Jure Trutanić

ISSN 0353-295X (Tisak) 1849-0344 (Online)
Radovi - Zavod za hrvatsku povijest
Vol. 57, br. 1, Zagreb 2025.

UDK: 929-052Andrić, I.
929-052Nižetić-Čulić, M.
Izvorni znanstveni rad
Primljeno: 19. 9. 2025.
Prihvaćeno: 9. 11. 2025.
DOI: 10.17234/RadoviZHP.57.19

Ivo Andrić and Maja Nižetić-Čulić under the Banner of Yugoslav Nationalist Youth

This paper examines the activities of the young writer Ivo Andrić and the schoolteacher Maja Nižetić-Čulić during the critical years marking the twilight of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the birth of the first Yugoslav state. It reconstructs their mutual relationship and interprets their affiliation with the movement of Yugoslav nationalist youth. Enthralled by the Kingdom of Serbia, the revolutionary adherents of this movement espoused an integral Yugoslav idea and preached the establishment of a unitary Yugoslav state on the ruins of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, while also endorsing assassinations of public officials as a legitimate means of political action. Owing to his acquaintance with Vladimir Čerina, Ivo Andrić arrived in Split on the eve of the wave of political arrests in July 1914. There he met Maja Nižetić and her fiancé Jerko Čulić. At that time, Andrić was a student and an up-and-coming poet who was increasingly thinking about a career and ever less about revolution, whereas the schoolteacher Maja Nižetić, contributing to nationalist newspapers, spoke out about women's rights and paved the way for the feminist movement in Dalmatia. All three were arrested in the first days of the First World War on charges of high treason and spent several months together in the prisons of Split and Maribor. The charges against Andrić were eventually dropped, while Maja Nižetić and Jerko Čulić were sentenced to prison terms. After the end of the war, the paths of Ivo Andrić and Maja Nižetić-Čulić gradually diverged, yet both remained firmly committed to Yugoslavism. Unlike many intellectuals from the ranks of the Yugoslav nationalist youth who, after the transformation of the state framework, remained marginalised figures, Andrić proved more adept at handling the categories of politics and ideology and fully realised his literary talent. By contrast, Maja Nižetić-Čulić appears to have withdrawn from public life relatively early. Consequently, in the scholarly literature she has thus far largely been registered merely as a member of Ivo Andrić's social circle, with whom she remained in close relations until his death.

Introduction

In December 1961, a postcard from Stockholm arrived in socialist Yugoslavia. On the occasion of receiving the Nobel Prize in Literature, Ivo Andrić addressed it to a friend from his youth, Maja Nižetić-Čulić, describing her as a well in whose depths he had never drunk.[1] This enigmatic postcard, whose contents remain un-

[1] In a poem recalling Maja Nižetić-Čulić, published in 2011 in the collection *Nebo u bunaru*, the poet Drago Štambuk conveys unpublished verses by Andrić, allegedly addressed to her:

known, prompted the present research. Who, in fact, was Maja, and what was her role in Andrić's life? Does she belong to the line of fatal women whom the writer conquered with his discreet charm, or was this a relationship of a different kind?

In the extensive scholarly literature on Ivo Andrić, the name of Maja Nižetić-Čulić appears only sporadically. Three bibliographic items crucial for understanding her relationship with Andrić are, in fact, published correspondence and memoirs. Maja's first recollections of the writer were published during her lifetime, in 1976, in the book *Kazivanja o Andriću*. After her death, several preserved letters from Andrić's correspondence with Maja Nižetić-Čulić, mostly dating from the period of the First World War, were first published in 1986 in the serial publication *Sveske Zadužbine Ive Andrića*. These letters were subsequently reprinted in 2000 in the book *Pisma (1912. – 1973.)*. Posthumously, another of Maja's recollections of the celebrated writer, entitled *Iz moje stare bilježnice*, was published in *Sveske Zadužbine Ive Andrića* in 1999 and reprinted in 2023 in the edited volume *Ko je bio Ivo Andrić*.

A portion of Maja Nižetić-Čulić's personal correspondence was irretrievably destroyed during her lifetime. The letters she exchanged with members of the Yugoslav nationalist youth were burned on the island of Brač on the eve of her arrest in 1914,[2] while letters from her correspondence with Ivo Vojnović were lost during the Second World War.[3] Nevertheless, not everything was lost. In her later years, Nižetić-Čulić carefully preserved Andrić's letters, photographs, and notes in a single bag, which she readily showed to interested researchers.[4] As part of an initiative launched by Milostislav Bartulica, a former member of the Yugoslav nationalist youth, to collect and archive testimonies on the history of that movement, Maja Nižetić-Čulić deposited – mostly in the form of transcripts – a substantial portion of her documents and memoirs from the period of the First World War with the then Historical Archive in Split (today the State

"No emperor like my emperor / no maiden like my maiden" and "You are the water in the well for which I thirsted / all my life". ŠTAMBUK 2011: 59–60. I was informed of the existence of this postcard by Academician Štambuk himself at the end of 2018. It was shown to him in Cambridge in 1985 or 1986 by Maja's daughter, Stojana Čulić Burton. Unfortunately, in the course of my research I was unable to obtain the original postcard, but Nižetić-Čulić mentions it in two preserved memoir texts on Ivo Andrić. It was evidently a cherished keepsake for her. In response to Maja's congratulatory message, Andrić sent a postcard from Stockholm on 10 December 1961, the day of the ceremonial presentation of the Nobel Prize. See: FRANČESKI, J. Portreti i susreti. Zaustaviti vrijeme, živjeti! *Slobodna Dalmacija* no. 6871, 1 April 1967, 2; NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ 1976: 116.

2 NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ 2023: 21.

3 VOJNOVIĆ 2009: 550.

4 FRANČESKI, J. Portreti i susreti. Zaustaviti vrijeme, živjeti! *Slobodna Dalmacija* no. 6871, 1 April 1967, 2; NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ 1976: 116.

Archives in Split). This material is preserved in the *Omladinska zbirka* of fond 181, *Jugoslavenska ujedinjena omladina i Jugoslavenska narodna obrana u Južnoj Americi – Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina*.[5] Alongside published sources, extensive scholarly literature, and the press – including texts she published as a contributor in various newspapers of Yugoslav orientation – this fond constituted a valuable body of source material for the purposes of this research. Fragments gathered over many years from several other archival fonds were also consulted. Unfortunately, in the State Archives in Split it was not possible to locate the memoir diary of Maja Nižetić-Čulić, despite a note indicating that she intended to submit it to the institution at a later date,[6] nor the manuscript she planned to publish under the title *Iz teških dana*.[7] It may therefore be assumed that these materials remain preserved within her estate, currently in the possession of the Čulić family.[8]

The aim of this paper is to examine the activities of Ivo Andrić and Maja Nižetić-Čulić during the critical years marking the twilight of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the birth of the first Yugoslav state, to reconstruct their mutual relationship, and to interpret their affiliation with the movement of Yugoslav nationalist youth. Their life trajectories were intertwined through participation in a shared ideological milieu; accordingly, particular attention is devoted to the phenomenon of integral and revolutionary Yugoslav nationalist ideology and practice, for which no comprehensive historiographical study has yet been published.[9] The article thus functions in part as a concise historical overview of this phenomenon, while simultaneously contributing

[5] Croatia – The State Archives in Split, fond 181 *Jugoslavenska ujedinjena omladina i Jugoslavenska narodna obrana u Južnoj Americi – Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina* (hereafter: HR-DAST-181 *Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina*). 1. Omladinska zbirka. Archival box 3. Dokumenti Marije Nižetić-Čulić.

[6] HR-DAST-181 *Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina.* 1. Omladinska zbirka. Archival box 3. Dokumenti Marije Nižetić-Čulić. Files 12/7. Dnevnik Marije Nižetić-Čulić 1910. – 1919. god.

[7] HR-DAST-181 *Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina.* 1. Omladinska zbirka. Archival box 3. Dokumenti Marije Nižetić-Čulić. Files 13. Letter from Lj. Jurković to M. Nižetić-Čulić, 18 May 1965.

[8] By all indications, the remaining personal papers of Maja Nižetić-Čulić were kept by her grandson Nenad Čulić in Zagreb. In addition to letters and photographs, most of which have already been published, they undoubtedly contained the unpublished prison diary of Jerko Čulić. See: NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ 1976: 116. Access to this source was obtained by Jasmina Nešković when writing about Andrić's translation of Oscar Wilde recorded there. See: NEŠKOVIĆ 1994: 167. The owner of the diary, and probably also of the aforementioned postcard by Andrić, Nenad Čulić, died in December 2019, immediately after I attempted to contact him. His heirs, with whom I subsequently spoke, were not aware of the fate of this estate.

[9] The closest work to this is the doctoral dissertation by Marko Prelec, *The Origins of Yugoslav Revolutionary Politics: The Nationalist Youth among the Habsburg South Slavs, 1908–1914*, defended in 1997 at Yale University under the supervision of Professor Ivo Banac, which has not been published in book form. See: PRELEC 1997.

to the biography of Ivo Andrić and offering a preliminary portrait of Maja Nižetić-Čulić, one of the earliest feminists in Dalmatia. Since her activities – unlike those of the celebrated writer Andrić – have thus far been only marginally explored in the scholarly literature, greater attention in this paper is devoted to the reconstruction of Maja Nižetić-Čulić's biography as a historical actor in her own right.[10]

Heroic Barbarism of the Yugoslav Nationalist Youth

The historical development of the 1880s pointed toward the conclusion that the process of national integration – through the spread of the ideology of the Party of Rights across all Croatian lands and among broader popular strata, including the middle and petty bourgeoisie – was being completed in a Croatian spirit and under the Croatian name,[11] and that all that remained was to present the face of the nation to the politically unformed agrarian masses (which would later indeed be achieved through the movement of the Radić brothers). However, an unexpected turn followed.

In the context of the increasingly pronounced rift between Vienna and Budapest, which had long burdened the dualist structure of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, popular demonstrations took place in 1903 in Civil Croatia. Although these had no major immediate effects, they heralded the dismantling of the long-standing political and cultural system of governance which, within the framework of the Compromise and to the detriment of the completion of Croatian national integration, had been constructed by Viceroy Khuen-Héderváry (1883–1903). Alongside the socialists, the movement in Civil Croatia was supported above all by the younger generation – referred to in historiography as the Progressive Youth – which at the beginning of the century made a more assertive appearance on the political-cultural stage.[12] Inspired by the Czech national realism of Tomáš Masaryk, this generation rejected Croatian state-right traditions and advocated a generational turnover, the politicization of the masses, anticlericalism, and, above all, Croat–Serb national oneness.[13] The crisis of dualism and the activities of the

[10] The extent to which Maja Nižetić-Čulić remains unknown, even within feminist circles, is illustrated by the fact that at the 2007 exhibition *Žene Splita i Dalmacije – ženski vremeplov*, organized by the Split-based feminist association Domine, her portrait was absent from the selection of fifteen prominent women from the past of Dalmatia and the city of Split. See: MILETIĆ BORČIĆ AND KUČER 2007. Although in 2018 the association Domine named its counselling centre for women victims of violence after Maja Čulić, to date no professional or scholarly study has been published that would establish even the most basic factual framework of her life and work. See: TOPIĆ 2018.

[11] GROSS 1973: 253–254; TURKALJ 2007: 42–47.

[12] GROSS, KARAMAN, ŠEPIĆ AND ŠIDAK 1968: 211–216; BANAC 1984: 96–98.

[13] GROSS 1969: 77–78; LOVRENČIĆ 1972: 42–48; PRELEC 1997: 53–59; AGIČIĆ 2000: 160–161; VRANJEŠ-ŠOLJAN 2005: 213–214.

Progressive Youth intensified political-ideological and party realignments, accompanied by an increasingly clear profiling of a current within Croatian politics that sought to suppress Croatian–Serbian antagonisms for the purpose of building a common anti-dualist platform, a development that was particularly noticeable in Dalmatia.[14]

Young Dalmatian members of the Party of Rights, brought up on Starčević's body of work as well as on the ideas of Italian liberalism, sought to move Croatian politics out of a deadlock by formulating the policy of the New Course. Led by Ante Trumbić and Frano Supilo, they were dissatisfied with the political-national and economic position of Dalmatia, as well as of Croatia as a whole, within the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.[15] In addition to the circumstances described, their generation was also stimulated by changing geopolitical relations in Europe, particularly by the May coup in Belgrade. There, in the regicide of 1903, the Obrenović dynasty was overthrown from the Serbian throne, and the Karađorđević family were installed, whereby the Kingdom of Serbia freed itself from Austrian tutelage and increasingly attracted Serbs and Croats in the southern regions of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy to its state project of westward expansion.[16] In contrast to the original doctrine of the Party of Rights, the political orientation of the New Course advanced the thesis of Croatian–Serbian ethnic unity, thereby opening space for political Yugoslavism directed against the German *Drang nach Osten* and Vienna, the traditional target of the followers of Ante Starčević.[17]

The broader party concentration, initiated in Dalmatia, spread to Civil Croatia and in 1905 resulted in the formation of the Croato-Serb Coalition, which until the collapse of Austria-Hungary in 1918 remained the strongest political force in Croatia and advocated a programme of Croat–Serb national oneness, while being opposed by clericals, the Croatian People's Peasant Party, and certain rightist factions.[18] Politically engaged members of the youngest generation, however, reproached the political parties of the Triune Kingdom for passivity, inefficiency, and an inconsistent attitude toward the centres of dualist authority. Two events in 1910 strongly contributed to the erosion of party authority among the restive youth. That year saw the completion of the clericalization of Starčević's Croatian Pure Party of Rights (the Frankists) – its fusion with the Catholic circle around

[14] GROSS, KARAMAN, ŠEPIĆ AND ŠIDAK 1968: 216–223; BANAC 1984: 96–98.

[15] LOVRENČIĆ 1972: 301–306; RADICA 1982: 113–114; BANAC 1984: 97–98; TROGRLIĆ AND ŠETIĆ 2021: 94–97.

[16] GROSS, KARAMAN, ŠEPIĆ AND ŠIDAK 1968: 215; GROSS 1969: 80; BANAC 1984: 97; STANČIĆ 2006: 26.

[17] LOVRENČIĆ 1972: 301–306; BANAC 1984: 97–98.

[18] GROSS, KARAMAN, ŠEPIĆ AND ŠIDAK 1968: 223; MARKUS 2016: 21–22; ŠUTE 2019: 11.

the newspaper *Hrvatstvo* – as well as a final break between Frano Supilo and the Croato–Serb Coalition due to the latter's readiness to enter into political arrangements with the then Hungarian Minister-President Khuen-Héderváry, who was a widely detested figure in Croatia. The opposition-minded youth, separated from the leadership of the political parties, sought alternative paths. Ultimately, it embarked on a course of radicalization and revolutionary solutions, increasingly directing its gaze toward Belgrade.[19] The formulation concerning national oneness in the programme of the Croato–Serb Coalition carried, from the outset, in the words of the historian Ivo Banac, "the seed of integralist and unitarist Yugoslavism".[20] That seed would germinate above all within the movement of revolutionary Yugoslav nationalist youth.

Within the ranks of the youth, therefore, a Yugoslav idea of a new type – integral and unitarian – prevailed. The basic formula held that the Croatian and Serbian peoples constituted a single nation, and that all historically conditioned national individualities were to be erased overnight and dissolved in a Yugoslav sea. In their conceptualization of Yugoslavism, the focus lay on the relationship between Croats and Serbs. Slovenes were highlighted only occasionally, but were generally regarded as merely another constituent of the new nation in the making.[21] Despite this fundamental idea, which mobilized the minds of the majority of the young, the Yugoslav nationalist youth was, in organizational and structural terms, not a unified organization with a harmonized programme, but rather a fluid and polycentric movement that emerged on the eve of the First World War from a specific social atmosphere permeated by an anti-Austrian revolutionary spirit.[22] According to the writer and essayist Josip Horvat, it was to this heterogeneous youth that "the only thing clear was what it did not want. It intuited new ways out and paths forward more than it could clearly articulate them".[23]

The integral Yugoslavism of the nationalist youth constitutes a complete negation of political Croatism. This markedly anti-Western phenomenon, grounded in the notion of the racial superiority of the Dinaric man, differs fundamentally from the conceptions of Gaj and Strossmayer in the 19th century. According to the literary historian Zoran Kravar, the Yugoslav programme of that period, unlike the Croatian one, more readily resorted to the "idea of race ('the Yugoslav race') and its metonymic representations (blood, land, motherhood)," and was "provocatively

[19] HORVAT 1961: 237–238, 252–257; GROSS 1969: 90–91; STRECHA 2011: 356; JONJIĆ 2019: 580, 590–592.

[20] BANAC 1984: 99.

[21] BARTULOVIĆ 1925: 13; HORVAT 1961: 251; GROSS 1969: 129–130.

[22] HR-DAST-181 *Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina*. 1. Omladinska zbirka. Archival box 1. Files 1. Raić, Vlaho. Jugoslavenska Nacionalistička Omladina od god. 1906. do 1918., 3–4.

[23] HORVAT 2006: 97.

irrational, often clothed in the language of eschatology or myth".[24] The discontinuity of the new ideology in relation to previous historical development was articulated by Ivo Banac in his assessment that, through the activities of this youth, for Croatia there "begins a systematic alienation from liberal Europe and a cult of heroic barbarism".[25] The reorientation of Yugoslav-minded circles in Croatia toward the categories of myth and race was, on the artistic plane, led by the young Dalmatian sculptor Ivan Meštrović, already established within the circles of the Vienna Secession. He announced his leading role at the end of 1910, when at an exhibition of the Medulić Association in Zagreb, under the slogan *In defiance of an unheroic age* (*Nejunačkom vremenu u prkos*), he presented a selection of sculptures from the Kosovo cycle. This Meštrović cycle, exhibited in the pavilion of the Kingdom of Serbia, was awarded laurels in 1911 at the international exhibition in Rome. Meštrović drew his inspiration from folk epic poetry and from motifs associated with the medieval Serbian Nemanjić state. Within this thematic source, a central place was occupied by the motif of the Battle of Kosovo of 1389, which, in the specific historical development of the Serbian people, assumed the function of a myth, or a form of popular religion. Through his art, the young Meštrović propagated the belief in common racial roots and in the Dinaric type as the ideal embodiment of the Yugoslav man, thereby complementing the ideologues of racial Yugoslavism.[26] One of the most significant ideologues of the Yugoslav nationalist youth, Dimitrije Mitrinović, likewise preached a mystical, racial Yugoslavism. Fascinated by Meštrović and connected with the Serbian government, he steered young activists in Austria-Hungary toward direct action and assassinations.[27]

Many members of the Yugoslav nationalist youth among the Croatian population perceived the Serbian side of the imagined Yugoslav nation as more dynamic and superior to the Croatian one. Encouraged by the existence and emancipation of the Serbian state, they believed that it should serve as the Piedmont of South Slavic unification.[28] This conviction was reinforced in April 1912 by the ceremonial visit of Zagreb university students to Belgrade and by the introduction of the commissariat in Civil Croatia, and above all by the territorial expansion of the Kingdom of Serbia under the Karađorđević dynasty during the Balkan Wars of 1912 and 1913.[29] In this context, the financial grants from the discretionary

[24] BATUŠIĆ, KRAVAR AND ŽMEGAČ 2001: 165.

[25] BANAC 2000: LVII.

[26] GROSS 1969: 96–97; PRELEC 1997: 32, 167–169; HAMMER TOMIĆ 2011: 15–25; ŠIMETIN ŠEGVIĆ 2021: 327–332. For more on Meštrović's participation in the aforementioned exhibitions, see: BULIMBAŠIĆ 2016: 185–259.

[27] BARTULOVIĆ 1925: 37; LIPOVČAN 2002: 41–44.

[28] BANAC 1984: 103–104; PRELEC 1997: 24–25.

[29] BARTULOVIĆ 1925: 19–20, 24–25; TARTAGLIA 1928: 21–23; LUKAS 1956: 23; GROSS 1969: 127–131; HORVAT 2006: 121–126; MARKUS 2012: 39; DESPOT 2013: 199, 233–234.

funds of the Kingdom of Serbia to young activists from the southern regions of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy are likewise not to be underestimated.[30] Thus, even the Yugoslav nationalist youth, although primarily committed to a unitarist programme and to the concept of an integral Yugoslav nation, did not remain immune to the "mythical penetration of Serbdom into Yugoslavism".[31] Accordingly, in a telegram to the President of the Serbian government, Nikola Pašić, in November 1912, Augustin (Tin) Ujević and Oskar Tartaglia wrote that "the Serbo-Croatian nationalist youth in the Littoral enthusiastically greets the triumphs of fraternal Serbian and Yugoslav arms and bows before the victorious avengers of Kosovo and the creators of Yugoslavia".[32] This is but one of countless examples of the uncritical exaltation, within Yugoslav nationalist circles in Croatia, of everything that came from beyond the southeastern border of the Dual Monarchy.

Under the umbrella of the Yugoslav nationalist youth operated a number of secret, illegal organizations, loosely or not at all organizationally connected to one another, yet largely imbued by the same revolutionary élan. This heterogeneous movement included former adherents of the Progressive Youth and of the Social Democratic Party of Croatia and Slavonia, as well as members of the Slovene Popular Radical Youth and of various Serb organizations. Alongside them, a notable role was played by a group of former Young Croatians, namely, Starčevićans from Matoš's circle, such as the aforementioned Augustin Ujević and Krešimir Kovačić.[33] To their generation, the Serbian literary critic and ideologue Jovan Skerlić explained that the progenitor of Yugoslav nationalism was in fact Ante Starčević. In doing so, he correctly pointed out that the ideologue of the Party of Rights had extended the scope of Croatian state right from the Alps all the way to the Timok, proclaiming – according to an assimilationist model – the population of that area to be members of the Croatian nation. Consequently, according to Skerlić's interpretation, it was sufficient to replace the Croatian name with the Yugoslav one for the ideological equation to become valid, a notion that did not remain without echo within Starčevićan circles.[34] This represents one of several points of convergence between Starčević's doctrine and the ideology of Yugoslav nationalists.

In general, it is clear that a large number of Rightists – Croatian nationalists – shifted to Yugoslav positions from the beginning of the 20th century up to 1918. This occurred not only within the ranks of the youth. In Croatian political and

30 HORVAT 2006: 115; LIPOVČAN 2002: 49, 67, 69; JONJIĆ 2019: 672.

31 See the foreword by Zvonko Lerotić in: BANAC 1988: 9.

32 Nacijonalistička omladina. *Sloboda* no. 93, 9 November 1912, 1.

33 BANAC 1984: 100–101.

34 GANZA-ARAS 1964: 293; GROSS 1969: 120; BANAC 1984: 100–101; JONJIĆ 2019: 661–666.

cultural circles during this period, the Yugoslav idea undoubtedly triumphed, in a manner similar to the dominance of Rightism in the 1880s.[35] This is further confirmed by the fact that Antun Gustav Matoš, one of the last writers to criticize the Rightist renegades who had aligned themselves with Serbian and Yugoslav nationalism, towards the end of his life (he died in 1914) sought in his writings to reconcile Croatism and Yugoslavism.[36] Naturally, this refers to the prevailing mood within intellectual circles. As Josip Horvat observed, from the emergence of Illyrism onward, three generations preached – and even professed – the idea of South Slavic oneness. Despite this, the overwhelming majority of the Croatian populace was entirely excluded from the triumph of the Yugoslav idea on the eve of and during the First World War. Moreover, at the same time, it was losing its lives on European battlefields on behalf of Austria-Hungary.[37]

The Yugoslav nationalist youth movement consisted predominantly of intellectuals born in the late 1880s and the early 1890s, young men who, on the eve of the First World War, were in their early twenties. They largely correspond to the poetic generation that in 1914 brought together its literary aspirations in the celebrated poetry anthology *Hrvatska mlada lirika*.[38] Here are some of the more prominent names from the ranks of the nationalist youth: Budislav Grga Angjelinović (b. 1886), Oskar Tartaglia (b. 1887), Ljubo Leontić (b. 1887), Dimitrije Mitrinović (b. 1887), Krešimir Kovačić (b. 1889), Pavle Bastajić (b. 1890), Vladimir Gaćinović (b. 1890), Niko Bartulović (b. 1890), Vladimir Čerina (b. 1891), Ivan Endlicher (b. 1891), Augustin Ujević (b. 1891), Ivo Andrić (b. 1892), Milostislav Bartulica (b. 1893), August Cesarec (b. 1893), Gavrilo Princip (b. 1894), and Avgust Jenko (b. 1894). The most committed Croats of Yugoslav nationalist orientation came from the Austrian crown land of Dalmatia – as had, before them, the initiators of the policy of the New Course.[39]

Specifically, at a meeting of delegates of the Serbo-Croatian Progressive–Radical Youth, held in Rijeka in early September 1912, the Dalmatian representatives Vladimir Čerina and Oskar Tartaglia advocated a more revolutionary path than that of the Progressives and promoted the unification of the entire youth movement around the Yugoslav nationalist programme of the youth club National Unification, published in Belgrade by the prophet of Vidovdan mysticism, Dimitrije Mitrinović. Although it became apparent at the meeting that they represented a

35 ANTIĆ 2006: 36, 42; STANIČIĆ 2023: 217–220.

36 PRELEC 1997: 253–255; JONJIĆ 2019: 668, 692.

37 HORVAT 2007: 262.

38 ŠICEL 1978: 296–302.

39 HR-DAST-181 *Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina*. 1. Omladinska zbirka. Archival box 1. Files 1. Raić, Vlaho. Jugoslavenska Nacionalistička Omladina od god. 1906. do 1918., 2, 6; TARTAGLIA 1928: 66; GROSS 1969: 126.

minority that never succeeded in forming a particularly broad platform around itself, the radical Dalmatian group gathered around Čerina and Tartaglia adopted Mitrinović's programme, separated itself under the name United Nationalist Youth, and gradually pushed the boundaries of subversion, especially through the press.[40] Its strength derived above all from established newspapers that they edited or over which they exercised considerable influence, such as the Split-based *Sloboda*, the organ of Smodlaka's Croatian People's Progressive Party (HPNS).[41] Within this Dalmatian group of Yugoslav nationalist youth, alongside Čerina and Tartaglia, the leading roles were played by Augustin Ujević, Milostislav Bartulica, Niko Bartulović and Jerko Čulić. Maja Nižetić, Čulić's fiancée, also belonged to this group.[42]

One of the general characteristics of the Yugoslav nationalist youth was reflected in programmatic texts permeated with irrationality, mysticism, revolt, anger, and calls for violent upheaval.[43] An entire generation manifested a state of ecstasy, fanatical élan, and readiness for sacrifice. It was probably for this reason that Josip Horvat, in the course of writing a book about it, described this generation as "after the 'Illyrians', certainly the most idealistic young generation".[44] Assassination thus became a legitimate means of achieving political objectives for these young activists. The germ of terrorist actions connected with organizations of the Yugoslav nationalist youth was the act of the student Bogdan Žerajić, who in June 1910, in Sarajevo, carried out an unsuccessful assassination attempt on the Governor of Bosnia and Herzegovina, General Marijan Varešanin, and thereafter fired a fatal shot into his own head.[45] In response to the unconstitutional rule of the royal commissioner Slavko Cuvaj, Luka Jukić, a student who had emerged from the ranks of the Young Croats, fired at him in Zagreb in June 1912 with insufficient accuracy.[46] By all indications, this assassination attempt was prepared with logistical support from the Serbian officers' organization Unification or

[40] Konferencija odaslanika srpsko-hrvatske napredno radikalne omladine na Rijeci. *Sloboda* no. 72, 4 September 1912, 1; HR-DAST-181 *Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina*. 1. Omladinska zbirka. Archival box 1. Files 1. Raić, Vlaho. Jugoslavenska Nacionalistička Omladina od god. 1906. do 1918., 5; BARTULOVIĆ 1925: 22–23; TARTAGLIA 1928: 58–66; BARTULOVIĆ 2003: 58; BARTULICA 1965: 376–379; PRELEC 1997: 241–242; BOŠKOVIĆ 2006: 44–50; ĐUKIĆ PERIŠIĆ 2012: 134.

[41] HR-DAST-181 *Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina*. 1. Omladinska zbirka. Archival box 1. Files 1. Raić, Vlaho. Jugoslavenska Nacionalistička Omladina od god. 1906. do 1918., 6; BARTULICA 1965: 382–383; JAKOVČEVIĆ 2021: 73.

[42] BARTULOVIĆ 1925: 22–23; TARTAGLIA 1928: 58–66; BARTULOVIĆ 2003: 58; BARTULICA 1965: 376–379; ĐUKIĆ PERIŠIĆ 2012: 134; JAKOVČEVIĆ 2021: 73.

[43] PRELEC 1997: 12–16.

[44] HORVAT 2006: cover.

[45] BOGIĆEVIĆ 1954: 265–266; ZANINOVIĆ 1959: 77.

[46] JONJIĆ 2019: 603.

Death (the Black Hand).[47] Without enumerating several similar attacks of lesser significance, it should be noted that the shot fired by Gavrilo Princip in Sarajevo on 28 June 1914 also came from the ranks of the Yugoslav nationalist youth and was likewise prepared with logistical backing from the Black Hand. The epilogue was the murder of Archduke Franz Ferdinand and his wife Sophie Chotek – a *casus belli* for the First World War served on a platter.[48]

In the case of all three assassins, the perpetrators were Yugoslav nationalists, and the violence stemmed from the same political-ideological source. Their comrades interpreted Jukić as having complemented Žerajić, whose act was greatly admired by members of Princip's milieu as well, the Young Bosnia movement.[49] The political public in Croatia, accustomed to sterile political debates and quarrels in parliamentary chambers which, for all their shortcomings, nevertheless unfolded within the safe and established confines of limited Habsburg parliamentarism, was unsettled by these events.[50] The Yugoslav nationalist youth, in addition to drawing on the patterns of the Russian Social Revolutionaries,[51] also largely adopted the practices of Serbian political life.[52] Within it, after the attainment of state autonomy and independence, the principle that "when one must choose between killing or being killed" came to prevail.[53] Through illegal channels, revolutionary implements such as bombs and revolvers were smuggled across the Serbian border into the antechamber of 20th-century Croatian political history.

Despite the fanatical approach and the personal sacrifices they laid on the altar of the integral Yugoslav idea in overthrowing the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and creating the first Yugoslav state, the actual contribution of members of the nationalist youth during the First World War was largely limited to the activities of individuals in emigration and to voluntary military engagement on the side of the Entente.[54] After the completion of this undertaking in 1918, many young preachers of integral Yugoslavism remained politically marginal figures. For example, August Cesarec and Pavle Bastajić became undesirable in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (SHS) because they had ideologically reoriented themselves

47 TARTAGLIA 1928: 55–56; LJUBIBRATIĆ 1959: 137; PRELEC 1997: 230; HORVAT 2006: 150, 152.

48 GAĆINOVIĆ 2011: 219–224; MACKENZIE 2014: 156–157.

49 BARTULOVIĆ 1925: 15–16, 54–55; LJUBIBRATIĆ 1959: 128–131; ZANINOVIĆ 1959: 77.

50 HORVAT 2006: 139; STANIČIĆ 2023: 61–62.

51 HORVAT 1961: 252; GROSS 1969: 97, 115; NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ 2023: 26; MARTENS 2020: 51.

52 BEGONJA 2019: 43–44.

53 BANAC 1984: 141.

54 HR-DAST-181 *Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina*. 1. Omladinska zbirka. Archival box 1. Files 1. Raić, Vlaho. Jugoslavenska Nacionalistička Omladina od god. 1906. do 1918., 10–11.

toward the international communist movement, while Vladimir Čerina, Augustin Ujević, and Oskar Tartaglia remained on the margins of politics or outside it altogether as a result of their disillusionments and psychological-emotional breakdowns.[55] One of those who did not falter and continued to function within the system of the new state, albeit far from the real levers of power, was Niko Bartulović.[56] In the novel *Glas iz gorućeg grma*, he reflected in literary form on the reasons for the downfall of his Dalmatian comrades and their ideological inconsistency: "...they were more temperaments than ideologues, and more literary than political talents. They were certainly much heard, but of a genuine man of action there was not a trace in them. The exuberance of imagination and the restlessness of nerves sought an outlet somewhere. And in those times there was no field more suitable for this than the struggle against Austria...".[57] The fates of disillusioned Yugoslav nationalists speak through the lyrical subject of the poem *Svakidašnja jadikovka*, which Ujević wrote in Paris in 1916.[58] In the confessional text *Ispit savjesti*, Augustin Ujević unequivocally broke with the delusions of youth: "The apostles of an enslaved people rise in the pose of liberating tribunes, yet a very large number of them falter under the weight of the struggle or the allure of capital; others are struck down or ground into the dust".[59] After the establishment of the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes, one prominent member of the Yugoslav nationalist youth did not remain among the fallen and the crushed, but instead achieved a notable literary as well as diplomatic career. This was Ivo Andrić.

The Young Poet and the Days of Great Deeds

Numerous volumes have been written about Ivo Andrić. Yet after achieving literary and social recognition, the writer carefully cultivated his public image. His cautious attitude toward his own biography clearly served to suppress potentially uncomfortable aspects of his personal past.[60] Andrić's reticence in revealing details of his private life thus contributed to the persistence of uncertainties surrounding seemingly trivial matters, such as the form of his personal name and the date and place of his birth.[61] Nevertheless, on the basis of published studies on Andrić's

[55] BARTULOVIĆ 2003: 269–270, 358, 397; PALAVESTRA 1977: 46–47; BEGONJA 2019: 50–51.

[56] BOŠKOVIĆ 2006: 145–151; ŠKUDAR 2023: 367–376.

[57] BARTULOVIĆ 2003: 269–270.

[58] LIPOVČAN 2002: 75–76.

[59] UJEVIĆ 1979: 35–36.

[60] JANDRIĆ 1982: 9–11.

[61] KARAULAC 2010: 14–16, 43.

life and work, it is possible to establish a reliable factual framework regarding the writer's early years.

Ivo (Ivan) Andrić was born in October 1892 in central Bosnia into a Croatian Catholic family. Although by a twist of circumstance he was born in Travnik or, according to some interpretations, in the nearby village of Dolac, the Andrić family had for generations been settled in Sarajevo.[62] In that city on the Miljacka River, the young Andrić spent his earliest years. It is not entirely clear whether his father, Antun Andrić, left the family early on or supported it until his death in Banja Luka in 1897. In 1894, owing to modest material circumstances, Ivo's mother Katarina was compelled to send her only son to Višegrad into the care of her husband's sister Ana, who lived there married to Sergeant Ivan Matkovšik, one of the many Polish officials – the so-called *kuferaši* (immigrant officials) – who flocked to Bosnia and Herzegovina after the establishment of Austro-Hungarian administration in 1878.[63]

The young Andrić lived in Višegrad with the Matkovšik family until 1903, when, with a scholarship from the Croatian Cultural Society "Progress" (Napredak), he enrolled at the Great Gymnasium in Sarajevo, where his mother worked as a weaver in a carpet factory. According to the recollections of Sarajevo secondary-school students, the young Andrić was an introvert – quiet, gentle, and melancholic.[64] Nevertheless, the final years of his schooling in Sarajevo were the most daring and most revolutionary years of his life. He associated with Vladimir Gaćinović, Borivoje Jevtić, Mustafa Golubić, Danilo Ilić, and the Ćubrilović brothers – those who were inspired by Žerajić's assassination attempt of 1910 and those who would later take part directly in carrying out the assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand.[65] By all indications, Andrić was also acquainted with Gavrilo Princip, who was two years his junior.[66] The conception of these young activists – who were only retrospectively given the name Young Bosnia in the scholarly literature – was to a large extent shaped by Dimitrije Mitrinović.[67] This charismatic ideologue was also a reformer of the literary magazine *Bosanska vila*, in which, at his encouragement, Ivo Andrić published his first lyrical attempts in 1911.[68]

As a secondary-school student in Sarajevo, Andrić was not merely a passive observer of the conspiratorial activities of his revolutionarily inclined friends

62 POPOVIĆ 1989: 11; KARAULAC 2010: 9–10, 14–15; NEMEC 2016: 9–10.

63 JANDRIĆ 1982: 142; KARAULAC 2010: 16; ĐUKIĆ PERIŠIĆ 2012: 79–80, 86–87; MARTENS 2020: 31–32.

64 KARAULAC 2010: 42–43; NEMEC 2016: 11–12.

65 KARAULAC 2010: 52–54; ĐUKIĆ PERIŠIĆ 2012: 134–135; MARTENS 2020: 71, 83.

66 MARTENS 2020: 49–50.

67 HORVAT 2006: 115; PALAVESTRA 1977: 36–37.

68 PALAVESTRA 1977: 23–24, 36–37; NEMEC 2016: 13.

and acquaintances. In 1910, while in the seventh grade of the gymnasium, he assumed the post of president of the Sarajevo secondary-school student organization Croatian Progressive Youth.[69] One year later, in 1911, the Serbian and Croatian progressive organizations merged, along the lines of integral Yugoslavism, into the Serbo-Croatian Progressive Youth. Gavrilo Princip was a member of the united organization, while Ivo Andrić served as its president.[70] At that time, Andrić, still a secondary-school student, was calling for war in the Balkans.[71] As a member of the strike committee, he took part in February 1912 in organizing fierce student demonstrations that broke out in Sarajevo in response to Cuvaj's dissolution of the Croatian Parliament and subsequently spread to Zagreb as well. The Sarajevo unrest turned the student Luka Jukić into a hero of the youth; upon his arrival in Zagreb on 8 June he would carry out an unsuccessful assassination attempt on the royal commissioner.[72] An exalted Andrić recorded the occasion in his diary: "Today Jukić carried out an assassination attempt on Cuvaj. How beautiful it is when the secret threads of deed and revolt are drawn tight. How joyfully I sense the days of great deeds. And the hajduk blood rises and burns. Without chastity and goodness and sacrifice my life passes. But I love the good. Long live those who fall on the pavements, unconscious from rage and gunpowder, aching from shared shame. Long live those who, withdrawn and silent in dark rooms, prepare rebellion and constantly devise new ruses. And I am not one of them. And yet, long live them too".[73] From this diary entry, Andrić's solidarity with the methods and revolutionary aims of the Yugoslav nationalist youth is evident, as is his distancing from direct action. He leaves the glory of martyrdom – and thus sacrifice – to others.

In June 1912, the month of Jukić's assassination attempt, Andrić graduated from the Sarajevo gymnasium and, according to his own recollection, ceased to hold the position of president of the Serbo-Croatian Progressive Youth.[74] He was evidently preparing to withdraw from the turmoil. After a summer of waiting in Višegrad, Andrić left Bosnia in October and, with the help of a scholarship from Progress enrolled at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences (then the Faculty of Philosophy) in Zagreb.[75] A few months later, he was summoned to court as a witness in proceedings against the secondary-school student Miloš Pjanić, after the latter, following his arrest in Sarajevo for anti-Austrian activities, mentioned Andrić's name as that of the former president of the local youth organization. In

69 KARAULAC 2010: 54; NEMEC 2016: 13.

70 BOGIĆEVIĆ 1954: 10; LJUBIBRATIĆ 1959: 130–131.

71 ĐOKOVIĆ 1976: 43.

72 HORVAT 2006: 145–146; KARAULAC 2010: 55–57.

73 BOGIĆEVIĆ 1954: 135.

74 JANDRIĆ 1982: 90.

75 KARAULAC 2010: 77; ĐUKIĆ PERIŠIĆ 2012: 147–148.

response, in a letter to his friend Vojmir Durbešić from Zagreb in January 1913 – probably as a precaution in view of the investigation – Ivo Andrić denied any involvement in political conspiracy: "You know well that I have nothing to do with that unfortunate politics; I do not know what kind of devil this is".[76] While the vanguard of the Yugoslav youth was ever more loudly proclaiming death to Austria-Hungary, Andrić was retreating. He placed literary ambitions and the desire to pursue his studies in the foreground – preferring personal advancement to the uncertainty and peril of national revolution.

The politically engaged Sarajevo years brought the young poet a certain reputation beyond Bosnia as well. According to the recollections of the Zagreb youth activist Krešimir Kovačić, Andrić was received at the University of Zagreb with "the sympathies of the entire nationalist youth".[77] Despite this, Ivo Andrić did not like Zagreb. He shared this aversion toward the center of Croatian political and cultural life with the majority of Croats of Yugoslav nationalist orientation. They exalted Belgrade, while belittling Zagreb and its Central European character – openly despising it, and even hating it.[78]

One of the ideologues of the Yugoslav youth, Vladimir Čerina, published in 1914, in the first issue of *Vihor*, a text on Zagreb entitled *U gradu cinika*, opening it with the following words: "If there are eighty thousand inhabitants in Zagreb, fifty of them should be led to the slaughterhouse, five should be carried off by the Sava, another five drowned by some unimaginably violent deluge, and with the great mass of the remaining twenty thousand one should proceed to some moral and national purgatory".[79] Čerina ultimately concluded: "This city of cynics must be forcibly given the soul and the mind of that city of Heroes called Belgrade…".[80] Andrić's contempt for Zagreb society was neither publicly proclaimed nor articulated in a destructive manner like Čerina's. It can be discerned only in private letters to his friend Vojmir Durbešić. For example, on 30 December 1912, writing in a festive, holiday atmosphere, he stated: "Who knows whether Croatia is the most miserable country in Europe, but I know that Zagreb is the most wretched place in Croatia, because we, dark and serious sons of the South, can find no meaning in this rotten and alcohol-soaked city, where fatty dishes lull the spirit and where wine deceives the eyes. Here, within a year one becomes an animal, *bestia zagrabiensis*, and within two, a spy".[81] Andrić spent time in Zagreb cafés, moving within circles of poets and bohemians, above all Yugoslav nationalists.

[76] POLJAK 2002: 59.

[77] KOVAČIĆ 2023: 14.

[78] PRELEC 1997: 150–156.

[79] ČERINA, Vladimir. U gradu cinika. *Vihor* no. 1, 1914, 1.

[80] ČERINA, Vladimir. U gradu cinika. *Vihor* no. 1, 1914, 4.

[81] POLJAK 2002: 58.

Among them were Vladimir Čerina, Augustin Ujević, and Krešimir Kovačić. Poetry and revolution marched hand in hand.[82] Yet Andrić did not grow accustomed to the city and its inhabitants, and on 6 October 1913 he wrote to Vojmir Durbešić: "Zagreb looks like a urine-stained watercolor, people are as boring as a canteen or an afternoon".[83] It is therefore not surprising that Andrić left Zagreb in October 1913 and enrolled in Slavic studies at the University of Vienna, where he studied until April 1914. Throughout this period, he was constantly exhausted by health problems. In January 1914, during the break between semesters, he had to undergo a surgical procedure in Zagreb due to severe tonsillitis. In Vienna, Andrić collaborated with the Serbian cultural society "Dawn" (Zora) and the Croatian student club "Zvonimir." Throughout 1914, he published occasionally in nationalist newspapers based in Zagreb,[84] among them Čerina's *Vihor*, which carried an account of the lecture that Andrić delivered on the occasion of the death of Antun Gustav Matoš at a reception organized by "Zvonimir," concluding with a striking line: "All of Croatia is snoring unpleasantly. Only poets and assassins are awake".[85] Insufficiently satisfied with life in the Habsburg capital, and with the assistance of a former teacher from his Sarajevo days, his patron Tugomir Alaupović, he secured a transfer from Vienna to the Faculty of Philosophy of the Jagiellonian University in Kraków. At the beginning of April 1914, he arrived in Kraków with Durbešić, a city that would delight him with its vibrant cultural life.[86] In his later years, Andrić would say that in Kraków he felt "like a hungry child before a rich table" and that he "spiritually gained sight in Poland".[87] However, his Polish idyll was short-lived. While the first copies of the almanac *Hrvatska mlada lirika*, in which Ivo Andrić was represented with six poems,[88] were arriving in the shop windows of Zagreb bookshops, the Dual Monarchy was shaken on 28 June 1914 by the news of the Sarajevo assassination carried out by Andrić's former companions. As soon as he learned of the news, he packed his suitcases and travelled by train via Vienna to Zagreb.[89] It is not clear why he so abruptly left Kraków – whether it was an attempt to flee or to involve himself more directly?[90]

Upon his arrival in Zagreb, Andrić met with Vladimir Čerina, the editor of *Vihor*, who proposed that he accompany him to Split, where they would settle together in his parents' house. However, Čerina changed his mind in Rijeka and,

82 KARAULAC 2010: 79.

83 POLJAK 2002: 80–81.

84 KARAULAC 2010: 81–85; ĐUKIĆ PERIŠIĆ 2012: 154–155.

85 ANDRIĆ, Ivo. A. G. Matoš. *Vihor* no. 5, 1 May 1914, 89–91.

86 ĐUKIĆ PERIŠIĆ 2012: 158–162.

87 JANDRIĆ 1982: 137, 365.

88 NEMEC 2016: 22.

89 POLJAK 2002: 83; KARAULAC 2010: 106.

fearing repression by the authorities, defected to the Kingdom of Italy. Andrić continued his journey, and on the night between 17 and 18 July 1914 arrived in Split from Rijeka without Čerina aboard the steamship *Višegrad*. There he was received by trusted members of the Yugoslav nationalist youth, whose addresses he had obtained in Zagreb.[91] "He appeared gentlemanly, poor, quiet and wise; noble in outward appearance. The first encounter, the handshake, accompanied by that gentle smile of his and a penetrating gaze. It was a quiet sevdalinka, whose refrains lengthened and took hold of hearts with every new meeting," recalled Maja Nižetić, a young woman from Čerina's circle, remembering her first encounter with Andrić. Her life path intersected with Andrić's in Split in that July of 1914.[92]

A Lady among Yugoslav National Revolutionaries

Maja (Marija Magdalena) Nižetić[93] was born in Selca on the island of Brač on 26 February 1891 as the eldest daughter of Juraj Nižetić (1857–1912) and Filomena Štambuk (1857–1943). She had a younger sister, Neda (1893–1907), and three brothers: Zdravko (1895–1947), Branko (1897–1990), and Veljko (1900–1933).[94] They thus grew up on an island that would partly mark the creative work of two literary idols of the Yugoslav nationalist youth. It was the birthplace and childhood home of Vladimir Nazor, while on its shores Ivo Vojnović, working as a civil servant, wrote *Smrt majke Jugovića* by the light of a lamp.[95] During the period of Venetian rule on Brač, members of the old and widely branched Nižetić lineage are recorded both among commoners and among nobles.[96] The noble branch constituted the social elite of early modern Brač. At the beginning of the 17th century its members Italianized the surname into the form Niseteo and retained it even after the collapse of the Republic of Venice in 1797.[97] The fam-

90 MARTENS 2020: 79–80.

91 ĐUKIĆ PERIŠIĆ 2012: 168; JANDRIĆ 1982: 90.

92 NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ 2023: 20.

93 She used the name Maja, as attested by the vast majority of historical sources and scholarly literature. The form Marija is encountered only rarely. With regard to her surname, after marrying Jerko Čulić she officially bore the surname Čulić, as recorded on the tombstone at the family grave in Lovrinac Cemetery in Split. See: BLAŽEVIĆ 2017: 174. In the literature, however, she is most often referred to as Čulić-Nižetić or Nižetić-Čulić. For the period of her life after marriage, this article adopts the form Nižetić-Čulić, as it has become the most firmly established in the literature and as it was under this surname that her first published recollections of Ivo Andrić (1976) were signed – thus authorized and published during her lifetime. See: NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ 1976: 112.

94 The Parish Archive of Selca (hereafter: ŽAS), *Stanje duša u župi Selca*, 296.

95 BARTULOVIĆ 1925: 37; STANIČIĆ 2023: 50; ŽEŽELJ 1977: 121.

96 VRSALOVIĆ 2003: 176, 188.

97 BUCHBERGER 2017: 11–18.

ily of Maja Nižetić appears to have derived from non-noble, commoner origins. Nevertheless, in Selca its standing was on an upward trajectory at the turn of the 19th and 20th centuries. Specifically, her father Juraj Nižetić served as secretary of the Municipality of Selca,[98] which is why in the parish registers of the local parish the nickname "Sekretarij" was appended to this family.[99]

Juraj Nižetić's social capital was undoubtedly strengthened in 1890 by his marriage to Filomena, a daughter from the second marriage of Andrija Štambuk (1814–1886), who came from the more affluent family lineage (*kazata*) known as the "Zore".[100] This family belonged to the enterprising stratum of the local bourgeoisie of Brač. Together with the Didolić family, it constituted the socio-political elite of Selca throughout the 19th century.[101] By 1900, the entrepreneurial initiatives of the Štambuk, Didolić, and several other families from eastern Brač had spread across various regions of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy, including the city of Sarajevo. While Ivo Andrić was attending the Sarajevo Gymnasium, the city was home to the prominent construction entrepreneur Ante Štambuk from Selca,[102] whose best-known residential–commercial building, executed in the Secessionist style, was designed in 1905 by Josip Vancaš at the corner of what are today Titova Street and Kulovića Street.[103] At the same time, Nikola Ostojić from Povlja, a coastal settlement within the Municipality of Selca, also held a prominent position in Sarajevo's economic and cultural life, where he managed a family-owned trading enterprise dealing in Dalmatian products.[104]

Sometime between 1902 and 1912, Maja Nižetić's family moved to Split.[105] One factor that may have carried some weight in the decision to leave Selca was the fact that her father found himself in the midst of a relentless political confrontation that, at the local level, had been simmering for years. At the beginning of the 20th century, dissatisfaction flared over the long-standing dominance

98 Croatia – The State Archives in Split, fond 409 *Sekretarijat unutrašnjih poslova za Dalmaciju* (hereafter: HR-DAST-409 *SUP za Dalmaciju*). Osobni dosjei. Archival box 81. Dossier no. 30698 – Branko Nižetić.

99 ŽAS, *Stanje duša u župi Selca*, 296.

100 ŽAS, *Stanje duša u župi Selca*, 296.

101 TRUTANIĆ 2025: 32–33.

102 Personal papers of Venceslav Štambuk (OVŠ), in the private possession of his granddaughter Vlasta Bishop. Letter from Z. Jaričević to I. Vuković, 17 May 2007. The Sarajevo entrepreneur Ante Štambuk (1856–?) belonged to the Selca branch of the Štambuk family known as "Maća" and must not be confused with the Split judge Ante Štambuk (1859–1939), the uncle of Maja Nižetić-Čulić, who belonged to the "Zore" branch. See: NIŽETIĆ 1940: 74–77; ŠTAMBUK ŠTAMBUK 2019: 49, 65.

103 KRZOVIĆ 2004: 77–78.

104 TRUTANIĆ 2021a: 293–294.

105 ŽAS, *Stanje duša u župi Selca*, 296.

of the large landowning Didolić family in the governance of the municipality, a development connected to events surrounding the outcome of the 1901 elections for the Dalmatian Parliament.[106] Members of this prominent family were sharply attacked by the opposition, which sought to discredit them through the anonymous circulation of several extensive pamphlets. In one of these, published in 1902 during the mayoralty of Petar Didolić, the municipal secretary Juraj Nižetić was also singled out *ad hominem*, with the following statement being made public: "The well-known and former commissioner of Pučki List, our municipal secretary, is likewise of no benefit to the municipality, nor is he any credit to it: embittered, obstinate, and lazy, he has truly become the cancerous sore of your administration; he neglects his duties; prejudices the interests of applicants; and sows hatred and discord".[107] Although the Didolić family, adapting to the political circumstances in Dalmatia, shifted party allegiances and showed a degree of openness toward the Yugoslav idea, the mayor of the Municipality of Selca, Petar Didolić, was a collaborator of Ante Trumbić, and at the turn of the century his political orientation was still grounded in the Party of Rights tradition. It may therefore be assumed that his much-criticized municipal secretary was also close to the moderate Rightist option.[108]

In comparison with the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia at the turn of the century, the horizons of Dalmatian society were more liberal. This applied not only to suffrage: in Dalmatia, female teachers were free to marry and to start a family without being required to relinquish their posts, whereas in Croatia and Slavonia celibacy for female teachers had been legally prescribed since 1888. When Maja Nižetić was choosing a teaching career in Dalmatia, the debate over the abolition of legally mandated celibacy was only just beginning to intensify in Croatia-Slavonia.[109]

From 1904 to 1909, Maja Nižetić attended the women's teacher-training school in Dubrovnik.[110] In addition to students from the city and its surroundings, the school was attended by girls from all parts of Dalmatia. Since, despite the efforts of the school administration, there was no boarding facility, many of them stayed in Dubrovnik with relatives or at the convent of the Sisters of Charity at Pile.[111] During

[106] TRUTANIĆ 2021b: 320.

[107] VIDOK 1902. *Otvoreno pismo časnoj gg. Tomi Didoliću mlagjemu, Andriji N. Štambuku, Janislavu Vrsaloviću, Nikoli Carevića, Vicku Novakoviću i Vicku Ostojiću prisjednicima općine Selca na otoku Braču*: 14, 17.

[108] TRUTANIĆ 2021b: 295–296, 299, 309.

[109] VUČIJEVIĆ 2021: 175–176; DULIBIĆ-PALJAR 2023: 185.

[110] Croatia – The State Archive in Dubrovnik, fond 175 *Učiteljska škola Dubrovnik* (hereafter: HR-DADU-175 *Učiteljska škola Dubrovnik*). 1.3. Pedagoška dokumentacija: 1904/5. – 1908/9. Archival boxes 129–130; NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ 2023: 22.

[111] VUČIJEVIĆ 2021: 138.

her schooling, Maja herself was accommodated at this convent.[112] According to an anticlerical assessment made in 1909 by the deputy Jerko Machiedo in the Dalmatian Parliament, the girls there were "drilled and terrorized by the bigotry of a Jesuit ambience".[113] Maja Nižetić referred only in passing to this period several years after completing her education. Criticizing in 1914, in *Zastava*, the anti-national and alien character of female educational institutions and organizations, she wrote that she was very well acquainted with the mode of upbringing practiced in such establishments, clearly alluding to her own experience.[114] Although in 1901 the school had moved into a large and modern building, the previously poor hygienic conditions evidently had not yet been fully remedied during her years of attendance.[115] Nižetić later recalled that she had experienced there a "terrible fear" of contracting tuberculosis, a disease that in those years was particularly present among the youth.[116]

During her schooling in Dubrovnik, Maja Nižetić edited a handwritten paper produced by the students of the school. She also tried her hand at poetry.[117] Although these poems are of no great literary value, her earliest preserved verses were published in 1914 in the final issues of the periodical *Domaće ognjište*. They form a spiritual–poetic whole, are melancholic and sentimental, and are imbued with motifs of departure, fear, and remorse, whereas the final poem *Život* is permeated by defiance and heroic pathos.[118] On the pages of *Domaće ognjište*, the periodical of the Association of Croatian Female Teachers under the editorship of Milka Pogačić, herself a writer and teacher, women's issues and moderate demands for gender equality were gradually affirmed within Croatian society.[119] Indeed, in Croatia it was teachers who were the first to promote the idea of women's social equality and the necessity of their education.[120]

Maja Nižetić entered public service in October 1909 as a teacher in Novo Selo, a small settlement not far from her native Selca.[121] Her contribution to the

[112] HR-DADU-175 *Učiteljska škola Dubrovnik*. 1.3. Pedagoška dokumentacija: 1904/5. – 1908/9. Archival boxes 129–130.

[113] VUČIJEVIĆ 2021: 138.

[114] MAJA. Ne odnarodjujmo sami svoju djecu! *Zastava* no. 27, 4 June 1914, 4.

[115] VUČIJEVIĆ 2021: 119–120.

[116] NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ 2023: 22.

[117] Croatia – The State Archive in Split, fond 173 *Osobni fond Kuničić Petar* (hereafter: HR-DAST-173 *Kuničić Petar*). Unpublished typescript "Učitelji djece u Dalmaciji", Split, 1940, Nižetić-Čulić, Maja.

[118] MAJA (Brač). Na odlasku. *Domaće ognjište* no. 3, 15 March 1914, 65; MAJA (Spljetska). Bojim se… *Domaće ognjište* no. 4, 15 April 1914, 110; M. M. (Brač). Život. *Domaće ognjište* no. 5, 15 May 1914, 129.

[119] BATINIĆ AND GAĆINA ŠKALAMERA 2009: 72–73.

[120] VUČIJEVIĆ 2021: 37.

[121] Croatia – The Croatian State Archives, fond 890 *Zbirka personalnih spisa državnih službenika Zemaljske vlade, Pokrajinske uprave, oblasnih uprava, Savske banovine, Banovine Hrvatske i ministarstava Nezavisne Države Hrvatske* (hereafter: HR-HDA-890 *Zbirka personalnih spisa*). Prosvjetni spisi. 4-3143: Čulić, Marija. Decision No. 15841-II-1946 of 29 March 1946.

local community was recorded on several occasions by the priest Slavko (Slavo) Štambuk in the chronicle of the Selca parish. As a trainee teacher, already in October 1907, on the feast of Our Lady of the Rosary, Maja composed an occasional hymn that was sung by the faithful during the local procession. Three years later, in 1910, as a young teacher in Novo Selo, she produced, at no cost to the parish, a colorful silk banner for Christmas. Subsequently, in 1911, on the feast day of the parish patroness, Our Lady of Mount Carmel, she made the lettering for the Marian statue.[122] In his memoirs, Oskar Tartaglia recalled that the guiding thread of his generation of progressives was anticlericalism: "The question was not whether someone was a nationalist, an international socialist, or even an anti-nationalist! No! All doors were open to everyone, provided that he was an anticlerical".[123] Yet in the maidenly conduct of Maja Nižetić there was not the slightest trace of anticlericalism, one of the key characteristics of the Yugoslav nationalist youth. According to the preserved notes of the local parish priest, in those years Maja corresponded far more closely to the stereotypical figure of a traditional provincial girl over whom Tartaglia's comrade-in-arms Matej Košćina lamented in 1911 in the first issue of *Val*, the organ of Croatian and Serbian youth, asserting with indignation that "the Croatian woman is the bedrock of clericalism".[124]

After her service in Novo Selo, Maja Nižetić was transferred to the post of teacher in Splitska, a small settlement on the northern coast of the island of Brač, facing the city of Split across the channel.[125] Since, owing to the lack of historical sources, it is not entirely clear when exactly her family moved to Split, nor how much time Maja spent with them as a result of her teaching appointments, it is difficult to determine with precision when the radicalization of her views began and when she reoriented herself from committed participation in the religious processions of the Selca parish toward anticlerical and revolutionary Yugoslav nationalism. As early as March 1913, she was already exchanging letters with the young schoolteacher Antun Farčić from the island of Korčula concerning his experiences in disseminating Yugoslav nationalist propaganda among pupils in Dalmatian primary schools.[126] In October 1913, she published an article in *Sloboda*

---

122 ŽAS. *Povjesne crtice u župi Selca na Braču od siječnja 1906*, entries for the years 1907, 1910, and 1911 consulted.

123 TARTAGLIA 1928: 15.

124 KOŠĆINA, Matej. Naš klerikalizam i naš antiklerikalizam. *Val* no. 1, 1 October 1911, 5. On the anticlericalism of Matej Košćina, see: BOŠKOVIĆ 2007: 361–374.

125 HR-DAST-173 *Kuničić Petar*. Unpublished typescript "Učitelji djece u Dalmaciji", Split, 1940, Nižetić-Čulić, Maja; NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ 1976: 112.

126 Croatia – The State Archives in Zadar, fond 88 *Vlada/Namjesništvo za Dalmaciju* (hereafter: HR-DAZD-88 *Vlada/Namjesništvo za Dalmaciju*). 2. Dijeljeni spisi (1878. – 1918.). 2.6.3. Popisi i evidencijski listovi sumnjivih i nepodobnih osoba te bjegunaca. Archival box 912, files 695, R 2527 (566). Čulić Maria b. Nižetić. Court letter of 24 April 1916, 5.

on the education of women, arguing that it was insufficiently national (in the Yugoslav sense) and excessively clerical. In doing so, she urged that one should look to "Serbian women", who had "created and raised those epic heroes of Kosovo and Kumanovo".[127] Maja Nižetić's entry into that world may have come through her brother Zdravko, himself a member of the Yugoslav nationalist youth,[128] or through the Split native Jerko Čulić (1889–1953), from the family branch known as "Dragun," whom she met during this period and with whom she entered into a romantic relationship. A photograph of the two together from 1913 has been published,[129] and in the spring of 1914 they exchanged letters, while Čulić paid visits to Maja in Splitska. In a letter dated 28 March 1914, he foretold for her a better future and a Yugoslavia yet to come.[130] It is certain that they greeted the outbreak of the First World War as fiancés and as Yugoslav nationalists.[131]

Jerko Čulić began his political activity as a student at the Split Classical Gymnasium by joining the Social Democrats,[132] whose movement acquired its first party contours in Dalmatia in 1902.[133] As a young activist, together with Oskar Tartaglia and Vlado Matošić, he unsuccessfully attempted to steer the Split socialists onto the path of nationalism, since, following the model of the Second International, they largely remained indifferent to the national question.[134] It is therefore unsurprising that Čulić's activities soon moved beyond the framework of the Social Democratic programme and that in 1911 he joined the movement of Yugoslav nationalist youth. He was inspired by Kropotkin and by Stepniak's *Underground Russia*, and appeared as a "wandering preacher of revolution".[135] He studied law in Prague and Zagreb, successfully completing his studies in 1913 or 1914. On the occasion of the first anniversary of the assassination attempt by Luka Jukić on the royal commissioner Slavko Cuvaj, Čulić, with the assistance of the socialist Vilim Bukšeg, organized the printing and distribution of anti-Austrian

127 MAJA. Odgajajmo žene! *Sloboda* no. 252, 31 October 1913, 2.

128 MAJA. Odgajajmo žene! *Sloboda* no. 252, 31 October 1913, 4.

129 KARAULAC 2010: 135.

130 HR-DAST-181 *Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina*. 1. Omladinska zbirka. Archival box 3. Dokumenti Marije Nižetić-Čulić. Files 12/6. Transcript of the judgment dated 4 October 1915 against Oskar Tartaglia, Jerko Čulić, Zlatko Kačić Dimitri and Dinko Kargotić (Vr I 37/15/98), 23–24.

131 Croatia – The Croatian State Archives, fond 834 *Osobni fond Ante Tresić Pavičić* (hereafter: HR-HDA-834 *Tresić Pavičić*). Archival box 2, no. 83, rkp 1–3. Za *memoire* uoči rata, 283; BARTULOVIĆ 1925: 51; TARTAGLIA 1928: 115; NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ 1976: 112.

132 BLAŽEVIĆ 2017: 151

133 FORETIĆ 1970: 42–46.

134 TARTAGLIA 1928: 14; FORETIĆ 1970: 64.

135 HR-DAST-181 *Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina*. 1. Omladinska zbirka. Archival box 3. Dokumenti Marije Nižetić-Čulić. Files 12/1. Biography of Jerko Čulić.

leaflets in Budapest.[136] In 1913, he was a member of the editorial board of the short-lived Split newspaper *Ujedinjenje*, the organ of Yugoslav nationalists, for which reason he was sentenced – together with Augustin Ujević and Milostislav Bartulica – to a short term of imprisonment, which he served in Šibenik.[137] By distancing himself from the Social Democrats, Jerko Čulić grew close to Josip Smodlaka, the leading figure of the HPNS, who entrusted the editorship of the party's periodicals to young Yugoslav nationalists. In this way Oskar Tartaglia and Niko Bartulović were brought to prominence, as was Čulić himself, who for a time served as editor of the party newspapers *Pučka sloboda* and *Sloboda*.[138]

The editorial engagements of Jerko Čulić in the press were accompanied by the collaborative contributions of Maja Nižetić. After her cooperation with *Sloboda* had already been recorded in October 1913,[139] the newspaper published *The Last Days of a Condemned Man* by Victor Hugo in several instalments in late July 1914, in a translation from the French signed by Maja.[140] This occurred while Jerko Čulić was at the head of the editorial board, following the arrest of the editor-in-chief Niko Bartulović.[141] The arrest of the youth group associated with *Sloboda* and *Zastava*, and the subsequent suppression of these papers, brought an abrupt end to Čulić's tenure as editor-in-chief – which had lasted only a few issues – as well as to the publication of Hugo's translation by his fiancée.[142]

Alongside her brief episode at *Sloboda*, in the first half of 1914 Maja Nižetić collaborated more frequently with the aforementioned *Zastava*, the organ of Yugoslav nationalists edited in Split by Oskar Tartaglia. From the end of May until the regime's suppression of the opposition press in late July 1914, she published seven signed contributions in the column *Žena*,[143] and it is likely that some of the

136 HR-DAST-181 *Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina*. 1. Omladinska zbirka. Archival box 3. Dokumenti Marije Nižetić-Čulić. Files 12/1. Biography of Jerko Čulić; BARTULOVIĆ 1925: 30.

137 Rasprava radi „Ujedinjenja". *Sloboda* no. 205, 4 September 1913, 3; BARTULOVIĆ 1925: 30–32.

138 HR-DAST-181 *Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina*. 1. Omladinska zbirka. Archival box 3. Dokumenti Marije Nižetić-Čulić. Files 12/1. Biography of Jerko Čulić; BARTULOVIĆ 1925: 30–33; BLAŽEVIĆ 2017: 151.

139 MAJA. Odgajajmo žene! *Sloboda* no. 252, 31 October 1913, 2.

140 Podlistak. Zadnji dani na smrt osudjenoga. *Sloboda* no. 121, 22 July 1914, 1–2; Podlistak. Zadnji dani na smrt osudjenoga (nastavak 2). *Sloboda* no. 122, 23 July 1914, 1; Podlistak. Zadnji dani na smrt osudjenoga (nastavak 3). *Sloboda* no. 123, 24 July 1914, 1–2.

141 Gradske vijesti. Naš urednik pritvoren. *Sloboda* no. 120, 21 July 1914, 3; Gradske vijesti. Iz našeg novinstva. *Zastava* no. 46, 24 July 1914, 2; BARTULOVIĆ 1925: 48.

142 BARTULOVIĆ 1925: 48.

143 MAJA. Žena i nacijonalizam. *Zastava* no. 24, 25 May 1914, 4; MAJA. Muškarci i žensko neznanje. *Zastava* no. 25, 28 May 1914, 4; MAJA. Ne odnarodjujmo sami svoju djecu! *Zastava* no. 27, 4. June 1914, 4; MAJA. Obiteljski uzgoj i žena. *Zastava* no. 32, 19 June 1914, 4; MAJA.

unsigned texts published in this column in the preceding months were also hers. Through her newspaper contributions in *Zastava*, Nižetić sought to deconstruct patriarchal patterns, called for the social and moral emancipation of women, and attempted to stimulate their interest in broader social and political issues. The publicly articulated limits of Maja Nižetić's feminism are delineated by her reflections on the English suffragettes: "…these women feel that they have the strength and the capacity to act in public political life, yet are forcibly prevented from doing so; it is therefore not surprising that they resort to the most extreme, even eccentric, means, solely in order to achieve their goal, which in the end is *fully justified*. (The method of struggle of the suffragettes cannot, admittedly, be justified, but it is nevertheless understandable.)".[144] She further criticized education in religious institutions and the strong social role of the clergy. She regarded women as the foundation upon which nationalism is built and referred to Split as the most nationally conscious Yugoslav city.[145] In the nationalist press on the eve of the First World War, Maja's brother Zdravko Nižetić also began to publish; he was highly active in the movement and a member of the editorial board of the short-lived nationalist organ *Ujedinjenje* in 1913.[146] In the final year of the war, their younger brother Branko Nižetić was likewise among the ranks of Yugoslav nationalists.[147] During 1914, Maja Nižetić was involved in efforts to register the People's Women's Association (Narodna ženska zadruga) in Split. The purpose of the association was to educate women and to broaden their horizons through the organization of lectures and the establishment of a reading room, to be complemented by humanitarian-charitable and cultural-national activities.[148] Indeed, at the beginning of April 1914 a preparatory (promotional) committee was constituted.[149] Although the Imperial-Royal Governorate for Dalmatia did not manage to approve the statutes of the People's Women's Association before the outbreak of the First

Je li za žene politika? *Zastava* no. 35, 27 June 1914, 4; MAJA. Žena i moralni rad. *Zastava* no. 39, 8 July 1914, 4; MAJA. Olga Kernić – Pelešova: Predavanje o zadatku žene i ženskih udruga. *Zastava* no. 44, 20 July 1914, 3.

144 MAJA. Olga Kernić – Pelešova: Predavanje o zadatku žene i ženskih udruga. *Zastava* no. 44, 20 July 1914, 3.

145 MAJA. Žena i nacijonalizam. *Zastava* no. 24, 25 May 1914, 4; MAJA. Ne odnarodjujmo sami svoju djecu! *Zastava* no. 27, 4 June 1914, 4.

146 HR-DAST-181 *Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina*. 1. Omladinska zbirka. Archival box 3. Files 10/43. Letter from M. Bartulica to Lj. Jurković, 29 November 1963; BARTULOVIĆ 1925: 33, 35–36, 39, 41, 74; BARTULICA 1965: 378–379.

147 BARTULOVIĆ 1925: 74.

148 Žena. Narodna ženska udruga. *Zastava* no. 14, 20 April 1914, 4; Žena. Narodna ženska udruga. *Zastava* no. 16, 27 April 1914, 4; ROCA, Stj. Rad naše žene u Splitu. *Ženski svijet* no. 4, 1 April 1918, 167–168.

149 Zadnje vijesti. Narodna ženska udruga u Splitu. *Sloboda* no. 34., 4 April 1914, 4; Žena. Organizacija splitskih žena. *Zastava* no. 11, 6 April 1914, 4.

World War, and its establishment was therefore not formally completed under the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy,[150] the preparatory committee developed considerable activity. Its members met regularly, and a series of lectures intended for women was organized.[151] The intellectual impetus for the founding and activities of the People's Women's Association was provided primarily by Budislav Grga Angjelinović and Niko Bartulović, both ardent Yugoslav nationalists born on the island of Hvar.[152] The People's Women's Association, as well as its intellectual patrons, encountered fierce criticism from the Catholic press – especially in Split – which branded it a "breeding ground of anti-Croatianism and anti-Christianity".[153] According to the Catholic newspaper *Dan*, Maja Nižetić – described as a contributor to *Zastava*, the "right hand of oscaretto" (Oskar Tartaglia), and a "renowned nationalist" – was among the leading figures of the women's movement in Split, particularly active in advocating the extension of suffrage to the female population.[154] Although at that time the president of the preparatory committee of the People's Women's Association was Danica Bulat, the wife of Gajo Bulat Jr. – a deputy of the Croatian Party in the Dalmatian Parliament[155] – the formal establishment of the People's Women's Association in Split would ultimately be completed after the First World War, owing above all to the engagement of Maja Nižetić.[156]

Her involvement in the founding of the People's Women's Association, her collaboration with *Domaće ognjište*, and above all her engaged articles published in *Zastava*, reveal the profile of one of the first Dalmatian feminists – perhaps even the very first. The texts by Maja Nižetić published in the months preceding the outbreak of the First World War in Tartaglia's *Zastava* were imbued with Yugoslav nationalism and anticlericalism, which – together with the social milieu to which she belonged – cast suspicion upon her, culminating in her indictment and imprisonment in Austro-Hungarian prisons.

---

150 ROCA, Stj. Rad naše žene u Splitu. *Ženski svijet* no. 4, 1 April 1918, 168; Pravila „Narodne Ženske Udruge". *Sloboda* no. 96, 23 June 1914, 3.

151 ROCA, Stj. Rad naše žene u Splitu. *Ženski svijet* no. 4, 1 April 1918, 168; Zadnje vijesti. Narodna ženska udruga u Splitu. *Sloboda* no. 34, 4 April 1914, 4.

152 Predavanje. *Sloboda* no. 30, 31 March 1914, 3; Predavanje za članice Nar. Ženske Udruge. *Sloboda* no. 107, 6 July 1914, 3; Narodna ženska Udruga (Leglo protuhrvatstva i protukršćanstva). *Dan* no. 9, 23 April 1914, 7.

153 Nepristojna hajka na „Žensku udrugu". *Sloboda* no. 40, 11 April 1914, 3; Narodna ženska Udruga (Leglo protuhrvatstva i protukršćanstva). *Dan* no. 9, 23 April 1914, 7; Narodna ženska udruga (Zrelo shvaćanje o zadaći žene). *Hrvatska misao* no. 45, 6 June 1914, 2.

154 Gradske vijesti. Najnovija akcija. *Dan* no. 14, 28 May 1914, 7; Iz „Narodne Ženske Udruge". *Dan* no. 15, 4 June 1914, 7.

155 Gradske vijesti. Narodna ženska udruga. *Zastava* no. 20, 11 May 1914, 4; Gradske vijesti. Narodna ženska udruga. *Dan* no. 14, 28 May 1914, 7; Uapšenja. *Hrvatska misao* no. 62, 1 August 1914, 2; IVANIŠEVIĆ 2017: 56.

156 ČULIĆ, Maja. Narodna Ženska Zadruga. *Novo doba* no. 181, 7 December 1918, 2.

Enumerating by name nearly seventy political prisoners from the wartime period, Oskar Tartaglia mentioned two women: Maja Nižetić and "Miss Vidović".[157] Niko Bartulović likewise mentions, alongside her, Dobrila Vidović among the imprisoned,[158] while Maja herself refers to no more than a few women.[159] Judging by their content and representation in historical sources, it appears that Maja Nižetić was the only woman in the front ranks of the Yugoslav nationalist youth, particularly within the Split group. In prison, as in the movement itself, she found herself like a white raven – a young woman among a sizable multitude of men, Yugoslav nationalists, including her fiancé, the audacious revolutionary Jerko Čulić.[160]

The Citizens of Marburg

After arriving in Split on 18 July 1914 and joining the local circle of Yugoslav nationalists, Ivo Andrić spent approximately two carefree weeks at liberty. Thereafter, the accelerating wheel of history dragged his poetic soul into the abyss as well. In the period preceding his arrest, Andrić spent his time discreetly in Split, swimming and strolling through the picturesque landscapes of Marjan and Sustipan. He associated with Maja Nižetić and Jerko Čulić, and with only a few others from their circle, such as Oskar Tartaglia and Vlado Matošić. Niko Bartulović, who was the first to be arrested on 20 July 1914, was someone Andrić came to know only later, in a prison cell.[161]

In the days of Austria-Hungary's declaration of war on Serbia, in late July and early August 1914, the columns of the more compliant newspapers that survived seizures and censorship were filled with terse reports of arrests throughout Austrian Dalmatia.[162] Within just a few days, numerous members of the Dalmatian political

[157] TARTAGLIA 1928: 82–83.

[158] BARTULOVIĆ 1940: 73.

[159] NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ 2023: 21.

[160] JELASKA MARIJAN 2019: 56.

[161] ANDRIĆ 2004: 66–67; NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ 2023: 20–21. Niko Bartulović constructed the plot of his documentary novel *Moj prijatelj Tonislav Malvasija* (1940) around prison memories. Ivo Andrić, Maja Nižetić, Jerko Čulić, Oskar Tartaglia, Bartulović himself, and other members of the youth movement appear in the work as literary characters. In the novel *Na prelomu* (1929), whose revised and expanded version was published posthumously under the title *Glas iz gorućeg grma* (2003), Bartulović autobiographically sketched, through the fate of his alter ego Ivo Tadić, the ideological formation of the generation of Yugoslav nationalist youth to which he belonged; here too, individuals from his circle appear as characters. Approached with due critical caution, Bartulović's novels also constitute a valuable source for historiographical research and should not be dismissed lightly.

[162] Gradske vijesti. *Dan* no. 27, 22 July 1914, 3; Gradske vijesti. *Dan* no. 30, 29 July 1914, 2; Rat izmegju Austrije i Srbije. *Dan* no. 31, 30 July 1914, 1; Domaće vijesti. *Dan* no. 31, 30 July 1914, 2.

and intellectual elite found themselves behind bars: Josip Smodlaka, Ante Tresić Pavičić, Melko Čingrija, Mate Drinković, Ivo Tartaglia, Prvislav Grisogono, and Ivo Grisogono, among others. Some of them at the time held parliamentary mandates in the Dalmatian Parliament and the Imperial Council. In Šibenik, *conte* Ivo Vojnović, a literary icon of the Yugoslav nationalist youth, was imprisoned.[163]

A large proportion of those arrested consisted of Yugoslav nationalists from the ranks of the youth, including the Split circle whose influence had grown through its engagement in nationalist newspapers.[164] During the arrest of the more prominent members of the movement in Split, investigators did not overlook the temporary editor of *Sloboda*, Jerko Čulić, nor his fiancée, the teacher Maja Nižetić. Čulić was arrested on 30 July 1914 in Postira on the island of Brač, where he had taken refuge after an arrest warrant had been issued against him,[165] while Maja was arrested on 5 August, when, following the end of the school year, she was staying with her mother in Split.[166] They were imprisoned in the building of the old lazaret on the Split waterfront, together with Ivo Andrić,[167] who was taken into custody probably between these two arrests. The exact date is reported with some variation in the historical sources.[168] Alongside Vladimir Čerina, who defected at the last moment to the Kingdom of Italy, the more prominent members of this group who evaded Austrian prisons were Augustin Ujević and Milostislav Bartulica. From 1913 onward, both operated outside the borders of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.[169]

Ivo Andrić, a tubercular student from Bosnia whom, up to that fateful summer, the interventions of Tugomir Alaupović had moved from one university of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy to another, did not originally belong to the Split group. Yet the police authorities were evidently familiar with Andrić's prior record of engagement on behalf of the Yugoslav cause. According to the recollections of Maja Nižetić, in early August 1914 he was taken from a Split café for a search of his lodgings and then brought to prison.[170] Of his first day in the Split prison, Ivo Andrić later wrote in

163 BARTULOVIĆ 1925: 51–52; TARTAGLIA 1928: 82–83; BULJAN 2018: 621.

164 BARTULOVIĆ 1925: 47–51.

165 HR-DAST-181 *Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina.* 1. Omladinska zbirka. Archival box 3. Dokumenti Marije Nižetić-Čulić. Files 12/1. Application by Jerko Čulić for compensation for damages suffered during the war.

166 Gradske vijesti. Dalnja Uhapšenja. *Dan* no. 32, 3 August 1914, 3; Spljet i okolica. Daljna uapšenja. *Dan* no. 35, 6 August 1914, 2; NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ 2023: 20–21.

167 BARTULOVIĆ 1925: 51; NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ 2023: 20–21.

168 ĐUKIĆ PERIŠIĆ 2012: 169–170.

169 HR-DAST-181 *Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina.* 1. Omladinska zbirka. Archival box 1. Files 1. Raić, Vlaho. Jugoslavenska Nacionalistička Omladina od god. 1906. do 1918., 10; BARTULICA 1965: 377–379.

170 NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ 2023: 21.

a prose reminiscence: "I pressed my hands over my mouth so as not to cry out like a child. All night long I listened to my heart beating and to the sirens of ships calling to one another across the sea, and in every single second I knew that it was I who was trembling on the prison cot, and that for all of us a long suffering was beginning".[171]

Ivo Andrić and Jerko Čulić were briefly transferred to the investigative prison in Šibenik; they were then returned to Split and reunited with Maja Nižetić and the other political prisoners. On the night of 15–16 August 1914, all of them, bound in chains, were transported by ship to Rijeka. Maja later recalled that the sensitive Andrić did not endure the shackles well: "Ivo was shaken by this sight and was in tears. When Jerko and I approached him, without a word he took our hands, squeezed them, and would not let go".[172] From Rijeka, the prisoners were sent by train via Zagreb to Budapest; however, owing to overcrowding in the prison at Arad, they were ultimately redirected on 19 August 1914 to Maribor (German: Marburg). In August, military units marched through the city, ready for departure to the front. As the political prisoners were escorted through the city streets under guard, passers-by treated the Yugoslav nationalists from Dalmatia as Serbian prisoners of war – insulting them, spitting at them, and striking them with umbrellas.[173] The motif reappears in the closing phase of the war in Andrić's first collection, *Ex Ponto*, which contains the following passage: "Yes, in your city, unknown fair-haired lady, I learned what it is like to walk pale, weary, and crushed through damp streets, while from illuminated balconies callous men and cruel women applaud. From you I learned what it is like to be bound, a helpless captive, when they spit in his face".[174]

Although the hostile atmosphere on the streets of Maribor gave no indication of it, conditions for Yugoslav nationalists in the Maribor prison were tolerable.[175] Maja Nižetić was housed in the women's ward, together with prostitutes, but she was not completely cut off from her fiancé Jerko Čulić, Ivo Andrić, and the others in the men's ward. They established coded communication between cells and secretly exchanged letters, slipping them between the pages of books or into cork stoppers left in the prison yard.[176] In unpublished notes from his imprisonment in Maribor, the politician and writer Ante Tresić Pavičić recorded: "Čulić corresponds regularly with his fiancée, Miss Nižetić, by means of coded letters, which require a particular patience that only love can provide".[177] Tresić described Maja

171 ANDRIĆ 2004: 70.

172 NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ 2023: 23.

173 NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ 2023: 23–25; KARAULAC 2010: 123–124.

174 ANDRIĆ 2014: 75.

175 NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ 2023: 26; KARAULAC 2010: 125.

176 BARTULOVIĆ 1940: 83–88; NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ 2023: 26, 29.

177 HR-HDA-834 *Tresić Pavičić*. Archival box 2, no. 83, rkp 1–3. Za *memoire* uoči rata, 283.

Nižetić's demeanor during walks in the prison yard as "gentle, but not timid".[178] At the close of 1914, Ivo Andrić and all the inmates of his prison cell sent Maja Christmas greetings on a note, including the prominent politicians Josip Smodlaka and Mate Drinković,[179] and sent her six apples as a gift.[180] The "Marburg citizens" – as Andrić liked to refer to himself and his fellow prisoners in Maribor[181] – invested their suffering with meaning. They studied foreign languages and had at their disposal a small collection of books. While awaiting the completion of the investigation and the commencement of the trial, they were accompanied above all by Russian writers: Nikolay Novikov, Nikolay Chernyshevsky, Isaac Babel… They read *Mother* by Maxim Gorky, the memoirs of Prince Peter Kropotkin, and *Underground Russia* by Sergei Stepniak, which proved especially popular.[182] Imprisonment inspired Ivo Andrić, and he diligently recorded his thoughts.[183] The experience of incarceration would leave a mark on his work, particularly his prose, reaching its culmination in *The Damned Yard*.[184]

The position of the Split nationalist group before the judicial authorities of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy was eased by the efforts of Ante Štambuk, a senior judicial councillor in Split.[185] He was a former member of the Party of Rights youth and, on the eve of the First World War, served as a representative of Josip Smodlaka's HPNS in the Split Municipal Council.[186] In her recollections of her association with Ivo Andrić and of the days spent in prison, Maja Nižetić noted that Štambuk's generation did not always agree with the activities of the nationalist youth, yet he "did much good" for them.[187] On that occasion, she did not mention that he was her maternal uncle.[188] Ante Štambuk organized assistance for the

178 HR-HDA-834 *Tresić Pavičić*. Archival box 2, no. 83, rkp 1–3. Za *memoire* uoči rata, 295.

179 Mate Drinković, a politician and physician, was connected by marriage to the family of Maja Nižetić. Namely, his wife Marija Franka Drinković (1872–1959), née Štambuk, was a cousin of Maja's mother Filomena: their fathers were brothers. See: ŠTAMBUK 2019: 59; JELASKA MARIJAN 2019: 58–60.

Another prominent Yugoslav nationalist, Ljubo Leontić, a politician, lawyer, and diplomat, was likewise related to these families by kinship. His second wife was Anđelka Drinković, the daughter of Mate Drinković and thus a close relative of Maja. See: HR-DAST-409 *SUP za Dalmaciju*. Osobni dosjei. Archival box 81. Dossier no. 30698 – Branko Nižetić. Undated transcript of a conversation with Branko Nižetić, 2.

180 NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ 1976: 113.

181 ANDRIĆ 2000: 118–119.

182 NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ 2023: 26; KARAULAC 2010: 125.

183 ĐUKIĆ PERIŠIĆ 2012: 176.

184 JANDRIĆ 1982: 144; NEMEC 2016: 286–288.

185 † Dr. Ante Štambuk. *Novo doba* no. 275, 10 November 1939, 2; NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ 2023: 27.

186 † Dr. Ante Štambuk. *Novo doba* no. 275, 10 November 1939, 2; Sprovod dra A. Štambuka. *Novo doba* no. 277, 12 November 1939, NIŽETIĆ 1940: 74–77.

187 NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ 2023: 27.

188 ŽAS, *Stanje duša u župi Selca*, 296; ŽAS, *Liber baptizatorum 1813. – 1869*., 267.

imprisoned youths and their families and secured for them a lenient investigating judge, Jerko Moskovita, who, himself inclined toward Yugoslavism, secretly aided the detained nationalists.[189]

Ivo Andrić enjoyed a special status among the imprisoned. Not only because he was relatively well known within the circles of the nationalist youth, but also because, as a Bosnian among Dalmatians and as one of the youngest inmates, the newly arisen situation was particularly distressing for him.[190] For this reason, his companions treated him with particular consideration, and they were also impressed by the breadth of his education. Maja Nižetić recorded: "His unparalleled composure, clarity of judgment; the calmness and dignity in his manner, which seemed to come naturally, and his youthful melancholy with which he was born, made him all the more exceptional".[191] In Maribor, Ivo Andrić shared a cell with Jerko Čulić, until in January 1915, prior to the opening of the trial, he was separated and placed in a basement solitary cell.[192] He was charged with the crime of high treason on account of his participation in the Yugoslav nationalist youth movement and his collaboration with the movement's revolutionary periodicals.[193] At the trial, an aggravating circumstance was Andrić's poem *Prva proljetna pjesma*, published at the beginning of 1914 in the second issue of *Vihor*, edited by Vladimir Čerina, in which Andrić implicitly invoked the arrival of the Serbian king's army.[194] However, owing to a lack of evidence, the public prosecutor's office abandoned further prosecution in March 1915. The poet was released from the Maribor prison in poor health on 20 March 1915, and was placed under confinement in his home region.[195] While travelling from Maribor to Travnik, he wrote to Maja Nižetić from Zagreb on that very day: "I am travelling – without being allowed to interrupt – home. I have not forgotten my good friend. I am not well. I am in haste. Be healthy and cheerful, and do not forget your friend".[196] He contacted her again the very next day from Bosanski Brod: "Once again I wish to greet you and to remind you of a friend who often thinks of you. I am travelling without interruption; I am as if poisoned. Think kindly of me and do not forget me.

189 TARTAGLIA, Oskar. Jerko Moskovita. *Zastava* no. 3, 8 May 1919, 2; Podlistak. Jedno veče medju veleizdajnicima iz g. 1914. *Novo doba* no. 289, 18 December 1923, 3; NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ 2023: 27–28.

190 BARTULOVIĆ 1940: 10; NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ 2023: 28.

191 NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ 2023: 28.

192 NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ 2023: 28–29.

193 KARAULAC 2010: 129–130.

194 ANDRIĆ, Ivo. Prva proljetna pjesma. *Vihor* no. 2, 15 March 1914, 32; NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ 2023: 29; KARAULAC 2010: 222.

195 KARAULAC 2010: 130–131; ĐUKIĆ PERIŠIĆ 2012: 176–177.

196 ANDRIĆ 2000: 117.

Greet everyone. – I am not well. – Addio!"[197] For Maja, who remained in prison, this was the last news of Ivo Andrić until they met again in Zagreb following the general amnesty for political prisoners in 1917.[198]

Upon his arrival from Maribor, Ivo Andrić was welcomed in his home region of Travnik "like a prodigal son, who had been lost and was found again".[199] There he remained under confinement until July 1915 and frequently visited Bosnian monasteries, studying Franciscan chronicles, until he was placed in the Military Hospital in Zenica, where he met and spent time with Božo Dujmović and Stanko Štambuk[200] from the island of Brač, both relatives of Maja Nižetić.[201]

Meanwhile, Maja Nižetić was going through difficult days. Shortly before Ivo Andrić's release, she was transferred to Šibenik on 15 March 1915. There she became friends with the writer Ivo Vojnović, who, after her release from prison, presented her with a photograph bearing the dedication: "To Sister Maja, my companion in the dungeon!"[202] Also held in the Šibenik pre-trial prison was Vojnović's fellow townsman, the Dubrovnik journalist Kristo Dominković. While the male political prisoners enjoyed a degree of relative freedom within the prison and passed the time in intellectual discussions led chiefly by *conte* Ivo Vojnović and the politicians Ivo Krstelj and Mate Drinković, Maja Nižetić was held in a solitary cell in the women's ward.[203] Kristo Dominković expressed his impressions of her in his postwar prison memoirs: "She is very intelligent, and it is interesting to conduct serious conversations with her. Neither the dungeon nor the trial itself confuses her in the least, nor do they extinguish her cheerful spirit. In the investigative prison they torment her greatly, seeking to extract from her various admissions or statements, taking into account that she is a woman and assuming that she will yield more easily. But she is harder than stone. When we were in the prison yard for a walk, we would seize the opportunity to speak with her through the cell window and to exchange information about the progress of the investigation. At times she would be overcome by tears at the cruelty and ruthlessness shown toward her, but those tears not only strengthened her spirit; they even instilled in her a sense of defiance toward her tormentors".[204]

197 ANDRIĆ 2000: 117.

198 NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ 2023: 31.

199 KARAULAC 2010: 132.

200 It appears most likely that this was Stanko Štambuk (1895–1971), the son of the previously mentioned Sarajevo entrepreneur Ante Štambuk (1856–?). See: ŠTAMBUK 2019: 65.

201 JANDRIĆ 1982: 380–381; POLJAK 2002: 21; ĐUKIĆ-PERIŠIĆ 2012: 179–181; NEMEC 2016: 28.

202 NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ 1976: 113; NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ 2023: 30–31.

203 DOMINKOVIĆ 1922: 242–247.

204 DOMINKOVIĆ 1922: 242–243.

Kristo Dominković was released from the Šibenik prison in mid-1915,[205] while Maja Nižetić was returned to Maribor around the same time and subsequently transferred to the prison in Graz, as were many others, in response to the Kingdom of Italy's entry into the war and the approach of the front toward Dalmatia. The incriminations brought against Maja Nižetić were more readily provable than in Ivo Andrić's case.[206] The prosecution had already asserted in the indictment against her fiancé Jerko Čulić that Yugoslav nationalists had "sown their poisonous seed even in primary schools".[207] Specifically, Maja Nižetić was accused, as a teacher in Splitska on the island of Brač, of bringing up her pupils in an anti-Austrian and Yugoslav spirit, while Čulić was charged with having, in the spring of 1914, during his visits to his fiancée on Brač, disseminated "Greater-Serbian propaganda" among local primary schoolchildren and incited hatred against the state and the Habsburg dynasty.[208] In a letter from March 1913, the teacher Antun Farčić, who taught in primary schools in Vela Luka on the island of Korčula and in Dugopolje between 1911 and 1914, described to Maja Nižetić how he was encouraging sympathies among his pupils for the Kingdom of Serbia and King Peter I of Serbia, while at the same time inciting hatred against the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and its monarch Franz Joseph I.[209] This suggests a coordinated pattern of action within the educational system, possibly even a broader strategy developed within the ranks of the nationalist youth, aimed at disseminating the Yugoslav idea and anti-Austrian revolutionary sentiment among the youngest generations.

Maja Nižetić explained to her pupils that Emperor Franz Joseph I did not understand their language and that they therefore would not be able to communicate with him, whereas they would be able to do so with the Serbian king.[210] Through Milostislav Bartulica, a member of the United Nationalist Youth who

[205] DOMINKOVIĆ 1922: 267–269.

[206] HR-DAST-181 *Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina*. 1. Omladinska zbirka. Archival box 3. Dokumenti Marije Nižetić-Čulić. Files 12/1. Biography of Jerko Čulić; FRANČESKI, J. Portreti i susreti. Zaustaviti vrijeme, živjeti! *Slobodna Dalmacija* no. 6871, 1 April 1967, 2; NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ 2023: 29–30.

[207] HR-DAST-181 *Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina*. 1. Omladinska zbirka. Archival box 3. Dokumenti Marije Nižetić-Čulić. Files 12/3. Transcript of the indictment dated 21 April 1915 against Oskar Tartaglia, Jerko Čulić, Zlatko Kačić Dimitri, and Dinko Kargotić (St. 1172/14), 8.

[208] HR-DAST-181 *Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina*. 1. Omladinska zbirka. Archival box 3. Dokumenti Marije Nižetić-Čulić. Files 12/3. Transcript of the indictment dated 21 April 1915 against Oskar Tartaglia, Jerko Čulić, Zlatko Kačić Dimitri, and Dinko Kargotić (St. 1172/14), 2, 8–9.

[209] HR-DAZD-88 *Vlada/Namjesništvo za Dalmaciju*. 2. Dijeljeni spisi (1878. – 1918.). 2.6.3. Popisi i evidencijski listovi sumnjivih i nepodobnih osoba te bjegunaca. Archival box 912, files 695, R 2527 (566). Čulić Maria b. Nižetić. Court letter of 24 April 1916, 5.

[210] NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ 2023: 29–30.

had been residing in Belgrade since 1913, she sent to the local editorial office of *Pijemont*, the organ of the officers' organization, the Black Hand, ideologically charged pieces drawn from her pupils' school assignments.[211] Consequently, in the criminal proceedings the court summoned schoolchildren from the island of Brač to Graz, whose testimonies were used as evidence against Maja Nižetić.[212] In addition, the charges against her also concerned her frequent collaboration with the revolutionary nationalist newspaper *Zastava*, as well as the allegation that she had, at the behest of Vladimir Čerina, translated one of Giuseppe Mazzini's works from Italian.[213]

The defence of Maja Nižetić before the court was conducted by the eminent Istrian lawyer and politician Matko Laginja, and was based on the claim that the accused suffered from certain psychological disturbances.[214] After three months of observation at a clinic in Graz, a medical commission concluded on 17 February 1916 that a mental disorder was indeed present in the accused, while noting that it could not be established that the acts for which she was charged were entirely a consequence of that condition.[215] After the war, Maja Nižetić-Čulić explained that in an Austrian prison she had been compelled to "simulate madness" in order to save herself "from death on the gallows".[216] Under these circumstances, by a judgment at first instance of 4 May 1916 she was acquitted and, while awaiting her return home, wrote to her mother in a state of elation.[217] However, following an appeal lodged by the prosecution, she was ultimately convicted of high treason by a judgment of the Supreme and Court of Cassation in Vienna on 25

211 HR-DAZD-88 *Vlada/Namjesništvo za Dalmaciju*. 2. Dijeljeni spisi (1878. – 1918.). 2.6.3. Popisi i evidencijski listovi sumnjivih i nepodobnih osoba te bjegunaca. Archival box 912, files 695, R 2527 (566). Čulić Maria b. Nižetić. Court letter of 24 April 1916, 3; NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ 2023: 30.

212 HR-DAZD-88 *Vlada/Namjesništvo za Dalmaciju*. 2. Dijeljeni spisi (1878. – 1918.). 2.6.3. Popisi i evidencijski listovi sumnjivih i nepodobnih osoba te bjegunaca. Archival box 912, files 695, R 2527 (566). Čulić Maria b. Nižetić. C. k. kotarsko poglavarstvo u Supetru Predsjedništvu C. k. namjesništvu Kninu, no. 259 from 1916; FRANČESKI, J. Portreti i susreti. Zaustaviti vrijeme, živjeti! *Slobodna Dalmacija* no. 6871, 1 April 1967, 2; NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ 1976: 114.

213 NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ 2023: 30.

214 NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ 1976: 114; NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ 2023: 30.

215 HR-DAST-181 *Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina*. 1. Omladinska zbirka. Archival box 3. Dokumenti Marije Nižetić-Čulić. Files 12/3. Transcript of the medical opinion dated 17 February 1916.

216 HR-DAST-181 *Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina*. 1. Omladinska zbirka. Archival box 3. Dokumenti Marije Nižetić-Čulić. Files 12/3. Transcript of a letter, dated 1923, from M. Nižetić-Čulić to the National Assembly in Belgrade, Committee for Petitions and Complaints.

217 HR-DAST-181 *Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina*. 1. Omladinska zbirka. Archival box 3. Dokumenti Marije Nižetić-Čulić. Files 12/3. Postcard from M. Nižetić to her mother, F. Nižetić, 4 May 1916.

November 1916 and sentenced to three years' imprisonment.[218] Meanwhile, her fiancé Jerko Čulić had been sentenced on 28 April 1915 to eighteen months of hard imprisonment.[219] He was released from the penitentiary only at the end of August 1916, subsequently interned in the Göllersdorf camp, and finally placed under confinement in Graz.[220]

Maja Nižetić and Jerko Čulić entered prison in 1914 as fiancés, and three years later returned from confinement as husband and wife. While awaiting his release from prison, Ivo Andrić already in March 1915 wrote to Maja in her cell: "...who knows whether we shall ever see each other again, and whether I shall be your wedding attendant".[221] He was not, for they were married after his departure, on 26 October 1916, while Nižetić, in Graz, was awaiting the pronouncement of the final verdict.[222] On their way to the church, Maja Nižetić and Jerko Čulić were accompanied by a police agent. The ceremony was officiated by Ante Anić, a priest from Korčula, who was also a political prisoner. The witnesses were Oskar Tartaglia and Niko Bartulović, as well as Pero Magazin and Maja's brother Zdravko Nižetić,[223] who had been arrested after her for anti-state propaganda while attempting to cross into Switzerland.[224]

---

218 HR-DAST-181 *Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina*. 1. Omladinska zbirka. Archival box 3. Dokumenti Marije Nižetić-Čulić. Files 12/4. Letter from M. Laginja to J. Čulić, 25 November 1916; HR-DAZD-88 *Vlada/Namjesništvo za Dalmaciju*. 2. Dijeljeni spisi (1878. – 1918.). 2.6.3. Popisi i evidencijski listovi sumnjivih i nepodobnih osoba te bjegunaca. Archival box 912, files 695, R 2527 (566). Čulić Maria b. Nižetić. *Nachperlustrierung zu Čulić Marie geb. Nižetić*, 29 August 1917; FRANČESKI, J. Portreti i susreti. Zaustaviti vrijeme, živjeti! *Slobodna Dalmacija* no. 6871, 1 April 1967, 2.

219 HR-DAST-181 *Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina*. 1. Omladinska zbirka. Archival box 3. Dokumenti Marije Nižetić-Čulić. Files 12/4. Transcript of the judgment dated 28 April 1916 against Oskar Tartaglia, Jerko Čulić, Zlatko Kačić Dimitri and Dinko Kargotić (GZ Kr VIII 84/15.), 1–9.

220 HR-DAST-181 *Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina*. 1. Omladinska zbirka. Archival box 3. Dokumenti Marije Nižetić-Čulić. Files 12/1. Biography of Jerko Čulić; HR-DAST-181 *Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina*. 1. Omladinska zbirka. Archival box 3. Dokumenti Marije Nižetić-Čulić. Files 12/1. Application by Jerko Čulić for compensation for damages suffered during the war.

221 ANDRIĆ 2000: 116. In the original, Andrić uses the term "djever", a Croatian word denoting the person who leads the bride to the wedding ceremony and formally hands her over to the groom.

222 FRANČESKI, J. Portreti i susreti. Zaustaviti vrijeme, živjeti! *Slobodna Dalmacija* no. 6871, 1 April 1967, 2; NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ 1976: 114.

223 HR-DAST-173 *Kuničić Petar*. Unpublished typescript "Učitelji djece u Dalmaciji", Split, 1940, Nižetić-Čulić, Maja; TARTAGLIA 1928: 115.

224 HR-DAZD-88 *Vlada/Namjesništvo za Dalmaciju*. 2. Dijeljeni spisi (1878. – 1918.). 2.6.3. Popisi i evidencijski listovi sumnjivih i nepodobnih osoba te bjegunaca. Archival box 912, files 695, R 2527 (566). Čulić Maria b. Nižetić. Court letter of 24 April 1916, 4; BARTULOVIĆ 1925: 51; BARTULOVIĆ 1940: 87.

It is remarkable that during her stay in Graz, Maja Nižetić conceived and on 25 May 1917 gave birth to her first child, a son named Dmitar.[225] On 3 March 1917, the execution of her sentence was suspended for several months owing to her pregnancy.[226] In July 1917, Emperor Charles I of Austria granted an amnesty to political prisoners; however, even thereafter the Austrian authorities did not permit the Čulić family to leave confinement in Graz and return to Dalmatia. The spouses left Styria with their child only after political intervention by members of the Yugoslav Club – Anton Korošec in Vienna and Juraj Biankini in Zadar – and in mid-October 1917 returned to Split via Zagreb. Thereafter, Jerko Čulić was called up for military service, but avoided being sent to the front by leaving without authorization for Zagreb, where he found refuge in the Sisters of Charity Hospital on Vinogradska Street[227] – a hospital in which, since the beginning of November 1917, Ivo Andrić had also been staying.[228]

Encouraged by the easing of the regime's restraints, Zagreb's intellectual circles and political parties increasingly and openly aligned themselves with political Yugoslavism.[229] Consequently, in the final months of the First World War this Zagreb hospital became an informal political refuge for all those who possessed even minimally plausible medical grounds, especially for the many former inmates of Austrian prisons – Yugoslav nationalists.[230] There, alongside Ivo Andrić, Oskar Tartaglia, Niko Bartulović, and Jerko Čulić once again found themselves together, all of them recently released former prisoners and members of the Split-based leadership of the prewar United Nationalist Youth. Ivo Vojnović was also there, and he showed particular sympathy for the young Andrić.[231]

An opportunity opened up for members of the nationalist youth in the heart of Zagreb to take part in the completion of a major goal – the overthrow of the enfeebled Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the establishment of a Yugoslav state. Jerko

[225] FRANČESKI, J. Portreti i susreti. Zaustaviti vrijeme, živjeti! *Slobodna Dalmacija* no. 6871, 1 April 1967, 2; NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ 1976: 114; ŠENOA 2025.

[226] HR-DAST-181 *Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina*. 1. Omladinska zbirka. Archival box 3. Dokumenti Marije Nižetić-Čulić. Files 12/3. Transcript of court rulings dated 3 March 1917 and 3 July 1917.

[227] HR-DAST-181 *Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina*. 1. Omladinska zbirka. Archival box 3. Dokumenti Marije Nižetić-Čulić. Files 12/1. Application by Jerko Čulić for compensation for damages suffered during the war; HR-DAST-181 *Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina*. 1. Omladinska zbirka. Archival box 3. Dokumenti Marije Nižetić-Čulić. Files 12/3. Transcript of a letter, dated 1923, from M. Nižetić-Čulić to the National Assembly in Belgrade, Committee for Petitions and Complaints; NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ 2023: 31–32.

[228] NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ 2023: 31–32; POLJAK 2002: 22.

[229] STANIČIĆ 2023: 70–74.

[230] BARTULOVIĆ 1925: 71.

[231] NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ 2023: 31–32; ĐUKIĆ PERIŠIĆ 2012: 184–186.

[232] BARTULOVIĆ 1925: 73–75.

Čulić travelled feverishly between Zagreb and the provinces in order to organize propaganda. He returned to Split only in the autumn of 1918.[232] Meanwhile, during 1918 Ivo Andrić published intensively in *Književni jug*, a Yugoslav unitarist review that he launched in Zagreb at the beginning of the year together with Niko Bartulović.[233] On 29 October 1918, the Croatian Parliament adopted a resolution dissolving the constitutional–legal ties of the Kingdoms of Croatia, Slavonia, and Dalmatia with Austria and Hungary and, invoking the national unity of the three peoples, proclaimed the establishment of the provisional State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs. In this way, the preconditions were created for unification with the Kingdom of Serbia, which had immediately beforehand annexed Vojvodina and the Kingdom of Montenegro, into a single Yugoslav state[234] – which was met in Split with undisguised enthusiasm.[235] On that day, Ivo Andrić dedicated a copy of his first lyrical collection *Ex ponto* to Maja Nižetić-Čulić, inscribing: "To a brave and good Maribor companion, on the day of liberation, Zagreb, 29 Oct. 1918".[236]

The Grapes of Victory

"Your victory has a low brow and red eyes. The victor's gaze is restless. Cursed is your fiery wine of victory," Ivo Andrić wrote in 1920 in his second collection *Nemiri*.[237] Although in later life he would say that the newly created state was not the community his generation had expected, since many of their ideals had been betrayed,[238] the triumph of Yugoslavism briefly swept up even the otherwise restrained poet. On 8 November 1918, the Zagreb daily *Novosti* published Ivo Andrić's short but impassioned article *Nezvani neka šute*. With an uncharacteristically sharp tone for him, he turned against those voices that were publicly questioning the programme of national oneness and demanding guarantees of an equal position for Croats within the Yugoslav state. The article concluded with the message: "And all of us who have carried this idea of unification untainted through fratricidal battles, and did not betray it before the perjured Austrian courts, will know how to defend it even against unscrupulous journalists and irritable, self-appointed politicos".[239]

During those months of 1918, Ivo Andrić devoted himself in Zagreb to reading, produced a considerable amount of work, and published extensively, mostly

233 ĐUKIĆ PERIŠIĆ 2012: 186; STANIČIĆ 2023: 113.

234 BOBAN 1992: 10–11; ŠUTE 2019: 35.

235 JELASKA MARIJAN 2009: 70.

236 ANDRIĆ 2000: 114; NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ 2023: 32.

237 ANDRIĆ 2014: 93.

238 JANDRIĆ 1982: 113–114.

239 ANDRIĆ, Ivo. Nezvani neka šute. *Novosti* no. 299, 8 November 1918, 3.

in *Književni jug*. He also re-enrolled in his studies.[240] Toward the end of the First World War, Maja Nižetić-Čulić published several texts as well, appearing in *Ženski svijet* (from November 1918 the title was changed to *Jugoslavenska žena*). This was a feminist-oriented periodical edited by Zofka Kveder, which was at the same time permeated with Yugoslav nationalism.[241] Nižetić-Čulić's first poem came out in *Ženski svijet* was *Kosovi*, printed in mid-1918, in which the eponymous birds bring her – wearied by suffering and torn from her home region – images and scents of her native land. An allusion to her days of imprisonment is clearly discernible.[242] Subsequently, in November 1918, her poem *S Bogom* was issued, written in May 1915 during transport between two prisons.[243] In that issue of *Jugoslavenska žena*, a text by Ivo Andrić appeared for the first time – the poem *San Marino* – while the preceding issue had carried the poem *Očekivanje*, the first contribution by Branko Nižetić, Maja's brother.[244] All this was not coincidental, but rather the result of close personal ties and the fact that Ivo Andrić, Maja Nižetić-Čulić, and her brothers belonged to the same ideological circle. After that, in December 1918, Ivo Andrić published in *Jugoslavenska žena* the poem *Burna noć*, written in Maribor prison, followed in February 1920 by the short story *Knez sa tužnim očima*.[245] Branko Nižetić's contribution on the work of Yugoslav women in America came out in January 1919,[246] while Maja Nižetić-Čulić, after the two poems in 1918, published nothing at all.

At the beginning of November 1918, Maja Nižetić-Čulić was once again living in Split with her husband, and both were engaged in efforts aimed at establishing the Yugoslav state, as evidenced by the reporting of the Split daily *Novo doba*. As a member of the executive committee of the women's section of Croatian Progress (Hrvatski napredak), she took part in an extraordinary meeting from which, on 4 November 1918, a declaration was sent to the National Council of SHS in Zagreb and to the People's Provincial Government for Dalmatia, recognizing the National Council as the supreme sovereign authority in the state. The declaration concluded with an appeal to women throughout the entire state territory, especially in Dalmatia, to participate actively in the work that the nation was

240 ĐUKIĆ PERIŠIĆ 2012: 184–195.

241 OGRAJŠEK GORENJAK 2014: 128–129; VUČIJEVIĆ 2021: 43. See, for example: KVEDER, Zofka. O prošlosti, sadašnjosti i budućnosti. *Jugoslavenska žena* no. 12, 1 December 1918, 473–486.

242 NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ, Maja. Kosovi. *Ženski svijet* no. 5–6, May – June 1918, 228.

243 ČULIĆ-NIŽETIĆ, Maja. S Bogom! *Jugoslavenska žena* no. 11, 1 November 1918, 441.

244 ANDRIĆ, Ivo. San Marino. *Jugoslavenska žena* no. 11, 1 November 1918, 440; NIŽETIĆ, Branko. Očekivanje. *Ženski svijet* no. 10, 1 October 1918, 401.

245 ANDRIĆ, Ivo. Burna noć. *Jugoslavenska žena* no. 12, 1 December 1918, 494; ANDRIĆ, Ivo. Knez sa tužnim očima. *Jugoslavenska žena* no. 1–2, February 1920, 16–17.

246 NIŽETIĆ, Branko. Rad naših žena u Americi. *Jugoslavenska žena* no. 1, 1 January 1919, 34–36.

required to carry out "until the consolidation of the great, free state of Slovenes, Croats, and Serbs".[247] In those days, the Provincial Government for Dalmatia, in which prominent positions were held by former political prisoners headed by Josip Smodlaka, appointed Jerko Čulić secretary of the Commissariat for Social Welfare.[248] In April 1919, Čulić also became a member of the postwar Commission for the Investigation of Political Crimes committed in Dalmatia during the First World War.[249] According to the assessment of the journalist Vinko Kisić, during the period of the provisional State of Slovenes, Croats and Serbs the city of Split was, in November 1918, seized by what he described as "collective madness." The hardships of war and the collapse of the centuries-old Monarchy were accompanied by the irredentist threat posed by the Italian occupation forces, which strengthened popular sympathy for Yugoslav unitarism among the citizenry. For this reason, the most significant event was the orchestrated arrival in the city of a small number of Serbian soldiers on 20 November 1918, motivated above all by political considerations.[250] Detailed coverage of these developments was provided by *Novo doba*, the Split daily that, from June 1918 onward, was published in the spirit of Yugoslav nationalism. Among its founders and more prominent shareholder-members were Maja's husband Jerko Čulić and her uncle Ante Štambuk,[251] while one of the first – if not the very first – journalists on Vinko Kisić's editorial staff was her brother Branko Nižetić.[252] The Serbian commander Stojan Trnokopović and his soldiers were greeted in Split by a large crowd. A number of prominent figures addressed them at the ceremony: Josip Smodlaka, a member of the Provincial Government; Ivo Tartaglia, the municipal president; and Juraj Carić, the Bishop of Split-Makarska.[253] On behalf of Yugoslav women, Maja Nižetić-Čulić presented Stojan Trnokopović with a "silver wreath" and delivered a speech, which was likewise reported by *Novo doba*:

"Heroes of Kosovo! The wondrous dream of many generations – here it is fulfilled. Today the boldest hopes of our youth have been fulfilled; the hopes that sustained us so that we did not falter under the centuries-old enemy yoke,

247 Dalmatinske žene Narodnom Vijeću. *Novo doba* no. 151, 7 November 1918, 6.

248 JELASKA MARIJAN 2009: 73–74.

249 HR-DAST-181 *Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina*. 1. Omladinska zbirka. Archival box 3. Dokumenti Marije Nižetić-Čulić. Files 12/1. Biography of Jerko Čulić; BLAŽEVIĆ 2017: 152.

250 BULJAN 2022: 55–56.

251 JELASKA MARIJAN 2009: 460–461; BULJAN 2022: 191.

252 After Kisić's death in 1927, Branko Nižetić also temporarily performed the duties of editor-in-chief of *Novo doba*. BARAS, Frano. In memoriam. Dr Branko Nižetić. *Slobodna Dalmacija* no. 14166, 12 May 1990, 16; MIRKOVIĆ, Vojko. Šezdeset godina dnevnika Slobodna Dalmacija. Najdugotrajniji dalmatinski list. *Slobodna Dalmacija* no. 18799, 7 June 2003, 146.

253 JELASKA MARIJAN 2009: 83–85.

as we awaited you, our liberators. And we did not falter – because we awaited you. We, the daughters of this beautiful, devastated Dalmatia, kiss your heroic brow and acclaim you: Blessed be the paths that have led you to this dear, long-suffering land! Blessed be this your sea by which you sailed to us, our falcons! On this great day, may all the sufferings we have endured through the ages be blessed; may the blood that has been shed for our common freedom be blessed a hundredfold! Welcome to us, Croatian soldiers! We are proud of you and we love you. Be assured that this Serbian Split, this rugged Serbian land, will know how to be worthy of your blood, shed on the plains of our Macedonia and on the bloody battlefields of Europe. Our blessing will accompany you – the blessing of our children and our grandchildren; the blessing of all our generations through the ages will accompany you. Accept this wreath, which the Yugoslav women of Split send you as an expression of love and gratitude, and with the wreath accept also the heartfelt greeting of all Dalmatian women, who with me, in tears of joy, cry out: 'Long live our white eagles!'"[254]

As a counterpoint to the ideologically charged performance of Maja Nižetić-Čulić and to the reporting of the Yugoslav-oriented daily *Novo doba* in an atmosphere of general ecstasy, there stand the sober recollections of the disillusioned Yugoslav Bogdan Radica, who in later life turned to Croatian nationalism:

"Carried away by the orgies of pan-Slavic and Yugoslav fraternization, our elders looked to the future with bright foreheads, while the old women of Split shook their heads in concern, convinced that nothing good could ever come of it all. I always remember my old grandmother, Nikolina Čulić, who used to come to visit us from Lučac, below the fortress. One day, as we were all returning from the piazza, giddy with excitement, she calmly uttered these words, which I shall never forget: 'My children, what have you done – down from a horse onto a donkey. You do not know whom you have driven out! Into company worse than yourselves. Nothing good can come of it!' We all mocked her for it, while my father earnestly reassured her that everything would turn out well, because Trumbić was there. But when the Serbian army appeared as well – ragged and in tatters, with officers who spat and flicked mucus from their noses with their fingers onto the bright parquet floors of theatre foyers – my grandmother Nikolina's words became clear to everyone, even though all this was excused by the hardships and privations of war".[255]

After Regent Alexander Karađorđević proclaimed unification into the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes on 1 December 1918, the political and social situation in Split began to stabilize, becoming fully normalized only with the withdrawal of the Italian army.[256] In the first days following unification, the work of

[254] Triumfalni dolazak srpskih četa u Split. *Novo doba* no. 166, 22 November 1918, 2.

[255] RADICA 1982: 22.

[256] JELASKA MARIJAN 2009: 91, 110–111.

the preparatory committee of the People's Women's Association, which had been interrupted in 1914 by the outbreak of the First World War, was resumed. Maja Nižetić-Čulić was a member of the committee and, at the meeting of 4 December 1918, participated in the adoption of a resolution to send a telegram to Alexander Karađorđević,[257] to which the regent replied on 10 December, promising that his father and he would govern "in accordance with the principles of complete freedom and equality".[258]

During the war, a women's section of Croatian Progress operated in Split, primarily engaged in rescuing starving children and serving as a substitute for a women's association. Nevertheless, in the days that followed, a formal procedure for the establishment of the People's Women's Association was initiated in Split, which was reported to the public by Maja Nižetić-Čulić on 7 December 1918 in the daily newspaper *Novo doba*.[259] The membership of the women's section of Croatian Progress was incorporated into the People's Women's Association, while new members, required to be over the age of sixteen, also began to enrol. By the end of the year, the Association counted approximately 350 members.[260] Its purpose was largely comparable to that of the pre-war period: to represent women's views and positions on political, cultural, social, and economic issues; to educate women and encourage their participation in public life; and to engage in educational and charitable activities, directed primarily toward the youngest. At the same time, however, it pursued a clearly articulated political and ideological programme, centred on the dissemination of "Yugoslav unitarist thought" and on the struggle "against tendencies towards class, tribal, or religious separatism".[261] At the constitutive general assembly of the People's Women's Association, held on 5 January 1919 in the main hall of the Croatian home in Split, Maja Nižetić-Čulić was elected as its first president.[262] The association's executive committee,

---

257 Pozdrav dalmatinskih žena regentu Aleksandru. *Novo doba* no. 180, 6 December 1918, 1.

258 Gradske vijesti. Regent Aleksandar Narodnoj Ženskoj Zadruzi. *Novo doba* no. 186, 12 December 1918, 3.

259 ČULIĆ, Maja. Podlistak. Narodna Ženska Zadruga. *Novo doba* no. 181, 7 December 1918, 2.

260 ČULIĆ, Maja. Podlistak. Narodna Ženska Zadruga. *Novo doba* no. 181, 7 December 1918, 2; Gradske vijesti. Narodna Ženska Zadruga. *Novo doba* no. 184, 10 December 1918, 3; Gradske vijesti. Konstituirajuća skupština Nar. Ženske Zadruge. *Novo doba* no. 4, 7 January 1919, 3.

261 Croatia – University Library in Split, *Arhiv dr. Ive Tartaglie* (hereafter: SVKST *Arhiv Tartaglia*), M 681/1.8B, Pravilnik Narodne Ženske Zadruge, 1.

262 Gradske vijesti. Konstituirajuća skupština Nar. Ženske Zadruge. *Novo doba* no. 4, 7 January 1919, 3–4. Accordingly, the People's Women's Association in Split was founded on 5 January 1919 through the holding of its constitutive general assembly and the election of its first governing board, whereas in December 1918 only preparatory activities were recorded, limited to the drafting of statutes and the recruitment of members by the preparatory (promotional) committee, which had already operated in 1914. The founding of the People's Women's Association in 1919 is explicitly stated in the petition that Maja Nižetić-Čulić submitted to the National

led by her, subsequently proposed on 14 January 1919, in a greeting addressed to the Belgrade Women's Society, the establishment of a unified state federation of all women's associations,[263] a goal that would be realised in the autumn with the founding of the National Women's Alliance of the Kingdom of SHS.[264] While serving as president of the People's Women's Association, Maja Nižetić-Čulić was actively present in the social life of Split. In early May 1919, she was appointed head of the Committee for Dalmatia within the State Department for the Protection of Children, which organised assistance in providing food for starving children and for the sick as well.[265] In February 1920, she published in *Novo doba* an article on women's schools and clubs around the world, in which she defended the aesthetics and patterns of behaviour associated with the female sex. The characteristics of Maja's feminism are indicated by the criticism expressed in that article of the women of Split who played football and organised a women's football club, thereby erasing differences between the sexes, whereas she argued that one should adhere to "beautiful naturalness".[266] Furthermore, on 11 July 1920, members of the People's Women's Association – Maja Nižetić-Čulić and Marija Buzolić – visited in hospital those injured in a clash between Yugoslav police forces and the citizens of Split on the one hand, and Italian sailors on the other, a confrontation in which several people were killed, including the captain of the warship *Puglia*.[267] However, by the end of July the situation changed. A year and

---

Assembly in Belgrade in 1923, as well as in an official letter sent by the Association on 20 October 1932 to the competent state ministry. See: HR-DAST-181 *Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina*. 1. Omladinska zbirka. Archival box 3. Dokumenti Marije Nižetić-Čulić. Files 12/3. Transcript of a letter, dated 1923, from M. Nižetić-Čulić to the National Assembly in Belgrade, Committee for Petitions and Complaints; SVKST *Arhiv Tartaglia*, M 681/1.8B, Letter of the People's Women's Association to the Ministry of Social Policy and Public Health, dated 20 October 1932, 1. Therefore, the commonly cited claims, uncritically taken over from newspaper content in the daily *Novo doba*, are insufficiently precise and factually inaccurate. See newspapers: ČULIĆ, Maja. Podlistak. Narodna Ženska Zadruga. *Novo doba* no. 181, 7 December 1918, 2; Gradske vijesti. Narodna Ženska Zadruga. *Novo doba* no. 184, 10 December 1918, 3. See the literature: JELASKA MARIJAN 2009: 438–439; BLAŽEVIĆ 2017: 159; VUČIJEVIĆ 2021: 44.

Thus, on 7 December 2018, the association Domine in fact commemorated an apocryphal centenary of the founding of the Association, and by extension of the women's movement in Split. See: TOPIĆ 2018.

On the other hand, Marijan Buljan subsequently dated the founding of the People's Women's Association correctly in his book, yet this passed unnoticed. See: BULJAN 2022: 375.

263 Gradske vijesti. Otpozdrav Narodne Ženske Zadruge srpskim ženama. *Novo doba* no. 11, 15 January 1919, 3.

264 GRUBAČKI 2020: 4; GRUBAČKI AND SELIŠNIK 2023: 242–243.

265 MACHIEDO-MLADINIĆ 1995: 131.

266 MAJA. Podlistak. Ženske škole i klubovi. *Novo doba* no. 43, 21 February 1920., 2.

267 Gradska kronika. Žrtvama brutalnog napadaja. *Novo doba* no. 160, 20 July 1920, 3; JELASKA MARIJAN 2009: 106–108.

a half after her election as president of the People's Women's Association, Maja Nižetić-Čulić thanked the members for the confidence they had shown in her up to that point and submitted her resignation, offering only the brief explanation that, under the prevailing circumstances, successful and serious work within an exclusively women's association was not possible. The association was thus evidently shaken by an internal crisis during its formative period.[268]

In the summer of 1919, Ivo Andrić visited the Čulić family in Split. As before the war, he was merely passing through the city, although he enjoyed it. He remained formally stationed at the Hospital of the Sisters of Charity in Zagreb, yet moved about freely and spent extended periods away from Zagreb. Thus, in 1918 he stayed for a longer time in Krapina and in the Kvarner region.[269] At the end of March 1919, he travelled to Dubrovnik, and in April continued on to Split, where he spent three months in the company of friends and former fellow prisoners, including Maja Nižetić-Čulić and Jerko Čulić.[270] He then spent the end of July and the first half of August 1919 in Sutivan on the island of Brač, at the invitation of the schoolteacher Roko Matulić, another member of the Split circle of Yugoslav nationalists with whom he had grown close at the Hospital of the Sisters of Charity.[271] During Ivo Andrić's visit, Matulić was responsible for the care of twenty-two children from Belgrade, as part of an initiative launched that summer by Maja Nižetić-Čulić, who organised the arrival and a two-month stay on the Dalmatian coast for approximately five hundred war orphans from Serbia.[272] According to the recollection of the local resident Marija Palaveršić, Niko Bartulović was also staying in Sutivan together with Ivo Andrić. They most often kept company with their Brač hosts, Roko Matulić and Nebodar Jutronić. The stay on Brač, marked by good company, grapes and fish, and all-day swimming in the cove of Grma, proved beneficial to the ailing Andrić, who continued to struggle with tuberculosis.[273] In Sutivan, he

[268] Gradska kronika. Kriza u Nar. Ženskoj Zadruzi. *Novo doba* no. 168, 29 July 1920, 3.

[269] ĐUKIĆ PERIŠIĆ 2012: 187–188.

[270] KARAULAC 2010: 177–178; ĐUKIĆ PERIŠIĆ 2012: 185–187, 209–210.

[271] The family of Roko Matulić originated from Pučišća on the island of Brač. See: The Parish Archive of Pučišća (ŽUP). 1.5.7. Stanje duša sastavljeno 1881., 241. However, his mother and sister lived in Sutivan, where his sister was employed as a schoolteacher. Therefore, upon leaving Brač, Ivo Andrić wrote to Matulić: "Your mother is my second mother; your sister is my only sister". See: KARAULAC 2010: 178–179. In a similar way, the multi-faceted writer and politician Ante Tresić-Pavičić was connected with Sutivan, as his brother Petar worked there as a municipal physician, where he also married and settled. See: TRUTANIĆ 2021a: 302.

[272] HR-DAST-181 *Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina*. 1. Omladinska zbirka. Archival box 2. Files 9/12. Pismo R. Matulića M. Bartulici od 10. 8. 1919.; HR-DAST-181 *Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina*. 1. Omladinska zbirka. Archival box 3. Dokumenti Marije Nižetić-Čulić. Files 12/3. Transcript of a letter, dated 1923, from M. Nižetić-Čulić to the National Assembly in Belgrade, Committee for Petitions and Complaints.

[273] JUTRONIĆ AND JUTRONIĆ 2007: 246–247; KARAULAC 2010: 178–179.

completed the collection *Nemiri*, published the following year. In mid-September 1919, he returned to Zagreb in good health, a fact he recalled in 1929 in Brussels, where he was then serving in the diplomatic service: "The Brač air, sun, and figs restored me to health".[274]

From Višegrad, which he visited before returning to Zagreb in mid-September 1919, Ivo Andrić wrote to Maja Nižetić-Čulić and Jerko Čulić that he was doing well, but that it was "cold and strange without the sea".[275] Although before the war Zagreb had received him as a student from the provinces and, after the war, offered him refuge as a former political prisoner in fragile health, Zagreb nevertheless did not enthuse Andrić as much as Belgrade did.[276] He therefore pleaded with Minister of Religious Affairs, Alaupović – his long-standing benefactor – in a letter dated 27 September 1919: "Life here is impossible. I have not a single soul, and I must go to Belgrade, come what may!"[277]

He was indeed taken into service at the Ministry of Religious Affairs, and in early October 1919 he moved to the capital, which after the war was something between "a city, a small town, and a village", with clearly visible signs of modernisation and Europeanisation.[278] Scenes in which "creaking ox carts were pushed alongside luxury limousines" were an everyday occurrence.[279] Belgrade was a city of rapidly expanding opportunities and appeared as a promised land for adventurers and intellectuals, especially those close to the regime.[280] It was there that Ivo Andrić's diplomatic career began to take shape, his social network expanded, and, at the same time, his internationally acclaimed literary work was written. In the interwar period, the poet turned to prose and rose to great heights. Politics and ideology had long since become secondary matters for him. "Politics is like fire: one should not stray too far from it, but it is not good to come too close to it either," Ivo Andrić remarked to Meša Selimović shortly before his death.[281] He remained a Yugoslav throughout, but a pragmatist. It was therefore relatively easy for him, within the Yugoslav framework, to replace the pre-war monarchy and the bourgeois order after the Second World War with Marxist phraseology and the dictates of the Communist Party.[282]

---

274 POLJAK 2002: 23; KARAULAC 2010: 179–180; NEMEC 2016: 49.

275 NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ 1976: 114; KARAULAC 2010: 180.

276 JANDRIĆ 1982: 114.

277 NEMEC 2016: 35.

278 ĐUKIĆ PERIŠIĆ 2012: 212; MARTENS 2020: 102.

279 MARTENS 2020: 103.

280 RADICA 1982: 42; MARTENS 2020: 103–105.

281 JANDRIĆ 1982: 110.

282 JANDRIĆ 1982: 102–103; NEMEC 2016: 67–69.

As for Maja Nižetić-Čulić and Jerko Čulić, who after their release from prison and return to Split were prominent figures in the city's political and social life, they consistently acted from the positions of Yugoslav nationalism, loyal to the crown. Nonetheless, judging by the very sparse references in the historical sources, after withdrawing from the leadership of the People's Women's Association Maja appears to have increasingly withdrawn into private life, most likely devoting herself more fully to family life, especially to her children. She and Jerko had four of them: Dmitar (1917–1998), Stojana (1918–2007), Srđan (1921–2002), and Đorđe (1922–2011).[283] All of the children were given ideologically motivated names, some of which were close to the South Slavic folk epic tradition. Moreover, the daughter Stojana, later married to the British consul George H. Burton, was baptised on 18 August 1919 in the parish of St Peter in Split's Lučac, with the Serbian major Stojan Trnokopović acting as witness, whom Maja Nižetić-Čulić had enthusiastically welcomed on the Split waterfront in November of the previous year. It is therefore quite certain that she named her daughter after him.[284]

Owing to health problems caused by her imprisonment in Austrian prisons, Maja Nižetić-Čulić did not return to teaching until 1923. However, she simultaneously fulfilled her "patriotic duty" through cultural, humanitarian, and national work outside the school system.[285] Thus, at a meeting of primary and secondary school teachers and representatives of various humanitarian and cultural organisations on 5 February 1922, she was elected to the executive board of the Committee for Popular Enlightenment.[286] Remaining loyal to the Yugoslav idea, Maja Nižetić-Čulić became an alternate member of the executive board of the royalist maritime organisation Adriatic Guard (Jadranska straža) at its constitutive assembly on

283 BLAŽEVIĆ 2017: 160.

284 Croatia – The State Archives in Split, fond 179 *Zbirka matičnih knjiga* (hereafter: HR-DAST-179 *Zbirka matičnih knjiga*). 940. Split, Sveti Petar (Lučac i Manuš). Matična knjiga rođenih (hereafter: MKR) 22 March 1914 – 30 November 1920, 1918, no. 109; BLAŽEVIĆ 2017: 159–160. In the months of the collapse of Austro-Hungary and the establishment of the first Yugoslav state, the parish registers of Split also recorded other personal names that parents bestowed upon their children for political and ideological reasons. For example, in the baptismal registers of the Parish of St Peter, variants of the female given name Jugoslavija were recorded on several occasions. See: HR-DAST-179 *Zbirka matičnih knjiga*. 940. Split, Sveti Petar (Lučac i Manuš). MKR 22 March 1914. – 30 November 1920, October and November 1918.

285 HR-DAST-181 *Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina*. 1. Omladinska zbirka. Archival box 3. Dokumenti Marije Nižetić-Čulić. Files 12/3. Transcript of a letter, dated 1923, from M. Nižetić-Čulić to the National Assembly in Belgrade, Committee for Petitions and Complaints; HR-DAST-181 *Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina*. 1. Omladinska zbirka. Archival box 3. Dokumenti Marije Nižetić-Čulić. Files 12/3. Transcript of the medical certificate dated 26 November 1924.

286 Gradska kronika. Odbor za narodno prosvjećivanje. *Novo doba* no. 29, 6 February 1922, 3; BLAŽEVIĆ 2017: 160.

19 February 1922.[287] The following year, she served on the executive boards of The Yugoslav Matrix (Jugoslavenska matica) and Popular Education (Narodna prosvjeta).[288] In line with her earlier critical views on English suffragettes and women's football in Split, at the end of August 1923 Maja Nižetić-Čulić once again – this time in a necrology dedicated to the first president of the National Women's Alliance of the Kingdom of SHS Danica Hristić – manifested the conservative position of her feminist outlook. As virtues of the deceased, she emphasised that Hristić had preached the avoidance of "false feminism" which distances women from their feminine nature, and had advocated a return to the family.[289] On the occasion of the birthday of King Alexander Karađorđević, Yugoslav nationalists – political prisoners from the period of the First World War – hosted a ceremonial dinner on 16 December 1923 at the Hotel Slavia in Split. Not all former prisoners attended, including the otherwise engaged Ivo Andrić. On this occasion, Maja Nižetić-Čulić and Jerko Čulić organised a small exhibition of various mementos from imprisonment, one of the most intriguing exhibits being a hollowed-out stopper in which they had exchanged letters written in tiny handwriting while in prison.[290] Maja Nižetić-Čulić demonstrated her loyalty to old ideals once again when, at the main annual assembly of the Organisation of Yugoslav Nationalists (ORJUNA) in 1925, she was elected to the executive board of its local branch in Split.[291] Indeed, ORJUNA uncompromisingly adhered to the idea of integral Yugoslavism and political unitarism and, in suppressing opponents, frequently resorted to physical violence.[292] A prominent member of its leadership was also Jerko Čulić, who drafted the organisation's statute in 1922.[293] In one photograph of members of the Belgrade PEN Club dating from 1930, Maja Nižetić-Čulić is shown alongside Niko Bartulović, Gustav Krklec, Desanka Maksimović, and several others.[294] In the periodical press of that time, only one further contribution by her remains recorded, a vivid travel report on an excursion from Split to Sutivan,

[287] Za našu ratnu mornaricu. Konstituirajuća skupština Jadranske Straže. *Novo doba* no. 41, 20 February 1922, 1.

[288] HR-DAST-181 *Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina*. 1. Omladinska zbirka. Archival box 3. Dokumenti Marije Nižetić-Čulić. Files 12/3. Transcript of a letter, dated 1923, from M. Nižetić-Čulić to the National Assembly in Belgrade, Committee for Petitions and Complaints.

[289] MAJA J. ČULIĆA. Podlistak. Za Danicom Dim. Hristića. *Novo doba* no. 201, 1 September 1923., 2.

[290] Podlistak. Jedno veče medju veleizdajnicima iz g. 1914. *Novo doba* no. 289, 18 December 1923, 2–3.

[291] ŠITIN, Tonći. Dalmatinsko orjunaštvo (16). Nastanak, uspon i pad jednog unitarističkog pokreta. *Slobodna Dalmacija* no. 14520, 4 May 1991, 50.

[292] BOŠKOVIĆ 2006: 84–90; JAKIR 2018: 98, 103–110.

[293] BARTULOVIĆ 1925: 91, 95, 100, 112–113, 117; BULJAN 2022: 67–68.

[294] MILANKO 2023: 352.

on her native island of Brač, published in February 1938 in Split's *Novo doba*.[295]

Between the two world wars, Jerko Čulić was far more present in the public sphere than his wife. After King Alexander Karađorđević proclaimed the dictatorship in 1929, the Split municipal council – from which the HSS mayor Josip Berković had emerged – was dissolved, and a new council was appointed, whose mandate lasted until 1933. On that occasion, the regime appointed Čulić as one of the councillors, thereby attesting to his loyalty to the Crown.[296] During the interwar period, Jerko Čulić participated in the activities of a number of organisations, but was most prominent as a promoter of tourism and as the long-serving director of the company Traveller (Putnik).[297] He was also a member of the Society for the Improvement and Beautification of Bačvice and Firule. In the Split district of Firule, he built a striking family house in the early 1930s, designed by the renowned architect Lavoslav Horvat.[298] It appears that the social activities of Jerko Čulić extended into spheres beyond the reach of public scrutiny. According to published lists, he was a member of a Masonic lodge.[299] This is hardly surprising, given that a number of Yugoslav nationalists from his and Maja Nižetić-Čulić's circle were masons as well, including Oskar Tartaglia, Niko Bartulović, Ljubo Leontić,[300] and even Ivo Andrić himself.[301] Maja's brother Branko Nižetić was also a member of a Masonic lodge.[302]

In the sources currently available, there is almost no information on the life and activities of Jerko Čulić and Maja Nižetić-Čulić during the turmoil of the Second World War. Certain individuals from their social milieu, such as the lawyer Vlade Matošić and the writer Niko Bartulović, who were consistent Yugoslav nationalists, undoubtedly aspired to the restoration of the pre-war monarchy, a position espoused by the Chetnik movement of Draža Mihailović. In Split, they belonged to the political and social circle of Ilija Trifunović Birčanin,[303] who, owing to his charisma and pre-war influence, from the autumn of 1941 until his death in February 1943, nominally figured as the key organiser of Draža Mihailović's movement

[295] MAJA J. ČULIĆA. Po Stivanu. *Novo doba* no. 48, 26 February 1938., 10.

[296] BULJAN 2022: 259–260.

[297] BLAŽEVIĆ 2017: 152–155.

[298] HR-DAST-409 *SUP za Dalmaciju*. Osobni dosjei. Archival box 81. Dossier no. 30698 – Branko Nižetić. Podaci; BLAŽEVIĆ 2017: 156–157. Lavoslav Horvat also designed the holiday house of Maja's brother, Dr Zdravko Nižetić, in Sutivan on the island of Brač. See: BLAŽEVIĆ 2017: 166.

[299] MUŽIĆ 2001: 521, 522; ŠÖMEN 2014: 121, 123.

[300] MUŽIĆ 2001: 521; ŠÖMEN 2014: 120, 508–509.

[301] MARTENS 2020: 135.

[302] MUŽIĆ 2001: 519, 523, 585; ŠÖMEN 2014: 119, 121.

[303] LATAS 1981: 1046–1048, 1053–1054, 1060, 1062; JELIĆ-BUTIĆ 1986: 77, 165, 167–168, 178–180, 183–184, 211; ŽUTIĆ 2010: 344.

in the city.[304] Another Yugoslav nationalist, a close friend of Jerko Čulić and Maja Nižetić-Čulić, also maintained close contact with Birčanin during this period. This was the teacher Roko Matulić, in whose apartment Niko Bartulović stayed, allegedly in hiding, after his return from Belgrade in 1941 and in early 1942.[305] Intelligence reports of the UDBA indicate that Maja's brother Branko Nižetić, a physician from Split and a pre-war member of the Independent Democratic Party, also kept company "with individuals inclined toward the Chetniks" until Italy's capitulation in 1943.[306] The family of another brother, Zdravko Nižetić, also a physician, who – like Ivo Andrić – spent the Second World War in Belgrade, aroused suspicion on the part of the communist security and intelligence service in the post-war period. Indeed, he likewise was a Yugoslav nationalist, personally connected with many prominent figures of royalist Yugoslavia.[307] On the other hand, certain Yugoslav nationalists and more prominent monarchists from the Split milieu drew closer to the People's Liberation Movement, led by the Communist Party of Yugoslavia. Among them was the lawyer Ljubo Leontić, a former president of the Directorate of ORJUNA.[308] From the extensive statement given by Niko Bartulović to the Partisan authorities on the wartime political situation in Split on 27 November 1944 – several months before all trace of him was lost in their custody – it emerges that, following the internment of Ljubo Leontić to the Lipari Islands, it was Jerko Čulić who enabled Bartulović to establish a new connection with the Partisans.[309] For a time during the war, Maja Nižetić-Čulić took care of the seventeen-year-old niece of Niko Bartulović,[310] while Jerko Čulić introduced him to the young intellectual Zdenko Štambuk, an activist of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia and a relative of his wife.[311] Although Bartulović's interrogators, in the questions they posed, classified Jerko Čulić among the Split

304 JELIĆ-BUTIĆ 1986: 64–65, 122, 159; TOMAŠEVIĆ 1979: 149.

305 ŽUTIĆ 2010: 342–343, 349–350; ČAVIĆ 2023: 50.

306 In the same document, it is stated that Branko Nižetić "did not sympathize with the working class". Nevertheless, after the collapse of Fascist Italy, he began to sympathize with the NOP, but "through the prism of nationalism" and with pronounced sympathies toward the Western Allies. See: HR-DAST-409 *SUP za Dalmaciju*. Osobni dosjei. Archival box 81. Dossier no. 30698 – Branko Nižetić. Podaci.

307 HR-HDA, fond 1561 *Služba državne sigurnosti Republičkog sekretarijata unutrašnjih poslova Socijalističke Republike Hrvatske* (HR-HDA-1561: *SDS RSUP SRH*). 6. Dosjei građana. No. 242041 – Nižetić Vukelić, Vesna. On the Nižetić family (from a conversation with Mirko Sardelić) (undated), 38; HR-DAST-409 *SUP za Dalmaciju*. Osobni dosjei. Archival box 81. Dossier no. 30698 – Branko Nižetić. Undated transcript of a conversation with Branko Nižetić, 6.

308 BOŠKOVIĆ 2006: 101, 275; RADICA 1982: 58, 62.

309 ŽUTIĆ 2010: 340, 350, 376.

310 ŠKUDAR 2023: 372.

311 ŽUTIĆ 2010: 350, 354–355; ŠTAMBUK 2019: 92, 138.

Chetniks, the detained writer expressed astonishment at this, asserting that Čulić "had most vigorously advocated the Partisan struggle and their theses".[312]

Niko Bartulović mentioned in passing during his interrogation that Jerko Čulić spent one year of the war on Korčula.[313] In the obituary published by *Slobodna Dalmacija* on the occasion of Čulić's death, it was stated only that he had spent part of the war in exile in Italy. The same text also noted that, following the establishment of the rule of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia, he worked in the tourism department of the Regional People's Committee (Oblasni narodni odbor) for Dalmatia.[314] Thus, the available evidence indicates that Jerko Čulić found a certain modus vivendi with revolutionary Yugoslav communism and was not marginalized by the new authorities, for which ideological preconditions existed in his socialist activism on the eve of the First World War, before he became involved in the work of Yugoslav nationalist youth.[315] However, judging by the distrust expressed toward Maja Nižetić-Čulić in the internal reports of the post-war authorities, it may be assumed that, during the Second World War, she – unlike her brother Branko Nižetić – was nevertheless not fully aligned with the positions of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia.[316]

After revolutionary rule under the leadership of the Communist Party of Yugoslavia had been established in Split, Maja Nižetić-Čulić was appointed in 1945 as a teacher at the Girls' Primary School "Lučac," despite having been retired since 1930. She was most likely reactivated owing to a shortage of educational

312 ŽUTIĆ 2010: 353–355.

313 ŽUTIĆ 2010: 355.

314 Smrt Jerka Čulića. *Slobodna Dalmacija* no. 2594, 12 June 1953, 6.

315 HR-DAST-181 *Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina*. 1. Omladinska zbirka. Archival box 3. Dokumenti Marije Nižetić-Čulić. Files 12/1. Biography of Jerko Čulić; BLAŽEVIĆ 2017: 151.

316 In this context, the recollection of Mrs Maja Šnajder (b. 1945) is of particular interest. She first recounted it to me in January 2020 and later submitted it in written form in person on 1 December 2025 in Zagreb. Her grandfather, Andrija (Andrica) Jurun (1888–1977), lived in Split after the Second World War, in Gupčeva Street in the Firule district, not far from the home of the Čulić family. He took part in social gatherings of people from Brač who had settled in the city, which were occasionally attended by Maja Nižetić-Čulić as well. During one such conversation, which Maja Šnajder attended as a child in the early 1950s, Maja Nižetić-Čulić voiced criticism of their compatriot Neda Didolić, stating that she had been Ustaša-oriented during the war. This referred to a young woman from Selca whose father, Petar Krešimir Didolić, had been a prominent supporter of the Croatian Peasant Party from Brač in the late 1930s, and whose family palace was burned down by the Italian army on 9 August 1943. At this point, Maja Šnajder's grandfather – otherwise reserved in such conversations – snapped at Maja Nižetić-Čulić that Neda Didolić, unlike her, had during the war been where she ought to have been: with her Croatian people. See: Written testimony of Maja Šnajder in the author's private archive. The socialising of Maja Nižetić-Čulić with people from Brač living in Split is also mentioned in passing in lyrical form by Drago Štambuk, who notes that in her later years, as a widow, she would occasionally visit his family home in Split as well. See: ŠTAMBUK 2011: 59–60.

personnel, but was retired once again in 1948.[317] After the Second World War, she evidently – unlike Ivo Andrić – did not adapt easily to the new political and social framework, remaining to some extent attached to bourgeois values and to the ideology of pre-war Yugoslav monarchism. Consequently, the Education Department of the People's Committee of the City of Split (Narodni odbor grada Splita) noted in a personnel record for the 1947/48 school year that Maja Nižetić-Čulić "lacks a proper outlook on the world and society". The document stated: "She is very well provided for economically and has sufficient time for personal development, but does not engage in it. She retains the habits of a well-off lady of bourgeois society". Her teaching work was also criticised: "She sought to fulfil the duties of her profession, but this effort served merely to maintain her employment; one cannot speak of willingness or love for work in her case".[318]

Ivo Andrić wrote from time to time to Maja Nižetić-Čulić and Jerko Čulić in Split. He visited less frequently. He sent word from his diplomatic postings in European capitals: from Rome, Bucharest, Madrid, Berlin… He was mostly inquiring about their health, the children, and Maja's brothers – Zdravko Nižetić and Branko Nižetić. Ivo Andrić was shaken by the news of the death of Jerko Čulić, who died suddenly in Herceg Novi in 1953.[319] He met Maja Nižetić-Čulić in Belgrade after marrying Milica Babić in 1958 at the age of sixty-six: "You see, Maja, I did get married after all".[320] The widowhood of Maja Nižetić-Čulić was long. After her husband's death, she continued to live in the family house in the Firule district of Split, where a journalist from *Slobodna Dalmacija* encountered her in the spring of 1967, immersed in youthful memories. Before her lay a bundle of letters and documents, all of Ivo Andrić's works bearing inscribed dedications, as well as *Sarajevski atentat* by Vladimir Dedijer, likewise with a dedication. On the wall hung a portrait of Ivo Vojnović, also bearing a dedication, and a large portrait of Maja herself, her face elongated and marked by suffering. This portrait had been painted by Jerolim Miše after her release from prison.[321] Whenever he came to Split, Ivo Andrić would stop by the house in Firule and bring flowers to Maja.[322] They exchanged letters from time to time until the writer's death in 1975.[323] Maja

317 HR-HDA-890 *Zbirka personalnih spisa*. Prosvjetni spisi. 4-3143: Čulić, Marija. No. 1653 of 30 March 1945, No. 15841-II-1946 of 29 March 1946 and no. 13601/48 of 20 July 1948.

318 HR-HDA-890 *Zbirka personalnih spisa*. Prosvjetni spisi. 4-3143: Čulić, Marija. Podaci o prosvjetnom radniku za školsku godinu 1947–48.

319 Smrt Jerka Čulića. *Slobodna Dalmacija* no. 2594, 12 June 1953, 6; BLAŽEVIĆ 2017: 157; NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ 1976: 114–117.

320 NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ 1976: 114–115; ĐUKIĆ PERIŠIĆ 2012: 481.

321 FRANČESKI, J. Portreti i susreti. Zaustaviti vrijeme, živjeti! *Slobodna Dalmacija* no. 6871, 1 April 1967, 2.

322 FRANČESKI, J. Portreti i susreti. Zaustaviti vrijeme, živjeti! *Slobodna Dalmacija* no. 6871, 1 April 1967, 2; ĐUKIĆ PERIŠIĆ 2012: 537; NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ 1976: 117.

323 NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ 1976: 114–117.

Nižetić-Čulić spent her final days in a retirement home in Zadar, where she died on 25 May 1984, at the age of ninety-four.[324] She was buried in the Čulić family tomb at Lovrinac Cemetery in Split.[325]

Conclusion

Although they originated from entirely different backgrounds, Ivo Andrić and Maja Nižetić-Čulić were brought together by their participation in the movement of Yugoslav nationalist youth. This was a fluid and polycentric movement which, in the years preceding the First World War, emerged from increasingly strong anti-Austrian sentiment among political and intellectual circles in the southern regions of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. Enthralled by the Kingdom of Serbia, its revolutionary proponents espoused an integral Yugoslav idea and preached the establishment of a unitary Yugoslav state on the ruins of the Dual Monarchy, while also endorsing assassinations of public officials as a legitimate means of political action. The members of the Yugoslav nationalist youth, born between 1886 and 1894, largely correspond to the poetic generation that in 1914 consolidated its literary aspirations in the renowned poetry anthology *Hrvatska mlada lirika*.

Ivo Andrić became active within the Sarajevo youth milieu and was close to the assassins of Young Bosnia, whereas Maja Nižetić came of age within the Split circle of the United Nationalist Youth, although her formation and early activity were linked to the island of Brač. They met in July 1914, when, following the Sarajevo assassination, Andrić – through the mediation of Vladimir Čerina – found himself among a group of youths from Split who constituted the revolutionary wing of the movement in Croatia. Both were arrested in the summer of 1914 on suspicion of high treason because of their involvement. At that time, Ivo Andrić was a student and an emerging poet who was increasingly thinking about a career and ever less about revolution, whereas the schoolteacher Maja Nižetić addressed women's rights in nationalist newspapers and was laying the groundwork for the feminist movement in Dalmatia. The radicalisation of her views in the direction of revolutionary Yugoslav nationalism may be linked to the fact that, during this period, she became engaged to Jerko Čulić, one of the most active members of the movement. Ivo Andrić spent several months in 1914 and 1915 with the two of them in Austrian prisons in Split and Maribor. The charges against Andrić were ultimately dropped, whereas Maja Nižetić and Jerko Čulić were sentenced to prison terms.

After the collapse of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy and the establishment of the first Yugoslav state, the paths of Ivo Andrić and Maja Nižetić-Čulić largely

[324] Maja Čulić ud. Jerka rođ. Nižetić (osmrtnica). *Slobodna Dalmacija* no. 12160, 29 May 1984, 11; VOJNOVIĆ 2009: 550.

[325] BLAŽEVIĆ 2017: 160.

diverged, yet both remained committed to Yugoslavism. Unlike many intellectuals from the ranks of the Yugoslav nationalist youth who, after the change of the state framework, remained marginal figures, Andrić proved more adept at handling the categories of politics and ideology, and fully realised his literary talent. By contrast, Maja Nižetić-Čulić appears to have largely withdrawn from public life at an early stage. Moreover, following the establishment of Yugoslav communist rule, she did not adapt as readily as Andrić to the new social circumstances. For all these reasons, she has thus far been registered in the scholarly literature merely as a member of Ivo Andrić's social circle, with whom she remained in close friendship until the writer's death.

Appendices



Figure 1. The family of Maja Nižetić in the early 1900s. Source: BEZIĆ-BOŽANIĆ 2007: 100.



Figure 2. Maja Nižetić with her siblings Zdravko, Branko, Veljko, and Neda, 1903. Source: BEZIĆ-BOŽANIĆ 2007: 102.



Figure 3. Maja Nižetić, 1913. Source: HR-DAST-181 Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina. 1. Omladinska zbirka. Archival box 16, photograph no. 15.



Figure 4. Members of the youth movement at a meeting in Povlja on the island of Brač, 1913 (Augustin Ujević, Juraj Štambuk, Jerolim Miše, Zdravko Nižetić, Stipe Ostojić, Roko Matulić, Niko Štambuk). Source: HR-DAST-181 Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina. 1. Omladinska zbirka. Archival box 16, photograph no. 34.



Figure 5. Editorial work on the newspaper Ujedinjenje in Split, 1913 (from left to right: Bužančić, Ljubo Demarki, Dušan Milaš, Zdravko Nižetić, and Ivo Jelavić). Source: HR-DAST-181 Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina. 1. Omladinska zbirka. Archival box 16, photograph no. 36.

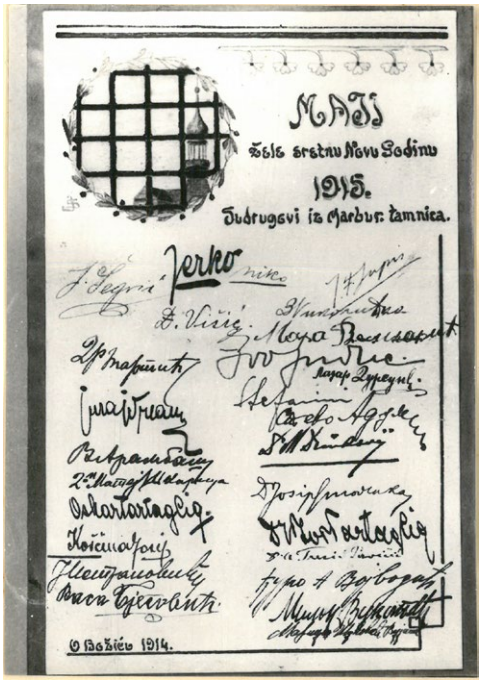


Figure 6. New Year's greeting card from the Maribor prisoners to Maja Nižetić, 1915. Source: HR-DAST-181 Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina. 1. Omladinska zbirka. Archival box 16, photograph no. 38.

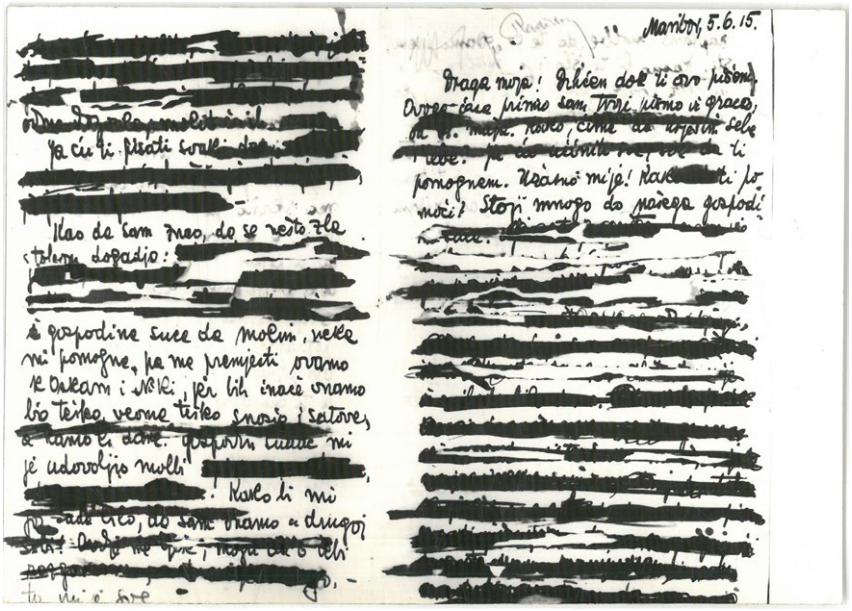


Figure 7. Censored letter from Jerko Čulić to his fiancée Maja Nižetić, dated 5 June 1915, Maribor. Source: HR-DAST-181 Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina. 1. Omladinska zbirka. Archival box 16, photograph no. 53.



Figure 8. A "room" in the Göllersdorf camp, 1916 (Mate Drinković, Jerko Čulić, Marko Valčić, and Branko Stražičić). Source: HR-DAST-181 Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina. 1. Omladinska zbirka. Archival box 16, photograph no. 52.

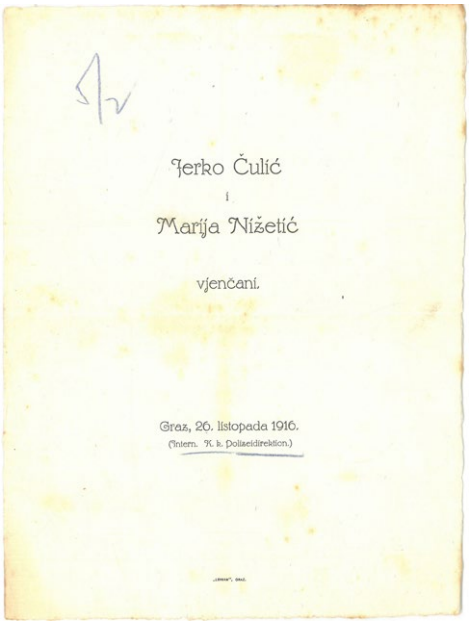

Jerko Čulić
i
Marija Nižetić
vjenčani.
Graz, 26. listopada 1916.
(Intern. K. k. Polizeidirektion.)

Figure 9. Marriage certificate of Maja Nižetić and Jerko Čulić, Graz, 26 October 1916. Source: HR-DAST-181 Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina. 1. Omladinska zbirka. Archival box 3. Dokumenti Marije Nižetić-Čulić. Files 12/5.



Figure 10. Maja's brother Zdravko Nižetić, 1916 or 1917. Source: HR-DAST-181 Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina. 1. Omladinska zbirka. Archival box 16, photograph no. 13.



Figure 11. From the wedding of Niko Bartulović and Flora Šoljan, September 1917, Zagreb. First row from left: Pero Magazin, Father Ante Anić, Mate Drinković, Niko Bartulović, Flora Šoljan, Marijana Šoljan (Flora's mother), Vidosava Nikolajević (wife of Tomislav Krizman), Ivo Vojnović, Tomislav Krizman. Second row from left: Mato Vrdoljak, Marin Šoljan, Roko Matulić, Jerko Čulić, Oskar Tartaglia, Noe Matošić, Milovan Tommaseo, Ivo Andrić, Branko Mašić. Third row from left: Jorjo Tadić, Jerolim Miše, Mirko Buić, Jerko Matošić, lawyer ...mić (illegible). Source: HR-DAST-181 Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina. 1. Omladinska zbirka. Archival box 16, photograph no. 28.



Figure 12. Jerko Čulić, 1919. Source: HR-DAST-181 Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina. 1. Omladinska zbirka. Archival box 3. Dokumenti Marije Nižetić-Čulić. Files 12/2. Passport of Jerko Čulić.



Figure 13. Maja Nižetić-Čulić with her son after the First World War. Source: HR-DAST-173 Petar Kuničić. Unpublished typescript "Učitelji djece u Dalmaciji", Split, 1940, Nižetić-Čulić, Maja.



Figure 14. Ivo Andrić with friends at Grma Cove, Sutivan, island of Brač, 1919. Source: JUTRONIĆ AND JUTRONIĆ 2007: 247.



Figure 15. Roko Matulić, 1923. Source: HR-DAST-181 Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina. 1. Omladinska zbirka. Archival box 2. Files 9/12. Roko Matulić.



Figure 16. Photograph of Ivo Vojnović with a dedication to Maja Nižetić-Čulić, July 1918. Source: HR-DAST-181 Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina. 1. Omladinska zbirka. Archival box 16, photograph no. 6.

Bibliography

Unpublished Archival Sources

Croatia – The Croatian State Archives, Zagreb (HR-HDA)

fonds 834 *Osobni fond Ante Tresić Pavičić*

fonds 890 *Zbirka personalnih spisa državnih službenika Zemaljske vlade, Pokrajinske uprave, oblasnih uprava, Savske banovine, Banovine Hrvatske i ministarstava Nezavisne Države Hrvatske*

fonds 1561 *Služba državne sigurnosti Republičkog sekretarijata unutrašnjih poslova Socijalističke Republike Hrvatske*

Croatia – The State Archives in Dubrovnik (HR-DADU)

fonds 175 *Učiteljska škola Dubrovnik*

Croatia – The State Archives in Split (HR-DAST)

fonds 173 *Osobni fond Kuničić Petar*

collection 179 *Zbirka matičnih knjiga*

fonds 181 *Jugoslavenska ujedinjena omladina i Jugoslavenska narodna obrana u Južnoj Americi – Jugoslavenska nacionalna i ujedinjena omladina*

fonds 409 *Sekretarijat unutrašnjih poslova za Dalmaciju*

Croatia – The State Archives in Zadar (HR-DAZD)

fonds 88 *Vlada/Namjesništvo za Dalmaciju*

Croatia – University Library in Split (SVKST)

Arhiv dr. Ive Tartaglie

Personal papers of Venceslav Štambuk (OVŠ), in the private possession of his granddaughter Vlasta Bishop, Selca

The Parish Archive of Pučišća (ŽAP)

parish registers of baptisms, marriages and deaths

The Parish Archive of Selca (ŽAS)

parish registers of baptisms, marriages and deaths

Povjesne crtice u župi Selca na Braču od siječnja 1906

The Private Archive of Jure Trutanić, Selca.

Published Sources

ANDRIĆ, Ivo. 2000. *Pisma (1912. – 1973.)*. Edited by Miroslav Karaulac. Novi Sad: Matica srpska.

ANDRIĆ, Ivo. 2004. *Staze, lica, predeli*. Beograd: Dereta.

ANDRIĆ, Ivo. 2014. *Ex Ponto; Nemiri; Lirika*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga.

BARTULICA, Milostislav. 1965. Jugoslavenski revolucionarni omladinski pokret u Austro-Ugarskoj Monarhiji 1908. – 1918. (Dokumenti i uspomene). *Zadarska revija* 14/5: 371–387.

BARTULOVIĆ, Niko. 1925. *Od revolucionarne omladine do Orjune: istorijat jugoslovenskog omladinskog pokreta*. Split: Direktorium Orjune.

BARTULOVIĆ, Niko. 1929. *Na prelomu: roman*. Beograd: Srpska književna zadruga.

BARTULOVIĆ, Niko. 1940. *Moj prijatelj Tonislav Malvasija*. Beograd: Izdavačko i knjižarsko preduzeće Geca Kon.

BARTULOVIĆ, Niko. 2003. *Glas iz gorućeg grma*. Zagreb: Srpsko kulturno društvo Prosvjeta.

BOGIĆEVIĆ, Vojislav (ed.). 1954. *Mlada Bosna: pisma i prilozi*. Sarajevo: Svjetlost.

DOMINKOVIĆ, Kristo. 1922. *Piljci i kržine: uspomene i refleksije iz taoštva i internacije 1914. – 1917*. Dubrovnik: self-published.

ĐOKOVIĆ, Milan. 1976. *„Nemam šta da izgubim...“*. In *Kazivanja o Andriću: uspomene savremenika*, edited by Radovan Popović, 41–44. Beograd: Sloboda.

KARAULAC, Miroslav. 1986. Andrićevi davni prijatelji. *Sveske Zadužbine Ive Andrića* 5/4: 9–88.

KOVAČIĆ, Krešimir. 2023. Sjećanja na Ivu Andrića. In *Ko je bio Ivo Andrić: sećanja savremenika*, edited by Žaneta Đukić Perišić, 14–19. Novi Sad: Akademska knjiga.

LUKAS, Filip. 1956. Neke moje uspomene iz Matice Hrvatske, II. *Hrvatska revija* 6/1–2: 20–43.

NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ, Maja. 1976. Prijateljstvo dugo pola veka. In *Kazivanja o Andriću: uspomene savremenika*, edited by Radovan Popović, 112–117. Beograd: Sloboda.

NIŽETIĆ ČULIĆ, Maja. 1999. Iz moje stare bilježnice. *Sveske Zadužbine Ive Andrića* 18/15: 75–83.

NIŽETIĆ-ČULIĆ, Maja. 2023. Iz moje stare bilježnice. In *Ko je bio Ivo Andrić: sećanja savremenika*, edited by Žaneta Đukić Perišić, 20–33. Novi Sad: Akademska knjiga.

ŠTAMBUK, Drago. 2011. *Nebo u bunaru*. Zagreb: Croatia rediviva.

TARTAGLIA, Oskar. 1928. *Veleizdajnik: (moje uspomene iz borbe protiv crno-žutog orla)*. Zagreb; Split: tiskara i litografija C. Albrecht.

UJEVIĆ, Tin. 1979. *Zapisi*. Zagreb: August Cesarec.

VIDOK. 1902. *Otvoreno pismo časnoj gg. Tomi Didoliću mlagjemu, Andriji N. Štambuku, Janislavu Vrsaloviću, Nikoli Careviću, Vicku Novakoviću i Vicku Ostojiću prisjednicima općine Selca na otoku Braču*.

VOJNOVIĆ, Ivo. 2009. *Pisma Iva Vojnovića*. Vol. 1. Edited by Tihomil Maštrović. Zagreb; Dubrovnik: Nacionalna i sveučilišna knjižnica; Matica hrvatska, Ogranak Dubrovnik.

Newspapers

Dan (Split), April – August 1914.

Domaće ognjište (Zagreb), March – May 1914.

Hrvatska misao (Šibenik), June, August 1914.

Jugoslavenska žena (Zagreb), October – December 1918, January 1919, February 1920.

Novo doba (Split), November – December 1918, January 1919, February, July 1920, February 1922, September, December 1923, February 1938, November 1939.

Novosti (Zagreb), November 1918.

Sloboda (Split), September, November, 1912, September – October 1913, March – April 1914, June – July 1914.

Slobodna Dalmacija (Split), April 1967, May 1984, May 1990, May 1991, June 2003.

Val (Zagreb), October 1911.

Vihor (Zagreb), March, May 1914.

Zastava (Split), April – July 1914, May 1919.

Ženski svijet (Zagreb), April – June 1918.

Secondary Sources

AGIČIĆ, Damir. 2000. *Hrvatsko-češki odnosi na prijelazu iz XIX. u XX. stoljeće*. Zagreb: Ibis grafika.

ANTIĆ, Ljubomir. 2006. Nacionalna ideologija jugoslavenstva kod Hrvata u dvadesetom stoljeću. In *Hrvatska politika u XX. stoljeću*, edited by Ljubomir Antić, 35–68. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska.

BANAC, Ivo. 1984. *The national question in Yugoslavia: origins, history, politics*. Ithaca; London: Cornell University Press.

BANAC, Ivo. 1988. *Nacionalno pitanje u Jugoslaviji: porijeklo, povijest, politika*. Zagreb: Globus.

BANAC, Ivo. 2000. Zašto liberalna Hrvatska kasni: glavni pravci hrvatske povijesti u dvadesetom stoljeću. In *Liberalna misao u Hrvatskoj: prilozi povijesti liberalizma od kraja 18. do sredine 20. stoljeća*, edited by Andrea Feldman, Vladimir Stipetić, and Franjo Zenko, LV–LXVI. Zagreb: Friedrich Naumann Stiftung.

BATINIĆ, Štefka, Sonja GAĆINA ŠKALAMERA. 2009. *Učiteljice i učitelji u Hrvatskoj 1849. – 2009.* Zagreb: Hrvatski školski muzej.

BATUŠIĆ, Nikola, Zoran KRAVAR and Viktor ŽMEGAČ. 2001. *Književni protusvjetovi: poglavlja iz hrvatske moderne*. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska.

BEGONJA, Zlatko. 2019. Jugoslavenska nacionalistička omladina s početka 20. stoljeća na istočnojadranskome prostoru – djelovanje i postignuća / The Yugoslavian Nationalist Youth from the beginning of the 20th century in the East Adriatic region – actions and accomplishments. In *U vrtlogu povijesnih zbivanja na istočnojadranskom prostoru – početak 20. stoljeća / In the Whirlwind of Historic Events in the Eastern Adriatic: The Early 20th Century*, edited by Ante Bralić and Branko Kasalo, 39–53. Zadar: Sveučilište u Zadru, Odjel za povijest.

BEZIĆ-BOŽANIĆ, Nevenka. 2007. *Selčani 18. i 19. stoljeća*. Split: Naklada Bošković.

BLAŽEVIĆ, Petra. 2017. Jerko Čulić: životni put, djelovanje i obitelj. *Kulturna baština* 42–43: 149–174.

BOBAN, Ljubo. 1992. *Hrvatske granice od 1918. do 1991. godine*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga; Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti.

BUCHBERGER, Milovan. 2017. *Petar Nisiteo: posljednji polihistor Dalmacije*. Stari Grad: Muzej Staroga Grada.

BOŠKOVIĆ, Ivan J. 2006. *Orjuna – ideologija i književnost*. Zagreb: Hrvatska sveučilišna naklada.

BOŠKOVIĆ, Ivan J. 2007. Omladinska događanja u Splitu uoči Prvoga svjetskog rata i antiklerikalno djelovanje Mateja Košćine. *Crkva u svijetu* 42/2: 346–374.

BULIMBAŠIĆ, Sandi. 2016. *Društvo hrvatskih umjetnika „Medulić" (1908. – 1919.): umjetnost i politika*. Zagreb: Društvo povjesničara umjetnosti Hrvatske.

BULJAN, Marijan. 2018. Između Austrije i Srbije: splitski tisak 1914. godine. In *1914. – prva godina rata u Trojednoj Kraljevini i Austro-Ugarskoj Monarhiji*, edited by Vijoleta Herman Kaurić, 595–626. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska.

BULJAN, Marijan. 2022. *Politička povijest Splita od 1918. do 1941*. Zagreb: Leykam international.

ČAVIĆ, Aldo. 2023. Jugoslavenstvo Nike Bartulovića – posljednja obrana. In *Niko Bartulović – vrtlog ideja i identiteta: međunarodni interdiscliplinarni zbornik radova*, edited by Svetlana Šeatović, Sanja Roić and Marko M. Radulović, 49–76. Beograd: Institut za književnost i umetnost; Univerzitetska biblioteka „Svetozar Marković"; Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, Centar za komparativnohistorijske i interkulturne studije.

DESPOT, Igor. 2013. *Balkanski ratovi 1912.-1913. i njihov odjek u Hrvatskoj*. Zagreb: Plejada.

DULIBIĆ-PALJAR, Dubravka. 2023. Zakonski celibat za učiteljice: kulturni fenomen 19. stoljeća. *Croatica et Slavica Iadertina* 19/1: 169–189.

ĐUKIĆ PERIŠIĆ, Žaneta. 2012. *Pisac i priča: stvaralačka biografija Ive Andrića*. Novi Sad: Akademska knjiga.

FORETIĆ, Dinko. 1970. Radnički pokret u Dalmaciji od 1870. do Kongresa ujedinjenja 1919. U *Zbornik Instituta za historiju radničkog pokreta Dalmacije*. Vol. 1, edited by Jozo Ugrina, 23–70. Split: Institut za historiju radničkog pokreta Dalmacije.

GAĆINOVIĆ, Radoslav. 2011. *Mlada Bosna*. Beograd: Medija centar Odbrana.

GANZA-ARAS, Tereza. 1964. Jovan Skerlić o Starčeviću. *Zadarska revija* 13/4: 286–297.

GROSS, Mirjana, Igor KARAMAN, Dragovan ŠEPIĆ and Jaroslav ŠIDAK. 1968. *Povijest hrvatskog naroda g. 1860. – 1914*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga.

GROSS, Mirjana. 1969. Nacionalne ideje studentske omladine u Hrvatskoj uoči I. svjetskog rata. *Historijski zbornik* 21–22/1–4: 75–143.

GROSS, Mirjana. 1973. *Povijest pravaške ideologije*. Zagreb: Sveučilište u Zagrebu – Institut za hrvatsku povijest.

GRUBAČKI, Isidora. 2020. The Emergence of the Yugoslav Interwar Liberal Feminist Movement and the Little Entente of Women: An Entangled History Approach (1919-1924). *Feminist Encounters: A Journal of Critical Studies in Culture and Politics* 4/2: 1–15.

GRUBAČKI, Isidora, Irena SELIŠNIK. 2022. The National Women's Alliance in interwar Yugoslavia: between feminist reform and institutional social politics. *Women's History Review* 32/2: 242–260.

HAMMER TOMIĆ, Dragica. 2011. *Jugoslavenstvo Ivana Meštrovića*. Zagreb: Srednja Europa.

HORVAT, Josip. 1961. *Frano Supilo*. Beograd: Nolit.

HORVAT, Josip. 2007. *Hrvatski panoptikum*. Zagreb: Ex libris.

HORVAT, Josip. 2006. *Pobuna omladine*. Zagreb: Udruga za kulturu Gordogan.

IVANIŠEVIĆ, Milan. 2017. Uglednici iz splitskoga roda Bulata. *Kulturna baština* 42–43: 51–60.

JAKIR, Aleksandar. 2018. *Dalmacija u međuratnom razdoblju 1918. – 1941*. Zagreb: Leykam international.

JAKOVČEVIĆ, Duje. 2021. *Naprednjaštvo u Dalmaciji: Hrvatska demokratska stranka/ Hrvatska pučka napredna stranka 1905. – 1914*. Zagreb: Srednja Europa.

JANDRIĆ, Ljubo. 1982. *Sa Ivom Andrićem*, 2nd ed. Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša.

JELASKA MARIJAN, Zdravka. 2009. *Grad i ljudi: Split 1918. – 1941*. Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest.

JELASKA MARIJAN, Zdravka. 2019. Žena državnog neprijatelja / A State Enemy Woman. In *U vrtlogu povijesnih zbivanja na istočnojadranskom prostoru – početak 20. stoljeća / In the Whirlwind of Historic Events in the Eastern Adriatic: The Early 20th Century*, edited by Ante Bralić and Branko Kasalo, 55–65. Zadar: Sveučilište u Zadru, Odjel za povijest.

JELIĆ-BUTIĆ, Fikreta. 1986. *Četnici u Hrvatskoj 1941. – 1945*. Zagreb: Globus.

JONJIĆ, Tomislav. 2019. *Antun Gustav Matoš pod Starčevićevim barjakom*. Zagreb: AGM.

JUTRONIĆ, Nebodar, Petar JUTRONIĆ. 2007. Zapisnik sa skupštine Grmara (Prag, 1924.) In *Sutivan: kulturna povijest*, edited by Dražen Katunarić and Franjo Mlinac, 241–266. Zagreb: Litteris.

KARAULAC, Miroslav. 2010. *Rani Andrić*. Beograd: Filip Višnjić.

KRZOVIĆ, Ibrahim. 2004. *Arhitektura secesije u Bosni i Hercegovini*. Sarajevo: Sarajevo publishing.

LATAS, Branko. 1981. Delatnost četničkog centra u Splitu 1941-1943. godine. In *Split u narodnooslobodilačkoj borbi i socijalističkoj revoluciji 1941 – 1945.*, edited by Miroslav Ćurin, 1045–1064. Split: Institut za historiju radničkog pokreta Dalmacije.

LIPOVČAN, Srećko. 2002. *Mladi Ujević: politički angažman i rana proza (1909. – 1919.)*. Split: Književni krug.

LOVRENČIĆ, Rene. 1972. *Geneza politike „novoga kursa"*. Zagreb: Sveučilište u Zagrebu, Institut za hrvatsku povijest.

LJUBIBRATIĆ, Drago. 1959. *Gavrilo Princip*. [Beograd]: Nolit.

MACHIEDO-MLADINIĆ, Norka. 1995. Split u prvim poslijeratnim godinama (1918. – 1919.). *Kulturna baština* 26–27: 119–132.

MACKENZIE, David. 2014. *Apis: čovjek koji je izazvao Prvi svjetski rat: život pukovnika Dragutina T. Dimitrijevića*. Zagreb: Profil knjiga.

MARKUS, Tomislav. 2012. *Solidarnost i sukob interesa na slavenskom Jugu: Južni Slaveni u hrvatskoj političkoj misli 1844. – 1918*. Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest.

MARKUS, Tomislav. 2016. Trojedna Kraljevina Hrvatska, Slavonija i Dalmacija od 1790. do 1918.: osnovne smjernice političke povijesti. In *Temelji moderne Hrvatske: hrvatske zemlje u „dugom" 19. stoljeću*, edited by Jasna Turkalj and Vlasta Švoger, 3–28. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska.

MARTENS, Michael. 2020. *Vatra u vatri: Ivo Andrić – jedan europski život*. Zagreb: Naklada Ljevak.

MILANKO, Sandra. 2023. Niko Bartulović kao talijanist i književni prevoditelj. In *Niko Bartulović – vrtlog ideja i identiteta: međunarodni interdiscliplinarni zbornik radova*, edited by Svetlana Šeatović, Sanja Roić and Marko M. Radulović, 339–366. Beograd: Institut za književnost i umetnost; Univerzitetska biblioteka „Svetozar Marković"; Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, Centar za komparativnohistorijske i interkulturne studije.

MILETIĆ BORČIĆ, Radmila, Mirjana KUČER. 2007. *Žene Splita i Dalmacije – ženski vremeplov*. Split: Domine, feministička organizacija za promicanje prava žena i razvoj civilnog društva.

MUŽIĆ, Ivan. 2001. *Masonstvo u Hrvata*, 6th ed. Split: Laus.

NEŠKOVIĆ, Jasmina. 1994. *Ivo Andrić: prevodilačka sveska*. Novi Sad: Svetovi.

NIŽETIĆ, Branko. 1940. Dr. Ante Štambuk. In *Brački zbornik 1*, edited by Andre Jutronić, 74–77. Split: Udruženje Bračana u Splitu.

NEMEC, Krešimir. 2016. *Gospodar priče: poetika Ive Andrića*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga.

OGRAJŠEK GORENJAK, Ida. 2014. *Opasne iluzije: rodni stereotipi u međuratnoj Jugoslaviji*. Zagreb: Srednja Europa.

PALAVESTRA, Predrag. 1977. *Dogma i utopija Dimitrija Mitrinovića: počeci srpske književne avangarde*. Beograd: Slovo ljubve.

POLJAK, Željko. 2002. *Hrvatski književnik Ivo Andrić*. Zagreb: self-published.

POPOVIĆ, Radovan. 1989. Ivo Andrić: *A Writer's Life*. Beograd: Zadužbina Ive Andrića; Jugoslovenska revija.

RADICA, Bogdan. 1982. *Živjeti nedoživjeti*. Vol. 1. München; Barcelona: Knjižnica Hrvatske revije.

STANČIĆ, Nikša. 2006. Hrvatska nacionalna integracija u 19. i 20. stoljeću: ritmovi, ideologije, politika. In *Hrvatska politika u XX. stoljeću*, edited by Ljubomir Antić, 9–34. Zagreb: Matica hrvatska.

STANIČIĆ, Dino. 2023. *Trijumf ideje jugoslavenstva: kulturna i intelektualna povijest Zagreba u Prvome svjetskom ratu*. Zagreb: Plejada.

STRECHA, Mario. 2011. *Katoličko pravaštvo: politički katolicizam u Banskoj Hrvatskoj u predvečerje Prvoga svjetskog rata*. Zagreb: Srednja Europa.

ŠICEL, Miroslav. 1978. *Književnost moderne*. Zagreb: Liber; Mladost.

ŠIMETIN ŠEGVIĆ, Filip. 2021. Umjetnost kao propaganda: Ivan Meštrović, sukobljene paralelne kulturne politike i Veliki rat. *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru* 63: 325–353.

ŠÖMEN, Branko. 2014. *Povijest slobodnog zidarstva u Hrvatskoj*, Vol. 2. *Snaga*. Zagreb: Profil.

ŠKUDAR, Jurica. 2023. Nepoznate činjenice o privatnom životu Nike Bartulovića. In *Niko Bartulović – vrtlog ideja i identiteta: međunarodni interdiscliplinarni zbornik radova*, edited by Svetlana Šeatović, Sanja Roić and Marko M. Radulović, 367–376. Beograd: Institut za književnost i umetnost; Univerzitetska biblioteka „Svetozar Marković"; Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, Centar za komparativnohistorijske i interkulturne studije.

ŠTAMBUK 2019: 49, 65. 2019. *Štambuk: povijest i rodoslovlje*. Zagreb: Udruga Štambuk.

ŠUTE, Ivica. 2019. *Hrvatska povijest 1918. – 1941*. Zagreb: Leykam international.

TOMAŠEVIĆ, Jozo. 1979. *Četnici u Drugom svjetskom ratu: 1941. – 1945*. Zagreb: Liber.

TROGRLIĆ, Marko, Nevio ŠETIĆ. 2021. *Dalmacija i Istra u 19. stoljeću*, 2nd ed. Zagreb: Leykam international.

TRUTANIĆ, Jure. 2021a. Nakladnički poduhvat Ivana Kazimira Ostojića u Donjoj Tuzli početkom 20. stoljeća. *Historijski zbornik* 74/2: 289–321.

TRUTANIĆ, Jure. 2021b. Kontroverze oko izbora kandidata otoka Brača za Dalmatinski sabor u kotaru vanjskih općina Brača, Hvara i Visa 1901. godine. *Radovi Zavoda za povijesne znanosti HAZU u Zadru* 63: 289–323.

TURKALJ, Jasna. 2007. Prilog istraživanju pravaškog pokreta 1880-ih. In *Pravaška misao i politika*, edited by Jasna Turkalj, Zlatko Matijević and Stjepan Matković, 29–63. Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest.

VRANJEŠ-ŠOLJAN, Božena. 2005. T. G. Masaryk i nova Europa nakon Prvoga svjetskog rata. *Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu* 37/1: 213–321.

VRSALOVIĆ, Dasen. 2003. *Povijest otoka Brača*, 2nd ed. Zagreb: Graphis.

ZANINOVIĆ, Vice. 1959. Mlada Hrvatska uoči I. svjetskog rata. *Historijski zbornik* 11–12/1–4: 65–104.

ŽEŽELJ, Mirko. 1977. *Gospar Ivo*. Zagreb: Centar za informacije i publicitet.

ŽUTIĆ-VELEBITSKI, Nikola. 2010. *Niko Bartulović – rimokatolik četnik: od liberala-antiklerikalca i antikomuniste do ravnogorca antifašiste*. Vol 1. Beograd: Srpska radikalna stranka.

Theses and Dissertations

PRELEC, Marko. 1997. *The Origins of Yugoslav Revolutionary Politics: The Nationalist Youth among the Habsburg South Slavs, 1908–1914*. Ph.D. diss., Faculty of the Graduate School of Yale University.

TRUTANIĆ, Jure. 2025. *Mikrohistorija odnosa Katoličke crkve i jugoslavenskih komunističkih vlasti: model biskupa Andra Štambuka (1913. – 1955.)*. Ph.D. diss., Faculty of Croatian Studies, University of Zagreb.

VUČIJEVIĆ, Daria. 2021. *Školovanje žena u Dubrovniku od 1837. do početka Drugog svjetskog rata*. Ph.D. diss., University of Dubrovnik.

Online Sources

ŠENOA, Zdenko. Čulić, Dmitar. *Hrvatski biografski leksikon (1983–2025)*, *mrežno izdanje*. Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2025 https://hbl.lzmk.hr/clanak/culic-dmitar (accessed 1 July 2025).

TOPIĆ, Andrea. Znate li tko je bila Maja Čulić? *Slobodna Dalmacija* (web portal), 6 December 2018 https://slobodnadalmacija.hr/split-i-zupanija/split/znate-li-tko-je-bila-maja-culic-za-ovu-genijalnu-bracanku-trebala-bi-znati-svaka-dalmatinka-zahvaljujuci-njoj-sutra-obiljezavamo-sto-godina-zenskog-pokreta-u-splitu-578539 (accessed 12 August 2025).

Ivo Andrić i Maja Nižetić-Čulić pod zastavom jugoslavenske nacionalističke omladine

U radu se istražuje djelovanje književnika Ive Andrića i učiteljice Maje Nižetić-Čulić u prijelomnim godinama sutona Austro-Ugarske Monarhije i rađanja prve jugoslavenske države, rekonstruira se njihov međusobni odnos u cjelini te interpretira pripadnost pokretu jugoslavenske nacionalističke omladine. Stoga članak djelomično funkcionira kao komprimirani povijesni pregled toga pokreta, ujedno kao prilog biografiji Ive Andrića te skica za portret Maje Nižetić-Čulić, jedne od prvih feministica u Dalmaciji. Budući da je njezino djelovanje, za razliku od proslavljenoga književnika Andrića, veoma slabo istraženo, veća je pozornost u radu posvećena biografiji Maje Nižetić-Čulić.

Životne putove Ive Andrića i Maje Nižetić ispreplelo je sudjelovanje u pokretu jugoslavenske nacionalističke omladine. Riječ je o fluidnom i policentričnom pokretu koji je u godinama uoči Prvoga svjetskog rata proizašao iz sve snažnijega protuaustrijskog raspoloženja među političko-intelektualnim krugovima na jugu Austro-Ugarske Monarhije. Oduševljavajući se Kraljevinom Srbijom, njegovi su revolucionarni nositelji zagovarali integralnu jugoslavensku ideju i propovijedali uspostavu unitarne jugoslavenske države na ruševinama Dvojne Monarhije te zagovarali atentate na obnašatelje vlasti kao legitimno sredstvo političke akcije. Pripadnici jugoslavenske nacionalističke omladine, rođeni između 1886. i 1894. uvelike korespondiraju s pjesničkim naraštajem što je svoje literarne težnje 1914. objedinio u znamenitom pjesničkom zborniku *Hrvatska mlada lirika*. Naime, mnogi od njih, uključujući Ivu Andrića, paralelno su iskazivali revolucionarne i literarne ambicije.

Zahvaljujući poznanstvu s Vladimirom Čerinom, Andrić se uoči početka Prvoga svjetskog rata i vala političkih uhićenja u srpnju 1914. pojavio u Splitu. Tamo je upoznao Maju Nižetić i njezina zaručnika Jerka Čulića. Ivo Andrić u to je vrijeme bio student i pjesnik u usponu koji je sve više razmišljao o karijeri, a sve manje o revoluciji, dok je učiteljica Maja Nižetić u nacionalističkim novinama progovarala o pravima žena i trasirala put feminističkom pokretu u Dalmaciji. Sve troje su uhićeni u prvim danima Prvoga svjetskog rata pod optužbom za veleizdaju i zajedno su proveli nekoliko mjeseci u zatvorima Splita i Maribora. Optužbe protiv Andrića naposljetku su odbačene, dok su Maja Nižetić i Jerko Čulić osuđeni na zatvorske kazne. Tijekom boravka u konfinaciji u Grazu Maja se 1916. vjenčala s Jerkom Čulićem i tamo rodila prvo dijete.

Nakon završetka rata putovi Ive Andrića i Maje Nižetić-Čulić postupno su se razdvojili, no oboje su ostali privrženi jugoslavenstvu. Za razliku od brojnih intelektualaca iz redova jugoslavenske nacionalističke omladine koji su nakon promjene državnoga okvira ostali marginalcima, Andrić je uspješnije baratao kategorijama politike i ideologije, te je u punini realizirao svoj književni talent. S druge strane, izgleda da se Maja Nižetić-Čulić relativno rano počela povlačiti iz javnoga života. K tome se nakon uspostave jugoslavenske komunističke vlasti nije lako poput Andrića prilagodila novim društvenim okolnostima. Zbog svega toga u znanstvenoj je literaturi dosad uglavnom bila registrirana tek kao pripadnica društvenoga kruga Ive Andrića, s kojim je ostala u bliskim prijateljskim odnosima sve do njegove smrti.

Keywords: Yugoslav Nationalist Youth, First World War, Ivo Andrić, Maja Nižetić-Čulić, Jerko Čulić, political prisoners, Split, Maribor, Graz, People's Women's Association

Ključne riječi: jugoslavenska nacionalistička omladina, Prvi svjetski rat, Ivo Andrić, Maja Nižetić-Čulić, Jerko Čulić, politički zatvorenici, Split, Maribor, Graz, Narodna ženska zadruga

Jure Trutanić
Fakultet hrvatskih studija Sveučilišta u Zagrebu
Borongajska cesta 83d,
10000 Zagreb
jtrutanic@fhs.hr

FILOZOFSKI FAKULTET SVEUČILIŠTA U ZAGREBU
ZAVOD ZA HRVATSKU POVIJEST
INSTITUTE OF CROATIAN HISTORY
INSTITUT FÜR KROATISCHE GESCHICHTE

RADOVI
57
Broj 1

ZAVOD ZA HRVATSKU POVIJEST
FILOZOFSKOGA FAKULTETA SVEUČILIŠTA U ZAGREBU

FF press

ZAGREB 2025.

RADOVI ZAVODA ZA HRVATSKU POVIJEST FILOZOFSKOGA FAKULTETA SVEUČILIŠTA U ZAGREBU

Knjiga 57, broj 1

Izdavač / Publisher
Zavod za hrvatsku povijest
Sveučilište u Zagrebu
Filozofski fakultet, Odsjek za povijest
FF press

Za izdavača / For Publisher
Domagoj Tončinić

Glavni urednik / Editor-in-Chief
Filip Šimetin Šegvić

Izvršni urednik / Managing editor
Zvjezdana Sikirić Assouline

Zamjenik glavnog urednika / Assistant Editor-in-Chief
Luka Špoljarić

Uredništvo / Editorial Board
Inga Vilogorac Brčić (stara povijest/ancient history), Trpimir Vedriš (srednji vijek/medieval history), Hrvoje Petrić (rani novi vijek/early modern history), Martin Previšić (suvremena povijest/contemporary history), Tvrtko Jakovina (globalna povijest/global history), Silvija Pisk (zavičajna povijest/local history), Tomislav Galović (pomoćne povijesne znanosti/auxiliary sciences of history)

Izvršni urednik za međunarodnu komunikaciju / Executive editor for international communication
Nada Zečević

Urednik recenzija / Review Editor
Kornelija Jurin Starčević

Međunarodno uredničko vijeće / International Editorial Council
Denis Jevgenjevič Alimov (Sankt Peterburg), Csaba Békés (Budapest), Jakub Beneš (London), Rajko Bratož (Ljubljana), Svetlozar Eldarov (Sofija), Toni Filiposki (Skopje), Aleksandar Fotić (Beograd), Vladan Gavrilović (Novi Sad), Hannes Grandits (Berlin), Kateřina Horníčková (České Budějovice / Olomouc), Catherine Horel (Pariz), Angela Ilić (München), Egidio Ivetić (Padova), Husnija Kamberović (Sarajevo), Irina Lyubomirova Ognyanova-Krivoshieva (Sofija), Axel E. W. Müller (Leeds), Beata Możejko (Gdanjsk), Géza Pálffy (Budapest), Zlatko Pleše (Chapel Hill), Ioan-Aurel Pop (Cluj), Alexios G. C. Savvides (Kalamata), Vlada Stanković (Beograd), Zrinka Stahuljak (Los Angeles), Ludwig Steindorff (Kiel), Peter Štih (Ljubljana), Andrea Vanina Neyra (Buenos Aires), Radina Vučetić (Beograd), Christina Lutter (Beč) i Andrej Hozjan (Maribor)

Tajnik uredništva / Editorial Board Assistant
Dejan Zadro

Adresa uredništva/Editorial Board address
Zavod za hrvatsku povijest, Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu,
Ivana Lučića 3, HR-10 000, Zagreb
Tel. ++385 (0)1 6120191

Časopis izlazi jedanput godišnje / The Journal is published once a year
Časopis je u digitalnom obliku dostupan na / The Journal in digital form is accessible at: Portal znanstvenih časopisa Republike Hrvatske „Hrčak“ http://hrcak.srce.hr/radovi-zhp

Financijska potpora za tisak časopisa / The journal is published with the financial support by:
Ministarstvo znanosti, obrazovanja i športa Republike Hrvatske

Časopis je indeksiran u sljedećim bazama / The Journal is indexed in the following databases:
Directory of Open Access Journals, EBSCO, SCOPUS, ERIH PLUS, Emerging Sources Citation Index - Web of Science

Naslovna stranica / Title page by
Marko Maraković

Grafičko oblikovanje i računalni slog / Graphic design and layout
Marko Maraković

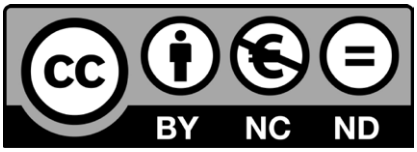
Lektura / Language editors
Katarina Starčević (hrvatski / Croatian)
Tomislav Brandolica (engleski / English)

Korektura / Copy editing
Marta Janković

Ilustracija na naslovnici
Muza Klio (Alexander S. Murray, *Manual of Mythology*, London 1898)

Časopis je u digitalnom obliku dostupan na Portalu znanstvenih časopisa Republike Hrvatske „Hrčak“ http://hrcak.srce.hr/radovi-zhp

The Journal is accessible in digital form at the Hrcak - Portal of scientific journals of Croatia http://hrcak.srce.hr/radovi-zhp



Djelo je objavljeno pod uvjetima Creative Commons Autorstvo-Nekomercijalno-Bez prerada 4.0 Međunarodne javne licence (CC-BY-NC-ND) koja dopušta korištenje, dijeljenje i umnažanje djela, ali samo u nekomercijalne svrhe i uz uvjet da se ispravno citira djelo i autora, te uputi na izvor. Dijeljenje djela u prerađenom ili izmijenjenom obliku nije dopušteno.