

From Acceptance to Animosity: Trajectories of Croatian Jesuit Historiography

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Introduction

The emergence of a Croatian historiography of the Society of Jesus took place in the often virulently anti-Jesuit and anti-clerical atmosphere that was prevalent in Croatia in the second half of the nineteenth and first half of the twentieth century. This period represented a historical crisis for the Jesuit order in Croatia, one that provoked controversies that were largely absent in the pre-suppression period, unlike in many other countries where such disputes had existed ever since the sixteenth century. In 1932, Miroslav Vanino, S.J. (1879–1965) launched a scholarly journal entitled *Vrela i prinosi: Zbornik za povijest isusovačkog reda u hrvatskim krajevima* (Sources and contributions: Collected papers on the history of the Jesuit order in the Croatian lands),¹ which marked a turning point in the creation of a Croatian Jesuit historiography. In doing so, Vanino intended to revise the prevailing view of the pre-suppression Jesuits, who were often accused of behaving in an “anti-national” way. This latter view had become widespread among the educated Croatian elite, particularly during the Austro-Hungarian *fin-de-siècle*.

Vanino’s journal accordingly sought to correct this politically biased interpretation of the Jesuits’ role in Croatian history with articles written by both Jesuit and non-Jesuit contributors.² The journal would provide the foundation for a source-based, critical history of the Society of Jesus in the Croatian lands and of its relations with the Croats. Vanino’s historiographical work³ primarily involved writing Jesuit biographies based on a bio-bibliographic approach,⁴ together with institutional histories of the Croatian Jesuit colleges in the field of traditional cultural history, which was flourishing at that time.

1 The Latin version of the journal title is *Fontes et studia de rebus gestis Societatis Iesu in finibus Croatorum* and each article in the first series has a Latin summary. The journal was published intermittently from 1932 to 1941 and from 1982 to 1998. For a bibliography of prewar volumes, see Ivan Damiš, “Bibliografski prikaz zbornika *Vrela i prinosi*” [Bibliographic survey of the collected papers *Vrela i prinosi*], *Croatia christiana periodica* 4, no. 6 (1980): 77–80.

2 As a student of history, Vanino started by collecting archival sources at least sixteen years earlier, that is, during his doctoral studies. See, e.g., Miroslav Vanino, “Sabiranje gradje za povijest hrvatske pokrajine D.I.” [Collecting sources for the history of the Croatian province S.J.], *Vjesnik Hrvatske Pokrajine Družbe Isusove* 1 (1917): 19–23. For Vanino’s biography and bibliography, see Josip Badalić, “Pisac crkvene i kulturne hrvatske povijesti: Život i djela o. Miroslava Vanina D.I. (1879–1965)” [A writer of the Croatian church and cultural history: The life and work of Fr. Miroslav Vanino, S.J.], *Bogoslovska smotra* 36, no. 3–4 (1967): 726–36; Mijo Korade, S.J., “Kronologija i bibliografija radova o. Miroslava Vanina” [A chronology and bibliography of works by Fr. Miroslav Vanino], *Vrela i prinosi* 13 (1982): 5–22; and *Tko je tko u NDH: Hrvatska 1941.–1945* [Who is who in the Independent State of Croatia: Croatia 1941–45], s.v. Mladen Švab, “Miroslav Vanino” (Zagreb: Minerva, 1997), 41–12.

3 “The first and primary goal to him [i.e., Vanino]—and to Jesuit historiography in general—was not the apologetics of the Society and the refutation of falsehoods, although this could have been one of the motives for taking on this difficult work. The first and the primary purpose was to give an as objective as possible history of the Society of Jesus among the Croats based on trustworthy sources”; [Ivan Fuček, S.J., and Predrag Belić, S.J.], foreword to Miroslav Vanino, *Isusovci i hrvatski narod* [Jesuits and the Croatian people] (Zagreb: Filozofsko-teološki fakultet Družbe Isusove u Zagrebu, 1969), 1: xxiii–xxxix, here xxxiii.

4 An approach combining a description of an author’s life with the listing and discussion of their works.

It should be emphasized that the historiography of the Jesuits in Croatia is still predominantly nationally focused⁵ and has mainly been written by members of the order, although literary historians and historians of science have at times dealt with its more distinguished individuals, as we will see below. To map the manifold trajectories of the history of the “Old” and “New” Society in Croatia, this historiographical essay is divided into three main parts: (1) the pre-suppression sources on the historiography of the Jesuits; (2) the establishment of a source-based and critical historiography of the Society of Jesus from the nineteenth century to the conclusion of the Second World War; and (3) historiographical perceptions of the Jesuits during the communist period (after 1945) and in the new democratic state (after 1990). The essay examines each of these periods within their proper historical context.

Pre-suppression Sources on Jesuit Historiography

Although the “Croatian mission” (*Missio Croatiae*) was officially founded only in 1909/10, the Jesuits had been present among the Catholic populations of the Balkans ever since the creation of the Society in the sixteenth century. The early modern Croats, however, were scattered among four states, namely in the kingdoms of Croatia and Slavonia within the Hapsburg Empire, in the former kingdom of Dalmatia within the Republic of Venice, in the independent Republic of Dubrovnik, and, finally, in the Ottoman Empire.⁶ Catholics as well as other Christian communities in each of these territories were targets for missionary work. Unlike in other East Central European countries such as Hungary, Bohemia, and Poland, the primary motive for the Jesuit interest in these peripheral borderlands was not the Reformation, which appeared sporadically in northern Croatia and Istria and was suppressed early on; instead, there were two other, more important reasons for their arrival.

The first of these concerns Popes Pius V (r.1566–1672) and Clement VIII (r.1592–1605),⁷ who dreamed of liberating the Ottoman-occupied territories, which would in turn raise the

5 There is only one monograph on the Society of Jesus in the Croatian lands in English: Mijo Korade, Mira Aleksić, and Jerko Matoš, *Jesuits and Croatian Culture* (Zagreb: Most/The Bridge, 1992), which is a translation from Croatian. A few articles have been published in the *Archivum historicum Societatis Jesu*, and more recently in the *Journal of Jesuit Studies*. An extensive bibliography on the history of the Croatian Jesuits for the 1901–80 period can be found in László Polgár, *Bibliographie sur l'histoire de la Compagnie de Jésus (1901–1980)* (Rome: Institutum historicum S.I., 1983), 2:580–601 (s.v. “Yougoslavie”). On the archives of the Croatian colleges, see Josip Buturac, “[Arhivi isusovačkih kolegija u Hrvatskoj](#)” [Archives of the Jesuit colleges in Croatia], *Bogoslovska smotra* 33, no. 2 (1964): 109–21.

6 I use the term “Croats and “Croatian” in the early modern period for reasons of clarity, although the issue of Croatian identity is much more complex. In the humanist period, the Dalmatian Vinko Pribojević (d. after 1532) was the first to argue for the autochthonism of the Slavs in the Balkans, whom he named the “Illyrians” after the Roman province Illyricum. The “Illyrian” name was used to designate the (South) Slavic peoples on the eastern Adriatic coast and its hinterland and was sometimes synonymous with the generic term “Slavic” (Latin *Sclavonicus*, Croatian *slovenski*), but also to the more narrow “Croatian” (the Illyrian Movement in the nineteenth century was the name for the Croatian national movement). The first Croatian grammar bears the title *Institutionum linguae Illyricae libri duo* and was written by Jesuit **Bartol Kašić** (1575–1650) in 1604. For more on this issue, see Zrinka Blažević, *Ilirizam prije ilirizma* [Illyrism before Illyrism] (Zagreb: Golden Marketing, 2004). The term “Croat” (Latin *Croata*) in the literal sense was used in the early modern period as a designation for the citizens of the Kingdom of Croatia, which belonged to the lands of St. Stephen’s Crown.

7 Next to the popes, this Christian alliance included Spanish king Philip III (r.1598–1631), Austrian archduke Ferdinand II (r.1564–95), and Duke of Savoy Charles Emmanuel I (r.1580–1630). For more on this, see Jovan Radonić, *Rimska kurija i južnoslovenske zemlje od XVI do XIX veka* [The Roman curia and South Slavic lands from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century] (Belgrade: Naučna knjiga, 1950), 9–13. On these plans and on the missionary involvement of the future Croatian Jesuit from Split **Aleksandar Komulović** (Lessandro Comuleo) (1548–1608) in their realization in 1593–94, see Paul Pierling and Franjo Rački, “[L. Komulovića izvještaj i listovi o poslanstvu njegovu u Tursku, Erdelji, Moldavsku, i Poljsku](#)” [Reports and letters of Lessandro Komulović about his mission in Turkey, Transylvania, Moldavia, and Poland], *Starine JAZU* 14 (1882): 83–124.

possibility of a union between the Catholic and the Greek Orthodox Church. This plan was partially achieved through the foundation of the Greek Catholic Eparchy of Marča on the territory of the Croatian Military Frontier in 1611.⁸ The second reason, which was even more important, was the chronic shortage of trained Catholic clergy and church educational institutions,⁹ neither of which had been able to take firm roots due to the circumstances created by the Hundred Years' Croatian–Ottoman War (1493–1593).¹⁰

Preserving the Catholic identity of the population in the area bordering Islamic and Orthodox Christian lands was nearly impossible without a clergy properly educated in the spirit of Tridentine Catholicism. Due to the dissipation of the Catholics, the Jesuits themselves were also scattered in many provinces. In the pre-suppression period, the Jesuits in the north (Croatia and Slavonia) belonged to the Austrian province, in the south (Dubrovnik) to the Roman province, and in Dalmatia to the Venetian province. In the restoration period, the first Jesuit mission was established in the Dalmatian town of Tribunj in 1847, and subsequent residences and colleges in Dalmatia, Rijeka, and Dubrovnik, that is, in the coastal area, belonged to the Milanese–Venetian province. After the Croatian mission of the Austrian province was founded in Zagreb in 1909, Dalmatia was extracted from Venetian jurisdiction and added to Croatia. In 1918, the vice-province of Croatia was founded, which was soon named the Yugoslav vice-province following the colloquial name of the new state. In 1941, it was again re-named as the vice-province of Croatia following the establishment of the Independent State of Croatia.

In comparison with other historiographical traditions, the main characteristic of the pre-suppression period in the Croatian territories was the lack of anti-Jesuit literature and propaganda.¹¹ There are several possible reasons for this, as will be discussed further below. For now, it will suffice to note that it may simply be the case that it is an under-researched topic or that relevant historical evidence disappeared or was destroyed over time. Nevertheless, there is very little evidence of early modern anti-Jesuitism. One exception to this is [Marko Antun \(Croatian: Markantun, Marko Antonije; Latin: Marcus Antonius\) de Dominis](#) (1560–1624), the archbishop of Split (Spalato) in Venetian Dalmatia, a former Jesuit

8 For a comprehensive monograph on the establishment of the Union of Marča, see Zlatko Kudelić, *Marčanska biskupija: Habsburgovci, pravoslavlje i crkvena unija u Hrvatsko-slavonskoj vojnoj krajini, 1611–1755*. [The diocese of Marča: The Hapsburgs, Greek Orthodoxy, and church union in the Croatian–Slavonian Military Border, 1611–1755] (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2007). On the Jesuit missionaries engaged in the union projects, see: Mijo Korade and Dejan Pernjak, “Hrvatski isusovački misionari i pokušaji unije s pravoslavnima od 16. do 19. stoljeća” [Croatian Jesuit missionaries and the attempts to form a union with the Orthodox Church from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century], *Cris* 17, no. 1 (2015): 40–56.

9 Fr. Ivan Žanić (Zanitius) (1558–1607), one of the founders of the Zagreb college, wrote a letter to Ferdinand Alber (1548–1617), vice-provincial of the Jesuit Austrian province and rector of the Vienna College, in which Žanić asked for Jesuit teachers in the future Zagreb college. Franjo Fancev, ed., “Građa za povijest školskog i književnog rada isusovačkog kolegija u Zagrebu (1606–1771)” [Sources for the history of the school and literary work of the Jesuit college in Zagreb (1606–1771)], *Starine JAZU* 3 (1934): 1–176, here 19.

10 The Hundred Years' Croatian–Ottoman War lasted from 1493 (the Battle of Krbava) until 1593 (the Battle of Sisak), when the advancement of the Ottoman army was stopped. On the social consequences of the war, see Teodora Shek Brnardić, “Pomaganje dušama’ kao misija: Osnutak zagrebačkoga isusovačkog kolegija u kontekstu tridentskoga katolicizma” [“Helping souls” as a mission: The establishment of the Zagreb Jesuit college in the context of Tridentine Catholicism], in *Tridentska baština: Katolička obnova i konfesionalizacija u hrvatskim zemljama; Zbornik radova* [Tridentine heritage: Catholic renewal and confessionalization in the Croatian lands], ed. Zrinka Blažević and Lahorka Plejić Poje (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2016), 441–59.

11 “There is no single [...] seventeenth- or eighteenth-century pamphlet against the Croatian Jesuits, who except for little local quarrels (mostly for economic reasons) enjoyed the general benevolence of both the Catholic Church and the secular estates [...]”; Mijo Korade, “Dodatak hrvatskome izdanju: Isusovci i kultura u Hrvata” [An addition to the Croatian edition: The Jesuits and culture among Croats], in Alain Guillerrou, *Isusovci* [The Jesuits] (Zagreb: Kršćanska sadašnjost, 1992), 185.

who had to emigrate to England because of his vocal opposition to the papacy in a dispute between the Holy See and the Republic of Venice. The dispute led Pope Paul V (r.1605–21) to impose the interdict of disobedience upon the Republic of Venice.¹² As the Jesuits had sided with the pope, the Venetian Council of State responded to the interdict by expelling the Jesuits from Dalmatia in 1606, a prohibition that would last for fifty years; even after the establishment of the Jesuit residence in 1722, the Jesuits were still forbidden from teaching the youth. De Dominis wrote unfavorably about the Jesuits in his work *M.A. de Dominis [...] suae profectiois consilium exponit* (London, 1616).¹³ Another example of anti-Jesuit attitudes in this period can be seen in the work of [Pavao Skalić \(Paul Skalich\) de Lika](#) (1534–73), another Protestant renegade from Croatian territory (Lika is a Croatian region), who was educated at the Germanicum but wrote a pamphlet criticizing the Jesuits entitled *Epistola ad Romanum Antichristum* (A letter to the Roman Antichrist [Tübingen, 1558]). In the pamphlet, Skalić denigrated the Jesuits as people who blackmail others with their own sins.¹⁴

Finally, anti-Jesuit rhetoric can also be found in the work of Zagreb canon and historian [Baltazar Adam Krčelić](#) (1715–78), who under Jansenist influence and in the spirit of Lodovico Antonio Muratori's (1672–1750) Reform Catholicism, emphasized the futility and impracticality of Jesuit education based on his own experience.¹⁵ Krčelić was the first Croatian historian to comment extensively on the Jesuits. In his memoir-like historiographical work *Annuae 1748–1767* (Yearbooks 1748–67), Krčelić refers to the case of the alleged Jesuit king Nicolaus in Paraguay¹⁶ and the political reasons behind the expulsion of the Jesuits from Portugal, before giving his opinion on the essence of the Jesuit order:

Indeed, one who has been thoroughly acquainted with the Jesuit order can clearly see that it was founded by the Spaniards under the guise of piety (because they were the Society's first generals) and that its only and primary goal is to preserve and expand the Spanish monarchy by protecting and supporting papal authority.¹⁷

12 On the Venetian Interdict, see William J. Bouwsma, *Venice and the Defense of Republican Liberty* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), esp. chapter 7, 339–416.

13 Translated into English as *A Declaration of the Reasons Which Moved Marcus Antonius de Dominis, Archbishop of Spalato or Salonas, Primate of Dalmatia and Croatia, to Depart from the Romish Religion and his Country: Written by Himselfe in Latine, and Now for the Populare Vse Translated [by W. S.]* (Edinburgh: Andro Hart, 1617).

14 Predrag Belić, S.J., *Katoličko jedinstvo južnih Slavena i Družba Isusova: Prinos etiologiji ekumenske problematike na slavenskom Balkanu. prvo doba: 1546.–1597* [The Catholic unity of the South Slavs and the Society of Jesus: A contribution to the etiology of the ecumenic problematic in the Slavic Balkans, the first period; 1546–97], in *Excerpta e dissertatione ad doctoratum* (Zagreb: n.p., 1996), 48.

15 Teodora Shek Brnardić, "The Enlightenment's Choice of Latin: The *Ratio educationis* of 1777 in the Kingdom of Hungary," in *Latin at the Crossroads of Identity: The Evolution of Linguistic Nationalism in the Kingdom of Hungary*, ed. Gábor Almási and Lav Šubarić (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 120–51, here 126.

16 Nikola Plantić (1720–77), who served as a missionary in South America from 1748 to 1768, is said to have been crowned as a king by the Indians during the Guarani War (1752–56), when the Indians refused to leave the Jesuit reductions after their territory became Portuguese (before it was Spanish). On the historiography of Plantić and the legend of him as the alleged king of Paraguay (this crowning has never been confirmed by historical evidence), see Mijo Korade and Mirjana Polić Bobić, *Paragvajaska pisma* [Letters from Paraguay] (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2015), esp. the chapter entitled "Nikola Plantić i legenda o kralju Nikoli u hrvatskoj historiografiji i publicistici" [Nikola Plantić and the legend of King Nikola in Croatian historiography], 183–221. This legend, which emphasized the Jesuit yearning for wealth and power, was used for a long time as a topos by those seeking to criticize the Jesuit order.

17 Baltazar Adam Krčelić, *Annuae ili historija 1748.–1767* [Annuae or history 1748–67], trans. Veljko Gortan (Zagreb: JAZU, 1952), 296.

The Jesuits' main weapon was said to be gold, and this is why the European rulers took them under their wing; in Krčelić's opinion, the Jesuits played with kings like children with their toys, so that they were everywhere considered "the eye and the lifeblood of rulers."¹⁸

Despite Krčelić's claims, which were influenced by late Enlightenment thought, the Jesuits were well received in the Kingdom of Croatia and more generally in the Hapsburg realm. The Tridentine reforms in the Croatian dioceses were conducted with the collaboration of all the existing social and political actors. When the Jesuits entered the free borough of Gradec (Zagreb) in 1606, they had almost no rivals. They soon became the chief promoters of urban cultural life (founding the first printing house, establishing an academy in 1662 that grew into a university in 1669, staging theater performances, musical events etc.), making Zagreb the cultural center of the Croatian north. Reflecting the Jesuits' political influence, the rectors of the Zagreb and Varaždin college even won two places to the Croatian parliament in 1697 due to the favors they had procured for the kingdom in the Viennese court.

The chain of the Jesuits' supporters was manifold: the Hapsburg rulers, who stressed the "piety of the Austrian House" as a princely virtue, which implied a strictly Catholic politics; popes to whom the Croatian lands and the Balkan area as a whole were a missionary territory; the Chapter of Zagreb, which educated its clergy at the Zagreb gymnasium and academy; the borough authorities; the Croatian estates;¹⁹ and members of aristocratic and noble families and individuals who were listed among the order's donors. This network of cooperation was described by Jesuit historian Ivan Krstitelj Prus (1695–1733) in the booklet *Memoria beneficiorum a Collegio Societatis Jesu Zagrabienſi acceptorum, ab anno Christi Salvatoris MDCVI* (A report of the benefits conferred to the Zagreb College of the Society of Jesus from 1606 AD [Zagreb, 1733]). The pamphlet lists the names of all the Jesuit benefactors and their deeds for the Zagreb College until 1733 and thus remains a rare and important printed work on the Society's pre-suppression Croatian history.²⁰

In the Republic of Dubrovnik, on the other hand, the arrival of the Jesuits was not without obstacles. Their mission was interrupted several times as the political loyalties of Dubrovnik patricians oscillated from East to West. Thus, in 1442, the republic had concluded a favorable charter with the Ottoman Porte and began to make a significant profit from commerce, so that the feeling among the patricians was not entirely anti-Turkish, especially at the time when the first Jesuits first arrived in the city between 1559 and 1639. Due to the Jesuits' exclusive loyalty to the pope, some of the city's patricians looked upon the order with suspicion.²¹ The change in favor of Hapsburg protection occurred after the siege of Vienna in 1683 and especially after the disastrous earthquake in 1667 when the Ottomans threatened to conquer the city.²² At that time, the Jesuit college had already been

18 Ibid.

19 The estates retained their independence in decision-making with regard to the Kingdom of Hungary proper in exchange for confirming Article 22:1604, issued by Rudolf II (r. 1572–1608 as king of Hungary and Croatia) with the intention of establishing Catholicism as an exclusive religion in the territory of the Croatian kingdoms.

20 Available in the National and University Library in Zagreb.

21 Robin Harris, *Dubrovnik: A History* (London: SAQI, 2003), 234–37.

22 For more on Dubrovnik's position, see Zdenko Zlatar, *Our Kingdom Come: The Counter-Reformation, the Republic of Dubrovnik, and the Liberation of the Balkan Slavs* (Boulder, CO: Columbia University Press, 1992); and Zlatar, *Between the Double Eagle and the Crescent: The Republic of Dubrovnik and the Origins of the Eastern Question* (Boulder, CO: Columbia University Press, 1992).

established (1658) thanks to the generous endowment of [Marin Gundulić](#) (1596–1647), and the Dubrovnik Jesuits excelled in the eighteenth-century arts and sciences with luminaries such as physicist [Ruder Josip Bošković](#) (Ruggiero Boscovich) (1711–87).²³

The key sources for the history of the Jesuits in the seventeenth and even more so in the eighteenth century thus remain the histories and biographies written by the Jesuits themselves, which aimed to preserve the Jesuit memory and build a sense of collective identity among the brethren. These manuscripts circulated among the Jesuit colleges and residences and offered encouragement and examples of piety and self-sacrifice in real-life situations. Although they remain largely neglected as sources, historian Paul Shore argues that they are still crucial to understand the development of the Society's own historiography, especially so in the Croatian case due to the lack of printed sources.²⁴

House Diaries

Preserved *historiae* or Latin house diaries of the Jesuit colleges in the historical Croatian lands (Zagreb, Požega, Petrovaradin, and Rijeka) are crucial sources for understanding early modern Croatian cultural history. The most important of these is the *Historia Collegii Societatis Jesu in monte Graeco Zagrabiae siti* (A history of the college of the Society of Jesus situated on the mountain Gradec in Zagreb), which consists of two volumes with one thousand pages in folio.²⁵ The college rectors wrote this house history intermittently until 1670, when the task was instead assigned to house historians, among whom [Baltazar Milovec](#) (1612–78)—known as the “Croatian Cicero”²⁶—was the most prolific writer. Excerpts from the history of the Zagreb residence are first mentioned in print form in *Litterae annuae 1606, 1607 & 1608* in a section on the Austrian province, to which the college belonged together with the other colleges in the composite Kingdom of Hungary.²⁷

Another preserved domestic history is that of the Požega college,²⁸ titled *Historia residentiae Poseganae Societatis Jesu, quae dein prosperis fatis in collegium assurrexit* (A history of the Požega residence of the Society of Jesus, which grew into a college thanks to good fortune), which is preserved in the Archbishopric Archive in Zagreb. Two volumes of the *Diarium collegii Posegani* (A diary of the Požega college [vol. 1: 1709–38; vol. 2: 1739–58]) can be found in the private archive of the Croatian Jesuit province in Zagreb, but both volumes were severely damaged in a flood during the Second World War.²⁹ The history of the Rijeka

23 The eulogies of his life were written immediately after his death in 1787. See, e.g., Bernardo Zamagna, *Oratio in funere Rogerii Josephi Boscovichii* (Dubrovnik: n.p., 1787); Julije Bajamonti, *Elogio del Padre Ruggiero Giuseppe Boscovich* (Dubrovnik: n.p., 1789); Francesco Ricca, *Elogio storico dell'abate Ruggiero Giuseppe Boscovich* (Milan: Giuseppe Marelli, 1789).

24 Paul Shore, *Narratives of Adversity: Jesuits in the Eastern Peripheries of the Habsburg Realms (1640–1773)* (Budapest: CEU Press, 2012), 212. Austrian historian Franz von Krones also used these sources in his extensive essay on the role of the Jesuits in Hungarian history. Franz von Krones, “Der Jesuitenorden und seine Rolle im Geschichtsleben Ungarns,” *Österreichisch-ungarische Revue* 12 (1892): 193–224, here 197–99.

25 The volumes are now available in the Croatian National and University Library (R 7821). Larger excerpts have been published in Franjo Fancev, ed., “Grada za povijest školskog i književnog rada isusovačkog kolegija u Zagrebu (1606–1771)” [Sources for the history of the school and literary work of the Jesuit college in Zagreb (1606–1771)], *Starine JAZU* 37 (1934): 1–176 and 38 (1937): 182–304. An additional source for the early history of the Zagreb college is a manuscript from the old Zagreb college archive published in Emilij Laszowski, “Povijest zagrebačkih isusovaca od g. 1608.–1618” [A history of the Zagreb Jesuits from 1608 to 1618], *Vjesnik kr. hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskoga zemaljskoga arkiva* 15 (1913): 161–78.

26 On Milovec, see Miroslav Vanino, “Baltazar Milovec (1612–1678): Biografski podaci” [Biographical data], *Vrela i prinosi* 3 (1933): 123–27.

27 *Litterae annuae Societatis Jesu 1606, 1607 & 1608* (Mainz: Ex architypographia Ioannis Albini, 1618), 565–84.

28 Tomo Matic, “Isusovačke škole u Požegi (1698.–1773.)” [Jesuit schools in Požega], *Vrela i prinosi* 5 (1932): 1–61, here 6.

college, *Historia Collegii Fluminis 1628–1737*, disappeared in the 1930s when the Italian government ruled the city.³⁰ A copy of the house diary of the Jesuit mission in Petrovaradin, entitled *Diarium missionis Petrovaradinensis Societatis Jesu: A decima sexta iunii anno 1729* (A diary of the Petrovaradin mission of the Society of Jesus: Starting from June 16, 1729 [1729–39]), is now kept in the Archbishopric Archive in Đakovo, Croatia.³¹

Autobiographies, College Chronicles, and Biography Collections

As already mentioned, Dubrovnik—referred to as the “Slavic Athens” in popular literature—was an important Jesuit center. Dubrovnik Jesuits excelled in the tradition of writing biographies, as well as autobiographies, among which the most famous is the biography written by [Bartol Kašić](#) (1575–1650), entitled *Vita P. Bartholomaei Casii Dalmatae ab ipsomet conscripta* (A life of Fr. Bartol Kašić from Dalmatia, written by himself [c.1625]).³² Kašić had worked as a missionary in the regions under the Ottoman occupation on two occasions (1612 and 1618), and twice as a missionary in Dubrovnik (1609–12 and 1620–33). Vanino speculates that Kašić might have wanted to provide material for Niccolò Orlandini (1554–1606) and Francesco Sacchini’s (1570–1625) history of the Jesuit order (Sacchini was his teacher of rhetoric at the Roman College³³), since he had insight into the state of Catholicism under Ottoman rule.³⁴ Moreover, he was also the first to have written Jesuit biographies in the Croatian Štokavian language in order to promote the veneration of two new saints, Ignatius of Loyola (c.1491–1556) and Francis Xavier (1506–52), in the city of Dubrovnik, especially among women.³⁵

The history of Dubrovnik (Ragusa) college is described in an Italian chronicle entitled *Alcune memorie di questo collegio di Ragusa* (Some memoirs of the college of Ragusa) by [Šimun Pavao \(Simone Paolo\) Capitozzi](#) (1670–1753). Capitozzi worked on the chronicle until 1751, whereupon the work was taken over by [Juraj \(Đuro\) Bašić](#) (1695–1765), whose last entry was written in August 1764.³⁶ The work follows the genre of the *memoriae*, which are described in [Andrija Jambrešić](#)’s (1706–58) contemporary Latin–Illyrian and Croatian–German dictionary as records of “deeds and events worthy of remembrance.”³⁷ Capitozzi used the house archive (one bundle is now available in the Jesuit archive in Venice), but many of the documents relating to the church, the economy, and necrologies

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- 29 Miroslav Vanino, *Isusovci i hrvatski narod* [Jesuits and the Croatian people] (Zagreb: Filozofsko-teološki institut D.I. u Zagrebu, 1987) 2: xxvi.
- 30 Quotations from this history can be found in Giuseppe Viezzoli, “La compagnia di Gesù a Fiume,” *Fiume* 10 (1931): 192–230.
- 31 Ankica Landeka, “[Knjižnica isusovačke misije iz Petrovaradina](#)” [The library of the Jesuit mission in Petrovaradin] (BA diss., University of Zagreb, 2009), 7.
- 32 On Kašić, see John V. Fine, *When Ethnicity Did Not Matter in the Balkans: A Study of Identity in Pre-nationalist Croatia, Dalmatia, and Slavonia in the Medieval and Early Modern Period* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 2006), 394ff.; and in French, see Miroslav Vanino, S.J., “Le P. Barthélemy Kašić S.J., écrivain croate (1575–1659): Étude bio-bibliographique,” *AHSI* (1937): 216–58.
- 33 Marijan Stojković, “[Bartol Kašić D.I. Pažanin \(1575.–1650.\): Prilog za njegov život i književni rad](#)” [Bartol Kašić of Pag.: Contributions to his life and literary work], *Rad JAZU* 96 (1919): 170–263, here 177.
- 34 Miroslav Vanino, ed., “[Autobiografija Bartola Kašića](#)” [The autobiography of Bartol Kašić], *Grada za povijest književnosti hrvatske* 15 (1940): 1–144, here 6.
- 35 *Život svetoga Ignacija skrachienei* [A summary of the life of St. Ignatius] (Rome, 1624) and *Život svetoga Franjeska Saveria od Drvxbe Yesvssovae, apostola od India* [A life of St. Francis Xavier from the Society of Jesus, apostle of India] (Rome, 1638).
- 36 This manuscript was published in 1937 to mark the two-hundredth anniversary of Ruđer Bošković’s death. See Miroslav Vanino, ed., “Ljetopis Dubrovačkoga kolegija/Chronicon collegii Ragusini 1559–1764” [A chronicle of the Dubrovnik college], *Vrela i prinosi* 7 (1937): xii–178.
- 37 Andrija Jambrešić, S.J., *Lexicon Latinum interpretatione Illyrica, Germanica et Hungarica locuples* (Zagreb: Institut za hrvatski jezik i jezikoslovlje, 1992), s. v. “*memoriae*.”

have since disappeared. Apart from the archival records, Capitozzi also refers to Sacchini's *Historia Societatis Jesu*, but he did not use the *Annuae litterae Societatis Jesu*. The autobiography compiled by Kašić is used less frequently than might be expected, particularly so given that Capitozzi made a copy of it. He also fails to make use of the house diary, which suggests that it had since disappeared. According to Vanino, Capitozzi started to write *Alcune memorie* around 1735, most probably at the instigation of Carlo Storani (dates unknown), the Jesuit provincial of the Roman province, who sent him a scheme for writing house diaries (*historia domus*) in 1732.³⁸

The second important source for the history of the Dubrovnik Jesuits is the collection of biographies entitled *Elogia Jesuitarum Ragusinorum* (A eulogy of the Dubrovnik Jesuits), written by the above-mentioned Đuro Bašić, which presents the moral virtues and achievements of the Dubrovnik Jesuits in the religious revival of the people. As well as drawing on the tradition of the Jesuit order, the work should also be viewed within the cultural context of Dubrovnik at that time, when histories of the Dominican and Franciscan orders were being written and published.³⁹ Bašić composed thirty-three biographies set in chronological order and used both oral sources and archival records. He imposed strict criteria for selecting which individual Jesuits would appear in the work, as only those who were born in Dubrovnik and had stayed in the order until their death (ex-Jesuits were not counted) were included. Bašić was primarily interested in the Jesuits' education, service, and especially their religious work, and thus his work stops short of discussing their literary activities to any great extent. Apart from local sources, Bašić also quotes Sacchini's *Historia Societatis Jesu*, a eulogy by Philippe Alegambe (1592–1652), and the *Menologia* by Antonio Patrignani (1659–1733). As a result of its historical accuracy, the collection remains a useful starting point for researching the Society of Jesus in Dubrovnik.⁴⁰ An anonymous writer added eighteen more biographies in a supplementary volume entitled *Brevis prospectus Jesuitarum Ragusinorum, qui ab anno 1764 usque ad extinctam Societatem in ea fuerunt* (A short survey of the Dubrovnik Jesuits who were members of the Society from 1764 until its dissolution), but these additional biographies are not as useful as Bašić's work.⁴¹

Histories of Missions and Local Histories

After the conclusion of the Treaty of Karlowitz (1699) between the Hapsburg monarchy and the Ottoman Empire, a substantial amount of Croat-inhabited territory was liberated and became a missionary target. The Jesuit missions were present in almost all the newly liberated areas where there was a need to re-Christianize the local population. The Dalmatian hinterland, which belonged to Venice, was under the jurisdiction of the Dalmatian archbishops, and they badly needed missionaries. The Split archbishop [Stjepan Cosmi](#) (1629–1707) invited the Jesuits to his city in 1703, with the first missionary to arrive being lexicographer [Ardelio della Bella](#) (1655–1737). His inspirational life was charted by his companion [Gian Lorenzo \(Ivan Lovro\) Camelli](#) (1692–1781) and most probably circulated in manuscript form among the brethren.⁴² Camelli, who served as a missionary in Dalmatia for

38 Vanino, introduction to "Ljetopis Dubrovačkoga kolegija/*Chronicon collegii Ragusini* 1559–1764" [Chronicle of the Dubrovnik college], *Vrela i prinosi* 7 (1937): i–xii, here x–xi.

39 Dragoljub Pavlović, *Đorđe Bašić: Dubrovački biograf XVIII. veka* [Đorđe Bašić: A Dubrovnik eighteenth-century biographer] (Belgrade: Državna štamparija Kraljevine Jugoslavije, 1931), 26.

40 The Latin text edited according to the autograph, which can be found in the Jesuit archive in Venice, is available in printed form in the journals *Croatia sacra* 3, no. 6 (1933): 116–216 and *Vrela i prinosi* 2, no. 3 (1933): 4–104.

41 Pavlović, *Đorđe Bašić*, 84.

thirty-four years, was almost certainly the author of a history of the Dalmatian popular missions (1703–62), which Vanino published in 1941.⁴³ [Franjo Ksaver Rovis](#) (1673–1734) wrote another chronicle of the Dalmatian missions from 1703 to 1728, *Annua historia missionis Dalmaticae* (Annals of the Dalmatian mission), in which he described his missionary activities together with della Bella, [Filippo Riceputi](#) (1667–1742) (the creator of the monumental *Illyricum sacrum*), and others.⁴⁴

[Ivan Marija Matijašević](#) (Gian-Maria Mattei) (1714–91)—known as the “Muratori of church history in Dubrovnik”⁴⁵—was an erudite collector of sources. His most famous collection is the three-volume *Zibaldone* (Miscellany), preserved in the library of the Friars Minor, which is a collection of copies of documents, many of which no longer exist in their original form. This is why the collection is especially valuable for historians of Dubrovnik.⁴⁶

Matijašević’s and Đuro Bašić’s equivalent in the Kingdom of Croatia was the literary historian and ex-Jesuit [Adam Alojzije Baričević](#) (1756–1806), who collected sources relating to Croatia’s cultural and literary heritage, and who had begun preparing a history of Croatian literature (*Historia litteraria Croatiae*).⁴⁷ Although this history was never finished, some of the biographies it contained were given to Hungarian Piarist literary historian [Elek Horányi](#) (Alexius Horányi) (1736–1809), who used them for his *Nova memoria Hungarorum et provincialium scriptis editis notorum* (A new account of Hungarian and provincial authors, who are known for published works [1796]), and to the ex-Jesuit [Michael Paintner](#) (1753–1826), who was collecting material on the Jesuit writers of the Austrian province. This list of Croatian Jesuit writers is preserved in a manuscript entitled *Scriptores Societatis Jesu Croatae a Rmo. Michaelo Paintner commemorati* (Croatian writers of the Society of Jesus commemorated by the Venerable Michael Paintner).⁴⁸ Paintner’s Jesuit collection was used by [Johann Nepomuk Stöger](#) (1792–1880) for the compilation *Scriptores provinciae Austriacae Societatis Jesu* (Writers of the Austrian province of the Society of Jesus [Vienna, 1855]), where biographies taken from Paintner are quoted under his name.

Finally, it is also worth mentioning the local Jesuit histories published in Latin that exist in printed form: [Franjo Zdelar](#)’s (1685–1745) *Series banorum Dalmatiae, Croatiae, Sclavoniae* (A list of viceroys of Dalmatia, Croatia, Slavonia [1737]); [Franjo Ksaver Pejačević](#)’s (1707–81) *Historia Serviae seu colloquia XIII de statu regni et religionis Serviae, ab exordio ad finem, sive a saeculo VII ad XV* (A history of Serbia, or thirteen conversations about the state of Serbia’s kingdom and religion, from the beginning until the end, that is, from the seventh to the fifteenth century [1799]); [Andrija Blašković](#)’s (1726–96) *Historia universalis Illyrici* (A

42 It was published only later: Gian Lorenzo Camelli, S.J., *Breve ragguaglio della vita del P. Ardelio della Bella d. C. d. G. missionario nella Dalmazia*, ed. (P. Tito Bottaglio) (Modena: Tip. dell’Immacolata Concezione, 1888).

43 Miroslav Vanino, “Lovro Camelli i njegova povijest pučkih misija u mletačkoj Dalmaciji” [Lovro Camelli and his history of popular missions in Venetian Dalmatia], *Vrela i prinosi* 12 (1941): 87–192.

44 The manuscript has been preserved; the final part of the manuscript was published by Vanino in the journal *Vrela i prinosi* in 1933.

45 Kosta Vojnović, “Crkva i država u dubrovačkoj republici” [Church and state in the Republic of Dubrovnik], *Rad JAZU* 71 (1893): 1–91, here 72.

46 Josip Lučić, “Ivan Marija Matijašević i njegov rukopisni fond u biblioteci Male braće u Dubrovniku” [Ivan Marija Matijašević and his manuscript found in the library of the Friars Minor in Dubrovnik], in *Isusovci u Hrvata* [The Jesuits among the Croats], ed. Vladimir Horvat, S.J. (Zagreb: Filozofsko-teološki institut D.I. Zagreb, 1992), 109–22.

47 Vladoje Dukat, “O književnom i naučnom radu Adama Alojzija Baričevića (1756–1806.)” [On the literary and scholarly work of Adam Alojzije Baričević (1756–1806)], *Rad JAZU* 98 (1921): 75–97, here 78.

48 Archive of the Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences, sig. II d 231. Paintner’s original manuscript collection is now preserved in the Benedictine Pannonhalma Archabbey in Hungary; <http://jezsuita.hu/nevtar/paintner-mihaly/> (accessed January 9, 2018).

universal history of Illyricum [1794]); and [Josip Mikoczi's \(Mikoczy\)](#) (also known as Aloysius Blumenthal) (1734–1800) *Otiorum Croatiae liber unus* (A book of spare time in Croatia [1806]), which deals with Croatia's medieval history.⁴⁹ The church and civil history of the entire territory of the ancient Roman province Illyricum, titled *Illyricum sacrum* (Sacred Illyricum [1751–1817]), by [Filippo Riceputti](#) (1667–1742), [Daniele Farlati](#) (9 vols., 1690–1773), and [Giovanni Giacomo Coleti \(Coletti\)](#) (1734–1827) can be regarded as the crown jewel of eighteenth-century Jesuit historiography in the Croatian lands.⁵⁰ Thus, as literary historian Dragoljub Pavlović notes, the eighteenth century was a century of history-writing and source-collecting for the Croatian Jesuits.⁵¹ Unfortunately, however, after the suppression in 1773, it took almost a century for their work to be recovered.

Age of Ideologies and the Emergence of Anti-Jesuit Propaganda in Croatia

Nationalism and liberalism, the most influential nineteenth-century ideologies, had a considerable impact on the prevailing attitude toward the Jesuit apostolate in the modern world. In the post-restoration period, the collective memory of the Jesuits among the Croats was related to the Latin schools and the Latinization of the Croatian youth. The Jesuits were consequently denounced as the “enemy of national books.” In 1849, Croatian poet [Petar Preradović](#) (1818–72) used the metaphor of “the black seeds of Loyola” to describe the Jesuits in Dubrovnik, an appellation that was later repeated many times. The poem containing the metaphor was published in the almanac *Dubrovnik: Cviet narodnog književstva* (Dubrovnik: The flower of national literature), whose editor-in-chief, poet [Antun Kaznačić](#) (1784–1874), was a supporter of the leader of the Illyrian Movement (the Croatian National Revival) Ljudevit Gaj (1809–72) and his belief that the literature of Dubrovnik should be used as the basis for the Croatian literary language. In the poem, Preradović compares the damage the Jesuit presence in Dubrovnik had allegedly inflicted to the devastating earthquake that demolished half of the city in 1667.⁵²

Liberalism was the second ideology to profoundly affect the Jesuits' public image. In 1848, there was an eruption of demands for social and political reform in the Croatian kingdoms, which ultimately led the National Assembly to adopt the political petition entitled *Zahtjevanja naroda* (The demands of the nation). Among other things, the petition called for the abolition of celibacy, the introduction of the old Slavic language in the Catholic liturgy, the abolition of religious orders, and the removal of the church from education.⁵³ These demands for greater freedom reflected a broader rebellion against the worldview propagated by the Catholic Church.⁵⁴ Furthermore, the liberals were vehemently opposed

49 Mikoczy has been described as “the father of the Iranian theory” of Croatia's origins, who first presented this idea in his doctorate dissertation defended at the Royal Academy in Zagreb in 1797. Since this theory contradicted the Slavic origin of the Croats, and thus endangered the politics of the Yugoslav (South Slavic) unity, his dissertation mysteriously disappeared from the Archive of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts, either during the first or during the second Yugoslavia, when there was a strict prohibition on publishing texts on this issue. Yet, Mikoczy had a Jesuit follower, Stjepan Krizin Sakač, S.J. (1890–1973), who ardently advocated this theory and published several treatises about it (see below).

50 See Miroslav Kurelac, “Isusovački povjesničari balkanskih zemalja: Povijesna djela isusovaca u Hrvata” [Jesuit historians of the Balkan lands: Jesuit historical works among the Croats], in Horvat, *Isusovci u Hrvata*, 26–40.

51 Pavlović, *Dorđe Bašić*, 7.

52 Petar Preradović, “Pjesma Dubrovniku” [A poem to Dubrovnik], in *Izabrane pjesme* [Selected poems], ed. Branko Vodnik (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1918), 122–23.

53 Mirko Juraj Mataušić, “Odnos Katoličke crkve prema novim idejnim strujanjima u hrvatskim zemljama 1848–1900” [The relationship of the Catholic Church toward the new ideological tendencies in the Croatian lands], *Bogoslovska smotra* 15, no. 1–2 (1985): 196–216, here 136.

to clericalism in general, which they viewed as nothing more than an “effort to submit political life to the dictates of the Catholic Church.”⁵⁵

In the post-restoration period, the Dubrovnik Jesuits were the first to continue writing about the history of the order. By this time, Dubrovnik was no longer an independent state (having been abolished by Napoleon Bonaparte [1769–1821] in 1808) but had been incorporated into Dalmatia as Austrian crown land and was now governed by the Austrian authorities. [Maksimilijan Budinić](#), S.J. (1825–94) collected and researched the sources relating to the Jesuit order in Dalmatia and copied a great deal of material from the public and parish archives, private collections, and the central archive of the Jesuit order in Rome. This material was placed in a systematic order, commented on, and divided into seven volumes containing a vast amount of information on Croatian history.⁵⁶ The head of the Jesuit residence, [Giuseppe \(Josip\) Adelasio](#), S.J. (1818–1902), used Budinić’s work to write his *Alcune memorie per servire alla Storia della Compagnia di Gesù in Dalmazia dale origini fin dopo l’anno 1893* (Some memoirs serving the history of the Society of Jesus in Dalmatia from the beginning until the year of 1893 [1893]).⁵⁷ Although this work remained in manuscript form, it was used extensively in Adone Alegheri’s, S.J. (d.1873) short history of the Jesuit Venetian province from 1814 to 1914.⁵⁸

However, by this stage, the general public had become increasingly hostile to the Jesuit presence, largely because of the previously mentioned prevalence of liberal and nationalistic ideas. The Jesuits were regarded as propagators of a foreign, primarily Italian, culture; they were prevented from opening colleges in Dalmatia, where they had been present since 1841, and mostly worked in bishopric seminaries (Dubrovnik and Zadar). An increasing number of pamphlets and brochures with a clear anti-Jesuit agenda began to appear and were sometimes re-published in Zagreb, where negotiations for the Jesuits to return to the city were ongoing. Some of these pamphlets have been preserved. In one of them, a former Jesuit student, Peroslav Starigradski (dates unknown), described the Jesuits in Dalmatia (who oversaw seminaries in Dubrovnik and in Split) as “the apostles of a foreign culture and enemies of our national revival,” adding that “Jesuit propaganda means the diffusion of the Italian culture and spirit.”⁵⁹

54 Jure Krišto, *Prešućena povijest: Katolička crkva u hrvatskoj politici 1850.–1918*. [A history kept secret: The Catholic Church in Croatian politics 1850–1918] (Zagreb: Hrvatska sveučilišna zaklada, 1994), 52. For more on this topic, see Agneza Szabo, “Hrvatska javnost 19. stoljeća i njezini odnosi prema isusovcima” [The Croatian public sphere in the nineteenth century and its relationship with the Jesuits], in Horvat, *Isusovci u Hrvata*, 236–43.

55 Krišto, *Prešućena povijest*, 134. On nineteenth-century clericalism, see Mirjana Gross, “Liberalizam i klerikalizam u hrvatskoj povijesti (19. i početak 20. stoljeća)” [Liberalism and clericalism in the Croatian history (the nineteenth and the beginning of the twentieth century)], *Naše teme* 33, no. 9 (1989): 2346–67. The Zagreb canon [Nikola Horvat](#) (1823–1911) was the first to refer to propagandistic anti-Jesuit sentiment and mentality in Croatian journalism in 1856, when he reviewed the legend of the alleged Jesuit king Nikola Plantić with the aim of demonstrating that it was a product of anti-Jesuit propaganda. As a response to liberal hostility, he first discussed the Enlightenment campaign against the Catholic Church, and particularly against the Jesuits, and gave examples of propaganda that emphasized the Jesuits’ wealth and power in the invented story of Plantić as a king. Nikola Horvat, “Nikola Plantić nazovi-kralj paragvajski” [Nikola Plantić, the would-be king of Paraguay], *Katolički list*, no. 27 (1856): 209–12.

56 *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, s.v. Predrag Belić, S.J., “Maksimilijan Budinić”; <http://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak.aspx?id=3041> (accessed February 24, 2018).

57 His personal papers are kept in the Jesuit library “Juraj Habdelić” in Zagreb.

58 Adone Aldegheri, S.J., *Breve storia della Provincia Veneta della Compagnia di Gesù dalle sue origini fino ai giorni nostri (1814–1914)* (Venice: Tipografia Sorteni e Vidotti, 1914). The original of Adelasio’s manuscript is kept in the Jesuit college in Gallarate in Italy, and a copy in the Jesuit college in Dubrovnik. *Hrvatski biografski leksikon*, s.v. Predrag Belić, S.J., “[Josip Adelasio](#)”; <http://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak.aspx?id=312> (accessed February 24, 2018).

As mentioned earlier, Croatian liberals viewed clericalism as their arch-enemy. The politician and publicist [Franko Potočnjak](#) (1862–1932) directly accused clerical supporters of bringing the Jesuits back to Zagreb. He described them as a “black gang” that forbids their students from reading the eminent Croatian poets such as the already mentioned Preradović.⁶⁰ The well-known progressive Croatian pedagogue [Davorin Trstenjak](#) (1848–1921) dedicated a whole book to the Jesuits and their educational system, which, in his opinion, was directed at creating men who were slavishly devoted to the Catholic Church and the pope: “The foundation of the Jesuit system is the annihilation of every individualism, of the tiniest individual life, the extinction of every original manifestation of the mind and the killing of free spirit and progress.”⁶¹

This liberal attitude toward education had consequences for Jesuit historiography, especially in the field of the cultural history of education. As progressives, liberals had a great deal of faith in the power of education, with schools and books being viewed as yardsticks for the cultural development of nation states.⁶² Although the Jesuits’ achievements in the educational system in the Croatian lands were indisputable, their colleges, which played the role of the first public schools, were still not the focus of historical research, most probably because of the general anti-Jesuit feeling among the educational and ecclesiastical elite. The proponents of the Yugoslav idea and the cultural unification of the South Slavs, such as Bishop [Josip Juraj Strossmayer](#) (1815–1905), the founder of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts, also had little appreciation for the Jesuit heritage.

The famous lawyer, politician, and legal historian [Konstantin Vojnović](#) (1832–1903) sought to rectify this situation by giving credit to the Jesuits in his work on the relationship between the church and the state in the Republic of Dubrovnik:

Therefore, it does not correspond to historical truth when it is objected to the order that it was the enemy of our book, which found expression in Preradović’s attack on the seeds of Loyola. If the Jesuits happened to be the advocates and promoters of humanism, they just followed the old Dubrovnik tradition, which turned a small city into the hearth of learning in the south.⁶³

This neglected “hearth of learning” happened to be the home city of renowned scientist Ruđer Bošković, to whom the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts dedicated an entire issue of the well-known journal *Radovi JAZU* (Works of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences)

59 Peroslav Starigradski, *I gesuiti e l'educazione della gioventù nella Dalmazia* (Zagreb: Tipografia per azioni, 1893), 11. The author of this pamphlet was identified as a Freemason, who used pseudonyms in his writings. His real name was probably Peroslav Kovačević (data from the National and University Library in Zagreb) or Petar Kovačević-Bego. He also wrote the anti-Jesuit booklet *Jezuitska propaganda u Hrvatskoj* [The Jesuit Propaganda in Croatia] (Zagreb: F. Fišer, 1900) under the pseudonym Hrvatko Hrvatović.

60 Franko Potočnjak, *Pogledi na klerikalizam u Hrvatskoj* [Views on clericalism in Croatia] (Budapest: Jugoslovenska radnička tiskara “Budućnost,” 1904), 17.

61 Davorin Trstenjak, *Jezuite* [Jesuits] (Zagreb: Dionička tiskara, 1911), 77.

62 Ivan Krstitelj Tkalčić, “O stanju više nastave prije, a osobito za pavlina” [On the state of higher education before, and especially during, the Pauline order], *Rad JAZU* 23 (1885): 78–104, here 78. Tkalčić, who is the most distinguished church historian of the period, dedicates a whole paper to the role of the Pauline order in the seventeenth-century schooling system.

63 Vojnović, “Crkva i država,” 65.

to mark the hundredth anniversary of his death in 1887.⁶⁴ The academy continued to publish original articles on Bošković's work as well as sources with an emphasis on his correspondence, thereby revealing further details of his life and work.⁶⁵

At this point in time, the missionary focus for Jesuit activities was Bosnia, which had been annexed by the Austro-Hungarian monarchy in 1878 and in which the Catholic Church had been re-established in 1881. Catholic educational institutions had to be built there after centuries of Ottoman rule, and the Jesuits, who had targeted Bosnia for missions before this point, were now invited to run them by the first archbishop of Vrhbosna, [Josip Stadler](#) (1843–1918). Stadler founded a seminary with a boys' gymnasium in Travnik in 1882 and the Vrhbosna Theological Seminary in 1890, which was then transferred to Sarajevo in 1893;⁶⁶ the Jesuits remained the main teaching staff at the two institutions until 1944. Stadler also established a printing house, which the Jesuits would use for their publications relating to the history of the Jesuit order.⁶⁷ In contrast to the contemporary Yugoslav conceptions of national unity, Stadler advocated Ante Starčević's (1823–96) idea of an independent Croatian state united with Bosnia and Herzegovina (based on the supposed historical rights of the Croatian state), which would be autonomous in the framework of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Unlike Strossmayer's Yugoslav Catholicism and Starčević's liberal Croatian nationalism, Stadler, together with the Jesuits, thought that the essence of the Croatian national spirit was belonging to the Catholic faith and culture.⁶⁸ This attitude was reflected to a large extent in the Jesuits' interwar historiography, especially in the 1930s when Stadler's ideas were revived in the context of the oppressive, dictatorial rule of Yugoslav king Alexander I Karađorđević (king of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes from 1921 to 1929; king of Yugoslavia from 1929 to 34).

The Counter-Reformation Paradigm and the Struggle for the Cultural Recognition of the Old Society

Another one-sided view that motivated the emergence of Jesuit historiography was the interpretation according to which the activities of the Old Society should be understood exclusively within the context of the Counter-Reformation paradigm. Literary and cultural historian [Franjo Bučar](#) (1866–1946) began this field of study at the beginning of the twentieth century with an article on the Reformation in the Croatian lands⁶⁹ in which he proposed the hypothesis that the beginnings of vernacular literature in the Kajkavian dialect in northern Croatia started with the Protestant movement. The article portrayed the Jesuits in a negative light because they were represented as having been invited by the

64 *Život i ocjena djela Rugjera Josipa Boškovića* [The life of Ruder Josip Bošković and an evaluation of his work], *Rad JAZU* 87, 88, 90 (1887–88): 1–716.

65 See, e.g., the contributions by Vladimir Varičak, available online at dizbi.hazu.hr (accessed February 24, 2018).

66 Valentin Miklobušec, S.J., "Nepoznato o poznatome: Isusovci u Bosni" [Unknown about the known: The Jesuits in Bosnia], *Obnovljeni život* 69, no. 4 (2015): 523–42, here 533. Archbishop Stadler was a great friend of the Jesuits, having studied at the Jesuit Collegium Germanicum; he even considered becoming a member of the order. Josip Balaban, "[Josip Stadler \(1843.–1918.\)](#), svećenik i profesor Zagrebačke nadbiskupije" [Josip Stadler, priest and professor of the archdiocese of Zagreb], *Croatia christiana periodica* 24, no. 45 (2000): 127–44, here 136–37.

67 Vanino, who was a professor of church history and patristics at the Theological Seminary in Sarajevo from 1931 to 1945, published the journal *Vrela i prinosi* from there. Vanino also taught at the Travnik gymnasium as well, so his career and activities were closely connected to Bosnia and Herzegovina.

68 See Stipe Kljaić, *Nikad više Jugoslavija* [Never more Yugoslavia: Croatian intellectuals and the national question, 1929–1945] (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2017), 63–64, 76.

69 Franjo Bučar, "Širenje reformacije u Hrvatskoj u XVI. stoljeću" [The spread of the Reformation in Croatia in the sixteenth century], *Vjesnik kr. Hrvatsko-Slavonsko-Dalmatinskog zemaljskog arkiva* 2 (1900): 65–77, 201–14.

bishop of Zagreb to repress these precious gems of national literature; the Jesuits' contributions to the field of Kajkavian lexicography (two dictionaries and many texts in prose) went completely unacknowledged.

This emphasis on the superiority of the Reformation in the development of European culture may have been imported from Germany, which, in the framework of Otto von Bismarck's (1815–98) *Kulturkampf* against Catholicism in the 1870s, forbade the Jesuits from any ministries in education and spiritual matters, with many Jesuits being forced to leave the country.⁷⁰ Likewise, the members of the Croatian Progressive Party and the Croatian People's Peasant Party (both founded in 1904), who studied abroad in Vienna, Graz, and especially Prague after the student turmoil of 1895,⁷¹ came under the influence of Czech philosopher Tomáš Masaryk (1850–1937) and his admiration of Protestant spirituality. Moreover, the Peasant Party ideologues, who advocated the autochthonism of the peasant movement, extracted Croatian identity from its Slavic and Croatian pre-Christian roots, thereby erasing Catholicism from Croat history.⁷² The negative aspects of the Counter-Reformation in the development of national literature entered the textbooks and general histories of the Croatian people, the best example being Ferdo Šišić's (1869–1940) remark in the very influential survey of Croatian history *Pregled povijesti hrvatskog naroda* (A survey of the history of the Croatian people [1916]): "The Croatian Parliament took vigorous action [against Protestant preachers] and together with invited Jesuits managed to destroy [...] the new confession in its beginning, but this confession left something very useful behind: on its foundation, the Kajkavian baroque literature started to rise."⁷³

The influence of Slovenian Slavic studies professor [Matija Murko](#) (1861–1952) and the circle around him at the Charles University in Prague and at the University of Graz was especially significant in the propagation of the influence of the Reformation on the development of the South Slavic national languages.⁷⁴ The above-mentioned Jesuit Bartol Kašić was regarded as almost the only Jesuit worthy of cultural and literary inquiry because he had promoted the Štokavian Croatian dialect as the most widespread Slavic dialect in the Balkans, thus paving the way for the Serbo-Croatian language, which was standardized in the middle of the nineteenth century and became the official language of the new Yugoslav state after 1918. Murko encouraged the Croat [Marijan Stojković](#) (1879–1965) to write about Kašić in a PhD dissertation entitled "O životu i radu isusovca Bartola Kašića" (On the life and work of Bartol Kašić, S.J.; defended in 1903).⁷⁵

Stojković followed the line of argument adopted by his teacher Murko, who promoted the idea that Kašić was a typical representative of the Counter-Reformation:

70 Jonathan Wright, *Isusovci: Misije, mitovi i povijest* [Jesuits: Missions, myths, and history], trans. Marko Gregorić (Zagreb: Ljevak, 2006), 234.

71 A group of Croatian students burned the Hungarian flag during the visit of Austro-Hungarian Emperor Franz Joseph I to Zagreb in October 1895. This was a protest against the rule of the Hungarian count Károly Khuen-Héderváry (1849–1918), who was appointed as a Croatian ban (vicero) (in office 1883–1903).

72 Kljaić, *Nikad više Jugoslavija*, 62, 70.

73 Ferdo Šišić, *Pregled povijesti hrvatskog naroda* [A survey of the history of the Croats] (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1916), 235. Šišić was Vanino's doctoral supervisor at the University of Zagreb.

74 See especially Matija Murko, *Die Bedeutung der Reformation und Gegenreformation für das geistige Leben der Südslaven* (Prague: Česká grafická unie, 1927).

75 For the published version, see footnote 33.

From all the writers, one should mention only [...] Bartol Kašić (Cassius), the most typical and the most fruitful advocate of the literary Counter-Reformation among South Slavs, whom Urban VIII asked to publish his translation of the New Testament and the whole Bible in order to suppress heretical and schismatic translations.⁷⁶

This school of thought provoked a reaction from a young Miroslav Vanino, who in December 1918 (after returning from the Italian front) defended his PhD dissertation at the University of Zagreb under the supervision of Ferdo Šišić, one of the most influential Croatian historians.⁷⁷ The dissertation, which was based on numerous primary sources, was titled “Povijest filozofijske i teologijske nastave u Isusovačkoj akademiji u Zagrebu 1633–1773” (A history of philosophical and theological studies at the Jesuit academy in Zagreb 1633–1773).⁷⁸ In it, Vanino emphasizes the importance of the Jesuits in the establishment of the most important educational institutions not only in Croatia but also in Serbia, having founded the first gymnasium in Belgrade (1724), where they also staged the first theater play in 1728.⁷⁹ This was an important fact on the eve of the establishment of the new Kingdom of Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes (from 1929, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia), in which the Serbs played a crucial role. In the foreword, Vanino describes how he reconstructed “a building, from which the light of Western education shed shining rays upon the Croatian land,” pointing to the fact that Croatian history is not just “a big collection of [national]” songs,⁸⁰ the study of which was promoted by the contemporary champions of the South Slavic vernacular literary and cultural history. With his doctorate, Vanino inaugurated the writing of professional history on the Jesuit presence in Croatia, one based on critical analysis of relevant sources.⁸¹

Miroslav Vanino and the Rise of Jesuit Historiography in the Interwar Period

A single Croatian province of the Society of Jesus was created after the breakup of the Austro-Hungarian province on September 7, 1909.⁸² This vice-province of Croatia encompassed the territory of Croatia and Slavonia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, with a gymnasium in Travnik, a theological seminary in Sarajevo, and a residence in Zagreb. On January 1, 1911, all of Dalmatia, together with its islands (hitherto under the jurisdiction of

76 Murko, *Die Bedeutung*, 28.

77 From 1914 to 1915, Vanino studied history and geography for two semesters at the University of Vienna (under Konstantin Jireček (1854–1918) and Václav Vondrák (1859–1925), professors of Slavic studies), and then continued his studies at the University of Zagreb (1915–17). Mijo Korade claims that Vanino began studying the history of the Jesuit order at the request of his professors Vjekoslav Klaić (1849–1928) and Ferdo Šišić. Korade, “Kronologija,” 6. In 1937, Šišić recommended that Vanino be appointed a correspondent member of the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences, which shows how much he respected Vanino's work.

78 Published as *Povijest filozofijske i teologijske nastave u Isusovačkoj akademiji u Zagrebu 1633–1773* (Zagreb: Naklada Hrvatske Bogoslovne Akademije, 1930).

79 Ibid., iii.

80 Ibid. Vanino might be referring to the *Zbornik za narodni život i običaje Južnih Slavena* [Annals of the life of the people and customs of Southern Slavs], which was created by the Committee for the National Life and Customs (founded in 1888) within the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences.

81 See Mirjana Gross, *Suvremena historiografija: Korijeni, postignuća, traganja* [Contemporary historiography: Roots, achievements, prospects] (Zagreb: Novi Liber, 2001), 182.

82 The Jesuits only received permission to re-settle in Zagreb in 1900. Their residence started to be built in 1901 (funded by an endowment from the Zagreb archbishop Juraj Haulik), and in 1902 the first Jesuits arrived. Valentin Miklobušec, S.J., “[Drugi dolazak isusovaca u Zagreb \(III\)](#)” [The second coming of the Jesuits to Zagreb], *Obnovljeni život* 60, no. 4 (2005): 401–28.

the Venetian province), was incorporated into the Croatian vice-province, which in turn meant that the residences in Dubrovnik, Split, and Zadar also came under its jurisdiction.⁸³ This unification created further opportunities for the emergence of a historiography of the Jesuits in the Croatian lands, which were now symbolically united under the aegis of the Croatian vice-province. However, in 1919, the jurisdiction of the Croatian vice-province was extended to the whole territory of the new state of the Yugoslav people, which was now called Viceprovincia Jugoslavica S.I. The Ljubljana residence was added to the new province along with the mission in Skopje,⁸⁴ which meant that the new province now covered ethnically South Slavic territories (except for Istria and parts of Dalmatia, including Zadar and Rijeka, which were ceded to Italy between 1920 and 1924). In 1920, the Jesuits in Zagreb started to publish books and journals using their own printing press, for which a special building was erected in the college yard in 1924.

As part of the Jesuits' efforts to improve the way they were perceived by the public, the Society commissioned cultural historian and Catholic poet [Velimir Deželić Sr.](#) (1864–1941) to write a book about their history in Zagreb.⁸⁵ The book was the first account of the Jesuit presence in the Croatian lands written in the Croatian language; it was written in a popular tone and sponsored by the Marian congregations. As a response to books such as René Fülöp-Miller's (1891–1963) *Macht und Geheimnis der Jesuiten* (Power and secret of the Jesuits [1929]), which were based, in Vanino's words, on "partisan pamphlets and apologies" rather than on books written using proper historical methods,⁸⁶ the Jesuits had Gaetano Bernoville's (1889–1960) monograph on the Jesuits (1938)⁸⁷ and Fr. Thomas Joseph Campbell's (1848–1925) American history of the Jesuit order⁸⁸ (1941–42) translated into Croatian to provide what they viewed as a more objective account of their own general history. Reading these books was warmly recommended in Jesuit publications. Around the same time, in 1931, Giuseppe Viezzoli (dates unknown), historian of the city of Rijeka (Fiume), which after 1924 became part of the Kingdom of Italy, wrote an annotated survey of the Old Society in Rijeka based on the college house diary.⁸⁹

In 1927, Vanino returned to Zagreb from the missions in the United States, and in 1928 he started to teach as a church historian at the theological seminary in Sarajevo, where he stayed until the end of the Second World War. From there, he founded the discipline of Jesuit studies in Croatia, that is, the official Jesuit historiography in the Croatian lands. At his initiative, the Croatian Theological Academy (founded in 1922) began publishing the journal *Croatia sacra: Arhiv za crkvenu povijest Hrvata* (The archive of the church history of the Croats) in 1931, with the aim of collecting and processing "the sources for the future religious and church history of the Croatian people." Vanino pushed for the use of an analytical approach to sources, or, as he put it, to "take out sources from the dusty archives and honorable ruins of the past centuries, to study sources, and to elaborate on them in

83 Velimir Deželić, "Isusovci u Zagrebu" [Jesuits in Zagreb], in *Isusovci u Zagrebu u XX. Stoljeću: Crkva Srca Isusova i samostan; rezidencija* [Jesuits in Zagreb in the twentieth century], ed. Mijo Nikić (Zagreb: Filozofsko-teološki institut D.I. u Zagrebu, 2007), 193.

84 Valentin Miklobušec, *Isusovci i hrvatski narod: Hrvatska provincija Družbe Isusove 1918.–1945.* [The Jesuits and the Croatian people: The Croatian province of the Society of Jesus] (Zagreb, FTI, 2016), 57–8.

85 Velimir Deželić, *Isusovci u Hrvatskoj: Prilog kulturnoj povijesti grada Zagreba* [Jesuits in Croatia: A contribution to the cultural history of the city of Zagreb] (Zagreb: Izdanje odbora Marijinih kongregacija, 1927).

86 Miroslav Vanino, "Moć i tajna jezuita" [Power and secret of the Jesuits (a review)], *Život* 12, no. 4 (1931): 157–64, here 158.

87 Gaetano Bernoville, *Isusovci* [Jesuits], trans. Ivan Nikolić (Zagreb: Uredništvo Života, 1938).

88 Toma J. Campbell, *Povijest isusovačkog reda (1534–1921)*, trans. Petar Čule, 2 vols. (Zagreb: Biblioteka knjižnice Života, 1941–42).

89 Viezzoli, "La compagna."

discussions and reviews, and all in the spirit of bright and relentless scholarship.” Synthetic historical works would be written by their successors.⁹⁰ The contributions made to the history of the Jesuits of the Old Society such as those by Bartol Kašić and Đuro Bašić were first published there.

In 1932, Vanino launched the first journal fully dedicated to the history of the Jesuit order. The journal followed the example of the collection of Jesuit sources entitled *Monumenta historica Societatis Iesu* (MHSI), which was first published in Spain. When the MHSI enterprise was transferred to Rome, its scope was spread to the mission countries, and Vanino was asked by Superior General Fr. Włodzimierz Ledóchowski (1866–1942, in office 1915–42) to write about the Croatian Jesuits in the new journal *Archivum historicum Societatis Iesu*. Vanino, however, complained that, as liberals and freemasons were depicting the Jesuits as foreigners and reactionaries, it would be better to publish a journal in the Croatian language in order to demonstrate the Jesuits’ work in the cultural and educational field in Croatia.⁹¹ The journal in which it was published, entitled *Vrela i prinosi: Zbornik za povijest isusovačkog reda u hrvatskim krajevima*, was initially edited by Vanino and published in Sarajevo. Twelve volumes were published between 1932 and 1941. Vanino wrote most of the articles (primarily biographies and college histories), but he also managed to gather many prominent literary historians such as Franjo Fancev (1882–1943), Tomo Matić (1874–1968), and Dragoljub Pavlović (1903–66), among others, who did not support the Counter-Reformation paradigm and were instead carrying out independent research on the cultural role of the Jesuits.

In the first volume, Vanino set out the reasons for publishing the journal:

The Jesuit order had immeasurably greater impact on the cultural life and the development of the Croats than has been suggested in what has been written about the activities of this order in our country [...]; we establish as a fact that the whole seventeenth- and eighteenth-century Croatian intelligentsia, both spiritual and secular, passed through the Jesuit schools [...].⁹²

He strongly opposed the work of aforementioned scholars Matija Murko and Marijan Stojković and their approach in the article “Le p. Barthelemy Kašić S. J. écrivain croate (1575–1650): Étude bio-bibliographique” (Fr. Bartol Kašić, S.J., Croatian writer [1575–1650]: A bio-bibliographic study; *AHSI* [1937]), where he addresses this issue right at the beginning by saying: “Ce qu’il a publié, il l’eû écrit même si Luther et Calvin n’avaient pas existé” (What he [i.e., Kašić] published, he would have written even if Luther and Calvin had not existed).⁹³ The debate with Murko and Stojković carried on until 1941 when *Vrela i prinosi*

90 Badalić, “Pisac,” 728.

91 Damiš, “Bibliografski prikaz,” 77–80. In 1933, there were more attempts to expel Jesuits from Yugoslavia, among which the most conspicuous was the one initiated by the Zagreb freemason Dr. Oton Gavrančić (d.1941). Together with fifty-six cosigners, Gavrančić submitted a proposed law to National Assembly on February 17, 1933 that would have banned the Society of Jesus from Yugoslavia. The idea was to move all the Jesuits to the distant island of Vis, where they would live as hermits. The reason for this was again their “blind” obedience toward the pope and their superiors, which prevented them from being “nationalists,” that is, they lacked (Yugoslav) “national feelings.” Gavrančić even quotes Archbishop Juraj Strossmayer, who in one letter to Franjo Rački compared the danger of Jesuitism to that of atheism (February 22, 1894). Miklobušec, *Isusovci*, 5:363–64.

92 Miroslav Vanino, “Nekoliko riječi uvoda” [A few words on the introduction], *Vrela i prinosi* 1 (1933): 4–5.

ceased publication, most probably because of the Second World War and for want of reliable supplies of paper.

Literary historian [Franjo Fancev](#), whose primary interest lay in studying the sources of the older Kajkavian Croatian literature, also tried to contest the importance of Protestantism in its development of the Croatian language. His main contribution to the history of the Jesuits in the Croatian lands was made by publishing large excerpts from the *Historia Collegii Zagrabiensis* (previously held in the Royal University Library in Budapest before being transferred to Zagreb) in the journal *Starine* (Antiquities) of the Yugoslav Academy of Arts and Sciences in 1934 and 1937. This remains the most important published source on the history of the pre-suppression order in northern Croatia and has been cited by numerous cultural historians. His search for Kajkavian Jesuit authors led him to this discovery, and he wanted to show the sources for the literary and educational work of the Croatian Jesuits. In this, he was in complete agreement with Vanino:

Yet even though the whole educational and literary work, we can say, of the whole Croatia for two centuries had been closely linked with the work of the Jesuit order, it is still very poorly known. The causes are known. Sources from which we could draw on the knowledge of their actions up until recently have been completely unknown.⁹⁴

These rich debates thus serve to demonstrate that the interwar period was a crucial period for the establishment of a critical Jesuit historiography.⁹⁵

In 1941, with the establishment of the Independent State of Croatia, the name of the province was changed again to Provincia Croatiae, which has remained the same up to the present day. The publishing of sources had to stop because of the circumstances surrounding the war, yet Vanino nevertheless found time to serve as the editor of the Jesuit section in the famous lexicographic work, the *Croatian Encyclopedia*, edited by Mate Ujević (1901–67), and he also wrote two articles on historical topics for the journal *Život* (Life).⁹⁶ As he was based in Sarajevo, he participated in the broader project of producing a critical history of Bosnia and Herzegovina, including a chapter on the first traces of Christianity in Bosnia.⁹⁷ After the war, Vanino returned to Zagreb and taught church history at the Philosophical–Theological Institute of the Society of Jesus.

93 Miroslav Vanino, "Le p. Barthelemy Kašić S. J. écrivain croate: (1575–1650); Étude bio-bibliographique," *AHSI* 6 (1937): 216–58, here 216. See Vanino, "Bartol Kašić nije tipičan borac protiv luteranstva u Hrvata" [Bartol Kašić is not an ordinary fighter against Lutheranism among the Croats], *Život* 22, no. 2 (1941): 157–71.

94 Fancev, "Grada" (1934), 8.

95 Vanino also wrote articles on Jesuit history for other journals (see, e.g., Miroslav Vanino, "Sabiranje gradje za povijest Hrvatske pokrajine D.I." [Collecting the sources for the history of the Croatian province S.J.], *Vjesnik Hrvatske pokrajine Družbe Isusove* 1 [1917]: 19–23), especially during his PhD studies.

96 Vanino founded this journal in Sarajevo during the 1919/20 academic year and edited it for three years. He launched the journal in response to the education policy of the new state, which, according to Vanino, strove to educate the youth in an atheistic–scientific spirit, making the sciences incompatible with Christianity. Rudolf Brajičić, S.J., "[Pedeset godišta Života: Obnovljenog života](#)" [Fifty years of the life: The renewed life], *Obnovljeni život* 50, nos. 3/4 (1995): 241–49, here 242.

97 Krunoslav Draganović et al., *Povijest Bosne i Hercegovine od najstarijih vremena do godine 1463*. [A history of Bosnia and Herzegovina from the earliest times until 1463] (Sarajevo: HKD Napredak, 1991 [1942]), 138–58.

The year 1941 was a special one for the Croatian Jesuits, since in that year the grand jubilee of thirteen centuries of Croatian contacts with the Roman popes was to be celebrated. To understand the background to the celebration of 1941, it is important to look at the period immediately preceding it, that is, at the dictatorship of Yugoslav King Alexander, having been introduced in January 1929 after the assassination of Croatian politician Stjepan Radić (1871–1928) in the National Assembly in Belgrade. Under the royal Yugoslav regime, religion was officially tolerated, yet in practice the regime sought to eliminate Catholicism and Islam, instead promoting Serbian Orthodoxy as part of its drive to achieve national unity. The Serbian Orthodox Church was promoted as a “national or state-building church” and conversions were encouraged, if not to Orthodoxy, then at least to the Croatian Old Catholic Church, which was established in 1923 and did not recognize papal authority. The main aim of the dictatorship was the establishment of national unity, which was the other name for Yugoslavism,⁹⁸ and the use of national names and symbols was forbidden. The official name of the state was changed from the Kingdom of the Serbs, Croats, and Slovenes to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. As a response to these politico-cultural tendencies, the Catholic faith and past of the Croats started to serve as a rich source of emancipation from Yugoslav nationalism, and Catholicism became a central reference point of Croatian identity politics.⁹⁹

In 1931, the Jesuit Stjepan Krizin Sakač (1890–1973) wrote an article entitled “Ugovor pape Agatona i Hrvata proti navalnom ratu (oko g. 679.)” (The contract between Pope Agathon and the Croats regarding the naval war in c.679) in the first volume of the journal *Croatia sacra*, which was edited by Vanino and was intended to commemorate 1,300 years of Croatian fidelity toward the Holy See.¹⁰⁰ If this was the first contract with the popes, it was not the first contact, which happened in 641. In that year, Pope John IV (r.640–42) from Dalmatia sent Abbot Martin in Dalmatia and Istria to redeem Christian slaves that had been captured by the pagan Croats. Second, Martin had a mission to buy the relics of Christian martyrs from the time of Diocletian, which were then transferred to Rome. The emphasis on the relations with Rome for the Croatian people represented a crucial distinction from the Serbian Orthodox or Byzantine traditions. Two churches created two different cultures and mentalities, which for some thinkers was the strongest argument that the common Yugoslav (South Slavic) nation could not exist.¹⁰¹ As well as the Orthodox Church, the opponents of the Vatican also included the Yugoslav communists, who at the time of the attempted signing of the Concordat with the Holy See in 1937¹⁰² went out on the streets of Belgrade and protested against the “clericalization of the state,” which would subordinate it to the “Jesuit Catholicism” of the Vatican.¹⁰³

The jubilee of these great events in the history of Christianity in Croatia, which was approved by the Zagreb Archbishop Aloysius Stepinac (1898–1960) and other Croatian bishops, was first announced in 1937, and it was supposed to last from June 1940 to June 1941 as the “Croatian Jubilee Year.”¹⁰⁴ The jubilee coincided with the establishment of the

98 Jure Krišto, *Hrvatski katolički pokret, 1903–1945* (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2004), 180.

99 Kljaić, *Nikad više Jugoslavija*, 72.

100 Darko Hudelist, *Rim, a ne Beograd* (Zagreb: Alfa, 2017), 61. The article was reprinted in the booklet *641–1941: Najznačajniji jubilej Hrvatske* [The most significant jubilee of Croatia] (Zagreb: n.p., 1941).

101 Kljaić, *Nikad više Jugoslavija*, 72.

102 Because of the protests of the Serbian Orthodox Church, the Concordat with the Holy See was never ratified.

103 Kljaić, *Nikad više Jugoslavija*, 75.

Independent State of Croatia on Easter, April 10, 1941, which the Jesuit monthly *Messenger of the Sacred Heart of Jesus* enthusiastically welcomed as “the resurrection of the glorious Croatian kingdom” and the fulfillment of dreams “carried at the bottom of the heart of each true Croat.” The event was regarded as a form of “national liberation” from the foreign yoke, which was a common topos at the time.¹⁰⁵ Such supportive discourse for the new Ustasha regime was common to all the Catholic press at the time because the church leaders, headed by Archbishop Stepinac, recognized Croatian independence and the Poglavnik (Croatian: chief, head) Ante Pavelić (1889–1959). Stepinac invited the clergy to give full support to the new authorities, which viewed the Catholic Church as an important social actor, and Catholicism was an integral part of Ustasha ideology (a phenomenon known as national or political Catholicism that sought to instrumentalize the church for political purposes).¹⁰⁶

Likewise, the Ustasha regime placed pressure on journal editors to promote the Ustasha movement.¹⁰⁷ The nationalism the Jesuits advocated in the early 1930s was Christian and based on the natural and sacred right of the individual to be raised and to live in the cultural milieu of their nation. For the Jesuits, love for one’s people was an ethical obligation, but it differed from pagan nationalism, where a nation becomes an idol and replaces God,¹⁰⁸ which was the case in the Independent State of Croatia. But the alternative to this very imperfect state would only be some new anti-Croatian and anti-Catholic Yugoslavia under the godless proletarian dictatorship, which all Catholics wanted to avoid at all costs.¹⁰⁹

Still, there was some open resistance. Stjepan Tomislav Poglajen, S.J. (1906–90), who edited the journal *Life* from 1937 to 1941, adopted a strong, anti-totalitarian stance based on Emmanuel Mounier’s (1905–50) personalism by criticizing such systems as dangerous for man’s freedom and generally for the Christian worldview.¹¹⁰ Because of his opposition to National Socialism, Poglajen had to run from the Gestapo (the Germans, as allies of the Ustashas, were present in Croatia) and to hide illegally in Split, which was under Fascist occupation and out of Ustasha reach. From there, he fled to Slovakia in 1943. Disguised under his mother’s name Kolaković, Poglajen began running an underground church. Poglajen was also active as a missionary in Prague, in Hungary, in the Soviet Union, in China, and India. In 1949, under the name “Father George,” he wrote a book entitled *God’s Underground* at the request of the US bishop Fulton Sheen (1895–1979), a work that gained international recognition and was published in several editions.¹¹¹

104 Hudelist, *Rim*, 57.

105 *Glasnik srca Isusova* 50, no. 6 (June 1941): 154–55. See also Petar Macut, *U sjeni križa, samokresa i noža* [In the shadow of the cross, knife, and pistol] (Zagreb: Split, 2016), 85, and the discussion of the sacralization of Ustasha political language and ideology in Stipe Kljaić, “Apostles, Saints’ Days, and Mass Mobilization: The Sacralization of Politics in the Ustasha State,” in *The Utopia of Terror: Life and Death in Wartime Croatia*, ed. Rory Yeomans (New York: University of Rochester Press, 2015), 145–64.

106 Kljaić, *Nikad više Jugoslavija*, 77.

107 Mario Jareb, *Mediji i promidžba u Nezavisnoj Državi Hrvatskoj* [Media and propaganda in the Independent State of Croatia] (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2016), 545. Although nominally Catholic, the Ustasha’s genocidal policies toward the Serbian, Jewish, and Roma minorities was far removed from Catholic morality; the Jesuits’ attitudes toward these atrocities would benefit from further research.

108 On the Croatian Jesuits’ understanding of nationalism, see Ivan Kozelj, S.J., “Misli o nacionalizmu” [Thoughts on nationalism (parts 1 and 2)], *Život* 11, no. 9 (1930): 401–8, and 11, no. 10 (1930): 462–70.

109 Ivo Banac, *Hrvati i crkva* [The Croats and the church] (Zagreb: Profil, 2013), 89–90, and Kljaić, *Nikad više Jugoslavija*, 81.

110 Mijo Korade, “Protiv totalitarizma za personalizam: Misao Stjepana Poglajena” [Against totalitarianism for personalism: The thought of Stjepan Poglajen], *Prilozi za istraživanje hrvatske filozofske baštine* 40, no. 1 (2014): 367–78, here 368.

Historiographical Perceptions of the Jesuits in Communist Yugoslavia

After the Second World War and the collapse of the short-lived collaborationist Independent State of Croatia (1941–45), the Catholic press was silenced by the newly established communist Yugoslav republic. The Jesuits—like the Catholic Church in general—were now viewed as the promoters of a detrimental and unprogressive clericalism and obscurantism that ran counter to the dominant Marxist–Leninist ideology. Following the Bolshevik tradition, the new government viewed the anti-theistic struggle against religion as one of its main ideological–theoretical and practical–political tasks.¹¹² This can be seen in the key anti-Catholic book written in 1948 by historian Viktor Novak (1889–1979), titled *Magnum Crimen: Pola vijeka klerikalizma u Hrvatskoj* (The great crime: A half century of clericalism in Croatia), with a foreword by Jakov Blažević (1912–96), public prosecutor in the political trial of Blessed Cardinal Aloysius Stepinac. In *Magnum Crimen*, which was placed on the *Index librorum prohibitorum*, Novak depicted the consequences of the collaboration between the Catholic Church and the Ustasha regime, which had allegedly resulted in the persecutions of the Serbs, Jews, and Gypsies. Novak referred to the vengeful Jesuits in the context of the death of Freemason Oton Gavrančić in the infamous Jasenovac concentration camp. As said previously, Gavrančić advocated the expulsion of the Jesuits from Yugoslavia in 1933 because of their opposition to the establishment of the Yugoslav state.¹¹³ The same anti-Jesuit attitude was discernible in different encyclopedia entries that represented the attitude of the official Marxist historiography toward the order: “As the main inspirers of the heretic persecutions, they [i.e., the Jesuits] are the most fervent enemies of every progressive scientific thought and freedom-loving spirits, and particularly of every liberation movement”;¹¹⁴ “As leaders of clericalism and Catholic Action, they intellectually share the blame for poisoned circumstances, in which the occupation of 1941 found Croatia.”¹¹⁵ In addition, historians such as [Viktor Car Emin](#) (1870–1963) resurrected the nineteenth-century line of argument by emphasizing the Jesuits’ anti-Croatian activities, especially in Rijeka, where they were said to have participated in the politics of Italianization.¹¹⁶

The peak of this anti-Jesuit sentiment in the early years of communist Yugoslavia can be discerned in the best-selling and highly influential book *Ugovor s Đavlom: Procesi protiv čarobnjaka u Evropi a napose u Hrvatskoj* (A deal with the devil: Trials against wizards in Europe and particularly in Croatia [Zagreb, 1953, 1968, 1982]), written by [Vladimir Bayer](#) (1912–90), legal historian and expert in criminal law. In the book, Bayer arrives at the conclusion that Jesuit education had strengthened “the theological perception of the world” (and thus of magic) among the nobility in Croatia. Indirectly, this in turn led to the mass

111 *Through God's Underground: The Adventures of "Father George" among People under Soviet Rule as Told to Gretta Palmer* (London: Hollis & Carter, 1949). On Poglajen's articles on communism and Nazism in the journal *Life*, see Josip Kajinić, “Analiza prikaza komunističkoga društvenog sustava u časopisu *Život za vrijeme uredništva Stjepana Tomislava Poglajena* (1937–1941.),” *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 41, no. 3 (2009): 687–99, and “Stjepan Tomislav Poglajen o nacionalnoj socijalizmu u časopisu *Život*,” *Časopis za suvremenu povijest* 42, no. 4 (2010): 433–45.

112 Mislav Kukoč, “Od kritike religije do dijaloga: Filozofija Branka Bošnjaka” [From criticism of religion to dialogue: The philosophy of Branko Bošnjak], *Filozofska istraživanja* 26, no. 4 (2006): 953–59, here 954.

113 Viktor Novak, *Magnum crimen* (Beograd: BIGZ, 1986), 77, 781–82.

114 *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije*, 1960 ed., s.v. “Jezuiti” [Jesuits], by Maks Miklavčič, 4:528.

115 *Opća enciklopedija Jugoslavenskog leksikografskog zavoda*, 1977 ed., s.v. “Isusovci” [Jesuits], 4:705–6.

116 Viktor Car Emin, “Osvrt na protuhrvatsku djelatnost isusovaca u Rijeci” [A comment on the anti-Croatian of the Jesuits in Rijeka], in *Rijeka zbornik*, ed. Jakša Ravlić (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1953), 515–22.

witch hunts that took place in the Kingdom of Croatia at the end of the seventeenth century: “This is how the Jesuit activities in these Croatian territories indirectly caused mass witch hunts.”¹¹⁷ Bayer’s argument is grounded on evidence from the *History of the Zagreb College*, which clearly says that the Jesuits actively fought *against* sorcery and magic as superstition forbidden by the Catholic Church.¹¹⁸ The problem for Bayer as a Marxist historian was that, in doing so, the *reality* of witchcraft was acknowledged, which historical and dialectical materialism—the only permitted historical approach¹¹⁹—could not accept.

However, one Jesuit was especially celebrated in the communist period, namely the already mentioned [Ruđer Bošković](#),¹²⁰ nicknamed the “Croatian Leibniz” by Werner Heisenberg (1901–76) and celebrated in Yugoslavia as the embodiment of the pan-Slavic spirit. Theoretical physicist, philosopher, playwright, and humanist thinker [Ivan Supek](#) (1915–2007) was the most important promoter of his scientific work in Yugoslavia, and in 1950 he suggested that the newly established scientific research institute should be named after him. Supek regarded Bošković as a visionary who anticipated modern physics, especially field theory and atomistics.¹²¹

In 1966, a period of liberalization took place in Yugoslavia with the fall of Aleksandar Ranković (1909–83), the chief of state security for twenty years after the Second World War. This meant a new era for the liberal anti-centralist forces that were advocating for decentralization and greater freedom in the internal affairs of the socialist republics. In 1966, relations between the Yugoslav regime and the Vatican also began to improve with the conclusion of the Belgrade protocol, in which the Catholic Church accepted self-managed socialism as a state system in exchange for the freedom to practice religious rites and liturgy.¹²² On March 28, 1967, a public dialogue between Christianity and Marxism

117 Vladimir Bayer, *Ugovor s Davlom: Procesi protiv čarobnjaka u Evropi, a napose u Hrvatskoj* [A deal with the devil: Trials against wizards in Europe and particularly in Croatia] (Zagreb: Informator, 1982), 276.

118 Bayer, *Ugovor*, 277ff.

119 Milovan Đilas, *O nacionalnoj istoriji kao vaspitnom predmetu* [On national history as a subject of education] (Zagreb: Pedagoško književni zbor, 1949).

120 Ruđer Bošković as a historical figure has been claimed by many historiographical traditions, including Croatian (he was born and spent his childhood in Dubrovnik), Italian (he studied and worked in Italy), French (he worked in France and was granted French citizenship), and Serbian. According to some interpretations, Bošković’s grandfather Boško was a converted Orthodox Serb from the Herzegovina village Orahov do. However, there has been no historical evidence to support such a thesis. See Vladimir Varičak, “U povodu državnog izdanja Boškovićeve djela *Theoria philosophiae naturalis*” [On the occasion of the state edition of Bošković’s work *Theoria philosophiae naturalis*], *Rad JAZU* 68 (1925): 161–226, here 168, and a comment by Ante Kadić, “A Literary and Spiritual Profile of Boscovich,” in *R.J. Boscovich: Vita e attività scientifica; His Life and Scientific Work*, ed. Piers Bursill-Hill (Rome: Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana, 1993), 13. In communist Yugoslavia, Bošković was considered a Yugoslav because the Dubrovnik language was called “Slavic” (*slovinški*). Dušan Nedeljković, *Ruđer Bošković u svome vremenu i danas* [Ruđer Bošković at his time and today] (Beograd: Kultura, 1961), 89–90. Since Bošković was born and educated in the Republic of Dubrovnik in a Catholic family and considered himself a Dalmatian, he has been counted among the tradition and canons of the Croatian Jesuits (“Nous observerons ici en premier lieu que notre Auteur est Dalmate & de Raguse, non Italien”; Ruđer Bošković, *Voyage astronomique et géographique dans l’Etat de l’église* [Paris: Chez N.M. Tilliard, 1770], 449). On the occasion of the three-hundredth anniversary of his birth in 2011, the National and University Library in Zagreb staged a physical and online [exhibition](#) based on the works from the library’s collections. On the Bošković collection, see Roger Hahn, “The Boscovich Archives at Berkeley,” *Isis* 56, no. 1 (1965): 70–78.

121 Supek even wrote a monograph in which he focuses on Bošković’s physics and philosophy. Ivan Supek, *Ruđer Bošković: Vizionar u prijelomima filozofije, znanosti i društva* [Ruđer Bošković: A visionary in philosophy, science, and society] (Zagreb, 2005 [1989]). Supek, *Ruđer Bošković*, 7. In 1987, the two-hundredth anniversary of Ruđer Bošković’s death was commemorated in Yugoslavia and abroad. See Žarko Dadić, ed., *Zbornik radova Međunarodnog znanstvenog skupa o Ruđeru Boškoviću, Dubrovnik, 5-7. listopada 1987* [Proceedings of the international symposium on Ruđer Bošković, Dubrovnik, October 5–7, 1987] (Zagreb: JAZU 1991), and the Italian collection of essays that consists of papers given at a conference held in Rome, May 1988, in Bursill-Hill, *R.J. Boscovich*. The conference featured scholars both from Yugoslavia (Žarko Dadić, Ivica Martinović) and Croatian émigré circles (Mirko D. Grmek and Ante Kadić).

122 Hudelist, *Rim*, 18ff., and Pedro Ramet, “Catholicism and Politics in Socialist Yugoslavia,” *Religion in Communist Lands* 10, no. 3 (1982): 256–74, here 261.

was attempted for the first time when Catholic theologian [Mijo Škvorc](#), S.J. (1919–89) and praxis philosopher [Branko Bošnjak](#) (1923–96) held a public discussion in the Zagreb Student Center in front of a 2,500-strong audience. The occasion for the discussion was the publication of Bošnjak's book *Kršćanstvo i filozofija: Racionalna kritika iracionalnog shvaćanja* (Philosophy and Christianity: A rational criticism of irrational thinking [1966]), in which he systematically surveyed the central problems of Christianity and the historical development of the Marxist criticism of religion, ending with the possibility of opening a dialogue between the two opposing worldviews.

Physician and anti-nuclear activist Supek was elected as the rector of the University in Zagreb in 1969, on the eve of the three-hundredth anniversary of its founding. On September 23, 1669, Emperor Leopold I (r.1658–1705) issued a decree that granted the privileges and status of a university to the Jesuit Academy in the Royal Free Borough of Zagreb. To mark the occasion, a comprehensive collection of essays titled *Spomenica u povodu proslave 300-godišnjice sveučilišta u Zagrebu* (A memorial book marking the celebration of the three-hundredth anniversary of the University of Zagreb) was published, in which the most distinguished professional historians (Jaroslav Šidak [1903–86], Nada Klaić [1920–88], Hodimir Sirotković [1918–2009], and Josip Adamček [1933–95]) gave credit to the Jesuit contribution to the university's history.

Moreover, on the same occasion, the Philosophical–Theological Institute of the Society of Jesus in Zagreb renewed the book series entitled Sources and Contributions for the History of the Jesuit Order among the Croats (*Fontes et studia historiae Societatis Iesu inter Croatias*) established by Vanino before the Second World War, and it also published the first volume of his history titled *Isusovci i hrvatski narod/Societas Iesu et Croatarum natio* (The Jesuits and the Croatian people [1969]), which Vanino had left in manuscript form. As we have seen, Vanino's scholarly program was oriented toward the history of the "Old" Society, so that in this volume the Jesuits' work and activities in the sixteenth century were described together with the pre-suppression history of the Zagreb college.¹²³

After the breakdown of the Croatian national movement known as the Croatian Spring in 1971, the efforts to publish all of Vanino's work came to an end. However, his approach to history continued to be promoted by Jesuits elsewhere, including one of the editors of his work, Predrag Belić, S.J. (1919–2003), who defended a PhD dissertation titled "Katoličko jedinstvo južnih Slavena i Družba Isusova" (Catholic unity of the South Slavs and the Society of Jesus) at the Pontifical Oriental Institute in Rome.¹²⁴ In 1982, Mijo Korade, S.J. (1947–) relaunched Vanino's scholarly journal *Vrela i prinosi*, which was dedicated to Jesuit history and had ceased publication in 1941. In 1987, Korade as editor-in-chief prepared the second volume of the *Jesuits and the Croatian People* for publication, which appeared on the occasion of 350th anniversary of the Varaždin Jesuit gymnasium (1636–1986). The Dubrovnik, Rijeka, Varaždin, and Požega colleges were described there in chronological order, accompanied by a comprehensive bibliography of primary and secondary sources. The third volume, under the editorial direction of Vladimir Horvat, S.J. (1935–), was published in 2002 on the occasion of the hundredth anniversary of the Jesuits' return to Zagreb and the building of the national sanctuary and basilica of the Sacred Heart in 1902.

123 Vanino taught church history and patristics at the institute for sixteen years (1945–61). He died in 1965; Vanino, *Isusovci*, 1:vii.

124 Its excerpts were only published in 1996. See footnote 14.

The volume's four thematic chapters describe the popular missions among the Croats in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the overseas missions of the Croatian Jesuits, the Osijek residence with the gymnasium, and finally the Jesuits' literary work.

In this way, all of Vanino's manuscripts were eventually published, establishing the basis of a Jesuit historiography that would lead to the publication of further historical works in more recent times. In 2007, for example, Valentin Miklobušec, S.J., published the fourth volume in the book series titled *Drugi dolazak isusovaca u Hrvatsku* (The second coming of the Jesuits in Croatia) and the fifth volume *Hrvatska provincija Družbe Isusove 1918.–1945* (The Croatian province of the Society of Jesus 1918–1945) in 2016. More work still needs to be carried out on the history of the Jesuits in the communist period.

Jesuit Historiography in the New Democratic State

The more recent Jesuit historiographical work developed under greater conditions of freedom in the new democratic Republic of Croatia. The first parliamentary elections were held on April 22–23, 1990, which led to the fall of the one-party communist system, with the young republic declaring its independence on June 25, 1991. In accordance with a renewed interest in Croatian history, the Faculty of Philosophy of the Society of Jesus in Zagreb founded [the Croatian Historical Institute](#) (Hrvatski povijesni institute/Institutum historicum Croaticum) in Vienna in 1990. The institute was intended not only to promote the study of the history of the Croats in Vienna and Austria but throughout the former Hapsburg lands. The institute's founders explicitly emphasized that they were following in the tradition of the pre-suppression Jesuit historians.¹²⁵

In the following years, most historiographical endeavors were closely connected to the observance of important anniversaries, the first of which was in 1990, when 450 years of the foundation of Society were celebrated together with the five-hundredth anniversary of the birth of Ignatius. An international symposium, titled "Isusovci na vjerskom, znanstvenom i kulturnom području u Hrvata" (Jesuits in the religious, scientific, and cultural field among the Croats), was convened under the auspices of the Yugoslav Academy of Science in Zagreb in October 1990. The participants discussed four main topics, namely the Jesuits' philosophy and scientific work, their theology and religious-cultural work, linguistics and literature, architecture and art. In a way, this was a symbolic recognition of the Jesuits' achievements in these fields after many years of contestation. The symposium's proceedings, which were published in 1992 under the title *Isusovci u Hrvata* (The Jesuits among the Croats [Zagreb, 1992]), contain many relevant and oft-cited articles written by well-known experts. On the occasion of the same jubilee, although somewhat belatedly, an exhibition called "Isusovačka baština u Hrvata" (The Jesuit heritage among the Croats) was organized in 1992 at the [Klovićevi dvori Gallery](#), in the building of the former Jesuit college (the location still bears the name Jezuitski trg [Jesuit Square]). In the same year, the book *Jesuits and Croatian Culture* by Mijo Korade, Mira Aleksić, and Jerko Matoš was published locally in English translation, followed by the original in Croatian in 1993.

The main contributions were later published in the book series directed by the Philosophical–Theological Institute of the Society of Jesus and the Croatian Historical

125 "O institutu" [On the institute]; <http://hpi.or.at/wordpress/hpi/> (accessed February 24, 2018).

Institute in Vienna, and the editions were mostly related to the commemorative events of the great jubilees and births and deaths of prominent persons. In 1994, the American émigré architect Tomislav Gabrić published a popularly written book in this series on the missionary Ferdinand Konščak (1703–59), in which he highlighted Konščak's contribution to the discovery and development of California.¹²⁶ In the same year, Ivan Fuček, S.J., professor at the Gregorian University, published a monograph on missionary Juraj Muliš (1694–1754), which attempted to present Muliš's life and work in the framework of his activities in popular missions in Croatia and Hungary from 1727 to 1754.¹²⁷ Stjepan Sirovec wrote on the history of the Collegium Germanicum and the Croats who studied there on the occasion of its 450th anniversary,¹²⁸ while two other books in the series commemorated the Jesuit presence in the city of Zagreb.¹²⁹ The communist period was discussed by Valentin Miklobušec, S.J. on the two-hundredth anniversary of the Jesuit restoration, for which occasion he published a book about the lives and persecutions of three Jesuits executed by the communist secret police.¹³⁰

The anniversary of the hundredth birthday of the aforementioned Stjepan Tomislav Poglajen was celebrated in 2006, with a commemorative international conference on his life and evangelizing work being organized in cooperation with the Slovakian embassy, and his book was translated in Croatian.¹³¹ The communist period was discussed again in 2009, when the anniversary of the birth and death of Mijo Škvorc, S.J. was commemorated at a conference with papers discussing his legacy, especially multi-volume diaries, political trials, renowned sermons, and so on.

The pseudoscientific theory of the Iranian origin of the Croatian people was promoted in the interwar period by the already mentioned Jesuit Stjepan Krizin Sakač, and as such it was prohibited in Yugoslavia, whose concept of brotherhood and unity was based on the South Slavic origin of its nations. However, his scholarly opus could be examined abroad and was popular among Croatian émigré communities. The Croatian Historical Institute in Rome thus devoted a special volume of its *Works* in honor of Sakač's eightieth birthday, where a comprehensive bibliography of Sakač, professor at the Oriental Pontifical Academy, was also published.¹³² In the new democratic state, the topic of Croatian ethnogenesis was

126 Tomislav Gabrić, *Ferdinand Konščak (1703–1759): Misionar i istraživač* [Ferdinand Konščak: A missionary and explorer] (Zagreb: FTI, 1994).

127 Ivan Fuček, *Juraj Muliš: Život i djelo* [Juraj Muliš: His life and work] (Zagreb: FTI, 1994).

128 Stjepan Sirovec, *Hrvati i Germanicum: U povodu 450. obljetnice Papinskog zavoda Germanicum-Hungaricum u Rimu; 1552–2002* [The Croats and the Germanicum: On the occasion of the 450th anniversary of the papal institute Germanicum-Hungaricum; 1552–2002] (Zagreb: FTI, 2004).

129 Mijo Nikić and Vladimir Horvat, S.J., ed., *Isusovci u Zagrebu u XX. stoljeću: Crkva Srca Isusova i samostan; Rezidencija; Zbornik radova* [Jesuits in Zagreb in the twentieth century: The church of the Sacred Heart and monastery-residence: proceedings] (Zagreb: TI, 2007), and Vladimir Horvat, S.J., ed., *Međunarodni znanstveni simpozij Četiristota obljetnica dolaska isusovaca u grad Zagreb* [International scholarly symposium: Four-hundredth anniversary of the Jesuits coming to the city of Zagreb] (Zagreb: FTI, 2010).

130 Valentin Miklobušec, *Tri žrtve OZN-e: O. Josip Müller, D.I., O. Franjo Bortas, D.I., O. Nikola Buljan, D.I.* [Three victims of OZNA: The Department of National Security; Fr. Josip Müller, S.J., Fr. Nikola Buljan, S.J., Fr. Nikola Buljan, S.J.] (Zagreb: FTI, 2014).

131 Ivan Šestak, ed., *Stjepan Tomislav Poglajen alias profesor Kolaković (1906–1990): Zbornik radova međunarodnoga znanstvenog simpozija održanog u Zagrebu 28. rujna 2006. povodom 100. obljetnice rođenja S.T. Poglajna* (Zagreb: FTI, 2007) (especially valuable is Lazar Ivan Krmpotić's contribution "Stjepan Poglajen alias Tomislav Kolaković: Evangelizator Slovačke" [Stjepan Poglajen alias Tomislav Kolaković: the evangelizator of Slovakia], 239–372).

132 Ivan Vitezić et al., ed., *Radovi Hrvatskoga povijesnog instituta u Rimu posvećeni o. Stjepanu Sakaču prigodom 80-godišnjice života* [Works of the Croatian Historical Institute at Rome dedicated to Fr. Stjepan Sakač on the occasion of his eightieth birthday] (Rome: Croatian Historical Institute, 1971), 3–4:iii–358.

revived again together with Sakač's theories, which were published in a volume with his selected works (the historical development of the name "Croat," etc.).¹³³

Bartol Kašić, S.J., grammarian and the first translator of the Bible in the Croatian language (1633), was the subject of research by philologist Vladimir Horvat. He published the biography *Bartol Kašić: Otac hrvatskoga jezikoslovlja* (Bartol Kašić: The father of Croatian philology [Zagreb, 1999]) and translated from Latin Kašić's autobiography as *Autobiografija isusovca Bartola Kašića u prijevodu i izvorniku: (1575–1625)* (Autobiography of Bartol Kašić in translation and original [Zagreb, 2006]). In 1999, it was the four-hundredth anniversary of the establishment of the Academy of the Croatian language in the Roman college (1599), and the year was proclaimed as the "Year of Bartol Kašić." Similarly, in 2006, the four-hundredth anniversary of Kašić's grammar *Institutionum linguae illyricae libriduo* (The rudiments of the Illyrian Language in two books [1604]) was celebrated because it is regarded as the first grammar of the Croatian language. Next to the Balkan missionaries such as Kašić, the history of overseas missions and the role of the Croatian Jesuits in the colonialism of the New World were the focus of works by Mijo Korade¹³⁴ and Mirjana Polić-Bobić.¹³⁵

In the field of art history, it is worth mentioning an excellent monograph on St. Catherine's church in Zagreb,¹³⁶ which was built within the Jesuit complex in the Upper Town in Zagreb. The authors describe the historical development of the church and its rich ornamentation, which are explored and evaluated in the context of similar Croatian and Central European architecture. Interpretative texts are accompanied by archival designs and sketches from the seventeenth to nineteenth centuries, illustrated with many photographs.

The Jesuit influence on women has also been the subject of research. Literary historian Slavica Stojan, for example, has analyzed the life and literary work of Ruđer Bošković's sister Anica (1714–1804), and above all, the close relationship she had with her famous brother, whom she saw only once after he had left Dubrovnik at the age of thirteen.¹³⁷ In her narrative, Stojan eloquently describes the authority and influence that the Society of Jesus exercised in eighteenth-century Dubrovnik. The Bošković family had a special connection with the order through two brothers, Baro and Ruđer, and many family friends were Jesuits. Anica is said to have identified with the Society of Jesus, as is apparent from her poetry and letters. She cherished the Jesuits as the best preachers and writers, she worshipped St. Aloysius Gonzaga, and the theological conception of her religious verses revealed Jesuit piety. Stojan argues that Anica, who remained unmarried, speaks from time to time in the

133 Stjepan Krizin Sakač: *Hrvati do stoljeća VII. Izabrani radovi o hrvatskoj etnogenezi (1. dio)* [Stjepan Krizin Sakač: The Croats until the seventh century; Selected works on the Croatian ethnogenesis; Part 1] (Zagreb: Darko Sagrak, 2000). The volume also contains Sakač's biography by Mato Marčinko (see 1–39).

134 Korade's PhD dissertation was published as *La missione illirico-dalmatadei gesuiti (1852–1900)* (Zagreb: Vlastita naklada, 1989), and in 1991 he published the book *Hrvatski isusovci-misionari* [Croatian Jesuits-missionaries] (Zagreb: [Hrvatska pokrajina Družbe Isusove](#), 1991). He also edited *Ivan Rattkay: Izvješća iz Tarahumare* [Ivan Rattkay: Reports from Tarahumara] (Zagreb: n.p., 1998). Korade co-authored the book *Paragvajska pisma: Ivan Marchesetti i Nikola Plantić; isusovci u Paragvajskoj provinciji Družbe Isusove* [Letters from Paraguay: Ivan Marchesetti and Nikola Plantić; Jesuits in the Paraguay province] with Hispanist Mirjana Polić-Bobić (Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 2016).

135 Mirjana Polić-Bobić, *Kalifornijski zapisi oca Ferdinanda Konščaka iz Družbe Isusove* [Ferdinand Konščak's writings about California] (Zagreb: Hrvatska sveučilišna zaklada, 2015).

136 Katarina Horvat-Levaj et al., *Akademska crkva sv. Katarine u Zagrebu* [The academic church of St. Catherine in Zagreb] (Zagreb: Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 2011).

137 Slavica Stojan, *Anica Bošković* (Dubrovnik: Zavod za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku, 1999).

role of “the woman Jesuit” when she emphasizes the merits of the order for contemporary society and laments its dissolution.¹³⁸

As mentioned earlier, 2011 was proclaimed the “year of Ruđer Bošković.” The Ministry of Science and the Croatian Academy of the Technical Sciences was placed in charge of implementing this commemoration, and the national program for marking the anniversary was made on the basis of projects put forward by different institutions, including the Faculty of Philosophy of the Society of Jesus in 2010. A DVD was produced at their initiative, and two international conferences were also organized. The first was held in Zagreb under the title “The Philosophy of Ruđer Josip Bošković,” while the second, entitled “Padre Ruggiero Giuseppe Boscovich: Cultore della verità” (Fr. Ruđer Josip Bošković: The lover of truth), was held at the Pontifical Gregorian University in Rome. Alongside this event, an exhibition, “Ruggiero Boscovich e il Collegio Romano,” was also staged, and a memorial plaque was installed inside the university.¹³⁹ To mark the same anniversary, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and European Integration published a monograph on Bošković’s diplomatic activities in the service of the Republic of Dubrovnik.¹⁴⁰ As for Italian research on Bošković, the National Academy of Sciences (Accademia nazionale delle scienze) has been publishing book as part of a series entitled Documenti Boscovichiani since 1988 (Bošković was one of the academy’s founding members), some of which are available online.¹⁴¹

Conclusion

From the foregoing analysis, it should be clear that the prevailing historiographical paradigm in Croat Jesuit studies is primarily focused on the Society of Jesus among the Croats, which is in keeping with Vanino’s intention of providing an account of the Jesuits’ significance for Croatian cultural history and the retention of the Croats’ Catholic identity. Such an approach, which was linked to the nineteenth-century idea that historiography must support Croatian national integration¹⁴² (a tradition to which Vanino certainly belonged), although justifiable and rich in its results, unfortunately means that the historiography has remained nationally focused and has failed to benefit from global trends. The main researchers remain members of the Jesuit order, interested in their own history, with sporadic exceptions from different fields, such as the history of science,¹⁴³ church history,¹⁴⁴ art history,¹⁴⁵ the history of education,¹⁴⁶ and library and information sciences.¹⁴⁷ Commemorations still seem to be the main incentive for publishing research.

Fulfilling the potential of Jesuit history in Croatian lands will require the use of transnational research and a comparative framework, and above all, establishing the subject as a field of study at history departments and institutes. The rich sources could be

138 Ibid., 42–49.

139 Ivan Šestak, “Hrvatski isusovci u protekloj Godini Ruđera Boškovića” [Croatian Jesuits in the past year of Ruđer Bošković], *Obnovljeni život* 67, no. 2 (2012): 155–66.

140 Stjepan Špoljarić, *Ruđer Bošković u službi diplomacije Dubrovačke Republike: Izdanje u prigodi 300. obljetnice rođenja Ruđera Josipa Boškovića (1711.–2011.)* [Ruđer Bošković in the diplomatic service of the Dubrovnik republic: The edition on the occasion of the third centenary of the birth of Josip Ruđer Bošković (1711–2011)] (Zagreb: Ministarstvo vanjskih poslova i europskih integracija Republike Hrvatske, 2011).

141 See, e.g., Edoardo Proverbio, ed., *Catalogo delle opere a stampa di Ruggiero Giuseppe Boscovich (1711–1787)* (Rome: Accademia Nazionale delle Scienze, 2007).

142 Gross, *Suvremena historiografija*, 175, 177.

143 Snježana Paušek Baždar, “Isusovci u Zagrebu i njihov doprinos razvitku prirodoslovlja” [The Jesuits in Zagreb and their contribution to the development of the natural sciences], *Gazophylacium* 14, no. 3–4 (2009): 13–25.

interpreted in many areas of cultural history (e.g., the history of saints), social history, intellectual history, and communication studies. Theoretical concepts such as center and periphery, Tridentine and national Catholicism, and confessionalization could also enrich the interpretative framework, which is usually reduced to the history of events based on the study of archival materials. Hopefully, in the future, Jesuit studies in Croatia will keep up with the more transnational historiographical trends that characterize much of the research elsewhere.

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- 144 Zlatko Kudelić, "[Isusovačko izvješće o krajiškim nemirima 1658. i 1666. godine i o marčanskom biskupu Gabrijelu Mijakiću \(1663.–1670.\)](#)" [A Jesuit report about riots at the border line in 1658 and 1666 and Gabrijel Mijakić bishop of Marča (1663–1670)], *Povijesni prilozi* 32, no. 32 (2007): 119–80; Relja Seferović, "[Isusovac Stefano Antonio Morcelli, nesuđeni nadbiskup s kraja Republike](#)" [Jesuit Stefano Antonio Morcelli, an archbishop candidate from the end of the Dubrovnik republic], *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Dubrovniku* 54, no. 2 (2016): 263–91; and Zdenko Dundović, "[Pučke misije isusovačkih misionara u zadarskoj nadbiskupiji u drugoj polovici 19. stoljeća](#)" [Jesuits' missions in the archdiocese of Zadar in the second half of the nineteenth century], *Croatica christiana periodica* 39, no. 76 (2015): 153–69.
- 145 Tanja Trška Miklošić, "[Neostvareni projekt isusovačke crkve i kolegija \(1659.\) u Dubrovniku](#)" [The unrealized project of the Jesuit church and college (1659) in Dubrovnik], *Radovi Instituta za povijest umjetnosti* 33, no. 33 (2009): 125–40; and Katarina Horvat-Levaj and Margareta Turkalj Podmanicki, "[Nekadašnja isusovačka crkva sv. Mihovila u Osijeku u srednjoeuropskom kontekstu](#)" [The former Jesuit church of St. Michael the Archangel in Osijek in the Central European context], *Peristil: Zbornik radova za povijest umjetnosti* 54 (2011): 223–33.
- 146 Teodora Shek Brnardić, *Svijet Baltazara Adama Krčelića: Obrazovanje na razmeđu tridentinskog koncila i katoličkog prosvjetiteljstva* [World of Baltazar Adam Krčelić: Education between Tridentine Catholicism and Catholic Enlightenment] (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2009); and Maja Vehovec, Davor Juretić, and Miro Juretić, "[Lovro Grisogono-osnivač i prvi rektor isusovačkog kolegija u Rijeci](#)" [Lovro Grisogno: The first rector of the Jesuit college in Rijeka], *Fluminensia* 6, nos. 1–2 (1995): 15–22.
- 147 Marica Šapro-Ficović, "[Knjižnica isusovaca u Dubrovniku: Od Collegiuma Ragusinum do današnje Rezidencije Družbe Isusove](#)" [Library of the Jesuits in Dubrovnik: From Collegium Ragusinum to the present residency of the Society of Jesus], *Vjesnik bibliotekara Hrvatske* 50, no. 3 (2008): 16–30; and Marica Šapro-Ficović and Željko Vegh, "[The History of Jesuit Libraries in Croatia](#)," *Journal of Jesuit Studies* 2, no. 2 (2015): 283–301.