

REFLECTIONS OF POLITICAL-GEOGRAPHIC SHIFTS IN THE USE  
OF THE GEOGRAPHIC NAME 'DALMATIA' ON MAPS  
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## ABSTRACT

*Dalmatia forms part of the eastern Adriatic coast, and after two thousand years of historical-geographic development, is part of the state of Croatia. The many changes in the historical region's spatial range and affiliation to various states can be followed on old cartographic depictions, among other things. Given the function of a geographic name, which is to provide the shortest possible linguistic description, optimally replacing in linguistic communication and spatial orientation a (long) description, and given the significance of maps as media for communicating in space and about space, it is possible to confirm a reflection of political-geographic shifts in the use of the geographic name Dalmatia by consulting old maps. From a comparative analysis of maps which emerged in different European cultural centres, applying the diachronic approach, it can clearly be seen that during the early modern period, the greatest influence on the depiction of Dalmatia on maps was exerted by a) reminiscences of the classical constitutional law tradition, b) political ambitions and the actual socio-economic influence of Venice on the eastern Adriatic coast, and c) the triple confrontation between the Habsburg Monarchy, the Ottoman Empire and the Venetian Republic in the Adriatic-Dinaric-Danube Basin contact area.*

**Keywords:** map, geographic name, Dalmatia, Croatia, Adriatic SeaIL RIFLESSO DI CAMBIAMENTI GEOPOLITICI SULL'USO DEL NOME GEOGRAFICO  
DELLA DALMAZIA SULLE CARTE GEOGRAFICHE DELLA PRIMA ETÀ MODERNA

## SINTESI

*La Dalmazia fa parte della costa orientale dell'Adriatico, e dopo duemila anni dello sviluppo storico-geografico si trova nell'ambito dello stato della Croazia. Numerosi cambiamenti dell'estensione territoriale di questa regione storica e la sua appartenenza a diversi stati si possono seguire, tra l'altro, su vecchie rappresentazioni cartografiche. Data la funzione del nome geografico, quella cioè di fornire la descrizione linguistica più concisa possibile, che nella comunicazione linguistica e nell'orientamento spaziale sostituisce in modo migliore una descrizione troppo lunga, e data l'importanza delle carte geografiche come mezzo comunicativo nello spazio e sullo spazio, a base di vecchie carte geografiche è possibile definire il riflesso dei cambiamenti geopolitici sull'uso del nome geografico della Dalmazia. Dall'analisi comparata delle carte geografiche create nel corso della storia in vari centri culturali europei, usando l'approccio diacronico, è evidente che durante la prima età moderna l'influsso più grande sul modo in cui veniva raffigurata la Dalmazia l'ebbero: a) la reminiscenza della tradizione giuridico-politica dell'età antica, b) le ambizioni politiche e il reale influsso socio-economico di Venezia sulla costa orientale dell'Adriatico, e c) il triplice confronto fra la Monarchia asburgica, l'Impero Ottomano e la Repubblica di Venezia nell'area di contatto Adriatico – Alpi Dinariche – Danubio.*

**Parole chiave:** carta geografica, nome geografico, Dalmazia, Croazia, Mare Adriatico

## INTRODUCTION

A geographic name (toponym) is a concise linguistic description which in linguistic communication and spatial orientation optimally replaces a (long) description (Faričić, 2010; Skračić, 2011). The way in which various geographic features are named indicates, among other things, the historical-geographic development of inhabitation and the socio-economic valorisation of an area, in addition to its identity in terms of the nation or linguistic community living in it. Toponyms are often the oldest living forms of cultural heritage, since they are frequently passed on by oral tradition from generation to generation, and may endure for thousands of years (Helleland, 2006). They should be studied as part of the lexis and language which form an important aspect of the cultural area, along with national, ethnic and regional identity features (Jordan, 2007).

Areas which have undergone particularly notable historical-geographic shifts are subject to complex linguistic-geographic stratification, characterised by changes in or the loss of toponyms. Among other things, this process can be traced by consulting old maps (Siderius and Bakker, 2003). Since geographic names are an essential part of a map's geographic contents, old cartographic depictions form a significant source in studying the process of naming a particular area. In so doing, old maps should be considered within the appropriate scientific and cultural context of the space and time in which they appeared (Harley, 1987).

Dalmatia, in Croatia, on the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea, as an area of multiple contacts between different peoples, languages and states, is an example of a European region whose spatial extent has changed frequently. This is reflected in differences in the way it was named on old maps, particularly during the early modern period, when political and administrative borders changed markedly as a result of the triple confrontation between the Venetian Republic, the Habsburg Monarchy and the Ottoman Empire.

AIM, METHODOLOGY AND FRAMEWORK  
OF THE RESEARCH

The geographic framework, or geographic features and processes which condition the valorisation and exploitation of a certain area are also reflected in a variety of everyday, human communication, based primarily, of course, on oral and written communication. Geographic names play a special part in this, documenting the historical-geographic dynamics of the area (Condera et al., 2007). Toponyms, some of which are older than any other kind of historical monument or document, are an essential source when studying spatiality, since a mosaic of toponyms is formed in any historical period, consisting of elements of different ages and with different linguistic features. Toponyms illustrate an area

and indicate events in time, so they can be studied from the historical-geographic, regional-geographic, cultural-geographic, demogeographic, political-geographic and cartographic points of view (Faričić, 2009).

Accordingly, the aim of this paper is to establish the reflection of political-geographic shifts in the use of the choronym *Dalmatia* in cartographic depictions from the early modern period. Given the complex political-historical circumstances which affected the Croatian lands in the Adriatic-Dinaric-Danube Basin contact area, the spatial extent of Dalmatia rose and fell in a marked way, and this was reflected in the way the names given to the area were written.

Among the large body of geographic maps and maritime charts analysed, on which the east coast of the Adriatic and its hinterland are shown, selected examples of maps are highlighted in this paper, where the cause-and-effect relationship between political-geographic shifts and cartographic depictions is perhaps best expressed. The starting-point is the hypothesis that depictions of space on old maps are mostly reflections of the degree of geographic knowledge available at the time, the potential for implementing cartographic techniques, and the intentions of the author, or the commissioning institution. Keeping these tenets in mind, old maps can be studied as depictions showing the evolution of an area within the appropriate historical-geographic context, and also conveying the perception of that area. So a mental map of a particular area may not always correspond to a map showing the actual state of affairs in that area. On maps made during the early modern period, different motives can be traced, directly or indirectly, which frequently hark back to constitutional law traditions (conditioned by the authority of historical sources such as Tacit, Pliny the Elder, Claudius Ptolemy, and others, or by the intention of the political elite to achieve continuity in relation to the constitutional law of classical state entities), and political and economic interests which influenced the choice and treatment of geographic contents (Faričić, 2007; Magaš, Mirošević and Faričić, 2010). Thus, not only the author's selection, but the methodology used to collect and process data affected the quality of the contents depicted on old maps, including the treatment of toponyms. These were the main causes of error and omissions due to the lack of geodetic surveys, which meant there were no precisely defined geodetic bases for producing maps. This was exacerbated by the compilation approach as a means of gathering data, which resulted in the uncritical reproduction of old cartographic templates and the use of outdated or unconfirmed spatial data (Faričić, Magaš & Mirošević, 2012). In studying these cartographic sources, it was not always possible to trace the chronological continuity of the development of the geographic perception of Dalmatia. This continuity was interrupted in the Middle Ages, primarily due to a lack of knowledge of Ptolemy's cartographic achievements, but during the Renaissance,

it was actually Ptolemy's vision which had a significant effect on mapping explored areas. In order to confirm the context in which the choronym *Dalmatia* was used, old cartographic sources were analysed for the purposes of this paper diachronically and synchronically. The diachronic approach presumes map analysis by following historical development along chronological principles, i.e. in relation to the time when the map was produced. The synchronic approach to investigating old maps assumes they are to be observed from the aspect of how they functioned among other sources of spatial data at the time when they were produced (archive sources, archaeological remains, historiography works, etc.).

#### CARTOGRAPHIC SOURCES AS A MEDIUM FOR INTERPRETING THE POLITICAL-GEOGRAPHIC DYNAMICS OF USING THE CHORONYM 'DALMATIA'

A Geographic-Cartographic Prelude: the Name *Dalmatia* on Ancient and Medieval Maps

The dynamic rhythm of life among the social communities of the northeast Adriatic coast was present from prehistoric times, characterised by ethnically varied peoples, among whom the ethnic picture was neither uniform nor static. From the fourth century BC, the Delmatae (Dalmatae) formed an increasing presence on the northeast Adriatic coast, alongside the Liburni, Histri and Iapodes (Čače, 2001; Batović, 2004; Zaninović, 2007). Although their ethnic and territorial formation consisted on the whole of the area bordered by the River Krka and the River Cetina, the geographic name (choronym) *Dalmatia* gradually came to be used for a wider area, mostly as the result of wars between the Delmatae and the Romans. After conquering the eastern Adriatic coast, the Romans created the Province of Dalmatia, which in spatial terms exceeded the area inhabited by the Delmatae. It covered the ethnic areas of the Liburnians, Iapodes, Delmatae and Ardiaei, stretching from Istria to the Bay of Kotor on the Adriatic coast, and also extending into the hinterland, almost to the River Sava, where it bordered with the Province of Pannonia (Wilkes, 1969; Talbert, 2002; Pavan, 1976). It was not static in the administrative-territorial sense, so Rome, respecting its alliance with the Liburnians and their importance to the Adriatic maritime system, made the northwest part of the Province of Dalmatia into the separate Province of Liburnia (Medini, 1980).

This was the state of affairs recorded by the classical geographer Claudius Ptolemy in the second century AD, when he showed the areas of Illyricum and Pannonia on his *Fifth Map of Europe*. Ptolemy was the first geographer to write the choronym *Dalmatia* on a map. His original map has not survived, but there several editions

were published in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. One such edition is that of Guiseppe Moleti, printed in Venice in 1562. In the book entitled *Geographia Cl. Ptolamaei Alexandrini*<sup>1</sup> Ptolemy's map *Evropae Tabula V* is printed (Figure 1), along with a contemporary version, the *Tavola Nvova di Schiavonia*. The *Fifth Map of Europe* shows the choronyms *Pannonia Inferior* and *Pannonia Svsperior*, indicating the territorial division imposed during the reign of the Emperor Diocletian. This means that Moleti did not use only Ptolemy's model, but also later classical sources, since Ptolemy depicted the situation at the beginning of the second century, while Diocletian actually divided the empire at the end of the third century (Wilkes, 1969; Talbert, 2002). In marking the administrative units, Moleti used the superimposition method (denoting administrative-territorial units with their geographic names) and linear border signatures. He used a dotted line to mark the border between the Provinces of *Liburnia* and *Dalmatia*.

During the Middle Ages, Ptolemy's work was not known to Western European cartographers, which contributed to discontinuity in depicting the eastern Adriatic area. Complex political-geographic changes after the fall of the Western Roman Empire deeply affected the classical geographic matrix, however the classical constitutional law tradition survived, including the geographic nomenclature in the state offices of Byzantium and Western European states.

The historical-geographic shifts which affected the area of modern-day Croatia in the Middle Ages and early modern period also influenced the particularly complex historical picture of the Croatian area. From the eighth to the twelfth century, the independent Croatian state was affirmed, *de facto* in different circumstances, and then *de iure* by its incorporation into Byzantine Dalmatia, which was a fragmented, tiny remnant of the former Roman province of that name (Klaić, 1971). In the early twelfth century, when Croatia became part of the state under the Hungarian Arpad dynasty, it was primarily oriented towards the central Danube Basin part of the kingdom, and Venice attempted to establish its territorial aspirations with a greater or lesser degree of success (Budak, Raukar, 2006). Thus began the centuries-long territorial fragmentation of the Croatian medieval state by various European powers.

The process was halted for a short time in the latter half of the fourteenth century. In fact, the Croatian area was for several decades politically integrated in a single unit during the reign of the Hungaro-Croatian King Louis I of Anjou, particularly after the peace treaty signed in Zadar in 1358, by which Venice ceded its rights to the region and this administrative unit in the administrative centre and most important urban centre of Dalmatia (Brković, 2009). After Louis's death, there was a dynas-

1 SAZ, Library, call number IV. B. 63.



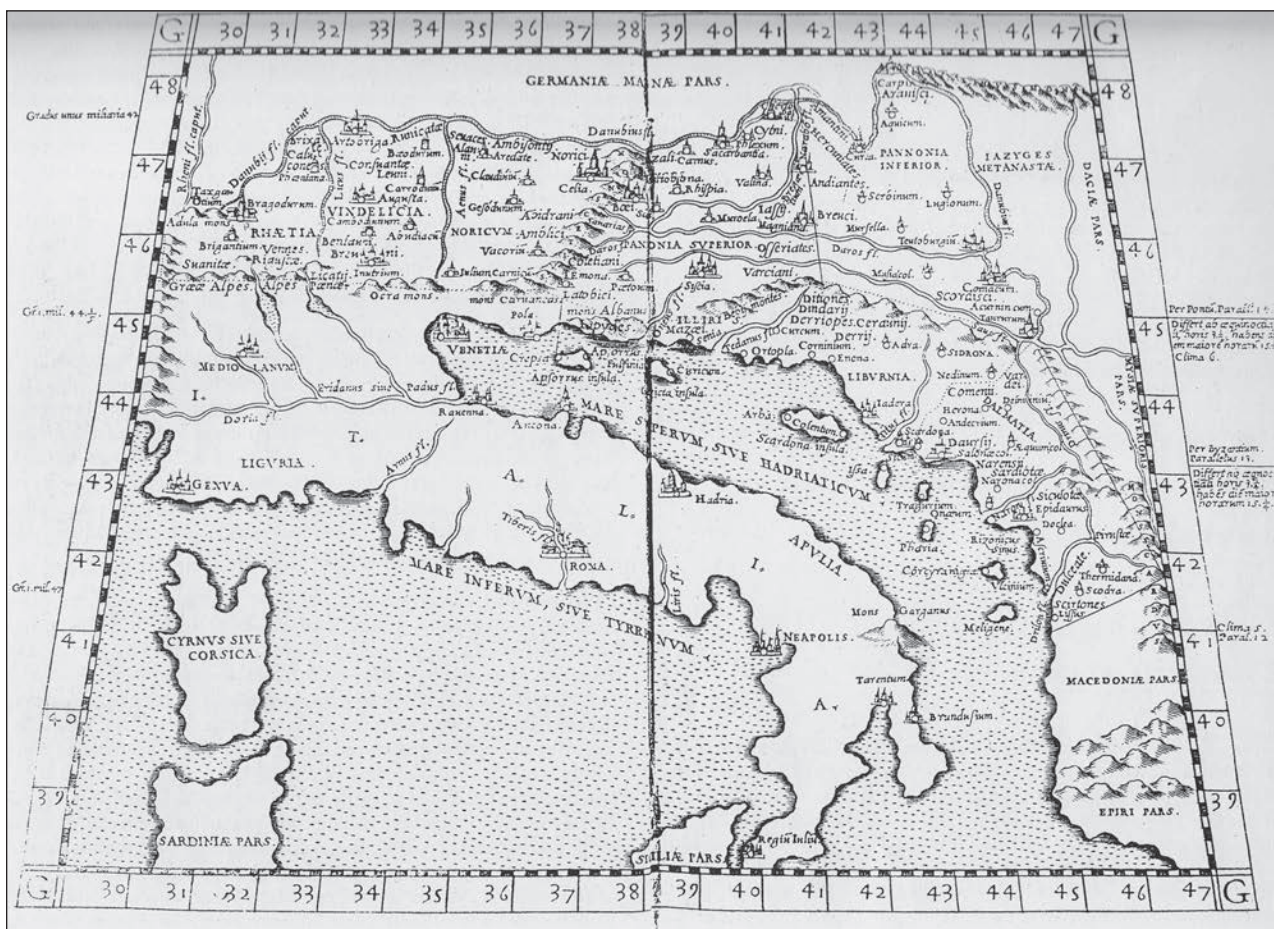


Figure 1: Moleti's edition of Ptolemy's Fifth Map of Europe, 1562 (SAZ, call number IV. B. 63)

tic struggle for the Hungaro-Croatian Kingdom, and a period of several centuries ensued, during which the Croatian political area was reduced and annexed, and an ethnic-social area shaped within new borders. The separation of Lika and Krbava began the gradual process of detaching the island and coastal areas of the central Adriatic from their natural hinterland, and the separation of the deeper Split and Trogir hinterlands led to the long-lasting exclusion of part of the area under majority Croatian settlement, which later remained in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Rendić-Miočević, 2006).

In later medieval cartographic achievements, which also depicted the Adriatic area, among others, the name *Dalmatia* was used regularly, whenever map scale and dimensions allowed it, but this classical geographic name did not always refer to the same

area. For example, the name *Dalmatia* was used for the area between the River Sava and the Adriatic on Beatus's map in the eighth century (Kozličić, 1995), and on Cotton's Anglo-Saxon tenth century map (Bagrow, Skelton, 1985), although it was inscribed deep in the Adriatic hinterland, actually in the middle of southeast Europe. Similarly, the choronym *Dalmatia* was marked on Pslatir's and Ebstorf's maps of the world in the thirteenth century (Pischke, 2014). On these maps, the name *Dalmatia* was inscribed in the area of the medieval Croatian state established in the area of the Roman Provinces of *Liburnia*, *Dalmatia* and *Pannonia Savia*. Despite the use of the name *Croatia* (independently, or in conjunction with the name *Dalmatia*), particularly in connection with the use of the name of the Croatian ruler<sup>1</sup> and Croatian state<sup>2</sup> at European courts, in

1 For example, Pope John X sent his 925th missive to the Croatian Episcopate and King Tomislav, in which he wrote, among other things: *Tamisclao, regi Crouatorum* (Codex Diplomaticus Regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae, 1, J. Stipišić and M. Šamšalović (eds.), Zagreb, 1967, 34).

2 The chronicler Thomas the Archdeacon (Toma Arhidakon), mentioning in *Historia Salonitana* in 1266 that the Byzantine Croatian King Stjepan Držislav (around 990) and his successors had been awarded the titles of Eparch and Patrician, said that the king ruled from the ...*dominium regni Dalmatiae et Croatiae* (Thomae Archidiaconi Historia Salonitana: Historia Salonitanorum atque Spalatinorum Pontificum, O. Perić (ed.), Split, 2003, XIII: 4).

historiography works<sup>3</sup> and on medieval maps, classical toponymy continued to prevail in the area of the Croatian Kingdom. At the same time, the toponymy used on these maps in other European regions was linked to huge political changes which occurred during the formation of the new medieval states, based on the former Roman Empire. Of course, medieval authors did not have access to all the relevant data which would have allowed them a realistic perception of all parts of Europe and the then known world. The exception was the cartographer Muhammed-al-Idrisi, whose map of the world, produced for the Sicilian King Roger II (*Tabula rogeriana*) in 1154, for the area of Croatia, including Dalmatia, did not use the classical name (*Dalmatia*), but the choronym *bilad garuasía*, i.e. the land of the Croats (Marković, 1993). This was surely the consequence of the fact that al-Idrisi, while collating data for his map of the known world, organised several expeditions and on-site observations (Ahmad, 1992), which included the eastern Adriatic coast. At that time, al-Idrisi himself travelled throughout the Croatian part of the Adriatic coast (Marković, 1993).

During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, many cartographic depictions of Croatia appeared, thanks to Ptolemy's influence and further advances in map-making, matched by new geographic discoveries and the development of cartographic techniques. Depictions of Croatia with many more details were not only the result of improved geographic knowledge and cartography methods, but were also a reflection of military-political changes, which during the era of Ottoman conquests in Europe aroused great interest in European political and cultural circles, focusing on the Adriatic-Danube Basin area. Thus, maps from the early modern period also functioned as means of communication about this area, and were used to express actually political changes, and also the political ambitions of certain European states. The production of some Renaissance maps, however, was motivated by love of historical research arising from a general interest in classical heritage. So, for example, the Dutch cartographer Abraham Ortelius produced a topical, historical map entitled *Pannoniae et Illyrici Veteris tabula*, on which he depicted Dalmatia and other places (Marković, 1993). He drew particular attention to the fact that he had consulted ancient authors such as Strabo, Pliny, Marcianus and Tacitus, while the influence of Ptolemy, or rather various editions of the *Fifth Map of Europe*, was especially obvious, given the geographic content. Ortelius inscribed the name *Illyris* in the area of the Roman Province of Dalmatia, while he wrote *Dalmatia* in the area between the River Neretva and River Bojana, which in Roman

times was actually the southern section of the Province of Dalmatia and the entire Province of Praevalitana. In addition, he used the hydronym *Liburnicus sinus* for the north and central parts of the eastern Adriatic, while the south part was given the hydronym *Dalmaticum mare*, reflecting the division of the united Province of Dalmatia (in the Republican, early Empire) into the Provinces of Liburnia and Dalmatia.

### **Influence of the Triple Venetian-Habsburg-Ottoman Confrontation on the Use of the Name Dalmatia on Maps from the Early Modern Period**

According to the constitutional law tradition of the Triune Kingdom of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia, in the early modern period, Croatia was perceived as almost the entire area of modern-day Croatia, with modern-day western Bosnia (usually noted on maps as Turkish Croatia), almost all of Sylvania, which today falls mostly within Serbia, and the Bay of Kotor, which today falls mostly within Montenegro. In the sixteenth century, most of the Istrian peninsula lay outside Croatia, and was subject to many changes of sovereignty (Venice, Austria, Aquileia). Southern Baranya was not included in Croatia either, since it then belonged entirely to Hungary (Pandžić, 1993; Pavličević, 1996; Regan, Kaniški, 2003).

Turbulent military-political processes turned the former core of the Croatian state into a border zone between the Ottomans, the Habsburgs and the Venetians. The Venetian Republic, Habsburg Monarchy and Ottoman Empire aspired through political or diplomatic means to acquire the best geostrategic and political positions on the eastern Adriatic and in the Danube Basin. Since this led to overlapping spheres of interest, particularly in the core of the Croatian political territory, the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were particularly characterised by incessant, three-cornered confrontations. The triple border was therefore unstable and kept shifting, and a stable border was only agreed after the Morean War, the Karlowitz Peace Treaty of 1699 and the Passarowitz Peace Treaty of 1717. The border was strengthened by buffer zones. Thus, in legal terms, the multiple dissection of the Croatian territory established during the medieval, independent Kingdom of Croatia was sanctioned. Some parts of the Croatian area functioned as peripheral zones, organised as the border areas of the imperial forces. The area of modern-day Croatia was divided between the three great powers; Venice, which ruled most of the northeast Adriatic coast (a fragmented area from Istria, through Dalmatia, to the Bay of Kotor), the Habsburg Monarchy, which ruled the

3 In the mid-tenth century, Emperor Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, in the 31<sup>st</sup> chapter of *De administrando imperio*, in which he wrote of the Croats as a relevant military-political factor in the Adriatic, began with this statement; *The Croats, who now live in the Dalmatian regions...* In the same work, Constantine VII dedicated the extensive 29<sup>th</sup> and 30<sup>th</sup> chapters of his book to the Province of Dalmatia. In the 30<sup>th</sup> chapter, he wrote, among other things, *Some of the Croats who arrived in Dalmatia separated and ruled Illyricum and Pannonia.*



western part of Croatia, including central Istria and the coast between Rijeka and Karlobag, and the Ottoman Empire, which ruled most of eastern Croatia (Pavličević, 1996). Only the tiny Republic of Dubrovnik retained independence, in the area between Pelješac and the Bay of Kotor, though it acknowledged the sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire and paid annual taxes to the Sultan (Foretić, 1980; Harris, 2006; Havrylyshyn, 2013).

Changes to the extent and borders of Dalmatia need to be seen within this constellation of political-geographic relations in the Adriatic-Dinaric-Danube Basin contact area. The Republic of Venice had assumed all its overseas possessions in the northeastern Adriatic by 1420, consisting of *Venetian Istria* (the western part of the peninsula and the interior as far as Plomin), *Venetian Dalmatia* (the towns and cities from Krk to Korčula) and *Venetian Albania* (the Bay of Kotor and the coast as far as Albanian Valona). These areas did not have separate administrations, but the cities on the northeast Adriatic coast were in fact a league headed by the Republic of Venice (Čoralić, 2003; Čoralić, 2005; Čoralić, 2009; Pederin, 1990). However, as the Ottoman pressure on the Adriatic coast increased, the Venetian administration consolidated and integrated the central and southern parts of its eastern Adriatic possessions more firmly, with the centre in Zadar, where the General Provveditor for Venetian Dalmatia and Albania had his seat.

The dynamic border resulting from imperial constructions also had an effect on the geographic content of maps produced in many European cultural centres during the early modern period. Differences in the way Dalmatia was shown, particularly in the use and positioning of the choronym *Dalmatia*, denoting the spatial extent of this Adriatic region, were due to different approaches by map-makers, and also to problems relating to the frequent political-geographic shifts happening in Dalmatia. Often, European cartographic centres were only able to glean meagre, incomplete information.

In this context, maps of Venetian and Austrian provenance depicting the eastern Adriatic coast are particularly prominent. They emerged in response to direct strategic and political influences in the area, while other European cartographers tended to compile their information from Venetian, and occasionally Austrian cartographic originals, since the Habsburg Monarchy had no direct control of the Dalmatian area.

Venetian cartographers showed the Adriatic on maps and maritime charts. Since the Republic of Venice was the strongest Adriatic political, maritime and economic power, it needed to provide various users (mariners, military officers, governors, etc.) with high quality maps of the areas under its direct rule, or those in its political and economic spheres of interest. Many maps and *isolarios* (collections of maritime charts with appropriate

navigation guides) were produced. These achievements by Venetian geographers and cartographers were used as a basis for maps of the Adriatic area produced by Italian, Belgian, Dutch, French, English, Spanish, Portuguese and other cartographers. In using the name *Dalmatia*, they adopted the Venetian geographic (and political) perception of the Adriatic, including calling the entire sea the Gulf of Venice (*Golfo di Venezia*).

There are some good examples of the Venetian use of the choronym *Dalmatia* on maps from the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries depicting the eastern Mediterranean, such as *La vera descrizione del Mare Adriatico...* by Giovanni Andrea Vavassori (1539) (Kozličić, 1995) and *Descrittione di quello, che i Turchi possedono in Europa, con i confini de Pri[ncipi] C[hrist]iani* (Figure 2), produced by Giuseppe Rosaccio for the *isolario Viaggio da Venetia a Constantinopoli per Mare, e per Terra, & insieme quello di Terra Santa*, which was published several times in the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries (Kozličić, 1995). These maps were made at a time when the Venetian possessions on the eastern Adriatic coast were restricted to islands and the narrow coastal belt.

The choronym *Dalmatia* is inscribed on these maps for the entire eastern coast of the Adriatic and its hinterland. It is difficult to establish whether this cartographic depiction was reminiscent of classical times, when Dalmatia really did occupy the area covered by the choronym, or whether it is a reflection of Venetian aspirations to rule a Dalmatia of this extent and range. It is significant that the name *Croatia* does not appear on these maps at all, nor do its neighbours, *Bosnia* and *Serbia*, though the names *Pannonia*, *Macedonia* and *Albania* (Vavassori), or *Hungary*, *Transylvania*, *Poland*, *Macedonia*, etc. (Rosaccio) are given. In this Venetian manner of naming the entire eastern Adriatic coast with geographical name *Dalmatia* it is possible to consider many other cartographic depictions of Adriatic region. For example, Portuguese cartographer Diogo Homem put choronym *Dalmatia* above almost the entire eastern Adriatic coast on the chart of Adriatic Sea, which was published in Venice in 1559.<sup>4</sup> Also, Spanish cartographer Joan Oliva covered with choronym *Dalmatia* almost the entire eastern Adriatic coast on the chart of western and central part of Mediterranean Sea, which was published in Messina in 1592 (Beguš, 2014).

Despite the obvious influence of Venetian cartographic sources, the Flemish cartographer Gerard Mercator included other sources of geographic data on the Croatian area in his map *Sclavonia, Croatia, cvm Dalmatiae Parte* (Figure 3), published in *Italiae, Sclavoniae et Graeciae tabulae geographicae* in Duisburg in 1589.<sup>5</sup> He inscribed the choronym *Dalmatia* in the area of southern Croatia, which is only partially shown, and which at the

4 NLF, Département Cartes et plans, Call number CPL GE DD-2003 (RES).

5 SAZ, Library, call number II. a. 4.



Figure 2: Rosaccio's cartographic depiction of the eastern Adriatic coast, Venice, 1606 (Kozličić, 1995)

time came under both Venetian and Ottoman rule. Since the map does not show the demarcation between the two states, Mercator, in accordance with the European understanding of constitutional law tradition, clearly did not accept the Ottoman conquests as final or relevant in defining the spatial range of European states and regions, including Dalmatia. However, the name *Dalmatia* does not extend to the part of Croatia within the Habsburg Monarchy, as it would on a Venetian map. Mercator alerted users in the map title to the fact that only part of Dalmatia was shown (... *cum Dalmatiae parte*). In fact, the entire southeast part of Dalmatia is missing, i.e. the coastal area from Makarska to the Bay of Kotor, with the appertaining hinterland.

In contrast to Mercator, English cartographers adopted Venetian maps of the Adriatic and only made small changes to their contents. For example, John Seller published a maritime chart, *A Sea Chart of the Gulph of Venice* in the nautical handbook *The English Pilot* in 1677 (Seller, 1677). He inscribed the name *Dalmatia* in

such a way as to cover the entire area of the eastern Adriatic coast. The choronym *Croatia* was written in smaller letters in the Velebit area, thus indicating that only the mainland part of the northern Croatian coastal area came within the borders of Croatia, then part of the Habsburg Monarchy. However, since Seller was a maritime cartographer, whose aim was to provide sailors with a chart of the coastal and sea areas in which various maritime activities took place, it is difficult to read into his use of the name *Dalmatia* any deference to classical tradition, or a desire to provide a promptly updated version of the new political circumstances by which Venetian possessions in the hinterland of the southern Croatian coastal cities had been significantly extended. It is highly likely that Seller simply adopted the Venetian geographic perception of Dalmatia.

The name *Dalmatia* is inscribed in a special way on the first integrated map of the Croatian historical regions made in the latter half of the seventeenth century. The manuscript version of this map, for the Papal Illyr-





Figure 3: Mercator's cartographic depiction of Croatia, Duisburg, 1589 (SAZ, call number II. a. 4)

ian (Croatian) Institute of St. Jerome in Rome was drawn by Pietro Andrea Buffalini in 1663. This map, with the appropriate alterations, was then printed as *Illyricum Hodiernum Quod Scriptores communiter Sclavoniam, Itali Schiavoniam, nuncupare Solent, in Dalmatiam, Croatiam, Bosnam, et Slavoniam distinguitur* in the *Atlas Maior sive Geographia Blaviana* by Johannes Blaeu in 1669. Judging from the contents of these maps and the political circumstances in which they appeared, the Croatian polyhistor and cartographer Ivan Lučić made the greatest contribution to shaping their contents. As a connoisseur of Croatian history and geographer, he turned his own geographic perception of the area into a cartographic synthesis in the form of a map. It was created on the basis of compiling the contents of older maps and his own research (Mlinarić, Faričić and Mirošević, 2012). He wanted to show clearly on this map the area understood to be Illyricum in the spirit of reformed, Catholic Illyricism, i.e. Croatia, so that he could show for the purposes of the ecclesiastical institutes in Rome the places from which candidates for the priesthood

and priests had the right to go to Rome to the Croatian Papal Institute of St. Jerome (*Congregatio S. Hieronymi Slavorum seu Illyricorum*) (Figure 4). It is also important to emphasise that the papal institute was named after a fourth century Catholic saint and Bible translator, who was originally from the Roman Province of Dalmatia. Lučić inscribed the name *Dalmatia* on the map from the border with Istria, starting on the coast at Plomin, to the border with Albania on the coast, at the mouth of the River Bojana. From the actual map title, it is evident that Lučić considered Dalmatia part of Illyricum, i.e. Croatia. The title also indicates the complexity involved in naming the Croatian regions, since the Croatian national area is called Illyricum or Slavonia (which is the name of the region in eastern Croatia today), and its constituents parts Dalmatia, Croatia, Bosnia and Slavonia. The dedication to the Croatian Ban Petar Zrinski inscribed in the cartouche indicates another particularity linked to the use of the name Dalmatia. In fact, the full title of the Croatian Ban is given – *Regnor. Dalmatiae, Croatiae & Slavoniae Bano* – with Dalmatia taking first place,





Figure 4 Lučić and Bleau’s map of ‘today’s’ Illyricum, Amsterdam, 1669 (NULZ, Cartographic Collection, Novak Collection, call number ZN-Z-XVII-BLA-1669)

although only a small part of the eastern Adriatic coast came under the Ban’s administration, i.e. the area of the City of Rijeka and part of northern Croatian Primorje. Thus, in several places on the map, Lučić demonstrated his political-geographic perception of what was then Croatia and Dalmatia, as an entity based on classical constitutional law roots and the tradition of the medieval Croatian Kingdom, while avoiding acknowledgement of the Venetian-Habsburg-Ottoman division of the coastal parts of Croatia.

In the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, during the Habsburg and Venetian reconquests in the Croatian area, a large number of maps were produced from which the relations between the allied Habsburg Monarchy and Venetian Republic can be deduced, in terms of demarcation and the proprietary relations existing on the eastern Adriatic coast. Although

Habsburg rule extended in the coastal belt below Velebit from Senj to the mouth of the River Zrmanja, i.e. to Obrovac (Senj Captaincy), it was more formal in nature, while actual relations in the field favoured the Venetian Republic, which attempted systematically to extend its power in the area of Dračevac, Trstenica and Starigrad (Holjevac, 2003). During the Morean War, the Venetians took the fortresses of Keglević and Zvonigrad, along with the prominent points below Velebit of Dračevac and Starigrad, which belonged to Lika and Krabava. The Habsburgs succeeded in regaining occupied Zvonigrad, but refrained from taking back other areas, since the Venetians had already established themselves in the conquered areas, although these *de jure* belonged to the Habsburgs. The demarcation in Podgorje and the Zrmanja Basin was defined in 1700, according to which southern Podgorje and the Zrmanja Basin were given to





Figure 5: Cantelli’s map of Dalmatia and the neighbouring regions, Rome, 1684 (Marković, 1993)

the Venetians. In later demarcations, the Habsburgs demanded revisions, but the border remained unchanged up to the fall of the Republic of St. Mark in 1797. Since they considered the occupied areas to be their territory, the Venetians regularly showed them in sources within the borders of their possessions, while the Habsburg Monarchy had to be satisfied with the liberated areas of Lika and Krbava, which came under the administration of Habsburg military rule and the Court Chamber in Vienna, later the Court Chamber whose seat was in Graz.

In Cantelli’s atlas *Mercurio geografico*, among other things, a map was published entitled *Dalmatia Istria Bosnia Servia Croatia e parte di Schiavonia*, dated 1684 (Marković, 1993). On this map (Figure 5), the Ottoman-Venetian border was not shown, but instead, the medieval border between Croatia and Bosnia was drawn. Proprietary relations were marked by symbols. On the basis of these positions, Cantelli included the hinterland in Dalmatia, thus extending Venetian possessions on the eastern Adriatic coast. The Ottoman possessions (marked with red flags) were placed in Bosnia (around

Bihać) and Herzegovina (the upper reaches of the River Neretva). This cartographic depiction was in fact a reflection of Venetian political aspirations, rather than the actual state of affairs in the hinterland of the eastern Adriatic coast at the outset of the Morean War.

At the turn of the eighteenth century, one of the true representatives of Venetian cartographers was Vincenzo Maria Coronelli. In several of his atlases, he published many maps showing the eastern Adriatic coast, on which he attempted to show the extension of Venetian possessions in Dalmatia. One such map is name *Golfo di Venezia*, dated 1688. The Venetian concept of political-geographic relations on the eastern Adriatic coast was maintained while naming possessions on the coast, so that the choronym *Dalmatia*, the Venetian synonym for its possessions southeast of Istria, extended along almost all the Croatian Adriatic coast, from Senj to the mouth of the River Drin on the Adriatic Sea. However, the borders of the Republic of Dubrovnik were not marked, while the islands and sea from Istria to Albania were called the *Dalmatian islands and sea*.



Coronelli also made a topographic map showing the eastern Adriatic coast, entitled *Ristretto della Dalmazia Diuisa ne Suoi Contadi, già presenta alla Serenissima Repubblica di Venezia*. Although the coast from the Bay of Trieste to the River Bojana is shown, the title implies that the entire area belonged to Dalmatia. It is interesting that there is no inscription naming Dalmatia as a region, but capital letters are used for the choronyms *Istria, Croacia, Regno di Bosna, Herzegovina, Servia* and *Albania*. However, along the eastern Adriatic coast, toponyms are inscribed indicating the maritime and island areas belonging to various spatial units (Istria, Kvarner and Dalmatia), and Dalmatia is the largest, occupying an area ranging from the northwest islands of Zadar to the Albanian coast (*Isole di Dalmazia, Mare di Dalmazia, olim Illiricum mare*).

Coronelli's geographic picture of the eastern Adriatic was used by many European cartographers (e.g. Guillaume de l'Isle, Reiner and Joshua Ottens, Johann Baptist Homann, Georg Matthäus Seutter, Jacques Nicolas Bellin and others), and for decades it continued to represent a sort of matrix for depicting the basic geographic elements of Dalmatia. However, the name *Dalmatia* was used differently, probably as a result of taking other sources of geographic data into account.

Changes in proprietary relations introduced new border demarcation, or rather the establishment of the triple Habsburg-Venetian-Ottoman border (*Triplex Confinium*) in the area between the source of the River Zrmanja and Knin, on Medviđa Glavica (Medvedak today), the peak of Veliko (or Debelo) Brdo, northwest of Knin, in 1699 (Kovačević, 1973). These borders were shown on overview geographic maps. One example is the cartographic depiction of Europe by the French cartographer Guillaume de l'Isle, dated 1700, which was published just after the signing of the 1699 peace treaty. De l'Isle's cartographic depiction is in many ways a reflection of Venetian cartographic depictions of the eastern Adriatic coast. So on his map, the borders of Dalmatia are shown running from the mouth of the River Zrmanja on the coast to Ulcinj, including the hinterland. At the same time, these borders clearly emphasise the separation of Dalmatia from the rest of the Croatian territory.

In 1709, the German cartographer Georg Matthäus Seutter produced a map entitled *Nova et accurata Regnorum et Provinciarum Dalmatiae, Croatiae, Sclavoniae, Bosniae, Serviae, Istriae, et Reip. Ragusanae cum finitibus regionibus*, on which the Croatian lands were clearly separated politically from Hungary (Marković, 1993). His depiction of the spatial limits of Dalmatia (from the mouth of the River Zrmanja on the coast to Ulcinj, with the hinterland) corresponded to those of

Venetian cartographers, primarily Coronelli. However, Seutter showed Dalmatia with an additional extension in the coastal area of Herzegovina.

Not long after the peace treaty was signed in 1699, war broke out again between the Venetians, Ottomans and Habsburgs (1716-1718), thus continuing the reduction in the territorial extent of the Bosnian Eyalet. The new demarcation (*Linea Mocenigo*) between the Venetians and Ottomans after the Passarowitz Peace Treaty (1718) was established by the Venetian representative Alviso Mocenigo and the Ottoman delegate Mehmed efendi Silay. The *Linea Mocenigo* was moved deeper into the hinterland, in the direction Strmica (north of Knin)-Imotski-Vrgorac-Metković, and in the south in the area of Trebinje and Popovo Polje (Kruhek, Pavlović, 1991). This led to new extensions of Venetian possessions in Dalmatia, i.e. in southern Croatia (*Acquisto nuovissimo*). When the border was shifted east, Plavno came under Venetian possession, and the new triple border was established on Rujava Glavica. Although the Venetians reconquered Ottoman territory along the Dubrovnik border, they had to agree to restore the corridor. The borders were defined finally in 1721, with two confirmed exits to the sea for the Ottoman Empire, one near Klek, with the harbour of Neum, and the other consisting of the much narrower belt near Sutorina in the Bay of Kotor (Fuerst-Bjeliš, Zupanc, 2009). The Venetian authorities endeavoured to depict their New Acquisition on a series of chorographic and topographic maps of Dalmatia, e.g. *Dissegno corografico della provincia di Dalmazia*, dated 1718,<sup>6</sup> *Corografia della Provincia di Dalmazia colla distinzione degli stati che vi possiede nel 1729 la Serenissima Repubblica di Venezia*, made by Giovanni Paolo Melchiori in about 1730,<sup>7</sup> *Nouvelle Carte de la Partie Occidentale de Dalmati*, published by Pietro Santini in Venice in 1780<sup>8</sup> and *Dissegno o' carta topografica della Dalmazia*, produced by Guiseppe Antonio Grandis in Zadar in 1781.<sup>9</sup> On these maps, the name *Dalmatia* referred mostly to the area which Venice had organised administratively under that name, framed by a stable state border denoted by a special linear signature. This use of the name on chorographic and topographic maps of Dalmatia indicated an intention to show the geographic reality, based on data collected through partial geodetic surveys and field observations. Following the stabilisation of military-political circumstances in the wider hinterland of the eastern Adriatic coast during the eighteenth century, the geographic perception of Dalmatia based on classical tradition and Venetian political aspirations disappeared from Venetian cartography.

In contrast to the Venetians, who accepted the political realities of the eighteenth century and accordingly

6 SAZ, Fonds Geographical and topographical maps of Dalmatia, call number 10.

7 ÖS, Kriegsarchiv, Wien, Fonds Maps, call number B-IX-c-594.

8 SAZ, Fonds Geographical and topographical maps of Dalmatia, call number 26.

9 SAZ, Fonds Geographical and topographical maps of Dalmatia, call number 321.



Figure 6: Cartographic depiction of Dalmatia by Homann's successors, Nuremberg, 1739 (SLZ, call number 1877 A/b, sheet 17)

reduced their concept of Dalmatia to the area within their eastern Adriatic possessions, the maps of Johann Baptist Homann and his associates (and successors) used the choronym for the eastern Adriatic coast in a more complicated way. On the map *Regnum Bosniae, una cum finitimis Croatiae, Dalmatiae, Slavoniae, Hung. et Serviae partibus, adjuncta praecipuorum in his regionibus munimentorum ichnographia curantibus Homanianis Heredibus Norib. cum B. S. C. M.*<sup>10</sup> (Figure 6), the demarcation between the Venetians and the Habsburgs was indicated in the area around the mouth of the River Zrmanja on the coast, yet the choronym *Dalmatia* stretched along the entire Croatian coast. The areas under Austrian rule, i.e. the area below Velebit and the Kvarner coastline, were called *Dalmatia Imperialis*, while the area south of the mouth of the River Zrmanja became *Dalmazia Veneta* and area in deeper Split hinterland under Ottoman rule became *Dalmatia Turcarum*. The nomenclature was the result of the 1700 demarcation between the Habsburgs and Venetians, according to which German imperial cartographers, influenced by

Austrian politics, observed the Venetian extension of the choronym *Dalmatia* to the central part of the northeast Adriatic coast, and named the area under Austria *Dalmatia Imperialis*.

There is a similar depiction on Homann's map *Tabula Ducatus Carnioliae Vindorum Marchiae et Histriae*, produced in Nuremberg around 1730.<sup>11</sup> On this cartographic depiction, the choronym *Kingdom of Dalmatia* is inscribed alongside *Dalmatia Imperialis*.

The Svishtov Peace Treaty of 1791 led to a more significant step forward in border demarcation, which was carried out in 1795. Thus, the historical borders between Croatia and Bosnia were affirmed, and did not change significantly afterwards. The situation at the end of the eighteenth century, just before the fall of the Venetian Republic, was depicted on several maps. On his map *La Dalmazia con le isole adiacenti*, dated 1792 (Marković, 1993), Giovanni Maria Cassini marked many choronyms relevant to the historical-geographic situation in the eighteenth century (Figure 7). The geographic names on this map point to the supreme author-

<sup>10</sup> SLZ, call number 1877 A/b.

<sup>11</sup> SLZ, call number 1877 A/b.





Figure 7: Cassini's map of Dalmatia and neighbouring regions, Rome, 1792 (Marković, 1993).

ity acknowledged by individual Croatian regions. The positioning of the choronym *Dalmazia* is especially interesting. Along with *Dalmazia di Venezia* and its territory, *Dalmazia Turca* (Turkish Dalmatia) is also labelled, the area covering the hinterland of Venetian Dalmatia. The border drawn (1699 and 1718) on Cassini's cartographic depiction between these two Dalmatias became fixed, or in other words, the areas of the former Croatian Kingdom were excluded from it permanently. The same fate was shared by *Dalmazia Turca* and *Croatia Turca*, a former part of Croatia which became part of western Bosnia due to the Ottoman conquests and final demarcation between the Ottoman Empire and the Habsburg Monarchy at the end of the eighteenth century. In addition, Cassini inscribed the name Hungarian Dalmatia (*Dalmazia Unghera*) in the area from Rijeka moving southeast to the Austrian-Venetian-Ottoman *Triples Confinium*, with a large extension in the Lika area (*Contea di Lika*). In fact, Cassini called it the Hungarian Coastline, and it had been formed in 1799 by a special decree of the Empress Maria Theresa, in the area of Rijeka, Bakar and Novi Vinodolski (Pederin, 2004).

With the fall of the Venetian Republic (1797), Austria took over its possessions, retaining the Venetian concept of possessions and names on the Croatian coast. Thus the Venetian formation of possessions confirmed by the Passarowitz Peace Treaty (1718) created a basis for the territorial formation of Austrian possessions on the eastern Adriatic coast, called by its traditional choronym, *Dalmatia*.

#### CONCLUSION

An analysis of selected cartographic depictions of varied provenance indicates the continuous use of the choronym *Dalmatia*. In the past, this referred to different territorial ranges, which were mostly retained thanks to classical historiography and reminiscences of the classical territorial organisation in the eastern Adriatic. This course was continued by the Venetian Republic, which called its main possession on the eastern coast *Dalmatia*. However, on cartographic depictions of the eastern Adriatic coast of Venetian provenance, the choronym *Dalmazia* was inevitably used for the area extending

within the borders of classical Dalmatia, in many regards exceeding the range of Dalmatia as it was under Venetian administration. In fact, the presence of the choronym on a map was a kind of reminder of the integrity of the territory which the Venetian Republic considered its own possession from 1409 onwards, and to which it claimed rights. This Venetian policy was rejected in particular by the Habsburgs, who considered Venetian expansion in Dalmatia a process which had occurred in the constituent part of Croatia, of which Dalmatia was a part. This explains the differentiation of Dalmatia as

the part under Venetian administration, from the parts within the Habsburg Monarchy and Ottoman Empire. With the collapse of the Venetian Republic, Dalmatia entered the Habsburg Monarchy system, retaining the Venetian concept of the possession and its name in southern Croatia, *Dalmatia*. Through several centuries of Venetian, followed by Austrian, briefly French, and a second Austrian administration of this significant part of the eastern Adriatic coast, the geographic name *Dalmatia* continued to be recognised, and it still exists today in a similar form, mostly within Croatia.

## VPLIV POLITIČNO-GEOGRAFSKIH SPREMEMB NA UPORABO GEOGRAFSKEGA IMENA DALMACIJA V ZEMLJEVIDIH V ZGODNJEM NOVEM VEKU

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### POVZETEK

*Dalmacija je del vzhodne jadranske obale, ki je po dva tisoč letih zgodovinsko-geografskega razvoja del hrvaške države. Številne spremembe na prostornem področju te zgodovinske regije in njeno pripadnost različnim področjem je mogoče, poleg drugega, spremljati na starih kartografskih prikazih. Upošteva funkcijo geografskega imena (najkrajšega možnega jezikovnega opisa, ki v jezikovnem sporazumevanju in prostorski orientaciji na najboljši možni način nadomešča (prekomeren) opis) in pomen zemljevidov kot medija komunikacije v prostoru in o prostoru, je mogoče na temelju starih zemljevidov potrditi vpliv politično-geografskih sprememb na uporabo imena Dalmacija. S primerjalno analizo zemljevidov, nastalih v različnih evropskih kulturnih žariščih, in uporabo diahroničnega pristopa lahko jasno opazimo, da so med zgodnjim novim vekom na prikazovanje Dalmacije na zemljevidih imeli največji vpliv a) reminiscenca na antično državnopravno tradicijo, b) politične ambicije in aktualen družbeno-gospodarski vpliv Benetk na vzhodni jadranski obali, c) trojna konfrontacija Habsburške monarhije, Osmanskega cesarstva in Beneške republike na stičnem jadransko-dinarskem-podonavskem prostoru.*

*Diahronična analiza izbranih kartografskih prikazov različnega izvora je pokazala na kontinuiteto pri uporabi horonima Dalmacija. Horonim Dalmacija se je v preteklosti nanašal na različna teritorialna področja in se obdržal zahvaljujoč antičnemu zgodovino-pisju in reminiscencam na antično teritorialno strukturo vzhodnega Jadrana. Takšno zaporedje je nadaljevala tudi Mljetska republika, ki je oblikovala večino svoje posesti na vzhodni obali pod imenom Dalmacija. Na kartografskih prikazih vzhodne jadranske obale mljetskega izvora pa je neizogiben horonim Dalmazia, ki se razprostira v mejah antične Dalmacije, s čimer v marsičem presega površino Dalmacije, ki se je nahajala pod mljetsko upravo. Navzočnost tega horonima na karti je na določen način opomnik na celovitost teritorija, ki ga je od leta 1409 Mljetska republika imela za svojo last in si lastila pravico do njega. Takšno mljetsko politiko so posebej zavračali Habsburžani, ki so videli mljetsko širitev v konstitutivnem delu Hrvaške in Dalmacije kot širitev na svojem ozemlju. Od tod ločevanje Dalmacije na del, ki je pod upravo Benetk, in dele, ki so pod Habsburško monarhijo in Osmanskim cesarstvom. S propadom Mljetske republike je Dalmacija prišla pod Habsburško monarhijo, ki je zadržala mljetski koncept posesti in imenovanje te posesti v južni Hrvaški pod imenom Dalmacija.*



Po večstoletni mljetski upravi in nato prvi avstrijski, kratkotrajni francoski ter drugi avstrijski upravi nad znatnim delom vzhodne jadranske obale je prevladalo geografsko poimenovanje Dalmacija, ki v podobnem obsegu obstaja tudi danes, in sicer večinoma v okviru Hrvaške.

**Ključne besede:** zemljevid, geografsko ime, Dalmacija, Hrvaška, Jadransko morje

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