

Nikola Tesla i njegovo doba

Nikola Tesla and his era

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SAŽETAK

U ovome je radu prikazano vrijeme u kojemu je živio i djelovao Nikola Tesla. To je razdoblje od oko devedeset godina, tj. od druge polovice 19. st. do približno polovice 20. st. Kako o Tesli postoji obilna literatura, posebice o njegovu životu, radu, izumima, ovdje se naglašavaju društvene, političke, znanstvene, i tehničke prilike u svijetu, Europi i Hrvatskoj, ističu se vjerske i crkvene prilike u Teslino doba. Razmatraju se i vjerske, crkvene, etničke, nacionalne prilike i prije Teslina rođenja. Iako je o Tesli puno pisano, nisu svi podatci vjerodostojni i postoji još mnoštvo pitanja koja valja razriješiti. Kako su mnoge tvrdnje postale gotovo „dogmatske istine“, treba ih ponovno preispitati u svjetlu novih spoznaja i revidirati ustaljene, ali

SUMMARY

This paper presents the time in which Nikola Tesla lived and worked. This was a period of about ninety years, from the second half of the 19th century to approximately the second half of the 20th century. Given the abundant literature on Tesla, especially about his life, work, and inventions, in this paper the social, political, scientific, and technical conditions in the world, Europe, and Croatia are emphasized. The religious and church conditions in Tesla's time, as well as religious, ecclesiastical, ethnic, and national circumstances before Tesla's birth are also considered. Although a lot has been written about Tesla, not all data are credible and there are still many questions that need to be resolved. Since many claims about Tesla have become almost „dogmatic truths,” those need to be re-examined in light of new knowledge, and some common but

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neprihvatljive zaključke. Ovaj rad ne daje odgovore na sva ta pitanja već samo ukazuje i potiče na potrebu dodatnih ozbiljnih istraživanja da bi se o Tesli dobila što objektivnija, istinita slika. Moguće se na neka pitanja ne će moći odgovoriti i to će ostati tajna o Tesli. Sâm Tesla ponajprije pripada čovječanstvu ali je također važno njegovo podrijetlo i kako ga se u tom smislu treba prikazivati i razumijevati.

KLJUČNE RIJEČI: Nikola Tesla, društveno-političke i vjerske prilike, Hrvatska, identitet, prirodna znanost i tehnika

1. DRUŠTVENE, POLITIČKE, VJERSKE, CRKVENE I ZNANSTVENE PRILIKE U DOBA NIKOLE TESLE

1.1. Uvod

Svaki je znanstvenik čovjek svoga doba i konkretne sredine i okolnosti u kojima živi i djeluje, ali je malo onih koji su bili iznad ili ispred svoga vremena. Nikola Tesla je jedan od njih [1-10]. Namjera ovoga prikaza nije o Tesli govoriti sa stajališta njegovih izuma i doprinosa svjetskoj znanosti i tehnici, nego rasvijetliti doba u kojemu je živio, a to je razdoblje od gotovo devedeset godina, tj. od druge polovice 19. do približno polovice 20. st. Razmotrit će se društvene, političke i znanstveno-tehničke prilike u tadašnjem svijetu, Europi i Hrvatskoj. Također se daje pregled vjerskih prilika i događaja u Hrvatskoj u vrijeme koje je prethodilo Teslinu dobu. Velike su se promjene dogodile u svim navedenim područjima, što

unfounded conclusions revised. This work does not answer all these questions, but it encourages the continuation of serious research with the aim of obtaining the most objective and truthful picture of Tesla. Some questions about Tesla and some circumstances of Tesla's life will remain unanswered and a mystery. As Tesla belongs first and foremost to all of humanity, his origins and understanding of his environment are important, and they should be portrayed as such.

KEY WORDS: Nikola Tesla, Croatia, identity, natural science and technology, socio-political religious circumstances

1. SOCIAL, POLITICAL, RELIGIOUS, ECCLESIASTICAL, AND SCIENTIFIC ENVIRONMENT IN THE AGE OF NIKOLA TESLA

1.1. Introduction

Every scientist is a person of his or her time and the specific environment and circumstances in which scientists live and work influence their perceptions and paths. There are, however, people who stand far above and ahead of their own time, and Nikola Tesla is definitely one of them [1-10]. The intention of this paper is not to talk about Tesla from the point of view of his inventions and contributions to the world science and technology, but to shed light on the historic period in which he lived, which is a period of almost ninety years, i.e. from the second half of the 19th to approximately the half of the 20th century. Social, political and scientific-technical conditions in the world, Europe and Croatia at that time are considered. An overview of religious occasions and events in Croatia at the time that preceded Tesla's era is also provided.

je važno i za Teslinu osobnost i za njegovo djelovanje. Ne samo da su neke države propale i stvorene nove, nego su se korjenite promjene dogodile i u znanosti, tehnici i tehnologiji [11,12].

O Nikoli Tesli postoji obilna literatura ([13], str. 21–23). Međutim, mnogi podatci iz njegova života nisu posve provjereni. Pišući radove neki su se autori oslanjali na ono što su drugi prije njih napisali i te su podatke prenosili „zdravo za gotovo“, bez provjere. Pokazuje se da mnogi podatci o Tesli nisu točni zbog nedovoljne upućenosti i neznanja, neki su plod mašte, tendencioznih prikaza i čistih falsifikata, posebice kada je riječ o Teslinim putovanjima te njegovoj etničkoj i nacionalnoj pripadnosti [10-14]. Ovdje se navode samo neke od tih manjkavosti i ukazuje na potrebu provjeravanja „nedvojbenih“ istina o Tesli u sljedećim istraživanjima. Nažalost, svi izvori nisu dostupni da bi se o njemu moglo objektivno pisati, a one dostupne treba pozorno pregledati i utvrditi pravu istinu bez pozivanja na „autoritete“.

1.2. Društvene i političke prilike u Europi u Teslino doba [11]

U drugoj polovici 19. st. političke prilike u Europi dovode do stvaranja nacionalnih država. Francuska, Sardinija i Pijemont ratuju protiv Austrije koja gubi Lombardiju (1859.). Godine 1861. uspostavljena je Kraljevina Italija, 1870. ukida se Papinska Država, a Rim postaje glavni grad Italije. Moć Austrije sve više slabi, a sve više jača Pruska (Prusija) koja, na čelu s Bismarckom, počinje domini-

Great changes have taken place in all aforementioned areas, which is important both for Tesla's personality and for his work. Not only did some states collapse and new ones were created, but radical changes also occurred in science and technology [11,12].

There is an abundance of literature on Nikola Tesla ([13], pp. 21-23). Many facts and much data, from his life have, however, not been fully verified. When writing papers, certain authors referred to what others had written before them, transferring the information and taking it „for granted,“ without checking it. It is clear that many facts about Tesla are inaccurate, because the authors were not sufficiently informed, and due to their lack of knowledge, some of the facts are the fruit of imagination, tendentious representations pure forgeries, especially when it comes to Tesla's travels and his ethnic and national affiliation [10-14]. Only some of these deficiencies are mentioned in this paper and the need to check all, even the „undoubted“ truths about Tesla in the following research is indicated. Unfortunately, not all sources are available to researchers, so in order to write about him objectively, those available sources should be carefully reviewed and the real truth should be established without referring to „authorities.“

1.2. Social and political circumstances in Europe during Tesla's era [11]

Political situation in Europe in the second half of the 19th century led to establishing of nation states. In the war between Austria and France, Sardinia, and Piedmont, Austria lost Lombardy (1859). In 1861 the Kingdom of Italy was established, in 1870 the Papal States

rati među njemačkim državama i postaje glavnim čimbenikom njihova ujedinjenja. Austrija nastoji osigurati prevlast i imati glavnu ulogu u Njemačkom Savezu. To dovodi do Austrijsko-pruskoga rata (1864.) i izbacivanja Austrije iz Saveza (1866.), pa Pruska ostvaruje prevlast među njemačkim državama. Austrija svoj položaj pokušava riješiti Austro-ugarskom nagodbom (1867.). U dvojnoj Austro-Ugarskoj Monarhiji njemački i mađarski narodi bili su povlašteni, a kako je u toj Monarhiji živjelo dosta različitih, posebice slavenskih naroda, nacionalno pitanje nije bilo zadovoljavajuće riješeno pa je to nacionalno, a i socijalno nezadovoljstvo, dovelo Monarhiju do propasti (1918.).

U Francuskoj je proglašena republika (1871.), koja nastoji spriječiti njemačko ujedinjenje, pa stoga počinje Njemačko-francuski rat (1870./1871.), nakon kojega je 1871. proglašena uspostava drugoga Njemačkoga Carstva (Reich). Stvaraju se ili osamostaljuju neke države na Balkanu (Kneževina Bugarska, Srbija, Crna Gora, Istočna Rumelija) te Rumunjska (1877. – 1878.), a Norveška se odcjepljuje od Švedske (1905.). Nakon ukidanja feudalizma u Japanu (1871.) i reorganizacije države i društva po zapadnjačkom uzoru (1889.), ta država sve više jača i postaje svjetskom silom, posebice nakon pobjede u Rusko-japanskom ratu (1904. – 1905.).

U drugoj polovici 19. st. na američkom se tlu vodi građanski rat između Sjevera i Juga (1861. – 1865.) koji završava pobjedom Sjevera i ukidanjem ropstva

were abolished, and Rome became the capital of Italy. The power of Austria was weakening, while Prussia was growing stronger. Led by Bismarck, Prussia began to dominate among the German states and became the main factor in their unification. Austria sought to ensure supremacy and it played a leading role in the German Confederation. That led to the Austro-Prussian War (1864), and as a consequence further: Austria was expelled from the Confederation (1866, and Prussia established supremacy among the German states. Austria tried to resolve its position with the Austro-Hungarian Compromise (1867). In the dual Austro-Hungarian monarchy, the German and Hungarian peoples were privileged, while other peoples, especially Slavs who, lived in that Monarchy were not. For them the national question was not resolved in a satisfactory manner, and this along with social discontent, caused the downfall of the Monarchy (1918).

A republic was proclaimed in France (1871), which tried to prevent German unification, and led to the German-French war (1870/1871), after which the establishment of the second German Empire (Reich) was proclaimed in 1871. Some states in the Balkans were established or became independent Principality of Bulgaria, Serbia, Montenegro, Eastern Rumelia, and Romania (1877-1878). Norway separated from Sweden (1905). After the suspension of feudalism in Japan (1871) and the reorganization of the state and society according to the Western model (1889), that country grew stronger and became a world power, especially after the victory in the Russian-Japanese war (1904-1905).

In the second half of the 19th century on American ground, a civil war between the North

na Jugu (1863.). Godine 1867. SAD od Rusije kupuje Aljasku te počinje njegov uspon kao industrijske sile, a aneksijom Filipina, Havaja i Portorika započinje imperijalistička svjetska politika. Afriku i veliki dio Azije međusobno dijele europske kolonijalne sile Velika Britanija, Nizozemska, Belgija, Francuska i Portugal.

Otomansko / Osmansko / Tursko Carstvo je već izgubilo stari politički sjaj ali se početkom 20. st. u Turskoj pojavljuju tzv. „mladoturci“ koji posežu za tuđim prostorima da bi vratili barem dio izgubljenih teritorija. Kada je Austro-Ugarska 1908. anektirala Bosnu i Hercegovinu, savez protiv Turske stvaraju Bugarska, Grčka, Srbija i Crna Gora, što u Prvom balkanskom ratu (1912. – 1913.) rezultira potiskivanjem Turaka. Ali pretenzije na tuđe teritorije imaju i Srbi, Bugari, Grci i svi oni pretendiraju na Makedoniju. Tako izbija Drugi balkanski rat (1913.) između Bugarske, Srbije i Grčke, u koji se uključuju Rumunjska i Turska. Rat rezultira podjelom Makedonije između Grčke i Srbije.

Balkanski su ratovi bili uvod u Prvi svjetski rat (1914. – 1918.) između tzv. sila Antante (Velika Britanija, Rusija, Francuska, kasnije i Italija, SAD, Japan) i središnjih (centralnih) sila (Njemačka, Austro-Ugarska, Otomansko Carstvo, kasnije i Bugarska), a rezultat toga rata bila je propast četiriju carstava: Austro-Ugarske, Otomanskog Carstva, Njemačke i Rusije te nastanak novih država: Austrije, Mađarske, Čehoslovačke, Kraljevine SHS (Jugoslavije od 1929.), Turske, Poljske, Litve, Latvije, Estoni-

and the South (1861-1865) was waged, which finished with the victory of the North and the suppression of slavery in the South (1863). In 1867 the USA bought Alaska from Russia and began its rise as an industrial power. With the annexation of the Philippines, Hawaii and Puerto Rico, imperialist world politics began. Africa and a large part of Asia were divided between the European colonial powers Great Britain, the Netherlands, Belgium, France and Portugal.

The Ottoman / Turkish Empire has already lost its old political brilliance, but at the beginning of the 20th century in Turkey, the so-called „Young Turks“ appeared, who reached for territories of some other nations in order to return at least part of the lost territories. When Austria-Hungary annexed Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1908, Bulgaria, Greece, Serbia and Montenegro formed an alliance against Turkey, which resulted in the suppression of the Turks in the First Balkan war (1912-1913). Still, Serbs, Bulgarians, Greeks also had pretensions to other territories, and they all aspired to Macedonia. That is how the Second Balkan war (1913) broke out between Bulgaria, Serbia and Greece, in which Romania and Turkey became involved. The war resulted in the division of Macedonia between Greece and Serbia.

The Balkan wars were a prelude to the First World war (1914-1918) between the so-called the Entente powers (Great Britain, Russia, France, later also Italy, the USA, Japan) and the Central powers (Germany, Austria-Hungary, the Ottoman Empire, later also Bulgaria), and the result of that war was the collapse of four empires (Austria-Hungarian Empire, the Ottoman Empire, Germany and Russia), and the emergence of new states (Austria, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats

je, Finske, Irske, Islanda. Posebnom državom postaje i Vatikan (1929.). Raspadom Osmanskoga carstva područja na Bliskom istoku stavljena su pod upravu Francuske i Velike Britanije.

Još prije završetka rata u Rusiji je 1917. došlo do političkih previranja, tzv. Ruske revolucije kojom je u veljači srušen carski apsolutistički režim. Uspostavljena privremena vlada planirala je uvesti liberalnu demokraciju, ali su je u listopadu srušili lijevi radikali i uveli boljševički sustav (Oktobarska revolucija). Suzbijanje te revolucije izazvalo je građanski rat u Rusiji.

Poslije Prvoga svjetskoga rata sklopljeno je više mirovnih ugovora s poraženim državama (Austrija, Mađarska, Bugarska, Turska). Najsudbonosniji je bio ugovor s Njemačkom.

Versailleskim (Versajskim) mirovnim ugovorom sklopljenim 28. lipnja 1919. u dvorcu u Versaillesu između sila Antante i Njemačke osnovana je Liga ili Društvo naroda s ciljem očuvanja sigurnosti među narodima. Taj je ugovor nanio štetu poraženim silama, posebice Njemačkoj, pa su se one počele pripremati za novi sukob – Drugi svjetski rat. Prema Versailleskom ugovoru (opet) je stvoren nepravedni novi svjetski poredak, najviše pogodovan Velikoj Britaniji i Francuskoj koje su zadržale svoje kolonije i bile glavne europske sile. Tim su ugovorom nezadovoljne bile Italija i Japan, a najgore je prošla Njemačka. Proglašena je glavnim krivcem za rat i snosila teške posljedice u obliku plaćanja ratne odštete. Izgubila je nezamerni dio teritorija i stanovništva. U Rusiji je uveden komunizam, SAD su sli-

and Slovenians – Kingdom of SCS (Kraljevina SHS) (since 1929 Yugoslavia), Turkey, Poland, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, Finland, Ireland, Iceland). The Vatican also became a separate state (1929). With the collapse of the Ottoman Empire, areas in the Middle East were put under the administration of France and Great Britain.

Even before the end of the war in Russia in 1917 there was political turmoil, the so-called Russian Revolution, which threw down the imperial absolutist regime in February. The established provisional government planned to introduce liberal democracy, but in October it was overthrown by left radicals which installed the Bolshevik (October Revolution). The suppression of that revolution caused a civil war in Russia.

After The World War I, several peace treaties were concluded with the defeated states (Austria, Hungary, Bulgaria, Turkey). The most fateful was the treaty with Germany.

The Treaty of Versailles, signed on June 28, 1919, at the Palace of Versailles between the Entente powers and Germany, established the League of Nations with the aim of preserving security among nations. That Treaty caused damage to the defeated powers, especially Germany, so they began to prepare for a new conflict – World War II. According to the Treaty of Versailles, an unjust new world order was established again, the one that favored Great Britain and France, which retained their colonies, and were the main European powers. Italy and Japan were dissatisfied with that Treaty, and the worst was for Germany which was proclaimed the main culprit for the war and suffered severe consequences in the form of paying war reparations. It also lost a non-negligible part of its

jedile politiku izolacionizma i nisu ih zanimali europski problemi. Svatko je gledao samo sebe.

U Njemačkoj je početkom 1919. izbila komunistička revolucija koja nije uspjela, nastaje Njemačko Carstvo (Deutsches Reich) između 1919. i 1933. poznato pod nazivom Weimarska Republika. Nakon toga na vlast dolazi Hitler. U Turskoj je (1923.) proglašena Republika i srušen sultanat. U zemljama Azije i Afrike dolazi do nacionalnog osvještavanja što izaziva lokalne ratove. Između dva svjetska rata oba ta velika kontinenta bila su gotovo u potpunosti kolonijani posjedi europskih kolonijalnih sila. Javljaju se bezuspješni otpori kolonijalizmu. Najviše je uspjeha u toj borbi imao Mahatma Gandhi svojom taktikom nenasilne borbe, tj. izbjegavanjem suradnje i bojkotom kolonizatora. Japan je proširio svoj teritorij na Pacifiku preuzimanjem njemačkih kolonija. Napetosti i sukobi s Kinom i Korejom sve su više rasli. Nestabilno stanje u Kini zbog sukoba između nacionalne i komunističke struje prerاسlo je u građanski rat 1927.

Masovna industrijska proizvodnja započinje u Engleskoj prije nego na kontinentu, gdje između 1850. i 1880. dolazi do brzog porasta industrijske proizvodnje. Slično se događa i u svijetu. Grade se željeznice, što jača kopneni promet. I pomorski promet se razvija. U tom je smislu bilo vrlo važno otvaranje Sueskog kanala 1869.

Pojačani industrijski razvitak od sredine 19. st. uzrokuje i međunarodni radnički pokret, osnivaju se prve nacionalne

territory and population. Communism was inaugurated in Russia, while the USA followed a policy of isolationism and was not interested in European problems. Everyone was looking out for himself.

In Germany at the beginning of 1919, a communist revolution broke out but failed. The German Empire (Deutsches Reich) known as the Weimar Republic, arises between 1919 and 1933. After that, Hitler came to power. In Turkey (1923), the Republic was proclaimed and the Sultanate was overthrown. In the countries of Asia and Africa, a national awakening took place, which was causing local wars. Between the two world wars, both of these great continents were almost entirely colonial possessions of the European colonial powers. The unsuccessful resistances to colonialism arose. Mahatma Gandhi had the most success in that struggle with his tactics of non-violent struggle, i.e. by avoiding cooperation and boycotting the colonizers. Japan expanded its territory in the Pacific by co-opting German colonies. Tensions and conflicts with China and Korea grew more and more. The unstable situation in China due to the conflict between the national and communist movement grew into a civil war in 1927.

Mass industrial production began in England earlier than on the Continent, where between 1850 and 1880 there was a rapid increase in industrial production. The same was happening everywhere in the world. Railways were being built, which strengthened land transport. Maritime transport was also developing. In this sense, the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 was very important.

Increased industrial development from the middle of the 19th century led to the in-

radničke stranke – Prva internacionala kao međunarodno udruženje radnika (1864.), a potom i Druga internacionala (1889.). Prva socijalistička revolucija bila je Pariška komuna (1871.). Uspostavlja ju se međunarodna društva i udruge, npr. Međunarodna poštanska unija (1874.). Gorući problemi društva postaju problemi radništva i društvenih pitanja, na što reagira i Katolička crkva s papom Lavom XIII., koji 1891. objavljuje prvu socijalnu encikliku *Rerum novarum*.

1.3. Društvo i politika u Hrvatskoj u 19. st. i u prvoj polovici 20. st. [15-33]

U doba rođenja Nikole Tesle Hrvatska je bila u sastavu Habsburške Monarhije u kojoj je vladao poznati Bachov apsolutizam (1850. – 1859.), s jakom centralizacijom i germanizacijom. Ukinuti su Hrvatski sabor, samouprava županija, hrvatska zastava je zabranjena, a službeni jezik u Hrvatskoj postaje njemački. Eugen Kvaternik bezuspješno traži saveznike koji bi pomogli Hrvatskoj da se oslobodi te odlazi u Rusiju (1858.), Francusku (1859./1860., 1863.) i Italiju (1859./1860., 1864./1865., 1866./1867.). Propašću Bachova apsolutizma ban Josip Šokčević uvodi u škole i javnu uporabu hrvatski jezik umjesto njemačkoga, a politički život u Hrvatskoj oživljava. Hrvatski sabor nastoji ujediniti hrvatske zemlje Hrvatsku, Dalmaciju i Slavoniju (1861.) te odbija ući u bečko Carevinsko vijeće i nagoditi se s Austrijom. Otvara se put prema Ugarskoj i godine 1868. dolazi do Hrvatsko-ugarske nagodbe koja Hrvatima donosi povoljni-

ternational labor movement, the first national labor parties were founded – the First International as an international association of workers (1864), and then the Second International (1889). The first socialist revolution was the Paris Commune (1871). International societies and associations were established, e.g. International Postal Union (1874). The burning problems of society became problems of labor and social issues, to which the Catholic Church also responded with Pope Leo XIII, who published the first social encyclica *Rerum novarum* in 1891.

1.3. Society and politics in Croatia in the 19th century and in the first half of the 20th century [15-33]

At the time of Nikola Tesla's birth, Croatia was part of the Habsburg Monarchy, in which famous Bach's Absolutism (1850-1859) ruled, with strong centralization and Germanization. The Croatian Parliament, the self-government of the counties was abolished, the Croatian flag was banned, and German became the official language in Croatia. Eugen Kvaternik unsuccessfully looked for allies who would help Croatia liberate itself, and went to Russia (1858), France (1859/1860, 1863) and Italy (1859/1860, 1864/1865, 1866/1867). With the downfall of Bach's Absolutism, Ban Josip Šokčević introduced the Croatian language into schools and public use instead of German, and political life in Croatia revived. The Croatian Parliament was trying to unite the Croatian counties of Croatia, Dalmatia and Slavonia (1861) and refused to enter the Imperial Council of Vienna and settle with Austria. The way to approach Hungary opened up and in 1868, a Croatian-Hungarian Compro-

ji položaj u Ugarskoj nego što su ga imali drugi narodi.

Hrvati dobivaju potpunu autonomiju u zakonodavstvu, upravi, u poslovima bogoštovlja, nastave i pravosuđa. Ali pitanje Rijeke ostaje neriješeno. Kada je kralj Rijeku pripojio Ugarskoj („Riječka krpica“, 1868.) dolazi do velikog nezadovoljstva u Hrvatskoj. Osnivaju se prve političke stranke, Ante Starčević i Eugen Kvaternik zagovaraju nezavisnu hrvatsku državu, pojavljuju se listovi za kulturu, priređuje se prva *Dalmatinsko-hrvatsko-slavonska izložba* u Zagrebu (1864.) [15]. Otvaraju se čitaonice za istarske Hrvate (Kastav, 1866., Pula, 1869.), u Zagrebu je utemeljeno *Društvo sv. Jeronima* (1868.) s ciljem objavljivanja knjiga za šire slojeve pučanstva, u Subotici (Vojvodina) pojavljuju se hrvatske *Bunjevačke i šokačke novine* (1870.). Eugen Kvaternik 8. listopada 1871. diže bunu i proglašava Hrvatsku nezavisnu državu, ali njegovim ubojstvom propada i ta ideja. Hrvatska postaje moderna država tek za vrijeme bana Ivana Mažuranića (1873. – 1880.). Uspostavom austro-ugarskog protektorata u Bosni i Hercegovini 1878. te ukidanjem Vojne krajine 1881. i vraćanjem Hrvatskoj dijela njezinih povijesnih teritorija, većina Hrvata se našla u istoj državi. Kralj je 1881. ukinuo Hrvatsko-slavonsku vojnu Krajinu i sjediniio je s civilnom (banskom) Hrvatskom i Slavonijom. Nakon Mažuranića, Mađari na čelu s hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskim banom Károlyjem (Dragutinom) Khuen-Héderváryjem počinju s mađarizacijom u Hrvatskoj, vrhunac koje na-

mise was reached, which brought to the Croats a more favorable position in Hungary than other nations had. The Croats got complete autonomy in legislation, administration, worship, education and judiciary, b. But the issue of Rijeka remained unresolved. When Rijeka was annexed to Hungary („Riječka krpica“, Rijeka cloth, 1868), it caused great dissatisfaction in Croatia. The first political parties were founded, Ante Starčević and Eugen Kvaternik advocated for an independent Croatian state, cultural magazines appeared, the first *Dalmatian-Croatian-Slavonian exhibition* in Zagreb (1864) was organized [15]. Reading rooms for Istrian Croats were opened (Kastav, 1866, Pula, 1869), the *Society of St. Jerome* was established in Zagreb (1868) with the aim of publishing books for wider population, in Subotica (Vojvodina) the Croatian newspapers *Bunjevačke and Šokačke novine* (*Newspaper for Bunjevci and Shokci*) (1870) appeared. On October 8, 1871, Eugen Kvaternik raised a rebellion and declared Croatia an independent state, but because of his murder that idea failed. Croatia became a modern state only during the reign of Ban Ivan Mažuranić (1873-1880). With the establishment of the Austro-Hungarian protectorate in Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878 and the abolition of the Croatian-Slavonic Military Border (Vojna krajina) in 1881 and united it with civilian (Banska) Croatia and Slavonia and the return of part of its historical territories to Croatia, the majority of Croats found themselves in the same state. After Mažuranić, the Hungarians, led by the Croatian-Slavonian-Dalmatian ban Károlyi (Dragutin) Khuen-Héderváry, began Hungarianization in Croatia, the pinnacle of which occurred in 1894, when the Hungar-

stupa 1894., kada se u realne gimnazije zakonski uvodi mađarski jezik. Antimađarske prosvjede potaknule su dvije najjače stranke u tadašnjoj Hrvatskoj, Strossmayerova Narodna stranka, koja je nastojala okupiti sve južne Slavene, i Starčevićeva Stranka prava, koja se zalagala za samostalnost Hrvatske. Godine 1883. u Zagrebu su skinuti mađarski grbovi i natpisi, 1895. studenti su spalili mađarsku zastavu u Zagrebu, a 1903. održane su demonstracije protiv bana Khuen-Héderváryja koje je on ugušio, ali je ipak morao napustiti banski položaj. Nakon toga je ban Teodor Pejačević iz zemlje uklonio Khuenove ljude (1903. – 1907.), ali se opet nastavlja mađarizacija Hrvatske sve do početka Prvoga svjetskoga rata (1914. – 1918.). Londonski sporazum (1915.) nanosi Hrvatskoj velike štete, jer je Istra trebala pripasti Italiji. Kada godine 1918. Talijani okupiraju Istru, počinje iseljavanje hrvatskoga i slovenskoga stanovništva.

Da bi se bolje shvatio tijek događaja nakon Prvoga svjetskoga rata u odnosu Srba i Hrvata, potrebno je vratiti se u prošlost i vrlo pregledno ocrtati njihove međusobne odnose kroz povijest [16], koji postaju napetima u posljednje stoljeće-dva. Srednjovjekovna Srbija (Raška) se osamostaljuje u drugoj polovici 12. stoljeća, a Stefan Nemanja počinje osvajati susjedne slavenske zemlje: Travunju, Duklju i Zahumlje koje su bile dio Crvene Hrvatske. Godine 1217. od pape Honorija III. (1216. – 1227.) dobiva kraljevsku krunu. Njegovi nasljednici do kraja 13. stoljeća višekratno bezuspješno po-

ian language was legally introduced into real gymnasiums. The anti-Hungarian protests were incited by the two strongest parties in Croatia at the time, Strossmayer's People's Party, which tried to gather and unite all South Slavs, and Starčević's Party of Rights, which advocated the independence of Croatia. In 1883, Hungarian coats of arms and inscriptions were removed from prominent places in Zagreb, and in 1895, students burned, also in Zagreb, the Hungarian flag. In 1903, demonstrations against Ban Khuen-Héderváry were held, which he suppressed, but he still had to leave his position as ban (vice-roy). After that, ban Teodor Pejačević removed Khuen's people from the country (1903-1907), after which the Hungarianization of Croatia continued until the beginning of the First World War (1914-1918). The London Agreement (1915) caused great damage to Croatia, because Istria was supposed to belong to Italy. When the Italians occupied Istria in 1918 the emigration of the Croatian and Slovenian population began.

In order to better understand the course of events after the First World War and the relationship between Serbs and Croats, it is necessary to go back in time and very clearly present their mutual relations throughout history [16], which became tense in the last one or two centuries. Medieval Serbia (Raška) became independent in the second half of the 12th century. Stefan Nemanja began to conquer neighboring Slavic countries: Travunja, Duklja and Zahumlje, which were part of Red Croatia. In 1217, from Pope Honorius III. (1216-1227) he received the royal crown. Until the end of the 13th century, his successors repeatedly tried, but unsuccessful-

kušavaju osvojiti Dubrovnik. U 14. stoljeću car Dušan svoja osvajanja usmjerava prema jugu. Za vrijeme njegovih nasljednika Turci Srbima nanose težak poraz na Kosovu 1389., a 1459. srpska država posve propada. Od tada do 19. stoljeća Srbija je bila sastavni dio Osmanlijskog carstva, tj. nije postojala kao država nego kao vazal Turaka. Vojvodina, koja je danas sastavni dio Srbije, bila je sastavni dio Hrvatsko-Ugarskoga kraljevstva, kasnije Habsburške Monarhije i Austro-Ugarske. To područje Srbi naseljavaju bježeći pred Turcima, tek koncem 17. stoljeća (prva seoba Srba oko 1690.) i u 18. stoljeću (druga seoba Srba nakon Beogradskog mira 1739.). U ta ispražnjena područja doseljavaju Albanci i drugi muslimani. Srpski povjesničar, pop Ilarion Ruvarac tvrdi da se tu ne može govoriti o seobi Srba preko Save i Dunava jer nije bilo organizirane seobe jezično i ratnički homogene skupine već neorganizirana heterogena masa ljudi različita etničkoga sastava (Bugari, Makedonci, Grci, Albanci, Vlasi, Cincari i druge etničke nomadske skupine ([17], str. 169).

Početak 19. st. izbila su dva ustanka Srba protiv Turaka. Prvi srpski ustanak (1804. – 1813.) je ugušen, pa je ubrzo uslijedio Drugi srpski ustanak (1815.). Rezultati tih ustanaka bili su da je Srbija proglašena kneževinom (1830.), tj. dobila je neku vrstu autonomije unutar Osmanskog carstva, ali je bila ovisna o Turcima. Iako je Srbija dobila prvi ustav 1835., imala je ograničenu vlast Turskim ustavom iz 1838. Tek je na Berlinskom kongresu (1878.) Srbija priznata kao neovi-

ly, to conquer Dubrovnik. In the 14th century, the Serbian emperor Dušan directed his conquests towards the south. During the time of his successors, the Turks inflicted a heavy defeat on the Serbs in Kosovo in 1389, and in 1459, the Serbian state completely collapsed. After that until the 19th century, Serbia was an integral part of the Ottoman Empire, i.e. it did not exist as a state but as a vassal of the Turks. Vojvodina, which today is an integral part of Serbia, was an integral part of the Croatian-Hungarian Kingdom, later the Habsburg Monarchy and Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. This area was inhabited by Serbs who were fleeing from the Turks only at the end of the 17th century (the first migration of Serbs around 1690), and in the 18th century (the second migration of Serbs after the Peace of Belgrade in 1739). Albanians and other Muslims immigrated to these vacated areas. Serbian historian Ilarion Ruvarac claims that we cannot talk about the migration of Serbs across the Sava and Danube because there was no organized migration of a linguistically and warrior homogeneous group, but an unorganized heterogeneous mass of people of different ethnicity (Bulgarians, Macedonians, Greeks, Albanians, Vlachs, Cincars and other ethnic nomadic groups) ([17], p. 169).

At the beginning of the 19th century two rebellions of Serbs against the Turks broke out. The First Serbian Uprising (1804-1813) was suppressed, and the Second Serbian Uprising (1815) soon followed. The results of those uprisings were that Serbia was proclaimed a principality (1830), i.e. it was given a kind of autonomy within the Ottoman Empire, but was dependent on the Turks. Although Serbia received its first constitution (1835), its pow-

sna država, a 1882. od kneževine postaje kraljevina. Na tragu *Načertanija* (1844.) Srbija pokušava ostvariti svoje ekspanzionističke velikosrpske težnje prema susjedima, ali doživljava težak poraz od Bugarske (1885.) [18]. Srpska propaganda, posebno u hrvatskim zemljama, postaje toliko agresivna da dio tzv. krajiških Srba želi odcjepljenje i pripojenje Kraljevini Srbiji. Izričiti izraz tih namjera bila je najava Srba iz 1902. da će s Hrvatima voditi rat „do istrage vaše ili naše“ ([19], str. 120; [20], str. 33; [21], str. 24–27, 85–89). Ta je izjava, iste godine izazvala oštre demonstracije u Zagrebu. U austrijskom dijelu Monarhije, tj. u Dalmaciji i Istri, hrvatski političari podupiru narodni pokret te nastaje politika novog kursa prema Srbiji (1905.) koju su pokrenuli Frano Supilo i Ante Trumbić. Uskoro je stvorena Hrvatsko-srpska koalicija (1906.) kojom se prečanski Srbin Svetozar Pribičević koristi za približavanje Srbiji.

Težnja Srbije da izbije na Jadransko more također nije uspjela. Ali je iskoristila slabljenje Turske zbog njezina rata s Italijom (1911.), pa u savezu s Grčkom, Bugarskom i Crnom Gorom udara na Tursku. Prvim i drugim Balkanskim ratovima (1912. – 1913.) Srbija se proširila na jug i dobila neke bugarske teritorije. Srbi su potpuno „očistili“ muslimansko stanovništvo, posebice albansko ([20], str. 35–37; [22]; [23], str. 210–15; [24], str. 94–130). Ali su Srbi težili i proširenju prema Bosni i Hercegovini (BiH), tj. njezinu ujedinjenju sa Srbijom. Nakon što je srbijanska teroristička organizacija „Uje-

er was limited by the Turkish constitution of 1838. At the Congress of Berlin (1878) Serbia was recognized as an independent state, and in 1882 it was transformed from a principality to a kingdom. On the trail of *Načertanije* (*Draft Plan*) (1844), Serbia tried to realize its expansionist Great (Greater) Serbian aspirations towards its neighbors, but experienced a heavy defeat by the Bulgarians (1885) [18]. Serbian propaganda, especially in Croatian countries, was becoming so aggressive that part of the so-called Krajina Serbs wanted to secede and join the Kingdom of Serbia. An explicit expression of these intentions was the announcement by the Serbs in 1902 that they would wage war with the Croats „until your extinction or ours“ ([19], p. 120; [20], p. 33; [21], pp. 24–27, 85–89). In the same year, this statement caused sharp demonstrations in Zagreb. In the Austrian part of the Monarchy, i.e. in Dalmatia and Istria, Croatian politicians supported the people's movement, and the policy of a new course towards Serbia, initiated by Frano Supilo and Ante Trumbić, was born (1905). Soon, the Croatian-Serbian coalition was created (1906), which was used by Svetozar Pribičević (prečanski Srbin – Serb who lives outside Serbia i. e. in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Vojvodina and Croatia), to get closer to Serbia.

Serbia's aspiration to reach the Adriatic Sea also failed. But it took advantage of Turkey's weakening due to its war with Italy (1911), so in an alliance with Greece, Bulgaria and Montenegro, it attacked Turkey. During the First and Second Balkan Wars (1912–1913), Serbia expanded to the south and occupied some Bulgarian territories. The Serbs completely „cleansed“ the Muslim population, especially the Albanian population ([20], pp. 35-

dinjenje ili smrt“ u Sarajevu izvela atentat na austrijskoga prijestolonasljednika Franju Ferdinanda (1914.), započeo je Prvi svjetski rat. Srbiju su tijekom toga rata okupirale Bugarska i Austro-Ugarska, ali je oslobođena zahvaljujući silama Antante.

Početak Prvoga svjetskoga rata Ante Trumbić i Ivan Supilo odlaze iz zemlje i osnivaju tzv. Jugoslavenski odbor, kojemu je cilj bio oslobođenje od austro-ugarske vlasti [25]. Po završetku rata na osnovi mirovnih ugovora s Austrijom i Mađarskom, one su priznale nove nacionalne države na području bivše Austro-Ugarske s novim granicama. Veliki dio Ugarske države pripojen je Kraljevstvu SHS i drugim državama. Ali je Srbija već otprije imala za cilj stvaranje Velike Srbije. S druge strane, postojala je talijanska prijetnja zauzimanja nekih područja u Dalmaciji što je ubrzalo proces povezivanja Hrvata s drugim južnim Slavenima. Rezultat Prvoga svjetskoga rata za Hrvate, Srbe i druge južnoslavenske narode bio je stvaranje novih država nastalih raspadom Austro-Ugarske. Na poticaj političkih stranaka i narodnih organizacija u Banskoj Hrvatskoj, Dalmaciji, Istri, Sloveniji osnovano je 5. listopada 1918. u Zagrebu Narodno vijeće Slovenaca, Hrvata i Srba koje je bilo predstavničko tijelo tih naroda s područja Austrije i Ugarske. To je Vijeće proglasilo Državu Slovenaca, Hrvata i Srba (Država SHS) 29. listopada 1918., tj. istoga dana kada je Hrvatski sabor raskinuo državno-pravne veze s Austro-Ugarskom. Ta Država SHS nije bila međunarodno priznata,

37; [22]; [23], pp. 210-15; [24], pp. 94-130]). Serbs also aspired to expand towards Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH), and aimed at its unification with Serbia. After the Serbian terrorist organization „Unification or Death“ carried out the assassination of the Austrian heir to the throne Franz Ferdinand in Sarajevo (1914), the First World War began. During that war, Serbia was occupied by Bulgaria and Austria-Hungary, but was liberated thanks to the Entente powers.

At the beginning of the First World War, Ante Trumbić and Ivan Supilo left the country and founded the so-called Yugoslav Committee, whose goal was liberation from Austro-Hungarian rule [25]. After the end of the war, on the basis of peace treaties with Austria and Hungary, they recognized new national states on the territory of the former Austria-Hungary with their new borders. A large part of the Hungarian state was annexed to the Kingdom of SCS and other states. However Serbia already had the goal of creating Great Serbia. On the other hand, there was the Italian threat of occupying some areas of Dalmatia, which accelerated the process of connecting Croats with other southern Slavs. The result of the First World War for Croats, Serbs and other South Slavic peoples was the establishment of new states that emerged due to the disintegration of Austria-Hungary. Political parties and people's organizations in Banska Croatia, Dalmatia, Istria, and Slovenia, encouraged the foundation of the National Council of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs October 5, 1918 in Zagreb, which was a representative body of those peoples from Austria and Hungary. On the same day when the Croatian Parliament broke up the state-legal ties

trajala je svega 33 dana. Naime, Narodno vijeće SHS-a odlučilo je 24. studenog 1918. Državu SHS ujediniti sa Srbijom i Crnom Gorom, ali Hrvatski sabor nije usvojio taj akt. Srpski i slovenski predstavnici u Vladi Države SHS, Svetozar Pribičević i Anton Korošec u Beogradu sa srpskim regentom Aleksandrom Karađorđevićem dogovaraju proglašenje Kraljevstva Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca (SHS) 1. prosinca 1918. Tako je nastala posve nova državna tvorevina, a Država SHS prestala je postojati [26,27]. To je prvi puta u povijesti da Srbi i Hrvati žive u istoj državi. Kraljevstvo SHS je, dakle, stvoreno na prijevazu, a trajalo je do 10. travnja 1941. Uspostavom Kraljevstva SHS u Zagrebu već 5. prosinca 1918. dolazi do prosvjeda koji tragično završavaju pod nazivom „prosinačke žrtve“. To je bio prvi otpor hrvatskih domoljuba srbijanskoj vlasti. Kraljevstvo SHS, mimo volje Hrvatskoga sabora i hrvatskoga naroda, ustupilo je Italiji Istru, Rijeku, Zadar i otoke Cres, Lošinj i Lastovo, čime nastupa talijanizacija hrvatskih krajeva. U Kraljevstvu SHS nesrpski narodi nisu imali jednaka prava kao Srbi, što je ozakonjeno tzv. Vidovdanskim ustavom 1921. i proglašenjem države Kraljevinom Jugoslavije (3. listopada 1929.). Autonomija Hrvatske je posve ukinuta. Ukinuta su i hrvatska strukovna, kulturna i športska društva, novine i druge publikacije, ukidaju se hrvatske škole (od 1922.), a zabranjena je i uporaba hrvatskoga jezika u upravi (1923.). Stvaranje Seljačko-demokratske koalicije između Stjepana Radića i Svetozara Pribičevića (1927.) dovelo

with Austria-Hungary, this National Council declared the State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs (SCS State) on October 29, 1918. That State SCS was not internationally recognized, and it lasted only 33 days. Namely, on November 24, 1918, the National Council of the SCS State decided to unify that state with Serbia and Montenegro, but the Croatian Parliament did not adopt that act. The Serbian and Slovenian representatives in the Government of the SCS State, Svetozar Pribičević and Anton Korošec made in Belgrade an agreement, with the Serbian regent Aleksandar Karađorđević, on the proclamation of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (SCS Kingdom) on December 1, 1918. Thus, a completely new state was created, and the SCS State ceased to exist [26,27]. It was the first time in history that Serbs and Croats lived in the same state. The SCS Kingdom, therefore, was founded by fraud, and it lasted until April 10, 1941.

With the establishment of the SCS Kingdom on December 5, 1918, there had already been protests in Zagreb that ended tragically under the name December victims. „This was the first resistance of Croatian patriots to the Serbian government. The SCS Kingdom, against the will of the Croatian Parliament and the Croatian people, surrendered Istria, Rijeka, Zadar and the islands of Cres, Lošinj and Lastovo to Italy, which led to the Italianisation of Croatian regions. In the SCS Kingdom, non-Serb peoples did not have the same rights as Serbs, which was legalized by the so-called the Vidovdan Constitution in 1921 and the declaration and renaming of the state as the Kingdom of Yugoslavia (October 3, 1929). Croatia's Autonomy was completely abolished. Croatian professional, cultural

je 20. lipnja 1928. u beogradskoj skupštini do atentata na hrvatske predstavnike i Radićeva ubojstva. Već je početkom sljedeće godine proglašena *Šestosiječanjska (šestojanuarska) diktatura* kralja Aleksandra Karađorđevića.

Preimenovanje Kraljevstva SHS 1929. u Kraljevinu Jugoslavije bilo je u skladu s planom stvaranja Velike Srbije, progonom i ugnjetavanjem nesrpskih naroda, posebice Albanaca i Hrvata ([16], str. 253–267; [20], str. 31–42; [22]; [23], str. 210–15; [24], str. 94–130). U toj se državi stvara fašistički pokret 1930-ih godina i kolaboracija s Hitlerom, a u Drugom svjetskom ratu Srbija se čisti od Židova (*Judenfrei*) ([20], str. 42–54). U njoj djeluju kvinslinzi Milana Nedića i Dimitrija Ljotića te četnici Draže Mihailovića i partizani Josipa Broza Tita. Koncem rata veliki broj četnika prelazi u partizane.

Teritorijalnim ustrojem na banovine Hrvatskoj su oduzeti Boka kotorska i Srijem. Nastavljaju se i progoni Hrvata. Odgovor nekih hrvatskih domoljuba bio je stvaranje oslobodilačke organizacije u inozemstvu – ustaša (Ustaša – Hrvatska revolucionarna organizacija, skraćeno UHRO) čija je namjera bila srušiti Kraljevinu Jugoslaviju. Srbi su u Zagrebu ubili uglednoga i svjetski poznatoga hrvatskoga albanologa Milana Šufflaya (1931.), što je izazvalo osude svjetskih intelektualaca, npr. Alberta Einsteina i Heinriha Manna koji su *Ligi za prava čovjeka* u Parizu uputili apel da se ona zauzme za Hrvate – „maleni, miroljubivi i veoma civilizirani narod“ ([20], str. 41). Na srbijanski teror bilo je oružanih odgo-

and sports associations, newspapers and other publications were abolished, as well as Croatian schools (since 1922), and the use of the Croatian language in the administration was prohibited (1923). The establishment of the Peasant-Democratic Coalition between Stjepan Radić and Svetozar Pribičević (1927) led to the assassination of Croatian representatives in the Belgrade Assembly and to Radić's death (1928). Just the following year the Dictatorship of King Aleksandar Karađorđević was proclaimed (so called *6th January Dictatorship*).

The renaming of the SCS Kingdom to the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1929 was in accordance with the plan of for creation of the Great Serbia, of the persecution and oppression of non-Serbian peoples, especially Albanians and Croats ([16], pp. 253-267; [20], pp. 31-42; [22]; [23], pp. 210-15; [24], pp. 94-130). In that country, there was a fascist movement in the 1930s, and collaboration with Hitler was established, and in the Second World War Serbia was cleansed from Jews (*Judenfrei*) ([20], pp. 42-54). In that state there were the Quislings of Milan Nedić and Dimitrije Ljotić, and the Chetniks of Draža Mihailović, and the partisans of Josip Broz Tito. At the end of the war, a large number of Chetniks became partisans.

Due to the territorial organization into *banovine* (counties), Boka Kotorska and Srijem were taken away from Croatia. The persecution of Croats continued. The response of some Croatian patriots was to create a liberation organization abroad – the Ustaša (Ustaša – Croatian Revolutionary Organization, Ustaša – Hrvatska revolucionarna organizacija, abbreviated UHRO) whose intention was

vora, npr. Velebitski ustanak (1932.), na što su slijedile odmazde srbijanske vlasti [28]. Proglas pod nazivom *Zagrebačke punktacije* (krajem 1932.) osudio je srpsku hegemoniju i zatražio preustroj države i jamstvo ravnopravnosti svih naroda u njoj. Odnosi u toj višenacionalnoj državi postali su sve složeniji, posebice nakon atentata na kralja Kraljevine Jugoslavije Aleksandra Karađorđevića 1934. u Marseilleu, koji su izveli pripadnici makedonske revolucionarne organizacije (VMRO, izvršitelj Ivan Mihailov) i hrvatski ustaše, uz potporu fašističke Italije s ciljem rušenja Kraljevine Jugoslavije. Vođa Seljačke stranke Vladko Maček uspio je 1939. Sporazumom Cvetković–Maček ishodi ti priznanje Banovine Hrvatske, autonomne jedinice unutar Kraljevine Jugoslavije i povratiti većinska hrvatska područja, čime je bio otvoren put prema federalizaciji države [29]. Međutim, uskoro započine Druge svjetski rat.

Iako je Kraljevina Jugoslavija pristupila Trojnom paktu, uz potporu Velike Britanije u ožujku 1941. srušena je vlada Cvetković–Maček. Međutim, ubrzo njemačke i talijanske trupe bombardiraju Beograd 6. travnja 1941., a Kraljevina Jugoslavija kapitulirala je već 17. travnja 1941. Njemačke su trupe ušle u Zagreb 10. travnja 1941., kada je Slavko Kvaternik, pod zaštitom Trećega Reicha i Italije, proglasio osnivanje Nezavisne Države Hrvatske koja je obuhvaćala dio Hrvatske, Bosnu i Hercegovinu i Srijem. Rimskim je ugovorima Italija dobila i dio hrvatske jadranske obale koji joj nije pripao ranijim Rapalskim ugovorima 1920. s

to subvert the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The Serbs killed the prominent and world-famous Croatian albanologist Milan Šufflay (1931), which caused condemnation of world intellectuals such as Albert Einstein and Heinrich Mann, who appealed to the *League for Human Rights* in Paris to stand up for the Croats, a small, peaceful and highly civilized nation“ ([20], p. 41). There were also armed responses to the Serbian terror, e.g. The Velebit Uprising (1932), which was followed by revenges from the Serbian authorities [28]. The proclamation entitled *Zagreb Punctuations* (end of 1932) condemned the Serbian hegemony and demanded the reorganization of the state and the guarantee of the equality of all peoples in it. Relations in that multinational state became more and more complicated, especially after the assassination of King Alexander in 1934 in Marseille. It was a revenge that followed Radić's death, when members of the Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (VMRO) and Croatian Ustasha killed the King of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, Aleksandar Karađorđević. In 1939, the leader of the Peasants' Party, Vladko Maček, succeeded in obtaining the recognition of the Banovina Croatia and return of most of Croatian territories, which paved the way for the federalization of the country [29]. However, World War II turned things the other way.

After the Kingdom of Yugoslavia joined the Triple Pact and with the support of Great Britain overthrew the Cvetković–Maček government (March 1941), it soon capitulated, at the beginning of April, and German troops entered Zagreb on April 10 when Slavko Kvaternik, under the protection of the Third Reich and Italy, proclaimed the establishment of the

Kraljevinom Jugoslavijom, a Mađarskoj su pripojene Baranja i Međumurje.

Nakon Drugoga svjetskoga rata, u komunističkoj Jugoslaviji i u današnjoj Srbiji „srbovanje“ se i dalje nastavlja. Nastavak *Načertanija* i drugih srpskih programa osvajanja i danas su aktualni u tzv. *Memorandumima* i u ideji „srpskog sveta“ (2020.). Ali time izlazimo izvan okvira naše teme.

1.4. Vjerske i crkvene prilike u Hrvatskoj, posebice od polovice 19. do polovice 20. st. [34-61]

Mnogo prije rođenja Nikole Tesle, ali i u njegovo doba, u vjerskom su pogledu postojali pojmovi koji su označavali religijsku crkvenu i jezičnu pripadnost stanovnika Hrvatske i širega područja. Veliki crkveni raskol (1054.) bio je trenutak službenoga razdvajanja Zapadne i Istočne crkve kada su se Zapadna (Rimo-katolička) i Istočna (Pravoslavna) crkva međusobno izopćile. Istočnu se crkvu, osim Pravoslavna crkva, kasnije nazivalo i Ortodoksna, Grčko-istočna, Bizantska, „nesjedinjena crkva“. U Srbiji se katoličku vjeru smatralo „austrijskom vjerom“, a sve pravoslavce „srpskom verom“ ([34], str. 39). Podjela na „istočno“ i „zapadno“ kršćanstvo išla je po crti koja je označavala granicu između „istočnog“ i „zapadnog“ Rimskog Carstva nakon smrti cara Teodozija Velikoga (395.), a ta je granica, uspostavljena 387. godine, išla od Budve u današnjoj Crnoj Gori, rijekom Drinom (današnja granica između Bosne i Hercegovine i Srbije sve do rijeke Dunava) ([35], str. 205). Narodi i zemlje koji su,

Independent State of Croatia, which included part of Croatia, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Srijem. Italy received part of the Croatian Adriatic coast, and Hungary received Baranja and Medimurje.

In communist Yugoslavia and today's Serbia, Serbization has continued. Continuation of *Načertanije* and other Serbian programs of conquest are still current in the so-called *Memoranda* and in the idea of the „Serbian world“ (2020). That, however, goes beyond the scope of our topic.

1.4. Religious and ecclesiastical circumstances in Croatia, especially from the half of the 19th to the half of the 20th century [34-61]

Long before the birth of Nikola Tesla, as well as during his time, there were religious terms that denoted the religious, ecclesiastical and linguistic affiliation of the inhabitants of Croatia and the wider area. The Great Church Schism (1054) was the moment of the official separation between the Western and Eastern Churches, when the Western (Roman Catholic) and Eastern (Orthodox) Churches excommunicated each other. The Eastern Church, in addition to the Orthodox Church, was later also called the Greek-Eastern, Byzantine, and „united Eastern Church.“ In Serbia, the Catholic faith was considered the „Austrian faith“, and all Orthodox Christians were considered the „Serbian faith“ ([34], p. 39). The division into „Eastern“ and „Western“ Christianity followed the line that marked the border between the „Eastern“ and „Western“ Roman Empire after the death of Emperor Theodosius the Great (395), and this border, established in the year 387, ran from Budva in today's Montenegro, along the Drina Riv-

nakon raskola, bili zapadno od Teodozijeve crte bili su pod utjecajem zapadne, latinske, Katoličke Crkve, a oni istočno bili su podređeni Carigradskoj patrijaršiji ([34], str. 42; [36], str. 13; p. 25). Povijesne napetosti i problemi između istočne i zapadne crkve rezultat su ne samo povijesnih okolnosti nego i različitih shvaćanja i prakse u odnosu između duhovne i svjetovne vlasti. Odnos države i crkve posve je različit u istočnom i zapadnom kršćanstvu. To se na najradikalniji način očituje kod Srba nakon uspostave srpske države u 19. stoljeću ([37], str. 15–45).

Vrhunac oličenja državnosti pravoslavne države jest carstvo, a na crkvenom području tome odgovara patrijarhija (patrijaršija). „Srpstvo postaje religija, jer je Crkva nacionalna“ ([38], str. 25, 40). Sve do 15. i 16. st., tj. do prodora Turaka na Balkan i u Europu, prelasci pravoslavaca preko granice u zapadno područje bili su vrlo rijetki. S turskim osvajanjima dolazi do većih migracija stanovništva pa su se na katoličkom i hrvatskom etničkom prostoru izmiješala tri vjerska i civilizacijska svijeta: katolički Zapad, pravoslavni Istok i turski islam. Taj je proces trajao nekoliko stoljeća. Pritom su se događala pravoslavna osvajanja i širenje srpskoga imena ([37], str. 30–32, 89–95). Srbi, kao turski vazali, stoljećima su se borili s Turcima protiv kršćanstva, posebno protiv katoličkog zapada, i nisu bili, kako sami kažu, posljednji bedem Europe pred nadiranjem Turaka ([23], str. 62–65). O autokefalnim (samostalnim) pravoslavnim crkvama ruski pravoslavac Vladimir Solovjev, u svojoj knjizi *Rusija i svjetska*

er (today's border between Bosnia and Herzegovina and Serbia) up to the Danube River ([35], p. 205). The people and countries that, after the schism, were west of Theodosius' line were under the influence of the western, Latin, Catholic Church, and those in the east were subordinate to the Patriarchate of Constantinople ([34], p. 42; [36], p. 13; p. 25). The historical tensions and problems between the Eastern and Western churches are the result not only of historical circumstances but also of different understandings and practices in the relationship between spiritual and secular authorities. The relationship between the state and the church is completely different in Eastern and Western Christianity, which is manifested in the most radical way among the Serbs after the establishment of the Serbian state in the 19th century ([37], pp. 15–45).

The pinnacle of the statehood embodiment of the Orthodox state is the empire, and in the ecclesiastical realm it corresponds to the Patriarchate. Thus „Serbness becomes a religion, because the Church is national“ ([38], pp. 25, 40). Until the 15th and 16th centuries, i.e. until the penetration of the Turks into the Balkans and into Europe, crossings of Orthodox Christians across the border into the western region were very rare. With the Turkish conquests, larger migrations of populations occurred, so that in the Catholic and ethnic Croatian areas, three religious and civilizational worlds were mixed: the Catholic West, the Orthodox East, and the Turkish Islam. This process lasted for several centuries. At the same time, Orthodox conquests took place and the Serbian name spread ([37], pp. 30–32, 89–95). Serbs, as Turkish vassals, fought on the side of the Turks against Christianity for cen-

crkva (1889.) kaže: „Sve te nacionalne crkve nisu ništa drugo nego državne crkve, potpuno lišene svakog aspekta crkvene nepristranosti. Lako se uočava zlokobni utjecaj, koji to srozavanje crkve može vršiti na samu religiju u tim nesretnim okolnostima“ ([23], str. 41; [24], str. 5). O srpskom pravoslavlju Solovjev kaže: „Vjerska ravnodušnost Srba dosta je poznata, kao i njihova manija da upotrebljavaju pravoslavlje kao politički instrument u njihovoj bratoubilačkoj borbi protiv Hrvata katolika“ ([23], str. 41; [24], str. 5).

Još prije istočnoga crkvenoga raskola crkva u Dalmaciji bila je pod vrhovnom upravom rimskoga patrijarha, u 8. st. (732.) prelazi pod vlast carigradskoga patrijarha ([34], str. 42; [35], str. 205, [36], str. 13; p. 25). U 11. st. Splitski sabor (1075.) odlučuje da crkvenu jurisdikciju u Hrvatskoj ima Rimski crkva. Nešto malo pravoslavaca u bizantskim kolonijama u dalmatinskim gradovima prelazi 1420. pod jurisdikciju Mletačke republike, tj. Filadelfijskoga metropolita koji pripada Carigradskom patrijarhatu. Pravoslavci u dalmatinskim gradovima su uglavnom Grci, a u manjoj mjeri i drugi narodi, i zato se pravoslavce nazivalo Grcima. Kada Turci zauzimaju balkanske države, pravoslavci iz tih krajeva, ponajprije iz Ohridske arhiepiskopije, Bugari, Albanci, Grci, Vlasi, Morlaci, Stratioti i druge etničke skupine dolaze u Hrvatsku između 15. i 17. st. Pod tursku vlast pada i Pečka (Ipekska) arhiepiskopija, a vraćena je bugarskoj Ohridskoj arhiepiskopiji. U to doba ne postoji ni srpska država ni srpska crkva ([34], str. 42–43; [36], str. 13–14; p. 25).

turies, especially against the Catholic West, and they were not, as they themselves say, the last bastion of Europe during the invasion of the Turks ([23], pp. 62-65). About the autocephalous (independent) Orthodox churches, the Russian Orthodox Vladimir Soloviev, in his book *Russia and the World Church* (1889), says: „All these national churches are nothing but state churches, completely deprived of any aspect of ecclesiastical impartiality. It is easy to see the disastrous influence the descent of the church can have on religion itself in these unfortunate circumstances“ ([23], p. 41; [24], p. 5). About Serbian Orthodoxy, Soloviev says: „The religious indifference of the Serbs is well known, as is their mania to use Orthodoxy as a political instrument in their fratricidal struggle against Catholic Croats“ ([23], p. 41; [24], p. 5).

Even before the eastern church schism, the church in Dalmatia was under the supreme administration of the Roman Patriarch, and in the 8th century (732) it passed under the authority of the Patriarch of Constantinople ([34], p. 42; [35], p. 205; [36], p. 13, 25). In the 11th century The Council of Split (1075) decided that Catholics in Croatia at that time were under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Rome. A small number of Orthodox Christians in Byzantine colonies in Dalmatian cities came under the jurisdiction of the Republic of Venice in 1420, i.e. Metropolitan of Philadelphia, who belonged to the Patriarchate of Constantinople. Orthodox Christians in the Dalmatian cities were mostly Greeks, and to a lesser extent other peoples, and that is why all Orthodox Christians were called Greeks. When the Turks occupied the Balkan states, the Orthodox from those regions, primari-

Tijekom toga razdoblja ratne su se prilike više puta mijenjale pa se događalo raseljavanje i ponovno naseljavanje opustošenih područja. Poslije bitke kod Siska (1593.), u kojoj su Turci teško poraženi od hrvatske vojske, balkanski Vlasi koloniziraju veliki dio Hrvatske od rijeke Drave do Jadranskog mora [39]. Nešto Vlaha bilo je u službi Turskoga Carstva kao vojnici u graničnom području, uglavnom pravoslavne vjere iako je bilo i Vlaha katolika. Oni su se odmetnuli od Otomanskog Carstva, sklopili su ugovor s Habsburgovcima i prešli su na hrvatski pogranični teritorij. Kako su dijelovi Hrvatske bili ili pod Habsburškom (Slavonija i Banska Hrvatska) ili pod Mletačkom upravom (Mletačka Dalmacija), te su vlasti nastojale sačuvati sigurnost i jedinstvo zemlje. „Vlaško“ pitanje je bilo regulirano diplomom Ferdinanda II. (1627.), „Vlaškim zakonom“ kojega je donio Hrvatski sabor (1629.) i „Vlaškim statutom“ („Statuta Valachorum“, 1630.) Ferdinanda II. Neki srpski povjesničari „Statuta Valachorum“ prevode kao „Srpski statut“ što je potpuno pogrešno jer Vlasi nisu Srbi nego su posebna etnička skupina. Još prije toga je u duhu protureformacije i katoličke obnove Hrvatski sabor (1604.) donio „vjerski zakon“ po kojemu je katolicizam bio smatran jedinom dopuštenom vjeroispovijesti u zemlji. Iako su mnogi pravoslavci u Banskoj Hrvatskoj stupili u uniju s Katoličkom Crkvom (1611.), problem pravoslavnoga stanovništva nije posve bio riješen. Unijatska eparhija sa sjedištem u Marči kraj Ivaničgrada bila je podložna zagrebačkom biskupu, a ne peć-

ly from the Ohrid Archbishopric, Bulgarians, Albanians, Greeks, Vlachs, Morlaks, Stratiotes and other ethnic groups came to Croatia between the 15th and 17th centuries. The archbishopric of Peć (Ipek) also fell under Turkish rule, and was returned to the Bulgarian Ohrid Archbishopric. At that time, neither the Serbian state nor the Serbian church existed ([34], p. 42-43; [36], p. 13-14, 25).

During that period the wartime circumstances changed several times, so displacement and repopulation of devastated areas took place. After the Battle of Sisak (1593), in which the Turks were badly defeated by the Croatian army, the Balkan Vlachs colonized a large part of Croatia, from the Drava River to the Adriatic Sea [39]. Some Vlachs were in the service of the Turkish Empire as soldiers in the border area. They were mostly of the Orthodox faith, although there were also some catholic Vlachs. They broke away from the Ottoman Empire, concluded a treaty with the Habsburgs, and moved to the Croatian border territory. As parts of Croatia were either under Habsburg rule (Slavonia and Kingdom of Croatia, or Croatia under the authority of ban 1527-1868, Banska Hrvatska) or under Venetian administration (Venetian Dalmatia), these tried to maintain safety and unity of the country. The „Vlach“ question was regulated by the diploma of Ferdinand II (1627), the „Wallachian Law“ brought by the Croatian Parliament (1629) and the „Wallachian Statute“ („Statuta Valachorum“) (1630) of Ferdinand II. Some Serbian historians translate „Statuta Valachorum“ as „Serbian Statute“, which is completely wrong because the Vlachs are not Serbs, but a separate ethnic group. Even before that, in the spirit of counter-ref-

kom patrijarhu. Unijatski pokret došao je u krizu nakon najvećeg vala doseljavanja pravoslavnoga stanovništva, tzv. velike seobe Srba (1690.) za vrijeme patrijarha Arsenija III. Crnojevića (Čarnojevića) kada se, navodno, oko 30 000 Srba doselilo u Vojvodinu, tj. na područje Hrvatske i Ugarske.

Kada su tijekom ratova Austrije i Turske krajem 17. st. Austrijanci, pod vojnim vodstvom grofa Pikolominija, došli do Beograda, Niša u Srbiji i Plovdiva u Bugarskoj, kršćansko se stanovništvo priklanja austrijskoj vojsci i diže ustanke protiv Turaka. Pikolomini umire od kuge i ratna se sreća okreće na tursku stranu. U strahu od turske odmazde kršćani bježe prema sjeveru na austrijski teritorij. Hrvatsko-ugarski kralj Leopold I. za „narod Ilirika“ (točnije: narode) utemeljuje za pravoslavce „grčko-iztočnu crkvu“ ([34], str. 43; [36], str. 15, 22, 24; p. 26, 41, 47).

U Beču se 1707. donosi odluka da je poglavar austrougarskih pravoslavaca neovisan od pravoslavnih patrijarha koji su pod turskom vlašću i da može nositi titulu arhiepiskopa. Za sjedište arhiepiskopa austrougarskih pravoslavaca određeni su Srijemski Karlovci. Karlovačka arhiepiskopija bila je autokefalna pravoslavna crkva na području Habsburške monarhije, tj. Hrvatske (usp. *Zbornik Sintagma*, Atena, 1855.). To znači da je to zapravo bila Austrijska, odnosno Hrvatska pravoslavna crkva jer se nalazila na području Trojedne kraljevine Hrvatske, Slavonije i Dalmacije.

U Slavoniji pod Turcima i u hrvatskoj Vojnoj krajini novodošli pravoslavci po-

ormation and Catholic renewal, the Croatian Parliament (1604) passed a „religious law“ according to which Catholicism was considered the only allowed religion in the country. Although many Orthodox in the Kingdom of Croatia (Banska Hrvatska) joined the union with the Catholic Church (1611), the problem of the Orthodox population was not completely resolved. The Uniate Eparchy with its residence in Marča near Ivanićgrad was subjected to the Bishop of Zagreb, not to the Patriarch of Peć. The Uniate movement came to a crisis after the largest wave of immigration of the Orthodox population, so-called the great migration of Serbs (1690) during the time of Patriarch Arsenij III Crnojević (Čarnojević) when, allegedly, about 30 000 Serbs moved to Vojvodina, which was at that time the territory of Croatia and Hungary.

When during the wars between Austria and Turkey at the end of the 17th century the Austrians, under the military leadership of Count Piccolomini, reached Belgrade and Niš in Serbia and Plovdiv in Bulgaria, the Christian population joined the Austrian army and began to rebel against the Turks. Piccolomini died of the plague and the fortunes of war turned to the Turkish side. In fear of Turkish revenge, the Christians fled north to Austrian territory. The Croatian-Hungarian King Leopold I for the „people of Illyricum“ (more precisely: peoples) establishes for the Orthodox believers the „Greek-Eastern Church“ ([34], p. 43; [36], p. 15, 22, 24; p. 26, 41, 47).

In Vienna in 1707 a decision was made that the head of the Austro-Hungarian Orthodox was independent from the Orthodox patriarchs who were under Turkish rule and that they could bear the title of archbishop. Sri-

čeli su uspostavljati sustavniju crkvenu organizaciju. Na području Bosne uspostavljena je Dabro-bosanska eparhija sa sjedištem u Sarajevu (1713.), a na području današnje Hrvatske bilo je još nekoliko pravoslavnih eparhija: gornjokarlovačka (sa sjedištem u Karlovcu), pakračka (1705.), lepavinsko-severinska (1734. – 1750.) i dalmatinska sa sjedištem u Šibeniku (1708.). Pravoslavci u Dalmaciji bili su pod crkvenom upravom bukovinsko-dalmatinske mitropolije, a oni u Hrvatskoj i Vojvodini pod upravom srijemske mitropolije sa sjedištem u Srijemskim Karlovcima. Kada je, nakon stvaranja nove države Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca (SHS), proglašena pravoslavna patrijaršija (1920.) sa sjedištem u Beogradu, svi su pravoslavni vjernici bili po prvi puta obuhvaćeni jednom crkvenom organizacijom i počeli su se sustavno nazivati pravoslavni Srbi, a crkva se nazvala Srpska pravoslavna crkva iako se ona službeno još nije tako nazivala. Nova pravoslavna crkva u državi SHS dobila je na korištenje imovinu pravoslavne crkve u Hrvatskoj ali nije postala vlasnica te imovine. Tu je novu pravoslavnu crkvu Carigradska patrijaršija priznala posebnim aktom (tomosom) 1922. godine.

Unijatska crkva u Banskoj Hrvatskoj ostala je pod zaštitom austrijskih careva. Naziv „unijati“ potjecao je od šizmatika (onih koji su se odijelili od Katoličke crkve), a Rimski kurija ih je nazivala „Katolici grčkog obreda“. Na tom tragu i na tragu sinode katoličkih biskupa bizantskoga obreda (Beč, 1773.), na kojoj je odlučeno da se unijati ubuduće na-

jemski Karlovci was appointed as the seat of the Austro-Hungarian Orthodox archbishop. The Archbishopric of Srijemski Karlovci was an autocephalous Orthodox Church on the territory of the Habsburg Monarchy, i.e. of Croatia (cf. *Syntagma Compendium*, Athens, 1855). That means that it was actually the Austrian or Croatian Orthodox Church because it was located in the territory of the Triune Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia.

In Slavonia under the Turks and in the Croatian Military Border (Krajina), the newly arrived Orthodox began to establish a more systematic church organization. In the territory of Bosnia, the Dabro-Bosnian diocese was established with its seat in Sarajevo (1713), and in the territory of today's Croatia there were several more Orthodox dioceses: Upper Karlovac (with the seat in Karlovac), Pakrac (1705), Lepavina-Severin (1734-1750) and Dalmatian with the seat in Šibenik (1708). The Orthodox in Dalmatia were under the ecclesiastical administration of the Bukovina-Dalmatia Metropolitanate, and those in Croatia and Vojvodina under the administration of the Metropolitanate of Srijem with the seat in Srijemski Karlovci. When, after the creation of the new state of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (SHS), an Orthodox Patriarchate with its headquarters in Belgrade was proclaimed (1920), all Orthodox believers were for the first time included in a single church organization and began to systematically call themselves Orthodox Serbs, and the church started calling itself the Serbian Orthodox Church, although it was not officially named that yet. The new Orthodox Church in the state of SHS was granted the use of the property of the

zivaju „Katolici grčkog obreda“, ukinuta je eparhija u Marči (1777.) i umjesto nje osnovana je križevačka grkokatolička biskupija koja je postala sufragana zagrebačke metropolije (1852.).

Pravoslavci dobivaju u Austrijskom carstvu potpuna građanska prava (1791.), jamči im se sloboda u školskim i crkvenim poslovima, ali pod državnim nadzorom (1848., 1868.), a ista im prava daje i Hrvatski sabor (1861., 1865., 1877., 1884., 1887.) ([34], str. 44, 51; [36], str. 16, 22, 29, 30, 42; p. 41, 43, 61.). Slična prava nisu uživali katolici u Srbiji. Zato je apostolski vikar za Srbiju, đakovački biskup Josip Juraj Strossmayer prosvjedovao (1852.) da se katolicima daju ista prava koja imaju katolici u Vlaškoj ([34], str. 31) ili pravoslavci u Hrvatskoj. Zakon o slobodi vjere u Srbiji (1853.) bio je za katolike vrlo restriktivan: zabranjivao je prelazak iz pravoslavne u bilo koju drugu vjeru, posebno katoličku, djeca iz mješovitih brakova mogla su se krstiti samo u pravoslavnoj crkvi, a katoličke svećenike postavlja srbijanska vlast. Prema srbijanskom ustavu iz 1869. pravoslavna vjera je državna, a sve druge vjere se samo toleriraju. Iste odredbe ostaju i u srbijanskim ustavima iz 1888., 1901., 1903. ([34], str. 31–32).

U Hrvatskoj i Austriji za pravoslavne vjernike koristio se naziv „grčko-iztočni“ vjernici (pravoslavni Grci, Vlasi, Moskovići, Racioni – Rasciani, Raci, od naziva srednjovjekovne srpske države Raške), a za crkvu „Grčko-iztočna crkva“. Pravoslavni Srbi su pod utjecajem *Načertanija* (1844.) Ilije Savića nazvanog Garašanin

Orthodox Church in Croatia, but did not become the owner of that property. The Patriarchate of Constantinople recognized this new Orthodox Church by a special act (tomos) in 1922.

The Uniate Church in the Kingdom of Croatia (Banska Hrvatska) remained under the protection of the Austrian emperors. The name „Uniate“ came from schismatics (those who separated from the Catholic Church), and the Roman Curia used the name „Catholics of the Greek Rite“ for them. As a result of that the Synod of Catholic bishops of the Byzantine rite (Vienna, 1773), decided that the Uniates would henceforth be called „Catholics of the Greek Rite“. The Diocese of Marcha was abolished (1777) and the Greek Catholic Diocese of Križevci was established in its place, and it became a suffragan of the Zagreb Metropolitanate (1852).

The Orthodox believers received full civil rights in the Austrian Empire (1791), they were guaranteed freedom in school and church affairs, but under the state supervision (1848, 1868), and the same rights were granted to them by the Croatian Parliament (1861, 1865, 1877, 1884, 1887) ([34], p. 44, 51; [36], p. 16, 22, 29, 30, 42; pp. 41, 43, 61). On the contrary, Catholics in Serbia did not enjoy similar rights. That is why the apostolic vicar for Serbia, Bishop Josip Juraj Strossmayer of Đakovo protested (1852) that Catholics should be given the same rights as Catholics in Wallachia ([34], p. 31) or Orthodox believers in Croatia. The law on freedom of religion in Serbia (1853) was very restrictive for Catholics: it forbade conversion from Orthodoxy to any other religion, especially Catholic, children from mixed marriages could only be bap-

i spisa Vuka Stefanovića Karadžića *Srbi svi i svuda* (napisano 1836., a objavljeno 1849.) počeli provoditi velikosrpsku politiku prisvajanja drugih naroda, i to ne samo njihove duhovne baštine i kulture nego i teritorija. Započelo je srbovanje i posrbljavanje koje je nastavljeno prijetenjama Nikole Stojadinovića u *Srbobranu* (*Do istrage naše ili vaše*, 1902.) ([10], str. 205–248; [16], 214–223; [21], str. 13–20, 24–27, 51–65, 85–89; [34], str. 251–273).

Ideja *Načertanija* bila je: što više pravoslavaca naseliti na što veći dio teritorija drugih država, uvjeriti pravoslavne vjernike da su Srbi koji žele živjeti u jednoj državi, tj. u Srbiji koja bi se proširila na sve krajeve gdje žive Srbi. Srbi su u *Srbobranu* Hrvatima najavili borbu do istrjebljenja (etničkog čišćenja). Sve pravoslavce u južnoslavenskom svijetu, posebno u Hrvatskoj oni su počeli nazivati i smatrati Srbima. Pod utjecajem velikosrpske propagande pravoslavci u hrvatskim krajevima, bez obzira na svoje etničko podrijetlo (Grci, Bugari, Albanci, Vlasi, Cincari, Rumunji, Romi itd.), počeli su se, koncem 19. st. i kroz čitavo 20. st., izjašnjavati kao Srbi uglavnom zato jer su bili pravoslavci. Najveći broj Srba u Hrvatskoj ne pripada srpskom narodu nego balkanskim Vlasima, ali je većina njih asimilirana u Srbe. To je rezultat djelovanja srpskih agitatora po Hrvatskoj koji su pravoslavno stanovništvo uvjeravali (i u velikoj mjeri uvjerali) da je pravoslavlje istoznačnica sa srpstvom. To je još uvijek, ne samo osnovna radna hipoteza srpske historiografije koja identificira Srbe i

tized in the Orthodox Church, and Catholic priests were appointed by the Serbian authorities. According to the Serbian constitution from 1869, the Orthodox religion was the state religion, and all other religions were only tolerated. The same regulations remained in the Serbian constitutions of 1888, 1901, and 1903 ([34], pp. 31-32).

In Croatia and Austria, the term „Greek-Eastern“ believers was used for Orthodox believers (Orthodox Greeks, Vlachs, Muscovites, Radians – Rasciani, Raci, from the name of the medieval Serbian state of Raška), and for the church „Greek-Eastern Church“. Orthodox Serbs under the influence of *Načertanije* (1844) of Ilija Savić called Garašanin and the writings of Vuk Stefanović Karadžić *Serbs all and everywhere* (written in 1836, and published in 1849) began to implement the Great Serbian policy of usurpation other peoples, not only their spiritual heritage and culture but also their territory. Serbification (Serbization) began and continued with the assaults of Nikola Stojadinović in the magazine *Srbobran* (article *Do istrage naše ili vaše – Until our or your extermination*, 1902) ([10], pp. 205-248; [16], pp. 214-223; [21], pp. 13-20, 24-27, 51-65, 85-89; [34], pp. 251-273).

The idea of *Načertanije* was to settle as many Orthodox as possible on the largest part of the territory of other countries, to convince Orthodox believers that they are Serbs who want to live in one state, i.e. in Serbia, which would spread to all areas where Serbs live. In *Srbobran*, the Serbs announced the struggle of extermination (ethnic cleansing) of the Croats. They started calling and considering all Orthodox in the South Slavic world, especially in Croatia, Serbs. Under the influence of

Vlahe, nego je to „dogmatska istina“ koja nema utemeljenje u povijesnim izvorima [39-43].

Tako su npr. pravoslavci u Teslinu rodnom selu Smiljanu oko 1860. zatražili da ih se službeno naziva Srbima i da u Hrvatskoj imaju pravo na teritorijalnu posebnost ([10], str. 104, 480). Smiljan je postao parohijalno središte 1838., a pravoslavna crkva sv. Apostola Petra i Pavla postoji vjerojatno od 1764. godine. Prema statističkim podacima Banske vlasti (1850.) u smiljanskoj parohiji bilo je, prema izvještaju katoličke župe, 2 200 „katolikah“ i 808 „gerčko-nesjedinjenih“, a 1866. (*Miestopisni rječnik*) „6879 rimo-katoličke te 1430 grčkoistočne vjeroispovijesti“ [44].

U Hrvatskoj je, općenito, postojalo dosta pravoslavnih vjernika. Prema „popisima stanovništva 1785. i 1802. u svim hrvatskim pokrajinama u Austrijskom carstvu (Civilna Hrvatska, Vojna Hrvatska, Civilna Slavonija, Vojna Slavonija, Ugarsko Primorje, Dalmacija, Istra) živjelo je 1 678 063 Hrvata. Jedinu manjinu čine neki Židovi. Na tom popisu Hrvati – pravoslavci čine 25 %, njih čak 410 000. Dakle samo Hrvata – pravoslavaca je deset puta više od svih stanovnika Srbije u to doba. Kad Hrvatima u Austrijskom carstvu dodamo oko 1 000 000 Hrvata koji žive na teritoriju današnje BiH (tada u Osmanskom carstvu), ispada da je Hrvata tada bilo dva i pol milijuna, što je 60 puta više od svih Srba ([42,44]; [45], str. 14).

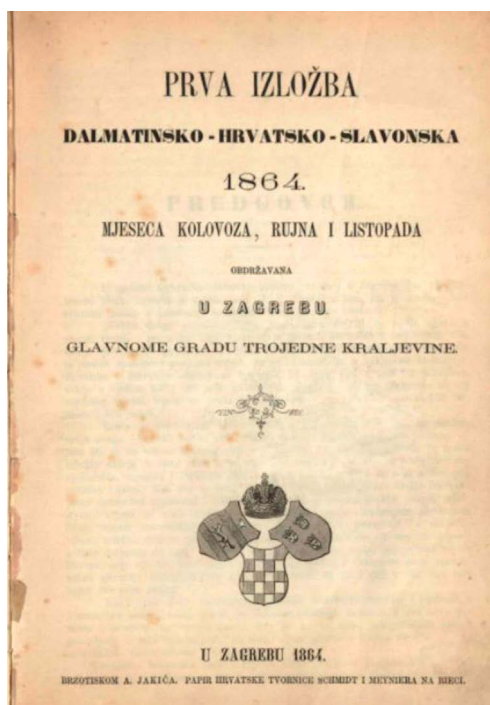
Kada je organizirana prva izložba dalmatinsko-hrvatsko-slavonska (1864.) u

Great Serbian propaganda, the Orthodox in the Croatian regions, regardless of their ethnic origin (Greeks, Bulgarians, Albanians, Vlachs, Cincars, Romanians, Roms, etc.), began, at the end of the 19th century and throughout the 20th century, to declare themselves as Serbs mostly because they were Orthodox. The largest number of today's Serbs in Croatia does not belong to the Serbian ethnicity but to the Balkan Vlachs, but most of them were assimilated into Serbs. This is the result of the activities of Serbian agitators in Croatia who to a large extent convinced the Orthodox population that Orthodoxy is synonymous with Serbness (Serbhood). That is still not only the basic working hypothesis of Serbian historiography that identifies Serbs and Vlachs, but it is one of those „dogmatic truths“ that has no basis in historical sources [39-43].

For example, Orthodox Christians in Tesla's native village of Smiljan requested about 1860 that they be officially called Serbs and that they have the right to territorial detachment in Croatia ([10], pp. 104, 480). Smiljan became a parish seat in 1838, and the Orthodox Church of St. Apostle Peter and Paul probably existed since 1764. According to statistical data of the authorities of Banska Hrvatska (Croatia) (1850), there were, according to the report of the Catholic parish, 2 200 „Catholics“ and 808 „Greek-non-united“ in the Smiljan parish, and in 1866 (*Miestopisni rječnik – The local dictionary*) „6 879 Roman Catholics and 1 430 Greek-Eastern believers“ [44].

Generally, there were a lot of Orthodox believers in Croatia. According to the „population censuses“ of 1785 and 1802, 1 678 063 Croats lived in all Croatian provinces of the Austrian Empire (Civil Croatia, Military Cro-

Zagrebu, izdan je katalog u kojemu se nalazi detaljan popis stanovništva po narodnosti, vjeroispovijesti, prebivalištu, zanimanju i sl. (slike 1-3), a odnosi se na prethodne godine. „Žitelji trojedne kraljevine jesu po narodnosti gotovo samo Hrvati koji obišu prieko 95 postotakah od ukupnoga pučanstva“ ([15], str. 18). U popisu je naveden broj stanovnika u Hrvatskoj i Slavoniji, hrvatsko-slavonskoj



Slika 1. Naslovna stranica knjige *Prva izložba dalmatinsko-hrvatsko-slavonska 1864., mjeseca kolovoza, rujna i listopada, održavana u Zagrebu, glavnome gradu Trojedne kraljevine, Zagreb, 1864.* [15]

Figure 1. Cover page of the book *The First Dalmatian-Croatian-Slavonian Exhibition in 1864, August, September and October, held in Zagreb, the capital of the Triune Kingdom, Zagreb, 1864* [15]

atia, Civil Slavonia, Military Slavonia, Hungarian coast, Dalmatia, Istria). The only minority were some Jews. On that list, Orthodox Croats made up 25 %, which was even 410 000 of them. Therefore, there were 10 times more Orthodox Croats than all the inhabitants of Serbia at that time. When we add to the Croats in the Austrian Empire about 1 000 000 Croats living on the territory of today's Bosnia and Herzegovina (then in the Ottoman Empire), it results that there were two and a half million Croats then, which is 60 times more than all Serbs ([42,44]; [45], p. 14).

When the first Dalmatian-Croatian-Slavonian exhibition was organized (1864) in Zagreb, a catalog was issued containing a detailed population census by nationality, religion, place of residence, occupation, etc. (Figures 1-3), and refers to previous years. „Inhabitants of the Triune kingdom are almost exclusively Croats, who comprise more than 95 percent of the total population“ ([15], p. 18). The list stated the number of inhabitants in Croatia and Slavonia, the Croatian-Slavonian Border (Krajina) and Dalmatia by nationality: Croats (1 913 942), Hungarians (11 921), Germans (29 035), Italians (21 659), Albanians (1 000), Czechs and Slovaks (6 590), Slovenians (2 400), Armenians (41), Gypsies (1 570) and Jews (5 041). According to religion, there were 74 % Roman Catholics, 24 % Orthodox, and the rest are Catholics of the Greek rite (Greek-Catholic) and Armenian Catholic rite, ununited, i.e. Orthodox Greek and Armenian, Evangelicals, Uniates and Jews ([15], pp. 18-21). It is noticed that there was not a single Serb, which means that all Orthodox (non-united) in Croatia were either predominantly Croats or members of other na-

crkve pravi Srbin, da oni, dakle, slijedeći u tome bizantske državnike, narodnost i vjeru istovjetuju“ ([34], str. 118). Antun Radić kaže slično: „Mi ne držimo svakoga Srbinom tko je srbsko-pravoslavna zakona, to nas uči razum, a vidimo to i u narodu. Mi smo našli toliko seljaka srbsko-pravoslavne vjere, koji su nam rekli da su Hrvati.“ ([34], str. 118). Gornjo karlovački pravoslavni episkop (biskup) Teofan (Theofan) Živković izjavljuje u *Obzoru* (god. VII., br. 75 od 31. ožujka 1877.): „Srbske narodnosti političke ovdje zaista neima, niti bi je i sam tražio, i da mi je, što nije, politika polje, jerbo bi to bio bez gradjanskog morala posao, i o ime domovine naše najveći grieh. Ni osobite „srbske vjere“ neima zaista nigdje na svijetu, pa ni ovdje. Ima doduše u pravoslavlju i različitih Jerarchija i crkava, i grčke, i romanske, i ruske, pa i srbske, i tako dalje, po različitim imeni svojih naroda i narodnosti; i svaka taka narodna i Jerarchija i crkva, imade i svoju osobitu istoriju u povjestnici chraćanstva (treba: chrišćanstva – *op. autora*). Al ako ovdje neima srbske crkve, jer moja dijeceza nespada u srbsku narodnu Jerarchiju, osnovanu na temelju najviše Leopoldove privilegije od 21. augusta 1690. za sve grčko iztočne vjerne u Ugarskoj, Jenopolju, Horvatskoj, itd.: onda dabome još manje može biti srbskoga naroda tu, i na meni nužde kakve, da ga ja zastupam protivu takvih napadanja iz moga crkveno-duhovnog i crkveno-pravnog položaja“ ([10], str. 481–483).

Još prije toga (1852., 1871.) Ante Starčević raspravlja o obrani hrvatskoga ime-

paper *Obzor* (year VII., no. 75 of March 31, 1877): „There really is no Serbian political nationality here, nor would I seek it myself, and if politics, which it is not, is my field, because it would be a job without civic morality, and the greatest sin against the name of our homeland. There is no particular „Serbian faith“ anywhere in the world, not even here. Admittedly, there are different hierarchies and churches in Orthodoxy, Greek, Roman, Russian, Serbian, and so on, with different names of their peoples and nationalities; and every such national hierarchy and church has its own special history in the annals of Christianity. Therefore, if there are no Serbian church here, because my diocese does not belong to the Serbian national Hierarchy, founded on the basis of Leopold’s highest privilege of August 21, 1690, for all the Greek Eastern faithful in Hungary, Jenopolje, Croatia, etc.: then for God’s sake there can be even less of the Serbian people there, and I am not obliged to represent them against such attacks from my church-spiritual and church-legal position“ ([10], pp. 481-483).

Even before that (1852, 1871), Ante Starčević discussed the defense of the Croatian name, people, and language with *Srbski dnevnik*, which has already begun to appropriate the Croatian language, calling it Serbian ([46], pp. 405-423). That was in accordance with the teachings of Slovak philologist Pavel Jozef Šafárik (1795-1861), who emphasized the opinion that Croats are only Kajkavians, and all Štokavians are Serbs. That teaching was accepted by the Serbs as a justification that in practice they could carry out Serbification (Serbization). The main factor in all of that was the Orthodox clergy. That was the

na, naroda, jezika sa *Srbskim dnevnikom* koji već počinje „prisivajati hrvatski jezik nazivajući ga srbskim“ ([46], str. 405–423). To je bilo na tragu učenja slovačkoga filologa Pavela Jozefa Šafárika (1795. – 1861.) koji je isticao mišljenje da su Hrvati samo kajkavci, a svi štokavci su Srbi. To su Srbi prihvatili kao opravdanje da u praksi mogu provoditi posrbljavanje. Glavni čimbenik u tome bio je pravoslavni kler. Zato Starčević oštro polemizira s onima koji Srbima smatraju čak i Dubrovčane i Istrane, pojašnjava da hrvatski jezik ima tri narječja, da su Srbi „vodu zamutili“, tj. prvi počeli svojatati druge i daje im odgovore na njihova pitanja pokazujući da su Srbi prevodili djela iz hrvatskoga jezika na svoj srpski te da su to dva jezika, a ne jedan. Da su Hrvati svoj jezik razlikovali od srpskoga pokazuju mnogi primjeri, npr. djelo Ivana Ambrozovića iz Sombora *Proričje i narećenja, sa srbskog jezika na ilirički privedena, nadopunjena i složcena* (1808.). Starčević kaže: „Stefan Raić prevede Relkovičeva Satira iz jezika hervatskoga na jezik serbski“ ([46], str. 420). Navodi Dominka Zlatarića koji „Sofoklovu Elektru i Ljubomira Tassova prevodi na hervatski jezik“ (1597.) (slika 4) te da su ilirski i hrvatski sinonimi ([46], str. 411, 413). Inače, mnogi srpski autori smatraju Zlatarića i njegovu obitelj, bez ikakva dokaza, starim srpskim dubrovačkim plemićkim obiteljima. Da su hrvatski, ilirski i slavenski/slovenski istoznačnice svjedoče i drugi prije i poslije Starčevića. To svjedoči i jedna isprava iz Krka (16. st.) koja navodi naziv jezika kojim se tu govori „...corvato cioe shiavon“ (hrvatski to jest

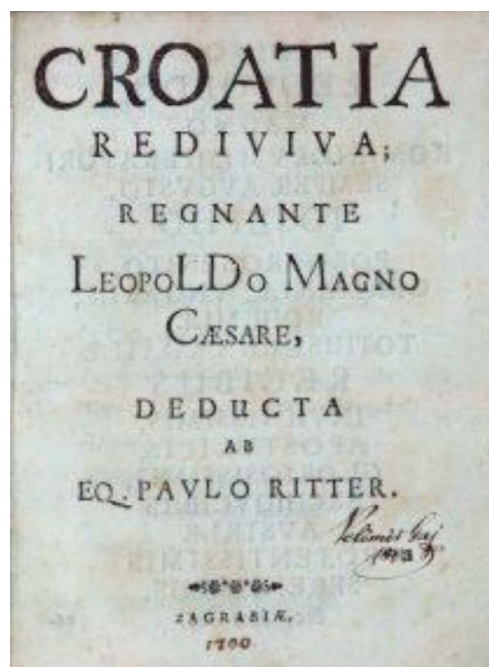
reason why Starčević sharply argued with those who consider even the people of Dubrovnik and Istria to be Serbs, explained that the Croatian language has three dialects, that the Serbs „muddied the water“, i.e. they were the first to start appropriating others and Starčević gave them answers to their questions by showing that the Serbs translated works from the Croatian into their Serbian language and that they are two distinct languages, not one. Many examples show that Croats distinguished their language from Serbian, e.g. the work of Ivan Ambrozović from Sombor (now in Vojvodina), *Proverbs and sayings that by reading and observing them, everyone wants to confidently lead themselves and others. Translated, supplemented and composed from the Serbian language into Illyrian [Croatian] (Proricjsja i narecsenja koja shtiuch i obderxavajuch, i sam sebe svaki, i druge pouzdano upravljati hoche. Sa Serbskog Jezika na illyricshi Privedena, Nadopunjena i Sloxena. Sa Serbskog Jezika na illyricshi Privedena, Nadopunjena i Sloxena)* (1808). Starčević said: „Stefan Raić translated Relković’s *Satire* from the Croatian language into the Serbian language“ ([46], p. 420). He cites Croatian Renaissance poet Dominko Zlatarić who „translated Sophocles’ *Electra* and Ljubomir of Tasso into Croatian“ (1597) (Figure 4) and that Illyrian and Croatian are synonyms ([46], pp. 411, 413). Otherwise, many Serbian authors consider Zlatarić and his family, without any evidence, to be old Serbian noble family from Dubrovnik. That Croatian, Illyrian and Slavic are synonyms was also affirmed by others before and after Starčević. That is confirmed by a document from the island Krk (16th century) that states the name of the language spoken there „...corvato cioe shi-



Slika 4. Naslovnica knjige Dominka Zlatarića: *Elektra. Tragedia. Iz vechie tugieh iesika u Harvackij isloxena, Venecija, 1597.*

Figure 4. Cover of Dominko Zlatarić's book: *Elektra. Tragedy. Translated from several foreign languages into Croatian, Venice, 1597.*

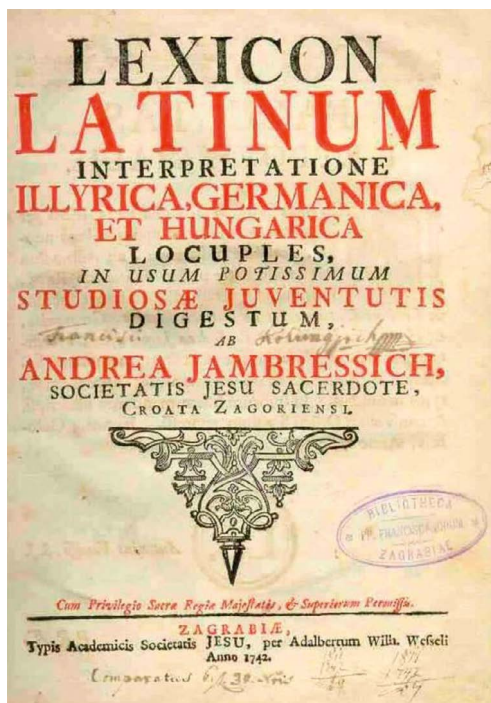
slovenski/slavenski). Jedan vatikanski prijepis Gundulićeva *Osmana* napisan je „in Lingua Chroatica, literis latinis“ (hrvatskim jezikom, latinskim pismom), a Srbi danas Gundulića svojataju za srpsko-ga pjesnika. Pavao Ritter Vitezović u djelu *Obnovljena Hrvatska (Croatia rediviva)* (1700.) ističe da je Dalmacija dio Hrvatske, a da su nazivi *ilirski, slavenski i hrvatski* istoznačnice (**slika 5**). Andrija Jambrešić u djelu *Lexicon Latinum ... (Latinski rječnik ...)* (1742.) donosi *Index Illyrico si-*



Slika 5. Naslovnica knjige Pavla Rittera Vitezovića: *Croatia rediviva (Obnovljena Hrvatska), Zagreb, 1700.*

Figure 5. Cover of Pavle Ritter Vitezović's book: *Croatia rediviva (Revived Croatia), Zagreb, 1700.*

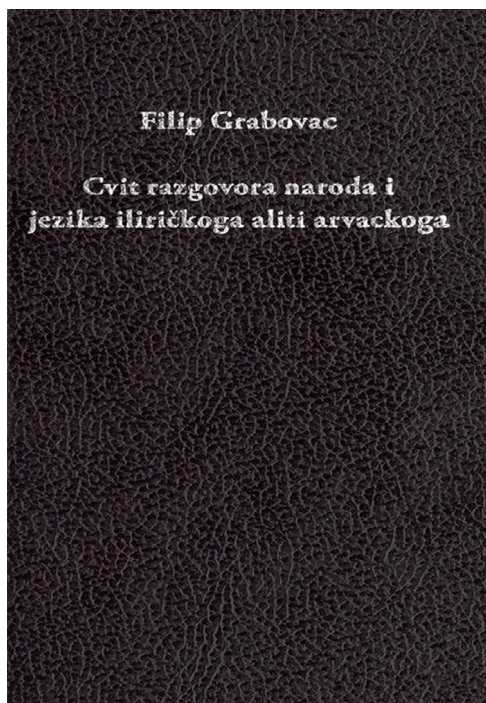
avon“ (Croatian, that is, Slavic). One Vatican transcription of Gundulić's *Osman* was written „in Lingua Chroatica, literis latinis“ (in the Croatian language, Latin script), but the Serbs today consider Gundulić a Serbian poet. Pavao Ritter Vitezović in his work *Croatia rediviva (Restored Croatia)* (1700) points out that Dalmatia is part of Croatia, and that the names Illyrian, Slavic and Croatian are synonyms (**Figure 5**). Andrija Jambrešić in his work *Lexicon Latinum ... (Latin dictionary ...)* (1742) provides the *Index Illyrico sive croatico – latinum*



Slika 6. Naslovnica knjige Andrije Jambrešića: *Lexicon Latinum interpretatione Illyrica, Germanica, et Hungarica*, Zagreb, 1742.

Figure 6. Cover of Andrija Jambrešić's book: *Lexicon Latinum interpretatione Illyrica, Germanica, et Hungarica* (Latin Lexicon with Illyrian, Germanic, and Hungarian interpretations), Zagreb, 1742.

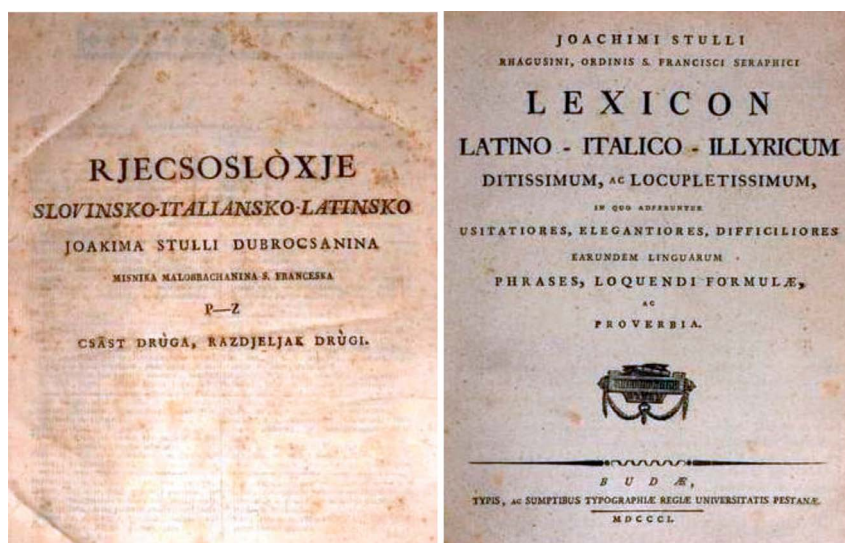
ve croatico – latinum (Ilirsko ili hrvatsko latinsko kazalo) (slika 6). Filip Grabovac kaže (1749.) (slika 7): „U Dalmaciji ... se i jezik zva, kakonoti ilirički, pak slovinški, potom toga arvaccki i evo i danas. Tri su imena a jedan je isti jezik.“ Početkom 19. st. dubrovački franjevac Joakim Stulli u svom djelu *Lexicon latino-italico-illyricum*, izraz „illyrice“ tumači kao: „slovinški, harvatski, hrovatski, horvatski“ (slika 8). Iz nekoliko izdanja *Rječnika* Dragu-



Slika 7. Naslovnica knjige Filipa Grabovca: *Cvit razgovora naroda i jezika iliričkoga aliti arvacckoga*, Školska knjiga, Zagreb, 2007. (pretisak izdanja iz godine 1747.)

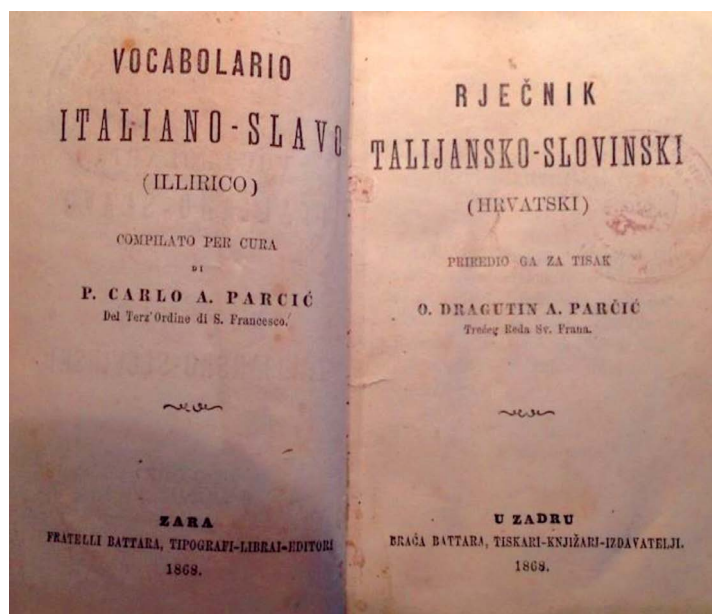
Figure 7. Cover of Filip Grabovac's book: *The flowering of the conversation of the people and the language of Illyrian or Croatian*, *Školska knjiga*, Zagreb, 2007 (reprint of the year 1747 edition)

(*Illyrian or Croatian Latin index*) (Figure 6). Filip Grabovac says (1749) (Figure 7): „In Dalmatia ... the language is also called, let's say, Illyrian, then Slavic, then Croatian and so it is today. There are three names and one is the same language“. At the beginning of the 19th century Dubrovnik Franciscan Joakim Stulli in his work *Lexicon latino-italico-illyricum* (*Latin-italian-illyrian dictionary*) interprets the term „illyrice“ as: „Slavic / Slavonian, Croatian“ (Figure 8). It is clear from several editions



Slika 8. Naslovnica knjige Joakima Stullija: *Lexicon latino-italico-illyricum*, Budim, 1801.

Figure 8. Cover of Joakim Stulli's book: *Lexicon latino-italico-illyricum* (Latin-Italian-Croatian Lexicon), Buda, 1801.



Slika 9. Naslovnica knjige Dragutina A. Parčića: *Vocabolario italiano-slavo (illirico) – Rječnik talijansko-slovinski (hrvatski)*, Zadar, 1868.

Figure 9. Cover of Dragutin A. Parčić's book: *Vocabolario italiano-slavo (illirico) – Italian-Slavic (Illirian) (i.e. Croatian) dictionary*, Zadar, 1868.

tina Antuna Parčića jasno je da su izrazi „slavo“, „slovinski“, „illirico“, „ilirski“, „hrvatski“ istoznačnice (slika 9) [47].

Starčević nije Srbe mrzio nego je među njima isticao one koji su agresivni prema drugima, naravno i Hrvatima, i nazivao ih je Slavoserbi. Koncem 19. st. proces „posrbļjavanja“ bio je toliko intenzivan da su neki pravoslavci u Hrvatskoj i Zagrebu smatrali Srbiju kao Pijemont južnih Slavena. Oni su istaknuli srbijansku zastavu na pravoslavnoj crkvi na Trgu Petra Preradovića u Zagrebu (današnji Cvjetni trg). Skupina studenata je nasilno skinula tu zastavu uzvikujući: „Mađarskoj zastavi je mjesto u Mađarskoj, a srbskoj u Srbiji!“ [48,49].

Taj je događaj bio povod tekstu *Poslanica onim pravoslavnim Hrvatima koji kažu da su Srbi* koji je zastupnik u Hrvatskom saboru (1913. – 1918.) Marko Mileusić 1895. poslao novinama *Hrvatska, Obzor, Narodne novine* i *Hrvat*. Tekst glasi ([10], str. 96–97; [49]):

„Braćo moja!

Nemili događaj, što se je ovih dana Vašom krivnjom dogodio pred našom svetom pravoslavnom crkvom, sili me da na Vas upravim nekoliko iskrenih i ozbiljnih riečih:

Nigdje na svijetu nema ni sablazni, da se vjera istovjetuje s narodnošću, samo su tako zvani Srbi bili kadri da takova što izmisle.

Ali Vi, braćo moja, niste tomu krivi. Vi ste samo žrtva kobne predsude i licemjerne nauke, koja se je izvana uvukla u naš čestiti pravoslavni narod u Hrvatskoj, da nas razdvoji i da oslabi našu narodnu snagu.

Ako je to, na žalost, kod nas donekle uspjelo, tomu su krivi oni, koji su se za svo-

of Antun Dragutin Parčić's *Dictionary* that the terms „Slavo (Slavic)“, „Slavonian“, „Illyrian“, „Croatian“ are synonyms (Figure 9) [47].

Starčević did not hate Serbs, but he pointed to those among them who were aggressive towards others, including Croats, of course, and called them Slavo-Serbs. At the end of the 19th century the process of „Serbification“ was so intense that some Orthodox Christians in Croatia and Zagreb considered Serbia to be the Piedmont of the South Slavs. They placed the Serbian flag on the Orthodox church on Petar Preradović Square in Zagreb (today's Cvjetni trg or Flower Square). A group of students violently removed that flag, shouting: „The Hungarian flag belongs in Hungary, and the Serbian flag belongs in Serbia!“ [48,49].

That event was the motive for the text *Epistles to those Orthodox Croats who say they are Serbs*, which a member of the Croatian Parliament (1913-1918) Marko Mileusić sent to the newspapers *Hrvatska, Obzor, Narodne novine* and *Hrvat* in 1895. The text reads as follows ([10], pp. 96-97; [49]):

„My brothers!

The unfortunate event that has occurred these days through your fault before our holy Orthodox Church forces me to address a few sincere and serious words to you:

Nowhere in the world is there such a scandalous situation that religion and nationality are identified, only the so-called Serbs were able to invent such a thing.

Still you, my brothers, are not to blame for this. You are only the victim of a fatal prejudice and hypocritical doctrine that has crept into our honorable Orthodox people in Croatia from the outside, to divide us and weaken our national strength.

je sebične svrbe poslužili vjerskim fanatizmom, pa su našoj svetoj pravoslavnoj vjeri nametnuli tudje narodno ime.

A nije tomu davno, što se za to kod nas u Hrvatskoj još nije znalo. Meni je evo već pedeseta godina, a još imam, hvala Bogu živa otca, koji je u našu svetu pravoslavnu crkvu izvješavala politička zastava tudje države, te ne znamo, da smo ikada bili Srbi, ili srbske vjere, nego mi moj otac danomice veli: „Sinko, ovo je sramota! Kako vo Srbstvo i kakova srbska vjera? Što su onda Rusi, koji su takodjer pravoslavni?” I to mi veli priprosti krajišnik Ličanin, koji nije učio nikakovih visokih skolah.

A i nama je braćo moja, najveći amanet naša sveta pravoslavna vjera, koje se mi ne odričemo za nikakovu cienu na svijetu. I mi ljubimo našu pravoslavnu crkvu i o sigurno više nego Vi, jer nećemo, da nam služi kao političko oružje proti našoj otačbini i proti onom narodu kojemu smo svi, i mi i Vi, rođeni sinovi.

Samo naši dušmani šire klevetu, da nas naša braća katolici mrze rad toga, što smo pravoslavne vjere. Ja sam već blizu trideset godina na čelu občini od kojih petnaest tisućah dušah, sve samih katolikah, pa ipak nisam doživio ni jednog jedinog trenutka a da mi je itko moje vjerske običaje povriedio, nego se dapače mogu ponositi, da sa svima živim u najdivnijem skladu i u najvećoj ljubavi.

Okanite se dakle i Vi krivoga puta, kojim ste zašli pa se smatrajte onim, što jeste i što morate biti. Jedno je vjera, a drugo je narodnost, - i tko mieša jedno i drugo, taj mora doživiti ovakve žalosne posljedice kao što ste i Vi doživili.

If, unfortunately, this has succeeded to some extent in our country, it is the fault of those who have used religious fanaticism for their own selfish purposes, and have imposed a foreign national name on our holy Orthodox faith.

And it was not so long ago that this was not yet known in Croatia. I am already fifty years old, and I still have, thank God, a living father, who does not know that the political flag of another state has ever been placed on our holy Orthodox church, so we do not know that we were ever Serbs, or of the Serbian faith, but my father tells me every day: „Son, this is a shame! What kind of Serbness and what kind of Serbian faith? What then are the Russians, who are also Orthodox?“ And this is what a simple border guard from Lika tells me, who did not study at any higher schools.

And for us, my brothers, the greatest legacy is our holy Orthodox faith, which we do not renounce for any reason. We also love our Orthodox church, and certainly more than you, because we do not want the Orthodox church to serve as a political weapon against our homeland and against the people of whom we are all, both we and you, born sons.

Our enemies truly spread the slander that our Catholic brothers hate us because we are of the Orthodox faith. I have been the head of a municipality of about fifteen thousand people, all Catholics, for almost thirty years, and yet I have never experienced a single moment when my religious customs were violated by anyone, but on the contrary, I can be proud that I live with everyone in the most wonderful harmony and in the greatest love.

So, you too, turn away from the wrong path you have taken and consider yourselves to be what you are and what you must be. Religion is

*Nu, ja sam uvjeren da još i danas ima-
de mnogo pravoslavnih, koji se poput mene i
moga oca sa ponosom nazivlju Hrvati, kao
što smo se nekoć svi zvali, a bit će ih s vreme-
nom još i više, koji će se odreći opasne i zlo-
kobne igre s našimi vjerskimi svetinjami, jer
bi nam se inače moglo dogoditi, da ćemo bi-
ti izključeni i tudji i u svom rodjenom na-
rodu.*

U Maksimiru 18. listopada 1895.

Marko Mileusnić, pravoslavni Hrvat“

Od Hrvata pravoslavne vjere valja spo-
menuti neke najistaknutije ljude hrvat-
skoga političkoga i kulturnoga života
kao što su: istaknuti hrvatski pjesnik Pe-
tar Preradović, skladatelj hrvatske himne
Josip Runjanin, feldmaršal austrougars-
ke vojske i vršnjak Nikole Tesle Svetozar
Borojević, hrvatski književnik Dimitrije
Demetar, političar i književnik Milan
Ogrizović, književnik August Haram-
bašić, sarajevski episkop Spiridion Mi-
fka, predsjednik Hrvatskog sabora Ni-
kola Krestić, tajnik bana Josipa Jelačića
Makso Prica i mnogi drugi. I majka oca
Domovine Ante Starčevića bila je pravo-
slavne vjere. Trinaest generala hrvatske
vojske u doba NDH bili su pravoslavci
Hrvati ([10], str. 206; [50], str. 15–22).

Pojavu Srba u Hrvatskoj i Bosni i Her-
cegovini srbijanski pravnik Miloš Obr-
knežević opisuje ovako: „Od osnivanja
Karlovačke mitropolije pravoslavna cr-
kva u Hrvatskoj, koja se zvanično zvala
među pravoslavnim hrvatskim Vlasima i
Hrvatima kao grčko-istočna, postaje sve
više penetrovana naporom Srpske pravo-
slavne crkve da podvrgne sebi pravoslav-

*one thing, nationality is another – and whoever
identifies one with the other must experience
such sad consequences as you have experienced.*

*Well, I am convinced that even today there
are many Orthodox who, like me and my father,
proudly call themselves Croats, as we all once
called ourselves, and in time there will be even
more who will renounce the dangerous and sin-
ister game with our religious sanctities, because
otherwise it could happen to us that we will be
excluded and strangers in the nation in which
we were born.*

In Maksimir on October 18, 1895,

Marko Mileusnić, Orthodox Croat“

Among the Croats of the Orthodox faith it
is worth mentioning some of the most prom-
inent people of Croatian political and cultur-
al life, such as: prominent Croatian poet Petar
Preradović, composer of the Croatian nation-
al anthem Josip Runjanin, field marshal of
the Austro-Hungarian army and Nikola Tes-
la's contemporary Svetozar Borojević, Croa-
tian writer Dimitrije Demetar, politician and
writer Milan Ogrizović, writer August Har-
ambašić, Sarajevo Orthodox bishop Spiridion
Mifka, president of the Croatian Parliament
Nikola Krestić, secretary of Ban Josip Jelačića
Makso Prica and many others. The mother of
the father of the Homeland, Ante Starčević,
was also of the Orthodox faith. Thirteen gen-
erals of the Croatian army during the NDH
(Nezavisna država Hrvatska – Independent
State of Croatia) era were Orthodox Croats
([10], p. 206; [50], p. 15-22).

The emergence and origin of the Serbs in
Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina are de-
scribed by the Serbian jurist Miloš Obrk-
nežević as follows: „Since the founding of

ni klir i vernike Nesrbe, naročito mnogobrojne Vlahe koji su u velikoj većini bili slavenizovani ili kroatizovani. ... U drugoj polovini prošlog veka srbizovanje pravoslavnih Nesrba kulminiše stvaranjem srpske versko-nacionalne svesti kod velikog dela pravoslavnog stanovništva u Hrvatskoj. Od onda reč Srbin postaje sinonim za pravoslavnog. Na taj način moderni srpski nacionalizam pomera ne samo prema severu (migracijama) nego i prema zapadu (privođenjem srpstvu) srpsku etničku rasejanost i stvara važnu srpsku manjinu na hrvatskoj istorijskoj i etničkoj teritoriji... Svojom organizacijom Srpska pravoslavna crkva za vreme prve Jugoslavije bila je jedna. ... Na taj način zvanično je odstranjen naziv Grčko-istočna u Hrvatskoj, pa su svi pravoslavni na području Jugoslavije uključivši Nesrbe (Makedonci, Crnogorci, Vlasi, Hrvati, Bugari, Ukrajinci, Rumuni, Arbanasi, Grci, Cincari, itd.) bili podvrgnuti patrijarhu u Beogradu i smatrani srpskim pravoslavnicima“ ([10], str. 480–481; [51], str. 12, 14). Filipi daje primjedbu na Obrkneževićovo spominjanje naziva Srpska pravoslavna crkva u 17. i 18. st. jer tada ona pod tim nazivom nije postojala ([10], str. 481). Tome je sklona većina autora koji, najčešće nesvesno, koriste naziv Srpska pravoslavna crkva za razdoblja od srednjega vijeka do 20. st. Za pravoslavnu crkvu u Hrvatskoj Ivo Omrčanin kaže: „Austrija je osnovala samostalnu pravoslavnu crkvu i tako je nastala mitropolija u Sr. Karlovcima. Njoj su carskim odredbama i pismima iz 1690., 1691. i 1695. god. bile priznate određene po-

the Metropolitan of Karlovac, the Orthodox Church in Croatia, which was officially called among the Orthodox Croatian Vlachs and Croats as Greek-Eastern, has become more and more penetrated by the efforts of the Serbian Orthodox Church to submit the Orthodox clergy and believers of the Non-Serbs, especially the numerous Vlachs who were largely Slavized or Croatized. ... In the second half of the last century (19th century – author’s note), the Serbification (Serbization) of Orthodox non-Serbs culminated in the creation of a Serbian religious-national awareness among a large part of the Orthodox population in Croatia. Since then, the word Serb has become synonymous with Orthodox. In this way, modern Serbian nationalism drove not only to the north (migrations) but also to the west (Serbification) the Serbian ethnic dispersion and generated an important Serbian minority on the Croatian historical and ethnic territory... During the first Yugoslavia the Serbian Orthodox Church was organizationally united. ... In this way, the name Greek-Eastern (church) was officially removed from Croatia, so all Orthodox in the territory of Yugoslavia, including non-Serbs (Macedonians, Montenegrins, Vlachs, Croats, Bulgarians, Ukrainians, Romanians, Albanians, Greeks, Cincars, etc.) were submitted to the Patriarch in Belgrade and considered Serbian Orthodox“ ([10], pp. 480-481; [51], p. 12, 14). Filipi gives a remark to Obrknežević for mentioning the name of Serbian Orthodox Church in the 17th and 18th centuries because then it did not exist under that name ([10], p. 481). That is what the majority of authors are inclined to do, who, most often unconsciously, use the name Serbian Orthodox Church for the period from the Middle Ages to the 20th

vlastice, (...) da bi pravoslavicima na području metropolije Sr. Karlovaca bila na koncu, kraljevskim dopisom od 10. VIII. 1868., priznata samostalnost u crkvenim i vjeroispovjednim pitanjima.“ ([45], str. 23)

Inače su prilično dobro poznati razlozi i proces prijelaza s katoličanstva na pravoslavlje kod Hrvata, a onda s pravoslavlja na srbstvo. Uz Obrkneževića taj su proces dobro opisali mađarski slavist László Hadrovics [37] te hrvatski povjesničari Dominik Mandić [16], Bazilije Pandžić [52], Krunoslav Draganović [53], Mile Bogović [38], Mirko Valentić [41], Ljubica Štefan [22,24] i neki drugi. U srednjem su vijeku Albanija i Crna Gora, tj. Duklja (ili Zeta) bile potpuno katoličke zemlje. Duklja je bila sastavni dio Crvene Hrvatske (Croatia Rubea). I raški (srbski) vladar Stefan (Stjepan) Nemanja kršten je u Duklji (u Ribnici) po katoličkom obredu. Neki Nemanjini nasljednici su progonili katolike, neki su ih tolerirali, a neki su prešli na katoličanstvo (Balšići). Početkom 17. stoljeća u Duklji postoji mnogo katoličkoga stanovništva, a u drugoj polovici toga stoljeća unutrašnjost Duklje je potpuno bez katolika. Zadržali su se jedino uz obalu. Krajevi Like i Bosanske krajine „(...) prije turskog doba bijahu 100% katolički i hrvatski“ ([53], str. 62). S turskim osvajanjima događaju se dijelom odseljavanje stanovništva, a dijelom prijelazi na islam i pravoslavlje. Prijelazi na islam bili su uvjetovani povoljnijim položajem islamskoga stanovništva od kršćanskoga. Ipak nisu svi katolici prelazili ni na islam niti pravoslavlje. Po-

century. Regarding the Orthodox Church in Croatia, Ivo Omrčanin says: „Austria founded an independent Orthodox Church and thus the Metropolis of Sr. Karlovci was created. Certain privileges were granted to it by imperial decrees and letters from 1690, 1691 and 1695, (...) so that the Orthodox in the area of the Metropolis of Sr. Karlovci would eventually be granted independence by a royal letter dated August 10, 1868 in church and religious matters.“ ([45], p. 23)

Otherwise, the reasons and processes of transition from Catholicism to Orthodoxy among Croats, and then from Orthodoxy to Serbhood, are quite well known. Except Obrknežević, that process was well described by the Hungarian Slavist László Hadrovics [37] and Croatian historians Dominik Mandić [16], Bazilije Pandžić [52], Krunoslav Draganović [53], Mile Bogović [38], Mirko Valentić [41], Ljubica Štefan [22,24] and some others. In the Middle Ages, Albania and Montenegro, i.e. Duklja (or Zeta) were completely Catholic countries. Duklja was an integral part of Red Croatia (*Croatia Rubea*). The Raška (Serbia) ruler Stefan (Stjepan, Steven) Nemanja was baptized in Duklja (in Ribnica) according to the Catholic rite. Some of Nemanja's successors persecuted Catholics, some tolerated them, and some converted to Catholicism (the Balšićs). At the beginning of the 17th century, there was a large Catholic population in Duklja, and in the second half of that century, the interior of Duklja was completely devoid of Catholics. They stayed only along the coast. The regions of Lika and Bosnian Krajina „(...)before the Turkish era were 100% Catholic and Croatian“ ([53], p. 62). With the Turkish conquests, the population partly migrated and partly converted to

znato je da su katolici iz Bosne odvedeni kao roblje i dalje ostali katolici u naseljima oko Carigrada i Drinopolja, ali zbog „manjka svećenika kroz malo vremena postadoše Grci...” tj. pravoslavci ([54], str. 75). To nedvojbeno pokazuje da ti hrvatski pravoslavci nisu postali Srbi na turskom teritoriju nego su postali pravoslavni vjernici u Turskom carstvu. Slični prijelazi na pravoslavlje događali su se u Bosni, Dalmaciji, Srijemu, Slavoniji, Lici i ostalim hrvatskim zemljama. Mnogi su katolici radije ostali u kršćanskoj vjeri nego preuzeli islam – pa su prelazili na pravoslavlje, koje je također kršćanska vjera.

Uz nedostatak katoličkih svećenika bilo je i drugih razloga kao npr. povoljniji pravni i stvarni položaj pravoslavnoga stanovništva od katoličkoga u Turskom carstvu, progoni i šikaniranje katoličkoga stanovništva, miješani brakovi, ali i unutrašnji odnosi među katoličkim pukom i klerom (svađe oko jurisdikcije katoličkih biskupa – granice biskupija, napuštanje biskupijskih sjedišta i rezidencija, sukobi između franjevaca i biskupijskih svećenika u Bosni, problem neukosti i posebno nepoznavanje temelja kršćanske vjere.

Prijelaze s katoličanstva na pravoslavlje provodili su i država i pravoslavna crkva. Pritom su pravoslavne vjerske objekte financirali građani, kasnije i vlade Hrvatske [54]. Posrbļavanje pravoslavih stanovnika Hrvatske posebno dolazi do izražaja kada je Srbija postala neovisna i kada je međunarodno priznata, a to se dogodilo nakon 1878. Nakon toga jača stara ideja popravoslavlјivanja i posrbļavanja svih susjednih zemalja [55,56].

Islam and Orthodoxy. Conversions to Islam, under Turkish authority, were conditioned by the more favorable position of the Islamic population than the Christian population. Not all Catholics, however, converted to Islam or Orthodoxy. It is known that the Catholics who were taken from Bosnia as slaves still remained Catholics in the settlements around Constantinople and Drinopol, but due to the „lack of priests, they became Greeks in a short time...” i.e. the Orthodox ([54], p. 75). That undoubtedly shows that these Croatian Orthodox did not become Serbs on Turkish territory, but became Orthodox believers in the Turkish Empire. Similar transitions to Orthodoxy took place in Bosnia, Dalmatia, Srijem, Slavonia, Lika and other Croatian countries. Many Catholics preferred to stay in the Christian faith rather than convert to Islam – so they converted to Orthodoxy, which is also a Christian faith.

Except for the lack of Catholic priests, there were other reasons for converting to other religions, such as the more advantageous legal and real situation of the Orthodox than the Catholic population in the Turkish Empire, persecution and harassment of the Catholic population, mixed marriages, but also internal relations between the Catholic population and the clergy (quarrels over the jurisdiction of Catholic bishops – the boundaries of dioceses, the abandonment of episcopal seats and residences, conflicts between Franciscans and diocesan priests in Bosnia, the problem of uneducated believers, and especially ignorance of the basis of the Christian faith.

Transitions from Catholicism to Orthodoxy were carried out by both the Serbian state and the Orthodox Church. At the same time, Orthodox religious buildings were financed by

Pravoslavna crkva je mogla postati prvi eksponent države kada je stvorena zajednička država SHS i u njoj Autokefalna ujedinjena srpska Pravoslavna crkva u Kraljevstvu Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca, AUSPCUKSHS) koja je bila glavni oslonac srpstva u prvoj i drugoj Jugoslaviji. Posrbljavanje u prvoj Jugoslaviji bilo je usmjereno prema Makedoniji, Crnoj Gori, Bosni i Hercegovini i Hrvatskoj. Splitški list *Jadranska pošta* prenio je (1925.) članak iz Cicvarićeva „*Dnevnika*“ o posrbljavanju nesrpskih naroda. O tome je izvijestila *Slobodna Dalmacija* od 2. rujna 1995. godine. Da je prva Jugoslavija bila Velika Srbija govori navod: „Ova država danas stoji na Srbima (...) Stoga je za našu današnju državu najznačajnije kako da se srpski element što više pojača, kako da se državi što više da srpski karakter. (...) Mi moramo postaviti sebi kao glavni zadatak da ovu državu napravimo Srbijom. (...) Što se tiče Bosne i Hercegovine, tamo treba energično potiskivati i katolike i muslimane, tamo treba Srbima dati najpunijeg maha (...), zemlju treba oduzimati od katolika i muslimana i davati je Srbima. Bosna i Hercegovina moraju biti čisto srpske. (...) Što se Makedonije tiče „treba Srbe što više naseljavati po Makedoniji (...) Stanovništvo koje je nesigurno za našu državu (...) ne bi bilo zgoroga naseljavati po Hrvatskoj, kako bi ova što više izgubila svoj današnji katolički karakter. (...) Posrbljivanje Dalmacije nije lak posao ali i na tome se mora raditi.“ Progon nesrpskoga stanovništva nastavio se i u novouspostavljenoj drugoj komunističkoj Jugoslaviji, nakon Drugoga svjetsko-

citizens, and later by the government of Croatia [54]. The Serbification of the Orthodox inhabitants of Croatia was especially at work when Serbia became independent and was internationally recognized, which happened after 1878. After that, the old idea of becoming Orthodox and Serbification of all neighboring countries grew stronger and stronger [55,56]. The Orthodox Church was able to become a real exponent of the state when the common state of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (SCS state) was established and the Autocephalous United Serbian Orthodox Church in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, AUSOCKSCS), which was the main supporter of Serbness in the first and second Yugoslavia. Serbification in the first Yugoslavia was most intense in Macedonia, Montenegro, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Croatia. The Split newspaper *Jadranska pošta* took (1925) an article from Cicvarić's „*Dnevnik*“ about the Serbification of non-Serb peoples. Croatian newspaper *Slobodna Dalmacija* reported on that on September 2, 1995. That the first Yugoslavia was Great(er) Serbia is shown by the statement: „This state today is founded on Serbs (...) Therefore, for our present-day state, the most important thing is how to strengthen the Serbian element as much as possible and how to give the state as much Serbian character as possible.. (...) The main task that we must set ourselves is to make this state Serbia. (...) As for Bosnia and Herzegovina, both Catholics and Muslims should be vigorously suppressed there, and the Serbs should be given the greatest opportunities (...), the land should be taken away from Catholics and Muslims and given to the Serbs. Bosnia and Herzegovina must be purely Serbian“. (...) As for Macedonia „Serbs should be settled as much

ga rata, koja je odmah osudila patrijarha *Hrvatske pravoslavne crkve* (HPC) Germogena (Grigorij Ivanovič Maksimov) i svećenstvo HPC s optužbom „zbog pokušaja razbijanja jedinstva srpskog naroda u Hrvatskoj“ ([36], str. 44). Germogen je jedini patrijarh neke pravoslavne crkve koji je osuđen na smrt. Inače je ta ista pravoslavna crkva, AUSPCUKSHS, priznala 1942., autokefalnost HPC koju su tada priznale i druge pravoslavne crkve kao Carigradska patrijaršija, Bugarska pravoslavna crkva, Rumunjska pravoslavna crkva i dr. ([36], str. 44).

Iako je u prvoj Jugoslaviji bilo nekoliko pokušaja (od 1922. do 1925.) donošenja Ustava AUSPCUKSHS (ali se uglavnom upotrebljavao naziv Srpska pravoslavna crkva), on nije usvojen. Godine 1931. ipak je Ustav donesen odlukom kralja, ali bez suglasnosti patrijarha i Sinode AUSPCUKSHS. Tekst toga Ustava revidiran je u novoj Jugoslaviji za patrijarha Gavriela (1. kolovoza 1947.). To je prvi puta u povijesti da se službeno koristi naziv Srpska pravoslavna crkva (SPC) ([36], str. 44); [57]). Iz izvješća Sinoda SPC iz 1947. godine vidi se da u Hrvatskoj nema niti jednog pravoslavca Hrvata dok u drugim republikama tadašnje Jugoslavije, npr u Sloveniji postoje Slovenci pravoslavci (70 % od svih pravoslavaca u Sloveniji) ([45], str. 14). Dakle, u doba komunističke Jugoslavije i nakon njezina raspada (1991.) SPC djeluje kao jedan od glavnih čimbenika politike države Srbije [58]. Nazvana je „duhovna JNA“ ([24], str. 5). Dokaz za to je i presuda suda u Parizu prema kojemu je SPC

as possible in Macedonia (...) The population that is unsafe for our state (...) would be best settled in Croatia, so that it loses as much of its present-day Catholic character as possible. (...) The Serbification of Dalmatia is not an easy task, but it must also be worked on“. The persecution of the non-Serb population continued in the newly established second communist Yugoslavia after World War II. The new state immediately sentenced to death the Patriarch of the Croatian Orthodox Church (COC), Germogen (Grigorij Ivanovič Maksimov) and the clergy of the COC with the accusation „for trying to break the unity of the Serbian people in Croatia“ ([36], p. 44). Germogen is the single Patriarch of an Orthodox church who was sentenced to death. By the way, that same Orthodox Church, AUSOCKSCS, recognized in 1942 the autocephaly of the COC, which was then recognized by other Orthodox churches such as the Patriarchate of Constantinople, the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, the Romanian Orthodox Church, etc. ([36], p. 44).

Although in the first Yugoslavia there were several attempts (from 1922 to 1925) to adopt the Constitution of the AUSOCKSCS (although the name Serbian Orthodox Church was mainly used), it was not adopted. However, the Constitution was adopted by the decision of the king in 1931, but without the consent of the Patriarch and the AUSOCKSCS Synod. The text of that Constitution was revised in the new Yugoslavia during the Patriarch Gavrielo (August 1, 1947). It was only then, in 1947, that the name Serbian Orthodox Church (SOC) used, for the first time in history ([36], p. 44 [57]). From the report of the SOC Synod from 1947, it can be seen that

odgovorna za etničko čišćenje na području BiH tijekom rata (1991. – 1995.) [59,60]. Bez obzira na raspad Jugoslavije, Sveti arhijerejski sabor SPC donio je 1996. odluku: „Bez obzira na raspad er-sajske, odnosno Socijalističke Federativne Republike Jugoslavije, jurisdikcija Srpske pravoslavne crkve i dalje se prostire na sve pravoslavne na toj teritoriji“ ([61], str. 123), što znači da SPC ne priznaje stvarno stanje nego sve zemlje nastale raspadom Jugoslavije smatra Srbijom, u skladu s činjenicom da su pravoslavne crkve državne. To je jedan od razloga protivljenja da se uspostavi Hrvatska pravoslavna crkva (HPC). Uspostavom HPC, SPC bi priznao i postojanje države Hrvatske.

1.5. Znanost, tehnika i tehnologija u svijetu od sredine 19. do sredine 20. st. [62-65]

U duhovnom životu Europe u drugoj trećini 19. st. sve više prevladava odbacivanje idealističkoga shvaćanja svijeta i sve se više pozornosti pridaje realističkom pristupu svijetu. To se dogodilo zahvaljujući pozitivističkom vjerovanju u znanost i materijalistički usmjerenom razumijevanju prirodnih i društvenih procesa. Taj je znanstveni svjetonazor najviše utjecao na razvitak prirodnih znanosti i tehnike. Dolazi do sve većeg broja znanstvenih otkrića i izuma koji su utjecali na tehniku, a zatim i na ekonomiju i društvene odnose. Industrijska revolucija započela je u Engleskoj gdje su neki tehnički izumi (stroj za pređenje, 1767.; parni stroj, 1769.; mehanički razboj 1785. i dr.) omogućili prijelaz s ručne na tvorničku

there was not a single Orthodox Croat in Croatia, while in other republics of the former Yugoslavia, for example in Slovenia, there were Orthodox Slovenes (70 % of all Orthodox in Slovenia) ([45], p. 14). Therefore, in the era of communist Yugoslavia and after its disintegration (1991), the SOC has acted as one of the main factors in the politics of the Serbian state [58]. SOC was called „spiritual JNA“ (spiritual Yugoslav National Army, YNA) ([24], p. 5). Evidence of that is the judgment of the court in Paris according to which the SOC is responsible for ethnic cleansing on the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina during the war (1991-1995) [59,60]. Regardless the collapse of Yugoslavia, the Holy Archiepiscopal Council of the SOC made a decision in 1996: „Irrespective of the dissolution of Versailles, i.e. the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, the jurisdiction of the Serbian Orthodox Church continues to extend to all Orthodox in that territory“ ([61], p. 123), which means that the SOC does not recognize the actual political situation, but considers all countries created by the breakup of Yugoslavia to be Serbia, in accordance with the fact that Orthodox churches are state churches. That is one of the reasons for the opposition to the establishment of the Croatian Orthodox Church (COC). By establishing the COC, the SOC would also recognize the existence of the state of Croatia.

1.5. Science and technology in the world from the middle of the 19th to the middle of the 20th century [62-65]

In the spiritual life of Europe in the second third of the 19th century, the rejection of the idealistic worldview more and more prevails, and more attention is paid to a realistic ap-

proizvodnju. Industrijska revolucija na europskom kontinentu kasni za engleskom, koju slijedi Belgija, zatim dijelovi Njemačke i Francuske. Tehnički izumi su velikim dijelom rezultat napretka znanosti, ali i poticaji za nova znanstvena otkrića [11,12].

Prije rođenja Nikole Tesle već su postavljeni temeljna načela i zakoni termodinamike (nauka o toplini), kinetičke teorije topline, statističke fizike, elektrodinamike (nauka o elektricitetu i magnetizmu) [62,63]. Termodinamika i elektrodinamika postale su osnove novih tehničkih izuma i tehnologije 19. i 20. st. Istraživanjima u termodinamici, kinetičkoj teoriji topline i statističkoj fizici najviše su pridonijeli engleski, škotski, njemački i francuski znanstvenici i izumitelji James Watt, Nicolas Léonard Sadi Carnot, Rudolf Julius Emanuel Clausius, Benoît Paul Émile Clapeyron, James Prescott Joule, Hermann Ludwig Ferdinand von Helmholtz, Julius Robert von Mayer, William Thomson i dr.

Jouleova istraživanja pretvorbe energije dovela su do prvoga zakona termodinamike, kada je von Mayer postavio načelo očuvanja energije (1842.), tj. da se energija u zatvorenom sustavu ne može ni stvoriti niti uništiti, već samo pretvarati iz jednoga oblika u drugi. Joule je otkrio toplinski učinak električne struje (Jouleov zakon), a zaslužan je i za uspostavu apsolutne temperaturne ljestvice.

Osnove drugoga zakona termodinamike postavio je Sadi Carnot, koji je općenito poznat po tzv. Carnotovu ciklusu pretvaranja topline u mehanički rad. Do

proach to the world. That happened thanks to a positivist belief in science and a materialistically oriented understanding of natural and social processes. That scientific worldview had the greatest influence on the development of natural sciences and technology. There were an increasing number of scientific discoveries and inventions that had influenced technology, and then also the economy and social relations. The industrial revolution began in England where different technical inventions enabled the transition from manual to factory production (spinning machine, 1767; steam engine, 1769; mechanical loom 1785, etc.). The Industrial Revolution on the European continent occurred later than in England which was followed by Belgium, then parts of Germany and France. Technical inventions are largely the result of scientific progress but are also motivation for new scientific discoveries [11,12].

Before the birth of Nikola Tesla, the fundamental principles and laws of thermodynamics (the science of heat), kinetic theory of heat, statistical physics, and electrodynamics (the science of electricity and magnetism) had already been established [62,63]. Thermodynamics and electrodynamics became the foundation of new technical inventions and technologies of the 19th and 20th centuries. The greatest contributions to research in thermodynamics, kinetic theory of heat, and statistical physics were made by English, Scottish, German, and French scientists and inventors – James Watt, Nicolas Léonard Sadi Carnot, Rudolf Julius Emanuel Clausius, Benoît Paul Émile Clapeyron, James Prescott Joule, Hermann Ludwig Ferdinand von Helmholtz, Julius Robert von Mayer, William Thomson, and others.

pojma entropije došao je Rudolf Clausius, a kasnije, i neovisno o njemu, i W. Thomson ili lord Kelvin koji je također formulirao drugi zakon termodinamike, a pridonio je i kinetičkoj teoriji topline. Uveo je naziv termodinamika, a poznat je po Kelvinovoj temperaturnoj ljestvici (1848.). Taj je princip razradio Hermann von Helmholtz (1847.) povezujući sva područja fizike s obzirom na zajedničku fizikalnu veličinu koju je nazivao silom, što je današnji pojam energije.

U području elektriciteta već je u 18. st. postavljen prvi kvantitativni zakon koji se odnosi na električne pojave (Coulombov zakon, 1785.). Kasnije su otkriveni i drugi zakoni elektriciteta i magnetizma. Pojave elektriciteta i magnetizma smatrale su se međusobno neovisnima, ali je Hans Christian Ørsted otkrio (1819.) da se oko vodiča kojim teče struja stvara magnetsko polje, tj. da su električne i magnetske pojave međusobno povezane i ovisne jedna o drugoj. André Marie Ampère, kojega se smatra jednim od utemeljitelja elektrodinamike, dao je matematičku formulaciju toga otkrića (Ampèreov zakon). Jean-Baptiste Biot i Félix Savart eksperimentalno su utvrdili (1820.) da je jakost magnetskoga polja u nekoj točki razmjerna struji koja teče vodičem, a matematičku formulaciju i poopćenje za to dao je Pierre-Simon Laplace određivši iznos i smjer magnetskoga polja (Laplace–Biot–Savartov zakon). Ali vrijedi i obrnuto, tj. da se s promjenom magnetskoga toka stvara ili inducira struja, tj. električno polje čime je Michael Faraday otkrio elektromagnetsku

Joule's research into energy conversion led to the first law of thermodynamics, when von Mayer established the principle of conservation of energy (1842), i.e. that energy in a closed system can neither be created nor destroyed, but only converted from one form to another. Joule also discovered the thermal effect of electric current (Joule's law), and he contributed to the establishment of the absolute temperature scale.

The foundations of the second law of thermodynamics were also laid by Sadi Carnot, who is generally known for the so-called Carnot cycle of converting heat into mechanical work. The concept of entropy was introduced by Rudolf Clausius, and later, and independently of him, by W. Thomson or Lord Kelvin, who also formulated the second law of thermodynamics and contributed to the kinetic theory of heat. He introduced the term thermodynamics, and is known for the Kelvin temperature scale (1848). Herman von Helmholtz (1847) connected all areas of physics with respect to a common physical quantity that he called force, which is today's concept of energy.

Already in the 18th century, in the area of electricity, the first quantitative law related to electrical phenomena (Coulomb's law, 1785) was established. Later were discovered other laws of electricity and magnetism. The phenomena of electricity and magnetism were considered mutually independent of each other, but Hans Christian Ørsted discovered (1819) that a magnetic field is created around a current-carrying conductor, i.e. that electric and magnetic phenomena are interconnected and dependent on each other. André Marie Ampère, who is considered one of the found-

indukciju (1831.). Faraday je također otkrio zakon elektrolize (1832.). Linearnu ovisnost električne struje i napona dao je Georg Simon Ohm (Ohmov zakon, 1827.). Između 1861. i 1865. godine ustanovljeno je da su elektricitet, magnetizam i svjetlost samo različite manifestacije jedne te iste pojave – elektromagnetskoga zračenja. Svjetlost je, dakle, elektromagnetski val. Heinrich Hertz eksperimentalno je dokazao postojanje elektromagnetskih valova (1888.). Ideju povezanosti električnih, magnetskih i svjetlosnih pojava matematički je razradio James Clerk Maxwell, koji je svojim jednadžbama (Maxwellove jednadžbe) opisao kako električna i magnetska polja ovisе o strujama i kako međusobno djeluju jedno na drugo kada se mijenjaju u vremenu. Maxwellova elektrodinamika bila je vrhunac tzv. klasične znanosti.

Svjetlost je oduvijek bila jedna od najzagonetnijih pojava. O njezinoj se prirodi raspravljalo od starogrčke znanosti, a u 17. i 18. st. vodila se žustra rasprava o tome je li svjetlost čestične (korporularne) ili valne (undulatorne) prirode. Glavni predstavnik prve teorije bio je Isaac Newton, a druge Christiaan Huygens. U 19. st. prevladava valna teorija svjetlosti; glavni joj je predstavnik Thomas Young, kojega se smatra utemeljiteljem fizikalne optike. Young je postavio i teoriju boja koju je kasnije razvio njemački fizičar Hermann von Helmholtz, pa se naziva Young–Helmholtzovom teorijom, koja je naknadno i eksperimentalno dokazana.

Na osnovi valne teorije objasnio je interferenciju svjetlosti koja se nije mo-

ers of electrodynamics, gave the mathematical formulation of that discovery (Ampère's law). Jean-Baptiste Biot and Félix Savart experimentally determined (1820) that the strength of the magnetic field at a certain point is proportional to the current flowing through the conductor, and Pierre-Simon Laplace gave a mathematical formulation and generalization for that by determining the amount and direction of the magnetic field (Laplace-Biot-Savart law). The reverse, however, is also true, i.e. that by changing the magnetic flux, a current is created or induced, i.e. electric field whereby Michael Faraday discovered electromagnetic induction (1831). Faraday also discovered the law of electrolysis (1832). The linear dependence of electric current and voltage was given by Georg Simon Ohm (Ohm's law, 1827). Between 1861 and 1865, it was established that electricity, magnetism and light are just different manifestations of one and the same phenomenon – electromagnetic radiation. Therefore, light is an electromagnetic wave. Heinrich Hertz experimentally proved the existence of electromagnetic waves (1888). The idea of connection between electric, magnetic and light phenomena was developed mathematically by James Clerk Maxwell, who described with his equations (Maxwell's equations) how electric and magnetic fields depend on currents and how they interact with each other when they change in time. Maxwell's electrodynamics was the pinnacle of the so-called classical sciences.

Light has always been one of the most mysterious phenomena. Its nature has been discussed since ancient Greek science, and in the 17th and 18th centuries there was a lively debate about whether light is of particle (cor-

gla objasniti prijašnjom čestičnom teorijom. On je pretpostavio da je svjetlost transversalni val, što je (1821.) dokazao Augustin Jean Fresnel, koji je eksperimentalno istraživao interferenciju, ogib, polarizaciju i aberaciju svjetlosti. Pojavi polarizacije svjetlosti mnogo je pridonio David Brewster. Daljnje dokaze u prilog valnoj teoriji svjetlosti dali su Armand Hippolyte Louis Fizeau i Jean Bernard Léon Foucault mjerenjem brzine svjetlosti u različitim optičkim sredstvima (1838., 1850.).

Još je u prvoj polovici 19. st. otkrivena pojava termoelektriciteta, tj. pojava da se zagrijavanjem spojišta različitih metala javlja električna struja (Seebeckov učinak, 1821.). Otkrivena je i obrnuta pojava, a to znači da se na spojištu različitih metala, kada kroz njih teče struja, javlja promjena temperature (Jean Charles Peltier, 1834.).

U području akustike, točnije istraživanja nadzvučnih brzina (1877.), istakao se Ernst Mach po kome je u aerodinamici nadzvučna brzina nazvana Machov broj, koji kaže koliko je puta brzina nekoga tijela veća od brzine zvuka. Za eksperimentalna istraživanja postojanja tzv. „zvučnog zida“ (brzina zvuka) zaslužni su i profesori iz Rijeke Peter Salcher i Šandor Riegler. Kod Macha je studirao i svjetski poznati hrvatski znanstvenik Andrija Mohorovičić.

Klasična znanost opisuje makroskopske pojave. Iako je ideja atomizma i unutrašnje strukture tvari stara i seže do starogrčke filozofije, u strogo znanstvenom smislu dublji prodor u područje mikro-

puscular) or wave (undulator) nature. The main representative of the first theory was Isaac Newton, and of the second was Christiaan Huygens. In the 19th century the wave theory of light prevailed; its main representative was Thomas Young, who is considered the founder of physical optics. Young also proposed a color theory that was later developed by the German physicist Hermann von Helmholtz, so it is called the Young-Helmholtz theory, which was later experimentally proven.

On the basis of the wave theory, Young explained the interference of light that could not be explained by the previous particle theory. He assumed that light is a transverse wave, which was proved (1821) by Augustin Jean Fresnel, who experimentally investigated the interference, diffraction, polarization and aberration of light. David Brewster contributed a lot to the phenomenon of light polarization. Further evidence in support of the wave theory of light was provided by Armand Hippolyte Louis Fizeau and Jean Bernard Léon Foucault by measuring the speed of light in different optical media (1838, 1850).

Still in the first half of the 19th century it was the discovered phenomenon of thermoelectricity, i.e. the phenomenon that by heating the junction of different metals, an electric current appears (Seebeck effect, 1821). The reverse phenomenon was also detected, which means that at the junction of different metals, when current flows through them, a temperature difference occurs (Jean Charles Peltier, 1834).

Ernst Mach stood out in the field of acoustics, more precisely in research of supersonic speeds (1877); after him, in aerodynamics, supersonic speed was named the Mach number,

svijeta bio je moguć tek u 19. i 20. st. Znanstvenici 19. st. bili su uvjereni da se sve prirodne pojave mogu svesti na mehaniku, tj. na gibanje sitnih čestica atoma i molekula.

Nakon što je Ruđer Bošković u 18. st. postavio prirodnofilozofijsku teoriju o strukturi tvari, uslijedila su u prvoj polovici 19. st. istraživanja koja su imala više znanstveni nego filozofijski vid. Tom obliku istraživanja pridonijeli su John Dalton, Joseph Louis Gay-Lussac, Amadeo Avogadro i drugi. Lothar Meyer i Dmitrij Ivanovič Mendeljejev oblikovali su periodni sustav kemijskih elemenata poredanih po masi (1869.). Iz njega su se mogla predvidjeti svojstva još neotkrivenih elemenata. Na temelju činjenice da voda, u kojoj je otopljena kuhinjska sol, može provoditi električnu struju, Svante August Arrhenius je pretpostavio da postoje nabijeni atomi, nazvani ionima, koji uzrokuju vodljivost vode (1884.).

U 19. st. razvija se spektroskopija, važna znanstvena grana za astronomska istraživanja. Spektralnu analizu zasnivaju Gustav Robert Kirchhoff i Robert Wilhelm (1859.). Na osnovi spektara zvijezda otkrivaju se novi kemijski elementi. Na Suncu je otkriven dotad nepoznati kemijski element helij (1868). Spektroskopski se otkriva i prva dvojnja zvijezda (1889.). Odnos zračenja zvijezda i njihove temperature prikazuje Hertzsprung–Russelov dijagram (1913.). Teoriju o unutarnjem ustroju zvijezda donosi Arthur Stanley Eddington 20-ih godina 20. st. [64].

William Crookes je uočio da su čestice koje izlaze iz katode negativno nabijene.

which tells how many times the speed of a body is greater than the speed of sound. For experimental research of the existence of the so-called „sound barrier“ (speed of sound) professors from Rijeka, Peter Salcher and Šandor Riegler, are also responsible. The world-famous Croatian scientist Andrija Mohorovičić also studied under Mach.

Classical science describes macroscopic phenomena. Although the idea of atomism and the internal structure of matter is old and goes back to ancient Greek philosophy, in a strictly scientific sense a deeper penetration into the area of the microworld was possible only in the 19th and 20th centuries. Scientists of the 19th century were convinced that all natural phenomena can be reduced to mechanics, i.e. to the motion of small particles of atoms and molecules.

After Ruđer Bošković in the 18th century established a natural-philosophical theory about the structure of matter, in the first half of the 19th century followed research that had a more scientific than a philosophical viewpoint. John Dalton, Joseph Louis Gay-Lussac, Amadeo Avogadro and others contributed to that form of research. Lothar Meyer and Dmitry Ivanovich Mendeleev formed the periodic table of chemical elements ordered by mass (1869). The properties of yet undiscovered elements could be predicted from it. Based on the fact that water, in which table salt is dissolved, can conduct electricity, Svante August Arrhenius hypothesized that there are charged atoms, called ions, that cause water to conduct (1884).

In the 19th century spectroscopy, an important scientific branch for astronomical research, was being developed. Spectral analysis was founded by Gustav Robert Kirchhoff and Robert Wilhelm (1859). Based on the spectra

Kasnije su nazvane elektronima (1891.), njihovo postojanje dokazao je Joseph John Thomson (1897.), a električni naboj im je odredio Robert Milikan (1909.). Time se pokazalo da atom nije nedjeljiv, kako mu kaže starogrčki naziv, nego da ima svoju strukturu. Kakva je ona točno trebalo je odrediti. U tom su smislu postavljani razni modeli atoma. Hantaro Nagaoka predlaže tzv. planetarni model atoma s elektronima koji kruže oko jezgre. Ernest Rutherford, izvodeći pokuse s prolazom alfa-čestica kroz tvar, zaključuje da se atom sastoji od pozitivno nabijene jezgre i negativnih elektrona (1911.) (tzv. Rutherfordov model atoma). U skladu s kvantnom teorijom, njegov je model dopunio Niels Bohr (1913.) pretpostavivši kvantizirane staze gibanja elektrona. Do toga je već davno prije došao Ruđer Bošković, što Bohr nije znao u tom trenutku.

X-zrake otkrio je Wilhelm Conrad Röntgen 1895. (otuda naziv rendgenske zrake), iako je prije njega Nikola Tesla uočio te vrste zraka, ali im nije pridavao važnost ([5], str. 76–79; [7], str. 220–224). Max von Laue je utvrdio da su rendgenske zrake elektromagnetski valovi (1912.). Godine 1896. Henri Becquerel otkriva prirodnu radioaktivnost. Nevidljive zrake, emitirane iz uranijeve soli (tzv. Becquerelove zrake, 1899.), skreću pri prolazu kroz magnetsko polje. Isto se zračenje emitira i iz torijevih spojeva, što je 1898. otkrila Marie Curie-Skłodowska, a kemijske elemente koji izazivaju Becquerelove zrake nazvala je radioaktivnim elementima. Iste

of stars, new chemical elements are discovered. The previously unknown chemical element, helium, was discovered on the Sun (1868). The first binary star was also discovered spectroscopically (1889). The Hertzsprung-Russel diagram (1913) shows the relationship between the radiation of stars and their temperature. The theory about the internal structure of stars was brought forth by Arthur Stanley Eddington in the 20s of the 20th century [64].

William Crookes noticed that the particles coming out of the cathode are negatively charged. They were later named electrons (1891), their existence was proved by Joseph John Thomson (1897), and their electric charge was determined by Robert Milikan (1909). That proved that the atom is not indivisible, as the ancient Greek name suggests, but that it has its own structure. What exactly that structure was had yet to be determined. With this in mind, various models of the atom have been set up. Hantaro Nagaoka proposed the so-called planetary model of the atom with electrons orbiting the nucleus. Ernest Rutherford, performing experiments with the passage of alpha particles through matter, concludes that the atom consists of a positively charged nucleus and negative electrons (1911) (the so-called Rutherford model of the atom). In accordance with quantum theory, his model was supplemented by Niels Bohr (1913); he assumed that the paths of electron motion are quantized. Ruđer Bošković had come to this long before, which Bohr did not know at that moment.

X-rays were discovered by Wilhelm Conrad Röntgen in 1895 (hence the name of X-rays), although before him Nikola Tesla observed these types of rays, but did not attach importance to them ([5], pp. 76-79; [7], pp. 220-224).

godine (1898.) Ernest Rutherford otkriva da kemijski element radij ima dvije vrste zračenja, jedno s pozitivnim električnim nabojem, a drugo s negativnim. Prve je nazvao alfa-zrakama ili alfa-česticama, a druge beta-zrakama ili beta-česticama. Uskoro su 1900. otkrivene i tzv. gama-čestice ili gama-zrake. Rutherford i Frederik Soddy objasnili su prirodnu radioaktivnost (1902.), a Enrico Fermi dao je prvu teoriju beta-raspada (1933.). Bombardiranjem atoma dušika alfa-česticama, nakon čega nastaju kisik i vodik, Rutherford je izveo prvu nuklearnu pretvorbu jednoga kemijskoga elementa u drugi (1919.). Irène i Frédéric Joliot-Curie dobili su prvi umjetni izotop stabilnoga elementa, čime su ostvarili umjetnu radioaktivnost (1934.). Kada je otkriven neutron (Chadwick, 1932.) utvrđene su osnovne čestice od kojih se sastoji atom. E. Fermi je neutronima bombardirao jezgre atoma, čime je nagoviještena mogućnost nuklearne fisije koju su u laboratoriju ostvarili O. Hahn i L. Meitner (1938.). Kasnije su otkrivene i druge elementarne čestice. Wolfgang Pauli je postavio teoriju o postojanju nove čestice – neutrina (1931.) koji je eksperimentalno otkriven 1956. Zahvaljujući ubrzavačima čestica (1928., 1930.) pospješeno je istraživanje jezgre atoma a time je otvoren put razvoju nuklearne fizike i energije, što se počelo ostvarivati dijelom za vrijeme života Nikole Tesle, a osobito nakon njegove smrti.

Te su razvitke omogućili kvantna teorija i teorija relativnosti. Kvantna je teorija nastala iz potrebe objašnjenja fe-

Max von Laue established that X-rays are electromagnetic waves (1912). In 1896, Henri Becquerel discovered natural radioactivity. Invisible rays emitted from uranium salt (so-called Becquerel rays, 1896) are deflected when passing through a magnetic field. The same radiation is also emitted from thorium compounds, which was discovered in 1898 by Marie Curie-Skłodowska, who proposed that the chemical elements that cause Becquerel rays be called radioactive elements. In the same year (1898), Ernest Rutherford discovered that the chemical element radium has two types of radiation, one with a positive electric charge and the other with a negative one. He called the first types of radiation alpha-rays or alpha-particles, and the second one beta-rays or beta-particles. Soon in 1900, the so-called gamma particles or gamma rays were discovered. Rutherford and Frederik Soddy explained natural radioactivity (1902), and Enrico Fermi gave the first theory of beta decay (1933). By bombarding nitrogen atoms with alpha particles, after which oxygen and hydrogen are formed, Rutherford performed the first nuclear conversion of one chemical element into another (1919). Irène and Frédéric Joliot-Curie obtained the first artificial isotope of a stable element, thus performing artificial radioactivity (1934). When the neutron was discovered (Chadwick, 1932) the basic particles that make up the atom were determined. E. Fermi bombarded atomic nuclei with neutrons, which announced the possibility of nuclear fission, which was realized in the laboratory by O. Hahn and L. Meitner (1938). Other elementary particles were later discovered. Wolfgang Pauli proposed the theory of the existence of a new particle – the neutrino (1931), which was experimentally discovered in 1956. With

nomena zračenja. Zakoni zračenja idealnoga crnoga tijela, kao što su Stefan-Boltzmannov i Wienov zakon, potvrđivali su Maxwellovu teoriju ali oni nisu davali potpunu vezu između valnih duljina zračenja i njegove emitirane energije. Wienov zakon slagao se s eksperimentalnim rezultatima za visoke, ali ne i za niske frekvencije zračenja, dok se Rayleigh–Jeansov zakon zračenja nije slagao s eksperimentima u slučaju visokih frekvencija (tzv. ultraljubičasta katastrofa). Eksperimentalni se rezultati nisu mogli objasniti postojećom teorijom klasične elektrodinamike, pa je Max Planck postavio, za to doba, vrlo neobičnu ideju o diskontinuiranosti energije, tj. da se energija javlja u malim nedjeljivim količinama nazvanim kvantima. Tako je utemeljena kvantna mehanika (1900.), koja je i do danas temeljna znanost o mikrosvijetu [65].

Empirijski dokaz ideje kvanta prvi je donio Albert Einstein objašnjenjem fotoefekta (1905.), a potom i Niels Bohr svojim modelom atoma (1913.). Bohrova je teorija objasnila eksperimentalne rezultate spektara kemijskih elemenata i povezala ih s njihovom atomskom strukturom. Werner Heisenberg je postavio poznate relacije neodređenosti i dao matricnu formulaciju kvantne mehanike (1925.), a Erwin Schrödinger je kvantnu mehaniku izrazio s valnim jednadžbama (1926.). Kvantna mehanika se načelno razlikuje od klasične mehanike i elektrodinamike jer u razumijevanje mikrosvijeta uvodi ideju diskretnosti sa svim fizikalnim i filozofijskim posljedicama te

the help of particle accelerators (1928, 1930), research into the nucleus of the atom was sped up, thus paving the way for the development of nuclear physics and energetics, which began to be realized partly during Nikola Tesla's lifetime, and especially after his death.

These developments were possible thanks to quantum theory and the theory of relativity. Quantum theory arose from the need to explain the phenomenon of radiation. The radiation laws of an ideal black body, such as Stefan-Boltzmann and Wien's laws, confirmed Maxwell's theory, but they did not provide a complete relationship between the wavelengths of radiation and its emitted energy. Wien's law agreed with experimental results for high, but not for low radiation frequencies, while the Rayleigh-Jeans radiation law did not agree with experiments in the case of high frequencies (the so-called ultraviolet catastrophe). The experimental results could not be explained by the at that time valid theory of classical electrodynamics, so Max Planck proposed, for that time, a very unusual idea about the discontinuity of energy, i.e. that energy occurs in small indivisible quantities called quanta. In that way quantum mechanics was founded (1900), which is still the fundamental science of the microworld [65].

The first empirical evidence of the quantum idea was brought forth by Albert Einstein with the explanation of the photo effect (1905), and then a little later by Niels Bohr with his model of the atom (1913). Bohr's theory explained the experimental results of the spectra of chemical elements and connected them with their atomic structure. Werner Heisenberg established the well-known uncertainty relations and gave a matrix formulation of quantum

tako predstavlja posve novi pogled na svijet. Na načelima kvantne teorije razvila se kvantna kemija i kvantna teorija polja, važna u fizici elementarnih čestica. Paul Adrien Maurice Dirac je 1928., u poznatoj relativističkoj valnoj jednadžbi elektrona (Diracova jednadžba), spojio kvantnu mehaniku i teoriju relativnosti. Predvidio je postojanje antimaterije što je (1932.) eksperimentalno dokazao Carl David Anderson otkrićem pozitrona u kozmičkim zrakama. Poslije toga su dokazane pretvorbe parova čestica i antičestica. U istraživanju antimaterije velike zasluge pripadaju Stjepanu Mohorovičiću koji je 1934. pretpostavio postojanje vezanog stanja elektrona i pozitrona, nazvanoga (*elektrum*) pozitronij koji je eksperimentalno potvrđen 1951.

Druga teorija, koja se početkom 20. st. pojavila kao odgovor na krizu klasične slike svijeta, bila je Einsteinova teorija relativnosti koja razmatra pojam apsolutnoga prostora i etera. Ako apsolutni prostor (i vrijeme) i eter postoje, kako se vjerovalo koncem 19. st., trebalo ih je eksperimentalno potvrditi. U tu je svrhu načinjen Michelson–Morleyev eksperiment (1887.) čiji je rezultat bio neočekivan i nije bio u skladu s klasičnim shvaćanjem prostora i vremena. Iako je i prije početka 20. st. bilo kritika Newtonova apsolutnoga prostora i vremena (G. Berkeley, R. Bošković, E. Mach), a i nekoliko je matematičara, neovisno jedan o drugome, došlo do formulacije drugačijih vrsta geometrije, tj. do tzv. neuklidovskih geometrija (Nikolaj Ivanovič Lobačevski, 1826., Georg Friedrich Bernhard

mechanics (1925), and Erwin Schrödinger expressed quantum mechanics with wave equations (1926). Quantum mechanics is fundamentally different from classical mechanics and electrodynamics because it introduces the idea of discreteness into the understanding of the microworld with all its physical and philosophical consequences, thus presenting a completely new view of the world. Quantum chemistry and quantum field theory, important in the physics of elementary particles, were developed on the principles of quantum theory. In 1928, Paul Adrien Maurice Dirac combined quantum mechanics and the theory of relativity in the well-known relativistic wave equation of the electron (Dirac's equation). He predicted the existence of antimatter, which was experimentally proven (1932) by Carl David Anderson with the discovery of positrons in cosmic rays. After that, the transformations of pairs of particles and antiparticles were proved. Great merits in the research of antimatter belong to Stjepan Mohorovičić, who assumed, in 1934, the existence of a bound state of electrons and positrons, called (*elektrum*) positronium, which was experimentally proven in 1951.

Another theory, which at the beginning of the 20th century emerged as a response to the crisis of the classical picture of the world, was Einstein's theory of relativity, which considers the concept of absolute space and ether. If absolute space (and time) and ether exist, as it was believed at the end of the 19th century, they had to be confirmed experimentally. For this purpose, the Michelson–Morley experiment (1887) was conducted, the result of which was unexpected and was not in accordance with the classical understanding of space and time. Although even before the beginning

Riemann i János Bolyai), koje se odnose na različite vrste prostora, čime su dopunile prijašnja shvaćanja o prostoru, Einstein je, na osnovi rezultata svojih prethodnika, pokazao da je pojam etera suvišan u znanosti te da je brzina svjetlosti jednaka u svim sustavima koji se jedan prema drugom gibaju pravocrtno i jednoliko, što nije u skladu s klasičnim Galileijevim načelom relativnosti. Brzina svjetlosti maksimalno je moguća brzina uopće. Tako je posebna ili specijalna teorija relativnosti (1905.) revidirala prijašnje shvaćanje prostora, vremena i gibanja, a opća teorija relativnosti (1916.) i pojam mase i energije za koje se kaže da su ekvivalentne. Matematičar Hermann Minkowski formulirao je teoriju relativnosti uvodeći četverodimenzijski prostor–vrijeme.

Na prijelazu iz 19. u 20. st. dolazi do novih spoznaja u astronomiji i astrofizici. Određen je promjer Mliječnoga puta, njegovo središte, otkriva se postojanje drugih galaktika, utvrđuje se udaljavanje spiralnih maglica (crveni pomak, 1912.) i njihova rotacija (1914.). Georges Lemaître postavlja teoriju o širenju svemira iz jedne točke (Veliki prasak, 1927.), a 1929. američki astronom Erwin Hubble utvrđuje da se galaktike udaljavaju većom brzinom što su udaljenije.

Znanstveni napredak je postignut i u meteorologiji i geoznanostima. Sustavniji rad na prikupljanju podataka o vremenu potječe tek od početka 19. st. Godine 1873. u Beču je osnovana Međunarodna meteorološka organizacija. Nakon što je 1900. otkrivena stratosfera, mjerenja su

of the 20th century there were criticisms of Newton's absolute space and time (G. Berkeley, R. Bošković, E. Mach), and several mathematicians, independently of each other, came up with the formulation of different types of geometry, i.e. to the so-called non-Euclidean geometries (Nikolaj Ivanovič Lobachevski, 1826, Georg Friedrich Bernhard Riemann and János Bolyai), which refer to different types of space, which supplemented previous understandings of space, Einstein, on the basis of the results of his predecessors, showed that the concept of ether is redundant in science and that the speed of light is the same in all systems that move in a straight line and uniformly with respect to each other, which is not in accordance with Galileo's classical principle of relativity. The speed of light is the maximum possible speed at all. Thus, the special theory of relativity (1905) revised the previous understanding of space, time and motion, and the general theory of relativity (1916) also the concept of mass and energy, which are said to be equivalent. Mathematician Hermann Minkowski formulated the theory of relativity by introducing four-dimensional space-time.

At the turn of the 19th into the 20th century new discoveries were made in astronomy and astrophysics. The diameter of the Milky Way and its center was determined, the existence of other galaxies was discovered, the distance of spiral nebulae (red shift, 1912) and their rotation (1914) were affirmed. Georges Lemaître presented a theory about the expansion of the universe from a single point (Big Bang, 1927), and in 1929 American astronomer Erwin Hubble affirmed galaxies move away at a faster rate the farther away they are.

provedena na visinama zahvaljujući zrakoplovima i usavršavanju novih instrumenata.

Seizmologija se kao znanost počinje intenzivnije razvijati tek u 20. st., iako je i prije bilo zapažanja i mjerenja seizmičkih pojava. Prvi seizmografi uporabljeni su u drugoj polovici 19. st. u Italiji, Njemačkoj i Japanu. Koncem 19. st. počinju se osnivati seizmička društva, npr. u Švicarskoj (1878.), Hrvatskoj (1880.) i Japanu (1880.), a osnovana je i Međunarodna udruga za seizmologiju i fiziku unutrašnjosti Zemlje (1905.).

Znanstvena postignuća u svim područjima znanosti i tehnički izumi glavni su pokretač masovne industrijske proizvodnje i industrijalizacije u Europi i Sjevernoj Americi u razdoblju od 1830. do oko 1880. U Engleskoj su se najveće promjene dogodile u tekstilnoj i metalnoj industriji. I kontinentalna Europa je, s malim zakašnjenjem, zahvaćena industrijskom revolucijom. Nakon Bessemerova (1855./1856.) i Siemens–Martinova izuma (1864.) za dobivanje čelika iz sirovog željeza, dolazi do njihove masovne proizvodnje. Teška industrija se koncentrira u blizini nalazišta ugljena, kao glavne industrijske pogonske sirovine. U Sjevernoj Americi jača industrijska proizvodnja, promet, useljavanje. Prva željeznička pruga gradi se u Engleskoj (1825.), Njemačkoj (1835.), Belgiji (1836.) i kasnije u zapadnoeuropskim zemljama. Oko 1860. Sjedinjene Američke Države imaju željezničku mrežu kao sva Europa (bez Engleske), a 1869. otvorena je prva transkontinentalna ž-

Scientific progress has been made in meteorology and geosciences. More systematic work on the collection of weather data originates from the beginning of the 19th century. The International Meteorological Organization was established in Vienna in 1873. After the stratosphere was discovered in 1900 measurements were carried out at altitude thanks to aircraft and the development of new instruments.

Seismology as a science began to develop more intensively just in the 20th century, although there were observations and measurements of seismic phenomena even before that. The first seismographs were used in the second half of the 19th century in Italy, Germany and Japan. At the end of the 19th century seismic associations were starting to be established, e.g. in Switzerland (1878), Croatia (1880) and Japan (1880), and the International Association for Seismology and Physics of the Earth's Interior was founded (1905).

In the period from 1830 to about 1880 scientific achievements in all fields of science and technical inventions were the main initiator of mass industrial production and industrialization in Europe and North America. In England, the biggest changes took place in the textile and metal industries. Continental Europe too, with a slight delay, was affected by the industrial revolution. After Bessemer's (1855/1856) and Siemens-Martin's inventions (1864) for obtaining steel from pig iron, their mass production began. Heavy industry is concentrated near coal deposits, as the main industrial raw material. In North America, industrial production, traffic, immigration have increased. The first railways were built in England (1825), Germany (1835), Belgium (1836) and later in Western European countries. Around 1860, the United

ljeznička pruga između Atlanskog i Tihog oceana. Zahvaljujući sve gušćoj željezničkoj i brodskoj prometnoj mreži svjetsko se gospodarstvo povezuje, pa se organiziraju svjetske izložbe u Londonu (1851.), Parizu (1855., 1867.), Beču (1873.), Philadelphiji (1876).

Godine 1837. Samuel Morse je izumio telegraf, 1838. izumljena je fotografija, 1851. postavljen je prvi podvodni kabel između Dovera i Calaisa. Uspostava trgovačkoga ugovora između Engleske i Francuske (1860.), kojim se snizuju ili posve ukidaju carine, prelazi se na slobodnu trgovinu.

Godine 1861. izumljen je telefon, 1866. postavljen je prvi preocean-ski kabel, 1869. dovršen je Sueski kanal, 1876. usavršen je motor s unutrašnjim izgaranjem (izumljen 1862., August Otto), 1879. Thomas Alva Edison napravio je uporabljivu žarulju s ugljenom niti, 1885. Carl Friedrich Benz izrađuje automobil, a Gottlieb Daimler motocikl, 1887. Nikola Tesla otkriva polifazni sustav za prijenos električne energije, a 1891. transformator za visokofrekven-cijsku električnu struju.

Početkom 20. st. (1903.) braća Wright lete letjelicom na motorni pogon, a 1909. zrakoplov prelijeće kanal La Manche. Prvi prelet Atlantika zrakoplovom (od Pariza do New Yorka) izvodi Ch. Lindberg (1927.). Nagli razvitak tehničkih postignuća mijenja život te društvene i političke odnose u svijetu. Posebno su važni brzi razvoj automobila, elektrifikacija, radiofonija, kemijska industrija.

States had a railway network like all of Europe (except England), and in 1869 the first trans-continental railway between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans was opened. Thanks to the increasingly dense railway and shipping network, the world economy was linked, so that world exhibitions were organized in London (1851), Paris (1855, 1867), Vienna (1873), Philadelphia (1876).

Samuel Morse invented the telegraph in 1837, so did photography in 1838, and the first submarine cable was laid between Dover and Calais in 1851. With the establishment of a trade agreement between England and France (1860), which lowered or completely abolished customs duties, the transition to free trade took place.

The telephone was invented in 1861, the first transatlantic cable was laid in 1866, the Suez Canal was completed in 1869, the internal combustion engine was perfected in 1876 (invented in 1862 by August Otto), Thomas Alva Edison made a usable light bulb with a coal filament in 1879, Carl Friedrich Benz made a car and Gottlieb Daimler a motorcycle in 1885, Nikola Tesla discovered a polyphase transmission system of electricity in 1887, and a transformer for high-frequency electric current in 1891.

At the beginning of the 20th century (1903) the brothers Wright took off in a motor-powered aircraft, and in 1909 the aircraft flew over the English Channel. The first plane flight across the Atlantic (from Paris to New York) was performed by Ch. Lindbergh (1927). The rapid development of technical achievements was changing life and social and political relations in the world and especially was important the quick development of automobiles, electrification, radio, and the chemical industry.

1.6. Znanost i tehnika u Hrvatskoj u doba Nikole Tesle [66-73]

Za razvitak hrvatske znanosti u drugoj polovici 19. st. najvažniji su osnivanje Jugoslavenske (danas Hrvatske) akademije znanosti i umjetnosti (1866.) i obnova Sveučilišta u Zagrebu (1874.). Postojale su i druge institucije važne za znanost – od razine popularizacije do sustavnoga bavljenja znanostima i publiciranja znanstvenih radova, kao Matica hrvatska (1842.) i Hrvatsko prirodoslovno društvo, HPD (ranije Hrvatsko naravoslovno društvo) osnovano 1885. na prijedlog Spiridiona Brusine [66]. Hrvatsko-slavonsko gospodarsko društvo osnovalo je u Križevcima Kraljevsko gospodarsko-šumarsko učilište (1860.). Druga polovica 19. st. u Hrvatskoj označuje razdoblje bržega razvoja svih grana znanosti. Započela su meteorološka, seizmološka i astronomska istraživanja, osnivaju se znanstvene ustanove, škole, pišu se udžbenici, razvija se znanstvena terminologija na hrvatskom jeziku [67-70]. Na obnovljenom Sveučilištu u Zagrebu filozofiju predaju Franjo Marković, a kasnije Đuro Arnold i Albert Bazala, fiziku Vinko Dvořák, Stanko Hondl i Ladislav Stjepanek, matematiku Karel Zahradnik, David Segen, Vladimir Varićak, Stjepan Bohniček i Juraj Majcen, kemiju Aleksandar Veljkov, Gustav Janeček i Fran Bubanović, biologiju Spiridion Brusina i Bohuslav Jiruš, geografiju Petar Matković. Teorija relativnosti i kvantna mehanika odražavaju se i u hrvatskoj znanosti – prvaj pridonosi hrvatski matematičar Vladimir Varićak, a glavni protivnik te teorije bio je Stjepan Mohorovičić.

1.6. Science and technology in Croatia at the time of Nikola Tesla [66-73]

For the development of science in Croatia in the second half of the 19th century, the founding of the Yugoslav (now Croatian) Academy of Sciences and Arts (1866) and the renewal of the University of Zagreb (1874) are the most important. There were also other institutions important for science – from the level of popularization to the systematic practice of science and the publication of scientific papers, such as Matica hrvatska (1842) and the Croatian Natural Society, CNS founded in 1885 at the suggestion of Spiridion Brusina [66]. The Croatian-Slavonian Economic Society established the Royal Economic and Forestry School in Križevci (1860). The second half of the 19th century in Croatia represents a period of faster development of all branches of science. Meteorological, seismological and astronomical research began, scientific institutions and schools were founded, textbooks were written, scientific terminology was developed in the Croatian language [67-70]. At the renovated University of Zagreb, philosophy was taught by Franjo Marković, and later by Đuro Arnold and Albert Bazala, physics by Vinko Dvořák, Stanko Hondl and Ladislav Stjepanek, mathematics by Karel Zahradnik, David Segen, Vladimir Varićak, Stjepan Bohniček and Juraj Majcen, chemistry by Aleksandar Veljkov, Gustav Janeček and Fran Bubanović, biology by Spiridion Brusina and Bohuslav Jiruš, and geography by Petar Matković. The theory of relativity and quantum mechanics were also reflected in Croatian science – the former was contributed by the Croatian mathematician Vladimir Varićak, and the main opponent of that theory was Stjepan Mohorovičić.

Astronom amater Dragutin Antun Parčić (poznatiji po filologiji, leksikografiji, književnosti), snima fotografije pomrčine Sunca (31. 12. 1861.), u doba kada se fotografija tek počela razvijati. Astronomiju na Zagrebačkom sveučilištu kao izborni predmet od 1886. do 1894. predaje Gjuro Pilar, sve do njegova preminuća, a od 1910. astronomiju predaje Andrija Mohorovičić [70]. U razdoblju 1920. – 1946. astronomiju predaje Stjepan Škreb, koji je od 1926. brinuo o Zvezdarnici u Zagrebu. Od 1871. u Puli postoji mornarička zvezdarnica na kojoj Johann Palisa otkriva 28 planetoida (od 1883. zvezdarnicu vodi Ivo Benko). U Malom Lošinjju postoji privatna zvezdarnica Spiridiona Gopčevića (1894. – 1909.), koji je izdavao astronomski časopis *Astronomische Rundschau* (*Astronomski pregled*) (1899. – 1909.). U Hrvatskoj je bilo i školovanih astronoma, npr. svećenik Niko Miličević, osnivač zvezdarnice u Pustinji Blace (1926.) [71]. Popularizaciji znanosti posebno pridonosi Oton Kučera osnivanjem Astronomске sekcije HPD-a (1902.), Zvezdarnice u Zagrebu (1903.), čiji je ravnatelj bio 1903. – 1913. i 1920. – 1926., te objavljivanjem popularnih knjiga [67].

Fizička oceanografija počinje se na Sveučilištu u Zagrebu intenzivnije proučavati 1897. Početkom meteorologije u Hrvatskoj smatra se osnivanje meteorološke postaje u Zagrebu, za što su najzaslužniji Ivan Stožir i Andrija Mohorovičić. Razvoj hrvatske seizmologije potaknuo je potres u Zagrebu (1880.), što su istraživali Mijo Kišpatić i Andrija

Amateur astronomer Dragutin Antun Parčić (better known for philology, lexicography, literature), took photos of the solar eclipse (December 31, 1861), at a time when photography was just beginning to develop. Astronomy at the University of Zagreb was taught as an elective course by Gjuro Pilar from 1886 until his death 1894, and from 1910 astronomy was taught by Andrija Mohorovičić [70]. In the period 1920-1946, astronomy was taught by Stjepan Škreb, who took care of the Observatory from 1926. Since 1871, there has been a naval observatory in Pula, where Johann Palisa discovered 28 planetoids (since 1883, the observatory has been run by Ivo Benko). In Mali Lošinj there was a private observatory of Spiridion Gopčević (1894-1909), who published the astronomical journal *Astronomische Rundschau* (*Astronomical Review*) (1899-1909). There were also trained astronomers in Croatia, e.g. priest Niko Miličević, founder of the observatory in Pustinja Blace (1926) [71]. Oton Kučera especially contributed to the popularization of science by founding the Astronomical Section of the CNS (1902), the Observatory in Zagreb (1903), whose director he was in 1903-1913 and 1920-1926, and publishing popular books [67].

Physical oceanography began to be studied more intensively at the University of Zagreb in 1897. It is considered that the beginning of meteorology in Croatia was the establishment of the meteorological station in Zagreb, for which Ivan Stožir and Andrija Mohorovičić were most responsible. The development of Croatian seismology was stimulated by the earthquake in Zagreb (1880), which was investigated by Mijo Kišpatić and Andrija Mohorovičić [68-70]. The beginnings of

Mohorovičić [68-70]. Začetke geoznanosti u Hrvatskoj nalazimo kod Ljudevita Farkaša-Vukotinića, dok se Djuro Pilar sustavno bavio geologijom. Dragutin Gorjanović-Kramberger, poznat po otkriću krapinskoga pračovjeka, utemeljio je (1909.) Geološko povjerenstvo, iz kojega je kasnije izrastao Geološki zavod. Glavni su nositelji geografskih istraživanja nakon Matkovića Vjekoslav Klaić, Hinko Hranilović, koji je utemeljio Hrvatsko geografsko društvo (1897.), Milan Šenoa i dr. U razdoblju 1929. – 1939. izlazio je *Geografski glasnik*.

Kemija se sustavno počinje predavati u srednjoj školi od 1856., a poslije i na sveučilištu. Godine 1882. osnovan je Farmaceutski tečaj kao preteča kasnijega Farmaceutsko-biokemijskog fakulteta. Nakon Prvoga svjetskoga rata osnovani su u Hrvatskoj: Medicinski, Veterinarski, Poljoprivredni i Tehnički fakultet. Uz već spomenute profesore, razvoju kemije u Hrvatskoj pridonijeli su: Nikolaj Pušin, Ivan Plotnikov, Gilbert Flumiani, Mladen Deželić, Ivan Marek, a posebno nobelovci Lavoslav Ružička i Vladimir Prelog. Ljekarništvo u Hrvatskoj ima dugu tradiciju, ali se osnutkom modernoga sveučilišta stvaraju pretpostavke za ozbiljniji znanstveni rad u farmaciji. Na sveučilištu se farmakognozija predavala od 1882., a 1896. utemeljen je Zavod za farmakognoziju, prvi u svijetu.

Na Filozofskom fakultetu postojao je Farmaceutski odjel (1928. – 1942.). U medicini se nakon osnivanja Medicinskog fakulteta razvijaju sve grane. Posebno je važno otvaranje prve školske

geoscience in Croatia can be found in Ljudevit Farkaš-Vukotinić, while Djuro Pilar systematically dealt with geology. Dragutin Gorjanović-Kramberger, known for the discovery of the Krapina prehistoric man, established (1909) the Geological Commission, which later grew into the Geological Institute. The main carriers of geographical research after Matković were Vjekoslav Klaić, Hinko Hranilović, who founded the Croatian Geographical Society (1897), Milan Šenoa and others. In the period 1929-1939, *Geographical Bulletin* (*Geografski glasnik*) was published.

Chemistry has been systematically taught in high school since 1856, and later also at the university. The Pharmacy Course was founded in 1882 as the forerunner of the later Faculty of Pharmacy and Biochemistry. After the First World War the following faculties were established in Croatia: Medical, Veterinary, Agricultural and Technical Faculty. In addition to the already mentioned professors, the following contributed to the development of chemistry in Croatia: Nikolaj Pušin, Ivan Plotnikov, Gilbert Flumiani, Mladen Deželić, Ivan Marek, and especially the Nobel laureates Lavoslav Ružička and Vladimir Prelog. Pharmacy in Croatia has a long tradition, but with the establishment of a modern university the prerequisites for more serious scientific work in pharmacy have been made. Pharmacognosy has been taught at the university since 1882, and in 1896 the Department of Pharmacognosy, the first in the world, was established.

There was a Department of Pharmacy at the Faculty of Philosophy (1928-1942). After the establishment of the Faculty of Medicine in Zagreb, all branches of medicine were developing. The opening of the first school pol-

poliklinike (1924.) i stvaranje modela zdravstvene skrbi koju je osmislio Andrija Štampar (1927.). Za veterinarsku struku važne su godine 1874., kada je donesen zakon o uređenju zdravstva kojim je organizirana veterinarska služba, 1891., kada su se razdvojile veterinarska i zdravstvena služba, te osnivanje Veterinarske visoke škole (1919.), Veterinarskoga fakulteta (1924.) i veterinarskih instituta u Zagrebu i Splitu (1933.) [70]. Veći broj hrvatskih biologa prihvatio je Darwinovu teoriju evolucije. Posebno su važne filozofsko-znanstvene rasprave o evolucionizmu i darvinizmu između Bogoslava Šuleka i zagrebačkoga nadbiskupa Antuna Bauera [72]. Postojali su i protivnici darvinizma, npr. Antun Kržan [68].

U Hrvatskoj je bila plodna primjena znanstvenih postignuća u području tehnike. Ivan Lupis izumio je torpedo (1860.). Pionir hrvatske telegrafije Ferdinand Kovačević poznat je po izumu dupleks i kvadrupleks veze koje omogućuju istodobno slanje više poruka kroz jednu žicu (1874.). David Schwarz izumio je prvi zračni brod s benzinskim motorom, Josip Belušić električni brzinomjer (1889./1890.), Ivan Vučetić daktiloskopiju (1891./1892.), Edvard Slavoljub Penkala poznat je po mnogo izuma, od kojih je najpoznatija olovka penkala (1903., 1907.), a Franjo Hanaman je izumio žarulju s volframovom niti (1903.). Nakon izuma telefona (1861., 1876.) i puštanja u pogon prve telefonske centrale u SAD-u (1878.) i u Europi (u Berlinu 1881.), u Zagrebu je uspostavljena prva telefonska linija (1881.), a prve telefon-

clinic (1924) and the establishment of the health care model conceived by Andrija Štampar (1927) were particularly important. Crucial years for the veterinary profession were the years 1874, when the law on the organization of health was passed, by which the veterinary service was organized, 1891, when the veterinary and health services were separated, and the Veterinary College (1919), the Veterinary Faculty (1924) and the veterinary institutes in Zagreb and Split (1933) were established [70]. A large number of Croatian biologists accepted Darwin's theory of evolution. Particularly important were the philosophical and scientific discussions on evolutionism and Darwinism between Bogoslav Šulek and Zagreb Archbishop Antun Bauer [72]. There were also opponents of Darwinism, e.g. Antun Kržan [68].

There was a prolific application of scientific achievements in the field of technology in Croatia. Ivan Lupis invented the torpedo (1860). The pioneer of Croatian telegraphy, Ferdinand Kovačević, is famous for the invention of duplex and quadruplex connections that enable multiple messages to be sent simultaneously through one wire (1874). David Schwarz invented the first airship with a gasoline-powered engine, Josip Belušić the electric speedometer (1889/1890), Ivan Vučetić the dactyloscopy (1891/1892), Edvard Slavoljub Penkala is famous for many inventions, the most famous of which is the ballpoint pen (called penkala) (1903, 1907), and Franjo Hanaman invented the tungsten filament light bulb (1903). After the invention of the telephone (1861, 1876) and the launching of the first telephone exchange in the USA (1878) and in Europe (Berlin 1881), the first telephone line was established in Zagreb (1881). The first telephone

ske centrale uspostavljene su u Zagrebu i Osijeku (1887.) te Rijeci (1889.). Godine 1862. puštena je u promet prva željeznička pruga u Hrvatskoj od Zidanog Mosta preko Zagreba do Siska. Prva automatska centrala u Hrvatskoj proradila je 1928. Prva hidroelektrana u Hrvatskoj izgrađena je na rijeci Krki (1895.). Nakon 1860-ih javljaju se u svijetu različiti oblici prvih automobila, usavršavaju se, pa krajem 19. i početkom 20. st. stižu i u Hrvatsku. Prvi automobil (marke Benz) u Hrvatsku doveo je grof Marko Bombelles 1898. na svoje imanje u Vinici kod Varaždina; sljedeće je godine tim automobilom za tri sata i 45 minuta stigao do Zagreba. Ferdinand Budicki prvi je Zagrepčanin koji je vozio automobil; 1901. doveo se iz Beča u Zagreb automobilom marke Opel. Uskoro se automobil pojavio i na Sljemenju (1902.) i u drugim hrvatskim gradovima (Zadar, Split, Sinj, 1901. – 1902.). Prva žena automobilistica u Hrvatskoj bila je Alma pl. Balley (1914.) [73].

Godine 1891. Matica hrvatska objavljuje Kučerinu knjigu *Crte o magnetizmu i elektricitetu*, kao i niz knjiga *Novovjekni izumi*. Visoka tehnička škola počinje s radom 1919., a 1926. osnovan je Tehnički fakultet pri Zagrebačkom sveučilištu. Iste je godine iz Zagreba emitirana prva radijska emisija na Balkanu.

Od svih hrvatskih izumitelja prvo mjesto pripada Nikoli Tesli, poznatom i po mnoštvu izuma od kojih mnogi nisu priznati njemu nego drugima, pa i kad je riječ o Nobelovim nagradama [8].

Ovim sažetim prikazom stanja društva, znanosti i tehnike od druge polovice 19.

exchanges were established in Zagreb and Osijek (1887) and Rijeka (1889). The first railway line in Croatia was put into operation from Zidani Most via Zagreb to Sisak in 1862. The first automatic telephone exchange in Croatia started operating in 1928, the first hydroelectric power plant in Croatia was built on the Krka River (Dalmatia) (1895). After the 1860s, different forms of the first cars appeared in the world, they were perfected, and at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century they also arrived to Croatia. The first car (Benz brand) was brought to Croatia by Count Marko Bombelles in 1898 to his estate in Vinica near Varaždin; the following year he reached Zagreb in three hours and 45 minutes in that car. Ferdinand Budicki was the first Zagreb resident to drive a car; In 1901, he drove from Vienna to Zagreb in an Opel car. Soon the car appeared on Sljeme (mountain near Zagreb) (1902) and in other Croatian cities (Zadar, Split, Sinj, 1901-1902). The first female car driver in Croatia was Alma pl. Balley (1914) [73].

In 1891, Matica hrvatska published Kučera's book *Sketches on Magnetism and Electricity*, as well as a series of books on *Modern Inventions*. The Technical College began its work in 1919, and in 1926 the Faculty of Engineering at the University of Zagreb was established. In the same year, the first radio show in the Balkans was broadcast from Zagreb.

Of all Croatian inventors, first place belongs to Nikola Tesla, known for his many inventions, many of which are not attributed to him but to others, even when it comes to Nobel prizes [8].

With this summary of the state of society, science and technology from the second half of the 19th century until the death of Niko-

st. do smrti Nikole Tesle, stječe se dojam o vremenu u kojem je živio i djelovao.

2. DJETINJSTVO I ŠKOLOVANJE NIKOLE TESLE U HRVATSKOJ

2.1. Tesla i njegovi predci

U hrvatskoj pokrajini Lici, gdje je rođen Nikola Tesla, prije prodora Turaka nije bilo pravoslavnog stanovništva nego su tu živjeli Hrvati katolici, a dijelom i Vlasi, također katolici. Uspostavom turske vlasti u Lici 1580. (Lički sandžak), u Liku dolaze prvi pravoslavci, a neki katolici prelaze na islam. Pravoslavci koji su tada došli u Liku bili su pravoslavni Vlasi. Nakon turskoga neuspjeha da zauzme Beč (1683.), austrijska vojska je duboko prodrla u turski teritorij, a pomuslimanjeno stanovništvo bježi s Turcima. U Hrvatskoj se protiv Turaka podigao ustanak na čelu s katoličkim svećenikom Markom Mesićem koji je Turke protjerao iz Like (1689.). Mirom u Srijemskim Karlovcima (1699.) Turci odlaze iz Like, a uz katolike ostaje i pravoslavno stanovništvo. Na ispražnjeno područje Like doseljavaju katolici, Hrvati Bunjevci i stanovnici hrvatskoga Primorja. Dio muslimanskoga stanovništva vratio se na katoličanstvo, a pravoslavno stanovništvo žitelji Like nazivali „ljudima grčkog zakona“ (tj. grčko-iztočnim kršćanima) ili Vlasima. Prije sredine 19. stoljeća u Lici, i općenito u Hrvatskoj i Bosni i Hercegovini nije bilo Srba [41].

Kada su Teslini predci došli u Liku? Autori knjiga i članaka o Tesli uglavnom

la Tesla, one gets an impression of the time in which he lived and worked.

2. CHILDHOOD AND EDUCATION OF NIKOLA TESLA IN CROATIA

2.1. Tesla and his ancestors

In the Croatian province of Lika, where Nikola Tesla was born, before the Turkish invasion, there was no Orthodox population, but rather Catholic Croats and partly Vlachs, also Catholics. With the establishment of Turkish reign in Lika in 1580 (Lika Sandžak, Turkish administrative unit), the first Orthodox Christians arrived in Lika, and some Catholics converted to Islam. The Orthodox people who came to Lika at that time were Orthodox Vlachs. After the Turkish failure to conquer Vienna (1683), the Austrian army broke deeply into Turkish territory, and the population converted to Islam fled with the Turks. A rebellion against the Turks was raised in Croatia, led by the Catholic priest Marko Mesić, who banished the Turks from Lika (1689). In accordance with the Peace of Srijemski Karlovcima (1699), the Turks left Lika, and the Orthodox population remained alongside the Catholics. In the emptied area of Lika settled Catholics, Bunjevci Croats and inhabitants of the Croatian coast. Part of the Muslim population returned to Catholicism, and the Orthodox population was called, by the inhabitants of Lika, people of „Greek law“ (i.e. Greek-Eastern Christians) or Vlachs. Before the mid-19th century, there were no Serbs in Lika, and generally in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina [41].

se slažu da Teslino podrijetlo nije još do kraja istraženo. S obzirom da, prema popisu stanovništva Like i Krbave iz 1712. godine, ni u jednom ličkom naselju nije bilo poznato prezime Tesla, očito je da se Teslin predak prije toga zvao nekako drugačije ([2], str. 12; [5], str. 8; [10], str. 125)

Postoje uglavnom dva posve suprotna tumačenja o doseljenju Teslinih predaka u Liku i Smiljan. Srpski autori (kao što to vrlo često rade u mnogim drugim okolnostima) oslanjaju se na usmenu predaju koja nema nikakvih uporišta u dokumentima, da su predci Tesline majke došli u Hrvatsku iz zapadne Srbije. To mišljenje, također bez dokaza, uglavnom preuzimaju strani autori ([6], str. 27). Pritom se ne navode ni mjesto niti dokumenti na temelju kojih se to tvrdi. Druga srpska legenda kaže da su s Kosova u Hrvatsku, na prijelazu iz 15. u 16. stoljeće, dakle prije turskih osvajanja, došla tri brata Srbina od kojih su nastala neka hrvatska plemena, npr. Jurišići. Ta je legenda „nevjerojatna konstrukcija“ ([10], str. 124).

Postoje uvjerljivije, iako još ne posve dokazane tvrdnje, koje se oslanjaju na izjave samoga Nikole Tesle iz njegova neobjavljenog *Dnevnika* koji se u Beogradu čuva u tajnosti. Srpski autori opovrgavaju postojanje takvoga Teslina *Dnevnika*. U tom *Dnevniku*, prema istraživanju Ljubice Štefan Nikola Tesla izričito kaže: „Drago mi je što me i Hrvati smatraju svojim, jer su moji preci hrvatski koljenovići Draganići iz Zadra. Kao hrvatski plemići u 16. stoljeću došli su u Liku i tu ostali. U Liku su moji prepreci došli preko Novog Vinodola. Preci moje majke, Kalinići,

When did Tesla's ancestors come to Lika? Authors of books and articles about Tesla generally agree that Tesla's origins have not yet been fully explored. Given that, according to the 1712 census of Lika and Krbava, the surname Tesla was not known in any Lika settlement, it is obvious that Tesla's ancestor had a different name before that ([2], p. 12; [5], p. 8; [10], p. 125).

There are mainly two completely opposite interpretations of the settlement of Tesla's ancestors in Lika and Smiljan. Serbian authors (as they very often do in many other circumstances) rely on oral tradition, which has no foundation in historical documents, that the ancestors of Tesla's mother came to Croatia from western Serbia. That opinion, also without evidence, is mainly taken over by foreign authors ([6], p. 27). In doing so, neither the place nor the documents on which that claim is based are mentioned. Some Serbian legend says that three Serb brothers came to Croatia from Kosovo at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries, that is, before the Turkish conquests, from which some Croatian tribes emerged, e.g. the Jurišićs. This legend is an „improbable construction“ ([10], p. 124).

There are more persuasive, although not yet fully proven, claims that rely on statements by Nikola Tesla himself, from his unpublished *Diary*, which is kept in secret in Belgrade. Some Serbian authors disclaim the existence of such a Tesla's *Diary*. In that *Diary*, according to research by Ljubica Štefan, Nikola Tesla explicitly says: „I am glad that Croats also consider me one of their own, because my ancestors Draganićs from Zadar are of Croatian origin. As Croatian nobles in the 16th century, they came to Lika and stayed there. My ancestors came to

također su hrvatski plemići iz Novog Vinodola. Moj pradjed stjecajem okolnosti morao je otići u Bosansku krajinu (Turska Hrvatska) i tamo se oženio pravoslavnom djevojkom i prešao na pravoslavlje. On je imao isturene prednje zube pa ga je narod prozvaao Tesla prema alatki kojom se obrađuje drvo i otud i moje sadašnje prezime Tesla. To je zapravo nadimak. Moj djed je bio časnik u ličkoj regimenti, a moj otac pravoslavni prota!“ [74].

O Teslinu *Dnevniku* se, navodno, prvi puta javno govorilo godine 1977. u jednoj informativnoj emisiji Televizije Zagreb ([9], bilj. 6). Ako je to tako i ako se tvrdi da taj *Dnevnik* ne postoji, onda se postavlja pitanje otkud informacija Vladimiru Njegovanu, koji 1950. govoreći o Teslinoj obitelji i podrijetlu kaže da je njegova obitelj „prema Teslinoj izjavi, nekada nosila prezime Draganić?“ ([2], str. 13; [5], str. 8; [10], str. 124; [74], str. 6; [75], str. 9). Važna je činjenica da je Njegovan bio član jugoslavenskoga odbora u Beogradu za obilježavanje 10. obljetnice smrti Nikole Tesle i 100. obljetnice njegova rođenja. On je iznio tu tvrdnju prije nego što je Teslina ostavština poslana iz New Yorka (1951.). Kad je Teslina ostavština stigla u Beograd, možda je Njegovan mogao biti upućen u njen sadržaj. Otvorena je prvi puta („službeno“) u srpnju 1952., a Muzej „Nikola Tesla“ otvoren je 20. listopada 1952. u Beogradu. Je li u Muzej prenesana sva građa koja je stigla iz New Yorka? Je li prije prenošenja u Muzej arhivska građa iz Tesline ostavštine otvarana i pregledavana? Zašto je tako dugo trajao prijevoz ostavštine od SAD-a do Jugoslavi-

Lika via Novi Vinodol. My mother’s ancestors, the Kalinićs, are also Croatian nobles from Novi Vinodol. My great-grandfather, due to the circumstances at that time, had to go to Bosnian Krajina (Turkish Croatia), and there he married an Orthodox girl and converted to Orthodoxy. He had protruding front teeth, so the people called him Tesla after the woodworking, and from there my current surname Tesla. It is in fact a nickname. My grandfather was an officer in the Lika regiment, and my father was an Orthodox priest!“ [74].

Tesla’s *Diary* was allegedly first publicly discussed in 1977 in a news program on Television Zagreb ([9], note 6). If that is so and if it is asserted that this *Diary* does not exist, then the question arises: where Vladimir Njegovan got information from, when he was talking, in 1950, about Tesla’s family and his origins, and said that his family „according to Tesla’s statement, once bore the surname Draganić“? ([2], p. 13; [5], p. 8; [10], p. 124; [74], p. 6; [75], p. 9). It is a crucial fact that Njegovan was a member of the Yugoslav committee in Belgrade for the celebration of the 10th anniversary of Nikola Tesla’s death and the 100th anniversary of his birth. He made that claim before Tesla’s inheritance was sent from New York (1951). When Tesla’s inheritance arrived in Belgrade, perhaps Njegovan could have been informed about its content. It was first opened („officially“) in July 1952, and the Nikola Tesla Museum opened on October 20, 1952 in Belgrade. Was all the archival material that arrived from New York transferred to the Museum? Were the archival materials from Tesla’s inheritance opened and examined before being transferred to the Museum? Why did the transportation of the inheritance from the USA to Yugoslavia

je? Je li građa pregledavana prije slanja iz New Yorka? Ostaje još mnogo sumnjivih i neodgovorenih pitanja koja prate Teslinu ostavštinu ([10], str. 455–472). Teško se oteti dojmu da se stvari ne žele istražiti i raščistiti nego se drži *status quo* prema kojemu je o Tesli već oblikovana „konačna“ istina. I Margareth Cheney pita se kako to da je Teslina ostavština u Beogradu, „iako je Tesla bio američki državljanin“ ([3], str. 13). Također se žalila na ograničenost pristupa arhivskoj građi u Teslinu muzeju u Beogradu.

Za postojanje Teslina *Dnevnika* postoji još jedan izvor. Petar Vučić ([77], str. 48) donosi identičan tekst kao i Ljubica Štefan. Napominje da izvor „ne smije javno objaviti“ te dodaje da „za tu činjenicu postojanja *Dnevnika* obje crkve znaju istinu“, tj. i Katolička crkva u Hrvatskoj i Srpska pravoslavna crkva. „Ja sam obvezan na šutnju o izvoru koji mi je to dao, ali onaj koji hoće provjeravati... To zna vrh i katoličke i pravoslavne crkve“ ([10], str. 500; [78]). Iako su usmene informacije važne, one se ne mogu smatrati posve sigurnim dokazima. Dana 26. kolovoza 2024. u razgovoru s Petrom Vučićem autor ovog rada (*op. ur.*) doznaje da je taj izvor, koji on nije javno objavio, upravo Ljubica Štefan s kojom se sastao dok je još bila živa, i ona mu je, kako tvrdi, tada pokazala dokumente koje je našla u Muzeju „Nikola Tesla“ u Beogradu (ovo autor iznosi s Vučićevim dopuštenjem).

Možemo se također pitati otkud Teslinu biografu O’Neillu informacija o Draganićima kao Teslinim predcima? ([6], str. 27). Moguće je da mu je sam Tesla o

take so long? Were the archival materials examined before being sent from New York? There are still many questionable and unanswered questions concerning Tesla’s inheritance ([10], pp. 455-472). It is difficult to escape from the impression that things do not want to be explored and clarified, but rather that the *status quo* is being maintained according to which the „final“ truth about Tesla has already been shaped. Margareth Cheney also wonders how come that the Tesla’s inheritance is in Belgrade, „even though Tesla was an American citizen“ ([3], p. 13). She also complained about the limited access to archival materials in the Tesla Museum in Belgrade.

There is another source for the existence of Tesla’s *Diary*. Petar Vučić ([77], p. 48) brings an identical text as Ljubica Štefan. He notes that the source „must not be made public“ and adds that „both churches know the truth about the existence of the Diary“, i.e. both the Catholic Church in Croatia and the Serbian Orthodox Church. He adds: „I am obliged to remain silent about the source that gave it to me ... The leaders of both the Catholic and Orthodox churches know that“ ([10], p. 500; [78]). „Although oral information is important, it cannot be considered as completely reliable evidence. On August 26, 2024, in a conversation with Peter Vučić, the author of this paper (*ed. remark*) found out that this source, which he did not make public, was precisely Ljubica Štefan, whom he met while she was still alive, and she, as he claims, then showed him the documents she found in the „Nikola Tesla“ Museum in Belgrade (the author brings this up with Vučić’s permission).

We can also ask ourselves where the information for Tesla’s biographer O’Neill about

tome govorio ili je O'Neill imao prilike to vidjeti u Teslinu *Dnevniku* ili je izmislio upravo to prezime? Međutim, malo je vjerojatno da bi O'Neill izmislio prezime „Draganić“, jer inače pokazuje veliku neinformiranost i neznanje kada govori o Teslinu zavičaju. Tako npr. kaže da se Smiljan nalazi „u nekadašnjoj austrijskoj pograničnoj oblasti a sada u delu Jugoslavije (...)“ „Danas se Teslina domovina zove Jugoslavija“, Tesla je Jugoslaven, Lika je u doba Teslina rođenja „pripadala Austro-Ugarskoj carevini“. Uz ostale jezike Tesla je govorio „srpsko-hrvatski“, iz Like odlazi na školovanje „u Karlovac u Hrvatskoj“ i sl. ([6], str. 24–27, 36, 43). U doba kada O'Neill objavljuje knjigu o Tesli, Jugoslavija kao država nije postojala, kao ni jezik srpsko-hrvatski, a ni država Austro-Ugarska nije postojala pod tim imenom u doba Teslina rođenja (ona se tako zove od 1867.). Također se O'Neillu čini da Karlovac jest u Hrvatskoj, ali Smiljan i Gospić nisu! Sve te krive informacije O'Neil je mogao dobiti od Sava Kosanovića koji je s njim surađivao na objavljivanju knjige. „Za ovu korisnu suradnju zahvaljujem: Savi N. Kosanoviću, državnom ministru Jugoslavije i Teslinu nećaku, za stavljanje na raspolaganje knjiga, obiteljskih zapisa, prijepisa ocjena, slika i za ispravljanje rukopisa mnogih poglavlja; i njegovoj tajnici gospođici Charlotte Mužar“ ([6], str. 248).

Vratimo se prezimenu i obitelji Draganić. Sam Tesla navodi da je njegova „majka potjecala iz jedne od najstarijih obitelji u kraju, iz loze izumitelja.“ ([79], str. 10). Tesla se nije, koliko je poznato, ba-

the Draganićs as Tesla's ancestors comes from? ([6], p. 27; p. 16). It is possible that Tesla himself told him about it or O'Neill had the opportunity to see it in Tesla's *Diary*, or he fabricated that surname? On the other hand, it is unlikely that O'Neill would have fabricated the surname „Draganić“, because otherwise he shows great lack of information and ignorance when talking about Tesla's homeland. For example, he says that Smiljan is located „in the Austro-Hungarian border province of Lika, now a part of Yugoslavia (...)“: „Tesla's homeland is today called Yugoslavia“, Tesla is Yugoslav, Lika at the time of Tesla's birth „belonged to the Austro-Hungarian Empire“. In addition to other languages, Tesla spoke „Serbo-Croatian“, he went to school from Lika „to Karlovac in Croatia“, etc. ([6], pp. 24-27, 36, 43; p. 13-16, 24, 30). At the time when O'Neill published his book about Tesla, Yugoslavia as a country did not exist, nor did the Serbo-Croatian language, and the Austro-Hungarian state did not exist under that name at the time of Tesla's birth (it had been called that since 1867). It also seems to O'Neill that Karlovac is in Croatia, but Smiljan and Gospić are not. All that false information O'Neill could have received from Sava Kosanović, who collaborated with O'Neill on the publication of the book. „For this helpful co-operation my thanks are due to Sava N. Kosanovic, Minister of State of Yugoslavia, and Tesla's nephew, for making available books, family records, transcripts of records, pictures, and for correcting the manuscript of many chapters; and to his secretary, Miss Charlotte Muzar“ ([6], p. 248).

Let us return to the surname and family Draganić. Tesla himself said that his „mother descended from one of the oldest families in

vio istraživanjem arhivske građe, tj. historijskih arhivskih dokumenata. Otkud mu onda takva tvrdnja? Vjerojatno se u obitelji o tome govorilo. Ako njegova majka potječe iz jedne od najstarijih obitelji, onda to vrlo vjerojatno znači da je ta obitelj postojala prije dolaska Turaka u Hrvatsku. Tada u Lici i u većem dijelu Hrvatske nije bilo pravoslavlja, pogotovo nije bilo Srba.

Draganići su podrijetlom iz Dalmacije (Tesla navodi Zadar) i doselili su se u Ledenicu kraj Novoga Vinodolskog, gdje se navode kao uskoci (1618.). U Ledenicama su postojali samo katolici ([10], str. 24; [76], str. 13). Odatle su Draganići došli u Raduč u Lici, mjesto između Gospića i Gračaca vjerojatno poslije 1712., jer u popisu stanovništva Like i Krbave iz te godine nema prezimena Tesla ni Draganić. Tek se 1765. u dokumentima nailazi na ime vojnika prezimena Tesla. Možda je prezime Tesla u Raduču dobio pradjed ili čak prapradjed Nikole Tesle. Kad su Francuzi uspostavili Ilirske provincije (1809. – 1813.) Nikola Tesla stariji (djed našega Nikole Tesle) služio je u Napoleonovoj vojsci kao dočasnik pješadijske vojske (sergent). Oženio se s Anom iz obitelji Kalinić. Prema nekim autorima imali su troje djece ([2], str. 15; [5], str. 10), a prema nekima četvero (možda i petero) ([10], str. 118–119). Jedno od njih je Stanka, udata za austrijskoga časnika Danila Brankovića kod kojih je Nikola Tesla živio kad je išao u školu u Karlovcu. Uz tetku Stanku Nikola Tesla je imao još jednu ili dvije tetke i jednoga strica Jozu (Josipa), koji je bio u austrij-

the country and a line of inventors“. ([79], p. 10). As far as is known, Tesla did not research archival materials, i.e. historical archival documents. Then why did he claim such things about his family’s past? The family probably talked about it. If his mother came from one of the oldest families, that most likely means that this family existed before the arrival of the Turks in Croatia. At that time, there was no Orthodoxy in Lika and in the largest part of Croatia, there were no Serbs.

The Draganićs originated from Dalmatia (Tesla mentions Zadar) and moved to Ledenica near Novi Vinodolski, where they were mentioned as Uskoks (1618.). (Uskoks were organized military groups that fought against Ottoman reign in Croatia). Only Catholics lived in Ledenica at that time ([10], p. 24; [76], p. 13). From there, the Draganićs came to Raduč in Lika, a place between Gospić and Gračac, probably after 1712, because the census of Lika and Krbava (Croatian provinces) from that year does not contain the surnames Tesla or Draganić. Only since 1765 in documents is found the name of a soldier with the surname Tesla. Perhaps the great-grandfather or even great-great-grandfather of Nikola Tesla got the surname Tesla in Raduč. When the French established the Illyrian Provinces (1809–1813), Nikola Tesla Sr. (our Nikola Tesla’s grandfather) served in Napoleon’s army as a non-commissioned officer of the infantry (sergeant). He married Ana from the Kalinić family. According to some authors, they had three children ([2], p. 15; [5], p. 10), and according to others, four (maybe even five) ([10], pp. 118–119). One of them was Stanka, married to the Austrian officer Danilo Branković, with whom Nikola Tesla lived when he attended school in Kar-

skoj vojsci. Netočno je da se on zvao Josif kako ga imenuju neki, posebno srpski autori ([10], str. 121). Nikoljin otac Milutin Tesla (1819. – 1879.) rodio se u selu Raduču. U pučku njemačku školu išao je u Gospiću, potom u vojnu školu. Kako nije bio previše zainteresiran za vojnički poziv, nastavio je studij bogoslovi- je u Plaškom koji je završio 1845. Oženio se s Georginom (Đukom) Mandić (1822. – 1892.), čiji je djed Tomo imao sedmero djece, a njezin otac se zvao Nikola Mandić (1800. – 1863.). On je u braku sa Sofijom Budisavljević, uz Georginu, imao još sedmero djece. Đukina braća Petar i Pavao dopisivali su se s Nikolom Teslom kad je živio u Americi. Pavao je bio časnik austrijske vojske, a Petar svećenik. Kad je Austro-Ugarska okupirala Bosnu i Hercegovinu (1878.), austrijski car i ugarsko-hrvatski kralj Franjo Josip I. imenovao je Petra Mandića (monaško ime Nikolaj) 1892. za mitropolita Zvorničko-Tuzlanskog, a 1896., odlukom Franje Josipa I., u dogovoru s Carigradskim patrijarhom Antimom VII. i Sinodom Carigradske patrijaršije, imenovan je za Dabrobosanskog mitropolita u Sarajevu.

Kada neki autori navode da je Petar Mandić bio mitropolit Srpske pravoslavne crkve u Bosni, onda pokazuju neinformiranost glede strukture i crkvene organizacije pravoslavnih crkava [6,7]. Ne postoji, kao što se više puta u ovom radu navodi, Srpska pravoslavna crkva u to doba. Sve do početka 19. stoljeća Srbi nisu imali ni državu ni svoju državnu crkvu (kako je to uobičajeno u pravoslavnom svijetu – da je crkva državna crkva i da se

lovac. Except to his aunt Stanka, Nikola Tesla had one or two more aunts and an uncle Jozo (Josip), who served in the Austrian army. It is not true that his name was Josif, as some, especially Serbian, authors call him ([10], p. 121). Nikola's father, Milutin Tesla (1819-1879), was born in the village of Raduč. He attended a German elementary school in Gospić, and after that a military school. Since he was not very interested in a military career, he continued his studies at the seminary in Plaški, which he completed in 1845. He married Georgina (Đuka) Mandić (1822–1892), whose grandfather Tomo had seven children, and whose father was Nikola Mandić (1800–1863). In addition to Georgina, he had seven more children in his marriage to Sofija Budisavljević. Đuka's brothers Petar and Pavao corresponded with Nikola Tesla during his stay in America. Pavao was an officer in the Austrian army, and Petar was a priest. When Austria-Hungary occupied Bosnia and Herzegovina (1878), the Austrian emperor and Hungarian-Croatian king Francis Joseph I appointed Petar Mandić (monk name Nikolaj) as the Metropolitan of Zvornik-Tuzla in 1892, and in 1896, by the decision of Francis Joseph I, in agreement with the Patriarch of Constantinople Antimus VII and the Synod of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, he was appointed as the Dabro-Bosnian Metropolitan in Sarajevo.

When some authors state that Petar Mandić was the Metropolitan of the Serbian Orthodox Church in Bosnia, they are showing a lack of information regarding the structure and church organization of Orthodox churches [6,7]. As stated several times in this paper, there was no Serbian Orthodox Church at that time. Until the beginning of the 19th century, the Serbs

njezina jurisdikcija poklapa s granicama države). Narodna crkva je doduše postojala, ali ne kao sveopća srpska pravoslavna crkva. Zato Dabrobosanskoga mitropolita ne imenuje srpski patrijarh ili srpski vladar nego austrijski vladar i Carigradski patrijarh.

Stvaranjem Kraljevstva Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca, Aleksandar Karađorđević vrlo brzo, 17. lipnja 1920., proglašava Autokefalne ujedinjene srpske Pravoslavne crkve u Kraljevstvu Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca. To je službeni naziv pravoslavne crkve u novoj državi, a službeni naziv poglavara te crkve bio je „srpski patrijarh pravoslavne crkve kraljevine SHS“ [58]. Tu novu crkvu priznaje Carigradski patrijarh 19. veljače 1922. Za to priznanje (*Tomos*) vlada Kraljevstva SHS platila je Carigradskoj patrijaršiji 1 500 000 franka, što je prekršaj crkvenih pravila koji se zove simonija. Tako je ta crkva zapravo uspostavljena posve ilegalno. Važno je napomenuti da autokefalna hrvatska Karlovačka arhiepiskopija nikada nije donijela odluku o pridruživanju toj novoj crkvi ([34], str. 44; [45], str. 37). Kada je Kraljevstvo SHS 1929. preimenovano u Kraljevinu Jugoslavije, nije preimenovan naziv crkve u Pravoslavna crkva Jugoslavije, što se trebalo očekivati jer se pravoslavne crkve imenuju prema državi u kojoj djeluju. Da je postojala Pravoslavna crkva Jugoslavije, pravoslavni Hrvati, Crnogorci, Makedonci i drugi mogli bi tu pravoslavnu crkvu smatrati svojom crkvom. Ali u uporabi je ostao naziv Srpska pravoslavna crkva, što znači da se u Jugoslaviji nije priznavala pravoslavna vjera drugih naro-

had neither a state nor their own state church (as is usual in the Orthodox world – that the church is a state church and that its jurisdiction coincides with the state borders). However, the Orthodox Church did exist among the people, but not as a Serbian Orthodox Church. Therefore, the Dabro-Bosnian Metropolitan is not appointed by the Serbian Patriarch or the Serbian ruler, but by the Austrian ruler and the Patriarch of Constantinople.

With the establishment of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, Aleksandar Karađorđević on, on June 17, 1920, proclaimed the Autocephalous United Serbian Orthodox Churches in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (SCS). This was the official name of the Orthodox Church in the new state, and the official title of the head of that church was „Serbian Patriarch of the Orthodox Church of the Kingdom of SCS“ [58]. That new church was recognized by the Patriarch of Constantinople on 19 February 1922. For that recognition (*Tomos*), the government of the Kingdom of SCS paid the Patriarchate of Constantinople 1,500,000 francs, which is a violation of church rules called simony. Accordingly, that church was really established totally illegally. It is important to note that the autocephalous Croatian Archbishopric of Karlovac never made a decision to join that new church ([34], p. 44; [45], p. 37). When the Kingdom of SCS was renamed the Kingdom of Yugoslavia in 1929 the name of the church was not changed to the Orthodox Church of Yugoslavia, which was to be expected since Orthodox churches are named after the country in which they operate. If it existed an Orthodox Church of Yugoslavia, Orthodox Croats, Montenegrins, Macedonians and

da nego su svi pravoslavci bili podvedeni pod naziv „srpski“. To znači da je Kraljevina Jugoslavija, posebice u vjerskom izričaju, zapravo igrala ulogu Velike Srbije.

Vratimo se Teslinim precima. Georgina (Đuka) je rođena u selu Deringaju ili u Tomingaju kraj Gračaca. Milutin Tesla i Đuka Tesla, rođena Mandić, imali su petero djece: Angelinu, Danu, Milku, Nikolu i Mandicu (ili Maricu). Prezimena Kalinić, Mandić, Budisavljević nemaju svoj korijen u Srbiji i pretežito su hrvatska prezimena, iako ih u novije doba ima i u Srbiji ([2], str. 15–16; [5], str. 10; [10], str.120, 122, 127).

Milutin je kao mladi svećenik započeo službu u Senju (1846. – 1852.), tj. u Karlovačkoj arhiepiskopiji. U Senju su rođeni Angelina, Dane i Milka. Iz Senja je Milutin premješten u Smiljan gdje je 1857. postao stalni paroh. Tu su rođeni Nikola i najmlađa sestra Marica. Prema tadašnjim običajima sve su se sestre udale za pravoslavne svećenike. Najmlađa sestra udala se za protu Kosanovića i imali su četiri sina, od kojih je Sava Kosanović bio najodgovorniji što je Teslina ostavština završila u Beogradu s vrlo velikom sumnjom da je to bila želja samoga Nikole Tesle.

Sava Kosanović bio je veleposlanik Jugoslavije u SAD-u (1946. – 1950.), pa je u tom svojstvu organizirao prijevoz Tesline ostavštine iz New Yorka do Jugoslavije, a zatim do Beograda. Bio je član odbora za obilježavanje 10. obljetnice smrti Nikole Tesle i 100. obljetnice njegova rođenja. Jedno od važnijih pitanja Tesline ostavštine je u tome što Tesla, navodno, nije ostavio pisanu oporuku pa se

others could have considered that Orthodox Church as their church. But the name Serbian Orthodox Church remained in use, which means that the Orthodox faith of other nations was not recognized in Yugoslavia, but all Orthodox were subsumed under the name „Serbian.“ That means that the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, especially in religious meaning, really played the role of Great Serbia.

Let's go back to Tesla's ancestors. Georgina (Đuka) was born in the village of Deringaju or Tomingaju near Gračac. Milutin Tesla and Đuka Tesla, born Mandić, had five children: Angelina, Dana, Milka, Nikola and Mandica (or Marica). The surnames Kalinić, Mandić, Budisavljević do not have their roots in Serbia and are predominantly Croatian surnames, although they have been found in Serbia in recent times ([2], pp. 15-16; [5], p. 10; [10], pp. 120, 122, 127).

As a young priest, Milutin began his ministry in Senj (1846-1852), i.e. in the Karlovac Archdiocese. Angelina, Dane and Milka were born in Senj. From Senj, Milutin was transferred to Smiljan, where he became a permanent parish priest in 1857. Nikola and his youngest sister Marica were born there. According to the customs of the time, all the sisters married Orthodox priests. The youngest sister married a priest named Kosanović and they had four sons, of whom Sava Kosanović was the most responsible for Tesla's inheritance ending up in Belgrade, with very strong suspicions that it was Nikola Tesla's own wish.

Sava Kosanović was the Yugoslav ambassador to the United States (1946-1950), and in that role he organized the transport of Tesla's inheritance from New York to Yugoslavia and then to Belgrade. He was a member of the

glavnim nasljednikom njegove imovine i ostavštine proglasio njegov nećak Sava Kosanović, iako bi i drugi Teslini rođaci na to imali pravo ([10], str. 466–472). Kosanović je tvrdio da mu je Tesla usmeno rekao da svoju imovinu (ostavštinu) poklanja „domovini u kojoj je rođen“. Domovina u kojoj je Tesla rođen nije mogla biti Jugoslavija jer tada ona nije ni postojala. O Beogradu kao glavnom gradu nove države Tesla je već otprije imao vrlo negativno mišljenje; u Beogradu je bio samo jednom u životu (1892.), i to vrlo kratko [14]. Prema kazivanju njegova američkoga i hrvatskoga prijatelja Ivana Meštrovića Tesla je rekao da „moja noga više neće stupiti u taj grad“ ([2], str. 84; [10], str. 469).

2.2. Tesla u Hrvatskoj

2.2.1. Djetinstvo u Smiljanu i Gospiću

Nikola Tesla rođen je u noći od 9. na 10. srpnja 1856., kao četvrto od petero djece Milutina i Georgine (Đuke) Tesla, rođ. Mandić, u hrvatskoj pokrajini Lici, u malom selu Smiljanu u blizini Gospića, glavnoga grada te pokrajine. Kako predaja kaže, noć Teslina rođenja obilovala je grmljavinom i munjama. Na primjedbu primalje da će on biti dijete oluje, majka joj je odgovorila da će biti „dijete svjetla“ ([7] str. 31). Ime je dobio po djedovima i s očeve i majčine strane. Predškolske dane proveo je u rodnom selu igrajući se s bratom i sestrama te drugom seoskom djecom. Otac i majka su ga brižno odgajali. Otac ga je pripremao za svećeničko zvanje. Vježbao ga je u pamćenju i računanju.

committee for the celebration of the 10th anniversary of Nikola Tesla's death and the 100th anniversary of his birth. One of the more important issues regarding Tesla's inheritance is that Tesla allegedly did not leave a written testament, so his nephew Sava Kosanović declared himself the main heir to his property and inheritance, although other Tesla relatives would have had the right to do so ([10], pp. 466-472). Kosanović claimed that Tesla had orally told him that he was donating his property (inheritance) to „the homeland in which he was born“. The homeland in which Tesla was born could not have been Yugoslavia, because it did not exist at that time. Tesla already had a very negative opinion of Belgrade as the capital of the new state; He visited Belgrade only once in his life (1892), and for a short time. According to his American and Croatian friend Ivan Meštrović, Tesla said that „my foot will never enter that city again“ ([2], p. 84; [10], p. 469).

2.2. Tesla in Croatia

2.2.1. *Childhood in Smiljan and Gospić*

Nikola Tesla was born on the night of 9-10 July 1856 as the fourth of five children of Milutin and Georgina (Đuka) Tesla, born Mandić, in the Croatian province of Lika, in the small village of Smiljan near Gospić, the capital of that province. According to tradition, the night of Tesla's birth was abundant in thunder and lightning. When the midwife remarked that he would be a child of the storm, his mother replied that he would be a „child of light“ ([7], p. 31). He was named after his grandfathers on both his paternal and maternal sides. He spent his preschool days in his native village, playing

Majka je vodila domaćinstvo i naporno radila od jutra do kasno u noć, obavljajući svakodnevne poslove i usavršavajući alate potrebne za seosko domaćinstvo ([79], str. 10, 12).

Dječak Nikola maštao je o letećem stroju sličnom današnjem helikopteru, kišobran je uporabio kao padobran, na seoskom potoku konstruirao je malo mlinsko kolo, načinio je zračnu pušku od bazgina drveta te štap za lov žaba. Živeći u pograničnom području Habsburške Monarhije slušao je priče o borbama i ratovima pa je jednom zgodom načinio drveni mač kojim je kosio stabljike kukuruza zamišljajući ih neprijateljima. Ali, nestašluk nije mogao proći bez kazne! Rastavljao je i sastavljao djeđove satove, a 1859. prvi puta zamjećuje postojanje elektriciteta, gladeći mačku. Godine 1862. Nikola pohađa u Smiljanu prvi razred osnovne škole. Uskoro je obitelj snašla tragedija – stariji brat Dane nesretnim je slučajem smrtno stradao od udarca konja (1864.); ali nije posve jasno što se točno dogodilo, postoje kontroverze oko njegova stradavanja ([3]; [10] str. 146–147).

Obitelj Tesla seli u Gospić jer je Milutin unaprijeđen u protoprezbitera-namjesnika. Tu je Nikola nastavio školovanje u normalnoj osnovnoj školi („Normal-Hauptschule zu Gospić“) (1863. – 1866.) i završio sljedeća tri razreda niže realke u Gospiću u „Carsko-kraljevskoj maloj realki u Gospiću u Carskoj i kraljevskoj hrvatskoj vojnoj granici“ („Kaiserlich-königliche Unterrealschule in Gospić in der k.k. kroatischen Militärgrenze“) (1866.

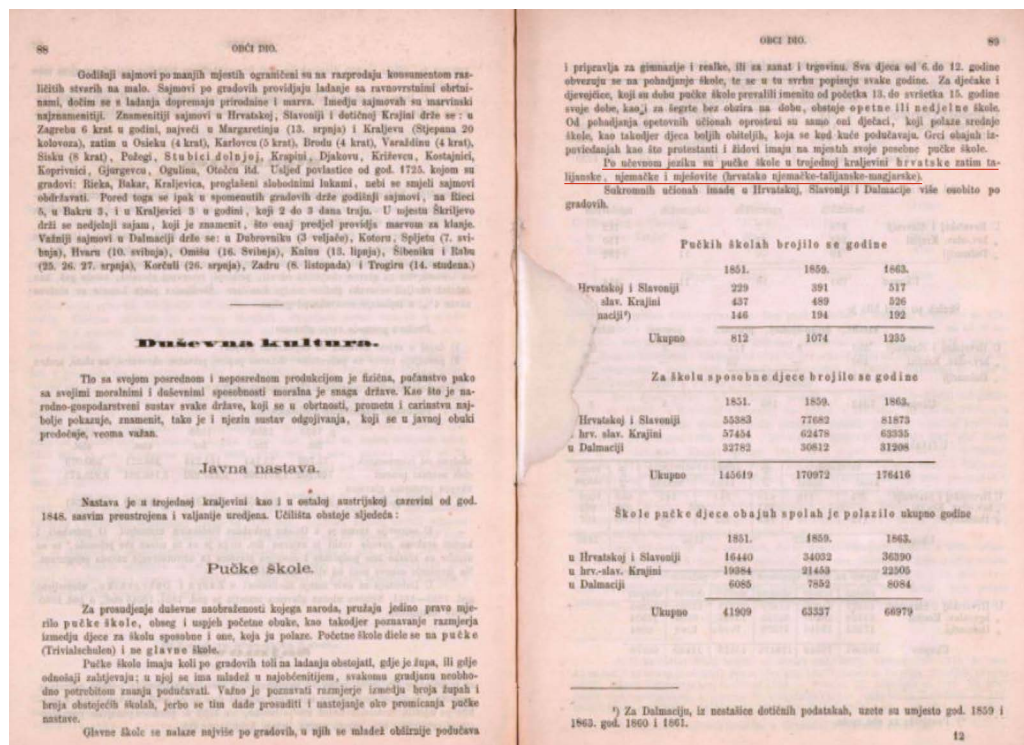
with his brother and sisters and other village children. Nikola was raised with care by his father and mother. His father was preparing him to be a priest. He trained him in memory and computation. The mother ran the household and worked hard from morning until late at night, performing everyday tasks and improving the tools needed for the village household ([79], p. 10, 12).

The young Nikola dreamed of a flying machine similar to today's helicopter, used an umbrella as a parachute, constructed a small mill wheel on a village stream, made an elderwood air rifle and a stick for catching frogs. Living in the border area of the Habsburg Monarchy, he heard stories about battles and wars, and, on one occasion, made a wooden sword with which he cut down corn stalks, imagining them to be enemies. Hence, mischief could not go unpunished. He disassembled and reassembled his grandfather's clocks, and in 1859 he first noticed the existence of electricity, while petting a cat. In 1862, Nikola attended the first grade of elementary school in Smiljan. Soon, tragedy struck the family – the older brother Dane was accidentally killed by a horse (1864); but it is not entirely clear what exactly happened; there are controversies regarding his death ([3]; [10], pp. 146-147).

The Tesla family moved to Gospić because Milutin was promoted to protopresbyter-regent. There, Nikola continued his education at the normal primary school („Normal-Hauptschule zu Gospić“) (1863-1866) and completed the next three grades of the lower secondary school in Gospić at the „Imperial-Kings lower secondary school in Gospić in the Imperial and Royal Croatian Military Border“ („Kaiserlich-königliche Unterrealschule

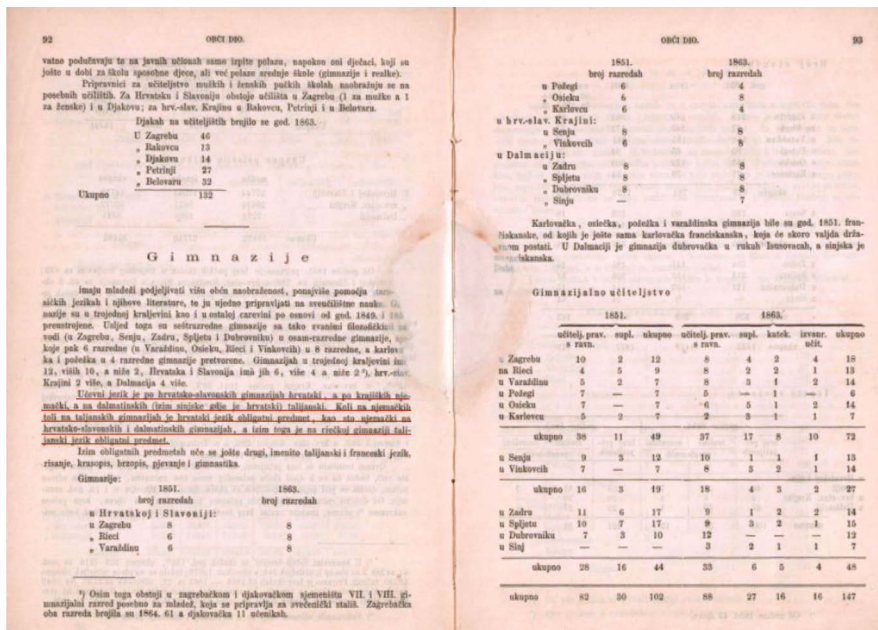
– 1870.) [80]. U izvješću iz 1864. stoji da „po učevnom jeziku su pučke škole u trojednoj kraljevini hrvatske zatim talijanske, njemačke i mješovite (hrvatsko njemačke – talijanske – magjarske) ... Učevni jezik je po hrvatsko-slavonskih gimnazijah hrvatski, a po krajiških njemački, a na dalmatinskih (izim sinjske gdje je hrvatski) talijanski. Koli na njemačkih toli na talijanskih gimnazijah je hrvatski jezik obilgatni predmet. Učevni jezik na hrvatsko-slavonskih realka je hrvatski, na krajiških njemački, a na dalmatinskih talijanski.“ Na Pravoslavnoj akademiji u Zagrebu „jezik učevni je hrvatski“ (slike 10-13) ([15], str. 88–89, 92–97).

in Gospić in der k.k. kroatischen Militärgrenze“ (1866-1870) [80]. The report from 1864 claims that „according to the language of study, the elementary schools in the Triune Kingdom are Croatian, then Italian, German and mixed (Croatian-German-Italian-Hungarian) ... The language of study is Croatian in Croatian-Slavonic gymnasiums, German in Krajina, and Italian in Dalmatia (except Sinj where it is Croatian). In German, as in Italian high schools, Croatian was a compulsory subject. The language of study in Croatian-Slavonic high schools is Croatian, in Krajina German, and in Dalmatia Italian.“ At the Orthodox Academy in Zagreb „the language of study

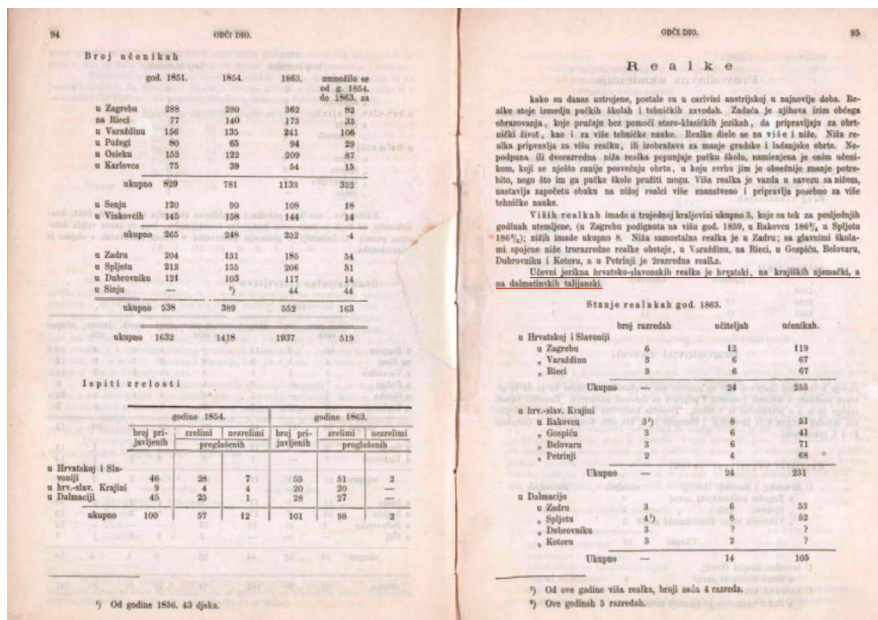


Slika 10. Nastavni jezik u pučkim školama u Hrvatskoj 1864. ([15], str. 88–89)

Figure 10. Language of study in elementary schools in Croatia in 1864 ([15], pp. 88-89)



Slika 11. Nastavni jezik u gimnazijama u Hrvatskoj 1864. ([15], str. 92–93)
 Figure 11. Language of study in gymnasium in Croatia in 1864 ([15], pp. 92-93)



Slika 12. Nastavni jezik u realnim školama u Hrvatskoj 1864. ([15], str. 94–95)
 Figure 12. Language of study in real schools in Croatia in 1864 ([15], pp. 94-95)

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<p>obitelji u Zagrebu, koje je svrha da se pripravi i juridičkih znanostih na običaj i važnosti priprave na mušketarske i državne službe. Činili tojaj traže toj godinama još učešće je hrvatski. Na osnovu svakoga mjeseca polaze studentiji iz pojedinih predmetnih ispita, a pošto savršeni u godišnjim ispitima državnim. Običaj je tojaj da vještava; ako nemaju završiti učeniji, kao ovaj vještava završavaju, da se bude ispunjenje pravnikih krajina.</p>			<p>u Šibeniku biskupski . . . 3</p> <p>u Dubrovniku biskupski . . . 3</p> <p>u Šibeniku kućni frančisk. . . 3</p>																																						
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<p>obitelji u Križevcu, utemeljena god. 1860. Svrha zavoda je, da se pitomei znanstveno i praktično nauče na gospodarstvu i šumarstvu. U istu svrhu je sa zavodom ukupno: 240 ralih oravice, 80 ralih livada, 250 ralih šume, 34 rali palinjaka, 4 rali vinogradah, 5 rali vrtićakah, 7 rali vrti, 4 rali pokusna polja, 4 rali travnjaka, 4 rali povrtnjaka i 7 rali vrti za lonci. Sa državnim zavodom spojen je ratarstvo, gdje se ratarji više praktički posluhajuju za manja doba. Svaki (viti i nisi) tojaj traže po tri godine. Naučni jezik je hrvatski. Uvjeti primanja je: da je pitomei navrsto 17. godina svoje doba, zatim da je tražio nišu gimnaziju ili nišu realnu uz 2 godišnja prihod, ili viti realnu uz jednu godišnju prihod. Školarni godišnja iznosi 30 spot. Pismot. ratarstva hrane i odjeva se u zavodu uz godišnji prihod od 120 spot., od njih se pak zadržava, da se kao vještava čitaju i pisanja.</p>			<p>Prodaju se sljedeći predmeti:</p> <table border="1"> <thead> <tr> <th>na višem tečaju:</th> <th>na ratarstiel:</th> </tr> </thead> <tbody> <tr> <td>nauk o gospodarstvu</td> <td>vjerska</td> </tr> <tr> <td>matematika i geometrija</td> <td>čitanje</td> </tr> <tr> <td>priručnik za životovlje biljah</td> <td>pisanje</td> </tr> <tr> <td>lična i tehničkoga</td> <td>razmnožavanje</td> </tr> <tr> <td>mehanika i graditeljstvo</td> <td>populacione priručnikove</td> </tr> <tr> <td>nauk o šumarstvu, lovu i o razmjiri šumah</td> <td>nauk o gospodarstvu</td> </tr> </tbody> </table>		na višem tečaju:	na ratarstiel:	nauk o gospodarstvu	vjerska	matematika i geometrija	čitanje	priručnik za životovlje biljah	pisanje	lična i tehničkoga	razmnožavanje	mehanika i graditeljstvo	populacione priručnikove	nauk o šumarstvu, lovu i o razmjiri šumah	nauk o gospodarstvu																							
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Slika 13. Nastavni jezik u Pravoslavnoj akademiji u Zagrebu 1864. ([15], str. 96–97)

Figure 13. Language of study in the Orthodox Academy in Zagreb in 1864 ([15] pp. 96-97)

Hrvatski jezik kao nastavni postao je ravnopravan s njemačkim u gimnazijama i realkama 1868. na području Hrvatsko-slavonske vojne krajine. Ta se odluka u praksi nije mogla provesti na Nižoj realci u Gospiću jer su većina nastavnika bili stranci i predavali su na njemačkom – s druge strane su „samo dva učitelja hrvatskom jeziku vješta bila“ ([2], str. 20).

Tadašnje realne gimnazije u Habsburškoj Monarhiji trebale su učenicima omogućiti solidnu naobrazbu za zanate i za tehničke zavode. U tom se smislu velika pozornost posvećivala prirodnim znanostima, matematici i stručnim predmetima. Klasični se jezici nisu u realkama poučavali. Dok su Tesli matematika

is Croatian“ (Figures 10-13) ([15], pp. 88-89, 92-97).

The Croatian language as a language of study became equal to German in high school-gymnasium „and real schools in the Croatian-Slavonian Military Border (1868). That decision could not be implemented in practice at the Lower real school in Gospić because most of the teachers were foreigners and taught in German – on the other hand, „only two teachers were proficient in the Croatian language“ ([2], p. 20).

The real high schools in the Habsburg Monarchy of the time were supposed to provide students with a solid education for trades and technical institutes. Considering that, great attention was paid to natural sciences, mathe-

i prirodoslovni predmeti bili privlačni, slobodno crtanje bilo mu je dosadno i s tim je imao velikih problema. Odlazak iz Smiljana Nikola je teško podnosio jer su mu nedostajale domaće životinje (pilići, ovce, guske i golubovi). Osjećao se kao zatvorenik. Nedjeljom bi obitelj redovito odlazila u crkvu na misu. Jedne je nedjelje Tesla gotovo izazvao skandal, uzrokujući da neka gospićka bogatašica podere svoju haljinu.

Gospićani su ga zapazili kad je riješio poteškoće u radu nove vatrogasne crpke, koja je svečano trebala biti puštena u pogon. Tesline izumiteljske sposobnosti očitovale su se u školskom fizikalnom kabinetu pri susretu s modelima strojeva, posebno turbina i vodenih kola. Bio je oduševljen pokusima i demonstracijama nastavnika. Razmišlja o konstrukciji vodene turbine i iskorištavanju slapova Niagare te o *perpetuumu mobile*. Rekao je ujaku Tomi Mandiću da će otići u Ameriku i ostvariti plan sa slapovima Niagare. U obiteljskoj knjižnici otkriva strast čitanja knjiga, što kod njegova oca stvara zabrinutost za Nikolino zdravlje jer ponekad čitavu noć provodi čitajući.

Stekao je i neke čudne navike kao odbojnost prema ženskim naušnicama, prema doticanju bilo čije kose, prema breskvama i sl., a druge su mu stvari činile ugodu (narukvice, biseri, kristali). Jedna od najneobičnijih i neobjašnjivih pojava s kojom se Tesla susreo, i koja ga je i kasnije pratila u životu, bili su bljeskovi svjetlosti koji su se javljali i kod zatvorenih očiju, što je kod njega izazivalo nelagodu ([12], str. 16–17).

matics and vocational school subjects. Classical languages were not taught in real schools. While Tesla found mathematics and natural sciences attractive, free drawing was boring for him and he had great problems with it. Leaving Smiljan was for Nikola difficult to bear because he missed his domestic animals (chickens, sheep, geese and pigeons). He felt like a prisoner. On Sundays the family would regularly attend church for mass. One Sunday, Tesla almost caused a scandal blaming a rich woman from Gospić for tearing her dress.

He became known to the people of Gospić when he solved a problem of the operation of a new fire pump, which was to be ceremonially put into operation. Tesla's inventive abilities were evident in the school physics classroom when he encountered models of machines, especially turbines and water wheels. He was thrilled with the experiments and demonstrations of his teachers. He thought about construction of a water turbine and exploiting Niagara Falls, as well as a *perpetuum mobile*. He told his uncle Tomo Mandić that he would go to America and realize his plan for Niagara Falls. In the family library he perceived a passion for reading books, which made his father worry about Nikola's health, as he sometimes spent the whole night reading.

He also noticed certain strange habits, such as an aversion to women's earrings, to having anyone's hair touched, to peaches, etc., while other things gave him pleasure (bracelets, pearls, crystals). One of the most unusual and inexplicable phenomena that Tesla encountered, and which continued to accompany him later in life, were flashes of light that appeared even with his eyes closed; which caused him discomfort ([12], pp. 16-17).

2.2.2. Školovanje na Višoj realki u Rakovcu / Karlovcu

Za vrijeme boravka u Gospiću često je pobolijevao, što nije prestalo ni kad se preselio u Rakovac, sada dio Karlovca, gdje je nastavio školovanje na realnoj gimnaziji (1870.). Rakovac je tada pripadao Hrvatsko-slavonskoj vojnoj krajini. Niža realka u Rakovcu osnovana je 1851., proširena je na Veliku realku sa šest razreda (1863.), a 1871. otvoren je i sedmi razred. Nikola je u Karlovcu (*slika 14*) [81] stanovao kod tetke Stanke, očeve sestre, i njezina supruga Brankovića, po činu pukovnika u vojsci. Oni su jako brinuli o Nikoli, ali su ujedno tražili da bude discipli-

2.2.2. Education at the Higher real school in Rakovac / Karlovac

During his stay in Gospić, he often used to be sick, which did not stop even when he moved to Rakovac, now part of Karlovac, where he continued his education at the Real Gymnasium (1870). Rakovac then belonged to the Croatian-Slavonian Military Border. The Lower real school in Rakovac was established in 1851, expanded to the Higher Real school with six grades / class (1863), and in 1871 a seventh grade was opened. In Karlovac (*Figure 14*), Nikola lived with his aunt Stan-ka, his father's sister, and her husband Branković, a colonel in the army. They took great care of Nikola, but at the same time demand-



Slika 14. Kuća u Rakovcu u kojoj je u potkrovlju boravio Nikola Tesla, od svoje 14. do 17. godine, tijekom školovanja na Višoj realki [81]

Figure 14. House in Rakovac where Nikola Tesla lived in the attic from the age of 14 to 17, during his education at the Higher real school [81]

niran. Sam Tesla navodi: „Školovanje sam nastavio na višoj realki u Karlovcu, Hrvatska, gdje je živjela jedna od mojih teta“ (*slika 15*) ([79], str. 45). Kad je njegova autobiografija objavljena (1919.),

ed that he be disciplined. Tesla himself states: „My studies were continued at the higher Real Gymnasium in Carlstadt, Croatia, where one of my aunts resided“ (*Figure 15*) ([79], p. 45). At the time when his autobiography

My studies were continued at the higher Real Gymnasium in Carlstadt, Croatia, where one of my aunts resided. She was a distinguished lady, the wife of a Colonel who was an old war-horse having participated in many battles. I never can forget the three years I past at their home. No fortress in time of war was under a more rigid discipline. I was fed like a canary bird. All the

Slika 15. Teslin tekst o njegovu školovanju u Karlovcu: „Školovanje sam nastavio na višoj realki u Karlovcu, Hrvatska, ...“ ([79], str. 45; [81])

Figure 15. *Tesla's text about his education in Karlovac: „My studies were continued at the higher Real Gymnasium in Carlstadt, Croatia, (...)“ ([79], p. 45; [81])*

Hrvatska je već postala dio nove državne tvorevine Kraljevstva Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca. Tesla ne piše da se Karlovac nalazi u toj novoj državi. Može se pretpostaviti da je tekst napisan još dok je Hrvatska bila

was published (1919), Croatia had already become part of the new state entity of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes. Tesla does not write that Karlovac was located in this new state. It can be assumed that the text was written while Croatia was still part of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. However, Tesla does not assert that Karlovac was in that Monarchy, but in Croatia, although it was part of the Monarchy at the time of Tesla's education.

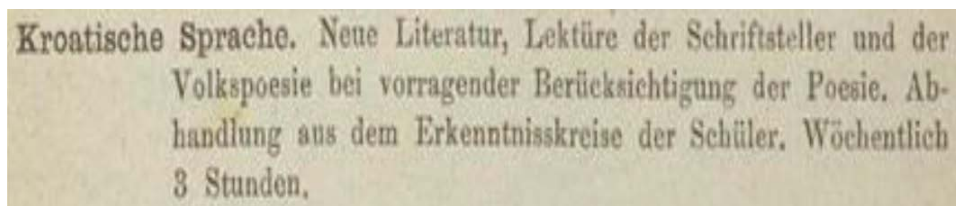
According to school reports Nikola was a good and very good pupil (he passed only one class with an excellent grade), and he received the highest grades in German. He liked „hand drawing“ the least. The school reports in German and Croatian show the description of the subject content and a list of teachers. In addition to the compulsory subjects prescribed by the school curriculum, he also studied Croatian (Kroatische Sprache) as his native language and French as a foreign language (Figures 16-19). It is also clear from the record of Tesla's high school graduation exam on July 24, 1873, that the language Tesla studied at school was Croatian [80-92].

After 1870 history and religious education were taught in Croatian at the Karlovac Real school. There was a decision (1874) that all school subjects were to be taught in Croatian,



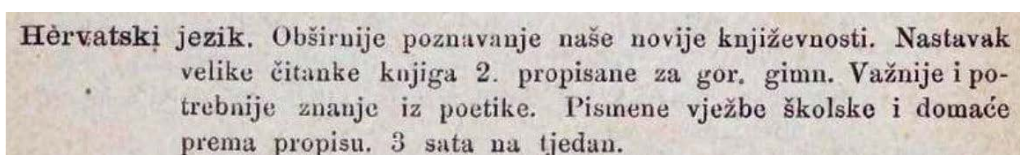
Slika 16. Naslovnica Šestoga godišnjeg izvješća Više realke u Karlovcu za godinu 1869./1870. u kojemu se navodi da je Tesla slušao nastavu na hrvatskom jeziku

Figure 16. *Cover of the Sixth Annual Report of the Karlovac Higher real school for the year 1869/1870. which states that Tesla attended classes in Croatian*



Slika 17. U godišnjim se izvješćima Više realke u Karlovcu (na njemačkom jeziku) navodi da je Tesla slušao nastavu na hrvatskom jeziku

Figure 17. The annual reports of the Karlovac Higher real school (in German) state that Tesla attended classes in Croatian



Slika 18. U godišnjim se izvješćima Više realke u Karlovcu (na hrvatskom jeziku) navodi da je Tesla slušao nastavu na hrvatskom jeziku

Figure 18. The annual reports of the Karlovac Higher real school (in Croatian) state that Tesla attended classes in Croatian

u sastavu Austro-Ugarske Monarhije. Ali Tesla ne navodi da je Karlovac u toj Monarhiji, nego u Hrvatskoj iako je ona upravo u doba Teslina školovanja bila u sastavu Monarhije.

Prema školskim izvješćima Nikola je bio dobar i vrlo dobar učenik (s odličnim je prošao samo jedan razred), a najviše je ocjene dobivao iz njemačkoga. Najmanje je volio „prostoručno crtanje“. Iz školskih izvješća na njemačkom i hrvatskom, vidi se opis sadržaja predmeta i popis nastavnika. Uz predmete propisane školskim programom slušao je i hrvatski jezik (Kroatische Sprache) kao materinji jezik te francuski kao strani jezik (slike 16-19). Također se iz zapisnika s Teslina maturalnog ispita 24. srpnja 1873. vidi da je jezik koji je Tesla učio u školi bio hrvatski jezik [80-92].

but due to a lack of staff, that could not be implemented in practice. Therefore, in 1878 it was decided that, in addition to the Croatian language, religious education, history and geography would be taught in Croatian, and other school subjects in German. Croatian became the full language of study in schools when the entire Military Border (Krajina) was annexed to Croatia. Since then, the Imperial and Royal Higher real School in Karlovac has been under the administration of the Royal Provincial Government in Zagreb.

When Tesla was already in the USA he needed documents about his education, probably to obtain citizenship, so his uncle, Petar Mandić, who was in Gospić, submitted a request to the Department of Religious Affairs and Education of the Royal Land Government of the Triune Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia on 2 May 1885, requesting the

Nastavni jezik po razredih i predmetih: hrvatski i njemački.
 Unterrichtssprache nach Classen und Gegenständen: croatische und deutsche.

Živići jezici, koji se osim nastavnoga predavaju:
 Lebende Sprachen, welche ausser den Unterrichts-Sprachen am Gymnasium gelehrt werden:

1. Zemaljski: — Landessprachen:
 a) Bezuvjetno obligatni: hrvatski i njemački. — *Unbedingt obligat: die croatische und deutsche.*
 b) Relativno obligatni: — *Relativ obligat:*
 c) Slobodni: — *Frei:*

2. Sonstige: — Ostali:
 a) francuski i talijanski (relativ. oblig.)
 a) *französische und italienische (rel. obl.)*
 b) latinski (slobod.)
 b) *lateinische (frei)*

Nuzgredni predmeti: — *Nebengegenstände:*
 Glasba — *Musik* 39) 300 for. plaća erar.
 Pjevanje — *Gesang* 39) 300 fl. von Aerar.
 Tjelovježba — *Turnen* 160 160 " " "
 Modelovanje — *Modelliren* 10 40 " " "
 Stenografija — *Stenographie* 37 100 " " "
 Pravoslavno crkveno pjevanje — *Griech.-orient. Kirchengesang* 60 " " "

	Broj učenika koncem II. polugodišta Schülerzahl am Ende des II. Semesters	Pogoditoja nagrada od jednog učenika Halbjähriges Honorar für einen Schüler
	96	
	16	
	39) 300 for. plaća erar.
	39) 300 fl. von Aerar.
	160	160 " " "
	10	40 " " "
	37	100 " " "
	—	60 " " "

Slika 19. U godišnjim izvješćima Više realke u Karlovcu (na hrvatskom i njemačkom jeziku) navodi se nastavni jezik po predmetima i razredima

Figure 19. The annual reports of the Karlovac Higher real school (in Croatian and German) state the language of study by subject and grade

Poslije 1870. na realki u Karlovcu poučavaju se povijest i vjeronauk (religija) na hrvatskom jeziku. Postoji odluka (1874.) da se nastava iz svih predmeta izvodi na hrvatskom jeziku, ali zbog manjka kadrova to se nije u praksi moglo ostvariti. Radi toga je 1878. odlučeno da se, uz hrvatski jezik, vjeronauk (religija), povijest i zemljopis predaju na hrvatskom, a ostali predmeti na njemačkom. Hrvatski u potpunosti postaje nastavni jezik u školama kad je cijela Vojna Krajina priključena Hrvatskoj. Od tada je i Carsko-kraljevska Viša realka u Karlovcu pod upravom Kraljevske zemaljske vlade u Zagrebu.

Kad je Tesla već bio u SAD-u trebao je, vjerojatno za dobivanje državljanstva, dokumente o školovanju, pa je njegov ujak, Petar Mandić koji je bio u Gospiću, 2. svibnja 1885. podnio molbu Odjelu za bogoštovlje i nastavu Kraljevske zemaljske vlade Trojedne kraljevine Hrvatske,

certificate of a school diploma for Nikola Tesla. A duplicate of this school diploma (Figure 20) was issued on 1 June 1885.

The strongest intellectual influence on Nikola was exerted by his physics teacher at the high school in Rakovac / Karlovac, later academician Martin Sekulić (Lovinac, 1833-Zagreb, 1905), whom Tesla mentions, but does not mention him by name. It is undoubtedly Sekulić ([2], p. 22, 23, 26; [5], pp. 13-15; [81]). Sekulić also performed experiments on electricity in his lectures, which caused Nikola to become truly enthralled. Tesla says about him: „I had become intensely interested in electricity under the stimulating influence of my Professor of Physics, who was an ingenious man and often demonstrated the principles by apparatus of his own invention. (...) It is impossible for me to convey an adequate idea of the intensity of feeling I experienced in witnessing his exhibitions of these mysterious phenomena“. ([79], p. 47)



Slika 20. Viša realka u Rakovcu (Karlovac) izdala je Nikoli Tesli svjedodžbu o maturi (1873.) i duplikat (1885.) u svrhu traženja državljanstva u SAD-u; u popisu ocjena (drugi redak) stoji: Kroatische Sprache ([10], str. 257; [81])

Figure 20. The Higher real school in Rakovac (Karlovac) issued Nikola Tesla a high school diploma (1873) and a duplicate (1885) for the purpose of seeking citizenship in the USA; in the list of grades (second line) it states: Croatian language ([10], p. 257; [81])

Slavonije i Dalmacije, u kojoj traži izdavanje svjedodžbe zrelosti za Nikolu Teslu. Duplikat te svjedodžbe zrelosti (mature) (slika 20) izdan je 1. lipnja 1885.

Najsnažniji intelektualni utjecaj na Nikolu imao je njegov profesor fizike u gimnaziji u Rakovcu / Karlovcu, kasnije akademik Martin Sekulić (Lovinac, 1833. – Zagreb, 1905.), kojega Tesla i spominje, ali ga ne navodi imenom. Ned-

Sekulić published his articles in the most prestigious world journals at the time, such as *Annalen der Physik* (Figure 21). He wrote about electricity and magnetism, light, heat, etc.

After completing his education in Karlovac, Tesla was supposed to return home, but he knew that his father wanted him to study theology to become a priest. At that time, cholera was rampant in Gospić, and his father thought

vojbeno je da je riječ upravo o Sekuliću ([2], str. 22, 23, 26; [5], str.13-15; [81]). Sekulić je na svojim predavanjima izvodio pokuse i o elektricitetu, što je kod Nikole izazivalo pravo oduševljenje. Tesla o njemu kaže: „Pod poticajnim utjecajem profesora fizike, pravog genijalca koji je osnovne fizikalne često demonstrirao aparaturama koje je sam izumio, počeo sam se silno zanimati za elektricitet. Ne mogu vam ni opisati koliko sam bio uzbuđen dok sam prisustvovao njegovim demonstracijama tih tajanstvenih pojava.“ ([79], str. 47)

Sekulić je svoje članke objavljivao u tada najuglednijim svjetskim časopisima, npr. *Annalen der Physik* (slika 21). Pisao je o elektricitetu i magnetizmu, svjetlosti, toplini i dr.

Nakon završetka školovanja u Karlovcu, Tesla se trebao vratiti kući, ali je znao da ga otac želi uputiti na studij teologije da postane svećenik. U to je doba u Gospiću vladala kolera i otac je mislio da Nikola ode u lov kako bi vjerojatno izbjegao koleru, ali se Nikola vratio u Gospić, obolio je od kolere i bio je bolestan devet mjeseci. Kako bi ga ohrabrio da se oporavi, otac mu je dopustio da studira tehniku. Ali prije toga morao je, u skladu sa zakonima tadašnje Vojne krajine, odslužiti tri godine vojne službe u austrijskoj vojsci. Da izbjegne novačenje, otac Nikolu šalje na godinu dana na oporavak u prirodi, oko Tomingaja. Mladi Nikola tu dolazi do različitih ideja kako bi osmislio novi način putovanja (nepomičan prsten oko ekvatora) kojim bi slao poštanske pošiljke cijevima na dnu oceana.

XI. Ueber die an bestäubten und unreinen Spiegeln sichtbare Interferenzerscheinung;

von M. Sekulic,
Prof. zu Rokovac in Kroatien.
(Aus dem Kroatischen übersetzt.)

Anknüpfend an die in diesen Annalen Bd. 149, S. 126 gebrachte Notiz werde ich im folgenden die seit jener Zeit gemachten Wahrnehmungen beschreiben, eben so die Methode meiner Versuche. Ich operirte anfänglich mit zwei Lichtern, weil ich glaubte, durch die größere Helligkeit die Intensität der Interferenzstreifen zu erhöhen; das zweite Licht mußte jedoch eine solche Lage haben, damit es keine Streifen warf; später überzeugte ich mich, daß dieses zweite Licht überflüssig sey, weil die durch dasselbe hervorgebrachte Intensitätsverstärkung unbedeutend war, und weil dasselbe mich in vielen Fällen störte.

Die Herstellung des Spiegels für diese Versuche kann auf vielfache Art geschehen, jedoch sind zweierlei Herstellungsweisen wesentlich zu unterscheiden und zwar die Präparirung des Spiegels mit trockenem Staube oder mit fetten Substanzen. Die Präparirung des Spiegels mit Staub geschieht einfach dadurch, daß man Staub von was immer für einem Körper in einem ganz kleinen Blasebalg anfüllt, die Dütte mit Muselin zumacht, und dann gegen

Slika 21. Sekulićev članak u *Annalen der Physik* (1875.) iz kojega se jasno vidi da je Rakovac u Hrvatskoj i da je članak preveden s hrvatskoga na njemački [81]

Figure 21. Sekulić's article in *Annalen der Physik* (Annals of Physics) (1875), which clearly shows that Rakovac is in Croatia and that the article was translated from Croatian into German [81]

that Nikola should go hunting to probably avoid cholera, but Nikola returned to Gospić, got cholera, and was ill for nine months. To encourage him to recover, his father allowed him to study engineering. Before that, he had to, in accordance with the laws of the Military Border, serve three years of military service in the Austrian army. To avoid military recruitment, his father sent Nikola for a year to recover in the countryside, near Tomingaj. There, young Nikola came up with various ideas to design a new way of travelling (a fixed ring around the equator) and sending mail through pipes on the bottom of the ocean.

3. TESLA U EUROPI

3.1. Teslin studij u Grazu na Tehničkoj visokoj školi

Otac je Nikoli 1875. osigurao stipendiju za studij na jednoj od najuglednijih sveučilišnih ustanova u Monarhiji, na Tehničkoj visokoj školi u Grazu (K. u. k. Technische Hochschule) ([2], str. 28–30; [5], str. 15–16; [75], str. 14–15). Upisao je studij matematike i fizike na sveučilištu Joanneum u Grazu (Universität Joanneum Graz, osnovan 1811.), kako bi slijedio put strica Josipa, profesora matematike. Prvu godinu studija u Grazu Tesla je puno učio i s najvećim uspjehom položio ispite, ali su se pojavili problemi sa stipendijom za drugu godinu jer su stipendije Vojne krajine bile ukinute. Uz to je dekan fakulteta savjetovao roditeljima da Nikolu ispišu sa studija jer će mu zdravlje biti ugroženo zbog napornog učenja i neprestanog čitanja. Na drugoj godini studija Tesla nije imao stipendiju, pa je upisao uvjetno ali se istaknuo svojim radom i privukao pozornost svojih profesora. Profesor fizike Jakob Pöeschl pokazivao je studentima Grammov dinamo-uređaj istosmjerne struje. Već tada se Nikola zainteresirao da bi mogao unaprijediti taj stroj. Iako se to smatralo nemogućim, on je godine 1882. tu ideju ostvario konstruirajući indukcijski motor ([7], str. 52–56).

Zbog nezvjesnosti nastavka studija i stipendije Nikola se u Grazu na trećoj godini studija predao lagodnom životu posjećujući zabave, igrajući biljar, kartajući i kockajući. Prekinuo je studij, napu-

3. TESLA IN EUROPE

3.1. Tesla studies in Graz at the Technical University

In 1875 Nikola's father provided a scholarship to study at one of the most prestigious universities in the Monarchy, the Technical University of Graz (K. u. k. Technische Hochschule) ([2], pp. 28-30; [5], pp. 15-16; [75], pp. 14-15). He enrolled in the study of mathematics and physics at the Joanneum University in Graz (Universität Joanneum Graz, established in 1811), following the path of his uncle Josip, professor of mathematics. In the first year of his studies in Graz Tesla studied a lot and passed the exams with the greatest success, but problems arose with the scholarship for the second year because the scholarships for the students of the Military Border (Vojna krajina) were abolished. In addition, the dean of the faculty advised Nikola's parents to drop him out from his studies because his health would be at risk due to the hard work and permanent reading. In his second year of studies, Tesla did not have a scholarship, so he enrolled conditionally in a course of study; nevertheless, he distinguished himself through his work and attracted the attention of his professors. Physics professor Jakob Pöeschl demonstrated the students Gramm's direct current dynamo. Even then, Nikola became interested in improving that machine. Although it was considered impossible, he realized, in 1882, that idea by constructing an induction motor ([7], pp. 52-56).

During his third year of studies, due to the uncertainty of continuing his studies and inability to obtain the scholarship, Nikola surrendered himself to an easy life in Graz, attending parties, playing billiards, playing cards

stio Graz i našao se u Mariboru gdje je radio kod nekog inženjera, ali bez stalnog zaposlenja. Prisilno ga je tadašnja vlast vratila u Gospić. Roditelji su bili nesretni zbog Nikolina načina života i uzaludnog trošenja vremena. Majka je za Nikolu ipak imala više razumijevanja i svojim mudrim postupanjem s njim učinila je da se Nikola počeo mijenjati. Koncem travnja 1879. umire mu otac, Milutin Tesla, pa je nakon toga Nikola Tesla kratko vrijeme radio u Gospiću u svojoj bivšoj realnoj gimnaziji.

3.2. Teslin boravak u Pragu (1880.)

Nikolina majka je od svoje braće Petra i Pavla Mandića, pribavila novac da on može otići u Prag, kako je i otac želio. Tako je Nikola početkom 1880. krenuo u Prag, da nastavi studij na tamošnjem sveučilištu. O njegovu studiju u Pragu nema dokumenata – ni da je bio upisan niti da je završio studij ([3], str. 43). Međutim, sam Tesla navodi da je na Universitas Carolinae-Ferdinandae Pragensis (Sveučilište Karla-Ferdinanda) izučavao matematiku, eksperimentalnu fiziku i filozofiju, a Carlston navodi da su na Teslu utjecale ideje njegova profesora iz filozofije Carla Stumpfa o automatima i o daljinskom upravljanju ([7], str. 59). Tesla je mogao najvjerojatnije pohađati predavanja u dogovoru s pojedinim profesorima. Sam tvrdi da je u tom gradu znatno napredovao ([2], str. 32; [5], str. 18).

Za svoga boravka u Pragu (1880.) Tesla je upoznao češke skladatelje B. Smetana i A. Dvořáka. S njima se kasnije susre-

and gambling. He interrupted his studies, left Graz and found himself in Maribor, where he worked for an engineer, but without gaining permanent employment. The authorities at the time returned him by force to Gospić. His parents were unhappy about Nikola's lifestyle and waste of time. However, his mother had more understanding for Nikola and, with her wise treatment towards him, Nikola began to change. At the end of April 1879 his father, Milutin Tesla, died, and after that Nikola worked for a short time in Gospić at his former real high school.

3.2. Tesla's stay in Prague (1880)

Nikola's mother obtained money from her brothers Petar and Pavle Mandić so that Tesla could go to Prague, as his father had wished. So Nikola set off for Prague in early 1880 to continue his studies at the university there. There are no documents about his studies in Prague – neither that he was enrolled nor that he completed his studies ([3], p. 43). However, Tesla himself states that he studied mathematics, experimental physics and philosophy at the Universitas Carolinae-Ferdinandae Pragensis (University of Charles-Ferdinand), and Carlston states that Tesla was influenced by his philosophy professor Carl Stumpf's ideas about automata and remote control ([7], p. 59). Tesla could most likely attend lectures in agreement with individual professors. He himself claims that he made significant progress in that city ([2], p. 32; [5], p. 18).

During his stay in Prague (1880) Tesla met the Czech composers B. Smetana and A. Dvořák. He later met them in New York too. However, Tesla's Prague student col-



Slika 22. Praški dnevnik *Narodni politika* u kojemu se u članku *Vzpomínka na Nikolu Tesla* navodi da je Tesla, iako Hrvat (Chorvat) dobro ovladao češkim jezikom

Figure 22. The Prague daily *Narodni politika*, in which the article *Vzpomínka na Nikolu Tesla* states that Tesla, although a Croat (Chorvat), mastered the Czech language very well

tao u New Yorku. Međutim, Teslin praški studentski kolega František Žurek, svoje je uspomene na Teslu objavio u praškom dnevniku *Narodni politika* (1927.). Za njega, između ostalog, kaže: „Iako Hrvat, svladao je češki jezik vrlo pristojno“ (slike 22, 23) ([1], str. 48; [93]). U trećem izdanju prijevoda Cveravine knjige na srpski jezik (1998., 2005., 2006.)

league, František Žurek, later published his memories of Tesla in the Prague daily *Narodni politika* (1927). Among other things, he says about him: „Although a Croat, he mastered the Czech language very well“ (Figures 22, 23) ([1], p. 48; [93]). In the third edition of the translation of Cverava's book into Serbian (1998, 2005, 2006), it is written about Tesla: „Although he was a Croat (!), he spoke

zadovoljavao "nedozvoljenim sezonskim poslovima" i da je sve što je rekao Kulišnji bila izmišljotina, prevара, те да је је оца довео у заблуду. Очеvidно се догодило нешто необично, могуће, нешто везано за антивадине активности и тешко да ћемо данас, након што је прошло скоро сто година, успети да докучимо праву позадину те епизоде.

Дакле, од друге декаде марта 1879. године Тесла је поново у окриљу породице. Крајем априла у 61-ој години изненада умире Милутин Тесла. Сада је Никола једини мушкарац и хранилац у породици. Веома тешко га примaju за сунлента, т.ј. за привременог вршиоца дужности учитеља у непуној гимназији, у оној истој коју је завршио девет година раније. Ипак, није дуго учитељао у родном граду. Када се код куће живот мало средило, Тесла је почетком јануара 1880. године отпутовао у удаљени град на северу – у Праг. У Прагу су постојале три високе школе које би могле да заинтересују будућег инжењера: чешки и немачки политехнички институт²⁰ и један од првих универзитета у централној Европи – прашки Каролинум. До 1882. године није био поделен.²¹

Присећајући се кратког периода свог живота у Прагу, Тесла се ограничавала веома шкртним информацијама, као што је следећа: "1880. године дошао сам у Праг, у Чешку, да испуним очеву вољу и завршим универзитетске студије. Атмосфера у том дрвном и живонисном граду погодовала је стваралаштву. Град је био пун боча које су једна животарица, свугде су се срелили интелектуалци људи".²²

Мале оскудне информације пројекте топлим личним контактима могу се извући из "Сећана на Николу Теслу" питомца Каролинијума Франтишка Журека, која су објављена у новогодишњем броју прашког листа "Narodni politika" за 1927. годину. "Учознао сам се с њим осамдесетих година прошлог века,

²⁰ Наставнама Христијана Валесберга у јануару 1707. године у Прагу је основана Стварска инжењерска школа која је 1787. године ушла у састав Прашког универзитета. 1806. године школа је претворена у Политехничку школу, која је 1817. године добила статус самосталне високе школе. 1864. године увећана је двојезична структура политехничке школе, а након пет година пољска је на чешки и немачки факултет. Од 1920. године назива се Чешка висока техничка школа.

²¹ Прашки универзитет (Каролинум) основао је 1348. године чешки крал Карло IV. 1654. године универзитет се спојио са језуитским колегијумом и добио назив који је остао до 1918. године – универзитет Карла-Фердинанда. 1784. године предана је су са латинског преврета на немачки језик, а 1864. године уведена је настава и на чешком језику. У периоду 1882–1918. постојала су два прашка универзитета – чешки и немачки.

²² Tesla, p. A–198.

– писао је Журека, – у тадашњем кафе-ресторану "Национал" у Водичковој улици. То је било омиљено место окупљања универзитетских студената. Овде су се такође окупљали истакнути уметници, међу њима композитори Сметана и Дворжак. Сала чии су прозори излазили на ушћу била је билијарска. Студент Никола Тесла био је ненадмашан мајстор у тој игри... Давао је партнеру форе за 48 поена од 50, и увек је побеђивао... Тесла је био висок, витак и сувољав младаш с тамноцим лицем без бркова и немарно везаном краватом... То је био благородан, добар, умерен и скроман човек, који је својим саркастичним осмехом остављао утисак одраслог и разборитог мушкарца. Иако је био Хрват (!), чешки је говорио веома добро. Тадашње студенте је запањавало његово знање из математике... Након неког времена срео сам се с њим у бившој Императорској јавној библиотеци у Клементинуму.²³ Тих година код нас су се сви одушевљавали Бајроном. Читао сам његове стихове у преводу на немачки, проверавајући по епелском оригиналу. Изненада се као привидење предамном појавио Тесла и његова коштуњава рука испружила се према мојој књизи. Предложио ми је да читам почетак било које песме, а он ће сам почети да цитира напамет текст који следи, и ако будем хтео, све до краја књиге. Покушао сам тако неколико пута и уверио се да он напамет зна буквално читавог Бајрона. То може да вам се учини невероватно, али је истина".²⁴

Захвалујући истраживањима која су марта–априла 1971. године на моју молбу обављена у прашким архивима уверили смо се да Журека сећање није варало. Тесла је заиста посебно поменути кафе-ресторан у Водичковој улици бр. 24 где се данас налази продавница алкохолних пића. А становао је у паралелној улици Ве Сметках, у згради бр. 13. Све је то у центру града, недалеко од Вацлавског трга. Сасвим је могуће да је баци у "Национал" Тесла при пут видео, а можда чак и упознао Антоњина Дворжака који је, након више година, док је био директор Националног конзерваторијума у Њујорку, постао један од Теслиних пријатеља.

²³ Клементинум је комплекс у различито време подигнутих зграда бившег језуитског колегијума, основаног у Прагу 1556. године. У XIX веку у Клементинуму је био смештен Филозофски факултет Прашког универзитета и јавна библиотека, издана у Чешкој.

²⁴ Цитирам према дозвљеној копији Журековог чланка отуђеној за издавање у Чешку. Како за овај чланак, тако и за друге материјале о Теслином боравку у чешкој престоници искрено сам захваљив председнику Националног комитета Праг-1, др Одржку Вагвалеску, чијим настојањима су отворени документи о Тесли за која се до данас није знало.

Slika 23. G. K. Cverava u svojoj knjizi o Nikoli Tesli navodi riječi F. Žureka:
a – u srpskom prijevodu Cveravine knjige piše za Teslu: „Iako je bio Hrvat (!), češki je govorio veoma dobro.“ ([1], str. 43)
b – da je Tesla, iako Hrvat, vrlo dobro govorio češki ([1], str. 48)

Figure 23. G. K. Cverava, in his book about Nikola Tesla, quotes the words of F. Žurek:
a – in the Serbian translation of Cverava's book it is written about Tesla: „Although he was a Croat(!), he spoke Czech very well“ ([1], str. 43)

b – that Tesla, although a Croat, spoke Czech very well (Hotja on bil horvatom, po češki govoril očen horošo) ([1], str. 48)

всегда выигрывал... Тесла был высоким, стройным и худощавым юношей со смуглым безумным лицом и небрежно повязанным галстуком... Это был благородный, хороший, нетребовательный и скромный человек, который своей саркастической улыбкой производил впечатление взрослого и рассудительного мужчины. Хотя он был хорватом, по-чешски говорил очень хорошо. Тогдашних студентов поражали его математические познания... По простешви некоторого времени я встретился с ним в бывшей Императорской публичной библиотеке в Клементинуме.²³

Czech very well“ ([1], p. 43). The original does not contain an exclamation mark next to the word Croat, while it is in the Serbian translation. In this way, the translator falsifies the original text by suggesting to the reader of the Serbian translation that the exclamation mark is also in the original, i.e. that the author Cverava himself is surprised, which is not true, but Cverava is merely narrating Žurek's words.

stoji za Teslu: „Iako je bio Hrvat (!), češki je govorio veoma dobro“ ([1], str. 43). Iza riječi Hrvat u izvorniku se ne nalazi uskličnik, a u srpskom prijevodu se nalazi. Time prevoditeljica krivotvori izvorni tekst sugerirajući čitatelju srpskog prijevoda da se uskličnik nalazi i u izvorniku, tj. da se i sam autor Cverava čudi, što nije točno nego Cverava samo prenosi Žurekove riječi.

3.3. Teslina iskustva u Budimpešti (1881. – 1882.), Parizu i Strasbourg (1882. – 1884.)

Da bi priskrbio sredstva za život Tesla je morao tražiti zaposlenje [14]. Prilika se ukazala kada se u Budimpešti uvela telefonska centrala. Posredovanjem obiteljskog prijatelja Ferenc Puskása zaposlio se u novoosnovanoj kompaniji za uvođenje telefonske centrale u Budimpešti. Ferencov brat Tivadar bio je jedan od voditelja toga projekta i stručnjak za telefoniju, koju je prije toga usavršio za boravka u SAD-u. On je bio prijatelj Pavla Mandića, Teslina ujaka. Tada su iz Amerike u Europu dolazili prvi telefonski sustavi. Tesla je počeo raditi kao tehnički crtač, ali je uskoro usavršio neke uređaje u Središnjoj telefonskoj stanici te izumio telefonsko pojačalo. Napustio je posao i počeo raditi na vlastitim izumima. Iscrpljen od napornog rada obolio je, ali je ubrzo ozdravio zahvaljujući prijatelju Antalu Szigetyju, s kojim se često družio. U jednoj njihovoj šetnji Tesla je, citirajući Goetheova *Fausta*, doživio prosvjetljenje i došao do otkrića okretnoga magnetskoga polja.

3.3. Tesla's experiences in Budapest (1881-1882), Paris and Strasbourg (1882-1884)

In order to earn a living Tesla had to look for work [14]. The opportunity arose when a telephone exchange was introduced in Budapest. Through the mediation of a family friend, Ferenc Puskás, he got a job in the newly founded company for the construction of a telephone exchange in Budapest. Ferenc's brother Tivadar was one of the leaders of this project and an expert in telephony, which he had previously improved during his stay in the USA. He was a friend of Pavle Mandić, Tesla's uncle. At that time, the first telephone systems were arriving in Europe from America. Tesla started working as a technical drawer, but soon he improved some devices in the Central Telephone Station and invented a telephone amplifier. He left his job and began working on his own inventions. Exhausted from hard work, he fell ill, but soon recovered thanks to his friend Antal Szigety, with whom he often associated. During one of their strolls, Tesla, quoting Goethe's *Faust*, experienced an illumination and came to the discovery of the rotating magnetic field.

On the recommendation of Tivadar Puskás, Tesla left Budapest and went to Paris, to a branch of Thomas Alva Edison's company, where he worked with Szigety. There he tried to interest others in his discovery of the rotating magnetic field, but he did not find understanding and support. At Edison's company he worked with direct currents, but outside of working hours he developed an alternating current system. Solving malfunctions in direct current power plants, he went to the Alsace region, where he created an alternat-

Po preporuci Tivadara Puskása Tesla iz Budimpešte odlazi u Pariz, u podružnicu Tomasa Alve Edisona gdje je radio sa Szigetyjem. Tu je nastojao zainteresirati druge za svoje otkriće okretnoga magnetskoga polja, ali nije nailazio na razumijevanje i potporu. U Edisonovoj tvrtki radio je s istosmjernim strujama, ali je izvan radnog vremena razvijao sustav izmjenične struje. Rješavajući kvarove u elektranama istosmjerne struje otišao je u pokrajinu Elzas, gdje je izradio indukcijski motor izmjenične struje bez komutatora.

U Strasbourgu je rješavao problem koji se pojavio pri svečanom otvaranju elektrane. Tom je otvaranju nazočio i njemački car Vilim I. Tesla je investitorima pokazao rad svoga motora ali oni nisu shvatili značenje izuma. Ni obećanu nagradu za popravak kvara na elektrani u Strasbourgu nije dobio.

4. TESLA U AMERICI

4.1. Stranac u Americi

Tesla je 1884. odlučio otići u Ameriku, na preporuku Edisonova suradnika Charlesa Batchelora. Iz luke Le Havre krenuo je prema New Yorku, gdje je stigao brodom *City of Richmond* 6. lipnja 1884. U carinarnici je Tesla upisan kao Šveđanin ([7], str. 80).

Nije jasno s kojom je putovnicom Tesla stigao do SAD-a. Slično je pitanje kako je iz Budimpešte došao do Pariza. Naime, Kraljevska hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinska zemaljska vlada u Zagrebu, u ime Franje Josipa I., cara au-

ing current induction motor without a commutator.

In Strasbourg, he solved a problem that arose during the ceremonial opening of the power plant. German Emperor William I. also attended the opening. Tesla showed the investors how his engine worked, but they did not understand the importance of the invention. He did not even receive the promised award for repairing the fault at the power plant in Strasbourg.

4. TESLA IN AMERICA

4.1. A stranger in America

In 1884 Tesla decided to go to America, on the recommendation of Edison's associate Charles Batchelor. From the port of Le Havre, he set off for New York, where he arrived on the ship *City of Richmond* on June 6, 1884. At the customs office Tesla was registered as a Swede ([7], p. 80).

It is not clear whose passport Tesla had when he arrived in the USA. A similar question is how he got from Budapest to Paris. In other words, the Royal Croatian-Slavonian-Dalmatian Provincial Government in Zagreb, on behalf of Franz Joseph I, Emperor of Austria and King of Hungary, Dalmatia, Croatia and Slavonia, issued a passport to Nikola (Nikolaus) Tesla on „November 25, 1883“ and delivered it to the provincial office in Gospić. The passport was issued for “travel abroad to France, Russia and Germany for three years“ (Figure 24) [81].

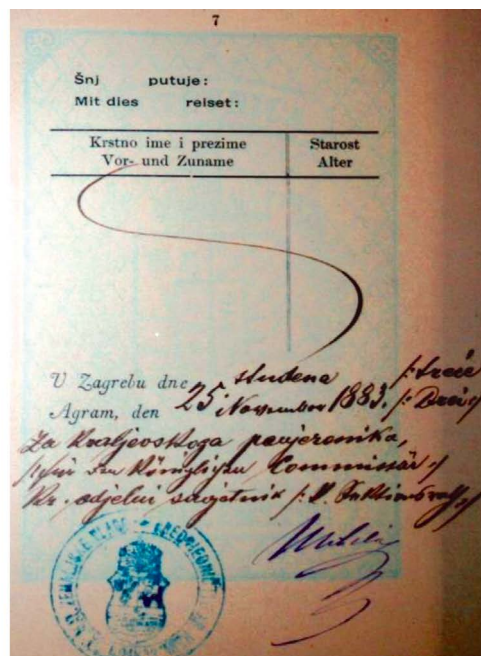
At the very beginning, America seemed to Tesla to be a more backward country than Europe, but later he realized that America was ahead of Europe in many things. On the sec-

strijskoga i kralja ugarskoga, dalmatinskoga, hrvatskoga i slavonskoga, izdala je „25. Novembra 1883.“ putovnicu Nikoli (Nikolausu) Tesli i dostavila je pokrajinskom uredu u Gospiću. Putovnica je izdana za putovanje „za inozemstvo Francusku, Rusiju i Njemačku na tri godine“ (slika 24) [81].

Na samom početku Amerika se Tesli učinila zaostalom za Europom, a tek kasnije je uvidio kako je Amerika u mnogim stvarima ispred Europe. Već drugi dan boravka u Americi Tesla se susreo s Edisonom koji je na njega ostavio jako dobar dojam. I obrnuto, Edisonu se Tesla svidio nakon što je vrlo brzo, tijekom jedne noći, riješio problem rasvjetnog susta-

ond day of his stay in America, Tesla met Edison, who made a very good impression on him. And vice versa, Edison liked Tesla after he very quickly, during one night, solved the problem of the lighting system on the steamship Oregon, which set a new speed record for passenger steamships of that time. Yet on June 8, Tesla began working in Edison's production plant.

Edison and Tesla were entirely different people, and they approached life and work in different ways. Edison was self-taught, without formal education, but a very deft and clever, practical man who knew how to use other people's inventions, but also create his own, and make a good living from it. Tesla was well-educated: from mathematics, natu-



Slika 24. Putovnica koju je Nikoli Tesli izdala Kraljevska hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinska vlada u Zagrebu [81]

Figure 24. Passport issued to Nikola Tesla by the Royal Croatian-Slavonian-Dalmatian Government in Zagreb [81]

va na parobrodu *Oregon* koji je postigao novi rekord u brzini putničkih parobroda toga doba. Već 8. lipnja Tesla je počeo raditi u Edisonovu proizvodnom pogonu.

Edison i Tesla bili su posve različiti ljudi, i životu i radu pristupali su na drugačije načine. Edison je bio samouk, bez formalne naobrazbe, ali vrlo spretan, snažljiv, praktičan čovjek koji je znao iskoristiti tuđe izume, ali i stvoriti svoje, i na svemu tome dobro zaraditi. Tesla je bio široko obrazovan: od matematike, prirodnih i tehničkih znanosti preko filozofije, književnosti, opće kulture, ali, kao životni idealist, manje je smisla imao za poslovni svijet. Ipak je smatrao da nije pogriješio u svom širokom obrazovanju.

Nakon što je dva puta izigran za obećanu novčanu nagradu, Tesla je napustio Edisona i, uz pomoć nekih investitora, osnovao vlastitu tvrtku Tesla Electric Light Company sa sjedištem u New Jerseyju (1885.). Tvrtka je proizvodila električne lučnice i tako zamijenila tadašnje ulične plinske svjetiljke. Tesla je svoj sustav lučne rasvjete prilagodio za tvorničku i javnu rasvjetu, a već sljedeće 1886. taj se sustav koristio za rasvjetu tvornica i gradskih ulica. Novine su pisale o najsavršenijem sustavu električne lučne rasvjete ([7], str. 84–86).

Tesla je stalno razmišljao kako će nastaviti razvijati svoj izmjenični sustav. Ali investitore je više zanimao profit, a ne razvoj novih sustava. Ipak se netko počeo zanimati za izmjeničnu struju koja se mogla prenositi žicama na veliku udaljenost bez većih gubitaka, a u uspored-

ral and technical sciences to philosophy, literature, general culture, but, as an idealist in life, he had less sense for the world of business. Still, he believed that he had not made a mistake in his broad education.

After being deceived twice for the promised prize money, Tesla left Edison and, with the help of some investors, founded his own company, the Tesla Electric Light Company in New Jersey (1885). The company produced electric arc lamps, thus replacing the street gas lamps of the time. Tesla adapted his arc lighting system for factory and public lighting, and as early as 1886, that system was used for lighting factories and city streets. Newspapers contained articles about the most perfect system of electric-arc lighting ([7], pp. 83-85).

Tesla constantly pondered how he would keep on developing his alternating current system. Investors were, however, more interested in profit than in the development of new systems. Still, someone began to be interested in alternating current, which could be transmitted over long distances by wire without major losses and was more profitable in comparison with direct current. That was A. K. Brown, the manager of the Western Union Telegraph Company ([7], pp. 86-109). In April 1887, Tesla established a new company for the development of alternating current systems, the Tesla Electric Company. Within a year (in the first half of 1888), Tesla signed a contract with George Westinghouse, an engineer, inventor, and industrialist from Pittsburgh, for the wholesale production of induction motors, and moved to Pittsburgh for a year. At that time, the electricity used in America was 133 Hz, but Tesla's induction

bi s istosmjernom bila je profitabilnija. Bio je to A. K. Brown, rukovoditelj tvrtke Western Union Telegraph Company ([7], str. 86-109). U travnju 1887. Tesla je osnovao novu tvrtku za razvoj sustava izmjenične struje, Tesla Electric Company. Već za godinu dana (u prvoj polovici 1888.) Tesla sklapa ugovor s Georgeom Westinghouseom, inženjerem, izumiteljem i industrijalcem iz Pittsburga, za proizvodnju indukcijskih motora na veliko i seli se na godinu dana u Pittsburg. Tada se u Americi koristila struja od 133 Hz, a Teslin indukcijski motor bio je konstruiran za 60 Hz. Nakon toga je prihvaćen Teslin model kao standard za izmjeničnu struju.

Utemeljitelj katedre za elektrotehniku na Sveučilištu Cornell, William A. Anthony, dao je potporu posve novoj tehnologiji, Teslinu sustavu izmjenične struje kojega su činili indukcijski motor zasnovan na rotirajućem magnetskom polju, transformatori, generatori, asinkroni motor, višefazni sustav prijenosa električne energije i dr. Teslu su pozivali da drži predavanja o teoriji izmjenične struje i njezinoj praktičnoj primjeni. Tako je zalaganjem Anthonyja održao predavanje u Američkom institutu elektroinženjera (American Institute of Electrical Engineers – AIEE) (16. svibnja 1888.).

Teslini su izumi dobili na vrijednosti kada mu je patente otkupio George Westinghouse i namjeravao ih uporabiti u elektrifikaciji Amerike. To je predstavljalo veliku konkurenciju Edisonu koji je nastojao spriječiti primjenu izmjenične struje. „Rat struja“ između Edisona s jed-

motor was designed for 60 Hz. After that, Tesla's model was accepted as the standard for alternating current.

The founder of the Department of Electrical Engineering at Cornell University, William A. Anthony, supported a completely new technology, Tesla's alternating current system, which consisted of an induction motor based on a rotating magnetic field, transformers, generators, an asynchronous motor, a polyphase electrical power transmission system, etc. Tesla was invited to give lectures on the theory of alternating current and its practical application. Thus, through Anthony's efforts, he gave a lecture at the American Institute of Electrical Engineers (AIEE) (May 16, 1888).

Tesla's inventions gained in value when George Westinghouse bought his patents and intended to use them in the electrification of America. That represented great competition for Edison, who was trying to prevent the use of alternating current. The „war of currents“ between Edison on one hand and Westinghouse and Tesla on the other was waged in every possible way, so Edison's propaganda reassured the public of the harmfulness and great danger of alternating current. It was said that animals and even customers would be killed, brutal experiments were conducted, animals were killed, and the most drastic example was the introduction of the electric chair as a new form of execution of the death penalty in America. Thus the law on the death penalty by means of electricity was passed in New York on June 4, 1888. Edison, of course, advocated that it be alternating current in order to demonstrate its danger. The first death penalty by electricity

ne strane i Westinghousea i Tesle s druge vodio se na sve moguće načine, pa je Edisonova propaganda uvjeravala javnost o štetnosti i velikoj opasnosti izmjenične struje. Govorilo se da će nastradati životinje pa i kupci, prikazivalo se brutalne pokuse, ubijalo se životinje, a najdrastičniji primjer bio je uvođenje električne stolice kao novog oblika izvršavanja smrtne kazne u Americi. U New Yorku je 4. lipnja 1888. donesen zakon o izvršenju smrtne kazne električnom strujom. Edison se, naravno, zalagao da to bude izmjenična struja kako bi pokazao njezinu opasnost. Prva smrtna kazna s pomoću struje (električna stolica) izvršena je 6. kolovoza 1890. u Državnom zatvoru SAD-a Auburn.

Tesla i Westinghouse su dokazivali da izmjenična struja nije opasna ako se sustav izolira. Također su isticali i opasnosti od istosmjerne struje. Sustav napajanja Edisonovom istosmjernom strujom izazvao je 1888. smrt oko četristo ljudi, jer su zbog oluje pali električni kabeli. Kada je Westinghouse Company došla u financijske poteškoće, Tesla je bio raspoloživ da se projekt nastavi i pristao je raditi bez svoje dobiti iako mu je po ugovoru pripadao veliki iznos novca. Westinghouse se obogatio zahvaljujući Tesli, pa ga je donekle zaboravio. Ali je i tada Tesla imao vrlo pozitivno mišljenje o njemu.

Mnogi su Tesline izume vezane uz izmjenične struje pokušavali osporiti. Kada to nije išlo sudskim putem, slijedile su druge metode, napadi i mržnja. Međutim, Tesla je nastavio raditi, posebno na primjeni visokofrekvencijske izmjenične

(the electric chair) was carried out on August 6, 1890, in the US State Penitentiary in Auburn.

Tesla and Westinghouse argued that alternating current was not dangerous if the system was isolated. They also pointed out the dangers of direct current. Edison's direct current power system caused the deaths of about four-hundred people in 1888 when a storm knocked down electric cables. When the Westinghouse Company ran into financial difficulties, Tesla was willing to continue the project and agreed to work without his own profit, even though he could have got a large amount of money thanks to the contract. Westinghouse had become rich thanks to Tesla and had somewhat forgotten about him. Still, even then, Tesla had a very positive opinion of him.

Many tried to deny Tesla's inventions related to alternating current. As it was not possible through court proceedings, other methods, attacks and hatred followed. However, Tesla continued to work, especially on the application of high-frequency alternating current. He based his invention of the transformer (electric coil) (Tesla transformer) on electrical resonance, where small electrical vibrations were amplified, releasing large amounts of energy. Thus, Tesla was able to produce currents of very high frequencies and voltages. That further enabled him to conduct new research such as wireless transmission of energy over long distances.

In 1891, Tesla applied a number of patents on high-frequency currents to the patent office. In public lectures he performed experiments with those currents. He demonstrated tubes filled with various gases, phosphores-

struje. Svoj izum transformatora (zavojnice) (Teslin transformator) temeljio je na električnoj rezonanciji gdje su se male električne vibracije pojačavale oslobađajući veliku energiju. Tako je Tesla uspio proizvesti struje vrlo visokih frekvencija i napona. To mu je dalje omogućilo nova istraživanja kao što su bežično slanje energije na velike udaljenosti.

Godine 1891. Tesla je prijavio veći broj patenata o visokofrekvencijskim strujama. Na javnim predavanjima izvodio je pokuse s tim strujama. Prikazivao je cijevi napunjene raznim plinovima, fosforescentne svjetiljke te oscilirajući transformator. Za sve te izume investitori nisu imali smisla, pa se Tesla čitav život borio s financijama kako bi ostvario svoje zamisli.

Polovicom 1891. Tesla dobiva američko državljanstvo (30. srpnja). Ta godina bila je za Teslu znanstveno vrlo plodna jer je tada došao do otkrića elektrona, elektronskog mikroskopa i ubrzivača (akceleratora) električnih nabijenih čestica. Iznio je ideju da se katodne zrake sastoje od nabijenih čestica i za to dao eksperimentalnu potvrdu (električno pražnjenje u vakuumskim cijevima) [94]. Između njega i J. J. Thomsona razvila se rasprava u kojoj je Thomson poricao Tesline ideje i rezultate. Tek malo kasnije (1897.) Thomson je eksperimentalno dokazao da se katodne zrake sastoje od negativno nabijenih čestica (elektrona) ali Teslu i svoju raspravu s njime pritom nije ni spomenuo. Za to je otkriće Thomson 1906. dobio Nobelovu nagradu ([4], str. 38-43; [5], str. 74-76).

cent lamps, and an oscillating transformer. Investors had no interest in all those inventions, and Tesla struggled with finances throughout his life to realize his ideas.

In mid-1891, Tesla obtained American citizenship (July 30). That year was scientifically very fruitful for Tesla, as he then discovered the electron, the electron microscope, and an accelerator of electrically charged particles. He proposed the idea that cathode rays consist of charged particles and provided experimental confirmation of that (Electrical Discharge in Vacuum Tubes) [94]. A debate took place between him and J. J. Thomson, in which Thomson denied Tesla's ideas and results. Only a little later (1897) Thomson experimentally proved that cathode rays consist of negatively charged particles (electrons), but he did not even mention Tesla and his polemic with him. For this discovery, Thomson received the Nobel Prize in 1906 ([4], pp. 38-43; [5], pp. 74-76).

4.2. Tesla as an American Citizen in Europe

Tesla not only lectured in America but also lectured in Europe at the Royal Society in London (February 1892), in Paris (February 19, 1892), where he also participated in the International Exhibition. He experimentally refuted the dangers of alternating current, and proposed the use of high-frequency currents in medicine.

In Paris he received news that his mother was ill, so he immediately traveled to Gospić. There are different opinions about whether he came home before his mother died or whether she died before he came to Gospić. She passed away on April 4, 1982, at the age of 71.

4.2. Tesla kao američki državljanin u Europi

Svoja predavanja Tesla nije držao samo u Americi nego je krenuo u Europu, gdje je održao predavanja u Kraljevskom društvu (Royal Society) u Londonu (veljača 1892.), u Parizu (19. veljače 1892.), gdje je sudjelovao i na jednoj međunarodnoj izložbi. Ne samo da je eksperimentalno demantirao opasnosti izmjenične struje, nego je predložio i uporabu visokofrekvencijskih struja u medicini.

U Parizu je primio vijest o majčinoj bolesti pa je odmah krenuo za Gospić, gdje je ostao sve do njezine smrti. Postoje različita mišljenja o tome je li on došao kući i zatekao majku živu ili je ona umrla prije njegova dolaska u u Gospić. Preminula je 4. travnja 1982. u 71. godini života.

Gradonačelnik Zagreba Milan Amruš poziva Teslu u glavni grad „njegove domovine“, gdje je održao predavanje 24. svibnja 1892. i gradskoj upravi ponudio stručnu pomoć u izgradnji centrale izmjenične struje i elektrifikaciji Zagreba. O tome je pisalo nekoliko novina (npr. *Obzor*, 26. svibnja 1892., *Narodne novine*, 25. svibnja 1892. (slike 25, 26). U *Narodnim novinama* se navodi što je Tesla u toj prigodi rekao: „I u obće smatra on svojom dužnošću, upravi grada Zagreba, kao rođeni sin ove zemlje, u svakom pogledu, što se toga pitanja tiče, savjetom i činom biti na ruci, i moli da se grad u svakom slučaju gdje bi tehničke poteškoće nastale, na nj obraća, te će on bez ikakve odštete savjetovati, kako bude bolje znao“ [95].

Nagovijestio je da radi na projektu prijenosa električne struje bez žica. Iako je

The mayor of Zagreb, Milan Amruš, invited Tesla to the capital of „his homeland“, where he gave a lecture on 24 May 1892 and offered the city administration professional assistance in the construction of an alternating current power plant and the electrification of Zagreb. Several newspapers at the time reported on Tesla's visit (e.g. *Obzor*, 26 May 1892, *Narodne novine*, 25 May 1892) (Figures 25, 26). *Narodne novine* emphasized Tesla's basic messages delivered on that occasion: „And in general, he considers it his duty, as a native son of this country, to be at hand in every respect, in terms of advice and action, to the administration of the city of Zagreb, and he asks that in any case where there are technical difficulties, the city should contact him, and he will provide advice free of charge, whatever he knows best“ [95].

He made it known that he was working on a project to transmit electric current without wires. Although he was nominated as a corresponding member of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts (HAZU) (then under the name Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts – JAZU) (1894), he was elected only as an honorary member (December 17, 1896) ([4], p. 15).

4.3. Tesla's visions and achievements in electrical engineering and physics

When he returned to America (August 1892) Tesla presented the principles of radio engineering at the Franklin Institute in Philadelphia (February 1893) and in St. Louis (March 1) ([7], pp. 184-186; [96]). That year, he also participated in the World's Fair in Chicago, the first world exhibition with

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Kupovati nevoljno se.

Nikola Tesla o električnoj razsvjeti u Zagrebu.

Čuveni elektrotehnički strukovnjak, naš zemljak Nikola Tesla, koji je na poziv gradskog načelnika dra. Amruša došao u Zagreb, da savjetom svojim podupre gradsko poglavarstvo u predmetu uvođenja električne razsvjete razlagao je jučer do podne u prisustvu gradskog načelnika i podnačelnika, gradskih viećnika Mallina i Hudovskog i gradskog mjernika Lenucia svoje nazore o načelnim pitanjima toga poduzeća. Gosp. Tesla, čovjek od po prilici 35 godina, visok, tanak kao jela rodnog kraja, crnih kosah i očiju, koji na svome širokom čelu nosi pečat genija, držao je dulji exposé, iz kojeg crpimo sljedeće važnije podatke.

Bez svake dvojbe i bez svadli od ma kuda nastalih prigovorah mora gradska občina urediti električnu centralu u vlastitoj režiji, i to ponajviše s toga razloga, jer je dan danas pitanje električne razsvjete već izašlo iz experimentalnog štadija, te već sa pozitivnim podacima i stvarima radi. Stara društva, koja su ustrajala ovakove šta oje u dobi, kad je cijela stvar još bila u razvitku, danas imaju dohodak od 6, 7 do 8%, a kako nebi onda poduzeće napredovalo, koje već sa stalnim izkušanim faktorima računati može, gdje po današnjem stanju stvari eventualne preinake se samo sitnosti ticati mogu, ali nikako više principa. Za grad Zagreb, kao glavni grad ove zemlje, nastaje ne samo mogućnost, nego baš dužnost, da uvede tu novu razsvjetu, jer to nije samo korist za grad sam, nego za cijelu zemlju, i rek bi, sramota bi bila za Zagreb, da nije on kolovodja u tom pitanju. Biti će, dakako, poteškoća, ali je svaki početak težak, te će se moći kratkim vremenom i savjestnim radom i te poteškoće prevladati. Prva će biti poteškoća izbor sistema, ili istosmjerna ili naizmjenična struja. (Gleichstrom ili Wechselstrom).

Nu na temelju svojih vlastitih izkustvah savjetuje gosp. Tesla na svaki način upotrebljivanje naizmjenične struje, i to ponajviše s tih razlogah, što su dotični strojevi jeltiniji i jednostavniji i što je manipulacija s njima sa puno manjim troškom skopčana, nego kod strojeva za istosmjernu struju, dalje i s tog razloga, što se svaki novi proizlazak kod izmjenične struje lakše uvesti može, nego kod istosmjerne struje. Dalje mora se i to u obzir uzeti, da se izmjenična struja puno dalje voditi može, nego isto smjerna, n. pr. u Lauffenu se je vodila 150 kilometarah, i kod uredjenja električne razsvjete u New-Yorku vodit će se struja od Niagara-peda, dakle preko 450 klm. To se kod istosmjerne struje nemože. Druga će poteškoća nastati kod nabave strojevah. Prem su dan danas svi strojevi, izišli iz koje god tvornice, jako izvrstni i sigurni, to ipak treba paziti, da nebi u cijenama nastala koja prevara. Strojevi svijuh sistemah i svijuh društvah, koji se sa njima have, neće u djelatnosti diferirati za 1%, ali glede cijenah ima velikih razlikah, te se lahko događa, da cijena neod govora uspjehu. Zato treba da gradska občina sebi pri skrbi mladu jednu tehničku silu, koju valja poslati u sve tvornice električnih strojevah, da na licu mjesta izuči i izkusi mašine i njihovo djelovanje, tako, da si na temelju stečenih očevidom izkustva, siguran i temeljito opravdan sud stvoriti može, otkud bi se strojevi nabavili. Gospodin Tesla je u tom pogledu toplo preporučio dva mlada zemljaka, izučena genijalna tehničara, koji bi za taj posao sasma sposobni bili.

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Na pitanje grad. načelnika, nebi li se možda voda rieke Mrežnice, koja među Karlovcem i Generalskim stolom u jako izsječenom koritu teče, te se branom lako zaustavljati daje, dostatna sila bila, da proizvadjaju struju potrebnu za 3000 žarnicah, kojih bi za Zagreb sad trebalo, odgovori g. Tesla, da po njegovom mnjenju to biti nemože. Za 3000 žarnicah naime treba sila od 400 konjskih silah, toliko pako Mrežnica, koju je on pohađao prigodom svog boravka u Karlovcu, nebi nikako mogla dati, nego najviše 200 konjskih silah. Ako bi pako novčana sredstva dozvolila, da se jedna vodena sila upotrebi, onda bi bio za to najprikladniji pad Plitvičkih jezera. Ali proti tome obstoje opet nekakve zaprieke, koje nebi dahako u Americi smetale, ali ovdje. Prvo, jer bi to veliku svotu novaca koštalo i drugo, što bi se moralo nekoliko padova uništiti. Izkustva naime dokazala su. da se pad, onako, kako u naravi postoji, nedade lahko izerčiti, da bi se sva sila vode skupljati mogla, zato se u Americi već od više godina u sličnim slučajevima n. pr. kod slapa Niagare tako radi, da se izkopa okno (Schacht), kroz koje se sva voda slapa spusti, koja voda onda na dnu okna turbine tjera. Ali to košta dakako puno novaca i uništilo bi mnogo slapova Korane. Po računima g. Tesla dali bi slapovi Korane kod Kaludjerovca 3500 efektivnih konjskih silah. I pošto se polag izkustva stečenih u Lauffenu u vodovima 25 do 28% izgubi, došlo bi ipak još toliko sile u Zagreb, da bi do voljna bila ne samo za 3000 nego i za 25.000 žarnicah.

Iztaklo se je pitanje, nije li uporaha električne sile opasna po ljudski život. Na to veli g. Tesla, da od svih energija dcsada rabljenih nijedna toliku sigurnost nepruža, koliko električna. Jer kod nje može samo jedna osoba zaglaviti i to samo iz neopreznosti i tome se daje izbjeći time, da se vodovi podzemno namjeste. Kad je g. Tesla došao u New-York, pripovjeda on, bila je u zraku nad gradom mreža od hiljadah i hiljadah žicah, i danonice su na tim žicama radili 4—500 ljudi, ali na godinu nebi bilo više nesreća nego 2 ili 3 i to najviše s toga, što su dotični radnici pijani došli na posao i tako neoprežnoću zaglavili.

Što se tiče uvođenja električne razsvjete, to je gosp. Tesla toga mnjenja, da se sa 200.000 najviše 300.000 for. sasvim lahko izaći može. Gradu će biti zadaća, da gradjanstvu pokaže velike koristi koli u razsvjetnom pravcu toli i glede poljepšanja grada samoga. Ali baš ta zadaća učiniti će nuždnim, da grad taj posao sa svima opreznostima izvede, da se promet neporemeti, što bi namah u pučanstvu nepouzdanje prama poduzeću prouzročilo. U tu

svrhu preporučiti on još jednom sistem neizmjenične struje, koja je u Americi tako napredovala, da je i Edison sam, taj prvak sistema istosmjernje struje, morao popustiti. I to je sigurno velika garancija za valjanost tog sistema, jer i nače neipraktični Amerikanci u za nj prionuli. Namjeru, da se centrala kod vodovoda gradi, odobrava gosp. stručnjak sasma zbog blizine vode i lakog dovožanja ugljena. Od tuda do grada bi se struja nadzemno vodila, u gradu pako podzemno.

Dalje preporučiti gosp. Tesla živo, da se struja i za industrijalne motorne svrhe podaje, jer to pruža siguran dohodak bez daljnjih troškova i jer je električni motor u industriji nešto izvanredno praktična, ne samo što treba manje manipulacije i manjih troškova, nego treba i manje mjesta i neprouzroči toliki štopot i drugih neugodnosti, kao parni motor.

Tom prilikom spominje gosp. gradonačelnik, da je za slučaj, da se munjara gradi, ovdješnje tramway-društvo voljno, tramway sa akumulatorima tjerati, te pita gosp. Teslu, bi li za to trebalo posebne uredbe, te je li to tjeranje akumulatorima već praktično rabljeno. Gosp. stručnjak odvratio je na to, da je u Americi tjeranje tramwaya sa akumulatorima skoro sveobće i jako praktično. Posebnih troškova neprouzroči navijanje akumulatorah nikakvih, jer se za razdraženje alteratora strojeval za izmjeničnu struju svakako mali strojevi za istosmjernu struju namjeste, koji onda ujedno i akumulatore tramway društva navijati mogu.

Nastavljajući onda razpravu o sagradjenju centrale razlaže g. Tesla sada posao, koji gradsku upravu čeka, da

se ta misao oživotvori. Prvo će biti da grad razpiše načtečaj u kojem na temelju nacrti i prilične veličine instalacija pojedine tvrdke pozove, da šalju proračune i planove. Ujedno preporučiti opet, da grad jednoga tehničara šalje na lice mjesta, da prouči pojedine sisteme i strojeve. On sam pako je pripravan ponude, koje dopiju poglavarstvu, izpitati i svoje mišljenje o njima dati, da može na taj način zapriečiti, da se grad neprovari. I u obće smatra on svojom dužnošću, upravi grada Zagreba, kao rođeni sin ove zemlje, u svakom pogledu, što se toga pitanja tiče, savjetom i činom biti na ruci, i moli da se grad u svakom slučaju gdje bi tehničke poteškoće nastale, na nj obraća, te će on bez ikakve odštete savjetovati, kako bude bolje znao. —

Tim svrši on svoje zanimivo razlaganje. U ime grada izrazio mu je gradonačelnik dr. Amruš najsrdačniju hvalu na njegovom trudu i obećanju, te mu želi za buduće najljepši uspjeh u svojem radu kojim ne samo sebe nego i domovinu pred drugim svjetom diči. U daljnjem razgovoru spomenuo je gosp. Tesla, da sad radi na izvršenju jedne hipoteze, koju sasvim izvršivom smatra i koja je od ne pojmljive važnosti, naima na prenosu električne struje bez žica pomoću naravne munjine naše zemlje. Mi želimo našem zemljaku iz svega srca najbolji uspjeh u tome poslu.

G. Tesla kreće sutra put Varaždina, te će iz Varaždina u Budimpeštu. Ako mu vrijeme dopusti, posjetit će i Biograd, kud su ga zvali, da i tamo svoje mišljenje o uveđenju električne razsvjete kaže. Otdud će u Ameriku. Sretno pošao i sretno nam se vratio.

Slika 25. Teslina izjava u Zagrebu koju su prenijele *Narodne novine*, 25. svibnja 1892.)

Figure 25. Tesla's statement in Zagreb, reported by Narodne novine, May 25, 1892.)

Slika 26. Ploča postavljena u čast Nikole Tesle u Ćirilometodskoj ulici na Gornjem Gradu u Zagrebu, na zgradi Gradske vijećnice, gdje je on, „kao rođeni sin ove zemlje“ 24. svibnja 1892. održao govor Zagrepčanima

Figure 26. A plaque erected in honor of Nikola Tesla in Ćirilometodska Street in the Upper Town of Zagreb, on the City Hall building, where he, „as a native son of this country“ gave a speech to the people of Zagreb on May 24, 1892.

predložen za dopisnoga člana HAZU (tada JAZU) (1894.), izabran je samo za počasnoga člana (17. prosinca 1896.) ([4], str. 15).



4.3. Tesline vizije i postignuća u elektrotehnici i fizici

Po povratku u Ameriku (kolovoz 1892.) Tesla je na Franklin Institute u Philadelphiji izložio načela radiotehnike (u veljači 1893.) i u St. Louisu (1. ožujka) ([7], str. 184–186; [96]). Te je godine sudjelovao i na Svjetskoj izložbi u Chicagu koja je bila prva svjetska izložba s električnom rasvjetom. Na njoj su pokazani najnoviji izumi, od telefona, kinetoskopa, fonografa, prvog automobila proizvedenog u Americi. Tesla je prikazivao svoje izume koji su djelovali kao neka vrsta čuda: Teslino jaje (zahvaljujući rotirajućem magnetskom polju stajalo je na svom vršku), fosforescentne cijevi, prolaz struje napona preko 200 000 volti i frekvencije od milijun Hz kroz Teslino tijelo i dr. Na istraživanju bežičnog sustava, tj. bežičnog prijenosa informacija i energije Tesla je intenzivno radio 1893. – 1894. i njegove su ideje o tome aktualne i danas u suvremenoj teoriji žičanih antena ([7], str. 184-198; [97]). Tesla je 1893. imao koncept lasera, ali nije sigurno je li ga napravio. Govorio je i o „zrakama smrti“, možda se laserske zrake odnose na to. Prvi laser konstruiran je 1960., a sljedećih godina i nove vrste lasera. Dodijeljeno je više Nobelovih nagrada za lasere i laserske tehnike ([5], str. 82).

Teslina borba za izmjeničnu struju dobiva svoj epilog izgradnjom hidroelektrane na slapovima Niagare. I oni koji su prije sumnjali u Teslinu izmjeničnu struju, postaju njezini pobornici, npr. lord Kelvin koji je o Tesli kazao da je on više nego itko pridonio znanosti o elektri-

electric lighting. Presented were the latest inventions, from the telephone, the kineoscope, the phonograph, to the first automobile manufactured in America. Tesla presented his inventions that seemed like some kind of miracle: Tesla's egg (thanks to a rotating magnetic field, it stood on its tip), phosphorescent tubes, the passage of a very high voltage current of over 200,000 volts and a frequency of one million Hz through Tesla's body, etc. Tesla worked intensively on wireless information and energy transmission research in 1893-1894, and his ideas on this topic are still relevant today in the modern theory of wire antennas ([7], pp. 184-198; [97]). Tesla had the concept of a laser as early as 1893, but it is not certain whether he actually fabricated one. He also spoke of „death rays“, and laser rays may refer to this. The first laser was constructed in 1960, and new types of lasers followed in the following years. Several Nobel Prizes have been awarded for lasers and laser techniques ([5], p. 82).

The epilogue of Tesla's fight for alternating current was the construction of a hydroelectric power plant at Niagara Falls. Even those who had previously doubted Tesla's alternating current now became its supporters, for example Lord Kelvin, who emphasized that Tesla had contributed more than anyone else to the science of electricity. The advantage of the alternating current system and its distribution was that it could be transmitted over very long distances, which was more economical than direct current and more acceptable for widespread use.

Experimenting with high frequencies, Tesla constructed generators of very high voltage currents. He made important discover-

tetu. Prednost sustava izmjenične struje i njezine distribucije bio je u tome što se mogla prenositi na vrlo velike udaljenosti, bila je ekonomičnija od istosmjerne struje i prihvatljivija za široku primjenu.

Tesla je, eksperimentirajući s visokim frekvencijama, konstruirao generatore struja vrlo visokih napona. Došao je do otkrića važnih u radio-tehnici, radarskoj tehnici, elektro-medicini i dr. Eksperimentirao je s X-zrakama. U ožujku 1895. izgorio je Teslin laboratorij u New Yorku ([7], str. 217–219). Koncem te godine K. Röntgen je došao do otkrića X-zraka. Prije Röntgena Tesla je otkrio X-zrake (koncem 1894.), kasnije nazvane rendgenske zrake, ali je svoje radove o njima objavio nakon Röntgena (1896. i 1897.). Nedvojbeno je da je godinama prije toga radio na tom problemu i da je prvi izvodio pokuse s tim zrakama. Njegovi radovi o rendgenskim zrakama pokazuju da su njegovi pokusi sofisticiraniji od Röntgenovih. Ali se otkriće pripisuje ne Tesli nego Röntgenu koji je za to dobio Nobelovu nagradu (1901.) ([5], str. 76–79; [7], str. 220–224; [98]). Raspravu oko toga je li ipak Röntgen zaslužio Nobelovu nagradu pokrenuo je Teslin prvi biograf i njegov prijatelj John O'Neill [6] koji se pozivao na Röntgenovo pismo Tesli 20. 7. 1901., ali se to pismo ne tiče Teslinih snimaka s X-zrakama jer Tesla takve snimke Röntgenu nije nikada ni slao ([14], str. 657–661).

Tesla je otkrio kozmičke zrake (1897.), ali se to pripisuje V. F. Hessu (1912.) za što je on dobio Nobelovu nagradu (1936.). Slično je Nobelovu nagradu za otkriće radio veze pripisano talijanskom fizičaru Gu-

ies in radio technology, radar technology, electro-medicine, etc. He experimented with X-rays. In March 1895, Tesla's laboratory in New York burned down ([7], pp. 217-219). At the end of that year, K. Röntgen discovered X-rays. But before Röntgen, Tesla discovered X-rays (late 1894), later called X-rays, but he published his works on them after Röntgen (1896 and 1897). There is no doubt that he had been working on that problem for years before that and that he was the first to perform experiments with these rays. His works on X-rays show that his experiments were more sophisticated than Röntgen's. However, the discovery was not attributed to Tesla but to Röntgen, for which he was awarded the first Nobel Prize (1901) ([5], pp. 76-79; [7], pp. 220-224; [98]). Tesla's first biographer and his friend John O'Neill started the debate on whether Röntgen deserved the Nobel Prize [6] and referred to Röntgen's letter to Tesla on 7/20/1901, but that letter does not concern Tesla's X-ray images because Tesla never sent such images to Röntgen ([14], pp. 657-661).

Tesla discovered cosmic rays (1897), but the discovery is attributed to V. F. Hess (1912), for which he received the Nobel Prize (1936). Similarly, the Nobel Prize for the discovery of radio communication was awarded to the Italian physicist Guglielmo Marconi (1901), although Tesla had priority in this discovery (1898). Tesla received his compensation only after his death, when an American court overturned Marconi's patent decision because it was preceded by Tesla's inventions. Marconi received the Nobel Prize in 1909 ([5], pp. 73, 80-81).

Tesla built a new high-voltage laboratory in Colorado Springs in 1899, where he dis-

glielmu Marconiju (1901.), iako je Tesla imao prvenstvo u tom otkriću (1898.). Tesla je zadovoljštinu dobio tek nakon smrti, odlukom američkog suda kojom je poništen Marconijev patent jer su tome prethodili Teslini izumi. Marconi je Nobelovu nagradu dobio 1909. ([5], str. 73, 80–81).

Godine 1899. Tesla je izgradio novi visokonaponski laboratorij u Colorado Springsu. Tu je otkrio zemaljske stojne valove ([7], str. 258–289). Na udaljenosti od 26 kilometara upalio je, bez žičane povezanosti, 200 svjetiljki. Te je godine otkrio i induciranu radioaktivost, ali se priznanje za to otkriće pripisuje I. Joliot-Curie (1934.), za što je dobila Nobelovu nagradu (1935.) ([5], str.73).

Kako bi ostvario vezu sa svim dijelovima svijeta, Tesla je u blizini New Yorka, na Long Islandu 1901. izgradio radiopostaju i Wardencliffov toranj (radio je do 1906.) ([7], str. 290–351). Također je istraživao bežični sustav prijenosa električne energije, da bi s pomoću valova mogao slati tekstne i slikovne poruke. Ali za ostvarenje te ideje nije imao financijskih sredstava, jer mu je J. P. Morgan obustavio financiranje. Tesla je pokušavao kod Morgana izazvati suosjećanje i razumijevanje, pa je sljedećih desetak godina, iako s trunkom nade, bio gnjevan i razočaran njegovim nerazumijevanjem za tako velike ideje koje je Tesla smatrao najvećim izumom svih vremena ([7], str. 343). Iako se u to doba pojavljuju prvi radari, neki daju Tesli prvenstvo izuma radara (1904.), ali su oni u praktičnu primjenu stupili tri-desetak godina kasnije ([5], str. 73).

Na usavršavanju turbine Tesla je radio od 1908. do 1912. Godine 1917. do-

covered terrestrial standing waves ([7], pp. 258-289). At a distance of 26 kilometers, he lit 200 lamps without a wire connection. That year he also discovered induced radioactivity, but that discovery was attributed to I. Joliot-Curie (1934), for which she received the Nobel Prize (1935) ([5], p.73).

In order to establish a connection with all parts of the world, Tesla built a radio station and the Wardencliff Tower near New York, on Long Island in 1901 (it operated until 1906) ([7], pp. 290-351). He also researched a wireless system for transmitting electrical energy, with the intention of using waves to send text and image messages. However, he did not have the financial resources to realize this idea, because J. P. Morgan had stopped financing him. Tesla tried to arouse Morgan's sympathy and understanding, and for the next ten years, although he had some hope, he was angry and disappointed by his lack of understanding for such great ideas that Tesla considered the greatest invention of all time ([7], p. 343). Although the first radars appeared at that time, some attribute the primacy of the invention of radar to Tesla (1904), but they were not practically applied until thirty years later ([5], p. 73).

Tesla worked on improving the turbine from 1908 to 1912. In 1917, he received the Edison Medal from the American Institute of Electrical Engineers, but he considered it ironic. The president of the institute, Bernard A. Behrend, pointed out on that occasion that without Tesla's inventions, almost everything in the technical world of that time would have stopped. He paraphrased Alexander Pope and his famous epitaph to Newton, applying it to Tesla: „Nature and Nature's

bio je od Američkog instituta elektroinženjera Edisonovu medalju, ali je to smatrao ironijom. Predsjednik instituta Bernard A. Behrend istaknuo je tom prigodom da bi bez Teslinih izuma gotovo sve u tadašnjem tehničkom svijetu stalo. Parafrazirao je Alexandra Popea i njegov poznati epitaf Newtonu, primijenivši ga na Teslu: „Prirodu i zakone, sve obavi mrkli mrak, al' Bog reče: Neka bude Tesla – i bi svjetlo!“ ([10], str. 359–361).

Teslini su brojni patenti doista bili svjetlo koje je on donio čovječanstvu (slika 27) [98].

4.4. Tesla u društvu poznanika i prijatelja

Teslini uspjesi omogućili su mu poznanstvo s mnogim poznatim ljudima tadašnjega američkoga društva. Družio se sa znanstvenicima, novinarima, književnicima, glazbenicima, likovnim umjetnicima, glumcima, a također s industrijalcima i financijerima. Među najpoznatijim njegovim prijateljima bili su Mark Twain, Robert Johnson, John Jacob O'Neill, prvi Teslin biograf, i dr. I mnoge su žene bile zainteresirane za njegovo društvo. Tesla se družio s mnogima od njih, npr. s glumicom Sarah Bernardt, pijanisticom i književnicom Marguerite Merington, s Anne Morgan, kćerkom bankara Morgana, koja je navodno bila zaljubljena u Teslu, nije se udavala i do konca života ostala je s Teslom u prijateljskim odnosima. Ni Tesla se nikada nije ženio. Ali postoje kontroverze o tome je li Tesla imao svoje biološke nasljednike ([5], str. 100–102; [10], str. 287–302).

laws lay hid in night: God said, Let Tesla be! and all was light“ ([10], pp. 359-361). Tesla's numerous patents were indeed the light he brought to humanity (Figure 27) [98].

4.4. Tesla in the company of acquaintances and friends

Tesla's successes enabled him to meet many famous people in American society at the time. He was on good terms with scientists, journalists, writers, musicians, artists, actors, and also with industrialists and financiers. Among his most famous friends were Mark Twain, Robert Johnson, John Jacob O'Neill, Tesla's first biographer, and others. Many women were also interested in his company. Tesla was in friendly relations with many of them, for example, with actress Sarah Bernardt, pianist and writer Marguerite Merington, with Anne Morgan, the daughter of banker Morgan, who was allegedly in love with Tesla, did not marry, and remained on friendly terms with Tesla until the end of her life. Tesla never married either. However, there is controversy about whether Tesla had any biological heirs ([5], pp. 100-102; [10], pp. 287-302).

While living in the USA, Tesla often found himself in the company of Croats there ([10], pp. 365-372). While Tesla was quite reserved towards some American Serbs, and also some Croats, he was completely open towards many Croats. He was a close friend with the world-renowned Croatian violinist Zlatko Baloković. He certainly knew the famous Croatian opera singer Milka Trnina, but they were probably not on close friendly terms [10]. In contrast, his friends

CONTENTS	
LECTURES	
1. A New System of Alternate Current Motors and Transformers	L-1
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I. MOTORS AND GENERATORS.	
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Application filed May 16, 1885.	
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Application filed June 14, 1885.	
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6. No. 362867 Commutator for Dynamo Electric Machines	P-23
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7. No. 361568 Electro-Magnetic Motor	P-29
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8. No. 361960 Electro-Magnetic Motor	P-37
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9. No. 362279 Electro-Magnetic Motor	P-41
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10. No. 390414 Dynamo Electric Machine	P-46
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11. No. 390820 Regulator for Alternating Current Motors	P-50
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12. No. 390721 Dynamo Electric Machine	P-57
Application filed April 24, 1888.	
13. No. 390515 Dynamo Electric Machine for Motor	P-59
Application filed May 11, 1888.	
14. No. 555150 Alternating Motor	P-61
Application filed May 23, 1888.	
15. No. 524425 Electro-Magnetic Motor	P-65
Application filed October 21, 1888.	
16. No. 485838 Electro-Magnetic Motor	P-68
Application filed January 4, 1889.	
17. No. 495220 Method of Operating Electro-Magnetic Motors	P-71
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18. No. 406958 Dynamo Electric Machine	P-75
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19. No. 450722 Electro-Magnetic Motor	P-76
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20. No. 416191 Electro-Magnetic Motor	P-83
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21. No. 416197 Method of Operating Electro-Magnetic Motors	P-86
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22. No. 416195 Electro-Magnetic Motor	P-91
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23. No. 416194 Electro Motor	P-94
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29. No. 435780 Alternating Current Electric Motor	P-117
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30. No. 435781 Alternating Current Motor	P-120
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31. No. 435782 Electrical Transformer of Inductive Reactance	P-123
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32. No. 435783 Electric Magnetic Motor	P-126
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33. No. 435784 Changing Current Converter	P-129
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34. No. 435067 Electro-Magnetic Motor	P-131
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Application filed October 10, 1887.	
2. No. 48228 Electrical Transmission of Power	P-158
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Application filed November 27, 1887.	
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3. No. 447920 Method of Operating Arc Lamps	P-205
Application filed October 1, 1889.	
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Application filed April 21, 1889.	
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Application filed May 15, 1889.	
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Application filed August 7, 1890.	
3. No. 508178 Method of Regulating Apparatus for Producing Currents of High-Frequency	P-228
Application filed August 21, 1890.	
4. No. 508176 Apparatus for Producing Electric Currents of High-Frequency and Potential	P-233
Application filed August 21, 1890.	
5. No. 508179 Method of and Apparatus for Producing Currents of High-Frequency	P-237
Application filed July 6, 1890.	
6. No. 508180 Apparatus for Producing Electrical Currents of High-Frequency	P-241
Application filed July 6, 1890.	
7. No. 977670 Apparatus for Producing Electric Currents of High-Frequency and Potential	P-245
Application filed November 9, 1890.	
8. No. 508955 Apparatus for Producing Currents of High-Frequency	P-249
Application filed October 19, 1890.	
9. No. 593136 Electrical Transformer	P-252
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11. No. 509247 Electrical Circuit Controller	P-262
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12. No. 611710 Electrical Circuit Controller	P-269
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13. No. 609266 Electrical Circuit Controller	P-272
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Slika 27. Popis Teslinih patenata prema [98]
Figure 27. List of Tesla's patents according to [98]

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14. No. 609267	Electric Circuit Controller	P-276
Application filed March 12, 1898.		
15. No. 609248	Electric Circuit Controller	P-279
Application filed March 12, 1898.		
16. No. 609249	Electric Circuit Controller	P-283
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17. No. 613753	Electric Circuit Controller	P-285
Application filed April 15, 1898.		

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2. No. 685953	Method of Interweaving and Utilizing Effects Transmitted Through Natural Media	P-297
Application filed Jan. 26, 1902.		
3. No. 685954	Method of Utilizing Effects Transmitted Through Natural Media	P-305
Application filed August 1, 1902.		
4. No. 685955	Apparatus for Utilizing Effects Transmitted from a Distance to a Receiving Device Through Natural Media	P-312
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9. No. 685937	Apparatus for the Utilization of Radiant Energy	P-343
Application filed March 21, 1902.		
10. No. 685938	Method of Utilizing Radiant Energy	P-348
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12. No. 1119752	Apparatus for Transmitting Electrical Energy	P-357
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Application filed July 24, 1900.		

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1. No. 1062152	Fluid Regulator	P-379
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2. No. 1061206	Tuning	P-383
Application filed October 27, 1909.		
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4. No. 1467675	Frequency Meter	P-396
Application filed December 11, 1946.		
5. No. 1774815	Speed Indicator	P-403
Application filed December 15, 1930.		
6. No. 1314719	Ship's Log	P-405
Application filed December 14, 1920.		
7. No. 1369527	Ship's Meter	P-408
Application filed December 13, 1920.		

VIII PATENTS

1. No. 415553	Method of Obtaining Energy from Alternating Currents	P-413
Application filed Jan. 24, 1887.		
2. No. 422269	Electrical Motor	P-420
Application filed March 27, 1890.		
3. No. 464667	Electrical Converter	P-423
Application filed October 1, 1891.		
4. No. 514157	Electrical Converter	P-425
Application filed January 2, 1897.		
5. No. 512346	Coil for Electric Motors	P-478
Application filed July 7, 1895.		
6. No. 568177	Apparatus for Producing Current	P-431
Application filed June 11, 1906.		
7. No. 577071	Manufacture of Electrical Converters and Apparatus	P-435
Application filed November 9, 1906.		
8. No. 560750	Electrical Apparatus for Gas Engines	P-438
Application filed February 11, 1907.		
9. No. 1138116	Inventor	P-431
Application filed October 29, 1933.		

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10. No. 1120179	Indicator Circuit	P-445
Application filed February 24, 1906.		
11. No. 1166273	Lighting System	P-451
Application filed May 11, 1915.		

ARTICLES

I SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNICAL ARTICLES

1. Harmonics of Alternating Currents of Very High Frequency	A-3
(<i>Elect. World</i> , Feb. 14, 1911.)	
2. An Electric Motor	A-11
(<i>Elect. Engin.</i> , Mar. 9, 1913.)	
3. Alternate Current Electrostatic Induction Apparatus	A-4
(<i>Elect. Engin.</i> , Mar. 4, 1915.)	
4. Electric Discharge in Vacuum Tubes	A-16
(<i>Elect. Engin.</i> , Mar. 1, 1909.)	
5. Motor on a Capacitor Circuit	A-21
(<i>Elect. Engin.</i> , Sept. 2, 1913.)	
6. The Rotating Magnet	A-27
(<i>Elect. Engin.</i> , March 11, 1904.)	
7. The Rotating Magnet	A-31
(<i>Elect. Engin.</i> , April 2, 1915.)	
8. The Rotating Magnet	A-30
(<i>Elect. Engin.</i> , April 1, 1915.)	
9. Rotating Magnet in Vacuum	A-35
(<i>Elect. Engin.</i> , April 22, 1915.)	
10. The Rotating Magnet of X-Ray Machines	A-35
(<i>Elect. Engin.</i> , April 6, 1915.)	
11. Rotating Magnet in Vacuum	A-31
(<i>Elect. Engin.</i> , April 7, 1915.)	
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(<i>Elect. Engin.</i> , April 1, 1915.)	
14. On the Structure of Rotating Magnet and the Practical Construction and Self-Operation of Same	A-39
(<i>Elect. Engin.</i> , April 12, 1915.)	
15. The Current Transformer	A-75
(<i>Elect. Engin.</i> , April 1, 1915.)	
16. Electrical Oscillations	A-78
(<i>Elect. Engin.</i> , April 1915.)	
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(<i>Elect. Engin.</i> , April 1, 1915.)	

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II ARTICLES ON SOME GENERAL PROBLEMS

1. On Electricity	A-101
(<i>Elect. Engin.</i> , Jan. 27, 1917.)	
2. The Problem of Increasing Human Energy	A-109
(<i>The Century Illustrated Monthly Magazine</i> , June 1920.)	
3. The Transmission of Electric Energy Without Wires	A-153
(<i>Elect. World and Eng.</i> , March 5, 1901.)	
4. Science and Discovery are the Great Power which will lead to the Conquest of the War	A-162
(<i>The Sun</i> , Dec. 26, 1914.)	
5. How Cosmic Forces Shape Our Destinies	A-172
(<i>New York American</i> , Feb. 7, 1913.)	
6. The Wonder World to be Created by Electricity	A-177
(<i>Manufacturer's Record</i> , Sept. 9, 1915.)	
7. Electric Drive for Battle Ships	A-185
(<i>New York Herald</i> , Feb. 25, 1917.)	

III AN AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL ARTICLE

1. Some Personal Recollections	A-195
(<i>Scientific American</i> , June 7, 1913.)	

PHOTOGRAPHS

Slika 27. (Nastavak) Popis Teslinih patenata prema [98]
 Figure 27. (Continuation) List of Tesla's patents according to [98]

Za vrijeme boravka u SAD-u Tesla se često družio s tamošnjim Hrvatima ([10], str. 365–372). Dok je prema nekim američkim Srbima, a i nekim Hrvatima Tesla bio prilično suzdržan, prema mnogim Hrvatima bio je posve otvoren. Prijateljevao je s poznatim hrvatskim violinistom svjetskoga glasa Zlatkom Balokovićem. Sigurno se poznao s proslavljenom hrvatskom opernom pjevačicom Milkom Trninom, ali vjerojatno nisu bili u bliskim prijateljskim odnosima. Za razliku od njih sigurno su mu prijatelji bili proslavljeni Hrvat, kipar Ivan Meštrović te sveučilišni profesor u SAD-u Marijan Matijević, američki boksač hrvatskih korijena i svjetski prvak u velter kategoriji (1940., 1941.) Fritzie Živić (slika 28) [99], slikar Ivan Benković i drugi. Tesla je 1913. napisao preporuku za Ivana Benkovića (slika 29).

Prvi susret Nikole Tesle i Ivana Meštrovića u SAD-u dogovoren je koncem 1924. (slika 30). Svoja sjećanja na Teslu Meštrović je iznio u svojoj knjizi ([100], str. 169–170) (slika 31) gdje ističe Tesline stavove o

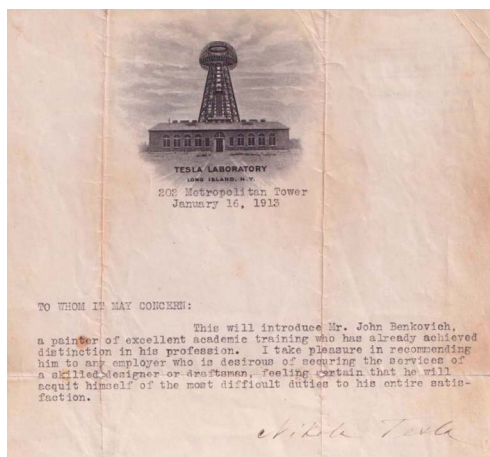
were certainly the famous and celebrated Croat, the sculptor Ivan Meštrović, and the university professor in the USA Marijan Matijević, the American boxer of Croatian origin and world champion in the welterweight category (1940, 1941) Fritzie Živić (Figure 28) [99], the painter Ivan Benković and others. In 1913, Tesla wrote a recommendation for Ivan Benković (Figure 29) [100].

The first meeting between Nikola Tesla and Ivan Meštrović in the USA was arranged at the end of 1924 (Figure 30). Meštrović brought up his memories of Tesla in his book ([100], pp. 169-170) (Figure 31), where he highlighted Tesla's views on language, literature, religion and prayer, etc. Tesla wrote in morphological orthography as he had learned in school, and he did not have a good opinion about the Serb Vuk Karadžić. Meštrović says about Tesla: From our literature, he knew almost all of Gundulić by heart. He spoke with admiration of Mažuranić and Njegoš. From folk poetry, he mentioned women's poems. He did not care for Vuk and his reform. – He introduced the shepherd's language,



Slika 28. N. Tesla s američkim boksačem hrvatskoga podrijetla F. Živićem i njegovom braćom, 1941. ([10], str. 367; [99])

Figure 28. N. Tesla with the American boxer of Croatian origin F. Živić and his brothers, 1941. ([10], p. 367; [99])



Slika 29. Teslina preporuka za hrvatskoga slikara Ivana Benkovića, 1913. [100]

Figure 29. Tesla's recommendation for the Croatian painter Ivan Benković, 1913. [100]

jeziku, književnosti, vjeri i molitvi i dr. Tesla je pisao korijenskim (korienskim) pravopisom kako je učio u školi, a o Vuku Karadžiću nije imao dobro mišljenje. Meštrović o Tesli kaže: „Iz naše književnosti znao je gotovo cijeloga Gundulića napamet. S priznanjem je govorio o Mažuraniću i Njegošu. Iz narodne je poezije spominjao ženske pjesme. Vuka i njegovu reformu nije mario. – Uveo je čobanski jezik, pa umjesto da smo u profinjenosti jezika i pojmova pošli naprijed, otišli smo natrag. Kad se u tom nismo složili, on bi počeo opet što god citirati iz dubrovačkoga pjesništva. Na moju primjedbu da je Vukovim pravopisom olakšana pismenost, odmahnuo je: – Ah! Molim vas, to nije važno. Nije za svakoga pismenost. Zar je ono pismenost, kako vaše novine pišu!? ... Iz njegovih pisama, koja mi je pisao, izbijao je jezik zagrebačkih »Narodnih novina«“.

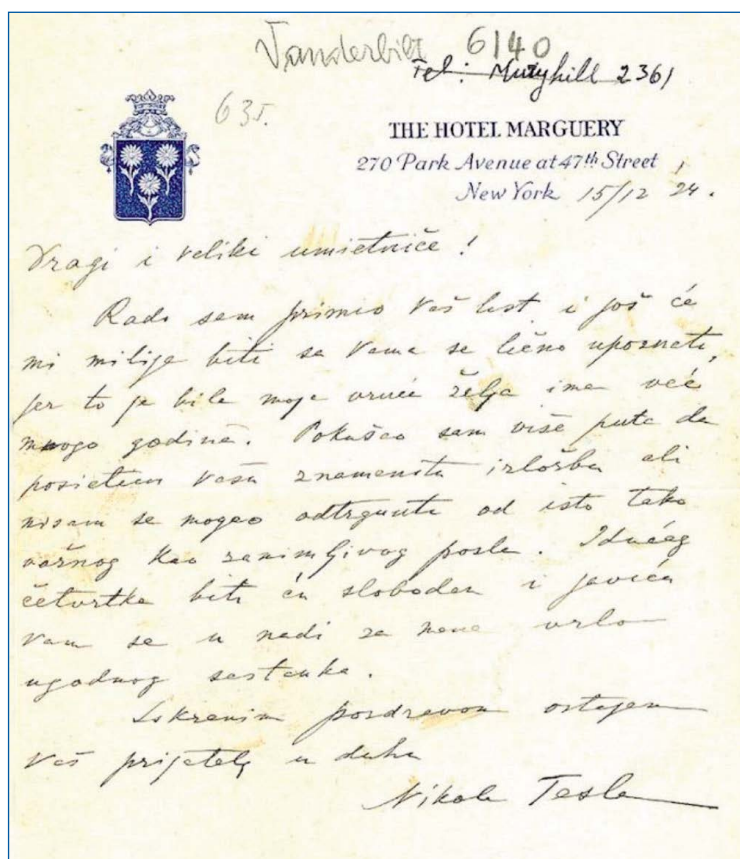
so instead of moving forward in the refinement of language and concepts, we regressed. When we disagreed on that, he would start quoting something from Dubrovnik poetry again. When I remarked that Vuk's spelling made literacy easier, he shrugged it off: – Ah! Please, that's not important. It's not literacy for everyone. Is that literacy, as your newspaper says!? ... The language of the Zagreb *Narodne novine* came out of his letters to me. Meštrović continued about his spirituality: „he turned to mysticism and told me how, since his youth, he had prayed to God before going to bed, kneeling on his bare knees. When I asked him what prayers he prayed, he replied: The ones I prayed in my childhood. But, yes, I prayed like that until I was fifty. Since then, I have prayed differently, but it doesn't matter, the essence is the same, and I pray to God every day“ ([100], p. 169). Thus, the claim that Tesla broke with faith and was an atheist is invalid. Concerning that, parts of Tesla's autobiography *My Inventions*, which talk about God, were falsified ([6], p. 259; [10], p. 282-286).

4.5. The last years of Tesla's life

On the occasion of his 75th birthday (1931), Tesla received congratulations from Albert Einstein, Robert A. Millikan, Arthur C. Compton, Lee de Forest, William H. Bragg, Sir Oliver Lodge, Vannevar Bush and many others ([2], p. 86; [10], pp. 380-385). The University of Zagreb celebrated his 80th birthday (1936), for which Tesla expressed his gratitude with a telegram. That year, Tesla allegedly received a birthday greeting from Vladko Maček (an important political repre-

O njegovoj duhovnosti nastavlja da je: „skrenuo u mistiku i pripovijedao mi, kako se još od mladosti prije spavanja, klečeći na golim koljenima, molio Bogu. Kad sam ga upitao, kakve molitve moli, odgovorio mi je: One koje sam u djetinjstvu molio. Ali, da, tako sam se molio sve do svoje pedesete godine. Od toga se doba molim drugačije, nu to je svejedno, suština je ista, i ja se molim Bogu svakoga dana“ ([100], str. 169). Tako otpada tvrdnja da je Tesla raskrstio s

representative of Croats in Yugoslavia at the time), who allegedly sent the greeting on behalf of the Croatian people. Tesla allegedly replied to him. Tesla's telegram contains a very famous sentence that has become the source of numerous discussions. Maček allegedly congratulated him with the words: „To the great son of the Serbian people and the homeland of Croatia, the leader of humanity in the struggle with nature, I congratulate on behalf of the Croatian people. Dr. Vladko Maček“. Tes-



Slika 30. Pismo Nikole Tesle Ivanu Meštroviću koje se čuva u Atelieru Meštrović u Zagrebu [93, 101]

Figure 30. Letter from Nikola Tesla to Ivan Meštrović, kept in the Atelier Meštrović in Zagreb [93, 101]

NIKOLA TESLA

S Teslom sam se upoznao već prvog mjeseca svog boravka u New Yorku. Vidali smo se nekoliko puta i činilo mi se, da smo i zavoljeli jedan drugoga. On je bio neobično simpatičan čovjek, skroman u odnosima, s nekim susteljivim ponosom i pomalo tragičnim izražajem u licu, kao neki razočarani vitez. Nije bio mnogo govorljiv, ali kad bi započeo jednu temu, tjerao bi je do kraja i nije skakao s jednoga predmeta na drugu.

Kod prvog susreta mi je pripovijedao svoje uspomene iz svojih prijašnjih godina, o svojim studijama u Austriji, o svom odlasku i boravku u Parizu, te o dolasku u Ameriku, bez namjere i želje da u Americi ostane. Iz Pariza je otišao nakon jedne tučnjave s nekim Francuzom, koji ga je igrom riječi nazvao »autre chien« (autrichien — Austrijanac; autre chien — drugo pseto, prvo su Nijemci).

Opisivao je zatim svoje teško snalaženje u Americi, te svoje prve napore na polju izuma. Drugom je prilikom govorio o književnosti, njemačkoj, francuskoj i engleskoj. Naizust je znao mnoge Goetheove i Heineove pjesme, kao i pjesme Victor Hugoa i Shakespearea. Iz naše književnosti znao je gotovo cijelog Gundulića napamet. S priznanjem je govorio o Mažuraniću i Njegošu. Iz narodne je poezije spominjao ženske pjesme. Vuka i njegovu reformu nije mario.

— Uveo je čobanski jezik, pa umjesto da smo u profinjnosti jezika i pojmovna posli naprijed, otišli smo natrag.

Kad se u tom nismo složili, on bi počeo opet štogod citirati iz dubrovačkog pjesništva. Na moju primjebicu da je Vukovim pravopisom olakšana pismenost, odmahnuo je rukom:

— Ah! Molim vas, to nije važno. Nije za svakoga pismenost. Zar je ono pismenost, kako vaše novine pišu?...

Iz njegovih pisama, koja mi je pisao, izbjicao je jezik zagrebačkih »Narodnih novina«.

Jednom, poslije večere, dugo mi je pripovijedao o svojim izumima, kao i o tom kako su ga okrali i Edison i Marconi, te napokon Pupin. Tu je izgledao kao neki junak iz grčkih drama. Isticao je više puta kako nikada nije radio za pare, do kojih da mu nije stalo, kako je siromah i želi da i umre kao siromah. Njegov ideal i svi njegovi napori bili su usmjereni na to da koristi napretku čovječanstva. Poslije toga je skrenuo u mistiku i pripovijedao mi, kako se još od mladosti prije spavanja, klečeći na golim koljenima, molio Bogu. Kad sam ga upitao, kakve molitve moli, odgovorio mi je:

— One koje sam u djetinjstvu molio. Ali, da, tako sam se molio sve do svoje pedesete godine. Od toga se doba molim drugačije, nu to je svejedno, suština je ista, i ja se molim Bogu svakoga dana.

Poslije toga je poveo razgovor dokazujući kako su umjetnost, poezija, glazba i izumi jedna te ista stvar. Njegove paralele i dokaze, da je umjetnost isto što i izum na polju fizike, nisam mogao slijediti, i to sam mu rekao.

— A kako ne shvaćate? Ideja je prva stvar, a ono što mi zavemo otkrićem, ili praktičnom primjenom ideje, samo je posljedica, ili slučaj, baš kao glazbenika, kad svoju glazbu napiše u note, ili vi isklešete u kamenu.

Osim toga što njegovo izlaganje nisam mogao pravo slijediti, činilo mi se na momente da to izlaganje prelazi u maštanje slično bulaznjenju. Prekinuo sam ga i upitao, na čemu sada radi, i da li se bavi kakvim novim izumom. Odgovorio je da, da, pa je onda opisao taj svoj izum i upitao me, jesam li razumio. Ja sam na to gotovo maksimalno odgovorio:

— To znači, da bi se tim vašim aparatom mogao na velikoj daljini zapaliti barut i zaustaviti stroj?

— Eto, vidite, da ste razumjeli. Mogao bih dignuti u zrak lađu na većoj daljini no što njeni topovi mogu doseći. Baš na tomu i radim — rekao je uzdignutim glasom.

Zatim mi je ispričivijedao, kako je tu skoro išao u Washington s tim svojim izumom i ponudio ga državi. Kazao mi je, da su mu tamo rekli, nakon što su ga saslušali:

Dobro, gospodine Tesla. Ostavite te vaše planove i tumač ovdje, a mi ćemo to dati našim stručnjacima na ispitivanje.

— Ja sam na to — govorio mi je Tesla — svoje planove sav, stavio pod pazuh, i otišao.

Pitao sam ga, kako je on, kao uvjereni pacifist, i kao građanin cijeloga svijeta, mogao doći na ideju da taj svoj izum ponudi za ratne svrhe. Tesla se malo sažeo u ramenima, pa rekao:

— Ja izum tražim radi izuma, kao umjetnik »l'art pour l'art«.

Vidio sam se s njime opet prije povratka u domovinu. Razgovarali smo o prilikama u zajedničkoj nam domovini. On je režim u Jugoslaviji oštro kritizirao. U daljnjem razgovoru dotakli smo se i našeg mora, naše dugačke obale bez obrane, kao i nemogućnosti da naša mala i siromašna zemlja tu obalu snabijedi jakim obrambenim sredstvima. Pitao sam ga, ne bi li on mogao i htio svojim izumima poslužiti obrani naše obale.

— Bih — reče — jer je obrana pravdana.

U daljnjem razgovoru reče mi, da bi mu trebalo staviti na raspolaganje sredstva za potreban mu laboratorij, a osim toga dopustiti da među našim inženjerima sam i slobodno izabere svoje suradnike, koje on nađe za sposobne. Upitao sam ga, bih li mogao tu njegovu pripravnost saopćiti kralju, a on mi je odgovorio da mogu.

Ja sam to po povratku saopćio kralju, a on sa zadovoljstvom slušao i obećao da će sve učiniti, da se naša zemlja koristi svojim velikim sinom. Iz toga obećanja, međutim, nije bilo nikada ništa. Valjda beogradski »stručnjaci« nisu držali da im je Tesla potreban.

Slika 31. Ulomak o Nikoli Tesli iz knjige Ivana Meštrovića [100]

Figure 31. Excerpt about Nikola Tesla from Ivan Meštrović's book [100]

vjerom te da je bio ateist. U tu su svrhu kriptovoreni dijelovi Tesline autobiografije *Moji pronalasci* u kojima se govori o Bogu ([6], str. 259; [10], str. 282–286).

4.5. Posljednje godine Teslina života

U povodu 75. rođendana (1931.) Tesla je primio čestitke od Alberta Einsteina, Roberta A. Millikana, Arthura C. Comptona, Lee de Foresta, Williama H. Bragg, sir Olivera Lodgea, Vannevara Busha i mnogih drugih ([2], str. 86; [10], str. 380–385). Sveučilište u Zagrebu je obilježilo njegov 80. rođendan (1936.) na čemu se Tesla zahvalio telegramom. Te je godine Tesla, navodno, primio telegramske čestitke za ro-

la, again allegedly, replied: „Thank you for the much-appreciated greeting and honor. I am equally proud of my Serbian lineage and my Croatian homeland. Long live all Yugoslavs. Nikola Tesla.“ ([10], pp. 496–497; [102]). These sentences by Tesla are not cited by Tesla's Croatian or American friends. There are several strange details in both telegrams. Tesla's birthday is on July 10, and Maček sent the greeting on May 25, a month and a half before his birthday. If the shipment (telegram) had traveled by ship, it would still be understandable that it was sent much before his birthday. Tesla replied to the greeting with his telegram of thanks only a day later, on May 26, without drawing attention to the fact that his birthday was not in May but in July. Neither of these

đendan od Vladka Mačeka, koji je čestitku navodno poslao u ime hrvatskoga naroda. Tesla mu je navodno odgovorio. U Teslinu se telegramu nalazi jedna vrlo poznata rečenica koja je postala izvorom brojnih rasprava. Maček mu čestita riječima: „Velikom sinu naroda srbskoga a domovine Hrvatske, vodji čovječanstva u borbi sa prirodom, čestita u ime hrvatskog naroda dr. Vladko Maček.“ Tesla odgovara: „Hvala na mnogo cijenjenoj čestitki i počasti. Jednako se ponosim moga srbskoga roda i moje hrvatske domovine. Živili svi Jugoslaveni. Nikola Tesla.“ ([10], str. 496–497; [102]). Te Tesline rečenice ne navode ni Teslini hrvatski niti američki prijatelji. Čudno je nekoliko pojedinosti u oba telegrama. Tesla ima rođendan 10. srpnja, a Maček je čestitku uputio 25. svibnja, dakle mjesec i pol dana prije rođendana. Da je pošiljka putovala brodom još bi nekako bilo razumljivo da se šalje puno prije rođendana. Tesla je odgovorio na čestitku svojim telegramom zahvale samo dan kasnije, tj. 26. svibnja, a da nije skrenuo pozornost da mu rođendan nije u svibnju nego u srpnju. Nijedan od ova dva telegrama ne nalaze se u monografiji o Tesli u povodu njegova 80. rođendana, dok se ostali telegrami (čestitke) navode. Teslin telegram Mačeku nalazi se u beogradskom muzeju Nikola Tesla (osnovan koncem 1952.). Kako je to moguće kad je telegram poslan u Zagreb? Čini se kao da je telegram poslao netko tko je nevjest hrvatskom jeziku. Tesla to nika-ko nije bio. Nejasno je i to da V. Njegovan ([75], str. 48) spominje tu navodnu Teslinu rečenicu u knjizi objavljenoj 1950., dakle prije nego je Teslina ostavština stigla u Beograd. Na Mačekovu telegramu Tesli Maček-

two telegrams is included in the monograph on Tesla on the occasion of his 80th birthday, while the other telegrams (greetings) are cited. Tesla's telegram to Maček is in the *Nikola Tesla Museum* in Belgrade (founded in late 1952). How is that possible when the telegram was sent to Zagreb? It seems as if the telegram was sent by someone who was not proficient in Croatian. Tesla was certainly not ignorant of Croatian. It is also unclear that V. Njegovan ([75], p. 48) mentions that alleged Tesla sentence in a book published in 1950, that is, before Tesla's legacy arrived in Belgrade. In Maček's telegram to Tesla, Maček's name is not Vladko (as it should be) but Vlatko. It is difficult to imagine that Maček would have misspelled his own name. These and other inconsistencies show that these telegrams are forgeries that served the communist government in Yugoslavia for ideological purposes. So it is also questionable, Tesla's statement about his Serbian ethnicity.

For several years after 1934, Tesla's statements that he was working on energy transmission and particle beam weapons („death rays“) attracted attention. His talk about interplanetary communication aroused great public interest, especially in military and political circles, and Tesla's own life was in danger. He negotiated with the Soviets and the British government, but these negotiations were unsuccessful ([2], pp. 74-76; [7], pp. 365-370). Tesla's room was broken into several times in search of papers and blueprints. While walking in October 1937, a taxi ran into Tesla. Was it a coincidence or a deliberate assassination attempt? ([10], pp. 398-399). On January 7, 1943 Tesla died in the New Yorker Hotel, in the apartment where

kovo ime nije Vladko nego Vlatko. Teško je zamisliti da bi Maček svoje ime krivo napisao. Te i još druge nedosljednosti pokazuju da su ti telegrami falsifikati koji su u ideološke svrhe poslužili komunističkoj vlasti u tadašnjoj Jugoslaviji. Tako dolazi u pitanje i Teslina izjava o srpskom rodu.

Od 1934. kroz nekoliko sljedećih godina Tesla je na sebe skrenuo pozornost svojim izjavama o tome kako radi na prijenosu energije i na oružju s čestičnim zrakama („zrake smrti“). Govorio je i o međuplanskoj komunikaciji. To je izazvalo veliki interes u javnosti, posebice u vojnim i političkim krugovima, pa je i sam Teslin život bio u opasnosti. Stupio je u pregovore sa sovjetskom i britanskom vladom, ali pregovori nisu bili uspješni ([2], str. 74–76; [7], str. 365–370). Nekoliko puta Teslina je soba, u potrazi za papirima i nacrtima, bila provaljivana. U listopadu 1937., dok je bio u šetnji, na Teslu je naletio jedan taksist. Je li to bio slučaj ili svjesni pokušaj ubojstva? ([10], str. 398–399). Tesla je preminuo 7. siječnja 1943. u hotelu New Yorker, u apartmanu u kojemu je proveo zadnje godine života. I oko njegove smrti postoji mnogo nejasnoća. Je li umro prirodnom smrću ili nasilnom? ([10], str. 444–450; [103]).

Pogreb je bio 12. siječnja 1943. s misom zadušnicom u anglikanskoj katedrali St. John the Divine (Sv. Ivana od Boga) u New Yorku koju je slavio biskup William T. Manning. On je zamolio nazočne da se suzdrže od političkih govora, a napetosti između Hrvata i Srba bile su takve da su u crkvi za vrijeme obreda bili na suprotnim stranama crkve.

he spent the last years of his life. There is also much uncertainty surrounding his death. Did he die a natural death or a violent one? ([10], pp. 444–450; [103]).

Tesla's funeral was held on January 12, 1943, and the memorial service was held at the Anglican Cathedral of St. John the Divine in New York City, celebrated by Bishop William T. Manning. He asked those attending to refrain from political speeches, and tensions between Croats and Serbs were such that they sat on opposite sides of the church during the service.

The legendary mayor of New York (1934–1945, and from 1904 to 1906 also a U.S. consular agent in Rijeka, Croatia), Fiorello La Guardia, said in his farewell speech in the presence of 2 000 people: „Nikola Tesla is dead. He died poor, but he was one of the most outstanding individuals who ever lived. What he created is great, and as time goes by, it becomes even greater.“ According to Tesla's wish, at his final farewell his great friend, the world-renowned Croatian violinist Zlatko Baloković, played two melodies.

Of Tesla's relatives, only his nephew Sava Kosanović was present (although Tesla had other relatives in the United States). The Orthodox Serbian bishop ignored Tesla's funeral and sent his deputy, who was not allowed to say the Orthodox prayer, so another priest, who is not certain that he was an Orthodox priest, did so. The coffin was also accompanied from the church to the cemetery by the Yugoslav ambassador and former ban of the Banate (Banovina) of Croatia, Ivan Šubašić. There are numerous ambiguities and great doubts regarding the funeral itself and everything that happened there ([10], pp. 450–455).

Legendarni gradonačelnik New Yorka (1934. – 1945., a od 1904. – 1906. konzularni agent SAD-a u Rijeci, Hrvatska) Fiorello La Guardia u oproštajnom je govoru, pred 2 000 ljudi, rekao: „Nikola Tesla je umro. Oprostio se siromašan, ali bio je jedan od najistaknutijih pojedinaca koji su ikada živjeli. Ono što je stvorio je veliko, a kako vrijeme prolazi, postaje još veće“. Prema Teslinoj želji, na posljednjem ispraćaju njegov veliki prijatelj, svjetski poznati hrvatski violinist Zlatko Baloković, izveo je dvije melodije.

Od Tesline rodbine nazočan je bio samo njegov nećak Sava Kosanović (iako je Tesla imao i drugih rođaka u SAD-u). Pravoslavni srpski episkop je ignorirao Teslin pogreb pa je poslao svoga zamjenika kojemu nije dopušteno izmoliti pravoslavnu molitvu pa je to učinio drugi svećenik za kojega nije sigurno da je bio pravoslavni svećenik. Od crkve do groblja lijes je pratio i tadašnji jugoslavenski veleposlanik i bivši ban Banovine Hrvatske Ivan Šubašić. Oko samoga pogreba i svega što se s tim u svezi događalo postoje brojne nejasnoće i velike dvojbe ([10], str. 450–455).

5. TESLA NAKON TESLE

5.1. Teslina ostavština

Još za Teslina života odnos prema njegovim patentima i izumima bio je dvojak. Mnogi nisu shvaćali veličinu i važnost njegovih izuma te su ih ignorirali, ne razumijevajući da bi svojim ulaganjima u Teslina istraživanja i sami postali bogati. Drugi su još za Teslina života nekoliko puta provaljivali u njegov apartman u

5. TESLA AFTER TESLA

5.1. Tesla's legacy

Even while Tesla was alive, the attitude towards his patents and inventions was ambivalent. Many did not understand the magnitude and importance of his inventions and ignored them, not understanding that their investments in Tesla's research would make them rich themselves. Others broke into Tesla's apartment several times during his lifetime in search of (secret) research results. After Tesla's death, his legacy became the target of various state and other institutions. Military experts were also interested in Tesla's papers in the hope of finding what Tesla often spoke about publicly, the „death rays“. The most intensive searchers were agents of the American, Soviet and Yugoslav secret services. All this lasted from 1947 until the end of the 1970s. Much has not been clarified to this day and the question is whether it ever will be. The circumstances under which Tesla's legacy (or part of it) ended up in Belgrade are also unclear ([10], pp. 455–462).

5.2. Lesser-known Tesla – controversies surrounding Tesla

When it comes to world-renowned inventors, Nikola Tesla is rightly cited as one of the greatest of all. Thanks to his inventions in the field of electrical engineering, especially alternating current and its applications, Tesla gained worldwide recognition. He is still less talked about as a scientist and physicist, although he discovered or predicted many important physical discoveries that have not yet

potrazi za (tajnim) rezultatima istraživanja. Nakon Teslina preminuća, njegova je ostavština postala metom raznih državnih i drugih institucija. Vojni stručnjaci su također bili zainteresirani za Tesline papire u nadi da će pronaći ono o čemu je Tesla često javno govorio, o „zrakama smrti“. Najintenzivniji tragači bili su agenti američkih, sovjetskih i jugoslavenskih tajnih službi. Sve to je trajalo od 1947. do konca sedamdesetih godina 20. stoljeća. Mnogo toga ni do danas nije razjašnjeno i pitanje je hoće li ikada biti. Nejasne su i okolnosti pod kojima je Teslina ostavština (ili njezin dio) završila u Beogradu ([10], str. 455–462).

5.2. Manje poznati Tesla – kontroverze oko Tesle

Kad se govori o izumiteljima svjetskoga glasa, Nikolu Teslu se s pravom navodi kao jednoga od najvećih uopće. Zahvaljujući svojim izumima u području elektrotehnike, posebno izmjenične struje i njezine primjene, Tesla je stekao svjetsko priznanje. O Tesli se još uvijek manje govori kao o znanstveniku i fizičaru, iako je otkrio ili predvidio neka važna fizikalna otkrića koja nisu dovoljno vrjednovana ni kritički istražena ([5], str. 71–82).

Već je spomenuto koja su moguća Teslina temeljna fizikalna otkrića. U razdoblju od 1891. do 1903. ima ih nekoliko, ali su priznata drugima, a za njih pet dodijeljene su i Nobelove nagrade.

U znanstveno vrlo plodnoj Teslinoj godini, 1891., došao je do otkrića elektrona,

been sufficiently evaluated or critically investigated ([5], pp. 71-82).

It has already been said and mentioned which Tesla's possible fundamental physical discoveries are. In the period from 1891 to 1903, there several of them, but they were attributed to others, and Nobel Prizes were awarded for five of them.

In the year that was scientifically very fruitful for Tesla, 1891, he discovered the electron, the electron microscope and the accelerator of electrically charged particles, in 1893 he discovered the laser, in 1994 he recorded X-rays, in 1897 he discovered cosmic rays, in 1898 radio communication, in 1899 induced radio-activity, in 1903 radar and so on. He predicted television. In 1891, Tesla put forward the idea that cathode rays consist of charged particles and gave experimental confirmation for that.

In addition to his scientific discoveries and technical inventions, there are also controversies about his private life. It is impossible to list them all.

There is a lot of confusion in his relationship with relatives, with friends and associates, with women, about his death, etc. ([5], pp. 100-102, 116-118; [10], pp. 179-200, 239-248, 287-302, 308-311, 313-352, 365-366, 398-424).

Tesla's attitude towards Belgrade is also interesting. On the occasion of the centenary of his birth (1956), Ivan Meštrović created a monument to Tesla, which is now located in Zagreb. Tesla's nephew Sava Kosanović asked Meštrović to erect a monument to Tesla in Belgrade, where Tesla had only stayed for 31 hours [14]. Meštrović rejected Kosanović's idea because it would not be in accordance

elektronskog mikroskopa i ubrzivača (akceleratora) električnih nabijenih čestica, 1893. otkrio je laser, 1994. snimio je rendgenske zrake, 1897. otkriva kozmičke zrake, 1898. radiovezu, 1899. induciranu radioaktivost, 1903. radar i dr. Predvidio je televiziju. Tesla je 1891. iznio ideju da se katodne zrake sastoje od nabijenih čestica i za to dao eksperimentalnu potvrdu.

Kontroverze ne postoje samo o njegovim znanstvenim otkrićima i tehničkim izumima nego i o njegovu privatnom životu. Nije ih moguće sve pobrojati. Mnogo je nejasnoća u njegovu odnosu s rodbinom, s prijateljima i suradnicima, sa ženama, o njegovoj smrti i dr. ([5], str. 100–102, 116–118; [10], str. 179–200, 239–248, 287–302, 308–311, 313–352, 365–366, 398–424).

Zanimljiv je i Teslin odnos prema Beogradu. U povodu stote obljetnice njegova rođenja (1956.) Ivan Meštrović je izradio Teslin spomenik koji se nalazi u Zagrebu. Teslin nećak Sava Kosanović je Meštrovića pitao da izradi spomenik Tesli koji bi se postavio u Beogradu u kojemu je Tesla za života proveo samo 31 sat ([14], str. 57). Meštrović je tu Kosanovićevu ideju odbio jer ne bi bila u skladu s Teslinom željom i odgovorio da mu je prijatelj Tesla rekao da njegova (Teslina) noga u taj grad više neće kročiti ([2], str. 82–84; [99]). I nastavio: „Dakle da ste se na mene obratili za spomenik Tesli u Zagrebu ili Smiljanima, ja bih se bio makar star odazvao. ... Tesla imade pravo da njegov spomenik stoji u njegovoj užoj domovini, a ona dužnost da ga ističe između svojih najprvih sinova“. [101]

with Tesla's wishes and replied that his friend Tesla had told him that he (Tesla) would never step in that city again ([2], pp. 82-84; [99]). He continued: „So if you had asked me for a monument to Tesla in Zagreb or Smiljani, I would have responded even if I were old. ... Tesla has the right to have his monument stand in his own homeland, and it is obliged to show him among its firstborn sons“. [101]

5.3. Tesla, known worldwide

As Tesla became known in the world of technology and science, he began to receive recognitions and awards. The Yugoslav (today Croatian) Academy of Sciences and Arts elected him an honorary member (1896). Together with Edison, he was nominated for the Nobel Prize (1912), which Tesla refused (this happened for the first time in history), and he was awarded the gold „Edison Medal“ (1917). At the proposal of the Faculty of Engineering (May 26, 1926), the University of Zagreb awarded Nikola Tesla the title of Doctor of Technical Sciences *honoris causa* (June 2, 1926), and the University of Belgrade honorary doctorate in technical sciences (June 15, 1926). On September 25, 1943, very soon after Tesla's death, an American ship named „Nikola Tesla“, owned by a Croatian emigrant, was launched in Baltimore, USA. The newly established telecommunications equipment factory in Zagreb (1949) was named after Tesla.

The Eleventh General Conference on Weights and Measures in Paris (1960) decided that, in honor of Nikola Tesla, the unit of measurement of magnetic flux density would be called the *tesla* (symbol T). This honor is

5.3. U svijetu poznati Tesla

Kad je Tesla postao poznat u svijetu tehnike i znanosti, počeo je dobivati priznanja i nagrade. Tadašnja Jugoslavenska (danas Hrvatska) akademija znanosti i umjetnosti izabrala ga je za počasno-g člana (1896.). Predložen je, zajedno s Edisonom za Nobelovu nagradu (1912.), što je Tesla odbio (prvi puta u povijesti), a dodijeljena mu je zlatna „Edisonova medalja“ (1917.). Na prijedlog Tehničkog fakulteta (26. svibnja 1926.) Sveučilište u Zagrebu dodjeljuje Nikoli Tesli titulu doktora tehničkih znanosti *honoris causa* (2. lipnja 1926.), a Univerzitet u Beogradu dodjeljuje mu počasni doktorat iz tehničkih znanosti (15. lipnja 1926.). Vrlo brzo nakon Tesline smrti, 25. rujna 1943., porinut je u Baltimoreu u SAD-u američki brod imenom „Nikola Tesla“, vlasništvo jednoga hrvatskoga iseljenika. Novo osnovana tvornica telekomunikacijskih uređaja u Zagrebu (1949.) nazvana je po Tesli.

Jedanaesta opća konferencija za mjere i utege u Parizu (1960.) odlučila je da se, u čast Nikoli Tesli, mjerna jedinica gustoće magnetskoga toka nazove *tesla* (oznaka T). Ta je počast vrijednija od bilo koje Nobelove nagrade i Tesla se našao među najvećim imenima po kojima su nazvane jedinice za fizikalne veličine. Od sedam osnovnih mjernih jedinica SI-sustava samo dvije nose ime po znanstvenicima (Amperu i Kelvinu), a izvedene mjerne jedinice nose nazive po Pascalu, Newtonu, Coulombu, Wattu, Volti, Ohmu, Faradayu, Henryju, Weberu, Siemensu, Jouleu, Hertz i Tesli. Tesla je je-

more valuable than any Nobel Prize, and Tesla is among the greatest names in the world after whom units of physical quantities have been named. Of the seven basic units of measurement in the SI system, only two are named after scientists (Ampere and Kelvin), and the derived units of measurement are named after Pascal, Newton, Coulomb, Watt, Volta, Ohm, Faraday, Henry, Weber, Siemens, Joule, Hertz and Tesla. Tesla is the only man from the 20th century after whom a unit of measurement was named.

On the occasion of the 300th anniversary of the founding of the University of Zagreb (1969), the image of Nikola Tesla, as one of the greats of Croatian scientists was placed on the rector's chain. Since 1970, one of the craters on the Moon has been named after Tesla. Among Croatian scientists, that honor has also been given to Ruđer Bošković and Andrija Mohorovičić. A planetoid (discovered in 1952) was also named after Tesla's name. A monument to Nikola Tesla was erected (1976) at Niagara Falls. It was made by Croatian sculptor Frano Kršinić (1976). A postage stamp with the image of N. Tesla was issued in the USA (1981), and in Croatia (1993). The International Tesla Society, Inc. was founded in Colorado Springs, USA (1986).

In 1995, Croatia established an award (medal) for inventors called the Order of the Croatian Danica with the image of Nikola Tesla, and since 2014, Tesla's birthday (July 10) has been celebrated as the National Day of Nikola Tesla, a day of science, technology, and innovation. The Technical Museum in Zagreb (founded in 1954) was renamed the Technical Museum „Nikola Tesla“ (2015). In the 2005 *Discovery Channel* list, Tesla is put

dini čovjek iz 20. stoljeća po kojemu je neka mjerna jedinica dobila ime. U povodu obilježavanja 300. obljetnice osnivanja Sveučilišta u Zagrebu (1969.) na rektorski lanac ugrađen je lik Nikole Tesle, kao jednog od velikana hrvatske znanosti. Jedan od kratera na Mjesecu od 1970. nosi ime po Tesli. Od hrvatskih znanstvenika ta je čast pripala još Ruđeru Boškoviću i Andriji Mohorovičiću. Također i jedan planetoid (otkriven 1952.) nosi Teslino ime. Spomenik Nikoli Tesli podignut je (1976.) na slapovima Niagare. Izradio ga je hrvatski kipar Frano Kršinić (1976.). U SAD-u je izdana poštanska marka s likom N. Tesle (1981.), a u Hrvatskoj 1993. U Colorado Springsu u SAD-u osnovano je društvo „International Tesla Society, Inc.“ (1986.).

Godine 1995. u Hrvatskoj je ustanovljeno odlikovanje za izumitelje pod nazivom odlikovanje Republike Hrvatske Red Danice hrvatske s likom Nikole Tesle, a od 2014. se na Teslin rođendan (10. srpnja) obilježava Nacionalni dan Nikole Tesle, dan znanosti, tehnologije, inovacija. Tehnički muzej u Zagrebu (osnovan 1954.) preimenovan je u Tehnički muzej „Nikola Tesla“ (2015.). Na popisu *Discovery Channela* iz 2005. Tesla je među 100 najznamenitijih Amerikanaca. Prema *Encyclopedia Britannica* Tesla je među 10 najvažnijih ljudi u svjetskoj povijesti. Slično je Teslu rangirala britanska radiopostaja *BBC*. Postoji u svijetu i Hrvatskoj mnoštvo škola, ulica i trgova nazvanih po Nikoli Tesli. Lički pjesnik Grga Rupčić posvetio je Tesli nekoliko pjesama ([13], str. 24–25).

among the 100 most famous Americans. According to the *Encyclopedia Britannica*, Tesla is among the 10 most important people in world history. Tesla was ranked similarly by the *BBC*. There are many schools, streets, and squares named after Nikola Tesla in the world and in Croatia. The poet Grga Rupčić from Lika dedicated several poems to Tesla ([13], pp. 24–25).

5.4. Tesla between Croats and Serbs

From the titles of some works about Nikola Tesla, one can notice the most laudatory epithets about him – American inventor, Croatian great man, inventor of the electrical age, man out of time, famous inventor, hero of technology, prodigal genius, superman, genius from the rocky ground, researcher, inventor, genius, man who invented the 20th century, etc. There are many more statements by famous and celebrated people about Tesla and it is very difficult to list them all. That only shows how important Nikola Tesla is in world science and, above all, in inventions [2,3, 5-9,75,76,104].

What does Tesla have to thank for his rise to fame? Why is he considered and called a genius? From a scientific point of view, there are sad claims that „humanity has to thank Tesla, precisely because he grew up in an Orthodox milieu, milieu of St. Sava ...“ and that his Orthodoxy „gave him a love for humanity, therefore he selflessly served humanity“ [105]. That claim is on the level of almost racist theses. Would, for example, humanity be grateful to Einstein because he was a German Jew or to Newton because he was English and a member of the Anglican Church? Has any-

5.4. Tesla između Hrvata i Srba

Ako se pogledaju samo naslovi nekih djela o Nikoli Tesli, zapažaju se o njemu najpohvalniji epiteti – hrvatski velikan, izumitelj električnog doba, čovjek izvan vremena, slavni izumitelj, heroj tehnike, rasipni genij, nadčovjek, genij s kamenjara, istraživač, izumitelj, genij, čovjek koji je izumio 20. stoljeće i sl. Postoji još mnoštvo iskaza poznatih i slavnih ljudi o Tesli i vrlo ih je teško sve pobrojati. To samo pokazuje kolika je važnost Nikole Tesle u svjetskoj znanosti i, prije svega, u izumiteljstvu [2,3,5-9,75,76,104].

Zahvaljujući čemu se Tesla dovinuo do tih visina i slave? Zašto ga se smatra i naziva genijalcem? Gledano znanstveno postoje žalosne izjave da je Tesla „zadužio čovječanstvo baš zato što je rastao u jednom pravoslavnom, svetosavskom miljeu...“ i njegovo pravoslavlje „mu je rodilo ljubav prema čovječanstvu, zato je tako nesebično čovječanstvu služio“ [105]. Ta je tvrdnja na razini gotovo rasističkih teza. Bi li npr. Einstein zadužio čovječanstvo zato što je bio njemački Židov ili Newton zato što je bio Englez i pripadnik anglikanske crkve? Je li netko dosegao vrhunce u svjetskoj znanosti (ili u bilo čemu drugome) zato što je bio katolik, pravoslavac, protestant, budist, islamist, ateist, Hrvat, Srbin, Nijemac, Amerikanac, Rus i sl.? Može se navesti mnoštvo sličnih primjera. Sva se ta pitanja mogu primijeniti i na Teslu. On nije genijalac samo zato što se rodio u Lici, Hrvatskoj, odnosno tadašnjoj Habsburškoj Monarhiji, što je bio Hrvat, Srbin, Jugoslaven, Austrijanac, Amerikanac, što je bio pravoslavac, a ne katolik ili protestant i sl. Sigurno je da sredina uvjetuje je svakoga čovjeka i da životne okolnosti u

one reached the pinnacle of world science (or anything else) because he (or she) was Catholic, Orthodox, Protestant, Buddhist, Islamist, atheist, Croat, Serb, German, American, Russian, etc.? Many similar examples can be cited. All of these questions can also be applied to Tesla. He is not a genius just because he was born in Lika, Croatia, or what was then the Habsburg Monarchy, because he was a Croat, a Serb, a Yugoslav, an Austrian, an American, because he was Orthodox, not Catholic or Protestant, etc. It is certain that the environment conditions every person and that life circumstances combined with natural talent and genius can help someone's genius come to light.

When it comes to Tesla, he was most influenced by his education in excellent schools in Gospić and Karlovac, and later studies in Graz, Prague, work in Budapest and Paris and finally in America (USA). His interest in science and (electro)technology was certainly not caused by the Orthodox faith but by his brilliant, as Tesla himself calls him, professor in Karlovac, the Croat Martin Sekulić. It is known that between the vocations of an Orthodox priest and an electrical engineer, Tesla chose the latter and fought with all his might to prevent his father from sending him to become an Orthodox priest. However, that does not mean that Tesla was not a religious man. Quite the contrary! [100]

In a Serbian public TV show, which was not originally dedicated to Tesla, the question of Tesla's nationality is raised. That is, in fact, one of the most frequent questions when talking about Tesla, especially on a daily and political level ([106]. Without any critical approach, it is dogmatically claimed

kombinaciji s prirodnom nadarenošću i genijalnošću mogu pomoći da nečija genijalnost izađe na vidjelo.

Međutim, kad je riječ o Tesli, na njega je najviše utjecalo njegovo školovanje u izvrsnim školama u Gospiću i Karlovcu, a i kasniji studiji u Grazu, Pragu, rad u Budimpešti i Parizu i napokon u Americi (SAD). Njegov interes za znanost i (elektro)tehniku sasvim sigurno nije pobudila pravoslavna vjera nego njegov genijalni, kako ga sam Tesla naziva, profesor u Karlovcu, Hrvat Martin Sekulić. Poznato je da se Tesla između poziva pravoslavnog svećenika i elektrotehničara odlučio za ovo drugo i svim se silama borio da ga otac ne uputi za pravoslavnog svećenika. Ali to ne znači da Tesla nije bio religiozan čovjek. Naprotiv! [100]

U javnoj emisiji, iako ona nije prvotno posvećena Tesli, također se navodi pitanje Tesline nacionalnosti. To je, zapravo, jedno od najučestalijih pitanja kad se govori o Tesli, posebice na dnevnoj i politikantskoj razini [106]. Bez ikakva kritičkoga propitivanja dogmatski se tvrdi da je Tesla bio Srbin. Ali postoje Hrvati koji tvrde da je bio Hrvat. Tako npr. „Ljubica Štefan (...) je bila agent koja je imala dva zadatka. (...) Druga teza je bila da pokaže da je Tesla Hrvat (...)“. Nije Ljubica Štefan jedina koja je tvrdila da je Tesla Hrvat. Na temelju čega se uopće može tvrditi kojoj nacionalnosti netko pripada? Posebice ako je riječ o slučajevima koji sadrže bilo kakve nejasnoće? U Teslinu slučaju takvih je nejasnoća puno.

U većini referentne literature o Tesli, u svijetu i u Hrvatskoj (leksikoni, enciklopedije, elektronički mediji i dr.), navode se vrlo slične kvalifikacije. Europske *Wikipedi-*

that Tesla was a Serb. However, there are Croats who claim that Tesla was a Croat. For example, Ljubica Štefan was accused of „being an agent whose task was (...) to show that Tesla was a Croat“. Ljubica Štefan is not the only one who claimed that Tesla was a Croat. On what basis can one even claim to which nationality someone belongs? Especially if we are talking about cases that contain any ambiguities? In Tesla's case, those ambiguities.

Most of the reference literature about Tesla, both in the world and in Croatia (lexicons, encyclopedias, electronic media, etc.), list very similar qualifications. European *Wikipedias* list Tesla as: Serbian inventor (10), Serbian-American (19), Croatian-American of Serbian origin (1, Croatia), without qualification of nationality (3, Germany, Austria, Switzerland) [106-108]. Some reference works list him as a Croatian and Serbian physicist and inventor [109]. What is the meaning of the terms American, Croatian, Serbian, of Serbian origin here? Is someone's affiliation determined by place (country) of birth, education, childhood, country of life and work, by citizenship, ethnicity, religious affiliation, by one's own statement (if it is witnessed and unambiguous) or by something else? Or by a combination of all of the above?

If we take the criterion of place and country of birth, Tesla is Austrian because he was born at a time when Smiljan, Gospić, Lika and Croatia were part of a state union called the Habsburg Monarchy (later, from 1867, the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy). In that case, Tesla could also be Hungarian. Since Austria-Hungary was a state union of several nations, that fact was recognized by the

je navode da je Tesla bio: srpski izumitelj (10), srpsko-američki (19), hrvatsko-američki srpskoga podrijetla (1, Hrvatska), bez kvalifikacije nacionalnosti (3, Njemačka, Austrija, Švicarska) [106-108]. Neka ga referentna djela navode kao hrvatskoga i srpskoga fizičara i izumitelja [109]. Što ovdje znače odrednice američki, hrvatski, srpski, srpskoga podrijetla? Određuje li se nečija pripadnost po mjestu (državi) rođenja, školovanja, djetinjstva, državi života i rada, po državljanstvu, etničkoj pripadnosti, vjerskoj pripadnosti, po vlastitom iskazu (ako je posvjedočen i jednoznačan) ili po nečemu drugome? Ili prema kombinaciji svega navedenoga?

Ako se uzme kriterij mjesta i države rođenja, Tesla je Austrijanac jer je rođen u doba kada su Smiljan, Gospić, Lika i Hrvatska bili u državnoj zajednici koja se zvala Habsburška Monarhija (kasnije, od 1867. Austro-Ugarska Monarhija). U tom bi slučaju Tesla mogao biti i Mađar. Kako je Austro-Ugarska bila državna zajednica više naroda, tu su činjenicu priznavale vlasti u Beču i Pešti. U prilog tome idu, između ostalog, i popisi stanovništva u Monarhiji gdje se taksativno navode narodnosne skupine ili skupine jezika kojima se govori u Monarhiji. U toj su državnoj zajednici živjeli i slavenski narodi i služili se svojim jezicima. Budući da su u toj zajednici živjeli i Hrvati kao žitelji jedne od sastavnica Monarhije, Tesla je po državi rođenja bio Hrvat. Posebice kad se uzme u obzir da sam Tesla svjedoči o svojim precima i s očeve i majčine strane kao starijim hrvatskim obiteljima, plemićkoga roda.

Od svoga rođenja 1856. do 1875. Tesla boravi u Lici, tj. u Hrvatskoj jer Lika nika-

authorities in Vienna and Pest. That is supported, among other things, by the censuses of the population in the Monarchy, which list the ethnic groups and language groups spoken in the Monarchy. Slavic peoples also lived in that state union and used their own languages. Since Croats also lived in that union as residents of one of the components of the Monarchy, Tesla was a Croat by country of birth. Especially when we take into account that Tesla himself testified about his ancestors on both his father's and mother's sides as old Croatian families, of noble lineage.

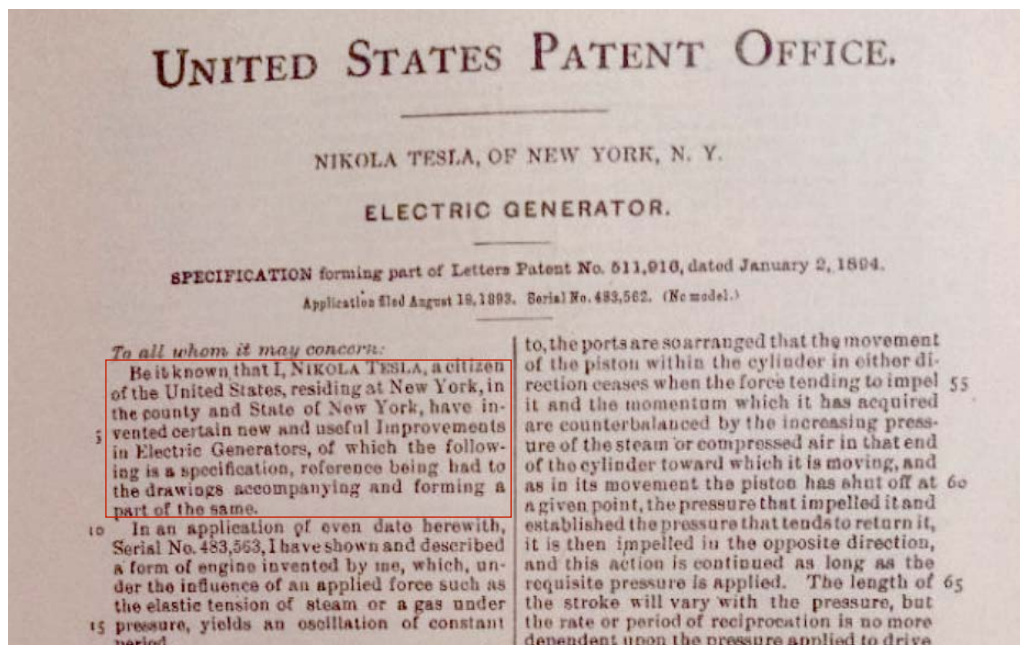
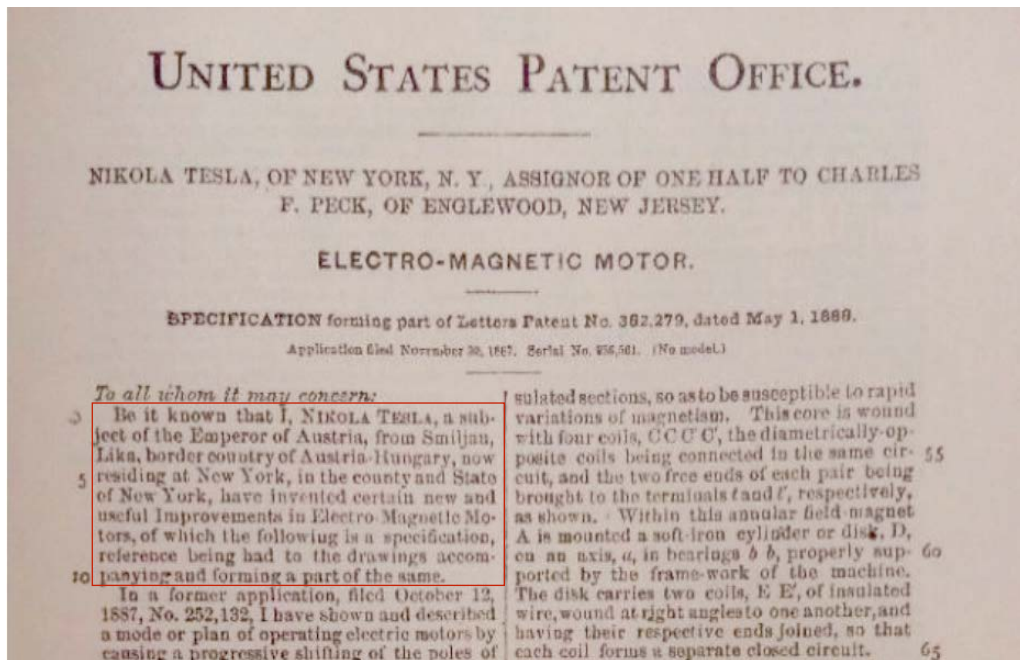
From his birth in 1856 to 1875, Tesla lived in Lika, i.e. in Croatia, because Lika has never throughout history belonged territorially to the Serbian state. He spent his childhood and youth in Croatia, where he received his education and acquired a solid education for his studies. If the criterion for determining someone's national identity is the country of study or work, then Tesla could have been Austrian, Croatian, Czech, Hungarian, French, or American. According to his citizenship, Tesla was both a Croatian and American citizen. His passport was issued by the Royal Croatian-Slavonian-Dalmatian Government in Zagreb, which means that he was a Croatian citizen [81]. Since 1891, Tesla had also been a citizen of the USA, that is, an American, where he spent almost sixty years of his life. It is not known why he was registered as a Swede upon his arrival in the USA (1884). Nor is it known with whose passport he entered the USA. Until he became a US citizen, Tesla stated in his patent applications: „Be it known that I, Nikola Tesla, a subject of the

da nije teritorijalno pripadala srbijanskoj državi. U Hrvatskoj je proveo djetinjstvo, mladost, školovao se i stekao solidno obrazovanje za studij. Ako je kriterij određivanja nečijeg identiteta država studija ili rada onda bi Tesla mogao biti Austrijanac, Čeh, Mađar, Francuz, Amerikanac. Prema državljanstvu Tesla je Hrvat i Amerikanac jer je imao i jedno i drugo državljanstvo. Putovnicu mu je izdala Kraljevska Hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinska vlada u Zagrebu, što znači da je bio hrvatski državljanin [81]. Od 1891. Tesla je državljanin i SAD-a, dakle Amerikanac, gdje je proveo gotovo šezdeset godina. Nije poznato zašto je dolaskom u SAD (1884.) upisan kao Šveđanin. A također ni s čijom je putovnicom ušao u SAD. Sve dok nije postao državljanin SAD-a Tesla je u prijavama svojih patenata navodio: „Neka se zna da sam ja, Nikola Tesla, podanik austrijskog cara, iz Smiljana, Lika, pogranične zemlje Austro-Ugarske Monarhije, sada nastanjen u New Yorku, u zemlji i državi New York, izumio...“, a tek se kasnije predstavlja kao građanin SAD-a, s boravištem u New Yorku (slika 32) [98].

Ako se govori o etničkoj pripadnosti onda je Tesla Hrvat jer su mu predci bili Hrvati i katolici iz Dalmacije i Hrvatskoga primorja. Po vjerskoj pripadnosti Tesla je bio pravoslavac. Prema njegovoj izjavi predci su mu, zbog tadašnjih društvenih i političkih prilika, prešli s katoličanstva na pravoslavlje. Ali vjera nije nacija ni etnicitet niti su etnicitet i nacija vjera. Mnoge su države danas, pogotovo u zapadnom svijetu, sekularne i u svakoj ima pripadnika raznih vjeroispovijesti. Slično, iako ne posve isto, bilo je i u Teslino doba. Ne može se npr. sve

Emperor of Austria, from Smiljan, Lika, border country of Austria-Hungary, now residing at New York, in the country and State of New York, have invented...“, and only later presented himself as a US citizen, residing in New York (Figure 32) [98].

If we talk about ethnicity, then Tesla is a Croat because his ancestors were Croats and Catholics from Dalmatia and the Croatian coast. By religious affiliation, Tesla was Orthodox. According to his statement, his ancestors, due to the social and political circumstances of the time, converted from Catholicism to Orthodoxy. However, religion is not a nation or ethnicity, nor are ethnicity and nation religions. Many countries today, especially in the Western world, are secular and each has members of various religions. The situation was similar, although not exactly the same, in Tesla's time. For example, not all Americans can be considered Catholics or Protestants (we will not go into the differences between individual protestant denominations), nor Orthodox or atheists. It is not uncommon for some countries to have a very large percentage of Catholics and Protestants (USA, Germany, etc.), Orthodox and Muslims (Russia), Orthodox and Catholics (Ukraine), and some have a smaller percentage of minority religious groups. The opposite is especially true, i.e. not all Catholics can be considered members of just one (any) nation. The Catholic Church as a general (*katholikós* – general) exists in many peoples (nations), but there is no Croatian Catholic Church, Italian Catholic Church, etc. but rather a Catholic Church among Croats, Catholic Church among Italians, etc. In terms of its structure



Slika 32. Tesla kao državljanin: a – Hrvatske, 1. odlomak na patentu, gore lijevo; b – SAD-a, 1. odlomak na patentu, dolje lijevo)

Figure 32. Tesla as a citizen: a – Croatia, 1st paragraph on the patent, top left; b – USA, 1st paragraph on the patent, bottom left)

Amerikance smatrati katolicima ili protestantima (ne ulazimo u razlike među protestantskim vjernicima), ni pravoslavcima ni ateistima. Neke, ne baš rijetke, države imaju vrlo veliki postotak katolika i protestanata (SAD, Njemačka i dr.), pravoslavaca i muslimana (Rusija), pravoslavaca i katolika (Ukrajina), a neke manji postotak manjinskih religijskih skupina. Posebice to važi obrnuto, tj. ne može se sve katolike smatrati pripadnikom samo jedne (bilo koje) nacije. Katolička crkva kao opća (*katholikos – opći*) postoji u mnogim narodima (nacijama) ali ne postoji Hrvatska katolička crkva, Talijanska katolička crkva itd. nego Katolička crkva kod Hrvata, Katolička crkva kod Talijana itd. Po svom ustroju i organizaciji pravoslavlje se razlikuje od katoličanstva po tome jer je ono državna i nacionalna crkva (može biti autokefalna crkva, ali ima slučajeva kada to nije). Tu je veza između vjere (crkve) i države (nacije) vrlo jaka. Postoje stoga pravoslavne nacionalne crkve, npr. Grčka pravoslavna crkva, Bugarska pravoslavna crkva, Rumunjska pravoslavna crkva, Makedonska pravoslavna crkva, Crnogorska pravoslavna crkva, Ruska pravoslavna crkva, Ukrajinska pravoslavna crkva i druge pravoslavne crkve. Danas postoji i Srpska pravoslavna crkva. Tako se svaka pravoslavna crkva poklapa s granicama nacionalne države. Mijenjanjem granica države mijenjaju se granice pravoslavnih crkava. Ako u nekoj državi postoje vjernici pravoslavci načelno se ne može zabraniti postojanje (osim iz političkih razloga i geostrateških i drugih interesa) pravoslavne crkve dotične države. Ako, na primjer, u Hrvatskoj postoje pravoslavni kršćani koji se po nacionalnosti

and organization, Orthodoxy differs from Catholicism in that it is a state and national church (it can be an autocephalous church, but there are cases when it is not). Here, the connection between religion (church) and state (nation) is very strong. Therefore, there are Orthodox national churches, e.g. the Greek Orthodox Church, the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, the Romanian Orthodox Church, the Macedonian Orthodox Church, the Montenegrin Orthodox Church, the Russian Orthodox Church, the Ukrainian Orthodox Church and other Orthodox churches. Today, there is also a Serbian Orthodox Church. Thus, each Orthodox Church coincides with the borders of a nation-state. Changing the borders of a state changes the borders of Orthodox churches. If there are Orthodox believers in a country, in principle, the existence of the Orthodox Church of the country and people in question cannot be prohibited (except for political reasons and geostrategic and other interests). If, for example, there are Orthodox Christians in Croatia who declare themselves Croats by nationality, then there is no reason why there should not be a Croatian Orthodox Church, just as there are Orthodox churches in other nations.

In the territory of Croatia, there were relatively many Orthodox Christians in Tesla's time. In Srijemski Karlovci was the seat of the Karlovci Archbishopric, which was an autocephalous Orthodox church for the Habsburg Monarchy. Since that was the territory of Austria, or Croatia (more precisely, the Triune Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia), that church was the Austrian, or Croatian Orthodox Church. That

izjašnjavaju kao Hrvati, onda nema razloga zašto ne bi postojala Hrvatska pravoslavna crkva, kao što postoje pravoslavne crkve i u drugim narodima.

U Teslino doba na području Hrvatske bilo je relativno dosta pravoslavaca. U Srijemskim Karlovcima bilo je sjedište Karlovačke arhiepiskopije koja je bila autokefalna pravoslavna crkva za Habsburšku Monarhiju. Kako je to bilo područje Austrije, odnosno Hrvatske (točnije Trojedne kraljevine Hrvatske, Slavonije i Dalmacije) ta je crkva bila Austrijska odnosno Hrvatska pravoslavna crkva. Takvo je stanje bilo sve do 1920., tj. do proglašenja Srpske pravoslavne patrijaršije / patrijarhije u novoj državi Kraljevstvu SHS. Prema tome, Nikolin otac Milutin Tesla bio je službenik Austrijske, odnosno Hrvatske pravoslavne crkve, Karlovačke arhiepiskopije. Zato su posve pogrešne izjave nekih autora o Tesli u kojima se on povezuje sa Srpskom pravoslavnom crkvom i srpskom nacionalnom manjinom u Hrvatskoj ([7], str.163–164). Ni njegov otac Milutin nije otišao „u srpsku bogosloviju“ ([15]; [110], str. 19) jer u to doba Hrvatsku još nije zahvatio val posrbljavanja pravoslavnog stanovništva. Prema tome bogoslovija u Plaškom, gdje je Milutin studirao, nije bila pod upravom Srpske pravoslavne crkve te nije ni mogla biti srpska bogoslovija. Na tim i drugim primjerima vidi se kako se pravoslavljje u Hrvatskoj nekim čudnim automatizmom smatra „srbstvom“. Zašto se npr. pravoslavci u Hrvatskoj ne bi poistovjećivali s Grečima, Makedoncima, Bugarima, Vlasi (jer i oni su u hrvatske krajeve bježali pred Turcima). Jesu li sada i oni Srbi? Još jednom treba istaknuti da vjera i nacija nisu

situation existed until 1920, i.e. until the proclamation of the Serbian Orthodox Patriarchate in the new state of the Kingdom of SCS. Accordingly, Nikola's father Milutin Tesla was an official of the Austrian, or Croatian Orthodox Church, of the Karlovci Archdiocese. Therefore, the statements of several authors about Tesla in which he is associated with the Serbian Orthodox Church and the Serbian national minority in Croatia are completely wrong ([7], pp.163-164). His father Milutin did not go to „Serbian Orthodox theological studies“ either ([15]; [110], p. 19) because at that time Croatia was not yet affected by the Serbification of the Orthodox population. Accordingly, the Orthodox theological studies in Plaški, where Milutin studied, were not under the administration of the Serbian Orthodox Church and could not have been Serbian Orthodox studies. These and other examples show that Orthodoxy in Croatia is, in some strange way, automatically considered „Serbness“. Why, for example, would Orthodox Christians in Croatia not identify with Greeks, Macedonians, Bulgarians, Vlachs (because they too fled to Croatian regions from the Turks). Are they now Serbs too? It should be emphasized once again that religion and nation are not the same and it is inadmissible to identify them. Orthodox Christians in Croatia were not Serbs, and those who later considered themselves Serbs were serbified Croatian Orthodox thanks to political agitators and disseminators of the Great Serbian idea, which found fertile ground among the Orthodox clergy. Tesla's family was so Serbified. Therefore, by none of the above criteria, Tesla is not a

isto i nedopustivo ih je poistovjećivati. Pravoslavci u Hrvatskoj nisu bili Srbi, a oni koji su se kasnije smatrali Srbima su posrbljeni i srbizirani hrvatski pravoslavci zahvaljujući političkim agitatorima i širiteljima velikosrpske ideje koja je našla plodno tlo među pravoslavnim svećenstvom. Teslina obitelj je posrbljena. Dakle, ni po jednom od navedenih kriterija Tesla nije Srbin: nije rođen u Srbiji, nije se u njoj školovao, nije u njoj radio ni boravio (osim manje od 31 sat u Beogradu [14]), nije imao srbijansku putovnicu ni državljanstvo, nije govorio ni pisao srpski, nije etnički Srbin, nije bio član Srpske pravoslavne crkve (jer ona ne postoji sve do Tesline 64 godine života, službeno se tako zove tek nakon Tesline smrti). U njegovo doba u Hrvatskoj nema ni „srbske narodnosti političke“ ... ni „srbske vjere“ ([10], str. 481; [48,49]).

U kakvoj je vezi Tesla s hrvatskim identitetom? ([111], str. 320–322) Prigodom posjeta Zagrebu (1892.) Tesla kaže da je „rođeni sin ove zemlje“ [95]. Pritom nika-ko nije mogao misliti na Srbiju. U Češkoj ga nazivaju Hrvatom ([1], str. 48; [10], str. 499; [93]). To je svojim češkim prijateljima mogao reći samo sâm Tesla, ili su ga oni tako zvali jer je došao iz hrvatskoga dijela Monarhije. Prema izjavi Vladimira Njegovana Tesla je izjavio (ne navodi se kada i gdje): „Ja sam Srbin to jest Hrvat jer to je jedno“ ([75], str. 48). Ako je sve navedeno istina, zašto se onda i u Hrvatskoj zanemaruje ta činjenica, a u svijetu pogotovo? Zašto se onda u većini svjetske literature ne bi pisalo za Teslu da je i hrvatski izumitelj? Očito su tu prevladali politički i ideološki razlozi. Prema usmenom svjedočanstvu američkoga

Serb: he was not born in Serbia, he was not educated there, he did not work or reside there (except for a 31 hours in Belgrade), he did not have a Serbian passport or citizenship, he did not speak or write Serbian, he is not an ethnic Serb, he was not a member of the Serbian Orthodox Church (because it did not exist until Tesla was 64 years old, it was officially called that only after Tesla's death). In his time, there was neither a „Serbian political nationality“ ... nor a „Serbian religion“ in Croatia ([10], p. 481; [48,49]).

What is Tesla's connection with Croatian identity? ([111], pp. 320-322) During his visit to Zagreb (1892), Tesla said that he was a „native son of this country“ [95]. In no case he could have been referring to Serbia. In the Czech Republic, he was called a Croat ([1], p. 48; [10], p. 499; [93]). Only Tesla himself could have said that to his Czech friends, or they called him that because he came from the Croatian part of the Monarchy. According to a statement by Vladimir Njegovan, Tesla stated (it is not stated when or where): „I am a Serb, that is, a Croat, because that is one thing“ ([75], p. 48). If all of the above is true, why is that fact ignored in Croatia, and especially in the world? Why then does most of the world's literature not write about Tesla as a Croatian inventor as well? Obviously, political and ideological reasons prevailed here. According to the oral testimony of American Croats in the USA, Franciscan Ljubo Čuvalo and Duško Čondić (who recorded Čuvalo's testimony), Nikola Tesla stated that he was Orthodox by religion and Croat by nationality. These oral statements cannot be considered reliable evidence ([10], pp. 499-501; [112-116]).

Hrvata u SAD-u, franjevca Ljube Čuvala i Duška Čondića (koji je zabilježio Čuvalovo svjedočanstvo) Nikola Tesla je izjavljiva da je pravoslavac po vjeri, a Hrvat po nacionalnosti. Te usmene izjave ne mogu biti siguran dokaz ([10], str. 499–501; [112-116]). Ono što je srpska propaganda uspješno činila od druge polovice 19. st. do danas jest da su uspjeli posrbiti mnoge pojedince i skupine koje etnički ne pripadaju Srbima ([117], str. 137–138). U posrbijavanju se najdalje otišlo upravo s Nikolom Teslom. To se radilo i s drugima od konca 19. st. do danas kao što su Dubrovčani Ivan Gundulić, Ruđer Bošković i mnogi drugi pojedinci ali i čitave skupine. Jedan od najsvježijih primjera su Bunjevački Hrvati kojima se u prvoj fazi treba oduzeti hrvatske korijene, i proglasiti ih posebnom narodnosno-jezičnom skupinom, a onda je druga faza, tj. posrbijavanje sama po sebi vrlo izgledna [118].

Srpska pravoslavna crkva (SPC) se od svih pravoslavnih crkava bitno razlikuje po tome što je njezina osnovna ideja svetosavlje, tj. stavljanje sv. Save u središte crkvenosti i pravoslavne vjere kod Srba. U tom je smislu SPC prije politička organizacija nego kršćanska crkva. Svetosavlje u svojoj biti nije kršćanstvo. Pritom se, naravno, ne misli na pojedine pripadnike, vjernike SPC-a [119]. Ta je crkva bila pokretač mnogih srpskih ratova i glavni čimbenik u oblikovanju srpske nacionalne svijesti i nacionalnoga identiteta koji nisu utemeljeni na etnicitetu, kulturnoj i književnoj tradiciji nego isključivo na vjeri i djelomice na jeziku. Srbi u Hrvatskoj i Bosni i Hercegovini koji su se od konca 19. st. i čitavo 20. i 21. st. izjašnjavali Srbima nemaju etničkoga utemeljenja

What Serbian propaganda has successfully done since the last third of the 19th century until today is to Serbify many individuals and groups who are not ethnically Serbs ([117], pp. 137-138). The furthest step in Serbification was taken with Nikola Tesla. That was also done with others from the end of the 19th century until today, such as the citizens of Dubrovnik Ivan Gundulić, Ruđer Bošković, and many other individuals and entire groups. One of the most recent examples is the Croatian Bunjevci (Croats in Bačka, Vojvodina), who in the first phase should be stripped of their Croatian roots and declared a separate ethnic-linguistic group, and then the second phase, i.e. Serbification, is itself very likely [118].

The Serbian Orthodox Church (SOC) differs significantly from all other Orthodox churches in its basic idea, which is the Church of St. Sava, i.e. placing St. Sava at the center of church life (ecclesiasticism) and of the Orthodox faith among Serbs. This is precisely why the SOC is more a political organization than a Christian church. The church of St. Sava is not Christianity in its essence [119]. That church has been the initiator of many Serbian wars and the main factor in molding Serbian national awareness and national identity, which are not based on ethnicity, cultural and literary tradition, but exclusively on religion and partly on language. Serbs in Croatia and Bosnia and Herzegovina, who have declared themselves Serbs since the end of the 19th century and throughout the 20th and 21st centuries, have no ethnic justification for doing so. Many surnames that are today considered typically Serbian are not actually Serbian, but mainly Croa-

za to. Mnoga prezimena koja se danas smatraju tipično srpskima zapravo nisu srpska nego uglavnom hrvatska. Srpski nacionalni identitet nije se mogao utemeljiti ni na kulturi ni na književnoj tradiciji kad se zna da Srbi nisu, za razliku od drugih zapadnoeuropskih naroda, prošli ni kulturni ni književni, a niti politički ni gospodarski razvoj koji bi doveo do oblikovanja neke identitetske zajednice prije početka 19. st. jer su prije toga stoljećima bili pod turskim jarmom i najvećim dijelom nepismeni, a kulturno i ekonomski zaostali. U to isto vrijeme u Hrvatskoj je situacija puno sličnija zapadnoeuropskim društvima i postoji prilično bogata književna i kulturna tradicija. Što se jezika tiče Srbi su već od Vuka Stefanovića Karadžića sve do naših dana ostali kod apriorističke tvrdnje da su svi štokavci Srbi što je potpuna neistina. Srbi prije Stefanovića Karadžića nisu kroz nekoliko stoljeća imali razvijenu književnost na štokavskom idiomu za razliku od Hrvata. Zato je poistovjećivanje srpstva sa štokavštinom u osnovi otimanje te književnosti i štokavskog jezika Hrvatima [120].

Za oblikovanje srpske nacije presudnu je ulogu imalo poistovjećivanje pravoslavlja sa srpstvom što je opet izvan svake pameti. Tu srpsku „istinu“ prihvatili su, nažalost, mnogi u hrvatskom narodu jer je ona bila nametnuta kroz obrazovni sustav koji je u doba obje Jugoslavije bio dominantno prosrpski. Tako se dogodilo da su mnogi pravoslavni žitelji u hrvatskim krajevima jednostavno bili posrbljeni. To se dogodilo i s obitelji Nikole Tesle jer su se njegove sestre, prema pravoslavnom običaju kao kćeri pravoslavnoga svećenika udavale za pravo-

tian. Serbian national identity could not be based on culture or literary tradition when it is known that Serbs, unlike other Western European nations, did not undergo cultural, literary, or political or economic development that would have created an identity of a national community before the beginning of the 19th century, because Serbs had been under the Turkish administration for centuries before that and were mostly illiterate, and economically and culturally backward. At the same time, the situation in Croatia was much more similar to Western European societies and there was a fairly rich literary and cultural tradition. As for language, Serbs, from Vuk Stefanović Karadžić until our days, have a priori considered that all Štokavians were Serbs, which is completely untrue. Serbs before V. Stefanović Karadžić did not have a developed literature in the Štokavian idiom for several centuries, unlike the Croats. Therefore, the identification of Serbs with Štokavian is basically the appropriation of that literature and the Štokavian language from Croats [120].

The identification of Orthodoxy with Serbness played a crucial role in molding the Serbian nation, which is again beyond all reason. This Serbian „truth“ was unfortunately adopted by the majority of the Croatian national community because it was imposed through the educational system that was mainly pro-Serbian during the time of both Yugoslavias. Thus, many Orthodox citizens of Croatian areas were simply serbified. That also happened with Nikola Tesla's family because his sisters, according to Orthodox custom as daughters of Orthodox priests, married Orthodox priests. As the Orthodox

slavne svećenike. Kako je pravoslavno svećenstvo pod utjecajem srpske propagande nametalo srpstvo svim pravoslavicima, tako je i rodbina Nikole Tesle posrbljena. U to doba Nikola Tesla više nije bio ni u Hrvatskoj, a domalo ni u Europi, pa je bio oslobođen toga agresivnoga posrbljavanja. Kad je Tesla postao poznat, i njega je srpska propaganda nastojala pretvoriti u „čistog“ Srbina. On je, međutim, u ožujku 1942. odbio svaku suradnju sa Srpskom narodnom obranom iz Chicaga. Bio je skloniji ideji jugoslavenstva, posebice u doba postojanja prve Jugoslavije, smatrajući da je zajednica Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca moguća. Kasniji događaji koncem 20. st. su ga demantirali. Brojna literatura od konca 19. st. do danas govori u prilog činjenici da je izgradnja i održavanje srpske nacionalne ideje i pravoslavlja utemeljena velikim dijelom na protuhrvatskoj propagandi [121].

6. ZAKLJUČAK

Koliko god se čini da je o Nikoli Tesli rečeno sve, s obzirom na mnoštvo o njemu napisanih knjiga i radova, ipak nije tako. Još uvijek postoji dosta nejasnoća i nesigurnosti o njegovu djelovanju, a možda još više o njegovu podrijetlu, predcima i etničkoj, narodnosnoj i nacionalnoj pripadnosti. Među istraživačima njegova rada i života postoji dosta oprječnih tvrdnji i još neistraženih pojedinosti. Stoga su moguća izricanja pristranih i neutemeljenih tvrdnji koje zamagljuje pravu istinu. Neke od tih tvrdnji postale su već „dogmatske“ istine koje se prenose kao neupitne činjenice, što predstavlja prepreku

clergy, under the influence of Serbian propaganda, imposed Serbness on all Orthodox people, so Nikola Tesla's relatives were also serbified. At that time, Nikola Tesla was no longer in Croatia, and soon not in Europe, so he was free from this aggressive Serbification. When Tesla became famous in the world, Serbian propaganda tried to turn him into a „pure“ Serb. However, in March 1942, he refused any cooperation with the Serbian National Defense from Chicago. He was more inclined towards the idea of Yugoslavism, especially during the period of the first Yugoslavia, believing that a union of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes was possible. Later events in the late 20th century refuted his attitude. Numerous literature from the late 19th century to the present day clearly shows that the construction and preservation of the Serbian national idea and Orthodoxy has been largely based on anti-Croatian propaganda [121].

6. CONCLUSIONS

Given the multitude of books and works written about Nikola Tesla, it may seem that everything has been said about him. However, this is not the case. There is still a lot of ambiguity and uncertainty about his work, and perhaps even more so about his origin, ancestors, and ethnic and national affiliation. Among researchers of his work and life, there are many contradictory claims and as yet unexplored details. Therefore, many biased and unfounded claims have been made that obscure the real truth. Some of these claims have already become „dogmatic truths“ and „unquestionable facts,“ and that represents an obstacle to research and gain-

za motivaciju za istraživanjem i stjecanjem novih spoznaja. Kad je riječ o razdoblju Teslina života i školovanja u Hrvatskoj te društvenih, političkih, vjerskih i obrazovnih prilika u Europi i Hrvatskoj u to doba, kod nekih se osobito stranih autora primjećuje neinformiranost, čak i elementarno neznanje. Tako mnogi autori ne razlikuju nacionalnost i vjeru te razlike među pojedinim religijama i vjerskim zajednicama. Neki ne poznaju elementarne historijske činjenice i stvari promatraju sa svoga današnjeg gledišta ne uvažavajući kontekst prostora i vremena. To rezultira neutemeljenim stajalištima. Ni svi detalji Teslina života i djelovanja nisu posve rasvijetljeni. Iako je općepoznat po svojim konkretnim tehničkim postignućima, o mnogima od njih postoje kontroverze. Drugi autori opet aprioristički prihvaćaju neke tvrdnje koje su plod više ideoloških i nacionalističkih motiva nego znanstvene istine. To se posebno odnosi na nerazumijevanje političke uloge pravoslavne crkve i srpskoga klera u 19. st., osobito uloge Srpske pravoslavne crkve u 20. st. Bez obzira na sve nejasnoće, neprijeporna je činjenica da raznovrsni i brojni izumi svrstavaju Nikolu Teslu u red najvećih hrvatsko-američkih izumitelja i ljudi uopće, ali i u red najvećih svjetskih genija.

ZAHVALA

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ing of new knowledge. When discussing the period of Tesla's life and education in Croatia and the social, political, religious, and educational conditions in Europe and Croatia at that time, some authors, especially foreign ones, show a lack of information, even elementary ignorance. Thus, many authors do not distinguish between nationality and faith, and the differences between particular religions and religious communities. Some do not know elementary historical facts and observe things from their present-day perspective, ignoring the context of space and time. That results in unfounded opinions. Not all details of Tesla's life and work are fully elucidated. Although he is widely known for his specific technical achievements, controversies about many of them still exist. Other authors, on the other hand, a priori accept some claims that are the result of more ideological and nationalistic motives than scientific truth. That particularly applies to the lack of misunderstanding of the political role of the Orthodox Church and the Serbian clergy in the 19th century, and especially the role of the Serbian Orthodox Church in the 20th century. Regardless of all the ambiguities, it is still a reliable claim that Tesla's diverse and numerous inventions rank him among the greatest Croatian-American inventors and people in general, but also among the greatest world geniuses.

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