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THE MEDIEVAL ATTESTATIONS
OF CROATIAN PRE-SLAVIC ISLAND NAMES

The oldest attestations of toponyms on the Croatian territory originate from ancient sources, i.e. from the inscriptions and texts prior to the arrival of Slavic tribes on the East Adriatic coast. These are explicitly pre-Slavic toponyms. Some of them survived early medieval migrations and preserved their linguistic continuity in Croatian as borrowings from Romance into Slavic. The medieval attestations of these toponyms serve as a link between ancient and contemporary names, and can provide much information on the linguistic development of Slavic and Romance in that period, as well as on early contacts between Roman and Slavic people in the area. This paper studies one group of Croatian pre-Slavic toponyms, island names, by documenting and interpreting their medieval attestations. The data studied include written sources of 9th–13th c. For each island name, the author lists and describes their medieval attestations, tracing their linguistic development. The author attempts to determine whether these attestations are Romance or Slavic and to detect the oldest attestation that can be considered Croatian. The analysis concludes that 1) the majority of medieval attestations are Romance; 2) some Slavic traits can be found in Byzantine attestations from the 10th c., and 3) the oldest reliable Croatian attestations of this group of island names appear in Croatian texts from the 13th c.

K e y w o r d s: island names, Croatian islands, medieval attestations, pre-Slavic toponymy, early Romance-Slavic contacts.

1. Introduction

Croatian island names offer an abundance of material to be studied, meanwhile constituting a part of Croatian toponymy which has been, in general, studied most thoroughly.[1] Nevertheless, there are still many unknown details which need to be investigated.

Croatian island names can be categorized by origin as Slavic and non-Slavic. Non-Slavic names can further be subcategorized as Pre-Slavic and Romance. Amongst Romance toponyms we can chronologically differentiate between Romance before Slavic (Early Romance) and Romance coinciding with Slavic, i.e. 1) Early Christian Romance, 2) Dalmatian Romance, 3) Vlach Romanian, and 4) Venetian [Skok, 1950, *259*].

Pre-Slavic names are those which existed before the arrival of Slavic tribes on the East Adriatic coast in the 6th–7th c. In practice, the only certain criterion to determine which names are pre-Slavic is their attestation in ancient sources, i.e. in texts and inscriptions dating prior to the arrival of Slavic tribes. Croatian pre-Slavic toponyms originate from Latin, Greek or other native Indo-European languages spoken on this territory before Greek and Roman colonization and now jointly referred to as "Illyrian," or from even older, completely unknown pre-Indo-European languages.

Some of the pre-Slavic place names survived early medieval migrations and have continued to exist up to the present day in Croatia. Following the linguistic changes, their form changed throughout centuries. Pre-Slavic toponyms with continuity in Croatian are, in the linguistic sense, borrowings from Romance languages into Slavic (Croatian). Most of the pre-Slavic toponyms were borrowed very early, in the course of the first contacts between indigenous Romance and the newly arrived Slavic people, i.e. they were borrowed from Early Romance into the Common Slavic. Also, there are pre-Slavic toponyms which were borrowed later, from Dalmatian Romance or Venetian.

Written sources in which we can find place names on what is present-day Croatian territory are dated between the 4th c. BC and the 6th c. AD. The 7th and the 8th centuries are considered "mute," as there are no written sources from this period. The sources appear again from the 9th c., in the form of short inscriptions. These oldest inscriptions are written in the Latin language and in Latin script. The work *De administrando imperio* originates from the 10th c., written by the Byzantine emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus[2]. It was originally written in Greek and it is an indispensable historical and linguistic source for the period. Beginning with the 11th c., besides Latin documents, those written in the Croatian language, in Glagolitic and Cyrillic script, also appear. Throughout the Middle Ages all the three scripts were used. However, most of the medieval sources relevant for this subject are Latin.

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[1] The most notable studies include the books *Slavenstvo i romanstvo na jadranskim otocima* by Petar Skok [1950] and *Toponimija hrvatskoga jadranskoga prostora* by Petar Šimunović [2005], as well as several extensive monographs about Zadar islands that have recently appeared at the University of Zadar.

[2] For the explanation of the term *Slavic* in *De administrando imperio* cf. [Loma, 1999].

In the ancient sources relating to the Croatian territory, more than 50 island names were mentioned, which includes all the islands larger than 90 km^2 (with the exception of Dugi otok), most of the islands of about 30–90 km^2, and several smaller islands which were important for navigation. All of the island names mentioned in ancient sources are, by default, pre-Slavic. Although there are other criteria to indicate that a certain more recently attested toponym is pre-Slavic, none of them are definite. In the present paper, the term *pre-Slavic* means 'mentioned/recorded in pre-Slavic sources'.

It should be noted that medieval sources present a partial list of ancient nesonyms, some islands being mentioned under different names. Also, some islands were mentioned for the first time in medieval sources. Ancient island names like *Arba*, *Brattia*, *Issa*, *Ladesta*, *Melite* can be matched to contemporary names *Rab*, *Brač*, *Vis*, *Lastovo*, *Mljet* respectively, through various linguistic developments. However, the ancient name *Cissa* cannot be linguistically matched with the medieval and present-day name *Pag*.

In his monograph *Slavenstvo i romanstvo na jadranskim otocima*, Petar Skok [1950, *11–13*] established two toponomastic regularities which apply to the Adriatic islands. Large islands, which were important for colonization and economy, almost all have older, pre-Slavic or even pre-Latin names. Names of smaller islands are newer, mostly Venetian. The second Skok's toponomastic regularity applies to the whole Mediterranean: the most important settlement on the island and the island itself bears the same name, and it is often unclear whether the island name or the settlement name was the primary one.

2. Objectives and methodology

In the present paper, the goal is to analyse medieval attestations of the names of Croatian islands first mentioned in ancient sources. The medieval attestations are a link between the ancient, pre-Slavic island names and their present-day equivalents. When compared to their ancient and modern counterparts, the medieval island names can clarify linguistic developments on the Croatian territory (from Latin to Romance, from Common Slavic to Croatian), early contacts between Romance and Slavic peoples on Croatian territory and the processes of populating East Adriatic islands.

The objectives of the paper are: 1) to document and interpret attestations of Croatian pre-Slavic island names from the 9th–13th c. sources; 2) to describe the linguistic development of island names from ancient to medieval and from medieval to modern forms; 3) to isolate the oldest Croatian, i.e. Slavic attestation.

The core material used for this analysis has been excerpted from the database created within the DOCINEC project,[3] which comprises the oldest Croatian language attestations from the 9th–13th c. written sources. More recent attestations are cited from

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[3] The DOCINEC (Documentation and Interpretation of the Earliest Croatian) project is funded by Croatian Science Foundation and is being carried out at the Institute of Croatian Language and Linguistics, in Zagreb, under the leadership of Dr Amir Kapetanović.

secondary sources. Attestations were then sorted and analysed. The linguistic connections between ancient, medieval and present-day names were described. It was also specified if any of the medieval attestations can be considered Slavic and, if not, when was the Croatian name first mentioned.

An island name was considered Croatian if it was attested in texts written in Croatian (given that all the words written in Croatian texts are somehow adapted, at least in spelling) or if it displayed Slavic linguistic characteristics (phonological and/or morphological).

3. Analysis of island names

In the following list, island names are sorted alphabetically, according to their present-day spelling. Different name attestation types from the 9th–13th c. sources are numbered. When the same type is recorded more than once, only the oldest attestation is cited, and the number of matches is mentioned in brackets.

Brač

1. ὁ Βράτζης
   νῆσος ἑτέρα μεγάλη ὁ Βράτζης (10th c.) [Const. Porph., 36, *21*].
2. ἡ Βράτζα
   νῆσοι τέσσαρες, τὰ Μέλετα, τὰ Κούρκουρα, ἡ Βράτζα καὶ ὁ Φάρος (10th c.) [Const. Porph., 30, *110*].
3. *Bracia*
   GEN: *Bracie* (≥ 6x)
   iudici insule Bracie in Dalmacia (1078) [CD, 1, *159*].
   ACC: *Braciam*
   et habeat has parochias: Phar, Braciam et Lissam, Corceram, Lastam et Mulcer et totam Crainam (1185) [CD, 2, *193*].
   ABL: *Bracia* (≥ 2x)
   et omnibus charissimis nobilibus de Bracia <...> quam ipsi nobiles de Bracia (1078) [CD, 1, *159*].
   LOC: *Braciae*
   Braciae comite Drasina, zupano Dragoslav, iudices Parvoslav et Gregorius Dragosii (1228) [CD, 3, *280*].
   Derivative: *Bracienses*
   iudices et Bracienses venientes coram potestate (1240) [CD, 4, *112*].
4. *Braçia*
   in insulis Quare et Braçie (13th c.) [Zjačić, 1, *47*].
5. *Braça* (≥ 2x)
   Volo et iubeo, ut de ecclesia sancti Iohannis in Braça curam habeatis ad mitendum in eam seruum dei, et omnis terra (late 11th c.) [CD, 1, *210*].

6. *Brachia* (≥ 4x)
   fuitque plebs Brachie et Phare cum comite Bratco na (sic!) *Bolu* (1184)
   [CD, 2, *190*].
7. *Brazza* (≥ 2x)
   Ego quodem Nicola Casari emi in Brazza de Dobrona (1205) [CD, 3, *54*].
8. *Bracza*
   *insulas inter Spalatum et Ulmes sitas, videlicet Faram et Braczam, Gorzuram
   et Laugurstam* (1221) [CD, 3, *191*].
9. *Braza* (≥ 3x)
   honorem domini ducis Veneciarum de terra Farre et Braze (1290) [CD, 6, *697*].
10. Derivative: *brački*
    otokom hvarskim i bračkim (1250) [Malić, 1988, *222–226*].
11. Derivative: *bračski*
    plk bračski i hvarski (1250) [Malić, 1988, *222–226*].

The island name *Brač* was recorded in ancient sources[4] as *Brattia*. In its phonological development from Vulgar Latin to Slavic, the most noticeable is the development of palatal *ts* through Romance iotation. This palatal was adapted as Croatian *č*. All medieval attestations have this palatal marked as: *c(i)*, *ç(i)*, *z(z)*, *ch(i)* (types 3–9).

The other noticeable change is the gender shift from Latin feminine to Slavic masculine. As a rule, ancient island names on Croatian territory became masculine in Slavic. This is explained by the fact that in Latin the word for island, *insula*, is feminine and the Croatian word, *otok*, is masculine. This gender change is also one of the criteria for determining whether an island name is Slavic or Romance [Tekavčić, 1976, *50*]. The first masculine attestation is 10th c. ὁ Βράτζης in *De administrando imperio*. However, other medieval attestations are feminine, ending in an -*a*, including the second attestation from *De administrando imperio* (ἡ Βράτζα — 2), which qualifies them as Romance.

The oldest attestations in Croatian texts are adjectives derived from the island name *Brač*: *brački* and *bračski* in a document from the 13th c., from the island Brač itself.

Cres, *Osor*

12. *Kerso* (≥ 5x)
    toti tres de Kerso et multi alii (1208) [CD, 3, *78*].
13. *Kersii*
    iudices Kersii (1276) [CD suppl., 2, *72*].
14. Derivative: *Kersini*
    acceptum per Absarenses et Kersinos (1276) [CD suppl., 2, *72*].
15. *Chersi* (≥ 8x)
    pro se et hominibus sui commitatus Chersi et Absari (1261) [CD suppl., 1,
    251].

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[4] Attestations from ancient sources are cited and described in [Ivšić, 2013].

16. *Chersii*, *Chersio*
    notarius et cancellarius Chersii (1248) [CD, 4, *358*];
    Petitio dilecti filii Drasingonis de Chersio laici (1291) [CD, 7, *24*].
17. *Kerzo* (≥ 3x)
    Grubo de Kerzo et filio eius (1198) [CD, 2, *300*].
18. Derivative: *Cersensi*
    Ego Andrea plebanus Cersensis subscripsi (1172) [CD suppl., 1, *43*].
19. Ὄψαρα
    καὶ εἰς ἕτερον νησίον τὰ Ὄψαρα (10th c.) [Const. Porph., 29, *288*].
20. *Apsaro* (≥ 3x)
    Signum manus Uiato, tribunus de Apsaro (999) [CD, 1, *49*].
21. *Apsari*
    in insula Apsari (1200) [CD, 2, *346*].
22. Derivative: *Apsarensis* (≥ 12x)
    sancte Apsarensis ecclesie futurus episcopus (1064–1065) [CD, 1, *101*].
23. *Absari* (≥ 11x)
    pro commitatu Absari et insulis eidem Rogerio concessis (1187) [CD, 2, *215*].
24. *Absaro*
    filios Cagi Berti de Absaro (1261) [CD suppl., 1, *252*].
25. Derivative: *Absarensis* (≥ 40x)
    Dominico Absarensi (879) [CD, 1, *16*].
26. Derivative: *Absaritanus*
    a quodam Absaritano (ca. 1070–1076) [CD, 1, *151*].

The island Cres was mentioned in ancient sources under the name *Apsoros*, Ἀψόῤῥος, *Absarus*. It was also the name of the main settlement on the island. As the name of the settlement it was borrowed into Croatian and gave the present-day oikonym *Osor*.

The present-day island name *Cres* developed from the name of the other major settlement on the island. This was recorded in Antiquity as *Crexi*, Κρέψα and again in the Middle Ages as *Kerso*, *Kerzo*, *Chersi*. The present-day form *Cres* developed through Slavic 2nd palatalization and liquid metathesis. All of the medieval forms reflect the stage before these developments, and therefore cannot be attributed to Slavic. The absence of Romance palatalization, i.e. the fact that the initial consonant is written as *K*, *Ch* in front of *e* shows that these forms are to be attributed to the Dalmatian Romance [cf. Skok, 1950, *35*].

The majority of medieval attestations are for the settlements on the island, not the island itself. The island itself was mentioned in 1200 as *insula Apsari* (21), which does not show any Romance or Slavic developments, and again in the 14th c.: *quandam insulam nostram Absari et Kersi appellatam* (1371) [CD, 14, *361*], *ad ipsam insulam Absari et Kersi* (1371) [CD, 14, *361*].

The Croatian name *Cres* was recorded late, in the 18th c. [ARj, 1, *821*].

Hvar

27. τὰ Χώαρα
    νῆσος τὰ Χώαρα, νῆσος Ἴης, νῆσος (10th c.) [Const. Porph., 36, *22*].
28. *Quara*
    episcopatus Quariensis (1239) [CD, 4, *91*];
    in insulis Quare et Braçie (13th c.) [Zjačić, I, *47*].

Masculine/neuter:

29. *Fari, Faro* (≥ 3x)
    terram ecclesie in insula Fari pro cambio Miche de Draguno et accepit ab eis
    in insula Lexe(!) *terram* (late 12th c.) [CD, 2, *363*].
30. *Phar, Phari* (≥ 2x)
    et habeat has parochias: Phar, Braciam et Lissam, Corceram, Lastam et Mulcer
    et totam Crainam (1185) [CD, 2, *193*].
31. *Farro*
    Stanii filii Sabbe de Farro et aliorum multorum (1240) [CD, 4, *113*].

Feminine:

32. *Fara* (≥ 2x)
    insulas inter Spalatum et Ulmes sitas, videlicet Faram et Braczam, Gorzuram
    et Laugurstam (1221) [CD, 3, *191*].
33. *Phara* (≥ 6x)
    fuitque plebs Brachie et Phare (1184) [CD, 2, *190*].
34. *Farra* (≥ 2x)
    honorem domini ducis Veneciarum de terra Farre et Braze (1290) [CD, 6, *697*].
35. *Pharra*
    de terra Pharrae et Braze (1292) [CD, 7, *71*].
36. *Faria*
    ecclesia de Faria (1242) [CD, 4, *151*].

Derivatives:

37. *Farensis* (≥ 2x)
    cui nimirum Absarensis, Veglensis, Arbensis et Farensis episcopatus tamquam
    sue metropoli subiacebunt (1154) [CD, 2, *77*].
38. *Pharensinus*
    uniuersis nobilibus Pharensine insule salutem (1168–1169) [CD, 2, *121*].
39. *hvarski*
    otokom hvarskim i bračkim (1250) [Malić, 1988, *222–226*].

In ancient sources the nesonym *Hvar* was recorded as Φάρος, Φαρία, *Pharia*, *Faria*. The most noticeable changes in the development from Vulgar Latin to Slavic are the gender shift from feminine[5] to masculine and the substitution of initial *Ph/F* with Croatian *Hv-*.

In medieval sources the most frequent records are feminine in *-a*; however, non-feminine attestations also occur. Non-feminine attestations are ambiguous, so they could indicate that these forms are (influenced by) Slavic.

The substitution of initial *Ph/F* with Slavic *Hv-* shows that the name was borrowed into Croatian very early, before the Croatian phoneme *f* arose [cf. Holzer, 2011, *33*]. The substitution is recorded in the 10th c. (27) and again later in Romance attestations from the 13th (28) and 14th c. Nevertheless, the majority of medieval attestations have the initial *F* or *Ph*.

The oldest certainly Croatian attestation is the adjective *hvarski* from the 13th c. (39), and the oldest non-derived Croatian forms are from the 15th c. [ARj, 3, *748*].

Iž, *Figlina*

40. ηζ
    Ἐστιουνὴζ (10th c.) [Const. Porph., 29, *292*].
41. *Yçi* (≥ 2x)
    de insula Yçi (1265) [CD, 5, *345*].
42. *Heçii* (≥ 2x)
    in insula Heçii (1281) [CD, 6, *394*].
43. *Heçi*, *Heço* (≥ 6x)
    positam in insula Heçi (1287) [CD, 6, *587*].
44. *Eçi*
    de terra mea posita in insula Eçi (1291) [CD, 7, *54*].
45. *Jeço*, *Jeçi*
    vxor condam Grisouani de Jeço <…> positam in insula Jeçi <…> apud terram Jurgii de Jeço (1299) [CD, 7, *338*].

In ancient sources, this island was called *Figlina*. This name was not repeated in more recent sources. The oldest medieval attestation is from the 10th c. (41), in the cluster Ἐστιουνὴζ, which is analysed as Ἐστιουν- and -ηζ (*-ēz*). The second part, *Ēz*, refers to the island of *Iž* [Skok, 1950, *110*; Čače, 1999, *53*]. The island is again recorded from the 13th c. These attestations are regularly written with a ç, an usual sign for a palatal consonant. The vowel in the first syllable is rendered as either *y* or *e*, which can both stand for Romance closed *ẹ*. Initial *H* or *J* (43, 44, 45) are unclear. Although the attestations are regularly non-feminine, it would be speculative to consider them Croatian, given that the etymology is unknown.

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[5] Note that Greek Φάρος is also presumably feminine.

Korčula

46. τά Κούρκουρα
    νῆσοι τέσσαρες, τὰ Μέλετα, τὰ Κούρκουρα, ἡ Βράτζα καὶ ὁ Φάρος (10th c.)
    [Const. Porph., 30, *110*].
47. ἡ Κούρκρα
    νῆσος μεγάλη ἡ Κούρκρα, ἤτοι τὸ Κίκερ, ἐν ᾗ ἔστιν καὶ κάστρον· (10th c.)
    [Const. Porph., 36, *16*].
48. τό Κίκερ
    νῆσος μεγάλη ἡ Κούρκρα, ἤτοι τὸ Κίκερ, ἐν ᾗ ἔστιν καὶ κάστρον· (10th c.)
    [Const. Porph., 36, *16*].
49. *Gorzura*
    insulas inter Spalatum et Ulmes sitas, videlicet Faram et Braczam, Gorzuram
    et Laugurstam (1221) [CD, 3, *191*].
50. *Corzula*
    extrahere de portu Manfridoniae hordei salmas 30 vehendas Corzulam (1289)
    [CD, 6, *651*].
51. *Curzula* (≥ 3x)
    Curzule insule habitatores (10th c.) [Rački, 1877, *427*];
    Cum de comitatu Curzule et Mellete (1262) [CD, 4, *236*].
52. *Corcera* (≥ 3x)
    et habeat has parochias: Phar, Braciam et Lissam, Corceram, Lastam et Mulcer
    et totam Crainam (1185) [CD, 2, *193*].
53. *Corcira* (≥ 3x)
    quas tulerunt in Corcira (1231) [CD, 3, *345*].
54. *Krъkrĕ*
    u drugomь ôtocĕ u Krъkrĕ (1222–1228) [CD, 3, *224*].

In ancient sources, it was recorded as Κέρκυρα, Κόρκυρα, *Corcyra*. In Croatian, there are two forms of this island name: *Krkar* (older borrowing) and *Korčula*. The latter is usually considered to be a Venetian form (cf. Venetian *Curzola*); however, the phonological development of the name is not completely clear.

Medieval attestations and their more recent continuations indicate that parallel variants should be reconstructed as starting forms (differing in treatment of the Greek *v/y*): **Korkira*, **Korkura*, **Korkịura* [see Kapović & Vuletić, 2010].

The phonological development of the older Croatian form, *Krkar*, can be relatively well traced through historical records: Latin *Corcyra* (Itinerarium Antonini) or *Corcora* (Anonymus Ravennas) developed into Romance **Korkura* [Holzer, 2011, *117*], later borrowed into Slavic. The next stage is probably recorded in *De administrando imperio* (10th c.), τὰ Κούρκουρα, τὰ Κούρκρα (46, 47), and then the Croatian form attested in the 13th c. *Krъkrĕ* (54) (locative).

From the end of the 12th c. and in the 13th c., the forms *Corcira*, *Corcera* (52, 53) are recorded. They stand for the Romance **Corcẹra* (< **Korkira*), which can

also, in theory, be the source for the Croatian *Krkar*, if the borrowing occurred after the 2nd palatalization [Holzer, 2011, *118*].

From the 13th c., there are occurrences of attestations with the palatalized middle consonant (*z*) (49–51) and the dissimilated ending -*la* (50, 51). The $r - r > r - l$ dissimilation is a frequent and trivial phonetic change. Assuming that the Greek *v* / Vulgar Latin *y* was pronounced as [i̯u] in Romance, this would create the conditions for the palatalization of preceding *k*. The result of this palatalization is the Croatian *č*, Venetian *z*. The precursory Romance form **Korki̯ula* would yield Croatian *Korčula*, and further Dalmatian Romance development of **Korki̯ula* would yield **Kurki̯ula* and Venetian *Curzola* [cf. Tekavčić, 1976, *53*; ERHSJ, 2, *203*].

Krk, Vegla

55. Βέκλα
    Ἐξ αὐτῶν τῶν νησίων ἐστὶν τὸ κάστρον ἡ Βέκλα, καὶ εἰς (10th c.) [Const. Porph., 29, *287*].
56. *Veglia* (≥ 2x)
    pro communitate Veglie (1133) [CD, 2, *42*].
57. *Wegla*
    si vero Weglam insulam suam rehabuerint, tunc cum naui que galea dicitur seruire teneantur (1209) [CD, 4, *444*].
58. *Vegla*, *Uegla* (≥ 12x)
    nos eramus in insula Vegle (1198) [CD, 2, *298*].

There were also recorded derivatives *Veclensis* (≥ 5x, from 1153 [CD, 2, *74*]), *Veglensis*, *Ueglensis* (≥ 7x, from 1163 [CD, 2, *94*]), *Vegliensis* (≥ 2x, from 1133 [CD, 2, *42*]), *Veglisanus* (from 1198 [CD, 2, *298*]), *Ueglesanus* (≥ 3x, from 1289 [Zjačić, 1, *46*]).

In Antiquity, the island and the town were called *Curicta*, *Curicum*, respectively. This pre-Slavic name regularly developed into the contemporary *Krk*. The oldest attestation is from 1388: *otočkih dobrih muži z Krka i za svega otoka* [ARj, 5, *592*].

However, in the studied period, only its local Romance name *Vecla*/*Vegla* was recorded. This name goes back to Vulgar Latin *veclus* < Latin *vetulus* 'old' and it developed in the local Vegliot Romance language. Initially, it referred to the town of *Krk* as "the old town" (*civitas vetula*) in contrast to "the new town" (present-day Punat), and was later transferred to the whole island [Skok, 1950, *22*]. The pronunciation with *gl* [ļ] is, according to Skok [Skok, 1950, *22*], the Italian pronunciation of Vegliot Romance.

Lastovo

59. τὸ Λάστοβον
    νῆσος τὸ Λάστοβον (10th c.) [Const. Porph., 36, *23*].
60. *Lasta* (≥ 2x)
    et habeat has parochias: Phar, Braciam et Lissam, Corceram, Lastam et Mulcer et totam Crainam (1185) [CD, 2, *193*].

61. *Laugursta*
    insulas inter Spalatum et Ulmes sitas, videlicet Faram et Braczam, Gorzuram et Laugurstam (1221) [CD, 3, *191*].
62. *Lagusta*
    filium Drase de Lagusta <…> de eadem terra Laguste <…> vicecomitem Laguste <…> iudices Laguste (1297) [CD, 7, *265*].
63. *Ladestina insula*
    Deo fautore ad votum consequeretur, improbos Ladestinae insulae habitatores aggredi conatus est (10th c.) [Rački, 1877, *427*].

In ancient sources, the island name was recorded as *Ladesta*. Spelled with a non-Latin accent as *Ládesta*, it morphed into the Dalmatian form *Lasta* by means of Vulgar Latin syncope [cf. Holzer, 2011, *121*]. It is recorded in the 12th and 13th c. attestations. From this form, with the Slavic possessive suffix *-ovo*, the contemporary island name *Lastovo* was derived. The oldest attestation of this form is again in the 10th c. in *De administrando imperio*, τὸ Λάστοβον (59)[6].

Formally, it is also possible that the form *Lastovo* was derived from the adjective *lastovski*. The *-ov* suffix would be inserted in front of the possessive ending *-ski* in order to avoid the consonant cluster *-*st(ъ)ski* [Skok, 1950, *227*, *note 1d*].

Medieval attestations like *Lagusta*, *Laugursta* (61, 62) are Romance and were influenced by the personal name *Augustus*.

Maun

64. *Maonis*
    in capite insule Maonis (1203) [CD, 3, *31*].
65. *Mauni* (≥ 8x)
    nostram propriam insulam in nostro Dalmatico mari sitam, que uocatur Mauni (1069) [CD, 1, *113*];[7]
    ut insulam Mauni, quam iam dictum sancti Crisogoni monasterium regis Cresimiri beate memorie largicione (1190) [CD, 2, *244*].

The contemporary island name *Maun* is generally derived from the ancient island name *Moa*, assuming the alteration *Mao* <genitive *Maonis*> is possible. The (Latin) genitive *Maonis* was recorded in the 13th c. From the 12th until the 14th c., the form *Mauni*, genitive of the Latin *o*-declension, was regularly recorded. It is reasonable to assume that this form is Latinized Croatian *Maun*.

Mljet

66. Μελίτη
    ἀποστόλων ὁ ἅγιος Λουκᾶς μέμνηται Μελίτην (10th c.) [Const. Porph., 36, *18*].

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[6] Greek neuter ending *-ov* stands for Slavic *-o*.
[7] The document is not original [Vuletić, 2011, *687*].

67. Derivative: *Melitensis*
    monasterio Melitensi (1284) [CD, 6, *456*].
68. *Melta*
    terram sancte Marie de Melta (1282) [CD, 6, *413*].
69. Derivative: *Meltensis*
    domino Isach sancte Marie Meltensis abbati (1201) [CD, 3, *3*].
70. *Mlĕtĕ*
    vъ Mlĕtĕ (1222–1228) [CD, 3, *224*].
71. Μέλετα (2x), *Meleta* (≥ 11x)
    νῆσοι τέσσαρες, τὰ Μέλετα, τὰ Κούρκουρα, ἡ Βράτζα καὶ ὁ Φάρος (10th c.)
    [Const. Porph., 30, *110*];
    quod est in Meleta (1039) [CD, 1, *72*].
72. *Meletta* (≥ 2x)
    et fratres eius postulaverunt nobis ecclesiam sancti Panchratii de Babbina palla
    que est in Meletta (1151) [CD, 2, *68*].
73. *Melleta*
    Cum de comitatu Curzule et Mellete (1262) [CD, 5, *236*].

In ancient sources, the island name was recorded as Μελίτη, *Melite*, *Melita*, *Melta*.
The form *Melta*, recorded in the late Antiquity and again in the 13th c. (68, 69), developed
through Vulgar Latin syncope, and is the source for the Croatian *Mljet*. The Croatian
form *Mljet* arose through liquid metathesis and gender change and is initially recorded
in the 13th c.: *Mlĕtĕ* (70) (locative).

The most frequently found form in medieval sources is *Meleta* (71)*,* with variants
Meletta (72) and *Melleta* (73), which shows the Romance change *i > e*.

According to Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Slavic people from Neretva inhabited
the island around the 10th c.; however, linguistic evidence shows that Romanic people
also inhabited the island at his time [Skok, 1950, *209*].

Molat
74. Μελετᾶ
    Μελετᾶ, Ἐστιουνὴζ (10th c.) [Const. Porph., 29, *292*].
75. *Melatta*
    piscationes: una in insula Melatta, altera in Tilago (986–999) [CD, 1, *50*].
76. *Melata*
    piscationes: vna in Melata insula, altera in Tilago (ca. 1078) [CD, 1, *168*].

In ancient sources, it was recorded as *Malata*. The contemporary Croatian island
name *Molat* shows the usual gender change and it could have developed regularly from
the ancient *Malata*, assuming that it was borrowed before Slavic *ă > o*.

Medieval attestations do not, however, correspond either to the ancient *Malata* or
to contemporary *Molat*. The initial syllable in medieval attestations is *Mel-*. If the ancient
form with the initial *Mal-* is original, the medieval *Mel-* can be explained through (folk

etymological?) influence of the Latin *mel* 'honey' or through a Dalmatian Romance change similar to that of the place name *Spalatum > *Speletu-* (> *Spljet*, *Split*) [cf. Ivšić, 2013, *292 ff.*].

Alternatively, the original form might be the ancient *Malata*, not the Medieval *Melata*. In this case, the Croatian form *Molat* would have developed through a Dalmatian Romance change similar to that of *ponistra* from Latin *fenestra* 'window' [Skok, 1950, *94*].

The form Μελετᾶ (74) recorded by Constantine Porphyrogenitus could have been misspelled under the influence of other island name, Μέλετα 'Mljet' [Skok, 1950, *94*], or another Dalmatian Romance change [Skok, 1950, *94*].

Murter, *Srimač*, *Colentum*

77. *Srimaz*

   super duabus insulis Srimaz scilicet et Zuri dicentes (1285) [CD, 6, *528*].

The island which is presently called *Murter*, in ancient sources was recorded under the name *Colentum*, *Celentum*. This ancient name was not repeated in medieval sources.

In the 13th (77) and 14th c.[8] appears the name *Srimač*, which was used for this island up to the 18th c. [Jurišić, 1953, *249*]. Although medieval records in Latin texts could indicate that the name is *Srima**c***, Glagolitic registries from the island of 1658–1706 clearly show that ending consonant was *č*: *u Srimač*, *u Srinču*, *od Srimča*, *u Srimču* (17th c.) [Jurišić, 1953, *248 ff.*]. The name *Srimac*, which is still known in folk tradition on the island, arose through incorrect reading of Latin and Romance historical sources [Jurišić, 1953, *249*].

The etymology of the stem *Srim-* is unknown. It is compared to the toponyms *Srima* (peninsula near Šibenik) [cf. Skok, 1950, *149*, *note 5*] and *Srijem* (pre-Slavic *Sirmium*). Whatever is the real origin of the stem, the suffix *-ač* is Slavic, which means that, from the synchronical point of view, the whole island name *Srimač* is Croatian.

The present-day name *Murter* derives from Latin *mortarium* 'mortar.' Its Dalmatian Romance form with the suffix *-ar* (*Mortar*) was initially recorded in the 14th c. and the form with the Venetian suffix *-er* (*Morter*) was initially recorded in the 15th c. [Vuletić, 2010, *338*].

Pag, Cissa

78. *Pagi* (> 40x, usually island)

   tantum retinentes de iure suo paucas uillas Pagi: Peçani, Murowlani, Wlasiçi (1071; forgery from the 14th c., script points to end of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th c.) [CD, 1, *124*];

   in insula Pagi (1174) [CD, 2, *136*].

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[8] *Scrimach* (1357) [CD, 12, *438*], *Srimaç*, *Srimicz* (1324) [CD, 9, *216*], *Srimaze* (1366) [CD, 13, *519*].

79. *Pago* (> 90x, usually settlement)
   Vgrinus et Volcossius judices de Pago (1199) [CD, 2, *368*].
80. *Pagum* (≥ 4x)
   ab introitu ve <...> *Pagum, sui comitatus scilicet Kesse* (1178) [CD, 2, *152*].
81. *Pagh*, *Paghi*
   de villa Pagh (1207) [CD, 3, *73*];
   de insula Paghi (1292) [CD, 7, *113*].
82. *Pagy* (≥ 9x)
   in valle Pagy (1279) [CD, 6, *316*];
   insula Pagy (1292) [Zjačić, 1, *69*].
Derivatives *Paganes*, *Pagani*, *Pagensis*, *Paghensis* were also abundantly recorded.
83. κισσα
   Σκηρδάκισσα (10th c.) [Const. Porph., 29, *291*].
84. *Kessa* (2x)
   de comitatu insule Kesse vertebatur (1178) [CD, 2, *152*].

In ancient sources, the island name was recorded as *Cissa*, *Sissa*, *Gissa*, with the homonymous name of the settlement on the island (*Gissa*). In the 10th c. this island name was recorded in the cluster Σκηρδά**κισσα** (83) and then again twice in the 12th c. (84). All of the other medieval attestations for the name *Cissa* refer to the settlement, they appear in forms *Cissa*, *Chisa*, *Chissa*, *Chessa*, *Kisa*, *Kissa*, *Kessa*, *Kesensis* until the 14th c. [Skok, 1950, *69*]. The initial *K*, *Ch* is indicative of the Dalmatian Romance pronunciation, without Romance palatalization (cf. *Cres*). The settlement name was preserved in Croatian in the derivative *Caska* (from *Cas-ska* < **Cьs-* < **Ciss-*, reflecting the 2nd Slavic palatalization and the change *i* > *ь* > *a*).

From the 11th c., the island is mentioned as *Pagi* (78) which is also the present-day name of the island. This name originates from Latin *pagus* 'village', transferred from the settlement to the whole island. The island and the settlement names were repeatedly documented in medieval sources with a few dozens of attestations. The island is not mentioned in the nominative case, being rather recorded in syntagms like *insula Pagi* (78), *de insula Paghi* (81), *insula Pagy* (82), neither it appears as a feminine noun, displaying any indications of Slavic morphology.

Premuda

85. Πυρότιμα (10th c.) [Const. Porph., 29, *291–292*].

In ancient sources, this island name was recorded as *Pamodos*, *Primodia*. The 10th c. form Πυρότιμα is certainly misspelled. The explanation of this misspelling given by Skok [1950, *93*, *note 1*] is very speculative [cf. Čače, 1999, *52*].

In the 14th c. the form *Premude* (*ad insulam Premude* (1332) [Leljak, 2006, *35*]) was recorded. It corresponds to the present-day Croatian form. The feminine gender qualifies it as Romance.

Rab

Feminine:

86. ἡ Ἄρβη
    ἕτερον νησίον ἡ Ἄρβη (10th c.) [Const. Porph., 29, *288*].
87. *Arba* (≥ 4x)
    duarum insularum Arbe et Gollo concessarum (1214) [CD, 3, *126*].
88. *Arbes*
    In ciuitate Arbes (1018) [CD, 1, *54*].

Masculine:

89. *Arbo* (≥ 15x)
    ad procurandum in Arbo (1289) [Zjačić, 1, *10*].
90. *Arbi* (≥ 50x)
    hominibus Arbi (1166) [CD, 2, *105*];
    in insula Arbi (1292) [CD, 7, *115*].
91. *Arbum* (≥ 15x)
    ita venerunt Arbum (1118) [CD, 2, *130*].

Derivatives:

92. *Arbensis*, *Arbenses* (≥ 600x)
    ecclesie Dalmatiarum, Arbensis, Velclensis, Absaranenisis, que sunt in occindue
    (928) [CD, 1, *37*].
93. *Arbitanus*
    Similiter Absarensis ecclesie episcopum et Arbitanum atque Ragusitanum
    (928) [CD, 1, *38*].

In ancient sources it was recorded as *Arba*. Initially recorded in the 15th c. [ARj, 12, *829*], the Croatian form *Rab*, developed through liquid metathesis, displays the usual gender change.

All of the medieval attestations reflect the stage preceding liquid metathesis, which qualifies them as Latin or Romance. However, they vary in gender and the non-feminine prevails (probably under the influence of the Slavic masculine form). Also, the majority of medieval attestations refer to the settlement on the island, not the island itself.

Šolta

94. *Solta* (≥ 2x)
    Cum commune Spalati vendidisset insulam Soltam (1242) [CD, 4, *155*].

In ancient sources, it was recorded as Ὀλύντα, *Solenta*, *Solentia*. The older Croatian name *Sulet* (recorded in the 16th c. [ARj, 16, *928*]) is an early borrowing from Latin *Solenta*, with gender change and the regular development *en > ę > e* [cf. Tekavčić, 1976, *51 ff.*].

In medieval sources, the only attested form is *Solta* which is the base for the contemporary Croatian *Šolta*. The phonological development from *Solenta* to *Solta*, *Šolta* is not clear. According to Tekavčić [1976, *52*], it can be explained by multiple borrowing between Croatian and Romance: Latin *Solenta* > Slavic *Sulet* > Dalmatian Romance *Sult-*/*Solt* > Italian/Venetian *Solta* > Croatian *Šolta*.

Vis

95. Ἴης
    νῆσος Ἴης (10th c.) [Const. Porph., 36, *22*].
96. *Lessa*
    in insula, que dicitur Lessa (1181) [CD, 2, *173*].
97. *Lissa* (≥ 2x)
    et habeat has parochias: Phar, Braciam et Lissam, Corceram, Lastam et Mulcer et totam Crainam (1185) [CD, 2, *193*].
98. *Lyssa*
    in insula Lysse (1298) [CD, 7, *318*].

In ancient sources, it was recorded as *Issa*. The phonological development after the borrowing into Slavic is: **Is-* > **Jis-* > **Jьs-* > **Isъ* → **vъ Isъ* ('to Is'). In the 10th c., Constantine Porphyrogenitus recorded the middle stage *Jis*: Ἴης (95). Other medieval attestations are Romance (*Lessa*, *Lissa*, *Lyssa*), with an unexplained initial *L-*[9].

Vrgada

99. Λουμβρικάτον
    νησίον τὸ Λουμβρικάτον (10th c.) [Const. Porph., 29, *289*].
100. *Lubricata*
     castrum Lubricata (1096) [Vuletić, 2009, *113*].
101. *Levigrada*
     Levigradae insulae (10th c.) [Vuletić, 2009, *113*].

In ancient sources, it was recorded as *Rubricatas*, a derivation from Vulgar Latin *rubricatus* 'red, coloured in red'.

The oldest medieval attestation is the 10th c. Λουμβρικάτον by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (99), with the common dissimilation *r – r > l – r*, attributable to Vulgar Latin. In the 11th c. attestation *Lubricata*, there is also no sign of Slavic phonology.

The contemporary Croatian name *Vrgada* is considered a borrowing from Venetian *Vergada*. The oldest attestation of that form would be *Levigradae* (101) (10th c.).

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[9] Petar Skok originally [1914, *444 ff.*; 1950, *192*] thought that the initial *L* should be explained as fused Romance article. Later, however, [ERHSJ, 3, *596*] he admits that it is the only such example and that the oldest attestation with *L-* (in Procopius) is prior to the development of Romance article.

The phonological development displays certain irregularities which are explained in detail in [Vuletić, 2009].

This island was also mentioned in the Middle Ages as *insula Lapcate* (1390) [Vuletić, 2009, *114*, *note 35*]. This form is considered an older borrowing from Dalmatian Romance into Croatian [cf. Vuletić, 2009, *114 ff.*] and the island name *Lapkat* was used until the mid 17th c. [Jurišić, 1953, *242*].

4. Conclusion

Apart from the island names *Iž*, *Murter*, *Pag*, the development of other island names can be retraced from their ancient form through medieval attestations up to present day. The island of Murter is the only one which is mentioned under three different names in Antiquity and Middle Ages. In the studied period the island of Krk was recorded only under its Romance name *Vegla*. The island of Cres, which had been called *Apsarus* in ancient times, received its new name from another settlement on the island. For contemporary names *Korčula*, *Molat*, *Šolta*, *Premuda*, *Vrgada*, it is either that the linguistic development is partially unclear, or the linguistic connection between ancient, medieval and present day-forms is not straightforward.

The oldest medieval attestations of studied island names displaying Slavic traits are found in the 10th c., in *De administrando imperio*. The Slavic features are: masculine gender (*Brač*, *Vis*), the possessive suffix *-ovo* (*Lastovo*) and some characteristic phonological changes (substitution of Latin *Ph* for *Hv* (cf. *Hvar*), *j*-prosthesis — *Vis*/*Jis*). Masculine gender could also be interpreted as an indication of Slavic for the attestations of *Maun* starting from the 11th c. The suffix *-ač* in the 13th and the 14th c. attestations of island name *Srimač* (Murter) is indicative of Croatian derivation.

However, most of the medieval attestations of Croatian island names cannot be considered Slavic, but rather Romance. The first attestations of pre-Slavic island names, which can undoubtedly be classified as Croatian, appear in Croatian texts, starting from the 13th c. for southern islands of Brač, Hvar, Krkar (Korčula), Mljet, and 14th–15th c. for the northern islands of Krk and Rab.

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СРЕДНЕВЕКОВЫЕ УПОМИНАНИЯ ДОСЛАВЯНСКИХ НАЗВАНИЙ ХОРВАТСКИХ ОСТРОВОВ

Древнейшие упоминания топонимов, относящихся к территории современной Хорватии, обнаруживаются в античных источниках — надписях и текстах, созданных до прихода славянских племен на восточное побережье Адриатического моря. Эти топонимы являются дославянскими по умолчанию. Некоторые из этих названий пережили миграции Средневековья и сохранились в хорватском языке в качестве романских заимствований. Упоминания данных топонимов в средневековых источниках служат связующей нитью между древними и современными названиями. Кроме того, они могут быть источником ценной информации о развитии славянских и романских наречий в восточной Адриатике в средневековый период. Настоящая статья посвящена изучению средневековых фиксаций одной группы хорватских дославянских топонимов — названий островов. Рассматриваемые данные происходят из источников IX–XIII вв. Для каждого названия автор перечисляет и описывает его средневековые упоминания, что позволяет проследить историческое развитие топонимов. Помимо этого, автор предпринимает попытку произвести лингвистическую атрибуцию онимов, идентифицируя их как романские или славянские, а также установить первые упоминания, которые можно рассматривать в качестве уже собственно хорватских. В результате анализа автор приходит к следующим выводам: 1) большинство средневековых упоминаний являются романскими; 2) некоторые славянские черты могут быть обнаружены в византийских источниках начиная с X в.; 3) древнейшие собственно хорватские свидетельства рассматриваемой группы названий островов появляются в хорватских источниках начиная с XIII в.

К л ю ч е в ы е   с л о в а: названия островов, острова Хорватии, средневековые источники, дославянская топонимия, ранние романско-славянские контакты.