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TRACING ANCESTRY OF YUGOSLAVS AND CZECHOSLOVAKIANS

Part I

Research In Yugoslavia

By

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In order to give an overall view of the sources of genealogical research in the Yugoslavian archives, it seemed advisable to differentiate between those materials that contain genealogical information in a compact form and all other records in which one must search for such data among other types of information. In most cases, an approach to genealogical research must also take into consideration such a differentiation. As soon as one has exhausted all possibilities offered by the first category, or, if such possibilities don't even exist, then, of course, one must turn to the second type of source material and a much more tedious type of research.

Materials that may be considered as sources for genealogical studies have come into existence through the activities of different agencies: the government, the courts, the church, the schools, and others. Therefore, they are by no means uniform. Their content is the result of the different practical needs of the agencies which created them. We can recognize as a characteristic of the first type of genealogical sources that they have more or less the character of specific evidence. In the structuring of the individual collections of material they represent more or less independent categories. The number of species of sources increased with the passage

of time. On the other hand, certain individual species ceased to exist. Without going more deeply into questions of diplomacy we can establish that the book form was chosen for most of the sources of the first type and that this form has continued down to modern times. Concerning typology, there existed from the very beginning the desire to assemble the individual sources according to uniform rules. Nevertheless, this was not achieved generally until after the 18th century.

The overwhelming majority of archival sources can generally be considered to be in the second category of genealogical sources. For archivists and historians, these are of particular interest concerning the older ages from which no other appropriate sources are available. Often the mere mention of a particular person can serve as a source. Generally, however, such sources only become fully qualified after the necessary archive facilities have been worked out.

AREAS AND INFLUENCES

In a general overview of the sources that are of interest to us in this report, we see a vast number and diversity of kinds. In the area of today's Yugoslavia, there are six districts in which the different types of materials developed. Although this division into six areas is somewhat of an oversimplification and does not take into consideration many shadings and details, we may consider it satisfactory in terms of the general history of the Yugoslavian states. The areas referred to are:

- 1) Slovenia with Istria and Dalmatia
- 2) Continental Croatia
- 3) Bosnia and Herzegovina

4) Vojvodina

5) Serbia (in todays terms , Serbia in a restricted sense) with those parts won in the second Balkan war (1913, chiefly the modern republic of Macedonia)

6) Orna Gora (Montenegro)

Because of the extremely meager number of available sources , we do not consider the middle ages in this division. Since then there has existed a regional differentiation which was in the beginning relatively slight. After the Turks in the 15th and 16th centuries had conquered Serbia, Montenegro, Vojvodina, and Bosnia-Herzegovina, thus , more than the entire east half, these provinces then represented a unified area with respect to the kinds of sources of interest to us. Slovenia, which up to the year 1918 included Krain, a part of the Steiermark, Karaten, Istria and Gorz, developed under the influence of Austria. Part of Istria and Dalmatia really belonged up until 1797 to the republic of Venice and thereafter became part of Austria (with the exception of a few years prior to 1813) the Austrian legal system was imposed. Croatia actually recognized the Hapsburgs as her rulers as early as 1527. However, it acquired a more or less autonomy after the year 1779 after which time it was placed under the authority of the Hungarian half of the empire and this relationship achieved a final form in the Hungarian-Croatian settlement of 1868.

With the downfall of Turkish power, there came about ~~changes~~ also in the eastern half of today's Yugoslavia, which also had its effect on the writings and documents originating there. Vojvodina was liberated partly in 1699 and partly in 1739 and developed as Hungarian territory (at first not completely because of the military frontiers). After the successful second revolt in the year 1815, Serbia gained its

autonomy (complete independence not until the conclusion of the Berlin convention of 1878). Montenegro began to develop practical autonomy as early as the 16th ~~th~~ century. Turkey granted it practical independence after the year 1859. However, this status was not recognized internationally until the Berlin convention. On the basis of a resolution of that convention, Austria - Hungary occupied Bosnia - Herzegovina (she completed the annexation of these areas in 1908 and introduced a new legal system.

The main reason, therefore, for the development of differences in the archive sources was their belonging to different national formations. In addition to this, in considering the sources, it is also necessary to consider the differences in religious affiliation of the inhabitants. While Slovenia, the Roman Catholic religion was predominant, likewise in Dalmatia (along with a few Greek Orthodox) and in Continental Croatia (also with a few Greek Orthodox), Vojvodina was, on the other hadn, in terms of religion a very mixed area (chiefly Catholic, Greek Orthodox, and Protestant). In Serbia the Greek Orthodox faith was predominant along with a few Moslems. Montenegro was chiefly Greek Orthodox by affiliation. Bosnia and Herzegovina, however, were mixed Greek Orthodox, Catholic and Moslem. In this rundown, we have not tried to consider the smaller confessions.

In the following section we will consider a few especially characteristic sources for genealogical research.

CHURCH RECORDS

First of all, we should mention as a chief source the baptism, birth, marriage and death records, in fact, all church records containing names which were kept

by the individual religious organizations. Baptismal records existed in the western areas such as Koper and Piran in the Slovenian coastal area among the Catholic parishes as early as the first half of the 16th century (in neighboring Triest since 1528). In the rest of the Yugoslavian provinces generally the resolution of the council of Trente (1545 - 1563) was the determining factor and thereafter the Roman Catholic parishes were required to keep baptism and marriage records. After 1614 the Catholic practice also prescribed death records. Slovenia, Dalmatia, and continental Croatia followed these rules. However, in Vojvodina, such records were not introduced until after the period of Turkish occupation. In Bosnia and Herzegovina they were introduced in the Catholic parishes not until the second half of the 18th century.

In the western half of today's Yugoslavian State, the oldest available records reach back into the 16th century. For instance, in the coastal area of Slovenia, even into the time before the council of Trente, otherwise into the last decade of the 16th century. In Dalmatia, the oldest record comes from the year 1564, whereas, the oldest record available from continental Croatia is from the middle of the 17th century (in the vicinity of Hrvatsko Zagorje). It is because they didn't introduce such records in Vojvodina, Bosnia, Herzegovina and elsewhere that the oldest available records are so relatively recent.

Up to now, the question of the origin of the Protestant records has not been clear. The Protestant parishes in Slovenia kept such records during the time of the Reformation in the 16th century. In Vojvodina, we have to wait for the founding of Protestant communities by colonists during the 18th century.

The origin of the records among the eastern Greek Orthodox church communities is always in connection with the strengthening of their church organization. So we

see in the year 1732 the Metropolitan Vikentije Jovanovic ordering the parishes on Vojvodina to begin to keep such records. In Serbia the instructions for the beginning of such records did not come for another hundred years (1837) at which time the church organization was also set up there (church autonomy restored and the first metropolitan chosen from the Serbs, the holy synod organized; the beginning of church regulation reach back to this time.) Among the Orthodox parishes in Dalmatia, there exist baptism records in Zadar, the seat of the Venetian governor (Providur) as early as 1637, however, in most of the rest of the parishes they did not begin until the beginning of the 19th century.

Among the Moslems these records were kept by the Scheriat courts. It has not yet been determined how far back the oldest records might be available. Very probably one would find them in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Gradually the state began to concern itself with the keeping of the records. The decree of February 20, 1784, which was also binding on Slovenia entrusted the keeping of records which the public might rely upon to the Roman Catholic parish priests. In the beginning of the year 1817, a similar regulation concerning the keeping of records came into force in Dalmatia. Since the year 1835, a regulation in Slovenia and Dalmatia required that the parishes provide also a duplicate of the records (since 1836 including also death records) to their respective diocese.

To a certain extent the development in Vojvodina was different. As early as 1790 the records in Hungary which were kept by the Protestant ministers acquired public validity. This did not apply to the records of the Jews until 1848 (in a part of Vojvodina not until 1874). In Vojvodina the orthodox church enjoyed a privileged position in religious matters. In 1827 there appeared a law which required all

priests in Hungary to provide a duplicate of their records for their county governments. The law of 1894 which took effect on October 1, 1895, gave the responsibility for the keeping of public records to the state registries. This Hungarian law, which, however, had no validity in Croatia required also that marriages be performed by state officials. By comparison, we might mention that in those parts of Slovenia and Dalmatia which found themselves, prior to 1813, under the rule of the French Empire, civil registries existed which had been kept by the local communities but very few of these are available.

In Croatia it was prescribed in the 19th century that the priests had to provide duplicates of their records to the government in Zagreb. In the area of Serbia, state officials were required to determine from time to time how well the priests were handling the records.

In older times they used for these records manuscripts of different sizes in which the entries were made in a free narrative style. The Roman Catholics kept to the form of the Roman regulation of the year 1614. The books were kept quite according to whim. Only gradually did the entries here and there begin to assume a decent form. Gradually the books began to be kept in a tabulated form. In Slovenia they began to use such a tabular form on the basis of a court decree of 1770, but more definitely after a decree of 1784. In Dalmatia it began in 1817, and in Croatia, after 1848. The Eastern Orthodox priests also used the tabular form in their records.

With respect to their character we should also mention the home or authorization protocols. In Slovenia, Dalmatia, Croatia, and Vojvodina, these home books were begun and served their citizens since the formation of municipalities (1848). In the collections of the communities - especially on the larger cities - these home protocols are available in great amounts after the end of the 19th century.

OTHER SOURCES OF RELIGIOUS NATURE

Significant possibilities for the research of genealogical questions are found especially in the so-called status animarum as they are called among the Roman Catholic officials, or similarly the anagraphs or lists of houses among the Orthodox priests. These are surveys of their members according to communities and families (sometimes also according to categories of nationality). These contain information as to the personal status, the practice of various duties, and sometimes other personal characteristics. The priest kept these surveys in the form of books which they supplemented from time to time. The status animarum was first prescribed by the Catholic regulations from the year 1614. In the area of Slovenia these types of sources are still quite seldom found even up to the second half of the 18th century: most of them not until 1800. In Dalmatia, status animarum can be found as early as the 17th century. From the first half of the 18th century we know of some cases where according to the priests the bishops put together a summary status animarum for the entire diocese. However, these contained only a one time description. With respect to the later church organization, these anagraphs in Vojvodina and Serbia are even of more recent date.

The books of marriage banns and confirmation records (the confirmation was a precondition for the performance of a marriage) and books in which the performance of the Easter confession and communion were entered (to the extent that this was not already entered in the status animarum) are to be found in Slovenia chiefly since 1800 (this varies a great deal between parishes) and in a few cases even from the 17th and 18th centuries. In Dalmatia there are considerably more old books of this type. (from the 17th and 18th centuries). In Vojvodina and in Serbia, these books, kept by the priests do not begin to appear until the 19th century.

REGISTERS OF FEUDAL TRIBUTES, TAXES, PROPERTIES

Land registers, surveys of income from property ownership, were started in Slovenia as early as the 13th century and probably in Croatia in the 14th century. These contain, by communities, lists of the subservient property parcels with their users and their tributes. Usually these registers were kept in the form of a bound book and continually revised or renewed until the end of the feudal period in 1848. In the later development we can detect different types of these land registers. The stock land register served for a long time as a measure and control of income. They continued the practice of keeping for a year or shorter period a list of the subjects and entered in these books the income received.

In Croatia and Vojvodina, after the 18th century, there appeared in place of the private land registers uniform legal requirements for the individual territories. These land register regulations were preceded by the registration of farms which were carried out by special commissions and are available in the collections of the counties. The regulated land registers often contain, along with the usual information, lists of the subjects.

Land registers and lists of similar character are available for the area of Slovenia since the 13th century. However, there are relatively few of them until the 15th century; for Croatia they exist since the 15th century, and in Vojvodina since the 18th century. One must remember that in Vojvodina, at the time of the Turkish occupation, a different type of feudal system was in existence. Land registers are to be found partly in the collections of land owners, partly in those of different

officials, and partly in archives. For genealogical research they are very valuable, particularly when they appear in a chronological series.

Next we should mention city tax books which were set up for the collection of taxes. For the city of Zagreb, the oldest such register is from 1367 and includes the house and business tax. For Ljubljana, tax books run from 1600 with very few interruptions to 1752. Tax books are also to be found in the old collections of other cities.

Because of a somewhat different development of the feudal system, there arose in Dalmatia and the coastal area of Istria, the so-called kastastiche, registers of property parcels arranged according to community and including the users and their duties. These were set up by cities and other property lords and often included a description with respect to its area, location, and borders. These kastastiches are to be found in the collections of the Dalmatian cities and property owners. The oldest of them are from the 13th, 14th, and 15th centuries (Dubrovnik 1286-1291, then 1336, Zadar, 1421, Trogir 1326, cathedral in Pula 1303).

In the centralized system of the Osman-Turkish empire, they set up registers of tribute which formed the feudal rents in so-called cataster books. These were set up through the activities of special state commissions which listed in the field of sources of feudal income. At this time the commission also established a division of the income upon the individual tenants. The above mentioned general descriptions included the entire empire and were redone in specific periods of 10 to 20 years except during the government of the Sultans. In addition to these, similar descriptions were set up for smaller areas according to need in the framework of the local organizations. These detailed cataster books contain - not like the summaries - the individual users of the parcels, many times even including personal information. The cataster books

concerning Serbia, Vojvodina, and Bosnia-Herzegovina begin soon after the Osman occupation of these areas. Generally they were discontinued about the beginning of the 17th century. They are to be found in the central Turkish collections in Istanbul.

Let us now refer to the registers for property tax appraisal.

In the province of Slovenia in the 15th century the tax basis was chiefly the ground rents, that is, a tax based on the income brought in by the subjects to the land lord. The tax declarations of these ground rents included also listings of the subjects. These exist for part of Slovenia, for instance, from the year 1542 in a collection of the provincial government of Sterermark. For the province of Krain, it is not yet certain whether parts of such tax declarations exist.

For regulating the property taxes, there was the so-called Theresian tax regulation which also included Slovenia and which was begun in the year 1748. Every landed estate had to hand in a declaration. The assembled tax declarations form the so-called Theresian Cataster or land registry, which still is in existence. This registry includes also excerpts from property registers.

In Croatia there developed a different type of tax system but it also brought about listings which may be considered for genealogical research. The tax which was collected for the treasuries of the kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia had almost exclusively the character of a property tax until the year 1753. The basis of the tax was called der Rauch, which originally was represented by one farm but after the 17th century was represented by several. In order to establish these tax units, special commissions put together listings of the tenants of the farms from village to village uniformly according to the individual estates. Because the preparation of such listings required considerable time, they often corrected existing lists rather than make up new ones. A considerable number of such listings is in existence for different years from 1543 up

to the middle of the 18th century.

After the tax system was changed in the year 1753, the kingdom had acquired other tax sources and they began also to enter the proceeds from the property in these listings of farms. So, there came into being detailed descriptions of the farms and their individual parcels, which descriptions are found in the collections of the countries.

At this point, we should mention the tithing lists which arose through the activities of the Hungarian royal chamber and the church which established the tithe. In the collection of the royal chamber are available such listings of those subject to the tithe from the years 1594 - 1775. Tithing lists are sometimes also to be found in the archives of the landed estates.

A similar tax system developed in the 18th century after the end of the Turkish occupation in Vojvodina. Listings of the farm complexes are to be found in the collections of the countries.

Joseph II attempted to introduce a new property tax system. In Croatia, Slovenia, and Vojvodina, the so-called Josephine land register was put together for the measuring of the property tax. It was founded upon a primitive survey of the parcels. This register is available for the greater part of Slovenia. In Vojvodina, they destroyed this work in the year 1790 at the time of the repudiation of the above mentioned regulation. In Croatia this work bogged down in the beginning stages.

Upon principles similar to the Josephine register, a general survey registration of all property was ordered for tax purposes in the year 1817. The statements of individual pieces of property are accumulated according to parcel numbers and owners in these registry files. These files along with the above mentioned information formed the so called Franciscan registry, named after the emperor Francis II. For the localities in Slovenia, this registry was established for the most part in 1825; in Dalmatia, 1830.

In Vojvodina, a temporary tax register was actually set up around the year 1828 (kept in Budapest), however, they were not able to complete the survey and listing of each property until the year 1853. In one part of Croatia, the tax registry appeared between the years 1849 and 1864, but for the rest it was between 1869 and 1878. In order to achieve a greater uniformity, they made in the above mentioned provinces, around 1882, a new estimate of the net produce of the properties and fixed up new property ownership registers. They tried to include in the register various changes which had not been reported by investigation and correction in the field, but always with strict dependence on the Franciscan registry. In the provinces of Slovenia and Dalmatia, they made such corrections in 1869 and included the new information in the registry files. In Serbia, they began for the first time in 1905 with a temporary survey of properties.

The above mentioned tax lists arose in connection with the tax assessment. In addition to these books, there are often other special books which were set up to help in the collection of taxes. They contain information about amounts paid, delinquent taxes in specific years, etc.

In order to provide security in the transfer of real estate, there arose the land book. In the province of Slovenia, it was started in the 18th century, at first only for property ownership of the nobility, (the so-called land board) in which they also included in the series of documents those of bestowal of nobility, but then also the land for the tenants and for cities and markets. At first, the landbook was simply a collection of documents. In 1833, they began in addition to this a master register in which a section was assigned to each property. Here was entered along with other things, the most important items of information about the owners themselves. Because of certain defects, these landbooks were reorganized after the year 1871. The new landbooks contain entries according to sequential numbers and are kept in separate series, for each registry community. In one entry they usually entered all parcels

owned by one owner in the area of a registry community. Concerning Dalmatia, the land book was introduced after the year 1817, the same as in Austria. The landbook was also set up in Croatia after 1850 and also in Vojvodina. Although in Vojvodina they chose to use individual pages instead of a bound book for the master register. This made easier changes possible. In Bosnia and Herzegovina, landbooks arose on the basis of a law of the year 1884. In Serbia, they announced the setting up of landbooks in their civil lawbook of 1844, but in practice they did not do so. They attempted to establish security in real estate transactions chiefly by means of the preparation and transfer of published documents concerning the rights of ownership in a piece of property. This system was taken over from the Turkish administration.

REGISTRIES OF INHABITANTS

The oldest listings of inhabitants arose chiefly out of taxation motives. In the form of lists of those liable for the personal taxes without particular concern over whether it had to do with only the personal tax or the combined capital - personal tax. So there arose for one part of Slovenia in 1445 a listing of "fireplaces" (hearths - - homes), wherein they included in a "home" all who lived in a particular house. Records concerning the poll tax were made in Slovenia, for instance in the years 1523 and 1527. However, only parts of these were saved in the provincial archives. In the 18th century we begin to find in Slovenia a new type of record appearing chiefly as a result of the general need of the absolutist state for an overview of the population (since 1754). Then, also for military evidence, as they introduced the draft for the majority of the population (since 1769). Up to and including 1850, the census remained connected with military conscription. They practiced regular periodical census taking or at least revising on the basis of reports concerning changes in the population. We do not know whether there are any other detailed census materials available except for the survey of 1854 for the parishes of the diocese Ljubljana which is preserved in the cathedral archive there.

In Dalmatia there are occasional censuses even from very early times. For example, in Dubrovnik there exists a census of the population from the years 1673/74 in the documents and files of the city archives. There were censuses, however, as early as the 14th century. In the Venetian part of Dalmatia are mentioned local censuses of the population as early as the 16th century. In the year 1817, they did not carry out any military conscription on Dalmatia and the census was left to the civil authorities, but in every other respect the system was quite similar to that in the province of Slovenia. Closer research is required to determine whether any of this material is still available today.

The first military census in Vojvodina and Croatia was carried out in the year 1785 (in the following years this census was revised), then there was a civil census in the year 1804/05, but did not take place again until 1850 after the establishment of absolutism. From all of these, however, there are no detailed materials available.

In those provinces which were under Turkish occupation (Serbia, Bosnia, and Herzegovina) there developed different types of personal taxes of which some were combined with the capital tax. The ordinary tax of Haratsch counted every male person who was over seven years old and the poll tax all married persons, etc. In this connection, lists of those liable for taxes were drawn up from time to time and they are still available in different series of tax books. One copy of these was kept by the lower municipal organizations and another copy was turned over to the provincial authorities. Up to now there is no exact picture as to what extent these records, which were kept by the local authorities, are available in Yugoslavia. In any case, it would be very few. Therefore, one must seek these records chiefly in the collections of the central government (in Istanbul).

The tax system just described was kept by Serbia also after the year 1815 along with various tax records and inventories of the population for tax purposes. The greater part of these records still exists in the collection of the finance ministry of the Serbian government, with some others in other collections. They begin with the year 1819, however, most of them date from after 1830. After the year 1835, these taxes were replaced by a uniform personal tax which also, however, took into consideration the capital or property tax. The population registries which arose in connection with this tax are also in the collection of the finance ministry from the year 1862 (for one part of Serbia), 1863, for the rest of Serbia and 1885 (again for only one part of Serbia).

The censuses in a general sense, begin in Slovenia, Dalmatia, Croatia, and Vojvodina in the year 1857 and then they occurred again in the years 1869, 1880, 1890, 1900, and 1910. The carrying out of the census was in the hands of the local communities, and therefore, such census materials must be sought there. Generally, one can count on finding such material in great amounts for more recent censuses but very seldom for the older ones. For instance, a very complete census is available for the city of Ljubljana.

In Bosnia and Herzegovina, there were censuses in the years 1885, 1895, and 1910. Up to now it has not been established to what extent this material is available.

In Serbia the general census began in the year 1890 and followed in the years 1895, 1900, 1905, and 1910. In the adjoining southern areas the census was carried out in the year 1913. In the collection of the commerce ministry of the Serbian government, there is a fragment of the detailed census material of the year 1905. There may be somewhat more in the collections of the lower agencies.

In Montenegro there were censuses in the years 1898 and 1913.

In connection with the census, we should mention other evidences of the movement of population. This is available in some of the larger cities at the beginning of the 20th century chiefly in the form of various card systems (as for instance in

Ljubljana).

OCCASIONAL RECORDS OF SOME CATEGORIES OF THE POPULATION

In connection with elections at various levels, they assembled lists of those entitled to vote, so-called voter lists. Normally these differentiated themselves according to the type of election: an election for parliament or for representation in different intermediate levels or for election of representatives in the community, all of which depended on the constitutions of the individual states. The measure in which the populace was contained in the voter lists depended on the election laws. In Austria, for instance, general suffrage was introduced for the imperial legislature whereas it had depended on personal and ownership qualifications. Up until the introduction of a uniform election law, such as in Austria in 1907, the voter lists were put together according to classes of voters. In Slovenia and Dalmatia the voter lists were put together all over again for each election. In 1907 they became permanent and they were added to at the end of each calendar year. In Croatia and Vojvodina, this custom had been introduced even earlier. The voter lists are available in the collections of the agencies in which the elections were carried out. Thus, for instance, the voter lists for the election to the Krain provincial parliament are to be found in that parliament from 1861 to 1914. This is so also for the collection of the Istrian provincial parliament. Concerning city elections, for instance, Ljubljana continues to possess the voter lists for that city from 1858.

The next category of sources that are to be considered for our study are the military lists. First of all would be the lists of recruits (service eligibles) which are to be found in the collections of the cities because they originated there. Or they might be in the collections of military units of intermediate level, because copies of the lists were made available to these units. The next type of military record are the

enlistment records in which were entered the results of the enlistment. Mostly the oldest military lists are from the end of the 19th century.

A large part of the population is also included in the school records. Along with records which were kept now and then by the government concerning school age children, which are to be found in the collections of the particular agencies, there are also, particularly appropriate for our purposes, the records which the schools themselves kept. These are the records of the elementary and intermediate schools which kept lists of students according to class along with personal data and the entry of their grades and graduation, etc. However, such school records from the second half of the 18th century are still very seldom found (e.g. the gymnasium in Zagreb, Sremski Karlovci and Ljubljana) and are very erratic in form. Later they became more numerous, are to be found even in the eastern areas of Yugoslavia and they begin to take on a more constant form.

Acceptance in a university was made possible by the matriculation whereby the student submitted to the appropriate faculty information as to his nationality, family, previous studies, and the course he proposed to take. Up until the year 1918, there were in the area of modern Yugoslavia two universities: in Belgrade, founded in 1863 and in Zagreb, founded in 1873. In the records of these universities are to be found the above mentioned sources.

GENEALOGICAL COLLECTIONS

Under this general heading, we mean collections of documents which have been collected from different collections or individually, copies and other materials that have already arisen in connection with particular historical literary efforts. These collections have been made either by private persons or in archives. In more recent times the formation of such collections in archives has been discontinued and therefore such collections will be chiefly found in archives of older tradition.

Collections of letters patent bestowing titles of nobility (16th to 18th centuries) and marriage announcements of the aristocracy (18th to 19th centuries) are to be found in the Archives of Slovenia in Ljubljana. A collection of Partezetteln of particularly influential persons from the 19th and 20th centuries are in the Archives of Croatia in Zagreb and in the Archives of Slovenia.

Quite often, there are also collections of coats of arms. In the Archives of Croatia there arose after the year 1890 a collection of documents which had to do with the acquisition or changing of coats of arms, and which covers the period from 1454 to 1918. As a further example, the museums of Koper and Split have a significant collection of pictures of coats of arms. For the province of Slovenia the chief source of coats of arms is the book by Zacharias Bartsch from the year 1567. There is also the handwritten manuscript of the Krainian historiographer J. L. Schönleben, "Appendix ad Annales ...sive Genealogica Fragmenta Familiarum Nobilium Carnioliae" (1674) which is kept in the Archives of Slovenia and the handwritten manuscript of J. V. Valvasor "Opus Insignium Armorumque Regum et Regnorum nec non tam aliorum quam et Carnioliae Principum, Baronum, Nobilium, Civitatum et Oppidorum S.S.", which appeared 1687-88 and is kept in the Southern Slavic Academy of Science in Zagreb, and the record book of the Dismas Brotherhood of Krainian aristocracy which appeared before 1801 and can be found in the Archives of Slovenia.

In the Archives of Croatia, a significant collection is that of genealogical data of aristocratic families which was compiled by the then state archivist, E. Laszowski and which covers the times from the beginning of the 19th century until the year 1945. In the city archives of Ljubljana is preserved the genealogical collection of Lazzarini wherein is contained in card form, excerpts and articles about the genealogy of the Krainian aristocracy and some other significant families.

We often find pedigree charts and family trees in the archives of noble families. Partly of private origin and partly, however, as the work of recent genealogical studies is the collection of pedigree charts in the archive of Croatia which reaches back into the beginning of the 14th century. A similar collection is in the archive of Slovenia, and in fact, is for the most part the work of Franz Anton Breckerfeld (1740-1806) and the family trees are also to be found in his own works. Oftentimes the archives preserve genealogies as independent manuscripts, as for instance in the archives of Dubrovnik and Rijeka.

OTHER SOURCES

In some cases, as we have already mentioned, for genealogical research one must often look to other materials. We would now like to mention some other types of these materials.

Mostly out of technical considerations, but partly also as the result of old habits, the archives usually preserve medieval documents of various origins separately from other materials. Usually such collections are the oldest materials in the archive and are for that reason alone significant for genealogical research.

In case one does not want to consider the central archives in Austria, because they are outside Yugoslavia, there is much information about the aristocracy in the province of Slovenia in the collections of the state parliaments. Most of their members were of the aristocracy. This is also true in the case of the countries. In Croatia, a collection of further significance is that of the commission of Sabor (imperial and state parliaments) which had the job of determining the rights of nobility of those persons about which there was some conflict concerning their titles. This commission was active in the years 1752 to 1848. In the years 1849 until 1853, there came into existence for the assistance of this Croatian council a collection of copies of coat

of arms certificates out of the Hbri regii (royal register) which was kept by the central government in Budapest. These copies cover the period from 1542 to 1700.

In Dalmatia a significant collection is represented by the Dalmatian Heraldic commission, which was active in the years 1817 to 1887 in carrying out a revision of the system of noble titles.

Up to the year 1848 there were special courts for the aristocracy in Slovenia and Croatia. From these courts there are available as early as 1406 testaments, and after the 16th century even, lawsuit files, guardianship matters and such materials.

In the colorful contents of the city archives - they concern all aspects of city archives - one can also find data for genealogical research. One must note a difference between the coastal cities as they developed in Istria and Dalmatia and the continental cities in the areas of Croatia and Slovenia as can be seen in the collections themselves. In the first group we see a continuity from the earlier Roman cities, whereas, the continental cities were chiefly formed about the 13th century. In the 14th and 15th century, the number of these cities grew partly from financial and partly for strategic reasons. Between these two groups of cities there are differences in their makeup. The coastal cities followed more the pattern of Venice, and furthermore they formed their own city aristocracy which took over the running of the city.

The records of the cities which may be considered for genealogical research are chiefly in the records and listings of the citizens, in probate and guardianship matters, in collections of wills, in writings that have to do with the transfer of ownership of property and houses, in transcripts of lawsuits, in records of setting up of businesses, and generally in different books of the guilds and business houses, etc. Further sig-

nificant sources can be the books concerning the memberships of brotherhoods, religious and charitable communities, of the workers in particular professions, as many brotherhoods practically functioned like guilds.

While the oldest available materials in the coastal cities goes back to the 11th (Dubrovnik) and 12th (Piran) centuries, the archives of the continental cities begin in the 13th century (Zagreb). Of course, the biggest groups of such materials come from later centuries.

The development of the cities in the eastern part of today's Yugoslavia was quite different, first under the Byzantine influence and later that of the Turkish empire, so that materials from the time before the 19th century are very seldom to be found.

From Italy the coastal cities of Istria and Dalmatia gradually assumed the custom of executing written contracts in the presence of special persons which because of their position or other personal characteristics, were accorded special trust, so that the contracts which were written down by them possessed unassailable power. Such persons, who enjoyed the "public trust" were usually the notaries, but also in the coastal cities of northern Istria (Koper and Piran) also the Vicedomini (vice regents). In the continental cities in the area of Slovenia and Croatia, the cities' scribes practiced now and then the notarial functions. However, there the notariat developed in a much less pure form than that in the coastal area. In the area of continental Croatia, the notarial functionaries provided also the so-called loca credibilia and, in fact, ecclesiastical capital.

In the coastal cities where the notariat was especially well developed, there arose collections of documents chiefly in the form of copies bound in books, often in different series.

Relatively early, they introduced the custom that regularly upon the death of a notary, his books would be turned over to be preserved by the city court. The oldest available notary books are from the 13th century in Dubrovnik, whereas in the other cities, not until the following century, varying from city to city. In the 13th century, the material from the cathedral in Zagreb also began.

From the collections of the landed estates in the area of Slovenia and Croatia, we should mention at this point the probate files, lawsuit files, and the transcripts of guardianship matters insofar as they concern the subject people. In the 16th century, this type of material is still quite seldom to be found but becomes more general as time goes on.

In the private archives - wherein we are concerned chiefly with the archives of the aristocracy and middle class families and also with the estates of single persons - there are available for genealogical research the personal documents, files concerning ownership questions, trial transcripts, etc. Often, in these collections we even run into genealogical compilations. Some of these family archives reach back into the 13th century.

× ACCESSIBILITY OF THE MATERIALS

The majority of the materials considered up to now are gathered in historical archives. According to the federal organization of the state, there are in Yugoslavia the archives of the six republics, which preserved chiefly the material of the state agencies and those independent agencies which qualified at the highest level, and also materials from other institutions which make significant contributions in the development of the national culture. For the areas of the provinces of Vojvodina and Kosovo, the provincial archives in Sremski Karlovci and Pristina are similarly active.

The rest of the **materials** are gathered and preserved by the regional archives which are designated by different names (historical archive, provincial archive, city archive) and which cover more or less the entire national area. Inasmuch as the majority of the regional archives have been developed in more recent times, whereas the archives of the republics possess an older tradition, we can find here and there in the archives of the republics older material which also has regional significance. For material concerning the time before 1918, the National Archive of Yugoslavia should not be considered, since it gathers only material of the central organization which begins with the founding of Yugoslavia in the year 1918.

Most material of church origin is preserved in those places where it arose. Only a small part of this type of material is to be found in archives of a more general type. This does not apply to the civil registers. In the course of carrying out the law of 1946 concerning the state civil registers, the state civil officials took over as a continuing activity also the more recent civil registers, as, for instance, in most of the areas, those which appeared after 1850. However, in Serbia, they took over all such records since they didn't go back much further than that anyway. At the same time, they often took over older civil records and then later turned them over to the general historical archives. They did this for the most part in Croatia but also partly in Slovenia and Vojvodina.

The older private archives., to the extent they still exist, are mostly preserved in the historical archives, but partly also privately.

How can a person gain access in the Yugoslavia archives to the desired genealogical data? If the interested person knows in which archive the desired materials are to be found, he may simply apply to that particular archive. If he does not know this, then he ~~should~~ ask for direction from the appropriate archive of the appropriate republic. The archive will either answer his questions directly - insofar

as the available material allows - or they will refer him to that archive where the necessary sources are available. Direction to the appropriate material is always given free of charge.

The researcher may always have access to the material for inspection in the reading rooms of the archives free of charge. In those cases where it is desired to put together genealogies which will require a time consuming research and collection of data, arrangements must be made with the particular archive which will charge an appropriate fee for the time consumed. There are no uniform rules established concerning the fees throughout the nation. This is left up to each individual archive. The researcher can also order from the archive microfilms or other mechanical copies of the material for which reasonable costs of the work will be charged. To the extent the archive does not possess the necessary facilities for this service, they will procure the required reproductions from some other agency in the area.

A general overview of all the archives and their materials for the entire nation is provided by the Broschure Les archives de Yougoslavie, Belgrad, 1956. A similar general overview for modern Croatia is in the booklet by A. Bauer - K. Nemetn, Muzeji i arhivi (Museums and Archives), Zagreb, 1957. A somewhat more comprehensive overview of the archival collections for most of the archives in the nation appears in the appendices to the Archivist from 1953 on and for all archives in Vojvodina in a special publication, Arhivski fondovi u Vojvodina (Archival collections in Vojvodina), published in Novi Sad, 1962. More exhaustive overviews of the materials for all the archives in Slovenia are available. For instance, for the Archive of Slovenia there is a booklet published in Ljubljana in 1960, and for the city archive of Ljubljana a booklet by S. Vilvan entitled 60 Years of the Ljubljana City Archives published in Ljubljana in 1959. Further information for these two archives and for the others:

Guide through the Archives of Slovenia, Ljubljana, 1965, and for the Archive of Serbia, a booklet published in Belgrade in 1967. The rest of the archives contain more or less detailed reports of their materials.

General information concerning the materials in the archives can be obtained from reports given out by the information offices of the archives of the republics.

The notariat archive materials are published by individual categories in an article entitled "Les archives notariales en Yougoslavie" in Archivum, Vol 12, 1962, 1965, and for the city archives by K. Nemeth for Croatia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina and by S. Vilfan - B. Otorepec for Slovenia in Archivum Vol 13, 1963, 1965. In Croatia, Vojvodina and Serbia in recent years, detailed indexes of the civil books have been prepared without consideration for where the records are preserved. This work is not going forward in Slovenia and had as its goal a publication concerning the civil books which would give an overview of these records going into considerable detail. The indexes of these civil books which are now available can be seen in the archives of the republics as also in the provincial archive in Sremski Karlovci. In these republics indexes of the church archives have either been or are being made and will be completed in the near future. Those indexes which are completed are also to be found in the archives of the republics and in the provincial archive in Sremski Karlovci. For those collections which are most often used (chiefly the older ones) the archives are working out special helps (indexes, detailed lists, etc.). It is often possible, also, to rely on helps which were made up at the time of the birth of the materials such as lists and indexes to the civil books, etc.

MIGRATIONS IN THE YUGOSLAVIAN AREA FROM THE 18TH TO THE 20TH CENTURY

Questions concerning migrations in the area of todays Yugoslavia which are _____

very closely connected with genealogy have been the object of numerous studies. Within the aims of this report, we would like to call attention to only the most important phases of these migrations since the 18th century and to the basic, especially more recent literature in this area.

The forward drive of the Turks had as a consequence in the lands of today's Yugoslavia, decisive currents of migration. As the Turks pressed in, the population began to pull back toward the north and toward the Adriatic Sea. In order to occupy and utilize the localities which had been desolated in the war, and also to provide for military security, the Turkish Empire had resettled these areas. This colonization in the 15th and 16th centuries, consisting chiefly of Wallacha, reached far into the north into Hungary and toward the west between the Drau and the Adriatic Sea. A number of Mohammedan people also settled in these areas.

After the great Viennese war of liberation of 1683-1699, new currents of settlement began to form again in the Yugoslavian areas. This time it was a movement from the north toward the south. This concerned chiefly the Mohammedan elements, which, with the retreat of the Turkish conquerors out of Europe, emigrated to the south into areas that remained under the control of the Turkish Empire. So, the Moslems pulled out of Hungary, Slovenia, the Lika and Dalmatia even during the Viennese war, across the Danube, the Sava, and the Dinara mountains. They remained in significant masses in the border cities and also in the interior of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which states had already contained more of the Moslem settlers than the rest of Yugoslavia anyway. Many of them, however, moved further, across Serbia and Macedonia to Bulgaria and the areas along the Aegaeen Sea. These currents toward the south continued in the 18th and 19th centuries in connection with the liberation of Serbia and the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria, etc.

Furthermore, the Turkish government carried out certain colonization efforts as defense measures. As the treaty of Belgrade of 1739 established the border between Austria and Turkey along the Danube and Sava, the Turks systematically settled Mohammedan people into the border section of the Danube, Sava, and Una chiefly with those people which had just fled from those areas which the Austrians had just conquered during the Viennese war. Because of the rebelliousness of the Montenegrin tribes since the end of the 17th century, Turkey surrounded these tribal areas with a zone of cities which they settled with Moslems.

In the opposite direction, however, the Christian peoples settled themselves independently into the liberated areas. The movements were very strong out of the Bosenska krajina into the Lika and Banija. There was also movement into Dalmatia which had been conquered by the Venetians. These emigrations from the south toward the north added to other significant migrations which were brought about by the further developments of war. In the war of 1683-1699, the Austrian forces drove as far as Stip, Veles and Prizren. However, as they were forced to retreat in 1690, many people moved with them, particularly those who had taken part in uprisings in northern Macedonia, from Kosovo and modern Serbia, moving toward southern Hungary and even further to Budapest and Szent-Andre. Out of Bosnia and Herzegovina emigrated especially into Slavonia the Bunjevci and Sokei, and also the Baranja and Backa, after the march of Prince Eugene of Savoy on Sarajevo in 1697. Because of their participation in the Austrian-Turkish and the Russo-Turkish war of 1737-1739, a part of the Serbian-Macedonian population emigrated all over again over the Sava and Danube. Then, again, a part of the Serbs even during the war of 1788, but especially at its end in 1791, moved into Hungary.

In the 18th and partly in the 19th centuries, we see special emigrations out of commercially passive areas into more active ones. This took place in the form

of constant flowing in of immigrants moving out of the mountainous areas into the fruitful lowlands. It was determined that up to the year 1912, more than 80 per-
cent of the inhabitants of Serbia were colonists who had moved in since the begin-
ning of the 18th century. There were three chief migrations in this colonization:
The Dinaric, the one from Kosovo-Metchija, and the one from the Morava-Vardar,
which overran these areas in the 18th century. Western Serbia between the Drina
and the Kolubara was settled chiefly by the Herzegovinans. Central Sumadija was
settled by the inhabitants from old Serbia and Monenegro, the valley of the Morava,
however, was settled from the area of southern Morava and the Vardar, and further,
from that part of old Serbia which is on the Kosovobecken and from the Metohija and
the Sandschak from Novi Pasar. The new inhabitants were able to settle under very
favorable conditions. The land was endowed with a fullness of the riches of nature
and there was plenty of undeveloped ground. Very quickly the new elements melted
together and a new ethnic group was formed.

The emigration out of the areas of Macedonia and old Serbia had as a
consequence that the Albanian cattle **raisers** in the 17th and 18th centuries first of all,
overran Kosovo, and then extended themselves further to the southern slope of the
Sar-Planina and the Korab. They took over the area watered by the Vardar River and
settled themselves along with the other Albanian colonists in Tikves and Polog. In
the second half of the 18th century, this Albanian ethnic wedge remained between
Serbia and Macedonia and pushed into the valley of the Lab and the southern Morava
so that it surrounded Skopje on two sides and extended toward Nis and the **greater**
Morava. The Albanians had chiefly their conversion to Islam to thank for the fact
that the Turks helped them in this colonization.

A significant colonization effort was made in the 18th century and partly
also in the first half of the 19th in Vojvodina. There, Austria carried out a planned

political colonization along with broad attempts at reclamation projects which would have made from the swampy areas of modern Vojvodina a chief grain supplier of Europe. Banat and Backa had in the year 1720 at the most approximately 50,000 inhabitants, whereas toward the end of the century they already had approximately 320,000.

So the royal treasury took over this area in the first half of the 18th century and brought in, at first chiefly in Banat, Germans out of Germany. Among them were handworkers and qualified laborers and also trained people in agriculture and mining. Representatives of other peoples also came in, among them, for instance, Bulgarians. Other land owners also carried out colonization, bringing in individual groups of farmers out of Hungary. Among them were also Slovaks, Ruthenians. Magyars, and even a few Rumanians.

This systematic settlement of Vojvodina began to unfold in the middle of the 18th century. The royal treasury brought in chiefly Germans. They were brought into Vojvodina at the expense of the state. They received land, houses and equipment. There were also immigrations of Serbs, Magyars, and Rumanians. The larger land-owners also continued the colonization with Magyars, Slovaks and Ruthenians. In this manner Vojvodina acquired a colorful mixture of peoples (chiefly, however, in separate communities) not seen in any other land in Europe at that time.

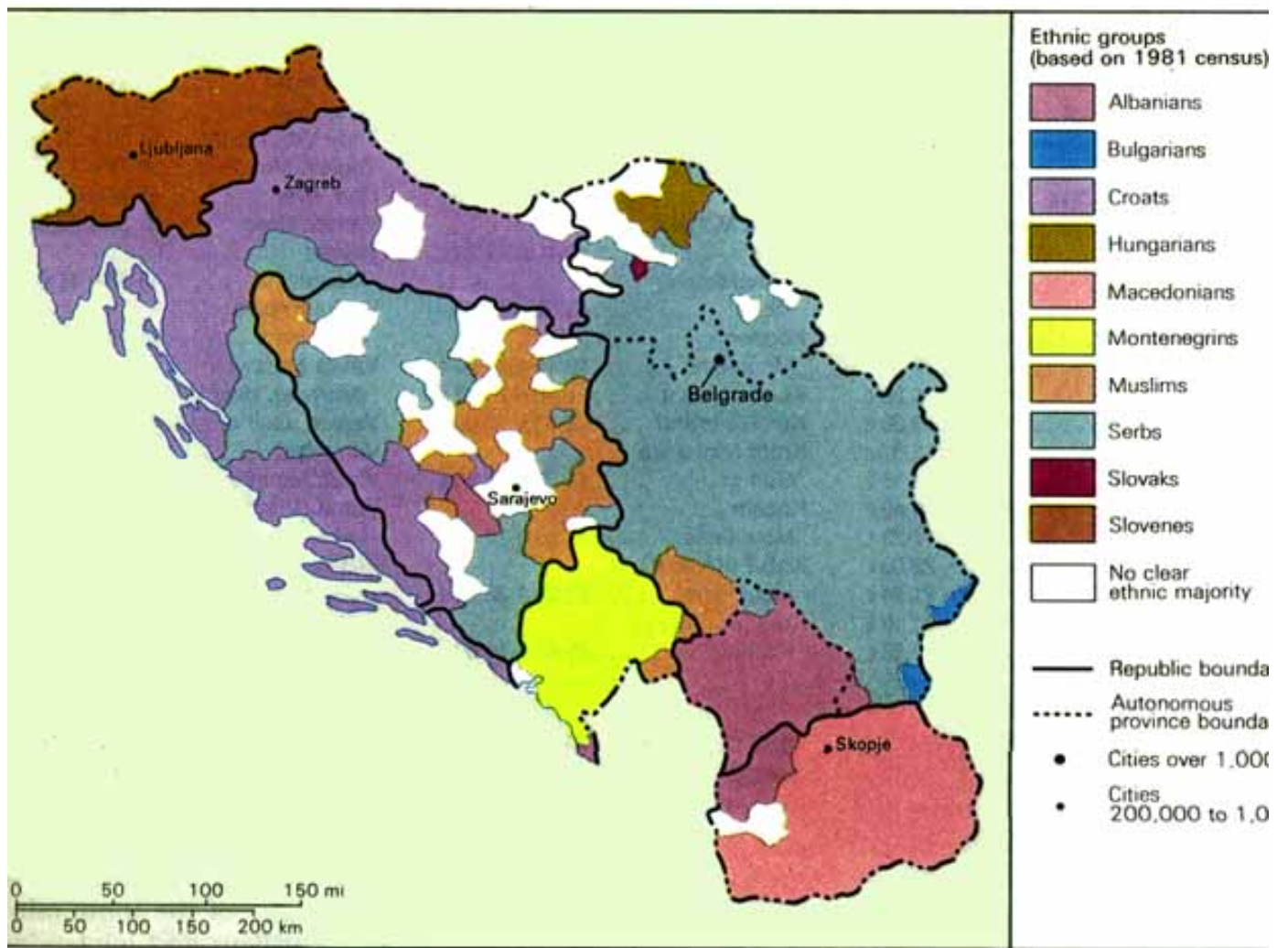
The consequences of the above described migration in the Yugoslavian States was therefore significant in every respect.

According to Yugoslavian law, the arrangement of stipulations concerning the use of archive material is left to the respective archives insofar as this is not regulated by the laws of the republics, e.g. Croatia. Furthermore, in connection with genealogical material one must act in accordance with the regulations of the law concerning

The Society and Its Environment

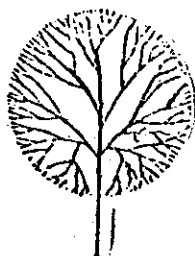


Figure 10. Principal Languages and Religions



ethnic composition of Yugoslavia.

GUIDE TO
GENEALOGICAL
RESEARCH



YUGOSLAVIA: SLOVENIAN VOCABULARY LIST

The Slovenian language has a complex grammar which causes words to have different endings depending on their grammatical usage. In actual use words may appear in a form different from that shown here.

ali - or	grško-katoliški - Greek Catholic	nas - us
avstrijski - Austrian		naš - our
		naslov - address
babica - grandmother, midwife	hči - daughter	ne - not
bil, bila, bilo - was	ime - given name	ne morem najti - we cannot find
bivališče - residence	in - and	nemški - German
brat - brother	iz - out of	neposnan - unknown
brskali smo - we searched	izpisek - extract	nevesta - bride
	italijanski - Italian	nezakonski - illegitimate
cerkev - church		njeni - her
	jutrišnji - tomorrow	njegov - his
da - that (conj.)	ker - because	ni - is not
dan - day	ki - who	nimamo - we do not have
današnji - today	kmet - peasant, farmer	nismo mogli najti - we could not find
datum - date	knjiga - book	
deček - young man	kraj - place, locality	o - concerning
ded - grandfather	krst - christen	oba - both
deklica - girl, maiden		občina - district, county
dekliški priimek - maiden name	leto - year	obrezati - to circumcise
delavec - laborer	leta - years	oče - father
dete - infant, child		očeta - of the father
deva - maiden	madžarski - Hungarian	od - from
dne - on the day	majhen - little	opazki - remarks
do - into, up to	mati - mother	otrok - child
dobili smo - we received	matere - of the mother	otroka - of the child
drugi - second, other	matična knjiga - vital records register	
državljanstvo - citizenship, nationality	matični urad - vital records office	pismo - letter
	med - between, during	plemstvo - nobility
evangelski - Evangelical Lutheran	mesec - month	podatki - information
	mesto - city, town	poljedelec - farmer
	mladi - young	poročanka - bride
	moški - male	poročil - married
fara - parish	mož - husband, man	poročni list - marriage certificate
		poroka - marriage
grb - coat of arms	na - at, on	prababica - great-grandmother

praded - great-grandfather
 pravoslavni - Orthodox
 prednik - ancestor
 priimek - surname
 prve - first
 razveza - divorce
 rimsko-katoliški - Roman Catholic
 rodbina - family (extended)
 rodila - she gave birth
 roj. - born, maiden name
 rojen - born
 rojstni list - birth certificate
 rojstva - of birth
 s - with
 sestra - sister
 sin - son
 skupščina občine - district government committee
 smrt - death
 smrti list - death certificate
 so - they are
 so bili - they were
 sorodnik - relative
 spol - sex
 stalno prebivališče - permanent residence
 stara - old
 stara mati - grandmother
 starši - parents
 strana - page
 stric - uncle
 svoj - his, her own

teden - week
 teta - aunt
 tukajši - of this place
 ujec - maternal uncle
 umrl - died
 ura - hour
 urad - office

v - in
 vas - you
 vas - village
 vaš - your
 včerajšnji - yesterday
 vek - age
 veliki - big, great
 vera - religion
 vdova - widow
 vdovec - widower
 vpisan - recorded
 z - of, with
 za - for
 zakupnik - farmer
 žena - wife, woman
 ženin - bridegroom
 ženski - female
 židovski - Jewish

MONTHS OF THE YEAR

Jan - januar or prosinec
 Feb - februar or svečan
 Mar - marec or sušec
 Apr - april or mali traven
 May - maj or veliki traven
 Jun - junij or rožnik
 July - julij or mali srpan
 Aug - avgust or veliki srpan
 Sep - september or kimavec
 Oct - oktober or vinotok
 Nov - november or listopad
 Dec - december or gruden

DAYS OF THE WEEK

Sunday	nedelja
Monday	ponedeljek
Tuesday	torek
Wednesday	sreda
Thursday	četrtek
Friday	petek
Saturday	nedelja

NUMBERS

<u>CARDINAL</u>	<u>ORDINAL</u>
1,2,3	1st, 2nd, 3rd

1	eden, en	prvi
2	dva, dve	drugi
3	tri, trije	tretji
4	štiri	četrti
5	pet	-i
6	šest	-i
7	sedem	sedmi
8	osem	osmi
9	devet	-i
10	deset	-i
11	enaajst	-i
12	dvanajst	-i
13	trinaajst	-i
14	štirinaajst	-i
15	petnaajst	-i
16	šestnaajst	-i
17	sedemnaajst	-i
18	osemnaajst	-i
19	devetnaajst	-i
20	dvajset	-i
21	enindvajset	-i
22	dvaindvajset	-i
30	trideset	-i
40	štirideset	-i
50	petdeset	-i
60	sestdeset	-i
70	sedemdeset	-i
80	osemdeset	-i
90	devetdeset	-i
100	sto	stoti
1000	tisoc	tisoči

Slovenian dates are often written with numbers only; with the day, month and year. Thus 9.6.1886 would be read as 9 June 1886.

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MONTHS OF THE YEAR IN THE LANG

OF EUROPE Slavic

English	Polish	Czech	Russian	Ukrainian	Bulgarian	Serbo-Croatian	Slovenian	
January	styczeń	leden	январь janvar'	січень sichen'	януариј januarii	januar siječanj	januar prosinec	
February	luty	únor	февраль fevral'	лютий liutyi	февруариј fevruarii	februar veljače	februar svečan	
March	marzec	březen	март mart	березень berezen'	март mart	mart ožujak	marec sušec	
April	kwiecień	duben	апрель aprel'	квітень kviten'	април april	april travanj	april mali travan	
May	maj	květen	май mai	травень traven'	май mai	maj svibanj	maj veliki travan	
June	czerwiec	červen	июнь iŭn'	червень cherven'	июний iŭniĭ	juni lipanj	junij rožnik	
July	lipiec	červenec	июль iŭl'	липень lypen'	юлиј iulii	juli srpanj	julij mali srpan	
August	sierpień	srpen	август avgust	серпень serpen'	август avgust	avgust kolovoz	avgust veliki srpan	
September	wrzesień	září	сентябрь sentjabr'	вересень veresen'	септемвриј septemvrii	septembar rujan	september kimavec	
October	październik	říjen	октябрь oktiabr'	жовтень zhovten'	октомвриј oktomvrii	oktobar listopad	oktober vinotek	
November	listopad	listopad	ноябрь nojabr'	листопад lystopad	ноემвриј noemvrii	novebar studenj	november listopad	
December	grudzień	prosinec	декабрь dekabr'	грудень hruden'	декемвриј dekenvrii	decembar prosinec	december gruden	

THE SERBIAN AND CROATIAN ALPHABETS

CYRILLIC		LATIN		Pronunciation
Printed	Written	Printed	Written	
а А	<i>а А</i>	а А	<i>а А</i>	English <i>a</i> in <i>father</i>
б Б	<i>б Б</i>	б Б	<i>б Б</i>	English <i>b</i>
в В	<i>в В</i>	в В	<i>в В</i>	English <i>v</i>
г Г	<i>г Г</i>	г Г	<i>г Г</i>	English <i>g</i> in <i>go</i>
д Д	<i>д Д</i>	д Д	<i>д Д</i>	English <i>d</i>
ђ Ђ	<i>ђ Ђ</i>	đ (dj), Đ Dj	<i>đ Đ Dj</i>	A sound like <i>j</i> in <i>Jew</i> , but slightly softer
е Е	<i>е Е</i>	е Е	<i>е Е</i>	English <i>e</i> in <i>pet</i>
ж Ж	<i>ж Ж</i>	ž Ž	<i>ž Ž</i>	English <i>s</i> in <i>pleasure</i> French <i>j</i> in <i>jour</i>
з З	<i>з З</i>	z Z	<i>z Z</i>	English <i>z</i>
и И	<i>и И</i>	и И	<i>и И</i>	English <i>i</i> in <i>machine</i>
ј Ј	<i>ј Ј</i>	ј Ј	<i>ј Ј</i>	English <i>y</i> in <i>yet</i>
к К	<i>к К</i>	k K	<i>k K</i>	English <i>k</i>
л Л	<i>л Л</i>	l L	<i>l L</i>	English <i>l</i>
љ Љ	<i>љ Љ</i>	lj Lj	<i>lj Lj</i>	English <i>li</i> in <i>million</i> Italian <i>gli</i> in <i>egli</i>
м М	<i>м М</i>	m M	<i>m M</i>	English <i>m</i>

The alphabetical order of the latin alphabet is the following:

a, b, c, č, ć, d, dž, đ, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, l, lj, m, n, nj, o, p, r, s, š, t, u, v, z, ž.

THE SERBIAN AND CROATIAN ALPHABETS

CYRILLIC		LATIN		Pronunciation
Printed	Written	Printed	Written	
н Н	<i>н N</i>	n N	<i>n N</i>	English n
њ Њ	<i>њ Њ</i>	nj Nj	<i>nj Nj</i>	{ English <i>ni</i> in <i>onion</i> French <i>gn</i> in <i>Boulogne</i>
о О	<i>о О</i>	o O	<i>о О</i>	English o in <i>foot</i> , sometimes as or in <i>lord</i>
п П	<i>п П</i>	p P	<i>p P</i>	English p
р Р	<i>р Р</i>	r R	<i>р R</i>	Scottish r in <i>metre</i>
с С	<i>с С</i>	s S	<i>s S</i>	English s in <i>glass</i>
т Т	<i>т Т</i>	t T	<i>t T</i>	English t
ћ Ћ	<i>ћ Ћ</i>	ć Ć	<i>ć Ć</i>	{ A sound between the English t in <i>tune</i> and ch in <i>chalk</i>
у У	<i>у У</i>	u U	<i>u U</i>	English u in <i>rule</i>
ф Ф	<i>ф Ф</i>	f F	<i>f F</i>	English f
х Х	<i>х Х</i>	h H	<i>h H</i>	{ Scottish ch in <i>loch</i> , English h
ц Ц	<i>ц Ц</i>	c C	<i>c C</i>	English ts in <i>lots</i>
ч Ч	<i>ч Ч</i>	č Č	<i>č Č</i>	English ch in <i>chalk</i>
џ Џ	<i>џ Џ</i>	dž, g, Dž	<i>dž Dž</i>	English j in <i>John</i>
ш Ш	<i>ш Ш</i>	š Š	<i>š Š</i>	English sh in <i>she</i>

The Serbian alphabet is strictly phonetic; the pronunciation of each letter is always the same.

Latin Genealogical terms

Latin:

mater meretrix
 matrinonium
 mensis
 miles gregarius
 mortuus
 natus, nata
 necessitate baptisatus
 nepos
 neptis
 nuptiae
 obiit
 obiit eadem anno
 pagus
 parentes
 paroch
 parochus
 pater
 patres
 in patria
 popula, populi
 praesentibus
 puella
 puer
 proavia
 proavus
 promulgatio
 pronepos
 relict
 requiescat
 sepultus
 socer
 socrinus
 socrus
 soro
 sponsus, sponsa
 spurius, spuria
 s.u.p.
 stuprata
 susceptor
 testimonium
 testes
 trigemini
 tutor
 sub tutela
 vidua, relict
 viduus
 villicus
 vir, virgo

English:

unmarried mother
 matrimony
 month
 private soldier
 deceased
 born
 compulsory baptism
 nephew, grandchild, descendant
 granddaughter, niece
 wedding
 deceased
 died same year
 village
 parents
 parish
 minister
 father
 forefathers
 hometown, native land
 illegitimate
 in presence of
 girl (maiden)
 son
 greatgrandmother
 greatgrandfather
 marr. announcement
 greatgrandson
 widow
 rest in peace
 buried
 father in law
 brother in law
 mother in law
 sister
 betrothes, fiancée
 ill. son or daughter
 buried
 pregnant out of wedlock
 sponsor at baptism
 testified
 witnesses
 triplets
 guardian
 under guardianship
 widow
 widower
 inhabitant of village or farm
 man, maiden (virgin)

LATIN GENEALOGICAL TERMS:

LATIN:

ab hoc mense
abavus
abavia
abbas
acatholicus
actum
adolescens
aetas
aetatis
affinitas
agricola
alias
alumnus
alutarius
amicitia
amita
an, anno
apud
arcularius
avia
avunculus
avus
avi
baptisatus
bis
civis
caelebs
calciator
cippus
circa
conjuges
conjux
consanguinitas
defunctus
d.sine prole
denunciatio
dictus
duxit
ecclesia
ego
eodem die
filia
filiaster
filius
frater
frater germanus
gemelli
genitores - parens
illegitimus
infans
jus civitatis(civitatis)
levantibus
lictor

ENGLISH:

from this month on.
2nd g.g.father
2nd.g.g. mother
abbot
not catholic
completed
young man
age
aged
rel. in law
farmer
called
student(also inhabitant)
tanner
relationship, friendship
aunt
year
near by
carpenter
grandmother
uncle(mother's brother)
grandfather
ancestors
baptized
twice on same page
citizen
bachelor
shoemaker
gravestone
about
married couple
husband,wife
bloodrelationship
deceased
died without issue
pub. of banns
named
to marry a wife
church
I
the same day
daughter
step-son, son in law
son
brother
twin brother
twins
parents
illegitimate
infant
citizenship
god parents
town official

MONTHS OF THE YEAR IN THE LANGUAGES OF EUROPE Slavic

English	Polish	Czech	Russian	Ukrainian	Bulgarian	Serbo-Croatian	Slovenian	
January	styczeń	leden	январь janvar'	січень sichen'	януариј januarii	januar siječanj	januar prosinec	
February	luty	únor	февраль fevral'	лютий liutyi	февруариј fevruarii	februar veljače	februar svečan	
March	marzec	březen	март mart	березень berezen'	март mart	mart ožujak	marec sušec	
April	kwiecień	duben	апрель aprel'	квітень kviten'	април april	april travanj	april mali travan	
May	maj	květen	май mai	травень traven'	май mai	maj svibanj	maj veliki travan	
June	czerwiec	červen	июнь iŭn'	червень cherven'	июниј iŭniĭ	juni lipanj	juniј rožnik	
July	lipiec	červenec	июль iŭl'	липень lypen'	јулиј iŭliĭ	juli srpanj	juliј mali srpan	
August	sierpień	srpen	август avgust	серпень serpen'	август avgust	avgust kolovoz	avgust veliki srpan	
September	wrzesień	září	сентябрь sentiabr'	вересень veresen'	септемвриј septemvriĭ	septembar rujan	september kimavec	
October	październik	říjen	октябрь oktiabr'	жовтень zhovten'	октомвриј oktomvriĭ	oktobar listopad	oktober vinotek	23
November	listopad	listopad	ноябрь noiabr'	листопад lystopad	ноემвриј noemvriĭ	novebar studenj	november listopad	
December	grudzień	prosinec	декабрь dekabr'	грудень hruden'	декемвриј dekenvriĭ	decembar mesečina	december gruden	

☆ FORM LETTER A

Archive (ARCHIVE NAME AND ADDRESS)

Date

Moj predak rođen/rođena je u Jugoslaviji (BIRTHDATE).

Ime: (NAME)

Rodno Mesto: (BIRTHPLACE)

Vera: (RELIGION)

Ja želim znati informacije o njegovom/njezinom datumu rođenja, vjenčanja, smrti. Također bih želio znati podatke o roditeljima mog predka. Molim Vas možete li mi pisati gdje mogu dobiti spomenute informacije? Šaljem Vam Medjunaredni Kupon za odgovor.

Uz Pozdrav i štovanje

(NAME)

My ancestor was born (masculine/feminine) in Yugoslavia on (BIRTHDATE).

Name: (NAME)

Birthplace: (BIRTHPLACE)

Religion: (RELIGION)

I would like information about his/her dates of birth, marriage, death. Also I would like information about the parents of my ancestor. Please, could you inform me as to where I can obtain the requested information? I enclose 2 International Reply Coupons.

Respectfully yours,

(NAME)

☆ FORM LETTER B

(NAME AND ADDRESS OF ARCHIVE OR
REGISTRY OFFICE)

Date

Dobio sam informacije od Arhiva (ARCHIVE NAME) da se podaci o mom predku mogu naći u Vasem arhivu/uredu. Molim Vas, možete li prepisati za mene sve podatke o njemu/njoj.

Ime: (NAME)

Rodjendan: (EXAMPLES 20. jula 1877/koliko 1877)

Rodno Mesto: (BIRTHPLACE)

Vera: (Religion)

Također želim znati informacije o njegovim/njezinim roditeljima i ihovoj drugoj djeci. Molim Vas prepisite podatke kakvi su u originalu i navedite izvore sa stranicom i rednim brojem.

Molim Vas pošaljite mi račun o Vašem poslu. Ako je cijena Vašeg posla veća od 250 dinara, molim Vas pisati mi prije Vašeg posla. Šaljem Vam Medjunarodni Kupon za odgovor. Unaprijed Vam zahvalujem.

Uz pozdrav i štovanje

(NAME)

I was informed by the (ARCHIVE NAME) Archive that records my ancestor can be found at your archive/registry office. Would you please extract for me the records about him/her.

Name: (NAME)

Birthdate: (EXAMPLES 20 July 1877/about 1877)

Birthplace: (BIRTHPLACE)

Religion: (RELIGION)

Also I would like to know information about his/her parents and their other children. Please extract the record exactly as given in the original, noting the record, volume and page number.

Please bill me for your service. If the price is more than 250 Dinar (about \$13.00) please let me know before you start the research. I enclose 2 International Reply Coupons.

Respectfully yours,

(NAME)

USING THE CROATIAN ARCHIVES FOR
GENEALOGICAL RESEARCH AND FAMILY HISTORY

Krešimir Nemeth

Resides in Zagreb, Yugoslavia. Manager of information and documentation, Croatian State Archive. Ph.D. Teacher, author, archivist.

Up to now, neither the Croatians nor the other southern Slavic peoples have compiled an extensive and complete treatise on genealogical research, although there have been a considerable number of individual efforts made in the last hundred years. These efforts have been mainly concerned with families of the nobility, in fewer instances with outstanding personalities in Croatian history; whereas family histories of common citizen families have been almost totally neglected. For historians, these studies were always a sideline; and if they did pay any attention to them, it was almost exclusively a concern for the old and famous families of noble lineage from the distant past, a phenomenon that characterizes our historians of the pre-war era.

I would like to note here that as a rule, the available books and other studies of heraldry contain historical-genealogical commentaries. And many genealogical data are to be found, especially in the biographies.

The Croatian provinces of Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia were part of a foreign domain for centuries. Because the Croatians lived in so multinational a state as was the Danube Monarchy, and on account of the interrelation of Croatian, Hungarian, German and Italian families it is necessary to consider related works concerning Croatia's neighbors when doing family histories.

Consequently, genealogical research in

Croatia is not unlike research among the other cultural groups of Europe.

In considering these questions, we may distinguish between two time periods. The first period extends from the beginning of the Middle Ages to the eighteenth century. In this era, the private interests of the nobility were prevalent. The nobles strove for political power, tried to strengthen their economic position and thus add to the fame of their family. As a consequence, this was also a time of falsification of all types of documents. At the same time, there were professional historians who began to work on genealogical studies because of scientific motives.

The second time period begins with the national rebirth in the second half of the past century and is linked with the progress in historiography, which was brought about by the restructuring of modern thought and the improvement of working methods in this field. These events also reflected favorably in the development of the historical auxiliary sciences. This then is the period of the entry of the scientific method into genealogical research and family history. In this presentation, an overview of these efforts and their effects will be given.

Like the other famous European families of nobility, the ancient Croatian noble family, Frankopani, from the Island Krk (Veglia) which played an important role through centuries of Croatian history,

tried to link their origin with the ancient Roman family of Frangipani. After Nikolaus Frankopani's return from Rome in 1432, he not only took the name of his alleged relatives, but he also put their emblem into his coat-of-arms. Later genealogists tried to support this fictitious story with various quotes and proofs.¹

Another family of noble lineage, the counts of Blagay or Babonići, who played a leading role in medieval Slovenia, claimed to be the relatives of the Roman family, Orsini. In their efforts to hold their own against the new dynasties of the Frankopani and the counts of Cilli, the Babonići used falsified documents, some of which are true masterpieces of the art of diplomacy. The most powerful proof of their claim was the heraldic legend: the similarity of the Slavic star in the coat-of-arms of the Count of Blagay and the rose of the Orsini.²

The counts of Orsići purported themselves to be descendants of the Kings of Bosnia. This was supported by a document from the year 1675, which after only a few years was no longer mentioned.

But commoners were also involved in falsification of genealogical data, especially those who were more adventurous or were striving for fame. The highly educated Croatian Pavao Skalić was one of them. He tried to prove that he was a descendant of the Italian family Scaliger, and his claims were all based on falsified documents. He invented a pedigree, according to which, he was related to many of the most respected families of noble lineage, indeed even with some royal families in many European lands. He called himself Prince Scaliger of Verona, who supposedly had been disinherited from his Croatian and Italian riches because he was a Protestant. Skalić (alias Scaliger) lived for a time at the imperial court in Vienna and was acquainted with the princes and scholars of practically the whole of Europe. He belonged to the group of Croatian and Slavic Protestants in Tübingen, and towards the end of his

short life, he gave lectures in theology at the University in Königsberg. Skalić was born in 1534⁴ in Zagreb and died in Danzig in 1574.

Around 1480, a certain man by the name of Ohmučević compiled the pedigree of the Lords of Bosnia. He wrote it on parchment and afterwards pasted it on a picture. (At one time it was in the Franciscan Cloister in Sutjeska; today it is in the collection of the Yugoslavian Academy in Zagreb.) The members of this family, who were to be in the service of the Spanish King in the following centuries, were originally from Bosnia, where they found refuge from the Turks in the Republic of Ragusa (Dubrovnik). Just before his departure to join the "Great Armada" on its way to England, Peter Ohmučević submitted his pedigree based on falsified documents, to the Consul of Ragusa in Genoa for confirmation. In the first half of the seventeenth century, Franciscus de Petris, a member of the Neapolitan academy "degli oziosi" (of the idle), wrote a treatise entitled "Breve corso genealogico della antiquissima et nobilissima famiglia Ohmuchievich-Gargarich" (Brief genealogical sketch of the most ancient and noble family Ohmuchievich-Gargarich.) Based on this publication, the descendants of the family Ohmučević became knights of the highest chivalric order of Spain (1648). Thus, this family was able to become well-known all over Europe.⁵

Nearly all the works of the historian Mrnavić (Johannes Tomco Maranvich) of Šibenik (1580-1637?) are marked by his genealogical mania. According to him, the Hapsburgs are the descendants of Emperor Constantine the Great, and Emperor Justinian was a slave. In order to glorify his family, he connected it with the Serbian dynasty of Nemanjiden, with the Mrnjavčevići family, Mathias Corvin, Skenderbeg-Kastrioti and the Croatian Bans, Berislavić. To prove his claims, Mrnavčević falsified some documents from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. His comments and remarks about the Emperor Justinian became a part of the commentaries on

Procopius' work, *Anecdota* (Anecdotes), and through the scholarly scribe of the Vatican Library, Nicolò Alemani, who published them, they joined the ranks of world literature.⁶

The people who falsified documents of nobility continued their work with such clever methods and in such great quantities that there was a great court case against them in 1750 in Zagreb, in which about one hundred forty noblemen were sentenced. Interest in ancestors increased particularly in the seventeenth century. During that period of time many genealogies of famous families were compiled. Examples include genealogies for the Drašković, Ratkay, von Blagay and Zrinski families. Most of them remained in manuscript form.⁸

Johannes Lucius, the author of the most important work of older Croatian historiography, added three pedigrees after the title page of his major work, *De regno Dalmatiae et Croatiae libri sex* (Six Books of the Kingdom of Dalmatia and Croatia) (Amsterdam, 1666). These pedigree charts concern the kings of Hungaria, the court of Breberia (the ancestors of the counts of Zrinski who later became famous in Croatian and Hungarian history) and the court of the Tinini (Croatian Nelipići).⁹

However, in the field of family history, our polyhistorian and heraldist Pavao Ritter-Vitezović (1652-1713) played a very special role. His great ideal was to compile an exhaustive work on the families of the "famous Slavic or Illyric tribe." In the first volume he wanted to gather the genealogies, histories, and coats-of-arms. To this end, he appealed in 1696 "to all Lords, ministers, nobility, to the rulers, administrators and judges of the royal free cities, to the free markets, and so forth." This representative work was to be printed in Zagreb, but it was never published. He published several interesting heraldic works instead, but without any scientific value. A small book entitled *Stemmographia* (Pedigree) was most likely conceived as an introduction to his great

work. The first edition was apparently published in Vienna in 1701, and the second in Zagreb. Soon after, it was translated into the Slavic-Serbian language by Hristofor Žefarović. The second work of Ritter-Vitezović, *"Banologia sive de banatu Croatiae cum continua chronologia banorum ab anno Christi 576"* (Banalogia or the Banat of Croatia with unbroken Chronology of the Bans from the year of Christ 576), has a somewhat biographic as well as heraldic character. It has been preserved only in manuscript form, and is now in the University library of Zagreb.

The renown enjoyed by this Ritter-Vitezović is illustrated by a letter from a Roman prelate, in the service of Pope Clement XI. This official, of Albanian origin, addresses the Bishop of Zagreb with a request that Ritter-Vitezović compile the pedigree of his family because this Ritter knows "where the devil himself lives."

Ritter also published the first genealogy of the famous noble family, von Krbava, from the Gussichi line (Laibach 1681). Among the other genealogical treatises, the one for the¹⁰ Keglevichi line has a prominent place.

After Ritter-Vitezović, Aleksandar Patachich (1697-1747) was the only compiler of family history. Until the national rebirth in the nineteenth century, no other genealogical works were written. Only a few foreign scholars have included our area in their studies, for example, Charles du Cange, Riceputi, Emperor-General Count Marsigli, and others.

Charles du Cange, the famous French Byzantinologist, historian, and linguist, included genealogical research in his work *"Hystoria Byzantina"* (History of Byzantium) (1680). In this work are the genealogies not only of the Byzantine Emperors and Turkish Sultans, but also those of the Serbian, Croatian, Bulgarian, and Bosnian rulers. His genealogies of the south Slavic dynasties were of benefit for the historical work

"Illyricum vetus et novum" (Illyrica: Ancient and Modern) (1746), written by an unidentified author, and through that work have become part of Geschichte der verschiedenen slawischen Völker, vornehmlich der Bulgaren, Kroaten und Serben... (History of the Various Slavic Peoples, Mainly the Bulgarians, Croats and Serbs), written by the Serbian historian, Jovan Raić. This work published in four volumes in Vienna (1794/95), was considered exemplary until the middle of the nineteenth century, and made a strong impression on the Croats because of its patriotic tone.¹¹ The Italian polyhistorian Count Luigi Ferdinando Marsigli put much genealogical data regarding the Slavic peoples in his codex under the title "Monarchia Hungarica in sua Regna, Principatus et Ducatus divisa..." (The Hungarian Monarchy, Divided into its Realms, Origins, and Leaders). This manuscript is part of his literary legacy, and is kept today in the library of the University of Bologna. The source for his data is a well-known work, Il regno degli Slavi (The Reign of the Slavs) (Pesaro 1601), written by a Benedictine Monk of Ragusa, Mauro Orbini,¹² otherwise of little literary value.

An Italian Jesuit, Filippo Riceputi, apparently compiled a so-called "Catalogus ducum et regum Dalmatiae et Croatiae" (Register of the Rulers and Kings of Dalmatia and Croatia) (1742) in which he covers the genealogies of the Croatian Princes and Kings from the second half of the seventh century until the end of the eleventh century. This manuscript is, however, an ordinary compilation; and as a source it should be used with much caution.¹³

It may be mentioned here that the genealogical data of Croatian rulers in the first half of the tenth century are at least partially contained in Konstantin Porphyrogenetos' "De Administrando Imperio" (Regarding the Imperial Administration), a work of particular importance for the southern Slavs.¹⁴ Also, the Croatian edition of the old and famous "Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja" from the twelfth

century, discovered at the beginning of the sixteenth century in Dalmatia and immediately translated, contains, with a few reconstructed names, the genealogy of the Croatian kings up to the death of King Zvonimir.¹⁵ Still, it was Professor Šišić in our time who was the first to set up an accurate royal pedigree chart.¹⁶

The second half of the last century is the beginning of a new era for our historiography. At that time the necessary prerequisites for a comprehensive and profound concept of national history were increasingly met, in connection with the general progress of scholarship and science. The genetic concept of history became dominant from that time on. The use of archival documents, manuscripts, and other writings, and the sophistication of tools and improved work methods are particularly characteristic of that period. The development of national history paralleled the development of the basic historical sciences, including among others those of genealogy and family history. Unfortunately, almost all efforts in this area have remained virtually unknown to foreigners because of language barriers.

Ivan Kukuljević, the founder of modern Croatian historiography (1816-1889), wrote many family histories, of which I would like to mention the histories of his own family and of the Counts of Drašković. In addition, he did much research about Croatian artists and poets of the Renaissance whose biographies he has published in various editions.¹⁷

After him, almost all Croatian historians have concerned themselves with family history. For instance, one of the most important historians, Vjekoslav Klaić (1849-1928), wrote about the families Keglevići Šubići, Nelipići,¹⁸ Krbavski, Frankopani, and Keglevići. The well-known book of heraldics Der Adel von kroatien und Slavonien (The Nobility of Croatia and Slavonia) by Ivan Bojničić (Nürnberg, 1899), contains, in addition to the coats-of-arms, short remarks about

the history of more than eighteen hundred families. Its counterpart is the less successful work by Heyer entitled Dalmatiner Adel (Dalmatian Nobility), containing a description of six hundred and ninety families (1873). Both volumes were published in the series of the great Siebmacher.

As a supplement to these works, Sammlung der Adel in kroatien, Slavonien und Dalmatien (Compilation of the Nobility in Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia), by V.A. Duišin should be mentioned. Only two small volumes appeared; the additional publications were interrupted by the Second World War.¹⁹

The same Bojničić also compiled an alphabetical index of the Noblemen who were made citizens by the Croatian Parliament. As an appendix he added sixty-four pedigree charts about these families who were documented in the years 1752 and 1753, occasionally including court proceedings to establish proof of nobility.²⁰

Emil Laszowski (1869-1949) also compiled a great number of genealogical treatises. He was for many years the archivist and later the director of the state archives in Zagreb (the present Archive of Croatia). He even started a special monthly magazine with the title Vitezović, for genealogy, biography, heraldics, and sphragistics (the study of seals and signets). Unfortunately, this enterprise was not successful and in a year and a half only thirteen issues were published. Actually, the greatest part of the published issues are filled with his own contributions and almost all contain pedigree charts. The publication of this monthly is significant for the auxiliary sciences of history, despite its lack of success. It was the first and only attempt of its kind, not only among the Croats,²¹ but in all the southern Slavic lands.

We should not forget that foreign historians have also dealt with genealogical research of Croatian and other southern Slavic lineages in their

excellently written studies. Among these we can mention here only the well-known Hungarian historians Tháloczy and Wertner. Their research is also directed towards medieval lineages, as is the great work of the German historian Irmgard Mahnken, concerning the patrician families of Ragusa.²²

As was already mentioned, the common citizens were very seldom the object of professional research. The historian Ferdo Šišić has written a treatise on the lineage of Gay, the family of Ljudevit Gay, who was the leader of the so-called Illyric movement²³ in the first half of the last century.

There is also a study of the ancestors of the Ragusa comic playwright, Marin Držić, called the Croatian Molière. Family histories of commoners in Zagreb were mostly written by amateur genealogists. These were published mainly in Revija Zagreb, before World War II²⁵ and contain very useful information.

Contemporary researchers of family history are similarly interested in heraldic and genealogical research. Bartol Zmajić has an excellent knowledge of the old families, particularly lineages of nobility. Milko Predović works mainly with the families of Zumberak, an area on the boarder between Croatia and Slovenia, not far from Zagreb.

In closing, I would like to make a few remarks about the present-day condition of family research in Croatia. Unfortunately, we as yet have no survey of what has been done in the field. Many articles are scattered about in various magazines and newspapers, and they are therefore not easily accessible. What has been done in research thus far is one-sided, and concerns mainly the distant past and families of noble lineage. Consequently, many opportunities remain unused. One great difficulty is the archival sources, which have not been thoroughly researched and processed, due to the lack of personnel (especially trained personnel) and lack of financial

means. Furthermore, the access to data from genealogical research is not organized. Those few researchers who are interested in this work are not organized and work on their own. There is no professional association and there are no professional journals in our country to give our researchers something to rally around. The study of onomastics, the study of the origin of names, for example is much better off. A committee for

onomastics has been organized, which works with the Centre International d'Onomastique in Louvain. There is hope that interest in genealogical research will be revived through the extensive work connected with the compilation of the Yugoslav bibliographic dictionary, a work which was suggested recently, a project which has gained the support of many.

NOTES

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- ³A. Oršić, Povijest obitelji Oršića Slavetičkih, (Zagreb, 1943).
- ⁴I. Kukuljević, Pavao Skalić, (Zagreb, 1875).
- ⁵A. Solovjev, "Postanak ilirske heraldike i porodica Ohmčević," Glasnik Skopskog učenog društva, (Skoplje, XII/1932), pp. 79-125.
- ⁶F. Šišić, Priručnik izvora hrvatske povjesti I, (Zabreb, 1913).
- ⁷I. Bojničić, "Parnica protiv krivotvoritelja plemićkih povelja," Vjesnik Zemaljskog arhiva, (Zagreb, II/1900), pp. 50-55.
- ⁸B. Zmajić, Heraldika, sfragistika, genealogija, (Zagreb, 1971), p. 81.
- ⁹F. Šišić, op. cit.
- ¹⁰E. Laszowski, "Pavao Ritter Vitezović kao heraldičar i genealog," Vitezović Mjesečnik za genealogiju biografiju, heraldiku i sfragistiku, (Zagreb, II, no. 1/1905), pp. 2-7.
- ¹¹S. Antoljak, Pomoćne istoriske nauke, (Kraljevo, 1971), p. 136.
- ¹²S. Antoljak, *ibid*, p. 136.
- ¹³*Ibid*.
- ¹⁴Konstantin Porfirogenet, "De administrando imperio" (Croatian translation by N. Tomašić), in Vjesnik Zemaljskog arhiva, (Zagreb, XXI/1918, XXII/1919).
- ¹⁵"Ljetopis popa Dukljanina, Revija Zagreb, (Zagreb, 1949).
- ¹⁶F. Šišić, "Genealoški prilozi o hrv. narodnoj dinastiji," Vjesnik Hrvatskog

arheološkog društva, (Zagreb, XIII/1914).

¹⁷ T. Smiciklas, "Život i djela Ivana Kukuljevića Sakcinskog," Rad Jugoslavenske akademije, (Zagreb, no. 110/1892).

¹⁸ B. Zmajić, op. cit.

¹⁹ V. A. Duišin, Zbornik plemstva u Hrvatskoj, Slavoniji, Dalmaciji, Bosni-Hercegovini, Dubrovniku, Kotoru i Vojvodini, (Zagreb, Vol. 2/1938).

²⁰ I. Bojničić, Popis plemića proglašanih na saboru kraljevina Hrvatske, Slavonije i Dalmacije godine 1557-1848, (Zagreb, 1896).

²¹ Vitezović, Mjesečnik za genealogiju, biografiju, heraldiku i sfragistiku. (Zagreb, 1903-1904-1905).

²² B. Zmajić, op. cit.

²³ F. Šišić, "Podrijetlo Gajeva roda," Jugosl.istorijski časopis, (V/1939).

²⁴ Petrovskij Nestor, "O genealogiji Držića," Rad Jugoslavenske akademije. (Zagreb, no. 148/1902).

²⁵ Revija Zagreb, (Zagreb, 1929-1944).

GENEALOGY AS IDENTITY OF SELF: A CASE STUDY FROM RURAL SERBIA

Barbara Kerewsky-Halpern

Born in New York. Resides in Amherst, Massachusetts. Adjunct assistant professor of anthropology, University of Massachusetts, Amherst. Ph.D. (cultural anthropology), University of Massachusetts. Author, lecturer.

To a Serb it is vitally important to answer for oneself the fundamental questions "Who am I?" and "From where have I come?" This information or self-knowledge, so crucial to presentation of self to the rest of society (in the village, the town, or the larger world), is internalized in the head and transmitted orally. Memory is not what is happening here. In Serbia we are dealing with recollection.¹

This paper presents evidence that recitation of genealogy is a local genre.² A heuristic result of extensive fieldwork in Serbian villages has been that an epic pulse appears to course through many Serbs, especially elder male villagers (this taxonomy is not absolute—there are women who possess the characteristic, and younger people as well); the importance of the knowledge of genealogy, of self, carries over into urban environments and across the Atlantic, as will be demonstrated with fragments of genealogies from Serbian-Americans.

What I identify as an epic pulse strongly matches the template of the classic south Slav epic decasyllable. Vuk was the first to describe it. A more useful exposition for Western readers is available from Jakobson, who analyzed the characteristics of the epski dešeterac for readers of German and English.

Before turning to examples of proof that recitation of genealogy, under conducive contexts and when performed by particular elders, may be a special manifestation of south Slav epic tradition, we should

define the characteristics of the traditional epic ten-syllable line.

Jakobson called attention to the features of this tradition by maintaining that an abstraction of the underlying metrics must deal with certain rhythmic tendencies as well as with formal metrical constants:

1. Each line contains ten syllables:

XXXXXXXXXX

2. There is a compulsory syntactic break between lines:

[||]

3. There is a compulsory word boundary between the fourth and fifth syllables:

XXXX XXXXX

4. Syllables three and four belong to one word unit, as do syllables nine and ten:

XX XX XXXX XX
or
XX XX XX XXXX

5. Disyllabic word units ideally occur in syllables one-two, three-four, five-six, seven-eight, or nine-ten.
6. Syllables seven-eight-nine bring the line to what Jakobson has

called a quantitative close, with syllables seven and eight ideally avoiding vowel length (and therefore usually stress), in order to build up to stress in the ninth syllable (here ideally avoiding a stressed short vowel).

Within a stich both stress and alliteration of initial sound favor odd-numbered syllables.⁴ What is important here is that the metrical constants as well as the tendencies correspond to phonological features inherent in the language. These include four marked tones, two rising and two falling. This tonal system is related to stress (long vowels usually carry stress, but a short stressed syllable may precede a long unstressed one). Stress never occurs on a final syllable; the first syllable in a disyllabic word therefore takes stress. In polysyllabic words stress is on the antepenultimate. This information is pertinent to detail here because, while the metrics of epic verse incline toward trochaic pentameter, it is clear that, given the common occurrence of trisyllabic proper names in genealogical recitations, dactyls will also appear frequently. Therefore, tone-length-stress rules do not coincide invariably with what Jakobson has called the rhythmical impulse of the epic metrics.

Having detailed the metrical and suprasegmental features, we can proceed to the empirical data, a challenging endeavor because genealogy as an oral genre in Serbia has not previously been isolated, described, or analyzed.

While Western students of poetry and other literary forms may refer to word, word boundary, or word unit, the peasant-narrator is not conscious of syllabification, word boundaries, or stress (the term for "word," reč, means both word and utterance). Within the constraints of the ten-syllable line, the village elder employs intuitive knowledge (competence) to put together strings which follow the traditional epic pattern. When necessary he freely uses

elision, drops an auxiliary verb, takes a non-grammatical inflectional ending, or borrows a₅ needed extra syllable from jekavski. As he recollects his genealogy orally, the speaker is not aware that he is composing a narrative u stihovima, "in lines of verse." The sense of epic verse, self-motivated, is generated at some deeper level. The impetus for this traditional mode of creativity is related, I suggest, to regard for his genealogy as his own personal epic, and thus he instinctively selects the appropriate form for the retelling. In turn, this epic form, both metrically and structurally, enhances his ability to reconstruct and relate that which is so important to him.

By reproducing parts of a real genealogy, abstracting the underlying metrics, and analyzing its structure, we can demonstrate how complex data can be stored and recollected. The prosodic features described above, in consonance with the values of Serbian society, play a crucial role in oral preservation and transmission of such data.⁶ In the course of analyzing the data for the first village genealogy presented, two striking facts began to emerge. First, material elicited in 1954 and later in 1968, spanning seven generations in one lineage and including over one hundred men, was essentially identical. Second, the informant, Deda Mileta, was recollecting the history of his Stojanović lineage in poetic stichs.

In the course of earlier field research, considerable information was elicited on kinship and social structure. Many older village men seemed to have a remarkable ability to recall orally their ancestry eight or nine generations back to the founder of the clan,⁷ from which the lineage took its name. After much of the social structure data had been worked up and published,⁸ I returned to Šumadija specifically to check certain aspects of the genealogical materials. The focus was still on kinship data, not on oral transmission. That time, however, equipped with printed diagrams of previously elicited data, and without the

interference of structured interviewing, I was able to initiate genealogical recollection and then to concentrate on receiving the responses aurally.

Proceeding to match elicited kinship data with already published material, I checked the new orally transmitted information from Deda Mileta Stojanović (number 47 on the original kinship diagram, reproduced here as figure 1) against data he had given orally fourteen years earlier. Some 105 male individuals had been named. To avoid confusion and as an aid in keeping the generational levels in order, I found myself repeating the data aloud, thereby unconsciously recreating (or in effect performing) a version of the oral presentation.

Deda Mileta and I sat on low, three-legged stools he had carved years before. Our communicative interaction was initiated with his first utterance indicating where I was to place my stool. Characteristically we sat close together despite the spaciousness of the muddy courtyard. Chicks and an occasional piglet wandered into the setting. The old man, his straw hat pushed back on his brow, was relaxed and in the mood to talk. Here is what he told me, followed by a translation faithful to the original word order:

Blago dedi, ti ćeš tuna sedi;
Sedi dole da ti'svemu pricam.
Davno došli oni naši preci;
Doš'o Stojan čak i pre ustanka.

* * *

Ej! Stari Stojan im'o tri sinova: 5
Ti su Petar, Miloje, Mihajlo.
Od sinova im'o Petar čet'ri:
Milos, Uroš, Nikola i Stevan.
Znaš ti, čero, Nikola moj deda?
Od sinova im'o tri Miloje: 10
Ti su Vučić, Matija i Lazar,
Isto tako im'o tri Mihajlo:
Radivoje, Radovan, Radoje.
Onaj Miloš, im'o on dva sina:
Ti su bili Milutin i Andrija. 15
Potom Uroš, im'o sina troji:
Tanasija, Vladimir, Djordje.

Eto, čero, najstari' je Djordje,
A najmladji' nije ost'o živ . . .
Moj Nikola, im'o on četiri: 20
Antonija, Svetozar i Miloš,
A trećega, Ljubomir moj otac
(Neka mu Bog dušu prosti).
Stevan, pazi, od sinova nema.
Adj' sad Vučić: on je im'o troji 25
Radojica, Andrija, Ljubomir.
A Matija samo jedan imao,
Koji zv'o Blagoje . . .
Ej, Radovan, taj od trećeg brata
Im'o Petar, Miloje, Radomir. 30
Sad Radoje: Dragomir jednoga;
Radivoje: Velimir i Branko.
Pazi sada, brojim moja braća!
Te trojica im'o stric Milutin:
Živomir, Pavle i Velimir. 35
Nema od njih potomaka ništa!
Sad Andrija: Svetozar, Velislav.
Pa kod Djordja i Tanasije
Samo Veljko ost'o k'o maturan.
Dragoljub, Svetislav i Dragoslav 40
Svi su bili poginul' u ratu
Kod Svetozara isto nema sreće:
Ni Živomir, ni Miloš, ni Vitomir,
Kod njih uopšte muška deca nema.
Al' Dragiša, hvala Bogu, ima. 45
Adje sada, tu sam ja, Mileta!
Potom moj brat, Milosav rodjeni.
.

I ja, k'o stari, pijem malo rakije
I polako, eto, čekam smrt . . .

Grandpa's dear, you will there sit!
Sit down so I can to you everything
relate.

Long ago came they our ancestors;
Came Stojan even before the
Uprising.

* * *

Eh! Old Stojan had three sons: 5
These were Petar, Miloje, Mihajlo.
Of sons had Petar four:
Miloš, Uroš, Nikola, and Stevan.
Know you, daughter, Nikola my
grandfather?
Of sons had three Miloje: 10
These were Vučić, Matija, and
Lazar.

The same had three Mihajlo:
 Radivoje, Radovan, Radoje.
 That Miloš, had he two sons:
 These were Milutin and Andrija. 15
 Then Uroš had sons three:
 Tanasija, Vladimir, Djordje.
 Like so, daughter, the eldest is
 Djordje,
 And the youngest did not remain
 living . . .
 My Nikola had he four: 20
 Antonija, Svetozar, and Miloš,
 And the third, Ljubomir my father
 (May him God his soul forgive).
 Stevan, look here, of sons had
 none.
 Come now, Vučič: he had three: 25
 Radojica, Andrija, Ljubomir.
 And Matija only one had,
 Who was called Blagoje . . .
 Eh, Radovan, that one from the
 third brother,
 Had Petar, Miloje, Radomir. 30
 Now Radoje: Dragomir, only one;
 Radivoje: Velimir and Branko.
 Pay attention now, I'm counting my
 brothers!
 Well, a trio had Uncle Milutin:
 Zivomir, Pavle, and Velimir. 35
 Exist not from them descendants
 none!
 Now Andrija: Svetozar, Velislav.
 And by Djordje and Tanasija
 Only Veljko remained as a mature
 man.
 Dragoljub, Svetislav, and
 Dragoslav.
 All were killed in the war.
 By Svetozar also there is no luck:
 Nor Živomir, nor Miloš, nor
 Vitomir,
 By them in general male children
 are not.
 But Dragiša, thank God, has. 45
 Come now, here am I, Mileta!
 Then my brother,¹⁰ Milosav
 [biological brother]

 And I, as the old man, drink a
 little brandy
 And slowly, so, wait for death. . .

The existence of a pripev (lines 1-4), a traditional prologue to the narrative, is

of much interest. Linguistically it is not bound by the content restraints inherent in transmitting genealogical information. As in traditional oral epic recitation, it functions as a means of establishing a bond between narrator and listener. This is a crucial condition; speaker and hearer(s) form a collectivity, one responding to stimuli from the other.

A fictive kin tie is posited immediately. Grandfather Mileta addresses the listener as blago dedi ("grandpa's dear").

The tie is reinforced in the body of the recitation, in lines 9 and 18: znaš ti, čero ("know you, daughter") and eto, čero ("like so, daughter").

Another epic function of the pripev is to provide a temporal frame and initiate the action of the personal narrative which is about to unfold:

Davno došli oni naši preci;	3
<u>Doš'o Stojan čak i pre ustanka.</u>	4

Long ago came they our ancestors;
 Came Stojan even before the Uprising.

These lines were uttered spontaneously. Certainly they were never before spoken by the narrator. Yet line 3 is an ideal epic decasyllable line in every way. Structurally it exhibits the exemplary pattern of VP (verb phrase), caesura, NP (noun phrase):

<u>Davno došli</u>	<u>oni nasi preci</u>
XXXX	XXXXXX
VP	NP

In the best epic mode, the VP, advancing the action, precedes the six-syllable epithet.

With regard to meter and stress, it is a perfect line of trochaic pentameter:

XX XX XX XX XX

In accord with Jakobson's analysis, the heaviest stress is on the ninth syllable. The line also displays consonantal alli-

teration word initially and internally (davno/došli; došli/naši; oni/naši) as well as vowel assonance, succeeding segments bearing the pattern a-o, o-i, a-i, a-i.

Line 4 illustrates stress shift when a proclitic occurs before a noun. Nominative ustanak has stress on the antepenultimate. Adding a proclitic results in

pre + ustanak → pre'ustánka

thereby rendering the entire string to the right of the caesura in trochaic, and again creating an ideal quantitative close on the ninth syllable, with stress and vowel lengthening:

5	6	7	8	9	10
čak	i	pre	u	stan	ka

It is interesting to note that the opening two lines of this spontaneous prologue compare favorably to the opening lines of a "real" pripev:

Blago dedi, ti ćeš tuna sedi!
Sedi dole da ti 'svemu pričam.
 Grandpa's dear, you will there sit!
 Sit down so I can to you everything relate.

Compare

Braco moja, sokolovi moji, 12
Čujte pesmu da vam čiča broji.
 My brothers, my falcons,
 Listen to the song that to you Uncle is recounting.

Each uses fictive kin to establish a tie with the listeners. Each displays rhyme, the former internally (dedi/sedi) and the latter interlinearly (moji/broji). Syntactically the two second lines are parallel, opening with an imperative verb (Sedi/Čujte), followed after the break by a da clause (connective) and ending with an imperfective verb, indicating that the process of narration is to be ongoing (pričam/broji).

The local example therefore is strong evidence that for Deda Mileta and many ordinary village men like him, a subliminal epic pulse must be generating the epic mode so clearly marked in various manifestations at the surface. He "knows how" to do it.

Turning now to the genealogy proper, some of the more salient linguistic features are noted below (although almost every line invites comment):

1. Line 5 is not grammatical. In Serbo-Croatian, numbers two through four are inflected with genitive singular endings, and numbers five and over take genitive plural endings:

*Ej! Stari Stojan im'o tri sinova
 Eh! Old Stojan had three sons

*tri sinova	(gen. pl.)
<u>tri sina</u>	(gen. sing.)

But here the genitive plural fits the metrical requirements. It is also possible that the narrator may have been composing his line in terms of thoughts of all the progeny of the clan ancestor. Interestingly, an exact reverse analog is found in a line of "real" epic narrative:

*Hrani majka devet milih sina
 Nourished a mother nine dear sons

Here the ungrammatical form is especially interesting since its modifier, milih ("dear"), is correctly inflected for genitive plural.

2. Lines 7 and 10 demonstrate selective elision and word order switching:

<u>im'o Petar čet'ri</u>	7
had Petar four	

<u>im'o tri Miloje</u>	10
had three Miloje	

Each of these procedures results in achievement of the required metrics (word switching also results in rhyme at the end of lines 10 and 13 [Miloje/Radoje]; is this by intent or chance?). Now compare the last segments of lines 7 and 20:

im'o Petar čet'ri 7

im'o on četiri 20
hač he four

where use of the monosyllable pronoun on generates use of the fully expressed form četiri.

3. Lines 5, 16, and 34 illustrate alternate ways of saying "three": tri, troji, and trojica, again selected according to need (the first is "three," the second form is a colloquial modifier for "three males," and the third a collective numeral meaning "trio of males").

4. Line 28 is three syllables short of the decasyllable. Even so, the verb is elided and the auxiliary dropped, thereby forming a perfect predicate string before the break:

Koji zv'o [se] Blagoje
Who was called Blagoje

The individual's name, Blagoje, completes the line minus half the required syllables; there is nothing more to say. There is, however, marked phonological compensation, with stress on the antepenultimate and highly exaggerated length on the (unstressed) final syllable.

5. In lines 13, 17, 21, and 26, all lines composed of series of names, the strings before the caesura are occupied by four-syllable proper names—Radivoje, Tanasija, Antonija, and Radojica. Radivoje happens to have main stress on syllable one and secondary stress on syllable three,

thus fitting the trochaic pattern. The other names provide an example of what happens when reality conflicts with the ideal: in these cases stress is on the antepenultimate, and pronunciation is not contrived to accommodate the pattern.

With the name Ljubomir two situations can be observed: in lines 22 and 26 the name appears to the right of the break (referring in each case to a different man named Ljubomir).

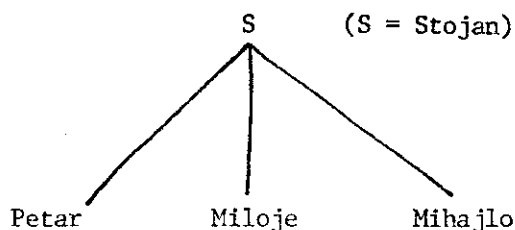
A trećega, Ljubomir moj otac 22

Radojica, Andrija, Ljubomir 26

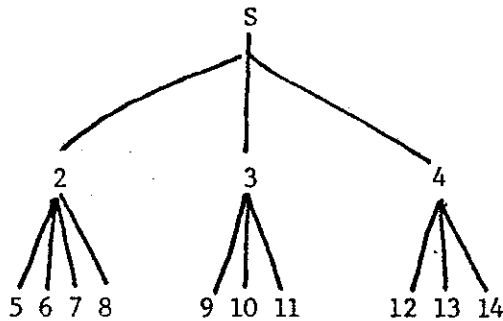
In the first instance stress is acceptable, since it falls on the antepenultimate, with secondary stress on the final syllable of the name, a compound proper name (meaning "he who loves peace"), thereby permitting the line to work itself out normally. In the second case, the same pronunciation is used, thus giving stress to the eighth syllable and causing syllables nine and ten to be "wrong." This is balanced, however, by the utterance "Ljubomir" being a metrical repetition of the dactyl "Andrija."

Now turning to a consideration of the structure of the recitation of genealogy, a grammar with these ordered rules can be abstracted:

1. The base point is the naming of the lineage founder.



2. Each generational level is recollected collaterally, that is, chronologically from the first born male along the line to the last born.¹³



3. Only after the entire generational level has been recollected does the narrator proceed lineally to the succeeding generation.¹⁴ This process is vitally important in analyzing household-family and individual cycles and is a key feature of Serbian social structure.
4. With the exception of the clan's founder every individual is mentioned twice, first as a son of his father and then as a father of sons.
5. In this manner the narration reaches the generational level of the narrator and proceeds regularly along it.
6. The narration then moves collaterally and lineally through all successive generations, concluding with the line at which there are no further descendants.

An optional rule is employed by Grandfather Mileta in his recitation:

7. Data retrieval terms are employed for the second recollection of an individual. This may be in the form of opening segments, e.g., Onaj Miloš ("that Miloš"; line 14), or Potom Uroš ("then Uroš"; line 16); or an entire line can be a retrieval string:

Ej, Radovan, taj od trećeg brata 29
 Eh, Radovan, that one from the third brother

8. Gapping or horizontal progression terms are used to advance the action along the generational level, from the descendants of one brother to the descendants of the next brother: Adj'

sad, "Come now" (line 25), indicates that the recitation has gone through all the four sons (numbers 5, 6, 7, and 8) of Petar (number 2 on the kinship diagram) and is now moving across to the sons of Miloje (number 3), starting with his firstborn, Vučić (number 9). Again, Deda Mileta is providing a basic principle of social organization.

9. Affirmation of identity and direct descent within the larger structural frame is achieved by personal reference:

Nikola moj deda 9
 Nikola my grandfather

Ljubomir moj otac 22
 Ljubomir my father

Pazi sada, brojim moja brata¹⁵ 33
 Pay attention now, I'm counting my brothers

Adje sada, tu sam ja, Mileta! 46
 Come now, here am I, Mileta!

Action moves from the sons of Svetozar (number 21), who left no living male descendants (Kod Svetozara isto nema sreće) ("By Svetozar also there is no luck") to the sons of Ljubomir (number 22), the firstborn of whom is the narrator. His attention-getting phrase, "Come now, here am I," signals the fact that the narration has now come to his particular niche in it. The referential position of the narrator as part of the overall descent group emphasizes the collective nature of his stored knowledge.

Significantly, the entire speech act was marked paralinguistically by paced smoking and facially expressive pauses during which bounded strings were recollected silently before being transmitted orally.¹⁶ As presented in this paper, it concludes with the narrator and his biological brother. In actual performance it concluded with the seventh

generation descended from Stojan, that is, with the narrator's grandson Milan (number 100) and the grandson's generation-mates (not included here for reasons given in note 10).

When Deda Mileta reached the end there was a silent interlude. Had the narration been accompanied by the playing of the gusle, the single-stringed instrument which traditionally paces the chanting of epic verse, there would no doubt have been several lines of music here. He drew on his now stubby cigarette, ground it out with the heel of his pigskin sandal, sighed, and appended an epilogue:

I ja, k'o stari, pijem malo raki je 48
I polako, eto, čekam smrt . . .

And I, as the old man, drink a little
brandy
And slowly, so, wait for death . . .

These closing lines are interesting as poetry, as linguistics, and for what they divulge about epic tradition and the culture. The narrator refers to himself as stari ("the old man"), the same adjective he applies to the founding ancestor in line 5. This is not accidental; in his structured wording he is recalling segmentation of the lineage, life cycles, and household-family cycles. Had he wanted to say "an old man" he would have used the indefinite adjective star (which would have been better metrically).

What Deda Mileta was demonstrating was the power of collective identity. The cycle would go on. Men are born, they produce sons, they grow old, they die. The scheme of which he was part did not end with his death. Today his son and his son's son recollect the history of the lineage and keep the tradition alive. Visually this is manifested on the tombstone of his own father, Deda Ljubomir, reflecting the continuity of four generations by means of an inscription noting that the stone was erected by son, grandson, and great-grandson.

The powerful cultural motivation in

Serbian society, influencing organization of a structural tree in the narrator's head and given form by a metrical model readily available from oral epic tradition, demonstrates that the ability to recollect and transmit genealogy is indeed, for some village men, not only a true oral genre but an integral part of process in this culture.

Upon discussing the foregoing with me, a Serbian literary critic remarked, "The old man must have read it in a pesmarica (songbook)--peasants don't talk that way!" Contrary to his expectation, his reaction delighted me: quite simply it corroborates the point of our discussion. Via a special speech act one can identify oneself.

Deda Mileta is not unique; villagers do "talk that way." In fact, sometimes even the most ordinary conversations may display epic features. This powerful pulse appears to manifest and maintain itself over time, over the switch from oral to literary modes, over changing life-styles, across ethnic and national boundaries, and (because identity and perpetuation of self are so important in this culture) even when the informant is forced to recognize himself as the last of his line.

A family history prepared (written) in the 1920s by a prominent Yugoslav diplomat begins with what he perceives as his logical beginnings, in 1613! Written records were used for this detailed compilation by a distinguished intelektualac. Two factors are immediately salient: the account reads like an oral recitation, and it starts with the highly culturally significant opening collective line

Svi su Smoklake seljačkog porijekla.
All the Smodlakas are of peasant
origin.

The contemporary urban statesmen, lawyers, and physicians of this lineage immediately acknowledge direct kin ties to a common rural ancestry and strongly feel the collective pull of such ties.

The line quoted is clearly epic in mode. The fact that each colon bears an extra syllable is merely the result of the particular family name and use of their jekavski subdialect.

In another case, a Slavicist taped his uncle's recollections shortly before that old man's death. The oral account goes back to 1719 and it too begins at the "beginning":

Naši stari potiču iz sela Gare
Our ancestors spring from Gara
village

Again, from the very outset, one senses the power of "we," of common origins. The epic rhythm is perfect, and although the transcription happens to be typed in run-on format, it was transmitted by the informant in poetic stichs. For example,

I tamo je bio naš prvi predak,
Zvao se Janko, imao sina Nikolu.

A taj Nikola imao tri sina:
Milovana, Miloša i Momira.

.....

Milos je imao posle čet'ri sina:
Živana, Simu, Luku, i Jovana.

And there was one of our first ancestors,
He was called Janko, (he) had a son
Nikola.

And this Nikola had three sons:
Milovan, Miloš, and Momir.

.....

Miloš then had four sons:
Živan, Sima, Luka, and Jovan.

The similarities to Deda Mileta's grammar of kin are obvious. The old uncle, however, a retired lawyer, chose to inflect consistently and correctly proper names. Of interest is a line where the informant is anxious to get on to the Lukić sub-lineage, founded by their direct ancestor Luka, and he asks,

Ej sad! Jel'ti hoćeš od deda Luke da počnemo, da znamo?

Well now! Do you want to start with Grandfather Luka, so we know [along which branch to reconstruct]?¹⁸

The line is in epic mode although it does contain more than ten syllables, plus extrametrical expressions preceding and following it.

This exposition of genealogy as genre closes with another example from Orašac. In this instance the informant, an elderly villager, saddened at having had no surviving sons, begins his recollections with the bitter line,

Nema ko' da primi to od mene.

There is no one to receive this from me.

He then commences to recall his direct ancestor five generations back and recollects the descending generations lineally by proper names. Then he pauses, reverses the process, and, starting with himself, moves back through the ancestral line, this time using kinship terms in place of the already named individuals. A sigh, an extrametrical expletive, and then the final line, a repeat of the first:

Ej sad, nema ko' da primi to od mene.

Eh, now, there's no one to receive this from me.

The complete recitation reflects resignation of having been deprived of his cultural due as household patriarch.

Nema ko'da primi to od mene.

Slušaj! Maksim je im'o tri sina:
Mihajla, Miloša i Živo-
jina.

Ja sam Mihajlov potomak.

Mihajlo je im'o tri sina:

Stevana, Milana, i
Milivoja.

Milan im'o čet'ri sina:

Ljubomira, Sima, Miloša i
Dragutina.

Ja sam Milošev.

Dakle, meni je Milan deda,
Mijailo mi je pradede,
A mojega oca, Maksim bio
pradede
Ej sad, Nema ko' da primi to od
mene.

There's no one to receive
 this from me.

Listen! Maksim had three sons:
 Mihajlo, Miloš, and
 Živojin.
 I am Mihajlo's descendant.
 Mihajlo had three sons:
 Stevan, Milan, and
 Milivoje.
 Milan had four sons:
 Ljubomir, Sima, Miloš, and
 Dragutin.

I am [descended from]
 Milos.

Therefore, Milan is my
 grandfather,

And to my father Maksim
 was great-grandfather.

Eh now, There's no one to receive
 this from me.

If represented diagrammatically, this
 particular genealogy, in effect a
 beautifully balanced poem, looks like
 figure 2.

The old man's account has come full
 circle. There is no one to carry on the
 line and no more narration to recite.¹⁹

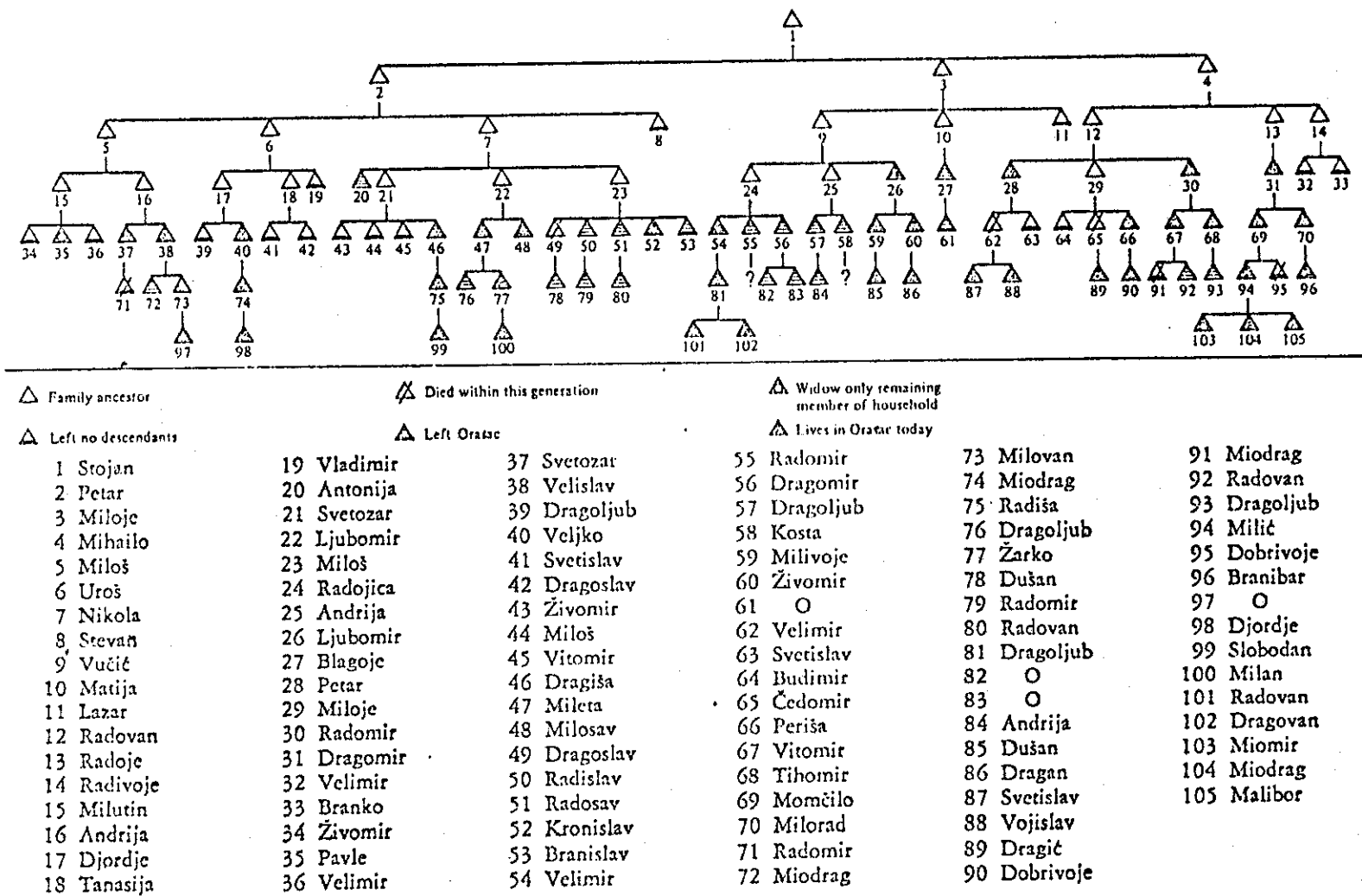


Figure 1. Genealogical chart of the Stojanović lineage (informant, Mileta Stojanović, #47)

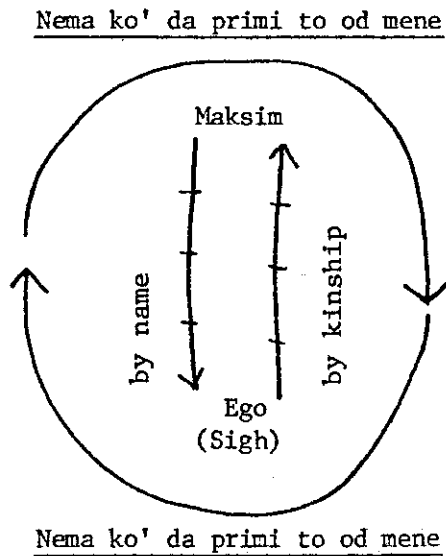


Figure 2. Diagrammatic representation of a genealogical poem

NOTES

¹Note that the Serbian verb spomenuti, "to remember" (cognate with "memory"), is perfective in aspect and may be glossed as "to memorize." It is differentiated from pamtiti, also "to remember"; the latter, when prefixed with u-, denotes internalizing, or a sort of imprinting on the mind, of material which can then be retrieved. Further, prefixing renders the verb imperfective, representing ongoing or iterative action. This is a clear semantic clue regarding process as opposed to fixity as in memorized material. (In all oral traditional cultures there appears to exist a similar semantic distinction between verbs denoting memorization and recollection.)

²A preliminary working version of this analysis appeared under the title "Genealogy as Genre" in B. Halpern and J. Halpern, eds., Selected Papers on a Serbian Village: Social Structure as Reflected by History, Demography, and Oral Tradition, University of Massachusetts, Amherst, Department of Anthropology, Research Reports no. 17 (Amherst, Mass., 1977), pp. 141-63.

³Roman Jakobson, Über den Versbau der Serbokroatischen Volksepen (1933), and "Slavic Epic Verse: Studies in Comparative Metrics," in Selected Writings, vol. 4 (The Hague: Mouton, 1966).

⁴For an analysis of alliteration and assonance, see Albert B. Lord, The Singer of Tales (1960; reprint ed., New York: Atheneum, 1965), pp. 55-57.

⁵The strings the narrator generates, therefore, may not always be those of a Chomskyan ideal speaker, nor is there any reason for them to be. We are concerned here with tendencies, not rules, with life situations, not abstractions.

⁶In traditional poetry, somewhat analagous preserved genealogies come to mind. In the Old Testament there are, of course, the "begats" in the Book of Genesis (see also Karin Andriolo, "A Structural Analysis of Genealogy and World View in the Old Testament," American Anthropologist 75, no. 5 [1973]:1657-69 for a structural analysis of Old Testament genealogy). In the Iliad, consider the elaborately structured catalog of ships (book II, lines 494-877).

Fragments of speech as identity are abundant in oral traditional literature. Upon arriving in the land of the Phaiakians, Odysseus identifies himself as the son of his father (and as a son of his homeland):

I am Odysseus, son of Laertes

.....

I am at home in sunny Ithaka.

(Odyssey, book IX, lines 19 and 21; Lattimore trans. 1965)

Beowulf, when asked who he is, where he has come from, and why, identifies himself upon disembarking on alien soil by saying:

We are the Geats

Men who follow Higlac. My father

Was a famous soldier, known far and wide

As a leader of men. His name was Edgetho.

(Beowulf, lines 260-64; Raffel trans. 1963)

A medieval Serbian analogy is to be found in the compendium Stari srpski rodoslovi i letopisi [Old Serbian genealogy and documentation] (Stojanović, 1927; q.v. pp. 25, 59, 102, and passim), which preserves (in written form but transcribed from oral sources) many of the features of genealogical recitation in the present analysis, including formulaic devices for identifying self via father, father's brother, and other males in the patriline. (N.B.: the author Stojanović is not related to the Stojanović clan diagrammed in figure 1. By coincidence both are descended from lineage founders who were named Stojan.) I am grateful to Professor Nada Milošević-Djordjević for teaching me the fundamentals of staroslovenski (Old Slavic) so that I could work with this fascinating chronicle so markedly oral in origin.

⁷ Although perceiving some sort of structure to the recitations, at that period the researchers were concerned with content almost to the exclusion of form.

⁸ Joel M. Halpern, A Serbian Village, rev. ed. (New York: Harper & Row, 1967).

⁹ My aural perceptions were not yet sensitive enough to motivate taping complete genealogies at that time. Fortunately, small battery-operated tape recorders were by then coming into use as field tools, and at least several fragments from that period are preserved on tape. For the Stojanović genealogy I rapidly jotted verbatim what I received aurally. The narrator spoke in his normal slow voice, alternating with puffs of smoking which allowed time for transcription. The field notes show his utterances separated by regularized pauses which I marked as slashes, as between lines of poetry. Further, numbers were spelled out, including, for example, trisyllabic četiri and its elided bisyllabic variant čet'ri. Despite preoccupation with content, therefore, clearly I was conscious of metrical patterning. The "ring composition" genealogy which concludes this paper is preserved on tape (1975). By that date my ear had long since become attuned to the orality in which I had been immersed.

¹⁰ I terminate this particular recitation with the informant himself (actually with his younger brother—rodjeni brat, "biological brother," cf. brat, "cousin"), this being a unit boundary Deda Mileta himself recognized. (Along the narrator's generational level the recitation begins to become encumbered, detailing immarrying brides, wartime service, illness, out-migration from the village, and other data non-genealogical in nature.) Metrics and structure appear to be preserved throughout, but the material becomes less easy to extrapolate for the purposes of exposition here.

¹¹ The setting, the relationship between transmitter and receiver, the goals and motivations for each, the realization, finally, of mode (or key, or genre)—all illustrate Hymes's exposition on components of speech acts and understandably made for an exciting field situation.

¹² From the well-known epic Kosovka devojka.

¹³ This rule is broken in line 17, where the eldest son is mentioned last (because of meter?); however, this is compensated for in line 18. Line 21 has another structural violation, amended in line 22, where the narrator wishes to signal his own father.

¹⁴ A genealogy tree is obviously similar to a syntactic structure tree. The concept of node is the exact equivalent. In fact, the Serbian term kolena is "knee" (joint or node), which also means generation.

¹⁵ Reference here is not to biological but to classificatory brothers (male cousins); see also note 10.

¹⁶ Milenko Filipović, the outstanding Serbian ethnographer, relates a field case in which the tempo of recitation of a folktale was marked by measured foot-tapping on the ground (Dajući takt udaranjem noge o zemlju) (see Milenko Filipović, "Odnos narodne pripovetke i epske pesme," Prilozi proučavanju narodne poezije 5 [1938]:254-55).

¹⁷ For generously sharing his long and fascinating genealogy, currently undergoing kin and prosodic analysis by the writer, I am indebted to Vojin N. Smolaka, M.D., of New York.

¹⁸ These fragments are excerpted from an equally detailed genealogical recollection taped on the occasion of a 1969 visit to an eighty-one-year-old uncle in the Old Country. The tape is labeled "Razgovor sa Čika Žikom" ("Conversation with Uncle Žika"), for which I am grateful to Professor George Lukić of the University of Pittsburgh.

¹⁹ This spontaneous genealogical poem is on tape #18-75, recorded on 7/20/75. Homerists designate this type of structure "ring composition"; see James P. Holoka, "Homeric Originality: A Survey," Classical World 66 (1973): 257-93. For anthropologists it is important as an example of process as entropy, namely how a lineage comes to an end.

Genealogical Sources

CHURCH REGISTERS

General:

The keeping of vital records by religious bodies in Yugoslavia varies throughout the country. Because several religions and governments prevailed in different areas of the country, the areas will be discussed separately.

Croatia & Slovenia

In the western half of today's Yugoslav state, the oldest available records are from the 16th century, especially in the coastal area of Slovenia. In Dalmatia, the oldest record is from the year 1564, whereas, the oldest record available from continental Croatia is from the middle of the 17th century. This western area was almost entirely Roman-Catholic and generally the resolution of the Council of Trent (1545-1563) was the determining factor as it required for Roman Catholic parishes to keep baptism and marriage records. After 1614 the Catholic ruling also included death records. Slovenia, Dalmatia, and continental Croatia followed these rules.

Protestant parishes in Slovenia kept parish registers during the reformation in the 16th century. Later, a few Protestant parishes were established in northern Croatia which mostly began keeping registers at the time of their origin.

Among the Orthodox parishes in Dalmatia, there exist baptism records in Zadar as early as 1637, however, in most of the parishes they did not begin until the beginning of the 19th Century.

The coastal area was under Italian rule for many years which accounts for their early keeping of records. Continental Croatia came under Austria-Hungarian rule in the 16th century. After the Napoleonic wars all of western Yugoslavia was administered by Austria and Hungary.

Gradually the state began to concern itself with the keeping of records. The Austrian decree of February 20, 1784, which was also binding on the Slovenian provinces of Krain and Steiermark

entrusted the keeping of records for civil purposes to the Roman Catholic parish priests. In the beginning of the year 1871, a similar regulation concerning the keeping of records came into force in Dalmatia in Croatia. Since the year 1835, a regulation in Slovenia and Dalmatia required that the parishes also provide a duplicate of the records to their respective diocese (after 1836 this also included death records). In the 19th Century, it was ordered that the priests in Hungarian ruled Croatia should provide duplicates of their records to the government in Zagreb.

Vojvodina

In Vojvodina, parish registers were not introduced until after the period of Turkish occupation which ended in the late 1600's. Catholic registers began in the last decades of the 17th century. Protestant registers began with the founding of the Protestant communities by colonists during the 18th Century.

In the year 1732 the Orthodox Metropolitan, Vikentije Jovanovic, ordered the parishes in Vojvodina to begin keeping parish vital records. The Orthodox church was not recognized by the Austrian government but enjoyed a privileged position in Hungarian Vojvodina.

Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia & Montenegro

Orthodox:

The areas of Serbia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Macedonia and Montenegro are predominantly Orthodox although some Catholics are found in the mixed state of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Catholic parishes in Bosnia-Herzegovina introduced parish registers in the second half of the 18th century.

Orthodox parishes in Serbia were instructed to keep records of christenings, marriages, and deaths in 1837. Yet, at least in some areas of central Serbia, it was not until the 1870's when there began to be reliable keeping of vital records. It is likely that these same dates apply to Orthodox records in Montenegro and in Bosnia-Herzegovina but details were not available for this paper.

Moslem:

Moslem populations are found in Kosovo-Metohia, Macedonia and Bosnia-Herzegovina which were formerly under Ottoman Turkish rule. The Moslems did not record vital events, except perhaps deaths, on an ecclesiastical level. Little information is available on their record keeping practices. It is likely that the only vital records for Moslems were civil records.

Time Period Covered: 16th century to present.

Content of Record: Births and Christenings: Name of child, date of birth, and christening; names, occupation and residence of parents, witnesses; sometimes parents' marriage date.

Marriages: Names and ages of bride and groom, occupation of couple, parents, marital status of couple, residence and places of origin.

Death and Burials: Name of the deceased, date, place of death, marital status, names of parents, sometimes age and cause of death, sometimes occupation, place of burial, names of survivors, sometimes date and place of birth of the deceased.

Research Value: Establish individual identity, pedigree building.

Percentage of Population Covered:

1500-1600:	less than 5%.
1600-1700:	25%
1700-1800:	70%
1800-1900:	80%

Percentage figures shown are for the whole country. Coverage varied from area to area. Coverage in Croatia in the period 1800-1900 would be more like 96% whereas in the Moslem area of Kosovo-Metahija coverage would be almost 0%.

Custodians and Locations: Records are kept in regional archives of the federal republics, some records are also found in church archives. Recent records (less than 100 years old) are in local municipal and parish registry offices.

Percentage in Genealogical Library: Less than 5%. A large number of records were microfilmed in Hungarian State archives which pertain to areas now in Yugoslavia. Many German records from areas now in Yugoslavia are located in German archives. A number of them have already been microfilmed.

Accessibility of Research: Yugoslav church registers may be researched in person, although it is sometimes difficult to locate the specific records needed. Some persons have enjoyed success by correspondence, but such research is often limited.

Preservation: Only a few of the very earliest church records have been preserved but most later registers have been.

STATUS ANIMARUM

General:	These are surveys of church congregation members according to communities and families (sometimes also according to categories of nationality). "Status Animarum" is a term used by Roman Catholic officials. Similar anagraphs or lists of houses were prepared by the Orthodox priests.
Time Period:	The "status animarum" was first made Catholic regulation as of the year 1614. In the area of Slovenia, these records were seldom actually kept until the second half of the 18th Century; mostly not until 1800. In Dalmatia, "Status Animarum" can be found as early as the 17th Century. From the first half of the 18th century there are some cases where the bishops compiled a summary "Status Animarum" for the entire diocese but these are less detailed. The Orthodox anagraphs in Vojvodina and Serbia are only from the 19th century.
Content of Record:	These contain information as to the personal status of members of the congregation, the practice of various duties, and sometimes other personal characteristics. The priests kept these surveys in the form of books which they supplemented from time to time.
Research Value:	These help establish family groups and make it possible to follow the family in any moves or changes. They are an excellent back-up to church records.
Reliability:	These lists were prepared by clergy according to information available or that received from the member. Errors of memory are quite possible.
Percentage of Population Covered:	1600-1700: 10% 1700-1800: 30% 1800-1900: 70%
Custodians and Locations:	These records are either with the local parish or in church diocese archives or in federal archives.
Percentage in Genealogical Library:	Less than 1%.
Accessibility for Research:	See general statement on accessibility.
Preservation:	Many of the early "Status Animarum" have not been preserved.

CIVIL RECORDS

General:

The earliest civil registration in Yugoslavia was introduced in 1809 in the coastal area of Croatia and Slovenia which was known as the Illyrian provinces of the French Empire until 1815. Research for this paper did not reveal whether this progressive idea was continued after the area was returned to Austria-Hungary. In the latter half of the 19th century Austrian law in other areas of the empire called for the registration by civil authorities of those who were not recorded in Catholic, recognized Protestant or Jewish registers. This may have applied to the Austrian and possibly the Hungarian parts of Yugoslavia. In 1895 Hungary instituted universal civil registration which affected Vojvodina. The Croatia-Slavonia territories were not, at that time, fully incorporated in the Kingdom of Hungary and this law did not apply in those areas. Vital records among the Moslems were usually kept by the Scheriat Courts. Moslems usually kept civil records of marriages but records of births and deaths may also have been kept. The dates for these Moslems records were not available for this paper. Very probably one would find the oldest such records in Bosnia-Herzegovina. When the Yugoslav state was founded in 1918, church registers were recognized as valid records for the state; only for Moslems was civil registration conducted. Further information on Moslem registration has not been investigated.

Universal registration by civil authorities was introduced throughout the territory of Yugoslavia in May of 1946.

Time Period:

Illyrian provinces: 1809-1815 (?)
Vojvodina: 1895-1918 (?)
Moslems: unknown-present
Universal: 1946-present

Content of Record:

Birth Records: Name of infant, sex, date and place of birth, date and place of registration names, ages, residence, and religion of father and mother.

Marriage Records: Names, ages, residences and religions of bride and groom; also their previous marital status, date and place of marriage, names of parents of the bride and groom; sometimes date and place of birth.

Preservation:

It is not known to what extent these records have been preserved. Since many are published it is likely that many have been.

AUSTRIAN CENSUS OF BELGRADE

General: The Austrians and their Serb allies occupied the city of Belgrade in 1717 after a victory over the Turks. Austrian rule lasted until 1739. This list was compiled at a time of relative peace for the city. It was evidently drawn up by responsible clergy.

Time Period: 1733-1734.

Content of Record: The full names of all the inhabitants are given, together with their ages, and relationships to the head of the household.

Research Value: These records help establish family groups and residence. They are the only record of the population prior to parish registers. It may be possible to connect into these records from later records.

Percentage of Population Covered: Nearly 100%. All inhabitants of both sexes and all ages are included.

Accessibility for Research: Unknown.

Preservation: Much of this census appears to have been published.

OTHER CENSUS DATA

General:	There were censuses in Dubrovnik as early as the fourteenth century. In that part of Dalmatia controlled by Venice there were local censuses by the sixteenth century. There was a civil census in 1817. There is a Hungarian listing of German, Hungarian, and some Serb villagers in the Vojvodina for 1715; only household heads are listed by their full name, occupation is also listed as are data on land holdings. The first military census in Vojvodina and Croatia was carried out in the year 1785 (in the following years this census was revised), then there was a civil census in the year 1804-05 but a census did not take place again until 1850. A census of the Jewish population of Dubrovnik has been partially published for 1815. Serbia conducted censuses in 1863 and 1885. In Serbia the general census began in the year 1890 and followed in the years 1895, 1900, 1905 and 1910.
Time Period:	14th century to 19th century.
Content of Records:	Varies. Some censuses give detailed information and description for all individuals; others give only heads of household or only males.
Research Value:	Censuses can be of great value in tying together family groups. Often however they are isolated from other records of genealogical value so that they have no pedigree linking capacity.
Reliability:	Varies. Usually these records are fairly reliable but often incomplete.
Percentage of Population Covered:	10-95% depending on the scope of the individual census.
Custodians and Locations:	Most census returns are kept in federal archives. The carrying out of some census was in the hands of the local communities, and such census materials must therefore be sought at that level. Generally, one can count on finding such material in great amounts for more recent censuses but very seldom for the older ones. The oldest complete Serbian census, for 1863, is available in the Serbian State Archives in Belgrade. The 1863 census is also probably the only Yugoslav census that has been selectively published in various forms.

Percentage in Genealogical
Library:

Less than 1%.

Preservation:

Closer research would be required to determine how much of this material is still available today. In some cases it has been discovered that much material is preserved. Original census sheets for censuses after 1885 do not appear to have been preserved.

LAND RECORDS

General:	<p>Surveys of income from property ownership were called "urbarii." These books recorded land ownership, land taxes and mortgages. Usually these registers were kept in the form of a bound book and continually revised or renewed until the end of the feudal system in 1848. In the later times there appears to be various types of these "urbarii." The stock "urbarium" served for a long time as a measure and control of income. They continued the practice of keeping list of landowners and entered in these books the income received on a yearly basis. Uniform legal requirements for the keeping of "urbarii" were introduced in Croatia and Vojvodina after the 18th century. These "urbarium" regulations were preceded by the registration of farms which was carried out by special commissions.</p>
Time Period:	<p>Slovenia: 13th century to 19th century Croatia: 15th century to 19th century Vojvodina: 18th century to 20th century</p> <p>One must remember that in Vojvodina, a different type of feudal system was in existence during the time of the Turkish occupation.</p>
Content of Record:	<p>Lists of subservient properties listed according to communities, land users, tributes and taxes paid. The regulated "urbarii" of later years also contain lists of inhabitants.</p>
Research Value:	<p>These records establish residence and sometimes family groups. They are available, in many cases, prior to church records which makes them very valuable for genealogical research, especially when they appear in chronological order.</p>
Percentage of Population Population Covered:	<p>Unknown. Earlier records have only land owners but later records include renters, etc.</p>
Custodians and Locations:	<p>"Urbarii" are to be found partly in the collections of land owners, partly in those of various officials and partly in archives.</p>
Percentage in Genealogical Library:	<p>0%.</p>
Preservation:	<p>Some of the earliest records have not been preserved.</p>

CROATIAN TAX LISTS

General: Croatia had a tax system from which developed listings which may be considered valuable for genealogical research. The tax was collected for the treasuries of the Kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia and had almost exclusively the character of a property tax until the year 1753. The basis of the tax was originally represented by one farm, but after the 17th century was represented by several. In order to establish these tax units, special commissions put together listings of the tenants of the farms from village to village uniformly according to the individual estates. Because the preparation of such lists required considerable time, existing lists often corrected rather than new ones being made up.

Time Period: A considerable number of such lists is in existence for different years from 1543 until the middle of the 18th century.

Content of Record: Lists of inhabitants of estates, descriptions of land and property, landowner and taxes paid.

Custodians and Locations: Local district archives and regional archives.

Percentage in Genealogical Library: 0%.

CATASTER LAND RECORDS

General: Because of a somewhat different development of the feudal system in Dalmatia and the coastal area of Istria, there arose the so-called "Cataster" or register of property parcels arranged according to community and including the users and their duties.

Time Period: 14th century to 19th century.

Content of Record: Listing of land users and duties. Description of land and animals.

Percentage of Population Covered: 14th-16th century: 10%
16th-17th century: 30%
17th-18th century: 50%

Custodians and Locations: City and local district archives.

Percentage in Genealogical Library: 0%.

TURKISH LAND RECORDS

General: According to the centralized system of the Ottoman Empire, registers of tribute were set up in so-called cataster books. These were done by special state commissions which listed the sources of feudal income. At the same time the commission also established a division of the income among the individual tenants. These generally included the entire empire and were repeated in specific periods of 10 to 20 years except during the reign of the sultans. Additional descriptions were made for smaller areas according to need within the structure of the local organizations. The cataster books concerning Serbia, Vojvodina and Bosnia-Herzegovina begin soon after the Ottoman occupation of these areas.

Time Period: 15th century to early 17th century.

Percentage of Population Covered: Less than 50%.

Content of Record: Description of land and property, names of individual users of the land, sometimes including personal information.

Custodians and Locations: Central Turkish Archives in Istanbul.

Percentage in Genealogical Library: 0%.

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WHAT IS YUGOSLAVIA? TRACING FAMILY HISTORIES IN SERBIA, CROATIA, MACEDONIA, SLOVENIA, AND VOIVODINA

Joel M. Halpern

Born in New York. Resides in Amherst, Massachusetts. Professor of anthropology, University of Massachusetts. Ph.D. (anthropology), Columbia University. Author, lecturer.

INTRODUCTION, THE NATURE OF RECORDS

From a worldwide perspective it might seem that vital records dealing with birth, marriage, death, and census records of individuals in households have a sameness. That is, they record a limited number of facts, specific to the human life cycle. The concern of the scholar and genealogist should then be to decipher the administrative form used and develop a measure or measures to determine the accuracy of this information. As most researchers soon discover, these simple assumptions do not adequately encompass the complexities involved in record keeping in a particular society at a given time period.

There are many variables involved in record keeping and the conditions for their ultimate use differ greatly. These differences derive from the values of a particular culture, the nature of the bureaucratic-administrative framework involved in the initial recording, and the government or other administrative organs involved in both the short-and long-term maintenance of these records. It also involves the personnel, funds, and technology available for their retrieval and finally, the publics served in the ultimate consumption of this data. In understanding the nature of Yugoslav records it is necessary to take all these factors into account.

HOLDINGS OF THE GENEALOGICAL SOCIETY OF UTAH

Before proceeding to a direct exami-

nation of the nature of these records, it is important to first note that all the records discussed here have been microfilmed by the Genealogical Society of Utah and are on deposit. The holdings already listed in the public catalog, when added to the material described here (which were filmed in Spring 1980), will enable the researcher to form an initial idea about the diversity of sources available. Hopefully, it will be possible at some point in the future for the society to supplement these sample holdings with microfilming in quantity of individual community resources to match the quantitative scope of records available for other countries.

The illustrative sampling of Yugoslav records presented here will deal with both published and archival sources for the different regions of the country from the medieval period to the present. The term sampling should be stressed because this survey is only partial, both in terms of chronological and regional coverage, as well as types of records considered. In presenting material for Yugoslavia, reference will be made to the paper of Joze Zontar, "Tracing Ancestry of Yugoslavs," presented at the World Conference on Records and Genealogical Seminar held in Salt Lake City in August, 1969.

THE DIVERSITY OF YUGOSLAVIA

Yugoslavia translated from the Serbo-Croatian language means "land of the South Slavs." Any understanding of records must proceed from this fact of

cultural diversity. Today the country is officially composed of six republics (proceeding from north and west to east and south): Slovenia, Croatia, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, Montenegro, and Macedonia.

This is, of course, the perspective as seen from Western Europe and North America. Were we to view matters from the Mediterranean or Middle East, the order could as easily be reversed. The principal language of the country can be called Serbo-Croatian from the viewpoint of Serbia, the numerically largest republic. It has been called Croato-Serbian when seen from the perspective of Croats. The republic of Serbia is further broken down into the area Serbia proper and the autonomous areas of the Vojvodina, north of the Danube, and Kosovo, south of the central area of Serbia.

The complexity of the country is further reinforced by the fact that the six republics and two autonomous regions contain diverse peoples. There are three principal religious groups: Catholic, Orthodox, and Moslem. (There are relatively few Protestants and even fewer Jews following the extermination policy of the Nazis in World War II.) Slovenia and Croatia are the principal Catholic areas, although there is a large Serbian Orthodox minority in Croatia. Bosnia-Herzegovina is the most mixed republic, from a religious point of view, containing substantial numbers of Catholics, Orthodox and Moslems, often sharing the same villages or living in neighboring communities within the same district. Serbia, Montenegro, and Macedonia are principally Orthodox (there are both Serbian and Macedonian Orthodox Church organizations). But there are significant numbers of Moslems, especially in Macedonia.

RELIGIOUS, LINGUISTIC, AND ETHNIC GROUPS

In addition to the religious diversity, there is also linguistic diversity. The Slovenes have their own distinctive

language. The Serbs and Croats speak mutually intelligible variants of the same language. The former have historically used the Cyrillic alphabet and the latter the Latin alphabet. The Montenegrins share the same language, alphabet, and religion with the Serbs and are considered by most scholars as historically one people.

The Macedonians have their own language and their separate branch of the Orthodox church as noted. Macedonian became an official language only after World War II. Before the war this area was considered simply South Serbia, while the Bulgarians consider the language a variant of their own.

The Moslems are a complex group, consisting both of Serbo-Croatian speakers and Albanians who live principally in the Kosovo, but also in Macedonia, and speak their own language. They are mainly Moslem, and a smaller number are Catholic. They are the largest non-South Slavic group in Yugoslavia (1,310,000 in 1971).

The Hungarians are the second-largest non-South Slavic group (478,000 in 1971) and live in Serbia's autonomous area of the Vojvodina, principally near the border with their ancestral country. There is also a significant Romanian group in the same area (59,000 in 1971). (Many of the records in the Utah Genealogical Society derive from the connections through Hungary and Austria and pertain to the Vojvodina.)

The records in the Society's archives also reflect the prewar presence of a large ethnic German population in the Vojvodina. (They numbered approximately 500,000 in 1931 but only 13,000 in 1971.) This population dates from settlements planned by the Austro-Hungarian Hapsburg monarchs in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Most ethnic Germans fled or were forced out of Yugoslavia following the German defeat in World War II.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVES, HAPSBURGS, AND OTTOMANS

The religious, linguistic, and ethnic complexities of Yugoslavia derive from its historic position in the Balkan peninsula and the post-classic schism in the Christian church between Byzantine Orthodoxy and Roman Catholicism. There followed the fifteenth-century Ottoman Turkish invasions. These were opposed by the Hapsburgs and resulted in the domination of Yugoslavia by both of these empires. As the Ottoman state began to recede in the nineteenth century the Serbian state emerged after several revolutionary struggles.

Both the Ottoman and Hapsburg empires collapsed as a consequence of World War I. Yugoslavia was created as a result of the Paris Peace Conference at Versailles. This country became a multinational socialist state after World War II, following the victory of the Tito-led partisans. The existing records, their degree of preservation, accessibility, and publication reflect all of these historical factors.

A SUMMARY OF ŽONTAR'S PERSPECTIVE

It is appropriate at this point to try to build our description on the previously referred to work of the Slovenian historian and archivist Joze Zontar. In his paper he treats six principal areas: (1) Slovenia with Istria and Dalmatia, (2) Continental Croatia, (3) Bosnia and Herzegovina, (4) Vojvodina, (5) Serbia (including Macedonia, based on its inclusion in Serbia as a result of the Second Balkan War of 1913), and (6) Montenegro.

The differentiations are important reflections of historical facts. As Žontar notes, in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the Ottoman Turks conquered what is today considered as Serbia, Montenegro, the Vojvodina, and Bosnia-Herzegovina. Slovenia up to 1918 included, in addition to coastal Istria (obtained by the Yugoslavs after World

War II from Italy), Krain, a part of the Steiermark, Karaten, and Gorz. This area was ruled directly by Austria from Vienna. A section of Istria and all of coastal Dalmatia (except the city state of Dubrovnik) was part of the Republic of Venice until 1797 and then, after the Napoleonic wars, was ruled by Austria, with its legal system being imposed on the earlier Italian-Venetian foundations.

The archival documents of Dubrovnik reflect these facts. They are in Latin and subsequently in Italian and, to a certain extent, in German during the period up to World War I. Thereafter, documents are in the official national language, Serbo-Croatian.

The ruling Croatia nobility recognized the Hapsburgs as rulers as early as 1527. However, this region acquired a degree of autonomy after 1779 when it was placed under the Hungarian portion of the dual monarchy of the Hapsburgs and ruled directly from Budapest. This settlement achieved final form by an agreement in 1868. This administrative framework ceased to exist as a result of World War I.

With the ebbing of Turkish rule in the seventeenth century, the Vojvodina was partially liberated in 1699 and in 1739. It then developed as Hungarian territory. In Serbia proper, following the second successful revolt in 1815 (the first revolt was in 1804), Serbia achieved independence by a series of states. They were completed by the great power treaty in Berlin in 1878. Montenegro, which was never completely dominated by the Turks, began to develop as a political entity as early as the sixteenth century and became formally independent from Turkey in 1859. Bosnia-Herzegovina was occupied by Austria-Hungary in 1878 as a result of the Berlin convention, and formally annexed in 1908. It was in this territory's capital of Sarajevo that the immediate events leading to World War I began with the assassination of Archduke Ferdinand.

TYPES OF YUGOSLAV RECORDS

With these factors as historical background, we can now examine the existing records. Since Žontar in his paper deals with the dates and circumstances of the beginnings of record keeping, this data will not be repeated here. Examples of specific kinds of records will be presented.

Zontar deals with a series of record types: church books, related religious registers, lists of feudal tributes and taxes, census lists of inhabitants, voter registrations and recruit manifestos, and genealogical collections. These categories will be considered here and reference will be made to archival sources and available published records. One of the points that should be stressed is that many original records as well as research on existing record sources have been published. Some of the research results are readily available, since they are published in English.

ENGLISH LANGUAGE RESEARCH PUBLICATIONS BASED ON YUGOSLAV RECORDS

While the interests of historical demographers and genealogists are not identical, they do overlap in certain ways. Workers in the latter field can be helped by the researches of the former. A good place to begin is with the volume edited by Peter Laslett, Household and Family in Past Time (Cambridge University Press, 1972). As its subtitle indicates, it is composed of "Comparative studies in the size and structure of the domestic group over the last three centuries in England, France, Serbia, Japan and colonial North America, with further materials from Western Europe." We are, of course, interested here only in the Serbian materials. The three chapters in the section on Serbia which are significant to us are: "The Zadruga as Process," by E. A. Hammel (pp. 335-374); "Houseful and household in an eighteenth-century Balkan city, a tabular analysis of the listing of the Serbian sector of Belgrade in 1733-34," by Peter Laslett

and Marilyn Clarke (pp. 375-400); and "Town and countryside in Serbia in the nineteenth century, social and household structure as reflected in the census of 1863," by Joel M. Halpern (pp. 401-428).

OTTOMAN CENSUS DATA

E. A. Hammel in his article in the Laslett volume uses two sixteenth-century Turkish tax rolls (*defter*) which were translated into Serbo-Croatian by Hazim Sabanović and published by the Museum of the History of Belgrade. (Katastarski popisi Beograda i okoline 1476-1566. Turkish izvori za istoriju Beograda, Knjiga I, Sveska I, Gradja za istoriju Beograda, Belgrade, 1964. A microfilm copy of this original source, like all other printed sources and archival data mentioned in this article, is in the library of the Utah Genealogical Society.)

As Hammel notes (p. 342), "Effectively, the census-takers counted only mature males capable of work, excluding all women unless they were heads of households and all immature males unless they were living with such female heads of households or were heads of households themselves."

A specific illustration of the type of materials considered by Hammel is his analysis of two censuses for 1528 and 1530 for a single small village of Tatarin in the district of Belgrade. The published version is in Serbo-Croatian based on a Turkish original. The following is an English translation of a single entry: "Jovan, the son of Božidar and with him: Vuk, his son; Petar, his son; Dragoje, his son (1528)." For 1530, "Jovan the son of Božidar, Radivoj the son of Jovan, Petar the son of Jovan." (Hammel, p. 348.) In addition, information on taxes and on the total number of unmarried males is given. The original data is from the archives in Istanbul. The people are tentatively identified as Vlachs, which would refer to the fact that they emphasized livestock herding.

This type of data is illustrative of the kind of information found in many published items for various parts of Yugoslavia which were occupied by the Moslems during the Medieval period. Thus, three volumes of similar data for the area of Kosovo for 1455 were published by the Oriental Institute of Sarajevo under the general editorship of the same scholar mentioned earlier, Hazim Sabanovic. (Oblast Brankovica, Opsirni Katastarski Popis iz 1455 godine, Orijentalni Institut a Sarajevu, Monumenta Turcica, Serija II, Defteri, Sarajevo, 1972.)

As Hammel notes, "Within a few years of the definitive conquest of the Serbian medieval empire at Kosovo (1389), that is by the reign of Mehmed I (1403-21), the Turks began a series of careful censuses of their changing domain that was to continue for five centuries. Regular census-taking on a large scale in the Balkans seems to have begun with the reign of Mehmed II (The Conqueror, 1451-81), after the fall of Constantinople in 1453" (p. 342).

In addition to the individual personal names and kin relationships already referred to, there are for each village the number of houses (presumably households), unmarried mature males, widows who were household heads, and estimates of the value of crop yields and income from livestock. Also listed were contributions to the military forces as in tents and even for certain regions, such items as the value of lignite mined. (See also section on nineteenth-century Ottoman population lists.)

MEDIEVAL SERBIAN DOCUMENTS

Besides using the Ottoman documents, E. A. Hammel has also taken into account chrysobulls or the confirmatory charters of monasteries. These are described in "Some Medieval Evidence on the Serbian Zadruga: A Preliminary Analysis of the Chrysobulls of Decani" (published in Robert F. Byrnes, ed., Communal Families in the Balkans: The Zadruga, University

of Notre Dame Press, 1976, pp. 100-116). These chrysobulls often contain listings of serfs or other individuals bound to the monastery lands.

Hammel defines criteria of reliability of a list (p. 102): "In order to be useful for analysis, a document should distinguish the boundaries of households within its listings without ambiguity. One must be able to tell where one household stops and another begins. Further, the relationships of the individuals to one another within a household must be explicit. Finally, all the members of a household should be included in the listing."

From these points of view only the chrysobull of Chilandar which was written about 1357 is satisfactory. This document granted certain villages in the Strumica region of Macedonia to the Chilandar monastery on Mt. Athos. This manuscript is unique in that it mentions women in addition to those who are widowed heads of households, but for all of its positive features this list is only for 137 households. As Hammel notes, this is truly a unique document for, "It clearly marks the boundaries of households by a variety of syntactical devices, listing the land, stock, and other chattels of families, and giving the names of male and female, adult and immature family members by their relationship to the head of household or to others included in the unit. No other document deigns to mention women, except for some who are widowed heads of households. . ."(p. 102).

There is also a pair of chrysobulls which list the properties of the monastery of Decani in the region of Metohija in the Kosovo region. Each document contains about 2,000 households and lists more than 5,000 persons. These documents are for approximately the period 1330. The listings are for males and given for villages with individuals listed by households with their first names and their relationships to each other approximating the kind of data found in the Ottoman documents.

NINETEENTH-CENTURY OTTOMAN POPULATION LISTS

Other than the medieval Ottoman materials reported by Yugoslav scholars and researched by Hammel, there have also appeared publications dealing with nineteenth-century data. These are important in that they provide continuity with the earlier lists. They are more detailed but still lack much of the information provided in subsequent records. This is the case for a comprehensive list of males in Sarajevo in 1841. (Mula Muhamed Mestvica Popis Uzajamnog Jamćenja Stanovništva 12 1841. Godine, Muzej Grada Sarajeva, Sarajevo, 1970, 410 pp.) The first part of the list is for the Moslems (pp. 11-280); this is followed by a list of the Gypsies (pp. 281-288); then the Christians (pp. 289-370); and finally the Jews (pp. 371-391). Further information on this census is given in Dervis M. Korkut, "Mestvicina Čefilema 12 1841" (pp. 103-118) in Prilozi Istorije Sarajeva, full title cited below. A list for an intermediate period, but one containing the names and occupations of Serb peasants, as well as other nationalities, for the area of Kladovo on the Danube, is for 1741 in an area of North Serbia recaptured by the Turks from the Austrians. (Radmila Trčković, Dva Turska Popisa Krajine i Ključa 12 1741 Godine, Historijski Institut, Beograd, 1973.)

The individuals in the 1841 document are listed by houses, and in some cases by rooms, according to the district in which they lived. A very rough estimate would be that this list contains approximately 6,000 individuals, with an average of two to four males listed for each household. They are each identified by name. Their father's name is also given, as is their age. In addition, some brief information on physical appearance is provided; e.g., medium height and long beard. Thus a sample listing would be: "Mehmed son of Dervisa, tall, white beard, 60 years; Ibrahim son of Mehmed, his son, beardless, 16 years; Mustafa son of

Mehmed, his second son, underage, 9 years."

A subsequent list for Sarajevo for 1867, although much shorter, is much more complete. It lists only 125 families for a total of 525 individuals, both males and females, of whom 433 are Moslems and the rest Christians. This list provides the full name of the household head, his father's name, date of birth, date of marriage, his tax liabilities, and occupation. For all other individuals their relationship to the household head is given along with their dates of birth. (Alija Bejtić, Ali-Pasina Mahala u Sarajevu, "Prilog izučavanju urbanističke i socijalne strukture grada," in Prilozi za Proučavanje Istorije Sarajeva, God. II, Kn. II, Sarajevo, 1966, pp. 19-59.)

AN AUSTRIAN CENSUS OF BELGRADE, 1733-34

The document analyzed by Peter Laslett and Marilyn Clarke in their chapter in Household and Family in Past Time is based on the census list published by Dusan J. Popović (Gradja za Istoriju Beograda od 1711-1739, Spomenik LXXVIII, Srpska Kraljevska Akademija, Beograd, 1935). The list of inhabitants that they use pertains to the Serbian Orthodox sector of the city of Belgrade for 1733-34. It was evidently drawn up by responsible clergy. This list was compiled at a time of relative peace for the city. The Austrians and their Serb allies occupied the city in 1717 after a victory over the Turks. Austrian rule lasted until 1739. As the authors note, this population list is equivalent to a West European version of a liber status animarum or a etat des ames. Unlike the earlier Turkish records, the full names of all the inhabitants are given, together with their ages, and relationships to the head of the household. Included are all inhabitants of both sexes and all ages.

AN EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY HUNGARIAN CENSUS OF THE VOJVODINA

A less complete census from the point of view of family and household composition

is the Hungarian listing of German, Hungarian, and some Serb villagers in the Vojvodina for 1715. Only household heads are listed by their full name. Occupation is also listed as are data on land holdings. Military ranks are designated as appropriate and nationality is noted in these listings which are given by districts. (Ivan Jakšić, Iz Popisa Stanovništva Ugarske, Početkom XVIII veka, Vojvodjanski Muzej, Prilozi 1 Gradja, 3 i 4, Novi Sad, 1966 and 1968.)

In connection with this publication, attention should be called to Zontar's observation (p. 15): "The first military census in Vojvodina and Croatia was carried out in the year 1785 [in the following years this census was revised], then there was a civil census in the year 1804-05 but [a census] did not take place again until 1850 after the establishment of absolutism. From all of these, however, there are no detailed materials available." This is clearly not the case for 1715 although this listing does not provide much detailed data.

THE DUBROVNIK CENSUSES OF 1673-74 AND 1815

Clearly the Dubrovnik census of this date is the earliest listing we have considered for Yugoslavia. This fact is noted by Zontar (p. 15). He goes on to observe that there were censuses in Dubrovnik as early as the fourteenth century. In that part of Dalmatia controlled by Venice there were local censuses by the sixteenth century. He also mentions 1817 as a period when there was a civil census. This was after the Napoleonic occupation and probably relates to the data presented here as from 1815. He does state, however, that: "Closer research is required to determine whether any of this material is still available today." This has now been done and at least partial documentation and results are available.

The census provides analogous data to that available for Serbia in 1863. That is, there is a full listing of the name

of the household head, the name, relationship to head of the household, and age of all members. The data are given in Italian. This completeness applies only to one community. Data for another are somewhat less complete. Typed versions of these two community censuses Pridvorje and Lisac are in the Genealogical Society's archives. The published version provides data only by the name of the household and the number of people in the household. (Zdravko Šundrica, "Popis Stanovništva Dubrovačke Republike iz 1673-74," in Arhivskom Vjesnik God. 2, Sv. II, 1959.)

A census of the Jewish population of Dubrovnik has been published for 1815. This contains similar data but, in addition, occupations for the senior males and place of origin for all are listed. Some 205 individuals are listed. The total population for which analogous data is presumably available is 1,741. (Zdravko Šundrica, "Dubrovacki Jevreji i njikova emancipacija, (1808-1815)," Jevrejski Istorijski Muzej, Beograd, 1971, pp. 135-184.)

AN ILLUSTRATIVE NOTE ON SLOVENIAN DATA

As has been stressed earlier, the coverage in this paper is not an even-handed one but rather reflects directly the experiences of the author. The coverage is particularly lacking with respect to Slovenia, continental Croatia, and Macedonia, although all areas have been touched upon to some degree. The lack of coverage of Croatia and Slovenia has been, to a degree, compensated by Zontar's extensive attention to these regions with which he is obviously most intimately familiar.

There is, however, a readily available source in English which illustrates the use that can be made of archival sources, including vital records, censuses, and land holding data for social history. This is the work of a Slovenian ethnologist, Slavko Kremensek, concerned with processes involved in modernization from the eighteenth to the twentieth

centuries. He describes how a cloth industry was established in this area at the end of the eighteenth century and initially attracted a significant work force. However, with the closing down of this industry in the early nineteenth century, rural ways reasserted themselves.

The author uses baptismal, marriage, death, and land holding records to show how household heads and others changed jobs. He also discusses the role of illegitimacy. Among his most significant conclusions are that the rural village, with its associated attributes, was "dissolved" by the children who were born in the village and created pressure on the existing agrarian structure. He states that townsmen played no special (direct) role in these developments, but that industrialization with its nonagricultural sources of income permitted a larger population to remain on the land. The author clearly documents the fact that modernization was not simply one of urban influences on a rural society or of rural people migrating to an urban center. (Slavko Kremensek, Suburban Villagers, A Case Study of the Village of Moste near Ljubljana [Slovenia, Yugoslavia]; The Transformation of a Rural Society, 1780-1931, translated by Vilko Novak, Jr. and edited by Joel M. Halpern. Program in Soviet and East European Studies, Occasional Papers Series, No. 2, International Area Studies Programs, University of Massachusetts at Amherst, August, 1979.)

THE SERBIAN CENSUSES OF 1863 AND 1885 AND FAMILY HISTORY MYTHS

The 1863 census has been analyzed in a series of publications by J. M. Halpern, including a chapter in the Laslett volume. For a broad perspective on the social-cultural background of rural Serbia, see J. M. Halpern, A Serbian Village, 1958 and 1967. (Additional information is provided in Barbara Kerewsky-Halpern and Joel M. Halpern eds., Selected Papers on a Serbian

Village: Social Structure as Reflected by History, Demography and Oral Tradition, Research Report No. 17, Department of Anthropology, University of Massachusetts at Amherst, June 1977.) Data on demography, oral history, and genealogical accounts pertinent to the nineteenth century is presented in this volume in J. M. Halpern and E. A. Hammel, "Serbian Society in Karadjordje's Serbia," pp. 1-31. Information on village, district, and regional data from the nineteenth and twentieth centuries as they help to provide an understanding of family-household changes in recent times is in J. M. Halpern, "Demographic and Social Change in the Village of Orasac: A Perspective Over Two Centuries," pp. 37-124.

This is not a paper on family history as such but rather one which stresses the availability and use of sources. Nevertheless it does seem appropriate here to stress two key points which have derived from contemporary scholarly research. The first is what might be called the simplistic myth of the pre-industrial extended family; i.e., at one time in the premodern world there were principally large households which shrunk in size and complexity as society evolved. As Laslett in his introduction to Household and Family in Past Time remarks (pp. 8-9 here abbreviated):

"The purchase over the minds of scholars of all kinds, of the general assumptions about the large and complex family of the past seems to me to be a singular phenomenon, not adequately explained by the considerations put forward here. As the evidence is surveyed, it becomes difficult not to suppose that there has been an obstinately held wish to believe in what William Goode has trenchantly described as the 'Classical family of Western nostalgia.' This belief, or misbelief, certainly seems to display a notable capacity to overlook contrary facts and to resist attempts at revision. . .

"It seems to have survived, for example, the great body of materials about family size and structure across the contemporary globe gathered by [social scientists] in an attempt to reformulate set notions about the association between industrialization and family size and structure. There are now many studies which call into question any necessary connection between industrialization (however defined) and the small, simple, nuclear family of the contemporary world."

These conclusions are particularly apt with regard to understanding the extended family *zadruga* of the South Slavs. Family households were, on the average, larger in past times and have decreased in size. But these changes do not document a simple transformation from complex and large households to small and simple nuclear families. Rather a principal reason that family-households were large in the past was because of high birth rates and a consequent large number of children. A second factor is that although some families were large and complex there was always a significant proportion of nuclear families in South Slav areas. Thus many people did live in small, simple families at some point in their life cycle. Third, in past times there was high mortality in addition to high birth rates. This meant that many people did not live long enough to become grandparents, for example, and to see most of their children grow to maturity.

The second major point is that we need to see social systems as mechanisms for adaptation and not as abstract things preserved or destroyed over time. This is also particularly pertinent to understanding the *zadruga* family structure as one of a constant process of adjustment tied into altering life experiences. As Halpern and Hammel note in their 1977 article (cited above, p. 31):

"The picture that emerges from all of these data, from the modern period,

from reminiscences, censuses and accounts in the time of Karadjordje [first revolt against the Turks, 1804], and medieval archives, is one of a land of transients, with a population ebbing and flowing with the tides of war and exploitation. When the ecological niche (including its political and economic aspects) became uncomfortable, the population ebbed, as it did in 1389, 1690, and 1790. When conditions were favorable, it flowed, as it did around 1500 and 1800. The population seemed closely attuned to its ecological base. . . a flexible, adaptive kinship system suited to rapid geographical expansion and exploitation of land, to quick dispersal and reassembly under trying political conditions, and to the assembly of trusted workers and fighters was the key to all these patterns. . . the *zadruga* and *vamilije* of the Serbs were the social vehicle for a fluctuating response to uncertain ecological condition."

This census is partially parallel to that cited for Belgrade for 1733-34, but more data is given. Besides listing all the inhabitants of the household and their ages and relationships to the head of household, there is also very detailed data on occupation, value of the house, and the kinds and amount of land held and its tax value. This latter factor obviously relates to a primary motivation for the compilation of the list but does not, in itself, explain why such detailed data on household composition were gathered.

This census year is of great importance in that data for most of the villages and towns of what was then Serbia has been preserved in manuscript form in big folio volumes in the Serbian state archives. The data thus exists for both rural and urban areas, and uniquely, some lists for specific communities have already been completely published in their original format. For complete references to publications of 1863 census data, see the section on Serbian regional archival

data. By contrast, although the Serbian archives contain some similar household lists for 1885, none of these have, according to my information, been published. There are also population lists for the period prior to 1863 and these have also not been published. These are compiled in the Turkish fashion and are analogous to the medieval lists cited earlier in that they include only males. (Complete examples for individual communities in 1884 and pre-1863 are to be found in the Utah Genealogical Society Archives. Thus, extensive series of consecutive lists exist for individual communities.)

PUBLICATION OF SERBIAN REGIONAL ARCHIVAL DATA, 1815-1915

The Serbian archival researcher Branko Peruničić has compiled a significant number of large, thousand-page volumes which present transcription of archival documents for particular districts. The period covered is the nineteenth century up to World War I. Sample references are for the towns of Paraćin, Požarevac, Svetozarevo and Valjevo and their surrounding regions. (Grad Paraćin, 1815-1915, Beograd, 1975, 1424 pp.; Grad Požarevac i Njegovo Upravno Područje, Beograd, 1977, 2029 pp.; Grad Svetozarevo, 1806-1915, Beograd, 1975, 1872 pp.; Grad Valjevo i Njegova Upravno Područje, 1815-1915, Valjevo, 1973, 1270 pp.)

In addition, there are volumes devoted exclusively to the 1863 census. (Examples of this type of publication are: Popis Stanovništva i Poljoprivrede u Srezu Paraćinskom, 1863 Godine, Beograd, 1977, 400 pp.; and Popis Stanovništva i Poljoprivrede u Srezu Jaseničkom 1863 Godine, Beograd, 1978, 708 pp.)

The ways in which the census materials are published seems to follow a consistent pattern of giving full information on urban families but restricting the data on rural households. But the publications cited below are

exceptions. These are two monographs of the Smederevo museum, a principal city on the Danube downstream from Belgrade. The first monograph deals entirely with the city of Smederevo and the second with the nearby village of Branovo.

The monograph on Smederevo provides an opportunity for comparison, since there is an initial tax list for 1833 followed by the 1863 census. The first is a short list of 198 household heads and their tax obligations. The second is complete with family and economic data and is heavily annotated. Some 1,272 households are listed with a total population of 3,907. The size of households is probably considerably understated, since servants are listed separately and they probably lodged with the people for whom they worked.

The publication on the village of Branovo provides data to examine generational mobility. The first list for 1832-33 has forty-one households with the tax liabilities of all males who are seven and over listed; however, younger males are also recorded. The ages of all individuals are given. All relationships to the household head are given and the family name of the household head is recorded. The 1863 census list is printed in full with all household nominal, kin, and economic data. A total of 611 individuals is listed. (Dr. Leontije Pavlović, Smederevo u XIX Veku, Narodni Muzej Smederevo, Knj. 6, 1969 and Milan Vuletić, Branovo Selo kod Smedereva, Knj. 10, 1970.)

These examples of local history are cited in such detail because they contain an extraordinary amount of information of interest to the genealogist, social historian, and historical demographer. Taking the 1,912 page volume for the town of Smederevska Palanka and its region as our example (Smederevska Palanka i Okolina, Beograd, 1980, published by the town council, Skupština Opština Smederevska Palanka), we find a long series of lists linked to individual names. These include among others (each list gives the full names of the

pertinent individuals): "Traders in Pigs and other livestock for the Smederevo region for 1831" (pp. 235-238); "Numbers of sheep and goats by households for the Jasenica district, 1832" (pp. 239-259, this listing is given by villages); a similar listing is given for 1833 (pp. 263-303); "Pupils in the Palanka Elementary School, 1838" (pp. 326-329); similar list of pupils for 1838 (pp. 330-333); list of stores by names of their owners as of 1851 (pp. 536-539); and in addition there are large numbers of petitions and legal documents containing shorter lists of names.

There are other kinds of lists that have been published, for example, by the Serbian Academy of Sciences. One such compilation is a list of those who participated in the Second Serbian Revolt of 1815. This was compiled by governmental directive in 1865. The first part of the list is of 385 individuals who were still alive. They are identified by their full name, occupation, place of residence, and age. Fifty years after the event, the youngest are in their mid sixties and the two oldest are listed as "110." Unfortunately, but in common with many of the records of this period, there is much rounding off of ages so that many people are listed as being in their 80s, 90s, and several as 100. There is also a list of 1,125 individuals who are recorded as having died. In addition to their names and the places where they lived, information is given on surviving kin. (Dragoje Todorović, Popis Ustanika 12 1815 Godine, Srpska Akademija Nauka, Spomenik CXIV, Odeljenje Drustvenih Nauka, Nova Serija 16.)

Despite the extremely detailed listings in these long volumes edited by Perunicic they of course do not constitute total publication of all provincial data in the Serbian archives. These volumes tend to favor information on towns and data about people in trade, governmental administration, and students at the expense of details about villages. Thus for the 1863 census it is mostly the detailed data by individuals living in towns which has been published. Although there are a

few exceptional cases where data for villages has appeared as has been noted.

The Utah Genealogical Society does, however, have typescripts of original census data by individual names given by household listings for 1863 for several villages in the area of the towns of Arandjelovac and Topola in central Serbia. There is also a typed list of villages by districts for which 1863 census data is available.

For this same area there are also complete censuses of taxable adult males individually listed for several years for the 1820s and 1830s for the identical sample of villages in this same region (also in the files of the Genealogical Society of Utah). Some of these lists also contain ages and kinship relationship to the household head. Essentially they contain the names of all males seven to seventy. These lists need to be used with caution as do those for 1863 since last names sometimes did not completely stabilize in rural areas and elsewhere until the 1870s or even the 1880s.

Thus local registers can record an individual being born, married and dying under different names. A careful study of the local registers will, however, usually reveal the nature of the transition; i.e., both names will be given in a hyphenated transitional form. This change usually involves the adaptation of a patronymic from an earlier generation as the family name. The consistent use of the patronymic in most Serbian vital records is also of great help in being able to link individuals.

It appears that in parts of Serbia, and perhaps in other areas as well, the availability of census and tax lists predates the beginning of consecutive church records of vital statistics. Zontar mentions the date 1837 as the time when the Serbian Orthodox church organization began to send out instructions for the keeping of vital records (p. 6). Yet at least in some

areas of central Serbia, it was not until the 1870s when there began to be reliable consecutive series of vital records. This may also relate to the professionalization and expansion of competence and personnel at the parish level. This type of record keeping sharply contrasts with the situation on the Dalmatian coast of Croatia where, for example, baptismal records exist in the town of Zadar as early as 1637. (Žontar, p. 6.)

PUBLISHED EXAMPLES OF EIGHTEENTH-CENTURY CHURCH RECORDS FROM SERBIA AND CROATIA

There is, however, some exceptional vital data from Serbia at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries as illustrated by the publication of part of a church book listing vital data as it applied to the village of Borca near Belgrade. An article in the Yearbook series published by the Museum of the City of Belgrade provides individual data on births and deaths by family groups. (Sreta Pecinjacki, "Selo Borca Krajem XVIII i c Pocetka XIX Veka," Godisnjak Grada Beograda, XIX, 1972, pp. 271-301.)

While there seems to be little doubt that Catholic church vital records exist for earlier periods than those kept by Orthodox church authorities, there does seem to be few examples of publication of the former, but there are exceptions. One important case is that for the village of Županja in the area of the district of Vinkovci in Croatia. An article by Ambrozije Benković presents a published version of a transcription of twenty pages from the birth register for 124 individuals born between 1717 and 1719. ("Najstarije Obitelji Županje, Bosnjaka i Štitara," in Županski Zbornik ed. Stjepan Gruber, Županja, 1969.)

The local history compilation from which the above article is taken also provides an example of the type of publication in which this history of individual family groupings can be found. The data on family histories are not presented in an

easily locatable way as given in the Settlements and Origin of Population series of Serbian Academy of Sciences noted elsewhere in this article but they do provide a significant source nevertheless.

In connection with discussing local histories, it is useful to mention that there are village place name indexes for Yugoslav villages and towns. (An example of this type of publication for Croatia is Općine i Kotari s Imenikom Naseljenik Mjesta, Narodne Novine, Zagreb, 1960; for Serbia for the nineteenth century there is Rečnik Mesta u Kraljevini Srbiji edited by Stev. M. Koturović, Državne Stamparije, 1892; a compilation for all of Yugoslavia published by the Federal Statistical Office is Registri Naziva Opština i Naselja, Popis Stanovništva 1961, Savezni Zavod za Statistiku, Beograd, 1965.)

DALMATIAN VITAL RECORDS, SIXTEENTH-TWENTIETH CENTURIES

Given the early historic growth of the Dalmatian towns and their development since classical times, as well as their contact with the literate traditions of the Italian city states such as Venice, it is understandable that it would be to this area that one would look for the earliest population records. Fortunately, there is a published survey of vital records available in one of the major archives, Split (Benedikta Želić-Bucan, "Zbirka matičnih Knjiga u historijskom arhivu," Izdanje Historijskog Arhiva u Splitu, Sv. 5, 1965, 173-192.) In this article data are given for 173 volumes of church records for the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries. For each source the type of record (birth, marriage, or death) is specified and the language in which the records were kept is noted (most of these records were done in Latin). The physical condition of the record is noted as well as the precise dates covered. A second article provides an updating. (Danica Božić-Buzančić, "Inventar Zbirke matičnih knjiga u historijskom arhivu u

Splitu, "Izdanje Historijskog Arhiva u Splitu, Sv. 7, 1969, pp. 437-464.)

Local historians have made use of these records and some of the results have appeared in published form. An example is the history of the Dalmatian town of Nin for the sixteenth to the seventeenth centuries. (Roman Jelić, "Ninjan i u Zadar crkvenim maticama XVI i XVII stoljeca," in *Povijest Grada Nina* ed. Grga Novak i Vjekoslav Mastrović, Institut Jugoslavenska Akademije Znanosti i Umjetnosti u Zadru, Zadar, 1969, pp. 596-614.) The author makes use of the church registers in the town of Zadar beginning in the second half of the sixteenth century. As he notes, therein are inscribed the names of Nin people who permanently resided in Zadar or were there temporarily on business or other matters and married or died in that community. Some 135 pertinent names were found in these records. "Among these there are Nin princes, bishops, priests, noblemen as well as commoners. This small list may serve as a contribution to the reconstruction of the population of Nin, which today numbers only 2,000." The data for these individuals is listed in the article by individual entries.

ADDITIONS TO SOURCES NOTED BY ŽONTAR

Žontar's summary of Yugoslav record keeping focuses particularly on data from Slovenia and Croatia which is not covered in great depth in this paper, a partial reflection of the experiences of the author as has been noted.

At the same time we have presented evidence of data that either did not exist in published form ten years ago at the time of the previous World Conference on Records when Žontar prepared his paper (or of which he was simply unaware). This former situation is clearly the case of Peruničić's publications which appeared in the 1970s and into 1980.

Žontar notes (p. 16), "In Serbia the general census began in the year 1890 and followed in the years 1895, 1900, 1905

and 1910." He is correct in noting the importance of these censuses. It seems, however, that because of the direct impact of World Wars I and II on the city of Belgrade and its related occupations, the original census forms were either destroyed or lost.

There are accounts of records being carried off massively by the Austrians and then sunk in the Danube. Currently negotiations have been taking place between the Vienna and Belgrade archives. Whatever the eventual finds may be, the main point is that Žontar was apparently unaware of the existence of the complete census records for 1863. In any case, he may not have anticipated their partial publication. Further, he also seemed not to know of the existence of partial and less detailed census records for 1884. These are, to the best of my knowledge, still unpublished. In addition, he also seems not to have had knowledge of pre-1863 male population tax lists for Serbia.

This may be, in part, because these items were not cataloged until the late 1960s or into the 1970s. In this connection the publication, *Tefteri (Lists)*, 1816-1843 of the Serbian archives is very important, (*Arhiv Srbije, Inventar, Tefteri, 1816-1843*, Beograd, 1969, 142 pp., mimeographed), since the archival holdings for individual districts are listed. As has been noted earlier, the Utah Genealogical Society holds microfilms of typed versions of the original village lists for seven communities in the area of the towns of Arandjelovac and Topola. The years covered are 1824, 1825, 1829-30, 1830, 1831, 1832-33, 1834, 1836, and 1837. This is in addition to the original individual household census lists for 1863 and 1885 also mentioned earlier.

Žontar does refer (p. 16) to population registers for Serbia in connection with taxation data from the Ministry of Finance for 1862-63 and 1885 (p. 16). But he evidently was unaware that these are also censuses in the general sense, equivalent to those that begin in

Slovenia, Dalmatia, Croatia and the Vojrodina in 1857 and again occur in 1869, 1880, 1890, 1900, and 1910. He also notes, "The carrying out of the census was in the hands of the local communities, and therefore, such census materials must be sought there. Generally, one can count on finding such material in great amounts for more recent censuses but very seldom for the older ones." This is in contradistinction to the Serbian situation. The oldest complete census for 1863 is available for all regions in the Serbian State Archives in Belgrade as are pre-1863 lists, where the 1885 census is partially preserved. It is also, as far as I know, the only Yugoslav census that has been selectively published in various forms. Original census sheets for subsequent censuses do not appear to have been preserved.

It is also pertinent to cite here Žontar's comments on medieval records. He notes (p. 3) that he does not consider the Middle Ages "because of the extremely meager number of available sources." While we would not claim they are abundant or detailed, they nevertheless exist and, as Hammel's work demonstrates, they can be useful. Further, while Žontar does mention Ottoman tax records, he merely observes that "They are to be found in the central Turkish collections in Istanbul." Since some of these records, which we previously have referred to, were published in Yugoslavia in Serbo-Croatian during the past decade it is again understandable that he did not refer to them. He also states (p. 11), "Generally they were discontinued about the beginning of the 17th century." Yet we have referred to important published Ottoman tax related population lists for Sarajevo for the early and even mid-nineteenth century.

The above remarks are not intended to be critical of Žontar, as such, but rather to emphasize the dynamic state of classification and publication of archival records over approximately the past decade in the eastern and southern areas of Yugoslavia which has greatly increased the number of resources

available to the genealogist and historical demographer.

SETTLEMENTS AND ORIGIN OF POPULATION

At the conclusion to his article, Žontar (pp. 26-31) gives a survey of migration patterns within the territory of today's Yugoslavia from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries. It does not seem appropriate to recapitulate or summarize that data here. Of direct interest to researchers, however, is the fact that, following in the tradition of the distinguished Serbian human geographer Jovan Cvijić, there has been a series issued by the Ethnographic Institute of the Serbian Academy of Sciences called Naselja i Poreklo Stanovništva (Settlements and Origin of the Population). Summaries of Cvijić's work are available in English ("Geographical Distribution of the Balkan Peoples," and "Zones of Civilization of the Balkan Peninsula," in the May and June 1918 issues of the Geographical Review [Vol. 5], pp. 345-361 and 470-482).

The study of rural migrations and the establishment of new settlements at the time when the Ottoman Empire had begun to decline was important in establishing boundaries for emergent ethnic identities. All of these monographs covering various regions are based on the work of ethnographers who went from village to village gathering data.

They describe the specifics of the local terrain and give a brief history of each community. (The regions covered in this article and among the areas of which there are monographic data on family origins in the Naselja series are Morava, Niš, Čačak, Ibar, Kolubara, Šumadija, Bosanska Krajina, Trebinje as well as on parts of Hercegovina, Bosnia and Macedonia. Among other areas covered in this series are Montenegro, the area of Belgrade, Skopska Crna Gora, the region of Sarajevo, Valjevo, Boka Kotorska, Dubrovnik, migrations of Serbs to Hungary in sixteenth to the eighteenth

centuries and to Slavonia in the same period.)

For each named descent group or lineage in the village the number of households is given, the name of their family's patron saint, shared by all members of a descent group, how long the lineage has existed in the community are noted and the region from which they migrated to their present home is given. For example, "Milošević (also including Nikolić and Nedeljković) 14 households, patron saint Saint Luke, an old family, settled (in this village) over 150 years (coming) from Bjelo Polje (in Montenegro)."

Other entries could refer to settlement from as little as thirty years prior to the time of field work which might involve simply movement from a neighboring community. Sometimes reference is made to a historical event dating the time of settlement; e.g., the first revolt against the Turks (1804), other times a specific ancestor such as a great-grandfather is mentioned. In other instances an unusual (for Serbia) case is recorded as when an ancestor chose to come and reside at his wife's homestead.

E. A. Hammel and Djordje Šoc' examined data thus collected from thirteen locations in southern and eastern Yugoslavia. Their sample included over 12,000 lineages and 62,000 constituent households. ("The Lineage Cycle in Southern and Eastern Yugoslavia," American Anthropologist, Vol. 75, No. 3, June 1973, pp. 802-814.) They examined demographic, economic, and cultural factors to attempt to relate them to the size of the reported lineages.

Žontar in his description of migration patterns makes the important point that with the retreat of the Turks at the end of the seventeenth century the Moslem elements of the Balkan population moved south to those areas still held by the Turks, while the Christians, especially the Orthodox, moved in the opposite direction. We have published data on migration, reflecting the research

carried out, only on the Christian population. There does exist, however, considerable ethnographic documentation on Moslem populations, but not from this point of view.

FAMILY HISTORIES AND GENEALOGIES

The amount of published material on this topic is difficult to ascertain because of the irregular way in which materials are published. It is possible, however, to provide examples of the type of publications available by taking illustrative examples from Croatia and Montenegro. Žontar in his section on "Genealogical Collections" (pp. 18-20), refers primarily to the nobility. He deals with collections of letters bestowing titles of nobility and marriage announcements of the aristocracy as well as with collections of coats of arms. The publications cited here have to do with commoners, particularly rural peoples.

Some of the materials have been brought to publication because of a concern with taking family histories as illustrative of a type of social organization, among the South Slavs, the studies of the zadruga, and the extended family household discussed earlier are particularly pertinent. This is the case with respect to a study of the "Zadruga Jozin-Jaksin" in Slavonia, Croatia ("By Drago Heim in Zbornik Slavonskih Muzeja, I, 1969, pp. 53-92). In compiling family descent groups involving the reconstitution and linkage of kin, the author makes use of vital record sources in the Osijek archives beginning in 1735 as well as with interviews with living descendants.

Different from this scholarly publication in a museum series is the compilation assembled by a descendant and published privately. Zvonimir Turnia Krševan, whose kin are from the Rijeka area, has produced such a publication. This evidently was published by kin as a memorial tribute. (Libar Roda Turinskog i Franko od nastanjivanja u primorskom

kraju, te od 1673-1969 sastavio Zvonimir Turina Krsevan, 1931-1969.) In compiling this work, the author refers to the vital records which he found in the Rijeka archives beginning with 1790.

The oral recollections of his parents and relatives formed the initial basis for his work. In reconstructing his family history, he uses inscriptions as well as vital records. His family data begin at the end of the seventeenth century and end in 1969. The book is addressed to kin both near and distant. Significantly the book contains a sketch of a peasant hearth, recalling the family's origins in Hercegovina, but reaches out to include those descendants who migrated throughout Yugoslavia, central Europe, the United States, and Argentina over twelve generations.

A more formal publication deals with a Montenegrin lineage (Dr. Nikola Vukčević, Jedan Prilog Tradiciji u Crnoj Gori, published privately by the author, Beograd, 1971). Detailed family charts are presented encompassing eleven generations. A total of some sixty-one charts is given. Birth and death dates for individuals are included where known. In keeping with Montenegrin tradition, however, only males are listed. Those who migrated to the United States are also recorded.

At the end of the book there are forty-seven pages of indexes by name, summarizing the vital data for each individual and including his father's name.

Given the heroic traditions of Montenegrins, there are also lists of those killed in wars and other conflicts through the nineteenth century and including World War II.

There are also tables listing age at death by branch of family, including infant deaths. He thus compiles an average life expectancy, for the 1,316 individuals listed for all periods for whom there are records, of 36.5 years. This compilation includes data from the

early nineteenth century to 1970. Another table lists educational attainments beyond elementary school and includes 277 individuals.

RECORD USE AND FAMILY HISTORIES, THREE AMERICAN STUDIES FROM ISTRIA, DALMATIA, AND SLOVENIA

In contrast to the central Serbian village of Orasac studied by B. and J. Halpern with its Turkish heritage where substantial village or state tax records of any sort begin with the 1820s, the eighteenth, even seventeenth and sixteenth centuries' coverage of family histories and related demographic data is abundant for those areas in Western Yugoslavia which were under Austrian or Italian colonial administration. This is reflected in the types of analyses which several American scholars were able to make.

Rudolph M. Bell in his, "The Transformation of a Rural Village: Istria, 1870-1972" (Journal of Social History, Spring, 1974, pp. 243-270), makes extensive use of parish registers to reconstruct demographic rates and family histories. Thus he utilizes parish birth records beginning in 1852, marriage records as of 1855 and death data from 1861 as recorded (these are presumably not the dates at which these records begin). He also notes the utility of a Status Animarum. (A similar type of record for the village of Sencur near Kranj in central Slovenia, beginning in the early nineteenth century, is in the Utah Genealogical Society's archive.)

The author notes (p. 266): "The two independent records were helpful in cases of spelling changes and entries of erroneous dates (Status Animarum and vital records). The register entries are excellent.

"At a minimum they contain father's name, mother's maiden name, house number and date of event. Birth entries also contain names of godparents and, if priest and individual have followed

church regulations, date and place of marriage. . . . Marriage entries give the names of the parents of the bride and groom and two witnesses as well as the occupation of the groom. Widows and widowers are so noted. Death registers give date of birth (or an approximation thereof), marital status and name of spouse, names of parents and cause of death."

The histories of some families are reconstructed from surviving account books and economic records. Brian C. Bennett in Sutivan: A Dalmatian Village in Social and Economic Transition (R and E Research Associates, Palo Alto, California, 1971) gives a detailed summary of sources dealing with family histories for the island of Brac. Thus in Appendix 3 he provides a list of the elite families in Sutivan and their place of origin with data going back to the fifteenth century. In Appendix 4 he provides a listing of commercial boats from the community by their owners for the latter part of the nineteenth century. Appendix 6 lists series of genealogies which specify kin who have migrated to other parts of Yugoslavia and North and South America.

Elsewhere Bennett refers to a list published in Brački Zbornik (3), which details individuals who migrated from Sutivan since 1880. He refers to 8,500 people emigrating from Brac over a fifty-year period, including some 2,000 who went to California. Data of this sort can be integrated with the series of publications on Yugoslav immigrants to the U.S. produced by R and E Research Associates publishers. In this case Andre Jutronic, who is evidently a local scholar, has made a study of the origin of the 845 families on this island and published it in Brački Zbornik. Local historical publications of this type for Dalmatian island communities are frequently a source of detailed information.

Irene Winner in A Slovenian Village (Brown University Press, 1971) notes that

in the community that she studied, the oldest fragments of church records are from 1618, but that complete records have been preserved only since 1780. In a section entitled, "Family Histories and Village Structure (pp. 72-82)," she reconstructs a sample family history using as one basis the first complete village register from 1791. (The Utah Genealogical Society has a sample land register for the Slovenian village of Šencur for 1756 with corrections from 1764. This correlates with a Status Animarum record for the same village, previously mentioned.)

Thus the author is able to compile a table (p. 78) of the Janez group of households specifying individuals by name, date of birth, house number, landholding status, and the owner of that house in 1969, together with the name of the house at that latter date. The earliest birthdate noted in this Janez list is for 1771. A brief history of each Janez is given (the most recent was born in 1873) with the data based on church records supplemented by interviews.

This type of data can be contrasted with that from the Montenegrin patrilineage referred to earlier and the two oral genealogies given in J. Halpern's A Serbian Village, (p. 152), which are based exclusively on oral recall. These research publications are illustrative only of the richness inherent in the abundant archival data which has only begun to be used for both the purpose of understanding social process over time as well as that of reconstructing individual family histories. It would be wrong to isolate the two because not only are they interdependent but the amount of cross-fertilization possible between those who are trying to understand their own individual pasts, as differentiated from those who are trying to better comprehend social phenomena, is the kind of interaction which will lead to new knowledge that can be mutually beneficial.

LIBRARY SOURCES OF GENEALOGICAL AND DEMOGRAPHIC DATA ON YUGOSLAVIA

In addition to the holdings of the Utah Genealogical Society referred to throughout this paper, the extensive resources of American scholarly libraries with materials on Yugoslavia need to be summarized. In addition to the publication of local records, which is continuing the abundant materials on regional history, can be of great help both to the genealogist and the scholar interested in social history and demography. A recent handbook gives detailed descriptions of library collections. (Paul L. Horecky, editor, East Central and Southeast Europe, a Handbook of Library and Archival Resources in North America, Clio Press, Santa Barbara, 1976.)

Among those libraries which have significant Yugoslav collections are the University of California campuses at Berkeley, Los Angeles, and Santa Barbara; Columbia; Harvard; Illinois at Urbana; Indiana; the Library of Congress; and the New York Public Library. Of all of these collections those at UCLA and Harvard are probably the strongest in the subjects covered here. The author undertook the establishment of a significant collection at UCLA by very large scale purchases in Yugoslavia (described in the Horecky volume cited above) in 1961-62. This collection is perhaps strongest in local history and population-related studies up to that period.

From 1967 to 1971, most of the major libraries have very good collections because of purchases under the federal Public Law--480 program. Since the cessation of that program, library purchases have been increasingly restricted. The current holdings of the Utah Genealogical Society are now most significant, and as noted throughout this paper, the items cited here are part of

their collections and are based on the author's acquisitions in Yugoslavia over several decades.

ACCESS TO YUGOSLAV LIBRARIES AND ARCHIVES

Since the 1950s, large numbers of American scholars have worked in Yugoslavia. Many have worked under the auspices of official exchange programs, and some have worked privately. Since Yugoslavia is composed of six republics, each with its own administrative system, there is considerable variation in the ways in which foreigners are received and their research needs accommodated.

In major archives such as those in Belgrade, Zagreb, and Dubrovnik, there are formalized routines. In provincial and smaller archives the situation is much less certain. Over the last few years Yugoslav federal and republic level regulations governing the work of foreigners have become much more restrictive as national security considerations have increased in formal importance. Access to community level vital record sources seems to now be restricted for foreigners.

Like all governmental regulations, these are not immutable and are subject to varying interpretations. It might only be stressed that at the present time the situation is uncertain. But reciprocal scholarly and collegial contacts continue to be important. As Yugoslav scholars and institutions continue to be interested in doing research in the United States through exchange programs and individuals visits, and as their concern with increasing their understanding of Yugoslav-Americans and their history persists, it is reasonable and logical to expect that Americans visiting Yugoslavia will be extended reciprocal courtesies and facilities.

Note: The thirteen studies were conducted in the regions and at the dates noted in the list below (also noted in the Hammel-SOC article).

- A Drobnjaković, Borivoje M.
1930 Kosmaj. SEZ 46, NPS 26:1-96.
- B Filipović, Milenko S.
1935 Severna Veleska Sela. SEZ 51, NPS 28:488-573.
1950 Glasinac. SEZ 60, NPS 32:177-463.
1955 Rama u Bosni. SEZ 69, NPS 35:1-231.
1960 Takovo. SEZ 75, NPS 37:1-317.
- C Sobajić, Petar
1954 Dabarsko Polje u Hercegovini. SEZ 67, NPS 34:1-56.
- D Radjenović, Petar
1925 Bjelajsko Polje i Bravsko. SEZ 35, NPS 20:123-276.
1948 Unac. SEZ 56, NPS 30:443-638.
- E Karanović, Milan
1925 Pounje u Bosanskoj Krajini. SEZ 35, NPS 20:278-724.
- F Mijatović, Stanoje
1948 Belica. SEZ 56, NPS 30:3-214.
- G Pavlović, Radoslav Lj.
1948 Podibar i Gokcanica. SEZ 56, NPS 30:219-442.
- H Kostić, Mihajlo M.
1954 Koritnica. SEZ 67, NPS 34:189-296.
- I Petrović, Petar Z.
1949 Šumadijska Kolubara. SEZ 59, NPS 31:3-275.

*References are given by the monograph number in the series Srpski Etnografski Zbornik (SEZ) and in the more specific subset of that series, Naselja i Poreklo Stanovništva (NPS). These series are published by the Serbian Academy of Sciences (Section II, Belgrade).

YUGOSLAVIAN ORAL GENEALOGIES AND OFFICIAL RECORDS:
AN APPROACH TO THEIR COMBINED USE

Joel M. Halpern and Barbara Kerewsky-Halpern

Joel M. Halpern. Born in New York. Resides in Amherst, Massachusetts. Professor of anthropology, University of Massachusetts. Ph.D. (anthropology), Columbia University. Author, lecturer.

Barbara Kerewsky-Halpern. Born in New York. Resides in Amherst, Massachusetts. Adjunct assistant professor of anthropology University of Massachusetts. Ph.D. (cultural anthropology), University of Massachusetts. Author, lecturer.

How do individuals structure recall of their collective pasts? Is the transmitted information affected by the form of recall? How do the values of the narrator condition the data being presented? Does oral recall match archival and other written records? To what extent are the attempts of the field investigator limited by the communicative competence and reference frame of the informant?

The following discussion seeks to integrate these questions and to suggest ways in which the relationships between traditional oral recall and written records may be viewed. Anthropological fieldwork has tended to rely on key informants for a significant portion of

socio-cultural data collected. It is considered good practice to cross-check accounts, where possible, with a number of informants and to augment and corroborate oral recollections with published and archival sources if available.

Given the importance of such field methodology, adequate attention has not been paid to the ways in which informants structure matters of importance to them (or if interest to the investigator)—national regional history, customary practices, genealogical information, and other data. This concern is particularly pertinent with regard to genealogical data which have figured so importantly in social anthropological research. It is

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vital as well to the growing field of historical demography in which demographers, social historians, and anthropologists have begun to evidence much interest.

The matter is not one of merely checking the accuracy of an informant's recall against a census, vital record, or other document, for this would bring into question an underlying assumption that it is the written record which is assumed to be the more "accurate," that is, more complete. Rather, by using both types of sources and a diversity of informants and records, one can then utilize these information pools in a mutually illuminating fashion.

Realistically, however, one does not too often encounter the ideal situation of a rich oral tradition¹ coexisting with extensive documentation. Northern Europe, especially Scandinavia (and also to a considerable extent New England), has preserved abundant demographic and genealogical records; in these areas there has long been interest in such topics in an applied way, particularly by individuals wishing to trace their own ancestries. Yet this very notion of reconstruction by means of written records, and the compilation of written genealogies from such records, is a manifestation of the absence of a living oral tradition such as exists in parts of the Balkans, Africa, and elsewhere. On the other hand, in areas of the world where anthropologists have done extensive studies of lineages and descent groups, as for example in parts of Africa, there has generally been a lack of census and vital records, particularly for the period before World War II and especially prior to the twentieth century.

The Balkans represent an intermediate position. There are some records from Byzantine, Ottoman, and nineteenth-century periods as well as a viable oral tradition. In the course of initial work in Orasac village in the early 1950s, we collected a series of genealogies as part of a general descriptive ethnography of the region. (At that time we had not

developed interest in either historical demography or the structure of traditional oral expression, nor were we then aware of the existence of an extensive body of archival documentation bearing on the village--so, in a way, the ongoing study of Orasac village has also been one of personal discovery, reflecting as well evolving research emphases within the larger scholarly community.) Some years after publication of the original monograph, we came across the existence of a complete household census for Orašac for 1863.² In attempting to match some apparent inconsistencies between orally transmitted lineages and census data, we gradually became aware that complex genealogical information was often being preserved and transmitted according to a definite structure or mapping of the complex data in the informant's head. Frequently this mapping strikingly paralleled the structure of traditional epic poetry.³ By the time tape recording of such data was begun in the village in 1966, unfortunately, many of the most articulate members of the tradition were deceased or enfeebled.

There exists, of course, a very rich ethnographic tradition throughout Yugoslavia, including both for the study of folk poetry and folklore, beginning in the nineteenth century, and a highly developed, separate research tradition of tracing population movements and settlement patterns in order to reconstruct what are, in effect, lineage histories.⁴ These important works, however, are considered by Yugoslav scholars as distinctly separate fields of inquiry, and we can find no instances where the two have been linked.

Such linkage is our goal in this paper. In order to carry it out, we propose to examine the role of oral transmission in everyday village life: to offer contrasting material from a contemporary English village where oral tradition exists in an attenuated form;⁵ and to present some analysis of how the oral "pulse" is perpetuated in the course of transition to writing.

First, it is crucial to emphasize that there is normally no occasion, ceremonial or otherwise, when an Orasac elder might recall his lineage. It is part of him, something he has internalized. He might transmit the information as heritage to a son or grandson when he felt the social context to be appropriate. There are no rules or rituals governing such transmission. Also of importance is the fact that in Orasac and Serbia generally there is no tradition of written personal records such as are found elsewhere, in family Bibles for example.

The presence of ever-questioning researchers motivated many genealogically relevant responses (and since this is a culture where identity of self is all-important, the inquiries worked both ways: the investigators in turn often had to respond to villagers' persistent queries about their own origins and ancestors). Records do exist, and there are some prior to 1863, but it simply would never occur to a village elder to walk down the road to the village clerk's office and attempt to reconstruct his sub-lineage from the written documentation.

Most of the men who recollected their genealogies had had at least four years of schooling and thus possessed minimal literacy. We found that each individual appears to carry with him an idiosyncratic mapping of his particular lineage (usually endowed with positive attributes), which he is then capable of verbalizing in a range of modes; with or without grammatical case-endings; in the male line only or with the addition of in-marrying brides and consanguineously related females) according to his interpretation of what the social situation calls for. Some of those immersed in the tradition can recollect the structure of other people's lineages as well, but here, not surprisingly, discrepancies with the written records appear greater.

The village church vital records (birth, marriage, death) were kept by the local priest until shortly after World War II. Official state census records reflect (in

common with the orally transmitted material) a different set of needs. Collectively they all provide data on the total population, including for example infant mortality, second marriages, and adoptions into a lineage (e.g. when a woman brings a child of an earlier marriage to the household of her second husband and that child adopts the stepfather's surname). Interestingly, we are able to reconstruct that precisely such a case occurred in Orasac about a century ago. The adopted son appears as a counted male member of the adoptive household in the 1863 census, but in 1954, when a member of that lineage recollected the genealogy orally, the adopted male was specifically excluded by the informant.

An important factor in evaluating oral versus written accounts is the stability of the population. When a person migrates from the village, he tends to drop out of both systems, although some contact may be personally maintained with his extended household. Oral recollection may include some detail on the individual himself, and he may retain land in the village and choose to be buried in the village cemetery. In such ways, therefore, he does maintain a continued existence in the collective village consciousness. Conversely, facts like these may not be reflected in some oral genealogical accounts where the descent lines of those who have left the village, for whatever reason, are truncated. (Ne znam, pravo da ti kazem. On [je] pustio selo. Posle toga ne znam sta mu je bilo. I don't know [what happened to him], to tell you the truth. He left the village. After that I don't know how it was with him.) Prior to World War II and especially before World War I, when the population was overwhelmingly rural, there was relatively little migration of males, although many females, of course, did marry out of the village. Therefore, the fact that detailed oral genealogies exist at all appears to be correlated with a certain population stability.

From an historical point of view, the ability of an individual to recall a

lineage of several ascending generations and two or three descending generations was maximized for those born in the last decade of the nineteenth and the first decade of the twentieth centuries. Viewed from the perspective of these same individuals in their mature years, as on the eve of World War II, the village had already existed for a century and a half with a pattern of population stability (extensive migrations did not begin until the mid-1950s). The village population had peaked, and the lineages were at their maximal lateral extension. (The population in 1961 was at approximately the same level as in 1910, with decreases in the intervening years, but there had been considerable migration by members of the major lineages during that half century.)

Even differences noted by the researchers investigating lineages in the early 1950s as compared to twenty years later are significant because of the considerable changes caused by migration. Pertinent to this paper are those types of changes reflected in the potential for recall and also factors affecting the socio-psychological setting for discussing village-based kin groups with older villages who recollected "how it used to be."

A contrasting perspective is provided by the baseline year 1863, the time of the first complete Serbian census. There had been censuses prior to that date, and they counted males only but they are partially preserved. From a detailed study of the genealogy of the Stojanović lineage, it can be established that none of the sons of the lineage founder were alive at the time of the 1863 census, but the record indicates that all of their wives were. In one instance it was apparently a second wife (the mother of the man who adopted the lineage name). At that date the eldest female recorded for the lineage was sixty-seven. She lived until 1871, and one of her sisters-in-law survived until 1888. While neither wives nor daughters are normally included in an orally recollected genealogy, they are nevertheless often recalled as individuals. When this is

done it is not systematic, as in the genealogical recall structure, but is based on particular incidents or personality traits.

In the course of discussing with Deda Mileta Stojanović outstanding events in his lifetime, he mentioned (in addition to wars and military service) specific occurrences such as the year in which his own grandfather died and the age at which his father's brother's eldest son died. In such details of oral recall there is approximate correspondence, within a year or two, to the written vital records. For more distant kin, as in the case of statements concerning his paternal grandfather's brother's great-grandchildren, who were in a collateral nephew relation to him, there is lack of correspondence between the informant's recollection and the written record. In two instances Grandfather Mileta omits mention of male children who died (including one who survived to age five). It is apparent that these were not socially significant facts to the informant, or perhaps, put more precisely, those males born to descendants of his grandfather would be recollected even if they did not survive, while those belonging to collateral lines exhibit apparent irregular recall. On the other hand, where males survive to produce children of their own and continue residence in the village, all links are recalled in both ascending and descending generations. The particular oral genealogy which we are discussing has a multigenerational depth with 105 males recollected, 101 of whom are named. Some 10 are omitted according to the vital records; all of these died in infancy or in childhood.

In this culture women do not recount genealogies. This appears to be due to a strong prevalence of patrilocality and related emphasis on patrilineality in this formally patriarchal society with its tradition of the extended zadruga household, almost always with a male household head in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁸ However, given the longer survival of women in the second generation from the lineage

founder, as clearly documented in the 1863 census, one wonders what role they might have played in perpetuating the oral history of the particular lineage into which they married. We do not know how long the second-generation wives survived their spouses, but we can measure the years of their collective survival from 1863, when the husbands of all three were not recorded and were therefore presumably deceased. (We can assume with reasonable certainty that their husbands were then dead, because all three women are listed in the census as mothers of a succeeding generation rather than as wives). Collectively these three women, the oldest of whom was born in 1796, lived some forty-nine years beyond 1863. (The census of 1863, like many older population lists, tends to record ages in rounded numbers, while the death records give precise age, thus these women were listed as being ages sixty, fifty, and forty respectively, while according to their death records it can be reconstructed that they were actually sixty-seven, forty-five, and thirty-nine in 1863.) In any case, the stated forty-nine years of their combined survival beyond 1863 seems a reasonable inference. The eldest appears to have been a child of eight at the time of the death of the lineage founder (Stojan is said to have died fighting the Turks during the First Serbian Revolt of 1804). One can reasonably suppose that these women, in the years following their husband's deaths, played a role in orally preserving lineage history. Similar evidence is apparent among certain village women even today.

It is speculative to attempt to derive precise social structural relationships from study of the epic tradition (as compared to oral tradition generally). Nevertheless, recurrent and very prominent in many epic motifs are the strongly affective bonds between mother and son, so suggestive of a vital, positive relationship. Further, this was a relationship lacking conflicts implicit between father and son, with regard to authority and inheritance, for example. This lack of overt conflict is also

evident in epic narrative and lyric descriptions of the close bonds between brother and sister as opposed to brother and brother.

The marital circulation of women resulted in initial divided loyalties between lineage of origin and the lineage into which they married. These were usually resolved with the passage of time in favor of orientation toward their sons' lineage versus the increasing temporal distance from that of their fathers and brothers. It is necessary to connect this mother/son dyad with the strongly affective relationship, often mentioned by villagers, of son to uncle (ujak), mother's brother. Unlike the case with father's brother (stric), potential conflict resulting from co-residence, shared economy, and a potentially shared inheritance was not present. This might be seen as a contradiction of the notion of mothers helping to reinforce their sons' genealogical knowledge, but on the other hand, receiving information from one's mother can have a strong reinforcing effect, for it is the women who provide this positive affect without which an agnatic-based system cannot operate. That is, a patriarchal structure lends itself to concentration of authority, with some built-in arbitrariness and tension. The ability to resort to a mother or to mother's brother at times provides a needed outlet for lessening potential social friction. One villager recalls going to reside with his mother's parents at a period in his young manhood when his paternal grandfather, head of his household, was imposing his will in a manner seen as unreasonable. In this context it can be understood why the role of starojko, the most important ritual witness at a young man's marriage, is his ujak (his father's brother or brothers have no ceremonial role).

In considering genealogy as an oral genre, we are dealing with a verbal form of self-legitimization, a framework for orienting social relationships and a nexus for structuring recall of a great range of information. Tape recorders were not commonly used field tools at the

time of the earlier field work.¹⁰ The investigators tried to compensate for this by encouraging selected older men to "write down" their autobiographies. Most were reasonably prudent, suggesting that we provide the paper and pencils, and were pleased to comply (often a grandfather dictated to a ten or twelve year-old-grandchild).¹¹

A striking feature of all the autobiographies, in addition to the genealogical data they provide, is the great sense of belonging, of membership in a particular lineage and of transmission of this heritage. Both parents are always stated by name, and paternal grandparents are invariably mentioned. The number of siblings and the number of paternal uncles are also recounted. Some orally conditioned features of these written autobiographies will be analyzed in detail. First, however, it is of interest to compare them to analogous family histories available in a recent study of the English village of Akenfield. In Akenfield fathers are mentioned, but usually only in passing, grandfathers are noted occasionally, and uncles not at all. In the Serbian data, whether with reference to grandparents, parents, or one's own children, the number is always specified and usually the number of members of each sex is noted as well. Birth order of the individual is usually referred to in Orasac, and the dates of birth of the informant and his father are prime data. That is, it would appear that the format of the genealogy tends to underlie even written accounts such as these autobiographies. This contrasts with Akenfield, where an individual may be aware of a relatively long, traceable descent, but if referred to at all it is in abstract terms only. In the Serbian accounts direct descent group is distinguished from collateral groups, and the value of continuity is strongly felt. (In addition, the linking of land division to vital events provides further structuring. The quantitative family data from Orasac are particularly noteworthy in comparison to material from Akenfield. Part of these differences in the quality

of recollection, regardless of whether oral or written, may reflect differences between a land-owning peasantry in Serbia and agricultural laborers on rented lands in rural England.)¹²

Such differences are obvious to a degree, but contrasting the two kinds of accounts we can comprehend the frames of reference for recall and the ways in which a viable, intensely personal oral tradition provides the implicit structure for Serbian elders so conscious of their past. In Akenfield genealogical and family-household structural data tend to be episodic. Akenfield recollections, as in this passage from an account by a seventy-one-year-old farm laborer, are immediate and event-oriented:

There were ten of us in the family and as my father was a farm laborer earning 13s. a week you can just imagine how we lived. I will tell you the first thing which I can remember. It was when I was three—about 1899. We were all sitting around the fire waiting for my soldier brother to come home—he was the eldest boy in the family. He arrived about six in the evening and had managed to ride all the way from Ipswich in a milk-cart. This young man came in, and it was the first time I had seen him. He wore a red coat and looked very lively. Mother got up and kissed him but Father just sat and said, "How are you?" Then we had tea, all of us staring at my brother. It was dark, it was the winter-time. A few days later he walked away and my mother stood right out in the middle of the road, watching. He was going to fight in South Africa. He walked smartly down the lane until his red coat was no bigger than a poppy. Then the tree hid him. We never saw him again. He went all through the war but caught enteric fever afterwards and died. He was twenty-one...¹³

The above passage is characteristic for Akenfield. Information is divulged only

in the context of an event in an individual's life and not, as in Serbia, as a narrative of collectivity and kin continuity. In Akenfield, even where there exists a consciousness concerning ancestry, this is presented factually in passing but nothing more. An example of this type of awareness is provided by the beginning of the account by the Akenfield village blacksmith, age 46:

I was born in Akenfield. It was in the year 1923. I have spent all my life here. I have the family records back to the eighteenth century and my name is mentioned in Domesday Book. We were at Saxmundham then. Then there was a time we got lost—right out Dennington way. But we found our path eventually. I have a lot of my grandfather's features, although I'm not so tall as he was. I have his hands. Hands last a long time you know. A village sees the same hands century after century. It is a marvellous thing but it's true. My grandfather was a most extraordinary man and very headstrong. He'd got a way of his own and I tend to take after him. My father started work when he was ten and I started when I was fourteen...¹⁴

Again, the account is clearly ego-oriented, yet here there is definitely a sense of links to the past. Also, interestingly, we note an echo of the need to tell things truthfully.¹⁵

It has been stated that in almost every Orasac account genealogical and extended family information is detailed; individuals are named and their relationships are specified (and even if some of this data were absent, the flow of narrative, consistently based not on self but on relationships within the family, would not be affected). As an example, the following is excerpted from the autobiography set down in shaky hand by Grandfather Živomir, a seventy-three-year-old elder of the Andrić lineage in Orašac:

My father, who was born in 1843, told me about the situation after 1850...And now something that I myself remember: I was born in 1881 in Orašac. My father was Milenko and my mother Leposava. My father was born into an old and rich zadruga. His father, Miliwoje, who had no brothers or sisters, left the zadruga with his wife Ilinka, who gave birth to ten children: eight boys and two girls. She died when she gave birth to her tenth child. So my grandfather married Jelena, a widow from Bukovik. They had two more sons and daughters so that the total number of his children was fourteen: ten boys and four girls. Six sons and two daughters grew up and married while the rest died as children. After my grandfather's death, my father, being the eldest, remained the head of the zadruga while two of his brothers became... tradesmen.

My father married twice. With his first wife, Ljubica, he had two sons, both whom died in the same year, aged nineteen and twenty, and two daughters who died as children. The second time he married Radojka, a widow who brought him three children. With my father she bore four sons and a daughter, among whom I am the only one alive.

I married and I had three children. One son died in his sixth year, and the other is an engineer. He is married and has a son and a daughter. My daughter is married and has two sons...When I was born my father had two sons by his first wife and the zadruga divided.¹⁶

None of this information was elicited or requested. It was given because Grandfather Živomir sensed these details as among the important parameters defining his life. (This is not to suggest that Akenfield villagers consider vital family data unimportant, but rather that such data are not employed in structuring

recall of their life histories, especially when those¹⁷ histories are requested by a stranger).

Analyzing this fragment of an Orašac autobiography, we see that the informant begins with his father's recall before proceeding to his own recollections, thereby enhancing and legitimizing his own. By stating, "And now something that I myself remember," he relates segments of history of his family which he cannot possibly have witnessed personally but received orally from his parents or grandparents. It is also of significance that in this prose account both males and females are included on an approximately equal basis, in contrast to the framework of the orally reconstructed lineages in Orasac.

Not all the autobiographies we collected are of this precise nature. Some of the basic dynamics, however, are present universally and persist through time. The above account was prepared by a man born in 1881; some of the same patterns appear in excerpts from the account by a thirty-eight-year-old man:

I was born in 1916, in my paternal grandfather's house. My grandfather Zivota had a wife and five sons: my father Radosav, and my four uncles, Cedomir, Branislav, Miodrag and Slobodan, and two daughters, Desanka and Darinka. My Uncle Miodrag and Aunt Darinka died before my mother married my father. When my mother married my father there were eight in my grandfather's house, including my great-grandfather¹⁸ Marinko, and his wife, Zagorka...

Here again the genealogical setting is specified in detail in order to introduce the individual's own account (in all the Akenfield biographical data references are specifically to the informant's experiences and to what they themselves remember; there is mention of parents and occasionally grandparents, but such mention is fleeting and does not form the basis for introducing or structuring the

narrative, as in the Orašac examples).

The younger Orašac man continues with statements made by his great-grandparents concerning their son, his grandfather. These comments are known to him only by means of oral transmission. He relates how his great-grandparents used to chide his grandfather:

...'Oj, black Života, why don't you discuss your affairs with someone? If you don't want to with your father and mother, then do it with your sons. If you don't want to with them, go discuss your affairs with the mouse in the wall. May God kill you. Stop wandering. Don't you see that the house is going bankrupt because of you? The children¹⁹ are working and you are wasting.'

With reference to our original case study of the Stojanović genealogy, Grandfather Mileta, when recounting his lineage orally, was directly in touch with an eight-generational structure. In recounting his own background he began by linking his lineage with that of two other Orasac lineages, describing how his ancestor Stojan, founder of the Stojanovici, came from Montenegro to Sumadija and settled in Orasac with his two brothers, each of whom founded a separate lineage in the newly settled village.

Direct continuity of oral transmission of the Stojanović lineage might come to an end since Grandfather Mileta's only grandson who grew up in the village (he had two others, by another son who had long since left the village) has since become a skilled mechanic residing in Belgrade. Recently, however, that grandson joined with his father in erecting a tombstone on the gravesite of his great-grandfather. The inscription bears the information that this is a memorial gesture of respect and honor on the part of the three descending generations for the father: the recently deceased son Mileta, the grandson in the village, and the great-grandson now in Belgrade.²⁰

We stressed earlier that these lineage connections are used as referents for chronicling events in one's own life. Grandfather Mileta once stated, "Some four years after Nikola [his own grandfather] died, when I was 15, our zadruga divided." These facts coincide precisely with the vital records of the informant's birth and with the date of his grandfather's death. A single statement like this combines the essence of the significance of lineages within the system with the identification of self and with the linking of self to a named ancestor in an ascending pattern, setting the scene for what is often the most crucial economic and emotional event in the cyclical sequencing of household formation--the division of the cooperative household unit and of its associated, jointly held property. The remark, oriented in time by "when I was 15" is then placed in its most important kin context, "four years after Nikola died." Only then do we come to the social dynamics involved in the division: "because my youngest uncle no longer got along with his brothers."²¹ Just as the autobiographical accounts of changing economic and societal conditions could have been recounted without detailed kin information, so an account of the division of the zadruga could have been presented without a ritualized introduction. Such an introduction, however, exactly parallels the epic narrative prologue, or privev. It is just such structural features that reveal to us the most powerful values in Serbian village society, namely collectivity, continuity, and preservation.²²

From the epic features of orally recollected genealogy and family history, we turn now to detailed examination of the texts of the autobiographies, in an attempt to demonstrate oral characteristics, even when recollection is set down on paper rather than transmitted in the traditional oral mode. The written sources, with examples translated from the original village dialect, provide this opportunity. Yet in analyzing possible traditional poetic features in the autobiographies, from the outset we

must acknowledge certain aspects of the texts which call for modification of the usual analytical methods.²³ First, and most obviously, unlike the orally transmitted genealogies, these are written texts, some of them composed and set down by literate informants like Grandfather Živomir. As has been shown elsewhere, literacy to some extent undermines retention of traditional form, and the usual oral structures soon give way to literate neologisms. In cases in which a school-age child wrote down what an elder dictated, we still have to deal with the inevitable editing, conscious or²⁵ unconscious, involved in that process.

This observation brings us to a second point. Because writing adheres to a visible, recorded standard of representation, it involves a tacit but endemic suppression of oral poetic features such as elision and hyperlengthening. Whereas the oral poetic line regulates the number of syllables in a given phrase by deleting or, occasionally, doubling a relatively insignificant syllable, the written need for visual rather than aural accuracy will result in the "correction" of these "errors." When one adds the fact that the autobiographies are written in prose format, it becomes obvious that most poetic features tend to be suppressed. Therefore, with few clues available on the surface, the statistical methods of formula analysis²⁶ are not applicable. Instead it is necessary to conduct a stylistic investigation, concentrating on the structure and significance of those textual elements that are demonstrably of traditional oral provenance. By placing these elements against the background of their prose matrix, it becomes possible to assess their real meaning and to judge their congruity in form and content with the nonpoetic material which surrounds them.

Generally, notwithstanding the nature of the textual medium as described above, we can locate a surprising number of oral poetic features. The most obvious of these are phrases which approximate a whole line structure, a decasyllable (epski deseterac), the meter of the epic

tradition of this society.²⁷ In addition to a constant ten-syllable quantity, a characteristic line has a caesure (syntactic break) between syllables 4 and 5, and therefore a two-part substructure of syllables 1-4 and 5-10. This pattern shows up in the opening phrase of Grandfather Živomir's autobiography:

Po predanju ostalom od starijih,

According to²⁸ the tradition preserved by the elders.

The meaning of this utterance is also traditional: it places value on the generic knowledge derived from the past and transmitted to the present. That it should occur at the opening of an autobiographical account is entirely logical, since most oral *geges* begin with a ritualized prelude.²⁹ Another line of similar structure and meaning, used to indicate the passage of information "s kolena na koleno" ('from one generation to the next') occurs a few sentences later:

Po pričanju koje se prenosilo,

According to³⁰ the accounts which were passed on.

Again a syntactically complete, ten-syllable line with the caesure at the corrent location constitutes the medium of data transferral. Apart from the literal meaning of the phrase, such oral poetic structure implies a traditional phenomenology, an outlook which derives value by placing the ephemeral present in the context of the past.

Što su našli, to su zaplenili.

Whatever they found, they captured it.

Počeli su kućiti iz nova.

They began to set up households anew.

Sujevera je bilo veliko.

There was a great deal of superstition.

These two lines occur in perfect metrical form, and each seems to carry with it the gnomic connotation so common in the Serbian epic. The first example describes the seizure of Serbian land and buildings by the Turks: "Whatever they found, they captured it." This phrase also shows

internal syntactic balance in the colon structure; each subdivision consists of the pattern

PRONOUN (direct object) — su — VERB (3rd plural past)

syllables 1-4 što su našli

syllables 5-10 to su zaplenili

The colon-ends rhyme (-li) and the phrase as a whole is self-contained, with colon 1 an imbedded sentence in colon 2.

The other example provides another instance of colonic composition, since the infinitive kućiti ("to build a house" or "to set up a household") is dependent on počeli su ("they began"). In addition, the adverbial phrase iz nova ("anew"), while strictly speaking a modifier of kućiti, also corresponds poetically to počeli su. Both expressions describe a beginning, and they balance one another at either end of the phrase. Their relationship exists outside the demands of syntax, meter, syllable count, and stress: it is a purely poetic relationship and activates in both composer and after-the-fact audience a whole series of traditional connotations. Far from representing data in straightforward prose style, this line carries with it crucial cultural assumptions grounded in tradition and brought into play by the highly traditional form of the phrase. It is important to keep in mind this gnomic character of both form and content as we examine further stylistic evidence of the influence of oral poetics.

Our brief selective survey of traditional oral features in this written prose source would not be complete without consideration of other types of formulae. Such repeating units of speech vary syllabically from one occurrence to the next, but the association of their constituent elements and their special, limited function help to preserve them in more or less the same form. The most straightforward way to illustrate the dynamics of this poetic device is to quote a fragment of the autobiography in which the phrase

od kojih je docnije postala još familija
(Variant 1)
from whom came afterwards the families
[lineages]...

and its other variants are particularly prominent. Note that the passage in question is genealogical in nature:

... Andrići, od kojih, je docnije postala još familija Pavlovići, Anići, Ilići, Lukići, Nedići, Stanići, Matijasevići, Janići, Lazarevići, od kojih su docnije postale familije Simići, Vasiljevići, Vasilići, Stevanovići, Petrovići, Perišići, Marićevići, od kojih su sada familija...

As can be readily seen, this noncolonic formula can be as extensive as the form quoted above (Variant 1) or very brief (the form od kojih je familija appears a few lines below the passage above). With respect to its function, this formula not only serves the informant's (and the tradition's) purpose in detailing genealogical strata, but it also gives the entire progression a firm sense of tradition: the settling and building up of Orasac is the story of people and events with a historical continuity.

We conclude, therefore, that this prose

autobiography (and others elicited during the same field session) exhibit a good deal of poetic structure, with many whole-line, colonic, and noncolonic patterns of diction throughout the narrative. This is not to say that the autobiography is poetry, but rather that it clearly owes much of its underlying structure and content to the traditional oral ethos. Many of the phrases are gnomic in nature; that is, they apply not simply to the particularized needs of the moment, but evoke the generic *Weltanschauung* of tradition. In that sense, what the informant is composing is larger than the story of a single person, for it derives from the cumulative knowledge of many generations. The modern Western notion of time-and-space-bound "accuracy" is at best oblique to this sort of perception. As Grandfather Zivomir himself says of his inherited story, as a testament to its truth,

To sam čuo od moga oca i od starijih ljudi, koji su to opet čuli od njihovih starijih, a sad ću ja da dodam još nešto. I heard it from my father and from the elders, who in turn heard it from their elders, and now I will add my part.

NOTES

¹ The systematic study of oral tradition, and specifically how traditional oral poetry was composed and perpetuated, began with Milman Parry and Albert Lord; see especially *The Making of Homeric Verse: The Collected Papers of Milman Parry*, ed. by Adam Parry (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1971), hereafter cited as MHV; and Lord's *The Singer of Tales* (1960; rpt. New York: Atheneum, 1968), hereafter cited as *Singer*.

² For help with this significant acquisition the assistance of Stojan Djurdjevic of the Serbian State Archives is appreciatively acknowledged.

³ In her article "Genealogy as Identity of Self: A Case Study From Rural Serbia" also published in the World Conference on Records papers, B. K. Halpern deals with the background to this discovery and discusses, with examples, the structure of genealogical recall as conditioned by linguistic and cultural factors.

⁴ Most notable among the former are the collected works of the versatile eth-

nographer-linguist-historian Vuk Stefan Karadžić (1787-1864), whose fourteen volumes of *Srpske narodne pesme* (Serbian Folk Songs), the first of which was published in 1841, continue to appear in new editions. Among the latter, specialized work by the prominent geographer Jovan Cvijić (1865-1925), author of *La peninsule balkanique* and other geographies of South Slav areas, include an extensive human geography series *Naselja i Poreklo Stanovništva* (Settlement and Origin of Populations); the series continues up to the present, published by the Serbian Academy of Sciences. Also of note for this period is a detailed ethnographic series on selected regions (*Život i običaji narodni u...* [Peasant Life and Customs in...], originally under the editorship of the ethnologist Tihomir Djordjević.)

⁵The data from Orasac are from Joel M. Halpern, *A Serbian Village*, (New York: Harper and Row, 1967); the Stojanovic genealogy appears on pp. 152-53. Fragments of several written autobiographies were published in the same book on pp. 30, 214, 220-22 (and, in an earlier Columbia University Press edition, [1958] on pp. 301-302), hereafter referenced as *Village*. Material from the English village is from Ronald Blythe, *Akenfield: Portrait of an English Village* (New York: Dell Publishers, 1969), hereafter referred to as *Akenfield*.

⁶The expression "Pravo da ti kažem" (or, since Serbo-Croatian has free word order, "da ti kažem pravo"), "to tell you the truth" is much more than an idiom—it is a kernel of traditional diction, heard over and over again in this society and in other traditional cultures. Compare, for example, the following fragment of a conversation Parry's assistant Nikola Vujnović had with the *guslar* Avdo Medjedović in Montenegro in 1935, almost twenty years before the quoted remark was transcribed in Orasac: A: "...Ho' l' da ti slazem, ali [ili] da ti kažem pravo? N: "Pravo, pravo! A: "E!" N: "Pa tako treba." (A: "...Do you want me to lie to you, or tell you the truth?" N: The truth, just tell me the truth!" A: "Aye!" N: "Yes, we've got to get to the truth!" Conversation trans. by David E. Bynum, in *Serbo-Croatian Heroic Songs*, Vols. III and IV, *The Wedding of Smailagić Meho* (as performed by Avdo Medjedovic); Trans., with introduction, notes, and commentary by Albert B. Lord (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1974). Serbian text from Vol. IV, p. 49, English translation from Vol. III, p. 74.

The adjectival and adverbial form for 'true, real (pravo)' is synonymous with 'straight'; the contemporary vernacular, identical to the older, traditional expression, can therefore be glossed "Let me give it to you straight" or "Let me tell it like it is." The prevalence of this value attests to its continuity and importance among speakers in a traditional oral society.

⁷This kinship chart is reproduced in B. K. Halpern's paper "Genealogy as Genre." Deda is grandfather, used in a general sense here.

⁸Joel M. Halpern and David Anderson, "The Zadruga: A Century of Change," *Anthropologica*, 1970, N.S. 12: 83-97.

⁹The mother/son and brother/sister dyads are features of traditional social structure which continue despite many aspects of social change. One need only analyze the kin relationships as manifest in the epics, in the Kraljevic Marko cycle, to name one example, to realize that the same values of pride, protection, and honor are still very much part of the contemporary rural ethos.

¹⁰The village was not then electrified, portable battery-operated recorders were unreliable and on the one occasion when we arranged for relatively sophisticated recording equipment borrowed from Belgrade, some villagers and commune officials alike

appeared intimidated. By the late 1960s battery-operated recorders had become part of our standard equipment (homes were by then electrified, but the villagers viewed plugging into their power as a situation fraught with unknown technical difficulties and, more importantly, as a financial imposition, so battery-operated units were used exclusively.

¹¹ This project turned out to be a bonus, for it provided the type of transitional (oral to written) data analyzed as the third part of this paper.

¹² Land tenure systems have influenced the formation of household structures generally. We know from the work of social historians such as Peter Laslett (The World We Have Lost, England before the Industrial Age, New York: Scribner's, 1971) that the nuclear family was prevalent in England even prior to the Industrial Revolution. In Serbia, the destruction of the Serbian medieval kingdom at the time of the Turkish invasion in the fourteenth century was a key factor in preserving the patriarchal extended zadruga household and, importantly, in preserving a sense of origins and tradition.

¹³ Akenfield, p. 33.

¹⁴ Akenfield, p. 221.

¹⁵ See note 6.

¹⁶ Village, p. 200.

¹⁷ (In the Akenfield study the investigator was a writer.)

¹⁸ Village, p. 214. It is not our purpose to attempt a psychoanalytical approach to these autobiographies. It does seem pertinent, however, to note how individual personality orientations also structure recall. As the reader will observe, this particular villager mentions his mother before his father in two succeeding sentences, a rare situation in patriarchal Serbia. In subsequent commentary on his family history, he mentions an abusive and arbitrary paternal grandfather. We can note that within a formal patrilineal and patriarchal framework there may be strong affect and a degree of alienation from agnatic kin.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ In 1975, a few years after Grandfather Mileta's death, this now urban grandson, temporarily in Orasac to help his father with the haying, sat in the twilight on a three-legged stool his grandfather had made years ago, tilted it against the house foundation, looked across the yard to where the 'old house' had once stood, and began to recite the Stojanovic genealogy.

²¹ For a discussion of household cycles see Joel M. Halpern and Barbara Kerewsky-Halpern, A Serbian Village in Historical Perspective (New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston, 1972), pp. 39-40 and paper No. 2 in the present collection.

²² The characteristic epic opening sets the scene temporarily and spatially for the narrative about to unfold. See also note 29.

²³ The classic procedures, developed by Parry and Lord for poetic texts (see note 1), involve a statistical analysis for repeated phrases and scenes. These techniques have been highly developed (see, for example, Berkley Peabody, The Winged

Word [Albany: State University of New York Press, 1975]), but are unsuited to the study of prose texts.

²⁴ See "Writing and Oral Tradition," in Singer, pp. 124-38.

²⁵ The edition of oral material, whether formal or informal, is one of the most neglected aspects of the analytical process. In situations where the material in question cannot be preserved as sound (i.e. on tape or the equivalent), many editorial assumptions—from those involved in handwritten transcription to their counterparts in a standard scholarly text—must be made. What is known of the Homeric editing process is well described in J.A. Davison, "The Transmission of the Text," in a Companion to Homer, ed. by A.J.B. Wace and F. H. Stubbings (London: Macmillan, 1962, rpt. 1969), pp. 215-33. The correspondence problem in Old English literature is discussed by Kenneth Sisam, "On the Authority of Old English Poetical Manuscripts," in his Studies in the History of Old English Literature (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1953, rpt. 1967), pp. 29-44.

²⁶ Parry defined the formula as "a group of words which is regularly employed under the same metrical conditions to express a given essential idea ("Studies I," p. 272).

²⁷ For a detailed account of Serbo-Croatian epic meter, see Roman Jakobson, "Studies in Comparative Slavic Metrics," Oxford Slavonic Papers, 3(1952), 21-66. Since most informants were male and since autobiography is, generally speaking, a narrative genre, it is not surprising that the meter of the epic, sung by male guslari and itself a narrative genre, should be the influential meter for the autobiography.

²⁸ Lines with an extra syllable may occur even in oral performances paced by the accompanying instrument, the gusle, but are especially prevalent in the unaccompanied dictation of songs.

²⁹ The epic counterpart is the pripev 'proem' which acknowledges the collective and ritualistic function of the oral performance; see John Miles Foley, "The Traditional Oral Audience," Balkan Studies, 17 (1976), and Eugene E. Pantzer, "Yugoslav Epic Preambles," Slavic and East European Journal, 17 (1959): 372-81. See also note 22.

³⁰ Translating pricanju as "account" is an accommodation. This gerund derives from pricati, "to say, tell, converse," a verb that carries with it the notion of a speaker-audience situation in which information is exchanged by narration.

³¹ Again, see Halpern, "Genealogy as Genre."

³² See note 6.

³³ For presentation of this analysis in context, in both the original and in translation, the approximate first third of Grandfather Zivomir's autobiography appears in "Traditional recall and Family Histories; a Commentary on Mode and Method" by B. K. Halpern, J. M. Halpern and John Foley, in Selected Papers on a Serbian Village: Social Structure as Reflected in History, Demography and Oral Tradition (1977).

The translation with traditionally patterned speech underlined, is given below:

According to the accounts passed on from generation to generation the village

got its name, and the settlement is of refugees from Montenegro mostly, with a small number from other places, who arrived bringing their customs from their native region. This migration resulted from great need and from Turkish oppression, hounding and tyranny, in order to hold onto life itself. Because the first settlers to this pleasant and wooded place far from the main roads found such refuge and personal and material security, they built houses and necessary outbuildings of wood. They took as much land as was needed, and for the livestock they used the vast woods which didn't belong to anyone. They began to make a livelihood, and a few of their near and distant relatives settled there, so that before the First Serbian Revolt there was already a village with as many houses as there are now families [lineages], and these are: the Andrići, from whom later are descended the families Pavlovići, Anići, Ilići, Lucići, Nedići, Stanići, Matijasevići, Janići, Lazarevići, from whom later are descended the families Simići, Vasiljevići, Vasilići, Stevanovići, Petrovići, Perišići, and Maričevići, from whom come the present-day families the Minići, Jovanovići, Todorovići, and Obradovići, and Anići, Veselinović, Ciranić [one household each], the Joksimovići, from whom come the families Dimitrijevići, Jokići, Pejovići, Vasovići, Stojanovići, Jakovljevići, Pejovići, Savići, from whom are descended the families Gajići, Lukići, Milanovići, Radovanovići, Petrovići, Juškovići, Starčevići.

After the First Revolt the Milojevići and Miloradovići settled from the Sandžak region, from Pemojavlje the Rajčici, and from Bulgaria [Southeastern Serbia] the Radojevići.

At the time of the uprising in 1804 Orasac numbered about 20 houses in which there were 3-5, 6, 7, and 8 able-bodied men [in each household] with their wives and male and female children. Men were brave, hearty and courageous. They were organized by the eldest male whom all the others obeyed without question.

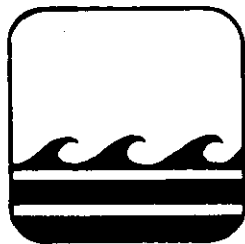
When the Janissaries took over complete control of the Pasaluk of Belgrade they put their own men, called "subasas," in the villages. And in Orasac the subasa was some Turk named Ibrahim whose han [residence/guest-house] the village built up the hill from the present church. He had the required number of armed men and they were the unquestioned authority in the village. Also, for any other Turk who came to the village and who wanted a house, all that the people complied with and gave whatever they [the Turks] wanted. They carried out various oppressive acts and violence: for example, they forced the head of a household to lead his horse, another to carry his sandals, women to prepare food for him, and every other act of force. Whoever dared refuse was killed without mercy or trial. If he [a Serb] attempted to raise his hand in defense then they set fire to his house, outbuildings and all the rest, they confiscated his holdings, and took away his wife, daughters and children, about whom nothing was ever heard.

After the failure of the First Revolt, in 1813 all the people fled to Austria [that is, across the Danube]. The Turks burned the whole village and all the buildings, livestock and all that remained. Whatever they found, they seized and carried off, so that later, when they [the villagers] returned they began to establish homesteads anew. The men themselves built the houses, outbuildings and vats, barrels and all other necessities. The women spun, dyed, and wove and knit garments for the entire household. They were as simple in clothing and footwear as in diet. All the houses and buildings were of wood, which was available in abundance. They warmed themselves around a fire

which burned in a section of the house called "kuca" [then 'hearth,' now the contemporary word for house]. Food was bread, mostly of corn, more rarely of wheat, which was black, because there was no device for refining wheat. All worked, women and men alike. They had plenty of livestock since there was room to herd and feed them. There was no school, there were no literate people. Religion had the greatest meaning, and religious rules were strictly respected. It was considered a sin, and one that was unforgivable, to eat meat products on fast days of which there were many, for example, Wednesday and Friday of every week, the 42 days of the Christmas fast, 42 days before Easter, 15 days before Assumption, 15-45 days before St. Peter's Day, and then 7 days before St. Sava. On fast days food was corn bread, boiled beans, (peas), potatoes, onions, vinegar, pickled cabbage and peppers. On nonfasting days there was hard cheese, soft cheese, eggs, bacon and, on important feast days, meat. Whoever was poor didn't even have these. Goods were cheap, but cash was always in short supply. Yet no one stole, no one swore by anything considered holy, as when an oath is invoked by someone as proof of his truthfulness. No one wished to sin, even if he lost or damaged something. There was a great deal of superstition (let's say this was both good and bad—that's the way it was, without further talk).

All this which I have recounted I heard from my father and from the elders, who in turn heard it from their elders and now I add my part: the kum [godfather] who christened the children and witnessed the marriage ceremony was not supposed to become angry or to be rude under any circumstances; this godfather relationship passed from father to son. The godfather gave the children names according to his own choice and consideration. A young man and a girl did not question the agreements for contracting a marriage; the heads of the households arranged this between themselves. Without question, one was obligated at least once a year to be absolved in the church, after having confession heard by the priest.

All this which I have written took place and after the First Serbian Revolt and after the Second Serbian Revolt from 1815 to 1850. It was related to me by my father, who was born in 1843...



IHRC Ethnic Collections Series, No. 8

THE SOUTH SLAVIC AMERICAN COLLECTION

2nd Edition

**IMMIGRATION HISTORY RESEARCH CENTER
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA**

April, 1979

IMMIGRATION HISTORY RESEARCH CENTER

SOUTH SLAVIC AMERICAN COLLECTIONS

Since 1964 the Immigration History Research Center (formerly the Center for Immigration Studies/Immigrant Archives) of the University of Minnesota has been building a collection of source materials for the study of immigrant groups which came to the United States and Canada from Eastern and Southern Europe.

At present the Immigration History Research Center's collections consist of 35,000 volumes of published materials (including 1,800 periodical titles), 4,300 reels of microfilm, and more than 2,400 linear feet (3.5 million items) of manuscripts. The manuscript holdings include the records of typical ethnic institutions, such as fraternal societies, churches, and publishing companies. Other material derived from the ethnic groups themselves is also represented, including collections of personal papers from ethnic leaders, clergymen, journalists, labor leaders, writers, poets, and politicians.

Material on the South Slavic peoples in America forms an important and integral part of the Immigration History Research Center. The following is a brief description of the contents of the South Slavic collections.

The generous support afforded to the Immigration History Research Center by the following institutions is gratefully acknowledged:

- National Endowment for the Humanities
- The Rockefeller Foundation
- Northwest Area Foundation
- Ethnic organizations and individuals.

Thanks are in order to our many donors for their gifts of materials to the Center's research collections.

	Serial Monographs	Serial Titles	Newspapers Current	Newspapers Total	Manuscript Titles	Manuscript Collections
South Slav (general)	36	12	0	0	0	
Croatian	142	50	5	22	12	
Macedonian	17	2	1	1	0	
Serbian	73	26	7	10	3	
Slovenian	359	121	6	32	29	
Total	627	211	19	64	44	

The 627 volume monograph collection covers the wide range of social, political and religious life of South Slavic communities in the United States and Canada. It includes such historical works as Joseph Zavertnik's Ameriški slovenoci, Chicago, 1925; J. M. Trunk's Amerika in amerikanci, Celovec, 1912; G. E. Gobetz' Slovenian Americans in Greater Cleveland, Cleveland, 1972; F. S. Šusteršič's Poduk rojakom Slovincem, ki so hočejo naseliti v Ameriki, Joliet, Illinois, 1903; Anton Ingolic's Pri naših v Ameriki, Ljubljana, 1964; Josip Kraja's Narodna borba prvih hrvatskih useljenika u U.S.A., Buenos Aires, 1963; Luka Pejović's Srbi na Srednjem Zapadu [Michigan], Pittsburgh, 1936; and his Srbi u St. Luisu, Pittsburgh, 1934; Vjekoslav Meier's Hrvati u Americi, Chicago, 1927; George Prpić's Croatian Immigrants in America, New York, 1971; and Večeslav Holjevac's Hrvati izvan domovine, Zagreb, 1968.

In addition, there are many works dealing with religious figures, such as Bishop Baraga, Rev. Joseph Buh, Rev. Joseph Kundek and Rev. Ferdinand Konščak; works by labor-oriented writers, e.g., Etbin Kristan and Ivan Molek; and literary works by S. Danevski, Louis Adamič, Stoyan Christowe and Ivan Zorman. Fraternal societies are represented by histories and by scores of published constitutions, by-laws, reports, minutes, etc. for such groups as the Croatian Fraternal Union, the Serb National Federation, the Slovene National Benefit Society, the Grand Carniolian Slovenian Catholic Union, and others.

Among the 211 periodical titles, a few of the larger and more complete runs are: Crveni Kalendar, 1920-1924; Ameriški Družinski Koledar, 1915-1950; Hrvatski Katolički Glasnik, 1945-present; Hrvatski Katolički Glasnik Kalendar, 1944-1950, 1965, 1970; Naša Nada Kalendar,

1927-1949 (scattered issues); Official News Digest of the Serbian Orthodox Church in the U.S. and Canada, 1965-present; Koledar Družbe Sv. Mohorja, 1896-1968; Ave Maria, 1910-present; Ave Maria Koledar, 1913-present; Novi Svet, 1938-1965; Hrvatska Revija, 1955-present; Hrvatski Glas Kalendar, 1940-1975 (scattered issues); Amerikanski Srbobran Kalendar, 1922, 1923, 1926, 1941, 1943; Srpski Narodni Kalendar Amerika, 1959-1964; Čas/Novi Čas, 1915-1928; Cankarjev Glasnik, 1937-1942; Mladinski List/Voice of Youth, 1936-present (nearly complete); and Zarja (Slovenian Women's Union), 1929-present (nearly complete).

In addition to the collections specifically relating to South Slavic Americans, much useful material is to be found in the papers of such "multi-ethnic" collections as the American Council for Nationalities Service, the Assembly of Captive European Nations, the American Council for the Emigrés in the Professions, and the International Institutes of Boston, Minnesota, and St. Louis.

MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS

[Collections preceded by an * have undergone final processing and detailed inventories are available for use at the Center]

CROATIAN

Baloković, Zlatko

Papers, ca. 1942-1955, 2.5 linear feet
Personal and organizational papers of a leader of various Yugoslav and Croatian groups interested in the establishment and development of a federated Yugoslav republic during and after World War II. The organizations included are the United Committee of South Slavic Americans, the American Slav Congress and United Yugoslav Relief.

Croatian Fraternal Union of America, Lodge 530, Melcher, Iowa
Papers, 1896-1971, 1 ledger

Devich, Andrew, 1896

Autobiography, 1976, ca. 0.5 linear inch
A sketch of the process of migration and settlement of an immigrant from Croatia to Buhl, Minnesota.

Dramatski Zbor "Nada," Chicago, Illinois

Papers, ca. 1923-1938, ca. 26 linear feet
A large collection of manuscript and typewritten plays created and used by the Croatian American dramatic society "Nada", between 1923 and 1938. The dramatic group was a part of the larger immigrant organization, the Yugoslav Education Federation, which published the newspapers, Novi Svijet and Znanje.

Kerhin, Zlatko I., 1881-1968

Papers, ca. 1900-1971, ca. 10 linear feet
Organizer of various Croatian singing societies in Chicago; Pittsburgh; Pueblo, Colorado; and Gary, Indiana. In 1949, he was elected president of the Croatian American Singers which coordinated the activities of all the singing societies then in existence. The collection contains personal and professional papers, correspondence, music, photographs and playbills.

Kraja, Josip, 1891

Papers, ca. 1915-1965, ca. 5 linear feet
Born in Dubrovnik, Kraja immigrated to the U.S. in 1907. He served as president of the National Croatian Circle several times, and was editor of Hrvatska Stampa. Kraja was also the owner of United Printing Company of Youngstown, Ohio which published several foreign language newspapers. The collection includes records of the National Croatian Circle, his printery, correspondence and other personal, professional and organizational papers.

Lupis-Vukić, Ivo F., 1876-?

Papers, ca. 1912-1957, 17 reels microfilm
The correspondence and writings of a Croatian who occasionally lived and traveled in U.S. Croatian communities between 1891 and 1930. Author of Među Našim Narodom u Americi.

*Preveden, Francis Ralph, 1890-1959

Papers, 1924-1959, 10.5 linear feet, 1 scrapbook
Author of History of the Croatian People, professor of linguistics at various American universities, and translator for the Defense Department during World War II and after. The bulk of this collection concerns the publication of the History.

St. Mary's Roman Catholic Church, Rankin, Pennsylvania

Papers, 1896-1939, 1.3 linear feet
Records of one of the oldest and largest Croatian parishes in the United States.

Savez Kanadskih Hrvata

Papers, ca. 1941-1958, ca. 1 linear foot
This collection contains manuscript plays and music scores.

Splivalo, Joseph

Papers, ca. 1961-1976, ca. 0.5 linear inch
The collection includes Splivalo's translations of Yugoslav poetry; articles about his family; and articles about Dalmatian seamen.

Tomašić, Dinko A.

Papers, n.d., ca. 6 linear inches
These papers are composed of a typed manuscript of his book, "Americans from Croatia."

SERBIAN

Palandech, John R.

Papers, 1919-1963, ca. 1 linear inch
Correspondence and pamphlets of a prominent Serbian American publisher.

Serbian Orthodox Church [in America], New York, New York

Calendar of the Episcopal Correspondence, 1898-1925
1 reel microfilm

Vaskov, Milan 1894-1970

Papers, 1935-1970, 1.3 linear feet
A photoengraver by trade, Vaskov lived in St. Louis; Las Cruces, New Mexico; El Paso, Texas; and Valdosta, Georgia before settling in Pittsburgh. Personal and business correspondence is emphasized in his papers.

SLOVENE

Ave Maria Printery, Lemont, Illinois

Papers, 1956-1967, 3.5 linear feet

Correspondence of the subscribers with the publishers of the monthly Ave Maria and the annual Ave Maria Koledar. Collection closed until 1990.

Berlisg, John, 1882-1945

Papers, 1920-1945, 0.2 linear feet

Probably the first Slovenian American professional musician, Berlisg was a music teacher, orchestra leader and leader of the Detroit singing society "Svoboda." The collection contains biographical material, photographs and two manuscript operettas which he translated from German.

Glas Naroda (newspaper)

Papers, 1953-1963, 0.4 linear feet

Glas Naroda was an independent Slovenian American newspaper publishing in New York City from 1893 to 1963. The collection consists chiefly of correspondence, subscriber lists and editorial material from the 1953-1963 period when Anna Krasna was editor.

Golobitsch, Mary

Papers, 1945-1963, 0.1 linear feet

The letters of Mary Golobitsch, a Slovenian immigrant in Joliet, Illinois, to her niece, Ana Sklander, who was living near Novo Mesto in Slovenia. Contains descriptions of the life of Slovenian immigrants in America.

Grebenc, Anthony

Papers, ca. 1904-1920, ca. 1 linear inch

The papers consist of a manuscript which is an autobiographical sketch of immigrant life on Minnesota's Iron Range.

Ivan Cankar Dramatic Society, Cleveland, Ohio

Papers, 1926-1946, 0.3 linear feet

Minutes of monthly meetings of the society, 1926-1946, and miscellaneous playbills and souvenir booklets of the group.

*Jugoslovenska Socilistična Zveza (Yugoslav Socialist Federation)

Papers, ca. 1905-1952, ca. 20 linear feet, plus 91 ledgers

Correspondence, minutes, financial records, membership lists, and other materials of the Federation are included in this collection along with correspondence and financial records of the Federation's "Prosvetna Matica" and the publications Proletarec, Majski Glas, and Ameriški Družinski Koledar.

*Jugoslovensko Republičansko Združenje (Yugoslav Republican Alliance),

Chicago, Illinois

Papers, ca. 1918-1948, ca. 3 linear inches

An organization of South Slavic emigrants created to advocate a

democratic form of government for the Union of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (i.e., Yugoslavia). The collection consists of correspondence, financial papers and other internal records.

Kotnik, Rev. Bertrand

Papers, 1908-1965, ca. 1.5 linear feet

Rev. Bertrand is a Slovenian American priest at St. Mary's Seminary, Lemont, Illinois. His papers consist of correspondence, parish jubilee books, programs and sheet music.

Kranjsko-Slovenska Katoliška Jednota (Grand Carniolian Slovenian Catholic Union)

Board of Director's Minutes, 1894-1895, ca. 1 linear inch

Molek, Ivan, 1882-1962

Papers, ca. 1927-1965, ca. 1 linear foot

Associated with several Slovenian American publications, Ivan Molek was editor of Prosveta from 1929-1944. His collection contains copies of his articles and editorials as well as photographs, newspaper clippings and several publications.

Mother of Sorrows Church, Cleveland, Ohio

Baptism, marriage and death registers, December 16, 1906-August 1, 1907

1 reel microfilm

Nemanich, Anton

Papers, 1911-1963, ca. 1 linear inch

An early Slovene immigrant and one-time president of the Grand Carniolian Slovenian Catholic Union (KSKJ). Correspondence, minutes and photographs.

Pogorelec, Matija, 1895-1957

Papers, ca. 1870-1957, 8 linear feet

Pogorelec was a traveling salesman who visited Slovenian communities throughout the United States. In addition, he was an avid collector of Slovenian Americana. The collection is particularly rich in material pertaining to Monsignor J. F. Buh, pioneer Slovenian missionary in Minnesota.

Prushek, Harvey

Papers, 1934-1935, ca. 1 linear inch

Correspondence and prints of a Slovenian American artist.

St. Lawrence Church, Cleveland, Ohio

Marriage and death registers, 1902-1959

1 reel microfilm

St. Vitus Church, Cleveland, Ohio

Baptism, marriage and death registers, 1893-1957

3 reels microfilm

Sholar, Wenceslau

Papers, 1894-1937, 1.5 linear feet
Letters of an immigrant priest, who served Slovene parishes in Illinois and Minnesota, written to his brother in Slovenia describing the early years of Slovene settlement in these states.

- *Slovenska Delavska Podporna Zveza (Slavic Workers' Benefit Federation),
Conemaugh, Pennsylvania
Minutes, 1908-1918, 3 linear inches

Slovenian Library, Ely, Minnesota
Board of Directors' minutes, 1915-1917, ca. 1 linear inch

- *Slovenska Narodna Podporna Jednota (Slovene National Benefit Society),
Chicago, Illinois
Papers, 1904-1966, 133 ledgers
The collection of ledgers contains Supreme Board minutes, convention minutes, membership records, financial records, records of lodges nos. 1, 3, 7, 27, 131, 148, and 658, records of benefit payments, treasurer's books, lists of addresses, subscription records, Athletic Association records, records of book sales, and investment and bond records.

Slovenska Narodna Podporna Jednota (Slovene National Benefit Society),
Lodge 5, "Naprej," Cleveland, Ohio
Minute book, 1904-1923
1 reel microfilm

Slovenska Sirotisnica in Sanitarij (Slovenian Orphanage and Sanitarium), Chicago, Illinois
Minutes, 1912-1913, 1 ledger
An attempt at cooperation among many Slovenian American organizations to build an orphanage and sanitarium.

- *Slovenska Svobodomslena Podporna Zveza (Slovene Progressive Benefit Society), Chicago, Illinois
Papers, 1909-1941, 67 ledgers
The ledgers contain minutes of conventions, financial records, records of benefit payments, secretary's books, records of the Juvenile Department, records of the Investment Committee and the records of Lodge number 47.

Slovensko Podporno Društvo "Sv. Barbara" (Slovene Benefit Society "St. Barbara"), Forest City, Pennsylvania
Minutes, 1904-1917, 1 ledger

Šv. Lovrenc and Šmihel Churches, Dolenjsko, Slovenia
Parish chronicles and survey of emigrants from the Šmihel Parish, 1905-1950
1 reel microfilm

Yugoslav (Slovenian) Radio Hour, Milwaukee, Wisconsin
Papers, ca. 1942-1953, ca. 7 linear inches
A collection of scripts used for the radio programs.

Zaplotnik, Rev. John

Papers, n.d., 5 linear feet
Personal library and maps reflecting the missionary work among Slovenian Americans, which Rev. Zaplotnik used in his own research and writing.

- *Zveza "Lilija" Wisconsin (Alliance "Lily" of Wisconsin), Milwaukee, Wisconsin
Papers, 1935-1946, 10 linear inches
Alliance "Lily" of Wisconsin was a Slovenian fraternal benefit association founded in 1935. The papers consist chiefly of financial records.

NEWSPAPERS

* current issues received regularly

CROATIAN

Američki Hrvatski Glasnik. Chicago, Illinois
1955-1956 (scattered issues)

Croatian Times. Omaha, Nebraska
1977-1978

Danica. Chicago, Illinois
1953-1956, 1968-September, 1973

Domovina. New York, New York
January 7, 1916-October 26, 1917 (microform)

Hrvatska Zastava. Chicago, Illinois
August 3, 1905-October 30, 1917 (microform)

*Hrvatski Glas. Winnipeg, Manitoba
1940-1961 (scattered issues), 1962-present

Hrvatski Glasnik. Allegheny, Pennsylvania
December 12, 1908-September 13, 1919 (microform)

Hrvatski List. New York, New York
January 20, 1922-December, 1941 (microform)

Hrvatski Svijet. New York, New York
July 23, 1908-June 30, 1913; January 2, 1914-June 30, 1920
(microform)

*Hrvatski Tjednik Danica. Chicago, Illinois
August 1977-present

Jadran. San Francisco, California
February 26, 1908-December 29, 1910 (microform)

Križ. Gary, Indiana
1953-1957

Napredak. Allegheny City, Pennsylvania
1896-1908 (scattered issues)

Narodni Glasnik. Chicago, Illinois
1965-August, 1973 (ceased publication)

Narodni List. New York, New York
June 4, 1898-June 30, 1920 (microform)

*Naša Nada. Gary, Indiana
1954-present

*Naše Novine. Toronto, Ontario
September, 1973-present

Novi Svijet (superceded by Znanje). Chicago, Illinois
1924-1931

Radnička Borba. Cleveland, Ohio
1963-1970

Sokol. St. Louis, Missouri
May, December, 1933, January-July, October, November, 1934
(microform)

*Zajedničar. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
January, 1907-December 25, 1940 (microform); 1944-1961 (scattered
issues), 1962-present

Znanje (formerly Novi Svijet). Chicago, Illinois
1935-1939

MACEDONIAN

*Makedonska Tribuna. Indianapolis, Indiana
1963-present

SERBIAN

*American Srbobran. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
January 18, 1906-December 20, 1912; February 4, 1918-December 31,
1940 (microform); 1965-present

*Diocesan Observer. Libertyville, Illinois
1965-present

*Glas Kanadskih Srba. Windsor, Ontario
1971-present

Jugoslovenski Američki Glasnik. Maywood, California
1961-1970 (incomplete)

*Kanadski Srbobran. Hamilton, Ontario
1963-present

*Path of Orthodoxy. Leetsdale, Pennsylvania
1977-present

*Sloboda. Chicago, Illinois
1965-present

Slobodna Reč. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
December 18, 1934-December 29, 1948 (microform)

Srbadija. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
March 31, 1921-December, 1927 (microform)

*Srpska Borba. Chicago, Illinois
1953-present

SLOVENIAN

*Amerikanski Slovenec. Chicago, Illinois; Tower, Minnesota; Joliet, Illinois; Cleveland, Ohio
September 10, 1891-July 14, 1920 (nearly complete), July 21, 1920-December 1946 (complete) [Note: 1891-1946, microform]; 1963-present

*Ameriška Domovina. (formerly Nova Domovina, 1907-1908 and Clevelandska Amerika, 1908-1918). Cleveland, Ohio
January 2, 1907-December 31, 1962 (microfilm); 1963-present

Edinost (superceded by Amerikanski Slovenec). Chicago, Illinois
1919-1925 (incomplete) (microform)

Enakopravnost. Cleveland, Ohio
1922; 1940-1943 (incomplete) (microfilm); 1948-1956

Glas Naroda. New York, New York
1893-1903 (incomplete); 1912, 1916-1921 (incomplete) (microform); 1933, 1948-1954

Glas Svobode. Chicago, Illinois
1907-1922 (scattered issues) (microform)

Glas Svobode, Pueblo, Colorado
1902-1907 (microform)

Glasilo KSK Jednote. Chicago, Illinois
1915-1945 (microform)

Glasilo SNPJ. Chicago, Illinois
1908-1915 (incomplete) (microform)

Glasnik. Calumet, Michigan
1901-1915 (microform)

Jugoslovenski Obzor. Milwaukee, Wisconsin
1933-1945

Komar. New York, New York
1906-1907

Mir. Pueblo, Colorado
1901-1903 (scattered issues) (microform)

Naprej. Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania
1935-1941 (scattered issues) (microform)

Narodni Vestnik. Duluth, Minnesota
January 4, 1912-December 30, 1914 (microform)

*Nova Doba (New Era). Cleveland, Ohio; Ely, Minnesota
1936-1953 (scattered issues), 1963-present

Nova Domovina. Cleveland, Ohio
1901-1906 (scattered issues) (microform)

*Our Voice. Cleveland, Ohio
1969-present

Proletarec. Chicago, Illinois
1906-1918 (microform), 1929-1952 (microform)

*Prosveta (Organ of the Slovenian National Benefit Society). Chicago, Illinois
1916-1967 (microform), 1968-present

Sloga. Cleveland, Ohio
1915, 1919 (scattered issues) (microform)

Slovenija. Milwaukee, Wisconsin
1915-1921 (scattered issues) (microform)

Slovenska Država. Chicago, Illinois
1950-1964

Slovenske Novice. Calumet, Michigan
1916-1919 (scattered issues) (microform)

Slovenski Akademiki v Ameriki. Toronto, Ontario
1960-1961 (scattered issues)

Slovenski Glas. Buenos Aires, Argentina
1946 (scattered issues) (microform)

Slovenski Narod. New York, New York
April 1, 1915-September 25, 1917 (microform)

Slovenski Narod. Pueblo, Colorado
1908-1915 (scattered issues) (microform)

*Svobodna Slovenija. Buenos Aires, Argentina
1964-1968, 1971-present

Vestnik. Milwaukee, Wisconsin
1925, 1928 (scattered issues) (microform)

Zarja. Ljubljana, Yugoslavia
1912, 1914 (scattered issues) (microform)

Zora. Chicago, Illinois
1901 (scattered issues) (microform)

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Joseph Szeplaki, 1977.
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Ukrainians in the United States and Canada (to be published)

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Guide to Genealogical Sources



South Slavs

IN NORTH AMERICA BY JOHN E. BODNAR

The Croatians, Slovenes, Serbs, Bulgarians, and Montenegrins came to America from the southern areas of the old Austro-Hungarian Empire. Comprising present-day Yugoslavia, these groups arrived in America generally between 1880 and 1920. Although Croatian sailors had left the Dalmatian Coast and settled in California in the early nineteenth century, the vast numbers of South Slavs settled in urban and industrial areas, such as Chicago, Cleveland, Pittsburgh, or in mining districts such as Calumet, Michigan, or Leadville, Colorado after 1885.

Typical among these newcomers was George Dragovich. Born in the village of Pjecanica in Croatia, Dragovich was a Serb who decided to leave for America in 1898. Motivated by a desire to earn higher wages which, he felt, would enable him to return to Pjecanica and buy land, he disregarded warnings of the dangerous ocean crossing by the village Orthodox priest and embarked on a month long voyage from Le Havre, France.

"Ja idem u Ameriku," Dragovich had told his friends. "I am going to America." As to where his exact destination would be in America, he had no idea. After being processed through Ellis Island, he recalled someone placing a "tag" on his coat and leading him to a train. When the train made its initial stop, Dragovich attempted to leave. The conductor read his "tag" and indicated to him that this was not yet his destination. After several more stops, he was told to depart at Steelton, Pennsylvania, an industrial center near Harrisburg.

In Steelton, Dragovich was housed by a group of Slovenes and taken to the Pennsylvania Steel Company for employment the day after his arrival. After several months of toil around the open hearth, he returned to Europe to his wife and children, despondent over conditions he had found in the American mill town.

Work in the fields around Pjecanica, however, again caused him to despair about his future and he returned to Steelton in 1899, bringing his family to join him two years later.

In Steelton to stay, the Dragovich's began to sink roots. George returned to his job at the mill and his wife remained at home to operate a boarding house for other Serbs and raise the children. In 1912, he became ill and was forced to leave the steel plant. A small confectionary store, which he opened, served as his source of income. The remainder of his life centered around the institutions of Steelton's Serbian community: the St. Nicholas Fraternal Lodge and the Serbian Orthodox Church. In 1915, the local Republican political boss arranged for him to acquire citizenship papers and he voted Republican the rest of his years.

George Dragovich's life was not spectacular. It was filled with hard work. He was lonely when he arrived in America. He was overjoyed when the Serbs finally opened an Orthodox Church in Steelton. Nevertheless, his experience was commonplace; it was a story of limited occupational gains, industrial accidents, attachments to fellow Serbs, and simple pleasures. It was a story familiar to the bulk of South Slavs who came to America.

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5-8 August 1969

Yugoslav Migrations to the U. S. A.

By

Adam S. Eterovich

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I. *Austrian, Italian, Turk or Slav?*

In order to do research on the Yugoslav in America or Yugoslavia it is essential to understand two basic divisions by:

1.) Major Religions: Serbian Orthodox, Roman Catholic, Mohamedism

2.) Major Ethnic Sub-Groups: Serbian, Croatian, Slovenian, Macedonian

The Yugoslav or South (Yugo) Slav is Slavonic of various Slavic ethnic sub-groups. He is not Austrian, Italian or Turk, but has been influenced by them considerably. Having had no National State prior to World War I he was recorded as: Austrian, Italian, or Turk. The purpose of this report is to identify him as a South Slav or Yugoslav.

II. *Statistical Presentation*

A. Introduction:

The Yugoslav, Czechoslovak and Austrian immigration to America from 1820 to 1963 numbered four million. This is not insignificant. The following comparison charts of Balkan and eastern European immigration inclusive of the parts of the Austrian Empire and Turkey in Europe is indicative of the state of central and eastern Europe prior to 1900. One can well appreciate the difficulty of identification of nativity, validity of available statistics, and general overall confusion as to national origin based on ethnic or religious groupings. Yugoslavs at one period or another could have been recorded under any one of approximately twelve different groupings (shown by asterisk) or if from Montenegro: kingdom of Montenegro, Turkey or Austria, dependent on the area. Over 25% of all immigrants coming to America from 1820 to 1963 were from eastern Europe or the Balkans.

B. *Austrian Empire in 1850*

Bohemia	Moravia	Gallicia
Austria	Transylvania	Salzburg
Carinthia	*Hungary	*Stiria
Tyrol	*Kingdom of	Illyria
	Lombard and Venitien	
Croatia	Slavonia	*Dalmatia

C. *Turkey in Europe 1850*

*Croatia (part)	*Bosnia	*Servia
*Hercegovina	*Macedonia	Moldavia
Walachia	Bulgaria	Romania
Albania	Greece	

D; *Balkan and Eastern European Immigration, 1820-1963*

Austria	3,758.091.
Bulgaria	66.442.
Czechoslovakia	129.704.
Estonia	2.544.
Finland	28.358.
Greece	499.465.
Hungary	522.772.
Latvia	5.488.
Lithuania	9.376.
Poland	451.010.
Rumania	159.497.
Turkey in Europe	160.931.
U.S.S.R.	3,344.998.
Yugoslavia	69.834.
	9,208.510.
Total Europe	34,896.219.

E. *Immigration 1820-1963 compared with other groups.*

Balkan & Eastern Europe	9,208.510.
Germany	6,798.313.
Ireland	4,693.009.
Italy	5,017.625.
Sweden	1,255.296.

III. *Method of Research in America Prior to 1900.*

A. *Introduction to the Census - California*

This survey was accomplished by a review of census microfilm for 1850, 1860, 1870 and 1880. The special California census of 1852 was reviewed at the state library in Sacramento. This extract is doubly important in that most of the vital statistics of this period were destroyed in various fires and earthquakes. It is the most comprehensive study of its kind ever done on South Slavs in the U. S. A. Since Yugoslavia was a product of the First World War, a great deal of difficulty was experienced with recording of nativity, in that South Slavs were recorded as Austrian, Dalmatian, Serbian, Croatian, Italian, Hungarian, Russian and Turkish. With some reliability and cross check with other records on file, it can be stated that at least two-thirds of all individuals listed were South Slav, and the majority of South Slavs being from Dalmatia, a part of Croatia, on the Adriatic Coast. The majority of Yugoslavs at the time were gold miners or operated saloons, coffee saloons or restaurants. Great numbers were found in San Francisco, Sacramento, and the gold mining areas of the mother lode. During the period of the silver boom

many Yugoslavs went from California to Nevada, with some eventually going to Arizona. This particular study does not list the children as this will be the subject of another study entitled 'Marriages in California.' The earliest listing was made and not again repeated, although, many individuals reporting in 1860 or 1870 did not report in 1880. It is felt there were a great deal of inaccuracies and omissions with Yugoslavs due to their inability to communicate and/or their hard-to-spell names, hence many Smiths and Browns.

Statistical Survey

1860 1870 1880

NATIVITY	TOTAL	ESTIMATED SOUTH SLAV
Austria	2403	1425
Dalmatia	42	42
Slavonia	22	22
Serbia	5	5
Montenegro	6	6
Herzegovina	1	1
Turkey	9	9
Italy	65	65
Russia	5	5
Greece	7	7
Hungary	1	1
Bohemia	15	
Moravia	5	
Prague	5	
	2591	1568

B. Voting Registers

The index to the Great Register of Voters for California has been an invaluable source of information on South Slavs in the West. The most valuable bit of information is the place of naturalization, as this has made possible further research at the location of naturalization. A good example of what could be extracted is as follows:

Santa Clara County, California Voting Records

NAME	AGE	1868 OCCUPATION	REPORTED	DATE NATURALIZED
Cupich, Nicholas	35	Barkeeper	Austria	1867
Gaspirzza, John	26	Restaurant	Austria	1867
Green (Zelenka), John	34	Fruits	Slavonian	1867

1869

Battinich, Luca	30	Fruits	Dalmatia	1868
Zibilich, Nicholas	60	Restaurant	Austria	Jul 1868

1872

Uzscovich, Christophe	30	Saloon	Austria	1861
Elich, John	46	Restaurant	Austria	1854
Gasivoda, Mark	48	Farmer	Slavonian	1848

C. *Business Directories*

One of the first, and the best source of information has been the coffee saloon, saloon, restaurant and fruit section of a western or southern business directory. During the 1850's, 1860's and 1870's the South Slav could be found in all gold and silver boom towns of the West with established businesses. The following sampling of the Pacific Coast Business Directory for 1871 plus the San Francisco Directory for 1862 is of interest.

Pacific Coast Business Directory for 1871

NAME	ADDRESS	OCCUPATION
Austin Nevada		
Barovich, Nikolas	Main St.	Restaurant and Saloon
Carson City, Nevada		
Perasich, E.	Carson bet. Proctor	Fruits and Candies
Gold Hill, Nevada		
Chiuda and Gregovich		Produce and Game
Hamilton, Nevada		
Antunovich, Florentine	110 Main St.	Restaurant and Saloon
Pioche, Nevada		
Vircovich, Samuel		Saloon
Reno, Nevada		
Smith (Svianaz) A. J.	A. J. Plaza	Saloon
Shermatown, Nevada		
Gugnina, N.	Main	Restaurant
Treasure City, Nevada		
Milatovich, Andrew	93 North C	Groceries and Liquors
Idaho Territory, Idaho City		
Melonovich, M.		Liquors
Nez Perce, Idaho Territory		
Vucasovich, C.		Restaurant
Bannak City, Montana Territory		
Viscovich, Chris		Restaurant
Sitka, Alaska Territory		
Miletich, Samuel	75 Lincoln	Saloon
Victoria, British Columbia		
Carcovitch, P.	Yates	Liquors

San Francisco Business Directory for 1862

Antunovich, Florio	Clay and East	Coffee Saloon
--------------------	---------------	---------------

Boghisich, B. N.
 Braticevich, L.
 Fisher, George
 Gelcich, Vincent
 Slavonic Illyric Society Office

715 Davis
 Jackson St. Wharf

 605 Broadway
 210 Jackson

Ferry House
 Coffee Stand
 Justice of the Peace
 Physician

D. *Church Survey of San Francisco*

A survey was made of all churches in San Francisco from their origin to 1900. All births, deaths, marriages were card indexed. This survey covered the pre World War I Austrian. The Austrian did not have a national church in San Francisco but attended the St. Boniface German church. The Serbian Orthodox prior to 1900, attended the Russian church in San Francisco; and the Croatian/Dalmation and Slovene attended various Catholic churches until they organized the Slavonic Church of Nativity which was subsequently destroyed by the great earthquake and fire. The below extractions are typical examples of what was found.

Old St. Mary's

Marriages

George Mascarich	Austria	1859
Margaret Large	Ireland	
Peter Metrovich	Slavonian	1862

St. Boniface German Church

Marriages

Edward Wanske	Nohemia	1873
Elizabeth Kerner	Pa.	
Dominic Mengola	Dalmatia	1873
Ana Haker	Germany	
Jacob Klemencich	Austria	1881
Ana Paschich	Austria	

St. Brendans - Irish Church

Marriages

Anton Batchir	Dalmatia	1885
Agnes Lyons		

Church of Nativity

(Known as the Slavonian Church by the local Dalmation/Croatian and Slovenien Colony)

Marriages

A statistical extract from 1902 to 1920 indicates the Slavic place of birth for individuals as:

Dalmatia - 456

Slovenia - 174

Croatia	-	49
Slavonia	-	5
Macedonia	-	1
Bohemia	-	7
Galicia	-	8
Austria	-	2
Silesia	-	1
Hungaria	-	41
Russia	-	3

Croara	-	43
Hercegovina	-	6
American-Jugoslav		55
Slovakia	-	13
Tyrol	-	1
Carinthia	-	1
Styria	-	6
Poland	-	11
Italy	-	3

E. Cemetery Survey of San Francisco

It can be assumed with some certainty that people die in the same numbers and with the same ethnic distribution as they had lived. A very careful and exact survey was made of the Catholic Holy Cross Cemetery of San Francisco from 1920 to 1930 with the recording of all burials of individuals registered as Roumanian, Albanian, Galician, Bohemian, Czechoslovak, Croatian, Slovenian, Serbian, 'Slavonian', Yugoslavian, Dalmatian and Austrian. It is understood that this survey would not include the Jewish, Moslem and Protestant minority as represented in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The majority of the named above were part of Austria prior to World War I. With the formation of new nations after World War I, it has never been accurately determined as to what true ethnic distribution existed or does exist. Rough approximations and census statistics have been distorted by the simple fact that many South-Slavs, Czechs and Slovaks continued to report as Austrian because they did in fact come from 'Old Austria'; where as Yugoslavia Czechoslovakia were formed after their people came to America. It is hoped that the following survey of 1920-1930 will at least establish an approximation of ethnic distribution for the San Francisco Bay Area, one of the first large Slavic settlements in America, and convince those in doubt that the CROATIAN DALMATIAN was in the majority of all Catholic groups represented by old Austria and other Balkan Areas.

HOW REGISTERED

Roumania	2
Albania	1
Galicia	1
Bohemia	14
Czechoslovakia	3
Croatia	2
Slovenia	1
Serbia	2
'Slavonia'	2
Jugoslavia	51
Dalmatia	35

AUSTRIA

Slav Plot	81
Slav Church	59
*Other Slav	53
Vienna	2
Austria	104

ACTUAL ETHNIC DISTRIBUTION

Roumania	2
Albania	1
Galicia	1
Czechoslovakia	17
Croatia	2
Slovenia	1

Dalmatia	286	286
----------	-----	-----

*AUSTRIA	106
----------	-----

**Serbia	1151	115
----------	------	-----

Total South Slav	401
------------------	-----

*Personal interviews with
'old time' South-Slav indicates
that these Austrians were Croats
Dalmatians and Slovenes.

*could include Bohemians
and Slovenians

**Serbian Cemetery burial
for 1920 to 1930 was 115. The
Majority of these individuals
came from Montenegro and
Dalamatia.

It would be safe to estimate that 90% of the total South-Slav count of 401 were from
Dalmatia. From 1849 to 1930 there were 1650 individuals listed.

F. *Societies*

Society or lodge records are an excellent source of information because
they will usually indicate the exact place of birth. They also establish a true
nationality for the South Slav insofar as being reported as Austrian or Italian is
concerned. The two best source documents are the article of incorporation
filings found in a state depository, or any local business directory. The
following organizations in California were traced in this manner:

Organizations in California

- | | | |
|-----|---|------|
| 1. | Slavic American Benevolent Society of Watsonville | 1898 |
| 2. | Slavonian American Benevolent Society of San Jose | 1895 |
| 3. | Slavonian American Benevolent Society of Los Angeles | 1895 |
| 4. | Croatian Slavonian Benevolent Society of Los Angeles | 1895 |
| 5. | Slavonian National Social Club of San Francisco | 1897 |
| 6. | Austrian Benevolent Society of San Jose | 1878 |
| 7. | Austrian Protective Society of San Francisco | 1889 |
| 8. | Russian and Pan-Slavonic Benevolent Society of
San Francisco | 1869 |
| 9. | Greek-Russian-Slavonian Benevolent Society of
San Francisco | 1872 |
| 10. | Austrian Benevolent Society of San Francisco | 1885 |
| 11. | Austrian Military Benevolent Society of San Francisco | 1883 |
| 12. | Serbian Montenegrin Benevolent Society of San Francisco | 1881 |
| 13. | Slavenska Citaonica of San Francisco | 1869 |
| 14. | Slavonic Illyric Benevolent Society of San Francisco | 1859 |

Newspaper Advertisements

A good source of information has been the newspapers in the mining towns.
They usually carried the events, stagecoach arrivals and departures, business
advertisements and other important data. Examples of such for Nevada are listed:

Belmont Curier 10-28-1876
Carson Daily Times
2- 5-1881

Descovich, John
Gregovich, M. P.

Voted
Monarch Saloon

Daily Terr. Enterprise	1-10-1863	Medin, Marco	S. F. Fruit Store
Daily Trespass	2- 6-1867	Gugnina, N.	Fire Engine Company
Esmeralda Union Wkly	11-23-1867	Novacovich, J.	Saloon
Eureka Sentinel	9-13-1882	Pavlovich, N.	Family Fruit Store
Panamint News	3-13-1875	Perasich, N.	A Horable Murder
Sacramento Daily V.	7- 7-1863	Millinovich, M.	Shot at Virginia City
True Fissure	11-27-1880	Slavonians	Pioneer Silver Locators

IV. *Yugoslavs in the U. S. Prior to 1900.*

A. *Yugoslavs in California 1849 - 1900*

The first Yugoslavs in California came from Dalmatia and Montenegro, as seamen and merchants. It is interesting to note that they were first known as 'Slavonians' by the American people. This, to the writer's knowledge, is the only place in the world that 'Slavonian' was synonymous with Yugoslav or South Slav. One would more readily understand the term 'Slavonian' during the 1850's and 1860's if the only other identity to use were 'Austrian.' The general American public did not know where Dalmatia or Montenegro was, but they did know at the time what 'Slav' meant. By using 'Slavonian' they identified themselves to a Slavic heritage and Slavic land. Another interesting fact was the use of Serbian by the Montenegrin and and Dalmatian in California. To the writer's knowledge, the majority of the 'Serbs' or Serbians, as indicated by statistics and various benevolent society names in California, came from the area of the Boka Kotorska in in Montenegro. This was understandable in that the Montenegrin was culturally tied to Serbia and Serbian politics, and rather than be called and Austrian or Turk, they chose 'Mother Serbia' or the general term Slavonian. So then, the status of the South-Slav in California from 1850 to 1917 was to be called what he really was not, as far as the correct or formal meaning indicated. Being reported on statistics and the U. S. census as Austrian, Italian, Hungarian, Greek and Turkish was to his detriment. It was then refreshing to find entries listed as 'Serbian' or 'Slavonian,' at least one definitely knew the national origin. Following is a sampling from each census.

Name	Age	Census Year	Occupation	Country	Origin
Antunovich, F.	33	1860	Coffee Saloon	San Francisco	Italy
Same	53	1880	Coffee Saloon	San Francisco	Austria
Barovich, N.	35	1860	Saloon	San Francisco	Russia
Same	55	1880	Saloon	Santa Clara	Austria
Calabota, S.	67	1870	Restaurant	San Francisco	Austria
Same	77	1880	Restaurant	San Francisco	Slavonian
Gelcich, Vincent	30	1860	Physician	San Francisco	Italy
Same	40	1870	Physician	Los Angeles	Dalmatia
Same	50	1880	Physician	Los Angeles	Austria
Lazarovich, John	31	1860	Grocer	Los Angeles	Slavonian
Same	41	1870	Saloon	Los Angeles	Austria
Same	51	1880	Saloon	Los Angeles	Montenegro
Militich, Stephen	35	1870	Saloon	San Francisco	Austria

The preceeding then is simply to emphasize the difficulty in establishing the identity of the first Yugoslav pioneers. It is obvious that a person named Marinkovich listed as Austrian in 1860 is a South Slav, but this was not known by the American census takers and for the researcher he was added as another 'Austrian.' The problem exists to this day in that many Croatians who came prior 1919 still report as Austrian on the official census. The writer places no value on either the Yugoslav or Austrian census in America, because of the above, and would state with some qualification that at least 50% of the Austrian census of 1920-1930-1940 should go to the Yugoslav census in California.

JUGOSLAV BUSINESSES IN SAN FRANCISCO

The restaurant, coffee saloon, saloon and fruit businesses occupied the talents of many Yugoslavs during the 1850's and 1860's in California. There were over 1000 business houses in San Francisco from 1850-1900 owned by Yugoslavs. They also established in number in San Jose, Sacramento and Los Angeles. One would question the ability of the Dalmatian and Montenegrin to establish in business with a limited knowledge of English. But he was a seaman and fortunately linguistic in that he knew Italian and German and had traveled extensively throughout the world. Yugoslav restaurants and saloons can be found in the gold mining towns during the 1850's and 1860's. The earliest businesses were established in San Francisco during the 1850's. A few of the earliest in San Francisco from Montenegro were:

Balich, Luka	1861	Saloon	Boka
Cherovich, Andrew	1861	Saloon	Boka
Chielovich, Elia	1862	Saloon	Boka
Chiucovich, Peter	1862	Saloon	Boka
Obradovich, Spiro	1858	Restaurant	Boka
Radovich, Anton	1852	Coffee Saloon	Risan
Dabovich, Nikola	1856	Fruits	Boka
Pavlovich, Nikola	1851	Fruits	Pastrovich

Many other pioneers from Dalmatia had also established in San Francisco during this period. The majority of the Dalmatians and Montenegrins belonged to the Slavonic Illyric Mutual and Benevolent Society of 1857. In fact, a Slavic cemetery was organized by the Society in 1861. This cemetery, because of the Spanish influence in California at that time, was called 'Slavonic Terra.' They buried any South Slav, and it is certainly commendable and indicative of a colony well established by 1860. The first burial was Nikola Simunovich, a Dalmatian; the next Marko Milinovich and Marko Zenovich from Montenegro. The first American born was buried in 1865, Dominic Carcovich and his father, Vincenzo, a Dalmatian, in 1866. A few of the first Dalmatian businessmen in San Francisco were:

NAME	YEAR	OCCUPATION	ORIGIN
Cernich, Antonio	1858	Fruits	Dalmatia
Chatcovich, John	1858	Fruits	Dalmatia
Gasivoda, Marko	1859	Fruits	Slavonian
Gasivoda, Stephen	1859	Fruits	Slavonian
Grego, George	1860	Fruits	Brac
Militich Antonio	1856	Fruits	Dubrovnik
Trobock, Nikola	1856	Fruits	Lopud

In 1869 there were 29 coffee houses listed in San Francisco and 18 were owned by Yugoslavs. Of 16 restaurants listed in San Jose in 1882, 8 were South Slavs. A typical advertisement that was listed in Stockton in 1879 is as follows;

'Independent restaurant conducted on the European plan, French, German, Italian, Spanish and English spoken. Private rooms elegantly furnished. Eastern and Californian oysters served in every style. Board per day, week or month. The only first class restaurant in the city. M. Mitrovich & Company, Proprietors.'

Another in San Francisco during the same period was:

'John Ivancovich & Company (John Ivancovich, George Beley & Peter L. Vucanovich) Importers and Exporters, foreign and domestic fruits, wholesale dealers, commission merchants and manufacturers of California wines.'

The majority of the restaurants, coffee saloons and fruits businesses during this period were in the well known 'Barbary Coast' district of San Francisco. A man did not enter at night without companions or pistol because he was apt to be 'Shanghaied' and sold to a sea captain as a sailor on one of the many ships in the harbor without seamen, as they had all run off to the gold fields. The period was so lawless that the sheriff was powerless and a citizens committee formed the famous 'Vigilantes' and hung a few from lamp posts in the center of town and ran the rest out of the city, telling them the same fate would await them if they returned. This period of disorder and disrespect for law and order saw the birth of the Slavonic Illyric Mutual & Benevolent Society in 1857, a protective society that buried its dead, paid a sick benefit and assisted destitute Slavonians and also represented them in the local courts through their more prominent businessmen. On Davis Street alone from 1850

to 1900 there were 110 Yugoslav businesses. The majority of the Yugoslavs were centered near the waterfront on Davis Street (where the Slavonic Society was organized), Leidesdorff, East Street, Commercial Street, Jackson Street, Stockton Street, Sacramento Street and Mission Street. The Greek Russian

Slavonian Orthodox Church was organized in 1864. Although the latter lists Greek and Russian, the writer would dispute this. The president was the Russian Consul, but the vice president and trustees were all from Montenegro, being: Nikola Dabovich, John Franeta, Luka Zenovich, Savo Martinovich, Ilija Chielovich, Edward and Bozo Radovich, Peter Vucanovich and George Lazarevich from Belgrade. Another society, the Pan-Slavonic, appeared with

Nikola Gregovich, a Montenegrin, and George Fisher as president. George Fisher had a plantation in the South prior to coming to California, and was a judge in San Francisco. He was known as George Ribar in Mexico (Ribar means Fisher) and is believed to be Slavonian or Serbian. He was known to speak Spanish, German, Hungarian, Greek, Italian Dalmatian dialect and Serbo-Croatian. He was also the Greek Consul in San Francisco.

YUGOSLAV PIONEERS OF SACRAMENTO 1849-1865

Sacramento, during the gold rush period of the 1850's-60's, was the first stop of those wanting to seek their fortune in the gold fields. The pioneer miners either traveled overland or by river barge from San Francisco. The Yugoslavs had already established mining parties in the Amador and Calaveras regions. Although San Francisco had the largest colony of 'Slavonians' at the time, many of the first pioneers opened saloons and restaurants in Sacramento.

Many of these saloons, coffee houses and restaurants were also boarding houses for fellow Yugoslavs who had recently arrived from San Francisco on their way to make a 'strike' in the fabulous gold fields of the mother lode. A few, rather than take their chances in the mountains, established themselves in Sacramento in various occupations. One may reasonably question the ability of

a non-English speaking person, being in a definite minority as the pioneer Yugoslavs were, to establish saloons and restaurants. The writer has documentary evidence that many of the first pioneers had been in business in the southern part of the United States prior to coming to California. The

majority of these Sacramento Yugoslavs came from Dalmatia and the general area of Boka Kotor in Montenegro. They were of Catholic and Serbian Orthodox faith. A great many considered themselves as 'Slavonians.' On

November 26, 1860, a delegation consisting of Nikola Barovich, John Barovich, John Uzovich and President Dr. Vincent Gelcich from the Slavonic Illyric of San Francisco, arrived on the morning barge from San Francisco in charge of a banner to be presented to their brothers of the Slavonic Illyric Society of Sacramento. This day was the anniversary of their organization. This

then, to the writer's knowledge, is the third oldest Yugoslav organization in America. It must be noted that Croatian Catholic and Serbian Orthodox participated in this organization. Marko Ragusin, the first pioneer in

Sacramento, appeared in 1849, being 21 years of age, as he voted that year. He listed himself as a Slavonian from Louisiana. He later moved to San Jose and opened a saloon, again being one of the first Yugoslavs in that area. He married a native Californian and they had their first child, Perina, in 1857.

Martin Rancich had a soda works and saloon in Sacramento, first appearing in 1851. He was also an American citizen and in one instance listed himself as Italian and another as an Austrian. He came to California from Pennsylvania. Louis and Marko Maina from Budva were long established in the

Sacramento area. Marko operated a coffee saloon in 1861. They were both American citizens. They can also be found in Amador County as gold miners in the early 1850's. The following, listed chronologically, are some of the first Yugoslav pioneers in the Sacramento area:

Ragusin, Marko	1849	Saloon	Slavonian
Brown, John	1850	Waiter for Maina	Dalmatia
Rancich, Martin	1851	Saloon	Austria
Bishop, Martin	1852	Miner with Rancich	Austria
Kosta, Frank	1853	Universal Coffee Saloon	Dalmatia
Calisich, Antonio	1853	Atlantic Exchange	Austria
Vlautin, Paul	1863	Universal Coffee Saloon	Konavlje
Vlautin, Paul	1852	Gold Miner, Amador County	

The last listed pioneer, Paul Vlautin, from Konavlje, Dalmatia, was perhaps typical of many of the earliest pioneers. He is known to have mined gold in 1851-52 in Amador County and, having made a strike, returned to Sacramento to acquire the Universal Coffee Saloon, but prior to that returned to San Francisco where he was a director of the Slavonic Society in 1860. He returned to San Francisco in the early 1870's and purchased a coffee saloon and boarding house on Davis Street. This saloon on Davis Street became the center of local Dalmatian fishermen and gold miners. He married a Portugese girl, and they had their first child, Paul, in 1872. His brother, Jacob Vlautin, a restaurateur, was buried in the Slavonic Plot in San Francisco in the year 1885. Paul died in 1894 at the age of 74 and was also buried in the Slavonic Plot. Although the above list of pioneers does not represent all of the Yugoslavs during this period, it does give some indication of their activities. Many more passed thru Sacramento on their way to the gold mines and worked as waiters, cooks, bar keepers and various other occupations. The below list of families is believed to be the first in the Sacramento area. It is most interesting to note the number marrying Irish girls. This proved to be the case throughout California. Statewide, the majority married Yugoslav girls, then Irish, Mexican and Californians of Mexican descent.

Batich, Thomas	1870	28	Laborer	Austria
Mary		29	Wife	Ireland
Colombo, Martin	1871	23	River Pilot	Dalmatia
Anne		18	Wife	Ireland
Louise			Daughter	California
Ivanis, Drago	1860	38	Merchant	Slavonian
Cath.		32	Wife	Slavonian
Jacob			Son	Slavonian

YUGOSLAV GOLD MINERS

With the discovery of gold in the tailrace at Sutter's Mill at Coloma in 1848, the greatest movement of Yugoslavs to the Western United States was to begin. This single factor which was to change the history of California and shape her destiny also changed the lives of hundreds of thousands of Yugoslavs from the coastal areas of Istria, Slovenia, Croatia, Dalmatia and Montenegro. The 'Slavonians' who came were not followers, but leaders in the hardy group of pioneers who were later to establish one of the richest states in the Union.

The Yugoslavs came as single men off the many sailing ships that landed at San Francisco. Others may have come overland through the southwest from New Orleans. The majority of the first who came were seamen by profession and upon hearing of the gold discovery, simply left their ships and ventured into the gold fields of Amador, Butte, Calaveras, El Dorado, Mariposa, Nevada, Placer, Plumes and Tuolumne Counties. On that momentous day in 1848, when gold was discovered, John Sutter had in his employ at the mill a person whom he called the 'Sailor Man.' The 'Sailor Man' later stated he was a

'Slavonian' and it is claimed that he was present at the mill that day when the first gold nuggets were observed in the tailrace. This then, places a South-Slav at the discovery of gold in California and is certainly a fitting reminder to future Slavonic-Americans that the South-Slav had his place in the gold rush era of early California. Another indication of the extent of South-Slav in the early

mines was

the Adriatic Mining Co., of 1878, the Slavonia Gold and Silver Mining Co. of 1876 and the Serbia and Slavonian Mining Co. of 1876. The Illyrian Gold and Silver Mining Co., organized in 1863, in the San Domingo District of Calaveras County with a capitalization of 60,000, had as the principal organizers Nikola Bieladenovich, Andrew Bujan and Andrew Jordan. Another interesting venture was the Slavonian Gold and Silver Mining Company of 1863, being organized with a capitalization of 140,000, had as its principals Paul Grecich and John Centras. There were undoubtedly many other companies and ventures organized by Slavonians during this period that had not been recorded but simply made as mutual agreements by the parties concerned.

Out of all the mining areas, the Amador region eventually had the largest concentration of Yugoslavs. There is no present day evidence of any major colonies being left in any other of the mining counties. The Serbian church and cemetery in Jackson is a lasting memorial to all the fine Serbian men that had pioneered the Amador region. This church is the oldest in America and the writer encourages all who may wish to see the mining country of California to visit this old but stately tribute to Serbian pioneers in America. In 1874, the Slavonic Illyric Mutual & Benevolent Society of San Francisco built the first Slavonian building to be found in America at Sutter Creek.

The first gold mining pioneers in the Amador region formed gold mining ventures and also became American citizens in great numbers. They usually mined in groups of three to five and lived in boarding houses, if available, that were operated by Slavonians who had made a gold strike and subsequently purchased land, built homes and married. Many of the pioneers married Irish and Mexican girls.

Usually the boarding houses were indicative of the national origin of the Slavonians. The miner would live with those of his own region. From available records it can be stated with some certainty that the majority of the pioneers came from the island of Brac, the area of Dubrovnik and the general area of the Boka Kotor. One of the oldest families in the Amador was the Dabovich family from the Boka Kotor, one such branch of the family was listed as:

Name	Age	Occupation	Nativity
Dabovich, Andrew	33	Gold Miner	Boka
Louisa	23	Wife	Boka
George	4	Son	California
Theodore	2	Son	California
Ellen	43	Mother-in-Law	Boka
Stephen	22	Brother-in-Law	Boka
Dolly	16	Sister-in-Law	California
May	10	Sister-in-Law	California
Anna	10	Sister-in-Law	California
Curelich, Chris	26	Boarder	
Clemovich, George	22	Boarder	

Another boarding house, with apparently all the boarders from the island of Brac, is listed in the 1870's as follows:

Matulich, Antone	44	Farmer	Brac
Virginia	28	Wife	Switzerland
Mary	8	Daughter	California
George	6	Son	California
Madeline	3	Daughter	California
John	2	Son	California
Andrich, Anton	44	Gold Miner	Brac
Novacovich, John	26	Gold Miner	Brac
Perco, John	41	Gold Miner	Brac
Nizetich, Nikola	31	Gold Miner	Brac
Satulich, Sam	29	Gold Miner	Brac
Slavich, Andrea	31	Gold Miner	Brac
Lukinovich, A.	36	Gold Miner	Brac
Citargin, George	30	Gold Miner	Brac
Buccolich, Lawrence	28	Gold Miner	Brac

Many of the first Slavonian pioneers who had ventured into the gold mining regions saw the need for other types of goods and services and rather than suffering the privations of the majority of gold miners, opened saloons, fruit stands and general provision stores. It was not unusual to find Dalmatians with businesses in every major mining area during the 1850's & 1860's. A few of the first were:

Malitich, Nikola	1860	Sonoma Co.	Fruits
Malisich, Antonio	1860	Trinity	Trader
Pecovich, Sam	1860	Butte	Fruits

One of the most interesting pioneers was a Dalmation by the name of John Davis. He landed in San Francisco in 1849 and immediately went to the mines at Auburn on the American River in Placer County and after three months of successful gold mining he established a mule-pack train between Sacramento and Auburn to supply gold miners. After a few months at this endeavor he came down with mountain fever and all his mules were stolen. Upon regaining his health, he with disgust at losing his mules, gave the remaining equipment to a Mexican and went to the Mariposa mines for another stake.

After making another "strike" in the Mariposa area, he returned to San Francisco by horse and on the way had his horse stolen which caused him to walk from San Jose to San Francisco. In 1850, in San Francisco, he built a house on Commercial Street and operated a restaurant and lodging house until 1851 when he sold his holdings and purchased 400 acres in Contra Costa County and married. His marriage in Oakland was the first marriage of western to take place in that city.

The pioneering spirit and early exploits of the Yugoslav gold miners has long since passed in the mining areas, but should certainly not be forgotten.

The individuals and mining parties would extend to thousands of names in the gold mining regions. After the gold fields had lost their attractiveness, the Yugoslavs established farms, ranches, vineyards, orchards and businesses in every part of California. A great many of the first land holdings were purchased with miner's gold.

Pioneer Yugoslavs in Los Angeles from 1841 to 1900

If one were to look for a reason for the Dalmation coming to California, Los Angeles and the surrounding area would certainly have been the determinating factor. There is no other part of California so similar in climate and geography to the Dalmation Coast. Until 1900 Los Angeles was a sleepy hamlet in comparison to San Francisco and Sacramento.

The first pioneers to arrive were merchants and traders who married local girls of Mexican or Spanish descent. Later came the restaurateurs and saloon owners who tired of the fog and cold of Northern California. Then came the wealthy goldminers and those that found no gold from the mining camps of the Amador, Tuolumne, Butte and Calaveras areas. They came alone or in groups of two or three. There is little evidence of any families coming directly from Dalmatia.

The first pioneer was Mattias Sabichi or Sabich coming from Mexico to Los Angeles in 1841. He had a son, Matias, in Mexico in 1841 and a son, Francisco, in 1842 in Los Angeles. Matias was a trader and merchant. He was listed as an Austrian, but the writer has reason to believe he was a Dalmatian because at a later date his son, Francisco, an orchardist, had employed John Cuculich as a nurseryman. Both of these names are found in Dalmatia. The father, Mattias returned on shipboard with his sons to Europe in 1852. He died before reaching England and his sons were educated in England and France, then returned to their native California.

John Lazarevich, a native of Montenegro, came to Los Angeles in the late 1850's. He became a citizen in 1869 in Los Angeles. It is known he came to California in 1850 and it can be assumed he tried his luck in the goldfields prior to settling in Los Angeles. He married a native Californian and had four sons: John, born in 1864; Stephen, born in 1866; William, born in 1873; and two daughters, Annie, 1875 and Rosa, 1879. He had a saloon and grocery establishment for many years and was undoubtedly known by all the pioneers coming to Los Angeles. He subsequently retired as a capitalist.

Doctor Vincent Gelcich, a physician and surgeon, from Starigrad, Island of Hvar, Dalmatia is perhaps one of the most colorful Slavonian pioneers to come to California. He practiced medicine in 1856 in San Francisco; organized the oldest South-Slav society in America, the Slavonic Illyric Mutual and Benevolent Society of San Francisco in 1857; served in the Civil War as a Colonel in the Union Army; and became the first coroner of Los Angeles County. He married an Irish girl and is known to have had three children. He moved to Los Angeles in the 1860's to practice medicine and operate a pharmacy. He was without doubt well known and respected by the local Slavonian community.

Andrew Jordan, a Los Angeles pioneer of 1869, was listed as being an Austrian. It is known he was a partner with Nikola Bieladenovich and Andrew Bujan in the Illyrian Gold and Silver Mining Company of 1863. This venture was organized in the San Domingo District of

Calaveras County with a capitalization of \$60,000. The writer could state with some certainty that he was a Dalmatian by virtue of his association with Bieladenovich and Bujan and the use of Illyrian in the mining title. The name Jordan is found in the district of Dubrovnik, Jugoslavia. Andrew was a grocer in Los Angeles and married a South American girl and had one daughter, Victoria. Joseph Jordan, probably his brother, was a stock raiser of sheep in Los Angeles in 1870. He had a family of three and his wife was an American from Kentucky. He was an American citizen and mined gold in Amador County in 1859.

Lewis Mazzanovich, a native of Hvar, Dalmatia, is found in Los Angeles in 1869. He was a musician in San Francisco prior to 1869 and was a member of the Slavonic Society of San Francisco. He came to America with a wife and one child, later having three children in California. His sons were also musicians playing in the famous Bell Union Theatre and San Francisco Opera House. The family were pioneers in San Francisco and Los Angeles. One son while in the Army fought in the Apache Indian Wars and had a chance meeting with Geronimo, chief of all the Apaches.

Antonio Perpich had a saloon and lodging house in Los Angeles in 1884. He married a Spanish girl in the Oregon Territory in 1857 and had three children. Prior to coming to Los Angeles, he had a restaurant and hotel in San Francisco. He was an American citizen and voted in the Oregon Territory.

Nikola Perasich, a Dalmatian, was a pioneer of the 1870's in the grocery and liquor business with Petrovich. He was killed in a gunfight in the pioneer mining town of Darwin. Killed by a hired gun. His brothers were also involved in a stage holdup at Carson City, Nevada.

Other pioneers were Luka Bralich, 1871; Theodore Cereda, 1869; George Cumming (associated with Lazarovich), 1858; Louis Dapretto (with Lazarovich), 1860; a Slavonian, John Frank, 1871; Jerry Illich, 1874; Luka Marasovich, 1868; a Slavonian, Peter Marinkovich, 1875; Vincenzo Marisich, 1879; Nikola Rageludich, 1870; Luka Sciscich, 1870; Thomas Stijich, 1874; and Marko and Baltazar Tomasevich, 1873.

A great many of the first pioneers came from the goldfields to Los Angeles. The mines had started to lose their attractiveness after the 1870's. Many of them undoubtedly heard of the beauty of Los Angeles from others who had been there earlier. A few coming from the gold fields to make their home in Los Angeles:

Name	Year	From	Occupation
Bangiar, Peter	1893	Amador Co.	Gold Miner
Brajkovich, Christ	1895	Amador Co.	Gold Miner
Commandich, Dominic	1863	Amador Co.	Gold Miner
Deragna, Christ	1877	Amador Co.	Gold Miner

As indicated above a great many of the Los Angeles pioneers came from other areas of California rather than direct from Yugoslavia. While being gold miners prior to arrival in Los Angeles in the 1870's, 1880's and 1890's, they entered into the restaurant, grocery and saloon business in Los Angeles. Some of them were able with the money made in the gold fields to establish themselves in business and send for wives in Dalmatia.

Although San Francisco had hundreds of Dalmatian fishermen in the 1870's, Los Angeles did have a few fishermen prior to 1900. Luka Marasovich, a pioneer goldminer, was a fisherman in 1868. He married a Mexican girl and was a citizen. Vincenzo Maricich, a Dalmatian, and pioneer goldminer of Nevada Co. in 1873, was fishing in Los Angeles in 1879. He was a citizen and had a daughter Lucy. Frank Sisul, pioneer of Humbolt Co., fished in San Pedro in 1896. He was a citizen. Andrea Vidovich, a Dalmatian, fished in 1892 and was a citizen.

A few Dalmatians followed their age-old occupation of sheepherding. Three who worked together in 1880 were Joseph Radovich, Francisco Robertson and John Pavlina. Nicholas Paseta, a citizen, was also a shepherd in 1880.

There were at least sixty restaurants, saloons liquor-groceries in Los Angeles prior to 1900 owned by Yugoslavs. One of the most well known was the Maison Doree on North Street operated by Jerry Illich from Dalmatia. At the age of 20 he jumped ship as a seaman in San Francisco and worked at various restaurants, then traveled to Los Angeles and opened his own restaurant in 1874. "Jerry's" was headquarters for political and social banquets and known for his celebrated "Paste".

The writer would estimate from available records that the Los Angeles Colony was at least 500 in number prior to 1900. There were two societies organized prior to 1900, those being the Slavonian Society and the Slavonian-Croatian Society. The majority of the members came from Dalmatia and Montenegro.

Yugoslavs in Nevada 1860's

In John S. Hittell's Commerce and Industries of the Pacific Coast, published by A.L. Bancroft and Co. in 1882, is listed under banks: C. Novacovich, Aurora, Nevada. Of thirteen banks in Nevada at the time, C. Novakovich was owner of one of them. The Pacific Coast Business Directory, published by Henry G. Langley in 1867, lists C. Novakovich as proprietor of the Merchants Exchange Hotel and agent for Wellingtons Stage Lines.

During the same period that Marco Millinovich was shot and killed at his San Francisco saloon in Virginia City and the gunfight of Nikola Perasich at Darwin, other Yugoslavs were arriving from San Francisco and the California gold fields, such as Nikola Barovich in Austin; John Ivancovich, Elia and George Perasich in Carson City; Martin Brazzanovich, Nikola Gregovich and Nikola Mersich in Columbus; John Chiatovich and Company in Lida; Mat Coschine, Geo. Gustianovich and Alex Mandich in Pioche; Elia Chielovich, Vincent Milatovich in Reno; and Milatovich, Mobile, Radovich, Vucanovich, Vukovich, Zenovich, Medin, Gugnina and Lovely in Virginia City.

During the early 1860's C. Novacovich and Nikola Trianovich were in the Lander area and had made important silver locations. The "Slavonians" were recognized by Thompson and West in their History of Nevada in 1881 as being original silver locators and one of the first groups of white men in the Lander area. Their silver claims can be found in the county registry

for that period. No doubt, after making their fortune in the silver fields, they returned to their original pursuits of restaurant, saloon and hotel keepers. Thus, Nikola Trianovich and C. Novacovich ventured into Aurora, one of the wildest mining towns in the West in the 1860's.

At the same time that the famed silver lodes were being discovered in Virginia City, Aurora, less than 100 miles away was becoming one of the richest silver mining towns in the history of America. First called Esmeralda in 1860, tents sprang up overnight and the famed Wells-Fargo cut the first road, scaling the rugged mountains to Esmeralda's 7500 foot gulches and inaugurated freight and passenger service over the Sierra to Sacramento.

The rich mines attracted so many people that on November 25, 1861 the Nevada Territorial Legislature established Esmeralda County, naming Aurora its County Seat.

With Aurora at the height of its mining boom, the following advertisement appeared in the Aurora Times on Oct. 7, 1864:

Exchange Dining Saloon
Merchant's Exchange Bldg.
Corner Pine and Winnemucca,
Aurora

The undersigned, one of the owners of the Merchant's Exchange Building, would respectfully announce to his friends and the public generally that he has opened the basement of the above building as a

FIRST CLASS Dining Saloon
which will be furnished with
the best the market affords.
And Served in good style.

Board by the Day or Week
meals at all hours

Nick Trijanovich

It should be noted that a Mr. White and a Mr. Mitchell were also part owners. Mitchell Vucanovich, a vice president and Pioneer member of the Slavonic Society in S.F. was also known as V. Mitchell.

The Pacific Coast Business Directory for 1867 lists Novacovich as owner of the Merchants' Exchange Hotel and also agent for Wellington Stage Lines.

The lower part of the hotel was apparently the saloon and dining room operated by Nikola Trianovich. This was one of the finest buildings in Aurora at the time. Mitchell could also have been the owner during 1861-1867.

Nikola Trianovich operated the Atlantic Exchange Restaurant in Sacramento in 1854 with Zambelich. He was also a shareholder with John Herzo, a Dalmatian, in the Excelsior District, Nevada Territory, in 1863. After leaving Aurora he became a pioneer of Treasure

City, Nevada, at the beginning of the mining boom in 1869. He opened one of the first restaurants in the White Pine District and the following ad appeared announcing his establishment:

White Pine News dated
March 6, 1869.

Barnum's Restaurant

N. Trianovich & Company
Main Street
Treasure City
Two doors south of the
news office
Meals at all hours of
the very best

Early Pioneer

Marco Medin, pioneer from Budva, was one of the first pioneers in the Nevada territory during the Great Silver Boom in the 1860's and 1870's. He was also one of the first Slavonians in the territory, had a coffee stand on Market St. in 1859, and another fruit store at Kearney and DuPont Sts. in 1860. His San Francisco Fruit Store was one of the largest establishments of its kind in the Nevada Territory and State.

Grant H. Smith in his History of the Comstock Lode mentioned the Medin Building in pages 53 and 54. It is interesting to note that this was one of the largest brick buildings in Virginia City during the 1860's.

Marco married an Irish girl, Susan, either in San Francisco or Virginia City during the 1850's or early 1860's. His sons were John, Bernard, and Marco, and daughters Carry and Ann. The United States census for 1870 lists his family as living in Virginia City. The Nevada State Census for 1875 lists the family in White Pine County, Nevada.

As did many of the Slavonian pioneers, Marco married an Irish girl who undoubtedly spoke English with Irish accent. He had a brother, Alexander, who was his business associate in San Francisco during the 1850's. Alexander later opened a branch of Marco's business at Austin, Nevada, called the Virginia Branch Store.

Struck It Rich

Silver mines were located at Hamilton and Treasure City (now ghost towns) in White Pine County during 1869. To get in on the ground floor, Marco immediately departed for the rich silver district. The editor of the White Pine News on April 8, 1869, noted Marco's arrival with the following announcements:

Real Estate - Marco Medin, recently from Virginia City, yesterday paid \$14,000 in gold coin for the lot northeast corner

of Main and Dunn Sts., Hamilton. The lots fronts 100 feet on on Dunn St. and 75 feet on Main, and Medin intends erecting at first a tent, but afterwards a substantial building, to be occupied as a fruit store. Medin belongs to that class of our foreign born citizens (Slavonians) who form a large portion of the bone and muscle and public spirit of the mining regions of Nevada, and we hope he may find his investment a good one.

Marco apparently changed his mind about erecting a fruit store as the Inland Empire Newspaper in White Pine County on October 4, 1870, listed the following advertisement.

MARCO MEDIN
Bar and Billiard Room
Corner of Main and Dunn Sts.
Hamilton.....Nevada
Drinks 12 1/2 c /Billiards

Marco Medin was a true pioneer and a credit to the State of Nevada. His life, labors and energies were spent in service of many worthy efforts. He was a member of the Virginia Exempt Fire Assn. Engine Co. No. 4; a leader in the Slavonian Colony in Nevada; pioneer wholesale fruit dealer; pioneer builder; and most of all, a pioneer builder of the State of Nevada.

Marco invested in many of the first mining ventures and was listed as a Capitalist in the U. S. Census. He did not restrict his efforts to wholesale fruit and saloon ventures, but also opened and located his own silver mine and became very wealthy in the process.

Yugoslavs in Arizona

The majority of South Slavs that appeared in Arizona during the 1870's and 1880's came from the Gold Mines of California and the Silver Mines of Nevada.

ARIZONA CENSUS OF 1870 (Samplings)

Caranaja, John	39 yrs.	Farmer	Yavapai	Austria
Franicovich, Elias	38 yrs.	Farmer	Yavapai	Austria
Fry, M.	24 yrs.	Laborer	Yavapai	Austria
Gruner, Henry	31 yrs.	Laborer	Tucson	Austria (Samplings)

A check of one County in the Great Registers for voting indicated:

Great Register of Cochise County Terr. of Arizona

1881 (Samplings)

Ragenovich, Peter	Austria	Merchant	Tombstone
Radovich, David Johnson	Austria	Cook	Tombstone
Siwczynski, John	Poland	Miner	Tombstone
Sugich, Michael	Austria	Miner	Tombstone

Although the numbers in Arizona during the 1870's & 1880's were small, they did leave their mark as is evidenced by the following contributions of Margaretich to mining, Grossetta to civic affairs and politics and Mazzanovich to Indian fighting.

George Margaretich: 'He was a pioneer prospector and miner. He was born in Dalmatia Austria. In 1842, he spent his early childhood in Dalmatia. He came to the United States in 1857, and shortly after, he became a member of a party of four young men who left Buffalo, N. Y. and crossed the plains on horseback. They arrived in Amador County, California, 1858. He mined and worked there until 1874. Then he went to Nevada. He mined there and was very successful. Margaretich came to Arizona in 1879, where he lived the rest of his life. He was important to the development of mining in Arizona. He mined at Cherry Creek at the Wickenburg section. He prospected where he developed gold and copper mines, notably the United Groups and Golden State mines. He mined gold and copper ore. He was considered one of the substantial and able men of Maricopa County.'

Anthony Vincent Grossetta: Tucson could boast of no more public spirited citizen than Anthony Vincent Grossetta who had lived in Tucson since 1880 and had been foremost in many undertakings which had materially helped its growth as a tourist center, and as a place to live.

In political and social circles, the world of commerce, the Grossetta family originated in Austria. Some of that name crossed the Adriatic. Matthew, the grandfather of A. V. Grossetta was a former stock raiser of Dalmatia, Austria, and Vincent, the father of the subject was born near Ragusa where he was a shoe merchant. The only son who came to America was A. V. Grossetta. Native of Ragusa, Austria, born April 27, 1856 was trained in public school, he learned German, Slavonian and the Italian languages. When he was 12 years old he shipped aboard a sailing vessel, and for six years cruised the high seas. He crossed the Atlantic and worked on both English and American Ships.

In 1884 A. V. Grossetta came to America. He worked one year for the New York Central Railroad. He went to Montreal, Canada, and connected himself with the Italian consulate for two years. In 1887 he went to San Francisco, Los Angeles, and drifted to Tucson in 1880. He worked for a grocer, then started his own business in 1882. He had a small store near the railroad station which was carried on until 1893. He was interested in the Tucson Grocery Company and the Tucson Hardware Company.

Grossetta was identified with the Tucson Building and Loan Association. He built several homes there. He owned much local property and a well irrigated ranch 123 miles north of the city plus a thriving orchard. He built the Tucson Opera House in 1897. Grossetta was the first president of the Tucson Electrical Light Power Company. He was influential in organization of the Hall Association of the Ancient Order of the United Workmen. He belonged to the Masons, Tucson Lodge No. 4 F. & A. M. Tucson, Shp. No. 3 R. A. M. Arizona Commandery No. 1 K. T. also belonged to El Zaribah Temple, N. M. S. at Phoenix. Both he and his wife were members of the Eastern Star. Grossetta was a leader in the Republican Party. He was a member of the County Central Committee, and was a delegate to the territorial party convention.

In 1900 he was the Republican nominee for the legislature, but he was defeated. He was in the City Council, and represented the first ward. He was an influential member of the Board of Trade. He was approved by Governor Murphy a member of Board of Regents of University of Arizona.

Antonio Mazzanovich, 6th United States Cavalry

In Mazzanovich's own words the following is related: 'About three P. M. they were all out of sight, although we could see the smoke of their campfires coming up from behind a hollow in the foothills. Shortly thereafter, Geronimo rode into camp with half a dozen braves and asked Lieutenant Overton if he would allow him one or more hours, as he wanted to see of the tribe got what was coming to them. Three o'clock was the time that had been agreed upon as the time for surrender. The lieutenant wired Colonel Carr for instructions.

'I happened to be standing alongside Geronimo's pony and when the old rascal was not looking, I tried to nip one of the silver trinkets which dangled from his buckskin saddle; but I failed, as he caught me in the act. Geronimo was a fine specimen of the Apache Indian, with high cheekbones, a very determined face, straight mouth, thin lips. On this occasion he was 'all dolled up' in his best, with a long war bonnet, the feathers of which trailed down on each side of his pony.'

Anton Mazzanovich was a member of General George Crook's Camp No. 1, United Indian War Veterans of America, Arizona Pioneers Association, Arizona Pioneers Historical Society and Life Companion of the Order of Indian Wars of the United States, Washington D. C.

The Mazzanovich family were musicians upon coming to San Francisco in 1868. Lorenzo and Lena Mazzanovich were listed on the United States Census of population in 1871 in Los Angeles with four children, Anton 1860, John 1856, Paul 1858, and Lena 1869.

All of the children were born in Dalmatia, except Lena. One son John, was employed at the Grand Opera House and the Famed Bella Union Theatre in San Francisco. They were members of the Slavonic Illyric Mutual and Benevolent Society of San Francisco, organized for less than a year, the family moved to Los Angeles. They were considered Dalmatian Pioneers of that city and amongst its earliest residents. The Mazzanovich family was the first Dalmatian family to settle in Los Angeles; although other Slavonian Pioneers had come earlier with their families. They had married women of other than Dalmatian nationality.

V An Example of two Dalmatian names from the Thirteenth Century to date.

Musladin

The family Musladin originates from the village Ljubac, which belongs to the parish in Klisevo. Ljubac is situated in a country called Primorje (this word means littoral). This country stretches out north-west of Dubrovnik and from the village Orasac and Ljubac to the small town Ston and the bay Klek. Primorje belongs to the district of Dubrovnik and was once a part of the former Republic of Dubrovnik, which enjoyed a free existence until 1808. In Primorje there is a row of villages along the seashore and a second one in the valley in the proximity. The village Ljubac is situated in valley and an hours walk from the seashore.

The majority of the inhabitants of Ljubac have the family name Musladin. There is no village called Musladin, but we can say the Ljubac is the village of this clan.

The parish in Klisevo, which includes Ljubac, has the church registers (Matricule) of birth from 1707, deaths from 1786, and marriages from 1788. On basis of these registers the genealogy of Baldo, born on May 25, 1855, has been made.

The first Musladins born and noted are two male children both 'Florio.' The first born on June 5th, 1735, is a distant ancestor of the above mentioned Baldo. The other was born on October 29th 1722. The fathers and the grandfathers were usually noted in the registers. So on the occasion of the birth of Florio I (1735) there is noted his father Peter and his grandfather Nikola. As the oldest dated from 1707, their births are not noted. We presume that Peter was born before 1707 (perhaps in the beginning of the 18th century or even at the end of 17th century), while Nikola is born in 17th century. According to the dated known until now, we know the direct ancestors of Baldo Musladin (born in 1855) from the 17th century (time of the free republic) till now.

Many families in Dalmatia have nicknames. For instance Mate (Mathew) and his son Baldo (born 1855) have the nickname Car (Emperor). The family name Musladin comes in earlier times, though rarely, as Musladin, and still rarely as Muslade. Probably the denomination Muslade was the personal name of the head of the race. Musladin means in Croatian the son of Muslade.

The majority of Croatian and Serbian family names are the so called 'patronimica' (meaning derived from the personal name of the some ancestor). All peasants around Dubrovnik are of Croatian nationality, and of Slavic origin, and thus the Musladins in Ljubac. Of course, it does not exclude the possibility, that there were some who came from other countries. It is difficult to say from which language the root Muslade derives. It has no Slavic sound. There are Turkish words beginning with MUS/E/L-. The word 'musliman' means Moslem; 'muselim' or 'muselin' means a Turkish leader, chief or commandant and 'muselom' a kind of Turkish soldier.

The village Ljubac is near to the province Hercegovina, which until 1878 was under the Turkish rule. Therefore a Turkish root is possible. In Bosnia and Hercegovina a large part of the Slavic population crossed over to the Moslem religion. They are not Turks, speak our language but bear Turkish personal names. I respect the opinion of a prominent scientist, turkologue and born in Bosnia, to whom I addressed for a definite explanation of this word.

To ascertain the origin of the name Musladin most attention should be taken because the root of the word, namely musla is not of slavic origin and regarding the add *din* there are different interpretations.

The word *din* exists as an independent word in the Arabic, having three different meanings. The first meaning is judgement, second habit or custom and third religion or faith. In our case the third one namely religion, shall be taken in consideration.

The oriental philologists differ in opinion upon the origin of the word *din*, - meaning religion. Generally it is taken that the word *din*, - meaning religion, is of Persian origin and that the Arabs accepted the word from them with the same meaning. Some orientalist believe that the word *din*, - meaning religion, exists in the Arabic since the pre islam time. Anyhow, be what may be, the Arabs used the word in that meaning and we can find it in the Koran. It is interesting to note that the word *din* in the specific meaning indicates the Islamism. We know the Arabs are the creators of the Islamism and that the Turks have accepted their religion, becoming later the main propagators for that religion in the world as well as on the Balkan Peninsula. Therefrom comes that the Arabic is the language of the Turkish religious cult and erudition. Moreover, many Turkish names are of the Arabic origin too. We may find many Turkish names ending with the add *din* and those are positively of the Arabic origin. Wherever we find the ad *din* in those names, no doubt, there must be some connection with the religion.

That is what we may say regarding the oriental origin of the add *din*; let us, now consider

CICCARELLI / KURKETIC

The name is found today in the village of Pucisce on the island of Brac, Dalmatia. It was registered as nobility.

Of interest is the movement thru the centuries thru varied cultures and wars.

A short chronicle of events places the name:

Kukretic	Ciccarellovic	Klopanovic
Cikarelovic	Zivic	Ciccarelli
Cikarelic	Mlinic	
1300:	In Neretva.	
1392:	King Tvrtko gave land and title in Bosnia	
1462:	Son Rados made Vojvoda	
1463:	Bosnia Fell.	
	Dominik went to the Vatican State.	
	Nikola to Island of Brac, Dalmatia.	
1969:	Found in South and North America as Ciccarelli.	

VI. DALMATIAN NICKNAMES (NADIMAK)

The only valid explanation given to me for the use of nicknames was the confusion in identification of families on the Dalmatian Islands; some villages had perhaps three basic family names.

The use of 'Nadimak' was found quite early and is still in use.

My father is still called:

Faraunic-----Pharos

Faraon-----Same

This nadimak could have been given because the next closest island is Hvar, or in ancient times Pharos. There are families on the Island of Hvar called Hektorovich which is the origin of Eterovich.

A. Eterovich Nicknames:

Karavana--Caravan	Lovac-----Hunter
Bile-----Whitney	Katrida-----Chair
Kalajure---The Priest	Buho/Gluho---Flea/Deaf
Kavo-----Coffee	Mravak-----The Ant

B. Eterovich Variations

Jerolim de Hectore	Eterovic-Palusic
Etarevic	Eterovic-Ramuza
Ektorovic	Eterovic-Fortunic
Etorovic	Eterovic-Bokanic
Eterovic-Soric	Eterovic-Sterklic
Eterovic-Harzie	Hektore-Hektoreo

C. Ljubetic Nicknames

Kapoker
Drstul
Marelovreton
Blum
Cozic
Letun
Vilini

Slipas
Markanicic
Artista
Benedeto
Biba
Pice

Kapologo
Bucic-Majko
Pin-Kotica
Steka
Donko
Jerolo

JUGOSLAVIAN RESEARCH FOUNDATION
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Other Resources Yugoslavia

Yugoslavia Gen-Web

<http://www.rootsweb.com/~yugoslav/>

Yugoslavia Archives Addresses

<http://www.maxpages.com/ourlostfamily/Yugoslavia>

Archives of Serbia and Montenegro

<http://www.arhiv.sv.gov.yu/e1000001.htm>

Borders Before and after Yugoslavia

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Borders_before_and_after_Yugoslavia

Imenik mesta u Jugoslaviji Gazetteer of Yugoslavia, 1972.

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Słownik geograficzny królestwa Polskiego = Geographical dictionary of the kingdom of Poland and other slavic countries

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Slovenian Genealogy Society International, Inc.

http://www.sloveniangenealogy.org/html/online_resources.html