

Summary

Fra Lujo Marun (1857 – 1939), Founder, Missionary and Visionary of Croatian Archaeology, Science and Patriotism

Key words: Croatian Antiquities Society, Starohrvatska prosvjeta, archaeological excavations, museum fundus, Croatian archaeology.

10 December 2007 marked the 150th anniversary of the birth of Stipe Marun, who, aged 18, after finishing his studies at the state-owned Franciscan high school in Sinj, joined the Franciscan order on Visovac and adopted the monastic name Aloysius. In the preserved scripts he is most commonly signed as Fra Lujo, the Croaticized version of his monastic name, under which he became famous in professional and scientific circles, as well as in public life.

With his own ambitions, based on the ideas of Romanticism and awakened national consciousness, and encouraged by his Sinj professors, especially history professor Fra Šimun Milinović, later the archbishop of Bar, and Fra Stjepan Zlatović, he began early in his career to research Croatian monuments. During his Visovac noviceship, Marun had already started visiting the nearby fortresses of Rogovo, Uzdah Kula, Kamičak and Ključić, and earned from his colleagues the nickname “our Mommsen”.

During his four-year service as assistant parish priest in Drniš (1881-85), he was visited by Fra Petar Krstitelj Bačić, headmaster of the Franciscan high school in Sinj, intrigued by Tomašić's claim that the king Zvonimir was murdered on the site of Cecela in Siverić and buried in St Bartul near Knin, so they visited Cecela and Petrovac together. Furthermore, they even did some minor digging at Cecela. There were then many ruins visible on the ground at Velika Cecela, among which the most noticeable was the floor plan of large church, and a bit further a large decorated stone cross. In Drniš he was visited by T. Smičiklas and M. Pavlinović, who give the young parish priest new incentive to research monument remains.

Nevertheless, the event of crucial importance for the future of Lujo Marun, as was later shown, was connected with the opposition of the monastery of St Andrew in Knin to the laying of tracks for the Siverić-Knin railway across the monastery's property on the Kapitul site, where the village graveyard of the inhabitants of Potkonje and Ljubač was located. The concerned Zlatović, with the intention of preserving the site, first persuaded Marun to take onto himself the care of the site and the research of Croatian monuments in the Knin area and, intervening with the provincial, he managed to get Marun to serve in Knin from 7 January 1885.

Immediately after arriving in Knin, especially after the announced beginning of works on the railway across Kapitul in August of the same year, Marun and teaching supervisor Dolić published an article in a supplement to *Narodni List* on the danger of destruction, and the need to preserve national monuments, and they also sent letters to Representative Juraj Bjankini in Zadar. Motivated by this news, Bjankini suggested to the Dalmatian Parliament in Zadar, on 30 October 1885, that they quickly name the person who would oversee the laying of the tracks for the Siverić-Knin railway, and to warn all the workers to “*carefully collect and under no circumstances to destroy the monuments of the Croatian past of this country, which can be found in abundance there*”. This suggestion received great support and was adopted at the sitting of 3 December of the same year, when the conditions for the planned overseeing of the works were created. Marun had already in November founded a “Special committee for researching Croatian monuments in the Knin area”.

In agreement with the Committee, and as a part of his parish duties, by the conclusion of Crkovinar, Marun began on 7 January 1886 with the putting into order and fencing of the until then neglected Roman Catholic graveyard on the Crkvina site where, with the intention of building a smaller chapel, he removed the remains of the collapsed church of St Luke in Biskupija, amongst which he found the first inscriptions and “carvings” in stone, and these “stones” were brought to Knin on the 26th of the same month.

Finding out verbally, and from the newspapers, that something old had been dug out in the Knin area, F. Bulić sent a letter to Marun on 26 January 1886, asking for more detailed information on these finds, and then joined in on his own accord, initially only with his suggestions, and after that by inviting all patriots to give financial support to the research of Croatian monuments in that area. The “Special committee for researching Croatian monuments in the Knin area” was not, due to legal reasons, allowed to publish announcements, and so on 3 April 1886 it was transformed into the legally acceptable “Committee for the promotion of excavating Croatian monuments” with Marun as president, its first task being the harmonisation of its acts with existing laws.

At the end of the year, the Committee submitted official copies of the constitution of the “Knin Antiquities Society” to the deputy's office for approval. Two days after the office of the High Royal Imperial Local Government in Zadar, by decision no. 667/V of 8 January 1887 had confirmed its constitution, the Committee published an “Announcement to the Croatian Nation” in all major newspapers which was not supported by either Bulić or Glavinić, even though both of them had actively taken part in its creation and although they had been promising to back it with their signatures. The founding assembly of the Society was held on 3 July 1887.

In the organisation of the Society, the presidential honour was meant for F. Bulić, but he gave it up at the last

moment, afraid of the uncertainty of social activism and possible disgrace and categorically refused to take on the leadership, not wanting to be publicly exposed. In this unhappy circumstance, Marun was forced to take over the leading position, the Assembly chose him as president, and later on he wrote the following about the creation of the Society:

"I felt inside myself enthusiasm for old Croatian monuments, but I knew that I have absolutely no qualifications for this job. Forced by circumstances, I had to take on this leadership, hoping that in the process of the Society's work I would give this position up to a more qualified person, and hopefully to Don Frano Bulić."

Finding himself unexpectedly heading an archaeological society, Marun, as time will show, tied himself to this patriotic organization, which later on founded the First Museum of Croatian Monuments. Due to their interests he came into conflict with his order; those who represented different, according to him unacceptable and damaging, opinions; political and religious opponents; and ignorant and indoctrinated peasants, from whom he barely saved his own life on three occasions, protecting himself in these situations with a pair of revolvers. His commitment to his idea and cause, asceticism and obsession, is best mirrored in his answer to the attack of his opponents, who accused him of autocracy, after more than twenty years at the head of the Society and after the visit of Ban Rauch to the Museum: *"Abuse is excluded by my passionate love for the progress of the antiquities society, which I loved with all my heart and soul, more than health, honour, and, I'm ashamed to say: more than my own soul."*

We cannot say less than that even today, after the thorough study of Marun's legacy. On the contrary, we can conclude that the above sentence is Marun's confession, but also the best formulation which in its fullness depicts the activity and sacrifice of Fra L. Marun.

To depict the life of such a man is a massive, complex and sensitive task. It is a story that is difficult to reconstruct, the material is enough for several biographic novels and films. On Marun, his life and his work, most was written in 1927, the year that marked the seventieth anniversary of his birth and the fortieth anniversary of his care of the monument heritage, and since this year only a few analyses of his work have been published, and one smaller, but worthy and meticulous monographic work.

Although cultural circles in Croatia are, more or less, familiar with Marun's work, there is a need to, once more in marking the 150 years since his birth, remind the public of the striking personality of Marun, who, through his unbelievably persistent and decisive work at the end of 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, ensured for himself a place amongst the most meritorious and respected of Croats.

It is well known that Marun, in proving Croatia's identity through researching its archaeological heritage, visited every village in the area of Dalmatia and numerous archaeological sites in those villages, but also in parts of Lika and south-west Bosnia. On a number of these sites he, alone or through his assistants, conducted the preliminary excavations, gathered the finds and brought them to Knin Museum. However, these attempts are often referred to as dilettante, amateurish, uneducated, unqualified, illiterate, unsystematic, superficial etc. Marun himself, in his modesty, was aware of all of these drawbacks.

And while it's understandable that this kind of opinion of him was held by those of his contemporaries with whom he was in conflict, not because of the above adjectives with which they described his work, but because of objective more principled opinions (in which he was usually proved right, looking from a historical distance), today's approach to the valorisation of Marun's contribution to Croatian historical science and the discipline of archaeology is totally unacceptable and unbalanced. He is often, to his detriment, compared with the educated experts of his time, forgetting that these experts all worked in already existing and, to a certain extent, well organised museum institutions. Therefore historical distance, after the passage of time has washed away all those petty human weaknesses, gives us objectivity in analyzing the work of our predecessors, Marun among them. Time is an important factor when searching for, analyzing and studying unknown and unavailable data on these people, which can serve to frame a more thorough picture of the person we are studying.

After the publication of Marun's "Antiquities Diary", the evolution of this pioneer of ours is clearly visible and noticeable, over forty years of his work, from alphabetic beginner to an enviable literarily and terminologically professional and scientifically mature person. This evaluation is not based on today's contemporary criteria, but through objectivity in accordance with time and the then state of the archaeological profession. Often evaluations are made forgetting when these events took place and which primary goals and tasks were then placed in front of our, now already distant, predecessors. When evaluating his person and work, the use of subjectivity and double standards has to be avoided. Because the quantity and quality of their field work, their presence and documenting of the process of the excavations, the care for the state of the collection, especially if there is not enough data, can result in wrong conclusions.

If we evaluate the success rate of a single life according to its legacy then Marun's work is capital. The significance of Marun's then three-year-long archaeological activity was evaluated by Š. Ljubić at the beginning of 1890 when he wrote: *"You have already beautifully begun Croatian national archaeology which up to now has not even existed; try to raise it to a firm foundation and with it you will raise yourself a monument that will be envied for ever because it is your work."*

It is difficult to know whether Marun found in these words of Ljubić the constant basis and motif for his activ-

ity, but it is certain that Ljubić, undoubtedly the greatest historical and archaeological scientist of the second half of the 19th century from this area, had then already visionarily felt the meaning and greatness of Marun's work.

Knin's isolated position, the opposition of local communities and government bodies, alongside Marun's modesty are important reasons for the then marginalisation of this heritage whose value would be understood only at the moment when somebody by pure chance visited first the First Museum of Croatian Monuments and later the Museum of Croatian Antiquities.

When F. Šišić, the most prominent Croatian historian of the first half of the 20th century visited the archaeological sites of Biskupija-Crkvina and Knin-Kapitul for the first time in connection with the problem of determining the position of the Church of St Mary, seat of the bishops of Knin, he wrote to Marun after his return to Zagreb in the middle of April 1911: *"Having seen all there is from the national Croatian dynasty in Split and then also that in Nin, only then did I recognize the enormous value and importance of your work and efforts over so many years. The truth is that they will say against you that you are a layman, a dilettante and someone even said – 'The destroyer of graves', but all of these complaints are just empty phrases when one sees what you have done. Finally that is not all: because in that area and due to the sorry Croatian-Serbian circumstances and problems, as I have seen myself, it seems that it takes more personal courage and assured persistence than a doctorate in archaeology and systematic excavating."*

Today, after studying the archive material that is available to us in the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments, we refer only to the fact that Marun maintained field documentation, diaries of excavations with the circumstances in which the monuments were found, which were exhibited on window ledges, in rooms with the found objects and available to each visitor of the Museum in Knin. From some torn out pages and field notebooks we can see in what way and how much data Marun gathered when, for example, opening a grave: *"I was in Biskupija. I was viewing the graves which were accidentally found in the garden of Josip Bračić where Filip found an arrow. The graves are made in dry stone, some of tufa and some of limestone. The tufa is cut and measured. The wall is simple and made up of individual stones. The orientation is as usual. Two workers have found four graves; one child's without any finds, the second with one earring with a large bead but disintegrating, the third again with an earring with a bead of wound wire but disintegrating, in the fourth the ring has disintegrated but the stone is preserved. This last one was facing the opposite way with its head where the others had their feet."*

Other than the finds next to the deceased, Marun selectively gathered the deceased's skeletons, deposited them in the Museum and sent them for analysis to anthropologists D. Peričić, Gluck from the Local Museum in Sarajevo and R. Simonović, a doctor in Sombor.

The technical records of the found architecture from the beginning he entrusted to assistants, technicians and architects (construction clerk Čuček, roads supervisor Defin, measurer M. Karlovac, field measurer A. Dundović construction section chancery clerk B. Čenić, F. Radić, Č. M. Iveković, Viličić, Stuparić, V. Ivanišević, E. Dygve...), but their drawings are almost entirely lost to us.

In the archive of the Museum of Croatian Archaeological Monuments, where the archive of the Croatian Heritage Society is also preserved we can find neither the notebooks nor the diaries of archaeological excavations. Their destiny is not known to us except that we can assume that this valuable collection of material has been destroyed during the Museum's many moves and the problems which the Museum's collection has experienced, or can be found jointly deposited and forgotten in some private house's archive.

The original existence of these field descriptions, drawings, descriptions of found artefacts with the circumstances of their finds, is implied by the simple jotted notes on various papers in the mentioned archives and it is a great pity that this data is not available to us. This creates, apart from those monuments which were published and therefore fully evaluated and scientifically interpreted, the impossibility of correct and certain attribution of a great part of the Museum's artefacts for which the location of the find cannot be determined for sure or is wrongly attributed and therefore subject to revision. In this we have to take into consideration that Marun collected the artefacts for the Museum from approximately 200 locations of which some have more than one site.

In his desire to enrich the Museum's collection and gather as many monuments as possible with the goal of proving the Croatian identity and independence of Croatian archaeological treasures and thus also the museum in which they are preserved, Marun developed an extraordinary field activity which from our point of view today seems unbelievable. Alone with the help of his assistants he discovered some ten old Christian and over thirty medieval churches, most of which he partially and some of which completely investigated. Of the old Christian churches the most extensive investigations were carried out in Bilice, Piramatovci, Žažvić, Korlat, Mokro Polje, Biskupija-Katića Bajami, Biočić, Siverić-Cecela and Potravljje. Special attention was placed on the excavation of the medieval churches in Biskupija (Crkvina, Stupovi, Lopuska Glavica, Bukorovića Podvornica), Koljani, Cetina-St Saviour, Garjak, Podosoj, Knin-Kapitul (two churches), Knin-Tvrđava, Knin-Spas, Plavno (two churches), Siverić-Cecela, Žažvić (medieval phase), Nin (St Mary, St Ambrosius), Kula Atlagića-St Peter, Šopot, Lepuri, Otres, Lišani Ostrovički, Bribir (two churches), Uzdolje, Tepljuh-Mramorje, Bratiškovci, Plastovo, Ičevo, Mokro Polje and Morpolaća.

The sites were looked over and usually some minor attempts made at excavation for the purpose of determining the remains of earlier churches in Gradac near Drniš, Muć Gornji, Brnaze, Vinalić, Bačina-St Andrew's, Nevidani, Biograd (St Mary and St Thomas), Vrana, Perušić, Budak, Ždrapanj, Kruševo, Galovac, Šibenik-Donje Polje, Sitno (Koprno), Trbounje, Ostrovica, Đevrske, Smrdelji, Ključić, Nečven, Čučevo, Ervenik, Turić, Kninsko Polje (Kovačić) and Vrpolje, as well as Lipa and Lištani on the south side of Livanjsko Polje.

To the collection numbering almost two and a half thousand stone monuments which were brought mostly from these sites to the Museum, we need to add over three thousand small items gathered while investigating medieval graveyards. This collection was also enriched by 600 items from the pre-Croatian era (prehistoric and ancient) which Marun usually collected through purchase as well as around 1300 Roman stone monuments which, as well as through purchase, Marun collected through excavations of Roman sites. He was involved in their investigation from the very beginning of his archaeological activity even though this was not in the programme of the Society, intuitively feeling that in excavating the complex and layered ancient sites of Asseria (Podgrađe near Benkovac), Varvaria (Bribirska Glavica) and Burnum (Ivoševci-Rudele), he could find the layout of old Croatian material culture. It was shown that his expectations were justified although with the exception of Bribir, the research of the towns' interiors has not even been seriously begun. Therefore for the time being there exists no documented remains of buildings in them which could directly confirm the continuity of use of that area but Marun found early medieval graves in all three towns which is evidence of life from the 8th century.

A very successful beginning for the research gathering and the finds of many monuments, especially stone ones which were piled up not only in the courtyard but also in the corridors thus overburdening the monastery of St Andrew in Knin, were a good reason for Marun, then guardian of that monastery, at the beginning of 1890 to suggest to the priests the need to build a separate wing for the Museum. He had already then had the idea of the independent development and the scope of work of the Antiquities Society, and had already in 1888 changed the constitution and widened the area of its work to the region of Dalmatia, naming representatives or commissioners of the society who would report on finds, conduct marketing and recruit new members.

This kind of centralised organisational scheme shows the intention of Marun for the society to outgrow the phase of merely collecting material, after the complaints of the more socially respected members on the publication of the book *Croatian Monuments* under the name of F. Bulić, in which the contribution and merit of the Knin Antiquities Society and L. Marun was not sufficiently emphasised, although they were the ones who had supplied the author with the monuments and all the necessary data. At the same time they held consultations and gained support not to give the monuments to other museums and therefore at the Assembly of 1890 they passed a decision for the Society to have its own collection. Marun was in conflict on this matter with the management of the monastery, for despite the provision of the contract to investigate Kapitul, he unified these monuments with those of the Knin Antiquities Society, after which the provincial ordered him to mark them separately and separate them.

Firm and decisive, persistent and assured as he was, led by the thought of the independence of Croatian heritage and of the danger of mixing it with ancient artefacts, by which "*our monuments would be exhibited only to be overshadowed by the stronger monuments*" Marun did not give up the idea of building a separate monastery wing to be the central Croatian archaeological museum and so at the beginning of 1892 he strengthened his marketing activities for the building of a museum building in Knin. In gathering the financial means Marun negotiated with the management of the monastery about conditions for using the building, encouraging its extension and lending the money he had gathered to the monastery, in the end signing a contract with the monastery for a period of sixteen years. This led to the laying of the foundation stone of the first Museum of Croatian Monuments according to the drawings of the Society's vice president J. Slade, which was opened on 24 August 1893 with great folk pomp.

The opening ceremony itself was preceded by tough negotiations with the Municipality which proclaimed the ceremony a political and not a cultural event and banned the Society from any further investigations, and the invitees to the Museum's opening ceremony from visiting the site of Crkvina. However, after a complaint was made, the Municipality allowed visits to the sites accompanied by only one member of the Society but not Marun, and forbade any kind of speech and sought that the presentation envisaged to be given at Stupovi instead be given on Kapitul. The regional government asked all speeches to be sent to them to be examined. The participants of the trip who came in 25 carriages to Biskupija were met by organised protesters who caused great discomfort, about which the newspapers later reported. But this could not interfere with the ceremony and the solemnity of the act of opening the Museum. Their own contribution to the event's complete success was made by brass bands from Split and Trogir who treated the 220 invitees of the formal banquet at Knin Fortress with their marching music and the Croatian anthem.

With the formal opening of the First Museum of Croatian Monuments which was attended and shown support by many scientific, cultural and public personalities and institutions and by the simultaneous change of name of the Knin Antiquities Society into the Croatian Antiquities Society, the initial stage of the development of the research of Croatian national monuments was brought to an end.

Through the building of the Museum, along with the solved question of the monuments' home, the conditions

for further development of the activities of the Museum and the Society were secured. With the intention of improving scientific and expert work, and the quality of processing the found material, the Assembly made a decision to found a museum library. The improvement of the Museum's activities was helped by the lucky circumstance of being able to purchase the neighbouring building. Using the benefits of the monastery, Marun at the end of the year signed a contract on behalf of the Croatian Antiquities Society for the purchase of the Fontana house, situated next to the southern wall of the First Museum, for which he was criticized by the provincial. By purchasing the house, which, for those not in the know only formally caused the provincial's reaction, the Croatian Antiquities Society and Marun made clear their intention to become fully independent, and to remove any kind of outside influence, even from the initiator of its foundation – the province and Knin monastery. Besides, by building the First Museum with only three rooms, one of which was an entrance hall, the housing of the archaeological material had not been solved for the long term, since even at the opening they were already crammed with monuments. Therefore, by purchasing the connected neighbouring building, the exhibition was rearranged and a normal state of affairs was accomplished.

Marun found himself in a very complex situation at the moment of the opening of the museum. He understood from the beginning that due to the seriousness of his project (his enterprise, as he would say), he had to present the results of the work of the Croatian Antiquities Society, and his own, to the Croatian people and this he did through quarterly *Reports and Notes on the archaeological finds in the area of Knin* in the "Herald of the Antiquities Society in Knin" section of the *Newspaper of the Croatian Archaeological Society* in Zagreb. But, with the retirement of Š. Ljubić in 1892, the publication of the newspaper was temporarily stopped. Furthermore, Ljubić suggested to Marun that the Croatian Archaeological Society and its newspaper be transferred to Knin and merged with the Croatian Antiquities Society, but this idea was not supported by Tkalčić, Smičiklas, Rački and Kostrenčić. The Local Museum in Sarajevo wanted to publish the research results in its own journal, but they could not agree with Marun on the conditions of publication, so this possibility fell through as well.

Marun could not rely on F. Bulić and his *Bullettino di Archeologia e Storia Dalmata*, first because of the clash of identity between the Croatian Antiquities Society and the Italian language in which this publication was written. Besides, Marun did not enjoy Bulić's support due to their different ideas about the concept of the Society's role. Bulić did not agree with the activity of the Society in the wider area of Dalmatia, and was therefore against the system of commissioners and the change of name to the Croatian Antiquities Society, the foundation of the Society's collection and then the Museum – which ensured housing for the Croatian monuments, the foundation of the library and the starting of its own publication, seeing in this the weakening of the role of the central museums, and thus of his own role. These were precisely Marun's goals, who never denied Bulić's expert and scientific status, always showing him the greatest respect. Tensions between the two escalated before the Assembly and opening of the First Museum of Croatian Monuments, because Knin was left out of the invitees' itinerary at the 1st Old Christian Congress in Solin, and Croatian national monuments were omitted from the Congress's programme. Bulić was sharply criticised by Š. Ljubić amongst others for this decision.

Four days after the Assembly concluded that, in case the Croatian Archaeological Society's publication *Viestnik* ceased to be printed, they should print their own publication, Don F. Bulić, his nephew L. Jelić and five other members of the Society submitted their written resignations.

After leaving the Croatian Antiquities Society, Bulić in 1894 founded the Bihač Society for Researching Domestic History in Split, while Jelić, distancing himself from his uncle, later founded the Zoranić Society in Nin. One positive consequence of this conflict was this multiplication of societies with similar programmes, which led to the increase in scientific activity in the areas of the early Croatian state, where Croatian monuments had become extremely endangered.

Therefore a decision was made at the 8th General Assembly of the Croatian Antiquities Society to found special collections in Nin and Biograd, to protect Croatian monuments from being removed.

The establishing of a connection with the Local Museum in Sarajevo, in whose director K. Hormann, and archaeologists K. Patsch and especially Č. Truhelka he found valuable colleagues and helpers, Marun would appreciate to his death. This cooperation was especially successful in protecting the museum's material, and so the first conservation projects were started on swords, spurs and other similar metallic objects, on the conservation and reconstruction of ceramic vessels as well as on studying osteological material (skulls). Later on, museum employee Josip Pichler was sent to the Local Museum to perfect his preparatory and conservation skills.

Apart from researching archaeological sites and gathering monuments, Marun and the Croatian Antiquities Society worked on protecting various elements of cultural heritage. Among his greatest successes is the saving of Knin Fortress.

After the fortress, in the second half of the 19th century, lost its strategic importance and became a burden to the Austrian army, a tender for its sale was published in 1894. The Croatian Antiquities Society reacted to this with a letter of intention to buy the fortress and chronologically setting out its historical and cultural importance, opposing its destruction and tried to get the province to buy it. Since no buyers answered the first tender, the auction

was postponed. At the end of 1897, Marun found out that the fortress would be offered for sale again and hurriedly published texts opposing its public sale. Succeeding in preventing the auction and ensuring for the Society the direct purchase of the fortress as a monument, Marun, due to the Society's lack of money borrowed the required amount and on 11 November 1898 bought Knin Fortress. Thus he prevented local businessmen, some of whom were members of the management of the Croatian Antiquities Society, in their intention of dismantling it and selling it as building material. Through this decisive action and preservation of this exceptionally valuable cultural object, he made enemies among the local people who, from that moment on, used every opportunity to discredit Marun's person.

Knin Fortress and the ruined buildings within it later played an important role in the development of the Museum. After the 16th General Assembly of the Croatian Antiquities Society was held in 1906 in its own, completely renovated, museum building – the Fontana house, St Andrew's monastery expressed the desire to end the contract for the lease of the building to the First Museum, even before the expiry of the contracted period of time. Therefore, the Society looked for help from the Ministry of Worship and Education in financing the building of the Museum within Knin Fortress, so that after leaving the monastery's premises, all the monuments could be moved there.

The ministry did not provide any financial support for the museum buildings in the fortress, but it gave the task of making plans for the Museum to Ć. M. Iveković. Iveković made drawings for the new Museum, with two alternate locations: inside the fortress next to the church of Sts Cyril and Methodius, or in Gajić beneath the fortress. The Ministry, that is the Central Committee in Vienna, did not accept either of these locations but suggested a third one, in the lower part of the fortress next to the paupers' house and near the public house. Its construction was delayed by World War I. In the meantime the Society renovated several buildings inside the fortress at its own expense and by 28 February 1913, when they had to leave the monastery's premises, they had left the rented monastery rooms (The First Museum of Croatian Monuments). The monuments from the Old Croatian period were left in the Fontana house, while the objects from Antiquity and most of the library were moved to the fortress.

Apart from the building interventions on the property in Knin, Marun directed his interest and the Society's activity of 1910 to the ancient sites of Burnum and Varvaria, most of all because he expected to get cooperation and financial help from Archaeological Institute in Vienna for these. Therefore, for the needs of the research of Burnum, Ć. M. Iveković made drawings for a museum and a keeper's house, and after visiting the site with Marun, they erected on the forum, under the portico ceilings, on the west side, a wooden house which was then rented out to the Viennese Archaeological Institute, which cooperated in the research from September 1912.

The Archaeological Institute from Vienna, which used the wooden house on the site, and the Croatian Antiquities Society signed in 1913 a contract on mutual obligations in researching that site. The construction of a lapidarium was planned at the site, where all the Roman monuments from the Knin museum and the municipality building in Kistanje would be placed, and a watchman for the monuments would be employed.

In mid 1917 the wooden house was dismantled, and the monuments inside it transferred to the still unfinished stone house in which all the openings had been filled in. The roof was put on the house the following year, and the Croatian Antiquities Society received rent for it from the Archaeological Institute. But in July and after that in October of this final year of World War I, the house was broken into and some of the building materials were stolen from it. The damage and theft, which threatened complete ruin and theft of the stone, continued to the next year, the roof was destroyed and taken away, the rare Roman fountain was destroyed and broken into pieces, with all its monumental stone removed, and the same happened to the magnificent "porticos" of this town. The stone monuments were moved to Knin, and only the naked walls remained of the building, which stayed like that until 1928. After the initial systematic excavation of Bribir in July 1910, and the full-blown excavations following the decision of the municipal council of Skradin to give the Croatian Antiquities Society the right to dig on municipal grounds in the area of the whole municipality, construction of a field house was begun on municipal land below Glavica above the priest's house, but the local inhabitants forcibly stopped the construction of the house and filled in the dug out foundations. Therefore, Marun decided to start its construction on land purchased by the Society at Glavica. In one of the rooms inside the house, which was covered by a flat concrete roof and finished in 1913, were placed the found monuments. But, at the beginning of World War I, the house was requisitioned and used as a dwelling by officers of the Italian Army, and after they left the collections were found to have been damaged.

In accordance with the conclusion of the Assembly in 1894 to produce their own publication if the Croatian Archaeological Society's *Viestnik* was not continued, Marun, despite strong opposition from his contemporaries and Bulić's fellow thinkers, started his own publication *Starohrvatska Prosvjeta*, in which he not only published summary reports, but also the archaeological material from the Museum's collection with the circumstances in which this material was found, analytical articles and discussions dedicated to "*all circumstances of the Croatian people in the period from the 7th to 11th centuries; from their settlement in these southern regions to the loss of their independence, and I shall only occasionally deal with its later periods.*"

In the search for a qualified expert editor, after his split with Bulić and Jelić, the only two qualified archaeologists in Dalmatia, Marun relied on the diligent and well-read Frane Radić who after two years of Polytechnic in

Vienna found a job as a teacher of theoretical work in the vocational school in Korčula, which had departments of shipbuilding and stonemasonry.

Under his editorship over ten years, *Starohrvatska Prosvjeta*, the first professional publication for the Middle Ages in Croatia and amongst the Southern Slavs, was published, apart from during 1899 and 1902, regularly in 22 volumes, showing the public the archaeological finds, circumstances in which they were found and topographic data of the sites.

The editor's geographical distance and busyness complicated the regular publication of the magazine and, after the publication of 1899 was skipped, Marun suggested to Radić to take on Č.M. Iveković as co-editor. Radić did not approve of this suggestion, even though, shortly after this, because of his numerous commitments and expecting a job in Dubrovnik's teacher training school, he suggested the postponement of the publication for 1902 and this led to a short cessation of cooperation. Even after accepting Radić's demand of a pay rise of 200 kuna per issue, only two issues were published in 1903 and one double issue in 1904. Therefore Marun started thinking about editing three or four issues himself, informing Radić that he would continue to edit the following years' publications. Initially, Radić agreed to this, but after that he kept the work of editing those same issues for which he prepared three supplements.

In such an invidious situation Marun even considered closing *Starohrvatska Prosvjeta* which was refused by the members of the Society's scientific committee, F. Radić, P. Kaer and V. Vuletić-Vukasović.

Faced with different attitudes Marun, at the General Assembly of the Society in 1904, opened a discussion on the need to publish the magazine which Radić, as well as insufficient commendation of the scientific committee and himself as editor considered to be belittling his work and he therefore sharply argued with Marun. Wanting, however, to link Radić strongly to the Society and the publication, Marun considered employing him as an assistant in the Museum and suggested to him an early retirement from teaching. After that, having been pacified by Marun, Radić continued with the preparation of the 1905 issue of the magazine. This work was first interrupted by his move from Korčula to Dubrovnik, where he got a job as temporary and then head teacher in the female teacher training school where he taught drawing, German, geography and physics, and then fell ill at the beginning of October. Although his health soon improved, he was advised to stay away from serious scientific work, which he took hard, expecting that the improvement would enable him to sort out his notes.

After Radić recovered, Marun visited him in Dubrovnik in order to arrange details of further publications of *Starohrvatska Prosvjeta*. However, Radić, due to his obligations at school where he taught Italian, geography, mathematics and pedagogy, had no time for any other activities and could not accept the editorship of the publication for the next two years. He suggested that Marun find a new editor, but remained in close correspondence and connection with the Croatian Antiquities Society and Marun.

Marun started looking for a new editor, one who was renowned in expert and scientific circles, to restart the magazine together with the longstanding vice president of the Croatian Antiquities Society, Č. M. Iveković, and an offer was accepted by F. Šišić. He and Iveković planned to renew *Starohrvatska Prosvjeta* as a quarterly, of which the first issue would be published in September, and the second at the end of 1914. Due to the lack of funds, this edition was postponed, and finally cancelled because of the start of the war in 1914.

During World War I, Marun researched the three-apsed early Christian basilica at Cecela in Siverić. Due to misunderstandings with the guardian he left the monastery in 1917 and moved to the Museum (Fontana house).

With the fall of Austria, Marun, based on the ideas of Pan Slavism and prosperity in a joint state of all South Slavs and expecting to find in it understanding for the Croatian Antiquities Society and its Museum, accepted the programme of the "Peoples Council". Although seriously ill, after all the Catholic priests in Knin avoided making a speech to bless the unification, on 15 December 1918, after almost thirty years, he climbed the pulpit of the Catholic church and made a speech on unification and freedom in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes.

After Knin, on the basis of international agreements, fell under Italian jurisdiction, the Italian army moved into the fortress on 13 December 1918. Due to Marun's political attitudes, the occupying Italian government arrested him along with Dr Bogić and Bečker on 21 January 1919 and after Šibenik's Fondocco prison moved him to the prison in Ancona where he was seriously mistreated. After diplomatic action from France, Marun was released and returned to Knin on 30 January. On 6 February the same year he prepared a registry of the damage done by the Italian army.

Because of his unrelenting attitude and opposition to the Italian army which had moved into the museum buildings inside and below the fortress, the Italians expelled him from town very soon (evening of 15 March). Due to his political attitudes and participation in the public demonstrations against the Italians on 9 June 1919 in Split, he remained isolated in Sinj monastery.

Despite this he was thrilled by the resolution from the meeting of Dr Vuković, Dr Bulat, Catholic and Orthodox clerics held in Bitelić at Don Miho Barada's house on 17 May 1919 and took an active role in a meeting of both Christian denominations in Split on 3 September 1919 where, as one of three representatives he visited the bishop, state and town officials. M. Barada, J. Grabovac and L. Katić, amongst others, were present at this meeting.

Because of his political convictions, he was attacked again, first by the monastery guardian Kotoraš, and then by the provincial, finding reasons for this in Marun's mining business.

Namely, after being expelled by the Italians, Marun first hid in the monastery in Sinj, and then moved to the monastery of Our Lady of Health in Split, where he spent about twenty days, but which, due to the terrible diet, he left on 3 April and went back to the monastery in Sinj. After refusing the provincial's order to return to the Split monastery, Marun was soon accused of private entrepreneurship in connection to the mining of coal in Ruda, Garjak, Sinj-Nebesa and Potravlje, and explained his work in the Cetina and Ruda coal mines as advisory, for the purpose of protecting the interests of domestic wealth and local managerial capital.

It is interesting that, before Cikojević's second letter Marun talked to him and informed him of all his mining work, which he would not easily abandon. At the same time he suggested to him the implementation of quiet and discreet secularization, without scandal. On the back of the provincial's second letter Marun made a note to minimise his involvement in mining and he planned to make a final decision on secularization after his return to the Museum, i.e. Knin.

With the intention of reasoning with Marun, Father Kotoraš, Melada and Belamarić encouraged the peasants and miners to go on strike, encouraging them because it is "about Marun".

Due to his differences with the management of the Sinj monastery, the provincial sent him an "obedient" again (*Literae obedientiales*, 1 January 1920) about a transfer to Split. Marun did not accept this, justifying his position with his care for Croatian Antiquities Society and the Knin Museum to which he planned to return as soon as the Italians left "one of these days", writing to the provincial that he would then "move out of your way in regular fashion thus freeing you from the sufferings of Job."

After the provincial's visit to Sinj and Marun's refusal, because of the state of his health, to go to any other monastery, the provincial sent a letter on 7 April 1920 in which he ordered guardians and parish priests not to accept nor support monks who defy the will of the heads of the Province, and to make them go to their assigned place in the course of eight days, under the threat of suspension *a divinis*.

Therefore Marun, in his letter, asked the provincial for secularization, on which he had decided in 1917, and in 1918 made the first steps in that direction. In the same year he apostatised, because he was not allowed to leave the Order.

But Marun was ordered, in case he did not move to Split, to leave Sinj monastery immediately, which he did on 16 April 1920, moving into a Čipčić boarding house.

After this, the provincial sent him a first canonical warning with the threat of excluding him from the Order. Marun did not reply to either the first or the second canonical warning from the provincial (15 and 25 January 1921), in which he would refuse the return to the monastery and under the jurisdiction of its management and he did not accept the provincial's invitation for an interview either.

After excommunication he lived as an apostate from the Order, but he continued to refuse to remove his monk's robes and wear a secular priest's clothes. Šibenik bishop Fra Jerolim Mileta suggested that he send a request through the Ordinariate to the Holy Congregation de Religiosis, in which he had to state his reasons and ask for absolution from excommunication and for the permission for exclauration. The provincial sent him three canonical warnings in 1923 of expulsion from the Order, but Marun did not even answer these, considering his ejection from Sinj monastery expulsion and not apostasy from the order.

He wrote extensively on the events connected to his relationship with the heads of the order to F. Radić on 31 August 1920, pointing to the need for change in accordance with the times which conservatism did not allow, and "it's the reason that we still had the inquisition here in 1823, when three innocent women were burnt at the stake as witches in Zavojski".

Lacking funds, Marun was forced to leave the hotel and rent a room with widow Kata Pendelj, and was disappointed that in spite of his discreetly mentioned financial crisis, neither F. Cota, nor I. Meštrović, who both visited him, offered him their help. He spent four days with Meštrović.

At the end of October he moved into a small house, which was given to him to live in by a good old man, Lešo Bauer, a German by birth, which had been used as his workshop. We have already seen that Marun started getting involved in mining for which he asked and received permission from the Holy Congregation, which demanded that the whole profit, apart from 10 percent for the Croatian Antiquities Society, be put at the disposal of the province's leadership as a condition for doing business in this field. Marun did not like this decision, since he saw a major source of income for the activity of Croatian Antiquities Society in this work, of which he had been put in charge by the Province itself.

This is most likely the reason why after 1902, when his brother and the co-owner Brod signed the initial contracts for the sale of their mines, of which Fra Lujo should have received 1/3 of the sale price without paying any profits to the Province's leadership, a provision was activated from the above permission. The provision was that the provincial would allow him to continue working on Croatian antiquities, only if he stopped his mining business because this was not allowed for members of the Franciscan order. Probably with the intention of relaxing of this

ban, in around 1905 Marun proposed to the provincial the building of thermal power plant run on the coal which he had discovered in Ruduša, but this suggestion was refused as fantasy.

Therefore Marun, through his brother, nephew and some members of the Board of the Croatian Antiquities Society (treasurer D. Špero), continued to deal indirectly in searching for and exploiting, not only minerals but other sources of natural wealth as well.

They were shareholders of the coal mine in Strmica near Knin and many other pits in Vrbnik, Žagrović, Oton, Pađeni, Bender, Plavno, Golubić, Vrpolje, Palanka and other places where Marun discovered asphalt, all kinds of coal, stone with petroleum elements, large quantities of iron, lead with a percentage of silver, copper and bauxite, gypsum, good quality marble, manganese, silver, gold and mineral water.

Marun's research of natural wealth, his ideas, locations and finds of minerals were used: on the river Krka (Manojlovac) – by the engineer Modrić; on the Golubić – by the merchant Lovrić; coal mines on the Bosnian border – by the Cooperative Union; in Sanković – by Sinobad; of bauxite – by Dr. Marušić; of asphalt in Kijevo – by Kramer from Zagreb; of iron in Plavno and Strmica – by Boživković.

After his expulsion from the monastery in Sinj, he travelled around Vrlika, where in the vicinity of St Peter's graveyard, on the site of Trepetljike, by excavating in the water well on the land of Božo Barišić, he found a deposit of lignite but had to close it due to the water coming in. He discovered smaller amounts of coal in Draga that belonged to Otišić. He negotiated 1/4 of the rights to deposits of asphalt on the Dinara for himself and bought shares in Rude Ugljenik for his nephew.

After his return to Knin, excluded from the Franciscan order and therefore freed from the discipline and the burden of poverty, he renewed his mining business in Strmica where he was a shareholder, and also planned to build a brick factory. He had several mining pits for extracting stone (marble?) in Voštani, and bauxite in Tijarica (Aržani) – Svib, as well as in Maglaj. Together with the geologist Tučan, he spent around ten days looking for rich bauxite deposits in Bukovica and one in Unešić. He fought in court for his rights of ownership of the bauxite find in Kalun near Drniš and a coalmine of Rude. He was offered a significant amount of money for one of his bauxite mines. Competing with the Aluminium company, he transferred the pits in Gljev to his nephew Frane and also researched asphalt deposits in Kijevo (gravel) and in Vrpolje.

The Natural History Museum in Split asked Marun, as a good authority on minerals, to send them for their collection a piece of galenite (a lead ore) from the find near Kljake.

Despite Marun's systematic complaints, with which he was trying to point out the lack of the state funding and the lack of care for Croatian heritage, it was his activity in the mining business that ensured the survival and field activities of the Museum, Croatian Antiquities Society and himself as their guardian. Although this business was fictionally run by his nephew, Marun used the money to finance archaeological research in Ostrovica, Otres, Piramatovci and Ždrapanj.

Marun returned to Knin on 4 April 1921, at the same time as the royal army entered the town. In Knin he has found very damaged objects in the fortress, a ransacked library in the Roman monuments building and seven of the most important Roman monuments missing, taken to Italy. Great damage was done to the Society's houses in Bribir (Varvaria) and Ivoševci (Burnum). Because of this the stone monuments from Ivoševci had to be taken to Knin and only the walls remained of the house, which was in the same state in 1928.

In order to care for the heritage, Marun realized from the beginning that for the progress of the Croatian Antiquities Society and the Museum he would need the help of educated experts, such as did not exist in Dalmatia. Therefore he offered the analysis of earrings to Ć. Truhelka, who accepted the offer, and asked for some data on them. F. Radić sent him the drawings of the earrings. But Truhelka kept postponing the writing of the work and in the end gave up on it. As opposed to Truhelka, his colleague from the same institution, K. Patsch, published two volumes on the finds of Roman monuments from the Museum's collection in Knin.

M. Rešetar in Vienna was sent a collection of medieval coins and announced his participation in *Starohrvatska Prosvjeta*.

Lacking educated staff, Marun was forced to engage as associates schooled patriots whom he had contact with and had proved themselves in relation to heritage. So he relied on the priest Petar Kaer, to whom he entrusted the excavations in Prokljani and Bilice, about which he led a diary and published a report, and a decision was made to offer a job of assistant in the Society, in the Museum, to Don P. Kaer.

Marun's attempts to obtain educated staff for the Croatian Antiquities Society and the Museum in Knin were unsuccessful. After a long selection, financial help and a scholarship was given to Jakov Bumber from Drniš, who was first sent to practise in the Archaeological Museum in Split, where he passed his interim and final exams, and after considering Vienna, Belgrade and Zagreb, he decided to study archaeology in Zagreb. Bumber started the second year of university the following year, in spite of his poverty and tiny scholarship. Finding themselves in a difficult position, not receiving a penny for their existence, the Croatian Antiquities Society sent Bumber a non-repayable blank banker's draft for 1000 dinars, giving him the freedom to break all his obligations towards the Society. But, thanks to the efforts of the friends of the Society, Bumber was employed as an assistant teacher at the

beginning of 1923, which alleviated his financial worries somewhat. We do not have any further information on his destiny, except we know he was never an employee of the Knin museum.

Then Marun tried to employ Šimun Grga Urlić in the Museum in 1923, who was then a professor in Šibenik and repeatedly accepted Marun's suggestion, although he was named as director of the Dubrovnik Archive. Although he went to work in Dubrovnik, Marun asked for his acceptance of the position of director of the Knin museum, and Urlić accepted. Marun then asked the ministry of education to transfer Urlić to Knin and reduce the number of his hours in Knin high school so he could also run the Museum, where he would take care of the lists of the collections.

In the summer of 1924, Urlić was granted a transfer but he stayed in Dubrovnik until the competition for the new director of the Archive was completed, so he could hand his office over.

Urlić, however, despite the agreement, was employed full time as a headmaster of the Realna High School in Knin and, due to all the obligations this entailed, the Museum could not count on his significant help even though he lived in the same building and in Marun's absence held the keys to the Museum. From the museum's collection he studied a Cyrillic manuscript and published a text on it in the appendices to *Pavao Pavlović*.

At the beginning of 1926, Urlić was transferred from Knin to be headmaster of the teacher training school in Šibenik and thus ceased even the theoretical possibility of his employment in the Museum.

When, in the same year, Don Lovre Katić came to Knin high school to teach history, Marun started hoping that he could gain an expert associate in him and Katić became secretary of the Croatian Antiquities Society from 1926 to 1929 and after that its expert associate.

Because of his intention and desire to make a bigger contribution to historical and archaeological science, Katić first tried to transfer from local to state service and then, by reducing his teaching hours, engage himself more in the Museum. Through Marun's intervention, his requests were accepted. In spite of this, Katić's work in the Croatian Antiquities Society was not at the expected level, about which Marun complained to him which created a tension between the two.

After mapping out the archaeological sites on the island of Žirje with Marun and Č. M. Iveković, Katić turned his attention more and more to his native Solin where he visited sites and in searching for monuments also examined mounds and houses on the Rižinice site.

Wanting to ensure one constant artistic associate for the Croatian Antiquities Society, Marun gave monthly financial support to museum candidate F. Cota, pupil of the school of sculpture in Split. Cota, on finishing the Academy of Art in Vienna and the first year of architecture studies in Vienna after World War I, was referred to Zagreb to finish his studies. Marun expected great help from him as an architect in excavations and he asked for financial support for his studies from the Brethren of the Croatian Dragon, and after that from the council of Duvno. Cota, in his last year of studies, expected and asked for financial help from the Croatian Antiquities Society and Marun accepted this request but Zagreb district denied him this scholarship even though it was approved. Nevertheless, his employment was planned after his final architecture exam. After graduating (6 April 1929) he was given 500 dinars for a course on chronometric measuring.

In an attempt to secure an expert assistant and administrator for the Museum, Marun sent Hugo Ševeljević to Zagreb in 1924 to study photography at the Archaeological Museum and cast monuments in plaster with Ivan Meštrović. Until his successful end of studies, he was supported by a loan from S. Rittig to the Croatian Antiquities Society. After his return, since the Croatian Antiquities Society did not get a state subsidy, his service was cancelled after only two months but he was allowed to use the photographic laboratory. In 1928 Marun managed to get the money from Zagreb council for his employment as museum clerk, photographer and preparator. When V. Živić was employed as a photographer and preparator, Ševeljević remained only as a driver and on 15 November he was dismissed from that position as well.

The great expectations that Marun had from the newly founded state under the aegis of the Serbian royal dynasty, for whose creation he had suffered greatly, physically, psychologically and emotionally, along with many other honourable individuals determined to stop Italian pretensions to Dalmatia with the integration of Croatia into a new state, turned out to be a delusion.

From the allocated 10,000 dinars help from the ministry to museums and societies for researching domestic history, the Croatian Antiquities Society got only a quarter, which angered Marun. In spite of his request to the ministry of education, which Marun delivered personally to minister Pribičević and received from him the promise of a grant, and in spite of numerous appeals, recommendations and pleas for financial help for the Croatian Antiquities Society and the Museum, none never came and Marun became bitter, disappointed and angry with this attitude of Belgrade's towards this institution. Finding themselves in the greatest financial difficulties and receiving only a symbolic donation from the state despite the decisions of significant financing for the Society, Marun looked for support in Belgrade amongst university professors N. Vulić, J. Radonić, M. Vasić and V. Petković, and in the Serbian Academy of Sciences and Arts (SANU) from its president J. Cvijić, with whom he negotiated the support and sponsoring of the research of Bribir. However, SANU did not give any kind of financial support.

In order to save and preserve the monuments of priceless value, under the patronage of monsignor Dr. Rittig in his flat, met together Marun, Ć. M. Iveković, Gj. Szabo, the director of Historical-art museum, V. Tkalčić, curator of the Ethnographic museum, Dr. J. Matasović, editor of *Narodne Starine* and I. Meštrović, director of the academy of arts. Dr. F. Šišić was in Pest at the time, and it was concluded that this Council would later be joined by Dr. Ante Trumbić as well. Besides this, a group of intellectuals (Ć. M. Iveković, F. Šišić, V. Novak, Stanojević, Gj. Szabo, V. Tkalčić, V. Petković and Čorović) sent an appeal for the Knin Museum with suggestions of solutions to SANU and the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts (JAZU).

In the end, Marun travelled to Belgrade again where for ten days without much success he lobbied for the Museum. Marun saw the numerous appeals and visits to ministries as a humiliation and was not satisfied with the reactions after his lecture to the members of the Croatian Republican Peasants party. He then decided to contact Stjepan Radić directly and tell him about the problems faced by the Croatian Antiquities Society.

On his return to Knin, his personal luggage disappeared from the postal vehicle, somewhere between Zrmanja and Pađen, which contained important Museum documents, over a hundred different photos and several floor plans of researched buildings.

It is interesting that he was robbed on his first visit to Belgrade as well, when a precious pendant that belonged to the noble from the Biskupija sarcophagus was stolen.

Faced with lack of understanding for the Museum and the difficult financial and staff situation in which his institution found itself, he considered moving the seat of the Society and of the Museum to Zagreb. By the intervention of architect S. Podhorsky, who consulted Marun during the building of the memorial church in Duvno for the occasion of 1000th anniversary of the Croatian kingdom, the Brethren of the Croatian Dragon lent the Society 15 000 dinars. But Marun decisively defended the autonomy of the Croatian Antiquities Society and the Museum, confronting anyone who worked in the direction of its weakening, including the offers of Dr. Rittig and the Brethren of the Croatian Dragon as well as its merging with "Bihać". He tried to keep a friendly relationship with all of these "not wanting to be enslaved by anyone".

After the report that Marun submitted at the meeting of the Brethren of the Croatian Dragon on 1 December 1924 about the state of the Croatian Antiquities Society and the Museum, on 5 December he was handed the conclusions with suggestions for a solution in four points. Since these demanded changes in the rulebook and reorganization of the Society, on 8 December Marun held a meeting with Šišić, Iveković and Abramić, at which they refused most of the Brethren's conditions. The main problem referred to the question of ownership over the monuments which would be gathered through excavations financed by the Brethren of the Croatian Dragon. Therefore Marun refused such cooperation. The pressure on Marun was quite strong and so at the end of the year he complained of the hard negotiations he had had in Zagreb.

The already desperate Marun, despite differing opinions, first decided to send an appeal to the people and then gave up that idea but at Easter 1925 he wrote a concept for the text of a proclamation to the Croatian people from whom he expected help. This proclamation was made known to the parliamentary club of the Independent Democratic Party and their intervention in the Assembly was asked for. At the suggestion of Ć. M. Iveković, F. Šišić and the Brethren of the Croatian Dragon, the publication of the proclamation was once more postponed. Surprise over the lack of care and unresolved status was expressed by the governor of the free royal city of Zagreb, Vjekoslav Heinzl, during his visit to the Museum.

In spite of the unsolved question of financing, Marun refused to proclaim the Museum as state owned, justifying this with a claim that the Society "did not get a penny of the promised support and it did not get it only because our society, at its birth 38 years ago, was given a 'Croatian' name, and we will not now, no matter how much we are advised to do so, give it up under any circumstances since this would be, in our opinion, dishonourable and unjustified."

The prepared 20-page-long proclamation to Croatian people, enhanced by vignettes of the monuments and of the Museum building, in whose creation Don F. Ivanišević and M. Abramić also took part, was sent to the National Assembly and the clubs of representatives in Belgrade and was also published in the press.

The proclamation for help did not generate the expected reaction of patriots. Contributions to the Society came mostly from the intelligentsia and Croatian nobles and large landowners, whose "numbers were sadly small, as was their property. The new state has decimated them more than the battle of Krbavsko Field." Several donations were sent by bank savings funds and some municipalities. However, all of these contributions amounted only to a slightly higher amount from the cost of publication of the proclamation.

The efforts of representatives of the Croatian Peasants Party and several other people, amongst them Dr. Angjelinović, and especially the naming of Stjepan Radić as minister of education, resulted in extraordinary help of 100,000 dinars and the inclusion of the Croatian Antiquities Society in the new Budget Act for the year 1926/27 for the same amount of financial support.

Having finally solved the question of the continuing financing of the Society and the Museum, Marun started the process of reorganizing the Society. At the meeting of the Society's council on 18 December 1925, he decided to change the Society's rulebook, emphasizing that the seat should remain in Knin and its collections should under

no circumstances be outside Knin. Their task was to renew *Starohrvatska Prosvjeta* and publish the corpus of medieval inscriptions. The writing of the new rulebook was entrusted to M. Abramić.

In spite of the decision to subsidize the Croatian Antiquities Society, the payment of the planned money was delayed and due to its terrible state and the collapse of the ceiling, the Museum was closed to visitors about which the board informed the press.

The 25th Assembly was held on 23 May 1926. Alongside Marun as president, Ć. M. Iveković was chosen as vice president and L. Katić as secretary. F. Šišić, E. Laszowski, V. Hoffiler, M. Abramić, Lj. Karaman, J. Radonić, S. Stanojević and J. Petrović from Sarajevo were chosen as the members of the scientific council. By a provision of the statute of the Croatian Antiquities Society, it was suggested that JAZU take over all its public property in case of the Society's extinction. JAZU accepted this, with the condition that this did not refer to a possible social liability.

Thanks to the support from the ministry of trade, the Museum's building in the town and the one in the fortress were repaired. Don M. Klarić successfully led the digs in the area of Benkovac and Don L. Katić those in Solin's Rižinice. There were many affirmative texts concerning the Croatian Antiquities Society and the Museum of Croatian Antiquities in the press and in the Almanac of the Kingdom, and Prince Pavle accepted a patronage of the Museum.

F. Šišić started an initiative and in the name of the Croatian Antiquities Society announced the renewal of *Starohrvatska Prosvjeta* which was soon after published again, and two double issues were published in 1927 with him as editor as well as the first double issue of 1928. After Podhorsky left the Brethren of the Croatian Dragon he continued his cooperation with Marun, who was in 1926 included amongst the members of the executive council for the celebration of a thousand years of the Croatian kingdom and the building of a memorial church at Duvanjsko Polje, but only after Marun's demands were accepted, the 12 points of which were to start to be realized in 1926:

1. Renovation of the Museum for the planned exhibition in Knin.
2. Conducting the dig in Bribir.
3. Conducting research of the ruins of St Thomas's basilica in the Jeličić garden in Biograd.
4. Conducting research of the ruins of St Mary's basilica in the Sirotković garden in Nin.
5. Probing next to the church of St Nicholas in Nin.
6. Probing in the orthodox church of St Trinity in Biskupija.
7. Systematic implementation of mapping out Klis field.
8. Conducting the dig in Uzdolje.
9. Rescue and safe deposit of hidden monuments, amongst which the one of Rastimir from Paden.
10. Renovation and preservation from further deterioration of St Saviour's church at the source of the Cetina.
11. Placing of the foundation stone for the new Museum in Knin, according to the plans made in 1910.
12. Publication of the illustrations of all the monuments from the age of Croatian dukes and kings.

Marun sent a signed application and placed himself at the council's disposal only if these suggestions are seriously considered. Otherwise, both he and the Croatian Antiquities Society would remain only onlookers of a manifestation that would not bring any of the permanent results expected of it. After Marun's suggestion was accepted, he gave his consent for membership of the council.

Members of the council visited the Museum on 2 April 1926, when they had a good look around the fortress as well. On this occasion, the painter J. Bužan took a photograph of Marun on the basis of which he later painted Marun's portrait in oil on canvas. It was planned to use the surplus of the money intended for the building of the memorial church in Duvno (one million dinars) to start the building of the new museum in Knin, and the rest of the money was to be secured by the state.

But this action, despite Marun's attempts not to be apathetic for the purpose of achieving his goals, did not bear fruit. Podhorsky and several members of the Council went back to the old idea of the Brother Hood of the Croatian Dragon of moving the Museum and building it Zagreb, which Marun diplomatically refused. But this was the end of the close cooperation between Marun and Podhorsky, who was removed from the list of candidates for membership of the Croatian Antiquities Society, although they continued to express respect for each other.

Therefore Marun asked Iveković to make a drawing for the building of the Museum in Knin in several stages.

For the Congress on Byzantium in Belgrade, which named Marun as one of the members of its council, the Society intended, using the selections of M. Abramić and Lj. Karaman, to publish an album of the monuments from the era of the national rulers. Marun asked for financial support for this but the Ministry only allowed him 5000 dinars. State support was also significantly reduced, to just 30,000 dinars annually, and later this was also stopped altogether.

Because of this, Marun sent telegrams to the parliamentary club of representatives of the Croatian Peasants Party (HSS) and Croatian Federal Peasants Party (HFSS) at the beginning of 1927. With the fall of the HSS from the government, state financial support to the Croatian Antiquities Society completely disappeared.

Zagreb District Council answered Marun's request for financial help positively, wanting to know about the current situation and activities of the Society. Marun complained about Belgrade centralism and antagonism "*towards Croatian heritage, in which they see some sort of separatism.*" Therefore he emphasized that Society had survived four years "*thanks to the sympathy of the HSS, and especially its president Stjepan Radić.*" The state subsidies for the year 1928/29 were not included in the budget because of which an amendment was put in.

Forced by the financial problems, at the 27th Assembly of the Society held on 11 December 1927 Marun ac-

cepted the proposition from the Zagreb district that they take over the ownership of the Croatian Antiquities Society, and with that the care and the expense of the upkeep and further research of the old Croatian monuments. The conclusion was made not to move the Museum and the monuments from Knin. In accordance with the conclusion of the Main Assembly, the Council was chosen (L. Marun, Ć. M. Iveković, F. Šišić and M. Kostrenčić) which on 17 January 1928 signed the contract with the Zagreb District Council (S. Radić, Dr. I. Krajač and Engineer. A. Košutić), with the goal of preserving the heritage and of the future development of domestic archaeology. This contract envisaged also that *“each Croatian region /with a majority of its regional representatives being Croats/ according to their contributions, and the Split region no matter what its contribution, becomes a co-owner at the moment it includes its contribution into its budget.”* After the signing of the contract, S. Radić tried to kiss Marun’s hand, expressing in that way his gratitude for his care and work on Croatian monuments. After Marun refused this attempt, Radić kissed him on the cheek.

At the sitting of the management board of the Croatian Antiquities Society on 27 January 1928, when a new management was constituted (L. Marun, president; M. Iveković, vice president; Don Mate Klarić, secretary and Miro Šimunović, treasurer), an extraordinary assembly of the Society was called for 19 February 1928. It verified the signed contract and, through the involvement of S. Radić, president of Zagreb District Council, transferred all the Museum’s property to the districts of Zagreb ($\frac{3}{4}$) and Split ($\frac{1}{4}$), with obligations in accordance to the ownership to further finance the material and research costs.

Thanks to its president, S. Radić, Zagreb district set aside 350,000 dinars for the Croatian Archaeological Society and Osijek district set aside 100,000 dinars. In spite of this, Marun continued trying to get a regular state subsidy as well for research, preservation and publishing of the Croatian monuments. He asked S. Radić to intervene in these matters as well during the process of amending the budget.

When the board in Zagreb, without consulting Marun, Abramić or Klarić, adopted a decision on the use of funds for further work of the Croatian Antiquities Society, on their own accord and in Marun’s opinion incompetently, he protested and grumbled to Ć. M. Iveković and F. Šišić which brought about the cooling in their relations.

The insistence of the Museum’s new owner on regular monthly administrative reports on expenditure and the naming of Don Mate Klarić as secretary of the Society, Marun seemed to take personally as an attack on his antiquarian work and the lack of trust of the Zagreb District Council, and this *“lack of trust makes me sad.”* Because of this, and due to his *“old age, and consequently weakened body”* he wanted to spend the rest of his life in *“peace”*. With this resignation from his regular duties, he did not deny *“the Society his further love, care and cooperation, in its progress and flowering, because a parent cannot deny these to his favourite child.”* His further work should be considered voluntary *“as I have considered it thus far”, “not tied as a paid workforce, but as a national volunteer, full of experience and love for the cause, and above all permeated by feelings of the greatest responsibility before God and the court of my conscience.”*

The provisions of the basic contract from 1927 in whose drafting, apart from one paragraph, Marun did not take part had two changes in 1928. The last amended concessionary contract from 14 April 1928 defined that *“without exception everything moveable that can be found in the national museum becomes the property of Zagreb and Split districts”* except Marun’s private correspondence. But Marun wrote a letter in which he voluntarily surrendered his correspondence to the mentioned districts, which was accepted with gratitude.

From then on, the Museum of Croatian Monuments existed as an institution of local government.

After the assassination and death of S. Radić, the Croatian Antiquities Society lost a supporter. Marun sent telegrams of condolence and placed a wreath on the bier with the text: *“To the leader of Croatian people, and to our own resurrector – the Croatian Antiquities Society Knin.”*

Marun proposed at the Zagreb District Council the building of a new museum, according to the long finished drawings of Ć. M. Iveković, pointing out to the dilapidated state of the old building, its unfavourable position and atmospheric circumstances (position right next to the main road, near the river – dust and humidity), the tightness of the space which made proper storage impossible, let alone exhibiting or inventorying the museum material, and also the inadequate surroundings suitable for fires (the vicinity of the monastery distillery and the Slavić-Kulić petrol storehouse). This proposition was, due to the weak financial situation, refused.

Accepting the idea of building of the new museum, Ivan Meštrović started gathering money from Croatian immigrants in America.

In autumn 1928, Zagreb District Council donated 10,000 dinars to the Croatian Antiquities Society, with which they conducted excavations in Muć Gornji, Kula Atlagića (St Peter’s) and Šopot, but Marun expressed his dissatisfaction with the bureaucratic Zagreb district which, as opposed to Osijek (100,000 dinars for the excavations in Nin), Split (25,000 dinars) and Travnik (40,000 dinars) asked for detailed monthly money expenditure reports.

With the introduction of dictatorship on 6 January 1929 and the sacking of the Museum’s friends (I. Krajač and others), administrative measures were made stricter and the positivistic attitude of the Zagreb “commissariat” towards the Museum changed. In reports on financial expenditure, they ask for detailed descriptions of the course of excavations, the description of the finds with exact locations of each item and an accompanying plan of the site.

Although Marun, as president of the Croatian Antiquities Society, emphasized his status as director by continu-

ing to sign for some time as a director of the Museum, of the Museum buildings and property of Zagreb and Split districts, with regard to Point III of the contract of 14 April 1928, registered in the registry book in Knin on 25 April 1929, under the number 274/29, all jurisdiction was taken away from him from this day on. The management of the Museum and its property was given over to M. Klarić, the curator of the Museum of Croatian Antiquities, in his capacity as secretary and treasurer of the Croatian Antiquities Society. Formally, in diplomatic terms, Marun was released from his duty due to his old age. On the order of the commissar of the district government of Zagreb, an audit of the bills and financial dealings of the Museum was done and the auditor pointed to messy management and Marun's malversation. Because of this, Marun asked for a quick investigation but the government kept postponing and not conducting it and Marun (and the Croatian Antiquities Society) from November 1929 were not given their legally determined financial support, bringing him thus to the edge of hunger and utter poverty which prompted him to wail: "*Human justice, may the great God kill you!*" The investigation was stopped partly because Marun demanded that several state officials be investigated as well, and therefore the whole case was covered up, although a serious accusation against Marun remained.

To discuss the relations and further work of the Croatian Antiquities Society and Zagreb district, the members of the scientific council, L. Marun, M. Abramić, F. Šišić, Dr. Krajač and Herceg met in Zagreb on 16 April 1929. After returning from Zagreb, Marun made a set of keys for himself so he could continue working in the Museum but Klarić opposed this and he reported the case to the government of Zagreb district. The already tense relations between M. Klarić and L. Marun come with this to an even more intolerant phase and cooperation was difficult. Not even the Museum's photographer was allowed to take photos for Marun of the monuments in Mokro Polje and the Museum's collection, and Marun was reported for some irregularities in the financial dealings and stealing financial documents. The help of the Museum clerks was denied to him as well as the use of the Museum car. The locks on the Museum were changed and only Klarić had the keys. Marun was forbidden from loitering in the Museum and for the purpose of sorting out the Archives he was asked to submit the office files, correspondence and other written material.

Cheated by the state administration, believing in the honourable intentions which had been his and S. Radić's at the moment of the signing of the Contract, Marun remained isolated at the head of the Croatian Antiquities Society, which was completely independent but without moveable or fixed property which had been taken away, apart from by the Museum, also by the district governments of Zagreb and Split. In the end, on 17 December 1930, the document "Closer provisions for managing the property and overseeing the Museum of the Antiquities of Savska and Primorska Provinces in Knin" was passed, in which article 5 reads: "*Fra Luigi Marun, the founder of this museum is hereby named honorary lifelong director with honorary lifelong salary and a lifelong right to lodgings. At the same time, he is, due to his old age relieved of all duties prescribed by law for an active museum director.*"

Although by then he had already been denied a few years' salary, Marun was doing quite well thanks to his investments in industrial activities (mining), securing for himself an annual profit of at least 100,000 dinars, and from 1927 on, from one property (Ervenik?) he was getting a decent rent on which he was able "to live quite decently as a single man". Apart from this, the Adriabaucsit bauxite company went to court asking for the payment of arrears of profits in the amount of 500,000 dinars to Marun, which was denied to him for years by the shareholders who used the law that the monks could not have private property. He was financing the excavations in Mokro Polje with his own money (over 50 000 dinars).

He felt virtually and spiritually rich from the mining profits, because with this money he could support himself and the Croatian Antiquities Society.

After Ban Perović solved all Marun's financial worries with the payment of the arrears, Marun settled the debts of the Croatian Antiquities Society for research in Mokro Polje (to Nikola Sučević for the workers lists 14,525 dinars) and renting the land in Nin (to Ante Pijaca 3,000 dinars).

Encouraged by members of the Croatian Antiquities Society and Ć. M. Iveković, who had to write short reports on the excavations which he was overseeing in Nin, Šopot and Mokro Polje, and for which Marun had, by spending his own money, indebted the Society for 47,446 dinars of the total expenditure of 65,296 dinars, the date was set for holding the Main Assembly of the Society. It was suggested to Marun, with the excuse of it being good for the progress of the Croatian Antiquities Society, to give up his leading position, but accepting his condition that his place should be given to M. Abramić.

At the assembly of the Croatian Antiquities Society held in Knin on 8 April 1931, he formally declined with gratitude the offer to continue being the president of the Society due to his old age and illness. After Abramić also declined the offered honour due to too much other work, Viktor Hoffiler was elected as the new president of the Society, Ć. M. Iveković as vice president, Branimir Šimunović as secretary and Grga Novak as treasurer. Marun was elected lifelong honorary president, and E. Dyggve, due to his many favours to the Society and great achievements in the field of Croatian archaeology, was elected an honorary member of the Society.

Two days later, travelling from Split to Zagreb, V. Hoffiler took the acts from the Assembly and stamps from the Croatian Antiquities Society. With this, Hoffiler became the president of two archaeological societies: the Croatian Archaeological Society in Zagreb and the Croatian Antiquities Society in Knin.

The resigned Marun, removed from the Museum and from the Antiquities Society due to the political circumstances of the time, together with the conscious help of his associates, remained only a member of the Museum's curatorium. This right was in accordance with the obligation of the Croatian Antiquities Society towards the Museum, to support its activities through its members in the curatorium. But, the provinces intentionally did not assemble the curatorium until its normal function became possible, but this was simply aimed against possible interventions by Marun. The first sitting of the council of the Croatian Antiquities Society after the Assembly from 1931 was held on 3 May 1939, after Marun's death.

Since in 1928 he was removed from the position of director of the Antiquities Museum, and in 1931 removed from the position of president of the Croatian Antiquities Society, sad and disappointed, he spent his days lonely in his room, but persistently until his death remained tireless in research and persistent in saving the Croatian national heritage, visiting sites and opening new archaeological sites, financing these with his own money.

For example, he bought from tradesman Nikola Samardžić in Drniš part of the archives of the regional government in Knin, after the official state bodies failed to do this, in connection to which Marun intervened with conservationists already at the time of loading three of the six wagons. At this occasion, the ministry of education sent V. Novak to view the documents in Drniš, and suggested buying some of them, at Marun's choice, but this never happened. It seems that the Ministry of Education referred this case to the ministry of internal affairs, and in the end it was believed that seven wagons of archive materials (1 kg = 2 dinars) which referred to Venetian, Austrian, French, and then Austrian again, rule from the end of the 17th until the 20th century had been completely destroyed. In one of the rooms on the 2nd floor of the Fontana house, after World War II, a pile of documents from the regional court in Knin was found, which were moved there by Marun.

In Mokro Polje, after discovering the grave inside the Sučević family field, he organized in 1933 its research and excavation of the early Christian basilica. On the prehistoric site of Zelića Gradina in Žegar, Marun did some research in 1933 and 1935, hoping he would find there the remains of Stridon, the birthplace of St Jeronim.

From 1935 to 1939, in cooperation with F. Dujmović and I. Ostojić he organized and financed with his own money the research, and paid the owner of the land near St Lawrence church in Šibenik's Donje Polje.

At the spot where research was conducted in 1898 and after the owner of the land found some graves from which initially a large gold plated silver earring was bought, and after that a golden loop found in Crkvina, L. Marun continued the research with his own money during 1936 and 1937, with occasional overview from S. Gunjača and professor Ostojić. A pair of earrings was bought, as well as a single golden earring. Marun handed this work over to teacher Velimir Tešanović. The foundations of the church had been devastated and the stone walls removed by the owner of the land.

Marun asked for help in 1937 through the Museum for excavation of old Croatian monuments at different locations in the province but the province could not help. That year he used his own money to finance the research of the Kapitul, entrusting the dig to Fra Pavao Perišić who found a fragment with a glagolitic inscription, mixed with Cyrillic. L. Marun died on 15 January 1939 around two o'clock in the afternoon in Knin. His whole life had been dedicated to the history of Croatian people and an illustrious task of caring for its precious monuments.

In his will, which he wrote on his eightieth birthday on 10 December 1937, which was opened by S. Gunjača in the presence of witnesses Mate Sarić and Vicko (?)usić on 15 January 1939, he expressed a desire to be buried in Knin graveyard (Vrpolje), without coffin or cover, in an earth grave with permission to bury in the same grave, after three years had passed, "*some poor man who can not afford his own grave.*"

He didn't want to be buried in the Franciscan tomb in the same graveyard because he did not live according to the rules of the Franciscan order. He excluded any sorts of honours, speeches and flowers from the burial service.

In his inheritance, amongst many files there is one correction on the struggle of the Franciscans of the Our Redeemer in Dalmatia against the last Franciscan reforms, which he intended for Fra P. Perišić, and he was left to take and use the great number of letters from individual Franciscans who supported Marun in his antiquarian work, although it "*would be better that these letters, together with the remaining correspondence from last few years wait for the organization of the archives of the Croatian Antiquities Society, and join the letters from previous years, amongst which there is a great number of letters from our Franciscans who have kindly supported me in my antiquarian activity, so that these letters in this room would be better understood as a part of the whole.*"

He named Ivo Andrović, like him from Split, as carer of part of the correspondence, so that he "*keeps it with himself until the Museum archives are organized in Knin, and makes sure that in it everything is placed in order and registered properly.*"

Andrović lived in Zagreb at the time but he sent a letter from there in which he accepted the wish of the deceased and took the necessary steps to preserve the inheritance from deterioration in the Academy. It is unclear why has this inheritance after Marun's death ended up in Skradin with his nephew Frane Marun, who was along with M. Abramić and S. Gunjača named as an executor of the will.

After his death, it is said that the correspondence and the archives ended up with Frane Marun and his son Hrvoje in Skradin and the negotiations for their delivery to the Museum lasted a long time.

Translation: Nicholas Philip Saywell



L. Marun, A. Grgin, F. Bulić i M. Abramić u Muzeju utvrđuju štetu nakon odlaska talijanske vojske 1921. god.



Istraživanja na Bribiru 1913. god.



Siverić - Cecela (1916. - 1918.)