

ANTAL MOLNÁR, *Confessionalization on the Frontier. The Balkans Catholics between Roman Reform and Ottoman Reality - Konfesionalizacija na granici. Balkanski katolici između Rimske reforme i Osmanske stvarnosti*, (Interadria Culture dell'Adriatico, 22), Viella, Roma, 2019., 266 str.

Knjiga, osim kazala i uvoda, koji se ovdje broji kao prvo poglavlje (str. 7-14), sadrži još devet izabranih poglavlja (str. 17-203), od kojih je osam već objavljenih priloga u raznim zbornicima i časopisima i jedan prilog, po prvi put objavljen ovdje, zatim rječnik čeških turskih i južnoslavenskih izraza (str. 205-206), dvanaest vrlo preglednih i korisnih geografskih karata (str. 209-220), bogatu bibliografiju (str. 221-257) te na kraju kazalo osobnih imena i mjesta (str. 259-266).

Antal Molnár (*1969.) ugledni je mađarski historičar, bivši ravnatelj Mađarske Akademije u Rimu, trenutno ravnatelj Povijesnog instituta Istraživačkog centra humanističkih znanosti Mađarske Akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Budimpešti, pridruženi profesor na Fakultetu humanističkih znanosti Eötvös Loránd Sveučilišta u Budimpešti, član Papinskog odbora za povijesne znanosti u Rimu afirmirao se u zadnja dva desetljeća kao vodeći ugarski poznavatelj položaja Katoličke Crkve i svih kršćana u doba osmanske vladavine u osmanskoj Ugarskoj, Hrvatskoj, Bosni, Srbiji, Bugarskoj i Albaniji u 16. i 17. stoljeću. Svoju doktorsku tezu *Katolikus missziók a hódolt Magyarországon, (1572-1647) - Katoličke misije u osmanskoj Ugarskoj (1572.-1647.)* obranio je 1999. na Sveučilištu u Segedinu (Szeged) i 2002. na Sveučilištu Sorbonne u Parizu, pod preinačenim i zanimljivim naslovom: *Le Saint-Siège, Raguse et le missions catholiques de la Hongrie Ottoman 1572-1647 - Sveta Stolica, Dubrovnik i katoličke misije osmanske Ugarske 1527.-1647.*

U naslovu ove Molnárove publikacije pojavljuje se novi povijesni pojam ili denominacija: confessionalization (konfesionalizacija) od njemačke riječi Konfessionalisierung koju su uveli profesori i istraživači novovjekovne zemaljske i crkvene povijesti 16. i 17. st., Heinz Schilling iz Berlina i Wolfgang Reinhard iz Augsburga i Freiburga. Iz njemačkoga se riječ brzo proširila i na druge istraživačke povijesne, kulturne i lingvističke centre Europe i Amerike i postala

zajednički pojam, usvojen u povijesnoj historiografiji i semantici. Pojam konfesionalizacija pružio je i pruža još uvijek dragocjen uvid u ulogu vjerskih denominacija (katolika, luterana i kalvinista) u promjenama u društvenom i političkom životu između 1550. i 1660. godine. To su bili procesi u kojima su ranonovovjekovni zemaljski vladari Srednje Europe pokušavali stvoriti disciplinirano "podaničko društvo" u svome vlastitom duhu i u vlastitoj konfesiji. Novoskovani pojam i uspostavljena teza konfesionalizacije uspješno je skrenula pozornost na političke, društvene i kulturne oblike i posljedice religije te je razvodnila tradicionalni interes za Crkvu, crkvenu povijest, crkvenu nauku, pobožnost i umjetnost. U Molnára konfesionalizacija 16. i 17. st. predstavlja u ono vrijeme poželjnu i stvarnu organizaciju i reorganizaciju vjerskih (konfesionalnih) odnosa na novonastaloj granici sučeljavanja jurisdikcije Rima i Osmanske stvarnosti počevši od Osmanske Ugarske na sjeveru do Bugarske i Albanije na jugu.

"Introduction - Uvod" (str. 7-14) u publikaciji se vodi kao prvo poglavlje, a u njemu autor pruža kratak prikaz metodologije pristupa temi svoga znanstvenog istraživanja koje on locira u tadanje političko i crkveno ozračje jugoistočne Europe, Balkana i Sredozemlja 16. i 17. st.

U drugom poglavlju, s naslovom "Bosnian Franciscans between Roman Centralization and Balkan Confessionalization - Bosanski franjevci između Rimske centralizacije i Balkanske konfesionalizacije", (str. 17-29), autor ocrta korektno početke misijskoga poslanja franjevaca u Banovini Bosni i u Bosanskom Kraljevstvu do pada pod Turke.

U drugoj polovici 16. st. vidi on, ne uvijek s pravom, u Tridentskom koncilu i katoličkoj reformi poticanoj od Svete Stolice, veću opasnost za bosanske franjevce i njihovu misionarsku praksu nego od turske vladavine. Molnár u svome prilogu postavlja svoju tezu konfesionalizacije: Ukoliko je Katolička Crkva u Bosni (franjevci), htjela preživjeti osmansku vladavinu, morali su se poput Pravoslavne crkve prilagoditi osmanskoj vjersko-političkoj sredini (str. 28).

U trećem poglavlju, koji nosi naslov "The Holy Office and the Balkan Missions before Foundation of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide (1622) - Sveti Oficij i balkanske misije prije osnivanja Svetoga Zbora za širenje vjere (1622.)", (str. 31-46), autor posvećuje pažnju aktivnostima Svete Stolice na Balkanu krajem 16. i početkom 17. st. Centrala ove misijske aktivnosti bio je Sveti Oficij (*Sanctum Officium*), sjedište Rimske inkvizicije (*Sacra Congregatio Romanae et Universalis Inquisitionis seu Congregatio Sancti Offici*), preuređene 1588. od pape

Siksta V., u vodeći Zbor Svete Stolice (*Congregatio prima*). Sveti Oficij preuzeo je sada sva ona dogmatska i kanonska pitanja koja su se ticala vjere i tako proširio svoju jurisdikciju na cijeli katolički svijet. Nadalje, rješavao je pitanja crkveno-sudske naravi koja su proizlazila iz vjerskih i konfesionalnih zaprjeka.

Srž katoličke misije u nekatoličkim zemljama i krajevima bila je obrana vjere i postojanost u katoličkoj pravovjernosti. Rimske smjernice za ostvarenje misijskog rada određivale su podjeljivanje i potvrdu apostolskih ovlasti (*facultates apostolicae*) i sastavljanje i slanje popisa (*dubia*) težih crkveno-kanonskih slučajeva, koja bi stajala na raspolaganju kako dušobrižnicima tako i Svetom Oficiju. Glavni način kontrole vjere i vjerske postojanosti na Balkanu i u jugoistočnoj Europi u ovom razdoblju bili su, prema autorovu mišljenju, apostolski pohodi (vizitacije), među kojima nalazimo Hrvate pohoditelje, kao što su bili stonski biskup i franjevac Bonifacije Drakulica (Drkolica), ili veliki diplomat, isusovac Aleksandar Komulović. Kao najstariji primjer misijskog djelovanja u jednoj multireligioznoj sredini i slanja sakupljenih *dubia* u Rim, navodi autor primjer don Vinka di Augustino (don Vincenzo di Augustino), kapelana dubrovačkih trgovaca u Budimu 1599. U prilogu autor opisuje daljnje djelovanje bosanskih franjevaca u Bugarskoj i isusovaca u Ugarskoj po istom modelu u trajnoj napetosti između krute realnosti Osmanskoga Carstva i Rimskih misijskih predodžbi Svetoga Oficija, udaljenih od misijske stvarnosti.

Četvrto poglavlje, "Venetian South-Eastern Europe and Ottoman Hungary - Mletačka jugoistočna Europa i osmanska Ugarska" (str. 47-63), obrađuje crkveno-povijesnu važnost mletačke vladavine u jugoistočnoj Europi. Svoja razmišljanja i zaključke većinom temelji na prijedlogu Ivana Tomka Mrnavića (Šibenik, 1580. - Rim, 1637. odnosno 1639.), hrvatskoga katoličkog svećenika, teologa, povjesničara i naslovnoga bosanskog biskupa o reorganizaciji Katoličke Crkve u Dalmaciji i na Balkanu, koju on zove Ilirska Crkva (*Chiesa Illyrica*). Mrnavićev prijedlog (str. 60-63) iz godine 1625. sastoji se od 8 točaka. Prvo i najvažnije što se u ovom prikazu treba spomenuti jest to da je Mrnavić u prvoj i drugoj točki smatrao da je vrlo potrebno (*tropo necessario*) imenovati samo domaće sinove na biskupske stolice u Iliriku ili osobe sposobne i vješte ilirskom (hrvatskom) jeziku i nabraja pokrajine: Istru, Hrvatsku i Dalmaciju. Za njih traži, osim latinskih liturgijskih knjiga odobrenih od pape Pija V., tiskanje i širenje glagoljskih liturgijskih knjiga jer većina župa u spomenutim pokrajinama slavi službu Božju na tome jeziku.

U petom vrlo opširnom poglavlju, "Struggle for the Chapel of Belgrade (1612-1643) - Borba za kapelu u Beogradu (1612.-1643.)" (str. 65-121), autor opisuje tipičnu katoličku podijeljenost i žestoku borbu za katoličku kapelicu u Beogradu između predstavnika dubrovačkih trgovaca, dubrovačkih svećenika, potpomaganih od Dubrovačke Republike te bosanskih franjevaca, dubrovačkih i austrijskih isusovaca i dubrovačkih benediktinaca. Borba je završila *de jure* kompromisom 1643. godine u kojem, barem na papiru, nije smjelo biti pobjednika.

De facto pobijedili su glavni "igrači" i stari poznanici, suradnici i protivnici: dubrovački trgovci i bosanski franjevci, koji će uspjeti pro-maknuti prvog biskupa franjevca u Beogradu.

Sličan primjer opisan je i u šestom prilogu, "The Struggle for the Chapel of Novi Pazar (1627-1630) - Spor oko kapelice u Novom Pazaru (1627.-1630.)", (str. 123-134), koju su podigli dubrovački trgovci i podupirala Riznica Sv. Marije, dubrovačke katedrale. To je bila manja pravoslavna crkva koja se nalazila izvan grada i koju su dubrovački trgovci otkupili od osmanskih vlasti i dali obnoviti. Istovremeno, u Novom Pazaru postojala je od 1672. i jedna manja kapelica u jednoj trgovačkoj kući za svakodnevnu molitvu. Sukob je nastao između barskoga nadbiskupa Petra Mazareka (Pietro Massarechi, Mazarekić) i Katedralne riznice u Dubrovniku. U sporu koji je trajao tri godine nadbiskup Mazarek naglašavao je svoju misijsku jurisdikciju ne obazirući se na tradiciju dubrovačkih trgovaca i patronatska prava Dubrovačke Republike. Spor je završio prevagom misijske jurisdikcije barskoga nadbiskupa, koju je podupirao novoosnovani Zbor za širenje vjere u Rimu, nad patronatskim pravom Dubrovačke Republike.

Sedmo poglavlje, "The Catholic Missions and the Origins of Albanian Nation-Building at the Beginning of 17th Century - Katoličke misije i početci stvaranja albanske nacije na početku 17. stoljeća", (str. 135-156), predstavlja vrlo zanimljiv prilog o počecima nacionalne svijesti Albanaca katolika, koja će kasnije biti prenesena i na muslimanske i pravoslavne Albance. Ovaj je prilog istovremeno jedini novi i izvorni tekst u ovoj publikaciji. U nastajanju i jačanju albanske nacionalne svijesti autor pronalazi kosovarske i sjevernoalbanske korijene. Kao prve nositelje albanske narodne svijesti među Albancima on vidi prije svega u barskom nadbiskupu Petru Mazareku, podrijetlom iz Prizrena i Franji Bardiju (Frang Bardhi) biskupu Sape, podrijetlom iz Zadrima u sjevernoj Albaniji. Zanimljiv je, po autorovu prikazivanju, i "znanstveni sukob" biskupa Bardija sa Šibenčaninom i bosanskim naslovnim

biskupom Ivanom Tomkom Marnavićem i njegovim poznatim protu-ilirskim i protualbanskim tezama.

U osmom poglavlju, "The Serbian Orthodox Church and the Attempts at Union with Rome in the 17th Century - Srpsko-pravoslavna crkva i pokušaji unije u 17. stoljeću" (str. 157-167), autor prikazuje pokušaje i napore oko unije između pravoslavnih monaha i Katoličke Crkve. Pritom se autor osvrće kako na klasičnu, tako i na noviju bibliografiju. Prof. Molnár vidi s pravom snagu Srpske pravoslavne crkve u njezinu prilagođavanju pučkoj pobožnosti i u zadržavanju srednjovjekovne političke ekleziologije. Spominje i napore pravoslavnih biskupa (vladika) da podvrgnu i katolike i njihove pastire istim poreznim obvezama kojima su bili izloženi pravoslavni kršćani. Domaće katoličko svećenstvo, bosanski franjevci i kapelani u dubrovačkim trgovačkima kolonijama, jer su poznavali narav pravoslavlja, bili su od početka uvjereni protivnici bilo kakvih pokušaja međusobne unije. Toj su ideji više podlijegali svećenici koji su dolazili sa strane, poglavito iz dalmatinskih i talijanskih općina. U tom kontekstu autor opisuje bezuspješne pokušaje pravoslavnih monaha iz manastira u okolici Trebinja, kojima domaći biskupi, Primi u Trebinju i Ogramić iz Slavonije, kao bosanski biskup, uza svu uljudnost nisu mogli povjerovati u istinoljubivost namjera srpsko-pravoslavnih monaha.

U sljedećem poglavlju, "The Balkan Missions under the Pontificate of Innocent XI (1676- 1689): from Apogee to Ruin - Balkanske misije u doba pontifikata Inocenta XI. (1676.-1689.): od apogeja do sloma", (str. 169-182), autor izlaže kratko ali vrlo logično procvat i propast, uspjeh i neuspjeh misijskih napora u jugoistočnoj Europi krajem 17. stoljeća. Slomu misijskoga rada na Balkanu pridonijeli su dugi i iscrpljujući ratovi kršćanskih sila protiv Osmanskoga Carstva, poput Kandijskoga, Morejskog i Velikog turskog rata od 1645. do 1699. godine. Ratovi su trajali neprekinuto više od pedeset godina, razdoblje u kojem su vladala sedmorica papa. Najveći gubitnici u doba ovih ratova bili su katolici u Jugoistočnoj Europi: u Bugarskoj, Albaniji, Srbiji i BiH. Većinom su morali bježati, ili su bili protjerani, odvedeni u sužanjstvo ili bili pobijeni. Bugarski franjevački samostani nisu preživjeli ove ratove, brojni bosanski samostani bili su svedeni samo na tri samostana. Autor procjenjuje da je više od 150.000 katolika napustilo BiH, našavši novu domovinu u Dalmaciji, Istri, Kranjskoj, Slavoniji i Ugarskoj, Banatu i Transilvaniji. Papa Inocent XI. bio je bez sumnje veliki organizator Svete Lige i podupiratelj uspješne borbe protiv Turaka. No, istovremeno su katolički gubitci u jugoistočnoj

Europi u doba njegova pontifikata bili tako veliki da ih povjesničar ne smije procijeniti samo kao kolateralnu štetu i gubitke, želi nam poručiti prof. Molnár.

U zadnjem poglavlju, "La Schiavona. A Bosnian Girl between Catholic hagiography and Balkan Female Transvestism - Slavenka. Bosanska djevojka između katoličke hagiografije i balkanskog ženskog transvestizma", (str. 183-203), autor obrađuje slučaj Magdalene Pereš-Vuksanović iz Jelaške kraj Vareša (1606.-1670.), odbjegle djevojke u muškoj odjeći i buduće katoličke redovnice, koja se kroza život morala probijati presvučena u muško (transvestit) i konačno doživjeti svoju mladenačku želju, stupiti u samostan. Magdalena je dobila od svoga ujaka i bosanskoga franjevca fra Martina Brguljanina ime *Franjica Slavenka* dok ju je njezin talijanski hagiograf Severano nazvao *bosanska Ivana Orleanska*. Premda je povijest ove hrabre mlade žene u hrvatskoj povijesti i književnosti djelomično obrađena, lijepo je čitati ovaj pozitivan prikaz Magdalene, pogotovo kada se radi o cijenjenom predstavniku nama važnog susjednog, ugarskog naroda. Prof. Molnár svraća pažnju čitatelja i istraživača na pojavu prisilna transvestizma na Balkanu u Osmanskom Carstvu, koji je kroza zajedničku inkulturaciju u turskoj riječi *tobelija*, u vlaško-albanskoj riječi *virđžina*, slavenskoj riječi *muška djevojka* (*muškobara*) i do danas sačuvao svoje pejorativno značenje.

Molanárova knjiga prati nas vrlo uspješno i na visokoj znanstvenoj razini u procesu istraživanja misijskoga poslanja i njegovih pratećih komponenti inkulturacije i konfesionalizacije, koje nisu bile samo prateće koordinate religioznoga života srednjoeuropske multikonfesionalne sredine, nego i pratilice multireligiozne sredine na prostoru jugoistočne Europe i Zapadnoga Balkana 16. i 17. stoljeća.

Ostaje, svakako, otvoreno pitanje koje autor nije postavio: Može li se uopće govoriti o konfesionalizaciji balkanskih katolika na granici između rimskih reformi i osmanske stvarnosti unutar multireligioznog patrijarhalnog društva, kakvo je ono bilo na Balkanu 16. i 17. stoljeća?

ANTAL MOLNÁR, *Confessionalization on the Frontier. The Balkans Catholics between Roman Reform and Ottoman Reality*, (Interadria Culture dell'Adriatico, 22), Viella, Roma 2019, pages 266.

The book, in addition to the table of contents and the introduction (pp. 5-14), consists of nine selected chapters (pp. 17-203), eight of which have already been published in various anthologies and journals, and one article that has been published for the first time. The book also contains a dictionary of more common Turkish and South Slavic terms (pp. 205-206), twelve very clear and useful geographical maps (pp. 209-220), a rich bibliography (pp. 221-257) and finally an index of personal names and places (pp. 259-266).

Antal Molnár (*1969) is a distinguished Hungarian historian, former director of the Hungarian Academy in Rome, currently director of the Institute of History, Research Centre for the Humanities of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Budapest, associate professor at the Faculty of Humanities Eötvös Loránd University of Budapest, and member of the Pontifical Committee for historical sciences in Rome. In the last two decades, Molnár has established himself as a leading Hungarian connoisseur of the position of the Catholic Church and other Christians during Ottoman rule in Ottoman Hungary, Croatia, Bosnia, Serbia, Bulgaria and Albania in the 16th and 17th centuries. He defended his dissertation, *Katolikus missziók a hódolt Magyarországon, (1572-1647) - Catholic missions in Ottoman Hungary, (1572-1647)* at the University of Szeged in 1999 and at the Sorbonne University in Paris in 2002, choosing a modified title, *Le Saint-Siège, Raguse et le missions catholiques de la Hongrie Ottomane 1527-1647*.

A new historical term appears in the title of Molnar's publication: *confessionalization*, derived from the German word *Konfessionalisierung*, which was introduced by Heinz Schilling (Berlin) and Wolfgang Reinhard (Augsburg /Freiburg), professors and researchers of modern secular and ecclesiastical history in the 16th and 17th centuries. The word spread quickly to European and American centres of historical, cul-

tural and linguistic research and became a common term, adopted in historical philosophy and linguistic semantics. The notion of confessionalization has provided and still provides valuable insight into the role of religious denominations - Catholics, Lutherans, and Calvinists - during changes in social and political life between 1550 and 1660. Thanks to these developments, early modern rulers of Central Europe sought to create a disciplined "subservient society" in its own spirit and its own denomination. The newly coined concept and the established thesis of confessionalization successfully drew attention to the political, social and cultural forms and consequences of religion and diluted the traditional interest in the Church, Church history, Church doctrine, piety and art. In Molnár, the confessionalization in the 16th and 17th centuries represented at the time a desirable and real organization and reorganization of religious (confessional) relations on the newly formed border of confrontation between the jurisdiction of Rome and Ottoman reality, starting from Ottoman Hungary in the north to Bulgaria and Albania in the south.

Within the introduction (pp. 7-14), the author provides a brief overview of the methodology of approaching the topic of his scientific research, which he locates in the political and ecclesiastical atmosphere of Southeast Europe, Balkans and the Mediterranean area of the 16th and 17th century.

In the second article, "Bosnian Franciscans between Roman Centralization and Balkan Confessionalization"- (pp. 17-29), the author correctly outlines the beginnings of the missionary activity of the Franciscans in the Banovina of Bosnia and in the Kingdom of Bosnia until the Ottoman invasion. In the second half of the 16th century and at the beginning of the 17th century, he considers the Council of Trent and Catholic reform, encouraged by the Holy See, as a greater danger to the Bosnian Franciscans and their missionary practice than to Turkish rule. Molnár puts forward his thesis of confessionalization: if the Catholic Church in Bosnia (Franciscans) wanted to survive Ottoman rule, they should have adapted themselves to the Ottoman religious-political environment like the Orthodox Church (p. 28).

In the third chapter, "The Holy Office and the Balkan Missions before the Foundation of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide (1622)"- (pp.31-46), the author pays attention to the activities of the Holy See in the Balkans at the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 17th century. The centre of this missionary activity was the Holy Office (Sanctum Officium), the seat of the Roman Inquisition (Sacra

Congregatio Romanae et Universalis Inquisitionis seu Congregatio Sancti Officii - The Sacred Congregation of the Roman and Universal Inquisition or the Holy Office), transformed by Pope Sixtus V in 1588 into *Congregatio prima* (the first Congregation) of all Roman Congregations. The Holy Office now took over all the canonical matters concerning the faith and thus expanded its jurisdiction over the whole Catholic world. Furthermore, it fulfilled tasks such as the power of attorney to dispense of obstacles which originated from religious and confessional differences. The core of the Catholic mission in non-Catholic countries and regions was the defence of the faith and steadfastness in Catholic orthodoxy. The Roman guidelines for the realization of this missionary work established the assignment and confirmation of apostolic faculties (*facultates apostolicae*) and the compilation and transmission of a list of urgent ecclesiastical-canonical cases (*dubia*), which would be available both to pastors and the Holy Office. The Congregation considered apostolic visitations to be the best way to control faith and religious perseverance in the Balkans and Southeast Europe in this period. In these visitations, we find Croatian visitors such as Boniface Drakulica (Drkolica), Franciscan and bishop of Ston, or the great diplomat and Jesuit Alexander Komulović. As the oldest example of missionary transmission of the collected *dubia* to Rome, the author cites the Dubrovnik priest Don Vincenzo di Augustino, chaplain of the Dubrovnik merchants in Buda in 1599. The author continues by describing the protracted activities of the Bosnian Franciscans in Bulgaria and the Jesuits in Hungary, who were acting in the same context of constant tension between the rigid situation within the Ottoman Empire and Roman missionary notions far removed from missionary reality.

The fourth chapter, "Venetian South-Eastern Europe and Ottoman Hungary"- (pp. 47-63), deals with the ecclesiastical-historical importance of Venetian rule in Southeast Europe. Molnár's thoughts and conclusions are also based on the suggestions of Ivan Tomko Mrnavić (Šibenik, 1580-Rome, 1637 or 1639), a Croatian Catholic priest, titular bishop, for the reorganization of the Catholic Church in Dalmatia and the Balkans, which he calls the Illyrian Church (*Chiesa Illyrica*). Mrnavić's proposal (pp. 60-63) from 1625 consists of 8 points. The first and most important point is Mrnavić's "too urgent" (*troppo necessario*) demand for the sole appointment of either domestic sons or persons capable and skilled in the Illyrian (Croatian) language to the episcopal sees in Illyricum, which included the provinces of Istria, Croatia and Dalmatia. In addition to the Latin litur-

gical books approved by Pope Pius V, he requests the printing and dissemination of Glagolitic liturgical books, because most parishes in the said provinces celebrated the service of God in that language.

In the very extensive fifth chapter, "Struggle for the Chapel of Belgrade (1612-1643)"- (pp. 65-121), the author describes the typical Catholic division and the fierce struggle for the Catholic Chapel in Belgrade between representatives of Dubrovnik merchants, Dubrovnik priests, aided by the Dubrovnik Republic and Bosnian Franciscans, Dubrovnik and Austrian Jesuits and Dubrovnik Benedictines. In 1643, the struggle ended *de jure* with a compromise and, at least on paper, there should have been no winner. *De facto*, the main "players" and old acquaintances, collaborators and opponents won: Dubrovnik merchants and Bosnian Franciscans, who managed to promote a Franciscan bishop in Belgrade for the first time.

A similar example is described in the sixth chapter, "The Struggle for the Chapel of Novi Pazar (1627-1630)"- (pp. 123-134), which was founded by Dubrovnik merchants and supported by the Treasury of St. Mary, Dubrovnik Cathedral. It was a smaller Orthodox church that lay outside the city and which Dubrovnik merchants bought from the Ottoman authorities and had rebuilt. At the same time in Novi Pazar, a smaller chapel existed for daily prayer in a trading house from 1672 onwards. A conflict arose between the Archbishop of Bar, Petar Mazarek (Pietro Massarechi, Mazarekić) and the Cathedral Treasury in Dubrovnik. In the dispute lasting three years, Archbishop Mazarek emphasized his missionary jurisdiction, ignoring the tradition of Dubrovnik merchants and the patronage rights of the Republic of Dubrovnik. The dispute ended with the predominance of the missionary jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Bar, supported by the newly established Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith in Rome, over the patronage law of the Republic of Dubrovnik.

The seventh chapter, "The Catholic Missions and the Origins of the Albanian Nation-Building at the Beginning of the 17th Century"- (pp.135-156), is a noteworthy contribution to the beginnings of the national consciousness of Albanian Catholics, which they would later pass on to Muslim and Orthodox Albanians. This article is the sole new contribution in this publication. The author regards Archbishop Petar Mazarek of Bar, originally from Prizren, and Franjo Bardi (Frang Bardhi), Bishop of Sapa, originally from Zadrime in northern Albania, as the first bearers of Albanian national consciousness among Albanians. The author also focuses on Bardi's conflict with

the titular bishop Ivan Tomko Mrnavić and his well-known anti-Illyrian and anti-Albanian theses.

In the eighth chapter, "The Serbian Orthodox Church and the Attempts at Union with Rome in the 17th Century" - (pp. 157-167), the author presents the attempts and efforts around the union between Orthodox monks and The Catholic Church, and refers both to classical and to newer literature. Prof. Molnár rightly considers the adaptation to popular piety and retaining medieval political ecclesiology to be one of the most important strengths of the Serbian Orthodox Church. He also mentions the efforts of Orthodox bishops to subject both Catholics and their pastors to the same obligations to which Orthodox Christians were exposed. From the beginnings, the local Catholic clergy, the Bosnian Franciscans and the chaplains in the Dubrovnik merchant colonies were convinced of the vainness of any attempts at mutual union, because they knew the religious convictions of Orthodox monks better. Priests who came from abroad, especially from Dalmatian and Italian municipalities, were more susceptible to the ideas of union. In this context, the author describes the failure of such attempts by Orthodox monks from the monasteries in the vicinity of Trebinje: Despite of their politeness, the local Catholic bishops, Primi of Trebinje and Ogramić from Slavonia as the Bosnian bishop, could not believe in the truthfulness of the orthodox monks' intentions.

In the following chapter, "The Balkan Missions under the Pontificate of Innocent XI (1676-1689): from Apogee to Ruin" - (pp. 169-182), the author presents briefly but logically the success and failure of missionary efforts in Southeast Europe in the late 17th century. The collapse of missionary work in the Balkans was accelerated by the long and exhausting wars of Christian forces against the Ottoman Empire, such as the Candian, Morean and Great Turkish Wars of 1645-1699. The wars lasted for more than fifty years without interruption, a period in which seven popes reigned. The biggest losers during these wars were the Catholics of Southeast Europe: in Bulgaria, Albania, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina. For the most part, they had to flee, or were expelled, taken into captivity, or even killed. Bulgarian Franciscan monasteries did not survive these wars, whereas most Bosnian monasteries were destroyed and their number was reduced to only three monasteries. The author estimates that over 150,000 Catholics left Bosnia and Herzegovina and found a new homeland in Dalmatia, Istria, Carniola, Slavonia, Hungary, Banat

and Transylvania. Undoubtedly, Pope Innocent XI. was a great organizer of the Holy League and a supporter of a successful struggle against the Turks. But at the same time, prof. Molnár argues that the Catholic losses in Southeast Europe at the time of his pontificate were so extensive that the historian must not assess them only as collateral damage.

In the last chapter titled "La Schiavona. A Bosnian Girl between Catholic hagiography and Balkan Female Transvestism" - (pp.183-203), the author deals with the case of Magdalena Pereš-Vuksanović from Jelaške near Vareš (1606-1670), a runaway girl in men's clothing, and a future Catholic nun. She made her way through life as a male transvestite to realize her youthful desire to enter a convent. Magdalena received the name Franjica Slavenka from her uncle and the Bosnian Franciscan Fr. Martin Brguljanin, while her Italian hagiographer Severano named her the Bosnian Maid of Orléans. Although the history of this brave young woman in Croatian history and literature has been partially treated, it is enjoyable to read this positive portrayal of Magdalena, especially when it comes from a respected Hungarian historian. Prof. Molnár draws the attention of readers and researchers to the emergence of forced transvestism, or even better forced cross-dressing, in the Balkans during the Ottoman Empire, which has been preserved to this day through joint inculturation in the Turkish word *tobelija*, in the Wallachian-Albanian word *virđžina* and in the Slavic word *zavjetovana djevojka* (vowed girl) or - *muškobara* (male girl) with its pejorative meaning.

Molnár's book leads the reader very successfully and at a high scientific level into research on the Catholic mission and its accompanying components of inculturation and confessionalization, which were, according to the author, not only the coordinates of religious life in the multi-confessional Central European area but also affected the multi-religious environment in Southeast Europe and the Western Balkans of the 16th and the 17th century.

There is, of course, a question that the author did not ask: Can we talk at all about the confessionalization of Balkan Catholics squeezed between Roman reforms and Ottoman reality and within a multi-religious patriarchal society, such as the Balkans in the 16th and 17th centuries?

Petar Vrankić