicus apostolicus*), Toma Jarić raised a triumphal arch in honour of the Austrian Archduke Ludwig. The inscription for that arch was written in Latin and Croatian by one of the monks.

- *Perillustris dominus Thomas Iarich de Brodberg, syndicus apostolicus, erexit portam triumphalem e regione suae popinae in foro, quae principi pro hospitio destinata erat, in qua contra eamdem domum, sequens legabatur inscriptio, a quodam nostro religioso facta:*

Vive, pater Patriae! Princeps Ludovice, perenna!

Slavoniae populus plaudit, iubilantque Brodenses!

Zdrav bio, Ludovicse carevichu!

Svi Brodjani od dragosti vicsu.

“Distinguished gentleman Toma Jarić of Brodberg, legal representative, raised the triumphal arch, in the direction of his tavern on the square, which

³⁴ *Zapisnik Franjevačkog samostana u Našicama II: 104.*

³⁵ *Kronika Franjevačkog samostana u Brodu na Savi II, 159.*

was destined to be a guest house for the prince. On the arch, looking towards the said house, it was possible to read the following inscription, made by one of our order: Long live the father of the homeland! Last many years, prince Ludwig! The people of Slavonia applaud, the inhabitants of Brod rejoice! – Prosper, prince Ludwig! All the inhabitants of Brod cheer in joy.” (1808)³⁶

Besides Croatian, German was also often used: sermons are being held in German (for instance, in honour of a First Mass of Michael Euler from Kula – place, already mentioned, in the Kutjevo estate where the Franconians were settled).

- *Primitias celebravit Kuttjevae dominus Michael Euler, Kulensis ... pro qua solemnitate reverendus pater Petrus Becker cum concione Germanica invitatus fuerat.* “Master Michael Euler from Kula celebrated his First Mass in Kutjevo... for this festivity reverend father Peter Becker was invited to give a German sermon.” (June 1815)³⁷

Since the church bells for the Našice belfry were made in Graz, the inscriptions upon them are German (and Latin), and the same applies even when they were made in Pécs.

- *Quae campana ... inscriptionem ... in se habuit sequentem: Florentin Streckfus zu Graz Goss Mich 1713.* “This bell had the following inscription upon it: Florentin Streckfus of Graz cast me in 1713.” (July 1814)³⁸
- *Advectae sunt campanae Quinqueecclesiis duae, /.../ cum sequenti inscriptione:*

In maiori: Gegossen von Peter Weinbert in Fienfkirchen 1814.

Consecrata Beatae Virgini Mariae Imaculatae Conceptae et Sancto Antonio Quinque Ecclesiis fusa anno 1814.

Patre Emerico Ljubishich guardiano Nassicense et substituto Paulo Krebs.

In minori: Gegossen von Peter Weinbert in Fienfkirchen 1814.

Consecrata Sancti Vincentii a Paula

Sumptibus illustrissimi domini comitis Vincentii Pejacevich Quinque Ecclesiis fusa anno 1814.

³⁶ *Kronika Franjevačkog samostana u Brodu na Savi II, 62.*

³⁷ *Zapisnik Franjevačkog samostana u Našicama II: 232.*

³⁸ *Zapisnik Franjevačkog samostana u Našicama II: 208.*

“Two bells were brought from Pécs ... with the following inscription:

On the bigger one: Cast by Peter Weinbert in Pécs in 1814. Consecrated to Blessed Virgin Mary of the Immaculate Conception and to St. Anthony, cast in Pécs in the year 1814. During the guardianship of father Emerik Ljubišić, the representative being Pavao Krebs.

On the smaller one: Cast by Peter Weinbert in Pécs in 1814. Consecrated to St. Vincent de Paul, cast on the expense of the illustrious gentleman, Count Vincent Pejačević, in Pécs in the year 1814.”³⁹

Since German was, at this time, increasingly taking over as the language of the administration, the law, and the state in general, it is not unusual to find transcriptions of German documents within the Latin text of the chronicles. In the *Protocol of the Franciscan monastery in Našice* there are, in the year 1788, two circular letters coming from the Hungarian Royal Council, signed by Count Zichy, the president of Hungarian Aulic chamber, and Baron von Seeberg, counsellor of the Chamber, regarding the elections of monastery superiors and the licences that monks are obliged to have if they were transferred to another diocese.⁴⁰ It has to be noted, on the other hand, that every German transcription had its summary in Latin, the official language of the *Protocol* and of the Kingdom of Hungary, showing that all monks were expected to know Latin, while German was not required for all.

Newspaper articles are also cited as information sources in the *Protocol*: for instance, Viennese daily newspaper - *Ephemerides Viennenses (Wiener Zeitung)* are cited for the news of Napoleon's overthrow and banishment to Elba (in 1814).⁴¹ Perhaps the most interesting is the report of Joseph's II trip to Russia in 1780. It was written by Emperor's companion Ferenc Xavér Kalatay and it mentions false reports by journalists and corrects them. This report was eventually published in newspaper „Galizia“ in Lvov, whence it was taken in the journal „Adler“ by a journalist Gross-Hoffinger.⁴² All this data show that newspapers were read in German, and also in Latin (e. g. *Ephemerides politico-statisticae Posonienses*).

Awareness of the national identity is also reflected through the language of writing, so it is interesting to note the occasions on which the chronicles mention the books passing through the hands of Franciscans. Books acquired for the monastery library are always in Latin, as are the theses defended by the monks during their studies. It is still the language of science, and of the Catholic Church at the time.

³⁹ *Zapisnik Franjevačkog samostana u Našicama II*: 212-214.

⁴⁰ *Zapisnik Franjevačkog samostana u Našicama II*: 10-14.

⁴¹ *Zapisnik Franjevačkog samostana u Našicama II*: 204.

⁴² *Zapisnik Franjevačkog samostana u Našicama II*: 194-202.

- */Procurati sunt/ ... Pro bibliotheca libri: Graveson Historia ecclesiastica, 2 tomi in quarto. Benedicti XIV. De synodo dioecesana, 2 tomi in quarto, et eiusdem Casus conscientiae, unus tomus in quarto. Berthi Breviarium ecclesiasticum, duo tomuli in octavo. Antoine Theologia moralis, cum additionibus patris Philippi Carboniano, 2 tomi in quarto. Cronologia Ordinis patris Caroli Mariae Perusini. Practica criminalis patris Amenoja, 3 tomi in folio. Ugonis Cardinalis Expositio Sacrae scripturae. Tirinus Expositio Sacrae scripturae, 3 tomi in folio.* “For the library we procured the books: *Historia ecclesiastica* by Graveson, two tomes in quarto format, *De synodo dioecesana* by Benedict XIV, two tomes in quarto, and *Casus conscientiae* of the same author, one tome in quarto, *Breviarium ecclesiasticum* by Bertus, two little tomes in octavo, *Theologia moralis* by Antoine, with additions by father Filippo da Carbognano, two tomes in quarto, *Cronologia Ordinis* by father Carlo Maria Perusini. *Practica criminalis* by father d’Ameno, three tomes in folio, *Expositio Sacrae Scripturae* by Hugo Cardinalis, *Expositio Sacrae Scripturae* by Tirin, three tomes in folio.” (1762)⁴³

For historians, archivists and museologists it would also be interesting to mention the record of foundation of the National museum in Budapest: for this purpose, the monasteries are asked not to prevent Márton György Kovachich in research and collecting of the material, which includes:

- *Pro Musaeo nationali Budae erigendo omnia submittant ... Requiritur sequentia: libri impressi de Hungaria agentes, aut ab Hungaris vel Hungarica lingua editi, sive in Hungaria solum excussi, ne calendariis quidem, praesertim quibus diaria et notationes historiae inscriptae sunt, aut veteribus libellis elementaribus sive etiam cantilenis vel fabellis. Quidquid igitur ad historiam naturalem, politicam et localem, geographiam, rem numariam universam, et speciatim Hungaricam, technologiam, adeoque artis opera, antiquitates et raritates pertinent, armis, picturis, iconibus, mappis, delineationibus et similibus inclusis. Diplomata qualiacunque publica et privata, manuscripta; mandata in publicis edita etiam exoleta, formularia sigli, et similes reliquiae etc.* “Everything should be submitted for the foundation of the National Museum in Buda ... The following is required: printed books on the subject of Hungary, or edited by Hungarians or in Hungarian language,

⁴³ *Zapisnik Franjevačkog samostana u Našicama I: 44.* This also serves to show that, even in the area devastated and depopulated after the Ottoman rule, the Church tried to provide its members with international and relatively modern literature. Cf. Maja Matasović, “*Ad maiorem Dei gloriam ... I. dio - Vjerske knjige među svećenicima Senjsko-modruške biskupije polovicom 18. st.*” (*Part I: Religious books among priests in the Diocese of Senj around the mid-eighteenth century*), *Povijesni prilozi*. 36 (2009): 129-150.

or just printed in Hungary, including even the calendars, especially the ones with diaries or historical notes inscribed upon them, as well as old spelling books, and poems, and tales. Whatever, therefore, pertains to natural, political or local history, geography, universal and especially Hungarian numismatics, technology, also works of art, antiquities and rarities, including arms, pictures, icons, maps, sketches and the like; any kind of public and private documents, manuscripts, mandates edited in public, even the obsolete ones, abbreviation patterns and similar relics.” (1812)⁴⁴

Everything mentioned above seems to indicate that it was not really important in what language something was written, because the monks (for the most part, at least) understood German and Croatian as well as Latin. Interestingly, Hungarian seems to be the least understood of all the languages used in Našice: there are no Hungarian books mentioned (except in this invitation to create a collection of Hungarian editions for the national museum), no sermons, no preachers for Hungarian, not even loanwords.

3. Intertwining nationalities and languages

Previous section touched upon the various languages used in the Franciscan community and in their vicinity. This section will deal with some of the occasions in which Croats could have encountered other languages, and the foreigners equally came into contact with Croatian.

3.1. Mobility

Within the Franciscan order mobility (in today's sense of the word as well) was usual and everyday phenomenon. The friars went from monastery to monastery for customary transfer, but there are also instances of abolishing a convent when the monks needed to move to another. One of the most common reasons for transfer was choosing one's studies, but the institutions themselves were sometimes transferred to another location, together with their professors, students, and even books.

- *Die 24. Septembris, cum caussa ex rationabili studium philosophicum Našiczense Baiam, una cum uno professore, nimirum reverendo patre Paullo Glöztzel, translatum sit, hacque occasione cum et libros, quoniam his pro*

⁴⁴ *Zapisnik Franjevačkog samostana u Našicama II*: 182.

hic et nunc opus non habui, secum abstulerit, nimirum patris Horvath Physicam exemplaria quattuor, clarissimi Pray exemplaria tria, clarissimorum Pankl et Mitterpacher exemplaria quattuor cum mappis et historiis pertinentibus: hinc si quo casu contigerit studium huc reverti, tenebitur studium Baiense ad restitutionem suorum librorum ac mapparum.

pater Benvenutus Klasz, professor philosophiae

“On 24th September, because the study of philosophy had for a good reason been transferred to Baja together with one professor, i.e. reverend father Paul Glötlz, and since he had on that occasion taken with him the books for which I had no need at the moment (four copies of *Physica* by father Horváth, three copies of famous Pray and four copies of the famous Pankl and Mitterpacher with pertaining maps and histories), if in some case the study should be reverted here, the study in Baja will therefore be obliged to restitute the books and maps. Father Benvenut Klasz, professor of philosophy” (1812)⁴⁵

In order to come into contact with other languages, the friars had no need even to move further from Našice because various armies passed through the city and the monks were required to communicate with soldiers of different nationalities, among them some who surely had no knowledge of Latin. The officers mentioned in the following example could be expected to have learned Latin during their education, but the soldiers (who are mostly mentioned when they die and need to be buried or when they convert to Catholicism) were probably speaking various vernaculars. Usually that was German, but, as the following examples also show (mostly through surnames), not all military people are of German nationality.

- *Inlocati apud nos erant ex primo transitu supremus vigiliarum magister II de Cortano, capitanei duo: nobilis de Wendt et Garjup, et duo locumtenentes: de Puso seu Pusho et Ioseph Guido Monso comes seu marquis. Secundo: regiminis capellanus, pater Leonardus Patzel ordinis minorum conventualium, primarius supremus vigiliarum magister Molitor, duo capitanei comes Heger et Hagelmann ac unus locumtenens comes Schörffenberger.* “During the first transit, second master sergeant de Corti was staying with us, together with two captains: noble de Wendt and Gorup, and two lieutenants: de Puso or Pusho and Count, or Marquis, Joseph Guido Monso. In the second transit: the chaplain of the regiment, father Leonard Patzel of the Order of Friars Minor Conventual, first master sergeant Molitor, two captains: Count Heger and Hagelmann, and one lieutenant, Count Schörffenberger.” (October 1787)⁴⁶

⁴⁵ *Zapisnik Franjevačkog samostana u Našicama II: 182.*

⁴⁶ *Zapisnik Franjevačkog samostana u Našicama I: 226.*

That way, by mutual interaction in communication, people influenced each other, and the influence was also reflected in their languages, as can be seen from the following paragraph.

3.2. Folk expressions / colloquialisms in Latin text

The influence of all the languages mentioned has its tangible reflection in the so-called “folk expressions”, that is, in the loanwords found in the Latin texts of the chronicles.

As expected, most loanwords come from German, and they are often misspelled. They are always explained by a Latin description at the beginning (in one or more words), and then we find a German expression, after the term *vulgo* or the phrase *ut vocant* – “as people say”. Interestingly, we find a couple of Turkish words as well. There are also cases of loanwords taking Latin suffixes and being adapted to Latin declension, the stem being from Hungarian, for instance (cf. Table III; some of these words are still used in modern, non-standard Croatian). It should also be mentioned that these cases are sometimes a big help in translation: translators cannot always be sure what a neo-Latin term was specifying exactly, but the German term, for instance, points in the right direction. In a way it is surprising, and also worth mentioning, that there are no Croatian words in the texts, even though the majority of the Franciscan protocolists, and also of the lay people is Croatian (with a significant German minority), and only Croatian place names are introduced by the term *vulgo*. It is worth noting that the technical register of Croatian is still being built in this period, which is one of the reasons why technical terms should be mostly in German.

German words	Text
<i>Dragoner</i>	<i>Cohors levis armaturae Germanicae vulgo Dragoner</i> (“troop of German light infantry, commonly dragoons”)
<i>Kloshaus</i>	<i>Conservatorium seu Kloshaus</i> (“conservatory or greenhouse”)
<i>Glashaus</i>	<i>Conservatorium seu, ut vocant, Glashaus</i> (“conservatory or, as they call it, greenhouse”)
<i>Scharfschützen</i>	<i>Venatores vulgo scharfschützen</i> (“hunters, commonly sharpshooters”)
<i>Granatarii</i>	<i>Martiobarbuli milites vulgo Granatarii</i> (“weapon-throwing soldiers, commonly grenadiers”)
<i>Obristwachtmeister</i>	<i>Supremus centuriarum instructor, sive Germanice obristwachtmeister</i> (“superior staff sergeant or, in German, master sergeant”)
<i>Printzregent</i>	<i>Princeps Coronae Angliae (Printzregent)</i> (“Prince of the English Crown - prince-regent”)

German words	Text
<i>Schließnepen</i>	<i>Necessariae claves vulgo Schließnepen / Ligaturae ferreae vulgo Schließnepen</i> (“necessary levers, commonly latches / iron locks, commonly latches”)
<i>Ziegeldecker/s/</i>	<i>Tectores vulgo Ziegeldecker/s/</i> (“roofers, commonly roof tilers”)
Turkish words	
<i>Hangxar</i>	<i>Cultri Turcici vulgo hangxar</i> (“Turkish knife, commonly handjar”)
<i>Iorgan</i>	<i>Tegumenta lectualia vulgo iorgan</i> (“Bed covers, commonly jorgan”)
<i>Czardak</i>	<i>Vigiliae vulgo czardak Potainicza</i> (“Watch, commonly watchtower Potajnica”)
Hungarian words (roots)	
<i>Pandurones et biresones</i>	“guards and officers” (from Hung. <i>pandúr</i> = policeman / <i>biró</i> = judge)

Conclusion

This paper is conceived as an overview of the data about national identities that can be found in one specific kind of document, the monastery chronicles. Chronicles are interesting historical sources because they give various information about church organisation, political events, but also the lives of the „little people”. They are also a very subjective kind of historical source, and their credibility should always be taken *cum grano salis*. On the other hand, being subjective, makes them a useful window into a living part of history that is absent from “matter-of-fact” sources such as registry books and similar.

In this case, chronicle of the Franciscan monastery in Našice presents the readers a multinational community in eighteenth-century Croatia, and the one in which Latin was a cohesive factor, for a longer period than in other European countries. This is partly motivated by the fact that they are a Catholic community, and Latin is the language that has allowed the Catholic Church its uniqueness and unity throughout the ages. This is partly the result of the period in which the Habsburg monarchy is introducing German as the language of the state, Hungarian is getting stronger as the official language in the Kingdom of Hungary, and Croatia is struggling to keep Latin as an official language to keep Hungarian from replacing Croatian in schools and other formal occasions.⁴⁷

⁴⁷ For more detailed context cf. Zvezdana Sikirić Assouline, “The Latin Speeches in the Croatian Parliament: Collective and Personal Identities” in *Latin at the Crossroads of Identity: The Evolution of Linguistic Nationalism in the Kingdom of Hungary*, ed. Gábor Almási and Lav Šubarić, (Leiden – Boston: Brill, 2015), 218-236.

Rolle der lateinischen Sprache in multinationaler Religionsgemeinschaften im 18. Jahrhundert in Slawonien

Zusammenfassung

Ziel dieser Arbeit ist die Rolle der lateinischen Sprache in Bildung und Erhaltung der nationalen Identität im 18. und 19. Jahrhundert zu erforschen. Als Forschungsquellen dienten Chroniken (*protocolla*) franziskanischer Klöster in Slawonien und vor allem die Chronik des Franziskanerklosters des Hl. Anton von Padua in Našice. Die genannten Chroniken sind Resultate einer vorgeschriebenen Praxis in Klostergemeinschaften dieser Zeit, nämlich dass wichtige Geschehnisse vor allem in, aber auch außerhalb der Gemeinde notiert werden sollten. Die Chroniken wurden meistens in lateinischer Sprache geschrieben. In Klostergemeinschaften dieser Zeit waren Mitglieder verschiedener Nationen sowie verschiedene kulturelle und soziale Einflüsse zu finden: Neben Kroatien, es waren dort auch Ungaren, Deutsche, Slowaken usw. In dieser Arbeit wird erforscht, wie die Klosterbrüder ihre Zugehörigkeit zu gewissen Gemeinschaften ausdrückten und welche Rolle die Sprache bei der Bildung dieser Identitäten spielte. Sie bedienten sich der lateinischen Sprache beim Erfüllen ihrer alltäglichen Aufgaben, aber ganz bestimmt auch in gegenseitiger alltäglicher Kommunikation. Auf diese Weise wurden die Klosterbrüder, Mitglieder verschiedener Nationen, zu Mitgliedern einer größeren „supranationalen“ Gruppe – der Katholischen Kirche. Auf kroatischen Gebieten hatte die lateinische Sprache neben ihrer internationalen Dimension auch eine nationale, sie übte auch die Rolle der Verteidigung gegen fremde Einflüsse aus, z. B. gegen deutsche oder ungarische Sprache.

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