

PLETER



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Udruge studenata povijesti „Toma Arhiđakon“ – ISHA-e Split

„Iz kamena povijest, a iz povijesti svijest.“



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RIJEČ UREDNIŠTVA

Poštovani i dragi čitatelji,

Još jednom mi je pripala čast predstaviti vam novi broj časopisa *Pleter*, šesti po redu, udruge studenata povijesti *Toma Arhiđakon* koja slavi već desetu godišnjicu uspješnog djelovanja, na kojoj joj ovim putem čestitam.

Šesti broj *Pletera* sastavljen je od raznolikih povijesnih tema koje se bave antičkim, novovjekovnim i suvremenim temama, osvrta na knjige i film te osvrta na izložbu kolegice s Odsjeka za povijest umjetnosti. Kao i uvijek, nadamo se kako će se za svakoga od Vas pronaći barem jedan rad koji će obogatiti Vaše znanje ili probuditi želju za istraživanjem. Naravno, bez tradicionalne potpore Studentskog zbora Filozofskog Fakulteta u Splitu, kao i samog Sveučilišta, te svih recenzenata i autora, za šesti broj *Pletera* bilo bi nemoguće ugledati svjetlo dana, stoga svima navedenima, u ime cijelog uredništva, zahvaljujem.

Ovaj je tekst ujedno i tzv. „odjavna špica“ sadašnjeg uredništva jer, kao studenti druge godine diplomskog studija, opraštamo se s Fakultetom, pa tako i s časopisom *Pleter*, puni optimizma kako će generacije koje dolaze nastaviti s dobrim radom i, nadam se, doprinijeti daljnjem napretku ovog časopisa i hrvatske historiografije uopće. Bodrite ih dragi čitatelji, kao što ste i nas, zajedno promičite ljubav prema historiografiji, posebno hrvatskoj jer moramo uvijek imati na umu da mi, kao baštinici te povijesti, pružamo primjer ostalim narodima kako se odnositi prema njoj, a to u najmanju ruku mora biti istinoljubivo i dostojanstveno. Odnosite se prema spomenutim riječima don Frane Bulića, Oca Hrvatske Arheologije, kao zvijezdi vodilji za svoje historiografsko, ali i životno djelovanje: „Iz kamena povijest, a iz povijesti svijest“, a ja Vam, još jednom, u ime cijelog uredništva, zahvaljujem na potpori i svako dobro Vam želim!

Vinka Klišmanić, glavna urednica





EDITORIAL

Dear readers,

Once again, I have the honour to present to you the new issue of the magazine *Pleter*, the sixth in a row, of the association of history students *Thomas the Archdeacon*, which celebrates its tenth anniversary of successful activity, on which I hereby give it my congratulations.

The sixth issue of the *Pleter* is composed of diverse historical topics that deal with ancient, modern-era and contemporary topics, reviews of books and films, and reviews of an exhibition of a colleague from the Department of Art History. As always, we hope that each of you will find at least one work that will enrich your knowledge or awake the desire for research. Of course, without the traditional support of the Students' Union of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences, as well as the University of Split itself, and all the reviewers and authors, it would be impossible for the sixth issue of the *Pleter* to see the light of day, so I thank all of them, on behalf of the entire editorial board.

This text is also a "sign-off", so to say, of the current editorial board, because, as students of the second year of graduate studies, we say goodbye to the Faculty and to the magazine *Pleter*, full of optimism that the generations to come will continue the good work and, I hope, contribute to the further progress of this magazine and Croatian historiography as such. Encourage them, dear readers, as you did us, and together promote the love of historiography, especially Croatian, because we must always remember that we, as inheritors of that history, set an example for other nations on how to treat it and that, at the very least, must be done truthfully and with dignity. Treat the mentioned words of Don Frane Bulić, the father of Croatian archaeology, as a guiding star for your historiographical and also life activities: "From the stone comes history and from history comes consciousness", and with that, on behalf of the entire editorial board, I once again thank you for your support and wish you all the best!

Vinka Klišmanić, editor-in-chief



RADOVI



KRUHA I IGARA – RAZVOJ, SIMBOLIKA I PRIKAZI GLADIJATORSKIH IGARA

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Gladijatorske igre i sami gladijatori važna su povijesna i društvena tema, s velikom znatiželjnom publikom i mnoštvom povijesno umjetničkih radova. Stoga, tekst u nastavku donosi glavne ideje podrijetla, početka i razvoja gladijatorskih borbi. Objašnjava vrste gladijatora, kao i gladijatorica, ali i same scenarije borbe. Rad donosi mnoštvo povijesno umjetničkih prikaza i iskaza koje prenose mnoštvo priča. Radi se o pregledu od samog početka i razvoja gladijatorskih igara, njihova prestanka, sve do novovjekovne umjetnosti i fascinacije istih događaja.

Ključne riječi: *gladijator, Rimsko carstvo, Rim, umjetnost antike, gladijatorske borbe, amfiteatar*

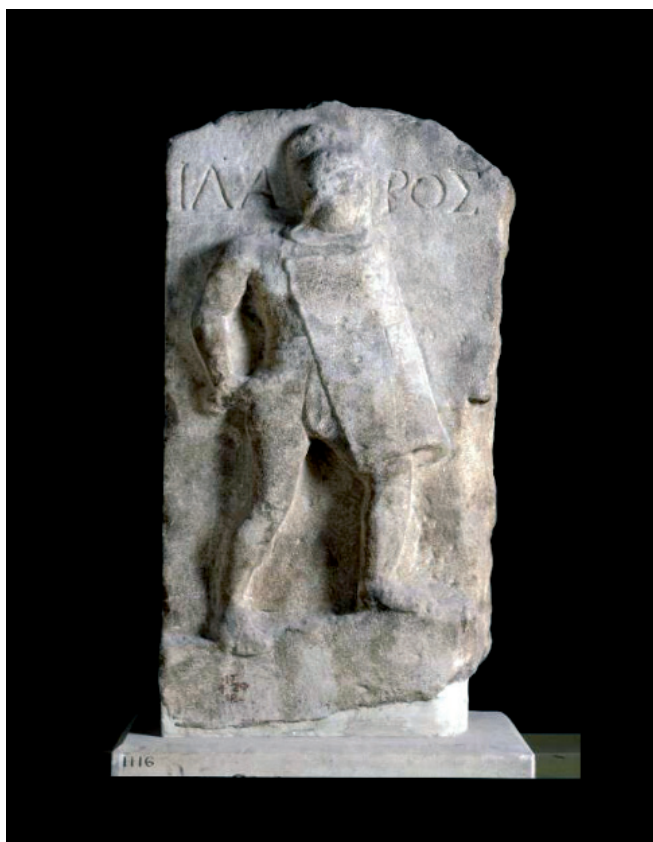
Uvod

Osnutak Rima u 8 st. pr. Kr. označit će veliku promjenu na teritoriju Europe. Od tada, sve do 5. stoljeća, a na nekim područjima i duže, kultura rimskog grada najviše je utjecala na razvoj i promjene navedenih područja. U početku mali grad, potom Republika, a u konačnici Carstvo, dosegnuta je razina da se Europom vladalo iz Rima. Stari Rimljani bili su poznati po mnogim dostignućima na području prava, politike, arhitekture, urbanizma, umjetnosti te vojske. Upravo svojoj ratničkoj vojsci mogu zahvaliti neprestano širenje, koje bi onda pouzdanim urbanističkim i pravnim procesima uklopili pod svoju upravu. Mnoge su društvene prednosti bile ispitane u ovom razdoblju. Zbog naprednog stila građenja, kao i mnoštvu financiranih umjetničkih predmeta, danas možemo govoriti o djelomičnu poznavanju povijesti antičkog Rima, ponajprije zahvaljujući arheološkim nalazima.

Od kraja Rimskog carstva, proteći će mnogo stoljeća na tlu Europe, do ponovnog otkrivanja istih tema s kojima su se bavili Rimljani, kao i napretka prava, ekonomije, arhitekture, urbanizma, umjetnosti te voj-



ske. Tako već u renesansi, umjetnost će tražiti nadahnuće u antičkim djelima, a dolaskom razdoblja historicizma, taj će se proces naglo proširiti, kada dolazi do većeg broja arheoloških iskopa i nalaza. S pronalaskom novog i nepoznatog nalaza, zanimanje za antiku nije oslabilo, već naprotiv, opčinjenost i zainteresiranost među strukom, a i običnim ljudima, samo je raslo. Između svih pronađenih vrijednih i umjetničkih predmeta, zapisa i pripovijesti, jedan je oblik zabave vjerojatno i najpopularnije istražena tema antičkog Rima. Radi se o najpoznatijem „sportu“ u Rimu – gladijatorskim borbama.



Slika 1. Reljef gladijatora iz Halikarnasa, 1. st., Turska, Britanski muzej

Podrijetlo gladijatorskih igara

Mnogi nepovezani arheološki nalazi i zapažanja stvorili su različita tumačenja porijekla gladijatorskih igara. Najpoznatija teorija kaže kako zamisao o gladijatorskim igrama ima svoje korijene u Etrušča-



nima, koji su bili dio pogrebnih rituala u čast mrtvih. U prilog tome govore freske iz etruščanskih grobnica koje prikazuju borbu između dvaju ratnika.¹ Također, poznato je kako su Rimljani uspješno preuzimali različite običaje od Grka, Kartažana i Etruščana te ih koristili u vlastite svrhe. Prvenstveno se radi o graditeljstvu, politici i vojnim potхватima. Ipak, u posljednje vrijeme, ova je teorija snažno kritizirana.²

Sljedeća teorija također govori kako su gladijatorske borbe izvorno imale sakralni karakter. Radi se o vjerovanju kako su rimski vojnici, nakon svoje smrti, bili počašćeni žrtvom ratnih zarobljenika, a slične manifestacije provodili su i Grci te Etruščani.³ Slična razmatranja donosi ranokršćanski pisac Tertulijan u svom djelu *De spectaculis*, napisavši: „Drevni su mislili kako s ovakvim spektaklom čine uslugu mrtvima, nakon što su to ublažili kulturnijim oblikom okrutnosti... Jer su od davnina, u uvjerenju kako se duše umrlih pomiluju ljudskom krvlju, na sahranama žrtvovali zarobljenike ili robove loše kakvoće koje su kupili... Tako su u ubojstvu našli utjehu za smrt“.⁴ Prema toj teoriji praksa jednostavnog žrtvovanja prerasla je u međusobnu borbu do smrti, što bi s vremenom preraslo u gladijatorske borbe.



Slika 2. Reljef s gladijatorima, 20. - 50., Nacionalni arheološki muzej u Napulju, Italija

Posljednja u ovom tekstu, ujedno i najmanje raširena teorija, izvore gladijatorskih borbi prepoznaje u preklapanju smrtonosnih borbi kao oblika žrtvovanja te starorimskog festivala zvanog *Saturnalije*, koji se održavao 17. prosinca, a kasnije je bio proširen do 23. dana istog mjeseca. Navedeni festival održavao se u čast boga Saturna, čiji je pandan u

1 Bishop, M. C. „Gladiators: Fighting to the Death in Ancient Rome.“ *Casemate Publishers: Oxford* (2017), str. 16.

2 Wisdom, Stephen. „Gladiators: 100 BC–AD 200.“ *Osprey Publishing; Oxford* (2001), str. 10.

3 Bishop, M. C. „Gladiators“, str. 14. – 15.

4 Tertullian. „De spectaculis.“ *Harvard University Press: London* (1931), str. 263. - 265.



grčkoj mitologiji Kron, također s vlastitim festivalom zvan *Kronia*, održavan u njegovu čast i za žetveno slavlje. *Kronia* se posebno slavila u Ateni i drugim jonskim gradovima i to preko ljeta. Saturn, jednako kao i Kron, jest otac vrhovnog boga Jupitera, čiji je grčki pandan Zeus. Obojica će svrgnuti oca kako bi zauzeli mjesto vrhovnog boga. Istaknuta teorija ima nekoliko nepodudaranja koje su očite u samom obilježavanju spomenutih festivala. Naime, na dan *Kronije*, uobičajene društvene razlike bile su poništene, a robove bi njihovi gospodari gostili i dopuštali im divljati gradom, stvarajući buku, koliko god su htjeli, te se slični obrasci ponavljaju i u Rimu.⁵ Ipak, Grci su Krona često poistovjećivali s neugodnim stranim božanstvima poput Moloha, semitskog boga kojem su pri-nošene ljudske žrtve.⁶ Potonje tumačenje čašćenja navedenog boga govori u prilog istaknutoj teoriji. Također, možemo pridodati i trodnevne smrtonosne borbe koje je u Rimu organizirao Tit Flaminin, a koje su se preklapale s navedenim festivalom *Saturnalija*.⁷ Tada je Tit suprotstavio 74 muškarca, što samo pokazuje razvijenost gladijatorskih borbi, ali se može povezati i s ljudskim žrtvovanjem.



Slika 3. Svećiljka od terakote s prikazom dvaju gladijatora 51. - 100., Britanski muzej

5 Hard, Robin. „The Routledge Handbook of Greek Mythology: Based on H.J. Rose’s Handbook of Greek Mythology.” London, New York (2004), str. 70. – 71.

6 *Ibid.*, str. 71.

7 Wisdom, S. „Gladiators“, str. 10 - 11



Možemo nadodati i teoriju koja govori kako su gladijatorske igre nastale razvojem javnih događaja u Rimu koje su uključivale aktivnosti, kao što su utrke, hrvanje te, s druge strane, kazalište, pjevanje, sviranje. Ipak pokazalo se kako tradicionalne javne ceremonije u Rimu tada nisu bile uključivale i gladijatorske igre.⁸

Početak gladijatorskih borbi

Prikazane teorije o podrijetlu gladijatorskih igara pretpostavljaju različite scenarije nastanka. Upravo zbog toga bilo je potrebno predstaviti više različitih tumačenja. Bilo kako bilo, već u trećem stoljeću prije Krista održavale su se gladijatorske borbe, a najstariji nalazi upućuje na 264. godinu. Bilo je to na sprovodu Junija Bruta Pere, uoči Prvog punskog rata, kada su njegovi sinovi Marko i Decim organizirali borbe do smrti tri para gladijatora na Forumu Boariumu u Rimu.⁹ S vremenom je popularnost gladijatorskih borbi rasla, a rimski povjesničar Tit Livije, u svom pregledu razdoblja od 218. do 167. prije Krista prikazuje mnoge gladijatorske borbe, prvenstveno na sprovodima. Ovdje je važno nadodati autorovo tumačenje koje gladijatorske borbe pretežito veže uz sakralni karakter, ali ipak donosi važne informacije o razvoju gladijatorskih borbi. Pa tako Livije donosi, a Wiedemann prenosi, nekoliko događaja. Godine 216. pr. Kr., na sprovodu Marka Emilija Lepida, bilo je dvadeset dvoje gladijatora; potom 200. pr. Kr., kod Marka Valerija Laevina, dvadeset i petero; zatim 183. pr. Kr., kod Publija Licinija, šezdesetero te na kraju, 174. pr. Kr., Tit Flaminin, u čast oca, već spomenuta sedamdeset četvero boraca.¹⁰ Gladijatorske borbe nisu bile ograničene samo na Rim, pa je tako Livije opisao i gladijatorske igre koje je Scipion Afrički održao u čast svog oca i strica u Novoj Kartagi, današnjoj Španjolskoj.¹¹ Igre su održane 206. prije Krista, nakon što su obojica poginuli u borbama protiv Kartažana.

Rastom popularnosti ovakvih oblika zabave, gladijatorske igre postale su unosnim poslom diljem Rimskog Carstva. U tu će se svrhu otvarati posebne škole (*ludus gladiatorius*). podizati prikladne arene (amfiteatri), održavati borbe pogonjene povijesnim događajima uz

8 Vidi više: Wiedemann, Thomas. „Emperors and Gladiators.“ Routledge: London (1992), str. 2. – 3.

9 Ibid., str. 5.

10 Wiedemann, T. „Emperors and Gladiators.“, str. 6.

11 Ibid., str. 37.

razne tehnološko-vojne uređaje, a popularnost će se prenijeti na sve stanovnike, čak i na careve.



Slika 4. Prizori gladijatora iz mozaika „Villa Dar Buc Ammera“,
Arheološki muzej u Tripoliju, Libija

Gladijator

Sudionici u smrtonosnoj borbi, gdje je svaki trenutak mogao značiti smrt, oduševili su stanovništvo antičkog Rima te kasnije i suvremenih vremena. U tim, najčešće nečovječnim uvjetima, pojedinci su se borili kako bi preživjeli još jedan dan te, u konačnici, možda došli do slobode. Time je jasnokako gladijatori nisu bili slobodni stanovnici. Dapače, većinom su to bili ratni zarobljenici, osuđeni kriminalci, prognani (uključujući i kršćane tijekom jednog razdoblja) i drugi. Radi se o robovima, a tek kasnije o profesionalnim borcima. Većina gladijatora bila je prisiljena boriti se jer im je to nametnuo, a tek se nekolicina dragovoljno prijavljuje. I u tim slučajevima, učestalo se radi o izgubljenim i depresivnim stanovnicima, koji su se poželjeli okušati u potrazi za slavom. Paradoksalno, najniži društveni slojevi, putem gladijatorskih borbi i pobjeda, mogli su doći do slave. Kako bi došli do slave, gladijatori su pohađali cjelodnevne napore pripreme u usavršavanju vještina i pojačavanju snage. Upravo zato se i otvaraju gladijatorske škole diljem republike, a potom i carstva, od kojih su najpoznatije škole u Capiju, odakle je krenuo Spartakov ustanak, u Pompejima te u Rimu (*Ludus Magnus*). Gladijatorske škole uglavnom su vodili uspješno umirovljeni gladijatori.

Glavni zadatak svakog gladijatora jest proliti protivnikovu krv te je bjelodano: što je gladijator bio uspješniji u svom poslu, to je postajao



popularnijim. S popularnošću stizale su i nagrade. Nasuprot položaju na dnu društva, tj. položaju robova, gladijatorima je bilo dostupno obilje hrane, kako bi bili jači i spremniji u areni. Popularniji i spretniji borci, mogli su tako ostvariti značajne novčane dobitke, žene ili muškarce, a najbolji i najhrabriji gladijatori mogli su osvojiti nagrade od samog cara.

Mnogi političari i carevi kasnije će shvatiti kako je rimsko stanovništvo željno ovakvih borbenih uzbuđenja, što su koristili kako bi povećali vlastitu popularnost, raznim sponzoriranjem gladijatorskih igara. Pri samom vrhuncu igara, rimski carevi sponzorirali su borbe u kojima su sudjelovali mnogobrojni gladijatori. Nadgrobni spomenik gladijatora koji nosi pobjednički palmin list govori u prilog vrijednosti gladijatora, a na njemu se nalazi i natpis na grčkom, čiji prijevod donosi Wiedemann¹² te on glasi: „The Familia [erected it] to Satornilos, to remember him.“¹³ Spomenik je pronađen u Anatoliji, a danas je dio Arheološkog muzeja u Leidenu, Nizozemska.



Slika 5. Nadgrobni spomenik gladijatora, 3 st., Nacionalni muzej starina, Leiden, Nizozemska

12 Wiedemann, T. „Emperors and Gladiators.“, str. 134.

13 „Familija [ga je podigla] Satornilosu, kako bi ga se sjećala“



Razvoj gladijatorskih igara

Predodžba o gladijatorskim borbama s današnjeg gledišta u stvarnosti je drastično pojednostavljena. Zamišljena dvojica muškaraca u areni bore se do smrti ili dok jedan gladijator drugoga ne sruši. Nakon što bi gladijator svladao protivnika, imao je izbor zadati smrtni udarac, kojeg prepušta gledateljstvu ili organizatoru. Potom, gledateljstvo ili organizator igara odlučuje o životu nadvladanog gladijatora i to putem položaja palca. Uobičajeni prikazi su kako je palac gore za život, a palac dolje za smrt. U slučaju da je život poražena gladijatora pošteđen, on se vraća treniranju i ponovnoj borbi. Navedene borbe, koje su glavna percepcija gladijatorskih igara sa suvremenog gledišta, održavale su se, ali to nije bilo sve. U stvarnosti se održavao veliki broj inačica borbe. Često bi se radilo o povijesnim bitkama samog Rima, gdje bi mnoštvo gladijatora uprizorilo određeni uspjeh. Takva vrsta gladijatorskih igra bio je uobičajena, a jedna od njih održana je 44. po. Kr, kada je car Klaudije organizirao gladijatorske igre, uprizorivši opsadu i osvajanje britanskog grada, uz mnoge ratne strojeve, u amfiteatru Titus Statilius Taurus, u Rimu.¹⁴ Ponekad bi gladijatori morali uprizoriti pomorske bitke, kada bi se arena napunila vodom te su gladijatori svoj život morali očuvati na improviziranim splavovima. Stoga su borbe u većim skupina zahtijevale sofisticirane pokrete, a nisu svi robovi bili jednako obučeni. Upravo zato, nastaje podjela uloga, iz čega će proizaći mnoštvo različitih oblika gladijatora. S vremenom, gladijatorske igre trajale bi danima, gdje bi se postupno gradilo uzbuđenje. Početak igara obično je uključivalo životinje, u obliku lova ili borbe. Nakon toga, borbe gladijatora postajale bi sve žustrije, a vrhunac bi došao s rekonstrukcijom povijesnih borbi.

Nasuprot uvriježenom mišljenju, nisu svi gladijatori bili muškarci, već i žene. Za njih je skovana i suvremena inačica, *gladiatrix*, koja nije bila poznata Rimljanima.¹⁵ Upravo mramorni reljef iz Halikarnasa (Turska), razdoblja 1. - 2. stoljeća prikazuje dvije gladijatorice, Amazonu i Ahiliju, koji se danas čuva u Britanskom muzeju. Radi o spomeniku otpuštanja iz službe. Dvije su gladijatorice naoružane i spremne za napad, s mačevima i štitovima. Desnoj gladijatorici nedostaje glava te one stoje na istaknutoj platformi, a podno, sa svake strane, jest gledateljeva glava. Gladijatorice su prikazane s istom opremom kao i muški

14 Wisdom, S. „Gladiators“, str. 7.

15 Bishop, M. C. „Gladiators“, str. 88.

gladijatori, ali bez šljemova. Rijetki su nalazi kao navedeni koji govore o ženskim pripadnicama ovog okrutnog športa, ali je poznato kako je rimski car Septimije Sever 200. godine zabranio gladijatorice.¹⁶



Slika 6. Mramorna ploča s prikazom dviju gladijatorica, Britanski muzej

Vrste gladijatora

Naziv za gladijatore potječe od rimskog naziva za kratki mač - **gladius**. Taj će mač inače biti i najčešćim oružjem gladijatora, što ne čudi zbog velikog uspjeha rimske vojske s navedenom inačicom mača. Radi se o jednom od vještijih ratnih dostignuća, kada se rimska organiziranost i pokretljivost preklapila s prednostima navedenog mača. Upravo zbog njega, rimska je vojska mogla tako napredovati. Naime, onodobni mačevi, koji su bili teški, predugi ili zakrivljeni, kvarili su rimske formacije. Upravo zbog toga ni koplje nije moglo biti glavnim oružjem rimske vojske. Uz prevelike i teške štitove, vojska je trebala upravo lagan i čvrst mač. Iako su gladijatori preuzeli *gladius*, nisu svi, zbog čega dolazi do različitih tipova ovih boraca. Svaki tip karakterizira određena prednost, kao i različit izbor opreme. Najstariji poznati tipovi zasigurno su *samnite* i *thracian*, a, uz navedene, četiri najpoznatija tipa zatvaraju *murmillio* i *retiarius*. U nastavku slijede tipovi gladijatora, uz određene karakteristike.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, str. 5., 116.



Slika 7. Prikaz bestiariusa s mozaika iz vile Nennig, Austrija

Bestiarius - borci koji su se borili protiv životinja, poznati kao i lovci. Manje cijenjeni od pravih gladijatora; također, tehnički nisu bili smatrani gladijatorima. O njihovoj opremi ne mogu se donijeti konačni zaključci zbog oprječnih nalaza. Naime, reljefi iz republičkog razdoblja prikazuju potpuno naoružane gladijatore koji se bore s divljim životinjama, ali u carskom razdoblju *bestiariusi* su se borili s kopljem i bez oklopa.¹⁷

Murmillo - ime potječe od male morske ribe te se na teškom šljemu ovog gladijatora nalaze riblji motivi. Bili su opremljeni šljemom, štitnikom za ruku, pravokutnim štitom i mačem.¹⁸ Ovaj tip gladijatora bio je najčešćim protivnikom *retiariusa*, ali i *traciana*.

Samnite - jedan od najranijih tipova gladijatora. Svoje podrijetlo duguju Samnitskim ratovima koje je Rim vodio protiv stanovnika Sa-

17 Bishop, M. C. „Gladiators“, str. 84. – 85.

18 *Ibid.*, str. 89. – 90.



mnija, tijekom druge polovice 4. stoljeća pr. Kr. Samniti su se borili s *gladiusom* i nosili su zakrivljeni, pravokutni tjelesni štit. Obično su nosili ogrtač na lijevoj potkoljenici i imali su neki oblik zaštite na ruci mača, bilo podstavu ili metalni štitnik za ruku. Na glavi su nosili šljem široka oboda, s vizirom koji je potpuno pokrивao lice.¹⁹

Secutor - značenje imena može se prevesti kao „progonitelj“ ili „sljedbenik“, zbog svog stila borbe. Uglavnom se prikazivao naoružan klasičnim kratkim mačem i zaštićen šljemom, zakrivljenim pravokutnim štitom, štitnikom za ruku na ruci mača i okloпом na nozi štita.²⁰ Sekutori su imali visok status među gladijatorima. Ovaj tip gladijatora bio je standardnim protivnikom za *retiariusu*, nemilosrdno ga jureći po areni. Na sljedećoj slici možemo vidjeti vazu s prikazom *secutora* i *retiariusu*, a potonji uzdiže prst u znak milosti.

Provocator - čije ime znači „izazivač“, bio je opremljen otprilike na isti način kao i *murmillo*: sa šljemom, pravokutnim štitom, štitnikom za ruku i okloпом. Glavno oružje bio mu je kratki mač. Natpisi koji spominju ovakav tip gladijatora poznati su iz Rima (Anicetus i Par-dus), Pergama (Nympheros) i Pompeja (Mansuetus).²¹



Slika 8. Reljef nadgrobnog spomenika s prikazom dvojice republičkih provocatora. Rim, oko 30. pr. Kr.

Retiarius - ime ovog gladijatora u prijevodu znači „mrežni čovjek“ ili „mrežni borac“ zbog mreže koju nosi. Ova vrsta gladijatora smatrala se nadmoćnom, zbog izrazitog napadačkog arsenala i pokretljivosti. Naoružan samo trozupcem (ili kopljem), mrežom i nožem, bio je lako oklopljen, uglavnom je nosio samo štitnik za ramena i ruku. Njegova jedina

19 *Ibid.*, str. 95. – 96.

20 *Ibid.*, str. 96. – 97.

21 *Ibid.*, str. 91.

odjeća bila je tkanina na bokovima i povezi za gležnjeve.²² Zbog toga, oslanjao se na pokretljivost i nesmetan vid, u pokušaju zarobljavanja protivnika mrežom, nakon čega bi kopljem zadao konačan udarac.

Thracian - jedan od najranijih tipova gladijatora, koji potječe od zarobljenika iz rimskih ratova početkom 1. st. pr. Kr. Opremljeni malim kružnim ili četvrtastim štitom, a njihovo glavno oružje bio je zakrivljeni trački mač.²³ Slavni Spartak bio je *tracian*.

Navedeni tipovi gladijatora nisu sve inačice ovih antičkih boraca, već samo najpoznatiji. Primjetno je kako su pojedine vrste gladijatora dobile ime prema pokorenim regijama ili su preuzete iz istih regija. Već navedenima možemo pridodati i **gallus** - prema pokrajini Galija, te **hoplomachus** - izvedenica iz grčkog naziva *hopliti* (vojna postrojba), Uporaba se oružja uvelike razlikuje: od koplja, mača, luka i strijele, kao i zaštitni elementi. Poznati su i gladijatori koji su vozili kočije - **essedarius**.



Slika 9. Prikaz borbe retiariusa i secutora na mozaiku iz vile Nennig, Austrija

Gladijatorske arene

Naziv arena dolazi izravno od latinske riječi za „pijesak“, zvan *harena*, a to je tako jer su se gladijatori borili na pijesku.²⁴ Prve javne borbe gladijatora organizirane su na Forumu Boariumu i Forumu Romanumu u Rimu, da bi se kasnije cirkusi, kazališta te prostori za utrke dvokolica bili korišteni za priređivanje borbi između gladijatora. U pri-

22 Bishop, M. C. „Gladiators“, str. 91. – 92.

23 *Ibid.*, str. 97.

24 *Ibid.*, str. 101.

log tomu idu i nalazi diljem Europe. U Efezu (Turska), kazalište, samo nekih 900 m jugozapadno od gladijatorskog groblja, sadrži nalaze koji pokazuju prisutnost gladijatora, a isti procesi se mogu prepoznati i kod kazališta u Ateni, Aphrodisiasu, Assosu i Hierapolisu.²⁵



Slika 10. Prizori bestiariusu u borbi s mozaika „Villa Dar Buc Ammera“,
Arheološki muzej u Tripoliju, Libija

S vremenom, počeli su se pojavljivati amfiteatri, koji su isprva bili privremene građevine od drva. Riječ *amfiteatar*, u prijevodu „svestrano kazalište“, nastaje iz oblika kazališta, koje je pomno produljeno na cijeli krug. Naime, *teatar* je predstavljao polukružnu građevinu s izrazitim akustičnim prednostima, u kojoj su se održavale predstave. Graditeljski gledano, amfiteatar nije kružnog oblika, već ovalnog oblika. Nakon korištenja drva i podizanja privremenih građevina, započet je proces gradnje kamenih amfiteatara. Najraniji kameni amfiteatar nije bio u Rimu, nego u Capui.²⁶ No dok je ovaj amfiteatar izmijenjen u carskom razdoblju, kameni amfiteatar u Pompejima, koji datira oko 70. godine pr. Kr., najstariji je očuvani kameni amfiteatar na svijetu. Godine 29. pr. Kr., rimski senator Tit Statilije Taur financirao je gradnju kamenog amfiteatara u Rimu.²⁷ Kako se Rimsko Carstvo bilo širilo, tako su se širili i amfiteatri, a s popularnošću gladijatorskih borbi, oni

25 *Ibid.*

26 Wisdom, S. „Gladiators“, str. 7.

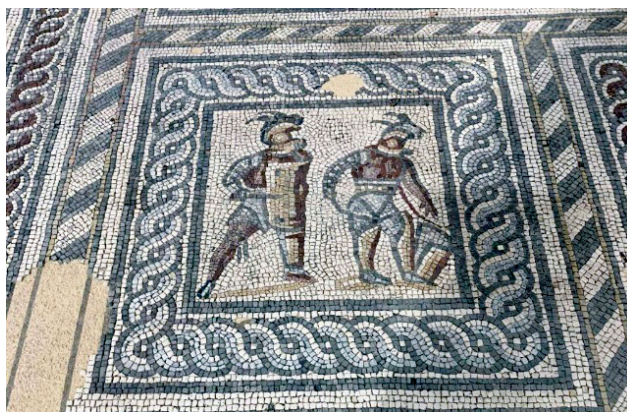
27 Bishop, M. C. „Gladiators“, str. 106.

će u gradovima postati glavnim mjestima zabave. S vremenom, ovakav oblik zabave i građevine proširit će se diljem Rimskog carstva, od Sredozemlja do britanskog otočja.



Slika 11. Prizori gladijatora s mozaika „Villa Dar Buc Ammera“, Arheološki muzej u Tripoliju, Libija

Upravo tako, pronađeni su prizori iz mozaika „Villa Dar Buc Ammera“ u današnjoj Libiji, a koji se čuvaju u Nacionalnom muzeju u glavnom gradu Libije. Scene na mozaiku predstavljaju lov u areni, gladijatore, pogubljenja, sve to uz orkestralnu pratnju. Mozaici potječu doba cara Vespazijana, točnije, između 70. i 75. godine. Slične nalazi mozaika pronađeni su u blizini Basela, u Švicarskoj. Radi se o četirima scenama koje predstavljaju gladijatorske igre: dva konja u borbi; *secutor* podiže svoj mač kako bi proglasio pobjedu nad *retiariusom*; gladijator spušta svoj štit kako bi priznao poraz; *murmillo* udara *retiarius* u bedro, dok *retiarius* zadaje smrtni udarac svom protivniku u vrat.



Slika 12. Gladijator spušta svoj štit kako bi priznao poraz, Augusta Raurica, Švicarska



Vrhunac graditeljskih zdanja, u vezi s gladijatorskim igrama, doći će od 70. do 80. godine po. Kr., kada će se graditi Amfiteatar Flavijejaca, poznatiji pod imenom *Kolosej*. Arena, sa 50 000 sjedališta, pružala je dotad neviđen pogled na gladijatorske igre, borbe sa životinjama, povijesne kopnene i morske bitke. Iako se Kolosej koristio i ranije, 80. po. Kr., Vespazijanov sin Tit otvorio je Kolosej velikim programom igara koje su navodno trajale 100 dana i dovele do smrti 5000 životinja.²⁸

Kraj gladijatorskih igara

Milanskim ediktom 313., kršćanstvo postaje priznatom religijom te, kao takva, jednakom sa svim ostalim. Potom Solunskim ediktom 380., rimski car Teodozije I. proglasio je kršćanstvo službenom religijom Rimskog Carstva, što će u konačnici odigrati glavnu ulogu u prekidu tradicije prolijevanja krvi i žrtvovanja gladijatorskih igara. Cijelo je 4. stoljeće popularnost gladijatorskih igara u padu, a 404. car Honorije u potpunosti će zabraniti gladijatorske igre. Jedna od posljednjih referenci na gladijatore, povezana je s pričom o redovniku Telemahu, kojeg je rastrgala bijesna gomila, kad je pokušao intervenirati, kako bi zaustavio gladijatorske borbe u Rimu, nakon čega će Honorije donijeti spomenutu odluku.²⁹

Gladijatorske igre u novovjekovnoj umjetnosti

Novovjekovna zainteresiranost, a potom i opčinjenost gladijatorskim igrama započinje otkrivanjem Pompeja, posebice pronalaskom amfiteatra (1823.) i gladijatorskih odaja (1864.).³⁰ Nedugo nakon ovih arheoloških otkrića, francusku umjetnik Jean-Léon Gérôme ovjekovječit će fasciniranost gladijatorskih igara uljem na platnu, jednom od najljepše prikazanih umjetničkih djela na temu gladijatora. Djelo naziva *Pollice Verso*, koje u slobodnom prijevodu znači *Okrenuti palac*, nastalo je 1872., a danas se čuva u Muzeju umjetnosti u Phoenixu, u Arizoni. Slika prikazuje pobjedničkog gladijatora, uspravna stasa i priklještenog protivnika, koji od gledateljstva traži odluku hoće li zadati smrtni udarac gladijatoru na podu. Na slici se nalazi nekoliko poginulih gladijatora, prikazano je gledateljstvo, a korištenjem žarkih crvenih,

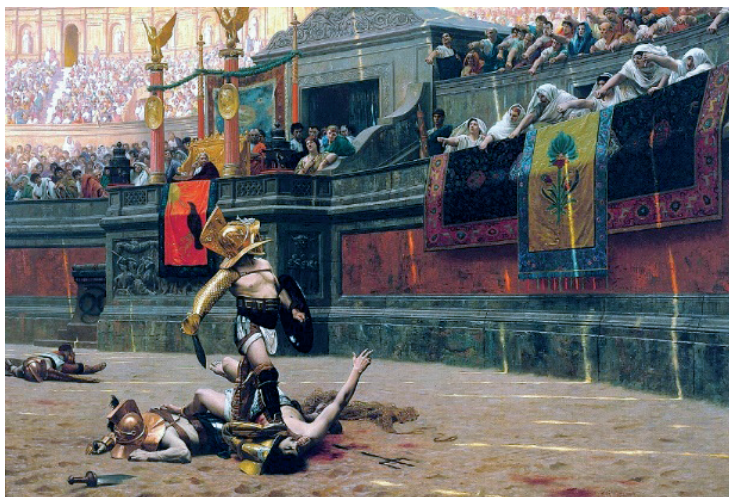
28 Bishop, M. C. „Gladiators“, str. 106.

29 Wiedemann, T. „Emperors and Gladiators.“, str. 158.

30 Bishop, M. C. „Gladiators“, str. 5.



zlatnih, a potom i plavih boja, produbljuje se profinjenost ovog djela. Gledateljstvo pokazuje palac dolje, što bi značilo smrt za palog gladijatora. Nadalje, u dvadesetom stoljeću, izaći će dva romana na temu Spartakova ustanka, James Leslie Mitchell 1930. te Howard Fast 1951., dodatno produživši opčinjenost gladijatorima. Ista će tema potom 1960. osvanuti u umjetničkom kinematografskom ruhu, pod palicom Stanleyja Kubricka. Početkom novog tisućljeć, još jedan umjetničko - kinematografski događaj obilježiti će temu gladijatora, s jednostavnim nazivom filma *Gladijator*, ali vrlo jakim među gledateljstvom.



Slika 13. Jean-Léon Gérôme, „Okrenuti palac“ (*Pollice Verso*), Muzej umjetnosti u Phoenixu

Zaključak

Na sâm spomen antičkog Rima, pri samom vrhu asocijaciji, bit će gladijator. Koliko su igre bile bitne u samom Rimu, pokazuju mnogobrojni nalazi. Od mnogobrojnih borilišta, tj. amfiteatara, koji su rasuti po cijeloj Europi, raznih prikaza gladijatorskih borbi na mozaicima urbanih vila imućnih građana, reljefa s prikazom gladijatora, vaza, svjetiljki i mnogih drugih predmeta. Raširenost nalaza, od afričkih obala Sredozemnog mora i britanskog otočja, pa od Hispanije (današnje Španjolske) i Bliskog istoka, pokazuje nam popularnost gladijatorskih borbi. Mnogi nadgrobni spomenici govore u prilog popularnosti samih gladijatora, putem natpisa i sjećanja. Zbog toga, u ovom radu, donijeli smo mnoge reljefe s prikazima gladijatora. Uputili smo na različite predmete s te-

mom gladijatora, kao što su antičke vaze i svjetiljke od terakote. Očuvani mozaici iz ovog rada dolaze iz područja današnje Libije, Austrije i Švicarske, a vjerno prikazuju gladijatore u akciji. Čak nismo ni ušli u dubinu najvećih, najgrandioznijih građevinskih uspjeha – amfiteatara – koji samo pokazuju koliko je bilo zanimanje za ovakav oblik zabave.



Slika 14. Isječak iz filma Gladijator, redatelja Ridleyja Scotta

Ipak, važno je istaknuti kako je posrijedi surov i krvoločan oblik zabave, u kojem sudjeluju najčešće oni koji moraju, bilo to robovi, zatvorenici ili ratni zarobljenici. Sudionici su najčešće bili iz najnižih društvenih slojeva, koji su suočeni s jadom, bijedom, nečovječnim uvjetima i nesigurnošću po vlastiti život. Iako su bili nagrađeni za vlastiti uspjeh, njihov ulog bio je najveći mogući - njihov život. Također, u mnogobrojnim slučajevima, radilo se i o mučenju životinja. Ipak, zbog svih nalaza, možemo pretpostaviti kako je posjećivanje gladijatorskih borbi bila česta aktivnost, gotovo i običaj. Scene ubijanja ljudi i životinja, premda se radi o insceniranoj povijesnoj bitki, tj. uspjehu, zasigurno nisu ugodne. Međutim, to je stanovništvo grada Rima prihvaćalo, što su uvidjeli političari i koristili svoj imetak kako bi organizirali više i više, sve dok nije stiglo do samog cara.

S današnjeg gledišta, opčinjenost gladijatorima postoji, no moramo kazati kako se ipak radi o određenom odmaku. Stoga povjesničari nastavljaju istraživati dalje, kako bi vjerno prikazali sve vidove života jednog gladijatora, koji uživa u slavi, ali za to plaća tešku cijenu, onu najveću.



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BREAD AND CIRCUSES – THE DEVELOPMENT, SYMBOLISM AND REPRESENTATION OF GLADIATORIAL GAMES

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The gladiatorial games and the gladiators themselves are an important historical and social topic, with a large curious audience and a multitude of historical works of art. Therefore, the text below brings the main ideas of the origin, beginning and development of gladiatorial fights. Explains types gladiators, as well as gladiators, but also the battle scenarios themselves. The work brings a lot of historical artistic representations and statements that convey many stories. It is a self-examination the beginning and development of gladiatorial games, their cessation, up to modern art and fascination of the same events.

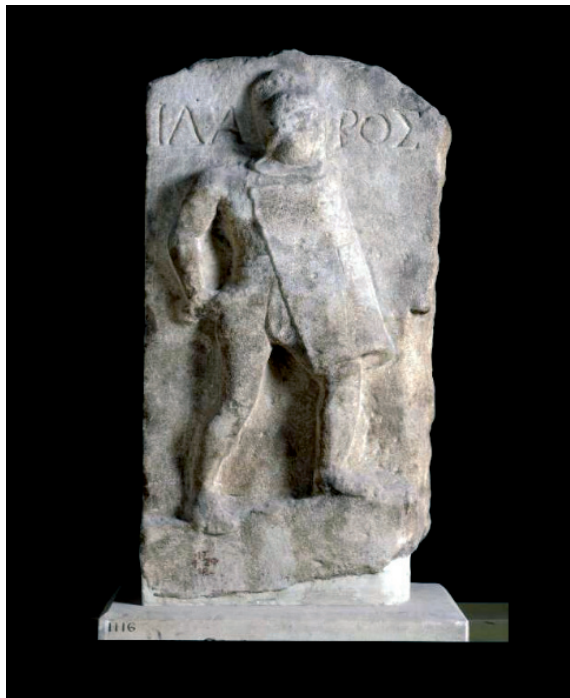
Keywords: *gladiator, Roman Empire, Rome, art of antiquity, gladiatorial fights, amphitheater*

Introduction

The foundation of Rome in the 8th century BC will mark a great change on the territory of Europe. From then on, until the 5th century, and in some areas even longer, the culture of the Roman city had the greatest influence on the development and changes of the mentioned areas. Initially a small town, then a Republic, and finally an Empire, the level was reached that Europe was ruled from Rome. The ancient Romans were known for many achievements in the fields of law, politics, architecture, urbanism, art and the military. It is precisely to their warrior army that they can thank the constant expansion, which they would then incorporate under their administration through reliable urban planning and legal processes. Many social benefits were tested in this period. Due to the advanced style of construction, as well as the multitude of financed artworks, today we can speak of a partial knowledge of the history of ancient Rome, primarily thanks to archaeological findings.



From the end of the Roman Empire, many centuries will pass on the European soil, until the rediscovery of the same topics that the Romans dealt with, as well as the progress of law, economy, architecture, urbanism, art and the military. Thus already in the Renaissance, art will look for inspiration in ancient works, and with the arrival of the period of historicism, this process will suddenly expand, when there had been a greater number of archaeological excavations and finds. With each discovery of a new and unknown find, the interest in antiquity did not weaken, but on the contrary, fascination and interest among professionals and ordinary people only grew. Among all the valuable and artistic objects, records and stories found, one form of entertainment is probably the most popularly researched topic of ancient Rome. It is about the most famous “sport” in Rome – the gladiatorial fights.



Picture 1. A gladiator relief from Halicarnassus, 1st century, Turkey, British Museum

Origins of gladiatorial games

Many unrelated archaeological finds and observations have created different interpretations of the origins of gladiatorial games. The most famous

theory says that the idea of gladiatorial games has its roots in the Etruscans, which were part of funeral rituals in honour of the dead. This is supported by frescoes from Etruscan tombs, which depict a fight between two warriors.¹ It is also known that the Romans successfully adopted different customs from the Greeks, Carthaginians and Etruscans and used them for their own purposes. It is primarily about construction, politics and military endeavours. However, recently, this theory has been strongly criticized.²

The following theory also says that gladiatorial fights originally had a sacred character. The theory is based the belief that Roman soldiers, after their death, were honored with the sacrifice of prisoners of war and similar manifestations were carried out by the Greeks and Etruscans.³ Similar considerations are made by the early Christian writer Tertullian in his work *De spectaculis*, writing: "The ancients thought that with this kind of spectacle they were doing a favour to the dead, after they softened it with a more cultural form of cruelty... Because from ancient times, they believed that the souls of the dead were propitiated with human blood, at funerals they sacrificed captives or slaves of poor quality that they had bought... So they found solace for death in murder."⁴ According to this theory, the practice of simple sacrifices grew into a mutual fight to the death, which would eventually grow into gladiatorial combat.



Figure 2. A relief with gladiators, 20 - 50, National Archaeological Museum in Naples, Italy

The last in this text, also the least widespread theory, recognizes the origins of gladiatorial fights in the overlapping of deadly fights as a form

- 1 Bishop, M. C. "Gladiators: Fighting to the Death in Ancient Rome." *Casemate Publishers: Oxford* (2017), p. 16
- 2 Wisdom, Stephen. "Gladiators: 100 BC–AD 200." *Osprey Publishing; Oxford* (2001), p. 10
- 3 Bishop, M. C. "Gladiators", p. 14 – 15
- 4 Tertullian. "De spectaculis." *Harvard University Press: London* (1931), p. 263 - 265

of sacrifice and the ancient Roman festival called *Saturnalia*, which was held on December 17, and was later extended to the 23rd day of the same month. The aforementioned festival was held in honour of the god Saturn, whose counterpart in Greek mythology is Chronos, also with his own festival called *Kronia*, held in his honour and for the harvest celebration. The *Kronia* was especially celebrated in Athens and other Ionian cities during the summer. Saturn, like Chronos, is the father of the supreme god Jupiter, whose Greek counterpart is Zeus. Both will overthrow their father to take the place of supreme god. The highlighted theory has several inconsistencies that are evident in the very celebration of the mentioned festivals. Namely, on the day of *Kronia*, the usual social differences were annulled, and the slaves would be entertained by their masters and allowed to run wild in the city, making as much noise as they wanted, and similar patterns are repeated in Rome.⁵ However, the Greeks often identified Chronos with unpleasant foreign deities such as Moloch, the Semitic god to whom human sacrifices were made.⁶ The latter interpretation of the worship of the mentioned god speaks in favour of the prominent theory. Also, we can add the three-day deadly battles organized by Titus Flaminius in Rome, which overlapped with the aforementioned *Saturnalia* festival.⁷ Then Titus pitted 74 men against each other, which only shows the development of gladiatorial fights, but can also be connected to human sacrifice.



Picture 3. A terracotta lamp depicting two gladiators 51 - 100, British Museum

We can also add a theory that says that the gladiatorial games arose from the development of public events in Rome that included activities

5 Hard, Robin. "The Routledge Handbook of Greek Mythology: Based on H.J. Rose's Handbook of Greek Mythology." London, New York (2004), p. 70 - 71

6 *Ibid.*, p. 71

7 Wisdom, S. "Gladiators", p. 10 - 11



such as racing, wrestling, and, on the other hand, theatre, singing, and playing musical instruments. However, it turned out that traditional public ceremonies in Rome did not include gladiatorial games at that time.⁸

The beginning of gladiatorial combat

The presented theories about the origin of gladiatorial games assume different scenarios of origin. This is precisely why it was necessary to present several different interpretations. Be that as it may, already in the third century BC, gladiatorial fights were held and the oldest finds refer to the year 264. It was at the funeral of Junius Brutus Pera, on the eve of the First Punic War, when his sons Marcus and Decimus organized fights to the death of three pairs of gladiators at the Forum Boarium in Rome.⁹ Over time, the popularity of gladiatorial fights grew, and the Roman historian Titus Livius, in his overview of the period from 218 to 167 BC, shows many gladiatorial fights, primarily at funerals. Here, it is important to add the author's interpretation, which predominantly links gladiatorial fights with a sacred character, but still brings important information about the development of gladiatorial fights. And so Livius brings, and Wiedemann conveys, several events. In 216 BC, at the funeral of Marcus Aemilius Lepidus, there were twenty-two gladiators; then in 200 BC, under Marcus Valerius Laevin, twenty-five; then in 183 BC, under Publius Licinius, sixty years and finally, in 174 BC, BC, Titus Flaminius, in honour of his father, the already mentioned seventy four fighters.¹⁰ Gladiatorial fights were not limited to Rome, so Livius also described the gladiatorial games that Scipio Africanus held in honour of his father and uncle in New Carthage, modern-day Spain.¹¹ The games were held in 206 BC, after both had died fighting the Carthaginians.

As the popularity of these forms of entertainment grew, gladiatorial games became a lucrative business throughout the Roman Empire. For this purpose, special schools (*ludus gladiatorius*) were opened and suitable arenas (*amphitheatres*) erected, battles driven by historical events with various technological-military devices held and their popularity will become rooted among all inhabitants, even the emperors.

8 See more: Wiedemann, Thomas. "Emperors and Gladiators." Routledge: London (1992), p. 2 - 3

9 *Ibid.*, p. 5

10 Wiedemann, T. "Emperors and Gladiators.:", p. 6

11 *Ibid.*, p. 37



Picture 4. Scenes of gladiators from the "Villa Dar Buc Ammera" mosaic, Tripoli Archaeological Museum, Libya

The gladiator

Participants in a deadly battle, where every moment could mean death, delighted the population of ancient Rome and later that of modern times. In these, most often inhumane conditions, individuals fought to survive another day and, ultimately, perhaps reach freedom. This makes it clear that the gladiators were not free citizens. Rather, they were mostly prisoners of war, convicted criminals, exiles (including Christians during one period) and others. They were slaves and, only later, professional fighters. Most of the gladiators were forced to fight because they were forced to do so and only a few volunteered. And in these cases, it was often about lost and depressed citizens, who wanted to try their hand at the search for fame. Paradoxically, the lowest social classes, through gladiatorial fights and victories, could reach glory. In order to reach glory, gladiators attended a full day of gruelling training to perfect their skills and increase their strength. This is precisely why gladiator schools were opened all over the Republic and then the Empire, the most famous of which were the schools in the town Capi, where Spartacus' uprising started, in Pompeii and in Rome (*Ludus Magnus*). Gladiator schools were mostly run by successfully retired gladiators.

The main task of every gladiator is to shed the blood of his opponent and thus it is evident: the more successful a gladiator was in his job, the more popular he became. With popularity came awards.

In contrast to the position at the bottom of society, that is to say the position of slaves, gladiators had access to plenty of food, in order to be stronger and more ready in the arena. The more popular and skillful fighters could thus achieve significant monetary gains, women or men, and the best and bravest gladiators could win awards from the emperor himself.

Many politicians and emperors would later realize that the Roman populace craved such combative thrills, which they used to increase their own popularity by various sponsorings of gladiatorial games. At the height of the games, Roman emperors sponsored fights in which numerous gladiators participated. The tombstone of a gladiator bearing a victorious palm leaf speaks in favour of the value of the gladiator, and there is also an inscription in Greek on it, translated by Wiedemann¹², which read: "The Familia [erected it] to Saturnilos, to remember him."¹³ The monument was found in Anatolia, and today it is part of the Archaeological Museum in Leiden, the Netherlands.



Picture 5. Tombstone of a gladiator, 3rd century, National Museum of Antiquities, Leiden, Netherlands

12 Wiedemann, T. "Emperors and Gladiators.", p. 134

13 "The Familia [erected it] to Saturnilos, to remember him."



The evolution of gladiatorial games

The image of gladiatorial fights from today's point of view is, in reality, drastically simplified. Two imagined men in an arena fight to the death or until one gladiator knocks the other down. After the gladiator had overcome the opponent, he had the choice to deliver the death blow, which he leaves to the audience or the organizer. Then, the audience or the organizer of the games decides over the life of the overpowered gladiator by the position of the thumb. Common depictions are thumbs up for life and thumbs down for death. In case the defeated gladiator's life is spared, he returns to training and fighting again. The aforementioned fights, which are the main perception of gladiatorial games from a modern point of view, were held, but that was not all. In reality, a large number of versions of the battle took place. It would often be about historical battles of Rome itself, where a multitude of gladiators would stage a certain success. This type of gladiatorial games was common, and one of them was held in 44 BC, when Emperor Claudius organized gladiatorial games, staging the siege and conquest of a British city, with many war machines, in the amphitheatre of Titus Statilius Taurus, in Rome.¹⁴ Sometimes the gladiators would have to stage naval battles, when the arena would fill with water and the gladiators had to save their lives on improvised rafts. Therefore, fighting in larger groups required sophisticated movements and not all slaves were equally trained. Precisely because of this, a division of roles arises, from which many different forms of gladiators will emerge. Over time, gladiatorial games would last for days, where the excitement would gradually build. The beginning of the games usually involved animals, in the form of hunting or fighting. After that, gladiator fights would become more and more intense, and the climax would come with the reconstruction of historical fights.

Contrary to popular belief, not all gladiators were men, but also women. A modern version, the *gladiatrix*, was coined for them, which was not known to the Romans.¹⁵ It is the marble relief from Halicarnassus (Turkey) from the period of the 1st - 2nd century that shows two women gladiators, Amazonia and Achillia, which is today kept in the British Museum. The relief depicts their dismissal from service. The two women gladiators are armed and ready to attack, with swords

14 Wisdom, S. „Gladiators“, str. 7.

15 Bishop, M. C. „Gladiators“, str. 88.

and shields. The right gladiator's head is missing, and they are standing on a raised platform and, in the bottom, on each side, is the spectator's head. Female gladiators are depicted with the same equipment as male gladiators, but without helmets. There are rare findings like the ones mentioned above that talk about female members of this cruel sport, but it is known that the Roman emperor Septimius Severus banned women gladiators in the year 200.¹⁶



Pictue 6. A marble slab depicting two women gladiators, British Museum

Types of gladiators

The name gladiator stems from the Roman name for a short sword – the *gladius*. This sword was also the most common weapon of gladiators, which is not surprising due to the great success of the Roman army with this version of the sword. It is one of the most skilful war achievements, when Roman organization and mobility overlapped with the advantages of the aforementioned sword. Precisely because of this sword, the Roman army was able to make such progress. Namely, the swords of that time, which were heavy, too long or curved, spoiled the Roman formations. This is precisely why the spear could not be the main weapon of the Roman army. In addition to oversized and heavy shields, the army needed a light and strong sword. Although gladiators took up the *gladius*, not all did, which is why there are different types

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, str. 5., 116.

of these fighters. Each type is characterized by a certain advantage, as well as a different choice of equipment. The oldest known types are certainly the *Samnite* and *Thracian*, and, in addition to the above, the four most famous types include the *murmillio* and the *retiarius*. Below are the types of gladiators, along with certain characteristics.



Picture 7. An illustration of the *Bestiarius* from the mosaic from Villa Nennig, Austria

The *bestiarius* - fighters who fought against animals, also known as hunters. Less respected than real gladiators; also, they were not technically considered gladiators. No definitive conclusions can be drawn about their equipment due to conflicting findings. Namely, reliefs from the period of the Republic show fully armed gladiators fighting wild animals, but in the imperial period *bestiarii* fought with spears and without armor.¹⁷

The *murmillio* - the name comes from a small sea fish, and the heavy helmet of this gladiator has fish motifs. They were equipped with a helmet, an arm guard, a rectangular shield and a sword.¹⁸ This type of gladiator was the most common opponent of the *retiarius*, but also of the *Thracians*.

17 Bishop, M. C. "Gladiators", p. 84 - 85

18 *Ibid.*, p. 89 - 90



The Samnite - one of the earliest types of gladiators. They owe their origin to the Samnite Wars, which Rome waged against the inhabitants of Samnia, during the second half of the 4th century BC. The Samnites fought with a *gladius* and carried a curved, rectangular body shield. They usually wore a cloak on the left shin and had some form of protection on their sword arm, either padding or a metal arm guard. On their heads they wore a wide-brimmed helmet with a visor that completely covered the face.¹⁹

The secutor - the meaning of the name can be translated as “pursuer” or “follower”, due to his fighting style. He was generally depicted armed with a classical short sword and protected by a helmet, a curved rectangular shield, a hand guard on the sword arm and armour on the leg of the shield.²⁰ Secutors had a high status among gladiators. This type of gladiator was a standard opponent for the *retiarius*, relentlessly chasing him around the arena. In the next picture we can see a vase with a *secutor* and a *retiarius*, the latter raising his finger as a sign of grace.

The provocator - whose name means “challenger”, was equipped in much the same way as the *murmillo*: with a helmet, a rectangular shield, an arm guard and armour. His main weapon was a short sword. Inscriptions mentioning this type of gladiator are known from Rome (Anicetus and Pardus), Pergamum (Nympheros) and Pompeii (Mansuetus).²¹



Picture 8. A relief of a tombstone with the depiction of two provocators from the time of the Republic. Rome, around 30 BC

19 *Ibid.*, p. 95 – 96

20 *Ibid.*, p. 96 – 97

21 *Ibid.*, p. 91



The *retiarius* - the name of this gladiator translates as “net man” or “net fighter” because of the net he wears. This type of gladiator was considered superior, due to its distinct offensive arsenal and mobility. Armed only with a trident (or spear), a net and a knife, he was lightly armoured, mostly wearing only shoulder and arm protection. His only clothing was cloth on his hips and ankle bandages.²² Because of this, he relied on mobility and unobstructed vision, in an attempt to trap his opponent with a net, after which he would deliver the final blow with a spear.

The *Thracian* - one of the earliest types of gladiators, originating from captives from Roman wars at the beginning of the 1st century BC. Equipped with a small circular or square shield, their main weapon was a curved Thracian sword.²³ The famous Spartacus was a *Thracian*.

The listed types of gladiators are not all versions of these ancient fighters, but only the most famous ones. It is noticeable that certain types of gladiators were named after conquered regions or were taken from the same regions. To those already mentioned, we can add the *gallus* - after the province of Gaul, and the *hoplomachus* - a derivative of the Greek name *hoplites* (a military unit). The use of weapons varies greatly: from spears, swords, bows and arrows, as well as protective elements. Gladiators who drove chariots - *essedarius* - are also known.



Picture 9. A depiction of a fight between the *retiarius* and the *secutor* on the mosaic from Villa Nennig, Austria

22 Bishop, M. C. “Gladiators”, p. 91 – 92

23 *Ibid.*, p.. 97

Gladiatorial arenas

The name arena comes directly from the Latin word for “sand”, called *harena*, because gladiators fought on sand.²⁴ The first public fights of gladiators were organized in the Forum Boarium and Forum Romanum in Rome, and later circuses, theatres and areas for chariot races were used to stage fights between gladiators. This is supported by findings throughout Europe. In Ephesus (Turkey), the theatre, only some 900 m southwest of the gladiatorial cemetery, contains finds that show the presence of gladiators, and the same processes can be recognized in theatres in Athens, Aphrodisias, Assos and Hierapolis.²⁵



Picture 10. Scenes of the bestiarius in battle from the “Villa Dar Buc Ammera” mosaic, Tripoli Archaeological Museum, Libya

Over time, amphitheatres, which at first were temporary wooden structures, began to appear. The word *amphitheater*, translated as “universal theatre”, originates from the shape of the *theater*, which is carefully extended to a full circle. Namely, the *theater* was a semi-circular building with distinct acoustic advantages, in which performances were held. Architecturally speaking, the *amphitheatre* is not circular, but oval. After using wood and erecting temporary structures, the process of building stone amphitheatres began. The earliest stone amphitheatre was not in Rome, but in Capua.²⁶ But while this amphi-

24 *Ibid.*, p. 101

25 *Ibid.*

26 Wisdom, S. “Gladiators”, p. 7.

theatre was changed in the imperial period, the stone amphitheatre in Pompeii, which dates back to around 70 BC. BC, is the oldest preserved stone amphitheatre in the world. In 29 BC, the Roman senator Titus Statilius Taur financed the construction of the stone amphitheatre in Rome. As the Roman Empire expanded, so did the amphitheatres, and with the popularity of gladiator fights, they would become the main entertainment venues in the cities. Over time, this form of entertainment and construction would spread throughout the Roman Empire, from the Mediterranean to the British Isles.



Picture 11. Scenes of gladiators from the “Villa Dar Buc Ammera” mosaic, Tripoli Archaeological Museum, Libya

Thus, scenes from the “Villa Dar Buc Ammera” mosaic were found in present-day Libya, which are kept in the National Museum in the capital of Libya. The scenes on the mosaic represent hunting in the arena, gladiators, and executions, all with orchestral accompaniment. The mosaics date from the era of Emperor Vespasian, more precisely, between the years 70 and 75. Similar finds of mosaics were found near Basel, Switzerland. It is about four scenes representing gladiatorial games: two horses in battle; the *secutor* raises his sword to declare victory over the *retiarius*; the gladiator lowers his shield to admit defeat; the *murmillio* kicks the *retiarius* in the thigh, while the *retiarius* delivers a fatal blow to his opponent’s neck.



Picture 12. A gladiator lowers his shield to admit defeat, Augusta Rauric, Switzerland

The peak of constructing edifices, in connection with the gladiatorial games, will come from 70 to 80 AD, when the Amphitheatre of the Flavians, better known as the *Colosseum*, will be built. The arena, with 50,000 seats, offered an unprecedented view of gladiatorial games, animal fights, historical land and sea battles. Although the Colosseum was used earlier, in 80 AD, Vespasian's son Titus opened the Colosseum with a grand program of games that allegedly lasted 100 days and led to the death of 5,000 animals.²⁷

The end of the gladiatorial games

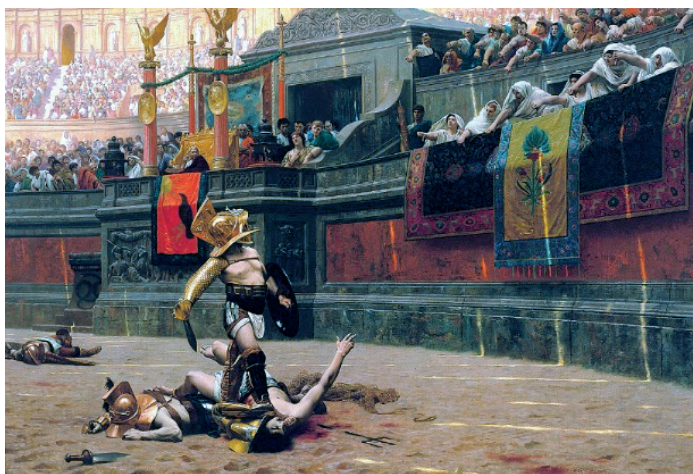
With the Edict of Milan in 313, Christianity became a recognized religion and, as such, equal to all others. Then with the Edict of Thessalonica in 380, the Roman Emperor Theodosius I declared Christianity the official religion of the Roman Empire, which would ultimately play a major role in ending the tradition of bloodshed and sacrifice in gladiatorial games. Throughout the 4th century, the popularity of gladiatorial games was in decline, and in 404 Emperor Honorius will completely ban gladiatorial games. One of the last references to gladiators is related to the story of the monk Telemachus, who was torn apart by an angry mob when he tried to intervene to stop the gladiatorial fights in Rome, after which Honorius would make the aforementioned decision.²⁸

27 Bishop, M. C. "Gladiators", p. 106

28 Wiedemann, T. "Emperors and Gladiators", p. 158

Gladiatorial games in the art of the modern era

The modern interest, and later fascination, with gladiatorial games began with the discovery of Pompeii, especially with the discovery of the amphitheatre (1823) and the gladiatorial chambers (1864).²⁹ Not long after these archaeological discoveries, the French artist Jean-Léon Gérôme immortalized the fascination of gladiatorial games with an oil painting, one of the most beautifully rendered artworks on the subject of gladiators. The work is called *Pollice Verso*, which loosely translates as *Turned Thumb*, created in 1872, and is now kept in the Phoenix Art Museum, Arizona. The painting shows a victorious gladiator, erect and pinning his opponent, who asks the audience to decide whether to deliver the death blow to the gladiator on the ground. The painting shows several dead gladiators, the audience is shown and the use of bright red, gold and then blue colours deepens the sophistication of this artwork. The audience gives a thumbs down, which would mean death for the fallen gladiator. Furthermore, in the twentieth century, two novels on the subject of Spartacus' uprising, James Leslie Mitchell in 1930 and Howard Fast in 1951, will be published, further extending the fascination with gladiators. In 1960, the same theme will emerge in artistic cinematographic guise, under the baton of Stanley Kubrick. At the beginning of the new millennium, another artistic - cinematographic event will mark the topic of gladiators, with the simple title of the movie *Gladiator*, but very strong among the audience.



Picture 13. Jean-Léon Gérôme, "Turned Thumb" (*Pollice Verso*), Phoenix Art Museum

29 Bishop, M. C. „Gladiators“, p. 5

Conclusion

At the very mention of ancient Rome, at the very top of the association, will be the gladiator. Numerous finds show how important the games were in Rome itself. From numerous arenas, that is to say amphitheatres, which are scattered all over Europe, various depictions of gladiatorial fights on the mosaics of urban villas of wealthy citizens, reliefs depicting gladiators, vases, lamps and many other objects. The spread of finds, from the African shores of the Mediterranean Sea and the British Isles, to Hispania (modern-day Spain) and the Middle East, shows us the popularity of gladiatorial fights. Many tombstones speak in favour of the popularity of the gladiators themselves, through inscriptions and memories. That is why, in this work, we brought many reliefs with depictions of gladiators. We referred to various gladiator-themed items, such as antique vases and terracotta lamps. The preserved mosaics from this work come from the area of modern-day Libya, Austria and Switzerland, and faithfully depict gladiators in action. We have not even gone into the depth of the biggest, most grandiose construction successes – the amphitheatres – which only show how much interest there was in this form of entertainment.



Picture 14. A movie clip from the film *Gladiator*, directed by Ridley Scott

Nevertheless, it is important to point out that it was a cruel and bloodthirsty form of entertainment, in which participated those who had had to, be it slaves, prisoners or prisoners of war. The participants were most often from the lowest social strata, who were faced with



misery, poverty, inhumane conditions and insecurity for their own lives. Although they were rewarded for their own success, their stake was the greatest possible - their lives. Also, in numerous cases, it concerned the torturing of animals. Nevertheless, due to all the findings, we can assume that visiting gladiatorial fights was a frequent activity, almost a custom. Scenes of killing people and animals, although it is a staged historical battle, that is to say success, are certainly not pleasant. However, it was accepted by the population of the city of Rome, something that the politicians saw and used their wealth to organize more and more, until it reached the emperor himself.

From today's point of view, the fascination with gladiators exists, but we must say that it is still a certain divagation. Therefore, historians continue to research further, in order to faithfully depict all aspects of the life of a gladiator, who enjoyed glory, but paid a heavy price for it, the highest one.

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MLETAČKA INKVIZICIJA: POSTANAK, USTROJ I DJELOVANJE NA ISTOČNOM JADRANU

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U ovom eseju obrađuje se tema mletačke inkvizicije, odnosno djelovanje Svetog oficija (Santo Uffizio). Na početku će se objasniti postanak i razvoj inkvizicije, njezini načini djelovanja i vođenja procesa. Ukazat će se na kompleksnost odnosa Mletačke Republike i Svete Stolice koji su bitni za razumijevanje samostalnosti djelovanja same inkvizicije. Pred sam zaključak analizira se nekoliko procesa koji su vođeni protiv Hrvata budući da su ti spisi u jednom segmentu elaborirani i dostupni na hrvatskom jeziku.

Ključne riječi: *inkvizicija, Sveti oficij (Santo Uffizio), Mletačka Republika, istraga, proces, hereza*

Uvod

Mletačka inkvizicija bila je crkvena institucija zadužena za provođenje katoličkog pravovjerja na području Mletačke Republike. To znači i da je djelovala na hrvatskom povijesnom prostoru čiji su dijelovi bili pod vlašću *Serenissime* u ranom novom vijeku. Ovom temom bavila se najviše Lovorka Čoralić pa se u ovom eseju uglavnom oslanjamo na njezine radove te na radove nekoliko stranih autora. Pokušat ćemo dati kratki pregled djelovanja Mletačke inkvizicije na istočnoj jadranskoj obali. Na početku, izložimo kako je i zašto mletačka inkvizicija nastala? Zatim, u kolikoj je mjeri odnos Svete stolice i Katoličke Crkve s Mletačkom inkvizicijom važan za njezino djelovanje? Smatramo da je kontekst tih odnosa važan za razumijevanje samostalnosti djelovanja same inkvizicije. Koliko je u stvari *Serenissima* kontrolirala djelovanje jednog takvog tijela? U tekstu iznosimo i nekoliko primjera koji potvrđuju da se Mletačkoj inkviziciji ne može stereotipno pripisati brutalnost, fizičko nasilje, tjelesne kazne, divljačko izživljavanje, spaljivanje ili progon, a što se često u širim krugovima misli kada se spomene riječ inkvizicija.



Mletačka inkvizicija – postanak, razvoj i članovi

Počeci mletačke inkvizicije sežu u 13. stoljeće. Kada se misli na instituciju koja je provodila inkviziciju govori se o Svetom oficiju (*Santo Uffizio*). Povjesničar mletačkog Svetog oficija fra Paolo Sarpi, koji je živio u drugoj polovici 16. i prvoj četvrtini 17. stoljeća i pripadao redu servita, ističe da su prvotnu ustanovu, koja je za cilj imala sprječavanje nastanka i širenja krivovjerna te općenito provođenje kontrole nad vjerskim životom, činila trojica plemića. Tu ustanovu, po njegovoj ocjeni, osnovala je mletačka vlada, a ne Sveta stolica. Papa Nikola IV. 1289. godine odobrio je mletačkoj vladi da inkvizitori na njezinom teritoriju budu franjevci. Sarpi taj dokument smatra temeljnim dokazom samostalnosti djelovanja mletačkog Svetog oficija.¹ Međutim, naziv Sveti oficij nije nešto što možemo posebno povezati s Mletačkom Republikom. Rimska inkvizicija također je nosila naziv Sveti oficij i osnovana je 1524. godine.² Taj Oficij u Rimu djeluje i danas samo s drugačijim načinom djelovanja i zove se Dikasterij za nauk vjere.


Papa Pavao III. bulom *Licet ab initio* 1542. godine i mletački dužd Francesco Donà i šestorica mletačkih vijećnika dekretom 1547. godine staroj su instituciji dali nove ovlasti i obilježja. U novostvoreni Oficij izabrana su trojica mletačkih patricija koja su nazvana *Tre Savi sopra eresia (Trojica mudrih za herezu)*. Prva trojica plemića bila su Nicolò Tiepolo, Francesco Contarini i Antonio Venier. *Tre Savi sopra eresia* su uglavnom bili ugledniji i stariji patriciji koji su zastupali interese Mletačke Republike i često dolazili u sukob s papinim predstavnicima.³ Prethodnicom novostvorenog Svetog oficija možemo smatrati i magistraturu koju je Republika osnovala 1537. godine. Institucija zadužena za procesuiranje bogohuljenja nosila je naziv *Esecutori contro la bestemmia*.⁴ Mletačko Vijeće desetorice također je dalo veliki doprinos u borbi protiv krivovjerna. Upravo su oni zatražili od Oficija sastavljanje popisa nepoželjnih knjiga. Popis je uistinu bio i sastavljen, ali je u konačnici povučen zbog nezadovoljstva tiskara, knjižara i plemića.

1 Lovorka Čoralić, *Hrvati u procesima mletačke inkvizicije* (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2001), 11.

2 Gaetano Cozzi, Michael Knapton i Giovanni Scarabello, *Povijest Venecije*, sv. II (Zagreb: Izdanja Antibarbarus d.o.o., 2007), 59.

3 Čoralić, *Hrvati u procesima*, 11.

4 Claudio Povolo, "Liturgies of violence: social control and power relationships in the Republic of Venice between the 16th and 18th centuries," u *A companion to Venetian history, 1400-1797*, ur. Eric R. Dursteler (Lieden-Boston: Brill, 2013), 521-522.



Na kraju je intervenirala Sveta stolica koja je prvi Indeks zabranjenih knjiga izdala 1554. – 1555. godine.⁵

Sveti je oficij osim trojice svjetovnih članova imao i trojicu predstavnika Katoličke Crkve. Papinsku vlast predstavljao je nuncij. Upravo s njim su predstavnici mletačke vlasti najčešće dolazili u sukob. Naime, papinski su izaslanici zanemarivali mišljenje predstavnika vlasti te su se znali miješati u svjetovna pitanja. Za same postupke inkvizicije, koji uključuju ocjenu stupnja krivovjerja, vođenje postupka, cenzuru knjiga i rukopisa za tisak, u početku je bio zadužen inkvizitor koji je pripadao redu franjevac konventualaca, a od 1560. godine inkvizitor je pripadnik dominikanskog reda. Inkvizitorov zamjenik nazivao se viceinkvizitor ili vikar, a u odsutnosti inkvizitora imao je sva prava i ovlasti. Mletačka je vlast nastojala da inkvizitor bude s mletačkog područja smatrajući da bolje poznaje prilike u Republici. Dijecezansku vlast predstavljao je mletački patrijarh ili njegov generalni vikar (zamjenik). Važno je spomenuti da patrijarha nije izravno imenovao papa, već ga je na prijedlog mletačke vlade samo potvrđivao.⁶

Prekršaj, istraga i sankcije

Prekršaji koji su dovodili pojedince i skupine do suda mletačke inkvizicije bili su odstupanje od pravila Katoličke Crkve, negiranje i dovođenje u pitanje dogmi i crkvenih autoriteta te njihovih odredbi, ismijavanje onoga što je Crkva smatrala svetim te pisanje, čitanje, davanje i izdavanje zabranjenih knjiga. Optuživani su i oni koji nisu išli na misu kao i oni koji su nezakonito obavljali vjerske obrede. Sudu inkvizicije također su podlijevali oni za koje se tvrdilo da se bave magijom te prizivanjem i štovanjem demona.⁷

Prijavu heretika bilo je moguće učiniti anonimno jer se nastojalo zaštititi osobe koje prijavljuju. Nakon prijave i uhićenja započinjao je proces saslušanja optuženika ili optuženice od strane članova Oficija. Saslušavali su se i preispitali obitelj, prijatelji i poznanici optuženog. Optuženi je predstavljao prijetnju za poredak, državu i društvo pa je Oficij imao potpunu podršku *Serenissime*. Mnogi su na optuženičkoj stolici završili, a da nisu ni znali da su počinili herezu, sudjelujući primjerice u nekim oblicima pučkih pobožnosti koje nisu bile dopuštene.

5 Cozzi i dr., *Povijest Venecije*, 60.

6 Čoralić, *Hrvati u procesima*, 12.

7 Isto, 13.



Krivovjerja mlađih optuženika bila su tretirana na blaži način, izricanjem preventivnih mjera, zato što se smatralo da su svoje hereze počinili jer su slobodnije shvaćali svjetovne lagodnosti i zabave.⁸

Mletačka inkvizicija bila je puno blaža od primjerice španjolske inkvizicije. Tortura je u slučajevima mletačkog područja bilo upotrebljavana u rijetkim slučajevima, točnije oko 2-3% u dokumentiranim procesima.⁹ Sveti oficij rijetko je izricao smrtne kazne, a krivac ne bi bio spaljen već utopljen u vodama lagune. Posljednja smrtna kazna izrečena je 1724. godine.¹⁰ Krivca se moglo penalizirati slanjem na galije ili pak kaznom zatvora, oduzimanjem imovine, protjerivanjem iz Venecije ili čak s prostora cijele Republike, gubitkom časti, prava, privilegija i slično. Ipak, najčešće su izricane duhovne kazne koje su prije svega podrazumijevale odricanje (*abiurazione*) od krivovjerja. Prekršitelj bi morao izreći formulu kojom bi dokazao da se odriče hereze i da se bez prisile vraća u krilo Crkve. Tijekom narednog perioda morao bi sudjelovati na misama, ispovijedati se, davati milostinju i redovito moliti.¹¹ Da je polaganje zakletve „na oltar“ bio jedan od oblika kako dobiti oslobođenje ili odrješenje, svjedoči nam primjer Adama del Fabra iz 1603. godine. Del Fabro je ubio čovjeka i bio protjeran iz Carnie, ali polaganjem zakletve da će poštivati zakone zajednice bio je oslobođen krivnje i bio mu je dopušten povratak.¹² Dakle, izricanjem formule moglo se dobiti oslobođenje od krivnje i u slučajevima koji nisu bili povezani s bogohuljenjem, u ovom slučaju i kod težeg zločina. Zanimljivo je spomenuti da je od nastanka mletačke inkvizicije do njezina ukidanja, 1794. godine, istraživano 3592 ljudi. Brojka je izvedena s obzirom na sačuvanu dokumentaciju, treba uzeti u obzir da sva dokumentacija nije sačuvana te da je možda vođeno i više procesa.¹³

Mletci – od reformacije preko protureformacije do suživota

Prostor Mletačke Republike u povijesti je reformacijskog pokreta u Italiji bio vođa istoga, ali ne zbog količine protestanata na tom području, već zbog mogućnosti širenja protestantske misli. Venecija je upravo

8 Isto.

9 Isto, 14.

10 Cecilia Cristellon i Silvana Seidel Menchi, "Religious Life," u *A companion to Venetian history, 1400-1797*, ur. Eric R. Dursteler (Lieden-Boston: Brill, 2013), 418.

11 Čoralić, *Hrvati u procesima*, 14.

12 Povolo, "Liturgies of violence," 514.

13 Cristellon i Menchi, "Religious Life," 417.



zbog svoje geografske pozicije i intenzivne kulturne i trgovačke razmjene sa središnjom Europom i došla u doticaj s protestantizmom.¹⁴ Središta protestantske misli na području *Serenissime* u 16. stoljeću bili su Padova i Venecija. Na Sveučilište u Padovi dolazili su razni predavači iz cijele Italije, Francuzi pa tako i oni iz njemačkih zemalja koji su sa sobom donosili nova kršćanska učenja. Djela Erazma Roterdamskog u Padovi su postigla veliki uspjeh. Već 1524. godine u Veneciju su došla učenja Martina Luthera, a propovjednik njegovih učenja Mlečanin Bartolomeo Fonzio morao je 1531. godine napustiti grad. Jednom svojem prijatelju plemiću poslao je iz egzila knjižicu *Unio dissidentium*. Papinski izaslanik Gerolamo Andreo tražio je da se knjižica hitno zabrani, ali su vlasti svojim indiferentnim stavom dozvolile da knjižica cirkulira gradom.¹⁵ Na području *Serenissime* osobit uspjeh doživio je i anabaptizam.¹⁶ Sabori anabaptista održani su u Vicenzi i Veneciji. Epicentre krivovjerja i njihova širenja zaustavila je mletačka inkvizicija, a protestantizam se najduže zadržao u Istri gdje su djelovali Baldo Lupetina i Matija Vlačić Ilirik. Veliku ulogu u sveopćoj katoličkoj obnovi pa tako i u Mletačkoj Republici odigrao je isusovački red koji je osnivao učilišta na tlu *Serenissime*.¹⁷

Treba spomenuti da je Venecija krajem 16. stoljeća brojila oko sto pedeset tisuća stanovnika i da je bila dom ljudima različitih narodnosti i vjera. U gradu su živjeli protestanti, pravoslavni Grci pa čak i Turci. *Serenissima* je nakon nekoliko zabrana 1589. godine dopustila dolazak Židovima.¹⁸ Venecija je u ranonovovjekovnoj Europi predstavljala otvoren grad u kojem se respektiraju postulati suživota i snošljivosti.¹⁹ No, to se nije baš svima sviđalo. Papinska bula Klementa VIII. iz 1596. godine na poseban se način odnosila na Veneciju budući da je njome propisano da nijedan heretik ne smije živjeti na području Italije.²⁰

14 Isto, 407.

15 Cozzi i dr., *Povijest Venecije*, 48.

16 Anabaptizam je utemeljio Conrad Grebel, a razvijen je u Zürichu. Anabaptisti promiču drugo krštenje, odnosno smatraju da se djeca ne mogu krstiti jer nemaju vjere. *Hrvatska enciklopedija-mrežno izdanje*, s. v. „Anabaptisti,“ <https://www.enciklopedija.hr/natuknica.aspx?ID=2388> (posjet 2.10.2022).

17 Cozzi i dr., *Povijest Venecije*, 52, 57, 59.

18 Isto, 103.

19 Čoralić, *Hrvati u procesima*, 13.

20 Cozzi i dr., *Povijest Venecije*, 104.



Odnosi Mletačke Republike i Svete stolice

Serenissima nije poznavala – niti je željela poznavati – granice između religijske i političke sfere. Postojala je određena simbioza između duhovne i svjetovne vlasti. Dužd je bio smatran prvakom u Crkvi i u državi (*princeps in ecclesia, princeps in republica*) te se on po toj logici trebao pokoravati isključivo Bogu, a ne i papi.²¹

Poseban udarac Mletačkoj Republici bio je kada joj je papa Julije II. 1510. godine oduzeo pravo imenovanja biskupa. Praksa je bila da za sve biskupije na području Republike vlast određuje biskupe, a papa ih samo potvrđuje. Mletačka se vlast u više navrata trudila vratiti sebi pravo odabira biskupa, a razumijevanje je pokazao tek Julije III. 1552. godine. Naime, dopustio je Veneciji da predloži četvoricu kandidata za mjesto akvilejskog patrijarha, a on je od četvorice izabrao jednog. No, to nije bio jedini spor između Svete stolice i Venecije. Papa Klement VIII. 1600. godine zahtijevao je da se plemića izabranog za službu mletačkog patrijarha pošalje u Rim kako bi se provjerilo je li sposoban za tu dužnost. Mlečani su to doživjeli kao nešto ponižavajuće jer su po staroj praksi sami birali svoga patrijarha. Ipak, postignut je kompromis, novoizabrani patrijarh je otišao u Rim odati počast papi, ali nikakvog ispitivanja o prikladnosti nije smjelo biti. Papa je na kraju ipak postavio nekoliko pitanja novoizabranom patrijarhu. Budući da je u 16. stoljeću Katolička Crkva kao i papinstvo obnovila svoju moć, a *Serenissima* nije imala nekadašnji polet i moć, rimski prvosvećenici su, uvidjevši priliku, zabranili da Republika naplaćuje zemljišni porez svećenstvu. Poslije je pak dogovoreno da za ubiranje takvih daća Republika mora dobiti papinsku dozvolu.²² Pitanja djelovanja mletačke inkvizicije također su bila predmet spora *Serenissime* i Svete stolice. Sveti oficij *de iure* bio je podložan rimskoj središnjici i sva dokumentacija kompleksnijih slučajeva morala je stići u Rim. Međutim, mletačke vlasti nisu htjele dopustiti da Oficij bude tijelo nezavisno od države koje može steći visoku razinu moći i kontrole nad stanovništvom, a što je primjerice bio slučaj u Španjolskoj.²³

Mletačka je vlada bila nepokolebljiva pred napadima papinstva. Imala je dugu tradiciju obrane državnih povlastica u odnosu na Crkvu. To se posebno primjećuje u obrani prava izbora mletačkog patrijarha,

21 Cristellon i Menchi, "Religious Life," 398.

22 Cozzi i dr., *Povijest Venecije*, 40-41, 105-106.

23 Čoralić, *Hrvati u procesima*, 12-14.



ali i u djelatnosti već spomenutog servita fra Paola Sarpija.²⁴ Upravo je on 1606. imenovan posebnim savjetnikom vlade – teologom-kanonikom – da bi se zauzeo za obranu prava Venecije tokom spora s papinstvom na početku 17. stoljeća, poznatome kao Interdikt. Spor je nastao zbog dvojice prelata koji su zbog određenih optužbi Vijeća desetorice bili uhićeni. Zahtjev pape Pavla V. da ih se izruči crkvenim vlastima, bio je odbijen.²⁵ Sarpi i njegov način borbe protiv papinstva odličan su primjer za shvaćanje onoga što je *Serenissima* mislila o papinstvu. Sarpi se opirao papinom apsolutizmu i želji papa da kroz pravo jurisdikcije nad klerom vrši određenu razinu kontrole nad svjetovnom vlašću.

Analiza i komentar nekoliko procesa

Sveti oficij prelaske je na islam, odnosno procese vođene protiv ljudi koji su prešli na islam kategorizirao kao *maometismo* (*muhamedovstvo*) ili *eresia in genere*. Hrvati protiv kojih su se vodili procesi unutar ove kategorije krivovjerja potjecali su većinom iz hrvatskih i bosanskih područja koji su u tom periodu bili pod osmanlijskom vlašću. Možemo reći da oni nisu bili optuženi u punom smislu te riječi, već su se inkviziciji obraćali s ciljem povratka u zajedništvo Katoličke Crkve. Tijekom procesa oni su izricali razloge zbog kojih su prešli na islam, ali su i isticali da se nikada istinski nisu odrekli kršćanstva niti su zaboravili kršćanske molitve. Osobitu ulogu pri nagovaranju ljudi da se nakon povrata iz zarobljeništva i sl. vrate na katoličanstvo imali su redovnici. Uzmimo primjer Ivana Jurkova Giugicha iz Bosne kojeg su u dobi od četiri godine otele Osmanlije i obrezale, a u dobi od dvanaest godina, pobjegavši iz zarobljeništva, podvrgao se sudu inkvizicije. U ovome je primjeru jasno kako se *eresia in genere* dogodila u djetinjnoj dobi i kako osoba nije mogla biti svjesna svoga grijeha. Takvi su i ostali primjeri Hrvata optuženih za prelazak na islam, većinom se radi o ljudima koji su bili oteti, neke su žene čak i prisilno vjenčane za muslimane te im je promijenjeno i ime. Sveti je oficij izricao duhovne kazne u ovakvim slučajevima uz obavezno izgovaranje formule odricanja od krivovjerja. Treba spomenuti i one koji su bili predmetom procesa zbog svoje dvostruke hereze (*scisma greca e turca*). Radilo se naravno o pravoslavicima koji su prešli na islam i sada žele biti katolici. Svoju prvu herezu objašnjavali su porijeklom i odgojem, a drugu strahom od

24 Cristellon i Menchi, "Religious Life," 405.

25 Cozzi i dr., *Povijest Venecije*, 115-117, 674.



smrti, pritiskom Osmanlija i sl. Inkviziciji ni oni nisu bili prijetnja, već su izricane duhovne kazne te su „optuženici“ postali katolici.²⁶

Protestantske su hereze bile tretirane rigoroznije od prijelaza na islam ili grčke shizme jer su oni koji su počinili takvo krivovjerje često bili svećenici ili redovnici te općenito ljudi s više obrazovanja i boljeg društvenog položaja. Svima optuženima krivica je da su negirali autoritet papinstva, postojanje čistilišta, indulgenciju i sl. I u ovoj kategoriji krivovjerja susrećemo one koji su odbacili katoličanstvo u ranijoj dobi zbog razumljivih razloga pa sada traže povratak u zajedništvo Rimske crkve. Takav je slučaj korčulanskog pomorca Nalošića koji je postao anglikanac u djetinjoj dobi te je njemu izrečena duhovna kazna. U slučajevima protestantizma saslušanja su bila dulja u odnosu na one koje smo prethodno spomenuli i koji nisu trajali dulje od nekoliko dana.²⁷ Ipak, obavezna asocijacija uz temu Hrvata-protestanata su Marko Antun de Dominis i Matija Vlačić Ilirik, ali budući da nijedan ni drugi nisu stradali od suda mletačkog Svetog oficija nećemo se njima baviti. Poznat je proces vođen protiv Istranina Balda Lupetine, gvardijana samostana San Francesco dell Vigna u Veneciji, koji je bio optužen od creskih fratara za širenje krivovjerja. Prvotno je 1542. bio osuđen na dvadeset godina zatvora, a zatim na brutalnu kaznu – smrt utapanjem.²⁸ Korčulanin Mihovil Basili zbog svojih uvjerenja bio je protjeran iz Mletaka čak i nakon što je izrekao formulu odricanja te je uz to i duhovno kažnjen. Ipak, dobar dio procesa protiv svećenika i redovnika u konačnici je bio odbačen zbog nedostatka dokaza ili su izricane duhovne kazne.²⁹

Istraga je vođena i protiv tiskara Trojana, zvanog Calepin, od 1568. do 1573. i nije dovršena. Trojan je optužen zbog tiskanja i prodaje knjiga koje su bili prohibirane. Posjedovao je djela Pietra Arentina, Giovannia Boccacia te druga djela talijanskih i arapskih alkemičara. Proces je vođen bez Trojanova prisustva. Prezime okrivljenika iz spisa nije moguće utvrditi, ali postoji mogućnost da se radi o Trojanu Gunduliću koji je u 16. stoljeću djelovao u Beogradu te je bio vlasnik tiskare u kojoj je tiskano *Četverojevanđelje* na ćirilici što je ujedno i prva knjiga objavljena u Beogradu. U dubrovačkih arhivima može se pronaći in-

26 Čoralić, *Hrvati u procesima*, 29-31, 35.

27 Isto, 61-62.

28 Josip Vrandečić i Miroslav Bertosa, *Dalmacija, Dubrovnik i Istra u ranome novom vijeku* (Zagreb: Leykam international, 2007), 86.

29 Čoralić, *Hrvati u procesima*, 67.



formacija da je Trojan Gundulić mrtav već 1554. ili 1555., ali nijedan izvor to izravno ne sugerira pa postoji pretpostavka da se Gundulić preselio u Veneciju. Spisi mletačkog Svetog oficija tvrde da Trojan živi u Veneciji jedno desetljeće prije početka vođenja procesa. Istodobno s početkom vođenja procesa Trojan nestaje iz Venecije. O Trojanu su svjedočili ljudi kod kojih je ostavljao knjige na čuvanje, susjedi, knjižari, a jedan svjedok iznosi kako je Trojan osoba lošeg karaktera, a drugi iznosi sasvim suprotno. Sveti oficij naredio je da se istraga nastavi, a kako se proces završio, nije poznato.³⁰

U slučajevima koji se odnose na magiju i pučko praznovjerje (*magia, negromanzia, seduzione, sortilegio*) karakteristično je sudjelovanje ljudi iz istih društvenih skupina kojima pripada i optužena osoba. Inkvizicija je i ovim slučajevima izricala duhovne kazne, ali i obustavljala procese uvjerivši se u mentalno stanje optuženih. Tako je Helena Krušić, koja je navodno opsjednuta te komunicira s duhovima, oslobođena optužbi jer se Oficij uvjerio u besmislenost slučaja i njezino psihičko stanje. Izvjesna Andriana bila je optužena jer je izgubivši prsten promatrala vodu u posudi i otkrila gdje se on nalazi, kako je u slučaj bilo upleteno cijelo susjedstvo, a konkretnih dokaza nije bilo, slučaj je bio odbačen.³¹

Nekolicina je svećenika bila optuživana za ponašanje neprimjerno svom pozivu, a to su nasilje, veze sa župljanima, nedovoljna briga za vjerski život pa čak i pedofilija. Tako je fra Narcisio iz Šibenika na Krapnju tokom ispovijedi ljubio i nagovarao na spolni odnos djevojčicu od četrnaest godina, ali i njezine sestre – petnaestogodišnjakinju i osmogodišnjakinju. Fra Narcisio je pobjegao prije nego što je mogao biti uhvaćen. O kotorskom svećeniku Ivanu Pasqualiju, njegov vlastiti biskup Pamfilije izvještava inkviziciju kako je uživao meso u dane posta, radio napitke namijenjene za seksualnu stimulaciju, stupao u tjelesne odnose sa ženama koje su mu dolazile na ispovijed i sl. Kazna nije bila prevelika. Osuđen je na godinu dana zatvora, zabranjeno mu je misiti dvije godine, a dovijeka nije smio ispovijedati. Kako bi se iskupio za svoje grijeh, morao je izgovarati psalme.³²

30 Isto, "Dubrovački tiskar Trojan u procesu mletačke inkvizicije (1568.-1573.)," u *Hrvatsko-talijanski književni odnosi. Knjiga VI.*, ur. Mate Zorić (Zagreb: Zavod za znanost o književnosti, 1997), 116-122.

31 Isto, *Hrvati u procesima*, 87, 89, 91.

32 Isto, 141, 144-145, 148-149.



Zaključak

Ono što možemo izdvojiti kao posebnost mletačkog Svetog oficija jest sudjelovanje patricija u njezinom djelovanju, ali budući da se radi o ustanovi na području Mletačke Republike, to ni ne izaziva čuđenje s obzirom da je *Serenissima* htjela imati nadzor nad svim aspektima života i braniti uspostavljeni društveni poredak. Procesuiranje Balda Lupetine od strane mletačke inkvizicije moglo bi ostaviti dojam da se radilo o instituciji koja je samo svojim spominjanjem stvarala kod ljudi osjećaj straha ili nelagode. Međutim, taj slučaj treba promatrati u povijesnom kontekstu žestoke protureformacije. Venecija je već četrdeset godina nakon pogubljenja Balda Lupetine bila meta kritike papinstva koje je protestiralo jer u njoj žive i „heretici“. Mlečani su bili katolici, ali zbog višeg cilja, a to je prije svega prosperitet Republike, nije bilo na odmet da na njezinu teritoriju žive Židovi ili protestanti sve dok oni ne postanu prijetnja poretku i dok doprinose na bilo kakav način sjaju *Serenissime*.

Mletačka inkvizicija bila je instrument u rukama Mletačke Republike. Iako formalno osnovana i nadzirana od strane Svete stolice, mletački patricijat nije dopustio da se pomoću nje širi papinski apsolutizam i da ona zadobije veću moć od upravnih tijela same Republike. Žestoki sporovi s papinstvom, a posebno djelovanje spomenutog fra Paola Sarpija, dovoljno govore o stavu te oligarhijske republike prema papinstvu.

Sveti oficij rijetko je izricao teške kazne, a osim uloge procesuiranja heretika imao je i zadaću uključivanja „otpalih“ u krilo Katoličke Crkve. Važno je istaknuti da je procesuiranje i kažnjavanje ljudi iz obrazovanih društvenih slojeva, a poglavito svećenika zapalih u protestantsku herezu, u većini slučajeva bilo rigoroznije od ostalih.

Postojanje i djelovanje inkvizicije neizostavni je dio povijesti Katoličke Crkve, ali i zemalja koje je ona zahvatila. Mletačka inkvizicija, koja je imala kontrolu i nad nekim područjima današnje Hrvatske, ipak se ne može u potpunosti uklopiti u ono općenito stereotipno i rasprostranjeno mišljenje o inkviziciji kao ustanovi koja progoni nevine i na dnevnoj bazi izriče nekoliko smrtnih kazni.



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THE VENETIAN INQUISITION: ORIGIN, ORGANISATION AND ACTIVITY IN THE EASTERN ADRIATIC

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This essay deals with the topic of the Venetian Inquisition, namely the activity of the Holy Office (Santo Uffizio). At the beginning, the origin and development of the Inquisition will be clarified, as well as its methods of action and process management. The complexity of the relations between the Republic of Venice and the Holy See will be pointed out, which are essential for understanding the independence of the activities of the Inquisition itself. Before the very conclusion, several processes that were conducted against Croats will be analysed, since these files are partly elaborated and available in the Croatian language.

Keywords: *inquisition, Holy Office (Santo Uffizio), Republic of Venice, investigation, process, heresy*

Introduction

The Venetian Inquisition was a church institution in charge of enforcing Catholic orthodoxy in the territory of the Republic of Venice. This also means that it was active in the Croatian historical area, parts of which were under the rule of the *Serenissima* in the early modern age. Lovorka Čoralić dealt the most with this topic, so in this essay we mainly rely on her works and on the works of several foreign authors. We will try to give a brief overview of the activities of the Venetian Inquisition on the eastern Adriatic coast. At the beginning, we describe how and why the Venetian Inquisition was created? Then, to what extent is the relationship of the Holy See and the Catholic Church with the Venetian Inquisition important for its operation? We believe that the context of these relationships is important for understanding the independence of the Inquisition itself. To what degree did the *Serenissima* truly control the actions of such an entity? In the text, we present several examples that confirm that the Venetian Inquisition cannot be stereotypically attributed to brutality, physical violence, cor-



poral punishment, savagery, burning at stakes, or persecution, which is often what is meant in wider circles when the word “Inquisition” is mentioned.

The Venetian Inquisition - origin, development and members

The beginnings of the Venetian Inquisition go back to the 13th century. When one thinks of the institution that conducted the Inquisition, one speaks of the Holy Office (*Santo Uffizio*). The historian of the Venetian Holy Office Fr. Paolo Sarpi, who lived in the second half of the 16th and in the first quarter of the 17th century and belonged to the Servite order, points out that the original institution, which was meant to prevent creation and dissemination of heresies and generally to exercise control over religious life, was made up of three nobles. In his opinion, the institution was founded by the Venetian government, not the Holy See. In 1289, Pope Nicholas IV gave an approval to the Venetian government that the inquisitors in its territory should be the Franciscans. Sarpi considers that document to be the fundamental evidence of the independent functioning of the Venetian Holy Office.¹ However, the name “Holy Office” is not something that we can particularly associate with the Republic of Venice. The Holy Office was also the name for the Roman Inquisition, and it was founded in 1524.² That Office in Rome still operates today, but with a different method of operation and it is called the Dicastery for the Doctrine of the Faith.

The old institution was given new powers and features in two occasions. By the Pope Paul III through the bull *Licet ab initio* in 1542, and by the Doge of Venice Francesco Donà with the six Venetian councilors, through a decree in 1547. Three Venetian patricians were elected to the newly created Office, the which were named *Tre Savi sopra eresia* (Three Sages over Heresy). The first three nobles were Nicolò Tiepolo, Francesco Contarini and Antonio Venier. *Tre Savi sopra eresia* were mostly more respectable and older patricians who represented the interests of the Republic of Venice and often came into conflict with papal representatives.³ The magistracy established by the Re-

1 Čoralić, Lovorka. *Croats in the processes of the Venetian Inquisition*. University of Zagreb - Institute of Croatian History, Zagreb, 2001, p. 11

2 Cozzi, Gaetano, Michael Knabton and Giovanni Scarabello. *History of Venice: Volume II*. Izdanja Antibarbarus d.o.o., Zagreb, 2007, p. 59

3 Čoralić, *Croats in the processes of the Venetian Inquisition*, p. 11



public in 1537 is to be considered the predecessor of the newly created Holy Office. The name of the institution in charge of prosecuting blasphemy was *Esecutori contro la bestemmia*.⁴ The Venetian Council of Ten also made a great contribution to the fight against heresy. It was them who asked the Office to compile a list of undesirable books. The list was indeed compiled, but ultimately it was withdrawn due to the dissatisfaction of printers, booksellers and nobles. In the end, the Holy See intervened and issued the first Index of Prohibited Books in 1554-1555.⁵

In addition to three secular members, the Holy Office also had three representatives of the Catholic Church. The papal authority was represented by a nuncio. It was with him that the representatives of the Venetian authorities came into conflict most often. Papal legates ignored the opinion of government representatives and were known to interfere in secular matters. In the beginning, an inquisitor, who belonged to the Order of Conventual Franciscans, oversaw the inquisition procedures, which include the evaluation of the degree of heresy, the conduct of procedures, the censorship of books and manuscripts for printing, and since 1560 the inquisitor has been a member of the Dominican order. The inquisitor's deputy was called a vice-inquisitor or vicar, and in the inquisitor's absence, he had all the rights and powers. The Venetian government strove for the inquisitor to be from the Venetian area, believing that he was acquainted better with the conditions in the Republic. The diocesan authority was represented by the Venetian patriarch or his general vicar (deputy). It is important to mention that the patriarch was not directly selected by the pope, but was only confirmed at the proposal of the Venetian government.⁶

Violation, investigation and sanctions

The offenses that brought individuals and groups to the court of the Venetian Inquisition were deviation from the rules of the Catholic Church, denying and questioning dogmas and church authorities and their provisions, mocking what the Church considered to be sa-

4 Povoło, Claudio. "Liturgies of violence: social control and power relationships in the Republic of Venice between the 16th and 18th centuries" In *A companion to Venetian history, 1400-1797*, ed. Eric R. Dursteler, Lieden-Boston: Brill, 2013, pp. 521-522

5 Cozzi et al., *History of Venice: Volume II*, p. 60

6 Čoralíć, *Croats in the processes of the Venetian Inquisition*, p. 12



cred, and writing, reading, giving and publishing forbidden books. Accusations were made against those who did not go to mass, as well as against those who performed religious ceremonies illegally. Those who were said to practice magic, or summoning and worship of demons, were also subject to the court of the Inquisition.⁷

It was possible to report heretics anonymously, as the persons who reported were meant to be protected. After the report and the arrest, the process of questioning the accused by the members of the Office began. Family, friends and acquaintances of the accused were being heard and questioned. The accused were seen as a threat to the government, to the state and to the society, so the Office had the full support of the *Serenissima*. Many people ended up on the dock without even knowing that they had committed heresy, for example by participating in some forms of popular devotions that were not allowed. The heresies of the younger defendants were being treated in a milder way, by imposing preventive measures, because it was considered that they committed their heresies because they were understanding worldly ease and entertainment more liberally.⁸

The Venetian Inquisition was much milder than the Spanish Inquisition, for example. In the Venetian area, torture was used in rare cases, to be exact, in about 2-3% of the documented processes.⁹ The Holy Office rarely imposed death sentences, and the culprit would not be burned but drowned in the waters of the lagoon. The last death sentence was imposed in 1724.¹⁰ The culprit could be penalized by being sent to the galleys or by imprisonment, confiscation of property, expulsion from Venice or even from the territory of the entire Republic, by loss of honour, rights, privileges and the like. However, most often spiritual punishments were imposed, which entailed renunciation (*abiurazione*) from heresy, first of all. The offender would have to utter a formula to prove that he renounces heresy and that he returns to the fold of the Church without coercion. During the following period, he would have to attend mass, confess, give alms and pray regularly.¹¹ The example of Adam Del Fabro from 1603 testifies to the fact that taking an oath “on

7 Ibid., p. 13

8 Ibid.

9 Ibid., p. 14

10 Cristellon, Cecilia and Silvana Seidel Menchi. “Religious Life” In *A companion to Venetian history, 1400-1797*, ed. Eric R. Dursteler. Lieden-Boston: Brill, 2013, p. 418

11 Čoralčić, *Croats in the processes of the Venetian Inquisition*, p. 14



the altar” was one of the forms of obtaining liberation or absolution. Del Fabro killed a man and was banished from Carnia, but by taking an oath to obey the laws of the community he was exonerated and allowed to return.¹² Thus, by pronouncing the formula, one could be exonerated, even in cases that were not related to blasphemy, and in this case, from a serious crime. It is interesting to mention that from the beginning of the Venetian Inquisition until its abolition in 1794, 3592 people were investigated. The figure was derived from preserved documentation, it should be considered that not all documentation has been preserved and that several processes may have been conducted.¹³

The Venetians - from the Reformation through the Counter-Reformation to coexistence

The territory of the Republic of Venice was leading the reformation movement in Italy, but not for the big number of Protestants in that area, but because of the possibility of spreading the Protestant thought. Venice faced Protestantism precisely because of its geographical position and intensive cultural and trade exchange with Central Europe.¹⁴ The centres of Protestant thought in the area of the *Serenissima* in the 16th century were Padua and Venice. The University of Padua was visited by various lecturers from all over Italy, from France and from German states who brought new Christian teachings with them. The works of Erasmus of Rotterdam achieved great success in Padua. In 1524, the teachings of Martin Luther already came to Venice, and the preacher of his teachings, the Venetian Bartolomeo Fonzio, had to leave the city in 1531. He sent a booklet named *Unio dissidentium* from exile to one of his noble friends. Papal legate Gerolamo Andreo demanded that the booklet should be banned immediately, but the authorities, with their indifferent attitude, allowed the booklet to circulate in the city.¹⁵ Anabaptism as well experienced success in the *Serenissima* area.¹⁶ Anabaptist councils were held in Vicenza and

12 Povolo, “Liturgies of violence”, p.514

13 Cristellon and Menchi, “Religious Life”, p. 417

14 Ibid, 407.

15 Cozzi et al., *History of Venice: Volume II*, p.48

16 Anabaptism was founded by Conrad Grebel and developed in Zurich. Anabaptists promote second baptism, that is, they believe that children cannot be baptized because they do not have faith. *Croatian Encyclopaedia – Web edition*, s. v. “Anabaptisti” <https://www.enciklopedija.hr/natuknica.aspx?ID=2388> (accessed on 2/10/2022).



Venice. The epicentres of heresy and their diffusion were stopped by the Venetian Inquisition, and Protestantism lasted the longest in Istria, because of the activity of Baldo Lupetina and Matija Vlačić Ilirik. The Jesuit order, which founded colleges in the area of the *Serenissima*, played a major role in the overall Catholic renewal, including the Republic of Venice.¹⁷

It should not be forgotten that at the end of the 16th century, Venice had about one hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants and that it was home to people of different nationalities and religions. Protestants, Orthodox Greeks, and even Turks lived in the city. After several bans, the *Serenissima* allowed the arrival of Jews in 1589.¹⁸ In early modern Europe, Venice epitomised an open city where the postulates of coexistence and tolerance were respected.¹⁹ But not everyone liked that. Papal bull from 1596, written by Pope Clement VIII, specifically referred to Venice, since it required that no heretic may live in the territory of Italy.²⁰

Relations between the Republic of Venice and the Holy See

Serenissima did not know - nor did she want to know - the boundaries between the religious and political spheres. There was a certain symbiosis between spiritual and secular authorities. The doge was considered the leader in the Church and in the state (*princeps in ecclesia, princeps in republica*) and, according to that logic, he should obey only God, not the Pope.²¹

A special shock to the Republic of Venice was when Pope Julius II took away the right to appoint bishops in 1510. The practice was that the government appointed bishops for all dioceses in the territory of the Republic, and the pope only confirmed them. The Venetian government tried on several occasions to regain the right to elect bishops, and only Julius III showed understanding in 1552. He allowed Venice to propose four candidates for the position of the patriarch of Aquileia, and he chose one of the four. But that was not the only dispute between the Holy See and Venice. In 1600 Pope Clement VIII demanded that a noble-

17 Cozzi et al., *History of Venice: Volume II*, pp. 52, 57, 59

18 *Ibid.*, p. 103

19 Čoralić, *Croats in the processes of the Venetian Inquisition*, p.13

20 Cozzi et al., *History of Venice: Volume II*, p.104

21 Cristellon and Menchi, "Religious Life", p.398



man chosen for the service of the Venetian patriarch should be sent to Rome for them to check whether he was fit for that duty. The Venetians perceived this as something humiliating because, according to the old practice, they chose their own patriarch. Nevertheless, a compromise was reached, a newly elected patriarch went to Rome to pay his respects to the Pope, but there was to be no questioning of suitability. In the end, the Pope did ask a newly elected patriarch a few questions. Since the Catholic Church renewed its power in the 16th century, as well as the pope did, and the *Serenissima* did not have its former enthusiasm and power, popes, seeing the opportunity, forbade the Republic to collect land tax from the clergy. Later, however, it was agreed that the Republic must obtain papal permission to collect such taxes.²² The issues considering the activities of the Venetian Inquisition were also a subject of dispute between the *Serenissima* and the Holy See. The Holy Office was *de iure* subject to the Roman headquarters and all documentation of more complex cases had to get to Rome. However, the Venetian authorities did not want to allow the Office to be a body independent of the state that could acquire a high level of power and control over the population, which was the case in Spain, for example.²³

The Venetian government was unwavering before the papal attacks. They had a long tradition of defending state privileges in relation to the Church. This is especially noticeable in the defence of the right to elect the Venetian patriarch, but also in the activity of the already mentioned member of the Servite order Fr. Paolo Sarpi.²⁴ It was him who was appointed a special counsellor of the government in 1606 - a theologian-canonist - to defend the rights of Venice during the dispute with the Papal Curia at the beginning of the 17th century, known as the Interdict. The dispute arose because of two prelates who were arrested due to certain accusations of the Council of Ten. Pope Paul V's request to extradite them to the church authorities was refused.²⁵ Sarpi and his way of fighting against the papacy is a great example to understand what the *Serenissima* thought about the papacy. Sarpi resisted papal absolutism and the desire of the pope to exercise a certain level of control over secular authorities through the right of jurisdiction over the clergy.

22 Cozzi et al., *History of Venice: Volume II*, pp. 40-41, 105-106

23 Čoralić, *Croats in the processes of the Venetian Inquisition*, pp. 12-14

24 Cristellon and Menchi, "Religious Life," p. 405

25 Cozzi et al., *History of Venice: Volume II*, pp. 115-117, 674



Analysis and commentary of several processes

Conversions to Islam, that is, the processes conducted against people who converted to Islam, were categorized by The Holy Office as *maometismo* (Mohammedanism) or *eresia in genere* (complete heresy). Croats who were prosecuted within this category of heresy mostly came from Croatian and Bosnian areas that were under the Ottoman rule at that time. We can say that they were not accused in the full sense of the word, but they turned to the Inquisition with the aim of returning to communion with the Catholic Church. During the process, they stated the reasons why they converted to Islam, but they also emphasized that they had never truly renounced Christianity or forgotten Christian prayers. Monks played a special role in persuading people to return to Catholicism after returning from captivity. Let's take the example of Ivan Jurkov Giugich from Bosnia, who was abducted by the Ottomans at the age of four and circumcised, and at the age of twelve, having escaped from captivity, he submitted himself to the court of the Inquisition. In this example, it is clear that the *eresia in genere* happened in childhood and that the person could not have been aware of his sin. There are other similar examples of Croats accused of converting to Islam, most of which were people who had been kidnapped, some women had even been forcibly married to Muslims and their names had been changed. The Holy Office pronounced spiritual punishments in such cases with the obligatory recitation of the formula of renunciation of heresy. We should also mention those who were subjects of the process because of their double heresy (*scisma greca e turca*). Those were, of course, Orthodox Christians who had converted to Islam and wanted to be Catholics. They explained their first heresy with their origin and upbringing, and the second with the fear of death, pressure from the Ottomans, etc. Neither did they represent a threat to the Inquisition, but spiritual punishments were imposed to them and the "accused" became Catholics.²⁶

Protestant heresies were treated more rigorously than conversions to Islam or Greek schisms because those who committed such heresy were often priests or monks and generally people with better education and superior social status. The fault of all the accused is that they denied the authority of the papacy, the existence of purgatory, indulgence, etc. And in this category of heresy, we meet those who rejected

26 Čoralčić, *Croats in the processes of the Venetian Inquisition*, pp. 29-31, 35



Catholicism at an earlier age out of understandable reasons and now seek to return to communion with the Roman Church. Such is the case of the sailor from Korčula, Nalošić, who had become Anglican as a child and was given a spiritual punishment. In the cases of Protestantism, hearings were longer than those mentioned previously, which did not last more than a few days.²⁷ The topic of Protestant Croats is compulsorily associated with Marko Antun de Dominis and Matija Vlačić Ilirik, but since neither one of them were not punished by the Venetian Holy Office, they will not be dealt with in this essay. Another well-known trial is the one conducted against Baldo Lupetino from Istria, the guardian of the monastery of San Francesco della Vigna in Venice, who was accused of spreading heresy by the friars of Cres. Originally, in 1542, he was sentenced to twenty years in prison, and then to a brutal punishment - death by drowning.²⁸ Because of his convictions, Mihovil Basilii from Korčula was expelled from Venice even after uttering the formula of renunciation and was also spiritually punished. However, a vast number of trials against priests and religious were ultimately dismissed for lack of evidence or spiritual punishments were imposed.²⁹

A printer named Trojan, known as Calepin, was also under investigation from 1568 to 1573, but the investigation was not completed. Trojan was accused of printing and selling prohibited books. He owned works by Pietro Aretino, Giovanni Boccaccio, and other works by Italian and Arab alchemists. The process was conducted without Trojan's presence. It is not possible to determine the last name of the defendant from the files, but there is a possibility that it was Trojan Gundulić who was active in Belgrade in the 16th century and was the owner of the printing office where *Četverojevandjelje* (the Four Gospels) was printed in Cyrillic script, which was the first book published in Belgrade. Information that Trojan Gundulić was already dead in 1554 or 1555 can be found in Dubrovnik archives, but no source directly suggests this, so there are assumptions that Gundulić moved to Venice. The records of the Venetian Holy Office claim that Trojan lived in Venice for a decade before the start of the process. As the process began, Trojan disappeared from Venice. Neighbours, booksellers, peo-

27 Ibid., pp. 61-62

28 Vrandečić, Josip and Miroslav Bertoša. *Dalmatia, Dubrovnik and Istria in the early modern age*. Leykam international, Zagreb, 2007, p. 86

29 Čoralčić, *Croats in the processes of the Venetian Inquisition*, p. 67



ple whom he left books for safekeeping, testified about Trojan, with one witness stating that Trojan was a person of bad character, while other stating the complete opposite. The Holy Office ordered for the investigation to continue, and it is not known how the process ended.³⁰

Participation of people who belonged to the same social groups as the accused person did, was common in cases related to magic and folk superstition (*magia, negromanzia, seduzione, sortilegio*). The Inquisition imposed spiritual punishments in these cases as well, but also suspended the processes after being convinced of the mental state of the accused. Thus, Helena Krušić, who was allegedly possessed and communicated with spirits, was acquitted because the Office was convinced of her mental state and the pointlessness of the case. A certain Andriana was accused because, after losing her ring, she looked at the water in a container and found out where it was. Since the whole neighbourhood was involved in the case, and there was no concrete evidence, the case was dismissed.³¹

Several priests were accused of behaviour inappropriate to their calling, namely violence, relationships with parishioners, insufficient concern for their religious lives and even paedophilia. There was such a case on the island of Krapanj in which, during confession, Fr. Narcisio from Šibenik had been kissing and persuading a fourteen-year-old to have sexual intercourse with him, as well as he did to her sisters - a fifteen-year-old and an eight-year-old. Fr. Narcisio escaped before he could have been caught. The bishop of Kotor, Pamfilije, reported his own priest Ivan Pasquali to the Inquisition because he enjoyed meat on fasting days, made drinks intended for sexual stimulation, had sexual relations with women who came to him for confession, etc. The punishment was not too severe. He was sentenced to one year in prison, was forbidden to celebrate Mass for two years, and was not allowed to confess forever. He had to recite psalms to atone for his sins.³²

30 "Printer Trojan from Dubrovnik in the process of the Venetian Inquisition (1568-1573)" In *Croatian-Italian literary relations, Book VI*, ed. Mate Zorić. Institute for Literary Sciences, Zagreb, 1997, pp. 116-122

31 Čoralić, *Croats in the processes of the Venetian Inquisition*, pp. 87, 89, 91

32 *Ibid.*, pp. 141, 144-145, 148-149



Conclusion

What can be singled out as a special feature of the Venetian Holy Office is the participation of patricians in its activities, but this does not cause surprise since the *Serenissima* wanted to have control over all aspects of life and defend the established social order. The prosecution of Baldo Lupetina could leave the impression that the Venetian Inquisition was an institution that created in people feelings of fear or discomfort just by being mentioned. However, this case should be perceived in the historical context of the fierce Counter-Reformation. For forty years after the execution of Baldo Lupetina, Venice was the target of criticism from the papacy, which protested because “heretics” also lived there. The Venetians were Catholics, but in order to achieve a higher goal, which was primarily the prosperity of the Republic, it was not a problem for Jews or Protestants to live on its territory as long as they were not a threat to order and contributed in any way to the splendour of the *Serenissima*.

The Venetian Inquisition was an instrument in the hands of the Venetian Republic. Although formally established and supervised by the Holy See, the Venetian patricians did not allow papal absolutism to spread through it and for it to gain greater power than the administrative bodies of the Republic itself had. Fierce disputes with the papacy, and especially the actions of Fr. Paolo Sarpi, testify about the attitude the oligarchic republic had towards the papacy.

The Holy Office rarely imposed severe punishments, and in addition to the role of prosecuting heretics, it also had the task of including “apostates” into the fold of the Catholic Church. It is important to point out that the prosecutions and punishments of people from more educated social classes, especially those including priests who had fallen into the Protestant heresy, was in most cases more rigorous than others.

The existence and the operations of the Inquisition are indispensable parts of the history of the Catholic Church, as well as of the countries the Inquisition affected. The Venetian Inquisition, which also had control over some areas of today’s Croatia, still cannot fully fit into the generally stereotyped and widespread opinion about the Inquisition as an institution that persecuted the innocent and imposed several death sentences on a daily basis.



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FRANO SUPILO I OSVAJANJE DUBROVAČKE OPĆINE 1899.

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Ovaj rad prikazuje političke okolnosti u Dubrovniku potkraj 19. stoljeća. Najprije se izlažu opće političke prilike u gradu u drugoj polovici 19. stoljeća, odnosno razdoblje dok je u gradskoj općini na vlasti bila Narodna stranka. Prikaz uključuje i Autonomašku stranku te Srpsku stranku, koje zajedno pobjeđuju na izborima 1890. U sljedećem poglavlju objašnjava se srbokatolički fenomen, koji je pridonio popularnosti i utjecaju Srpske stranke. Opisan je i razvoj pokreta srbokatoličkog pokreta, od njegovih korijena sve do osvajanja dubrovačke općine. Nadalje, rad se bavi Franom Supilom te, kroz njegovo djetinjstvo i mladost, prati njegov ideološki razvoj koji se odvija usporedno s usponom mladog pravaštva. U radu se analizira kako se Supilo istaknuo u predvodnika pravaša te se opisuje njihovo političko djelovanje u časopisu Crvena Hrvatska. Naposljetku, rad se zaključuje pregledom borbe za općinsku vlast između Srpske stranke i Autonomaške stranke s jedne, te pravaša i Narodne stranke s druge strane, koja završava povratkom općine u hrvatske ruke.

Ključne riječi: Frano Supilo, Dubrovnik, pravaštvo, Narodna stranka, Srbi-katolici

Uvod

Dubrovnik se 90-ih godina 19. stoljeća nalazi u politički dosta intrigantnoj situaciji. Naime, nakon dugogodišnje vladavine Narodne stranke, općinska uprava više nije u hrvatskim rukama. Na vlasti se nalazi koalicija Srpske stranke i Autonomaške stranke. Namjera ovog rada jest prikazati mjesnu politiku grada Dubrovnika, uključujući uspon srpsko-autonomaške koalicije, s posebnim naglaskom na fenomen Srba-katolika, koji se ukorijenio među dijelom stanovništva. Rad objašnjava pad Narodne stranke, njihove godine pasivnosti, kao i ponovni uspon. Taj je uspon pak bio potaknut uzletom pravaša i njihova prvaka Frana Supila. Supilo će biti središnja tema ovog rada, odnosno svrha je ovog rada, kroz njegovo rano djelovanje u Dubrovniku, prika-



zati kako je tekao politički život u gradu, kroz aktivnosti, saveze i sukobe četiriju glavnih političkih opcija: narodnjaka, autonomaša, Srpske stranke te pravaša. Konačno, rad se osvrće na Supilovu politiku i napade na srpsko-autonomašku vlast, njegov rad kroz časopis *Crvena Hrvatska* te objašnjava njegovu ulogu i ulogu dubrovačkog pravaštva u osvajanju općine nakon skoro desetljeća vladavine srpsko-autonomaške koalicije.

Opće prilike u Dubrovniku

Dubrovnik se u 19. stoljeću nalazi u sasvim novoj i neuobičajenoj situaciji za taj grad. Njegova stoljetna samostalnost naglo se prekida 1808. te otada svoj politički put gradi kao dio pokrajine Dalmacije. Kao staro središte ranosrednjovjekovnog Hrvatskog Kraljevstva, svoj glavni cilj vidi u sjedinjenju s Banskom Hrvatskom i Slavonijom, dakle u obnovi teritorijalne, političke i ostale cjelovitosti. Ipak, vlastima u Beču i Budimpešti takav ishod ne bi odgovarao te je borba za ujedinjenje postala glavnim obilježjem politike u Hrvata. Dubrovnik se uključuje u bitku, boreći se snažno za sjedinjenje, između ostalog jer bi to odgovaralo njegovim gospodarskim interesima. Štoviše, među prvaci- ma dalmatinske Narodne stranke, predvodnicima opcije ujedinjenja, nalazili su se Dubrovčani Miho Klaić te Juraj Pulić.¹

Tako su se narodnjačke misli širile i do Dubrovnika na mjesnoj razini, gdje su im glavni protivnici, kao i u cijeloj Dalmaciji, bili autonomaši. Autonomaška stranka na općinskim izborima 1865. ostvaruje apsolutnu pobjedu, usred narodnjačkog povlačenja s izbora, zbog nasilnih pritiska organa vlasti. Ipak, zahvaljujući reorganizaciji i energičnosti dubrovačkih narodnjaka, pod vodstvom Pera Čingrije i Rafe Pucića, na sljedećim općinskim izborima 1869. autonomaši trpe potpuni poraz – od 537 birača koji su izašli na izbore, povjerenje Narodnoj stranci dalo je čak njih 526, a kao prvi narodnjački gradonačelnik izabran je Rafo Pucić.²

Izborna pobjeda imala je trenutačan učinak. S jedne strane, na većoj, simboličnoj razini, pokazala je ostalim dalmatinskim gradovima

1 Ivo PERIĆ, „Uloga pravaša u osvajanju općinske uprave u Dubrovniku 1890. – 1899.“, *Pravaštvo u Hrvatskome političkom i kulturnom životu u sučelju dvaju stoljeća* (uredili Zdravka Jelaska Marijan i Zlatko Matijević), Hrvatski institut za povijest, Zagreb, 2013., str. 135. – 136.

2 Ivo PERIĆ, *Politički portret Pera Čingrije*, Sveučilište u Zagrebu – Institut za hrvatsku povijest, Zagreb, 1979., str. 136. – 137.



kako autonomaši nisu nepobjedivi, dok se, s druge strane, započelo s konkretnim ponarođenjem općine i njezinih političkih organa. Veliki uspjeh predstavljalo je uvođenje hrvatskog jezika kao nastavnog jezika u prvom i drugom razredu dubrovačke gimnazije, što se ostvarilo već 1869. Iste godine osnovano je i Dubrovačko pomorsko društvo.³

1870. bila je prekretnicom na dalmatinskoj političkoj sceni. Naime, održani su izbori za Dalmatinski sabor, a pobjedu odnosi Narodna stranka. Nakon tog uspjeha, stranka se okreće politici oportunitizma. Vodstvo se stranke nadalo kako će blizak odnos s Bečom, u kojem se režimskoj vlasti pokušava takoreći „povlađivati“, naposljetku dovesti do ostvarenja njihovih pokrajinskih interesa.⁴ Na saborskim izborima, Dubrovnik nije bio iznimka. Štoviše, narodnjaci osvajaju čak četiri od pet mogućih mandata, dok se autonomaši moraju zadovoljiti s jednim zastupničkim mjestom. Vodilo je to do polarizacije dubrovačkog društva. Oko Narodne stranke okupila se većina plemstva i građanstva. S druge strane, nalazili su se autonomaši, konzervativci, koji, zbog straha Beča od sve veće popularnosti narodnjaka, uživaju potporu središnjih vlasti i snažne birokracije.⁵

70-ih godina 19. stoljeća borba završava većinskom pobjedom narodnjaka. Njihov kandidat Rafo Pucić po treći je put izabran za načelnika, a na saborskim izborima 1876. svih pet mandata iz Dubrovnika zauzimaju članovi Narodne stranke.⁶ I u ostatku Dalmacije autonomaši su trpjeli poraze te se u jednom trenutku činilo kako bi mogli prestati predstavljati bilo kakav politički čimbenik, ali od potpunog nestanka sa scene spašava ih savez sa Srpskom strankom.⁷

Naime, u Narodnoj stranci dolazi do eskalacije sukoba između Hrvata i Srba, koji se već dulje vremena polako bio zakuhtavao. Povod je bila austrougarska okupacija Bosne i Hercegovine. Povala se rasprava o pripadnosti tih zemalja hrvatskom ili srpskom nacionalnom korpusu. 1879. službeno dolazi do raskola te se Srbi odvajaju i osnivaju vlastitu Srpsku stranku. Različitost u gledištima najbolje se vidi u radu njihovih stranačkih glasila. *Narodni list*, kao glas Narodne stranke, ističe zahtjev za ujedinjenje hrvatskog teritorija i ispunjenje povijesnog

3 Ivo PERIĆ, *Politički portreti iz prošlosti Dalmacije*, Književni krug, Split, 1990., str. 138. – 140.

4 Ivo PERIĆ, „Uloga pravaša u osvajanju općinske uprave u Dubrovniku 1890. – 1899.“, str. 136.

5 Ivo PERIĆ, *Politički portreti iz prošlosti Dalmacije*, str. 140. – 141.

6 *Ibid.*, str. 146.

7 Ivo PERIĆ, „Uloga pravaša u osvajanju općinske uprave u Dubrovniku 1890. – 1899.“, str. 137.



državnog prava. S druge strane, na stranicama *Srpskog lista*, vidljiva je želja Srba u Monarhiji da se sav srpski narod okupi unutar jedne srpske države. Tako je došlo do stvaranja dviju, međusobno suprotstavljenih, državotvornih misli. Srpska je stranka tako postala žestokim protivnikom ujedinjenja Dalmacije s Hrvatskom. Posljedično, to ih je odvelo prema savezu s autonomašima.⁸ Ta se suradnja temeljila tek na tom jednom zajedničkom elementu. Kad se sagledaju krajnji ciljevi tih stranaka, vidljivo je kako se oni u malo čemu podudaraju. Srpska stranka promatra Dalmaciju u okvirima buduće srpske države, dok je s druge strane Autonomaška stranka vidi kao talijansku istočnojadransku pokrajinu. Ipak, unatoč tako oprječnim motivima, njihov će savez postati žestokim protivnikom narodnjaka i njihova programa ujedinjenja Dalmacije s ostatkom hrvatskih zemalja.⁹

U Dubrovniku od 1878. izlazi časopis *Slovinac*, čije vodstvo, suprotno *Narodnom listu* i *Srpskom listu*, radi na pomirenju Hrvata i Srba. Štoviše, pokušava u potpunosti izbrisati razlike između dvaju naroda, spajajući ih u jedan, u „Slovince“, nazivajući njihov jezik „slovinским“, a zemlju „Slovinijom“. Također, kako bi se radilo na zbližavanju dvaju naroda na području književnosti, prilozi su tiskani na latinici, ali i na ćirilici. U časopisu su promicani zajednički politički ciljevi i idealistička sloga, no ta su nastojanja ipak doživjela neuspjeh.¹⁰ Raskol se sve više produbljivao. U Dubrovniku, na općinskim izborima 1881., djeluju dva izborna odbora, narodnjački i drugi na čelu s Matom Natalijem, razočaranim narodnjakom koji se okrenuo autonomašima. Napustivši stranku, Natali i nekolicina istomišljenika okrenuli su se politici Srpske stranke. Tako se stvara osobita pojava koja nastaje u Dubrovniku – politička skupina Srba-katolika. Naime, Natali se sam izjasnio kao Srbin-katolik. Dio dubrovačkog građanstva, unatoč katoličkoj vjeroispovijesti, smatrao se Srbima, ponajviše temeljem tvrdnje Vuka Karadžića kako su svi štokavci Srbi. Natalijev izborni odbor nije postigao značajan rezultat, no bio je naznaka teškog razdora u godinama koje slijede.¹¹

Sve oštija retorika Srba-katolika počela je uzrokovati nezadovoljstvo i otpor među onim Dubrovčanima koji su se osjećali Hrvatima,

8 Ivo PETRINOVIĆ, *Politička misao Frana Supila*, Književni krug, Split, 1988., str. 19.

9 Ivo PERIĆ, „Uloga pravaša u osvajanju općinske uprave u Dubrovniku 1890. – 1899.“, str. 137.

10 Ivo PERIĆ, „Dubrovačko razdoblje političkog djelovanja Frana Supila“, *Anali Zavoda za povijesne znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Dubrovniku*, No. 17, 1979., str. 510.

11 *Ibid.*, str. 205. – 206.



čak i među onim dijelom narodnjaka koji su bili uvjereni kako su Srbi i Hrvati jedan narod. To se očituje i unutar Narodne štionice, zajedničkog književnog društva, u kojem počinje prevladavati srpska politička misao. Povod raskolu bila je odluka uprave Štionice o polaganju vijenca na grob Stefana Ljubiše, osuđenika za korupciju za vrijeme svog mandata kao saborskog predsjednika u Zadru. Pero Čingrija diže glas protiv ovakve odluke, ali izvanredna skupština samo potvrđuje odluku uprave. Na takav čin, Čingrija i njegove pristaše, narodnjaci, napuštaju društvo. U Narodnoj štionici preostaju tek pripadnici Srpske stranke te je raskol Srba i Hrvata u Dubrovniku postao stvaran.¹²

80-ih godina 19. stoljeća započinje prava hajka na narodnjačke pravke Pera Čingriju i Rafu Pucića. Napadi stižu iz dvaju tabora, srpskog i autonomaškog, koji se sve više zbližavaju u svom političkom djelovanju, ponajviše stalnim pritiskom na Narodnu stranku.¹³ Konačno, pred saborske izbore 1889., dvije se stranke udružuju i staju iza zajedničkog kandidata. Njihov kandidat pobjeđuje i osvaja mandat u saboru kao predstavnik za grad Dubrovnik. Ipak, pobjeda je postignuta s pomoću raznih podmićivanja birača, kao i s pomoću kotarskog poglavara Emilija Ragazanija, režimskog čovjeka, bliskog pokrajinskoj vlasti, koji im je iskazao svoju podršku.¹⁴

Prva velika politička pobjeda dala je krila i jednim i drugim te odmah započinju s pripremama za općinske izbore koji su se trebali održati sljedeće godine. Otpočela su opet podmićivanja birača, a takvu taktiku omogućili su njihovi donatori i financijeri, bogati srpski i talijansko-talijanaški trgovci, kao i razni fondovi iz Srbije i Italije. Pripadnici Srpske stranke uspjeli su privući dio novih članova svojom već spomenutom ideologijom o „srpskom Dubrovniku“, a ostatak su privukle financijske i gospodarske mogućnosti pristupanja stranci. Na političkom su planu otpočele kritike na račun narodnjačke vlasti, koristeći gradske gospodarske teškoće, koje su zaista bile velike. Jedrenjačko brodarstvo, koje je još bilo prevladavalo u Dubrovniku, gubilo je bitku s parobrodima, a nada, kako će se trgovina preporoditi nakon okupacije Bosne i Hercegovine, nije se ostvarila. Trgovački putovi nisu krenuli prema moru i Dubrovniku, već prema zapadu i sjeveru, odnosno prema Beču i Budimpešti. Obrtništvo, također, prolazi kroz krizu te ostaje usitnjeno i raspršeno, bez stvaranja kakvog većeg obrta. Još

12 Ivo PERIĆ, „Dubrovačko razdoblje političkog djelovanja Frana Supila“, str. 533.

13 Ivo PERIĆ, *Politički portreti iz prošlosti Dalmacije*, str. 151.

14 Ivo PERIĆ, „Uloga pravaša u osvajanju općinske uprave u Dubrovniku 1890. – 1899.“, str. 137.



jedan veliki nedostatak bio je izostanak bilo kakvog novčarskog zavoda u gradu, što je prisiljavalo građane na uzimanje kredita u Trstu ili Beču. Sve su navedene probleme članovi Srpske stranke koristili za kritiku vladajućih narodnjaka. Kao rješenje svih problema, zahtijevaju čovjeka na vlasti koji uživa povjerenje Beča, bliskog režimu, koji bi svoj status mogao uspješno iskoristiti. Po njima, savršena osoba za mjesto općinskog načelnika činio se njihov kandidat Frano Gondola-Ghetaldi. Riječ je o osiromašenu plemiću, potomku starih rodova Gundulića i Getaldića, koji je od austrijskog dvora, zbog svoje vjerne službe, dobio naslov dvorskog komornika. Iza Gondole-Ghetaldija stala je ujedinjena koalicija Srpske stranke i Autonomnaške stranke. Koristeći se poznavstvom već spomenutog Ragazinija, uspjeli su isposlovati da se izborni odbor sastoji većinom od njihovih članova. Ovaj potez dodatno je razjario dubrovačke narodnjake te su, svjesni novih podmićivanja birača te utjecaja kotarskog poglavara Ragazanija, prosvjedno bojkotirali izbore. Na zgražanje hrvatske javnosti, poglavito u Dalmaciji, dubrovačka je općina, bez izborne borbe, u potpunosti pala u ruke srpsko-autonomaške koalicije. Zanimljivo je što su, od 36vijećnika, čak 32 izvorno bili Hrvati. Ostatak čine dvojica Židova te tek po jedan Srbin i Talijan.¹⁵

Kako bi se bolje razumio ovakav politički uspjeh Srpske stranke, sljedeće će poglavlje pomnije obraditi fenomen Srba-katolika u Dubrovniku.

Fenomen Srba-katolika

Fenomen Srba-katolika u Dubrovniku i njegovi uzroci plod su složenih procesa na području, ne samo Dubrovnika, već i tog dijela Europe. Pokret je nastao kao višestruka posljedica pada Dubrovačke Republike, različitih koncepcija panslavizma te nedovoljno definiranih nacionalnih pokreta, na područjima južnoslavenskih naroda. Elementi hrvatske i srpske državne misli te buđenje nacionalne svijesti, kao i protuaustrijsko raspoloženje, stvorili su plodne uvjete za stvaranje različitih nacionalno-kulturoloških pokreta, među kojima i srbokatoličkog pokreta.¹⁶

Između ostalog, pojava Srba-katolika u Dubrovniku svoje temelje nalazi i u učenjima Vuka Stefanovića Karadžića, po kojima su svi što-

15 Ivo PERIĆ, „Uloga pravaša u osvajanju općinske uprave u Dubrovniku 1890. – 1899.“, str. 137. – 139.

16 Franko MIROŠEVIĆ, „Važan znanstveni prilog objašnjavanju pojma „Srba-katolika“ u Dubrovniku“, *Časopis za suvremenu povijest*, Vol. 24 No. 1, Zagreb 1992., str. 209.



kavci zapravo Srbi, a Hrvate ograničava na čakavce. Njegove su se misli širile među mnogim njegovim kolegama i suradnicima, a tako su stigle i do Dubrovnika, gdje ih prihvaćaju profesori Pero Budmani, Luko Zore i Stjepan Castrapelli. To bi značilo kako među pripadnicima srpskog naroda postoje tek vjerske razlike. Time je došlo do pojma Srba-katolika, za razliku od Srba-pravoslavaca.¹⁷ U Dubrovniku tako dolazi do napuštanja jednog nepisanog pravila, po kojem se narodnost Hrvata i Srba poistovjećivala s njihovom vjerom. Glavnom odrednicom srpstva postala je štokavština, zamijenivši pravoslavlje.¹⁸

Još i prije pojave Srba-katolika, Dubrovnik je, kao grad bogate tradicije i kulture, bio primamljiv dijelu Srba te ga se pokušalo prikazati kao srpski grad. Jedan od prvih u tom pogledu bio je Đorđe Nikolajević koji se nalazio na čelu male pravoslavne skupine u Dubrovniku polovicom 19. stoljeća. Nikolajević je iz arhiva izdavao ćirilичne dokumente predstavljajući ih isključivo kao srpske, premda su se i drugi južni Slaveni koristili tim pismom. Uz pomoć suradnika Božidara Petranovića i njegova *Srpsko-Dalmatinskog Magazina*, u više je članaka dubrovačku književnost nazivao srpskom. Ovakvi su pokušaji prethodili zamisli o Srbima-štokavcima i Srbima-katolicima.¹⁹

Fenomen Srba-katolika u Dubrovniku uspio je pustiti korijene zbog mjesnih katolika koji su prihvatili tu zamisao. Među prvima ističe se Medo Pucić, podrijetlom iz vlastelinske obitelji, koji je stao uz Karadžićeva učenja. Odmah uz njega nalazi se Matija Ban, ambiciozan političar i oportunist, koji je svojim shvaćanjima dolazio u sukob sa tradicionalnim srpskim pravoslavicima. Naime, Ban je Srbiju vidio kao vođu svih južnih Slavena, koje valja ujediniti, a time je kritizirao uske poglede tradicionalnih Srba koji su katolike vidjeli kao suparnike. Upravo je Matija Ban bio taj koji je 1848. zapjevao himnu srpskom Dubrovniku i tako otvoreno započeo politiku o srpskoj pripadnosti grada. Čak se nakratko u Dubrovniku stvorilo tajno društvo Srba-katolika koje je surađivalo sa Ilijom Garašanihom te provodilo njegovu velikosrpsku propagandu.²⁰

Ipak, u tom razdoblju, dubrovački Srbi-katolici bili su dosta bliski ilirskom pokretu. Iako gaje srpske nacionalne zamisli, sastavnica asi-

17 Ivo PERIĆ, „Dubrovačko razdoblje političkog djelovanja Frana Supila“, str. 513. – 514.

18 Franko MIROŠEVIĆ, „Važan znanstveni prilog objašnjavanju pojma “Srba-katolika” u Dubrovniku“, str. 203.

19 *Ibid.*, str. 203. – 204.

20 Franko MIROŠEVIĆ, „Važan znanstveni prilog objašnjavanju pojma “Srba-katolika” u Dubrovniku“, str. 204. – 205.



milacije, udruživanja svih Južnih Slavena, itekako je bila prisutnom, tako da Srbi-katolici, poput Pucića i Bana, i nisu vidjeli osobite razlike između sebe i ostalih Hrvata.²¹

Spomenuti Luko Zore piše 1869. kako su Dubrovčani istinski štokavci i hvali dubrovačku književnost za koju kaže kako je pisana – srpskim jezikom. Također je, nekoliko godina kasnije, u svom časopisu *Slovinac*, nahvalio jednu srpsku knjižaru u Pančevu, zbog objave pjesama Meda Pucića, smatrajući kako se tim činom konačno razbijaju granice koje razdvajaju Srbe. U tom razdoblju javlja se i zamisao Srbiji kao o „balkanskom Pijemontu“, koja je trebala biti predvodnicom Južnih Slavena pri ujedinjenju. Takva razmišljanja, u protuaustrijski raspoloženom Dubrovniku, naišla su na plodno tlo te se dio intelektualaca okupio i počeo, osim jezične sastavnice, isticati i srpsku političku misao.²²

80-ih godina 19. stoljeća započinje zaokret srbokatoličkog pokreta, od općenite zamisli „slovinstva“, koju promiče spomenuti časopis *Slovinac*, prema sve jačoj i sve radikalnijoj srpskoj nacionalnoj ideologiji te protuhrvatstvu. Povod tomu bio je sukob hrvatske i srpske državne misli koji dovodi do razdora na dalmatinskoj političkoj sceni.²³

Srpska stranka u Dubrovniku teško se mogla održati i postati važnim čimbenikom oslanjajući se isključivo na gradske pravoslavce, pa stoga rade na širenju srbokatoličkog, a primjer je takve djelatnosti časopis *Gušterica*, tiskan 1882. U uvodu se, na metaforički način, prikazuje uspon Srba-katolika u Dubrovniku, usporedivši taj pokret s guštericom iz mjesne legende o Mihi Pracatu, koja se iz trećeg pokušaja uspjela popeti na zid. *Gušterica* je u svom kratkom vijeku promicala stavove Srpske stranke, opetovano ističući srpsku narodnost i srpski jezik dubrovačkih žitelja. Kako bi od Dubrovnika napravili srpski grad, ključnim je bilo pretvaranje njegovih katolika u Srbe-katolike.²⁴

U raznim dubrovačkim kulturnim, gospodarskim i ostalim društvima, Srbi-katolici postupno su stjecali sve veći utjecaj, istiskujući tako narodnjake. U takvim okolnostima, narodnjak Nikša Gradi, u strahu od rastuće snage srpskog pokreta, pokušava zamijeniti pojam „slovinstva“ jugoslavenstvom, pokušavajući tako pomiriti i ujediniti dva naroda. Tada je za srpsku stranku isticao kako je većinski čine pravoslavci te tek nekoliko ka-

21 *Ibid.*, str. 205. – 206.

22 Ivo PERIĆ, „Dubrovačko razdoblje političkog djelovanja Frana Supila“, str. 515.

23 Franko MIROŠEVIĆ, „Važan znanstveni prilog objašnjavaњу pojma „Srba-katolika“ u Dubrovniku“, str. 206.

24 Ivo PERIĆ, „Dubrovačko razdoblje političkog djelovanja Frana Supila“, str. 517. – 518.



tolika. Općenito, napadao je njihove pokušaje vrbovanja katolika, ističući kako to rade tek za kratkotrajnu korist, ali kako ih nikada neće prihvatiti kao prave Srbe, jer svoju narodnost povezuju s ćirilicom i pravoslavljem. Nakon ovakvih kritika, Gradi se, razočaran politikom svoje stranke, i sâm priklonio Srpskoj stranci te se izjasnio Srbinom-katolikom.²⁵

Iako je razdor bio očigledan, službeno se dogodio tek 1889., kada Srbi-katolici napuštaju Narodnu stranku i prelaze u redove Srpske stranke, netom pred izbore za Dalmatinski sabor, na kojima pobjeđuju narodnjaka Pera Čingriju. Takvi se rezultati mogu činiti iznenađujućima, kad se pogledaju brojevi glede udjela Srba i Srba-katolika u populaciji Dubrovnika, gdje čine tek 6% gradskog stanovništva. S druge strane, njihova je politička važnost itekako nadjačala njihovu brojnost. Uzroci se mogu pronaći u činjenici kako se Srpskoj stranci većinom priklanjala dubrovačka inteligencija u vidu Srba-katolika i utjecajni moćnici poput srpskih trgovaca te autonomaških službenika, a uživali su i potporu režimskih vlasti. Ne smije se pak zaboraviti istaknuti ni prevelika opuštenost i nebriga dubrovačkih narodnjaka koji su nedovoljno jasno shvatili prijetnju njihovih donedavnih srpskih stranačkih partnera.²⁶

Srbi-katolici, u koaliciji s autonomašima, 1890. osvajaju dubrovačku općinu, čime dolaze do svog političkog vrhunca te koriste svoj položaj kako bi identitetski preoblikovali Dubrovnik. Njegovu povijest tumačili su kroz srpsku prizmu, a krenuli su zadirati u mnoge gradske tradicije, pa čak i festu sv. Vlaha. Procesija je bila izmijenjena, hrvatski simboli, poput zastave i grba, bili su uklanjani, a hrvatsku glazbu zamijenila je srpska. Prvi značajniji događaj te vrste dogodio se 1892. godine, kada je vjernike iz Župe Dubrovačke dočekala srpska gradska muzika uz zvuke srpske koračnice. Uz to, pokušalo se spriječiti izvedbu hrvatske limene glazbe, što je izazvalo otpor u dijelu naroda koji je potom, tek uz pratnju hrvatske glazbe, krenuo u procesiju sa barjacima. Sljedeće godine srpske vlasti kreću još oštrije, poskidavši zastave s hrvatskim oznakama, u potpunosti spriječivši nastup hrvatske glazbe. Ipak, takvi su potezi ponovo izazvali negodovanje puka, poglavito iz okolnih mjesta koji je bojkotirao proslavu pa se, umjesto standardnih tridesetak barjaka, skupilo tek pet-šest.²⁷

25 *Ibid.*, str. 521.

26 Franko MIROŠEVIĆ, „Važan znanstveni prilog objašnjavanju pojma „Srba-katolika“ u Dubrovniku“, str. 206.

27 Barbara ĐURASOVIĆ, „Hrvatsko-srpski odnosi u središtu proslave blagdana svetog Vlaha u Dubrovniku (1891-1914)“, *Analiti Zavoda za povijesne znanosti Hrvatske akademije znanosti i umjetnosti u Dubrovniku*, No. 58, 2020., str. 285. – 288.



U Dubrovniku se sve više isticala srpska narodnost, u tolikoj mjeri da je to moralo izazvati reakcije s druge strane. Neki Srbi-katolici, poput Luja Vojnovića, ne priznaju hrvatsko državno pravo, ističući „srpstvo“ Dubrovnika i promičući općenito jednu radikalnu, ekspansionističku politiku. Pasivan način narodnjaka više nije bio dovoljan te dolazi do buđenja hrvatstva u dijelu građana i širenja pravaških zamisli. U Dubrovniku su 90-te godine 19. stoljeća obilježene sukobom pravaša okupljenih oko časopisa *Crvena Hrvatska* te Srpske stranke i njihova lista *Dubrovnik*.²⁸

Populaciju Srba-katolika u Dubrovniku većinom su činili gradski intelektualci i moćnici koji su se – bilo iz ideoloških, bilo iz ekonomskih razloga – počeli smatrati Srbima. Djelovali su za srpske nacionalne interese, ponajprije u smislu prisvajanja Dubrovnika u buduću srpsku državu i određivanju Dubrovčana kao Srba. Kao takvi, bili su u suprotnosti s temeljnim zamislama hrvatskog narodnog pokreta te žestoki protivnici sjedinjenja hrvatskih zemalja. Naglašavali su srpski karakter Dubrovnika te prisvajali njegovu bogatu kulturu i tradiciju, ponajprije dubrovačku književnost.²⁹ Ovakvi naponi Srba-katolika, kao što smo spomenuli, aktivirali su osobe s druge strane političkog spektra. U gradu dolazi do rađanja pravaštva, a, kao predvodnik tog preokreta, istaknuo se Frano Supilo.

Frano Supilo i mlado pravaštvo

Frano Supilo rodio se 30. studenoga 1870. u Cavtatu, središtu konavoske općine, pokraj Dubrovnika. Odrastao je u skromnoj, radničkoj obitelji, a otac Ivo bio je zidar. Nakon deset godina života u Cavtatu, obitelj se u potrazi za poslom i boljim uvjetima školovanja seli u Dubrovnik, gdje Supilo nastavlja pohađati osnovnu školu. Unatoč izvrsnim ocjenama, nije upisao gimnaziju, već građansku školu, trgovačko-obrtničkog smjera, jer je takav put vodio ka bržem pronalaženju posla kojim bi rasteretio obitelj.³⁰

U tim godinama, kada mladi Supilo stječe svoje obrazovanje i oblikuje svoje svjetonazore i političke zamisli, u Dalmaciji dolazi do širenja pravaštva. Zamisli Ante Starčevića i Eugena Kvaternika prodiru u

28 Franko MIROŠEVIĆ, „Važan znanstveni prilog objašnjavanju pojma „Srba-katolika“ u Dubrovniku“, str. 206. – 207.

29 *Ibid.*, str. 209. – 210.

30 Ivo PETRINOVIĆ, *Politička misao Frana Supila*, str. 17. – 18.



pokrajinu, prvenstveno radom Ive Prodana i njegovog lista *Katoličke Dalmacije*. Pokret će širenjem poprimati sve liberalnije elemente, ponajviše zahvaljujući činjenici što će okupljati mladu inteligenciju. Poseban zamah pravaškoj zamisli daje sjajan uspjeh Stranke prava na izborima za Hrvatski sabor 1884. kada osvajaju 24 mandata.³¹ Protu-austrijsko raspoloženje, jačanje srpske političke misli te nezadovoljstvo pasivnošću Narodne stranke, stvarali su u Dubrovniku plodno tlo za širenje pravaštva. U tomu prednjači srednjoškolska mladež, među kojom postaju sve popularnije pjesme domoljubnih autora, poput Augusta Harambašića. Spomenuti uspjeh pravaša na saborskim izborima utjecao je i na neke prvake Narodne stranke, između ostalih i na Pera Čingriju. Vidjevši rastući utjecaj Srpske stranke u svom gradu, Čingrija želi energičnije djelovanje i napuštanje krajnjeg oportunitizma.³²

Upravo je Pero Čingrija postao jednom od glavnih političkih osoba koja je utjecala na razvoj mladog Supila. Naime, Frano Supilo sprijateljio se sa Čingrijinim sinom, Melkom. Preko njega, došao je u doticaj s ocem Perom, od koga je, u političkom smislu, mogao dosta naučiti. Njihova su se druženja često odvijala i u obiteljskoj kući Čingrija, gdje je Supilo mogao pročitati razne knjige, časopise te, što je njemu bilo najzanimljivijim, zapise sjednica Dalmatinskog sabora. Tu je mogao iščitati stavove, ne samo Čingrijine, nego i ostalih zastupnika.³³

Promišljajući o političkoj stvarnosti, mladići su imali izrazito negativno mišljenje o središnjim vlastima u Beču te općenito o svemu austrijskom i habsburškom, što je rezultiralo osnivanjem tajnog društva, čija je svrha bila politička borba protiv austrijske države. Zajedno sa Nikolom Hellerom, Dragomirom Vučićem te Stjepanom Gjivićem osnovali su organizaciju pod geslom: „Dole sa svim što na Niemce sieća“. Društvu se ubrzo ponudila prilika svoje riječi pretvoriti u djela, a to su i učinili prilikom boravka prijestolonasljednika Rudolfa u Dubrovniku u ožujku 1885. godine. Prilikom svečanosti dočeka Rudolfa i njegove supruge, mladi buntovnici odbili su pozdraviti princa skidanjem kape, zbog čega su bili prijavljeni vlastima.³⁴

Usljedila je školska istraga, a na saslušanje bio je pozvan i Supilo. Priznao je krivicu za nepozdravljanje princa, kao i to da družba ima tajne sastanke u kući Čingrija. Rekao je kako je riječ o unaprijed dogo-

31 *Ibid.*, str. 20.

32 Ivo PERIĆ, „Dubrovačko razdoblje političkog djelovanja Frana Supila“, str. 524. – 525.

33 *Ibid.*, str. 526.

34 Ivo PETRINOVIĆ, *Politička misao Frana Supila*, str. 21.



vorenom planu i kako su se svi prisutni zakleli na hrvatsku trobojnicu. Na pitanje, što zna o Anti Starčeviću, Supilo odgovara kako je čitao o njemu u *Srpskom listu* i kako ga smatra pravednom osobom, borcem za hrvatska prava i protivnikom nagodbe s Ugarskom. Konačno, na pitanje, je li cijela akcija i društvo napravljeno iz dječake šale, odgovara kako je riječ o ozbiljnim poslovima i kako se zaista smatra Hrvatom, kao što bi trebao i svaki pravi Dubrovčanin. Iz svjedočenja ostalih sudionika, saznaje se kako je Supilo posjedovao trobojnicu s natpisima „Živio Starčević“ te „Bog i Hrvati“.³⁵ Na koncu, Supilo i njegovi kolege privremeno su isključeni iz škole zbog nepodobnih političkih djelatnosti. Iako je imao tek 15 godina, Supilo je već bio dobro upoznat sa Starčevićem programom i političkim okolnostima u zemlji, određivši jasno svoje stavove i misli, ponosno ponavljajući svoju nacionalnu pripadnost.³⁶ Također, ovakav protuaustrijski istup pokazuje ozračje koje se javlja među dubrovačkom mladeži, posebice s prodorom pravaštva. Na događaj je reagirala i druga strana, pa su pojedinci iz Srpske stranke optužili školski sustav za promicanje velikohrvatstva i Starčevića.³⁷

Završivši građansku školu, Supilo je svoje obrazovanje nastavio u sklopu Nautičke škole. Imao je želju, poput mnogih mladih Dubrovčana, postati pomorcem. Ipak, troškovi školovanja bili su pozamašni te je, nakon što mu je odbijen zahtjev za stipendiju, bio prisiljen napustiti školu. Premlad da pronađe kvalitetan posao, Supilo je to razdoblje života iskoristio za samostalnu naobrazbu. Posvetio se čitanju književnika poput Göthea, Giustija i Dostojevskog, ali i djela stručne i znanstvene naravi. Izobrazio se u politici i historiografiji, a osvrnuo se i na učenje stranih jezika, pa je tako ovladao talijanskim, engleskim i njemačkim jezikom.³⁸

I dalje je pozorno pratio zbivanja na dubrovačkoj političkoj sceni, gdje se odvijao sukob Narodne stranke te pristalica Srpske stranke i autonomaša. Tada je mogao posvjedočiti narodnjačkoj pobjedi na općinskim izborima 1886. Sljedeće godine, u Dubrovniku je osnovan Dalmatinski poljoprivredni zavod, s ciljem obrazovanja kadrova koji će potom unaprijediti poljoprivredne poslove seljaka u okolici grada. U novu se školu, posredstvom svog mentora Pera Čingrije, upisao i Frano Supilo. Ovaj je put uspio od cavtatske općine zadobiti stipendiju pa

35 Ivo PERIĆ, „Dubrovačko razdoblje političkog djelovanja Frana Supila“, str. 530.

36 Ivo PERIĆ, „Dubrovačko razdoblje političkog djelovanja Frana Supila“, str. 529. – 531.

37 Ivo PETRINOVIĆ, *Politička misao Frana Supila*, str. 23.

38 Ivo PERIĆ, „Dubrovačko razdoblje političkog djelovanja Frana Supila“, str. 543. – 544.



je uspješno mogao nastaviti školovanje. Nakon dvije godine, školu je završio s izvrsnim uspjehom te se odmah zaposlio u istoj. Djelovao je kao prefekt, ali i kao putujući učitelj i terenski stručnjak u borbi protiv peronospore. To mu je iskustvo omogućilo upoznati se s okolnim narodom te dobiti uvid u njihova razmišljanja i probleme, što će mu itekako pomoći u budućem političkom životu. Na prvom poslu zadržao se tek do 1890., kada ulazi u sukob s kolegom i jednim od osnivača škole, Franom Gondolom. Gondola, kao kandidat Srpske stranke na saborskim izborima, predstavljao je Supilu očitog političkog protivnika. Među dvojicom došlo je do napetosti, pa je Supilo stoga, pod isprikom bolesti, zatražio razrješenje dužnosti.³⁹

Između njega i Gondole zasigurno je bilo došlo do nesuglasica, djelomice i zbog Supilova čestog boravka u Dubrovačkoj narodnoj čitaonici. Naime, nova je čitaonica 1887. počela s djelovanjem i postala mjesto okupljanja dubrovačkih Hrvata, kao odgovor na staru štionicu, koja je bila u rukama srpskih pristaša. Kao učenik, tamo još nije mogao zalaziti, ali čim je završio školovanje, Supilo je postao čestim gostom čitaonice. Kao član, tamo je navraćao i Pero Čingrija, s kojim Supilo vodi duge razgovore te od starijeg političara usvaja njegovu odmjerenost, smirenost te razna korisna iskustva iz svijeta politike. Iako se dvojac nije u svemu slagao, na političkoj razini Supilo je znao istaknuti kako mu je Čingrija bio pravim mentorom, čak i više od Ante Starčevića. Ipak, valja naglasiti kako je Supilo s razlogom postao pravašom, a ne narodnjakom, jer su Starčevićeve zamisli o slobodnoj, ujedinjenoj Hrvatskoj i ostvarenju punog državnog prava, ipak glavna misao-vodilja Supilove politike. Čingrijin utjecaj očitavao se pak u većem uvažavanju srpskog naroda i suradnji svih političkih struja na ostvarenju hrvatske političke misli kao zajedničkog cilja.⁴⁰

Ostali utjecaji na njegovu političku misao dolazili su od strane liberalizma nekih narodnjaka, kojim je ublažio radikalizam banovinska pravaštva. Liberalne zamisli zapravo su poticale iz Italije, od prvaka *risorgimenta*, pod vodstvom Giuseppea Mazzinija i Camilloa Cavoura, podjednako kao što je očigledan utjecaj Josipa Juraja Strossmayera glede kulturnog razvitka hrvatskog naroda te Mihovila Pavlinovića, aktivna borca za hrvatsko državno pravo.⁴¹ Ipak, ključni događaj, koji je odveo Supila prema aktivnijem bavljenju politikom i pravaškoj zami-

39 Ivo PETRINOVIĆ, *Politička misao Frana Supila*, str. 23. – 24.

40 Ivo PERIĆ, „Dubrovačko razdoblje političkog djelovanja Frana Supila“, str. 533. – 534.

41 Ivo PETRINOVIĆ, *Politička misao Frana Supila*, str. 25.



sli, spomenuta je pobjeda srpsko-autonomaške koalicije na općinskim izborima 1890. Narodnjaci su ostali u oporbi, pa su stoga bili krenuli u povezivanje s novom političkom snagom u gradu – s pravašima. Iako malobrojni, isticali su se s nekoliko doista utjecajnih članova, poput Roka Mišetića, liječnika i ravnatelja dubrovačke bolnice, te naravno, Frana Supila. Upravo su Supilo i njegov mentor Pero Čingrija, jedan s pravaške, drugi s narodnjačke strane, predstavljali ključne osobe glede suradnje i sloge između dvaju skupina.⁴²

Nakon uspjeha srpsko-autonomaške koalicije, ponovo je bila zaživjela stara želja narodnjaka o pokretanju vlastita lista, kojim bi širili svoje političke stavove, suptostavljajući se političkim suparnicima. Tražeći osobu za posao urednika, većina narodnjačkih prvaka bila je otpisana – što zbog dobi, što zbog vlastitih obveza – a narodnjaci i pravaši iz svećeničkih redova nisu pak bili podobni za takav posao. S pravaške strane, spomenuti Mišetić bio je prezauzet svojim liječničkim zanimanjem, a od ostatka mladog pravaštva istaknuo se Frano Supilo. Posjedovao je potreban umjetnički talent, radne navike i sposobnost za pokretanje jednog takvog lista, a dodatno ga je izdvajala njegova energičnost u pristupanju projektu. Kao borac za hrvatska prava, liberalnih načela, bio je prihvatljiv i pravašima i narodnjacima. Ključna u cijelom procesu bila je i činjenica da se Supilo zadovoljio i skromnijom plaćom, što njemu nije predstavljalo osobit problem.⁴³

Iako je zamisao o pokretanju lista stigla s obiju strana, na kraju je list bio tiskan kao organ dubrovačkih pravaša. Naziv lista *Crvena Hrvatska* bio je uzet iz *Ljetopisa popa Dukljanina*, gdje se južnu Dalmaciju naziva tim imenom. Time se htjela iskazati pripadnost Dubrovnika Hrvatskoj. Novi list, prema Supilovim zamislima, bit će odraz umjerenog pravaštva, nasuprot nekim nerealnim ekstremizmima banovinske Stranke prava. Glavna misao koju je časopis trebao podupirati jest sjeđinjenje hrvatskih zemalja i ostvarenje hrvatskog državnog prava. List se trebao financirati isplatom obveznica, a jamstvo je, a time i rizik financiranja časopisa, Supilo preuzeo na sebe. U pomaganju časopisu, istaknuo se i Josip Juraj Strossmayer, kojeg je Supilo u pismu obavijestio o novom listu, gdje se ponovo vidi odmak od Starčevićevih zamisli. Napokon, prvi broj *Crvene Hrvatske* izašao je 7. veljače 1891. godine, a, kao glavni urednik i izdavač, potpisan je Frano Supilo.⁴⁴

42 *Ibid.*, str. 26.

43 Ivo PERIĆ, „Dubrovačko razdoblje političkog djelovanja Frana Supila“, str. 551. – 552.

44 Ivo PETRINOVIĆ, *Politička misao Frana Supila*, str. 26. – 27.



U uvodnom programu prvog broja, Supilo je započeo s mišlju kako cijelim svijetom vlada jedan zakon – borba za opstanak. Razlog zbog čega je hrvatski narod bio prisiljen krenuti u tu borbu, vidio je u napadu na hrvatsko pravo na slobodu i državu od strane donedavne „plemenske braće“, odnosno Srba. Isticao je kako je Hrvatima, kao malom narodu srpska pomoć dobrodošla, no pokazalo se, kako od pokušaja sloge i suradnje sa Srbima nema ništa. Potom se obratio Dubrovniku, kojem daruje ovaj časopis, kako bi ponovo probudio staru hrvatsku tradiciju i učinio ga „krunom hrvatskih gradova“, optužujući onodobnu vlast što su ha otrgnuli grad od Hrvatske, od njegove slavne hrvatske tradicije i kulture. Kao glavnu zadaću časopisa, Supilo je istaknuo obranu hrvatske državne misli i ujedinjenje hrvatskih zemalja, temeljem povijesnog državnog prava.⁴⁵

Crvena Hrvatska objavljivala je kratke vijesti iz grada i okolice, važnije novosti iz ostatka Dalmacije i Banske Hrvatske, prikaze članaka iz ostalih političkih glasila, recenzije raznih knjiga, životopise, kao i redovitu humorističnu kolumnu. Ipak, najcjenjenijim bili su njezini politički članci, čiji je autor nerijetko bio sâm Supilo, a koji su potvrdili njegovo novinarsko umijeće i učenost. Njegove članke prenosili su i drugi listovi, poput časopisa *Hrvatska*, glasila Stranke prava, *Obzora*, glasila Narodne neodvisne stranke i zadarskog *Narodnog lista*.⁴⁶ *Crvena Hrvatska* postala je glavnim sredstvom kojim su Supilo i njegovi politički istomišljenici napadali srpsku-autonomašku vlast u gradu te je njezino izdavanje bio uvodom u sukob za prevlast u Dubrovniku koji je potrajao gotovo cijelo desetljeće.

Borba za općinsku vlast i konačna pobjeda 1899.

U daljnjim političkim aktivnostima, Supilo se posebno zalagao za zajedništvo narodnjaka i pravaša, jer je u tome vidio jedini način kojim bi se mogla nadjačati srpsko-talijanaška koalicija. To je ujedinjenje Supilo prozvao „Hrvatskom strankom u Dubrovniku“. U ožujku 1891. dolazi do izbora za Carevinsko vijeće u Beču, na kojima se vidi službena suradnja dviju strana. Hrvatskim kandidatom bio je Lovro Borčić, splitski narodnjak. Ipak, unatoč zajedništvu pravaša i narodnjaka, u Dubrovniku je pobijedio srpsko-autonomaški kandidat Marin Bondada. Supilo je optužio vlasti kako izbori nisu pravilno sprovedeni i za

45 *Crvena Hrvatska*, god. 1, br. 1, (7. 2. 1891.)

46 Ivo PERIĆ, „Uloga pravaša u osvajanju općinske uprave u Dubrovniku 1890. – 1899.“, str. 144.



koruptivne djelatnosti. Svakako, istaknuo je snagu novog zajedništva pravaša i narodnjaka, koja je podignula razinu hrvatske misli među dubrovačkim građanstvom.⁴⁷

U kolovozu 1891. bila je organiziran Gospodarska-šumarska izložba u Zagrebu, povodom proslave 50. godišnjice Hrvatsko-slavonskog gospodarskog društva. Skupina uzvanika pristigla je i iz Dubrovnika, mahom pravaši i narodnjaci, na čelu sa Supilom. Iako gospodarske naravi, izložba je imala i politički značaj, zbog njezina hrvatska karaktera, izložaka i posjetitelja iz svih hrvatskih krajeva koji su time iskazali svoje jedinstvo.⁴⁸ Od još većeg značaja bila je organizacija velike svečanosti otkrivanja spomenika Ivanu Gunduliću u Dubrovniku. Trodnevna festa bila se trebala održati od 25. do 27. lipnja 1893. Krenula je velika borba hrvatske i srpske strane. Naime, cilj i jednih i drugih bio je pozvati što više svojih pristaša, kako bi svečanost dobila hrvatsko političko obilježje, odnosno srpsko s druge strane. U toj borbi, uvjerljivo su pobjedu odnijele hrvatske stranke, pravaši i narodnjaci, koristeći se svojim mnogobrojnim poznanstvima i utjecajima. Od niza Hrvata koji su stigli mogu se istaknuti umjetnici i znanstvenici August Harambašić, Eugen Kumičić, Ante Tresić Pavičić, Franjo Rački, Tadija Smičiklas, Frane Bulić, Ivan Rendić, Franjo Kuhač, kao i mnogobrojni saborski zastupnici iz svih hrvatskih sabora Miho Klaić, Juraj Biankini, Josip Frank, Gajo Filomen Bulat i mnoštvo drugih. Okupilo se i pučanstvo iz Konavala, Župe dubrovačke, Dubrovačkog primorja, Pelješca i otoka, u svojim narodnim nošnjama. Pristigle su i limene glazbe iz nekoliko dalmatinskih gradova koje su svirale hrvatske rodoljubne pjesme, a koje su, uz hrvatske zastave, narodne plesove i tradicionalna plesna kola, stvorile osobito ozračje proslave hrvatske narodne baštine. Dubrovnik je pokazao kako se nacionalno uistinu osjeća. S druge strane, Srpska stranka doživjela je potpuni neuspjeh. Uza sve financijske mogućnosti, doveli su tek nekoliko uvaženijih uzvanika te su doživjeli sramotan poraz u gradu kojim su, teoretski, vladali.⁴⁹

U svibnju 1894. održani su novi općinski izbori na kojima su se suočile pravaško-narodnjačka i srpsko-autonomaška koalicija. Izborni odbor sačinjavali su jedino članovi srpsko-talijanaške koalicije, što je rezultiralo time da je mnogim pristašama druge strane bilo zabranjeno

47 Ivo PETRINOVIĆ, *Politička misao Frana Supila*, str. 30.

48 Ivo PERIĆ, „Uloga pravaša u osvajanju općinske uprave u Dubrovniku 1890. – 1899.“, str. 144.

49 Ivo PERIĆ, „Uloga pravaša u osvajanju općinske uprave u Dubrovniku 1890. – 1899.“, str. 145. – 146.



glasovanje zbog različitih formalnosti (pr. netko je upisan na listu kao *Niko* umjesto *Nikola*). Dolazilo je i do podmićivanja i stvaranja pritiska na birače te koruptivnih djelatnosti prilikom prebrojavanja glasova. Zbog svega navedenog, pravaši i narodnjaci podigli su tužbu nadležnom Namjesništvu, koje je pronašlo nepravilnosti na izborima u trećem izbornom tijelu. Izbori su se ponovili samo za to tijelo te je pravaško-narodnjačka koalicija odnijela uvjerljivu pobjedu. Ipak, za prvo i drugo izbornu tijelo, izbori se nisu ponovili te ostaje na snazi pobjeda Srba i autonomaša, koji i dalje, dvotrećinskom većinom, drže općinu u svojim rukama. Ipak, pravaši i narodnjaci nameću se u vijeću kao oštra i aktivna oporba.⁵⁰ Tijesan poraz, usprkos izbornim malverzacijama, i nesloga koja je izbila između članova Srpske stranke i Autonomaške stranke, dala je krila pravašima koji 1895. osnivaju Hrvatsku radničku zadrugu. Jedan od osnivača bio je i Frano Supilo, a svrha je stvaranje radničkog društva, kroz koje bi se iznosila hrvatska misao te pravaške zamisli, čime bi pridobili šire slojeve pučanstva za njihove političke ciljeve.⁵¹

Istodobno, na dalmatinskoj političkoj sceni dolazi do rasta napetosti između pravaša i narodnjaka. Sukob se odvija u siječnju 1895., u Dalmatinskom saboru, glede konačnog slanja adrese kralju, sa zahtjevom ujedinjenja Dalmacije i Hrvatske. Pravaši su, naravno, zdušno podržali ovaj prijedlog, dok se s narodnjačke strane ponovo pojavio oportunizam i bojazan od takva agresivna zahtjeva i posljedica koje bi mogao izazvati. Takve razlike u stavovima bile su jednim od uzroka što se među dalmatinskim pravašima javila zamisao o ujedinjenju u jedinstvenu, samostalnu stranku pod imenom Stranka prava u Dalmaciji.⁵² Ona je i službeno osnovana u kolovozu 1894., sjedinjenjem pravaških skupina iz Zadra, Splita i Dubrovnika, kojima se priključio i Hrvatski klub. Godinu kasnije, 17. srpnja, održala se velika pravaška skupština u Zagrebu prigodom svečanosti predaje Starčevićeva doma Anti Starčeviću. Na skupštini je bila donesena odluka o okupljanju svih pravaša s hrvatskih prostora u jedinstvenu Stranku prava. U Središnji odbor nove, jedinstvene stranke izabran je i Supilo. Ipak, to jedinstvo, barem u Banskoj Hrvatskoj, nije dugo potrajalo.⁵³

Izbori za Dalmatinski sabor 1895. završili su pobjedom narodnjaka

50 *Ibid.*, str. 146. – 147.

51 Ivo PETRINOVIĆ, *Politička misao Frana Supila*, str. 34.

52 *Ibid.*, str. 34. – 35.

53 Ivo PERIĆ, „Uloga pravaša u osvajanju općinske uprave u Dubrovniku 1890. – 1899.“, str. 147



koji su dobili 22 mandata, dok su se pravaši morali zadovoljiti s tek tri mandata. Srpska stranka u sabor je ušla s 10, a autonomaši sa 6 zastupnika. Na izborima je došlo do suradnje Srba i narodnjaka, što se osjetilo i u Dubrovniku, gdje su mnogi Srbi glasovali za narodnjačke kandidate, koji su osvojili svih pet mogućih mandata. To je izazvalo privremene napetosti među pravašima i narodnjacima, koji su, ohrabreni uspjehom, razmišljali o samostalnom povratku općine, bez pomoći pravaša. Pravaši su čak razmatrali zamisao o svojoj vlastitoj čitaonici, no strasti su se ipak smirile te su ostali i dalje zajedno s narodnjacima u Dubrovačkoj narodnoj čitaonici.⁵⁴

Nove probleme izazvala je suradnja narodnjaka, sad Narodne hrvatske stranke, i Srpske stranke pred izbore za Carevinsko vijeće 1897. U tom smislu, Supilo se u svom časopisu osvrće na taktiku protuhrvatskih struja, u kojima se trude zapostaviti i izbrisati hrvatsko ime, korištenjem regionalnih odrednica, umjesto zajedničkog hrvatskog naziva. Supilo takve konstrukte drži pogubnim u kontekstu stvaranja homogene hrvatske nacije, čime se zapostavlja prirodno pravo svakog naroda na ostvarenje nacionalne države. U skladu s tim, nije pokazivao ni najmanju sklonost o Dubrovniku govoriti kao o „slovinskom“ ili „srpskom“ gradu, pa čak niti njegove stanovnike nazivati samo Dubrovčanima, već isključivo Hrvatima, a grad je držao hrvatskim.⁵⁵

Unatoč nekim neslaganjima s narodnjacima, Supilo je i dalje bio uvjeren u potrebu međusobne suradnje, smatraвши kako samo ujedinjenim snagama, hrvatske političke struje mogu ostvariti hrvatsku političku misao, što je za Supila u prvom planu predstavljalo sjedinjenje hrvatskih zemalja i ostvarenje suverene države u okviru Habsburške Monarhije. Primijetio je povijest neslaganja i sukoba među hrvatskim vodstvom koje je dovodilo do pogibeljnih okolnosti za Hrvatsku, stoga želi izbjeći ponavljanje istih pogrešaka. Iako je na razini Dalmacije njegov plan o suradnji narodnjaka i pravaša bio teže provediv, u Dubrovniku je doveo do uspjeha. Naime, vođa dubrovačkih narodnjaka i dalje je bio Pero Čingrija, koji je na pravaše više gledao kao na odvojeno krilo Narodne stranke, nego kao zasebnu političku skupinu. Imajući u vidu prijateljski odnos Čingrije i Supila, ne čudi savez ovih dviju stranaka, koje više javno ne nastupaju kao odvojene organizacije, nego zajednički, kao dubrovački Hrvati. U takvim okolnostima spremno do-

54 Ivo PERIĆ, „Dubrovačko razdoblje političkog djelovanja Frana Supila“, str. 582. – 583.

55 *Crvena Hrvatska*, god. 7, br. 3, (16. 1. 1897.)



čekuju općinske izbore 1899., novu priliku za osvajanje vlasti iz ruku Srbo-katolika i talijanaša.⁵⁶

Srpsko-autonomaška koalicija očekivala je ponovno postaviti svoje ljude u izborni odbor, čime bi si opet osigurala pobjedu. Međutim, dalmatinsko Namjesništvo odlučilo se protiv toga. Poučeni iskustvom prošlih izbora, koji su se zbog nepravilnosti bili morali djelomice i ponavljati, odlučili su poslati svog čovjeka kao neutralnog povjerenika, koji će organizirati izbore i pobrinuti se da sve proteče po zakonu. Koalicija Srba i autonomaša nije reagirala s odobravanjem na taj čin, uvjereni kako bez potrebnih malverzacija, podmićivanja i krivotvorenja, neće biti u stanju pobijediti na izborima. Savez je ionako bio na klimavim nogama, stoga su konačno odlučili ne pristupiti izborima. Koalicija se ubrzo raspala. Izbori su zatim održani od 24. do 28. srpnja 1899. Na njih su, bez protivnika, zajednički izašli narodnjaci i pravaši, koji su time osvojili mandate u sva tri izborna tijela. Supilo i Čingrija, kao vođe svojih stranaka, izabrani su u treće izborna tijelo. Tako je nakon devet godina dubrovačka općina ponovno na svom čelu imala hrvatske snage, ujedinjenu koaliciju pravaša i narodnjaka. Kao novi načelnik bio je izabran Pero Čingrija.⁵⁷

U *Crvenoj Hrvatskoj*, nekoliko dana prije izbora, kada se već znalo za odustajanje srpsko-talijanaške koalicije, Supilo se obraća dubrovačkom pučanstvu. Navodi razloge odustajanja svojih protivnika, ističući njihovu nemogućnost održavanja na vlasti, čak i onim jedinim načinom „s kojim se još mogahu uzdržati – nasilje.“ Nadalje ih oštro kritizira i proziva za obmanu stanovnika grada i na njihov bijeg od izbornog poraza. O sebi i svojim političkim partnerima piše: „...evo nas pred narod, da mu gledamo oči u oči, vedra čela, neokaljane zastave i da mu kažemo: Narode, mi ti dolazimo kao Hrvati (...) Ako se odazoveš našem glasu, ti ćeš potvrditi, da si ono što smo i mi, da si Hrvat i da je ova naša gruda, na kojoj živemo hrvatska zemlja.“ Ponosan je što se Dubrovnik osvijestio i što u njemu ponovno vlada hrvatska misao. Dubrovnik je opet postao, kako kaže, „kruna hrvatskih gradova“.⁵⁸

56 Ivo PETRINOVIĆ, *Politička misao Frana Supila*, str. 37.

57 Ivo PERIĆ, „Uloga pravaša u osvajanju općinske uprave u Dubrovniku 1890. – 1899.“, str. 148. – 149.

58 *Crvena Hrvatska*, god. 9, br. 27 (22. 7. 1899.)

Prilozi


1. Izvadak iz uvodnog programa prvog broja *Crvene Hrvatske*: (7. 2. 1891.)

Eto ti hrvatski narode, a naosob tebi, o slavni naš Dubrovniče, „Crvene Hrvatske“! Ime joj samo kaže šta je. Duhom, težnjom i osjećajem ona je hrvatska, čisto hrvatska. Prijeka nužda nju je evo stvorila, posred tebe o hrvatska Ateno! Pod njezinim barjakom željet je da se okupiš, ona ima bit glasilo tvojih misli, čist odjek tvojih osjećaja. Ona će nastojat da pobudi iznova u tebi, o mili grade, dragi spomen „hrvatske starine“; da te sve to više primakne krilu onih Hrvata, koji sred „Bijele Hrvatske“, odavna slove imenom, znanjem i junaštvom; onih Hrvata koji se tobom ponose, koji od tebe dosta očekuju, koji otkriše slavu i učenost starih tvojih genija i pjesnika, čijoj se časnoj sjeni svi Hrvati klanjaju. Ime hrvatsko, kojim se ponosi „Crvena Hrvatska“ nema da ti bude zazorno, o Dubrovniče! Hrvatsko je ime slavno ime, hrvatska je misao rodoljubna misao, dostojna tebe, o Dubrovniče! Za hrvatsku misao ti si se borio od kada si stupio na poprište narodne borbe, pa sve do najnovijeg doba, do časa, kad ti šaka ljudi, najprije čini zamrzjet na sve što je hrvatsko, opisujući ti Hrvata najcrnijim bojama, pa te onda zavede u srpsko-talijansko kolo da igraš nedičnu za te ulogu megju slavenskim gradovima. Hrvatskim su se imenom ponosili, o Dubrovniče, slavni tvoji pregji; hrvatsku su misao zagovarali dični i značajni ljudi, tvoji veliki dobrotvori, čiju si smrt nedavno oplakivao. Što te može nagnati da se otimlješ hrvatskome imenu?⁵⁹

2. Izvadak iz *Crvene Hrvatske*, nekoliko dana prije pobjede pravaša i narodnjaka na općinskim izborima: (22. 7. 1899.)

Jer bi se onda još bolje mogla da istakne ništetnost naših protivnika, koji bi nama dali lijepu prigodu, da ih, sada kad je narod progledao i osvijestio se, pobrojimo i da sada tvarno i eklatantno odgovorimo na glasovit upit, koji nazad osam godina postavismo u ovomu listu: „Dubrovčani jesu li Hrvati? Ipak cijenimo, da odgovor na ovo pitanje oni nam ga već dadoše svojim junačkim bijegom“ (...) Mjeste da uvide svoju pogrešku i da pristupe u narodno kolo, oni nam naviještaju daljni rat. E pa dobro! Mi ga evo ravnodušno primamo. Jer kao što smo znali časovito izgubljeno poštenjem i pravicom opet steć, tako ćemo ga – vjera i Bog! – znati i braniti. A naš mili hiljadugodišnji Dubrovnik evo se nakon devetgodišnjeg lutanja opet vraća u historičnu svoju kolotečinu, da bude na diku roda i doma, uzor hrvatske svijesti, i izgled gojenja i njegovanja

59 *Crvena Hrvatska*, god. 1, br. 1. (7. 2. 1891.)



hrvatskog jezika; da bude prvi među jednakim, da se pokaže dostojnim starodrevnoga i dičnoga imena: krune hrvatskih gradova.⁶⁰

Zaključak

Općinska uprava u Dubrovniku pala je 1890. u ruke ujedinjene srpsko-autonomaške koalicije. Razloge tog pada treba tražiti u sve većoj pasivnosti i oportunističkom do tada neupitno vladajućem Narodnom stranku. Također, Srpska stranka doživljava svojevrsan polet širenjem fenomena Srba-katolika među dubrovačkom inteligencijom. Uvjereni u zamisli Vuka Karadžića, prihvaćaju misao kako su Dubrovčani zapravo Srbi, samo katoličke vjeroispovijesti. Zamisao je naišla na plodno tlo, u smislu onodobnog protuaustrijskog raspoloženja dijela dubrovačkog stanovništva te zamisli o Srbiji kao kakvom „južnoslavenskom Pijemontu“, koja će oko sebe okupiti zemlje Južnih Slavena. Također, pokretu su pristupali razni poduzetnici i poslovjnaci koji su u sklopu te skupine vidjeli prostor za ostvarenje vlastitih privatnih interesa. Zamisao Srba-katolika proširila se među skupinom intelektualaca i moćnika, što je davalo ideološku potporu Srpskoj stranci, a sama koalicija uživala je veliku financijsku potporu mnogobrojnih srpskih i talijanskih trgovaca, kao i podršku vladajućeg režima, što joj je omogućavalo održavanje na vlasti gotovo cijelo desetljeće. S jačanjem srpske ideologije, u Dubrovniku se istodobno bude hrvatske misli, ponajprije djelovanjem skupine mladih pravaša koji dolaze do izražaja usred pasivnosti narodnjaka. Na čelu pravaša uskoro se istaknuo Frano Supilo. Svojim upornim radom i političkom inteligencijom, Supilo je uspio pridonijeti preporodu hrvatske nacionalne svijesti i okretanju pučanstva protiv srpsko-autonomaške vlasti. Srbokatolički pokret ubrzo se rasplinuo, a vladajuća koalicija nikada nije ni imala osobitu potporu običnog građanstva. Svojim djelovanjem u časopisu *Crvena Hrvatska* te suradnjom s Narodnom strankom, Supilo uspijeva dobiti političku borbu te koalicija pravaša i narodnjaka 1899. vraća općinu u hrvatske ruke.

60 *Crvena Hrvatska*, god. 9, br. 27 (22. 7. 1899.)



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FRANO SUPILO AND THE CONQUEST OF THE DUBROVNIK MUNICIPALITY IN 1899

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This work portrays the political circumstances in Dubrovnik at the end of the 19th century. Firstly, the general political conditions in the city in the second half of the 19th century, that is to say the period when the People's Party was in power in the Dubrovnik Municipality, are presented. The work portrays both the Autonomist Party and the Serbian Party, which together won the elections in 1890. The next chapter explains the Serb-Catholic phenomenon, which contributed to the popularity and influence of the Serbian Party. The evolution of the Dubrovnik Serb-Catholic Movement is also described, from its roots until the conquest of the Dubrovnik Municipality. Furthermore, the paper deals with Frano Supilo and, through his childhood and youth, follows his ideological development, which takes place parallel to the rise of young Party of Right movement. The paper analyses how Supilo stood out as a leader of the Party of Rights and describes their political activity in the magazine Red Croatia. Finally, the paper concludes with an overview of the struggle for municipal power between the Serbian Party and the Autonomous Party on the one hand, and the Party of Rights and the People's Party on the other, which ends with the return of the municipality to Croatian rule.

Keywords: Frano Supilo, Dubrovnik, Party of Rights, People's Party, Serb-Catholics

Introduction

In the 1890s, Dubrovnik found itself in a politically quite intriguing situation. Namely, after the long-term rule of the People's Party¹, the municipal administration was no longer in Croatian hands. In power was in the hands of a coalition of the Serbian Party and the Autono-

1 Translator's note: Members of the People's Party are referred to as 'narodnjaci' in Croatian, meaning 'those of the people'. The term 'People's Party' and the phrase 'members of the People's Party' are often used in the translation to denote the Croatian term 'narodnjaci' in the original text, for the purpose of greater clarity.



mist Party². The purpose of this work is to present the local politics of the city of Dubrovnik, including the rise of the Serbo-autonomist coalition, with a special emphasis on the phenomenon of Serb-Catholics that took root among a part of the population. The work will also explain the decline of the People's Party, their years of passivity, as well as their resurgence. That rise, however, was fuelled by the rise of the followers of the Party of Rights³ and their champion, Frano Supilo. Supilo will be the main figure of this work, and through his early activities in Dubrovnik, the goal of this work is to show how the political life in the city evolved, through the activities, alliances and conflicts of the four main political options: the People's Party, the autonomists, the Serbian Party and the Party of Rights. Finally, the paper looks at Supilo's politics and attacks on the Serbo-autonomist rule, his work through the magazine *Red Croatia*, and explains his role and the role of Dubrovnik branch of the Party of Rights in conquering the municipality, after almost a decade of rule of the Serbo-autonomist coalition.

The general situation in Dubrovnik

In the 19th century, Dubrovnik found itself in an utterly new and completely unusual situation. Its centuries-old independence was suddenly interrupted in 1808, and since then it has been building its political path as part of the province of Dalmatia. As the old centre of the early medieval Kingdom of Croatia, it saw its main goal in the union with Civil Croatia-Slavonia⁴, that is to say in the restoration of territorial, political and all other aspects of integrity. However, the authorities in Vienna and Budapest would not be satisfied with such an

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- 2 TN: The 'Autonomist Party' and 'autonomists' stand for 'those Italians in Dalmatia, Dubrovnik and Istria who believed that these lands belong to Italy and should be united with Italy or at least have a degree of autonomy'. They are called 'talijanaši' in Croatian or 'pro-Italians' in English.
- 3 TN: The Party of Rights was a party founded by Dr Ante Starčević in 1861, with the aim of fighting for Croatian unity, freedom and independence, which Starčević believed to be the historical and legal right of the Croats, as they have never given up their state independence, but rather elected their sovereigns as their heads of state. The party's name stems from the term 'hrvatsko državno pravo' or the 'Croatian state law'. (See: *TN: Croatian state law*.) The followers of the Party of Rights are called 'pravaši' in Croatian and the party's name was often used in the translation to denote this term.
- 4 TN: 'Civil Croatia-Slavonia' stands for 'Banska Hrvatska' in Croatian and the original text of this work and denotes the area of northern Croatia around Zagreb and modern-day Slavonia to the east, where the Croatian ban could exercise civil authority. It is another name for the Kingdom of Croatia under Habsburg rule (1527-1868).



outcome, and thus the struggle for unification became the main aspect of Croatian politics. Dubrovnik joined the battle, vigorously fighting for unification, among other things because it would suit its economic interests. Moreover, among the champions of the People's Party in Dalmatia, the leaders of the unification option, were Miho Klaić and Juraj Pulić from Dubrovnik.⁵

This is how the ideas of the People's Party spread to Dubrovnik at the local level, where their main opponents, as in the whole of Dalmatia, were the autonomists. In the municipal elections of 1865, the Autonomist Party achieved an absolute victory in the midst of the withdrawal from the elections by the People's Party, due to violent pressure from the authorities. However, thanks to the reorganization and energy of the Dubrovnik members of the People's Party, under the leadership of Pero Čingrija and Rafo Pucić, in the next municipal elections in 1869, the autonomists suffered a complete defeat – out of 537 voters who went to the polls, as many as 526 gave their trust to the People's Party, and, as the first mayor from the People's Party, Rafo Pucić was elected to office.⁶

The electoral victory had an immediate effect. On the one hand, on a larger, symbolic level, it showed the other Dalmatian cities that the autonomists are not invincible, while on the other hand, the concrete naturalisation of the municipality and its offices began. A great success was the introduction of the Croatian language as the educational language in the first and second grades in the Dubrovnik gymnasium, which was achieved as early as 1869. That same year, the Dubrovnik Maritime Society was founded.⁷

1870 was a turning point on the Dalmatian political scene. Namely, elections were held for the Dalmatian Parliament, and the People's Party won the elections. After this success, the party turns to the political opportunism. The party's leadership hoped that a close relationship with Vienna, in which it tried to "indulge", so to say, to the regime's authorities, would ultimately lead to the realisation of its provincial

5 Ivo PERIĆ, "The Role of the Party of Rights in the Conquest of the Municipal Administration in Dubrovnik 1890 – 1899", *The Party of Rights in Croatian Political and Cultural Life at the Crossroad of Two Centuries* (edited by Zdravka Jelaska Marijan and Zlatko Matijević), Croatian Institute of History, Zagreb, 2013, p. 135 – 136

6 Ivo PERIĆ, *Political Portrait of Pero Čingrija*, University of Zagreb - Institute of Croatian History, Zagreb, 1979, p. 136 – 137

7 Ivo PERIĆ, *Political Portraits from the Dalmatian Past*, The Literary Circle, Split, 1990, p. 138 – 140



interests.⁸ In the parliamentary elections, Dubrovnik was no exception. Moreover, the People's Party won as many as four out of a possible five mandates, while the autonomists had to settle for one seat. This led to the polarisation of Dubrovnik society. Most of the nobility and the population gathered around the People's Party. On the other side were the autonomists, the conservatives, who, due to Vienna's fear of the increasing popularity of the populists, enjoyed the support of the central authorities and its powerful bureaucracy.⁹

In the 1870s, the struggle ended with a landslide victory of the People's Party. Their candidate Rafo Pucić was elected mayor for the third time and, in the parliamentary elections of 1876, all five mandates from Dubrovnik were occupied by members of the People's Party.¹⁰ In the rest of Dalmatia as well, the autonomists suffered defeats, and at one point it seemed that they would cease to represent any political factor, but they were saved from completely disappearing from the scene by their alliance with the Serbian Party.¹¹

Namely, the conflict, which, for a long time, had been simmering between Croats and Serbs, now escalated. The reason was the Austro-Hungarian occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina. There was a discussion whether these lands belong to the Croatian or the Serbian national corpus. In 1879, there was an official split and the Serbs separated and founded their own Serbian Party. The difference in viewpoints is best seen in the work of their party newspapers. *The People's Newspaper*, as the voice of the People's Party, highlights the demand for the unification of the Croatian territory and the fulfilment of Croatia's historical right to statehood. On the other hand, on the pages of *The Serbian Newspaper*, the wish of the Serbs in the Monarchy is visible, the wish for all the Serbian people to gather within one Serbian state. Thus, the creation of two, mutually opposed, state-building thoughts took place. Hence the Serbian Party became a fierce opponent of the unification of Dalmatia with Croatia. Consequently, this led them towards an alliance with the autonomists.¹² This cooperation was based only on this one common element. If we take a

8 Ivo PERIĆ, "The Role of the Party of Rights in the Conquest of the Municipal Administration in Dubrovnik 1890 – 1899", p. 136

9 Ivo PERIĆ, *Political Portraits from the Dalmatian Past*, The Literary Circle, Split, 1990, p. 140 – 141

10 *Ibid.*, p. 146

11 Ivo PERIĆ, "The Role of the Party of Rights in the Conquest of the Municipal Administration in Dubrovnik 1890 – 1899", p. 137

12 Ivo PETRINOVIĆ, *The Political Thinking of Frano Supilo*, The Literary Circle, Split, 1988, p. 19



look at the ultimate goals of these parties, they have little in common. The Serbian Party views Dalmatia within as a part of the future Serbian state, while the Autonomist Party, on the other hand, sees it as an eastern Adriatic province of Italy. Nevertheless, despite such conflicting motives, their alliance became a fierce opponent of the People's Party and their program of uniting Dalmatia with the rest of the Croatian lands.¹³

Since 1878, the magazine *The Slovinian*¹⁴ had been active in Dubrovnik, whose leadership, contrary to *The People's Newspaper* and *The Serbian Newspaper*, worked on the reconciliation of Croats and Serbs. Moreover, it tried to completely erase the differences between the two peoples, by merging them into one, the „Slovinians“, by calling their language „Slovinian“ and their country „Slovinia“. Also, in order to bring the two peoples together in the field of literature, the contributions were printed in Latin, as well as in Cyrillic. Common political goals and idealistic harmony were propagated in the magazine, but these efforts still failed.¹⁵ The schism deepened more and more. In Dubrovnik, in the municipal elections of 1881, there were two election committees, the one headed by the People's Party and the other, led by Mato Natali, a dissatisfied member of the People's Party, who decided to switch to cooperation with the autonomists. After leaving the party, Natali and a few like-minded people turned to the politics of the Serbian Party. This is how a specific phenomenon was formed in Dubrovnik – a political grouping of the so called Serb-Catholics¹⁶. Namely, Natali declared himself as a Serb-Catholic. Part of the general population of Dubrovnik, despite their Catholic religion, considered themselves Serbs, mostly based on Vuk Karadžić's claim that all Shtokavians were Serbs. Natali's election committee did not achieve a significant result, but it was an indication of the severe rift in the years to come.¹⁷

13 Ivo PERIĆ, "The Role of the Party of Rights in the Conquest of the Municipal Administration in Dubrovnik 1890 – 1899", p. 137

14 TN: The term 'Slovinian' is a translation of 'Slovinac' in Croatian. It is not to be confused with 'Slovenian', as it denoted a separate Slavic people in the area of Dubrovnik, which historically never existed but was instead used a neutral term for the sake of unification of Croats and Serbs into one people. It is similar to the term 'Yugoslavian', which also denoted to real nationality, but was a neutral term used for the same purpose, only later in history.

15 Ivo PERIĆ, "The Dubrovnik Period of Frano Supilo's Political Activity", *Annals of the Institute of Historical Sciences of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Dubrovnik*, No. 17, 1979, p. 510

16 TN: 'The Serb-Catholic Movement' or the 'Dubrovnik Serb-Catholic Movement' is called 'Dubrovački srbokatolički pokret' in Croatian and 'Serb-Catholics' are referred to in Croatian as 'Srbi-katolici' or 'srbokatolici'.

17 Ivo PERIĆ, *Political Portraits from the Dalmatian Past*, The Literary Circle, Split, 1990, p. 149 – 150



The increasingly harsh rhetoric of the Serb-Catholics began to cause discontent and resistance among those from Dubrovnik, who felt they were Croats, even among that part of the populists, who were convinced that Serbs and Croats were one people. This was also evident within the People's Reading Room, a joint literary society, in which Serbian political conceptions now began to dominate. The reason for the split was the decision of the administration of Reading Room to lay a wreath on the grave of Stefan Ljubiša, who was convicted for corrupt practices during his mandate as a parliament speaker in Zadar. Pero Čingrija raised his voice against such a decision, but an emergency meeting only confirmed the management's decision. At such an act, Čingrija and his supporters, the members of the People's Party, left this society. Only the members of the Serbian Party now remained in People's Reading Room, and the split between Serbs and Croats in Dubrovnik had thus become real.¹⁸

In the 1880s, a real hunt for the champions of the People's Party, Pero Čingrija and Rafo Pucić, began. The attacks came from two camps, the Serbian and the autonomist, which are increasingly joining forces in their political activities, mainly through constant pressure on the People's Party.¹⁹ Finally, before the parliamentary elections of 1889, the two parties united and stood behind a common candidate. Their candidate won, thus winning a seat in parliament as a representative for the city of Dubrovnik. Nevertheless, the victory came through various bribes of the voters, as well as with the help of Emilio Ragazani, head of the Dubrovnik District²⁰, a man of the regime, close to the provincial government, who expressed his support for the Serbs and autonomists.²¹

The first big political victory had given wings to both sides and they immediately threw themselves into preparations for the municipal elections that were supposed to be held next year. Bribery of the voters started again and such tactics were made possible by their donors and financiers, rich Serbian and Italian and pro-Italian merchants, as well as various funds from Serbia and Italy. The members of the Serbian Party managed to recruit new members with their already men-

18 Ivo PERIĆ, "The Dubrovnik Period of Frano Supilo's Political Activity", p. 533

19 Ivo PERIĆ, *Political Portraits from the Dalmatian Past*, The Literary Circle, Split, 1990, p. 151

20 TN: The term 'district' here denotes the Croatian term 'kotar', which is a Croatian administrative unit, smaller than a county and larger than a municipality.

21 Ivo PERIĆ, "The Role of the Party of Rights in the Conquest of the Municipal Administration in Dubrovnik 1890 - 1899", p. 137



tioned ideology of a “Serbian Dubrovnik”, and the rest were attracted by the financial and economic possibilities of joining the party. On the political front, criticisms of the rule of the People’s Party began, using the city’s economic difficulties, which really were substantial. The sailing industry, still dominant in Dubrovnik, was losing the battle with steamships and the hope that trade would experience a new boom after the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina did not materialise. Trade routes did not go towards the sea and Dubrovnik, but towards the west and north, that is to say towards Vienna and Budapest. Craftsmanship was also going through a crisis and remained fragmented and scattered without the creation of a larger craft. Another major drawback was the absence of any monetary institution in the city, which forced citizens to take out loans in Trieste or Vienna. The members of the Serbian Party used all the mentioned problems to criticise the ruling People’s Party. As a solution to all problems, they requested a person in power who enjoyed the trust of Vienna, who was close to the regime, and who would successfully use his status. According to them, their candidate Frano Gondola-Ghetaldi seemed to be the ideal person for the office of mayor. He was an impoverished nobleman, a descendant of the old Gundulić and Getaldić families, who received the title of chamberlain from the Austrian court, for his faithful service. Behind Gondola-Ghetaldi stood a united coalition of the Serbian Party and the Autonomist Party. Using the acquaintance of the already mentioned Ragazani, they managed to arrange for the election committee to consist mostly of their members. This move further enraged the Dubrovnik People’s Party and, aware of the new bribery of voters and the influence of the head of the district Ragazani, they boycotted the elections in protest. To the shock of the Croatian public, especially in Dalmatia, the Dubrovnik municipality fell completely into the hands of the Serbo-autonomist coalition, without an election fight. Interestingly, as many as 32 of the 36 city councilmen were ethnically Croats. The rest were just two Jews, one Serb and one Italian.²²

In order to better understand this political success of the Serbian Party, the next chapter will deal with the phenomenon of Serb-Catholics in Dubrovnik in more detail.

22 Ivo PERIĆ, “The Role of the Party of Rights in the Conquest of the Municipal Administration in Dubrovnik 1890 – 1899”, p. 137 – 139



The phenomenon of Serb-Catholics

The phenomenon of Serb-Catholics in Dubrovnik and its causes were the result of complex processes not only in Dubrovnik but also in that part of Europe. The movement arose as a combined consequence of the fall of the Republic of Dubrovnik, different conceptions of pan-Slavism, and insufficiently defined national movements in the territories of the South Slavic peoples. The elements of Croatian and Serbian conception of statehood and the awakening of national consciousness, as well as the anti-Austrian sentiment, created fertile conditions for the creation of various national-cultural movements, among them the Serb-Catholic movement.²³

Among other things, the appearance of Serb-Catholics in Dubrovnik was also based on the teachings of Vuk Stefanović Karadžić, according to which all Shtokavians²⁴ are actually Serbs, and he limited the Croats to the Chakavians. His thoughts spread among many of his colleagues and associates, and thus reached Dubrovnik, where they were accepted by professors Pero Budmani, Luko Zore and Stjepan Castrapelli. This would mean that there are only religious differences among members of the Serbian people. This led to the concept of Serbs-Catholics, as opposed to orthodox Serbs.²⁵ In Dubrovnik, an unwritten rule was abandoned, according to which the nationality of Croats and Serbs was identified with their religion. The main determinant of Serbia became Shtokavianism, replacing Orthodoxy.²⁶

Even before the appearance of Serb-Catholics, Dubrovnik, as a city of rich tradition and culture, was attractive to a part of the Serbs, and

23 Franko MIROŠEVIĆ, "An Important Scientific Contribution to the Explanation of the Term 'Serb-Catholic' in Dubrovnik", *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 24 No. 1, Zagreb 1992, p. 209

24 TN: The Shtokavian dialect is one of three dialects that constitute the Croatian language, the other two being the Chakavian dialect and the Kajkavian dialect. The Shtokavian dialect has an eastern branch and a western branch, which split and developed separately, the western branch belonging to the Croatian Shtokavian dialect. Despite some similarities, the two branches of Shtokavian are not the same and do not mean that Serbian and Croatian are one language, as Serbian does not have a Kajkavian or a Chakavian dialect of its own and hence has only some similarities with Croatian. Despite numerous authors and scholars writing of a so-called 'Serbo-Croatian language', it should be noted that on September 1, 2008, Croatian and Serbian were formally declared separate languages by the international body for norms, the *ISO Registration Authority* in Washington D.C.

25 Ivo PERIĆ, "The Dubrovnik Period of Frano Supilo's Political Activity", p. 513 – 514

26 Franko MIROŠEVIĆ, "An Important Scientific Contribution to the Explanation of the Term 'Serb-Catholic' in Dubrovnik", *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 24 No. 1, Zagreb 1992, p. 203



an attempt was made to present it as a Serbian city. One of the first in this regard was Đorđe Nikolajević, who was at the head of a small Orthodox group in Dubrovnik in the middle of the 19th century. Nikolajević issued Cyrillic documents from the archives presenting them exclusively as Serbian, although other southern Slavs also used this script. With the help of his collaborator Božidar Petranović and his *Serbo-Dalmatian Magazine*, he called Dubrovnik literature Serbian in several articles. Such attempts can be understood as predecessors of the later idea of Serbs-Shtokavians and Serbs-Catholics.²⁷

The phenomenon of Serb-Catholics in Dubrovnik managed to take root, thanks to local Catholics who accepted this idea. Among the first stood out Medo Pucić, originally from a noble family, who took up Karadžić's teachings. Right next to him was Matija Ban, an ambitious politician and opportunist, whose views came into conflict with the traditional orthodox Serbs. Namely, Ban saw Serbia as the leader of all southern Slavs, who should be united, and thus he criticized the narrow views of traditional Serbs who saw Catholics as rivals. It was Matija Ban who sang the anthem of a Serbian Dubrovnik in 1848 and thus openly started the politics of the Serbian affiliation of the city. Even for a short time, a secret society of Serb-Catholics was created in Dubrovnik that collaborated with Ilija Garašanin²⁸ and carried out his Greater Serbia propaganda.²⁹

Nevertheless, in that period, Dubrovnik Serb-Catholics were quite close to the Illyrian movement. Despite harbouring Serbian national ideas, the elements of assimilation and unification of all South Slavs was very present within the movement, so Serb-Catholics like Pucić and Ban did not see any differences between themselves and other Croats.³⁰

The aforementioned Luko Zore wrote in 1869 that the people of Dubrovnik are true Shtokavians and praises the Dubrovnik literature, which he says is written in the Serbian language. Also, a few years

27 *Ibid.*, p. 203 – 204

28 TN: Ilija Garašanin (1812-1874) was a Serbian politician, the instigator of the idea of Greater Serbia in his, up to 1906 secret document titled 'The Draft' or 'Načertanije' in Serbian, from 1844, in which he expressed his political goals and aspirations for expanding Serbia outside of historical Serbian territory.

29 Franko MIROŠEVIĆ, "An Important Scientific Contribution to the Explanation of the Term 'Serb-Catholic' in Dubrovnik", *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 24 No. 1, Zagreb 1992, p. 204 – 205

30 *Ibid.*, p. 205 – 206



later, in his magazine *The Slovenian*, he praised a Serbian bookstore in Pančevo for publishing the poems of Medo Pucić, believing that with this act the borders that separate Serbs were finally being broken. In that period, the idea of Serbia as a „Balkan Piedmont“, which was supposed to be lead all South Slavs towards unification, also appeared. Such thoughts in Dubrovnik, a city with anti-Austrian sentiment, found fertile ground, and a part of the intellectuals gathered together and began, apart from highlighting the linguistic element, to highlight Serbian political thought as well.³¹

In the 1880s, the Serbian-Catholic movement had begun to turn away from the general idea of „Slovenianness“, propagated by the aforementioned magazine *The Slovenian*, and shifted towards an ever stronger and ever more radical Serbian national ideology and anti-Croatism. The reason for this was the conflict between Croatian and Serbian concepts of statehood, which led to discord on the Dalmatian political scene.³²

The Serbian Party in Dubrovnik could hardly have been able to maintain itself and become an important factor by relying exclusively on the city's Serbian orthodox population, so they started working on spreading the Serb-Catholic movement and an example of such activity is the magazine *The Lizard*, published in 1882. The introduction metaphorically shows the rise of the Serb-Catholics in Dubrovnik, comparing that movement to a lizard from the local legend of Miho Pracat, which managed to climb the wall on the third attempt. In her short life, *The Lizard* propagated the views of the Serbian Party, repeatedly emphasising the Serbian nationality and the Serbian language of the residents of Dubrovnik. In order to make Dubrovnik a “Serbian city”, it was crucial to convert its Catholics into Serb-Catholics.³³

In various Dubrovnik cultural, economic and other societies, the Serb-Catholics gradually gained more and more influence, thus minimising the members of the People's Party. In such circumstances, Nikša Gradi, a member of the People's Party, in fear of the growing strength of the Serbian movement, tried to replace the term „Slovenianness“ with South Slavism, thus trying to reconcile and unite the two

31 Ivo PERIĆ, “The Dubrovnik Period of Frano Supilo's Political Activity”, p. 515

32 Franko MIROŠEVIĆ, “An Important Scientific Contribution to the Explanation of the Term ‘Serb-Catholic’ in Dubrovnik”, *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 24 No. 1, Zagreb 1992, p. 206

33 Ivo PERIĆ, “The Dubrovnik Period of Frano Supilo's Political Activity”, p. 517 – 518



peoples. At that time, he pointed out that the majority of the Serbian Party is made up of Orthodox Christians and only a few Catholics. In general, he attacked their attempts to recruit Catholics, pointing out that they did it only for short-term gain, but that they will never accept them as true Serbs, because they associate their nationality with the Cyrillic alphabet and Orthodox Christianity. After such criticism, Gradi, disappointed with his party's policy, himself joined the Serbian Party and declared himself a Serb-Catholic.³⁴

Although the rift was evident, it officially took place only in 1889, when the Serb-Catholics left the People's Party and joined the ranks of the Serbian Party, just before the elections for the Dalmatian Parliament, in which they defeated Pero Čingrija from the People's Party. Such results may seem surprising when we look at the figures on the percentage of Serbs and Serb-Catholics in the population of Dubrovnik, where they constituted only 6% of the city's population. On the other hand, their political importance far outweighed their numbers. The reasons for this can be found in the fact that the Serbian Party was mostly supported by the Dubrovnik intelligentsia in the form of Serbs-Catholics and influential powerful people, such as Serbian merchants and autonomist officials, and they also enjoyed the support of the regime authorities. However, one must not forget to point out the excessive laxity and carelessness of the members of the People's Party in Dubrovnik, who did not perceive sharply enough the threat of their recent partners from the Serbian Party.³⁵

In 1890, the Serb-Catholics, in a coalition with the autonomists, conquered the Dubrovnik municipality, thus reaching their political peak and using their position to reshape Dubrovnik's identity. They interpreted its history through a Serbian prism, and began to encroach on many city traditions, and even the Festival of St. Blaise³⁶. The procession was changed, Croatian symbols such as the flag and coat of arms were removed, and Croatian music was replaced by Serbian music. The first significant event of this kind took place in 1892, when

34 *Ibid.*, p. 521

35 Franko MIROŠEVIĆ, "An Important Scientific Contribution to the Explanation of the Term 'Serb-Catholic' in Dubrovnik", *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 24 No. 1, Zagreb 1992, p. 206

36 TN: Saint Blaise is called 'sveti Vlaho' in Croatian in the area of Dubrovnik and his festival is celebrated on February 3, in a large, public procession, as the saint was once a patron-saint of the former Republic of Dubrovnik, present of the state flag and state seal. He is said to have once saved Dubrovnik from an attack by the Venetians in 971 A.D.



the faithful from the town of Župa Dubrovačka were greeted by Serbian town music, accompanied by the sounds of a Serbian marches. In addition, an attempt was made to prevent the performance of Croatian brass music, which resulting in a part of the people rebelling, who then, only after being accompanied by Croatian music, started their flag procession. The following year, the Serbian authorities reacted even harsher, tearing down flags with Croatian symbols and completely preventing the performance of Croatian music. Nevertheless, such moves once again provoked the public's discontent, especially from the surrounding towns, which boycotted the celebration, so instead of the usual thirty flags, only five or six gathered together.³⁷

In Dubrovnik, more and more was Serbian nationality becoming emphasised, to such an extent that it had to cause reactions from the other side. Some Serb-Catholics, like Lujo Vojnović, did not recognize Croatian state law³⁸, emphasising the „Serbness“ of Dubrovnik and propagating a radical, expansionist policy in general. The passivity of the People's Party was no longer enough, and thus came the awakening of Croatianism³⁹ among the citizens and the spread of ideas of the Party of Rights. In Dubrovnik, the 1890s were marked by a conflict between the members of the Party of Rights, gathered around the magazine *Red Croatia*, and the Serbian Party and their paper *Dubrovnik*.⁴⁰

37 Barbara ĐURASOVIĆ, “Croatian-Serbian Relations at the Centre of the Celebration of the Festival of St. Blaise in Dubrovnik (1891-1914)”, *Annals of the Institute of Historical Sciences of the Croatian Academy of Sciences and Arts in Dubrovnik*, No. 58, 2020, p. 285 – 288

38 TN: The phrase ‘Croatian state law’ is a translation of the Croatian phrase ‘hrvatsko državno pravo’ and denotes ‘a set of written and customary legal rules that related to the organization and functions of public authority and institutions in Croatia and especially to the legal position of Croatian statehood in the Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom and the Habsburg Monarchy’, that is to say it denotes also ‘the idea of such a set of rules as the basis of uninterrupted Croatian statehood from the early Medieval Age and with the binding totality of the Croatian lands as an undividable territorial unit’. The noun ‘pravo’ means in Croatian both ‘law’ and ‘right’, the second meaning being the basis for the name ‘Party of Rights’, as a party dedicated to fighting for the historical and, juridically speaking, legal right of the Croatian people to independence, unity and freedom. This is why Civil Croatia-Slavonia and later the Triune Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia (1868-1918) had a special legal status within the Austro-Hungarian Empire. This historical and legal right to self-determination was emphasized throughout the entire Croatian history, up to the modern-day Republic of Croatia, mentioned in the Croatian constitution.

39 TN: ‘Croatianism’ or ‘hrvatstvo’ in Croatian is term denoting ‘a feeling of belonging to the Croatian people’, the ‘overall characteristics of Croats as a nation’ and the ‘the totality of Croats, all Croats’.

40 Franko MIROŠEVIĆ, “An Important Scientific Contribution to the Explanation of the Term ‘Serb-Catholic’ in Dubrovnik”, *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 24 No. 1, Zagreb



The majority of the Serb-Catholic population in Dubrovnik consisted of the city's intellectuals and powerful people, who – either for ideological or economic reasons – began to consider themselves Serbs. They acted for Serbian national interests, primarily in the sense of appropriating Dubrovnik for the future Serbian state and defining the people of Dubrovnik as Serbs. As such, they were in opposition to the fundamental ideas of the Croatian people's movement and fierce opponents of the unification of Croatian lands. They emphasised the Serbian character of Dubrovnik and appropriated its rich culture and tradition, primarily the Dubrovnik literature.⁴¹ Such efforts of Serb-Catholics, as we mentioned, activated people from the other side of the political spectrum. The Party of Rights became prominent in the city and Frano Supilo became the leader of that overturn.

Frano Supilo and the Party of Rights movement

Frano Supilo was born on November 30, 1870 in Cavtat, the centre of Konavle Municipality, near Dubrovnik. He grew up in a modest, working-class family, and his father Ivo was a bricklayer. After ten years of living in Cavtat, the family moved to Dubrovnik in search of work and better educational conditions, where Supilo continued to attend elementary school. Despite his excellent grades, he did not enrol in a gymnasium, but in a civil school, with a trade-artisan course, because such a path enabled him to find a job quicker in order to relieve the family of financial burden.⁴²

In those years, when the young Supilo was getting his education and forming his worldviews and political ideas, the spread of the ideas of the Party of Rights took place in Dalmatia. The ideas of Ante Starčević and Eugen Kvaternik⁴³ penetrated the province primarily through the work of Ivo Prodan and his newspaper *Catholic Dalmacia*. As the movement expanded, it took on more and more liberal elements,

1992, p. 206 – 207

41 Franko MIROŠEVIĆ, "An Important Scientific Contribution to the Explanation of the Term 'Serb-Catholic' in Dubrovnik", *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 24 No. 1, Zagreb 1992, p. 209 – 210

42 Ivo PETRINOVIĆ, *Frano Supilo's Political Thinking*, p. 17 – 18

43 TN: Eugen Kvaternik (1825-1871) was a Croatian politician, one of the founders of the Party of Rights, known for being the leader of the 1871 Rakovica Revolt, an attempt at starting an uprising, with the aim of achieving Croatian independence, but which failed, he himself being killed.



mostly thanks to the fact that it gathered the young intelligentsia. The great success of the Party of Rights in the elections for the Croatian Parliament in 1884, when they won 24 mandates, gave the ideas of the Party of Rights a special uplift.⁴⁴ The anti-Austrian sentiment, the strengthening of Serbian political thought and dissatisfaction with the passivity of the People's Party created fertile ground for the spread of the Party of Rights in Dubrovnik. In this, the high school youth was leading the way, among whom songs by patriotic authors such as August Harambašić were becoming more and more popular. The mentioned success of the members of the Party of Rights in the parliamentary elections also influenced some leaders of the People's Party, among others Pero Čingrija. Seeing the growing influence of the Serbian Party in his city, Čingrija wanted to act more energetically and abandon extreme opportunism.⁴⁵

It was Pero Čingrija who became one of the main political personas who influenced the development of young Supilo. Namely, Frano Supilo had become friends with Čingrija's son, Melko. Through him, he came into contact with his father Pero, from whom, in a political sense, he could learn a lot. Their gatherings often took place in the house of the Čingrija family, where Supilo read various books, magazines and, most interesting to him, records from the sessions of the Dalmatian Parliament. There he could make out the views, not only of Čingrija, but also of other representatives.⁴⁶

Reflecting on the political reality, the young men had an extremely negative opinion of the central authorities in Vienna and in general towards everything Austrian and Habsburg, which resulted in the establishment of a secret society whose purpose was a political struggle against the Austrian state. Together with Nikola Heller, Dragomir Vučić and Stjepan Gjivić, they founded an organization under the motto: "Down with everything that reminds of the Germans". The society was soon given an opportunity to turn their words into deeds, and they did so during the stay of the heir to the throne Rudolf in Dubrovnik in March 1885. During the welcoming ceremony of Rudolf and his wife, the young rebels refused to greet the prince by taking off their hats and were subsequently reported to the authorities.⁴⁷

44 Ivo PETRINOVIĆ, *Frano Supilo's Political Thinking*, p. 20

45 Ivo PERIĆ, "The Dubrovnik Period of Frano Supilo's Political Activity", p. 524 – 525

46 *Ibid.*, p. 526

47 Ivo PETRINOVIĆ, *Frano Supilo's Political Thinking*, p. 20



A school investigation followed and Supilo was also summoned to the hearing. He admitted his guilt for not greeting the prince, as well as that the gang has secret meetings in the house of the Čingrija family. He said that it was a prearranged plan and that everyone present swore an oath on the Croatian tricolour. When asked what he knew about Ante Starčević, Supilo replied that he read about him in *The Serbian Newspaper* and that he considered him a just person, a fighter for Croatian rights and an opponent of the settlement with Hungary. Finally, when asked if the whole action and gang was just child's play, he replied that it was serious business and that he really considered himself a Croat, as every true Dubrovnik resident should. From the testimony of other participants, it was learned that Supilo owned a tricolour flag with the inscriptions "Long live Starčević!" and "God and the Croats!"⁴⁸ In the end, Supilo and his colleagues were temporarily expelled from the school due to inappropriate political activities.⁴⁹ Although he was only 15 years old, Supilo was already well-acquainted with Starčević's program and the political situation in the country, clearly defining his views and thoughts, proudly repeating his national affiliation.⁵⁰ Also, this kind of anti-Austrian speech shows the atmosphere that was emerging among Dubrovnik's youth, especially the penetration of the ideas of the Party of Rights. The other side also reacted to the event, so individuals from the Serbian Party accused the school system of propagating Greater Croatia thinking and Starčević.⁵¹

After graduating from civil school, Supilo continued his education at the Nautical School. He had the desire, like many young people from Dubrovnik, to become a sailor. However, the costs of education were substantial and, after his application for a scholarship had been rejected, he was forced to leave school. Too young to find a quality job, Supilo used that period of his life for independent education. He devoted himself to reading writers such as Goethe, Giusti and Dostoyevsky, as well as works of a professional and scientific nature. He was educated in politics and historiography and he turned to learning foreign languages, mastering Italian, English and German.⁵²

48 TN: The motto 'God and the Croats!', or 'Bog i Hrvati!' in Croatian, was the sublimation of the political thought of Ante Starčević, which expressed his notion that the Croatian people must govern itself in their own, free and independent state.

49 Ivo PERIĆ, "The Dubrovnik Period of Frano Supilo's Political Activity", p. 530

50 Ivo PERIĆ, "The Dubrovnik Period of Frano Supilo's Political Activity", p. 529– 531

51 Ivo PETRINOVIĆ, *Frano Supilo's Political Thinking*, p. 23

52 Ivo PERIĆ, "The Dubrovnik Period of Frano Supilo's Political Activity", p. 533– 534



He continued to closely follow the events on the Dubrovnik political scene, where the conflict between the People's Party and supporters of the Serbian Party and autonomists was taking place. Then he was able to witness the victory of the People's Party in the municipal elections of 1886. The following year, the Dalmatian Agricultural Institute was founded in Dubrovnik, with the aim of training personnel who would then improve the agricultural activities of the peasants in the vicinity of the city. Frano Supilo also enrolled in the new school through his mentor Pero Čingrija. This time, he managed to get a scholarship from the Cavtat Municipality, so he was able to successfully continue his education. After two years, he graduated with honors and immediately got a job in the same school. He worked as a prefect, but also as a traveling teacher and field expert in the fight against downy mildew. This experience allowed him to get to know the surrounding people and gain insight into their thoughts and problems, which greatly helped him in his future political life. He stayed at his first job until 1890, when he entered into a conflict with his colleague and one of the founders of the school, Frano Gondola. Gondola, as a candidate of the Serbian Party in the parliamentary elections, represented an obvious political opponent of Supilo. There were tensions between the two, so Supilo asked to be relieved of duty under the excuse of illness.⁵³

There must have been disagreements between him and Gondola, partly due to Supilo's frequent visits to the Dubrovnik National Reading Room. Namely, the new reading room started operating in 1887 and became a gathering place for Dubrovnik Croats, as a response to the old Reading Room that was in the hands of Serbian supporters. As a student, he could not go there yet, but as soon as he finished his education, Supilo became a frequent guest of the reading room. As a member, Pero Čingrija also used to visit there, with whom Supilo had long conversations and learned from the older politician his tactfulness, calmness and various useful experiences from the world of politics. Although the duo did not agree on everything, at the political level, Supilo used to point out that Čingrija was his real mentor, even more than Ante Starčević. However, it should be emphasised that Supilo became a member of the Party of Rights, and not that of the People's Party for a reason, and it was because Starčević's ideas about a free, united Croatia and the realisation of full Croatian state law were the main

53 Ivo PETRINOVIĆ, *Frano Supilo's Political Thinking*, p. 23 – 24



guiding thoughts of Supilo's politics. Čingrija's influence was reflected in the greater appreciation of the Serbian people and the cooperation of all political currents in the realisation of the Croatian political thought as a common goal.⁵⁴

Other influences on his political thinking came from the liberalism of some members of the People's Party, which softened the radicalism of the ideas of the Party of Rights in Civil Croatia-Slavonia. Liberal ideas actually came from Italy, from the champions of the *Risorgimento* movement, led by Giuseppe Mazzini and Camillo Cavour, just as the influence of Josip Juraj Strossmayer in the field of cultural development of the Croatian people, as well as the influence of Mihovil Pavlinović, an active fighter for Croatian state law.⁵⁵ However, the key event that led Supilo towards a more active involvement in politics and the ideas of the Party of Rights was the aforementioned victory of the Serbian-autonomist coalition in the municipal elections of 1890. The People's Party remained in the opposition, so it began to connect with the new political force in the city - the Party of Rights. Although few in number, they stood out with a few really influential members, such as Roko Mišetić, a doctor and director of the Dubrovnik Hospital, and of course, Frano Supilo. It was Supilo and his mentor Pero Čingrija, one from the side of the Party of Rights, the other from the side of the People's Party, who represented the key figures of cooperation and harmony between the two groups.⁵⁶

After the success of the Serbian-autonomist coalition, the old desire of the members of the People's Party to launch their own paper to spread their political views, countering their political rivals, revived. When looking for a person for the post of editor, most of the champions of the People's Party were written off, partly because of their age, partly because of their own obligations, and the members of both parties, who were priests, were not eligible for such a job. On the side of the Party of Rights, the aforementioned Mišetić was too busy with his medical profession, and Frano Supilo stood out from the rest of the young movement of the Party of Rights. He possessed the necessary artistic talent, work habits and ability to start such a paper, and he was additionally distinguished by his energy in approaching the project. As a fighter for Croatian rights, with liberal principles, he was

54 Ivo PERIĆ, "The Dubrovnik Period of Frano Supilo's Political Activity", p. 543- 544

55 Ivo PETRINOVIĆ, *Frano Supilo's Political Thinking*, p. 25

56 *Ibid.*, p. 26



acceptable to both parties. The key in the whole process was the fact that Supilo was satisfied with a more modest salary, which was not a particular problem for him.⁵⁷

Although the idea to start the paper came from both sides, in the end the paper was published as the organ of the Dubrovnik branch of the Party of Rights. The name of the newspaper *Red Croatia* was taken from *The Chronicle of the Priest of Duklja*, in which chronicle southern Dalmatia is called by that name. This was meant to emphasise the fact that Dubrovnik belonged to Croatia. The new paper, according to Supilo's ideas, was a reflection of moderated ideas of the Party of Rights, as opposed to some unrealistic extremisms of the Party of Rights in Civil Croatia-Slavonia. The main idea that the magazine was supposed to support was the unification of Croatian countries and the realisation of Croatian state law. The paper was supposed to be financed through the payment of bonds, and Supilo assumed the guarantee, and thus the risk of financing the magazine. In helping the magazine, Josip Juraj Strossmayer stood out, whom Supilo informed in a letter about the new paper, which again shows a certain detachment from Starčević's ideas. Finally, the first issue of *Red Croatia* was published on February 7, 1891 and Frano Supilo was signed as editor-in-chief and publisher.⁵⁸

In the introductory program of the first number, Supilo began with the thought that the whole world is ruled by one law – that of the struggle for survival. He saw the reason why the Croatian people were forced to start this fight in the attack on the Croatian right to freedom and statehood by their, until recently, tribal brothers, the Serbs. He pointed out that the Croats, as a small nation, welcomed Serbian help, but that it turned out that attempts at harmony and cooperation with the Serbs yielded nothing. He then addressed Dubrovnik, to which he presents this magazine, in order to reawaken the old Croatian tradition and make it the “Crown of Croatian Cities”, accusing the ruling party at the time of tearing the city away from Croatia, from its famous Croatian tradition and culture. As the main task of the magazine⁵⁹, Supilo emphasised the defence of the Croatian national thought and the unification of Croatian countries on the basis of Croatian historical state law.⁶⁰

57 Ivo PERIĆ, “The Dubrovnik Period of Frano Supilo's Political Activity”, p. 551– 552

58 Ivo PETRINOVIĆ, *Frano Supilo's Political Thinking*, p. 26 – 27

59 *Red Croatia*, Year 1, No. 1, (February 7, 1891)

60 TN: ‘Croatian historical state law’ is another term for ‘Croatian state law’, which emphasises the historical continuity of Croatian legal sovereignty and statehood.



Red Croatia published short news from the city and its surroundings, important news from the rest of Dalmatia and Civil Croatia-Slavonia, reviews of articles from other political newspapers, reviews of various books, biographies, as well as a regular humorous column. However, the most appreciated were the political articles, the author of which was often Supilo himself and which confirmed his journalistic skills and intelligence. His articles were also published by other newspapers, such as the magazine *Croatia*, the organ of the Party of Rights, *The Horizon*, the newspaper of the Independent People's Party and *The People's Newspaper* in Zadar.⁶¹ *Red Croatia* became the main means by which Supilo and his political associates attacked the Serbian-autonomist rule in the city, and its publication was the prelude to the conflict for supremacy in Dubrovnik that lasted almost a decade.

The struggle for control over the municipality and the final victory in 1899

In his further political activities, Supilo particularly advocated for the unity of the People's Party and the Party of Rights, as he saw in this the only way to overcome the Serbo – pro-Italian coalition. Supilo called this unification the "Croatian Party in Dubrovnik". In March 1891, there were elections for the Imperial Council in Vienna, which saw official cooperation between the two parties. The Croatian candidate was Lovro Borčić, a member of the People's Party from Split. Nevertheless, despite the unity of the two parties, the Serbo-autonomist candidate Marin Bonda won in Dubrovnik. Supilo accused the authorities of not conducting the elections properly and of corrupt practices. Nevertheless, he emphasised the strength of the new unity of the People's Party and the Party of Rights, which raised the level of Croatian thought among the citizens of Dubrovnik.⁶²

In August 1891, the Economic and Forestry Exhibition was organized in Zagreb, on the occasion of the celebration of 50 years of the Croatian-Slavonic Economic Society. A group of guests also arrived from Dubrovnik, most of them members of the Party of Rights and

61 Ivo PERIĆ, "The Role of the Party of Rights in the Conquest of the Municipal Administration in Dubrovnik 1890 – 1899", *The Party of Rights in Croatian Political and Cultural Life at the Crossroad of Two Centuries* (edited by Zdravka Jelaska Marijan and Zlatko Matijević), Croatian Institute of History, Zagreb, 2013, p. 144

62 Ivo PETRINOVIĆ, *Frano Supilo's Political Thinking*, p. 30



the People's Party, led by Supilo. Although of an economic nature, the exhibition had a political significance due to its Croatian character, there were many exhibits and visitors from all Croatian regions who thereby expressed their unity.⁶³ Of even greater importance was the organization of the grand opening ceremony of the monument to Ivan Gundulić⁶⁴ in Dubrovnik. The three-day festival was supposed to take place from the 25th to the 27th of June 1893. A great battle between the Croatian and Serbian sides began. Namely, the goal of both was to invite as many of their supporters as possible, so that the ceremony would have a Croatian political character, that is, a Serbian one on the other hand. In that fight, the Croatian parties, the Party of Rights and the People's Party, convincingly won, by using their numerous acquaintances and influences. Among the number of Croats who arrived, were numerous artists and scientists such as August Harambašić⁶⁵, Eugen Kumičić⁶⁶, Ante Tresić Pavičić⁶⁷, Franjo Rački⁶⁸, Tadija Smičiklas⁶⁹, Frane Bulić⁷⁰, Ivan Rendić⁷¹, Franjo Kuhač⁷², as well as numerous parliamentary representatives from all Croatian parliaments, Miho

63 Ivo PERIĆ, "The Role of the Party of Rights in the Conquest of the Municipal Administration in Dubrovnik 1890 – 1899", *The Party of Rights in Croatian Political and Cultural Life at the Crossroad of Two Centuries* (edited by Zdravka Jelaska Marijan and Zlatko Matijević), Croatian Institute of History, Zagreb, 2013, p. 144

64 TN: Ivan Gundulić (1589-1638) was the prominent Croatian poet of the Baroque literature in Dubrovnik, which is why he is at the centre of Serbian efforts to appropriate Dubrovnik's and thus Croatian cultural heritage.

65 TN: August Harambašić (1861-1911) was a Croatian poet and publisher, who was a follower of Ante Starčević, jailed several times for his support of the Party of Rights and known for his patriotic poetry.

66 TN: Eugen Kumičić (1850-1904) was a prominent Croatian novelist who introduced literary naturalism into Croatian literature and a political follower and one of the closest associates of Ante Starčević.

67 TN: Ante Tresić Pavičić (1867-1949) was a poet and politician who began as a follower of the Party of Rights but drifted to yugoslavism by 1914. He is today best known for his descriptions of his travels to the USA.

68 TN: Franjo Rački (1828-1894) was a Croatian historian, politician and writer, one of the founders of the Croatian Academy of Arts and Sciences, important for collecting numerous Croatian diplomatic and historical documents.

69 TN: Tadija Smičiklas (1843-1914) was a Croatian historian, the author of the first history book on Croatia and who laid the foundation of Croatian historiography.

70 TN: Frane Bulić (1846-1934) was a Croatian priest, archaeologist and historian who excavated numerous important archaeological sites in Dalmatia, providing important information about the genealogy of Croatian kings.

71 TN: Ivan Rendić (1849-1932) was a famous Croatian sculptor who created numerous sculptures of famous Croats and who supported the unification of Croatia and Dalmatia.

72 TN: Franjo Kuhač (1834-1911) was a famous Croatian conductor, composer and musicologist, who studied Croatian folk music, similarly to the work of Cecil Sharp.



Klaić⁷³, Juraj Biankini⁷⁴, Josip Frank⁷⁵, Gajo Filomen Bulat⁷⁶ and many others. The regiment from Konavle region, the town of Župa Dubrovačka, the Dubrovnik Littoral, the Pelješac peninsula and the islands around Dubrovnik also gathered in their folk costumes. Brass bands from several Dalmatian towns also arrived, playing Croatian patriotic songs that, along with Croatian flags, folk dances and traditional floats, created an atmosphere of celebration of Croatian national heritage. Dubrovnik showed how nationally it really felt. On the other hand, the Serbian party experienced a complete failure. Despite all the financial possibilities, they brought only a few respected guests and experienced a shameful defeat in the city which they theoretically ruled.⁷⁷

In May 1894, new municipal elections were held in which the coalition of the Party of Rights and the People's Party on one side and the Serbo-autonomist coalition on the other clashed. The election committee consisted only of members of the Serbo – pro-Italian coalition, which resulted in many supporters of the other party being prohibited from voting due to various formalities (e.g. someone was entered on the list as *Niko*⁷⁸ instead of *Nikola*). There was also bribery and pressure on the voters, as well as shady actions during the counting of votes. Because of all this, members of the Party of Rights and the People's Party filed a complaint with the Regency charged with supervising the elections, which found irregularities in the elections in the third electoral body. The elections were repeated only for that body, and the coalition of the Party of Rights won a convincing victory. However, for the first and second electoral bodies, the elections were not repeated,

73 TN: Miho Klaić (1829-1896) was a Croatian politician who fought for the introduction of the Croatian language into the education system and for the administrative unification of Croatian lands with Dalmatia.

74 TN: Juraj Biankini (1847-1928) was a Croatian politician, a member of the Dalmatian Parliament, who advocated the introduction of Croatian into public life and the unification of Dalmatia with the rest of Croatia. He later advocated the unification of Croats and Serbs, becoming a minister in the later Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes (Kingdom of Yugoslavia).

75 TN: Josip Frank (1844-1911) was a Croatian lawyer and politician, president of the Pure Party of Rights, a fraction of the Party of Rights, a fierce opponent of the unification of Croatia and Serbia.

76 TN: Gajo Filomen Bulat (1836-1900) was a Croatian lawyer, who served as the mayor of Split, also serving in the Dalmatian Parliament and the Imperial Council. He advocated the introduction of Croatian into schools and the unification of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia. He built the Croatian National Theatre in Split.

77 *Ibid.*, p. 145 – 146

78 TN: A diminutive of the personal name 'Nikola', meaning 'Nicholas'.



and the victory of the Serbs and the autonomists, who still held the municipality in their hands, with a two-thirds majority, remained in force. Nevertheless, the Party of Rights and the People's Party imposed themselves in the council as a sharp and active opposition.⁷⁹ The narrow defeat, despite the election malpractices and the discord that broke out between the members of the Serbian Party and the Autonomist Party, gave wings to the members of the Party of Rights, who founded the Croatian Workers' Cooperative in 1895. One of the founders was Frano Supilo and the purpose was to create a workers' society, through which the Croatian political thought and ideas of the Party of Rights could be expressed, thereby winning over the wider strata of the people for their political goals.⁸⁰

At the same time, on the Dalmatian political scene, there was a growing tension between the Party of Rights and the People's Party. The conflict took place in January 1895 in the Dalmatian Parliament over the final sending of an address to the king with a request for the unification of Dalmatia and Croatia. The Party of Rights, of course, wholeheartedly supported the proposal, while opportunism and fear of such an aggressive demand and the consequences it could cause again appeared on the part of the People's Party. Such differences in attitudes were one of the reasons why the idea of unification into a single, independent party under the name Party of Rights in Dalmatia arose among Dalmatian members of the Party of Rights.⁸¹ It was officially founded in August 1894, with the union groups connected to the Party of Rights, from Zadar, Split and Dubrovnik, which were joined by the Croatian Club. A year later, on July 17, a large assembly of fractions of the Party of Rights was held in Zagreb, on the occasion of the ceremony of handing over Starčević's Hall⁸² to Ante Starčević. At the assembly, a decision was made to unite all activists from Croatian

79 Ivo PERIĆ, "The Role of the Party of Rights in the Conquest of the Municipal Administration in Dubrovnik 1890 – 1899", *The Party of Rights in Croatian Political and Cultural Life at the Crossroad of Two Centuries* (edited by Zdravka Jelaska Marijan and Zlatko Matijević), Croatian Institute of History, Zagreb, 2013, p. 146 – 147

80 Ivo PETRINOVIĆ, *Frano Supilo's Political Thinking*, p. 34

81 *Ibid.*, p. 34 – 35

82 TN: Starčević's Hall or 'Starčevićev dom' in Croatian, lit. meaning 'Starčević's home', was constructed by donations from the followers and admirers of Ante Starčević and completed in 1895, as a home worthy of the Father of the Nation, who until then lived in a very small flat, and which now stands on the Ante Starčević Square in Zagreb, today being the Zagreb City Library. During the Croatian War of Independence (1991-1995) it was the headquarters of the modern Croatian Party of Rights, founded in 1991.



territories into a single Party of Rights. Supilo was also elected to the Central Committee of the new, unified party. However, that unity, at least in Civil Croatia-Slavonia, did not last long.⁸³

The elections for the Dalmatian Parliament in 1895 ended with the victory of the People's Party, which won 22 mandates, while the Party of Rights had to settle for only three mandates. The Serbian Party entered the parliament with 10, and the autonomists with 6. In the elections, the Serbs and the members of the People's Party cooperated, which was also felt in Dubrovnik, where many Serbs voted for candidates of the People's Party, who won all five possible mandates. This caused temporary tensions between the Party of Rights and the People's Party, who, encouraged by the success, thought about returning the municipality to their hands on their own, without the help of the Party of Rights. Members of the Party of Rights even considered the idea of their own reading room, but still, passions subsided and they remained together with the People's Party in the People's Reading Room of Dubrovnik.⁸⁴

New problems were caused by the cooperation of the People's Party, now the Croatian People's Party, and the Serbian Party before the elections for the Imperial Council in 1897. In this context, in his magazine, Supilo looked at the tactics of the anti-Croatian currents, which were trying to ignore and erase the Croatian name by using regional determinants, instead of the common Croatian name. Supilo considers such constructs disastrous in the context of the creation of a homogeneous Croatian nation, thereby neglecting the natural right of every people to realise a national state. Accordingly, he did not show the slightest inclination to talk about Dubrovnik as a „Slovinian“ or „Serbian“ city, or even to call its inhabitants only „citizens of Dubrovnik“, but exclusively Croats, and he considered the city Croatian.⁸⁵

Despite some disagreements with the People's Party, Supilo was still convinced of the need for mutual cooperation, believing that only united Croatian political currents could realise the Croatian political thought, which for Supilo primarily represented the unification of

83 Ivo PERIĆ, „The Role of the Party of Rights in the Conquest of the Municipal Administration in Dubrovnik 1890 – 1899“, *The Party of Rights in Croatian Political and Cultural Life at the Crossroad of Two Centuries* (edited by Zdravka Jelaska Marijan and Zlatko Matijević), Croatian Institute of History, Zagreb, 2013, p. 147

84 Ivo PERIĆ, „The Dubrovnik Period of Frano Supilo's Political Activity“, p. 582 – 583

85 *Red Croatia*, Year 7, No. 3, (January 16, 1897)



Croatian lands and the realisation of a sovereign state within the framework of the Habsburg Monarchy. He noticed the history of disagreements and conflicts among the Croatian leadership that led to dangerous situations for Croatia, so he wants to avoid repeating the same mistakes. Although at the level of Dalmatia, his plan on the cooperation of the Party of Rights and the People's Party was more difficult to implement, it led to success in Dubrovnik. Namely, the leader of the People's Party in Dubrovnik was still Pero Čingrija, who saw the Party of Rights more as a separate wing of the People's Party, rather than as a separate political group. Bearing in mind the friendly relationship between Čingrija and Supilo, the alliance of the two parties, which no longer appear publicly as separate organizations, but jointly as Croatian Croats from Dubrovnik, is not surprising. In such a position, they readily welcomed the municipal elections of 1899, a new opportunity to win power from the hands of Serb-Catholics and pro-Italians.⁸⁶

The Serbo-autonomist coalition expected to re-appoint its own people in the election committee, thus ensuring another victory. However, the Dalmatian Regency decided against this course of action. Having learned from the experience of the past elections, which had to be repeated partially due to irregularities, they decided to send their representative as a neutral commissioner who will organise the elections and make sure that everything runs according to the law. The coalition of Serbs and autonomists did not react with approval to that act, convinced that without the necessary malfeasance, bribery and forgery, they would not be able to win the elections. The alliance was on shaky legs anyway, so they finally decided not to participate in the elections. The coalition soon fell apart. Elections were then held from the 24th to 28th of July, 1899. They were contested jointly by the Party of Rights and the People's Party, which thus won mandates in all three electoral bodies. Supilo and Čingrija, as leaders of their parties, were elected to the third electoral body. Thus, after nine years, the Dubrovnik municipality once again had Croatian forces at its head, a united coalition of the Party of Rights and the People's Party. Pero Čingrija was elected as the new mayor.⁸⁷

In *Red Croatia*, a few days before the elections, when it was already known that the Serbo – pro-Italian coalition was withdrawing, Supilo

86 Ivo PETRINOVIĆ, *Frano Supilo's Political Thinking*, p. 37

87 Ivo PERIĆ, "The Role of the Party of Rights in the Conquest of the Municipal Administration in Dubrovnik 1890 – 1899", *The Party of Rights in Croatian Political and Cultural Life at the Crossroad of Two Centuries* (edited by Zdravka Jelaska Marijan and Zlatko Matijević), Croatian Institute of History, Zagreb, 2013, p. 148 – 149



addressed the citizens of Dubrovnik. He cites the reasons for the withdrawal of his opponents, emphasising the impossibility of maintaining power even with the only way “with which they could still hold on – violence.” Furthermore, he harshly criticises them and accuses for deceiving the city’s residents and for fleeing from electoral defeat. He writes about himself and his political partners: “...here we are in front of the people, to look them in the eyes, with bright foreheads and unsullied flags, to tell them: People, we come to you as Croats (...) If you respond to our voice, you will confirm that you are what we are, that you are Croats and that this land of ours, on which we live, is Croatian land.” He is proud that Dubrovnik has come to its senses and that the Croatian thought reigns in it again. Dubrovnik had once more become, as he says, “the Crown of Croatian Cities”.⁸⁸

Appendix

1. Excerpt from the introductory program of the first issue of *Red Croatia*: (February 7, 1891)

I present to you, Croats, and to you most of all, our glorious Dubrovnik, your “Red Croatia”! The magazine’s name says what it is. In spirit, aspiration and feeling, it is Croatian, purely Croatian. Urgent necessity created it, through you, oh you Croatian Athens! Under its banner is the desire to gather, it is essentially the mouthpiece of your thoughts, the pure echo of your feelings. It will try to awaken anew in you, dear city, the dear memory of “Croatian antiquity”; that all this brings you closer to the wing of those Croats, who in the middle of “White Croatia”, are famous for their name, knowledge and heroism; those Croats who are proud of you, who expect a lot from you, who discovered the glory and learning of your old geniuses and poets, to whose honourable shadow all Croats bow. The Croatian name, of which “Red Croatia” is proud, should not be embarrassing to you, oh Dubrovnik! The Croatian name is a glorious name, the Croatian thought is a patriotic thought, worthy of you, oh Dubrovnik! You have fought for the Croatian thought since you entered the scene of the national struggle, until the latest era, until the moment when a handful of people first made you hate everything that is Croatian, describing Croats to you in the darkest of colours, and then seduced you into a Serbian-Italian circle, to play a unique role for you among

88 *Red Croatia*, Year 9, No. 27 (July 22, 1899)



*the Slavic cities. They were proud of the Croatian name, oh Dubrovnik, your glorious forebears; Croatian thought was advocated by wonderful and significant people, your great benefactors, whose death you recently mourned. What can drive you to forgo the Croatian name?*⁸⁹

2. Excerpt from *Red Croatia*, a few days before the victory of the Party of Rights and the People's Party in the municipal elections: (July 22, 1899)

*Because then it would be even better to emphasise the worthlessness of our opponents, who would give us a good opportunity to count them, now that the people have seen and come to their senses, and now to give a substantive and blatant answer to the famous question that we asked eight years ago in this paper: "Are the people of Dubrovnik Croats? However, we appreciate that they have already given us the answer to this question with their heroic flight" (...) As soon as they see their mistake and join the people's circle, they announce a further war. Well, good! We receive it indifferently. Because just as we knew that what was momentarily lost, with honesty and justice, we would regain again – through faith and God! – an to know how to defend. And our dear thousand-year-old Dubrovnik is now returning to its historical root, after a nine-year wandering, to be the pride of the Croatian kinship and home, a model of Croatian consciousness, and the picture and growth and nourishment of the Croatian language; to be the first among equals, to show itself worthy of the ancient and glorious title: the Crown of Croatian Cities.*⁹⁰

Conclusion

In 1890, the Dubrovnik Municipality fell into the hands of the united Serbo-autonomist coalition. The reasons for this decline should be sought in the increasing passivity and opportunism of the up to that moment unquestionably ruling People's Party. Also, the Serbian Party had been experiencing a kind of uplift due to the spread of the phenomenon of Serb-Catholics among the Dubrovnik intelligentsia. Convinced in the ideas of Vuk Karadžić, they accept the idea that the people of Dubrovnik were actually Serbs, only of the Catholic faith. The idea found fertile ground in the context of the anti-Austrian sentiment amongst the Dubrovnik population and the idea of Serbia as a „South Slavic Piedmont“ that will unify the lands of the South Slavs around

89 *Red Croatia*, Year 1, No. 1. (February 7, 1891)

90 *Red Croatia*, Year 9, No. 27 (22 July 1899)



itself. Also, the movement was joined by various entrepreneurs and businessmen, who saw in this group a chance for realising their own private interests. The idea of Serb-Catholics spread among a group of intellectuals and powerful people, which gave ideological support to the Serbian Party, and the coalition itself enjoyed great financial support from numerous Serbian and Italian merchants, as well as the support of the ruling regime, which enabled it to stay in power for almost a decade. Parallely with the strengthening of the Serbian ideology, Croatian national thinking was awoken in Dubrovnik, primarily through the activities of a group of young members of the Party of Rights, who were able to make a stance, amidst the passivity of the People's Party. Frano Supilo soon emerged as the leader of the Party of Rights in Dubrovnik. With his persistent work and political intelligence, Supilo manages to contribute to the rebirth of Croatian national consciousness and the overthrow of the Serbian-autonomist rule in the city. The Serb-Catholic movement soon dissolved, and the ruling coalition never had much support from ordinary citizens. With his activities through the magazine *Red Croatia* and his cooperation with the People's Party, Supilo managed to win the political battle and in 1899 a coalition of the Party of Rights and the People's Party returned the municipality back to Croatian hands.

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ODJEK HRVATSKOG PROLJEĆA U SLAVONIJI IZ PERSPEKTIVE *GLASA SLAVONIJE*

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U radu se donosi pregled glavnih događaja hrvatskog proljeća s naglaskom na Osijek i Slavoniju, odnosno na koji su način događaji iz Zagreba utjecali na društvene prilike u Slavoniji i to iz perspektive Glasa Slavonije, kao jedinog dnevnog lista koji je izlazio u istočnoj Hrvatskoj u tom periodu. Pritom se u uvodnom poglavlju ukratko opisuje povijest izlaženja Glasa Slavonije i njegov značaj u prikazivanju događaja. Zatim se nastoji vremenski odrediti period djelovanja hrvatskog proljeća te prikazati događaje u Slavoniji u to vrijeme. U nastavku rada predstavljeni su događaji koji su doveli do sloma pokreta i odjek tih događaja u organizacijama Saveza komunista u Osijeku i Slavoniji.

Ključne riječi: *Slavonija, hrvatsko proljeće, Osijek, Jugoslavija, Matica hrvatska, studenti*

Uvod

Glas Slavonije tiskani je medij, nastao u jeku Drugog svjetskog rata u Osijeku. Tiskan je 24. travnja 1943. godine i bio je vrhunac antifašističkog tiska istočnog dijela Hrvatske. Nakon oslobođenja Osijeka, 14. travnja 1945., *Glas* počinje izlaziti kao tjednik, nakon čega postaje dnevni list. I to je jedini list koji izlazi u Slavoniji tijekom vladavine Josipa Broza Tita.¹ Neki autori drže kako *Glas Slavonije* vuče korijene od nekadašnjeg *Hrvatskog lista*² koji je izlazio do 1920. do 1945. godine, također u Osijeku.³ Teme koje tada dominiraju u novinama slavonskog područja tiču se poljoprivrede, ruralnih krajeva, rada seoskih zadruga

1 B. NOVAK, *Hrvatsko novinstvo u 20. stoljeću*. Zagreb: Golden marketing, Tehnička knjiga, 2005, 347-348, 439.

2 *Hrvatski list* počeo je izlaziti u Osijeku 1. siječnja 1920. godine podupirući Hrvatsku zajednicu, a od 1925. čvrsto je zagovarao politiku Stjepana Radića, zbog čega je iste godine bio i kratko zabranjen. Rad nastavlja i tijekom NDH, ali se nakon 1945. i promjene vlasti gasi. B. NOVAK, *Hrvatsko novinstvo u 20. stoljeću*, 129.

3 M. GLUŠAČ, Osječke novine nekada i sada, u: *Anali zavoda za znanstveni i umjetnički rad u Osijeku*, sv. 29, 2013, 152.



i političkih akcija Narodne fronte.⁴ Osim toga, prisutni su i zabavni sadržaji, reportaže i feljtoni, dok se u kasnijim izdanjima mogu pronaći posebne rubrike namijenjene ciljanoj skupini stanovništva, primjerice djeci ili domaćicama.⁵

Općenito govoreći, značajke tiskanih medija su informativnost, propaganda, popularizacija određenih sadržaja, agitativnost određenih slojeva društva, zabava te posjedovanje pedagoške značajke. Zadaća novina, posebno onih koji se tiskaju svakodnevno, imaju za cilj informiranje širih slojeva društva o svakodnevnim događanjima od kulture i politike do svijeta zabave i razonode.⁶ Način na koji se prenose vijesti u novinama, igraju bitnu ulogu u društvu i čine opus jednih novinskih izdanja. Stoga se kao najpoznatija sredstva ističu: izvještavanje, kronika, komentar na neki događaj, intervju, anketa, reportaža, esej i sl.⁷ Upravo politički segment novinskog lista, konkretno *Glasa Slavonije*, važan je u proučavanju događaja u sklopu reformskog pokreta, hrvatskog proljeća, na području Osijeka i istočne Hrvatske.

Fenomen hrvatskog proljeća

Hrvatsko proljeće naziv je kojim se obilježava vrijeme ranih 70-ih godina prošlog stoljeća u kojemu se vodstvo Saveza komunista Hrvatske (SKH) odupiralo jugoslavenskom unitarizmu. Osim toga, cilj pokreta bio je potaknuti reforme u gospodarstvu, vojsci, kulturi i politici. Što se tiče datiranja tog pokreta, nema suglasnosti hrvatske historiografije.⁸ Ponekad se kao ishodišna točna pokreta smatra Ustav iz 1963., a katkada *Deklaracija o nazivu i položaju hrvatskog književnog jezika* iz 1967. godine. Treći smjer proučavanja hrvatskog proljeća nalaže kako ono započinje 1969. ili 1970. godine u sklopu 10. sjednice Centralnog komiteta SKH. U okviru sloma hrvatskog proljeća, historiografija je nešto usuglašenija pa se tako vremenski period između kraja 1971. i sredine 1972. uzima kao konačna točka u obračunavanju sa svima koji su sudjelovali tijekom pokreta.⁹

4 K. KRUŠELJ, I. MIROŠNIČENKO, Jezik osječkih novina: Branislav i Glas Slavonije, u: *Hrvatistika: studentski jezikoslovni časopis*, 7(7), 2014, rvat89.

5 M. GLUŠAC, *Osječke novine nekada i sada*, 153.

6 K. KRUŠELJ, I. MIROŠNIČENKO, *Jezik osječkih novina: Branislav i Glas Slavonije*, 88.

7 J. SILIĆ, *Funkcionalni stilovi hrvatskoga jezika*. Zagreb: Disput, 2006, 77.

8 D. TOMAS, M. BOŠNJAK, Odjeci hrvatskoga proljeća u Osijeku, u: *Diacovensia*, 28(4), 2020, 522.

9 P. KRISTE, Nekoliko teza o hrvatskom proljeću, u: T. JAKOVINA (ur.), *Hrvatsko proljeće 40 godina poslije*, 44.



Međutim, do reorganizacije snažnog represivnog aparata, UDBE, sloboda govora bila je posebno ograničena. Tako padom čelnika UDBE, Aleksandra Rankovića, na Brijunskom plenumu 1966. godine dolazi do smanjenja stega samog represivnog aparata pa se može uzeti i 1966. godina kao početni impuls za hrvatsko proljeće i profiliranje reformskih snaga unutar SKH, koje je bilo samo jedan od nositelja političkih zahtjeva u sklopu hrvatskog proljeća.¹⁰

Hrvatsko partijsko vodstvo sastojalo se, krajem šezdesetih i početkom sedamdesetih, od dvije struje članstva. Prva struja zagovarala je reforme cjelokupnog društva Jugoslavije, a druga struja bila je konzervativnog svjetonazora uz naglašene društvene dogme.¹¹ U sklopu prve skupine članstva u SKH spadali su Miko Tripalo kao član Izvršnog biroa Predsjedništva SKJ, Savka Dabčević-Kučar kao predsjednica SKH, zatim Pero Pirker koji je bio sekretar Izvršnog komiteta CK SKH, Ivica Vrkić kao predsjednik Saveza omladine, Dragutin Haramija kao predsjednik Izvršnog vijeća Hrvatske, Marko Koprtla kao član Izvršnog komiteta CK SKH i dr. U dogmatsku skupinu spadali su Jure Bilić, Milka Planinc, Josip Vrhovec, Dušan Dragosavac i dr. Njihov međusobni odnos netrpeljivosti i sukoba do punog izričaja dolazi 1971. godine, kada Dabčević-Kučar iznosi prijedloge koji odudaraju od službene politike centralnog Beograda, a posebno nakon događaja u Karađorđevu i osude vodstva SKH.¹²

Tijekom 60-ih godina dolazi i do interesa studenata za boljitak vlastitog statusa, ali i za boljitak statusa društva u cjelini. Početni korak u toj borbi bio je osnivanje časopisa *Praxis* 1964. godine, a četiri godine kasnije održan je studentski prosvjed.¹³ U jesen 1970. godine studentski pokret dobiva protagoniste koji su podržavali reformsku struju SKH i promjene u državi. Jedan od zagovornika reformi je Ivan Zvonimir Čičak koji u prosincu 1970. postaje student prorektor, a nešto ranije je Dražen Budiša postao predsjednik Saveza studenata grada Zagreba, a Goran Dodig njegov potpredsjednik.¹⁴ Izbor Ivana Zvonimira Čička svakako je bio protivan interesu SKJ, budući da se Čičkovo ime često spominjalo u kontekstu „hrvatskog nacionalizma“.¹⁵ Što se tiče Slavonije, valja napo-

10 I. PERIĆ (ur.), *Povijest Hrvata; Od 1918. do danas*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2007, 334.

11 I. ŠUŠAK, Hrvatsko proljeće – počeci političkog interesnog pluralizma, u: *Hrvatska i komparativna javna uprava: časopis za teoriju i praksu javne uprave*, 8(3), 2008, 777.

12 Z. RADELIĆ, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2006, 431-432.

13 Z. RADELIĆ, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991.*, 370, 372.

14 I. ŠUŠAK, *Hrvatsko proljeće – počeci političkog interesnog pluralizma*, 774.

15 K. MILAT, *Hrvatsko proljeće u Dalmaciji*, diplomski rad. Split: Sveučilište u Splitu, Filozofski fakultet, 30.



menuti kako u Osijeku nije bilo formirano Sveučilište te da je studentski pokret uglavnom bio u organizaciji ogranka Matice hrvatske u Osijeku. Tako se mogu iščitati imena Ivica Vrkića, Ivana Skore, Martina Markote, Joze Totića i drugih koji su podržavali i zagovarali reforme u Hrvatskoj.¹⁶

Spomenuta Matica Hrvatska, imala je veliki utjecaj na rasplamsavanje ideja hrvatskog proljeća u društvu. Ona je uz vodstvo SKH i studente, jedan od stupova hrvatskog proljeća. Početno je to bila kulturna i umjetnička institucija, ali tijekom hrvatskog proljeća ona sve više ima politički značaj i težinu u hrvatskom društvu.¹⁷ Posebno je to vidljivo nakon popuštanja stega UDBE i pada Aleksandra Rankovića. Uoči 70-ih godina dolazi do afirmiranja novih članova Matice koji se aktivnije uključuju u političke diskusije putem časopisa *Hrvatski tjednik*. Posebno je to vidljivo dolaskom Vlade Gotovca kao glavnog urednika časopisa. U Osijeku je Matica hrvatska nakon izbora Kamila Firingera za predsjednika ogranka nastojala proširiti svoj utjecaj u sklopu proljećarskih ideja, stoga su osnivali svoje ogranke širom Slavonije te su tijekom 1971. u Osijeku izveli pjesmu „Lijepa naša domovino“ u osječkom Hrvatskom narodnom kazalištu. Izvođenje te pjesme pokazuje sve aktivnije organiziranje proslava važnih za hrvatsku povijest u režiji Matice.¹⁸

Što se tiče *Glasa Slavonije* tijekom šezdesetih i sedamdesetih godina prošlog stoljeća, to su novine koje tehnički zaostaju za vodećim novinama tadašnje Hrvatske, pa su primat u Slavoniji i Baranji ipak imale beogradske novine *Večernje novosti* i *Politika*. Također, o ulozi *Glasa* te o čitanosti govore njegovi tiraži koji se kreću od 11 800 primjeraka (1967.) do 7 800 primjeraka (1971.) godine. Valja naglasiti kako je *Glas Slavonije* tijekom hrvatskog proljeća bio pod prismotrom vlasti, stoga kritički osvrt na odluke i događaje izostaje.¹⁹

Praćenost događaja koji su prethodili hrvatskom proljeću u *Glasi Slavonije*

Važan događaj koji je prethodio hrvatskom proljeću, dakako je objavljivanje već spomenute *Deklaracije* iz ožujka 1967. godine. Njome se željelo opovrgnuti zaključke Novosadskog dogovora iz prosinca 1954. godine u kojemu, između ostalog, stoji da je hrvatsko-srpski je-

16 D. TOMAS, M. BOŠNJAK, *Odjeci hrvatskoga proljeća u Osijeku*, 543, 544.

17 I. ŠUŠAK, *Hrvatsko proljeće – počeci političkog interesnog pluralizma*, 774-775.

18 D. TOMAS, M. BOŠNJAK, *Odjeci hrvatskoga proljeća u Osijeku*, 539-541.

19 B. NOVAK, *Hrvatsko novinstvo u 20. stoljeću*, 596.



dan jezik koji ima dvije varijante imena i da ima isto toliko izgovora. Tim dogovorom se nastojao približiti srpski i hrvatski jezik u cilju bolje integracije južnoslavenskih naroda u okvirima socijalističke Jugoslavije.²⁰ Međutim, 1967. godine, potaknuti nezadovoljstvom u kome se nalazio hrvatski jezik i književnost, hrvatski su jezikoslovci i intelektualci reagirali i objavili *Deklaraciju*, koju je potpisao nemali broj kulturnih i znanstvenih institucija tog doba. Zaključak potpisanog dokumenta odnosio se na neravnopravnost jezika putem javne uprave, masovne komunikacije te putem državnih organa. Zatim, nametanje srpske varijante jezika također je bio jedan od problema s kojima se hrvatski jezik susretao, a na to su željeli ukazati potpisnici *Deklaracije*.²¹ Potpisnici su se pozvali i na neotuđivo pravo svakog naroda na korištenje vlastitog jezika u pismu, govoru i u školama tijekom podučavanja. Važnost obrazovanja počiva na tome što se ono trebalo koristiti za podizanje svijesti hrvatskog naroda o vlastitoj kulturi, jeziku, ali i povijesti.²² Također, potpisnici su tražili ravnopravnost četiriju jezika: hrvatskog, srpskog, slovenskog i makedonskog. Odjek *Deklaracije* uočljiv je u tome što su na plenarnoj sjednici u travnju 1967. neki članovi CK SKH, na čelu s Milošem Žankom²³, osudili Maticu hrvatsku, Maticu iseljenika, Savez književnika i druge supotpisnice *Deklaracije* kao mjesta u kojima je žarište hrvatskog nacionalizma.²⁴ Politički vrh tadašnje SR Hrvatske na čelu sa Savkom Dabčević-Kučar nastojali su se usmjeriti na rješavanje pitanja unitarizma, a pitanje jezika i jezične unifikacije ostaviti jezikoslovcima.²⁵ *Glas Slavonije* također piše o *Deklaraciji*, ali je vidljiv suzdržani stav u izvještavanju zaključaka *Deklaracije*. Takav način izvještavanja može se pridodati partijskim nadzorom nad tiskanim medijima.²⁶

20 H. MATKOVIĆ, *Povijest Jugoslavije*. Zagreb: Naklada Pavičić, 1998, 354.

21 Z. RADELIĆ, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991*, 404-405.

22 J. IRVINE, The Croatian Spring and the Dissolution of Yugoslavia, u: L. J. COHEN, J. DRAGOVIC-SOSO (ur.), *State Collapse in South-Eastern Europe: New Perspectives on Yugoslavia's Disintegration*. West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2007, 156-157.

23 Miloš Žanko u tom periodu bio je predsjednik Savezne skupštine. Smatrao je kako hrvatski nacionalizam sve više raste, a kao odgovorne za to držao je vodstvo SKH na čelu s Savkom Dabčević-Kučar. I. GOLDSTEIN, *Povijest 21: Hrvatska povijest*. Zagreb: Europapress holding, 2008, 465.

24 K. MIĆANOVIĆ, Jezična politika s kraja 60-ih i s početka 70-ih: u procijepu autonomije između i centralizma, u: T. JAKOVINA (ur.), *Hrvatsko proljeće 40 godina poslije*, 275-277.

25 B. NOVAK, *Hrvatsko novinstvo u 20. stoljeću*, 558.

26 D. BEREČIĆ, *Uloga medija tijekom hrvatskog proljeća*, diplomski rad, Osijek: Sveučilište J. J. Strossmayera, Filozofski fakultet, 2015, 48.



Drugi važan događaj koji je prethodio hrvatskom proljeću je održavanje 10. sjednice CK SKH. Mnogi autori smatraju kako je upravo ta sjednica formalni početak hrvatskog proljeća jer su tada izneseni jasni stavovi (tzv. reformskog) rukovodstva SKH o problemima koji su se ticali Hrvatske u sklopu Jugoslavije.²⁷ *Glas Slavonije* redovito je izvještavao o događajima s rada desete sjednice CK SKH, detaljno je navodio izlaganja važnih sudionika sjednice, poput Miloša Žanka, Katicice Pintar, Milutina Baltića, Katicice Kušec i dr.²⁸ Posebno se ističe govor predsjednice CK SKH, Savke Dabčević-Kučar pod nazivom „Bitno je da na kursu reforme budemo još mobilniji, organiziraniji i aktivniji“²⁹ u kojemu je odaslala poruku da se CK-u SKH nameće nacionalizam kako bi se odvratio fokus sa bitnih problema u društvu.³⁰ Osim toga, ističu se i govori slavonskih predstavnika na sjednici. Tako Ivan Šipka, predstavnik iz Osijeka navodi da su Žankovi napadi na vodstvo SKH nedopustivi i potencijalno opasni te da takvi istupi imaju veliku ulogu u etnički miješanoj sredini. Šipka navodi da su takvi istupi imali također odjeka i na istoku Hrvatske u vidu određenog zaoštavanja na terenu.³¹ Rade Pavlović iz Županje te Smilja Medovka iz Đakova također su dali punu podršku hrvatskom rukovodstvu na čelu s Dabčević-Kučar uz opasku kako je područje Slavonije miješanog nacionalnog sastava te da svaka negativna akcija, poput one Miloša Žanka, može dovesti do tenzija. Slično razmišljaju i predstavnici iz Valpova i Belog Manastira. Potonji, Franjo Šumiga, govori o etničkom sastavu Belog Manastira u kojemu ima po 30 posto Mađara, Srba i Hrvata te ostalih nacionalnosti, a među narodom nema značajnijih nacionalističkih ispada.³² Također je Općinski komitet Slavonske Požege na čelu s Borom Zimom podržao stavove vodstva SKH.³³ Tako je *Glas* prenio iz gotovo svih organizacija Saveza komunista da podržavaju zaključke sjednice i da bezrezervno podržavaju vodstvo na čelu sa Savkom Dabčević-Kučar.

Zaključci sjednice usmjereni su ka osuđivanju pripisivanja nacionalističkih tendencija u vodstvu CK SKH i osuđivanje postupaka Miloša Žanka. Sjednica je uvela novinu u hrvatski javni prostor, na način da

27 Z. RADELIĆ, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991.*, 390. O problemima unutar tadašnje SR Hrvatske govori podatak kako je najviše ljudi iselilo 1970. godine i to gotovo 70 000 osoba.

28 *Glas Slavonije*, godina XXVII, 17.1.1970., 1-2.

29 *Glas Slavonije*, godina XXVII, 17.1.1970., 2-3.

30 *Glas Slavonije*, godina XXVII, 17.1.1970., 2-3.

31 *Glas Slavonije*, godina XXVII, 20.1.1970., 3.

32 *Glas Slavonije*, godina XXVII, 20.1.1970., 3.

33 *Glas Slavonije*, godina XXVII, 3.2.1970., 2.



je prenošena putem televizije čime se postiglo da šire narodne mase budu upoznate s dogovorima i diskusijama u sklopu sjednice. Također, ova 10. sjednica CK SKH označila je početak suočavanja sa stvarnim problemima u društvu.³⁴ Slavonija i Baranja dala je podršku zaključcima 10. sjednice³⁵ te se ističe kako će „Konferencija Saveza komunista općine Osijek odgovorno djelovati na ostvarivanju odluka Desete sjednice CK SKH“ te kako će se činiti sve u cilju jače kohezije u redovima Saveza komunista.³⁶ Ubrzo nakon donesenih zaključaka 10. sjednice, slavonske su se organizacije okupile, poput ove u Osijeku te su stremili ka konsolidaciji i provođenju zaključaka.³⁷ Primjerice u valpovačkom ogranku Saveza komunista došlo je do nezadovoljstva Darka Uranjeka, Ivana Madarića i Nebojše Vujaklije sa „ideološko-političkim nivoom jednog dijela članstva“³⁸ pa je u cilju jačke kohezija svih članova organizirano svojevršno ideološko obrazovanje članova uz naglasak da nema pobuna i drugih nezadovoljstava u društvu.³⁹ Član Izvršnog komiteta CK SKH Jure Bilić u Belišću je istaknuo važnost jačanja samoupravljanja i jačanja jugoslavenskog gospodarstva, jer jačanjem tih segmenata društva, smanjit će se unitarizam i nacionalizam, za koje je ocijenjeno da su pogubni za cjelokupno jugoslavensko društvo. Ljuban Ljubišić bio je predsjednik Općinske konferencije Saveza komunista iz Vukovara te je naglasio kako na tom području nije nailazio na nacionalnu netrpeljivost te je dao primjer višenacionalne strukture u Kombinat u gume i obuće u Borovu u kojemu vlada mir i nema sukoba.⁴⁰

Također, osim što su slavonski gradovi i općine podržali zaključke 10. sjednice CK SKH i sam Josip Broz Tito javno je podržao zaključke u opatijskom hotelu *Ambasador* te je dodatno pohvalio govor Savke Dabčević-Kučar.⁴¹ Međutim, Glas Slavonije 31. siječnja 1970. donosi izvještaj Međuopćinske konferencije SKH u Osijeku pod nazivom „Za konkretnije programiranje ideološko-političke aktivnosti“ što ukazuje na ideološku dvojbenost jednog dijela članstva. Naime, u članku se ističe kako je Pero Vujnić, kao predsjedavajući, istaknuo važnost ideološkog obrazovanja te pokretanja određenih aktivnosti u smjeru ideo-

34 Z. RADELIĆ, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991.*, 437-438.

35 *Glas Slavonije*, godina XXVII, 20.1.1970., 1-3.

36 *Glas Slavonije*, godina XXVII, 24.1.1970., 1.

37 *Glas Slavonije*, godina XXVII, 27.1.1970., 1.

38 *Glas Slavonije*, godina XXVII, 29.1.1970., 1.

39 *Glas Slavonije*, godina XXVII, 29.1.1970., 1.

40 *Glas Slavonije*, godina XXVII, 30.1.1970., 2.

41 Z. RADELIĆ, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991.*, 438.



loško-političke aktivnosti u sklopu organizacija Saveza komunista na području Slavonije.⁴² S druge strane, u sklopu proučavanja hrvatskog proljeća u Slavoniji, točnije u Osijeku, autori Tomas i Bošnjak ističu kako reformske struje nisu imale utjecaja sve do zaključka 10. sjednice CK SKH.⁴³ Stoga, na temelju članka iz *Glasa*, može se pretpostaviti kako su proljećarske ideje krajem siječnja 1970. već imale odjeka u slavonskom društvu i slavonskim ograncima Saveza komunista.

Izvjestavanje *Glasa Slavonije* o događajima pred slom hrvatskog proljeća

Na trećem plenumu CK SKJ u svibnju 1969. godine predstavnici Hrvatske i Slovenije zalagali su se za veću autonomiju, dok su predstavnici Srbije smatrali kako je rješenje napetosti u Jugoslaviji demokratizacija cijelog društva.⁴⁴ Snažan vjetar u leđa hrvatskom proljeću dale su ustavne promjene čiji je cilj bio decentralizacija te jačanje republika i pokrajina u smislu donošenja odluka. Takve naznake promjena zdušno je podržavalo hrvatsko političko vodstvo, članovi Matice hrvatske te studenti. Dakle, tim promjenama na republikama bi bila odluka o vlastitom razvoju, gospodarstvu, financijama i drugim pitanjima za narod pojedine republike, dok bi na razini federacije republike zajednički odlučivale o važnim pitanjima.⁴⁵ Što se tiče Srbije, CK SKS je podržao takve promjene, ali u javnosti se ipak širilo nezadovoljstvo tim promjenama posebno glede statusa pokrajina, ali to nezadovoljstvo tek će krajem 80-ih izaći na vidjelo i dosegnuti svoj puni zamah. Tako je službeno savezna skupština prihvatila 30. lipnja 1971. postojeći ustav i ozakonila reforme koje su trebale poboljšati status republika i smanjiti međuetničke napetosti.⁴⁶

Nekoliko je puta spomenuta Matica hrvatska kao jedan od stupova hrvatskog proljeća. Upravo je ona i potaknula Tita na reakciju i ograničavanje istupa vodstva SKH u javnosti. Matica je tijekom tih burnih godina uvelike širila svoje ogranke, pa tako dovoljno govori podatak da je 1971. imala oko 50 000 članova, 55 ogranaka, 31 ogranak u osnivanju te 18 povjereništava. Tako je Matica stekla veliki ugled u druš-

42 *Glas Slavonije*, godina XXVII, 31.1.1970., 1.

43 D. TOMAS, M. BOŠNJAK, *Odjeci hrvatskoga proljeća u Osijeku*, 546.

44 Z. RADELIĆ, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991.*, 436.

45 P. KRISTE, *Nekoliko teza o hrvatskom proljeću*, 49-50.

46 H. MATKOVIĆ, *Povijest Jugoslavije*, 363-364.



tvu, a njezina popularnost sve je više rasla.⁴⁷ U dnevnim novinama u Slavoniji ne pronalazi se članak koji bi govorio o djelatnosti Matice ili o njezinim izdanjima, što ide u prilog prorežimskom karakteru državnih izdavača. Izdavaštvo Matice u tim burnim vremenima tiskalo je oko 300 knjiga godišnje, a posebno su bili značajni njezini časopisi. Primjerice radi, izdavačka djelatnost Matice u istočnoj Hrvatskoj ogleda se u izdavanju časopisa *Revija* u Osijeku, *Hrvatska pokrajina* u Požeги, *Pakrac danas* u Pakracu i *Ogledi* u Vukovaru. Međutim, najvažniji i najutjecajniji časopis u izdanju Matice bio je *Hrvatski tjednik* koji se tiskao od 16. travnja 1971.⁴⁸ Često je Matica prozivala SKH⁴⁹ zbog blagog odnosa prema vodstvu Jugoslavije jer su smatrali kako bi SKH trebala zauzeti čvršći stav u reformskim nastojanjima. Međutim, problem Matice bio je što njezini članovi nisu imali jedinstven stav niti su imali jasan program, stoga je djelatnost Matice nerijetko štetila ugledu vodstva SKH u jugoslavenskom društvu i kod Josipa Broza Tita. U članstvu Matice bile su i one struje koje su zagovarale čak Hrvatsku izvan okvira Jugoslavije, o čemu vodstvo SKH nije razmišljalo. Ali takav stav pojedinaca iz Matice prelio se i u neke druge organizacije, primjerice u Savez studenata te je postao prijetnja i hrvatskom vodstvu i prijetnja za stabilnost zemlje.⁵⁰

Osim spomenutih nesuglasica u SKH između reformista i dogmatika, postojale su i one struje u Savezu komunista koji se nisu slagali s ekonomskom politikom Jugoslavije te su i oni doprinijeli narušavanju slike vodstva SKH u jugoslavenskom društvu i kod Tita. Tako je Šime Đodan, inače član Matice, bio jedan od najaktivnijih ljudi koji su upozoravali na neravnomjernu raspodjelu sredstava iz glavne državne riznice prema republikama. Smatrao je kako Hrvatska daje više prihoda nego što ih dobiva. Tu je bio i Marko Veselica, Vladimir Veselica te Hrvoje Šošić koji su tvrdili da bi Hrvatska, ako se osamostali, mogla postati poput Švicarske po razvijenosti.⁵¹

U listopadu 1971. dolazi do početka studentskog revolta. Tijekom

47 Z. RADELIĆ, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991.*, 439.

48 Z. RADELIĆ, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991.*, 439.

49 Matica hrvatska s vremenom se profilirala kao svojevrsna oporba Savezu komunista Hrvatske. Iako se zalagala za slične reforme, njihov program razlikovao se u nacionalnom kriteriju pri provođenju odluka i reformi. D. BILANDŽIĆ, *Historija Socijalističke Federativne republike Jugoslavije: glavni procesi 198-1985.*, Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1985, 420.

50 H. MATKOVIĆ, *Povijest Jugoslavije*, 365.

51 D. BILANDŽIĆ, *Hrvatska moderna povijest*. Zagreb: Golden marketing, 1999, 555-556, 584-586.



studentskog skupa došlo je do napada Ivana Zvonimira Čička na Sabor SR Hrvatske, kojega je prozvaao zbog nesposobnosti u odnosu prema vlasti u Beogradu, a zatim je u samom društvu sazrijevala ideja osamostaljenja, što bi direktno ugrozilo opstanak Jugoslavije i vlast Tita. Osim toga, bilo je i radikalnih ideja za ono doba, poput ideje Hrvoja Šošića da se Hrvatska primi u OUN.⁵² Sva takva razmišljanja, a posebno sveopći porast atmosfere osamostaljenja nagnao je Tita da poduzme konkretne korake protiv još većeg rasplamsavanja nezadovoljstva.

U međuvremenu od 5. do 6. studenog 1971. održana je 22. sjednica CK SKH koja je detaljno popraćena u *Glasi Slavonije*, za razliku od ranije navedenog studentskog prosvjeda. U članku pod nazivom „Pobjeda političkih orijentacija koja najbolje određuje samoupravni socijalizam“⁵³ *Glas Slavonije* donosi uvodni govor Dabčević-Kučar u kojemu se ona osvrće na uspjehe u pogledu usvajanja amandmana i govori kako su ostvareni zahtjevi SKH, ali i da su suzbijeni unitaristički, separatistički i stavovi neravnopravnosti naroda u Jugoslaviji. Osvrće se i na politizaciju naroda za koji kaže kako je narod uz SKH i da narod ne sluša ničije druge parole i interese nego da se vode interesima naroda i politikom SKH. Spominje i vlastito vladanje s narodom s podnaslovom „Tko se boji gibanja masa“⁵⁴ u kojemu ističe da imaju autoritet nad narodom i kako mogu ovladati s narodnim zahtjevima.⁵⁵

Dalje, *Glas Slavonije* izvještava o završetku 22. sjednice CK SKH pod naslovom „U praksu odlučno i odgovorno“ te navodi nekoliko misli sudionika diskusije iz Slavonije: Franje Šumige, Ivana Šipke, Josipa Đerđa te Drage Kovačevića. Primjerice, Ivan Šipka govori o tome zbog čega su procesi integracije u stagnaciji, osvrćući se na ekonomski prosperitet integracija određenih poduzeća te zbog čega veće organizacije posluju lošije. Navodi primjer IPK kako bi neki dijelovi bolje poslovali da su samostalni.⁵⁶ Iz primjera je vidljiva orijentacija slavonskih sudionika o problemima u Slavoniji te je vidljivo izvještavanje *Glasa* koje naginje prema lokalnoj zajednici. U daljnjim izdanjima vidljiva je podrška slavonskih organizacija 22. sjednici CK SKH, osim Općinske konferencije socijalističkog saveza u Vinkovcima koja nešto radikalnije iznosi svoje tvrdnje, a koje su ipak objavljene u *Glasi Slavonije*. Tako se iz Vinkovaca, pod predsjedanjem Ivana Rosan-

52 Z. RADELIĆ, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991.*, 450.

53 *Glas Slavonije*, godina XXVIII, 6.11.1971., 2-3.

54 *Glas Slavonije*, godina XXVIII, 6.11.1971., 3.

55 *Glas Slavonije*, godina XXVIII, 6.11.1971., 3.

56 *Glas Slavonije*, godina XXVIII, 8.11.1971., 3.



dića, moglo čuti da se oni zalažu za nacionalnu i suverenu državu hrvatskog naroda te kako treba naglasiti kontinuitet hrvatske države tijekom stoljeća, smatrajući da je taj kontinuitet uspostavom Jugoslavije narušen. Dodatno navode kako su drugi narodi u Hrvatskoj konstitutivni dio hrvatske državnosti.⁵⁷ Slično tomu navode i studenti i profesori Ekonomskog fakulteta u Osijeku, koji dodaju kako je bitno riješiti devizni problem kako bi se gospodarstvo dalje moglo razvijati.⁵⁸

Savez studenata, odnosno studentski štrajk u Zagrebu (22.11.1971.) bio je neposredni povod za Titovu intervenciju u Savezu komunista Hrvatske.⁵⁹ Studentski štrajk krenuo je iz Zagreba, odakle se proširio još nekim gradovima Hrvatske. Inače, štrajk je podržalo članstvo Matice hrvatske koje je dalo dodatnu snagu i zamah štrajku. Zahtjevi studenata ticali su se problema deviza koje su pristizale u Jugoslaviju te je štrajk obilježio napad Ante Paradžika, kao predsjednika Saveza studenata Hrvatske, na JNA. Paradžik je želio da se uvede hrvatski jezik za Hrvate koji služe vojni rok u JNA te da svaka osoba služi vojsci u svojoj republici.⁶⁰ Što se tiče stanja u Osijeku, studenti se nisu pridružili štrajku te se nastava nije prekidala. *Glas Slavonije* o tome kratko izvještava i navodi kako je stajalište osječkih studenata da su zaključci održanih sjednica CK SKH pravi put u rješavanju problema u jugoslavenskom društvu.⁶¹ U Istom broju iz 26. studenog 1971. *Glas* donosi prilično veliki osvrt Mike Tripala, kao člana predsjedništva Jugoslavije, pod nazivom „Nitko nema pravo dovoditi u pitanje tekove koje smo izvojevali“⁶² pri tome misleći kako demonstracije studenata stvaraju privid nedemokratskog rješavanja problema i kako ta metoda nije dobara. Tripalo ističe kako je važno postići sporazum i poštovati interese radničke klase i svake nacije i narodnosti unutar Jugoslavije.⁶³ Početkom prosinca 1971., prije promjena u vodstvu SKH stanje se na fakultetima normalizira te *Glas* posvećuje veći članak koji govori kako je i 2. prosinca bilo ispada grupe studenata u Zagrebu, ali osnovna je misao kako se nastava mora redovito održavati.⁶⁴

57 *Glas Slavonije*, godina XXVIII, 11.11.1971., 3.

58 *Glas Slavonije*, godina XXVIII, 17.11.1971., 3. Uz sve izneseno navode kako vodstvo SKH ima njihovu podršku.

59 H. MATKOVIĆ, *Povijest Jugoslavije*, 367.

60 Z. RADELIĆ, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991.*, 450.

61 *Glas Slavonije*, godina XXVIII, 26.11.1971., 1.

62 *Glas Slavonije*, godina XXVIII, 26.11.1971., 1, 3.

63 *Glas Slavonije*, godina XXVIII, 26.11.1971., 1, 3.

64 *Glas Slavonije*, godina XXVIII, 2.12.1971., 1, 3.

Percepcija sloma hrvatskog proljeća u Slavoniji

Sukladno svim događanjima koja su potaknuta iz vodstva SKH, Tito je smatrao kako vodstvo SKH na čelu sa Savkom Dabčević-Kučar nema autoritet u narodu, kako se oni ne mogu nositi sa svim problemima⁶⁵ koji su se stvorili u društvu i zato ih je pozvao na sastanak u Karađorđevo, 30. studenog 1971.⁶⁶ Sastanak je završio 1. prosinca 1971.⁶⁷ bez nekih značajnih zaključaka, a za dan poslije toga zakazana je 21. sjednica Predsjedništva SKJ na kojoj su sve republike jednoznačno osudile hrvatsko vodstvo.⁶⁸ Primjerice, u Bosni i Hercegovini stav je bio kako je hrvatsko proljeće negativna pojava po državu jer i Srbija i Hrvatska imaju razmišljanje o podijeli Bosne i Hercegovine.⁶⁹

Što se tiče *Glasa Slavonije*, 2. prosinca kratko izvještavaju u par rečenica kako je održan sastanak, a dan kasnije izdaju članak pod nazivom „Povjerenje u SKH da će svladati teškoće“.⁷⁰ U tom članku govori se kako su u posljednje vrijeme uočeni politički problemi u vidu antisamoupravne i antisocijalističke politike te da takva politika vrši pritisak na socijalističko društvo. Naglašava se odgovornost centralnih komiteta u održavanju reda te da se prihvaća Titovo izlaganje kao zaključak sjednice. Nadalje, drugi članak uvodno je izlaganje predsjednika SKJ Josipa Broza Tita sa 21. sjednice predsjedništva SKJ pod nazivom „Nećemo se složiti da se razni državni problemi rješavaju na ulici“ pri tome aludirajući na rješavanje uzroka nezadovoljstva studenata na zagrebačkom Sveučilištu.⁷¹ No, osim toga, Tito priznaje kako štrajk na sveučilištu nije stvar samo studenata, nego tu proziva i Maticu hrvatsku kao kontrarevolucionarnu grupu koja iznosi protuustavne ideje.⁷²

65 Problematičan je bio stav vodstva SKH koji su bili protiv poduzimanja oštrijih mjera za suzbijanje nacionalizma, posebno uočljivog u redovima Matice hrvatske. Otegotna okolnost bile su unitarističko-centralističke struje u Jugoslaviji koje su vršile pritisak na Tita. D. BILANDŽIĆ, *Historija Socijalističke Federativne republike Jugoslavije*, 420.

66 H. MATKOVIĆ, *Povijest Jugoslavije*, 367.

67 Dan 1. prosinac u povijesti je zapamćen kao dan kada je, 1918. godine, stvorena Kraljevina Srba, Hrvata i Slovenaca. Autor Novak smatra kako je time pokušao simbolično izraziti svoju odlučnost za očuvanjem Jugoslavije. Autor nadodaje kako se Tito želio dodvoriti srpskim unitaristima i JNA koji su ga napadali zbog podrške vodstvu SKH. B. NOVAK, *Hrvatsko novinstvo u 20. stoljeću*, 699.

68 Z. RADELIĆ, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991.*, 451.

69 H. KAMBEROVIĆ, Percepcija hrvatskog proljeća u Bosni i Hercegovini, u: T. JAKOVINA (ur.), *Hrvatsko proljeće 40 godina poslije*, 135-136. Tu tvrdnju izrekao je Branko Mikulić, član SK Bosne i Hercegovine.

70 *Glas Slavonije*, godina XXVIII, 3.12.1971., 1.

71 *Glas Slavonije*, godina XXVIII, 3.12.1971., 1.

72 *Glas Slavonije*, godina XXVIII, 3.12.1971., 3.



Glas Slavonije Titovom je obraćanju posvetio naslovnici i cijeli treću stranicu svog izdanja iz 3. prosinca izlaganju Josipa Broza Tita te je prenio njegove misli o stanju u društvu, ali i o stanju u SKH. Na tu temu Tito je rekao kako stanje nije dobro. Smjer u kome ide SKH je dobar, ali realizacija, kako bi se postigao cilj, nije na zadovoljavajućoj razini, istaknuo je Tito.⁷³ Sljedeći broj *Glasa* također je u znaku 21. sjednice predsjedništva, članak koji dominira glasi „Revolucionarnim djelovanjem protiv kontrarevolucionarnih tendencija“ i to je rečenica iz završne riječi Tita sa sjednice koji kaže da „Rukovodstvo Hrvatske ima snažnu podršku u svim republikama“⁷⁴ i da se trebaju prvo događanja unutar SKH stabilizirati i homogenizirati. Tito ovdje dodaje i da se nepovjerenje drugih republika spram Hrvatske treba brzo zaboraviti.⁷⁵

Odjek 21. sjednice u Slavoniji vidljiv je u naslovu novina iz 6. prosinca kada se navodi kako slavonske organizacije SK daju punu podršku ocjenama i stavovima Tita te zaključcima Predsjedništva SKJ. Dodaju i kako su slavonske organizacije izrazile povjerenje u SKH i kako će njegovo vodstvo uspjeti izgladiti unutarnje nemire. To govori i Ivan Šipka, predsjednik općinske konferencije SKH, koji je poslao i brzojav Titu i predsjedništvu SKJ, a koji je u potpunosti iznesen u *Glasi Slavonije*. Također, poslan je i telegram iz Osijeka CK-u SKH u kome se izražavaju želje za što bolje svladavanje poteškoća.⁷⁶ Potom *Glas* piše i o drugim gradovima (Slavonski Brod, Đakovo, Požega i dr.) koji daju podršku SKJ i SKH uz riječi kako „Nećemo nikad i nikome dozvoliti da određene antisocijalističke snage, šovinisti i nacionalisti svih boja ometaju nesmetani daljnji samoupravno razvoj Jugoslavije“.⁷⁷ Osječki studenti stali su, također, uz Tita i zaključke sjednice Predsjedništva te se obavezuju na borbu protiv šovinizma, unitarizma te protivnika samoupravnog socijalizma.⁷⁸

Nešto žustriji stav imaju u Požegi, gdje je Predsjedništvo SUBNOR-a istaknulo kako je rad Šime Đodana i Marka Veselice *štetočinski* i kako su u svojoj kontrarevolucionarnoj djelatnosti imali suradnike i s tog požeškog područja te traže političko uklanjanje svih koji su povezani s Đodanom i Veselicom.⁷⁹ Savez udruženja boraca narodnooslobodilač-

73 *Glas Slavonije*, godina XXVIII, 3.12.1971., 3.

74 *Glas Slavonije*, godina XXVIII, 4.12.1971., 1.

75 *Glas Slavonije*, godina XXVIII, 4.12.1971., 2-3.

76 *Glas Slavonije*, godina XXVIII, 6.12.1971., 1-3.

77 *Glas Slavonije*, godina XXVIII, 7.12.1971., 3.

78 *Glas Slavonije*, godina XXVIII, 8.12.1971., 1.

79 *Glas Slavonije*, godina XXVIII, 10.12.1971., 2.



kog rata Jugoslavije (SUBNOR) iz Vinkovaca dodatno traži ispitivanje djelovanja Ivana Šibla koji je obnašao dužnost predsjednika Republičkog odbora SUBNOR-a. Rijedak je slučaj u ovom periodu, da se ovako u dnevnim novinama direktno prozivaju osobe za kontrarevolucionarnu djelatnosti.⁸⁰

Nadalje, u vukovarskom Općinskom komitetu SK osudili su djelovanje Matice hrvatske kako onda djeluje protivno politici Saveza komunista. Isto tako, po prvi puta u *Glasu* prenosi se poruka jednog Općinskog komiteta koji direktno okrivljuje hrvatsko vodstvo za indiferentnost prema ranijim događajima te upravo zbog ne činjenja nikakvih radnji da bi se zaustavilo takvo ponašanje što vodstva studenata, što članova Matice, vukovarski Savez komunista na čelu s Ademom Islamovićem direktno traži ostavke „nosioca ideologije masovnog pokreta, dr. Savku Dabčević-Kučar, Miku Tripala, Peru Pirkeru, Marka Koprtlu i Ivana Šibla“⁸¹. Zatim, nadodaju kako je Marko Koprtla porijeklom iz vukovarskog kraja te da bi trebao „položiti račun za svoj rad“ i vukovarskoj organizaciji SK. Uz direktno traženje ostavki vodstva SKH na čelu s Dabčević-Kučar, organizacija proziva i Međuopćinsku konferenciju SKH za Slavoniju i Baranju na odgovornost i na jače zauzimanje za interese naroda.⁸²

Uvidjevši nezadovoljstvo dijela članstva te samu klimu u SR Hrvatskoj, Tito je uskratio podršku hrvatskom vodstvu i nakon 21. sjednice Predsjedništva SKJ, 8. prosinca 1971., ipak traži ostavke Savke Dabčević-Kučar i Pere Pirkeru. Tako je idućeg dana održana 22. sjednica Predsjedništva SKJ na kojoj je Tito primio hrvatsko vodstvo u odlasku i obećao kako neće biti progona nakon njihove ostavke.⁸³ Dana 12. prosinca 1971. na 23. sjednici CK SKH službeno su podnijeli ostavke: Savka Dabčević-Kučar, Pero Pirker te Marko Koprtla. Miko Tripalo⁸⁴ pismeno je dostavio Titu obavijest o svojoj ostavci na svim dužnostima,

80 *Glas Slavonije*, godina XXVIII, 11.12.1971., 2.

81 *Glas Slavonije*, godina XXVIII, 11.12.1971., 2.

82 *Glas Slavonije*, godina XXVIII, 11.12.1971., 2.

83 Z. RADELIĆ, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991.*, 451.

84 Miko Tripalo u svojoj knjizi iz 2001. ističe međunarodni utjecaj na rasplet hrvatskog proljeća. Govori o tome kako je Sovjetski savez negodovanjem gledao na reformske tendencije u Hrvatskoj jer je smatrao da bi to moglo uništiti Jugoslaviju ili ju oslabiti. Oslabljena Jugoslavija, prema SSSR-ovom viđenju, vrlo bi brzo potpala pod zapadnu sferu utjecaja. Tripalo navodi i kako je znakovit Brežnjevljev posjet Jugoslaviji 1971. kako bi uistinu vidio što se u Jugoslaviji događa. M. TRIPALO, *Hrvatsko proljeće*. Zagreb: NZMH, 2001, 214-215.



koje je obnašao.⁸⁵ *Glas Slavonije* na naslovnoj stranici govori o početku rada 23. sjednice CK SKH i naslovljava članak: „Istinska odlučnost da se prevladaju slabosti“, pri tome donosi vijest kako je hrvatsko vodstvo dalo ostavke na svoje dužnosti. U daljnjem članku *Glas* prenosi poruku Dabčević-Kučar i Pirkera o razlozima ostavke. Navode kako ipak nisu uspjeli ostvariti politiku koju predstavlja i vodi Tito i kako je njihova ostavka izraz odgovornosti. Nadalje, prenosi se i pismo Tripala drugu Titu o razlozima ostavke. Tripalo ističe kako nema veze s nacionalističkim i antisocijalističkim strujama te se poziva na članstvo u Partiji od rane mladosti.⁸⁶

Nadalje, Milka Planinc, kao jedna od suprotnih, dogmatskih struja u SKH, izlaže svoje viđenje novonastale situacije. Planinc govori kako „već duže vremena postojale su ozbiljne razlike“, pri tome misleći na drugačije interpretacije događaja koji su se zbili te da su neka pitanja, poput nacionalizma, teško dolazila na dnevni red u SKH. *Glas Slavonije* detaljno je izvijestio slavonsku javnost o izlaganju članice SKH Planinc.⁸⁷

Tijekom izlaženja *Glasa Slavonije* u ovom periodu, uočava se da prve stranice obično zauzimaju političke vijesti, a zatim i one sportskog i zabavnog sadržaja. Međutim, broj *Glasa* 8188. iz 13. prosinca 1971. političke vijesti tiskao je na nešto više stranica što govori o velikoj važnosti i prijelomnom trenutku u događanjima u SKH. Tako, nakon uvodnih riječi o ostavci i izlaganja Milke Planinc, u narednim stranicama dolaze vijesti o odjeku sloma hrvatskog proljeća u Slavoniji, tj. reakcije na ostavke hrvatskog vodstva. Tako se iz Osijeka navodi kako će SKH prevladati trenutne poteškoće te kako čvrsto stoje uz politiku Josipa Broza Tita i podržavaju, isto kao i vukovarska organizacija, ostavke. Dodatno, ukazano je na praksu zatvorenosti sjednica CK SKH i manjkavost komunikacije. Daljnje akcije u Slavoniji usmjerene su, kako navode, na očuvanje socijalističkog sustava i provedbu smanjenja teškoća u radu SK. Najbolje je vidljiv smjer slavonskih organizacija u *Glavom* naslovu glede predsjedništva Općinske konferencije iz Valpova: „Tito-ve riječi energično provesti u djelo“.⁸⁸

Glas Slavonije također izvještava o ogranku Matice hrvatske u Osijeku nakon ostavki vodstva SKH. Pažnja je usmjerena na postupke onih pojedinaca koji su imali veze u nametanju „djelatnosti izvan njezina

85 I. PERIĆ (ur.), *Povijest Hrvata; Od 1918. do danas*, 343.

86 *Glas Slavonije*, godina XXVIII, 13.12.1971., 1, 2.

87 *Glas Slavonije*, godina XXVIII, 13.12.1971., 2., 3.

88 *Glas Slavonije*, godina XXVIII, 13.12.1971., 7.



programa, tj. djelatnosti kojima osnova nije socijalističko usmjerenje i bratstvo“. Tako su podržali spremnost Dragana Mucića, tajnika Matice u Osijeku na sankcije s obzirom da se nije ogradio od navoda u *Hrvatskom tjedniku*. Također, navedena je kolektivna krivnja svih članova Glavnog odbora Matice hrvatske u Zagrebu kao glavnih krivaca za narušavanje ugleda Matice i promjenu njezinog smjera djelovanja tijekom ranijih događanja.⁸⁹ Tako su ubrzo podnesene ostavke uredništva *Hrvatskog tjednika* te je 20. prosinca 1971. obustavljeno daljnje izlaženje časopisa. Iz vodstva Matice uhićeno je 11 osoba, a Matica je 80-ih godina pripojena Jugoslavenskoj akademiji znanosti i umjetnosti, čime je prestala njezina djelatnost.⁹⁰

Uz to, *Glas* izvještava kako je vodstvo studenata u Zagrebu, Čičak, Budiša i Dodig, uhićeni i kako je protiv njih podignuta optužnica za nasilnu protuustavnu promjenu državnog uređenja.⁹¹ Inače, zbog odluka Tita o ostavkama, studenti su planirali prosvjede podrške Tripalu, Pirkeru, Dabčević-Kučar i ostalima, ali policija i JNA bili su spremni na odgovor i sputavali su svaki oblik okupljanja u znak podrške proljećarima. Međutim, studenti su unutar svojih domova postavili prosvjedne plakate te su dijelili letke za daljnje postupanje. Upravo zbog takvih djela je uhićeno, ranije spomenuto, studentsko vodstvo u Zagrebu. Narednih dana bilo je nešto nemira na glavnom trgu u Zagrebu, a nakon toga uslijedila su uhićenja studenata odgovornih za takvo postupanje.⁹²

Daljnji događaji glede sloma hrvatskog proljeća, također su popraćeni u *Glasi Slavonije*, primjerice izbor Milke Planinc kao predsjednice CK SKH i Josipa Vrhovca kao sekretara izvršnog komiteta. Stanje u Općinskom komitetu SK u Osijeku ticalo se preispitivanja odgovornosti pojedinaca i njihove uloge u događajima. Tako su za desetak osoba tražene ostavke.⁹³ Slični postupci uočavaju se i u ostalim organizacijama u Slavoniji, primjerice u Našicama gdje su sekretar Općinskog komiteta SK Jakov Bukša i član komiteta Josip Mijatović, podnijeli ostavke na svoje dužnosti zbog toga što se drže suodgovornima za ranije događaje. U Novoj Gradiški također je prihvaćena ostavka predsjednika Ivana Maričevića i na čelo je došao novi predsjednik Stjepan Relković.⁹⁴ Iz

89 *Glas Slavonije*, godina XXVIII, 13.12.1971., 8.

90 Z. RADELIĆ, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991.*, 455.

91 *Glas Slavonije*, godina XXVIII, 13.12.1971., 8.

92 Z. RADELIĆ, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991.*, 453-454.

93 *Glas Slavonije*, godina XXVIII, 14.12.1971., 1-2.

94 *Glas Slavonije*, godina XXVIII, 15.12.1971., 1-2.



članka iz 15. prosinca o sastanku rezervnih vojnih starješina Slavonije i Baranje u Osijeku, vidljiv je podatak kako je i u Donjem Miholjcu bilo smjena, upravo iz redova rezervnih vojnih starješina o čemu je govorio Muhamed Vukčević. S druge strane iz Požege Vaso Mandić istaknuo je dihotomiju na članove privržene Mati Novačiću i na članove koji ne odobravaju pronacionalističke stavove. Navodi i vidljivost te podjele tijekom proslave tridesetogodišnjice ustanka, gdje je proslava upriličena za Hrvate u Pleternici, a za Srbe u Kamenskoj.⁹⁵

S druge strane u članku pod nazivom „Oštro suprotstavljanje nacionalizmu“⁹⁶ vidljivo je da se nisu prihvatile ostavke članova iz Osijeka. Izlaganje Jelice Radojčević, članice izvršnog komiteta CK SKH na konferenciji u Osijeku popraćeno je detaljno i u njemu se navodi ne-transparentnost medija, ponajviše zagrebačkog *Vjesnika* u izvještavanju o događajima u SKH. Popraćeno je i izlaganje predsjednika Općinske konferencije SKH Osijek Ivana Šipke pod nazivom „Političko stanje u općini Osijek nije karakterizirala eskalacija nacionalizma“.⁹⁷ U izlaganju se Šipka dotaknuo i pitanja Saveza omladine u Osijeku, u kome SKH nije zadovoljan njihovim angažmanom i radom pa su predsjednik i članovi Predsjedništva Saveza omladine podnijeli ostavke.⁹⁸

Vidljivo je, dakle, da ostavke i smjene nisu zaobišle ni slavonske organizacije. Primjerice, tijekom 1972. godine izvršeni su pretresi stanova velikog broja ljudi za koje se sumnjalo da su pridonijeli rasplamsavanju reformatorskih ideja. Pretražene su i prostorije brojnih poduzeća i organizacije, primjerice u Matici hrvatskoj su provjereni svi članovi, njih 50 000 i od čega ih je uhićeno gotovo 200.⁹⁹ Mnogi ljudi su tako ostali bez zaposlenja i prihoda, neki protagonisti hrvatskog proljeća su marginalizirani ili prisilno umirovljeni. Dok su neki osuđeni putem montiranih sudskih procesa i dobili od dvije do četiri godine zatvora te im je zabranjeno javno djelovanje. Primjer je Vlado Gotovac urednik *Hrvatskog tjednika*, zatim studentske vođe Ivan Zvonimir Čičak i Dražen Budiša i dr.¹⁰⁰ U sklopu Saveza komunista, isključeno je 741 osoba, smijenjeno je 131 osoba s funkcija te je podnesena ostavka 280 ljudi na svoje dotadašnje funkcije.¹⁰¹ O veličini posljedica sloma

95 *Glas Slavonije*, godina XXVIII, 15.12.1971., 2.

96 *Glas Slavonije*, godina XXVIII, 29.12.1971., 1.

97 *Glas Slavonije*, godina XXVIII, 29.12.1971., 4.

98 *Glas Slavonije*, godina XXVIII, 29.12.1971., 4.

99 I. PERIĆ (ur.), *Povijest Hrvata; Od 1918. do danas*, 348.

100 I. GOLDSTEIN, *Povijest 21: Hrvatska povijest*, 470.

101 D. BILANDŽIĆ, *Historija Socijalističke Federativne republike Jugoslavije*, 429.



hrvatskog proljeća govori podatak kako su za kaznena djela „protiv naroda i države“ tijekom 1971. osuđene 83 osobe, u 1972. 427 osoba i u 1973. godini 232 osobe.¹⁰² Što se tiče bivšeg vodstva SKH, do njihovog suđenja nije došlo, kako je i Tito obećao, ali su 8. svibnja 1972. isključeni iz Partije i Dabčević-Kučar, ali i Pirker, Koprta i Tripalo, čime je hrvatsko proljeće doživjelo svoj kraj.¹⁰³

Zaključak

Hrvatsko proljeće reformski je pokret koji svoje korijenje vuče iz 60-ih godina prošlog stoljeća, a doseže vrhunac početkom 70-ih burnim događanjima. Glavni nosioci promjena protiv unitarizma, a za decentralizaciju i bolji odnos prema hrvatskom jeziku i povijesti, bili su čelnici SKH, u prvom redu predsjednica Savka Dabčević-Kučar, zatim Pero Pirker, Miko Tripalo i dr., potom organizacije Matica hrvatska sa svojim časopisom *Hrvatski tjednik* i Savez studenata. Pokret je započeo u Zagrebu, proširio se cijelom Hrvatskom, pa tako i u Slavoniji, iako u nešto slabijem intenzitetu. Vidljivost događaja koji su prethodili hrvatskom proljeću te događaja koji su se odigrali tijekom hrvatskog proljeća, vidljivi su u jedinim dnevnim novinama koje su izlazile u socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji na području istočne Hrvatske, a to je *Glas Slavonije*. *Glas* je redovito izvještavao o svim događanjima, ne samo u Slavoniji, nego i u Zagrebu. Iako je *Glas* bio pod režimskom palicom i nisu vidljive kritike vlasti, vrijedan je izvor o događanjima u Osijeku i ostatku Slavonije te o načinima razmišljanja općinskih čelnika Saveza komunista te njihovog odnosa prema centralnoj vlasti u Beogradu, ali i republičkoj vlasti u Zagrebu. Tako je iz novina vidljivo da su općinske organizacije Saveza komunista u Slavoniji bile većinski složne s politikom Zagreba, sve dok ih je podržavao predsjednik Tito. Kada je njegova podrška Savki Dabčević-Kučar i ostalima u SKH izostala, tada su se i općinske organizacije u Slavoniji ograđivale od takve politike SKH. Primjer tomu je vukovarska organizacija čiji su članovi među prvima, nakon Karađorđeva, tražili ostavke odgovornih za rasplamsavanje nemira. Zaključno, *Glas Slavonije* kao jedine slavonske dnevne novine, izvor su i za proučavanje drugih događaja u socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji jer su izlazile tijekom cijelog postojanja države.

102 I. PERIĆ (ur.), *Povijest Hrvata; Od 1918. do danas*, 348.

103 Z. RADELIĆ, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991.*, 455-456.



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THE ECHOES OF THE CROATIAN SPRING IN SLAVONIA FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF *THE VOICE OF SLAVONIA*

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This paper provides an overview of the main events of the Croatian spring with an emphasis on Osijek and Slavonia, i.e., how the events from Zagreb influenced social conditions in Slavonia from the perspective of The Voice of Slavonia, as the only daily newspaper published in eastern Croatia in that period. The introductory chapter briefly describes the history of the publication of The Voice of Slavonia and its importance in presenting the event. Then, an attempt is made to determine the period of activity of the Croatian Spring and to show the events in Slavonia at that time. In the continuation of the paper, the events that led to the collapse of the movement and the echoes of those events in the organizations of the League of Communists in Osijek and Slavonia are presented.

Keywords: *Slavonia, Croatian Spring, Osijek, Yugoslavia, Matica hrvatska, students*

Introduction

Glas Slavonije (The voice of Slavonia) is a printed form of media, created during the Second World War in Osijek. It was first printed on the 24th of April in 1943., and it was the pinnacle of the antifascist press in eastern Croatia. After Osijek was liberated, on the 14th of April in 1945., The Voice became a weekly publication, and sometime after that, a daily one. It was also the only newspaper published in Slavonia during the reign of Josip Broz Tito.¹ Some authors believe that The Voice of Slavonia has its roots in the, since defunct, *Hrvatski list (Croatian paper or Croatian news)*,² which also came out in Osijek, between

1 B. NOVAK, *Hrvatsko novinstvo u 20. stoljeću*. Zagreb: Golden marketing, Tehnička knjiga, 2005, 347-348, 439.

2 Hrvatski list began publication in Osijek on January 1st, 1920., supporting the Croatian community, and from 1925 it strongly advocated the politics of Stjepan Radić, which is why it was briefly banned in that same year. Its work continued during the NDH (The Independent State of Croatia), but after 1945 and the change of government, it was shut down. B. NOVAK, *Hrvatsko novinstvo u 20. stoljeću*, 129.



1920. and 1945.³ The headlines that dominated the newspapers of the Slavonian area back then concerned themselves with agriculture, rural areas, the work of rural agricultural cooperatives, and the political actions of the People's Front.⁴ Aside from that, you could also find content related to entertainment, as well as reports and feuilletons, while in some later editions you could find special sections dedicated to target groups, such as children or housewives.⁵

Generally speaking, the main features of printed media are informativeness, propaganda, the popularization of certain types of content, the agitation of certain layers of society, entertainment, as well as the existence of some pedagogical features. The task of newspapers, especially those published daily, is to inform the broader layers of society about everyday events from both culture and politics, all the way up to the world of entertainment and leisure.⁶ The way in which news is conveyed in newspapers plays an important role in society and makes up the oeuvre of some newspaper publications. Therefore, the most well-known means of conveying the news are: Reporting, chronicles, commentary on an event, interviews, surveys, essays, etc.⁷ The political segment of the Voice of Slavonia was the one that proved instrumental in the study of events within the Croatian Spring, a reform movement, in the area around Osijek and in eastern Croatia.

The phenomenon of the Croatian Spring

The Croatian Spring is the name used to mark the period in the early 70s of the previous century during which the leadership of the Union of Communists of Croatia (SKH) resisted Yugoslav unitarism. In addition, the aim of the movement was to encourage reforms in the economy, military, culture, and politics. As for the precise dating of that movement, currently, there is no clear consensus among Croatian historiographers.⁸ Sometimes the Constitution from 1963 is considered the exact starting

3 M. GLUŠAC, *Osječke novine nekada i sada*, u: *Anali zavoda za znanstveni i umjetnički rad u Osijeku*, sv. 29, 2013, 152.

4 K. KRUŠELJ, I. MIROŠNIČENKO, *Jezik osječkih novina: Branislav i Glas Slavonije*, u: *Hrvatistika: studentski jezikoslovni časopis*, 7(7), 2014, rvat89.

5 M. GLUŠAC, *Osječke novine nekada i sada*, 153.

6 K. KRUŠELJ, I. MIROŠNIČENKO, *Jezik osječkih novina: Branislav i Glas Slavonije*, 88.

7 J. SILIĆ, *Funkcionalni stilovi hrvatskoga jezika*. Zagreb: Disput, 2006, 77.

8 D. TOMAS, M. BOŠNJAK, *Odjeci hrvatskoga proljeća u Osijeku*, u: *Diacovensia*, 28(4), 2020, 522.



point of the movement, and sometimes it is *The Declaration on the Name and Position of the Croatian Literary Language* from 1967. The third direction of the study of the Croatian Spring dictates that it began in 1969. or 1970. under the mantle of the 10th session of the Central Committee (CK) of the SKH. When it comes to the framework of the collapse of the Croatian Spring, the historiography is somewhat more consistent, so the period between the end of 1971. and the middle of 1972. is considered as the final point in dealing with those who participated in the movement.⁹

However, until the reorganization of the powerful repressive apparatus, the UDBA (Uprava državne bezbjednosti - State Security Administration), freedom of speech was particularly limited. Thus, the fall of the leader of the UDBA, Aleksandar Ranković, at the Brijuni Plenum in 1966., led to a reduction in the restraints of the repressive apparatus itself. Therefore, the year 1966. can be taken as the initial impulse for the Croatian Spring and the profiling of reform forces within the SKH, which was only one of the carriers of political requirements as part of the Croatian spring.¹⁰

In the late 1960s and early 1970s, the Croatian party leadership consisted of two political factions. The first faction advocated for the reforms of the entire Yugoslav society, while the second held a more conservative worldview, with emphasized social dogmas.¹¹ The first group of members of the SKH included Miko Tripalo, a member of the Executive Bureau of the SKJ Presidency, Savka Dabčević-Kučar, the president of the SKH, Pero Pirker who was the secretary of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the SKH, Ivica Vrkić, the president of the Youth Association, Dragutin Haramija, the president of the Executive Council of Croatia, Marko Koprtla, a member of the Executive Committee of the Central Committee of the SKH, and others. The dogmatic group included Jure Bilić, Milka Planinc, Josip Vrhovec, Dušan Dragosavac, and others. Their mutual relationship of intolerance and conflict reached its apex in 1971. when Dabčević-Kučar presented proposals that deviated from the official policies of Belgrade, especially after the events in Karadžorđevo and the condemnation of the SKH leadership.¹²

9 P. KRISTE, Nekoliko teza o hrvatskom proljeću, u: T. JAKOVINA (ur.), *Hrvatsko proljeće 40 godina poslije*, 44.

10 I. PERIĆ (ur.), *Povijest Hrvata; Od 1918. do danas*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2007, 334.

11 I. ŠUŠAK, Hrvatsko proljeće – počeci političkog interesnog pluralizma, u: *Hrvatska i komparativna javna uprava: časopis za teoriju i praksu javne uprave*, 8(3), 2008, 777.

12 Z. RADELIĆ, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991*. Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 2006, 431-432.



During the 1960s, students became interested in improving their own status, but also in improving the status of Yugoslav society as a whole. The initial step in this struggle was the establishment of the Praxis magazine in 1964., while only four years later the students held a protest.¹³ In the fall of 1970., the student movement gained players who supported the reform movement of the SKH and changes within the country. One of the reform advocates was Ivan Zvonimir Čičak, who in December of 1970. became the student vice-rector, while Dražen Budiša became the president of the Zagreb Students' Union with Goran Dodig as his vice-president sometime before Čičak became the vice-rector.¹⁴ The election of Ivan Zvonimir Čičak was certainly not within the interests of the SKJ, since Čičak's name was often mentioned within the context of "Croatian nationalism".¹⁵ As for Slavonia, it should be noted that there was no university in Osijek at that time and that the student movement was mainly organized by the branch of Matica Hrvatska (The Croatian Matrix or Matrix Croatica) in Osijek. Thus, the names of Ivica Vrkić, Ivan Skora, Martin Markota, Jozo Totić, and others who supported and advocated reforms in Croatia are the ones that come to mind.¹⁶

The aforementioned Matica Hrvatska had a great influence on igniting the ideas of the Croatian spring within Yugoslav society. Along with the leadership of SKH and the students, it was one of the pillars of the Croatian Spring. Initially, it was a cultural and artistic institution, but during the Croatian Spring, it increasingly gained political significance and gravitas within Croatian society.¹⁷ This is especially evident after the relaxation of the oppressive measures by the UDBA and the fall of Aleksandar Ranković. At the beginning of the 1970s, new members of Matica came into prominence, and they became more actively involved in political discussions through the magazine *Hrvatski tjednik* (The Croatian Weekly). This was especially evident with the arrival of Vlado Gotovac, as the editor-in-chief of the magazine. In Osijek, after the election of Kamil Firinger as branch president, Matica Hrvatska tried to expand its influence as part of The Spring ideas. They esta-

13 Z. RADELIĆ, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991.*, 370, 372.

14 I. ŠUŠAK, *Hrvatsko proljeće – počeci političkog interesnog pluralizma*, 774.

15 K. MILAT, *Hrvatsko proljeće u Dalmaciji*, diplomski rad. Split: Sveučilište u Splitu, Filozofski fakultet, 30.

16 D. TOMAS, M. BOŠNJAK, *Odjeci hrvatskoga proljeća u Osijeku*, 543, 544.

17 I. ŠUŠAK, *Hrvatsko proljeće – počeci političkog interesnog pluralizma*, 774-775.



blished new branches throughout Slavonia, and in 1971. they performed the song “Lijepa naša domovino” at the Croatian National Theater in Osijek. The performance of that song shows the increasingly active organizing of celebrations that are important to Croatian history, under the direction of The Matica.¹⁸

As for *The Voice of Slavonia*, during the 1960s and 1970s, it was a newspaper that technically lagged behind the leading newspapers in Croatia at the time. The Belgrade newspapers *Večernje Novosti* (The Evening News) and *Politika* (Politics) still held first place in Slavonia and Baranja. Also, its circulation, which ranged from 11,800 copies (1967) to 7,800 copies (1971), speaks volumes of the role of *The Voice*. It should be emphasized that *The Voice of Slavonia* was under the surveillance of the authorities during the Croatian Spring, therefore a critical review of decisions and events is missing.¹⁹

The coverage of the events that preceded the Croatian Spring in *The Voice of Slavonia*

An important event that preceded the Croatian Spring was, of course, the publication of the aforementioned *Declaration* in March of 1967. It was intended to refute the conclusions of the Novi Sad agreement from December 1954., in which, among other things, it was stated that Serbo-Croatian is a single language that has two variants and the same number of pronunciations. With this agreement, an effort was made to bring the Serbian and Croatian languages closer together in order to better integrate the South Slavic peoples within the framework of socialist Yugoslavia.²⁰

However, in 1967., motivated by the dissatisfaction with the status of the Croatian language and literature, Croatian linguists and intellectuals reacted and published the *Declaration*, which was signed by a considerable number of cultural and scientific institutions of that era. The conclusion of the signed document referred to language inequality present in public administration, mass communication, and in government bodies. Furthermore, the imposition of the Serbian variant of the language was also one of the problems that the Croatian language faced, and this precisely was what the signatories of the *Declaration*

18 D. TOMAS, M. BOŠNJAK, *Odjeci hrvatskoga proljeća u Osijeku*, 539-541.

19 B. NOVAK, *Hrvatsko novinstvo u 20. stoljeću*, 596.

20 H. MATKOVIĆ, *Povijest Jugoslavije*. Zagreb: Naklada Pavičić, 1998, 354.



wanted to point out.²¹ The signatories also referred to the inalienable right of all people to use their own language in writing, speech, and in schools during teaching. The importance of education rests on the fact that it should be used to raise the awareness of the Croatian people about their own culture, language, and history.²²

Also, the signatories demanded equality for four main languages: Croatian, Serbian, Slovenian, and Macedonian. The echoes of the Declaration can be seen in the fact that, at the plenary session in April 1967, some members of the Central Committee of SKH, led by Miloš Žanko²³, condemned Matica Hrvatska, The Matica of emigrants, the Union of Writers and other co-signatories of the Declaration as places where Croatian nationalism was on the rise again.²⁴ The political elite of the former Socialist Republic of Croatia, led by Savka Dabčević-Kučar, tried to focus on solving the issue of unitarism, leaving the issues of language and linguistic unification to linguists.²⁵ *The Voice of Slavonia* also wrote about the *Declaration*, however, a restrained attitude is visible in the reporting on the conclusions of the *Declaration*. This type of reporting can be attributed to the party's control over the print media.²⁶

Another important event that preceded the Croatian Spring was the 10th session of the CK SKH. Many authors believe that this particular session is the formal beginning of the Croatian Spring because it was then that clear positions of the (so-called reformist) leadership of the SKH were presented, regarding the problems that concerned Croatia as part of Yugoslavia.²⁷ *The voice of Slavonia* regularly reported on the events of the tenth session of the CK SKH. It detailed the presenta-

21 Z. RADELIĆ, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991*, 404-405.

22 J. IRVINE, The Croatian Spring and the Dissolution of Yugoslavia, u: L. J. COHEN, J. DRAGOVIC-SOSO (ur.), *State Collapse in South-Eastern Europe: New Perspectives on Yugoslavia's Disintegration*. West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2007, 156-157.

23 Miloš Žanko was the president of the Federal Assembly during that period. He believed that Croatian nationalism was growing more and more, and he held the SKH leadership led by Savka Dabčević-Kučar responsible. I. GOLDSTEIN, *Povijest 21: Hrvatska povijest*. Zagreb: Europapress holding, 2008, 465.

24 K. MIČANOVIĆ, Jezična politika s kraja 60-ih i s početka 70-ih: u procijepu autonomije između i centralizma, u: T. JAKOVINA (ur.), *Hrvatsko proljeće 40 godina poslije*, 275-277.

25 B. NOVAK, *Hrvatsko novinstvo u 20. stoljeću*, 558.

26 D. BEREČIĆ, *Uloga medija tijekom hrvatskog proljeća*, diplomski rad, Osijek: Sveučilište J. J. Strossmayera, Filozofski fakultet, 2015, 48.

27 Z. RADELIĆ, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991.*, 390 The fact that the largest number of people emigrated in 1970., almost 70,000, speaks volumes of the problems within the former Socialist Republic of Croatia.



tions of important participants of the session, such as Miloš Žanko, Katica Pintar, Milutin Baltić, Katica Kušec, etc.²⁸ The speech made by Savka Dabčević-Kučar, the president of the CK SKH, titled “It is important that we be even more mobile, organized and active on the reform course”²⁹, was especially prominent. In that speech, she sent a clear message that talked about the imposition of nationalism on the CK SKH in order to divert the focus from important problems in society.³⁰

In addition, the speeches of the Slavonian representatives at the session are also noteworthy. For example, Ivan Šipka, a representative from Osijek, states that Žanko’s attacks on the SKH leadership are unacceptable and potentially dangerous and that such statements play a major role in an ethnically mixed environment. Šipka states that such actions also had an impact in the east of Croatia in the form of deterioration of relations at the ground level.³¹ Rade Pavlović from Županja and Smilja Medovka from Đakovo also voiced their full support for the Croatian leadership led by Dabčević-Kučar, noting that the area of Slavonia has a mixed national composition and that any negative action, such as that of Miloš Žanko, can lead to tensions. The representatives from Valpovo and Beli Manastir also had a similar opinion. The latter, Franjo Šumiga, talked about the ethnic composition of Beli Manastir. In Beli Manastir, the ethnic composition was: 30 percent Hungarians, Serbs, Croats, and other nationalities, and there were no significant nationalist outbursts among the people.³² The Municipal Committee of Slavenska Požega headed by Boro Zim also supported the positions of the SKH leadership.³³ The Voice conveyed how almost all organizations of the League of Communists expressed support for the resolutions of the session and stated that the organizations unreservedly support the leadership led by Savka Dabčević-Kučar.

The resolutions of the session were aimed at condemning the attribution of nationalist tendencies to the leadership of the SKH Central Committee and at condemning the actions of Miloš Žanko. The session introduced the newspaper into the Croatian public space, in such a way that it was transmitted via television, which made it possible for the

28 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVII, 17.1.1970., 1-2.

29 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVII, 17.1.1970., 2-3.

30 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVII, 17.1.1970., 2-3.

31 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVII, 20.1.1970., 3.

32 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVII, 20.1.1970., 3.

33 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVII, 3.2.1970., 2.



wider public to become familiar with the agreements and discussions within the session. Also, this 10th session of the CK SKH marked the beginning of a more serious form of combat against actual problems in society.³⁴ Slavonija and Baranja gave their support to the conclusions of the 10th session³⁵, and it was emphasized that the “Conference of the Union of Communists of the Municipality of Osijek will act responsibly to implement the decisions of the Tenth Session of the CK SKH” and that everything will be done with the aim of achieving stronger cohesion within the ranks of the Communist Union.³⁶ Soon after the resolutions of the 10th session were made, Slavonian organizations came together and, like the one in Osijek, aimed towards the consolidation and implementation of the conclusions.³⁷

For example, in the Valpovo branch of the Union of Communists, Darko Uranjek, Ivan Madarić, and Nebojša Vujaklija were dissatisfied with the “ideological-political level of one part of the membership”,³⁸ so in order to strengthen the cohesion of all members, a sort of ideological education of the members was organized, with the emphasis being that there are no rebellions and other forms of dissatisfaction in Yugoslav society.³⁹ Jure Bilić, a member of the Executive Committee of the SKH Central Committee in Belišće, emphasized the importance of strengthening self-governance and strengthening the Yugoslav economy, because by strengthening these segments of society, unitarism and nationalism, which were judged to be disastrous for the entire Yugoslav society, would be reduced. Ljuban Ljubišić was the president of the Municipal Conference of the Union of Communists from Vukovar, and he emphasized that he did not encounter national intolerance in that area and gave an example of a multinational structure in the Rubber and Footwear Plant in Borovo, where peace reigns and there are no conflicts.⁴⁰

Also, in addition to the fact that the Slavonian cities and municipalities supported the resolutions of the 10th session of the SKH Central Committee, Josip Broz Tito himself publicly supported the resolutions at the *Ambassador* Hotel in Opatija and, moreover, praised Savka Dab-

34 Z. RADELIĆ, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991.*, 437-438.

35 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVII, 20.1.1970., 1-3.

36 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVII, 24.1.1970., 1.

37 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVII, 27.1.1970., 1.

38 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVII, 29.1.1970., 1.

39 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVII, 29.1.1970., 1.

40 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVII, 30.1.1970., 2.



čević-Kučar's speech.⁴¹ However, on January 31st, 1970., *The Voice of Slavonia* published a report on the SKH Intermunicipal Conference in Osijek, titled "For more concrete programming of ideological and political activity", which indicated the ideological ambivalence of a portion of the SKH members. Namely, the article pointed out that Pero Vujnić, as chairman, emphasized the importance of ideological education and the initiation of certain activities, in the direction of the existing ideological-political activities, within the organizations of the Alliance of Communists in Slavonia.⁴² On the other hand, as part of the study of the Croatian Spring in Slavonia, specifically in Osijek, authors Tomas and Bošnjak point out that the reform movements had no influence up until the conclusion of the 10th session of the CK SKH.⁴³ Therefore, based on the article from *The Voice*, it can be assumed that, at the end of January 1970., the spring ideas had already resonated in Slavonian society and the Slavonian branches of the League of Communists.

The reporting of *The Voice of Slavonia* on the events preceding the collapse of the Croatian Spring

At the third plenum of the Central Committee of the SKJ in May of 1969., the representatives of Croatia and Slovenia advocated for greater autonomy, while the representatives of Serbia believed that the solution to the tensions in Yugoslavia was the democratization of the entire society.⁴⁴ Constitutional changes aimed at decentralization and strengthening the republics and provinces in terms of decision-making gave a strong boost to the Croatian spring. Such signs of change were wholeheartedly supported by the Croatian political leadership, members of *Matica hrvatska*, and the students. Therefore, these changes would allow the republics to decide on their own development, economy, finances, and other issues for the people of each republic, while at the federal level, the republics would jointly decide on important issues.⁴⁵

As for Serbia, the Central Committee of the SKS (The Union of Communists in Serbia) supported such changes, but dissatisfaction with

41 Z. RADELIĆ, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991*, 438.

42 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVII, 31.1.1970., 1.

43 D. TOMAS, M. BOŠNJAK, *Odjeci hrvatskoga proljeća u Osijeku*, 546.

44 Z. RADELIĆ, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991*, 436.

45 P. KRISTE, *Nekoliko teza o hrvatskom proljeću*, 49-50.



these changes still spread among the public, especially regarding the status of the autonomous provinces, however, this dissatisfaction would only come to light and reach its full momentum at the end of the 80s. Thus, on June 30th, 1971., the federal assembly officially accepted the existing constitution and legalized reforms that were supposed to improve the status of the republics and reduce inter-ethnic tensions.⁴⁶

Matica Hrvatska was mentioned several times, as one of the pillars of the Croatian spring. It was the one that encouraged Tito to react and limit the public appearances of the SKH leadership. Matica greatly expanded its branches during those tumultuous years, so the fact that in 1971. it had about 50,000 members, 55 branches, 31 branches in the process of establishment and 18 commissions speaks volumes. Thus, Matica gained quite a reputation in society, and its popularity grew more and more.⁴⁷

In Slavonian daily papers, there is no article to be found that would talk about Matica's activities or its publications, which is in favor of the pro-regime character of state publishers. In those stormy times, the Matica publishing house printed around 300 books a year, and its magazines were especially important. For example, the publishing activity of Matica in eastern Croatia is reflected in the publication of the magazines *Revija* in Osijek, *Hrvatska pokrajina (Croatian province)* in Požega, *Pakrac danas (Pakrac today)* in Pakrac and *Ogledi (Reflections)* in Vukovar. However, the most important and influential magazine published by the Matica was the *Croatian Weekly*, which saw its first issue on April 16th, 1971.⁴⁸

Matica often called out the SKH⁴⁹ for its mild attitude towards the leadership of Yugoslavia because they believed that the SKH should take a firmer stance in reform efforts. However, the problem of Matica was that its members did not have a unified position, nor did they have a clear program, therefore the activities of Matica often damaged the reputation of the SKH leadership in Yugoslav society and with Josip Broz Tito. Among the members of Matica, some proponents advocated for an independent Croatia, outside the framework of Yugoslavia,

46 H. MATKOVIĆ, *Povijest Jugoslavije*, 363-364.

47 Z. RADELIĆ, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991.*, 439.

48 Z. RADELIĆ, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991.*, 439.

49 Over time, Matica Hrvatska profiled itself as a kind of opposition to the League of Communists of Croatia. Although it advocated for similar reforms, their program differed in the national criteria for implementing those decisions and reforms. D. BILANDŽIĆ, *Historija Socijalističke Federativne republike Jugoslavije: glavni procesi 198-1985.*, Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1985, 420.



which the leadership of the SKH did not dare to think about. But, such attitudes of certain individuals from Matica spread to some other organizations, for example, the Student Union, and became a threat to the Croatian leadership and to the stability of the country.⁵⁰

In addition to the aforementioned disagreements in the SKH between reformists and dogmatists, there were also factions in the Union of Communists that did not agree with the economic policy of Yugoslavia, and they also contributed to spoiling the image of the SKH leadership in Yugoslav society, and with Tito. Thus, Šime Đodan, otherwise a member of Matica, was one of the most active people who warned about the uneven distribution of funds from the main state treasury to the republics. He believed that Croatia gave more than it received. Marko Veselica, Vladimir Veselica, and Hrvoje Šošić were also noteworthy. They claimed that Croatia, if it became independent, could become like Switzerland in terms of economic development.⁵¹

In October of 1971., the student revolt began. During the student meeting, there was a verbal attack by Ivan Zvonimir Čiček directed at the Parliament of the Socialist Republic of Croatia, which he called out because of its incompetence in its relations with the authorities in Belgrade, and afterwards, the idea of independence started growing in Croatian society itself, which would directly threaten the survival of Yugoslavia and the rule of Tito. Additionally, radical ideas for that time also started popping up, such as Hrvoje Šošić's idea to admit Croatia into the OUN.⁵² All such thoughts, and especially the general increase of the atmosphere of independence, pushed Tito to take concrete steps against an even greater flare-up of discontent.

In the meantime, from November 5th to November 6th, 1971., the 22nd session of the CK SKH was held, which was covered in great detail in *The Voice of Slavonia*, unlike the previously mentioned student protest. In the article titled "Victory of political orientations that best determine self-governing socialism"⁵³, *The Voice* presented an introductory speech by Dabčević-Kučar, in which she looks back on the successes with regard to the adoption of amendments and says that the demands of the SKH were met, but also that they suppressed unitarist and separatist attitudes, as well as

50 H. MATKOVIĆ, *Povijest Jugoslavije*, 365.

51 D. BILANDŽIĆ, *Hrvatska moderna povijest*. Zagreb: Golden marketing, 1999, 555-556, 584-586.

52 Z. RADELIĆ, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991.*, 450.

53 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVIII, 6.11.1971., 2-3.



attitudes that emphasized inequality in Yugoslavia. She also refers to the politicization of the people, on which she says that the people are with the SKH and that the people do not listen to anyone else's slogans and interests, but that they are guided by the interests of the people and the policies of the SKH. She also mentions her own rule regarding the people, using the subtitle "Who is afraid of the movement of the masses"⁵⁴ in which she points out that they (the SKH) have authority over the people and that they can master the demands of the people.⁵⁵

Next, *The Voice of Slavonia* reported on the end of the 22nd session of the SKH Central Committee with the title "In practice - resolutely and responsibly". It then lists a few thoughts expressed by the participants in the Slavonia discussion: Franjo Šumiga, Ivan Šipka, Josip Đerđ, and Drago Kovačević. For example, Ivan Šipka talked about the reasons why the integration processes were stagnating, referring to the economic prosperity of the integration of certain companies and why larger organizations tend to do worse. He showcased the IPK as an example, arguing that some parts of it would work better were they independent.⁵⁶ From this example, the orientation of the Slavonian participants regarding the problems in Slavonia is apparent, and the reporting of *The Voice* is apparent as well, it leaning towards the local community. In further editions, the support of the Slavonian organizations for the 22nd session of the CK SKH can be observed, except for the Municipal Conference of the Socialist Alliance in Vinkovci, which presented its claims somewhat more radically, however, they were nevertheless published in *The Voice of Slavonia*. Thus, under the chairmanship of Ivan Rosandić from Vinkovci, comments could be heard, claiming that they were advocating for the national and sovereign state of the Croatian people and that the continuity of the Croatian state over the centuries should be emphasized, considering that this continuity was broken with the establishment of Yugoslavia. Furthermore, they stated that the other nationalities in Croatia are a constitutive part of Croatian statehood.⁵⁷ Similarly to that, the students and professors at the Faculty of Economics in Osijek stated that it was important to solve the foreign exchange problem for the economy to develop further.⁵⁸

54 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVIII, 6.11.1971., 3.

55 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVIII, 6.11.1971., 3.

56 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVIII, 8.11.1971., 3.

57 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVIII, 11.11.1971., 3.

58 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVIII, 17.11.1971., 3. In addition to everything that was stated, they also stated that the leadership of the SKH has their support.



The student union, that is, the student strike in Zagreb (November 22nd, 1971.) was the immediate reason for Tito's intervention in the Union of Communists of Croatia.⁵⁹ The student strike started in Zagreb. From there it spread to other cities in Croatia. Otherwise, the strike was supported by the members of Matica Hrvatska, which gave additional strength and momentum to the strike. The demands of the students were concerned with the problem of foreign currency arriving in Yugoslavia, and the strike was marked by the attacks of Ante Paradžik, who was the president of the Croatian Students' Union, which were directed towards the JNA (The Yugoslav People's Army). Paradžik wanted the Croatian language to be introduced for Croats serving military service in the JNA, and that every person serves in the army in their own republic.⁶⁰

As for the situation in Osijek, the students did not join the strike and classes were not interrupted. *The Voice of Slavonia* briefly reported on this. It stated that the Osijek students' point of view was that the conclusions of the SKH Central Committee sessions were the right way to solve the problems plaguing Yugoslav society.⁶¹ In the same November 26th, 1971. issue, *The Voice* presented a rather large review of Miko Tripalo, as a member of the Yugoslav presidency, under the title "No one has the right to question the progress we fought so hard to achieve".⁶² In fact, it appears they were insinuating that the student demonstrations created the appearance of undemocratic problem-solving and that their method was not appropriate. Tripalo pointed out the importance of reaching a mutual agreement that respected the interests of the working class and every nation and nationality within Yugoslavia.⁶³ At the beginning of December 1971., before the changes in the SKH leadership, the situation at the Universities normalized. *The Voice* devoted a larger article to the fact that, on December 2nd, there was also an outburst by a group of students in Zagreb, however, the basic idea was that classes should be held regularly.⁶⁴

59 H. MATKOVIĆ, *Povijest Jugoslavije*, 367.

60 Z. RADELIĆ, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991.*, 450.

61 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVIII, 26.11.1971., 1.

62 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVIII, 26.11.1971., 1, 3.

63 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVIII, 26.11.1971., 1, 3.

64 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVIII, 2.12.1971., 1, 3.



The perception of the collapse of the Croatian Spring in Slavonia

In accordance with all the events that were initiated by the SKH leadership, Tito believed that the SKH leadership led by Savka Dabčević-Kučar holds no authority among the people and that they cannot deal with all the problems that have arisen in society⁶⁵, which is why he invited them to a meeting in Karadorđevo, on November 30th, 1971.⁶⁶ The meeting ended on the first of December 1971.⁶⁷, without any significant conclusions. The 21st session of the SKJ Presidency was scheduled for the day after that, and there all of the republics unanimously condemned the Croatian leadership.⁶⁸ For example, in Bosnia and Herzegovina, the attitude was that the Croatian Spring was a negative phenomenon for the country because both Serbia and Croatia at some point in their past considered dividing Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁶⁹

As for the Voice of Slavonia, on the second of December, they published a short report on the way the meeting was conducted, and a day after that they published an article by the name of: "Confident that the SKH will overcome the difficulties".⁷⁰ In that article, they talk about how certain political problems have been observed as of late, in the form of anti-self-governing and antisocialist policies, and how such policies are putting increasing pressure on the socialist society. The responsibility of the central committees when it comes to maintaining order is emphasized, and Tito's presentation is accepted as the conclusion of the session. Furthermore, the second article is the introductory presentation of the SKJ president Josip Broz Tito, from the 21st session of the SKJ presidency, titled "We will not agree that various

65 The position of the leadership of the SKH was problematic, as they were against taking stricter measures to suppress nationalism, which was particularly noticeable in the ranks of Matica Hrvatska. An aggravating circumstance was the unitarist-centralist currents in Yugoslavia that put pressure on Tito. D. BILANDŽIĆ, *History of the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia*, 420.

66 H. MATKOVIĆ, *Povijest Jugoslavije*, 367.

67 December 1st is remembered in history as the day when, in 1918, the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes came to be. Author Novak believes that he tried to symbolically express his determination to preserve Yugoslavia. The author adds that Tito wanted to ingratiate himself with the Serbian Unitarians and the JNA who attacked him for supporting the SKH leadership. B. NOVAK, *Hrvatsko novinstvo u 20. stoljeću*, 699.

68 Z. RADELIĆ, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991.*, 451.

69 H. KAMBEROVIĆ, *Percepcija hrvatskog proljeća u Bosni i Hercegovini*, u: T. JAKOVINA (ur.), *Hrvatsko proljeće 40 godina poslije*, 135-136. This claim was made by Branko Mikulić, a member of the SK of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

70 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVIII, 3.12.1971., 1.



state problems are solved on the street”, alluding to solving the causes of student dissatisfaction at the Zagreb University.⁷¹ But, apart from that, Tito admits that the university strike is not only a student affair. In fact, he also points the finger at Matica Hrvatska, referring to it as a counter-revolutionary group that presents unconstitutional ideas.⁷²

The Voice of Slavonia devoted the front page and the entire third page of its December 3rd edition to Josip Broz Tito’s speech and it conveyed his thoughts on the state of society, but also on the state of the SKH. Regarding the latter, Tito said that the situation was not good. The direction in which the SKH was going was good, but the implementation, in order to achieve the goal was not at a satisfactory level as Tito pointed out.⁷³ The next issue of the Voice also dealt with the 2^{1st} presidency session. The main article was called: “Revolutionary action against counter-revolutionary tendencies“, which is a sentence from Tito’s closing speech from the session. It says that “the leadership of Croatia has strong support in all republics”⁷⁴ and that the events happening within the SKH first need to homogenize and stabilize. Tito also adds how the mistrust of other republics towards Croatia needs to be quickly forgotten.⁷⁵

The echoes of the 21st session in Slavonia are apparent in the December 6th headline, where it is stated that the Slavonian SK organizations give their full support to Tito’s assessments and positions and the resolutions of the SKJ Presidency. They also add how the Slavonian organizations have expressed confidence in the SKH and that its leadership will manage to smooth out internal unrest. This is what Ivan Šipka, the president of the SKH municipal conference, also said. He also sent a telegram to Tito and the SKJ presidency, which was fully reported in The Voice of Slavonia. Also, a telegram was sent from Osijek to the Central Committee of the SKH, where best wishes towards overcoming the difficulties as best as possible were expressed.⁷⁶ The Voice then writes about other cities (Slavonski Brod, Đakovo, Požega, etc.) that support the SKJ and SKH with the words “We will never allow certain anti-socialist forces, chauvinists and nationalists of all

71 Glas Slavonije, year XXVIII, 3.12.1971., 1.

72 Glas Slavonije, year XXVIII, 3.12.1971., 3.

73 Glas Slavonije, year XXVIII, 3.12.1971., 3.

74 Glas Slavonije, year XXVIII, 4.12.1971., 1.

75 Glas Slavonije, year XXVIII, 4.12.1971., 2-3.

76 Glas Slavonije, year XXVIII, 6.12.1971., 1-3.



colors to hinder the unhindered further self-governing development of Yugoslavia".⁷⁷ The Osijek students also stood by Tito and the conclusions of the Presidency session, and further committed themselves to the fight against chauvinism, unitarism, and opponents of self-governing socialism.⁷⁸

A somewhat more vigorous attitude was exhibited in Požega, where the Presidency of the SUBNOR pointed out that the work of Šima Đodan and Marko Veselica was *harmful* and that they had collaborators from the Požega area aiding them in their counter-revolutionary activities. The political removal of all those associated with Đodan and Veselica was also requested.⁷⁹ The Union of Associations of Fighters of the National Liberation War of Yugoslavia (SUBNOR) from Vinkovci additionally requested an investigation into the activities of Ivan Šibl, who held the position of president of the Republican Committee of the SUBNOR. A rare case in this period, people being directly called out for their supposed counter-revolutionary activities in a daily newspaper.⁸⁰

Furthermore, the SK Municipal Committee of Vukovar condemned Matica Hrvatska's activities, apparently against the wishes of the League of Communists. Likewise, for the first time in *The Voice*, a message from a Municipal Committee was transmitted, which directly blamed the Croatian leadership for their supposed indifference to earlier events and for not taking any actions to stop such behavior both by the student leadership and by the members of the Matica. The Vukovar Union of Communists together with Adem Islamović directly demanded the resignation of "the torchbearer of the ideology of the mass movement, Dr. Savka Dabčević-Kučar, Miko Tripalo, Pero Pirker, Marko Koprtla, and Ivan Šibl".⁸¹ Furthermore, they added that Marko Koprtla was originally from the Vukovar region and that he should "pay dues for his work" to the Vukovar organization of the SK. In addition to directly demanding the resignation of the SKH leadership led by Dabčević-Kučar, the organization also requested that the Inter-Municipal Conference of SKH for Slavonia and Baranja be held responsible and that they should take a stronger stand for the interests of the people.⁸²

77 Glas Slavonije, year XXVIII, 7.12.1971., 3.

78 Glas Slavonije, year XXVIII, 8.12.1971., 1.

79 Glas Slavonije, year XXVIII, 10.12.1971., 2.

80 Glas Slavonije, year XXVIII, 11.12.1971., 2.

81 Glas Slavonije, year XXVIII, 11.12.1971., 2.

82 Glas Slavonije, year XXVIII, 11.12.1971., 2.



Realizing the dissatisfaction of some of the members and the political climate in SR Croatia, Tito withheld support from the Croatian leadership and, after the 21st session of the SKJ Presidency, on December 8th, 1971., he demanded the resignations of Savka Dabčević-Kučar and Pero Pirker after all. So, the next day, the 22nd session of the SKJ Presidency was held, where Tito received the departing Croatian leadership and promised that there would be no persecution after their resignation.⁸³ . On December 12, 1971, at the 23rd session of the CK SKH, Savka Dabčević-Kučar, Pero Pirker and Marko Koprtnla officially submitted their resignations. Miko Tripalo⁸⁴ sent Tito a written notice of his resignation, applicable to all the positions he held.⁸⁵ On the front page, the Voice of Slavonia talked about the start of the 23rd session of the Central Committee of the SKH with the article: “True determination to overcome weaknesses”, while reporting that the Croatian leadership had resigned from their duties. In the following article, The Voice conveyed the messages of Dabčević-Kučar and Pirker, regarding the reasons for their resignations. They stated that they failed to implement the policy represented and led by Tito after all and that their resignations were an expression of responsibility. Furthermore, Tripalo’s letter to comrade Tito, regarding the reasons for his resignation, was also published. Tripalo pointed out that he had nothing to do with nationalist and anti-socialist movements and calls upon his membership in the Party, which he joined at a young age, as evidence.⁸⁶

Furthermore, Milka Planinc, as one of the opposing, dogmatic currents in the SKH, presented her view of the newly created situation. Planinc said that “for a long time there were serious differences”, referring to different interpretations of the events that took place and that some issues, such as nationalism, were difficult to get on the SKH agenda. *The Voice of Slavonia* informed the Slavonian public in detail about Planinc’s presentation.⁸⁷

83 Z. RADELIĆ, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991.*, 451.

84 In his book from 2001., Miko Tripalo highlights the international influence on the unfolding of the Croatian Spring. He talks about how the Soviet Union viewed the reform tendencies in Croatia with displeasure because it believed that it could destroy Yugoslavia or weaken it. A weakened Yugoslavia, according to the USSR’s view, would very quickly fall under the Western sphere of influence. Tripalo also states how significant Brezhnev’s visit to Yugoslavia in 1971. was in order to truly see what was happening in Yugoslavia.. M. TRIPALO, *Hrvatsko proljeće*. Zagreb: NZMH, 2001, 214-215.

85 I. PERIĆ (ur.), *Povijest Hrvata; Od 1918. do danas*, 343.

86 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVIII, 13.12.1971., 1, 2.

87 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVIII, 13.12.1971., 2., 3.



During the publication of *The Voice of Slavonia* in this period, it can be observed that the first pages were usually occupied by political news, followed by sports and entertainment. However, issue 8188 from December 13th, 1971. had political news on slightly more pages, which speaks volumes of the great importance, and the turning point, of the events in the SKH. Thus, after the introductory words about the resignation and the presentation of Milka Planinc, in the following pages comes news about the echoes of the collapse of the Croatian Spring in Slavonia, i.e., reactions to the resignations of the Croatian leadership.

Thus, Osijek stated that the SKH would overcome the current difficulties and that they firmly stood by Josip Broz Tito's policy and that they supported the resignations, just like the Vukovar organization. In addition, the practice of closed sessions of the CK SKH and the lack of communication were pointed out. Further actions in Slavonia were aimed, as they stated, at preserving the socialist system and implementing the reduction of difficulties in the work of the SK. The direction of the Slavonian organizations is best seen in *The Voice's* headline regarding the presidency of the Municipal Conference from Valpovo: "Tito's words should be energetically put into action".⁸⁸

The Voice also reported on the branch of Matica hrvatska in Osijek after the resignation of the SKH leadership. Attention was focused on the actions of those individuals who were involved in imposing "activities outside of its program, i.e. activities that are not based on socialist orientation and fraternity". Thus, they supported the readiness of Dragan Mucić, the secretary of Matica in Osijek, to face sanctions, given that he did not distance himself from the allegations in the *Croatian Weekly*. Also, the collective guilt of all the members of the Main Board of Matica Hrvatska in Zagreb was stated, as they were considered the main culprits when it came to damaging Matica's reputation and changing its course of action during earlier events.⁸⁹

Thus, the editorial staff of *The Croatian Weekly* soon submitted their resignations, and on December 20th, 1971., further publication of the magazine was suspended. 11 people from the leadership of Matica were arrested, and in the 80s, Matica was annexed to the Yugoslav Academy of Sciences and Arts, which ended its activities.⁹⁰

88 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVIII, 13.12.1971., 7.

89 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVIII, 13.12.1971., 8.

90 Z. RADELIĆ, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991.*, 455.



In addition, The Voice reported that the student leaders in Zagreb, Čičak, Budiša and Dodig, were arrested and charged with violent and unconstitutional change of the state system.⁹¹

Due to Tito's decisions on resignations, students planned protests in support of Tripalo, Pirker, Dabčević-Kučar, and others, but the police and the JNA were ready to respond and prevented any form of gathering in support of the Spring politicians. However, the students put up protest posters inside their homes and distributed leaflets for further action. . It was precisely for such acts that the previously mentioned student leadership in Zagreb was arrested. In the following days, there was some unrest in the main square in Zagreb, which was followed by the arrests of the students responsible for such behavior.⁹²

Further events regarding the collapse of the Croatian Spring were also covered in *The Voice of Slavonia*, for example, the election of Milka Planinc as president of the Central Committee of the SKH and Josip Vrhovac as secretary of the executive committee. The SK Municipal Committee in Osijek was concerned with the review of the responsibility of certain individuals and their role in the events. Thus, ten people were asked to resign.⁹³

Similar actions can be observed in other organizations in Slavonia, for example in Našice, where the secretary of the SK Municipal Committee Jakov Bukša and committee member Josip Mijatović resigned from their positions because they considered themselves jointly responsible for earlier events. In Nova Gradiška, the resignation of president Ivan Maričević was also accepted and the new president Stjepan Relković took over.⁹⁴

From the article published on December 15th, about the meeting of the reserve military officers of Slavonia and Baranja in Osijek, it is discernable that there were also changes in Donji Miholjec, precisely from the ranks of the reserve military officers, which Muhamed Vukčević talked about. On the other hand, Vaso Mandić from Požega highlighted the dichotomy between members loyal to Mata Novačić and members who did not approve of the pro-nationalist views. He also mentions the noticeability of that division during the celebration of the thirtieth anniversary of the uprising, where the separate cele-

91 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVIII, 13.12.1971., 8.

92 Z. RADELIĆ, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991.*, 453-454.

93 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVIII, 14.12.1971., 1-2.

94 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVIII, 15.12.1971., 1-2.



brations were held, one for Croats in Pleternica, and one for Serbs in Kamenska.⁹⁵

On the other hand, in the article titled “Strong opposition to nationalism”,⁹⁶ it is clear that the resignations of the members from Osijek were not accepted. The presentation of Jelica Radojčević, a member of the executive committee of the Central Committee of the SKH at the conference in Osijek, was followed in detail and in it, the non-transparency of the media, especially Zagreb’s *Vjesnik* in reporting on events in the SKH, was cited. It was accompanied by the presentation of the president of the SKH Osijek Municipal Conference, Ivan Šipka, titled “The political situation in the municipality of Osijek was not characterized by the escalation of nationalism”.⁹⁷ In his presentation, Šipka also touched on the issue of the Youth Association in Osijek because the SKH was not satisfied with their engagement and work, therefore the president and members of the Presidency of the Youth Association handed in their resignations.⁹⁸

Therefore, it is evident that the resignations and dismissals did not bypass the Slavonian organizations either. For example, in 1972., the apartments of a large number of people who were suspected of having contributed to the igniting of reformist ideas were searched. The premises of numerous companies and organizations were also searched. For example, in *Matica Hrvatska*, all members were checked, 50.000 of them, of which almost 200 were arrested.⁹⁹ Many people lost their jobs and income, some protagonists of the Croatian Spring were marginalized or forced into retirement, while some were convicted through rigged court trials and received from two to four years in prison and were banned from public activity. For example, Vlado Gotovac, editor of *The Croatian Weekly*, student leaders Ivan Zvonimir Čičak and Dražen Budiša, etc.¹⁰⁰ Within the Communist League, 741 people were expelled, 131 people were dismissed from their positions, and 280 people resigned from their previous positions.¹⁰¹ The magnitude of the consequences of the collapse of the Croatian Spring is indicated by the fact that 83 people were convicted of crimes “against the pe-

95 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVIII, 15.12.1971., 2.

96 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVIII, 29.12.1971., 1.

97 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVIII, 29.12.1971., 4.

98 *Glas Slavonije*, year XXVIII, 29.12.1971., 4.

99 I. PERIĆ (ur.), *Povijest Hrvata; Od 1918. do danas*, 348.

100 I. GOLDSTEIN, *Povijest 21: Hrvatska povijest*, 470.

101 D. BILANDŽIĆ, *Historija Socijalističke Federativne republike Jugoslavije*, 429.




ople and the state" in 1971., 427 in 1972., and 232 in 1973.¹⁰² As for the former leadership of the SKH, their trial did not take place, as was promised by Tito. Instead, on the 8th of May 1972., Dabčević-Kučar, as well as Pirker, Koprta, and Tripalo, were expelled from the Party, thus ending the Croatian Spring.¹⁰³

Conclusion

The Croatian Spring was a reform movement dating back to the 1960s. It reached its peak in the early 1970s amidst a sea of unrest. The main torchbearers of change against unitarism, and for decentralization and a better attitude towards the Croatian language and history, were the leaders of SKH, in the first place the president Savka Dabčević-Kučar, then Pero Pirker, Miko Tripalo, and others, then *Matica hrvatska*, with its magazine *The Croatian Weekly*, along with the Student Union. The movement started in Zagreb and spread throughout Croatia, and Slavonia as well, although at a slightly lower intensity. The events that preceded the Croatian Spring and the events that took place during the Croatian Spring can be seen in the only daily newspaper that was published in the territory of eastern Croatia during the time of Socialist Yugoslavia, namely, *The Voice of Slavonia*. *The Voice* regularly reported on all events, not only in Slavonia, but in Zagreb as well. Although *The Voice* was under the regime's watchful eye, meaning there is no discernable government criticism, it is still a valuable source of information when it comes to the events in Osijek and the rest of Slavonia. It is also a valuable source of information regarding the ways of thinking of the municipal leaders of the Communist League and their relationship to the central government in Belgrade, but also to the republican government in Zagreb. Thus, it is evident from the newspaper that the municipal organizations of the League of Communists in Slavonia were mostly in agreement with Zagreb's policy, as long as they were supported by President Tito. When his support for Savka Dabčević-Kučar and others in SKH waned, only then did the municipal organizations in Slavonia distance themselves from the policies of the SKH. An example of this is the Vukovar organization whose members were among the first, after Karadžorđevo, to demand the resignation of those responsible for igniting the spark of unrest. In con-

102 I. PERIĆ (ur.), *Povijest Hrvata; Od 1918. do danas*, 348.

103 Z. RADELIĆ, *Hrvatska u Jugoslaviji 1945-1991.*, 455-456.



clusion, *The Voice of Slavonia*, as the only Slavonian daily newspaper, is also a source for studying other events in socialist Yugoslavia because it was published throughout the entire existence of the country.

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OSVRTI / REVIEW

OSVRT NA IZLOŽBU / REVIEW OF THE EXHIBITION

PROJEKT A4

MIHAEL FRANČIĆ, ENNUI

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Osvrt na izložbu
Primljeno: 28. 11. 2022.
Prihvaćeno: 2. 12. 2022.

Šestu godinu zaredom Galerija umjetnina na nacionalnoj razini okuplja umjetnike četiriju hrvatskih akademija i studente s odsjeka za povijest umjetnosti u suradničkom projektu *A4*. Ciljevi su projekta edukacija za profesionalni život te umrežavanje studenata akademija i odsjeka za povijest umjetnosti. Projektom studenti diplomske razine stječu iskustvo rada na djelima i kuriranju izložbi. Projekt *A4* nastavak je projekta *Fast forward / Utorkom u Galeriji* gdje su splitski studenti, uz poticaj mentora, surađivali u kreiranju izložbi. Na ovogodišnjem, petom izdanju projekta *A4* pobijedio je ciklus psiholoških autoportreta imena *Ennui*. Radove potpisuje Mihael Frančić, student Umjetničke akademije u Splitu, a popratni tekst i kustoski rad studentica Odsjeka za povijest umjetnosti Filozofskog fakulteta u Splitu, autorica ovog osvrta.



Ciklus radova Ennui, digitalne skice (izvor: Mihael Frančić, 19. srpnja 2022.)



Imenica francuskog jezika koja je u naslovu, *ennui* prevodi se u hrvatskom jeziku u značenju dosade, bezvoljnosti i nezadovoljstva proizašlih iz nedostatka životnog uzbuđenja. Spomenuti opisi postaju inspiracija za temu novog Frančićeve ciklusa. Umjetnik stvara ciklus od osam psiholoških autoportreta prikazujući s njima svoja unutarnja stanja depresije, letargije, anksioznosti te trauma. Tri Frančićeve rada manjih dimenzija (90 x 60 cm) povezani su zajedničkom riječcom „bez“. Radovi *Bez glasa*, *Bez osobnosti* i *Bez budućnosti* jesu gotovo bezglavi autoportreti umjetnika. S druge strane, veći autoportreti (150 x 100 cm) naslovljeni su imenicama svakodnevne uporabe primjerice *Glad*, *Sedimentacija*, *Percepcija*, *Odnosi* i *Deformacija*. Naslovi radova simboliziraju poteškoće s kojima se autor suočava u svakodnevnom životu. Autor djelima priča priču osobne tematike, a pomnim biranjem boja unaprijed navješćuje poteškoću koju će prikazati na pojedinom platnu. „Što će se dogoditi ako iskoračim iz svoje sigurne zone? Jesam li spreman staviti na kocku dosadašnje navike, uvjerenja i misli po kojima živim?“, samo su neka od pitanja kojima umjetnik sebi pokušava dati odgovor, ali u kojima se pronalazi svaki pojedinac i društvena zajednica.



Otvorenje izložbe u prostorijama Galerije umjetnina Split (izvor: Galerija umjetnina, 15. studenog 2022.)



Otvorenje izložbe u Galeriji umjetnina Split (izvor: Galerija umjetnina, 15. studenog 2022.)

Otvaranjem izložbe *Ennui* u Galeriji umjetnina 15. studenog 2022. godine u 20 sati započelo je zajedničko putovanje u kojem će tijekom iduće godine pobjednici ovogodišnjeg izdanja projekta *A4* moći izlagati radove na hrvatskoj umjetničkoj sceni. U siječnju se izložba premješta u Galeriju Kortil u Rijeci, a zatim na proljeće u Galeriju Šira u Zagrebu i naposljetku na jesen u Galeriju Waldinger u Osijeku.



Izložba Ennui u prostorijama Galerije umjetnina Split (izvor: Galerije umjetnina, 15. studenog 2022.)



Projekt *A4* nudi mogućnost ulaska u svijet kustoskog, ali i umjetničkog rada u velikim gradovima Republike Hrvatske. Slični projekti i organizacije izvrsna su platforma mladim umjetnicima i budućim kustosima koji će, prije svog profesionalnog zaposlenja, steći iskustvo rada s djelima, galerijama, muzejima, vodstvom i publikom. Posebno iskustvo bilo je i gostovanje na Radiju Split u emisiji *Radio Galerija* u kojoj smo razgovarali o samom projektu, zajedničkom radu na djelu i otvorenju izložbe. Tijekom prijave na projekt *A4*, ali i u kasnijem izlagačkom dijelu, studente mentoriraju profesori koji svojim iskustvom dopunjuju mlade umove i ideje.

Ovim bih putem zahvalila profesoru Daliboru Prančeviću s Odsjeka za povijest umjetnosti Filozofskog fakulteta u Splitu koji je svojim sugestijama dao konačan oblik popratnog teksta izložbe. Mnogo zahvaljujem i profesorima Umjetničke akademije u Splitu Neli Ružić i Viktoru Popoviću te ravnateljici Galerije umjetnina Split Jasminki Babić, kustosici izložbe Ani Čukušić i vrijednim radnicima Galerije umjetnina koji su bili naša tehnička podrška.



Umjetnik Mihael Frančić i kustosica Blaženka Miše u Galeriji umjetnina Split na otvorenju izložbe Ennui (izvor: Galerija umjetnina, 15. studenog 2022.)



PROJECT A4
MIHAEL FRANČIĆ, *ENNUI*

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Review of an exhibition
Submitted: November 28th, 2022
Accepted: December 2nd, 2022

For the sixth year in a row, the Art Gallery brings together artists from four Croatian academies and students from the Department of Art History in the collaborative *Project A4* on a national level. The goals of the project are education for professional life and the connecting of students of academies and art history departments. Through the project, graduate students gain experience working on artworks and curating exhibitions. *Project A4* is a continuation of the *Fast Forward Project / Tuesdays in the Gallery*, where Split students, encouraged by their mentors, collaborated in creating exhibitions. At this year's fifth edition of *Project A4*, the cycle of psychological self-portraits, named *Ennui*, won. The artworks are signed by Mihael Frančić, a student at the Academy of Arts in Split, and the accompanying text and curatorial work by a student of the Department of Art History at the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Split, the author of this review.



Cycle of artworks "Ennui", digital sketches (source: Mihael Frančić, July 19, 2022)

The French noun in the title, *ennui*, is translated in Croatian as *boredom*, *listlessness* and *dissatisfaction resulting from a lack of excitement in life*. The mentioned descriptions become the inspiration for the theme of Frančić's new cycle. The artist creates a cycle of eight psychological self-portraits, showing his inner states of depression, lethargy, anxiety and trauma. Frančić's three smaller works (90 x 60 cm) are connected by the word "without". The artworks *Without Voice*, *Without Personality* and *Without Future* are almost headless self-portraits of the artist. On the other hand, larger self-portraits (150 x 100 cm) are titled with everyday nouns such as *Hunger*, *Sedimentation*, *Perception*, *Relationships* and *Deformation*. The titles of the artworks symbolise the difficulties the author faces in everyday life. With his artworks, the author tells a story of a personal theme, and, by carefully choosing colours, he announces, in advance, the difficulty he will portray on a particular canvas. "What will happen if I step out of my comfort zone? Am I ready to risk the previous habits, beliefs and thoughts I live by?" – these are just some of the questions that the artist tries to answer for himself, but which questions are central for every individual and the social community as such.



*Opening of the exhibition in the premises of the Split Art Gallery
(source: Art Gallery, November 15, 2022)*



*Opening of the exhibition in the Split Art Gallery
(source: Art Gallery, November 15, 2022)*



With the opening of the *Ennui* exhibition in the Art Gallery on November 15, 2022 at 8 p.m., a joint journey began, in which the winners of this year's edition of *Project A4* will be able to exhibit artworks on the Croatian art scene during the next year. In January, the exhibition moves to the Kortil Gallery in Rijeka, then to the Šira Gallery in Zagreb in spring, and finally to the Waldinger Gallery in Osijek in autumn.



*"Ennui" exhibition in the premises of the Split Art Gallery
(source: Art Gallery, November 15, 2022)*

Project A4 offers the possibility of entering the world of curators and artists in the big cities of the Republic of Croatia. Similar projects and organizations are an excellent platform for young artists and future curators who will gain, even before their professional employment, experience working with artworks, galleries, museums, management and the public. A special experience was being guests on Radio Split in the *Radio Gallery* show, where we talked about the project itself, working together on an artwork and on the opening of the exhibition. During the application for *Project A4*, as well as in the later exhibition part, students are mentored by professors, who complement young minds and ideas with their experience.

I would like to take this opportunity to thank professor Dalibor Prančević from the Department of Art History of the Faculty of Huma-




nities and Social Sciences in Split, who, with his suggestions, gave the final form of the accompanying text of the exhibition. I would also like to thank the professors of the Academy of Arts in Split, Nela Ružić and Viktor Popović, the director of the Split Art Gallery, Jasminka Babić, the curator of the exhibition, Ana Čukušić, and the hardworking employees of the Art Gallery, who were our technical support.



Artist Mihael Frančić and curator Blaženka Miše at the Split Art Gallery at the opening of the "Ennui" exhibition (source: Art Gallery, November 15, 2022)



OSVRT NA KNJIGU / BOOK REVIEW



PRIKAZ KNJIGE - Robert B. Bruce et al. *Fighting Techniques of the Napoleonic Age 1792-1815: Equipment, Combat, Skills and Tactics*

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Prikaz knjige

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Prihvaćeno: 24. 9. 2022.

Ova knjiga, objavljena 2008. godine, obuhvaća razvoj vojne taktike i naoružanja te njihovu implementaciju u kontekstu sukoba od 1792. do 1815. godine. Djelo je nastalo kao plod suradnje stručnjaka koji su specijalizirani za proučavanje europske vojne povijesti 18. i 19. st. Prikladno je spomenuti Roberta B. Brucea, bivšeg profesora vojne povijesti u SAD-u, Michaela F. Pavkovića, stručnjaka za vojno pomorstvo i Napoleonske ratove te Fredericka Schneida koji su svojom stručnošću i znanjem uz pomoć nekoliko drugih autora producirali ovu knjigu.

Obujam knjige iznosi 252 stranice, a podijeljena je na 5 poglavlja. To su redom *The Role of Infantry, Mounted Warfare, Command and Control, Artillery and Siege Warfare* i *Naval Warfare*. Na samom se kraju knjige nalazi popis literature (*Select Bibliography*, izvori ilustracija koji se pojavljuju u knjizi te indeks.

Sadržaj

Prvo se poglavlje, *The Role of Infantry*, bavi promjenama u pješačkim postrojbama od 1792. do 1815. te služi kao svojevrsni uvod u sadržaj knjige. Francuska je revolucija, osim one u građanskom smislu, označila prekretnicu i u načinu ratovanja. Postepeno se preustrojavala vojska, mijenjala dinamika ratovanja, razvijale vojne teorije, a stare su vojne formacije zbog svoje neučinkovitosti zamijenjene novima. Francuska je vojska u trenutku izbijanja revolucije bila u velikim problemima zbog lošeg unutarnjeg ustroja s ograničenim mogućnostima napredovanja. Raspolagala je s oko 180 tisuća vojnika dok je ranije u 18. st. ta brojka iznosila gotovo 300 tisuća. Do 1793. mobiliziran je velik broj ljudi, no bilo je potrebno promijeniti postojeće stanje na te-



renu. Francusko je pješaštvo podijeljeno u manje divizije ojačane na bokovima, a njihovo je djelovanje na bojnem pratila aktivna potpora napredne konjice i topništva. Manje su formacije omogućile bolju komunikaciju na bojištu, dinamiku i fleksibilnost te su zbog toga ubrzo postale popularne. Motiviran uspješnim preustrojem pješaštva, Napoleon je odlučio modernizirati i ostale grane francuske vojske. Njegovi su protivnici, zateknuti spremnošću i profesionalnošću novoustrojene vojske, i sami inicirali modernizaciju svojih vojski uvodeći taktike i formacije koje su postale temelj vojnog djelovanja kasnije tijekom 19. st.

U drugom se poglavlju, *Mounted Warfare*, predstavlja razvoj konjice u europskim vojskama od 1792. do 1815. Iako se konjica u 18. stoljeću smatrala bitnom udarnom snagom europskih vojski, u njene su redove najčešće ulazili bogati aristokrati koji su materijalnim sredstvima mogli financirati opstanak konjičkih jedinica. Tek ju je Napoleon nakon završetka Francuske revolucije pretvorio u najmoderniju konjicu u Europi. Povezao ju je s ostalim dijelovima vojske i tvorila je manje strukture funkcionalne na bojnem polju. Bez obzira na to što je francuska konjica bila najkvalitetnija u Europi, njeni su protivnici također imali specijalizirane jedinice pripremljenu za sukobe s njom. Zapovjedništvo je nad konjicom Napoleon povjerio maršalu Joachimu Muratu, koji je u potpunosti iskoristio njezin potencijal u borbama. U ranim je fazama napoleonskih ratova konjica na bojištu djelovala u kombinaciji s pješaštvom i topništvom u zbitim i krutim formacijama, no ubrzo je počela izvoditi samostalne zadaće koje su se sastojale od pregleda terena i dobavljanja informacija. Zbog njene razorne snage u završnim fazama gotovo svakog sukoba, Napoleon ju je koristio kao odlučujući element u bitkama, shvaćajući psihološki efekt konjičkog proboja i razbijanja protivničkih redova. Zahvaljujući Napoleonovom vojnom geniju u kombinaciji s novim vojnim doktrinama, konjici se omogućila dinamičnost te je dobila velika uloga u sukobima Napoleonskih ratova. Upravo su u to vrijeme njene strukture i udarna moć bili na vrhuncu, no zbog ubrzanog razvoja naoružanja njena razorna moć počela je opadati.

U trećem su poglavlju, *Command and Control*, opisane promjene unutarnjeg ustroja vodećih europskih vojnih sila. U vojskama sedamnaestog i osamnaestog stoljeća postojale su grane rezervirane isključivo za najbogatiju aristokraciju, ali je zbog smanjenja njihovog broja tijekom Francuske revolucije vojnicima omogućeno brže napredovanje u redo-



vima vojske. U to se doba znatno promijenila njezina struktura te se s tradicionalnog postupno prešlo na divizionalni sustav čija je temeljna zadaća bila povećati mobilnost postrojbi na terenu. Za razliku od tradicionalnog, koji je vojsku smatrao jednom velikom strukturom, divizionalni je sustav počeo kombinirati postrojbe iz različitih redova vojske, tvoreći manje i raznovrsnije postrojbe kojima je bilo lakše upravljati na terenu te im odrediti opseg djelovanja. Ta se promjena pokazala uspješnom nakon pobjede kod Fleurusa 1794. godine te se krenulo u daljnji preustroj postojećih divizija. Francuska je vojska podijeljena na veći broj vojnih garnizona, manjih jedinica koje su mobilnije, dinamičnije i logistički lakše za održavanje. Svaka je jedinica bila upotpunjena topništvom i konjicom, a koji su svi bili međusobno povezani, o čemu je bilo riječi u prijašnjem poglavlju. Ove su promjene Francuzima omogućile velike pobjede i osigurale njihovu nadmoć nad ostalim silama protufrancuske koalicije, čije reforme nisu bile uspješne u tolikoj mjeri. Saveznici su ipak dobro proučili francusku taktiku te iz svojih poraza naučili kako pravilno koordinirati svoje snage na terenu, što je uvjetovalo njihove kasnije koordinirane uspjehe u protunapoleonskom djelovanju poput bitki kod Leipziga i Waterlooa.

Četvrto je poglavlje, *Artillery and Siege Warfare*, koncentrirano na evoluciju topništva u europskim vojskama. Mnogi su vojni velikani već od ranijih vremena shvaćali važnost upotrebe topništva kao važnog elementa uspješnog ratovanja. U drugoj se polovici 18. st. u Francuskoj pojavila težnja za modernizacijom topništva, a uvedeni su i noviteti poput modernih vrsta topova kao i promjene u njihovom promjeru i težini, sukladno novim vojnim doktrinama i filozofijama koje su se usavršavale gotovo svakodnevno. Ove su promjene poznatije pod nazivom Gribeauvalov sustav, a predstavljale su kompoziciju najmodernijeg i najučinkovitijeg topničkog sustava u Europi. Smanjen je prag tolerancije na tvorničke pogreške prilikom proizvodnje topovskih dijelova te su se izrađivali topovi izvrsne kvalitete. Savezničko je topništvo također moglo parirati francuskom, barem u tehničkom aspektu, u čemu su se posebno isticala pruska topnička jedinice. Ono što je francusko topništvo činilo boljim od savezničkog bila je upotreba kvalitetnog kadra i činovništva, odnosno novog načina ratovanja i vojne taktike, kao i kvaliteta proizvedenih dijelova i visok moral. Ostale su vojske onodobne Europe imale problema s motivacijom, moralom i koordinacijom, a često je znala zakazati i logistička komponenta. Topništvo se u ranim



fazama Napoleonskih ratova koristilo kao statičan element čiji je cilj bio napad na pješачke postrojbe, ali ubrzo se shvatio njegov potencijal i mogućnost utjecaja na stanje na bojištu. Francuzi su imali iskustva i u obrani protiv topništva jer su u nekoliko prilika uspješno odbili neprijateljsko topništvo tijekom opsade francuskih utvrda.

Posljednje je poglavlje, *Naval Warfare*, posvećeno europskim mornaricama u razdoblju Napoleonskih ratova. Daleko najbolja mornarica toga vremena bila je britanska. Kvalitetno naoružani brodovi, profesionalni kadar te kontinuirano usavršavanje posada i navigacijsko-komunikacijskih sustava osigurali su njenu superiornost. Osvajanjima nakon Francuske revolucije, Napoleon je došao u posjed velikog broja plovila pokorenih stranih sila te je svoju flotu nadopunio španjolskim, venecijanskim, danskim i nizozemskim brodovima koje je bilo potrebno pravilno uklopiti u postojeću, ali nedovoljno dobro organiziranu mornaricu. Britanci su upotrebljavali taktiku okomitog razbijanja protivničkih linija plovidbe kako bi prekinuli komunikaciju i dezorijentali neprijateljsku silu. Na ovaj su način pod vodstvom Horatia Nelsona osigurali pobjede kod Abukira 1798. i Trafalgara 1805. godine, a osim u Egiptu, bili su angažirani u sukobima s Amerikancima u Sjevernoj Americi. Napoleon je, svjestan nadmoći britanske mornarice, povukao velik broj brodova iz europskih voda te svoje aktivnosti počeo planirati u Indijskom oceanu. U mornaricama ovog razdoblja nema značajnijih tehnoloških promjena kao u kopnenoj vojsci, no to se ubrzo promijenilo dolaskom tehnoloških noviteta u 19. st.

Zaključak

Značaj knjige u modernoj historiografiji nedvojbeno je potrebno detaljnije spomenuti. U europskoj povijesti Napoleonski ratovi predstavljaju značajan niz događaja kako u političkom, tako i u vojnom smislu. Način funkcioniranja vojski i njihova pretvorba u strukture koje su se sastojale od specijaliziranih jedinica s unaprijed određenim zadaćama i načinom djelovanja najintenzivnija je upravo u posljednjim fazama Francuske revolucije i dolaskom Napoleona u poziciju moći. Iako je specijalizacija vojnih jedinica prisutna od samih početaka aktivnog korištenja vojske u povijesti čovječanstva, one su se u povijesti gledale kao velike strukture te se sukladno tome bila razvijala i vojna doktrina. Tek su Grci i Rimljani shvatili potencijal bolje koordiniranih



manjih struktura na bojnopolju. Sredinom 18. st., kako zbog prirode vremena, tako i zbog prijašnjih sukoba (Rat za španjolsko naslijeđe 1701.-1714., Rat za austrijsko naslijeđe 1740.-1748., Sedmogodišnji rat 1756.-1763.), među francuskim vojnim teoretičarima oživjela je ideja o restrukturiranju i potpunoj reformaciji francuske vojske.

Autori se u uvodnim segmentima knjige ukratko dotiču struktura i vojne doktrine europskih vojski, problema vojnih struktura te razvoja filozofije i vojne doktrine u francuskim redovima. Nadalje, ukratko objašnjavaju kako je cilj ovih pothvata bio unaprijediti tadašnju tradicionalnu vojsku organiziranu sukladno *ancien régimeu*. Izoliranjem i komentiranjem francuskih vojnih teoretičara 18. st., poput Guiberta i njegovog djela *Réglement du 1er Août 1791.*, koje predstavlja temelj rekonstrukcije francuske vojske, autori postavljaju temelje daljnjeg sadržaja knjige. On svojevrsno predstavlja zanimljiv pristup istraživanju vojne povijesti i njezinog prikaza na moderan i pristupačan način.

Na zanimljiv je način odlučeno uobličiti kompleksan sadržaj i tematiku te ih prilagoditi svim zainteresiranim čitateljima neovisno o njihovom predznanju o predstavljenoj temi. Tekst je pisan engleskim jezikom obogaćenim ponekim stručnim izrazima, što prosječnom čitatelju ne bi trebalo predstavljati problem s obzirom na druge dopune kojima su autori odlučili obogatiti knjigu. U to ulaze detaljne i bogate ilustracije i prikazi pripadnika grana različitih europskih vojski u svim fazama napoleonskih ratova. Na isti je način prikazana evolucija vojnog naoružanja i različitih dijelova opreme sukladno stvarnim nalazima i zapisima.


Nadalje, iako je ova knjiga uobličena tako da upozna čitatelja s temeljnim informacijama i dinamikom Napoleonskih ratova, njena je glavna zadaća fokusirana na stručan prikaz razvoja vojne taktike i promjena u vojskama Napoleonskih ratova te je tome posvećen najveći prostor u knjizi. Kvalitetan dio bez sumnje predstavljaju kompleksni prikazi struktura vojnih redova i taktike na bojnopolju. Iako zastupljene u manjem broju, ove grafike predstavljaju svojevrsan prijelaz u drugu, profesionalniju domenu knjige, iz koje čak i upućeni čitatelji mogu upotpuniti svoje znanje o ovoj tematici.

Daleko najkvalitetniji i najkompleksniji dio knjige predstavljaju mapirani prikazi najpoznatijih bitaka napoleonskih ratova (Bitka kod Rivolija, Bitka kod Auerstäda, Bitka kod Maide, Bitka kod Waterlooa, Bitka kod Eylaua, Bitka kod Somosierre, Bitka kod Borodina, Bitka kod



Quatre Brasa, Bitka kod Fleurusa, Bitka kod Austerlitz, Bitka kod Wagrama, Bitka kod Leipziga, Bitka kod Friedlanda, Bitka kod Lützena, Bitka kod Bajadoza, Opsada Hamburga, Bitka kod Abukira, Bitka kod Trafalgara, Bitka kod Reuniona, Bitka kod jezera Erie. Time se značajno dobiva na kvaliteti sadržaja te upravo ovaj segment predstavlja najbolje prikazani dio ove knjige. Grafikama bitaka koji su popraćeni komentarima o detaljima poput vremenskih uvjeta, terena, informacijama o naoružanju i strukturi vojnih jedinica kojima se ukazuje na njihov napredak i evoluciju, ova je knjiga kvalitetno upotpunila tekstualni sadržaj i zaokružila u uvodu predstavljenu problematiku.

Iako objavljena 2008. godine, prikazom opširne tematike u nekoliko slojeva, istovremeno namijenjene široj, ali i bolje upućenoj publici, ova knjiga unatoč dinamičnim mijenama moderne historiografije predstavlja značajan doprinos proučavanju razdoblja Napoleonskih ratova. Zamjerku autorima bilo bi moguće uputiti tek na suženi izbor bazne literature koja se koristila za pisanje ove knjige, čija bi kvaliteta bila neupitno bolja ako bi se njezin sadržaj proširio još ponekim publiciranim izdanjem. Zaključno, ova knjiga predstavlja kvalitetno štivo kako za produkciju bilo kakvog stručnog rada vezanog uz temu vojne povijesti i tehnologije napoleonskih ratova, tako i za shvaćanje osnovnog konteksta i fluidnosti razvoja vojne taktike i doktrine prikazanog vremenskog perioda.



BOOK REVIEW - Robert B. Bruce et al. *Fighting Techniques of the Napoleonic Age 1792-1815: Equipment, Combat, Skills and Tactics*

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Book review

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This book, published in 2008, covers the development of military tactics and weapons, as well as their implementation in the context of conflicts from 1792 to 1815. The work was created due to the collaboration of experts specialized in the study of European military history of the 18th and 19th centuries. It is appropriate to point out Robert B. Bruce, a former professor of military history in the USA, Michael F. Pavkovic, an expert in military navy and Napoleonic wars, and Frederick Schneid, who produced this book with their expertise and knowledge with the help of several other authors.

The book is 252 pages long, and it is divided into 5 chapters. These are: *The Role of Infantry, Mounted Warfare, Command and Control, Artillery and Siege Warfare* and *Naval Warfare*. At the very end of the book there is a list of bibliography (*Select Bibliography*), sources of illustrations that appear in the book and an index.

Content

The first chapter, *The Role of Infantry*, deals with the changes in infantry units from 1792 to 1815 and serves as an introduction to the content of the book. The French Revolution, in addition to the revolution among the people, marks a turning point in the way of warfare. The army was gradually reorganized, the dynamics of warfare changed, military theories were developed, and the old military formations were replaced by new ones due to their inefficiency. At the time of the outbreak of the revolution, the French army was in great trouble due to a poor internal organization with limited possibilities for advancement. It had around 180,000 soldiers, while earlier in the 18th century, that figure was at



around 300,000. By 1793, many people were mobilized, but a change of the existing situation on the field was necessary. The French infantry was divided into smaller divisions reinforced on the flanks, and their action on the battlefield was accompanied by the active support of advanced cavalry and artillery. Smaller formations enabled better communication on the battlefield, dynamism and flexibility, and because of this they soon became popular. Napoleon, motivated by the successful reorganization of the infantry, decided to modernize other branches of the French army as well. His opponents, surprised by the enthusiasm and professionalism of the newly formed army, initiated the modernization of their respective armies by introducing tactics and formations that became the basis of military action later in the 19th century.

The second chapter, *Mounted Warfare*, presents the development of cavalry in European armies from 1792 to 1815. Although cavalry was considered an essential striking force of European armies in the 18th century, its ranks were most often joined by wealthy aristocrats who could finance the survival of cavalry units. Only after the end of the French Revolution did Napoleon turn it into the most modern cavalry in Europe. He connected it with other parts of the army, and it formed smaller structures that were functional on the battlefield. Despite the fact that the French cavalry was the best in Europe, its opponents also had specialized units prepared for conflicts with it. Napoleon entrusted the command of the cavalry to Marshal Joachim Murat, who utilized its full battlefield potential. In the early stages of the Napoleonic Wars, cavalry operated on the battlefield in combination with infantry and artillery in compact and rigid formations, but soon began to perform independent tasks consisting of inspecting the terrain and obtaining information. Because of its destructive power in the final stages of almost every conflict, Napoleon used it as a decisive element in battles, recognizing the psychological effect of cavalry breakthrough and breaking the opposing lines. Thanks to Napoleon's military genius combined with new military doctrines, the cavalry had the opportunity to be dynamic and it played a major role in the conflicts of the Napoleonic Wars. It was at that time that its structures and striking power were at their peak, but due to the accelerated weapon development, its destructive power began to decline.

The third chapter, *Command and Control*, describes the changes in the internal structure of the leading European military powers. In the



armies of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, there were branches reserved exclusively for the richest aristocracy, but due to the reduction in their number during the French Revolution, soldiers had the possibility of advancing faster in the ranks of the army. At that time, its structure changed significantly, and it gradually moved from the traditional to a divisional system, the basic task of which was to increase the mobility of units in the field. Unlike the traditional one, which considered the army to be one large structure, the divisional system began to combine units from different ranks of the army, forming smaller and more diverse units that were easier to manage in the field, as well as it was easier to determine their scope of action. This change proved to be successful after the victory at Fleurus in 1794, and a further reorganization of the existing divisions was started. The French army was divided into a larger number of military garrisons, smaller units that were more mobile, dynamic, and logistically easier to maintain. Each unit was accompanied by artillery and cavalry, all of which were interconnected, as discussed in the previous chapter. These changes enabled the French to win major battles and ensure their supremacy over the other forces of the anti-French coalition, whose reforms were not as successful. The Allies nevertheless studied French tactics well and learned from their defeats how to properly coordinate their forces on the field, which conditioned their later coordinated successes in anti-Napoleonic actions such as the Battle of Leipzig and Waterloo.

The fourth chapter, *Artillery and Siege Warfare*, focuses on the evolution of artillery in European armies. Many great military names understood the importance of using artillery as an important element of successful warfare from early times. In the second half of the 18th century, a desire to modernize artillery appeared in France, and novelties were introduced, such as modern types of cannons, as well as changes in their diameter and weight, in accordance with new military doctrines and philosophies that were being improved almost daily. These changes are better known as the Gribeauval system, and they represented the creation of the most modern and efficient artillery system in Europe. The tolerance for factory errors during the production of cannon parts was lowered, and cannons of excellent quality were produced. The Allied artillery could also match the French, at least in the technical part, in which the Prussian artillery units particularly excelled. What made the French artillery better than the one of the Allies



one was the use of quality personnel and bureaucracy, particularly a new way of warfare and military tactics, as well as the quality of manufactured parts and high morale. Other European armies of that time had problems with motivation, morale and coordination, with the logistical component often failing. Artillery was used in the early stages of the Napoleonic Wars as a static element aimed at attacking infantry units, but its potential and ability to influence the situation on the battlefield was soon obvious. The French also had experience in defence against artillery, as they successfully repulsed enemy artillery on several occasions during the siege of French forts.

The last chapter, *Naval Warfare*, is dedicated to European navies during the Napoleonic Wars. By far the best navy of the time was the British one. Well-armed ships, professional staff and continuous training of crews and navigation and communication systems ensured its superiority. With the conquests after the French Revolution, Napoleon came into possession of many vessels of conquered foreign powers and supplemented his fleet with Spanish, Venetian, Danish and Dutch ships that needed to be properly integrated into the existing, but insufficiently well-organized navy. The British used the tactic of vertically breaking the enemy's shipping lines to cut off communications and disorient the enemy force. This way, under the leadership of Horatio Nelson, they secured victories at Abukir in 1798 and at Trafalgar in 1805, and apart from Egypt, they were engaged in conflicts with the Americans in North America. Napoleon, aware of the supremacy of the British navy, withdrew a large number of ships from European waters and began to plan his activities in the Indian Ocean. There were no significant technological changes in the navies of this period as in the land army, but this soon changed with the arrival of technological innovations in the 19th century.

Conclusion

The significance of the book in modern historiography undoubtedly needs to be mentioned in more detail. In European history, the Napoleonic Wars represent a significant series of events in both political and military terms. The way armies function and their transformation into structures consisting of specialized units with predetermined tasks and methods of operation, were most intense in the last stages of



the French Revolution and with the arrival of Napoleon in a position of power. Although the specialization of military units has been present since the very beginning of the active use of the military in the history of mankind, they were seen in history as large structures, and military doctrine was developed accordingly. It was not until the Greeks and the Romans understood the potential of better coordinated smaller structures on the battlefield. In the middle of the 18th century, due to both the nature of the times and previous conflicts (War of the Spanish Succession 1701-1714, War of the Austrian Succession 1740-1748, Seven Years' War 1756-1763), the idea of restructuring and complete reformation of the French army revived among the French military theorists.

In the introductory segments of the book, the authors briefly mention the structures and military doctrine of European armies, the problems of military structures and the development of philosophy and military doctrine in the French ranks. Furthermore, they briefly explain how the goal of these undertakings was to improve the then traditional army organized according to the *ancien régime*. By isolating and commenting on French military theorists of the 18th century, such as Guibert and his work *Réglement du 1er Août 1791*, which represents the basis of the reconstruction of the French army, the authors lay the foundations for the further content of the book. In a way, it represents an interesting approach to the research of military history and its presentation in a modern and accessible way.

It was decided to shape a complicated content and a complex topic in an interesting way and adapt them to all interested readers, regardless of their prior knowledge of the topic presented. The text is enriched with some professional expressions, which should not be problematic for the average reader considering the additions the authors decided to enrich the book with. It includes detailed and rich illustrations and depictions of members of branches of various European armies in all phases of the Napoleonic wars. In the same way, the evolution of military weapons and different pieces of equipment is presented in accordance with actual findings and records.

Furthermore, although this book was designed to acquaint the reader with the basic information and dynamics of the Napoleonic Wars, its main task is focused on an expert presentation of the development of military tactics and changes in the armies of the Napoleonic Wars, and the largest part of the book is dedicated to this. Complex repre-



sentations of the structures of military ranks and tactics on the battlefield undoubtedly make a high-quality part of the book. Although represented in a smaller number, these graphics represent a transition to another, more professional domain of the book, from which even knowledgeable readers can complete their knowledge on this topic.

By far the best and the most complex part of the book is represented by the mapped representations of the most famous battles of the Napoleonic wars (Battle of Rivoli, Battle of Auerstädt, Battle of Maida, Battle of Waterloo, Battle of Eylau, Battle at Somosierre, Battle of Borodino, Battle of Quatre Bras, Battle of Fleurus, Battle of Austerlitz, Battle of Wagram, Battle of Leipzig, Battle at Friedland, Battle of Lützen, Battle of Bayadoz, Siege of Hamburg, Battle of Abukir, Battle of Trafalgar, Battle of Reunion, Battle of the Lake Erie). This significantly improves the quality of the content, and this segment is the best presented part of this book. With graphics of battles that are accompanied by comments on details such as weather conditions, terrain, information on weapons and the structure of military units that indicate their progress and evolution, this book qualitatively complemented the textual content and rounded off the issues presented in the introduction.

Although published in 2008, by presenting an extensive topic in several layers, intended at the same time for a wider, but also more knowledgeable audience, this book, despite the dynamic changes of modern historiography, represents a significant contribution to the study of the period of the Napoleonic Wars. It would be possible to complain to the authors only about the narrowed selection of base bibliography that was used to write this book, the quality of which would unquestionably be better if its content were expanded with a few more published editions. In conclusion, this book represents quality reading both for the writing of any professional work related to the topic of military history and technology of the Napoleonic wars, as well as for understanding the basic context and fluidity of the development of military tactics and doctrine of the period presented.



PRIKAZ KNJIGE - *U smrt za cara i domovinu!*

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Prikaz knjige

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Historiografija Bosne i Hercegovine kroz njene razne administrativne jedinice, pritom referirajući se na period Kraljevine Jugoslavije te socijalističke Jugoslavije – dugo je čekala na djelo koje će se, uz kritičko-objektivni sud i znanstveni princip, pozabaviti pitanjem bosanskih jedinica u Velikom ratu. Naime, sličnim tematikama, osobnim iskustvima iz neposrednih ratnih događaja, pozabavili su se Blašković, Fritz, Henz i Fabricius. Ulaskom u novo tisućljeće, točnije, početkom prvog desetljeća na Odsjeku za povijest Filozofskog fakulteta Sveučilišta u Sarajevu, sada već redovni profesor dr. Zijad Šehić je obranio svoj doktorat na temu „Bosanskohercegovački zemaljski pripadnici u vojnoj organizaciji Habsburške monarhije 1878.-1918. godine” 19. travnja 2002. godine pred komisijom koju su sačinjavali: prof. dr. Iljas Hadžibegović, akademik Dževad Juzbašić, prof. dr. Ibrahim Karabegović i prof. dr. Arnold Suppan. Sama knjiga predstavlja prerađenu doktorsku disertaciju koja od vrijeme izdavanja nosi naziv *U smrt za cara i domovinu! Bosanci i Hercegovci u vojnoj organizaciji Habsburške monarhije 1878-1918*. Sarajevo-Publishing, izdavačka je kuća koja se pobrinula da knjiga ugleda svijetlo dana.

Pritom. rad, kada su u pitanju njegove karakteristike – sastoji se od uvoda, četiri poglavlja, od kojih svaka zasebno ima svoje cjeline, zaključka te priloga. Na samom kraju se nalazi popis korištenih izvora i bibliografskih jedinica te registar osobnih imena i geografskih pojmova što značajno omogućava preglednost rada. U uvodu autor ističe problematiku neistraženosti uloge i statusa bosanskohercegovačkih zemaljskih pripadnika u vojnoj organizaciji Habsburške monarhije (1878-1918), iako je literatura o problematici mnogobrojna, ali do tada nikada objedinjena. Također, referira se na važne događaje koji su prethodili kao uzroci Prvom svjetskom ratu. Autor kao cilj istraživanja navodi rekonstrukciju uloge bosanskohercegovačkih jedinica u Velikom ratu i Habsburškoj Monarhiji. Uz navedeno, važno je bilo obraditi vojne, političke, ekonomske, gospodarske i druge faktore.



Organizacija vojske i policije u Bosanskom ejaletu vilajetu posljednjih decenija osmanske uprave naslov je prvog poglavlja. Spomenuto poglavlje predstavlja uvodni dio u matricu knjige te za središte razmatranja uzima ulogu bosanskohercegovačkih vojnih jedinica u vojnim organizacijama Osmanskog Carstva u sutonu osmanske vladavine nad prostorima zapadnog Balkana u vrijeme velikih kriza. Autor se dotiče Velike Istočne krize, odnosno onog dijela koji je zahvatio Bosanski vilajet tj. Hercegovački ustanak o kojemu daje grubu analizu na osnovi prikupljenih bibliografskih jedinica. Važno je napomenuti dobar tretman i čast koju su uživali bosanskohercegovačke jedinice. Prije svega obazirući se na postupanje prema muslimanskim vojnicima, njihovom načinu odijevanja, obavljanje vjerskih službi. Prije prelaska na drugo poglavlje, autor je nastojao dati kratak, ali koncizan uvid u okupaciju Bosne i Hercegovine 1878. od strane Austro-Ugarske Monarhije.

Drugo poglavlje, nazvano *Ni sultanovi, ni carevi! – Bosanskohercegovački zemaljski pripadnici u vojnoj organizaciji Habsburške monarhije 1878-1914*, predstavlja cjelinu istraživanja i kronološki pregled inkorporiranja bosanskohercegovačkih vojnih snaga u jedinice Austro-Ugarske Monarhije. Na samom početku ističe se potreba novih okupatorskih snaga da kroz gospodarske, kulturno-političke i socijalne mjere osigura vlast u novim teritorijima. Autor se pozabavio pitanjima izgradnje bosanskohercegovačkih vojnih jedinica, prvenstveno bazirajući se na promjeni u vidu novog vojnog uređenja, rasporeda, načina ratovanja i svega onoga što dolazi i što će doći s novim okupatorom. Autor je poglavlje podijelio na dva dijela. U prvom dijelu nastojao se koncentrirati na dinamiku promjena koje su pogodile novo vojno uređenje dok u drugom dijelu, autor ističe prilike u vojnim redovima za vrijeme kriza koje su direktno prethodile početku Velikom ratu, između ostalog aneksijske krize, Prvog, te Drugog Balkanskog rata. U nastavku knjige, u sljedeća dva poglavlja s više kraćih potpoglavlja obrađena je problematika ratnih zbivanja od 1914. do 1918. koja obuhvaća veći dio rada.

Treće poglavlje, naslovljeno je *Bosanskohercegovački zemaljski pripadnici u vojnoj organizaciji Habsburške monarhije od Sarajevskog atentata 28. juna 1914. do kraja 1916*. Poglavlje tematizira neposredno sudjelovanje bosanskohercegovačkih vojnih jedinica Habsburške Monarhije u periodu Sarajevskog atentata do kraja ratne 1916. godine. Sagledan je vojni, moralni, politički i socijalni profil vojnika te uvjeti



u kojima su djelovali, pritom referirajući se na široki raspon bibliografskih jedinica. Autor zaključuje: da bi se shvatio sveobuhvatni vojni aspekt bitno je prvobitno ući u tzv. logističku sferu. Da bi se jasnije reflektiralo stanje na frontu, važno je pažljivo obraditi pitanja saziva i reparticija određenih kategorija vojnih obveznika, ratno zbrinjavanje izbjeglica i ostalih poteškoća koje rat nosi izvan prvih linija i frontova. U drugom dijelu potpoglavlja autor ističe, na osnovi referentne literature, ulogu bosanskohercegovačkih vojnih obveznika tijekom druge i treće ratne godine te novi sukob s Italijom i već postojeći ratni problemi na istočnom i srpskom frontu. Autor daje poseban uvid u gubitke bosanskohercegovačkih vojnih jedinica u prvim ratnim godina te daje kratku analizu presjeka na frontovima pred kraj 1916. godine s posebnim aspektom o životu na frontu i zbrinjavanju ratnih vojnih invalida i obitelji mobiliziranih vojnih obveznika.

Četvrta i peta ratna godina, 1917/1918 naziv je posljednjeg, četvrtog poglavlja koje govori o prilikama u pozadini, stanju vojske na frontu, disciplini među vojnicima i situaciji u Monarhiji te ostalim elementima koji su korelacijski utjecali na raspad Austrougarske vojske. Autor se na početku poglavlja osvrće na prilike u Monarhiji početkom 1917. godine, promjene na tronu te utjecaj spomenutih događaja na frontu. Na osnovi kritičkog vrednovanja iskorištenih bibliografskih jedinica, prvenstveno onih statističkog karaktera koje su proizašle iz raznih vojnih, privatnih, nacionalnih i drugih arhiva, imaju najznačajniju ulogu o istraživanju problematike oružanih formacija. Autor u drugoj polovici poglavlja daje svoj uvid u zadnju ratnu godinu, probleme koje su zadesile Monarhije u vidu „unutarnjeg fronta”, pobuna, dezerterstva i sličnih nevolja koje su u konačnici označile smrt dvostrukog orla. U završnom potpoglavlju poglavlja, autor na osnovi analiza napravljenih na temelju službenih podataka daje svoja zapažanja i dostavlja mnoštvo podataka od iznimne važnosti za vojne potencijalne s prostora Bosne i Hercegovine koji su pritom angažirani u dotada najvećem svjetskom sukobu.

Posljednji dio knjige posvećen je autorovom zaključku u kojemu daje konačan uvid i presjek prethodno iznesenih podataka. Nakon zaključka, nalazi se obogaćeno poglavlje priloga koji daju širu statističku sliku od uspostave novog vojnog zakona 1912. godine preko mobilizacije pripadnika u prvoj ratnoj godini do gubitaka, vojnih odlikovanja i nositelja zlatnih medalja za hrabrost iz reda bosanskohercegovačkih



jedinica. Svojom prerađenom doktorskom disertacijom te u konačnici knjigom iz oblasti suvremene povijesti Bosne i Hercegovine, prof. dr. Zijad Šehić po prvi put na osnovi sveobuhvatne i objedinjene literature na jednom mjestu daje sveobuhvatan prikaz o sudjelovanju bosanskohercegovačkog vojnog potencijala u periodu od 1878. do 1914. godine. Autor se u knjizi koristio jasnom i preciznom metodologijom pritom ne ustupajući mjesto subjektivnim porivima.

Pritom, Šehić je napravio jedan iskorak u bavljenju ovom tematičkom te se svakako može smatrati začetnikom. Današnja historiografija, knjigu, odnosno prerađenu doktorsku disertaciju dr. Šehića smatra polaznom točkom u proučavanju problematike bosanskih jedinica i uloge Bosne i Hercegovine u Prvom svjetskom ratu. Značaj za historiografiju današnjice najviše se ogleda u knjizi spomenutim događajima koji su pogodili prostor Bosne i Hercegovine kao neposredno ratno područje nakon atentata što ranije, u publikacijama, te literalnim izvorima, nije bio slučaj. Šehić je iza sebe ostavio veliko nasljeđe te ogromni zadatak budućim povjesničarima i znanstvenicima koji se odluče baviti spomenutom problematikom. Za nadati se, da će bosanskohercegovačka znanstvena, a ponajviše historiografska zajednica krenuti njegovim stopama.



BOOK REVIEW

To Die for the Emperor and the Homeland!

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Book review

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The historiography of Bosnia and Herzegovina through its various administrative units – referring to the period of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia and socialist Yugoslavia – had long been waiting for a work that, with a critical-objective judgment and scientific principle, would deal with the issue of Bosnian units in the Great War. Namely, Blašković, Fritz, Henz and Fabricius dealt with similar topics, that is to say personal experiences of immediate war events. At the beginning of the new millennium, more precisely, at the beginning of the first decade, at the Department of History of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences of the University of Sarajevo, Dr. Zijad Šehić, now a full professor, defended his doctorate on the topic “Bosnian and Herzegovinian Land Units in the Military Organization of the Habsburg Monarchy 1878-1918”, on April 19, 2002, in front of a commission composed of: Prof. Dr. Iljas Hadžibegović, academician Dževad Juzbašić, Prof. Dr. Ibrahim Karabegović and Prof. Dr. Arnold Suppan. The book itself represents a reworked doctoral dissertation, which, since its publication, has been titled *To Die for the Emperor and the Homeland! Bosnians and Herzegovinians in the Military Organization of the Habsburg Monarchy 1878-1918*. Sarajevo-Publishing was the publishing house that made sure that the book be published.

At the same time, the work, when it comes to its characteristics, consists of an introduction, four chapters, each of which has its own special parts, a conclusion and appendices. At the very end, there is a list of used sources and bibliographic units, as well as a register of personal names and geographical terms, which significantly facilitates the transparency of the work. In the introduction, the author points out the issue of the unexplored role and status of Bosnian-Herzegovinian land units in the military organization of the Habsburg Monarchy (1878-1918), although the literature on the issue was numerous, but until then had never been unified. It also refers to important events that preceded the First World War as its precursors.



The author cites the reconstruction of the role of Bosnian-Herzegovinian units in the Great War and the Habsburg Monarchy as the goal of the research. In addition to the abovementioned aspects, it was important to process military, political, economic, economic and other factors.

The Organization of the Army and the Police in the Bosnian Eyalet Vilayet in the Last Decade of Ottoman Rule is the title of the first chapter. This chapter represents the introductory part of the matrix of the book and takes as the center of consideration the role of Bosnian-Herzegovinian military units in the military organizations of the Ottoman Empire in the twilight of Ottoman rule over the areas of the Western Balkans at the time of major crises. The author touches on the Great Eastern Crisis, that is, the part that affected the Bosnian Vilayet, that is to say the Herzegovinian Uprising, about which he provides a rough analysis based on the collected bibliographic units. It is important to note the good treatment and honor, enjoyed by the units of Bosnia and Herzegovina. First of all, taking into account the treatment of Muslim soldiers, their way of dressing, performing religious services. Before moving on to the second chapter, the author tried to give a short but concise insight into the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in 1878 by the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy.

The second chapter, entitled *Neither Sultans nor Emperors! – Bosnian-Herzegovinian Land Units in the Military Organization of the Habsburg Monarchy 1878-1914*, represents a whole of research and a chronological review of the incorporation of Bosnian-Herzegovinian military forces into the units of the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy. At the very beginning, the need of the new occupying forces to secure their rule in the new territories through economic, cultural-political and social measures is highlighted. The author dealt with the issues of the construction of Bosnia and Herzegovina's military units, primarily focusing on the changes in the new military organisation of the army, on the new layout and forms of warfare, as well as on everything that comes and will come with the new occupier. The author divided the chapter into two parts. In the first part, he tried to concentrate on the dynamics of changes that affected the new military organisation, while in the second part, the author highlights the conditions in the military ranks during the crises that directly preceded the beginning of the Great War, including the Bosnian Crisis¹, the First

1 Translator's note: The term 'Bosnian Crisis' or the 'Annexation Crisis' refers to the First Balkan Crisis of 1908, after the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy proclaimed the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which was formally under the sovereignty of the Ottoman Empire, but under administrative rule by the Austro-Hungarian Monarchy since 1878.



and Second Balkan Wars. In the continuation of the book, in the next two chapters with several shorter sub-chapters, the issue of war events from 1914 to 1918 is portrayed, covering the greater part of the work.

The third chapter is entitled *Bosnian-Herzegovinian Land Units in the Military Organisation of the Habsburg Monarchy from the Assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand on June 28, 1914 to the End of 1916*. The chapter deals with the direct participation of the Bosnian-Herzegovinian military units of the Habsburg Monarchy in the period of the Assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand² until the end of 1916, the second war year. The military, moral, political and social profile of the soldiers and the conditions in which they operated are reviewed, while referring to a wide range of bibliographic units. The author concludes: in order to understand the comprehensive military aspect, it is important to initially enter the so-called logistics sphere. In order to more clearly reflect the situation on the front, it is important to carefully process the issues of convocation and repartition of certain categories of conscripts, wartime care of refugees and other difficulties that war brings, beyond the front lines and fronts. In the second part of the subchapter, the author points out, based on reference literature, the role of Bosnian military conscripts during the second and third years of the war, as well as the new conflict with Italy and the already existing war problems on the Eastern Front and the Balkan Front³³. The author gives a special insight into the losses of Bosnian military units in the first years of the war and gives a short analysis of the cross-section on the fronts towards the end of 1916 with a special aspect about life at the front and the care of war invalids and the families of the mobilized conscripts.

The Fourth and Fifth War Years, 1917/1918 is the name of the last, fourth chapter, which talks about the conditions in the background, the state of the army at the front, discipline among soldiers and the situation in the Monarchy, and other elements that had a correlational effect on the disintegration of the Austro-Hungarian Army. At the beginning of the chapter, the author reviews the circumstances in the Monarchy at the beginning of 1917, the changes on the throne and the impact of the mentioned events on the front. Based on the critical evaluation of the used bibliographic

2 TN: The 'Assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand' is referred to in the original text as the 'Sarajevski atentat' or the 'Sarajevo Assassination' in English, but was translated in this way for reasons of clarity.

3 The 'Balkan Front' refers to the Balkan theatre of war in the First World War, which is called the 'Serbian Front' in the original text.



units, primarily those of a statistical nature that came from various military, private, national and other archives, they have the most significant role in researching the issue of armed formations. In the second half of the chapter, the author gives his insight into the last year of the war, the problems that befell the Monarchy in the form of an “internal front”, rebellions, desertions and similar troubles that ultimately marked the death of the Dual Monarchy. In the final subchapter of the chapter, the author gives his observations on the basis of analyses, made on the basis of official data and provides a lot of information of exceptional importance for military potential from the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina who were engaged in the largest world conflict until then.

The last part of the book is devoted to the author’s conclusion, in which he gives a final insight and a cross-section of the previously presented data. After the conclusion, there is an enriched chapter of appendices that give a broader statistical picture from the establishment of the new military law in 1912 through the mobilization of members in the first year of the war to losses, military awards and holders of gold medals for bravery from the Bosnian units. With his reworked doctoral dissertation and, ultimately, a book on the contemporary history of Bosnia and Herzegovina, for the first time, on the basis of comprehensive and unified literature in one place, Prof. Dr. Zijad Šehić provides a comprehensive portrayal of the participation of the Bosnian and Herzegovinian military potential in the period from 1878 to 1914. In the book, the author used a clear and precise methodology, while not yielding to subjective impulses.

At the same time, Šehić made a step forward in dealing with this topic and can certainly be considered a pioneer. Today’s historiography considers Dr. Šehić’s book, or reworked doctoral dissertation, as the starting point in the study of the issue of Bosnian units and the role of Bosnia and Herzegovina in the First World War. The significance for contemporary historiography is mostly reflected in the book by the mentioned events that affected the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina as an immediate war zone, after the Assassination of Archduke Franz Ferdinand, which had not been the case in previous publications and scientific literature. Šehić left behind a great legacy and a huge task for future historians and scientists who decide to deal with the mentioned issue. It is to be hoped that the Bosnian scientific community, and above the entire historiographical community, will follow in his footsteps.

OSVRT NA FILM / FILM REVIEW

**NJEMAČKA NULTE GODINE (*Germany Year Zero*);
Roberto Rossellini, 1948. – Kostur nacizma**

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Činjenično, objektivno, istinito, sve su to redom važni kriteriji po kojima ćemo vrjednovati filmsku ekranizaciju nekog povijesnog događaja ili povijesne zbilje. Kada je riječ o igranom filmu, i to čistoj fikciji, tada pod izrazom „objektivno“ možemo smatrati što vjernije rekreiranje duha vremena. Nije nužno studiozno iznošenje i analiziranje povijesnih činjenica, koliko preispitivanje stavova i obrazaca ponašanja, nastalih u danim povijesnim okolnostima. U toj filmskoj vrsti, zablistao je filmski umjetnički pravac poznat kao *talijanski neorealizam*. Često opisivani kao „tragači za istinom“, talijanski neorealisti (među koje ubrajamo redatelje i scenariste koji će krasiti nespektakularnost dramskih akcija i nadridokumentarističko crtanje društvene stvarnosti najranjivijih članova društva) pronalazili su svoje priče među običnim pukom. Zanimalo ih je ono što je „sada i ovdje“, s naglaskom na patnje koje je trebalo moralno prebroditi. Junak je mogao biti umi-



rovljenik koji nema dovoljno za nahraniti psa, samohrana majka ili svećenik koji pomažu pokretu otpora ili pak dva dječaka koji zarađuju lašteći cipele kako bi kupili konja za jahanje. Za cilj su imali pripovijedati o surovostima iz prošlosti, osvijestiti ljude o tegobama koje prate sadašnjost, uslijed razornih posljedica te iste prošlosti, te naglašavati s neminovnošću preuzimanja odgovornosti za budućnost. Jedan od zagovaratelja, no čvrsto se držeći vlastite paradigme, bio je i redatelj Roberto Rossellini, a film *Njemačka nulte godine* (eng. *Germany Year Zero*) jasan je primjer tih nastojanja.

Njemačka nulte godine, film snimljen 1947/8., danas se smatra trećim dijelom Rosselinijeve tzv. Ratne trilogije. Rosselinijeva Ratna trilogija surovi je prikaz nedaća koje su zadesile prvenstveno Talijane u samom sumraku, a potom i u epilogu Drugog svjetskog rata. Dok su *Rim, otvoreni grad* (1945) i *Paisan* (1946) filmovi o otporu Talijana, o mučeništvu i dužnostima koje svaki Talijan, bio on svećenik, vojnik ili obična seljanka, moraju ispunjavati, film *Njemačka nulte godine* govori o posljedicama manjka otpora cijele jedne nacije, no i o mogućem novom početku, zasnovanom na osobitoj vrsti mučeništva.

U bitnomu, Rossellini je snimio film o deprimirajućim moralnim posljedicama jedne povijesne katastrofe zvane – nacizam. Rosseliniju je *nacizam* ideologija koja je osudila čovječanstvo na propast, samim time što se, kako kaže u predgovoru za talijansku inačicu filma, „otuđila od vječnih zakona moralnosti i kršćanskog milosrđa“. On je prvenstveno u ovom filmu zamislio i uspio napasti zamisao nacizma, osvrćući se na zatrovanosti koje nisu napustile njemačko društvo, ni nakon prekida vatre. U filmu se ne pojavljuju likovi visokih dužnosnika i ne priča se o ratnim zločincima. Prate se ne tako iznimni pojedinci. Ono što je redatelj smatrao „objektivnim portretom“ više je sugestivnan prikaz očajničkog manjka suosjećanja među sunarodnjacima i, što je još gore, među članovima obitelji. Riječ je o filmu u kojem je mjesto radnje smješteno u oslobođeni Berlin, koji je zapravo i dalje pod okupacijom saveznika nakon Drugog svjetskog rata. U središtu radnje jest dvanaestogodišnji dječak, Edmund Kohler, kojeg pratimo u nastojanjima da osigura svojoj obitelji kakvu-takvu egzistenciju. Majčinske figure nema, dok je otac teško bolestan zbog nedostatka nutritivno bogate hrane. Film od samog početka odiše nelagodnom. Berlin je razrušen. Obnova se ne nazire. Dapače, uvodne panorame Berlina iz zraka nude otužne slike manjka inicijative. Ljudi su neugodni. Bore se za med, margarin i marmeladu, s kojima raspolažu jedino engleski vojnici na



crnom tržištu. Društvo kao da je svedeno na društvo lovačko-sakupljačke naravi. Kao vrhunac, Rossellini uvodi Edmunda u radnju kao ilegalnog, odnosno maloljetnog radnika na iskapanju grobova. Iskapanje grobova, premda pomalo morbidno, mogao je biti najunosniji ili barem jedini sigurni posao u prvim poratnim danima. *Za Njemačku nulte godine*, grobovi su sadašnjost. Zakapanje prošlosti nužno je kako bi se krenulo od „nulte godine“. Za Edmundovo dobro, sram, kojeg njemački narod osjeća uslijed poraza u Drugom svjetskom ratu, trebalo bi ukloniti. Taj sram, pomiješan s izrazitim zalaganjem za očuvanjem samoga sebe, odnosno sa samoizdržljivošću, jest ono što otežava odrastanje malenom Edmundu.

Rossellini ne uljepšava tragediju koja je pogodila poslijeratno društvo. S tragedijom se rađao i sami film. Naime, Rossellinija je u ovaj pot-hvat odvukla smrt vlastita sina, Romana. Kako je preminuo iznenada s devet godina, Rossellini je naumio pronaći utjehu u stvaranju filma, čiji će protagonist biti dječak pun tereta teških vremena. A kako bi pobijedio tužnu stvarnost napuštanja ovoga svijeta, Edmunda je trebalo osloboditi. Trebalo ga je osloboditi od crnog tržišta, na kojem će ga preveslati bezobziran, dobrostojeći „gentleman“. Trebalo ga je odmaknuti od ulične borbe za ostatcima mesa uginula konja. Trebalo ga je lišiti muke promatranja sestre koja mora zabavljati francuske časnike i pomišljati na prostituciju kako bi zaradila cigarete za trampu. Trebalo mu je olakšati breme, samo da otac nije prikovan za krevet, a stariji brat, bivši vojnik u Wehrmachtu, sebična kukavica. Od navedenog, Edmund se ne oslobađa. Uostalom, i kamera ga pritišće. U uvodnoj sceni na groblju ostali radnici ga opkoljavaju, smanjujući mu „životni prostor“ vlastitim figurama. A kada pokušava pobjeći od činjenice da su ga prevarili u razmjeni za vagu ili da ga vršnjaci varaju podvaljujući mu lažne sapune, on uspijeva pobjeći samo do središta kadra i tako se dodatno izložiti nama, gledateljstvu. U skućenom obiteljskom domu često je u prvom planu kadra, odmah uz leću, pa i kada ne sudjeluje u izmjeni protesta među ukućanima. Edmund postaje dio tog svijeta odraslih smicalica, više nego što bi trebao biti. Rossellinijeva strategija jest dječaka učiniti što ranjivijim. Film se može sagledati i kao film „protuodrastanja“ jer su simpatije usmjerene prema dvanaestogodišnjaku, kojem nije dana poštena prilika prepustiti se bezbrižnim dječjim radostima.

Dok *Rim*, *otvoreni grad* i *Paisan* govore o nacističkom barbarstvu, *Njemačka nulte godine* naglašava njihovu degeneričnost. On ih vidi kao



seksualno izopačene. U ovom filmu lik učitelja jest čudovište koje obmanjuje djecu. Učitelj Enning bivši je Edmundov učitelj, s nenaočitim, suptilnim pedofilskim crtama. On će imati ključni utjecaj na Edmunda. Rossellini preko njega iznosi protutezu o svojom moralnom položaju. Misao kako „trebamo imati hrabrosti i žrtvovati slabije“ duboko je usađena u nacističku promidžbu, a ovdje je možemo čuti i u poraću, u ozbiljnoj maniri, od jednog učitelja, sa stvarnim, opipljivim posljedicama po mladi i zbunjeni um kao što je Edmundov. I ne samo što je usađena među nacističkim sljedbenicima, već i Edmundova sestra, Eva, djevojka koja samo želi povratak svog dragog (još jednog vojnog zatvorenika), smatra kako se svatko treba boriti za sebe. Enning je u pravu kada kaže Edmundu kako smo „ukalupljeni u vremenima u kojima živimo“.



Premda neorealizam načelno odbacuje širu političku analizu, Rossellini u nekoliko slučajeva izrazito oštro, pomalo i cinično, napada sljedbenike nacističke politike. Prvi primjer jest slučajni susret učitelja Enninga i nekog mu poznanika dok je ovaj kao kažnjenik (ratni zarobljenik) čistio ulicu od ruševina. Njegove riječi - „prije smo bili nacionalsocijalisti, sada smo samo nacisti“ - opaska su koja bode uši. Prije su bili netko i nešto, a sada ih vide samo kao kriminalce, možda to želi poručiti? To je taj stalno ponavljajući osjećaj posramljenosti. I Edmundov brat, Karl-Heinz, to izražava. On će pokuditi Edmunda kada provede noć izvan doma, kradući krumpire s hrpom dječice koju će Edmundov otac, jasno, nazvati huliganima, ali nema hrabrosti izaći na ulicu. Utučen je time što misli kako za vojnika nema života izvan rata kojeg su izgubili. Ruga se sa, kako ih on naziva, „takozvanim žrtvama nacizma“, ljudima od kojih milostinju ne želi primiti. Uopće, u Rossellinijevu Berlinu vlada velika odbojnost prema stranoj pomoći. Enning ih naziva „glupima“. Edmundova ih sestra Eva vidi kao koristoljubljive izdajice.



Rossellini je odlučio spomenuti i Hitlera. Što je njemu Hitler, čime je zadužio Nijemce? Na učiteljev nagovor, Edmund pokušava utržiti gramofonsku ploču, tj. jedan Hitlerov govor. Donosi jr do američkih i engleskih vojnika, i pušta. Što se točno čuje i vidi? Čuje se gromoglasni Hitlerov govor o pobjedi i slavi koja čeka njemački narod, dok kamera, u najironičnijem zahvatu u cijelom filmu, pokazuje kakvih je razmjera ta slava. Na površnoj razini, to je gospodarski unazađena država. Malo dublje, to je bolna pomisao, za koju Rossellini nema milosti: suočavanje njemačkog naroda s vlastitom kolektivnom krivnjom. Rađanje osjećaja krivnje, tj. savjesti, Rossellini će ponuditi u gorkom, ali katarzičnom Edmundovu završnom jurišu. Tada će Edmundovo lutanje po Berlinu dobiti svoj nužni, produhovljeni vid.



U tomu leži Rossellinijeva poetika i viđenje realizma, unutar te istine i objektivnosti. Ne postoje posebne tehnike koje bi ustanovile što je istina, već samo ispravna moralna pozicija. Rossellini je krizno razdoblje adolescencije lišio sentimentalizma jer je težio onom što Andre Bazin, u svojim ključnim analizama o neorealizmu i Rosselliniju u svescima *Što je Film?*, naziva „psihološkoj objektivnosti“. Nas „ne uzbuđuje ni glumac, ni događaj, već smisao koji moramo iz njih izvući“, kaže Bazin. Edmund je prošao sito i rešetno, no ključ je u tome kako



se u njegovoj nutrini, unatoč njegovom mahom bezizražajnom licu, sukobljavaju dječja obzirnost i društvena pomahnitalost. Puno sam ispričao o tomu kako se trebalo ponašati kako bi se spriječile dodatne ljudske tragedije, jer s tom je mišlju film i napravljen. *Njemačka nulte godine* kulminira jakim zovom slobode od teška bremena, kao što je tuđa krv na vlastitim rukama. Ovaj je film Rossellinijeva molitva, upućena svima koji poznaju djecu poput Edmunda. Jer, kao što nepoznata djevojka, u pozi „la pieta“, oplakuje Edmunda, tako i mi trebamo osjećati beskrajnu tugu. Svima nama Rossellini poručuje da se trebamo založiti kako bismo tu djecu iznova naučili zavoljeti život.

**GERMANY YEAR ZERO; Roberto Rossellini,
1948 – The Skeleton of Nazism**

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Factuality, objectivity, truthfulness, these are all important criteria according to which we will evaluate the film adaptation of a historical event or historical reality. When it comes to a feature film, and pure fiction, then under the term “objective” we can consider as faithful a recreation of the spirit of the times as possible. It is not necessary to studiously present and analyse historical facts, but to re-examine the attitudes and patterns of behaviour created in given historical circumstances. In that type of film, the artistic film genre known as *Italian neorealism* shone. Often described as “the seekers of the truth”, Italian neorealists (among whom we include directors and screenwriters whose work will be marked by anti-spectacularity of dramatic actions and pseudo-documentary portrayal of social reality of the most vulnerable members of society) found their stories among the common people. They were interested in the “here and now”, with an emphasis



on the suffering that had to be morally overcome. The hero could be a pensioner who doesn't have enough to feed his dog, a single mother or a priest who helps the resistance movement, or two boys who earn money by shining shoes to buy a horse to ride. Their goal was to narrate the brutalities of the past, to raise awareness of the sufferings that accompany the present due to the devastating consequences of that same past and to point out the inevitability of taking responsibility for the future. Director Roberto Rossellini was one of the proponents, although firmly adhering to his own paradigm, and the film *Germany Year Zero* is a clear example of these tendencies.

Germany Year Zero, a film made in 1947/8, is today considered the third part of Rossellini's so-called *War Trilogy*. Rossellini's *War Trilogy* is a harsh depiction of the misfortunes that befell primarily Italians in the very twilight, and then in the epilogue of WWII. While *Rome, the Open City* (1945) and *Paisan* (1946) are films about Italian resistance, about martyrdom and the duties that every Italian, be he a priest, a soldier or a simple peasant woman, must fulfil, the film *Germany Year Zero* tells a story of the consequences of the lack of resistance of an entire nation, but also a story of a potential new start, based on a special kind of martyrdom.

Essentially, Rossellini made a film about the depressing moral consequences of a historical catastrophe called – Nazism. For Rossellini, *Nazism* is an ideology that has condemned humanity to destruction simply because, as he says in the foreword for the Italian version of the film, it “estranged itself from the eternal laws of morality and Christian charity”. He primarily imagined and succeeded in attacking the idea of Nazism in this film, looking back at the toxins that did not leave German society even after the ceasefire. The characters of high-ranking officials do not appear in the film and there is no talk of war criminals. Not so exceptional individuals are followed. What the director considered an “objective portrayal” is more of a suggestive depiction of a desperate lack of empathy among countrymen and, even worse, among family members. It is a film set in liberated Berlin, which is actually still occupied by the Allies, after the Second World War. In the centre is a twelve-year-old boy, Edmund Kohler, who we follow in his efforts to provide his family with some means of existence. There is no mother figure, while the father is seriously ill, due to lack of nutritionally rich food. The film exudes uneasiness from the very beginning.



Berlin is destroyed. Restoration is not nowhere in sight. Rather, the opening aerial panoramas of Berlin offer depressing images of a lack of initiative. People are unpleasant. They fight for honey, margarine and jam, which are available only to English soldiers on the black market. Society seems to have been reduced to a hunter-gatherer society. As the icing on the cake, Rossellini introduces Edmund into the plot as an illegal, or underage, gravedigger. Digging graves, although a bit morbid, could have been the most lucrative or at least the only safe job in the first days of the war. For the Germany of year zero, graves are the present. Burying the past is necessary in order to start from “year zero”. For Edmund’s sake, the shame the German people feel from their defeat in the Second World War should be eliminated. This shame, mixed with a strong commitment to self-preservation, that is to say self-endurance, is what makes it difficult for little Edmund to grow up.

Rossellini does not gloss over the tragedy that struck post-war society. The film itself was born with the tragedy. Namely, Rossellini was drawn into this venture by the death of his own son, Romano. As he died suddenly at the age of nine, Rossellini decided to find solace in making a film whose protagonist would be a boy burdened by hard times. And, in order to overcome the sad reality of leaving this world, Edmund needed to be freed. He needed to be freed from the black market, where a ruthless, affluent “gentleman” would swindle him. He needed to be moved away from the street fights over the remains of the dead horse’s meat. He needed to be spared the trouble of watching his sister, who had to entertain French officers and think of prostitution to earn cigarettes in order to tramp them. His burden needed to be lifted, if only his father was not bedridden, and his older brother, a former soldier in the Wehrmacht, a selfish coward. Edmund is not exempt from the above. After all, the camera is also pressing on him. In the opening scene at the cemetery, the other workers surround him, reducing his “living space” with their own figures. And when he tries to escape from the fact that he was cheated in the exchange for a scale or that his peers are cheating him by giving him fake soaps, he only manages to escape to the centre of the frame and thus further expose himself to us, the audience. In the cramped family home, the frame is often in the foreground, right next to the lens, even when it is not participating in the exchange of protests with the members of the household. Edmund becomes a part of that world of grown-up de-

ceitfulness, more than he should be. Rossellini's strategy is to make the boy as vulnerable as possible. The film can also be seen as an "anti-coming-of-age" film because the sympathies are directed towards the twelve-year-old, who was not given a fair chance to indulge in the carefree joys of childhood.

While *Rome, the Open City* and *Paisan* speak of Nazi barbarism, *Germany Year Zero* emphasizes Nazi degeneracy. He sees them as sexually perverted. In this film, the character of the teacher is a monster who deceives the children. Enning is Edmund's former teacher, with faint, subtle, paedophile traits. He will be a key influence on Edmund. Through him, Rossellini presents the antithesis of his moral position. The thought that "we should have courage and sacrifice the weaker" is deeply embedded in Nazi propaganda, and here we can hear it in the post-war period, in a serious manner from a teacher, with real, tangible consequences for a young and confused mind like Edmund's. And not only is it rooted among Nazi followers, but also Edmund's sister Eva, a girl who just seeks the return of her beloved (another prisoner of war), believes that everyone should fight for themselves. Enning is right when he tells Edmund that "we are moulded by the times we live in".



Although neorealism in principle rejects wider political analysis, in a few cases Rossellini attacks the followers of Nazi politics extremely harshly and somewhat cynically. The first example is an accidental meeting between teacher Enning and an acquaintance of his while the latter was cleaning the street from rubble as a convict (POW). His words – "we used to be National Socialists, now we're just Nazis" – are an ear-splitting remark. Before they were somebody and something, and now they see them only as criminals, maybe that's what he wants to say? It's that ever-recurring feeling of embarrassment. Edmund's brother, Karl-Heinz, also demonstrates this. He will beat Edmund

when he spends the night outside of the house, stealing potatoes with a bunch of kids that Edmund's father will, of course, call hooligans, but he doesn't have the courage to go out into the street. He is depressed by thinking that there is no life for a soldier outside of the war they had lost. He makes fun of, as he calls them, "the so-called victims of Nazism", people from whom he does not want to receive alms. Overall, in Rossellini's Berlin there is a great aversion to foreign aid. Enning calls them "stupid". Edmund's sister Eva sees them as opportunistic traitors.

Rossellini decided to mention Hitler as well. What is Hitler to him, what had he given the Germans? At the teacher's persuasion, Edmund tries to buy a gramophone record, that is to say one of Hitler's speeches. He brings it to the American and English soldiers, and plays it. What exactly is heard and seen? Hitler's thunderous speech about the victory and the glory that awaits the German people is heard, while the camera, in the most ironic act of the entire film, shows the extent of that glory. On the surface, it is an economically ruined country. A little deeper, it is a painful thought, for which Rossellini has no mercy: the German people confronting their own collective guilt. The birth of a sense of guilt, that is to say of conscience, will be presented by Rossellini in the bitter but cathartic Edmund's final onslaught. Then Edmund's wandering around Berlin will get its necessary, spiritual aspect.





This is where Rossellini's poetics and vision of realism lie, within that truth and objectivity. There are no special techniques that would establish what is true, but only a correct moral position. Rossellini deprived the crisis period of adolescence of sentimentality because he aspired to what Andre Bazin, in his key analyses of neorealism and Rossellini in the volumes *What is Film?*, calls "psychological objectivity". "Neither the actor nor the event excites us, but the meaning we have to extract from them", says Bazin. Edmund travelled a rocky road, but the key is how within him, despite his predominantly expressionless face, a child's sensitivity and social frenzy collide. I have said a lot about how to behave in order to prevent additional human tragedies, because the film was made with that thought in mind. The film *Germany Year Zero* culminates with a strong call for freedom from the heavy burden of someone else's blood on one's own hands. This film is Rossellini's prayer to all who know children like Edmund. Because, just as the unknown girl in the "la pieta" pose mourns Edmund, we too should feel infinite sadness. Rossellini says to all of us that we should commit ourselves to teach these children how to love life again.



