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Vladimir Peter Goss
profesor emeritus
emeritus professor
Sveučilište u Rijeci
University of Rijeka
Sveučilišna avenija 4
Rijeka, HR-51000
vgoss@aol.com

Vedrana Delonga i *V Hrvatih*

Autor u radu polazi od spoznaje V. Delonga da su Hrvati najjače ključno pleme iz kojeg je izrastao hrvatski narod, te da je gospodarski bogato područje današnjih Ravnih Kotara, Nina i šireg zadarskog zaleđa postalo tijekom srednjeg vijeka demografskom jezgrom hrvatskog prostora zbog čega se u srednjovjekovnoj pisanoj povijesti čitav ravnokotarski kraj (srednjovjekovna županija Luka) sve do kraja turske vladavine nazivao Hrvati (v Hrvatih). Na tragu te spoznaje nastoji utvrditi trase puteva kojima su Hrvati iz triju temeljnih područja – sjeverne, srednje i srednjoistočne Europe – iz zemalja koje se steru od Polablja preko istočnih Alpa i Karpata (Prikarpaće, Zakarpaće) do Crnog mora doselili na područje antičke Dalmacije.

Ključne riječi: *Hrvati, V Hrvatih, Ravni Kotari, Dalmacija, Polablje, Karpati*

Vedrana Delonga and V Hrvatih

In this paper, the author starts from the insight of V. Delonga that the Croats were the strongest key tribe from which the Croatian nation emerged. Furthermore, the economically wealthy area of present-day Ravni Kotari, Nin, and the wider Zadar hinterland became the demographic core of the Croatian territory during the Middle Ages. For this reason, in medieval written history, the entire Ravni Kotari region (the medieval county of Luka) was called "v Hrvatih" until the end of Ottoman rule. Following this insight, the author seeks to determine the routes by which the Croats migrated to the territory of ancient Dalmatia from three core regions—Northern, Central, and Central-Eastern Europe—from lands stretching from the Elbe region across the Eastern Alps and the Carpathians (Subcarpathia, Transcarpathia) to the Black Sea.

Keywords: *Croats, v Hrvatih, Ravni Kotari, Dalmatia, Elbe region, Carpathians*

Postoje znanstvenici kojima se divimo zbog vrhunskog poznavanja područja kojima se bave i sposobnosti da svoje uvide prenesu na druge. No postoje i oni koji posjeduju vrhunsku ekspertizu u više područja te sposobnost da ih uvjerljivo povežu i takva kompleksna saznanja ponude svojim čitateljima. Među ove druge nedvojbeno pripada dr. sc. Vedrana Delonga, kojoj je posvećen ovaj broj *Starohrvatske prosvjete*.

Dr. Delonga nesumnjivo je najbolja poznavateljica ranosrednjovjekovne epigrafije u nas. Ono što njezin rad čini zaista posebnim jest duboko poznavanje i razumijevanje srodnih disciplina – arheologije, povijesti umjetnosti, umjetničke topografije, lingvistike itd. S velikim osjećajem poštovanja i zahvalnosti sjećam se naših silazaka u podrume MHAS-a kako bismo pogledali neki poseban ulomak kamene plastike, kako bismo ga opipali, pogladili rukom i očima ne bi li nam odao svoje tajne. Bez Vedrane i njezinih izvanrednih uvida, na primjer, kako bih ikada imao hrabrosti pisati o „Troglavcu iz Vaćana"!? Ili shvatiti izvanrednu važnost oltarne pregrade iz Sv. Mihajla na Koločepu za visoku hrvatsku povijest, za onu *soror et regina*, koju je dr. Delonga tako izvanredno izmamila iz stoljetnog mraka? Time je pokazala da epigraf nije tek čitač natpisa na kamenu već i humanist koji zadire u kompleksna pitanja značenja, vizualne i književne ljepote te duhovnosti kamenog ulomka i njegove uloge u povijesti i kulturi naroda kojem pripada.[1]

U svojoj monumentalnoj knjizi *Latinski epigrafski spomenici u ranosrednjovjekovnoj Hrvatskoj*, govoreći o spomenicima grada Nina, Vedrana Delonga kaže: „Srednjovjekovni Nin preslojio je prostor antičke Enone koja zamire u avaroslavenskim naletima, u prelomnim vremenima nestajanja antičkog svijeta. S naseljavanjem Hrvata u ranom srednjem vijeku ponovno se obnavlja, osobito zahvaljujući prednostima svog specifičnog zemljopisnog smještaja dobro branjenog s mora. Najstarije razdoblje hrvatskog naseljavanja ostavilo je značajne ostatke u arheološkom materijalu velike starohrvatske nekropole istražene na ninskom Ždrijacu. S gospodarski bogatim područjem današnjih Ravnih kotara, Nin i šire zadarsko zaleđe postali su tijekom srednjeg vijeka demografskom jezgrom hrvatskog prostora, pa se stoga u srednjovjekovnoj pisanoj povijesti čitav ravnokotarski kraj (srednjovjekovna

[1] Goss 2020a, str. 202–203, 230–231, 244–245.

There are scholars whom we admire for their exceptional understanding of their fields of study and for their ability to convey their insights to others. But there are also those who possess outstanding expertise across multiple disciplines and the ability to integrate them persuasively and present such complex knowledge to their readership. Mrs. Vedrana Delonga, PhD, to whom this issue of *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* is dedicated, unquestionably belongs to this latter group.

Dr. Delonga is, without doubt, the leading authority on early medieval epigraphy in our country. What makes her work truly distinctive is her profound knowledge and understanding of related disciplines—archaeology, art history, artistic topography, linguistics and others. With profound respect and gratitude, I recall our visits to the basements of the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments to examine a particular fragment of stone sculpture, to touch it, feel it and gently trace it with hand and eye, in the hope that it might reveal its secrets to us. Without Vedrana and her extraordinary insights, how, for example, could I have found the courage to write about the *Troglavac iz Vaćana* (eng. *The Three–Header from Vaćani*)? Or fully apprehend the exceptional significance of the altar screen from the Church of St. Michael on the island of Koločep for Croatian high medieval history—the *soror et regina* which Dr. Delonga so brilliantly brought to light from centuries of obscurity? In doing so, she demonstrates that the epigrapher is not merely a reader of inscriptions carved in stone, but a humanist who engages with complex questions of meaning, the visual and literary beauty of a work, the spirituality embodied in a fragment of stone and its enduring significance for the history and culture of the people to whom it belongs[1].

In her monumental book *Latin Epigraphic Monuments of Early Medieval Croatia*, discussing the monuments of the town of Nin, Vedrana Delonga writes: "Medieval Nin overlaid the site of ancient Aenona, which had declined during the Avar-Slav incursions in the pivotal times of the disappearance of the ancient world. With the settlement of the Croats in the Early Middle Ages, Nin was renewed once again, particularly due to the advantages of its distinctive geographical position as a well-protected location against threats from the sea. The earliest settlement phase of the Croats is evidenced by

[1] Goss 2020, pp. 202-203, 230-231, 244-245,.

županija Luka) sve do kraja turske vladavine nazivao Hrvati (*v Hrvatih*)".[2]

Kako autorica zaključuje, to je i logično jer se u Ninu nalazila i prva hrvatska prijestolnica i prvo biskupsko sjedište. Zadarsko zaleđe – Ravni kotari – dalo je tako ime suvremenoj državi, članici EU-a.

No Hrvati, naravno, nisu bili jedina etnička skupina koja se u ranom srednjem vijeku spustila na Jadran i u jugoistočnu Europu. Bili su, očito, najjača skupina kad su se njihovo ime i njihov prostor proširili od Jadrana do Drave. Izvanredna je zasluga Vedrane Delonga što je to prepoznala i zabilježila na 202. stranici spomenute knjige, uz jasnu naznaku da je riječ o položaju najjačeg, ključnog plemena iz kojeg je izrastao hrvatski narod.

Hrvati koji su se naselili na području *V Hrvatih* i tako taj prostor učinili hrvatskim morali su odnekud doći. Otkud, kako i kada? Gdje su polazne točke selidbe koja je *Hrvate* dovela do *V Hrvatih*? Pitanje seobe Hrvata nije ni izdaleka iscrpljeno. No jedno je sigurno: imamo dolaznu točku. U zaleđu Zadra, središta tadašnje carske Dalmacije, naselilo se najjače pleme – Hrvati. Za pretpostaviti je da su se manje važne skupine radijalno rasporedile oko tog središta, slijedeći zemljopisne odrednice i potencijale. Potrebno je, dakako, identificirati etnički materijal, njihove inicijalne položaje i putove kojima su se kretali da bi došli tamo gdje su uglavnom i danas. S obzirom na skromnost suvremenih izvora takvo se pitanje zacijelo neće nikad do kraja riješiti, no nadamo se da je ipak moguće postaviti određeni broj podosta uvjerljivih hipoteza o polaznim pozicijama i smjerovima selidbe Hrvata i njihovih suputnika u maršu na Jadran.

Povijesno kraljevstvo Hrvata, čiji je današnji sljednik Republika Hrvatska, sadržava neke ključne zajedničke elemente na kojima se temelji hrvatski prostor u kojem su se po određenom ključu smjestili Hrvati ili oni koji će to postati. Prvenstveno, to je broj tri. Povijesno je hrvatska država poznata kao Trojedna kraljevina – Hrvatske, Dalmacije i Slavonije – odnosno Priobalje, Gorska Hrvatska i hrvatska ravnica. Hrvatski jezik ima tri narječja: čakavsko, kajkavsko i štokavsko. U općem smislu možda se može pretpostaviti da su se Hrvati doselili iz *triju temeljnih* područja – sjeverne, srednje i srednjoistočne Europe – iz zemalja koje se steru od Polablja preko istočnih Alpa i Karpata (Prikarpaće, Zakarpaće) do Crnog mora, kako zaključuju sinteze

[2] Delonga 1996, str. 202–203.

significant remains in the archaeological material, notably by the large early Croatian necropolis excavated at Ždrijac in Nin. Together with the economically prosperous area of present-day Ravni Kotari, Nin and the broader Zadar hinterland became the demographic core of the Croatian lands during the Middle Ages. Consequently, in medieval written sources, the entire Ravni Kotari region (the medieval county of Luka) was referred to as *Hrvati* (*v Hrvatih*) (eng. Land of the Croats) until the end of Ottoman rule."[2]

As Delonga rightly concludes, because Nin was not only the first Croatian capital but also the first episcopal seat. The hinterland of Zadar, or the Ravni Kotari region respectively, thus gave its name to the modern Croatian state, which is now a member of the European Union.

Of course, the Croats were not the only ethnic group to settle along the Adriatic and in southeastern Europe during the Early Middle Ages, but they were, evidently, the strongest since their name and their territory expanded from the Adriatic to the Drava river. It is an extraordinary achievement of Vedrana Delonga that she recognized and recorded this on page 202 of her monumental book, clearly noting that this was the territory of the strongest, most pivotal tribe from which the Croatian people later emerged.

The Croats who settled in the region of *V Hrvatih*, and thus made that region Croatian must have migrated from somewhere else. But from where, along which route and at what time? What were the initial points of departure for the migration that brought the Croats to *V Hrvatih*? The question of the Croats' migration remains far from fully resolved. One thing, however, is certain: we do have a point of arrival. In the hinterland of Zadar, the centre of imperial Dalmatia at the time, the strongest tribe, the Croats, established their settlement. It is reasonable to assume that less important groups positioned themselves radially around this centre, by following the geographical features and opportunities of the region. Of course, it is essential to identify the ethnic material, their initial settlements and the routes they followed to reach the regions in which they largely remain today. Given the scarcity of contemporary sources, such questions may never be fully resolved. Nevertheless, it remains possible—and indeed desirable—that a number of

[2] Delonga 1996, pp. 202-203.

vjerodostojnih znanstvenika kao što su primjerice Lowmianski, Majorov i Kugutjak. Uz sve nužne ograde, toponimi i imena etničkih skupina pokazuju jezičnu bliskost na području između „triju mora“ – Baltika, Crnog mora i Jadrana.[3]

Kojim su putovima Slaveni, a među njima i „Hrvati“, krenuli iz gore navedenih područja u Panoniju i jadransko zaleđe? Izbor trasa ograničen je na doline rijeka i gorske prijevoje koji povezuju baltičko, polapsko, prikarpatsko, zakarpatsko i pricrnomorsko područje s Panonskom nizinom, zapadnim Balkanom i jadranskim priobaljem.

Trase tih putova bile bi prvenstveno rijeke Drava, Sava, Mura i Dunav kao poveznice Panonije sa središnjom i sjevernom Europom (Alpe – Baltik) te alpski prijevoji kao Semmering, Koren, Jezersko, Ljubelj i Radelj. Pritoci Dunava, poput Morave i Tise, te tatranski prijevoji vode iz Prikarpaća i Zakarpaća u Panonsku nizinu. Dunav je i dodatni pristup Panoniji i Balkanu iz područja oko Crnog mora. Može se pretpostaviti da se većina doseljenika iz srednje Europe i Polablja spustila na jug dolinama Dunava, Drave, Save i Mure.

Nadalje, može se pretpostaviti da su ti doseljenici sišli u zapadnu Panoniju pretežno preko Alpa te dolinama Save, Drave i Mure, a preko nje do sjevernog i srednjeg Jadrana, kamo se moglo stići i preko Krasa, Liburnije i Kvarnera, kao i u zapadnu Panoniju dolinom Kupe i preko Vratnika.

Oni iz Prikarpaća i Zakarpaća spustili su se Moravom i tatranskim prijevojima u središnju Panoniju, pa zatim u zapadnu i središnju Slavoniju te možda i u dio Gorske Hrvatske između zapadne Slavonije, Like i Gorskog kotara, slijedeći Koranu i Unu. Istočnu Slavoniju i Podunavlje nastanili bi dolaznici koji su slijedili rijeku Tisu kroz Karpate. Neki od njih mogli su iz smjera Crnog mora stići slijedeći uzvodno Dunav. Dio potonjih mogao se nastaniti u sjevernoj Srbiji i Bosni, a zatim se, uspinjući se uz Drinu, Bosnu i Vrbas, spustiti preko prijevoja u Hercegovinu. Upozoravam da je ovo moja rekonstrukcija, otvorena nadopunama i kritici, kao i da su se neke manje skupine tijekom seobe mogle premještati iz jedne veće skupine u drugu.

Usprkos hipotetskoj naravi ovih razmišljanja mogle bi se pretpostaviti izvjesne homogenizacije, čiju srž čine pribaltički, polapski i alpski element na sjeverozapadu Hrvatske, prikarpatski i karpatski

[3] Lowmianski 2004; Majorov 2012; Kugutjak 2018; Goss 2020a.

reasonably convincing hypotheses can be proposed concerning the points of origin and migration paths of the Croats and their companions on their journey to the Adriatic.

The historical Kingdom of the Croats, of which the modern Republic of Croatia is the successor, encompasses certain key common elements that form the foundation of the Croatian territory, within which the Croats or those who would become Croats settled according to a specific pattern. First and foremost, there is the element of the number three. Historically, the Croatian state was known as the Triune Kingdom—comprising Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia—which corresponded broadly to the coastal region, mountainous Croatia and the Croatian plain. Similarly, the Croatian language reflects this tripartite structure, being divided into three principal dialects: Chakavian, Kajkavian and Štokavian.

In a general sense, it may be assumed that the Croats migrated from three principal regions—northern, central and central-eastern Europe. Their origins are thought to lie in territories stretching from the Elbe, across the Eastern Alps and the Carpathians (including the Pre-Carpathian and Trans-Carpathian regions), to the Black Sea, a conclusion supported by the syntheses of respected scholars such as Lowmianski, Majorov and Kugutjak. With the usual caution, toponyms and the names of ethnic groups suggest linguistic affinities throughout the area spanning the “three seas”: the Baltic, the Black Sea and the Adriatic[3].

Which routes did the Slavs, and among them the “Croats,” take from the aforementioned regions toward Pannonia and the Adriatic hinterland? Their choice of routes was limited to river valleys and mountain passes linking the Baltic, Elbe (Polabian), Pre-Carpathian, Trans-Carpathian and Black Sea regions with the Pannonian Plain, the Western Balkans and the Adriatic coast.

These routes would have primarily followed the rivers Drava, Sava, Mura and Danube, which connected Pannonia with central and northern Europe (the Alps–Baltic region), as well as Alpine passes such as Semmering, Wurzen Pass, Jezersko, Ljubelj and Radlje. Tributaries of the Danube, such as the Morava and the Tisza, together with the Tatra passes, led from the Pre-Carpathian and Trans-Carpathi-

[3] Lowmianski 2004, Majorov 2012, Kugutjak 2018, Goss 2020a.

u priobalju (Dalmaciji) i njegovu gorskom zaleđu (Lika, zapadna Bosna i Hercegovina; *V Hrvatih* u širem zaleđu Zadra) te u istočnoslavonskoj ravnici oni iz istočnih Karpata i krajeva uz Crno more. Već tijekom seoba, koje su dijelom bile i vojni pohodi protiv Avara pa su slijedile i logiku vojnih operacija, moglo je doći do miješanja pripadnika tih triju skupina. Još jednom: ovo je pretpostavka, radna hipoteza.[4]

U redcima koji slijede pokušat ću iščitati podršku za ovakve pretpostavke na temelju istraživanja uvaženih znanstvenika na području ranoslavenskih studija. Temelj za ova razmišljanja prvenstveno su dva popisa, jedan suvremeni, a drugi iz ranog srednjeg vijeka, te mišljenja mjerodavnih istraživača.

U ljeto 2013. posjetio sam Arheološki muzej (*Archäologisches Landesmuseum*) u Brandenburgu, vrhunsku ustanovu za proučavanje ranog srednjeg vijeka. Pozornost mi je posebno privukao zemljovid polapskog područja na kojem je netko, zacijelo na temelju pisanih izvora, upisao imena slavenskih plemena u prostoru između, ugrubo, Odre, češke granice, Labe i Baltičkog mora. Zemljovid bilježi 47 imena (jedno se spominje dvaput) i sedam toponima. Prepisano otprilike od sjevera prema jugu to su: Wagrier, Ranen, Wolliner, Polaben, Abodriten, Warnower, Zirzipanen, Wilzen, Tollenser, Müritzer, Redarier, Ukranen, Prissanen, Rezanen, Zamzizi, Dossanen, Nieletizi, Linonen, Drewanen, Heveller, Beiczern, Sprewanen, Morizani, Pioni, Selpoli, Zerwisti, Wolauki, Lusizer, Nizici, Citizi, Serimunt, Kolodizer, Soraben, Scitizi, Siusler, Nudzici, Neletici (dvaput), Dalminzier, Milzener, Besunzanen, Nisanen, Chutici, Weta, Pusni, Gara, Puonzowa i toponimi Starigard, Michelenburg, Lunzin, Havelberg, Brennaburg, Liubusua, Kasigenburch.[5]

Slijede imena (14) s BZ-a – Bavarskog zemljovida – koja bi mogla biti relevantna za našu temu. Broj naveden u zagradi označuje jednu od triju grupa kojima bi se pojedina skupina mogla pripisati:

Wolliner – Volinjani, Volinja na Banovini (2)

Abodriten – Obodriti (3)

Muritzer – oko Mure (?) (1 ili 2)

Ukranen – Ukrina, pritok Save kod Sl. Broda (2)

Linonen – Glinjani (?), Glina na Banovini (2)

Wolauki – Volavci, Volovčica u Zagrebu, Volovčica (rijeka), Volavje kod Zagreba, Volavec kod

[4] Goss 2020a, str. 45–51.

[5] Goss 2020b, str. 62–64.

an regions into the Pannonian Plain. The Danube also provided an additional route into Pannonia and the Balkans from the region around the Black Sea. It may be assumed that most settlers from central Europe and the Elbe region moved southward along the valleys of the Danube, Drava, Sava and Mura.

Furthermore, it can be assumed that these settlers descended into western Pannonia primarily via the Alps and along the valleys of the Sava, Drava and Mura, and from there toward the northern and central Adriatic, which could also be reached via the Karst Plateau, Liburnia and the Kvarner region, as well as into western Pannonia via the Kupa valley and across the Vratnik pass.

Those from the Pre-Carpathian and Trans-Carpathian regions likely descended along the Morava River and through the Tatra passes into central Pannonia, then into western and central Slavonia, and possibly also into parts of mountainous Croatia between western Slavonia, Lika and Gorski Kotar, following the Korana and Una rivers. Eastern Slavonia and the Danube region would have been settled by migrants who followed the Tisza River through the Carpathians. Some of these may have reached the area from the direction of the Black Sea by moving upstream along the Danube. A portion of the latter group may have settled in northern Serbia and Bosnia and then, ascending the Drina, Bosna and Vrbas rivers, descended through mountain passes into Herzegovina. It should be emphasized that this reconstruction represents my own interpretative model, open to further refinement and critical reassessment, and that during the migratory process certain smaller groups may have shifted from one larger group to another.

Despite the hypothetical character of these considerations, certain processes of homogenization may nevertheless be assumed. At their core, these would have involved a Baltic, Elbe-region and Alpine element in northwestern Croatia; a Pre-Carpathian and Carpathian component in the coastal region (Dalmatia) and its mountainous hinterland (Lika, western Bosnia and Herzegovina and *V Hrvatih* in the broader hinterland of Zadar); and, in the eastern Slavonian plain, groups originating from the eastern Carpathians and areas along the Black Sea. Already during the migrations, which were in part also military campaigns directed against the Avars and thus followed the logic of military operations, there may have been considerable intermixing

Gornje Stubice, Volavec Riječki ispod Kalnika (1)

Sorabi – Srb u Gorskoj Hrvatskoj (1 ili 2)

Dalminizier – Daleminci; sami sebe zovu Glamaci ili

Lusizer – Lukšići (Lužani) (1, 2 ili 3); oko luga (moguće bilo gdje)

Morizani (moguće Moravljani) – oni uz mutnu vodu (1, 2 ili 3)

Nizici – dokumentirano suvremeno prezime (Nižići)

Citizi – dokumentirano suvremeno prezime (Čitići)

Chutici, Chutizi, Chuntizi – dokumentirano suvremeno prezime; stari grad Čuntić na Banovini (2)

Scitizi – dokumentirano suvremeno prezime (Ščitići).[6]

Tko god poznaje odnosno govori hrvatski ili neki drugi južnoslavenski jezik prepoznat će bez oklijevanja sličnosti koje nalazimo između nekih imena na Brandenburškom zemljovidu i prezimena koja i danas nose stanovnici Hrvatske. Riječ je o imenima koja susrećemo u popisima stanovništva, telefonskim imenicima ili u svakodnevnom životu. Jedan Nižić igrao je za splitski Hajduk (Nizici). U školi sam poznavao jednu Ljerku Čutić (Chutici). Imao sam demonstratoricu prezimenom Štitić (Scitizi). Šimun Šito Ćorić predsjednik je Hrvatskog svjetskog kongresa. Nije potrebno biti lingvist da bi se te analogije prepoznale.[7]

Prepoznavanje sličnosti ne znači da ih možemo na brzinu i jednostavno pojasniti. Naravno, kao humanista, istraživača umjetnosti (ponajprije likovne) i kulture, zanima me Brandenburški zemljovid jer nije naodmet znati kako su se kretale pojedine skupine ljudi i s kim su mogle doći u dodir. Stoga relevantnim hrvatskim humanističkim disciplinama nudim ovo kao prilog za razmišljanje i raspravu. Molim da ga se smatra posve dobronamjernim pokušajem da se zanimljivo pitanje raspravi na razini istinskih stručnjaka.

BZ je sastavljen recentno za potrebe muzejskog postava. Izvor su mu zacijelo srednjovjekovni geografski spisi. Jedan od takvih, možda i najpoznatiji, jest onaj Geographusa Bavarusa, odnosno *Descriptio civitatum et regionum ad septemtrionalem plagam Danubii*, koji je otkriven u Bavarskoj državnoj knjižnici 1772. godine.[8]

[6] Goss 2020b, str. 64.

[7] Goss 2020b, str. 64–66.

[8] Goss 2020b, str. 65–66.

among members of these three groups. Once again, this remains a supposition, a working hypothesis[4].

In the following discussion, I will seek to substantiate these assumptions on the basis of research conducted by esteemed scholars in the field of early Slavic studies. The basis for these reflections rests primarily on two lists, one contemporary and the other from the Early Middle Ages, supplemented by the views of acknowledged experts and researchers.

In the summer of 2013, I visited the Archaeological State Museum (*Archäologisches Landesmuseum*) in Brandenburg, a leading institution for the study of the Early Middle Ages. My attention was drawn in particular to a map of the Polabian region on which someone—evidently on the basis of written sources—had inscribed the names of Slavic tribes within the area broadly delimited by the Oder River, the Czech border, the Elbe and the Baltic Sea. The map records 47 names (one of which appears twice) and seven toponyms. Transcribed approximately from north to south, these are as follows:

Wagrier, Ranen, Wolliner, Polaben, Abodriten, Warnower, Zirzipanen, Wilzen, Tollenser, Müritzer, Redarier, Ukranen, Prissanen, Rezanen, Zamzizi, Dossanen, Nieletizi, Linonen, Drewanen, Heveller, Beiczern, Sprewanen, Morizani, Pioni, Selpoli, Zerwisti, Wolauki, Lusizer, Nizici, Citizi, Serimunt, Kolodizer, Soraben, Scitizi, Siusler, Nudzici, Neletici (twice), Dalminzier, Milzener, Besunzanen, Nisanen, Chutici, Weta, Pusni, Gara, Puonzowa and toponyms Starigard, Michelenburg, Lunzin, Havelberg, Brennaburg, Liubusua, Kasigenburch [5]

The following are names from the Brandenburg Map, 14 in total, which could be relevant to our topic. The number in parentheses indicates one of the three groups to which the group could potentially be assigned:

Wolliner – Volinjani, Volinja in Banovina (2)

Abodriten – Obodriti (3)

Muritzer – around the Mura River (?) (1 or 2)

Ukranen – Ukrina, a tributary of the Sava near Slavonski Brod (2)

Linonen – Glinjani (?), Glina in Banovina (2)

Wolauki – Volavci, Volovčica in Zagreb, Volovčica (river), Volavje near Zagreb, Volavec near Gornja Stubica, Volavec Riječki at the foot of Kalnik mountain (1).

[4] Goss, 2020a, pp. 45-51.

[5] Goss, 2020b, pp. 62-64.

Povjesničar, paleograf i filolog Bernhard Bischoff pripisuje ga monahu s Reichenaua između 830. i 850. godine, dok A. V. Nazarenko smatra da je nastao u Reichenauu oko 870., kada je ondje navodno boravio sveti Metod. H. Lowmianski prepoznaje dva dijela rukopisa, a time i dva autora. Na Bavarusa me uputila Eva M. Ossadnik iz Beča pa joj i ovim putem zahvaljujem. Dr. Ossadnik upozorava da je popis imena u rukopisu dugogodišnji problem slavistike: „Bojim se da je nemoguće objasniti velik broj imena. Anonimni pisac morao je bilježiti imena po sluhu. Je li bio prirodni lingvist? Moguće Slaven?“ Za tumačenja važnosti Bavarusa za ranosrednjovjekovnu povijest srednje Europe zahvaljujem i prof. dr. Georgu Holzeru iz Beča.

Bavarus je naveo 58 imena, od kojih neka možda susrećemo na BZ-u i u Hrvatskoj.[9] Time se potvrđuje njihovo postojanje u 9. stoljeću. Evo kako to izgleda:

BAVARUS	BZ	HRVATSKA
Nortabtrezi	Abodriten	Obodriti
Linaa	Linonen	Glinjani
Surbi	Sorben	Sorabi
Talminizi	Dalminzier	Duvnjani
Merehani	Muritzer	Murići
Osterabtrezi	Abodriten	Obodriti
Sitizi	Scitizi	Ščitići (Štitići)
Lunsizi	Lusizer	Lukšići
Morizani	Morizani	Moravljani
Busani		Bužani
Uislane		Višljani
Lupiglaa		(G)lupoglavi (2)

Bavarus nam jamči postojanje nekih imena iz 9. stoljeća koja nas ovdje zanimaju. Neka za nas relevantna imena nalaze se kod Bavarusa, ali ne i na BZ-u:

Okolica Zagreba: Duljebi, (G)lupoglavi, Volinjani, Glinjani, Volavci

Južna Panonija: Obodriti, Ukrani

Gorska Hrvatska: Kosinjani, Bužani, Sorabi

Istra: (G)lupoglavi

Hercegovina i južna Dalmacija: Delminjani, Livnjani, Glamočani, Višljevići

Sjeverna Dalmacija: Hrvati

Bez geografskog opredjeljenja: Murići, Nižići, Ščitići, Čutići.

Podsjetimo da se Lukšići i Moravljani mogu nalaziti na više lokacija.[10]

9 Goss 2020b, str. 65.

10 Goss 2020b, str. 65.

Sorabi – Srb in mountainous Croatia (1 or 2).

Dalminizier – Daleminci; they called themselves Glamaci or

Lusizer – Lukšići (Lužani) (1, 2, 3). Around forests (could be anywhere).

Morizani (possibly Moravljani), those by the murky water (1, 2, 3).

Nizici –documented as a modern surname (Nižići).

Citizi – documented as a modern surname (Čitići).

Chutici, Chutizi, Chuntizi -- documented as a modern surname; old town Čuntić in Banovina (2).

Scitizi – documented as a modern surname (Ščitići).[6]

Anyone who knows or speaks Croatian or another South Slavic language will immediately notice the similarities between certain names on the Brandenburg map and surnames still borne by people in Croatia today. These names appear in population registers, telephone directories and everyday life. For instance, a soccer player Nižić once played for Hajduk Split (Nizici); at school, I knew a Ljerka Čutić (Chutici); I had a teaching assistant named Štitić (Scitizi); and Šimun Šito Ćorić serves as president of the Croatian World Congress. One does not need to be a linguist to recognize these analogies.[7]

Recognizing these similarities does not mean we can quickly or simply explain them. Naturally, as a humanist scholar of art (primarily visual) and culture, I am interested in the Brandenburg map because it provides a means of tracing the movements of certain groups and their potential interactions with others. Therefore, I offer this to the relevant Croatian humanistic disciplines as a contribution for reflection and discussion. I ask that it be regarded as a sincere and well-intentioned effort to explore this fascinating question at the level of true experts.

The Brandenburg map (BM) was created relatively recently for a museum exhibition, yet its sources are undoubtedly rooted in medieval geographical records. One such source, perhaps the most famous one is by Geographus Bavarus, or *Descriptio civitatum et regionum ad septemtrionalem plagam Danubii* respectively, which was discovered in the Bavarian State Library in 1772.[8]

6 Goss, 2020b, p. 64.

7 Goss 2020b, pp. 64-66.

8 Goss, 2020b, pp. 65-66.

Možda je više problema otvoreno nego što ih je riješeno, no nadam se da su se neki od njih profilirali kao povijesne stvarnosti. Također se nadam da se za dobar dio skupina može utvrditi polazna i dolazna točka. To znači da možemo početi tražiti ono što su te skupine donijele sa sobom i prepoznavati ono što su zatekle te da se ono što danas imamo kao hrvatski narod počinje oblikovati ubrzo po doseljenju oko određenih čvrstih etničkih točaka, kao što su Hrvati u *V Hrvatih* zadarskog zaleđa, gdje se u Ninu oblikuje prvo političko i vjersko središte.[11] Također, izgleda da su se neke skupine sustavno držale zajedno (Glamočani, Duvnjaci, Livnjaci) te da se to održalo do danas. Čini se i da se kasnija spajanja odražavaju već u dodirima i spajanjima iz vremena seobe, što ne znači da se skupine nisu dalje selile i dijelile (vidi npr. Glupoglave). Mislim da ne griješim ako predložim da su postojala tri glavna pravca udara na Avare: kroz istočne Alpe na sjeverni Jadran, zapadnu Slavoniju i zapadne dijelove Gorske Hrvatske; iz Karpata preko središnje Panonije u zapadnu i središnju Slavoniju te pripadajući sektor Gorske Hrvatske, Bosne i priobalja; te iz Potisja i Podunavlja u istočnu Slavoniju te odgovarajuće dijelove Bosne i priobalja (Hum). I danas se Dalmatinac razlikuje od Ličanina i Slavonca, kajkavac od čakavca i štokavca. Ne tvrdim ništa više nego da su se te podjele začele u najranijim danima doseljenja, da su podosta uvjetovane kako polaznim tako i dolaznim točkama doseljenika, da su oni, kad se to moglo, birali položaje koji su ih podsjećali na staru domovinu (1. brdovite Alpe – Karpati; 2. Panonija – pribaltička i pricrnomorska ravnica; 3. brežuljkasto Polablje i Zakarpaće – Predgorska Hrvatska i bosanska Posavina itd.) te da su se neki, kao novost, morali naviknuti na fenomen kamenite obale i toplog mora, vina, ribe i masline. Možda se puno više ni ne može zaključiti, no shvaćanje da su neke razlike unutar hrvatskog naroda nastale već u doba zauzimanja zemlje predstavlja, čak i kao hipoteza, važan uvid u njegovu povijesnu sudbinu i kulturu. Velika je zasluga onih Hrvata iz *V Hrvatih* što su uspjeli spojiti raznorodne elemente u „jedno“, odnosno dovoljno „jedno“ da se Hrvati mogu prepoznati kao isti narod u Srijemu, Prigorju, Istri, Lici, Hercegovini i Dalmaciji. Ta homogenizacija, koju možda možemo nazvati „prirodnom“, temelj je povijesnog hrvatskog prostora od doseljenja do Republike Hrvatske 1990. godine, kao i postojanja

[11] Delonga 1996, str. 202.

The historian, palaeographer and philologist Bernhard Bischoff attributed the text to a monk from the island of Reichenau, dating it to approximately 830–850, while A. V. Nazarenko proposed that it was composed at Reichenau around 870, during the period when Saint Methodius is believed to have resided there. H. Łowmiański, by contrast, identified two distinct parts within the manuscript and, accordingly, posited the involvement of two authors. I was directed to the Geographus Bavarus by Eva M. Ossadnik from Vienna, to whom I wish to express my gratitude here. Dr. Ossadnik has emphasized that the list of names contained in the manuscript has long posed a challenge for Slavic studies: “I am afraid it is impossible to explain the large number of names. The anonymous author must have recorded them by ear. Was he a natural linguist? Possibly a Slav?” For interpretations of the importance of Bavarus for the early medieval history of central Europe, I also thank Prof. Dr. Georg Holzer in Vienna.

Bavarus listed 58 names, some of which we may encounter on the Brandenburg Map and in Croatia[9]. In this way, it attests to their existence in the 9th century. The list is as follows:

BAVARUS	BM	CROATIA
Nortabtrezi	Abodriten	Obodriti
Linaa	Linonen	Glinjani
Surbi	Sorben	Sorabi
Talminizi	Dalminzier	Duvnjani
Merehani	Muritzer	Murići
Osterabtrezi	Abodriten	Obodriti
Sitizi	Scitizi	Ščitići (Štitići)
Lunsizi	Lusizer	Lukšići
Morizani	Morizani	Moravljani
Busani		Bužani
Uislane		Višljani
Lupiglaa		(G)lupoglavi (2)

The Geographus Bavarus thus attests to the existence of several names in the 9th century that are of relevance to the present discussion. A number of these is mentioned by Bavarus but are not recorded on the Brandenburg Map.

Surroundings of Zagreb: Duljebi, (G)lupoglavi, Volinjani, Glinjani, Volavci

Southern Pannonia: Obodriti, Ukrani

Mountainous Croatia: Kosinjani, Bužani, Sorabi

Istria: (G)lupoglavi

Herzegovina and southern Dalmatia: Delminjani, Livnjani, Glamočani, Višljevići.

[9] Goss, 2020b, p. 65.

službenog hrvatskog jezika, kojim nitko ne govori, ali ga svatko prepoznaje i zna, te kulture koju prepoznajemo kao „svoju“, bilo da je riječ o istarskim freskama, zagorskim dvorcima, hrvatskoj naivi, pleteru, predromaničkim crkvicama, dalmatinskoj renesansi ili našim *Schiavonima*.[12]

Nudim ovo kao materijal za razmišljanje, a ne bih ga nikad prikupio da se u velikoj knjizi velike latinske epigrafkinje nisam susreo s pojmom *V Hrvatih*.

Northern Dalmatia: Hrvati (Croats)

Without precise geographical attribution: Murići, Nižići. Ščitići, Čutići.

It should be recalled that Lukšići and Moravljani may be located at several locations[10].

These observations may raise more questions than they resolve. Nevertheless, I hope that some have emerged as historical realities and that, for a substantial number of groups, the points of departure and arrival can be identified. This, in turn, allows us to begin identifying what they brought with them and distinguishing it from what they encountered upon arrival. It also suggests that the foundations of what would later become the Croatian people began to take shape relatively soon after their settlement, forming around certain strong ethnic centres, such as the Croats in the region of *V Hrvatih* in the hinterland of Zadar, where the first political and ecclesiastical centre was established in Nin.[11]

It further appears that certain groups systematically remained together (such as the Glamočani, Duvnjani and Livnjani), and that this cohesion has persisted to the present day. Even later integrations seem to reflect contacts and alliances already established during the migration period, which does not mean that groups did not continue to move and subdivide (as evidenced, for example, by the Glupoglavi). I believe I am not mistaken in proposing that there were three main axes of advance against the Avars: first, through the Eastern Alps toward the northern Adriatic, western Slavonia and the more western parts of mountainous Croatia; second, from the Carpathians through central Pannonia into western and central Slavonia and the corresponding areas of mountainous Croatia, Bosnia and the coastal region; and third, from the Tisza basin and the Danube region into eastern Slavonia and the corresponding regions of Bosnia and the Adriatic coast (Hum).

Even today, a “Dalmatian” differs from a native of Lika or of Slavonia, a speaker of Kajkavian differs from one of Chakavian or Štokavian. I claim nothing more than that these distinctions began to take shape in the earliest phases of their arrival; that they were significantly conditioned by both the settlers’ points of origin and their destinations; that, whenever possible, these settlers chose locations

[12] Goss 2020a, str. 63–70.

[10] Goss 2020b, p. 65.

[11] Delonga 1996, p. 202.

that reminded them of their former homelands (1. the mountainous Alps–Carpathians; 2. Pannonia—the peri-Baltic and Black Sea plains; 3. the hilly Elbe basin and Transcarpathia—foothill Croatia and Bosnian Posavina, etc.); and that some, as a novelty, had to adapt to the phenomenon of a rocky coast and a warm sea as well as wine, fish and olives.

Perhaps we cannot draw many more definitive conclusions, yet the recognition that certain distinctions within the Croatian people emerged already during the initial settlement period offers, even as a hypothesis, a significant insight into the historical destiny and culture of the Croatian people. Particularly the Croats of *V Hrvatih* deserve great credit for having succeeded in uniting diverse elements into a single whole—or at least into a sufficiently unified whole, enabling the Croats to be recognized as the same people in Srijem, Prigorje, Istria, Lika, Herzegovina and Dalmatia. This process of what might be termed "natural" homogenization forms the foundation of the historical Croatian space, from the time of settlement to the establishment of the Republic of Croatia in 1990, and underlies the existence of the official Croatian language, which no one speaks, yet everyone recognizes and understands, as well as a culture we identify as "our own," whether in Istrian frescoes, castles in Zagorje, Croatian naïve art, the interlace ornament called *pleter*, pre-Romanesque churches, the Dalmatian Renaissance, or our *Schiavone*[12].

I offer this as material for reflection. I would never have compiled it had I not encountered the concept of *V Hrvatih* in the great book of the eminent Latin epigrapher.

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