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## Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski o Bosni i Hercegovini u doba preporoda

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Ovaj rad bavi se odnosom Ivana Kukuljevića Sakcinskog prema Bosni i Hercegovini, izraženom u njegovu političkom, književnom i historiografskom radu u doba hrvatskog narodnog preporoda. Istraženo razdoblje počinje krajem 30-tih godina 19. st. i završava godinom 1849. Nastojao sam prikazati svu raznolikost Kukuljevićeva zanimanja za Bosnu i Hercegovinu. Zanimanje Kukuljevića za Bosnu i Hercegovinu i Slavene pod turskom vlašću nije sporadično nego kontinuirano. Ono nije rezultat trenutnog interesa nego važan dio njegovih političkih, kulturnih i povijesnih promišljanja u preporodnom razdoblju.

### *a) Razlozi Kukuljevićeva zanimanja za Bosnu i Hercegovinu*

Već samo podrijetlo moralo je poticati Kukuljevića na zanimanje za područja pod turskom vlašću, a posebno za područje Bosne i Hercegovine. Njegova obitelj, naime prema predaji vuče podrijetlo iz Hercegovine<sup>1</sup>. Poseban poticaj tom interesu dao je susret s bratom crnogorskog vladike Đorđom Petrovićem Njegošem 1837. u Beču. Tada su intenzivno razgovarali o "blagostanju" Crne Gore, Srbije, Bosne i Hercegovine "i ciele Ilirie" kao i o "junačkim činima"<sup>2</sup>.

Kukuljević zanimanje za "turske" teme tako izražava i prije nego što je istupio iz vojne službe i aktivno se uključio u politički život domovine. Ono dolazi do izražaja već u "Juranu i Sofiji". Prva verzija ove drame (vjerojatno kao prerada njemačkog izvornika) nastaje već krajem 1836. ili početkom 1837. Ipak, za ovaj rad najzanimljiviji peti prizor (o kome će još biti riječi) nastaje tek 1838. pod utjecajem Vjekoslava Babukića i Dimitrija Demetra<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ivan KUKULJEVIĆ SAKCINSKI, *Izabrana djela*, Zagreb, 1997. (dalje KUKULJEVIĆ, *Izabrana djela*), 39.

<sup>2</sup> Arhiv HRVATSKE AKADEMIJE ZNANOSTI I UMJETNOSTI (dalje Arhiv HAZU), Zagreb, XV-23, dodatak 1B, 10,11; Tadija SMIČIKLAS, *Život i djela Ivana Kukuljevića Sakcinskog*, Zagreb, 1892. (dalje SMIČIKLAS, *Život i djela*), 7 ; Ladislav ŠABAN, "Dnevnički zapisi iz mladih dana Ivana Kukuljevića Sakcinskog", *Historijski zbornik XXV/ 1982.* (dalje ŠABAN, "Dnevnički zapisi"), 199

<sup>3</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, *Izabrana djela*, 29, 40; ŠABAN, "Dnevnički zapisi", 206.

Početak 40-ih godina kontinuitet zanimanja za područja pod vlašću Turaka i njihovu prošlost iskazuje u neobjavljenoj drami "Juraj Kaštriot Škenderbeg"<sup>4</sup> i u članku "Nadgrobnici natpisi ilirski u Rimu", objavljenom u "Danici" 1841<sup>5</sup>. Iste godine, u istoj publikaciji objavljuje pjesmu "Slavjanska domovina", (nove verzije 1844. i 1847.) zanimljivu zbog položaja u koji stavlja Bosnu i Hercegovinu u zajednici slavenskih naroda<sup>6</sup>.

Kukuljević 1842. napušta vojsku i postaje sudac u zagrebačkoj županiji. Istovremeno počinje intenzivnu političku djelatnost. Već 1843. postaje jedan od vođa Narodne stranke<sup>7</sup>. Tada već ima određene stavove o vezama preporodne Hrvatske i Bosne i Hercegovine s turskom vlašću nad Slavenima. To dolazi do izražaja u prvom svesku njegovih "Različitim djela ...", objavljenom 1842., u novelama "Bratja" i "Bugarin" te u programatskom spisu "Die Nationalität in Kroatien und Slavonien", objavljenom iste godine. Prve verzije novela "Bugarin" i "Bratja" nastaju tijekom 1837. i 1838., no konačni oblik dobile su tek znatno kasnije. Na nastanak "Bugarina" utjecao je Vuk Karadžić i srpski ustanak. Njihovo književno oblikovanje određuju uzori ondašnje romantičarske književnosti, a napose djelo Wallter Scotta<sup>8</sup>. U članku "Nešto iz dogodovštine Velike Ilirije" pokazuje zanimanje za prošlost "Ilira" koji su prešli na islam, što će se kasnije još jače razviti<sup>9</sup>.

Ivan Kukuljević je 1843. svojim saborskim govorom na hrvatskom jeziku izazvao veliku pozornost. Takvu pozornost pobudio je i njegov govor iste godine održan na zasjedanju skupštine Zagrebačke županije (10. srpnja 1843.) u kojem uspoređuje okrutnu narav Turaka s naravi Mađara. Ta je usporedba navela ugarskog palatina, nadvojvodu Josipa, da zatraži Kukuljevićev sudski progon<sup>10</sup>. O važnoj ulozi Slavena u turskoj povijesti nastavlja razmatranje u članku "Ivan Oršić" i posebno "Naš jezik u parvašnjih stotinjama. Kod dvora osmanskog, kod poslanništva ugarskog i austrijsko-turskog i u obćinskom i posebnom životu kraljevinah: Dalmacie, Horvatske i Slavonije"<sup>11</sup>.

Prethodno navedeni članak razradio je 1844. u članku na njemačkom jeziku "Berühmte türkische Renegaten aus dem südslawischen Stamme"<sup>12</sup>. Iste godine objavljuje jednu muslimansku narodnu pjesmu iz Bosne, a "Turaka" se dotiče i u pje-

<sup>4</sup> Arhiv HAZU, XV-23/CIH 7

<sup>5</sup> Danica, 7. VIII. 1841.

<sup>6</sup> Danica, 13. XI. 1841.; KUKULJEVIĆ, Izabrana djela, 84 ; Ivan KUKULJEVIĆ SAKCINSKI, Pjesme Ivana Kukuljevića Sakcinskog, Različita djela Ivana Kukuljevića Sakcinskog, Zagreb, 1847. (dalje KUKULJEVIĆ, Pjesme), umetak između stranica 102 i 103.

<sup>7</sup> Jaroslav ŠIDAK, "Politička djelatnost Ivana Kukuljevića Sakcinskog", Radovi Instituta za hrvatsku povijest, 1/1979. (dalje ŠIDAK, "Politička djelatnost"), 48-49; SMIČIKLAS, Život i djela, 20.

<sup>8</sup> SMIČIKLAS, Život i djela, 20 ; KUKULJEVIĆ, Izabrana djela, 25, 26, 40

<sup>9</sup> Danica, 22. I. 1842.; SMIČIKLAS, Život i djela, 28.

<sup>10</sup> Iako je Kukuljeviću prijetila i optužba za veleizdaju prašina se (zahvaljujući i nekim vezama u palatinskoj administraciji) ubrzo slegla. KUKULJEVIĆ, Izabrana djela, 41, 625, 627; SMIČIKLAS, Život i djela, 23 (Smičiklas govor datira u 1845.).

<sup>11</sup> Danica, 25. III. 1843.; Danica, 28. XI. 1843.

<sup>12</sup> Luna, Beiblatt zur Agramer politischen Zeitung, 4. V. , 8. V. 1844. (dalje Luna).

smi "Ponovljena Sàrbia"<sup>13</sup>. To se odnosi i na Kukuljevićevu preradu Bayronova "Gusara", tiskanu također 1844<sup>14</sup>.

Kukuljević 1845. postaje veliki sudac varaždinske županije. U govoru u Saboru, u kome se zalaže za samostalnu hrvatsku vladu, govori i o utjecaju Turaka na formiranje postojećeg feudalnog društvenog ustrojstva<sup>15</sup>. Tijekom 1846. u člancima "Vile - Prinesak k ilirskom bajoslovlju" daje primjere narodnih vjerovanja i iz Bosne i Hercegovine<sup>16</sup>.

Kukuljevićevu zanimanju za povijest odano je 1847. priznanje njegovim biranjem u saborski odbor koji je trebao skupiti sve dokumente vezane za hrvatsko državno pravo<sup>17</sup>. Na govoru u Saboru ponavlja svoje stavove o povijesti islamiziranih pripadnika "našeg naroda" kao dijelu "naše" povijesti<sup>18</sup>. Objavljuje 1847. i četvrti dio svojih "Različitih dèla ... " u kojem među "Narodne pèsme puka hàrvatskog " ubraja i neke pjesme iz Bosne<sup>19</sup>. Problemom odnosa između razlièitih vjerskih zajednica Bosne i Hercegovine bavi se u èlanku "Pogled u Štajersku, Beè, Peštu i Požun"<sup>20</sup>.

Tijekom revolucionarnih događanja 1848. i 1849. Kukuljević je na vrhuncu političkog angažmana. Èlan je "triumvirata koji je trebao upravljati hrvatskim pokretom, nalaži se u delegacijama koje podnose "Zahtijevanja naroda" caru i pregovaraju sa Srbima, zamjenik je načelnika odsjeka zaduženog za svećenstvo i prosvjetu, imenovan je državnim arhivarom, èlan je uprave "Društva slavenske Lipe na slavenskom Jugu", žestoko se protivi apsolutizmu itd<sup>21</sup>. Usprkos (a djelimièno i zbog) tolikih obveza, uvijek ima na umu probleme Slavena pod turskom vlašću, osobito onih u Bosni i Hercegovini. U svibnju 1848. sastaje se s delegacijom bosanskih kršćana i "Turaka", a kasnije se pribojava napada iz Bosne<sup>22</sup>. Bosna treba ući i u buduću slavenski savez kakvog zamišlja Kukuljević<sup>23</sup>. U "Slavenskom Jugu", vezano sa suvremenim zbivanjima ponovo se bavi povijesnom ulogom islamiziranih Slavena<sup>24</sup>. Protiv oktroi-ranog ustava protestira 1849. i zbog toga što onemogućava "upliv" Hrvatske u prilike među Slavenima pod Turcima<sup>25</sup>. S tim se Kukuljević ne miri, o èemu svjedoèi neobjavljeni igrokaz "Nenadani sastanak", u kojem se izražava duboko uvjerenje o ključnoj ulozi Hrvatske među "turskim" Slavenima<sup>26</sup>.

<sup>13</sup> Danica, 28. IX. 1844., 18. V. 1844.

<sup>14</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Izabrana djela, 31, 32.

<sup>15</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Izabrana djela, 41, 639; SMIČIKLAS, Život i djela, 32.

<sup>16</sup> Danica, 10. X., 24. X., 31. X. 1846.

<sup>17</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Izabrana djela, 41; SMIČIKLAS, Život i djela, 30

<sup>18</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Izabrana djela, 642; Ferdo ŠIŠIĆ, Hrvatska povijest, III., Zagreb 1906.-1913. (dalje ŠIŠIĆ, Hrvatska povijest), 489, 490.

<sup>19</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, P\_sme, 146-148.

<sup>20</sup> Danica, 6. II., 13. II. 1847.

<sup>21</sup> ŠIDAK, "Politička djelatnost", 63, 76; SMIČIKLAS, Život i djela, 36-38; KUKULJEVIĆ, Izabrana djela, 41-42.

<sup>22</sup> SMIČIKLAS, Život i djela, 36; Grga NOVAK, Povijest Splita, III., 126.

<sup>23</sup> Narodne novine, 20. IV. 1848.

<sup>24</sup> Slavenski jug, 1. IX. 1848.

<sup>25</sup> Stjepan Đuro DEŽELIĆ, Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, Zagreb 1861., (dalje DEŽELIĆ, Ivan Kukuljević ), 52

<sup>26</sup> Arhiv HAZU, XV-23/ CII 10.

### *b) Bosna i Hercegovina kao dio ilirske i slavenske zajednice*

Kukuljević je bio sljedbenik ideja pjesnika Jana Kollara pa i njegovih pretjerivanja vezanih za slavenska područja u prošlosti<sup>27</sup>. Tako još 1848. drži sve Slavene jednim "narodom" i zalaže se za stvaranje sabora svih Slavena zbog efikasnijeg otpora stranim nasrtajima<sup>28</sup>. Nasuprot tome, Kukuljević se slabije veže za "ilirstvo". Postupno se okreće od "ilirstva" prema "hrvatstvu", ne dirajući njegovu slavensku osnovu<sup>29</sup>.

Za mjesto Bosne i Hercegovine u sklopu Kukuljevićevih ideja o slavenskoj zajednici važna je njegova pjesma "Slavjanska domovina" (u drugoj verziji "Domovina Slavjanska"). Pjesma se pojavljuje u tri verzije. U prvoj verziji iz 1841. Bosna i Hercegovina ne spominje se kao posebno slavensko područje niti se ističe posebnost njegova stanovništva unutar slavenske zajednice<sup>30</sup>. Slično je i u verziji pjesme iz 1844<sup>31</sup>. Tek 1847. i "Bošnjak" dobiva prvi put zasebno mjesto u pjesmi iako upravo njegovo područje zajedno s područjem Bugara i Crnogoraca Kukuljević naziva "zibkom Slavjanina"<sup>32</sup>. Kukuljević kasno prihvaća Bosnu kao zasebno slavensko područje, no to svoje opredjeljenje potvrdit će i tijekom 1848., kad u njegovu Slavenskom savezu posebnog predstavnika treba dobiti i Bosna<sup>33</sup>.

Područje Bosne i Hercegovine i njegovo stanovništvo pripadaju i "ilirskoj" zajednici. To dolazi do izražaja već 1838. u 5. prizoru "Jurana i Sofije". On je u članku "Slovstvo ilirsko" posebno tiskan u Danici i autor komentara koji najavljuje ovo dramsko djelo proglašava ga upravo "znamenitim"<sup>34</sup>. U njemu "starac Srbin" nastoji odgovoriti islamizirane Bošnjake od napada na Hrvate kod Siska 1593. Pri tome upozorava na zajedničko podrijetlo Bošnjaka, Hrvata i Srba, zajedničku povijest ("zgoda"), ratovanje ("bojište"), postojbinu ("ognjište") i sudbinu ("sreća"). No "zloba" je uništila veze roda i nastupilo je bratoubilačko klanje<sup>35</sup>. "Svi smo mi skupa деца jedne; Majke tužne, majke bédne; Jedna krvca nam i njima; Slavno ime Ilir svima..."<sup>36</sup>.

Pripadnošću Bosne i Hercegovine "ilirskoj" zajednici na široko se bavi u pripovijetkama "Braća" i "Bugarin" i u političkom spisu "Die Nationalität in Kroatien und Slawonien" tijekom 1842. U tom političkom spisu među Slavenima razlikuje četiri "nacionaliteta": ruski, poljski, češki i "ilirski" odnosno bugarsko-srpsko-hrvatsko-slovenski (die bulgarisch-serbisch-kroatisch-wendische). Zalaže se za ilirsko ime kao zajedničko svim Slavenima na području antičkog Ilirika usprkos njihovoj trenutač-

<sup>27</sup> ŠIDAK, "Politička djelatnost", 59.

<sup>28</sup> ŠIDAK, "Politička djelatnost", 64 ; Petar KORUNIĆ, Jugoslavenska ideja u hrvatskoj i slovenskoj politici, 52-56, 74, 82, 97, 121.

<sup>29</sup> ŠIDAK, "Politička djelatnost", 60.

<sup>30</sup> Danica, 13. XI. 1841.

<sup>31</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Izabrana djela, 84.

<sup>32</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Pesme, umetnuto između 102 i 103.

<sup>33</sup> Narodne novine, 20. IV. 1848.

<sup>34</sup> Danica, 1. XII. 1838.

<sup>35</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Izabrana djela, 234, 235.

<sup>36</sup> Isto, 234.

noj podjeli između vlasti Nijemaca, Mađara i Turaka. Pod Turcima, naime živi 5-6 milijuna južnih Slavena koji se nazivaju "Ilirima"<sup>37</sup>.

U noveli "Bugarin" analizira uzroke teškog položaja "Ilira" pod Turcima. Glavni je uzrok (kao i u "Juranu i Sofiji") nesloga, kako prijašnja tako i u Kukuljevićevo doba. Ona je navodno dovela do toga da je nekoć jedinstveno "narodno ime" razdijelilo se u "nebrojna posebna i državna imena". Oštro napada različite vjere "koje od različitih tuđinah primismo" i koje su "i u bratinska pèrsa omrazu usadila". Rezultat svega toga jest "neznanstvo" u dubokom divljaštvu, robovanju i dodvoravanju tuđinu<sup>38</sup>. Umjesto vjere u slogu i vlastite snage Slaveni u njegovo doba pod Turcima tjerali su svoje srednjovjekovne vladare da se priklanjaju različitim strancima. Slaveni pod Turcima moraju se sami "uzvisiti" i postati složni, što im nitko sa strane ne može donijeti<sup>39</sup>. Nastupilo je doba slobode ali zbog nesloge "turski Slaveni" njemu (osim Srba) ne mogu odgovoriti jer ne shvaćaju da su "grane od južno-slavjanskog stabla, da su potomci stanovnikah Velike Ilirije, da su članovi jednog tjeła, i da tada, kada se jedan član oli ud od tjeła razdèli, cjeło tjeło pati, i da čim jedan ud boluje, svi tražiti i skèrbiti se moraju, kako da mu pomognu."<sup>40</sup>

Kukuljević je uvjeren kako se samo kroz znanost i moral može doći do poboljšanja postojećeg stanja<sup>41</sup>. To rješenje vrijedi i za Hrvatsku i za Bosnu i Hercegovinu. Takvi stavovi dolaze do izražaja u noveli "Bratja".

Tome u prilog govori dio priče o pridobivanju hercegovačkog "mohamedanca" Muje za ilirsku ideju. Hrvat Ivan približava se Muji preko zajedničkih narodnih tradicija (ljubavi za narodnu pjesmu i običaje). Poučava ga o prošlosti i rasprostiranju i običajima "Ilira" i o Slavenima, kao najvećem narodu na svijetu. Upozorava ga na potrebu prevladavanja vjerskih i kulturnih prepreka među "Ilirima". Rezultat toga bit će sloga koja će omogućiti obranu od svih neprijatelja. Mujo postupno počinje prevladavati svoj isključivo regionalni osjećaj vezan za Hercegovinu i počinje u "Velikoj Iliriji" gledati svoju domovinu<sup>42</sup>.

Kukuljević (o čemu svjedoče stavovi iz spisa "Die Nationalität in Kroatien und Slawonien") slavensku i "ilirsku" zajednicu prvenstveno doživljava kao kulturne zajednice. Pri tome je vezanost uz ideju o jedinstvu svih Slavena puno jača nego vezanost za "ilirsku" ideju. Doduše, spomenuti spisi objavljeni 1842. svjedoče o tadašnjoj velikoj zagrijanosti Kukuljevića za ilirske ideje ali takav se žar kasnije više ne ponavlja. Da se radi o kulturnim zajednicama, svjedoči i činjenica da Kukuljević put za njihovo ostvarenje vidi prvenstveno u prosvjećivanju, a korijene razdrobljenosti u zaostalo-

<sup>37</sup> Ivan KUKULJEVIĆ SAKCINSKI, Die Nationalität in Kroatien und Slawonien, Zagreb, 1842. (dalje KUKULJEVIĆ, Die Nationalität), 3, 5, 6.

<sup>38</sup> Ivan KUKULJEVIĆ SAKCINSKI, Pripovèsti Ivana Kukuljevića Sackinskog, dio pèrvi, Zagreb, 1842. (dalje KUKULJEVIĆ, Pripovèsti), 46, 47.

<sup>39</sup> Isto, 56.

<sup>40</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Pripovèsti, 25, 26; Viktor NOVAK, Magnum Tempus, Beograd, 1987., 205; SMIČIKLAS, Život i djela, 9-10.

<sup>41</sup> ŠIDAK, "Politička djelatnost", 51.

<sup>42</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Izabrana djela, 126-128.

sti i s njom povezanom neslogom. Oživljavanjem svijesti o zajedničkim tradicijama postojeće teško stanje može se prevladati.

### *c) Hrvatska i Bosna i Hercegovina*

U Kukuljevićevu bavljenju Bosnom i Hercegovinom njezin odnos s Hrvatskom ključni je element već prije njegova postupnog odstupanja od "ilirstva" i približavanja "hrvatstvu"<sup>43</sup>.

Za Kukuljevića je barem jedan dio tadašnje Bosne i Hercegovine dio hrvatskog teritorija. U pripovijetci "Braća" razlikuje "Tursku Hrvatsku" i Bosnu, "Tursku Dalmaciju" i Hercegovinu<sup>44</sup>. Iste 1842. odnosom Hrvatske i Bosne i Hercegovine najviše se bavi u članku "Die Nationalität in Kroatien und Slawonien". Naglašava da sultan među svoje pokrajne ubraja i "Tursku Hrvatsku". Prema tom spisu Bosna i Hercegovina ne zanima preporoditelje samo kroz kulturni "ilirizam" nego i kroz politički "kroatizam"<sup>45</sup>. Prema Kukuljeviću preporoditelji imaju pravo "bacati čeznutljive poglede" preko turske granice. Radi se o čvrstim etničkim i jezičnim vezama s dijelom vlastita tijela (die edlen Theile ihres Körpers), braćom po podrijetlu i jeziku, koja stejnje u ropstvu, vjerskim vezama (kristlichen Länder), ali i o vezama utemeljenim na hrvatskom povijesnom pravu. S njima su Hrvati nekada usko povezani, plemstvo tu ima svoje posjede pa i sam kralj se svečano obvezao na njihovo povratak (und die zu revendiciren unser König bei der Krönung schwört)<sup>46</sup>. Za Kukuljevića su takva nastojanja sasvim legitimna i po prirodnom pravu jezičnog i etničkog srodstva tako i po povijesnom pravu utemeljenom u stoljetnim feudalnim tradicijama.

Bosna i Hercegovina, ulazeći u sklop političkog djelovanja hrvatskih preporoditelja ne izlazi automatski iz kulturnog i prosvjetnog sklopa djelovanja. Oba su ova sklopa djelovanja usko povezana. O tome svjedoči već spomenuti primjer preodgoja hercegovačkog "mohamedanca" Muje od Hrvata Ivana<sup>47</sup>. Na drugoj strani, u istoj se noveli kaže da kada je netko "Hèrvat" to znači i da je time "rodeni dušman svih Turakah"<sup>48</sup>.

U pjesmi "Domovina Slavjanska" 1844. područjem kraljevine Hrvatske proglašava sav teritorij "od Dunava do Bojane" (dakle, uključivo i područje Bosne i Hercegovine)<sup>49</sup>. Možda već i u verziji iz 1841. područje Bosne i Hercegovine treba tražiti u "stanu Horvata, Dalmatina"<sup>50</sup>. Pravo na svoj poseban položaj u slavenskoj zajednici dobiva Bosna tek u verziji pjesme iz 1847<sup>51</sup>.

<sup>43</sup> ŠIDAK, Politička djelatnost, 60.

<sup>44</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Izabrana djela, 120, 131.

<sup>45</sup> Mirjana GROSS (ur.), Društveni razvoj u Hrvatskoj (od 16. do početka 20. stoljeća), Zagreb, 1981., 205-209.

<sup>46</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Die Nationalität, 6, 8.

<sup>47</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Izabrana djela, 126-128.

<sup>48</sup> Isto, 121.

<sup>49</sup> Isto, 84.

<sup>50</sup> Danica, 13. XI. 1841.

<sup>51</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Pjesme, umetnuto između 102 i 103

Ponovo se 1847. pozabavio pitanjem odnosa Hrvatske prema područjima Bosne i Hercegovine. U govoru u listopadu 1847. u Hrvatskom saboru ponovo upozorava da se dio “našeg naroda” još uvijek mora “klanjati” turskoj tiraniji pa “i u velikoj strani naše domovine horvatske”<sup>52</sup>. Da “pravi Hérvati” žive i na području Bosne i Hercegovine (sjeverna Bosna, “stara Hrvatska”) govori iste godine i u članku “Pogled u Štajersku, Beč, Peštu i Požun”<sup>53</sup>. Među “Narodne pjesme puka hrvatskog” ubraja i muslimanske narodne pjesme iz “Tursko-hrvatske”<sup>54</sup>. Početkom 1848. i na zasjedanju skupštine Varaždinske županije upozorava i na, kao jednu od posljedica ratovanja s Turcima ustupanje velikog dijela zemlje Mlečanima, Krajini i Turcima što proglašava za “naše žalosno položnje”<sup>55</sup>.

U pismu Jelačiću Kukuljević 1849. oštro napada prihvaćanje oktroiranog ustava i zbog gubljenja “našeg neposrednog upliva u Bosnu i Srbiju”<sup>56</sup>. Zaokruženi pogled na odnos Hrvatske prema Bosni i Hercegovini i ostalim slavenskim područjima pod turskom vlašću daje u nikad objavljenom i izvedenom igrokazu “Nenadani sastanak”<sup>57</sup>. U njemu se nastoji predstaviti Hrvatska kao okupljalište južnih Slavena pod Turcima. Istovremeno upozorava i na prepreke u samoj Hrvatskoj koje to priječe. Bošnjak Tvrdko ide u Zagreb jer su ga bosanski franjevci uvjerali da će “od tuda svanuti novo sunce”. Nadao se da će u Hrvatskoj “sa svojim narodom u toj zemlji naći slobode i spasenja”. Bugarin Šišman zaboravlja svoj jad jer se nalazi u “slobodnoj zemlji Hrvatskoj”. No sama je Hrvatska u teškom položaju zbog propadanja trgovine, sve jačeg utjecaja stranaca (osbito oštro napada Židove) u gospodarstvu, širenja siromaštva i ropskog duha. Čak je i u nekim područjima pod Turcima bolje. “Turski Slaveni” već misle odustati od Hrvatske no sjećanje na ulogu bana Jelačića i hrvatski rodoljub Branimir ponovo ih oduševljava za Hrvatsku, a postojeće teškoće opravdavaju se teškoćama svakog početka. Branimir proglašava Bosnu “dikom i slavom hrvatskog naroda”. (U rukopisu se Kukuljević nećkao kako bi svog Bošnjaka nazvao Tvrdko ili Jovan. Da li bi i u obraćanju Jovanu Bosna bila hrvatska slava i dika?)<sup>58</sup>.

Prema Kukuljevićevu shvaćanju barem jedan dio Bosne i Hercegovine “pripada” Hrvatskoj i barem dio njezina stanovništva jesu Hrvati. Hrvatska ima “pravo” na neku vrstu povezivanja s Bosnom i Hercegovinom, koje je utemeljeno i na prirodnom i na povijesnom pravu. Zadaća je Hrvatske da postane središte prema kojemu će “turski Slaveni” upirati svoj pogled i pri tome je ne smiju omesti postojeće teškoće.

<sup>52</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Izabrana djela, 462; ŠIŠIĆ, Hrvatske povijest, 489-490.

<sup>53</sup> Danica, 13. II. 1847.

<sup>54</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Pjesme, 146-148.

<sup>55</sup> DEŽELIĆ, Ivan Kukuljević, 35.

<sup>56</sup> Isto, 52.

<sup>57</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Izabrana djela, 32 ; Arhiv HAZU XV-23/CII 10.

<sup>58</sup> Prvotno se ovaj lik trebao zvati Jovan, ali naknadno je ovo ime precrtano i zamjenjeno s Tvrdko. Arhiv HAZU, XV-23/CII 10

### d) Stanovništvo Bosne i Hercegovine

Svoj doživljaj stanovništva Bosne i Hercegovine dao je Kukuljević u novelama "Brajta" i "Bugarin". "Ilirska" područja pod turskom vlašću pretvorila su se u puste i nepristupačne krajeve. Tu stanovništvo trpi od turske samovolje, raširene krvožednosti, pljačkanja, općeg nereda i nesloge, a prednjači krvna osveta "gdě sve ove gnjusne zlobe, prokleti grěši, kao zmije grizu, kao hiene hodaju, i kao prokletstvo vladaju"<sup>59</sup>. O tome Kukuljević dobiva podatke i iz prve ruke, o čemu svjedoči članak "Pogled u Štajersku, Beč, Peštu i Požun". Tri pravoslavna trgovca "Bošnjaka" nevjeruju da će od Bosne i njezina stanovništva ispasti nešto dobro. "Moj brate, što ćeš, da bude iz takove zemlje, gdě zbog věre brat na svojem mērzi brata, a svim ovima poturice s turskim pašama i spahiami sablju věrh glave drže"<sup>60</sup>

Stanovništvo dijeli na kršćane i "Turke". Među kršćanima ne pridaje veću važnost podjeli na katolike i pravoslavne. Njima se posebno bavi u pripovijetci "Brajta". Kršćani su podvrgnuti stalnom otimanju koje ide od materijalnih dobara do članova obitelji<sup>61</sup>. Žive u izrazito patrijahalnom ustrojstvu, u kojem je žena više sluškinja i nema "slobodnu volju"<sup>62</sup>. Posebnu pozornost posvećuje narodnim običajima i predaji. U noveli "Brajta" opisuje običaje vezane uz Ivanje<sup>63</sup>, a u "Danici" u člancima o vilama prenosi predaje i iz Bosne i Hercegovine<sup>64</sup>.

Kukuljević predstavlja bosanskohercegovačke kršćane kao ljude koji se tek tako ne mire s postojećim stanjem. Oni organiziraju otpor turskoj vlasti, udruženi u hajdučke družine. O tome također svjedoči novela "Brajta". Kukuljevićevi bosanskohercegovački hajduci skrivaju se u velikoj pećini okupljeni oko ognjišta i raspela. Oni nisu "zlotvori" nego obični "křšćani", stanovnici Bosne<sup>65</sup>. Nasuprot tim hajducima stavlja hajdučku družinu iz novele "Bugarin" objavljene iste 1842. Tu su oni "lupeži" okupljeni oko svog razbojničkog zanata bez obzira na međusobne vjerske razlike<sup>66</sup>. Hajduci iz novele "Brajta" obični su ljudi koji su se organizirali protiv turskog terora. Njihov vođa okupio ih je zahvaljujući svom govorničkom umijeću. Njihov je cilj osveta za nanesene nepravde i trebaju biti uzor ostalim kršćanima pod turskom vlašću. Definiraju se kao savez slobodnih ljudi spremnih na svaku žrtvu da bi obranili svoju slobodu i čast. Na osnovi svijesti o svom "bosanskom" i slavenskom podrijetlu odbacuju strah i prinose "dušmanske" glave na žrtvenik domovine<sup>67</sup>.

Kukuljević moguće rješenje za težak položaj Bosne i Hercegovine vidi i u poticanju ustanka protiv turske vlasti. Već u "Juranu i Sofiji" pita se koliko će dugo domovina

<sup>59</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Pripověsti, 46-47, 55.

<sup>60</sup> Danica, 6. II. 1847.

<sup>61</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Izabrana djela, 132.

<sup>62</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Pripověsti, 29.

<sup>63</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Izabrana djela, 137-138.

<sup>64</sup> Danica, 10. X., 24. X., 31. X. 1846.

<sup>65</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Izabrana djela, 127, 132.

<sup>66</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Pripověsti, 40, 42.

<sup>67</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Izabrana djela, 133-137.



trpjeti “kopilad tursku” i kada će “sunce” otjerati Turke<sup>68</sup>. Oslobođenje od turske vlasti Slavena je, kako tvrdi u “Bugarinu” pitanje povijesne nužnosti. Došlo je razdoblje “obćenitog izobraženja i blagorodnih misli”, što je u narodima probudilo “spavajuću ljubav k narodnosti”. “Luč slobode” razbila je mrak i kod “turskih Slavena”, no novom vremenu do sada su odgovorili samo Srbi<sup>69</sup>. Potencijalnim ustanicima u Bosni i Hercegovini treba i pomoć izvana kada za ustanak dođe vrijeme. Tako vođa hajduka u noveli “Bratja” govori Hrvat u Jaromiru: “kad ćeš po granici horvatskoj i po čeloj domovini tvojoj glas trublje bosanske čuti, sēti se onda u tvojoj srēci nas nesrētnih i budi nama sa zemljacima tvojimi na pomoći.”<sup>70</sup>

Ideja o zbacivanju turske vlasti nad Slavenima nije ostavila Kukuljevića ni 1848. Tada u pjesmi “Slavjani, ne dajmo se!” poziva Slavene na buđenje, ustanak, “gospodstvo” i prestanak služenja Nijemcima, Mađarima, Talijanima ali i Turcima<sup>71</sup>. U svibnju 1848. kao Jelačićev poslanik za sastanke sa Srbima u Srijemskim Karlovcima i Beogradu putem se sastao i s predstavnicima bosanskih kršćana i “Turaka”. Potonji “se od nas boje, da na njih ne navalimo”<sup>72</sup>. S druge strane, Kukuljević se bojao mogućeg napada “Turaka” iz Bosne na Hrvatsku. Tako je tražeći povratak krajiških trupa iz Italije to obrazlagao i opasnošću da bi “anarhija” ili “Turci” mogli opustošiti Hrvatsku<sup>73</sup>.

Više nego bosanskohercegovačkim kršćanima bavio se Kukuljević bosanskim muslimanima, koje najčešće naziva samo “Turcima”, ali i “Bošnjacima” odnosno “Hercegovcima”. Kao i većina preporoditelja i on je dijelom prihvaćao sliku o bosanskim “Turcima” kao zaostalom, barbarskom narodu. To dolazi do izražaja već u “Juranu i Sofiji”. Tu se “Bošnjaci” koji opsjedaju Sisak vesele skorom sukobu s Hrvatima i njihovom ubijanju. Oni odbacuju drevne veze koje ih povezuju s Hrvatima i glavno im je izvršiti svoju dužnost prema Turcima: “Zato hajde na Horvate; Naše čorde nek ih mlate!”. Za njih život kršćanina ništa ne vrijedi. U drami kršćanski likovi često “Turke” jednostavno nazivaju “kopilad”<sup>74</sup>. Primjer takva “Bošnjaka” jest njihov vođa Hasan-paša. On je žedan krvi i u postizanju svoga cilja ne preže ni od prelaženja preko leševa. Služi se podmićivanjem, a pokušat će ubiti i nevinu ženu. Prikazuje se kao posve moralno inferioran hrvatskom junaku Juranu<sup>75</sup>. Kritika je posebno odobravalala prikaz Hasan-paše držeći ga prototipom “poturčenog Bošnjaka”<sup>76</sup>.

Slike “turske” okrutnosti nalazimo i u novelama “Bratja” i “Bugarin” iz 1842. Za Kršćani tvrde da su Turci “jako divjačni i krvožedni” i uspoređuju ih s divljim zvjerima, lavovima i vukovima. Oni nesmiljeno otmilju ljude i materijalna dobra. Pri to-

<sup>68</sup> Isto, 200.

<sup>69</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Pripovēsti, 25, 26.

<sup>70</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Izabrana djela, 139.

<sup>71</sup> Isto, 85.

<sup>72</sup> SMIČIKLAS, Život i djela, 36.

<sup>73</sup> Grga NOVAK, Prošlost Dalmacije III, 126.

<sup>74</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Izabrana djela, 233, 234, 235, 242.

<sup>75</sup> Isto, 213, 227, 228, 267, 268.

<sup>76</sup> Danica, 12. X. 1839.

me žene uzimaju sebi "na nasladu", djecu pretvaraju u "kopilad" tursku, a muškarce kao robove prodaju u daleke krajeve<sup>77</sup>. "Turci" jednostavno u okrutnostima i kršenju starih običaja uživaju, pa nije čudno da njihovom državom vlada "tursko samosilje, turski nered i vječita međusobna razpra"<sup>78</sup>. Korijene takva ponašanja treba tražiti u njihovu odgoju koji im je uskratio znanje "zanata" i učenje o koristi "mirnog građanskog života". Tako ne poštuju ni vlastitu vlast i prkose i samom bosanskom veziru<sup>79</sup>. Početkom 40-ih Kukuljević radi i na neobjavljenoj drami "Jure Kaštriot Škenderbeg". On tu objašnjava mentalitet "poturica" željom za raskošju i moći, ali zapravo se radi samo o robovanju u zlatnom kavezu<sup>80</sup>.

U govoru u srpnju 1843. na skupštini Zagrebačke županije definira tursku okrutnost kao nešto što se prenosi podrijetlom. Tako srodni narodi Mađari, Turci, Mongoli, Tataari i Huni dijele sklonost kićenju, mržnju prema drugim narodima, težnju za uništenjem i vladanjem<sup>81</sup>. Sklonost "Turaka" varanju i raskoši naglašava Kukuljević i u svojoj preradi Bayronova "Gusara"<sup>82</sup>. U pjesmi "Ponovljena Sàrbia" posvećenju knezu Aleksandru Karadorđeviću posebno napada "gadnog musulmanskog sina" i uvjeren je da "Pasti mora Turčin, vrag naš kleti"<sup>83</sup>. U uvjerenju o zaostalosti i okrutnosti bosanskih "Turaka" mogao je Kukuljevića samo učvrstiti susret s trgovcima iz Bosne opisan u članku "Pogled u Štajersku, Beč, Peštu i Požun" iz 1847. "Turci" čak ubijaju kršćane koji govore o njima nepojmljivim stvarima iz inozemstva misleći da od njih prave budale (napose ne vjeruju u željeznicu)<sup>84</sup>.

Nepovoljni doživljaj bosanskih muslimana dijeli Kukuljević s brojnim drugim preporoditeljima. No za njih su ovi izgubljeni slučajevi, Kukuljević vjeruje u mogućnost njihove "rehabilitacije" i neugasle ljudske vrijednosti u njima. To posebno dolazi do izražaja u pripovijetci "Bratja". U njoj Hercegovac Mujo, iako nadzornik robova (!!!), cijeni hrabro držanje i iskrenost jer je "mohamedanac koji je po rodu i duši pravi Ilir-Hercegovac bio"<sup>85</sup>. Hrvat Ivan ne zna čemu bi se više divio kod Muje "velikom duhu, ili rëdkoj krëposti muža toga". Kod Muje je osjećaj "pobratimstva" jači i od njegova "dëržanstva" pa ga Ivan uspijeva pridobiti za "rod ilirski" i slavensku braću. Ganut Ivan grli Muju kao da mu je otac<sup>86</sup>. Kukuljević upozorava i na prepreke koje onemogućavaju integriranje bosanskohercegovačkih muslimana. Mujo odbija otići s Ivanom u njegovu domovinu jer "zemljaci vaši nećedu Osmanliju među vama tërpati". Mujo ne želi napustiti svoje duboko usadene vjerske osjećaje, no na kraju poručuje: "... i sëtite se većputah vašega Hercegovca, koji ako i Turčin ostat će ipak Ilir, i na

<sup>77</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Izabrana djela, 118, 132.

<sup>78</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Pripovësti, 25, 38

<sup>79</sup> Isto, 45, 47, 48.

<sup>80</sup> Arhiv HAZU, XV-23/CII 7.

<sup>81</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Izabrana djela, 624-625.

<sup>82</sup> Isto, 281, 282, 291.

<sup>83</sup> Danica, 18. V. 1844.

<sup>84</sup> Danica, 6. II. 1847.

<sup>85</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Izabrana djela, 124.

<sup>86</sup> Isto, 127-130.

vas svoju braću nikada zaboraviti neće”<sup>87</sup>. Mujo u takvu ponašanju među bosansko-hercegovačkim muslimanima nije usamljen. Tako Kukuljević hercegovačkog pašu (Ali -pašu Rizvanbegovića?) poštuje kao dobročinitelja, ljubitelja narodnih pjesama, koji poštuje žene i harem drži samo zbog “običaja”<sup>88</sup>.

Kukuljević u “Bratji” izražava uvjerenje u moć obrazovanja koje jedino može korijenito mijenjati situaciju. Još 1847. u putopisu “Pogled u Štajersku, Beč, Peštu i Požun” raspituje se kod skupine bosanskih kršćanskih trgovaca da li bi “Turci” postali bolji prema svojim kršćanskim sugrađanima kada bi se obrazovali. Trgovci drže da predvjet obrazovanja “Turaka” jest oduzimanje potonjima monopola na vlast u Bosni i Hercegovini<sup>89</sup>.

Kod Kukuljevića su kršćani Bosne i Hercegovine su bez svake sumnje žrtve koje podnose teška poniženja od islamiziranih sunarodnjaka. Ipak oni nisu (ili barem ne bi trebali biti) i bespomoćne žrtve. Oni, organizirani u hajdučki pokret, mogu odgovoriti zahtjevima novog, slobodnog vremena i postati začetnici temeljitih promjena. Pri tome s pravom očekuju podršku od strane preporodne Hrvatske. Nasuprot njima, islamizirano je stanovništvo divlje, okrutno i beznadno zaostalo. Kukuljević je ipak uvjeren da u neposrednom kontaktu s “svjetlošću” obrazovanja promjenama neće moći odoljeti ni muslimani. Oni su usprkos stoljetnoj zaostalosti sačuvali temeljne ljudske vrijednosti na kojima se obrazovanjem može graditi.

### *e) Povijest Bosne i Hercegovine*

Uz politički angažman Kukuljević se intenzivno bavio i istraživanjem povijesti. On je otac moderne hrvatske historiografije<sup>90</sup>. Njegovoj pozornosti kao povjesničaru nije izmakla ni povijest Bosne i Hercegovine.

Kukuljevića zanima povijest Bosne i Hercegovine i u razdoblju prije dolaska Turaka. Već 1841. u članku “Nadgrobnni natpisi ilirski u Rimu” bavi se nadgrobnim natpisom kraljice Katarine Kosače i dvaju bosanskih plemića<sup>91</sup>. U pripovijetci “Bratja” objavljenoj 1842. podliježe povijesnoj “iliromaniji” onog doba. Tako se hajduci u bosanskim planinama skrivaju u pećini ispod hrama ilirskog božanstva “Belboga”, kojeg krase natpisi na latinskom i “u prastarom ilirsko-glagolskom pismu”. Stari mostarski most datira u predtursko razdoblje kada “ova strana Ilirije pod sobstvenim vladarima svojimi, u boljem cvjetu i plodu stajaše”<sup>92</sup>. U članku “Die Nationalität in Kroatien und Slawonien” 1841. tvrdi da su i bosanski i srpski kraljevi nosili titulu kralja “Ilirika”<sup>93</sup>.

<sup>87</sup> Isto 131.

<sup>88</sup> Isto, 140-141.

<sup>89</sup> Danica, 6. II. 1847.

<sup>90</sup> Jaroslav ŠIDAK, Studije iz hrvatske povijesti XIX st., Zagreb, 1973. (ŠIDAK, Studije), 6.

<sup>91</sup> Danica, 7. VIII. 1841.

<sup>92</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Izabrana djela, 121, 123.

<sup>93</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Die Nationalität, 6.

Puno ga više zanima povijest Bosne i Hercegovine pod Turcima. Vezano uz to zanima ga utjecaj turskih osvajanja na hrvatsku povijest. U "Bratiji" govori o Turcima koji su "u savezu žalibože s Ilirima iz njihovih stranah" zauzeli i razorili Krbavu<sup>94</sup>. U govoru na Saboru 1845. veže ograničenje pristupa Saboru samo na feudalnu gospodu uz posljedice sukobljavanja s Turcima kada "počeli smo slavne junake, koji bijahu oružjem plemenštinu i imanje stekli u Sabor pozivati"<sup>95</sup>.

Rezultate stoljetne vladavine Turaka nad Slavenima Kukuljević je sabrao u noveli "Bugarin". Oni su stanovništvo "najmilijih" "ilirsko-slavjanskih" država pretvorili u robove i uništili su nekada moćne države Srbiju, Bugarsku i Bosnu. Postojeću neslogu još su više potaknuli. Uništili su "zakonitu vëru" i ljubav prema znanju, koje je zamijenilo barbarstvo. Turci su uništili i niz kulturnih spomenika, brojna književna djela. Zloupotrebili su ratničke sposobnosti pokorenog stanovništva "i strašiše š njim ove strane i sve dëržave svëta"<sup>96</sup>.

Kukuljevića posebno zanima upravo korištenje "sposobnosti" pokorenih "iliro-slavena" od Turaka. Početkom 40-ih godina u neobjavljenom komadu "Jure Kaštriot Škenderbeg" smatra kako su bosanske (što je kasnije prekrizio) janjičarske poturice "stupovi osmanskog carstva"<sup>97</sup>. U članku "Nešto iz dogodovštine Velike Ilirije" 1842., govoreći o uspjehu "Ilira" "iz prostog naroda", osobito naglašava njihov uspjeh pod turskom vlašću tako "da su - tako rekuć - zaista svëtom dërmati mogli". Usprkos tome ti pojedinci su malo učinili za svoj narod već su samo služili tuđinu<sup>98</sup>. To je u skladu s Kukuljevićevim stavom da Slaveni previše lako prihvaćaju tuđinske ideje nasuprot urođenom osjećaju za slobodu i jednakost<sup>99</sup>.

Ovu temu još više razrađuje u članku "Naš jezik u parvašnjih stoeletjih. Kod dvora osmanskog, kod poslaničtva ugarsko i austrijsko-turskog i u obćinskom i posebnom životu kraljevinah: Dalmacie, Horvatske i Slavonie" iz 1843. Kukuljević drži da Turci svoju vlast na Balkanu duguju prvenstveno Slavenima, kao i ostala osvajanja u Europi i Aziji. Oni se ističu i umom i duhom. Slaveni su najviši državni dužnosnici, pisci i učitelji. "Slavenski" je pak jezik toliko cijenjen da ga uče i razumiju i sultani. Govori i o stranim autorima koji govore o raširenosti "slavenskog" jezika u Turskom carstvu i na turskom Dvoru što je popratio i nizom primjera. Posebno naglašava da u doba Sulejmana Veličanstvenog "Rustem bio je veliki vezir i rođen Horvat poturica"<sup>100</sup>. Iste godine u članku "Ivan Oršić" govori o sudjelovanju u opsadi Carigrada "bezbroynih" janjičara, "samih sarbskih, bosanskih, bugarskih itd. poturicah"<sup>101</sup>.

<sup>94</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Izabrana djela, 116.

<sup>95</sup> Isto, 639.

<sup>96</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Pripovesti, 25.

<sup>97</sup> Arhiv HAZU, XV- 23/CII 7.

<sup>98</sup> Danica, 22. I. 1842.

<sup>99</sup> ŠIDAK, "Politička djelatnost", 59.

<sup>100</sup> Rustem-paša "Hrvat"(oko 1500.-1561.) u doba Sulejmana Veličanstvenog, kad se ono našlo na vrhuncu svoje moći, upravljao je kao veliki vezir Osmnlijskim carstvom. Enciklopedija leksikografskog zavoda sv.5., 1969., 567. ; Danica, 28. I. 1843.

<sup>101</sup> Danica, 25. III. 1843.

Sadržaj članka "Naš jezik... " velikim dijelom ponavlja iduće 1844. godine u članku "Berühmte türkische Renegaten aus dem südslawischen Stamme". U njemu daje i mali katalog istaknutih "poturčenjaka". Iako obećava da će dati pregled istaknutih islamiziranih južnih Slavena u praksi se gotovo potpuno ograničava samo na nabranje istaknutih Bosanaca i Hercegovaca (20 primjera) odnosno Hrvata, "Dalmatinaca" i "Slavonaca" (14 primjera). U članku veliča njihovu ulogu bez osuđivanja<sup>102</sup>. Inzistiranje na istaknutim pojedincima dolazi do izražaja zbog Kukuljevićeva uvjerenja da se smisao povijesti može naći samo u pojedincima koji su nosioci povijesnih zbivanja<sup>103</sup>.

Više prigovora Slavenima koji su se istaknuli pod turskom vlašću dolazi do izražaja u Kukuljevićevu saborskom govoru iz listopada 1847. Prema njemu "naš narod" dao je Turskom carstvu najslavnije vezire, vojvode, potkraljeve i skidao i podizao careve ali budući da nije imao "narodnog duha" i nije branio "jezik s narodnostju" još uvijek mora trpjeti tursku tiraniju<sup>104</sup>. Ovaj govor ima odgojnu tendenciju karakterističnu za Kukuljevićev odnos prema povijesti<sup>105</sup>.

Odgojna nota izražena je i u članku "Naša očekivanja od budućeg rata" godine 1848. Upozoravajući na opasnost ratovanja za tuđe interese, Kukuljević kao posebno ilustrativan navodi primjer "naših janjičarah". Oni su izuzetno uspješno ratovali za Tursko Carstvo, ali dobili su samo tiranstvo, zaostalost, divljaštvo i "turski smrad". Treba ratovati za sebe, a ne za tuđina<sup>106</sup>.

Kukuljevića prvenstveno zanima povijest Bosne i Hercegovine pod turskom vlašću. S jedne strane, ona je primjer teške sudbine koja je snašla "Iliro-slavene" zbog njihove nesloge, zanemarivanja vlastite kulture i sklonosti stranim utjecajima. Rezultat toga potpuno je propadanje ljudi i područja koje nastanjuju. Na drugoj strani, ističe socijalnu mobilnost u Turskom Carstvu i istaknute pojedince slavenskog podrijetla koji su imali važnu ulogu u upravljanju Turskim Carstvom. Time djelomično rehabilitira i muslimansku komponentu u "ilirskoj" odnosno slavenskoj i hrvatskoj zajednici. Primjer tih pojedinaca pokazuje da je zapravo velik kreativan potencijal "Iliro-slavena" no on se ne koristi ili se koristi na pogrešan način. U njemu se može nazrijeti i kritika srednjoeuropskog feudalnog društva, koje puno više od primitivne Turske ograničava socijalnu pokretljivost.

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Tijekom kontinuiranog zanimanja za Bosnu i Hercegovinu u doba preporoda Kukuljević nastoji afirmirati Bosnu i Hercegovinu kao dio "ilirske" odnosno slavenske kulturne zajednice. U ostvarivanju tog povezivanja Bosne i Hercegovine sa srodnim narodima Hrvatska bi trebala imati ključnu ulogu. Isto tako barem dio područja Bosne

<sup>102</sup> Luna, 4. V., 8. V. 1844.

<sup>103</sup> ŠIDAK, Studije, 7.

<sup>104</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Izabrana djela, 642; ŠIŠIĆ, Hrvatska povijest, 489-490.

<sup>105</sup> ŠIDAK, Studije, 7.

<sup>106</sup> Slavenski jug, 12. IX. 1848.

i Hercegovine pripada hrvatskoj političkoj zajednici. Da bi se olakšao težak položaj Bosne i Hercegovine, tamošnje kršćane, koji su glavne žrtve takva stanja, treba potaknuti na otpor teroru, a bosanske muslimane kao nosioce tog terora treba obrazovati. Sama povijest Bosne i Hercegovine lijep je primjer posljedica razornog djelovanja nesloge, ali karijere islamiziranih Slavena jedan su od najboljih primjera "genija" u "Iliro-slavena".

# Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski's views on Bosnia and Herzegovina during the period of Revival

Marin Knezović

This paper deals with the relation of Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski to Bosnia and Herzegovina during the period of Croatian National Revival, expressed in his political, literary and historiographic work. The researched period begins at the end of the '30s of the 19th century and ends with the year 1849. I endeavoured to illustrate the diversity of Kukuljević's interest in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and to a lesser extent his personal development. Kukuljević's interest in Bosnia and Herzegovina and Slavs under the Ottoman rule was not sporadic, but continuous. His interest was not a result of his momentary curiosity but rather it was an important part of his political, cultural and historical considerations during the period of Revival.

## *a) The reasons for Kukuljević's interest in Bosnia and Herzegovina*

His family origins must have inspired Kukuljević to be interested in the territories under Ottoman rule, and specially in the area of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Namely, tradition has it that his family had roots in Herzegovina<sup>1</sup>. He was specially inspired with this topic after the meeting with Đorđe Petrović Njegoš, the brother of bishop and prince of Montenegro, held in 1837 in Vienna. During that meeting they had intense debate about "prosperity" of Montenegro, Serbia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, "the whole of Illyria" as well as about "heroic deeds"<sup>2</sup>.

Kukuljević was interested in "Turkish" themes long before he was discharged from the army and was actively involved in the political life of his homeland. This theme became prominent already in "Juran and Sofija". The first version of this drama (presumably the adaptation of a German original) dates from the end of 1836 or beginning of 1837. However, the most interesting scene for the purposes of this paper, Scene 5 (which will be referred to later in the text), was written in 1838 under the influence of Vjekoslav Babukić and Dimitrije Demeter<sup>3</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> Ivan KUKULJEVIĆ SAKCINSKI, *Izabrana djela* (Selected Works), Zagreb 1997 (hereinafter referred to as: KUKULJEVIĆ, Selected Works), 39

<sup>2</sup> Archives of CROATIAN ACADEMY OF SCIENCE AND ARTS (hereinafter referred to as: Archives of HAZU), Zagreb, XV-23, supplement 1B, 10, 11; Tadija SMIČIKLAS, *Život i djelo Ivana Kukuljevića Sakcinskog* (Life and Works of Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski), Zagreb 1892 (hereinafter referred to as: SMIČIKLAS: Life and Works), 7; Ladislav ŠABAN, "Dnevnički zapisi iz mladih dana Ivana Kukuljevića Sakcinskog" ("Diary Notes of young Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski"), *Historijski zbornik* XXV/1982 (hereinafter referred to as: ŠABAN: "Diary Notes"), 199

<sup>3</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Selected Works, 29, 40; ŠABAN: "Diary Notes", 206

In the early forties he expresses the continuity of his interest in the areas under Ottoman rule and describes their history in his unpublished drama *Juraj Kaštriot Škenderbeg*<sup>4</sup>, as well as in his article "Illyrian Epitaphs in Rome" published in "*Danica*" in 1841<sup>5</sup>. The same year, in the same publication, he publishes a poem entitled "Slavic homeland" which will live to see new versions in 1844 and 1847. The poem is interesting because of the status that Bosnia and Herzegovina is given in the community of Slavic nations<sup>6</sup>.

In 1842 Kukuljević leaves the army and becomes a judge in the Zagreb county. At the same time he becomes intensively engaged in political activity. Already in 1843 he becomes one of the leaders of the People's Party<sup>7</sup>. At the time he took stands on the relations between Croatia in Revival and Bosnia and Herzegovina and the Ottoman rule over the Slavic nations, is revealed in the first volume of "*Various Works...*" published in 1842, in narratives "Brothers" and "Bulgarian" as well as in his programmatical document "Die Nätionalitat in Kroatien und Slavonien" published during the same year. The first versions of narratives "Bulgarian" and "Brothers" were written in 1837 and 1838, but the final version was written much later. "Bulgarian" was written under the influence of Vuk Karadžić and the Serbian Uprising. Their literary formation was influenced by the models of the Romantic literature, namely the work of Walter Scott<sup>8</sup>. In his article "Some Adventures from Great Illyria" he expresses his interest in the history of "Illyrians" who converted to Islam that he would further develop in the future<sup>9</sup>.

In 1843 Ivan Kukuljević aroused great attention with his speech in the Parliament (Sabor) in Croatian language, as well as with another speech at the meeting of assembly of Zagreb County (10th July 1843) where he compared the cruelty of Turks with the nature of Hungarians. This comparison made the Hungarian *palatin*, Archduke Josip, request legal prosecution of Kukuljević<sup>10</sup>. The important role of Slavic nations for Ottoman history is discussed in his article "Ivan Oršić" and especially in "Our language in earlier centuries. At the Ottoman court, among Hungarian, Austrian and Turkish delegations, and in municipal life of the kingdoms of Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia"<sup>11</sup>.

<sup>4</sup> Archives of HAZU, XV-23/CII 7

<sup>5</sup> *Danica*, 7.XIII.1841.

<sup>6</sup> *Danica*, 13.XI.1841.; KUKULJEVIĆ, Selected Works, 84; Ivan KUKULJEVIĆ SAKCINSKI, Poems of Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, Various Works of Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, Zagreb, 1847. (hereinafter referred to as: KULJEVIĆ, Poems), appendix between pages 102 and 103

<sup>7</sup> Jaroslav ŠIDAK, "Politička djelatnost Ivana Kukuljevića Sakcinskog" ("Political Activities of Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski"), *Radovi Instituta za hrvatsku povijest*, 1/1979 (hereinafter referred to as: ŠIDAK, "Political Activities"), 48-49; SMIČIKLAS, Life and Works, 20

<sup>8</sup> SMIČIKLAS, Life and Works, 20; KUKULJEVIĆ, Selected Works, 25, 26, 40

<sup>9</sup> *Danica*, 22.I.1842.; SMIČIKLAS, Life and Works, 28

<sup>10</sup> Although Kukuljević was under the threat of legal proceedings for high treason, it was all settled down very soon (because of some connections within palatin's administration). KUKULJEVIĆ, Selected Works, 41, 625, 627; SMIČIKLAS, Life and Works, 23 (According to Smičiklas, the speech took place in 1845)

<sup>11</sup> *Danica*, 25.III.1843.; *Danica*, 28.XI.1843.



In 1844 he elaborated the previously mentioned article in an article written in German language entitled "Berühmte türkische Renegaten aus dem südslawischen Stamme"<sup>12</sup>. The same year he publishes a Moslem folk song from Bosnia, and he again mentions "the Turks" in another poem "Revived Sàrbia"<sup>13</sup>. The same applies to Kukuljević's adaptation of Byron's "The Corsar" published also in 1844<sup>14</sup>.

In 1845 Kukuljević becomes the county court judge of Varaždin County. In his speech in the Parliament, he advocates independent Croatian government and speaks about the influence of Turks on the formation of contemporary feudal social system<sup>15</sup>. During 1946 in "Fairies - Tribute to Illyrian fabulousness" he gives examples of national beliefs from Bosnia and Herzegovina as well<sup>16</sup>.

His interest in history was recognized in 1847 when he was elected a member of parliamentary committee, which was appointed to collect all the documents concerning the Croatian constitutional law<sup>17</sup>. In his speech in the Parliament he repeats his attitudes about the history of the Islamised members of "our nation" as a part of "our history"<sup>18</sup>. In 1847 he publishes the fourth volume of "Various works..." with "National Poems of Croatian People" where he includes some poems from Bosnia<sup>19</sup>. In his article "A View of Štajerska, Vienna, Pešta and Požun"<sup>20</sup> he deals with the problem of relation between various religious communities of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

During the revolutionary events taking place in 1848 and 1849, he is at the peak of his political career. He is the member of "*Triumvirate*" which was supposed to lead the Croatian movement, the member of delegations who submitted "The Demands of the Nation" to the emperor and negotiated with the Serbs. He was also a deputy of the head of Department for Clergy and Education; he was appointed Public Archivist, member of the board of the Association of Slavic Lipa (*lime*) on Slavic South". He was a vigorous opponent of absolutism etc.<sup>21</sup> In spite of his great political responsibilities (and perhaps because of them), he always bared in mind the problems of Slavic peoples under the Ottoman rule, and specially those who lived in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In May 1848 he meets the delegation of Bosnian Christians and "-Turks". Later he is concerned with the possibility of attack from Bosnia<sup>22</sup>. According to Kukuljević, Bosnia was supposed to be a part of the future union of Slavic nations<sup>23</sup>. In "Slavic South", where he mentions contemporary problems of the time, he

<sup>12</sup> Luna, Beiblatt zur Agramer politischen Zeitung, 4.V., 8.V.1844. (hereinafter referred to as: Luna)

<sup>13</sup> Danica, 28.IX.1844., 18.V.1844.

<sup>14</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Selected Works, 31,32

<sup>15</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Selected Works, 41, 639; SMIČIKLAS, Life and Works, 32

<sup>16</sup> Danica, 10.X., 24.X., 31.10.1846.

<sup>17</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Selected Works, 41; SMIČIKLAS, Life and Works, 30

<sup>18</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Selected Works, 642; Ferdo ŠIŠIĆ, Hrvatska povijest III (Croatian History III), Zagreb, 1906-1913 (hereinafter referred to as: ŠIŠIĆ: Croatian History), 489-148

<sup>19</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Poems, 146-148

<sup>20</sup> Danica, 6.II., 13.II.1847.

<sup>21</sup> ŠIDAK, "Political Activities", 63, 76; SMIČIKLAS, Life and Works, 36-38; KUKULJEVIĆ, Selected Works, 41-42

<sup>22</sup> SMIČIKLAS, Life and Works, 36; Grga NOVAK, Povijest Splita III (History of Split III), 126

<sup>23</sup> Narodne novine, 20.IV.1848.

again deals with the historic role of Islamised Slavs<sup>24</sup>. In 1849 he protested against octroyed constitution because it prevented Croatia from involvement in the affairs concerning the Slavic nations under the Turks<sup>25</sup>. Kukuljević did not accept this option, what can be seen from his unpublished theatrical play “Unexpected Meeting” where he expresses his deep conviction in the key role of Croatia with respect to “-Turkish” Slavs<sup>26</sup>.

### *b) Bosnia and Herzegovina as a part of Illyrian and Slavic community*

Kukuljević was the follower of a poet, Jan Kollar, and his ideas as well as his exaggerations about the Slavic territories in the past<sup>27</sup>. In 1848 he considers all Slavs as one “nation” and advocates the formation of the parliament of all Slavs for efficient resistance to all foreign attacks<sup>28</sup>. On the contrary, Kukuljević is not so strongly attached to “Illyrian” ideas. He gradually becomes more and more oriented towards “Croatianism” without interference with its Slavic origins<sup>29</sup>.

The poem “Slavic Homeland” (another version: “Homeland of Slavs”), written by Kukuljević is very important for understanding the place of Bosnia and Herzegovina in his ideas about the Slavic community. The poem can be found in three versions. In the first, from 1841, Bosnia and Herzegovina is not mentioned as a separate Slavic area, neither are highlighted the particular characteristics of its population within the Slavic community<sup>30</sup>. The same can be applied to a version from 1844<sup>31</sup>. As late as in 1847, for the first time “Bošnjak” (*Bosnian*) is given a special place in the poem. His place together with Bulgarian and Montenegrin place, Kukuljević calls “the cradle of Slavs”<sup>32</sup>. It is at a later date that Kukuljević accepts Bosnia as a separate Slavic entity. In 1848 he confirmed his position when Bosnia was supposed to be given a special representative within his “Slavic Union”<sup>33</sup>.

The area of Bosnia and Herzegovina and its population belong to “Illyrian” community. This is already revealed in Scene 5 of “*Juran and Sofija*”, written in 1838. The scene was specially published in *Danica*, in article “Slovstvo ilirsko”. The author of the commentary announced this work as “remarkable”<sup>34</sup>. In this scene “the old Serb” tries to persuade the islamised Bosnians not to attack the Croats during the battle near Sisak in 1593. He calls their attention to the same origin of Bosnians, Croats

<sup>24</sup> Slavenski jug, 1.IX.1848.

<sup>25</sup> Stjepan Duro DEŽELIĆ, Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, Zagreb, 1861 (hereinafter referred to as: DEŽELIĆ, Ivan Kukuljević), 52

<sup>26</sup> Archives of HAZU, XV-23/CII 10

<sup>27</sup> ŠIDAK, “Political Activities”, 59

<sup>28</sup> ŠIDAK, “Political Activities”, 64; Petar KORUNIĆ, Jugoslavenska ideja o hrvatskoj i slovenskoj politici (Yugoslav Idea of Croatian and Slovenian Policy), 52-56, 74, 82, 97, 121

<sup>29</sup> ŠIDAK, “Political Activities”, 60

<sup>30</sup> Danica, 13.XI.1841.

<sup>31</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Selected Works, 84

<sup>32</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Poems, appendix between pages 102 and 103

<sup>33</sup> Narodne novine, 20.IV.1848.

<sup>34</sup> Danica, 1.XII.1838.

and Serbs, common history (“adventures”), warship (“battlefield”), homeland (“homes”) and destiny (“fortune”). However, “malice” destroyed native connections and the fratricidal slaughter began<sup>35</sup>. “We are all the children of one; Mournful mother, miserable mother; We are all of the same blood; Glorious Illyrian name we all have...”<sup>36</sup>.

Affiliation of Bosnia and Herzegovina to the “Illyrian” community is extensively dealt with in 1842 in his narratives entitled “Brothers” and “Bulgarian” as well as in political document “Die Nationalität in Kroatien und Slawonien”. In this political document he divides the Slavic nations into four “nationalities”: Russian, Polish, Czech and “Illyrian”, or Bulgarian-Serbian-Croatian-Slovenian (die bulgarish-serbisch-kroatisch-wendische). He advocates the idea of common Illyrian name for all Slavic nations living on the territories of Ancient Illyrian province, regardless of their cultural background, as they were divided under different nations: Germans, Hungarians and Turks. Under the Ottoman rule there are about 5-6 million of Southern Slavs who are called Illyrians<sup>37</sup>.

In his narrative “Bulgarian” he analyses the causes of hardships that the Illyrians were suffering under the Ottoman rule. The main reason was (as in “Juran and Sofija”) the disagreement and conflicts in the past as well as in his time. Allegedly, it was the reason why once unique “national name” was divided into “countless names of states”. He vigorously talks against all kinds of different religions “that we have taken from various strangers” because they “embedded hatred into our fraternal hearts”. The result of this is total “ignorance” in deep barbarism, slavery and currying favour with strangers<sup>38</sup>. Instead of faith in harmony and our own strength, the Slavs forced their sovereigns to join various strangers. The Slavs who are under the Turks must “raise” and become united, they have do it themselves, because nobody can give it to them<sup>39</sup>. He claimed that the time of freedom had come, but for their disunion, “Turkish Slavs” can not react (except the Serbs), as they do not understand that they all are “the branches of a great Southern-Slavic tree, that they are the descendants of the inhabitants of Great Illyria, the parts of one body, and when one part or a limb of the body is separated, the whole body suffers, and when this happens, everybody must seek the ways how to help it.”<sup>40</sup>

Kukuljević is convinced that only science and moral values can improve the situation<sup>41</sup>. The same solution could be applied to Croatia as well as for Bosnia and Herzegovina. These attitudes are expressed in the narrative “Bothers”.

<sup>35</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Selected Works, 234, 235

<sup>36</sup> Ibid, 234

<sup>37</sup> Ivan KUKULJEVIĆ SAKCINSKI, “Die Nationalität in Kroatien und Slawonien”, Zagreb 1842 (hereinafter referred to as: KUKULJEVIĆ, Die Nationalität, 3, 5, 6

<sup>38</sup> Ivan KUKULJEVIĆ SAKCINSKI, Pripovesti Ivana Kukuljevića Sakeinskog, dio prvi (Narratives of Ivan Kukuljević Sakeinski, Part I), Zagreb 1842 (hereinafter referred to as: KUKULJEVIĆ, Narratives), 46, 47

<sup>39</sup> Ibid, 56

<sup>40</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Narratives, 25, 26; Viktor NOVAK, Magnum Tempus, Beograd 1987, 205; SMIČIKLAS, Life and Works, 9-10

<sup>41</sup> ŠIDAK, “Political Activities”, 51

For example, there is a part about winning over a young Moslem from Herzegovina called Mujo to accept the Illyrian ideas. A Croat Ivan tries to get closer to Mujo (Mohamed) through their common national traditions (love for folk songs and customs). He tells him about the past, their customs and spreading of "Illyrians", about Slavs as the greatest nation in the world. He draws his attention to the need for overcoming all religious and cultural obstacles among "Illyrians". It will result in a union, and in that way they will be able to defend themselves from all kinds of enemies. Mujo is inspired to think differently, instead of his regional feelings attached to Herzegovina he starts to realize that "Great Illyria" is his true homeland<sup>42</sup>.

Kukuljević sees the Slavic and "Illyrian" community primarily as a cultural community (what is evident from his attitudes expressed in the document "Die Nationalität in Kroatien und Slawonien"). The ideas of unity for all Slavic nations are much stronger than his "Illyrian" ideas. In some articles from 1842 he was very enthusiastic about "Illyrian" ideas, but this passion was not repeated in his later works. He was primarily interested in the idea of cultural community, what is evident from his opinion that it could be realized through enlightenment, and that the roots of disunion lied in underdevelopment. Revival of old traditions in the minds of the people was the key factor that could help overcome the hard situation.

### *c) Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina*

In Kukuljević's occupation with Bosnia and Herzegovina, its relations with Croatia were the key factor for Kukuljević and his attitudes towards this region, long before his gradual withdrawal from "Illyrian" ideas and getting closer to "Croatian" ideas<sup>43</sup>.

Kukuljević considered that at least one part of contemporary Bosnia and Herzegovina belonged to Croatian territories. In his narrative "Brothers" he mentions "Turkish Croatia" and Bosnia, "Turkish Dalmatia" and Herzegovina<sup>44</sup>. In the same year he writes a lot about the relations between Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, especially in his article "Die Nationalität in Kroatien und Slawonien". He emphasizes that the sultan includes "Turkish Croatia" in his provinces. According to this document, Bosnia and Herzegovina are not only interesting from cultural, "Illyrian" Movement, but also from political "Croatism"<sup>45</sup>. According to Kukuljević, revivers have all rights to "cast a yearning eye" across the Turkish border, because of tight ethnical and language connections with the part of one body (die edlen Thile ihres Körpers), brothers of the same origin and language who groan under slavery and religious bonds (kristlicher Länder), and because these rights are based on Croatian historical law. These parts were closely connected to Croatia, the nobles have their properties there, and the king has undertaken a solemn obligation of their return

<sup>42</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Selected Works, 126-128

<sup>43</sup> ŠIDAK, "Political Activities", 60

<sup>44</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Selected Works, 120, 131

<sup>45</sup> Mirjana GROSS (ed.), Društveni razvoj u Hrvatskoj od 16. do početka 20. stoljeća (Social Development of Croatia from the 16th to the beginning of 20th century, Zagreb 1981, 205-209

(und die zu revendiciren unser König bei der Krönung schwört)<sup>46</sup>. Kukuljević claims that these aspirations are completely legitimate according to natural laws based on language and ethnical origins, as well as historical rights based on centuries-old feudal traditions.

When Bosnia and Herzegovina became a part of political aspirations of Croatian revivers, it did not automatically cease to be a part of cultural and enlightening plan, as both of them are very closely connected. This idea is expressed in the part where Islamised Herzegovinian Mujo is enlightened by Croat Ivan<sup>47</sup>. In another part of the narrative it is stated that when someone is a "Croat" it means that he is automatically "a furious enemy of all the Turks"<sup>48</sup>.

In his poem "Homeland of Slavs" (1844) the territory of Croatia is "from Danube do Bojana" (which means that the province of Bosnia and Herzegovina is included as a part of Croatia)<sup>49</sup>. Perhaps in the version of 1841 the province of Bosnia and Herzegovina should be sought in "home of Croatians, Dalmatians"<sup>50</sup>. Bosnia is given a special status in Slavic community just in the version of 1847<sup>51</sup>.

In 1847 he again mentions the relations between Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina. In his speech in October 1847 in the Croatian Parliament, he warns once again that "part of our nation" must still "make bows" to Ottoman tyrants, as well as "the extensive part of our homeland Croatia"<sup>52</sup>. He continues that "real Croatians" live in the parts of Bosnia and Herzegovina as well (northern Bosnia, "old Croatia"). He advocates the same ideas in his article "A View of Štajerska, Vienna, Pešta and Požun"<sup>53</sup>. He includes Moslem folk songs from "Turkish-Croatian" region into "Folk Songs of Croatian People"<sup>54</sup>. At the beginning of 1848, at the meeting of the Assembly of Varaždinska County, he warns that the war conflict with Turks resulted in ceding one huge part of the country to Venetians, to Krajina and Turks. He refers to this as "our mourning status"<sup>55</sup>.

In his letter to Jelačić in 1849, Kukuljević vigorously protested against octroyed constitution because of losing "the chances of direct interference in Bosnia and Serbia"<sup>56</sup>. His integrated views about the relations between Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, as well as other Slavic nations, are expressed in his unpublished theatrical play "Unexpected Meeting"<sup>57</sup>. Here he tries to introduce Croatia as a meeting place of all Southern Slavs under Ottoman rule. At the same time he warns against so-

<sup>46</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Die Nationalität, 6, 8

<sup>47</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Selected Works, 126-128

<sup>48</sup> Ibid, 121

<sup>49</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Selected Works, 126-128

<sup>50</sup> Danica, 13.XI.1841.

<sup>51</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Poems, appendix between pages 102 and 103

<sup>52</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Selected Works, 462; ŠIŠIĆ, History of Croatia, 489-490

<sup>53</sup> Danica, 13.II.1847.

<sup>54</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Poems, 146-148

<sup>55</sup> DEŽELIĆ, Ivan Kukuljević, 35

<sup>56</sup> Ibid, 52

<sup>57</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Selected Works, 32, Archives of HAZU, XV-23/CII 10

me obstacles within Croatia that make such ideas impossible. Bosnian Tvrdko goes to Zagreb because Bosnian Friars told him that “the new sun will rise for him”. He hoped that in Croatia “with his own nation, he will find freedom and salvation”. Bulgarian Šišman forgets about his misfortunes because he has come to the “free land of Croatia”. However, he says that Croatia is in a very serious economic situation due to decline in trade, greater and greater influence of strangers (especially the Jewish) on the economy, poverty increase and slave-like spirit spreading all over the country. In some parts under the Turks the situation is better. “Turkish Slavs” are thinking of abandoning the idea of Croatia, but the memory of of the role of ban Jelačić and Croatian patriot Branimir make them enthusiastic about the idea of Croatia once again, and the obstacles are seen as a part of every beginning. Branimir declares that Bosnia is “the pride and the glory of Croatian people” (in his manuscript Kukuljević was not sure whether to name his Bosnian Tvrdko (Croatian name) or Jovan (Serbian name). Had he chosen the name Jovan, would Bosnia still be “the pride and the glory of Croatian people”)?<sup>58</sup>.

According to Kukuljević, at least one part of Bosnia and Herzegovina “belongs” to Croatia and at least one part of its population are Croatians. Croatia has the “right” to be connected with Bosnia and Herzegovina, because it is based on natural and historical law. The task of Croatia is to become the centre, and the “Turkish Slavs” will look up to that centre. No obstacles should be more important than this goal.

#### *d) The population of Bosnia and Herzegovina*

Kukuljević’s perception of population of Bosnia and Herzegovina is obvious in narratives “Brothers” and “Bulgarian”. “Illyrian” provinces under Ottoman rule are converted into deserted and forbidding lands. The population suffers under Ottoman autocracy, bloodthirstiness, plunder and total mess, there are conflicts like vendetta, which is the worst of all “where this horrible malice, cursed sins, bite like snakes, walk like hyenas, and rule like a curse”<sup>59</sup>. Kukuljević gathered these information at first hand, what can be seen from the article: “A View of Štajerska, Vienna, Pešta and Požun”. Three Bosnian merchants, who were Orthodox Catholics, do not believe that something good will come out of that country. “My brother, what could be done in a country where there is hatred among brothers because of their religion, and Islamised population, together with pashas and landowners hold the sword above their heads?”<sup>60</sup>

He divides the population into Christians and “Turks”. Religious differences between Orthodox and Roman Catholics are irrelevant to him. These problems are shown in his narrative “Brothers”. Christians are subjected to continuous plundering, their possessions are taken as well as the members of their family<sup>61</sup>. The social system is

<sup>58</sup> At first the name of this character was Jovan, but it was later corrected into Tvrtko, Archives of HAZU, XV-23/CII 10

<sup>59</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Narratives, 46-47, 55

<sup>60</sup> Danica, 6.II.1847.

<sup>61</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Selected Works, 132

highly patriarchal where women are like servants without “free will”<sup>62</sup>. He pays special attention to national traditions and customs. In the narrative “Brothers” he depicts the national customs during the celebration of Midsummer Day<sup>63</sup>, and in his articles about fairies, published in *Danica*, he includes some traditions from Bosnia and Herzegovina as well<sup>64</sup>.

Kukuljević describes Bosnian and Herzegovinian Christians as people who do not accept the current situation. They are organized and as outlaws they resist the Turks. This is also mentioned in his narrative “Brothers”. Kukuljević’s outlaws are hiding in a big cave around the fire and crucifix. They are not “evil-doers” but simple “Christians”, people of Bosnia<sup>65</sup>. He compares these outlaws with those described in his narrative “Bulgarian”, published in the same year (1842). In this narrative they are “thieves” gathered around their dirty business, regardless of their religious differences<sup>66</sup>. The outlaws in “Brothers” are ordinary people who organized themselves against the Ottoman terror. Their leader is an excellent orator, and their aim is to revenge for all misfortunes from the past, and they should set an example to other Christians under Ottoman rule. They are defined as a union of free men who are ready to sacrifice themselves in order to defend their freedom and honour. They are aware of their “Bosnian” and Slavic origins, they abandoned fear, and offer the heads of their enemies to the altar of the homeland<sup>67</sup>.

Kukuljević sees the solution of the tragic situation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in rebellion against Ottoman power. As early as in “Juran and Sofija” he wonders how long the homeland will endure the “Turkish bastards” and when the “sun” will chase the Turks away<sup>68</sup>. In “Bulgarian” he says that freedom and independence of these Slavic nations is a matter of historical necessity. The time of “general enlightenment and noble thoughts” has come, and the nations are awake with “sleeping love towards their nationality”. The “torch of freedom” has enlightened the darkness of “-Turkish” Slavs, but only the Serbs have responded in this new era<sup>69</sup>. Potential rebellions have to be prepared and they need the help from the others. The leader of the outlaws in “Brothers” tells Jaromir, a Croat, the following: “when you hear the sounds of Bosnian trumpets at Croatian borders and in your whole country, in your bliss, remember us, misfortunate people, and be with us, your brothers and give us your helping hand”<sup>70</sup>.

The idea of rebellion against Ottoman rule is also present in Kukuljević’s later work. In his poem “Slavs, Don’t Give up” (1848), he calls the Slavs to wake up, to start the rebellion, “refinement”, and cease to be the servants of Germans, Hungarians, Ita-

<sup>62</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Narratives, 29

<sup>63</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Selected Works, 137-138

<sup>64</sup> *Danica*, 10.X., 24.10., 31.X.1846.

<sup>65</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Selected Works, 127, 132

<sup>66</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Narratives, 40, 42

<sup>67</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Selected Works, 133-137

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid*, 200

<sup>69</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Narratives, 25, 26

<sup>70</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Selected Works, 139

lians as well as Turks<sup>71</sup>. In May 1848 he negotiates with the Serbs in Srijemski Karlovci and Belgrade as a member of Jelačić's delegation, where he also met the representatives of Bosnian Christians and "Turks". "They are afraid of us, of our attack"<sup>72</sup>. On the other hand, Kukuljević was afraid of the possible attack from the Bosnian "Turks". Croatia was under the threat, so he demanded the return of troops from Italy. He explained that with the danger such as "anarchy" or "the Turks" that could devastate Croatia<sup>73</sup>.

He wrote more about Bosnian Moslems (he mostly calls them "Turks", but also "Bosnians" and "Herzegovinians"), than about Christians living in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Like many other revivers, he saw Bosnian "Turks" as underdeveloped and barbarian people. These attitudes can be seen from "Juran and Sofija". When Sisak was under siege, "Bosnians" were looking forward to fight and kill the Croats. Mutual history was not important to them, but only the duties that they had to perform for the Turks. "Let us go against the Croats; Let our troops beat them!". The life of a Christian is worthless for them. In this drama Christian characters often call the "Turks" simply "the bastards"<sup>74</sup>. The example of such a "Bosnian" is their leader Hasan-pasha. He is bloodthirsty and he would kill for his causes. He offers bribe and tries to kill an innocent woman. He is totally inferior in comparison with moral values of Croatian hero Juran<sup>75</sup>. The critics of the time approved this description of Hasan-pasha, as a marvellous prototype of a "renegade Bosnian" (Bosnian who turned Turk)<sup>76</sup>.

The scenes of "Turkish" cruelty can be also found in narratives "Brothers" and "Bulgarian" from 1842. Christians claim that the "Turks" are "very brave and bloodthirsty" and they compare them to wild beasts, lions and wolves. They plunder and take away people's property as well as men. Women are used for their own "pleasure", children are turned into Turkish "bastards", and men are captured, taken to distant lands and sold like slaves<sup>77</sup>. The "Turks" simply enjoy cruelty and destruction of old traditions, so it is not a wonder that there is a rule of "Ottoman tyranny, Turkish mess and never-ending disputes"<sup>78</sup>. The roots of such behaviour should be sought in their upbringing, as they have no knowledge of "crafts" and advantages of "peaceful civil life". They do not respect their own government and they are defiant even to a Bosnian vizier<sup>79</sup>. At the beginning of the '40s Kukuljević actively works on his unpublished drama "Jure Kaštriot Škenderbeg". Here he explains a lot about the mentality of "renegades", their wish for luxury and power, but it is in fact slavery in a golden cage<sup>80</sup>.

<sup>71</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Selected Works, 85

<sup>72</sup> SMIČIKLAS, Life and Works, 36

<sup>73</sup> Grga NOVAK, History of Dalmatia III, 126

<sup>74</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Selected Works, 233, 234, 235, 242

<sup>75</sup> Ibid, 213, 227, 228, 267, 268

<sup>76</sup> Danica, 12.X.1839.

<sup>77</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Selected Works, 118, 132

<sup>78</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Narratives, 25, 38

<sup>79</sup> Ibid, 45, 47, 48

<sup>80</sup> Archives of HAZU, XV-23/CII 7



Speaking in front of the assembly of Zagreb County in 1843, he defines the Turkish cruelty as something that runs through generations, and is a matter of origin. He compares Hungarians, Turks, Mongols, Tatars and Huns, and their common characteristics: they all favour luxury, hate the other nations, and have aspirations to destroy and rule the others<sup>81</sup>. Turkish tendency to cheat and live in luxury is illustrated in his adaptation of Byron's "The Corsar"<sup>82</sup>. In his poem "Revived Sàrbia", dedicated to prince Alexander Karadorđević, he is specially angry at "ugly Moslem son" and he is convinced that "the Turk, our cursed enemy, must fall"<sup>83</sup>. Kukuljević must have been totally convinced into Turkish underdevelopment and cruelty only after the meeting with the merchants from Bosnia, described in his article: "A View of Štajerska, Vienna, Pešta and Požun" in 1847. "The Turks" even kill the Christians for telling them some incredible facts from abroad, thinking that they try to make fools of them (they especially do not believe in the existence of railway)<sup>84</sup>.

Kukuljević shares this negative opinion about Bosnian Moslems with the other revivers. While the others think that they are lost cases, Kukuljević believes in their "rehabilitation" and potential human values. This attitude is clearly seen in his narrative "Brothers", where Mujo, Herzegovinian, is a supervisor of the slaves (!!!), but he respects honourable behaviour and honesty although he "was Islamised, yet true Illyrian and Herzegovinian in his spirit and by his origin."<sup>85</sup> The Croat Ivan does not know what to admire more in Mujo: "great spirit, or rare honesty of that man". Mujo's feelings of "brotherhood" are stronger than the feelings for his "state", so he embraces Ivan's ideas of "Illyrian kin" and Slavic brothers. Deeply touched, Ivan hugs him like a father of his own<sup>86</sup>. Kukuljević also warns about the obstacles that could prevent the integration of Moslems from Bosnia and Herzegovina. Mujo does not want to join Ivan and come to his homeland because "your countrymen do not stand to live near a Moslem". Mujo does not want to abandon his deep religious feelings, but in the end says: "...and always remember your Herzegovinian, he is a "Turk" but an Illyrian as well, and he will never forget his brothers"<sup>87</sup>. Mujo is not the only Moslem from Bosnia and Herzegovina who behaves in such a manner. Kukuljević also respects a pasha from Herzegovina (Ali-pasha Rizvanbegović?) for he is a benefactor who loves national poems and who respects women, and has a harem only because of the "custom"<sup>88</sup>.

In "Brothers" Kukuljević expresses his conviction in the power of education as the key element of all changes. As early as in 1847, in his work "A View of Štajerska, Vienna, Pešta and Požun" he asks the Christian merchants from Bosnia whether the

<sup>81</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Selected Works, 624-625

<sup>82</sup> Ibid, 281, 282, 291

<sup>83</sup> Danica, 18.V.1844.

<sup>84</sup> Danica, 6.II.1847.

<sup>85</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Selected Works, 124

<sup>86</sup> Ibid, 127-130

<sup>87</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Selected Works, 124

<sup>88</sup> Ibid, 140-141

“Turks” would be better towards their Christian fellow-citizens if they were educated. The merchants answer that the prerequisite for the education of the “Turks” is to take away from them their monopolistic power in Bosnia and Herzegovina”<sup>89</sup>.

Kukuljević’s Christians from Bosnia and Herzegovina are undoubtedly seen as victims who are deeply deprived of their rights and severely tortured by their Islamised fellow-citizens. However, they are not (or at least shouldn’t be) helpless victims as well. They could organize themselves and fulfil the requirements of the new, free time and become the force that could start fundamental changes. They have every right to expect help from the revived Croatia. On the other side, Islamised population is barbarian, cruel and hopelessly underdeveloped. However, Kukuljević believed that in the direct contact with the “light” of education, the Moslems could not resist the changes, as they have secured some fundamental human values in their hearts, and this can be seen a basis for education.

### *e) The history of Bosnia and Herzegovina*

Apart from his political activities, Kukuljević also intensively worked on historical studies and researches. He is the father of modern Croatian historiography<sup>90</sup>. As a historian, he was also dealing with the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Kukuljević studied the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina that went into the times long before the arrival of the Turks. As early as in 1841 in his article: “Illyrian Epitaphs in Rome” he analyses the epitaphs of queen Katarina Kosača and two other Bosnian noblemen<sup>91</sup>. In “Brothers”, published in 1842, he used some historic elements of “Illyromania” that was very popular at the time. The outlaws gather in Bosnian mountains and hide in a cave underneath the temple of an Illyrian god “Belbog”, which is decorated with ancient inscriptions written in Latin, as well in “ancient Illyrian-Glagolitic script”. Old Mostar bridge was built before the Turks, when “this side of Illyria had its own sovereigns, and when they flourished”<sup>92</sup>. In his article “Die Nationalität in Kroatien und Slavonien”, published in 1841, he states that the title of Bosnian and Serbian kings was “Illirian”<sup>93</sup>.

However, he was more interested in the period when Bosnia and Herzegovina were under the Turks, in particular, in the influence of Turkish conquests on Croatian history. In “Brothers” he talks about the Turks who “were unfortunately in alliance with Illyrians” and managed to conquer and destroy Krbava<sup>94</sup>. In his speech in the Parliament in 1845 he links the fact that the accession to parliament is limited to feudal landowners to the consequences of conflicts with the Turks as “it is time we

<sup>89</sup> Danica, 6.II.1847.

<sup>90</sup> Jaroslav ŠIDAK, *Studije iz hrvatske povijesti XIX. st.* (Studies from Croatian History of 19th Century), Zagreb 1973. (hereinafter referred to as: ŠIDAK, Studies), 6

<sup>91</sup> Danica, 7.VIII.1841.

<sup>92</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Selected Works, 121, 123

<sup>93</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Die Nationalität, 6

<sup>94</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Selected Works, 116

started inviting our noble heroes in the parliament, who acquired their nobility with arms”<sup>95</sup>.

In “Bulgarian” Kukuljević summed up the results of century-old Turkish rule. They turned “the dearest” population of “Illyrian-Slavic” states into slaves, devastated once powerful states of the past: Serbia, Bulgaria and Bosnia. They encouraged disunion, destroyed “lawful beliefs” and love of knowledge, and brought barbarism. The Turks ruined numerous cultural sights and works of literature. They abused of the great warrior’s potential of enslaved nations to “intimidate these countries and all countries of the world”<sup>96</sup>.

Kukuljević is particularly interested in Turkish use of “potentials” of conquered “Illyrian-Slavs”. At the beginning of 1840s, in unpublished drama “Jure Kaštriot Škenderbeg” he says that the Bosnian (which was later corrected) janissary renegades are “the pillars of Ottoman Empire”<sup>97</sup>. In his article “Some Adventures from Great Illyria”, in 1842, he talks about the successes of “Illyrians” “of humble nation” and emphasizes their great achievements under the Turkish dominance in the way “so to say, that they could really rule the world”. In spite of that, these individuals have done almost nothing for their own people, as they only served the strangers<sup>98</sup>. According to Kukuljević, Slavs are eager to accept foreign ideas too easily against their inherent feeling for freedom and equality<sup>99</sup>.

He further elaborates this topic in his article ““Our language in earlier centuries. At the Ottoman court, among Hungarian, Austrian and Turkish delegations, and in municipal life of the kingdoms of Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia” from 1843. Kukuljević believes that the Slavs deserve the credit for Turkish rule on the Balkans, as well as other conquests in Europe and Asia. They have outstanding qualities of the mind and spirit. Slavs hold the highest positions in the state, they are excellent writers and teachers. “Slavic” language is so highly appreciated that even the sultans learn and understand it. He quotes some foreign sources and authors who claim that “Slavic” language is wide-spread in the Ottoman Empire, and gives numerous examples how this language is spoken at the Ottoman court. He emphasises the fact that at the time of Sulejman the Magnificent “Rustem was the Great Vizier, Croatian by birth and a renegade”<sup>100</sup>. In his article “Ivan Oršić”, published in the same year, he talks about the siege of Constantinople and “countless” janissaries, “all Serbian, Bosnian, Bulgarian etc. renegades”<sup>101</sup>.

<sup>95</sup> Ibid, 639

<sup>96</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Narratives, 25

<sup>97</sup> Archives of HAZU, XV-23/CII 7

<sup>98</sup> Danica, 22.I.1842.

<sup>99</sup> ŠIDAK, Political Activities, 59

<sup>100</sup> Rustem-pasha “Croatian” (around 1500-1561) ruled the Ottoman Empire as a Great Vizier during the reign of Sulejman the Magnificent, when Ottoman Empire was at the peak of its power. Enciklopedija leksikografskog zavoda, sv. 5., 1969., 567; Danica 28.I.1843.

<sup>101</sup> Danica, 25.III.1843.

The contents of his article "Our language..." are mostly repeated in another article from 1844: "Berühmte türkische Renegaten aus dem sudslawishen Stamme". Here he provides a catalogue of prominent "renegades". He promises to give a survey of prominent Islamised Southern Slavs, but in practice the list is totally limited to prominent Bosnians and Herzegovinians (20 examples), Croats, "Dalmatians" and "Slavonians" (14 examples). In this article he glorifies their influence without negative connotations<sup>102</sup>. Kukuljević insisted on prominent individuals, because he believed that the purpose of history could be found only in individuals who were the bearers of historic events<sup>103</sup>.

In his speech in the Parliament in October 1847, he was more critical towards the prominent Slavs who distinguished themselves under Ottoman rule. According to him, "our nation" has given the Ottoman Empire the most glorious viziers, dukes and regents who removed and elevated their emperors, but for the lack of "national spirit" this nation has never defended their own "language and nationality" and therefore still has to endure the Ottoman tyranny<sup>104</sup>. This speech is characteristic for its educational tendencies, and typical for Kukuljević's attitudes to history<sup>105</sup>.

Educational tendencies are also expressed in article "Our expectations from the future war" in 1848. His warning is attributed to the danger of warship for foreign interests, where Kukuljević gives an illustrative example of "our janissaries". They were exceptionally successful as Ottoman warriors, but their credit was tyranny, underdevelopment, barbarism and "Turkish stink". A man should fight for himself, and not for a stranger<sup>106</sup>.

Kukuljević is primarily interested in the history of Bosnia and Herzegovina during the time of Ottoman rule. On one side, it is the example of tyranny for "Illyrian Slavs" because of their mutual conflicts, neglect of their own culture and susceptibility to foreign influences. It resulted in total degradation of people and the regions where they lived. On the other side, he emphasizes social mobility within the Ottoman Empire and prominent individuals of Slavic origin who proved to be very important for the governing of the Ottoman Empire. With this notion, he partly rehabilitates the Moslem component within "Illyrian" or Slavic and Croatian communion. From the example of these individuals it can be seen that "Illyrian Slavs" have great creative potentials, but it is not used or used in a wrong way. There are also some signs of criticism on the part of medieval feudal society that used to limit social mobility much more than the primitive Ottoman Empire.

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During the time of Croatian Revival, Kukuljević shows permanent interest in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and tries to recognize Bosnia and Herzegovina as a part of "Illyrian" or Slavic cultural community. Croatia should have a key role in the process of

<sup>102</sup> Luna, 4.V., 8.V.1844.

<sup>103</sup> ŠIDAK, Studies, 7

<sup>104</sup> KUKULJEVIĆ, Selected Works, 642; ŠIŠIĆ, Croatian history, 489-490

<sup>105</sup> ŠIDAK, Studies, 7

<sup>106</sup> Slavenski jug (Slavic South), 12.IX.1848.

uniting Bosnia and Herzegovina with other nations of the same origin. Also, at least one part of Bosnia and Herzegovina belongs to Croatian political community. The Christians of Bosnia and Herzegovina who suffer under the Ottoman tyranny, should be encouraged to resist the terror, and Bosnian Moslems, who are the bearers of that terror, should be educated. The history of Bosnia and Herzegovina is in itself an example of devastating consequences of conflicts as well as outstanding careers of Islamised Slavs who are the best examples of “geniuses” among “Illyrian Slavs”.