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## **STATUS OF SERBIAN CULTURAL HERITAGE IN THE REPUBLIC OF CROATIA ON GOOGLE MAPS**

**Abstract.** This work analyses the current status of various locations on Google Maps that are relevant for the cultural and religious heritage of Serbs in the Republic of Croatia.

### **Introduction**

Back in 2013, the author of this article wanted to visit the Monastery of the Assumption of the Holy Mother of God in Đakovica (Kosovo and Metohija). Place was not available on Google Maps. Serbian online sources only mentioned the street name that was valid before 1999 (Srpska ulica), while Albanian-language sources completely ignored the existence of the monastery. The author first managed to find the register of renamed streets with their current names, then located the small building in the centre using satellite view, and thus managed to walk to the monastery without having to ask anyone for directions in a town that was ethnically cleansed during the war. Later, the author added the monastery in Google Maps.

Similar situation occurred when searching for locations of Serbian Orthodox churches in Croatia. Because of that, the author added multiple church sites in Croatia on Google Maps in 2019 and reviewed them in 2024. This work presents the methodology that was used for place addition and results obtained after analysis of their current condition.

### **Methodology**

In 2019 using available data from official websites of Metropolis of Zagreb-Ljubljana [1], Eparchy of Pakrac and Slavonija [2] and Eparchy of Dalmatia [3], the author of this article, using personal Google account, created 63 (79% of contributions) and edited 18 places (23% of contributions) related to the Serbian Orthodox Church in the Republic of Croatia (see Figure 1).

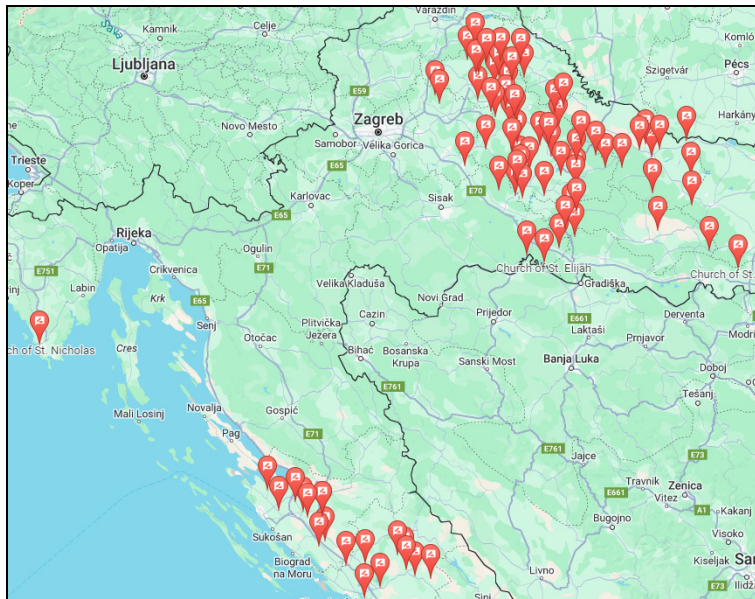


Figure 1. Overview of author's contributions between May 2016 and 9<sup>th</sup> April 2024.

Metropolis of Zagreb-Ljubljana provided the most detailed information about all its churches on the page “Schematism” (Шематизам), which included the exact cadaster plot of each building, as shown in Figure 2.


<b>РИБЊАЧКА</b>	
	<p>Филијални храм малотрешњевачке парохије посвећен <b>Светом апостолу и јеванђелисту Луки</b>, црква брвнара из 1722.г. Потпуно уништена за време другог светског рата. Камен темељац новог храма у Ри�њачкој освећен је 16. априла 1978. године. Довршена и освећена 18 јуна 2006. године. Храм у Ри�њачкој саграђен је на катастарској честици бр. 405/1 к.о. Ри�њачка (храм и порта 486 м<sup>2</sup>). Црква у Ри�њачкој поседује земљиште на укупној површини од 42 ара 37 м<sup>2</sup> (4237 м<sup>2</sup>).</p>
Парохију опслужује парох бјеловарски.	

Figure 2. Information about the church of Saint Luke in Ribnjačka, containing cadaster plot data (405/1). Page accessed using Internet Archive Wayback Machine on 9<sup>th</sup> April 2024, since above data is no longer available on the new website of the Metropolis.

First step was to use Google Maps to find the locality (using Ribnjačka from Figure 2 for example), and check whether the church already exists in Google Maps. If the church does not exist, the author tried to locate it first by using satellite view (see Figure 3), and further confirming that it is the correct place using Google Street View (see Figure 4) by comparing it with the photo of the church from the website of the Metropolis (as on Figure 2).



Figure 3. Google Maps satellite view of the church in Ribnjačka on 9<sup>th</sup> April 2024.

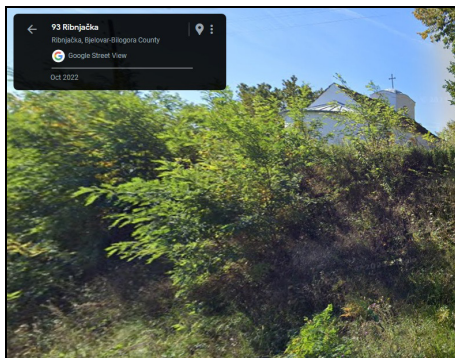


Figure 4. Google Street View of the church in Ribnjačka on 9<sup>th</sup> April 2024.

In case that church building was not clearly discernible using satellite view and/or could not be clearly confirmed using Google Street View, the author accessed cadaster plot data using Geoportal DGU ([geoportal.dgu.hr](http://geoportal.dgu.hr)) to confirm the precise location (see Figure 5).

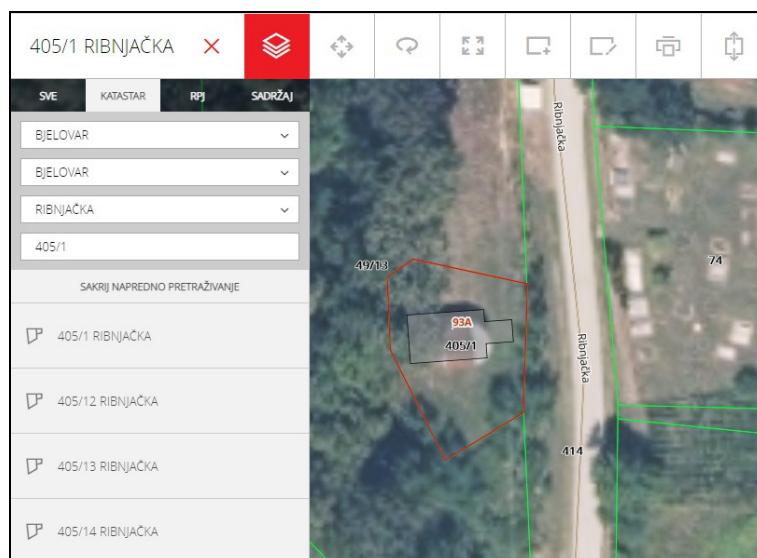


Figure 5. View of the cadaster plot 405/1 in Ribnjačka on 9<sup>th</sup> April 2024.

After the location has been confirmed without a doubt, the author would create the new place in Google Maps, always using the exact same formula in English, as shown on Figure 6.

*Name:* Serbian Orthodox Church of [saint name or church feast]  
*Category:* Orthodox church  
*Website:* [website of the Metropolis or the Eparchy]

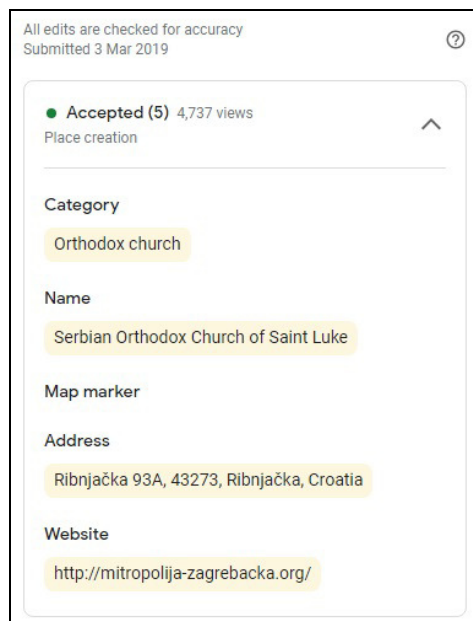


Figure 6. Example of information that was submitted during place creation, accessed on 9<sup>th</sup> April 2024 under Google Maps > Your Contributions > Edits on author's private account.

Eparchies of Pakrac and Slavonija and Eparchy of Dalmatia did not provide cadaster data on their websites in 2019, and have not published any similar information up to 2024, so the only possibility for creating places was comparing Google Maps satellite and Google Street View as described above, and because of that it was not possible to add as many places as for the Metropolis of Zagreb-Ljubljana.

In case that the place already existed in Google Maps, the author would, as appropriate, update its name, category or add the relevant website to the existing place.

Thus in 2019 the author added or edited on Google Maps information about 41 churches that are administered by the Metropolis of Zagreb-Ljubljana (50.6% of all contributions), 23 churches of the Eparchy of Pakrac and Slavonija (28.4%), and 17 churches of the Eparchy of Dalmatia (21% of contributions).

№	Name (2019)	Locality	Status (2024)	Date
1.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Stephen	Mali Poganac	Accepted	03/04/2019
2.	Serbian Orthodox Church of the Transfiguration of Our Lord	Bedenik	Not accepted	03/04/2019
3.	Serbian Orthodox Chapel of Saint Elias the Prophet	Berek	Accepted	03/04/2019
4.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Sts. Michael and Gabriel	Bolč	Accepted	03/04/2019
5.	Serbian Orthodox Chapel of Saint George	Breza	Accepted	03/04/2019
6.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Presentation of the Virgin Mary	Brezovac	Accepted	03/04/2019
7.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Translation of Relics of Saint Nicholas	Velika Bršljanica	Accepted	03/04/2019
8.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Archangel Michael	Velika Mučna	Accepted	03/04/2019
9.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Paraskeva	Velika Peratovica	Accepted	03/04/2019
10.	Serbian Orthodox Church of the Most Holy Trinity	Veliki Grđevac	Accepted	03/04/2019
11.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint George	Vojakovac	Accepted	03/04/2019
12.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Luke	Veliko Vukovje	Accepted	03/04/2019
13.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint George	Glogovac	Accepted	03/04/2019
14.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Translation of Relics of Saint Nicholas	Sredice Gornje	Accepted	03/04/2019
15.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Thomas the Apostle	Dišnik	Accepted	03/04/2019
16.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Mary Magdalene	Donja Kovačica	Accepted	03/04/2019
17.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Dormition of Holy Virgin Mary	Donja Rašenica	Accepted	03/04/2019
18.	Serbian Orthodox Church of the Most Holy Trinity	Duga Rijeka	Accepted	03/04/2019
19.	Serbian Orthodox Church of the Holy Fathers of the First Ec. Council	Javorovac	Accepted	03/04/2019
20.	Serbian Orthodox Chapel of Saint George	Klokočevac	Accepted	03/04/2019

№	Name (2019)	Locality	Status (2024)	Date
21.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint John the Baptist	Križ	Accepted	03/04/2019
22.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Translation of Relics of Saint Nicholas	Lipnica	Accepted	03/04/2019
23.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Elias the Prophet	Široko Selo	Accepted	03/04/2019
24.	Serbian Orthodox Church of the Holy Fathers of the First Ec. Council	Mala Črešnjevica	Accepted	03/04/2019
25.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Elias the Prophet	Mikleuška	Accepted	03/04/2019
26.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint George	Narta	Accepted	03/04/2019
27.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Paul the Apostle	Novi Pavljani	Accepted	03/04/2019
28.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Translation of Relics of Saint Nicholas	Osijek Vojakovački	Accepted	03/04/2019
29.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Panteleimon	Pavlovac	Accepted	03/04/2019
30.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint John the Baptist	Veliki Pašijan	Accepted	03/04/2019
31.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Elias the Prophet	Pobrđani Vojakovački	Accepted	03/04/2019
32.	Serbian Orthodox Church of the Most Holy Trinity	Povelić	Accepted	03/04/2019
33.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Paraskeva	Podgorci	Accepted	03/04/2019
34.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Luke	Ribnjačka	Accepted	03/04/2019
35.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Paraskeva	Salnik	Accepted	03/04/2019
36.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint John the Baptist	Sveti Ivan Žabno	Accepted	03/04/2019
37.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Dormition of the Holy Virgin Mary	Srijedska	Accepted	03/04/2019
38.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Demetrius	Stupovača	Accepted	03/04/2019
39.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Paraskeva	Trnovički Popovac	Accepted	03/04/2019
40.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Stephen	Turčević Polje	Accepted	03/04/2019
41.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Thomas	Čadavac	Accepted	03/04/2019
42.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint George	Lisičine	Accepted	18/11/2019
43.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Apostles Peter and Paul	Katinac	Accepted	18/11/2019
44.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Holy Trinity	Gazije	Accepted	18/11/2019
45.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint George	Slatinski Drenovac	Accepted	18/11/2019
46.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Elijah the Prophet	Martinci Miholjački	Accepted	18/11/2019
47.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Petka	Medinci	Accepted	18/11/2019
48.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Elijah the Prophet	Mlaka	Accepted	18/11/2019
49.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint George	Kusonje	Accepted	18/11/2019
50.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Translation of Relics of Saint Nicholas	Donji Čaglić	Accepted	18/11/2019
51.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint George	Donji Rogolji	Accepted	18/11/2019
52.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint John the Baptist	Uljanik	Accepted	18/11/2019
53.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Elijah the Prophet	Doljani	Accepted	18/11/2019
54.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Apostles Peter and Paul	Brestovac Daruvarski	Accepted	18/11/2019
55.	Serbian Orthodox Church of the Ascension of Our Lord	Treštanovci	Accepted	18/11/2019
56.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Transfiguration of Our Lord	Donji Meljani	Accepted	18/11/2019
57.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Holy Trinity	Gornji Miholjac	Accepted	18/11/2019
58.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Demetrius	Konjevrate	Accepted	08/12/2019
59.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Kyriaki	Razvođe	Accepted	08/12/2019
60.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint George	Velušić	Pending	08/12/2019
61.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Nicholas	Bratiškovci	Accepted	08/12/2019
62.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Cyricus and Julitta	Donji Karin	Accepted	08/12/2019
63.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Elijah	Donje Ceranje	Accepted	08/12/2019

Table 1. List of all created places, field “name” contains the name of the place as it was submitted by the author in 2019, and the status from 9<sup>th</sup> April 2024

All the places were submitted under the category “Orthodox church”. Only one of the submitted places, church in Bedenik, was not accepted (and no other user created the place as of April 2024), and one contribution, church in Velušić, remains “Pending” as of April 2024.

When any of the new places had been accepted, Google Maps would send an automated notification as on Figure 7 below:

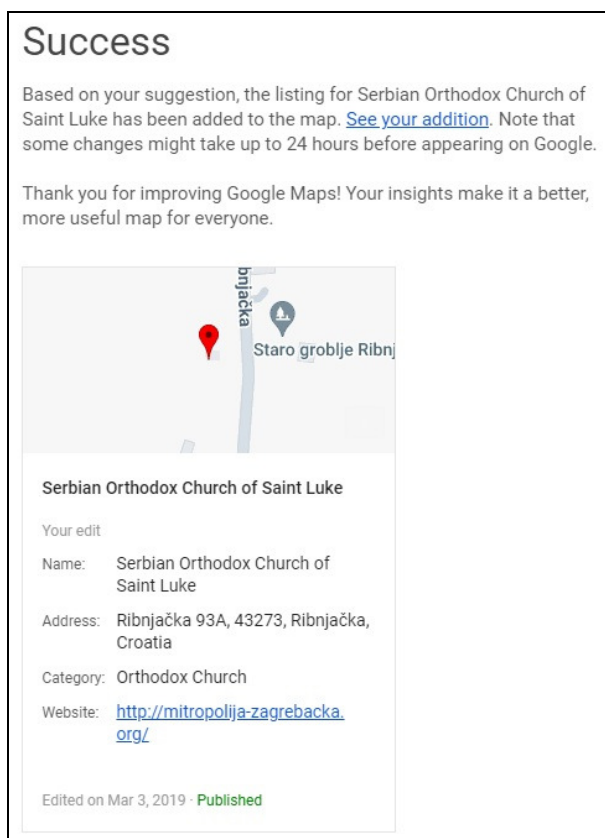


Figure 7. Automated e-mail notification about an accepted addition.

In case that any of the checked places were already available in Google Maps and some information was missing or incorrect, author would edit, as appropriate, the name, category or website of the place, or any combination thereof.

№	Name (2019)	Locality	Status (2024)	Date
1.	Pravoslavna kapela sv. proroka Amosa	Grabovnica	Accepted	03/04/2019
2.	Pravoslavna crkva svete Petke	Obradovci	Pending	18/11/2019
3.	Church of the Holy Trinity	Pakrac	Accepted	18/11/2019
4.	Church of the Holy Fathers of the First Ecumenical Council	Daruvar	Not accepted	18/11/2019
5.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Elijah the Prophet	Novo Topolje	Accepted	18/11/2019
6.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Apostles Peter and Paul	Slatina	Accepted	18/11/2019
7.	Црква Преображења Господњег	Rajić	Pending	18/11/2019
8.	Crkva Uspenja Presvete Bogorodice	Šibenik	Not accepted	08/12/2019
9.	Church of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin	Drniš	Not accepted	08/12/2019
10.	Pravoslavna crkva Sv. Jovana Krstitelja	Baljci	Pending	08/12/2019
11.	Church of St. George	Kričke	Accepted	08/12/2019
12.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Nicholas	Čista Mala	Pending	08/12/2019
13.	Crkva Rođenja Presvete Bogorodice	Poljica	Not accepted	08/12/2019
14.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint George	Smoković	Pending	08/12/2019
15.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint George	Islam Grčki	Not accepted	08/12/2019
16.	Pravoslavna crkva sv. arhandela Mihaila	Smilčić	Pending	08/12/2019
17.	Church of St. Petka Paraskeva	Perušić Benkovački	Pending	08/12/2019
18.	Crkva Rođenja Presvete Bogorodice	Poljica	Accepted	08/12/2019

Table 2. List of all edited places, field “name” contains either the name as the edit proposed by the author, or the name that was already available on Google Maps, and the status of edits is from 9<sup>th</sup> April 2024.

Unlike creation of new places, with 97% acceptance rate, only 6 out of 18 of changes (33% of changes) have been accepted (since entries in “Pending” status since 2019 can clearly be understood as not accepted).

### Status of created places in 2024

Understanding that one prominent feature in the contemporary network-reliant society is its dynamic nature and people's ability to be both consumers and content producers [6] and that changes to Google Maps contents are user-driven, changes are expected to happen, and in case that information needs to be maintained, regular review and, as appropriate, impartial oversight may be needed.

In order to verify the current status of places created in 2019, the author used a personal computer with a different IP address, and without logging on to his account, to ensure that the results will be objective.

Out of 61 created places, church in Mikleuška was labelled as “Permanently Closed”, and church in Brestovac Daruvarski has been completely removed (3% of accepted additions), while the others remain active and visible, and the analysis of the status will be concerning the 59 active places.

**Place names.** Place name is the initial information observed by the users, and its correctness makes it possible for users to find the place easily with a search engine.

Since the author created the place names in English only, it was other contributors who provided the Serbo-Croatian<sup>1</sup> (hereinafter: SC) names. Because of that, 11 of SC place names in 2024 reflect the Catholic usage rather than Serbian Orthodox standard for referring to saints and church feasts (such as “Ukazanje Blažene Djevice Marije” instead of “Vavedenje Presvete Bogorodice”).

№	Name (2019)	Locality	Current SC name	Serbian standard
1.	Sts. Michael and Gabriel	Bolč	sv. Mihael i Gabriel	sv. Mihailo i Gavriilo
2.	Saint George	Breza	sv. Juraj	sv. Georgije
3.	Presentation of the Virgin Mary	Brezovac	Ukazanja Bl. Dj. Marije	Vavedenje Pr. Bogorodice
4.	Saint George	Klokočevac	sv. Juraj	sv. Georgije
5.	Saint John the Baptist	Križ	sv. Ivan Krstitelj	sv. Jovan Krstitelj
6.	Saint George	Narta	sv. Juraj	sv. Georgije
7.	Saint John the Baptist	Veliki Pašijan	sv. Ivan Krstitelj	sv. Jovan Krstitelj
8.	Saint John the Baptist	Sveti Ivan Žabno	sv. Ivan Krstitelj	sv. Jovan Krstitelj
9.	Dormition of the Holy Virgin Mary	Srijedska	Blažena Djevica Marija	Uspenje Pr. Bogorodice
10.	Saint John the Baptist	Uljanik	sv. Ivan Krstitelj	sv. Jovan Krstitelj
11.	Saint Demetrius	Konjevrate	sv. Dimitar	sv. Dimitrije

Table 3. List of places with current names given using Croatian standard.

Croatianisation of place names has occurred in 18.6% of the cases, and for place names in different regions (for example, 10 out of 59 churches are dedicated to Saint George, 3 of them are translated as “sv. Juraj” and the remaining 7 in the Serbian standard as “sv. Georgije”), so we cannot consider this to be a systemic issue, rather an inconsistency, since other Google Maps users who had grown up in a Catholic household would have been better acquainted with the Catholic usage when translating the place name into SC.

Additionally, English language names are missing in 6 out of 59 places (10.1%), but this can also be considered a random occurrence, as it is observed to have happened on place names across different regions.

There is, however, another aspect of place names in which we can observe an obvious and systemic bias – attribute “Serbian Orthodox” has been removed from **all** English place names (100% of places), and in Serbo-Croatian (hereinafter: SC) it remains

<sup>1</sup> For the purpose of this article, we will recognize the varieties of language spoken in Serbia and Croatia as a single pluricentric language.

only in the place name of the church in Velika Mučna (“Srpska pravoslavna crkva svetog arhangela Mihaila”), ie. in only 1.7% of all SC entries as of 9<sup>th</sup> April 2024.

**Website.** Website information provides a connection of the submitted place with a corresponding business or institution. Official websites (see *References*) were used in order to make it easier to verify the connection of the created place to the Orthodox church, and enable interested users to find further contact information.

As of 9<sup>th</sup> April 2024, only one place (1.7%) has had the website removed from the entry, church of St. Nicholas in Bratiškovci, Eparchy of Dalmatia, while the websites remain visible in all other active places without change.

**Categories.** Category is a generic tag used to describe the place (such as “restaurant” or “book store” for example), which enables contributors to classify it properly, and potential users to locate a place of interest in case that they do not know its exact name or are looking for a service nearby or in the location they may be travelling to. With the ever increasing reliance of search engines on SEO (search engine optimisation), assignment of a correct category makes it easier to direct traffic to the proper location and improve its digital visibility.[7]

By 9<sup>th</sup> April 2024, 9 out of 59 entries (15%) had the category changed from “Orthodox church” to “Church” (no denomination), and 4 (6.7%) were changed to “Catholic church”.

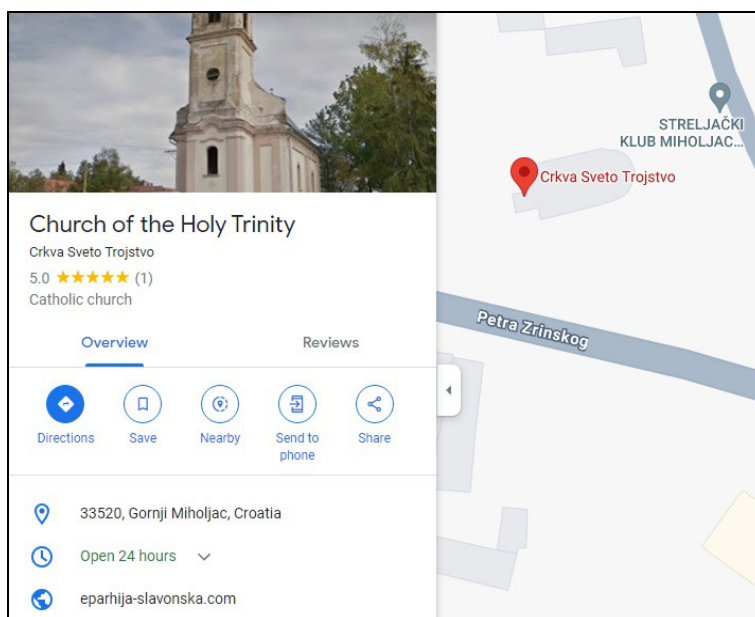


Figure 8. Miscategorised church in Gornji Miholjac, screenshot from 9<sup>th</sup> April 2024.

As it can be seen in Figure 8 above, place category of the church in Gornji Miholjac was changed to “Catholic church” sometime after 2019, but it remains correctly linked to the website of the Serbian Orthodox Eparchy of Pakrac and Slavonija. By using the Register of Cultural Goods of the Republic of Croatia ([registar.kulturnadobra.hr/#/details/Z-371](http://registar.kulturnadobra.hr/#/details/Z-371)) and the corresponding Croatian language Wikipedia entry for the church ([hr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Crkva\\_sv.\\_Trojice\\_u\\_Gornjem\\_Miholju](http://hr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Crkva_sv._Trojice_u_Gornjem_Miholju)) we can clearly show that this in fact an Orthodox church, as it was originally submitted.

Other three places that were changed to “Catholic church” are located in Berek, Donja Rašenica (both belonging to the Metropolis of Zagreb-Ljubljana) and Donji



Meljani (belonging to the Eparchy of Pakrac and Slavonija). All 13 miscategorised places still remain linked with their correct websites as of April 2024, proving that it is the same place originally created by the author.

In the case of miscategorised churches, it is interesting to note also that names of two of them have been given in SC in Catholic usage (St. George in Narta as “sv. Juraj” and St. John the Baptist in Uljanik as “sv. Ivan Krstitelj”). Based on available information, it is not possible to say that the miscategorisation of places is systematic, as it has occurred randomly across all three eparchies, but the relatively high percentage of miscategorised places (22% of submitted places) can, in the long term, have a significant impact on the reduction of overall visibility of Serbian Orthodox church in Croatia.

### Impact of contributions

Based on e-mail feedback from Google Maps as of 9<sup>th</sup> April 2024, 4 of all created places (6.8%) have reached 50,000 views, and 23 places (39%) reached 10,000 views. All of author’s contributions (139 in total, including the ones reviewed in this paper) reached 2,000,000 views on 2<sup>nd</sup> April 2024. First place to reach 10,000 views was the church in Salnik in 2021. Three out of four places that have reached 50,000 views as of 2024 are in Dalmatia, so one of the possible reasons for their greater visibility should be their location in a more frequently visited area.

№	Name (2019)	Locality	Views	Reached in
1.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Paraskeva	Salnik	10,000	2021
2.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Stephen	Mali Poganac	10,000	2021
3.	Serbian Orthodox Chapel of Saint Elias the Prophet	Berek	10,000	2021
4.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Presentation of the Virgin Mary	Brezovac	10,000	2021
5.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Translation of Relics of Saint Nicholas	Velika Bršljanica	10,000	2021
6.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Translation of Relics of Saint Nicholas	Sredice Gornje	10,000	2022
7.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Thomas the Apostle	Dišnik	10,000	2022
8.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Mary Magdalene	Donja Kovačica	10,000	2022
9.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Dormition of Holy Virgin Mary	Donja Rešenica	10,000	2022
10.	Serbian Orthodox Chapel of Saint George	Klokočevac	10,000	2021
11.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint John the Baptist	Križ	10,000	2021
12.	Serbian Orthodox Church of the Holy Fathers of the First Ec. Council	Mala Črešnjevica	10,000	2022
13.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Paul the Apostle	Novi Pavljani	10,000	2021
14.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Panteleimon	Pavlovac	10,000	2022
15.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Paraskeva	Podgorci	10,000	2022
16.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Stephen	Turčević Polje	10,000	2022
17.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint George	Lisičine	10,000	2022
18.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint George	Slatinski Drenovac	10,000	2022
19.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Elijah the Prophet	Mlaka	10,000	2021
20.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint George	Kusonje	10,000	2022
21.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Elijah the Prophet	Doljani	10,000	2022
22.	Serbian Orthodox Church of the Ascension of Our Lord	Treštanovci	10,000	2022
23.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Transfiguration of Our Lord	Donji Meljani	10,000	2022
24.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Cyricus and Julitta	Donji Karin	50,000	2022
25.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Demetrius	Konjevrate	50,000	2023
26.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Demetrius	Stupovača	50,000	2024
27.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Elijah the Prophet	Donje Ceranje	50,000	2024

Table 4. List of places which achieved 10,000 or more views as of 9<sup>th</sup> April 2024.

Interestingly, but also proving the importance of Google Maps placement in frequently visited localities, the author created “Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Nicholas” in Pula on 5<sup>th</sup> July 2023 (note that “Serbian Orthodox” was also removed from this place name when it was published) and it had reached 50,000 views on 26<sup>th</sup> September 2023 (ie. in less than 3 months).

Different users made 60 reviews of the 39 active created places, with an average rating of 4.4, the most reviewed place being Church of Sts. Cyricus and Julitta in Donji Karin, with 11 reviews (18% of all reviews), while churches in Stupovača and Konjevrate

both received 6 reviews each (20% of all reviews). 20 places have received no reviews (34% of active places).

It is important also to note that even though some places have received low ratings (1 star was given 6 times and 2 stars 10 times), there is only one user comment that is explicitly negative – one user gave 2 stars to Church of St. George in Kričke in 2023, with the comment: “Classical croatian [sic] christian church, has absolutely no connection with orthodoxy... that is evidenced by its architecture up to this day... and it has not one single element of orthodoxy”, probably because it was designed as a single-nave building with distaff-shaped belfry, same as almost all the small churches along the Adriatic littoral since the XVIII century, regardless of their religious affiliation. It may be interesting to note that the “contended” entry is located in the village of Kričke, which had been the centre of forced conversion of local population to the uniate (Greek Catholic) church in the XIX century, as well as the location of Simo Matavulj’s famous short story *Pilipenda* (1901), which describes the plight of a poor peasant not willing to convert to the uniate church for material gain.

In addition to Google Street View images, users added 79 photos to 49 places, with most photos having been added to the Church of St. Nicholas in Bratiškovci (26 photos, 33% of all added photos), and as of April 2024 only 10 places are still without photos on Google Maps.

### Comparison with previous additions to Google Maps

Using a similar methodology to the one described previously, the author had in 2015 added 10 places in Croatia, and in 2016 1 more place in Croatia and 17 in Kosovo and Metohija. Below we will review their current status and compare with the places added in 2019.

**Croatia (2015–2016).** Submissions were done slightly differently from 2019, all the places were added with a bilingual English/Serbian Cyrillic text (as below) and categorised as “Place of Worship”. Since the Eparchy of Osijek and Baranja [4] also did not provide cadaster data, the places had to be located according to their address, which was provided on the website, and then verifying the correctness of the location by using satellite view and Google Street View.

№	Name (2015/2016)	Locality	Status (2024)	Date
1.	Serbian Orthodox Cathedral Church of Saint Demetrius / Српска православна саборна црква светог Димитрија	Dalj	Accepted	04/12/2015
2.	Serbian Orthodox Church of the Annunciation to the Blessed Virgin Mary / Српска православна црква Благовештења Пр. Богородице	Vera	Accepted	05/12/2015
3.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Stephen the Archdeacon / Српска православна црква светог архиђакона Стефана	Borovo	Accepted	05/12/2015
4.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Stephen of Dečani / Српска православна црква светог Стефана Дечанског	Vukovar	Accepted	05/12/2015
5.	Serbian Orthodox Church of the Presentation of Mary / Српска православна црква Ваведена Пресвете Богородице	Čakovci	Accepted	05/12/2015
6.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saints Peter and Paul / Српска православна црква светих Петра и Павла	Bolman	Accepted	05/12/2015
7.	Serbian Orthodox Church of the Nativity of the Theotokos / Српска православна црква Рођења Пресвете Богородице	Srijemske Laze	Accepted	05/12/2015
8.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saints Peter and Paul / Српска православна црква светих апостола Петра и Павла	Orolik	Accepted	04/12/2015
9.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saints Joachim and Anne / Српска православна црква светих Јоакима и Ане	Slobodna Vlast	Accepted	04/12/2015
10.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Archangel Gabriel / Српска православна црква светог арханђела Гаврила	Erdut	Accepted	04/12/2015
11.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Archangel Michael / Српска православна црква светог арханђела Михаила	Darda	Accepted	04/12/2015

№	Name (2015/2016)	Locality	Status (2024)	Date
12.	Serbian Orthodox Monastery Jasenovac	Jasenovac	Accepted	03/09/2016

Table 5. List of all created places, field “name” contains the name of the place as it was submitted by the author in 2015/2016, and the status is from 9<sup>th</sup> April 2024

Even though the sample size is smaller, we can observe some similar patterns. Same as with places submitted in 2019, attribute “Serbian Orthodox” has since been removed from all but one place name, the notable exception being Jasenovac monastery, which is as of 9<sup>th</sup> April 2024 visible as “Jasenovac Serbian Orthodox Monastery”.

As seen on the list above, 11 of the place names were submitted using Serbian Cyrillic, which has since been removed from all of them (100%).

Two of the place names (17%) have been renamed according to the Croatian standard usage, Church of the Presentation of Mary in Čakovci was renamed “Crkva Prikazanja Presvete Bogorodice” (the common Orthodox term being “Vavedenje”) and Church of Saint Michael in Darda to “Crkva sv. Mihael” (compared to Serbian standard “Mihailo”). SC name of the place is no longer visible on the place name of Jasenovac Monastery, and the church in Orolik was changed just to “Srpska pravoslavna crkva” with no English name (although it is possible that this place was removed some time after 2015, and then submitted later by another user).

Categorisation has moved in a different direction, since the category “Orthodox church” was not used in 2016, all the places had been submitted as “Place of worship” and as of April 2024, 75% (9 out of 12 places) have since been changed correctly to “Orthodox church”, 17% (2 places) to “Church” and Jasenovac Monastery has been recategorised as “Monastery”.

Users submitted 168 reviews, with most reviews being given to Jasenovac Monastery, 81 reviews (48.5% of all reviews, with aggregate score of 4.6), and 400 photos, most of them again being linked to Jasenovac (330 out of 400, ie. 82.5%).

**Kosovo and Metohija (2016).** For the 17 places on the territory of Kosovo and Metohija, belonging to the Eparchy of Raška and Prizren [5], no cadaster data was listed on the Eparchy website, and Google Street View was also not available on most locations, so all the places could only be located using satellite view, and place data was written bilingually in the following format:

*Name:* Serbian Orthodox Church of [saint name or church feast] / Српска православна црква [име светитеља или празника]

*Category:* Church

*Website:* [website of the Eparchy]

№	Name (2016)	Locality	Status (2024)	Date
1.	Serbian Orthodox Monastery of the Holy Archangels / Српски православни манастир Светих архангела	Lumbardhi Бистрица	Accepted	10/04/2016
2.	Serbian Orthodox Monastery of the Assumption of the Holy Mother of God / Српски православни ман. Успења Пресвете Богородице	Gjakova Ђаковица	Accepted	10/04/2016
3.	Serbian Orthodox Church of the Beheading of Saint John the Baptist / Српска православна црква Усековања главе св. Јована Крститеља	Peja Пећ	Accepted	10/04/2016
4.	Serbian Orthodox Monastery Gorioc / Српски православни манастир Гориоч	Istog Исток	Not accepted	10/04/2016
5.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Sava / Српска православна црква светог Саве	Mitrovica Кос. Митровица	Accepted	10/04/2016
6.	Serbian Orthodox Monastery Sokolica / Српски православни манастир Соколица	Boletin Бољетин	Accepted	10/04/2016
7.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Nicholas / Српска православна црква светог Николе	Fushë Kosovë Косово Поље	Accepted	10/04/2016
8.	Serbian Orthodox Church of the Protection of the Holy Mother of God / Српска православна црква Покрова Пресвете Богородице	Babimost Бабин Мост	Accepted	10/04/2016
9.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Elijah / Српска православна	Vushtrri	Accepted	10/04/2016

№	Name (2016)	Locality	Status (2024)	Date
	црква светог пророка Илије	Вучитрн		
10.	Serbian Orthodox Church of the Assumption of the Holy Mother of God / Српска православна црква Успења Пресвете Богородице	Bostani Бостане	Accepted	10/04/2016
11.	Serbian Orthodox Church of the Presentation of Holy Virgin Mary / Српска православна црква Вавдења Пресвете Богородице	Lipjan Липљан	Accepted	10/04/2016
12.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saints Florus and Laurus / Српска православна црква светих Флора и Лавра	Lipjan Липљан	Accepted	10/04/2016
13.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Archangel Gabriel / Српска православна црква светог архангела Гаврила	Osojan Осојане	Accepted	10/04/2016
14.	Serbian Orthodox Monastery Devič / Српски православни манастир Девич	Laushe Лауша	Accepted	10/04/2016
15.	Serbian Orthodox Monastery Gorioč / Српски православни манастир Гориоч	Istog Исток	Not accepted	18/07/2016
16.	Serbian Orthodox Church of Saint Elijah / Српска православна црква светог Илије	Besianë Подујево	Accepted	05/08/2016
17.	Serbian Orthodox Monastery Duboki potok / Српски православни манастир Дубоки поток	Zubin Potoku Зубин Поток	Accepted	05/08/2016

Table 6. List of all created places, field “name” contains the name of the place as it was submitted by the author in 2016, and the status from 9<sup>th</sup> April 2024

Out of 17 submissions, only Gorioč Monastery had not been accepted, twice (11.8% of all submissions), although the place has since been added by another user.

Unlike the place names in Croatia, attribute “Serbian Orthodox” remained unchanged in 47% of all approved places (7 out of 15). Only one of the places has had the name changed to Albanian only – church in Vučitrn is currently only visible as “Kisha ortodokse në Vushtrri”. Church of Saint Sava in the south of Kosovska Mitrovica was changed to “Orthodox Church”, while the church in Peć and Church of Sts. Florian and Laurus in Lipljan are missing English names (13% of accepted places).

Similarly to the places added in 2015, since all the places were submitted as “Church”, as of April 2024, 47% (7 out of 15 places) have since been changed to “Orthodox church”, while 13% (2 places) have been changed to “Monastery”. In contrast to places added in Croatia in 2019, Eparchy website has been removed from 5 out of 15 entries (33% compared to 1.7%).

Possible reason for having less changes may be in the fact that overall user activity is significantly higher on places in Kosovo and Metohija, with total of 426 user reviews submitted for 15 places, all of which have at least 2 reviews or more, and 1433 photos uploaded.

## Conclusion

Visibility of a culture in the digital age cannot only be limited to scientific articles that may not reach a wide audience, or Wikipedia articles or article stubs that are not connected with on-line maps, and as such do not provide to readers a possibility to reach a particular location on their own, thus potentially adding reviews and photos to the visited location, and consequently increasing its visibility, thus increasing the visibility of the culture it is associated with.

Based on the analysis of 63 churches added on Google Maps on the territory of Croatia, we can observe a systemic bias against attributes “Serbian” and “Orthodox” as well as the use of Serbian Cyrillic in approved place names, while sporadic attempts to misclassify the places, further disconnecting them from the Serbian culture or the Orthodox church are also evident.

The fact that more than 63 places of interest became available on Google Maps only because of voluntary work done by one person also shows that Serbian national and cultural institutions are not fully aware of the importance of digital visibility, and the author believes that any future strategy in this direction must include a systematic,

institutionalised approach to adding and maintaining places of relevance for Serbian culture on Google Maps and similar sites.

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