



**SPOMENICI U RATU  
MEMORIJA I SUDBINA**

***MONUMENTS AT WAR  
MEMORY AND FATE***



Sunja, crkva sv. Marije Magdalene  
*Sunja, St. Mary Magdalene Church*

## Andrej Žmegač

### Spomenici u ratu

Raspravljati danas o razorenim hrvatskim spomenicima znači biti zapitan nad ulogama ljudi u ratu...

Kao i uvijek, ljudi su na dvjema stranama, jedni se brane od onih drugih. U nesmiljenome napadu ti drugi ništa nisu prepustili slučaju, pa ni hrvatske spomenike, čija je sudbina zbog toga drukčija i teža no u svim prijašnjim ratovima. Među mnoštvom građevina i predmeta što pripadaju hrvatskoj kulturnoj baštini veliki je broj uništen ili oštećen, no od samoga oštećenja, koje zahtijeva uobičajen restauratorski postupak, zanimljivije su motivacije i namjere počinitelja.

Ishodište ovoga strahovitog rata može se sasvim jednoznačno identificirati: to je rat radi čistih računa. Ako su povijesni uvjeti i volja hrvatskoga naroda doveli do zahtjeva za konačno čistim računima, političke snage susjednoga naroda to nisu (dakako) željele prihvatiti. Tako je jednostavan uzrok ratu. Ono što je slijedilo jest neopisivo raspaljeno nasilje, užasi i uništavanje kojima nema premca. Poveden je rat protiv onoga što je drukčije, što ne pristaje na predviđena pravila igre, protiv hrvatskoga. U uništavačkome pohodu sustavno su rušeni spomenici u glupome uvjerenju da će se tako Hrvatima osporiti pravo na područja na kojima su živjeli. Uobičajeno "objašnjenje" glasilo je da su se spomenici upotrebljavali u vojne svrhe, no tako se nije moglo opravdati njihovo uništavanje i nakon zauzeća nekoga naselja, kao što se nebrojeno puta zbilo. A ako se u nekom spomeniku i nalazio hrvatski vojnik, bio je svjestan, kao i svi mi, da time ne brani samo teritorij što ga vidi sa svoga crkvenog zvonika, već i zvonik sam. Jer napadačeva namjera nije bila samo osvojiti, nego i uništiti.

Spomenici, memorija, važni su Hrvatima, kao i bilo kojemu civiliziranom narodu, iznad svega. To se pokazalo i ovaj put, jer su spomenici dio identiteta što nas razlikuje od susjednoga naroda, identiteta u kojemu, na svu sreću, nema mjesta za nepravdu, laž, podvalu i prijevaru. Naprotiv, on teži za čistim računima, i time smo se vratili leitmotivu svoga razmišljanja. Sjećam se kako me je najviše zaprepastila prva vijest o pogotku u šibensku katedralu; to je jednome povjesničaru umjetnosti razumljivo, no istodobno mu nameće pitanje: što je važnije, ljudske ili spomeničke sudbine, o čemu valja prije skrbiti, o čovjeku ili o spomeniku? Bez obzira na to što se ta dilema javlja samo teorijski, pomogla je shvatiti koliko su hrvatski spomenici njihovu narodu važni.

Vjerovali smo da istodobno moraju biti važni i europskim zemljama i narodima, pa smo pisali pisma onima među njima koji su, poput nas, profesionalno vezani za spomenike. Osobno sam smatrao da je moguće, pobuđujući njihov senzibilitet za uništavana kulturna dobra, potaknuti ih da se u svojim sredinama založe za Hrvatsku u cjelini, za ljude koji su ovdje izloženi

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### Monuments at war

*To discuss war-damaged Croatian cultural monuments these days is tantamount to being questioned as to the part played by individuals in the war which, we hope, is now behind us.*

*As always, those individuals were on two opposite sides, some of them defending themselves from the others. In their ruthless attack the latter left nothing to chance - not even those same cultural monuments, the fate of which was consequently different and more disastrous than in any previous conflict. Of the multitude of buildings and objects constituting the Croatian cultural heritage, a large number have been destroyed or damaged - but of even more interest than the damage itself, which calls for normal restorative measures, are the motives and aims of the perpetrators.*

*The origins of this terrible war may be unequivocally identified: the war is a way of settling old scores. If historical circumstances and the will of the Croatian people led to a demand for a final reckoning, this did not mean that political forces in the neighbouring nation were prepared to accept this conclusion. The cause of the war is as simple as that. What ensued was indescribably furious violence, atrocities and unprecedented destruction. War was waged on anything that was alien, against anything that did not conform to the prescribed rules, against Croatia. In this campaign of destruction monuments were systematically wrecked in the lunatic belief that the Croats' claim to the territories on which they lived could thus be denied. The usual "explanation" was to the effect that these monuments had been used for military purposes - but this explanation could hardly justify their destruction even after the locality where they were situated had been captured, which happened time and time again. And even if a Croatian soldier had happened to be stationed in some such monument or other, then he was well aware, as all of us were, that he was not just defending the terrain he could observe from his belfry, but the belfry itself, for the aggressor's aim was not simply to conquer but to destroy.*

*Monuments, memory, are supremely important to the Croats, as they are to any civilised nation. This was demonstrated on this occasion, as always, for such historical monuments constitute a part of the identity that distinguishes us from the neighbouring nation, an identity in which, happily, there is no room for injustice, lies, deceit and fraud. On the contrary, it is something that seeks an honest reckoning, and thus we return once more to the leitmotif of our reflections.*

*I still recall how deeply I was shocked by the first report of a direct hit suffered by Šibenik Cathedral. This is understandable in the case of an art historian, but it confronts him at the same time with the question: which is more important - the fate of human beings, or of historical monuments, what must we care for first, human life or the cultural monument? Irrespec-*



Nuštar, crkva sv. Duha (foto: M. Drmić)  
*Nuštar, Holy Spirit Church (photo: M. Drmić)*



Gornji Rajić, crkva sv. Tome apostola (foto: R. Belošević)  
*Gornji Rajić, St. Thomas Apostle Church (photo: R. Belošević)*

ubijanju i progonima. Nikada nećemo znati koliko je i je li uopće naše razaslanje apela pomoglo položaju Hrvatske u to doba, no držim da je to svakako trebalo činiti. Trebalo je pokušati što više, ne bi li se zaustavio taj rat, za ljude i spomenike najgori od svih mogućih ratova.

*tive of the fact that this dilemma crops up only in theory, helps to make us aware of the importance which Croatian historical monuments have in the nation's estimation.*

*We believed that they must also be important among other European nations and countries, and this is the reason why we addressed letters to individuals and institutions in those countries who, like us, had professional interests in historical monuments. Personally, I considered that it was possible, by arousing their sensibilities in regard to the destruction of cultural treasures, to prompt them to support in their own areas the cause of Croatia as a whole, and of those individuals who were being subjected to murder and persecution. We shall never know how much the despatch and distribution of our appeals helped Croatia in her hour of need during those days, or whether it helped at all, but I believed that it must have done. We had to do our very best to see that this war should be stopped - the worst of all possible wars, both for our people and for our cultural monuments.*



Iz Osijeka  
*From Osijek*