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The »Harsh Inhabitants of Hvar« in the Speech of Vinko Pribojević (A. D. 1525)

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this paper is an analysis of the genesis and representation of local group identities of the island of Hvar, based on the information from the oldest historiographic and literary source dating to the 16th century. The speech by the Croatian Dominican monk Vinko Pribojević, entitled »De origine successibusque Slavorum« (»On the Origin and Glory of Slavs«), was held in the Latin language in the town of Hvar on the island of Hvar in 1525. It was published in 1532 in Venice, and represents one of the most famous works of Croatian literature in Latin language. The speech consists of three parts. Most locally specific information on Hvar and its inhabitants can be found in the last part of the speech. The island itself is divided into three geographical parts in Pribojević's speech (the eastern part, consisting of the high plain plateau, the western part, consisting of the Hvar plain, and the town of Hvar). The division of the island's inhabitants corresponds to this division. In the description of the islanders and their supposed characteristics we can recognize many of the stereotypes still ascribed to many inhabitants of islands even today. People from the eastern part of the island, mostly shepherds that came to the island as refuges before the Turkish army, are referred to as "the others". They are described in quite negative context and stereotyped as being different from the rest of the island's population. In contrast, the inhabitants of the western and central part of the island are presented as ideal, homogenous, and harmonious community. Shepherds from the mountainous area in the east part of the island have been excluded from the collective representation of idealized indigenous population, the Mediterraneans that lived in the western part of Hvar. In Pribojević's speech we find the oldest form of the stereotype on the island's highlanders, the ever present »others« and »different« people of the island of Hvar, a view still present to this day.

Key words: Vinko Pribojević, island of Hvar, Humanism, stereotypes, local communities, island highlanders

Introduction

The island of Hvar is one of the most explored Croatian islands. Holistic anthropological research on the island of Hvar has been conducted since 1971¹. During the past 35 years, detailed characterizations of migration, demography, isonymy, linguistic differences, anthropometric traits, physiological properties, quantitative and qualitative dermatoglyphic traits, radiogrammetric metacarpal bone dimensions and genetic traits were performed. Through the connection of cultural and bio-anthropological data with a holistic analytical methodology, we get more complete insight into the processes that formed the population structure of the present-day inhabitants of this Middle Dalmatian island. Migratory processes resulted in interaction of various populations on the island of Hvar, which influenced the construction and representation of the different island's group identities (stereotyping, emphasis of the exotic, allegorization). Literature and historiography are important for the study of images and stereotypes that are strongly connected with the formation of autoimages (images and presentation of »our space« and »our group«) and heteroimages (images of »others« and »their spaces«) of a particular group identity. The aim of this paper is to analyze the construction and representation of local group identities on the island of Hvar presented in the oldest literary and historiographic work from the 16th century.

Vinko Pribojević (Vincentus Priboevius)

One of the best known works of Croatian Latin literature, »De origine successibusque Slavorum« (»On the Or-

igin and Glory of the Slavs«), was a speech given in Latin by the learned Dominican monk Vinko Pribojević in 1525 in Hvar, and printed in 1532 in Venice. This oration by Pribojević reflected humanist-intellectual trends, drawing its inspiration from the writers of classical antiquity, but also from the works of contemporaries (such as Juraj Šižgorić, »De situ Illyriae et civitate Sibenici« /On the Position of Illyria and the Town of Šibenik/ in 1487), and became a model and inspiration to later generations of writers and historians (Petar Zoranić, Ivan Gundulić, Mavro Orbini, Juraj Križanić, and others). With this speech, Pribojević passed beyond the limited ideological framework of the medieval communes, introducing pan-Slavic idea so as to grant a historical legitimacy to his native Hvar, Dalmatia, and the Slavs in general, interweaving historical and literary elements.

What little that is known about Pribojević's life is based more on hypotheses and considerably less on documented historical facts. The only autobiographical details about this humanist from Hvar are contained in his famous speech. His date of birth is unknown, as is his place of birth. Historians have found evidence in archival sources that the Pribojević family came from the central part of the island of Hvar, and two settlements from the plain of Hvar, Vrboska and Vrbanj, are noted (however, according to Niko Duboković Nadalini, Vrboska first arose as a settlement as late as the 15th century and was founded by settlers from inland Vrbanj). Data cited in support of Vrboska would be »the mention of his relative Petar (consobrinus = son of his maternal aunt), a hero in battles with pirates off the African coast, who sailed all the way to England. Pribojević spoke of him under the Latinized name »Blaseus« or »Blasius«. On Hvar, however, there are no old surnames derived from the name »Blaž«[Blaise], except Blašković, which is noted from the 15th century in Vrboska.«² Additionally, those bearing the surname Blašković »together with the surnames Pribojević and Stipišić, are mentioned among the earliest inhabitants of Vrboska«3. His basic humanistic education has also been suggested to have occurred at several possible institutions – the Dominican monastery in Hvar⁴, or the educational institution of the Dominican Order in Zadar, the Universitas Jadertina⁵. Father Vicko of Hvar »in 1511 became a master of students in the Dominican monastery of Santa Maria Novella in Florence, and in August of the same year a lecturer of the Holy Testament (biblicus) in the same monastery, and ten years later, in May of 1521, he was delegated to solve some dispute related to the prior of the Dominican monastery in Senj«2. From the speech, we find that he had a brother Jerolim, also a Dominican, and that he dwelled in Poland for three years, where he came across the pan-Slavic ideas that were to become the theme of his speech in Hvar.

Given such a series of similar surmises about details of his life and work, perhaps it is both best and most secure to be content with how he introduced himself in his work, as »Father Vinko Pribojević of Hvar, a Dalmatian, a professor of holy theology, a Dominican monk«⁶. Pribojević first defined himself in local terms: »Hvaranin« – an

inhabitant of the Hvar commune and the island of Hvar, then regionally: »Dalmatinac« – an inhabitant of Dalmatia, whose entire coastal region was under the control of the Republic of Venice in that time.

The Oration in Hvar

The speech »De origine successibusque Slavorum« (»On the Origin and Glory of the Slavs«) is divided into three parts. The title in fact only corresponds to the first section, which glorifies the Slavs and Slavism, the first time the pan-Slavic idea had been put forwards in Croatian history and literature. The second section discusses Dalmatia and the Dalmatians, where for the first time was presented »the history of Dalmatia from the earliest times, on the basis of sources^{«7}. The last section of the speech was the most locally specific, as it was devoted to Hvar, both the town and the island. The Hvar segment, like the first two, is also unique, as it represents the only description of Hvar prior to the Turkish attack in 1571, with its looting and burning in which most of the original structures were destroyed, along with all the data preserved in the archives of Hvar and the library of the Dominican monastery. A similar tripartite structure can be found in another famous Croatian Latin text, »De situ Illyriae et civitate Sibenici« (»On the Position of Illyria and the Town of Šibenik«) (1487) by Juraj Šižgorić, which Pribojević evidently knew and took as a model. If we compare the thematic sections, a similarity can be seen »in the choice and arrangement of material:

Šižgorić: Illyria – Dalmatia – Šibenik and its vicinity, Pribojević: Slavism – Dalmatia – Hvar and its vicinity«⁸.

Slavism and the Slavs, which were announced as themes, were addressed by Pribojević in the smaller and undependable (because of overemphasized and distorted information) part of his speech, while he described Dalmatia and Hvar in more detail. »Of the 55 pages of Pribojević's Latin text in the Yugoslavian Academy edition only 23 refer to the subject as cited in the title, while 32 pages were devoted to the second and third sections, i.e. Dalmatia 14 and Hvar 18 pages«9. For Pribojević history was continuity, a duration, in which he followed the fundamental traits of European humanism. He presented a historical synthesis that through the past confirmed the present of his island, describing its genealogy from mythic ages, firmly placing it in space and time through emphasis of its lengthy continuity. As each family tree is recited before the members and on the property of the community to which the individual belongs, hence confirming his or her place within it, so did Pribojević, of Hvar, a Dalmatian, professor of holy theology and a Dominican priest, give his speech in Hvar and in front of the inhabitants of Hvar. The speech was in Latin, the international language of humanistically educated people of that time, and hence it was not intended for all Hvar residents, just those who shared the same classical education as the speaker - the educated citizens and nobles. It was also intended for those who did not belong to the Slavic people, who had no place in the genealogy, but governed Hvar and Dalmatia, the Venetians and all non-Slavs that were present in the town or that were later to read the speech.

The most homegrown part of the speech was the last bit dedicated to the island of Hvar and its inhabitants. It began with the geographic location of the island, with Pribojević noting »like in a modern tourist guide, its exact dimensions, just expressed in ancient stadia«⁹, and »describing his island in the terminology of the utopian literature of the time and geographic-travelogue tracts.«¹⁰. Pribojević described his home island from the east (the part closest to the mainland) to the west. Hvar was divided in the speech into three geographic regions:

- 1. The side of the island facing the mainland with 5 settlements on the highlands.
- 2. The plain that extends in the center of the island towards the north surrounded by 11 villages.
- 3. The southern coast of the island where the town of Hvar is located.

If we compare Pribojević's division to that of Ivo Rubić from the 20th century¹¹, adding only the names of towns and settlements that the famous Dominican monk did not cite in his speech, it is apparent that after half a millennium the island of Hvar is still described geographically in the same manner.

- The western part of the island the settlements from Stari Grad to Jelsa.
- 2. The southern foothills of the island two settlements: Sveta Nedjelja and the town of Hvar.
- 3. The eastern part Plame, the area southeast of Jelsa.

All of these sections of the island of Hvar were accompanied by Pribojević's descriptions of their inhabitants and their occupations. Pribojević declared himself a citizen of Hvar, a member of the community of the island of Hvar, despite the fact that he was highly educated in comparison to the rest of the population of the island, and in his description we can perceive local stereotypes related to individual inhabitants of the settlements of Hvar that he probably shared with the community to which he belonged. Accompanying the humanistic tone used to describe all the classes and residents of the various parts of the island of Hvar, it is possible to perceive from the text specific local animosities related to certain residents of Hvar. The division of the population in the speech corresponds to the geographical division of the island (Table I).

It is possible to note in Pribojević's description of the inhabitants of Hvar and the traits attributed to them and the manner in which they are discussed certain divisions that correspond to some widespread stereotypes even to-day present on the island.

The inhabitants of the eastern part of the island, shepherds, were described with a comparative adjective: harsher than the other inhabitants of the island of Hvar (pp. 199), with which they were placed in opposition to all the inhabitants of the island, clearly marked as the island "others". They were reduced to only one, fairly negative characteristic – harsh, while the other island inhabitants were described with a series of positive and panegyric epithets (Table 2).

A comparison of the pronouns used in the descriptions of individual Hvar inhabitants is interesting.

Eastern part of the island (Plame)	»Now in these flatlands there are five villages, mostly settled by shepherds, who are harsher than the other inhabitants of the island of Hvar. Nonetheless, some of them cultivate fields for grain (as that part of the island is quite suitable for growing grain) and have vineyards.« (p 198–199) ⁶	
Western part of the island (Plain of Hvar)	»These are mountainous areas settled by numerous inhabitants, who are endowed with physical strength and a lively spirit, and due to some inborn virtue they are sober, and avoid excessive enjoyment of wine. Although there is a great abundance of wine on Hvar (the inhabitants truly do not even drink a tenth of their wine), they nonetheless consider it a great evil, and even a crime to drink wine undiluted with water. Hence, if a newcomer appears drunk on the street, everyone, and particularly the children (as you yourselves well know), insult him as a lunatic, making fun of him and laughing at him.« (pp. 199) ⁶	
	»A true proof of the generosity and affluence of the village inhabitants of this area is offered by the Monastery of St. Peter the Martyr« (pp. 200) ⁶	
	» as almost the entire plain is yours and they are only laborers« (pp. 200) ⁶	
	» these areas are visited by many traders from all over the world to buy fish. In traffic with them, our countrymen have acquired not only abundant material goods, but also a certain quick-witted guile.« (pp. 200) ⁶	
	»This world is quite $\pmb{hard\text{-}working}$, despising slackness and laziness.« $(pp.~201)^6$	
Town of Hvar	» the refinement and good manners of the citizens of Hvar because of the frequent contacts with people of various nationalities that arrive by boat in this town.« (pp. 205) ⁶	

^{*}The citations from Pribojević's speech are taken from Vinko Pribojević: »O podrijetlu i zgodama Slavena« (introduction and notes by Grga Novak, translation from Latin and name index by Veljko Gortan), JAZU, Zagreb, 1951.

	INHABITANTS (OF HVAR	
Eastern section (Plame)	Central Plain		Town of Hvar
shepherds	laborers (farmers)	fishermen	nobles, citizens
harsh	physical strength, lively spirits inborn virtue, sobriety generosity, affluence	quick-witted guile hardworking	refinement good manners

TABLE 3
USAGE OF PRONOUNS FOR DEFINING »WE – THEY« RELATION

shepherds	laborers	fishermen	nobles, citizens
**who are harsher ** (they) (pp. 199) ⁶ **some of them ** (pp. 199) ⁶	» those rural inhabitants« (pp. 200) ⁶ » they are only laborers« (pp. 200) ⁶	»their swift bracera type ships« (pp. 200) ⁶ »our countrymen« (pp. 200) ⁶ »that world« (pp. 200) ⁶	»as you well know« (you) (pp. 199) ⁶ »transported to this town, in which we live« (we) (pp. 200) ⁶ »that plain is yours« (pp. 200) ⁶ »except the main town where we live« (we) (pp. 201) ⁶ »I am not reporting this to you because you would not know that« (pp. 201) ⁶

Pribojević described the inhabitants of Hvar from the point of view of a citizen of the town of Hvar, as can be seen from the guotes »in this town, in which we live« (pp. 200)⁶, and *»other than the main town where we live* « (pp. $201)^6$, written in the first person plural (we). All the other islanders are »they« to the inhabitants of the town, with the exception of the fishermen, who through selling their fish communicate with traders from various parts of the world and who Pribojević called *your* [fellow] countrymen« (pp. 200)6. The most positive epithets noting ideal physical, moral, and character qualities were used by Pribojević to describe the inhabitants of the central plain of Hvar. If this data is further related to the exaggeration in the number and architectural luxury of the houses in the settlements of the central part of the island2, we have yet another confirmation that Vinko Pribojević probably came from the central plain of Hvar. Despite the description praising the virtues of these inhabitants, a caution and certain pandering to the citizens of the town of Hvar can also be noted, presumably because of the fact that the flash point of the peasant rebellion on Hvar and its main protagonists were related specifically to this part of the island (Matij Ivanić was born in Vrbanj). The most obvious section featuring this cited diplomatic care and tact is a sentence subsequently added to mitigate the impression left by the previously uttered rhetorical question »what would the situation be if all the products of that plain were theirs? « (pp. 200)6, and it reads: »as almost the entire plain is yours, and they are only laborers « (pp. 200)6. This returns the original, revolutionary idea and aroused memories of the recent rebellion (directly referred to in one more place in the speech: »Although in the attempt of individuals to ac-

quire equal parts in the administration of our commune you have often fallen into various conflicts « – pp. 2116) into the fixed and only acceptable framework to the Hvar commune under Venetian rule – they are in fact only laborers who work for you.

The Excluded »Others«

The Hvar commune with all its classes was described as a harmonious, unified, idealistic community. The shepherds and their five villages in the highland were excluded from this collective representation, from its autoperception. They were expelled from the Mediterranean framework of all the other Hvar inhabitants. According to Vladimir Vratović, Mediterranean culture on the eastern part of Adriatic Coast is (rather restrictively) determined by four factors: 1. extensive remains, both material and spiritual, of classical culture; 2. membership in the Catholic, Latin Church; 3. a classical-humanistic education with a broad spectrum of repercussions on the total cultural development; 4. a fertile closeness to Italy with various mutual ties and influences¹². In the Hvar speech, Pribojević verified the historical and cultural identity of Dalmatia and his home island »along with the part played in the conception of Pribojević's work by contemporary historical circumstances, just such a perceived Mediterraneanism seems to us to be one of the fundamental guidelines of the speech.«13. He confirmed the identity of the region and the community with actual. and sometimes invented genealogies, citations, myths, and ideas about the civilized, cultural Mediterranean such as was shared by the Europe of his age.

Along with the Mediterraneanism based on the cited categories of values, in the Hvar speech we can find one more typical Mediterranean note - the earliest stereotypical conception of the shepherd and highlander as representing an eternally »different« culture and civilization of the Mediterranean. They do not enter into the urbanity, the brilliant culture, and ancient heritage of the Mediterranean cities, or into the recognized stratum of peasants-laborers on whose production those same towns depend. Pribojević did not place them directly into any of the glorified genealogies that he cited and verified through this speech: Slavic, Dalmatian, and of Hvar. On the contrary, he explicitly ejected them from the glorious genealogy of Hvar as different from all the other islanders, not citing any objective indicator of the emphasized differences, just the unambiguous characteristic of harshness. Speaking of recognized things before the community to which he belonged, the Dominican monk from Hvar also utilized its »known« collective imagery. As a member of the Hvar community in which and in front of which he was speaking, he knew its autoimages and heteroimages, skillfully including them into the perceptual inventory of humanistic Europe. In this manner, along with idealistic projections of Hvar and its population as cultured, civilized, educated, and hard-working inhabitants of an area settled and coveted even from ancient times, Mediterranean people who shared all the values and ideals of the contemporary cultured world, he also introduced into the speech stereotypes about a foreign, different, and alien Mediterranean and Hvar community.

The shepherds, settlers from the mainland, fleeing from the Turkish invasions, were strangers in the coastal world with their different culture and history. The period of danger from the Turks saw large migrations of populations from the continental hinterlands (of Bosnia, Herzegovina, and Montenegro) towards the Makarska coastline and the nearby islands. Settlers moving from the mainland coast to the Dalmatian islands were fairly numerous in the 13th and 14th centuries, while the flow greatly increased after the fall of Bosnia in 1463, after which Venice permitted the desperate population to seek shelter on the islands, and when Skender-Pasha captured the Krajina region from the Venetians in 1499, the inhabitants of Makarska had already requested permission from the local Venetian government to take refuge on Hvar. Documents and reports of Venetian legal counselors have been preserved about the migrations of new inhabitants and the demographic situation on the island of Hvar during the 16th, 17th, and 18th centuries. From these reports, we find that in 1525 there were 1000 people capable of bearing arms from the total population. In 1553, the syndic for Dalmatia, Giambatista Giustignan, reported that »the island has 7700 inhabitants, with 1400 capable of bearing arms«4. According to data from the other central Dalmatian islands, it appears that for each 2500 inhabitants there were 500 men suitable for the army. Hence we can calculate that the number of inhabitants of the island of Hvar increased from 5000 to 7100 in the period from 1525 to 1553^{14} .

The first migratory waves and settlement of the Christian population forced out by Turkish conquests were provisionally overseen by Venice, while the migrations after the Candian (1645 - 1669) and Morean (1684 - 1699) Wars were legally regulated and better organized. Hvar faced its first refugees from the mainland in Pribojević's time, new inhabitants who had found safety on the island from the Turkish conquests. They settled in the eastern, sparsely occupied, and less attractive part of the island. According to Pribojević's description of the eastern part of Hvar, the settlers occupied an area with remains of ancient monuments, where the land was suitable for cultivation and growing, fertile and offering rewards to all who knew how to exploit it. Some of »those shepherds« evidently knew enough to recognize the productive potential of the place where they had been settled, modifying their customs and adapting their economic lifestyle to their new surroundings (»Some of them, it is true, cultivate the fields for grain (as that part of the island is quite suitable for raising grain) and have vineyards. « pp. 199). However, in contrast to the rest of the population of the island, who raised Mediterranean plants such as grapes, figs, and olives, the new arrivals grew a typical continental crop - grain. Despite all their adjustments, the new immigrants were never to be accepted as »real« islanders and Mediterraneans, the indigenous Hvar population was to turn them into their permanent »others«, with whom they would compare themselves, creating boundaries and constructing stereotypes.

The Hvar community determined and defined itself in relation to this other and different community. The Hvar identity was validated spatially (Mediterranean island, sea), and through history and heritage. The new settlers were excluded from all categories, arriving on the island from the mainland, which to the islanders had always represented a place of otherness, as an anonymous collective without a written history and a tangible heritage. Pribojević defined his islanders as an ideal model with all the most desirable traits in comparison to which all the new settlers were reduced to harsh shepherds. In interaction with the immigrants, the Hvar islanders transformed themselves into a unified collective, and the classes integrated themselves into a perfect organism that functioned ideally, advancing the island of sun and security. The subject of the speech can be identified with various groups (nobles, commoners, peasants, fishermen) and identities (Slavic, Dalmatian, Hvarian) through positive stereotypes that confirm the well-established relations and values of its milieu. The Hvar island community established distinguishing frames of reference, markers of the group identity. They »belong to two types: the first depends on objective characteristics (attire, speech, religious affiliation, socio-historical differences, and so forth); the other lacks an objective foundation and is based on the desire of the group to be different and to distinguish themselves, a desire that seemingly is present even in relations with neighboring, culturally similar settlements between which numerous and varied contacts usually exist«15.

Objective distinguishing markers between the Hvar islanders and the new arrivals would be language: Chakavian – Stokavian dialects¹⁶, attire, customs: marriage customs, beliefs¹⁷, occupations (laborers, fishermen – shepherds), oral poetry and prose (heroic decasyllabic epics - lyric songs, ballads, romances). Identity markers without objective foundations that are based on subjective projections and value judgments are stereotypes. These are constructed, standardized, and schematic conceptions, and in descriptions of groups they appear as generalizing attributes and characterizations that are often repeated and vary minimally. Stereotypes take over information from reality, reconstruct and properly place it, serving as a kind of filter for simplification that allow through only unambiguous symbols, annulling every multiple meaning and offering only one possible interpretation. The seductiveness of the stereotype lies in its capability of simplifying the complicated and incomprehensible into the straightforward and understandable. They can be both positive and negative.

Pribojević used positive stereotypes to represent the indigenous Hvar islanders in his speech, utilizing all available historical, linguistic, and cultural knowledge. He applied negative stereotyping to certain immigrants, designating them as harsh. Harshness was a trait that the citizens of Athens and Rome had already applied to barbarians, meaning the foreign and different peoples that they had come across. The Hvar inhabitants did not define themselves according to the Venetians, those who ruled them, rather they attempted to approach as closely as possible the customs and values of the inhabitants of Italy, so that the immigrants in fact represented an ideal opposition group. The older stereotypical image of the »Vlachs« (the name is pejoratively used for inhabitants of the continental hinterland), which the islanders applied, in general to every person from the mainland, now acquired a closer and actual context on the island itself. The indigenous Hvar inhabitants had acquired with these immigrants from the mainland their very own island highlanders. In the time of Pribojević, these new islanders were the first massive mainland refugee settlers that had found security and a new home on their island. Settled in a rocky, climatically unattractive part of the island with limited possibilities for existence, poorly connected with the developed Hvar commune, with its culture and heritage, in fact they represented unknown strangers to be talked about, some strange, foreign, perhaps even unfriendly mainlanders. The Hvar inhabitants from the »golden age« of the island, as yet untouched by the future Turkish attacks, the explosion of the arsenal, and the exterminations of the plague, the major waves of immigrants after the Venetian-Turkish wars, under the protection of the powerful Serenissima, fenced off the new island inhabitants, not giving them a name, and not showing any need for their integration or assimilation into island life. Several decades later, in the comedies of Martin Benetović (renaissance comedy writer from Hvar), the »harsh shepherds« acquired a name - Plamjani = those of Plame - and were incorporated into the life of Renaissance Hvar. It is true that they were the subject of caricature and ridicule, but laughter usually embraces what is known, what is no longer foreign, what is close through exposure. In contrast to Pribojević's harsh shepherds settled in the distant and rocky plains of Plame, Benetović's Plamjani are still the »others« of Hvar, but are already considered islanders, clearly separated by sea from the mainland »Vlachs«.

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»SUROVI HVARANI« U GOVORU VINKA PRIBOJEVIĆA (1525. GODINE)

SAŽETAK

Cilj ovoga rada je analiza stvaranja i reprezentacije lokalnih grupnih identiteta otoka Hvara iznijetih u najstarijem književnom i historiografskom djelu iz 16. st. Govor hvarskog dominikanca Vinka Pribojevića *De origine succesibusque Slavorum (O podrijetlu i zgodama Slavena)* održan 1525. na latinskom jeziku u gradu Hvaru na otoku Hvaru, a 1532. tiskan u Mlecima, jedno je od najpoznatijih djela hrvatske latinističke književnosti. Govor je podijeljen u tri dijela. Najzavičajniji je posljednji dio govora posvećen otoku Hvaru i njegovim stanovnicima. Otok je u Pribojevićevu govoru podijeljen na tri geografska područja (istočni dio otoka – visoravan, zapadni dio otoka – hvarsko polje i grad Hvar) prema kojima je napravljena i podjela hvarskog stanovništva. U opisu Hvarana i odlikama koje su im pripisane, mogu se uočiti podjele koje odgovaraju nekim i danas raširenim otočnim stereotipima. Stanovnici istočnog dijela otoka, pastiri, doseljenici s kopna, pobjegli pred turskim osvajanjima označeni su kao otočni »drugi«. Opisani su negativnim stereotipnim predodžbama kao surovi i drugačiji od ostalih Hvarana. Stanovnici zapadnog i središnjeg dijela otoka predstavljeni su nizom idealističkih odlika kao skladna, jedinstvena zajednica. Pastiri planinskog područja na istoku otoka Hvara, isključeni su iz kolektivne reprezentacije idealiziranih starosjedilaca, Mediteranaca nastanjenih na zapadu otoka. U Pribojevićevu govoru sačuvan je najstariji oblik i danas prisutnog stereotipa o otočnim gorštacima, vječnim »drugim« i »drugačijim« Hvaranima.