

# PLETER



*Časopis*

*Udruga studenata povijesti „Toma Arhiđakon“ – ISHA-e Split*

*Historia est testis temporum, lux veritatis, vita  
memoriae, magistra vitae, nuntia vetustatis.*



**Godina V., br. 5**  
**Split, 2022.**

**Pleter, časopis Udruge studenata povijesti „Toma Arhidakon“ – ISHA-e Split  
Broj 5, godina V.**

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**Grafička priprema i tisak:**

Dalmacijapapir d. o. o, Split

**Naklada:**

200 primjeraka

Časopis je besplatan.

Časopis je objavljen uz financijsku potporu Studentskog zbora Sveučilišta u Splitu  
(Zrinsko-frankopanska 38, 21000 Split).

**Mjesto i godina izdanja:**

Split, 2022.

ISSN 2459 - 8623

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## RIJEČ UREDNIŠTVA

Poštovani i dragi čitatelji,  
iznimno mi je zadovoljstvo predstaviti vam peti broj časopisa „Pleter“ udruge studenata „Toma Arhiđakon“. Na samom početku, priliči vas upoznati s novim uredništvom koje je temeljito i marljivo radilo na stvaranju ovog izdanja, a čine ga Ante Subašić, Gabriella Milković, Ivan Čorić, Katarina Vulić, Matea Kaćunić, Stipe Trogrlić, Željka Vuko i ja, Vinka Klišmanić kojoj je od ove godine pripala čast, ali i velika odgovornost biti glavna urednica. Neovisno o promjeni sastava uredništva, cilj časopisa ostaje isti, a to je kontinuirani napredak, prije svega u sadržajnom, ali i vizualnom smislu.

Početakom 2022. godine, u suradnji s kolegama s diplomskog studija Odsjeka za anglistiku Filozofskog fakulteta u Splitu, uspjeli smo ostvariti hvalevrijednu zamisao prethodnog uredništva o dvojezičnosti časopisa. Ideju smo ostvarili te publicirali peti broj časopisa „Pleter“ na hrvatskom i engleskom jeziku, s ciljem približavanja istog čitateljima izvan Lijepe Naše kojih će, nadam se, s vremenom, biti sve više. Ovogodišnje izdanje „Pleter“ krase raznolikost radova koji obrađuju antičke, novovjekovne i suvremene povijesne teme, recenzije knjiga te osvrt na izložbu u kojoj su sudjelovale kolegice s Odsjeka za povijest umjetnosti Filozofskog fakulteta u Splitu te kolegice i kolege s Umjetničke akademije u Splitu. Vjerujem da će Vaša intelektualna žeđ, barem u manjoj mjeri, biti napojena.

U ime cijelog uredništva zahvaljujem Studentskom zboru Sveučilišta u Splitu na tradicionalnoj financijskoj potpori, nužnoj za funkcioniranje i napredak časopisa „Pleter“ te se nadam uspješnoj suradnji i u budućnosti. Nadalje, zahvaljujem svim recenzentima ovog broja, posebno profesorima s Odsjeka za povijest Filozofskog fakulteta u Splitu koji su nam, kao novom i neiskusnom uredništvu, svojim znanjem i susretljivošću pomogli iznjedrili ovaj broj časopisa. Zahvaljujem i svim autorima koji su nam ukazali povjerenje odabirom ovog mladog časopisa kao mjesta objavljivanja vlastitih stručnih radova te se nadam da smo im, publikacijom radova, pomogli u budućoj, i vjerujem, uspješnoj znanstvenoj karijeri. Posljednje, ali nikako manje važno, želim zahvaliti prethodnom uredništvu na čelu s Lukom Ursićem za sav uloženi trud koji je časopis doveo do znanstvene razine te se nadam kako nećemo iznevjeriti dano povjerenje.



Posebno i izdvojeno od ostalih zahvala, zahvaljujem vama, dragi čitatelji, što nas vjerno pratite u već petom broju časopisa „Pleter“ te zajedno s nama njegujete i širite ljubav prema historiografiji. Veselim se našem susretu u idućem broju, a do tada, u ime cijelog uredništva, sve vas najtoplije pozdravljam!

Vinka Klišmanić, glavna urednica



## EDITORIAL

Dear readers,

It is my great pleasure to present to you the fifth issue of the magazine "Pleter" of the student association "Thomas the Archdeacon". Firstly, we should introduce you to the new editorial board that worked thoroughly and diligently on the creation of this edition, consisting of Ante Subašić, Gabriella Milković, Ivan Čorić, Katarina Vulić, Matea Kaćunić, Stipe Trogrlić, Željka Vuko and I, Vinka Klišmanić, who, as of this year, had the honour, as well as the great responsibility, to be the editor-in-chief. Regardless of the change in the composition of the editorial board, the goal of the magazine remains the same, and that is continuous progress, primarily in terms of content, but also visually.

At the beginning of 2022, in cooperation with colleagues from the graduate study of the English Department of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Split, we managed to realize the praiseworthy idea of the previous editorial board on the bilingual nature of the journal. We realized the idea and published the fifth issue of the magazine "Pleter" in Croatian and English, with the aim of bringing it closer to readers outside of *Our Beautiful*, which, I hope, will, in time, be more and more. This year's edition of "Pleter" is adorned with a variety of works dealing with ancient, modern and contemporary historical themes, book reviews and a review of the exhibition which was attended by colleagues from the Department of Art History of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Split and colleagues from the Academy of Arts in Split. I believe that your intellectual thirst will be quenched, at least to some extent.

On behalf of the entire editorial board, I thank the Student Union of the University of Split for the traditional financial support necessary for the functioning and progress of the magazine "Pleter" and I hope for a successful cooperation in the future. Furthermore, I would like to thank all the reviewers of this issue, especially the professors from the Department of History of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Split, who, with their knowledge and helpfulness, helped us, as a new and inexperienced editorial staff, to create this issue. I would also like to thank all the authors who trusted us by choosing this young magazine to publish their own professional papers, and I hope that by publishing our papers we have helped them in their future and, I



firmly believe, successful scientific careers. Last but not least, I would like to thank the previous editorial board, headed by Luka Uršić, for all the effort that has brought the magazine to a scientific level and I hope that we will not betray the trust that has been placed in us.

Special and separate thanks to you, dear readers, for faithfully following us in the fifth issue of the magazine “Pleter” and for nurturing and spreading the love for historiography together with us. I look forward to meeting you in the next issue and, until then, on behalf of the entire editorial board, I warmly send my kindest regards to you all!

Vinka Klišmanić, editor-in-chief

RADOVI





# POGREBNI RITUALI I OBIČAJI U RIMSKOM CARSTVU

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Primljeno: 12. 11. 2021.  
Prihvaćeno: 29. 12. 2021.

*U Rimskom Carstvu postojalo je više funkcija koje su se obavljale prilikom smrti pokojnika. Sve počinje s pogrebnom pripremom, a to je ritual koji je za tadašnje stanovnike Rimskog Carstva imao posebnu važnost, upravo zbog toga što sprovodi u svim kulturama omogućuju ljudima da se oproste od svojih najbližih. Nakon što bi se tijelo pokojnika pripremilo, odnosno opralo u toploj vodi, pomazalo uljima i ukrasilo cvijećem, izložilo bi ga se u atrij kuće. Poslije kreće pompa odnosno pogrebna procesija uz pratnju glazbenika, narikača i glumaca koja vodi pokojnika do njegovog vječnog počivališta gdje će se obaviti obred kremacije ili inhumacije. Poslije pogreba bilo je obavezno obaviti ritual pročišćenja jer se smatralo da mrtvi zagađuju. Dolaskom Kršćanstva polako je došlo i do promjene u grobnoj arhitekturi te su se rane zajednice Kršćana i Židova počele ukapati u podzemnim katakombama. Prema Zakoniku dvanaest ploča zabranjen je ukop unutar grada, te se groblje smješta izvan gradskih zidina. Rimljanima su grobnice predstavljale vječni dom u kojem će živjeti nakon smrti. Najobičnije grobnice rimskog svijeta su bile bezoblične rupe u koje su ili bile postavljene posude s pepelom i spaljenim kostima ili odložen kostur. Sve je ovisilo o materijalnim mogućnostima i tradiciji obitelji; izgledi grobova i grobnih mjesta su mogli biti vrlo raznoliki, a neke patricijske obitelji su mogle imati i privatne grobnice. Sve dosad rečeno vezano za pogrebe starih Rimljana može se iščitati iz dva vrijedna sepulkralna reljefa: reljef grobnice obitelji Haterii te reljef grobnice iz Amiternuma na kojima imamo prikaze pogrebne pripreme i procesije.*

**Ključne riječi:** *Rimsko Carstvo, smrt, pogrebni ritual, pogrebni običaj, pogrebna priprema, pogrebna procesija, kremacija, inhumacija*

## Uvod

Kao što je poznato, područje Apeninskog poluotoka pruža bogat povijesni opus koji datira još u davna vremena. U ovom će se radu pobliže opisati i dati uvid u događaje i običaje za Rimskoga Carstva. Približit će se temi koja se veže uz smrt za Rimskog Carstva te opisati pogrebne rituale i običaje koji su tada bili uobičajeni. Tema se rada prvenstveno bazira na pogrebne rituale i običaje u Rimskom Carstvu koji su detaljno obrađeni u više podnaslova. Za početak, piše se o tome



kako je nakon smrti pokojnika izgledala pogrebna priprema, odnosno što se radilo s pokojnikovim tijelom, tko je sve sudjelovao i gdje se pogrebna priprema odvijala. Nakon toga slijedi opis *pompe*, tj. pogrebne procesije, koja se uvelike može razlikovati ovisno o financijskoj situaciji pokojnika i njegove obitelji. U idućim poglavljima pozornost će se obratiti na carski pogreb, ukop koji se tiče vojnika i djece te će jedan naslov biti posvećen opisu kršćanskog pogreba. Također, rad daje uvid u načine na koji su se ukapali stari Rimljani, odnosno jesu li preferirali kremaciju ili inhumaciju, gdje je groblje bilo smješteno te kakvi su bili tipovi grobnica. Na samom kraju rada će se izdvojiti spomenici pogrebnog sadržaja u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji.

### **Pogrebni rituali i običaji**

#### **Ukratko o pogrebnim običajima u Rimskoj Republici**

Za Republike, pogrebna praksa bila je uvelike diktirana od strane društva. Međusobna konkurentnost u društvu se prvenstveno mogla uočiti na primjeru grobnica. Grobnice su osim svoje primarne svrhe služile i kao prikaz određenog luksuza te individualnosti. Za primjer se navode: grobnica Cestiusa u obliku piramide i grobnica Eurisaka u obliku krušne peći, o kojima će ponešto pisati u idućim poglavljima. Upravo one ističu taj individualizam koji se želio iskazati grobnicama. Mnogi građani nisu imali financijske mogućnosti za izgradnju takvih monumentalnih grobnica stoga su oni najvjerojatnije bili pokapani bez nadgrobničkih spomenika. Istakli bi se samo osnovni biografski podatci osobe kako bi se znalo da su na tom mjestu prisutni ljudski ostatci.<sup>1</sup>

Groblja kasne Republike bila su načinjena od grobnih parcela postavljenih jedan pored drugog sa strogim propisanim natpisima o zabrani pokopa posmrtnih ostataka na zemljištu koje pripada nekoj drugoj osobi. Stoga se smatra da je bilo malo moguće da se skromniji pokopi nižih slojeva i ostalog dijela stanovništva izvrše pokraj monumentalnih grobnica. Veliki utjecaj na oblikovanje pogrebnih aktivnosti imala je potreba da se posmrtni ostaci osiguraju odgovarajućim pokopom te određenim ceremonijalnim obredima. Pripadnici nižeg sloja imali su relativno slična uvjerenja kao bogati sloj građanstva, a to se osobito može vidjeti u brizi koja se posvećivala pokopu. Pogreb je također bio jako bitan za održavanje određenog društvenog položaja

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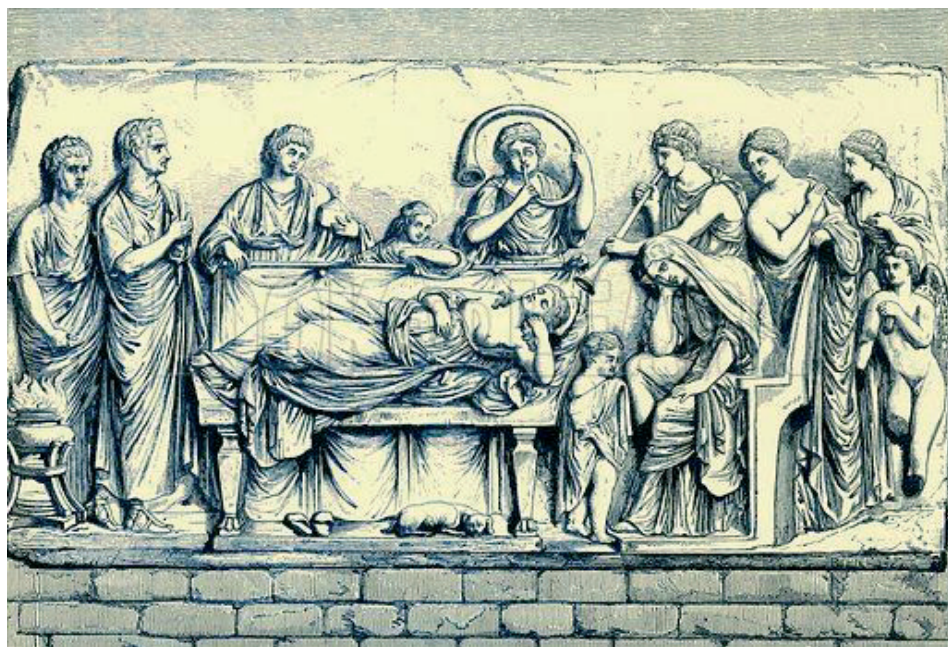
1 E.-J. Graham 2006, 113.



pojedinka. Pritom se misli na činjenicu da se putem pogreba, pri čemu se misli na aktivnosti tijekom pogreba i količini i vrsti grobnih priloga, ukazivalo na vlastiti socijalno-ekonomski status. Na taj način željeli su biti u rangu sa višim slojevima.<sup>2</sup>

### Pogrebne pripreme

Za stanovnike je Rimskog Carstva sprovod smatran jednim od najbitnijih rituala. Upravo sprovodi u svim kulturama omogućuju ljudima da se oproste od svojih bližnjih.<sup>3</sup> Postojali su određeni uvjeti kako bi umiruća osoba ostvarila što „bolju smrt“. Neki od zahtjeva su oni koji navode da umirući treba biti kod kuće ili barem sa svojim bližnjima, treba biti odlučan i hrabar te izgovoriti nešto mudro ili pak duhovito na rastanku. Poljupcem bi se hvatao posljednji dah osobe na samrti, to je najčešće činio netko blizak, po mogućnosti majka ili supružnik. Glasno se zazivalo ime pokojnika (*conclamatio*) u trenutku prije nego što bi umirući zatvorio oči.<sup>4</sup>



Slika 1. Prikaz zazivanja pokojnika (*conclamatio*) u trenutku smrti

2 Isto, 113.

3 V. M. Hope 2009, 66.

4 Isto, 50.



Pozdrav koji se uzvikivao bio je *Have* ili *Vale*.<sup>5</sup> Tijelo bi se potom opralo u toploj vodi, pomazalo uljima te ukrasilo cvijećem. Simbolično se u usta pokojnika stavljao novčić koji je predstavljao novac koji bi pokojnik dao Haronu, brodaru u Hadu, za uslugu prijevoza preko rijeke.<sup>6</sup> Ovaj običaj bio je prisutan u cijelom Carstvu te se smatra da je preuzet iz grčkog religijskog života i na taj način uveden i u Rim.<sup>7</sup> Za pripremu tijela, tradicionalno su bile zadužene žene, no mogli su se zaposliti i posebni radnici zvani *pollinctores*. Smatra se da su to ime dobili po prahu odnosno peludi koja bi se nanosila na lice pokojnika kako bi se prekrila promjena boje lica u vrijeme smrti.<sup>8</sup> Smrcu bližnjeg, obitelj postaje *familia funesta* što znači da provodi proces sprovoda, a nije im bilo dozvoljene ni obavljati neke od uobičajenih i dnevnih aktivnosti. Zbog prisutnosti leša u kući bio je također prisutan i osjećaj onečišćenja kako fizičkog tako i duhovnog, a rituali koji su se obavljali nastojali su suzbiti to „onečišćenje“.<sup>9</sup>

Stari Rimljani smatrali su da smrt onečišćuje, kako u vjerskom tako i u kulturnom smislu. Kada bi netko umro, onečišćenje bi trajalo tijekom cijelog perioda žalovanja što je obično značilo devet dana, te bi u tom periodu kontaminirala žive. Smatrali su da se samo posebnim postupkom pročišćavanja može prekinuti to onečišćenje. Prema njihovim uvjerenjima onečišćenje dovodi do negativnog učinka na međuljudske odnose, ali dakako i na prekid kontakta s bogovima. Također oni koji su smatrani onečišćenima nisu bili u stanju obavljati određene poslove te prinositi žrtve, te bi tako ugrožavali svoje građanske funkcije.<sup>10</sup> Svećenici i drugi duhovni vođe nisu smjeli doći u kontakt s mrtvima da se ne bi kontaminirali, a kontaminacija se prenosila najčešće dodirrom, iako u slučaju svećenika kontaminacija se mogla dogoditi i na neposredan način odnosno ako bi pogledali u mrtvu osobu.<sup>11</sup> Također vrlo bitno je bilo da svećenici ne jedu grah, čak niti da ga diraju jer su neke filozofske skupine smatrale da se u grahu nalazi duša mrtvih.<sup>12</sup> Dakako, postojale su određene iznimke, kao na primjer ako bi smrt nastupila u kućama svećenika ili službenika. Također, nije se smatra-

5 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 40.

6 V. M. Hope 2009, 71.

7 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 40.

8 V. M. Hope 2009, 71.

9 Isto, 71.-72.

10 F. P. Retief - L. Cilliers 2010, 129.-130.

11 Isto, 130.

12 Isto, 130.



la uzrokom onečišćenja smrt djece prije puberteta, sve dok su tijela brzo pokopana ili kremirana noću. Upravo onečišćenje je utjecalo na obavljanje pogrebnih obreda, između ostalog osobe u određenim zanimanjima kao što su svi članovi pogrebnog društva, smatrani su trajno onečišćenim te su morali živjeti u izolaciji.<sup>13</sup>

Nadalje, što se tiče priprema za pogreb, pokojnici slabijeg imovinskog stanja bili su zamatani u crnu tkaninu iako je za ukop bila najpoželjnija bijela toga, ako su si je mogli priuštiti. Tijelo se ukrašavalo raznim amblemima i počastima koje je pokojnik zaslužio tijekom svog života. Kao upozorenje na leš unutar kuće, najčešće bi se u zemlju ispred ulaznih vrata zabijale grančice čempresa ili planinskog bora.<sup>14</sup> Nakon što bi tijelo pripremili za pogreb, tijelo pokojnika bi se postavilo odnosno izložilo u atriju kuće (*expositio*). Tijelo bi se položilo na pogrebni ležaj (*lectus funebris*) s tim da su noge trebale biti okrenute prema vratima.<sup>15</sup> Taj položaj ukazivao je zapravo da smrt koja je nastupila nije bila nasilna.<sup>16</sup> Pogrebni krevet (*letto funerario*) bio je uobičajen za bogatiji dio rimskog stanovništva. U slučaju obreda incineracije, preuzimao se običaj od Grka, a to je običaj da se tijelo spali zajedno s pogrebnim krevetom.<sup>17</sup> Nadalje, oko pokojnika bi se postavilo cvijeće i tamjan, dok je kućanstvo oplakivalo umrlog i tugovalo, posjetitelji bi izražavali sućut.<sup>18</sup>

Tugujuća rodbina intonirala bi žalobne pjesme praćene uz zvukove tibije (*tibia*). Bilo je uobičajeno da prvo pokojnikova majka ili sestra izvode pjesme uz glasno izgovaranje tužaljki. U nekim slučajevima bi to bilo praćeno uz udaranje o grudi i grebanje obraza noktima, no to se naposljetku smatralo kao nedolično ponašanje i bilo je zabranjeno *Zakonikom dvanaest ploča*<sup>19</sup>, stoga su se unajmljivale narikače. Ponekad su bili unajmljeni i glumci ili lakrdijaši (*scurrae, histriones*), a jedan od glumaca bi predstavljao pokojnika tako što bi oponašao njegove riječi i djela. Takav tip glumca bi se zvao *archimimus*. Prije smrti pokojnik bi znao u svojoj oporuci

13 Isto, 130.

14 Isto, 138.

15 V. M. Hope 2009, 72.

16 F. P. Retief - L. Cilliers 2010, 138.

17 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 89.

18 V. M. Hope 2009, 72.

19 Zakonik dvanaest ploča (*Leges duodecim tabularum*) je prva kodifikacija rimskog prava kojeg je sastavilo deset članova komisije 451. -450. g. pr. Kr. a zove se tako upravo zato što je objavljen na rimskom forumu na dvanaest ploča. Zakonik dvanaest ploča. Preuzeto iz: P. Lisičar, 1971, 297.



osloboditi nekolicinu svojih robova kako bi uvećao svoj pogreb, ujedno bi ti oslobođeni robovi na pogrebu nosili kapu oslobođenika (*pileati*).<sup>20</sup> U vrijeme dok je leš bio izložen, smišljao bi se plan za sprovod. Kod imućnijih obitelji upotrebljavali su se navjestitelji koji bi objavljivali smrt osobe na ulicama grada kako bi potakli što više ljudi da prisustvuju pogrebu. Naime, najava smrti naslikana je i na zidu kuće u Pompejima. Vrijeme od trenutka smrti do pogreba bi bilo drugačije, zavisi od obitelji, no za obitelji koje su živjele jednostavno, sprovod bi najčešće uslijedio brzo nakon smrti, zbog toga što bi smatrali da je prikaz tijela bio nehigijenski i nepraktičan. A što se tiče višeg sloja društva odnosno elite, kod njih je tijelo moglo biti izloženo čak i do tjedan dana. Kontaktima s Egiptom, Rimljani su poznavali i još jedan običaj, balzamiranje ili mumifikaciju no to se nikada nije pretežito opsežno ustalilo u Rimu.<sup>21</sup>

### Pogrebna procesija

U staro rimsko doba pogrebi noću bili su uglavnom predodređeni samo za djecu i siromašne, koji nisu imali dovoljno financijskih sredstava da bi sebi omogućili pogrebnu povorku.<sup>22</sup> Prije početka pogrebne procesije (*pompa funebris*) koja bi išla sve od pokojnikove kuće do nekropole, pokojnike koji su bili imućniji bi se iznosilo na krevetu (*feretrum*).<sup>23</sup> Dok su pak leševi siromašnijih slojeva izneseni na običnim mrtvačkim nosilima koji su se nazivali *sandapilla* a za njihovo iznošenje bili su zaduženi *vespae* odnosno nosači koji su ime dobili zbog toga što je bio običaj mrtve iznositi tijekom noći.<sup>24</sup> Dakako, pogrebna procesija i sve što ide uz nju, je bila određen luksuz koji je siromašnima bio nepotreban financijski izdatak. Potrebitima su osnovnu pogrebnu opremu omogućavali članovi pogrebnog kolegija.<sup>25</sup> Pogrebna procesija bila je praćena uz žalobno pjevanje i glazbu u kojoj su sudjelovali razni glazbari kao što su: *cornicines*, *liticines*, *tibicines*. Pjevale su se tužne pjesme u čast pokojnika zvane *naenia*, njih su izvodi-le unajmljene narikače (*praeficae*).<sup>26</sup> Najbliži muški članovi obitelji ili tek oslobođeni robovi bili su zaduženi za nošenje mrtvačkog nosila

20 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 43.

21 V. M. Hope 2009, 73.-74.

22 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 42.

23 J.M.C. Toynbee 1971, 46.

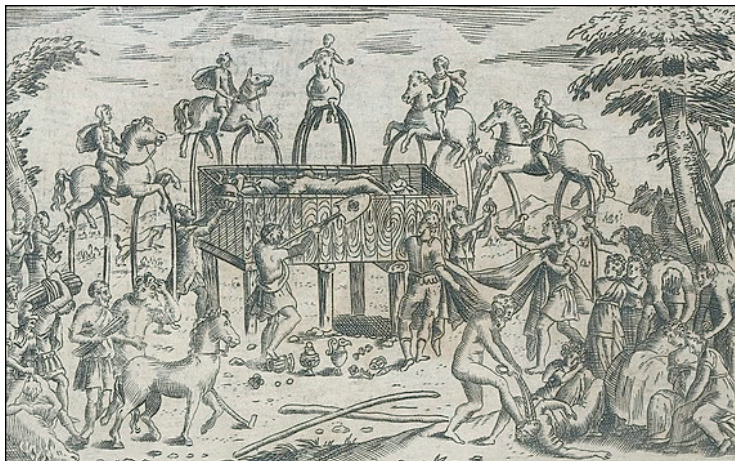
24 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 44.

25 V. M. Hope 2009, 76.

26 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 42.

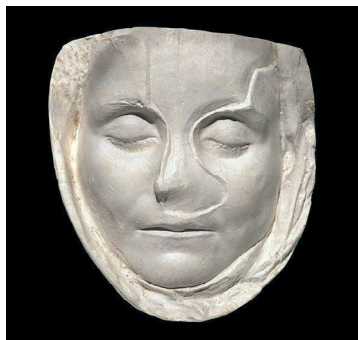


tijekom procesije.<sup>27</sup> Svi sudionici sprovoda bili su odjeveni u tamnu odjeću, pretežito crne boje (*atra*).<sup>28</sup>



Slika 2. Prikaz pogrebne procesije

Većina osoba koja bi došla na pogreb nije bila tu samo kako bi tu govala i izrazila svoje žaljenje obitelji već da bi bila zabavljena. Zato su bogatiji građani u svojim procesijama imali spektakularne parade u kojima bi sudjelovali glumci noseći maske izrađene odljevom lica bogatih pokojnika, takozvane *imagines* koje bi predstavljali pretke umrlih. Na taj bi način glumci noseći masku pokojnika imali mogućnost barem predstavljanjem i glumom, vratiti ga u život kao i njegove pretke i tako veličati slavu te obitelji. Tako je procesija isprepletanjem svih tih rituala mogla biti pomalo mračna no s elementima koje pružaju glazbari i glumci postigla bi efekt karnevala.<sup>29</sup>



Slika 3. Prikaz maske (*imagines*) kakve su koristili glumci

27 J.M.C. Toynbee 1971, 46.

28 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 44.

29 V. M. Hope 2009, 74.



Postoji i drugi element koji su uzvanici osobito voljeli a to su bili pogrebni govori u čast pokojnika (*laudatio*), izvodili bi se pred govornicom (*rostra*) na Forumu u slučaju da je pokojnik bio osoba od veće važnosti.<sup>30</sup> Ti govori su imali jačinu kojima bi izazvali suosjećanje i tugu ne samo članovima obitelji već svim uzvanicima koji su prisustvovali pogrebu.<sup>31</sup> Nakon što bi se održao govor, pokojnika bi se odnosilo na mjesto vječnog počinka te bi tu započeo obred kremacije ili inhumacije. Na groblju bi se prinobile žrtve i to *Cereri*.<sup>32</sup> Žrtvovali su životinje, a najučestalija žrtva je bila svinja odnosno *porca presentanea* od koje bi se jedan dio kremirao zajedno s pokojnikom dok je drugi dio bio namijenjen Cereri. Drugi dio postavio bi se na žrtvenik na kojem bi se spalio. Ono što bi ostalo služilo je kako bi se obitelj i okupljeni počastili nakon pogreba. Naravno, nisu svi bili u financijskoj mogućnosti imati tako veliku i bogatu žrtvu, stoga bi umjesto nje kao žrtvu nudili vino, tamjan i žito i taj ritual se naziva *libatio*.<sup>33</sup>

Pokojniku je trebalo nakon ukopa u grob staviti grobne priloge, jer se smatralo da ima iste potrebe pod zemljom kao i kada je bio među živima. Zbog toga kraj njega su postavljene mnoge stvari kao što su: odjeća, dragulji, posude i hrana. Naravno to sve zavisi od zanimanja pokojnika, naime da je pokojnik bio obrtnik u grob bi mu se postavljao njegov alat. Žene su uz sebe imale toaletne potrepštine dok su djeca imala igračke. Kao zaštitu od štetnih i zlih stvari skupa s ostalim pokojnikovim potrepštinama, stavljene su i amajlije.<sup>34</sup> Na isti dan kada bi pogreb završio na grobu pokojnika bi se jelo pogrebno jelo (*silicernium*) koji je bio jedan od rituala a hranu i piće bi ostavili na grobu za pokojnika.<sup>35</sup> Nakon pogreba uslijedilo bi vrijeme za pročišćavanje zvano *suffitio* koje je bilo propisano Zakonom zbog toga što su, kao što sam već navela prije, vjerovali da smrt donosi onečišćenje. Pročišćavanje bi bilo obavezno svima koji su taj dan bili na pogrebu, a odrađivalo se na način da se poškrope lovorovom vodom te preskaću vatru. A što se tiče svojih domova, trebali bi ih očistiti i pomesti s posebnom metlom.<sup>36</sup>

30 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 45.

31 V. M. Hope 2009, 89.

32 Cerera je jedno od najstarijih italskih božanstava, potvrđeno natpisima iz kasnog 7. st. pr. Kr. Tellus (Terra Mater) se veže uz nju kao božanstvo poljoprivredne plodnosti. U davna vremena štovane su u svetkovinama Feriae Sementivae i Sacrum Cereale. Ona u potpunosti odgovara prikazu grčke božice Demetre što je vidljivo u prikazima Cerere iz 3. st. pr., I. Matijević, A. Kurilić, 2011, 134.–135., Preuzeto iz: [https://hrcak.srce.hr/index.php?show=clanak&id\\_clanak\\_jezik=112053](https://hrcak.srce.hr/index.php?show=clanak&id_clanak_jezik=112053), (23. 8. 2021.)

33 J. Wachter, 2002, 813.

34 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 45.

35 F. Cumont, 1922, 49.

36 F. P. Retief - L. Cilliers 2010, 141.



Postojala je još i *cena novendialis* odnosno gozba koja bi se održavala deveti dan nakon pogreba i ujedno označavala kraj žalosti. Dakako, prestanak žaljenja nije značio da su mrtvi sada potpuno zaboravljeni, naprotiv, postojali su i slavili se rođendani umrlih te dva važna vjerska festivala *Parentalia* i *Lemuria*. U vrijeme festivala *Parentalia*, ljudi bi posjećivali grobove svojih bližnjih koji su ih napustili te bi im donosili na grob kao dar hranu, cvijeće te bi kasnije objedovali. Upravo u tu svrhu neke luksuznije grobnice bi čak imale ugrađenu kuhinju i bunar.<sup>37</sup>

*Lemuria* je bilo slavlje posvećeno kultu Lemura odnosno lutajućim sjenama osoba koje su prerano napustile ovozemaljski svijet, a u to doba su pohodili svijet živih. Navodno je tu svečanost uveo Romul zbog toga što je ubio svojeg brata Rema, te je na taj način želio smiriti njegov duh.<sup>38</sup> Pogreb bi se raspustio tako što bi narikača ili neka druga osoba izgovorila riječi *Ilicet, Ire licet*, a pokojnika bi se na kraju pozdravilo sa *Vale!*<sup>39</sup>

Kao primjer spomenika na kojima su sačuvana obilježja pogrebne procesije valjalo bi spomenuti: reljef grobnice obitelji Haterija i reljef grobnice iz Amiterna. Reljef grobnice obitelji Haterija je vrijedan spomenik sepulkralne umjetnosti koji je načinjen od mramora te potječe iz kasnoflavijevskog ili ranotrajanskog doba Rima. Na tom reljefu je prikazana ženska osoba, što se može zaključiti po tome što nije obučena u togu. Prikazana je u ležećem položaju na leđima, polegnuta na dva madraca koja su postavljeni na drugi krevet. Pokojnica na lijevoj ruci nosi prstenje i pokrivena je od vrata do stopala.<sup>40</sup> Prednji dio kreveta je prekriven zavjesom, a krevet je okružen velikim plamenim bakljama. Također oko kreveta se nalaze i unajmljene narikače (*praeficae*) s raščupanom kosom i s podignutim rukama kao da udaraju po prsima. U podnožju kreveta stoji žena koja svira frulu, te pokraj nje druga žena s velom i sklopljenim rukama. Ispred zavjese stoje četiri osobe (dva muškarca i dvije žene) za koje se smatra da su vjerojatno rodbina umrle žene. Na čelu kreveta stoje tri žene, a između baklji i svijećnjaka možemo vidjeti lik muške osobe koji hoda u lijevo i nosi nešto na pladnju. Također u prvom planu možemo vidjeti dvije kadionice a veliki list akantusa vjerojatno stoji tu kako bi ukazao da se unutar kuće nalazi leš.<sup>41</sup>

37 J. Wachter, 2002, 813. -814.

38 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 33.

39 Isto, 47.

40 J. M. C. Toynbee 1971, 44.-45.

41 Isto, 44.-45.



Slika 4. Prikaz reljefa grobnice obitelji Haterija

Reljef grobnice iz Amiterna je rađen od vapnenca, potječe iz kasnog 1. stoljeća pr. Kr, a danas se nalazi u regiji Abruzzo u Italiji. Na njemu se vrlo dobro može uočiti da se radi o spomeniku koji prikazuje *pompu* odnosno pogrebnu povorku. Pokojnik je muškarac koji počiva na pogrebnom krevetu.<sup>42</sup> Uz pokojnika prikazuje svirača flaute koji se nalazi u donjem desnom kutu te je vođa povorke koju slijedi još trojica svirača. Poviše njih se može vidjeti još ožalošćenih, od toga: tri svirača roga te dvije narikače. Ispod njih se nalazi pogrebni direktor (*disignator*) Osam osoba nosi na ramenima krevet na kojem se nalazi pokojnik koji leži na dvostrukom madracu. Pokraj kreveta nalazi se skupina od devetoro ljudi u kojoj prve tri osobe, najbliže pokojniku, predstavljaju njegovu ženu i dvije kćeri. Na reljefu su još prikazane i robinje koje oplakuju pokojnika a pri dnu imamo figuru muškarca koji nosi palmino lišće i kutijicu tamjana.<sup>43</sup> Nepotpuni natpis koji je pronađen u blizini reljefa pretpostavlja da je grobnicu možda naručila obitelj ro-

42 Dr. L. Taylor 2015., <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/ancient-art-civilizations/roman/beginners-guide-rome/a/roman-funeral-rituals-and-social-status-the-amiternum-tomb-and-the-tomb-of-the-haterii> (13. 8. 2021.)

43 J. Bodel 1999, 264.-265.



bovskog podrijetla jer reljef ima karakteristike tipične za umjetnost „oslobođenih“. To je bila kategorija koju su koristili bivši robovi.<sup>44</sup>



Slika 5. Reljef grobnice iz Amiterna

### **Carski pogreb (*funus imperatorium*)**

„U doba Carstva, javni pogrebi u Rimu su bili rezervirani gotovo isključivo za careve i članove njihovih obitelji.“<sup>45</sup> Nakon proglašenja smrti cara nastupio bi *Iustitium*, a to je bio zakon prema kojem se zahtijeva potpuni prestanak svih javnih i pravnih poslova u gradu Rimu. Carski pogrebi uzimali su za primjer način pogreba elitnih slojeva društva tijekom vremena Republike što bi značilo da su se carski pogrebi također sastojali od svečanih govora na Forumu te parade s maskama odnosno *imagines*. Kasnije su ovi rituali pomalo počeli nestajati kod članova elite jer se nisu željeli na taj način uzdizati iznad carskih obitelji. Za cara bi se smatralo da nije umro već da je besmrtn.<sup>46</sup>

Sahrana bi započela tako da bi se kauč/nosilo odnijelo ulicom *Via Sacra*, te bi se izložilo na Forumu. Na skalama s jedne strane kauča bilo je mjesto za skupinu mladih koja je pjevala svečane himne i pjesme u čast pokojnom caru dok je druga strana bila predodređena za jednu od uglednih žena. Na Marsovom polju, gdje bi se tijelo poslije

44 Dr. L. Taylor 2015., <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/ancient-art-civilizations/roman/beginners-guide-rome/a/roman-funeral-rituals-and-social-status-the-amiternum-tomb-and-the-tomb-of-the-haterii> (13. 8. 2021.)

45 J. M. C. Toynbee 1971, 56.

46 V. M. Hope 2009, 91.



prenijelo, bila je podignuta velika četvrtasta lomača. Lomača je bila ispunjena snopom grančica a izvana ukrašena raznim slikama, kipićima od slonovače te zlatom. Slika cara bi se nalazila na kauču koji je smješten na drugi kat lomače i tu bi se najčešće stavljale sve vrste začina, voća, masti, začinsko bilje te sokovi. Svi bi u čast caru donosili poklone na pogreb. Nadalje, kada bi se sve ispunilo s poklonima održao bi se konjički mimohod koji bi u ritmu jahao oko lomače.<sup>47</sup> Unajmili bi se i posebni gladijatori svrstani pod jedinstveni naziv *bustuarii* koji bi se borili oko lomače. Na kraju bi se lomača zapalila a tu čast je imao novi car, dok bi ostali ljudi palili lomaču s drugih strana. Običaj je također bio s najvišeg kata lomače pustiti orla koji bi odletio prema nebu, što je simbolično značilo da ta ptica prenosi carevu dušu prema „raju“.<sup>48</sup>

Car August (14. po. Kr.) ostavio je Liviji i njezinome sinu Tiberiju upute za organizaciju svoga pogreba koji je trebao biti tradicionalan, ali i impresivan. Nosilo je moralo biti napravljeno od bjelokosti i zlata te pokriveno zavjesama ljubičaste boje. Sve je bilo ukrašeno likovima cara koji su napravljeni od zlata i voska, a brojne maske bi prikazivale pretke carske obitelji. Kada bi se tijelo prevezlo na Forum, izrekla bi se dva govora nakon čega bi se tijelo prevezlo na Marsovo polje gdje bi se kremiralo. Augustova udovica Livija bi pet dana ostala pokraj lomače, a konjanici bi onda pokupili ostatke kostiju te ih smjestili u carski ma uzolej. Naravno, i na Augustovom sprovodu se orao puštao s lomače, kako bi prenio njegovu dušu na nebo. Taj element se nazivao *apoteoza* te je označavao ideju prijelaza iz čovjeka u boga. Dakako, carevi su morali biti dobri vladari tijekom života da bi uopće zaslužili dostojan i impresivan pogreb. Dobrom vladavinom zaslužio bi se dobar i dostojan sporovod pa čak i mogućnost proglašenja tog određenog vladara božanstvom. S druge strane, loša vladavina je označavala sramotnu smrt koja uključuje zlostavljanje leša te sprovod bez ikakvih povlastica.<sup>49</sup>

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47 J. M. C. Toynbee 1971, 60.

48 V. M. Hope 2009, 92.

49 Isto, 91-92.



Slika 6. Prikaz kremacije cara te ispuštanje orla

### Kršćanski pogreb

Dolaskom kršćanstva polako je došlo i do promjene u grobnoj arhitekturi u rimskim selima i gradovima. Katakombe su bile najčešće mjesto gdje su se ukapale rane zajednice Kršćana i Židova koji su prakticirali individualnu inhumaciju naspram kremacije. Katakombe su se nalazile pod zemljom i izvan zidina grada te su varirale podrijetlom. Katakombe su vrlo kompleksan sustav podzemnih hodnika te su mogle imati više od tisuću kilometara koje su se protezale pod predgrađem Rima. U njima se moglo ukopati čak oko šest milijuna ljudi.<sup>50</sup> Pogani su bili ti koji su započeli običaj izdubljivanja ili iskapanja podzemnih grobnica u Rimu u svrhu ukopa a ne kršćani. Ono što je bilo tipično za kršćane i Židove je stvaranje velikih podzemnih grobnih prostora koji su bili rasprostranjeni na više razina. Iskopavanja su izvršavali *fossores* odnosno manualni radnici „rudari“. Nakon iskopa određenog kubikula ili galerije tijela bi se umotavala u povoje ili svečanu odjeću, ovisno o financijskim mogućnostima. Radi dezinfekcije prostora, stavljao bi se sloj vapna te su se niše

50 J. Davies 1999, 192.





zatvarale pločama ili pečenom ciglom. Česti su bili i natipisi koji bi se urezivali. Naravno urezivalo se ime pokojnika no grobovi su mogli sadržavati i neke druge izraze, na primjer: *dormit in pace, in pace Domini, in pace Christi,, vivas cum Sanctis, vivas in Deo* i slično.<sup>51</sup>

Kršćani u Rimu, a i diljem Carstva nisu imali vlastiti groblja tijekom prvog stoljeća zbog progona kršćana u to doba. Stoga su se ukapali u zajednička groblja koja su se nalazila na otvorenom, skupa s poganima. No oni kršćani koji su raspolagali privatnim posjedom su pokapali svoje umrle u obiteljske grobnice koje su se nalazile na površini zemlje.<sup>52</sup>



Slika 7. Prikaz rimskih katakombi

Što se tiče izgleda, židovske i kršćanske galerije u katakombama bile su vrlo slične i tradicionalne. Od kraja 2. do početka 5. stoljeća po. Kr., pokojnike su pokapali u *loculi* odnosno niše koje su urezane u katakombama ili u komore za dva ili više ukopa. Za dekoraciju su se koristili lukovima time stvarajući *arcosolium*<sup>53</sup>. No sigurno najčešće korišten oblik ukopa i za kršćane i za židove su bili *loculi*, potom arkosolije, forma pokapanja ravno u zemlju, sarkofazi te amfore.<sup>54</sup> Kod kršćana, katakom-

51 Ž. Tolić 2016, 140.-142.

52 Isto, 143.-144.

53 *Arkosolij* (tal. *arcosolio* ≈ lat. *arcus*: luk + *solium*: grob) u arhitekturi i umjetnosti je obično bio naziv za grobove koji su postavljeni u nišama te presvođeni polukružnim lukovima. Najčešće su se nalazili u rimskim katakombama. Koristili su ga kršćani, no nije bio nepoznat ni poganima. Preuzeto iz: <https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/arcosolio/> (22. 8. 2021.)

54 J. Davies 1999, 192.-193.



be su bile ukrašene biblijskim motivima dok kod Židova do relativno kasnog razdoblja nije bilo ukrasa, osim grafita i urezanih poruka koje su ostavljali njihovi ožalošćeni. Kod njih nije bilo dopušteno kremiranje tako da su se radili ukopi cijelog tijela. Mjesta ukopa su bila podijeljena, odnosno Židovi su bili pokopani u svojim grobovima, a kršćani u svojim.<sup>55</sup> Za kršćane smrt je bila *dies natalis* odnosno dan rođenja u vječnost, što znači da se oni nisu bojali smrti nego su s radošću priželjkivali drugi svijet, dok su pogani imali strah od drugog svijeta. Kršćani nisu smatrali da mrtvi zagađuju, te su imali pozitivan pogled na pogrebe u smislu da se s njima dobiva povod za nadu, a ne strah.<sup>56</sup>

Što se tiče pogreba, pjevali su se psalmi. Tijelo bi se opralo, pomazalo, u nekim slučajevima i balzamiralo. Vrijeme između smrti i ukopa se produžio na tri ili četiri dana u uvjerenju da tijelo ne zagađuje. Uz molitvu i pjesme ponekad bi svećenik ili biskup nosio tijelo do groba, gdje bi pokojnik bio ukopan nakon slavljenja euharistije. Pozicija tijela u grobu je bila licem prema gore, a noge usmjerene ka istoku što je predstavljalo nadu u novi život, zbog toga što sunce izlazi na istoku. Kada bi bila određena prilika, obitelj bi se skupila i uživala u hrani i molitvi za svoje bližnje.<sup>57</sup> Navalom Alarikovih Vizigota te „pljačkom Rima“ 410. godine prestaje ukapanje u katakombe na području Rima te se kao na početku počinje prakticirati pokapanje na otvorenom, odnosno na zemljištu iznad katakombi. A tek mnogo godina kasnije i pokapanje unutar gradskih zidina.<sup>58</sup>

## VRSTE UKOPA

### Dječji ukopi

Smrt djece, a posebice novorođenčadi bila je vrlo česta pojava u antičko rimsko doba, toliko česta da jednostavno nije imalo smisla oplakivati svako dijete. No bez obzira na to, postoji mnoštvo dokaza koji ukazuju na to da su roditelji ipak često tugovali za svojom djecom. Filozofsko stajalište oko smrti djece je bilo takvo da je smatralo kako smrt treba prihvatiti kao izbor prirode te da bi se roditelji trebali usredotočiti na svoju drugu djecu i buduće bebe. Smatralo se također da umrla djeca svakako nemaju udjela na zemlji te da zbog toga za njima ne treba žaliti.<sup>59</sup> Duše djece i ne-

55 Isto, 193.

56 Isto, 196.

57 Isto, 199.

58 Ž. Tolić 2016, 145. Preuzeto iz: [https://hrcak.srce.hr/index.php?show=clanak&id\\_clanak\\_jezik=249653](https://hrcak.srce.hr/index.php?show=clanak&id_clanak_jezik=249653) (22. 8. 2021.)

59 V. M. Hope 2009 137.



vinih koji su umrli nasilnom smrću, isključene su iz podzemlja dok se ne ispuni njihov prirodni trenutak smrti. Upravo zbog toga, njihovi pokopi su se morali odvijati noću, tiho te brzo uz svjetlo baklji (*funus acerbum*). Tek rođena djeca se smatraju nečistom i tada još ne pripadaju obitelji. Tek nakon nekoliko dana života provodio se obred koji se naziva *primordia*. To je obred pročišćenja tek rođenog djeteta koji se odvijao tako da bi dijete kupali u vodi. Obred bi se kod djevojčica obavljao osmoga dana od rođenja, a kod dječaka devetog dana. Obred kupanja u vodi se naziva *lustratio*. Taj običaj pročišćenja bi mogli usporediti s kršćanskim obredom krštenja s kojim se oslobađa od istočnog grijeha. Kod ukopa djece imamo praksu koja se naziva *suggrundaria*. Prema toj praksi djeca odnosno dojenčad bi se ukapala unutar ili blizu zidova kuća a tijelo bi se stavljalo u neku vrstu posude. Prema Rimljanima imamo *arpaga* i *rapte*. *Arpagi* su bila djeca koja su umirala u kolijevci te se za njih ne bi održavali pogrebni niti bi im tijela bila kremirana ni ukapana. Također, za njih se nisu podizali nadgrobni spomenici, za razliku od *rapti* odnosno djece s 40 ili više dana koja su mogla biti i ukapana i kremirana.<sup>60</sup>

Djeca koja bi umrla a ne bi još napunila niti četiri dana mogla su biti ukapana kući.<sup>61</sup> Što se tiče starije djece, naročito one djece koja su na pragu punoljetnosti i u koje se već dosta uložilo, za njima je bilo prihvatljivije tugovati. To se ponajviše može razaznati iz nadgrobni natpisa kojih je puno više nego li onih za malenu djecu i dojenčad. Nadgrobni natpisi u većem broju prikazuju dječake što ukazuje na to da su dječaci bili cjenjeniji od djevojčica.<sup>62</sup>



Slika 8. Reljef koji prikazuje smrt djeteta

60 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 48.-49.

61 F. P. Retief - L. Cilliers 2010, 131

62 V. M. Hope 2009, 139.



## Ukop vojnika (*funus militare*)

Vojnici koji bi izgubili život u bitci, bili bi pokopani ili kremirani zajedno. Vojnici bi također dobivali doprinose koji služe baš u svrhu kako bi mogli svojim poginulim suborcima platiti troškove sprovoda.<sup>63</sup> Preciznije, u vojnim logorima (*castra*) koji su se nalazili širom Carstva, postojao je fond koji je služio upravo za pogrebne troškove a odvajao bi se od dijelova plaće svakog vojnika posebno. U te troškove su spadali: obredno jelo, pogreb i komemoracija.<sup>64</sup>

Moglo bi se reći da je upravo za vojnike, kult mrtvih, imao posebnu važnost upravo zbog tog njihovog zanimanja u kojem su bili izloženi mogućoj preranoj smrti. Vojnici su željeli svoje tragično preminule kolege ispratiti s poštovanjem, no uvjeti na bojištu tijekom ratovanja nisu to uvijek dopuštali. Zato bi vojnike koji bi poginuli u tuđoj zemlji u vrijeme rata, kremirali ili ukapali zajedno. Kada bi im vrijeme dopuštalo, kada bi se dogodilo barem kratkotrajno zatišje na bojištu, mogli su ih i pojedinačno kremirati a zatim bi njihov pepeo odlagali u posebne posude koje bi kasnije prevezli do stalnog mjesta ukopa. Diljem Carstva postoji mnogo nadgrobnih spomenika koji prikazuju vojno osoblje i postrojbe u određenim logorima. Na tim spomenicima naglašeno je rimsko građansko pravo nekih vojnika koji bi na spomeniku bili prikazani u vojnoj ili civilnoj odjeći, a također bi ti natpisi sadržavali i ime vojnika, čin, rodno mjesto, jedinicu u kojoj je služio, koliko ima godina i koliko je godina služio vojsci te ponekad i neke druge podatke.<sup>65</sup>

## NAČINI UKAPANJA Kremacija i inhumacija

U antici postojala su dva načina ukapanja koja su se prakticirala. Prvi obred je bilo spaljivanje na lomači, kremacija odnosno ritual incineracije, a zatim ritual inhumacije odnosno obred u kojem se ukapa čitavo tijelo.<sup>66</sup> Kremacija je bila jedna od dvije učestale prakse u Rimu još u 8.-7. st. pr. Kr., a taj obred je posebice prevladavao tijekom Republike. Smatran je skupocjenim ponajviše zbog materijala koji se koristio tijekom obreda spaljivanja pokojnika. No bez obzira, rimsko druš-

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63 J. M. C. Toynbee 1971, 55.

64 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 50.

65 Isto, 49.-50.

66 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 77.



tvo je ipak preferiralo obred spaljivanja.<sup>67</sup> Kremacija je vrsta prakse u kojoj se tijelo postavi na lomaču (*rogus*) te se spali. Lomače su inače građene od drvenih cjepanica, te bi se za poticanje plamena i brže gorenje dodavao papirus. Također, stavlja se i tamjan koji je služio za prikrivanje neugodnog mirisa prilikom gorenja i raspadanja tijela pokojnika.<sup>68</sup> Posebno impresivna je bila lomača rimskog cara Pertinaksa u obliku trokatne kule.<sup>69</sup> Smatra se da su se tijela spaljivala<sup>70</sup> jer se to smatralo prikladnijim načinom radi zaštite od zaraze.<sup>71</sup>

Kada bi se mrtvo tijelo postavilo na lomaču, oči bi bile otvorene a oko lomače bi se postavile pokojnikove osobne stvari i razni darovi od bližnjih. U nekim slučajevima bi se ubijali i kućni ljubimci oko lomače jer je to predstavljalo ispraćaj duše u zagrobni život. Lomača bi se zapalila s bakljama a rodbina i prijatelji bi po posljednji put imenom zazvali mrtve. Nakon što bi pokojnikovo tijelo izgorjelo, pepeo bi se zalio vinom. Rodbina bi potom sakupila pepeo te ga stavljala u posebne posude izrađene od raznovrsnih materijala.<sup>72</sup> Naime, kao tradicija pokojniku bi se prije spaljivanja otkinuo maleni dio tijela, najčešće prst (*os resectum*) koji bi se potom tradicionalno postavio u zemlju te zakopao (*ossilegium*). Točno određeno mjesto gdje bi se tijela pokojnika palila nazivalo se ustrina (*ustrinum publicum*). Mjesto ukopa, odnosno plitki grob u kojem je tijelo spaljeno nazivao se *bustum*. Pokojnikovo tijelo bi se smještalo iznad bustuma koji je ispunjen suhim granama drveća te bi se potom izvršavao obred kremacije.<sup>73</sup> Obitelj pokojnika sudjelovala je u početnoj ceremoniji potpaljivanja lomače a neki izvori ističu kako bi obitelj tijekom obreda kremacije ostala na području nekropole sve dok lomača ne bi izgorjela do kraja i dok se žar ne bi ohladio. Nakon što bi lomača u potpunosti izgorjela obitelj bi u urnu pokupila sav pe-

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67 Isto, 37.

68 Preuzeto s: <https://archaeology.co.uk/articles/features/the-fragrant-dead-how-to-treat-your-dead-the-roman-way.htm> (19. 12. 2021.)

69 V. M. Hope 2009, 82.

70 Informacije dobivene na temelju eksperimenta što ga je provela skupina arheologa navode da: „Proces spaljivanja tijela na lomači je trajao otprilike sedam do deset sati, u što je uključeno i vrijeme za hlađenje lomače. Za eksperiment je korišteno tijelo svinje. Temperatura je održavana na 800-900 stupnjeva kako bi ostale samo kosti nakon što bi se tijelo spalilo. Za potpuno hlađenje lomače bilo je potrebno 24 sata, a onaj dio koji je hlađen vodom iziskivao je nešto manje od jednog sata da bi se ohladio. Preuzeto iz: K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 81.-82.

71 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 78.

72 J. M. C. Toynbee 1971, 50.

73 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 86.





peo i ostatke kostiju. Također, prema navodima antičkih pisaca, idućeg dana nakon što bi lomača izgorjela, obitelj bi skupila pepeo, a ostatke kostiju (*cineres*) bi prelili vinom i mlijekom što je označavalo simboličku okrijepljenja preminulog. Međutim, sva znanja još uvijek počivaju na pisanim izvorima jer nema potpuno preciznih podataka i dokaza o tome što se zaista događalo za vrijeme incineracije.<sup>74</sup> Negdje oko 1. i 2. stoljeća poslije Krista u Rimu te širom Italije, pojavio se obred inhumacije, koji je uvelike zamijenio dotadašnji proces kremiranja mrtvih. Tada se inhumacija proširila onim područjima Carstva u kojima je kremiranje već bila uobičajena i ustaljena pojava.<sup>75</sup> Za Rimskog Carstva, kremiranje nije bilo toliko uobičajeno sredstvo zbrinjavanja mrtvih koliko inhumacija. Što je bilo prekretnica za ovu promjenu, ne zna se, no smatra se da je to vjerojatno bilo zbog vjerskih utjecaja.<sup>76</sup>

Što se tiče inhumacije, tijekom ukopa bi se tijelo umatало u pokrov ili bi se postavljalo u lijes koji je mogao biti od raznih materijala kao što je na primjer: drvo, olovo, kamen ili pak od neke kombinacije materijala. Zatim bi se tijelo postavilo izravno u zemlju, a također tijelo ili lijes su mogli biti postavljeni i unutar grobnice.<sup>77</sup> Koristili su se i sarkofazi koji su bili postavljeni na razne načine bilo to vani u grobnom prostoru, umetnuti u *arcosolie*, postavljeni uz unutarne zidove grobnice ili pak samostojeći. Postojali su jeftini i skuplji načini inhumacije no prilagođavali bi se s obzirom na nečije mogućnosti, resurse i okolnosti.<sup>78</sup> U zadnjem stoljeću Rimske Republike istovremeno bili su poznati obredi spaljivanja i inhumacije, a za inhumaciju se smatralo da je stariji običaj od incineracije odnosno kremiranja. Nakon nekog vremena ustalio se obred kremacije čak i u onim dijelovima Italije gdje su se prvenstveno držali inhumacije.<sup>79</sup> Iako je bio poprilično raširen obred kremacije, židovi i kršćani su se držali obreda inhumacije.<sup>80</sup> Kremacija se nije smatrala primitivnim obredom pokopa u Rimljanima, već inhumacija. Međutim, *sepulcretum* odnosno groblje na Rimskom Forumu, koje datira od 8. do 6. stoljeća prije Krista sadrži ostatke obaju obreda. Ta dva obreda su se prakticirala istovremeno u 5. stoljeću prije Krista, što je vidljivo

74 Isto, 79.-80.

75 J. M. C. Toynbee 1971, 33-34.

76 A. D. Nock 1932, 321.

77 E.-J. Graham 2006, 32.-33.

78 Isto, 32.-33.

79 A. D. Nock 1932, 322.

80 V. M. Hope 2009, 82.



u Zakoniku dvanaest ploča.<sup>81</sup> U kasnoj Republici, postojale su tri vrste pokopa. Te tri vrste su bile: kremiranje, inhumacija i balzamiranje. Dominantan ritus tada je bila incineracija no *Gens Cornelia*<sup>82</sup> se držala stare tradicije inhumacije.<sup>83</sup> Kornelije Sula je bio prvi kremirani član zbog straha da njegovi neprijatelji ne bi namjerno oskvrnuli njegov grob.<sup>84</sup> Za Hadrijanove vladavine Carstvom (117.-138. po. Kr.) došlo je do iznenadnog procvata umjetnosti rezbarenja sarkofaga i to je bio znak postupnog prelaska s kremacije na inhumaciju koji se ustalio sredinom trećeg stoljeća.<sup>85</sup> Što se tiče obreda balzamiranja, ono nije bilo tipično za područje Italije i Rima no smatrano je egipatskom praksom. Postoji nekolicina slučajeva balzamiranja u Rimu i Carstvu a jedan od poznatijih je onaj Popeje, supruge cara Nerona.<sup>86</sup>

### Smještaj groblja

*Zakonik dvanaest ploča* zabranjuje ukop ili kremaciju na području grada. Takve zabrane su uvedene jer se smatralo kako može doći do potencijalne opasnosti od požara prilikom obreda kremacije odnosno spaljivanja. Također, prema *Zakoniku* umrle je trebalo što prije odvojiti od živih građana, tako da ih se što brže pokopa.<sup>87</sup> Strogo držanje ovog zakona značilo je da se u cijelom rimskom svijetu groblja nalaze izvan zidina, uz ceste koje su vodile van grada i upravo na taj način su se grobovi poredali pred vratima gradova kao što su: Rim, Ostija i Pompeji.<sup>88</sup> Dakako, postojali su i izuzetci od zakona mada su bili rijetki. Ti su se izuzetci primjenjivali pretežito na značajnije građane, općenito na careve. U tom slučaju bi monumentalne grobnice bile smještene unutar gradskih zidina, te bi na taj način značajniji građani imali pravo na poseban ukop. Naime ovi su izuzetci bili značajniji za Zapadno Carstvo, dok je u Istočnom pokop unutar grada još uvijek bio jako neobična

81 J. M. C. Toynbee 1971, 39.

82 *Gens* je u Antičkom Rimu bio naziv za zajednicu više obitelji koje su bile povezane istim imenom. *Gens Cornelia* je bila jedna od najslavnijih patricijskih obitelji u antičkom Rimu. Preuzeto iz: [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/gens\\_%28Dizionario-di-Storia%29/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/gens_%28Dizionario-di-Storia%29/) (22.8. 2021.)

83 G. Davies 1977, 17.

84 V. Vukelić – M. Stuparić 2017, 22.

85 J. M. C. Toynbee 1971, 40.

86 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 39.

87 V. M. Hope 2009, 154.

88 L'archeologia delle pratiche funerarie. Mondo romano in "Il Mondo dell'Archeologia" (treccani.it) (12. 08. 2021.)



pojava. Takozvana sveta granica grada Rima bio je *pomerium*, odnosno pojas koji je okruživao zidine grada. U njemu nije bila dopuštena nikakva gradnja, a ukopi su bili dozvoljeni jedino uz posebnu dozvolu. Groblja su bila jedna od značajnih karakteristika rimskog predgrađa, te se velika većina ukopa obavljala izvan pomerija. Grobna područja nisu bila razgraničena, a na mjestima pokraj grobnica mogle su se nalaziti vile, vrtovi i trgovine. Rimljani su umjesto naziva „groblje“, koristili latinski ekvivalent *coemeterium* koji se nije upotrebljavao kao naziv za grobna mjesta sve dok ju kršćani nisu počeli koristiti u 3. st. po. Kr.<sup>89</sup>

### Tipovi grobnica

Nakon smrti najvažnija stvar koja se trebala učiniti jest odložiti mrtvo tijelo, odnosno spaliti ga ili ukopati, te nakon toga položiti u grob. Rimljanima su grobnice predstavljale vječni dom u kojem će živjeti nakon smrti. Egipćani i Semićani su od najranijih dana grobnice smatrali vječnim domom pokojnika, što su kasnije preuzeli i Rimljani. Latinski naziv *domus aeterna*, koji znači upravo „vječni dom“ se često može vidjeti na pogrebnim natpisima iz vremena Carstva. Rimljanima su grobnice predstavljale vječni dom u kojem će živjeti nakon smrti.<sup>90</sup> Najjednostavnije i najobičnije grobnice rimskog svijeta su bile bezoblične rupe u koje su ili bile postavljene posude s pepelom i spaljenim kostima ili odložen kostur. Te vrste grobova bi bile naznačene neakvim znakom, a u slučaju jako siromašnih grobova to bi vjerojatno bio stojeći kamen ili keramička posuda. Pepeo i spaljene kosti nakon kremacije smještene su u terakotu ili staklenu posudu, a uz njih bi se postavila nekolicina jeftinijih grobnih predmeta. Kasnije bi se terakote stavile u kutije napravljene najčešće od tegula ili velikih kamenih ploča. Kada bi se tijelo inhumiralo to bi se radilo na najlaganiji način, polaganjem tijela u iskopanu jamu a potom bi se tijelo prekrilo tegulama.<sup>91</sup> Dalje, za primjer još uvijek jednostavnih grobnica, bile su takozvane *tombe a cassone* u kojima su počivali oni slabije imućni. Te grobnice su bile rađene od opeke, u potpunosti zavorene, a imale su oblik škrinje s polu-cilindričnim krovovima.<sup>92</sup> U njima su pronađeni ostatci inhumacije, no pronađene su i urne koje naznačuju da se do-

89 V. M. Hope 2009, 154.-155.

90 F. Cumont 1922, 49.

91 J.M.C. Toynbee 1971, 101.

92 Isto, 102.



gađao i proces kremacije. Natpisi koji se nalaze na ovim spomenicima ne pružaju pregršt informacija o osobama s kojima su bili povezani. Naposljetku, može se reći da se za *tombe a cassone* smatra da općenito pripadaju spomenicima nižih klasa, iako su u njihovu izgradnju bila uključena određena ekonomska ulaganja.<sup>93</sup> Ovisno o materijalnim mogućnostima i tradiciji obitelji, izgledi grobova i grobnih mjesta su mogli biti raznoliki, a neke patricijske obitelji su mogle imati i privatne grobnice. S vremenom grobovi postaju jako monumentalni, a smatra se da su inspiraciju potražili u helenističkom herojskom grobu (*heroon*). Uvijek se vodilo računa da ima dovoljno mjesta u grobnici za obitelj koja posjećuje pokojnika te da je grobnica ukrašena raskošno. Najbolji primjer za takvu grobnicu je grobnica koja je pripadala Ceciliji Meteli koja se nalazi na izlazu iz Rima, duž *Via Appia*.<sup>94</sup>



Slika 9. Prikaz grobnice Cecilije Metele na *Via Appia*

S druge strane, za Republike su česte bile rupe u zemlji, odnosno jame (*puticuli*) koje su se nalazile na brežuljku Eskvilin koji je u to vrijeme služio kao odlagalište za prosjake, siromašne te neidentificirane leševe.<sup>95</sup> Inače *puticuli* su bile obične rupe u zemlji u koje su se bacali posmrtni ostaci najsiromašnijih, odbačenih robova i izopćenika. Prema Bodelu: „Procjenjuje se da bi se godišnje na ulicama Rima našlo do 1500 takvih leševa, što bi vlastima nanijelo značajne probleme.“<sup>96</sup> Također ta tijela bi na ulicama uništili divlji psi, vukovi te ptice što po-

93 E.-J. Graham 2006, 165. – 166.

94 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 52.-53.

95 F. P. Retief - L. Cilliers 2010, 134.

96 J. Bodel, 2000, 129.



tvrdnje priča od Svetonija u kojoj navodi kako je „jednom prilikom pas prekinuo obrok Vespazijana te mu ispustio ljudsku ruku pod noge.“<sup>97</sup> S obzirom na raskoš određene grobnice vidjelo se je li ta obitelj dobrostojeća ili ne, odnosno kakav je socijalni status te obitelji. Na taj način se vidjelo da se ta razlika između bogatih i siromašnih nastavlja i nakon smrti.<sup>98</sup> Izgradnja monumentalnih grobnica je bila vrlo raširena u doba Carstva. One obitelji malo slabijeg imovinskog stanja, odnosno srednje klase, gradile su zajedničke grobnice s više ukrašenih prostora. U tim grobnicama postoji centralni prostor odnosno *sepulcrum* koje je bilo smješteno malo ispod razine zemlje te bi se tu trebalo spustiti malenim stepenicama. Ako je pokojnik inhumiran, njega se u mrtvačkom kovčegu stavljalo na *podium* odnosno uzdignutu platformu u grobnici.<sup>99</sup> Ako je pokojnik bio kremiran, njegova urna se mogla staviti ili na *podium* ili *columbarium* odnosno golubinjak. Kolumbarij je bio velika grobnica koja se nalazila djelomično ili potpuno pod zemljom.<sup>100</sup> To je bio smještaj za urne koje su se stavljale u niše na zidovima. Kolumbariji su bili građeni pravokutno, te su se sastojali od velikog broja niša koje su mogle biti postavljene horizontalno (*gradus*) ili vertikalno (*ordines*). Određeni kolumbariji mogli su pohraniti i do 1000 urni. Postojala je i mogućnost da se u obiteljski kolumbarij pokopa i netko tko nije član obitelji uz to da plate grobno mjesto. To je mogao postati i isplativ posao, jer je uvijek bilo onih kojima je trebalo grobno mjesto. Svaka niša je obično mogla pohraniti po dvije urne (*ollae, ollae ossuariae*) a iznad svake niše bi se nalazila ploča koja bi sadržavala ime vlasnika određene niše (*titulus*). Na urnama bi se ispisivala imena pokojnika. Te su urne mogle biti od raznih materijala kao na primjer mramor, glina, kamen.<sup>101</sup>

97 F. P. Retief - L. Cilliers 2010, 134.

98 H. Lewandowski 2007, 77.-78.

99 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 53.-55

100 J.M.C. Toynbee 1971, 113.

101 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 53.-55.





*Slika 10. Prikaz rimskog kolumbarija*

Osim samo jednostavnih grobnica, bilo je i onih naprednijih koje su si uglavnom mogli priuštiti imućniji građani. Za primjer imamo veliku obiteljsku grobnicu, koja je grobno mjesto Kornelija Scipiona. Nalazi se unutar Porta Appia, a datira se u 3. st. pr. Kr. Pročelje grobnice je ukrašeno jednostavnim arhitektonskim elementima i slikama. Postoje dva ulaza u grobnicu koja se nalaze unutar stijene. Zapadni ulaz ima pristup glavnoj galeriji koja sadrži grobne niše s obje strane, a istočni ulaz vodi prema velikoj četvrtastoj prostoriji s glavnom galerijom i galerijama na svakoj strani prostorije. Također, grobne niše su urezane u zidove galerije.<sup>102</sup>

Ustaljena je bila i gradnja mauzoleja no nju su češće gradili članovi vladajućih obitelji ili imućniji rimski građani. Augustov mauzolej je jedan od poznatijih primjera. Kupolasti brežuljak od nasute zemlje bio je

102 J.M.C. Toynbee 1971, 104.



smješten na Marsovu polju, a promjer mu je bio 87 m te visina oko 32 m. Bio je izdignut 12 m iznad visokog zida koji je bio u obliku valjka. Nakon što je car umro, ukrašen je njegovim likom. Mauzolej je bio predodređen za pokop svih mrtvih pripadnika julijevske dinastije. Julijevci su smatrali da njihovo podrijetlo potječe od božice *Venere*, a čemprese koji su okruživali mauzolej posvetili su upravo njoj. Kao što možemo vidjeti i dan danas, sadnja čempresa na grobljima je postala ustaljena tradicija. Što se tiče unutrašnjosti mauzoleja, sačuvani su dijelovi grobne jezgre kao i ostatci pet koncentričnih prstenova utvrđenog zida. Naime taj unutrašnji prsten je sadržavao tambur na koji bi se stavila kruna (*epithema*). Ulaz u grobnicu je bio s južne strane kroz hodnik širok 3,5 m. Također ulaz je bio utvrđen s dva obeliska a na bočnim stranama su bile ploče s tekstom Augustovih djela (*Res gestae Divi Augusti*). Godine 27. pr. Kr. započela je gradnja ovog mauzoleja, a prvi ukop je bio onaj Augustova nećaka, Marka Klaudija Marcela 23. pr. Kr.<sup>103</sup>



Slika 11. Augustov mauzolej

Dalje, imamo i grobnicu Gaja Cestija koja je bila jedinstvena upravo zbog toga što je bila u obliku piramide, visoka više od 36 metara. Taj način dizajna preuzet je naravno iz Egipta.

103 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 55.-57.



*Slika 12. Prikaz grobnice Gaja Cestiusa u neobičnom obliku piramide*


Još jedna od neobičnijih grobnica je ona pekara Eurisaka koja poprma neobičan dizajn krušne peći ili stroja za miješanje tijesta kako bi na jedinstven način predstavio svoj obrt odnosno trgovinu.



*Slika 13. Prikaz grobnice pekara Eurisaka*

Tijekom godina izgled grobnica se mijenjao, a to se najbolje može vidjeti na primjeru groblja u Pompejima (erupcija Vezuva 79. po. Kr.) i nekropole *Isola Sacra* koja datira u 2. stoljeće poslije Krista. U Pompejima su postojale grobnice kružnog oblika, visoki oltari i hramovi





dok je *Isola Sacra* karakteristična zbog niza kućnih grobnica koje imaju ugrađene niše za umetanje posmrtnih ostataka više ljudi. Poslije su se razvile podzemni hipogeji i katakombe.<sup>104</sup>

### **Spomenici pogrebnog sadržaja u rimskoj provinciji Dalmaciji (lokalitet Salona)**

Glavni grad rimske provincije Dalmacije bio je Salona, grad koji se razvio u istočnom dijelu Kaštelanskog zaljeva. Razvoj Salone događa se negdje sredinom prve polovice 1. st. pr. Kr. Postojale su tri glavne ceste koje su postojale već i prije nastanka grada. U vrijeme antike sa strane tih cesta se razvijaju gradska groblja. Grade se grobnice te ukapaju pokojnici i postavljaju nadgrobni spomenici. Najvažnije nekropole grada su se nalazile uz cestu, a od svih salonitanskih nekropola, kao najpoznatija, može se izdvojiti zapadna nekropola ili takozvana *Hortus Metrodori*, čije ime se temelji na danas izgubljenom natpisu. Pretpostavlja se da je ta nekropola nastala na mjestu nekadašnjeg vrta nekog Metrodora, koji je navodno bio grčki kolonist iz Isse ili Tragurija, pa se zbog toga nastavila tako nazivati i poslije.<sup>105</sup>

Nije u potpunosti poznato kako su se nazivale grobne parcele u Saloni, no natpisi donose dva termina, a to su *hortus* i *locus*. Što se tiče nadgrobnih spomenika u Saloni, u ranije doba prevladavale su stele. Ono što nije sigurno je to da li su stele bile upotrebljavane kao biljeg glavnog groba na većim grobnim parcelama. Ipak, pronađen je jedan primjerak iz Salone u blizini zapadne nekropole i na njemu su navedene dimenzije parcele, što ukazuje na to da su se stele mogle nalaziti na grobnom arealu ali manjih dimenzija. Poslije, negdje od sredine 1. stoljeća, kao glavni nadgrobni spomenik na ograđenim parcelama, pojavljuju se are. One se zadržavaju kroz čitavo 2. stoljeće, dok se u 2. i 3. stoljeću počinju pojavljivati sarkofazi.<sup>106</sup>

Članovi obitelji vlasnika i njihove šire obitelji pokapani su na većim grobnim parcelama. Tu za primjer pokapanja šire i uže obitelji imamo sarkofag i stelu na kojima stoji isti *nomen gentile*, to jest *Albucii*. U tom sarkofagu su bili sahranjeni otac, majka i sinovi, članovi salonitanske i isejske gradske aristokracije, bivši gospodari a potom kasnije patroni oslobođenika koji su spomenuti na steli. Četrdesetih godina 19. st. na

104 V. M. Hope 2009, 162.-163.

105 N. Cambi 1986, 61.-65.

106 Isto, 68.-69.



zapadnoj nekropoli, pronađeni su stela i sarkofag, a nalazili su se jedan blizu drugoga. Moguće je da su pokojnici u sarkofagu i oni na steli bili pokopani zajedno na toj istoj parceli. Obitelj koja je pripadala gornjoj klasi građana je dala svojim oslobođenicima pravo pokopa na grobnoj parceli. Na različite načine se mogao omogućiti ukop i drugih ljudi koji nisu dio obitelji. Bilo je moguće kupiti, dobiti ili na neki način pribaviti takozvani *loci concessionem*. Često su bili zajedno sahranjivani pripadnici različitih socijalnih grupa. Često se na natpisima pojavljuje formula *adito libero*, a ona nam ukazuje da su grob ili parcela bili smješteni iza prednjih pokopa, u drugom redu, u odnosu na glavnu cestu, pa se tražio nesmetani prolaz. *Aditus liber* je naravno bio bitan zbog rituala koji se održavaju na spomen dane. U 2. st. po. Kr. kada su se gradile gradske zidine, mnoge grobnice su pretrpjele štetu. Tada je nađeno mnogo fragmenata nadgrobnih spomenika u zidinama. Vrijedi spomenuti da su nađeni vrlo kvalitetni nadgrobni spomenici kao što su ara Pomponije Vere i stela Gaja Utija. Ta dva nadgrobna spomenika su tipični predstavnici nadgrobnih spomenika prva dva stoljeća poslije Krista te su izrađeni u salonitanskim kameno-klesarskim radionicama.<sup>107</sup>



Slika 14. Stela Gaja Utija



Slika 15. Ara Pomponije Vere

Bogatiji slojevi tijekom drugog, trećeg desetljeća 4. stoljeća polako napuštaju zapadnu nekropolu, jer postepeno prelaze na kršćanska groblja. Ostaju samo rijetke imućnije obitelji i skromni pripadnici nove religije. Što se tiče natpisa koji su pronađeni na zapadnoj nekro-

107 Isto, 70.-71.



poli, oni pokazuju raznoliku sliku društva koja je tu ukopana. Naime, tu su se ukapali rimski građani, peregrini, oslobođenici, robovi i drugi. Veće grobne parcele su naravno mogli imati samo bogatiji pripadnici društva koji su si te grobnice mogli i priuštiti. Bilo je dakako i siromašnijih grobova no oni su se nalazili na grobnoj parceli neke imućnije obitelji koja bi dozvolila ukop i drugima. Zanimljivo je također i da je u blizini nekropole, nedaleko od amfiteatra pronađeno desetak komada urni s natpisima gladijatora. Ti natpisi nam ukazuju na to da je pokraj amfiteatra moralo biti neko manje groblje namijenjeno kao posljednje počivalište gladijatora koji su se borili u areni.<sup>108</sup>

### Zaključak

U ovom radu se nastojao dati što opsežniji i bolji uvid u smrt čovjeka tijekom Rimskog Carstva kao i pogrebne rituale te običaje kojih su se pridržavali stari Rimljani. Smrt je jedna od stvari koja je neizbježna svakom živom biću, te od nje nitko ne može pobjeći. Općenito, Rimljani nisu previše pažnje pridavali razmišljanju o smrti, no bili su uvjereni da kada duša napusti tijelo, ona postaje božanska.

Kada bi osoba napustila svijet živih, njeni bližnji su svoje žalovanje iskazivali crnom odjećom što je ostala tradicija i do danas, a bili bi isključeni iz nekih javnih događaja u zajednici. Postojalo je mnogo pravila kojih se trebalo pridržavati, kao na primjer, zabrana ukapanja mrtvih unutar grada, što je propisano *Zakonikom dvanaest ploča*. Mrtvi su se zbog toga morali pokapati izvan gradskih zidina. Pokojnikova obitelj bila je zadužena za pripremu pogreba te procesiju. Nakon procesije bi se tijelo nosilo do mjesta vječnog počinka gdje bi se kremiralo ili inhumiralo. U početku se prakticirala kremacija, a netom poslije, inhumacija. U grobove bi postavljali grobne priloge, kao na primjer odjeću i hranu, jer su smatrali da će im biti potrebna u zagrobnom životu. Također, Rimljani su umrle smatrali „onečišćenim“ te se trebao provesti cijeli postupak pročišćenja nakon pogreba.

Prema opisima rituala i običaja u ovom radu, može se zaključiti da je pogreb u nekim segmentima ostao isti sve do danas. Pokojnikovi bližnji uvijek zajedno sudjeluju u pogrebnoj pripremi tijela za pogreb, oblače se u crnu odjeću kao znak žalovanja i tuge, a grob se ukrašava s cvijećem. Na pogrebu još uvijek imamo glazbenike koji predvode pro-

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108 Isto, 73.-74.



cesiju uz tužne pjesme, no ipak od sprovoda se više ne radi „spektakl“ kao što bi to radili u prošlosti, imućniji građani. Naravno vrijeme koje ćemo mi provesti u žalovanju za svojim bližnjima, nije uvjetovano nekom određenom vremenskom odrednicom kako je bilo pravilo u Rimskom Carstvu, već svaka osoba za sebe ima pravo žalovati koliko hoće.

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<https://www.armus.hr/izlozbe/stalni-postav/epigraficka-zbirka> (22. 12. 2021.)

## SUMMARY

*In the Roman Empire, there were several functions that were performed at the time of the death of the deceased. It all begins with funeral preparation, a ritual that was of particular importance to the inhabitants of the Roman Empire. The importance of funerals in all cultures comes from the human need to be able to say goodbye to their loved ones. After the body of the deceased was prepared, that is, washed in warm water, anointed with oils, and decorated with flowers, it would be exposed in the atrium of the house. Afterwards, a pomp or funeral procession starts, accompanied by musicians, mourners, and actors, which leads the deceased to his eternal resting place where the rite of cremation or inhumation will take place. After the funeral, it was obligatory to perform a purification ritual because it was believed that the dead were polluted. With the advent of Christianity, there was a slow change in tomb architecture, and early communities of Christians and Jews began to be buried in underground catacombs. According to the Code of Twelve Plates, burial within the city is prohibited and the cemetery is located outside the city walls. To the Romans, tombs were an eternal home in which they lived after death. The most common tombs of the Roman world were shapeless holes in which either vessels with ashes and burnt bones or a skeleton were placed. It all depended on the material possibilities and tradition of the family, the appearance of graves and grave sites could vary, and some patrician families could even have private graves. The construction of the mausoleums was also established, but they were more often built by the ruling families. All this information related to the burials of the ancient Romans can be read from two valuable sepulchral reliefs: the relief of the tomb of the Haterii family and the relief of the tomb from Amiternum on which we have depictions of funeral preparations and processions.*

**Keywords:** *Roman Empire, death, funeral ritual, funeral custom, funeral preparation, funeral procession, cremation, inhumation*





# FUNERAL RITES AND CUSTOMS IN THE ROMAN EMPIRE

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Professional review

Submitted: November 12<sup>th</sup>, 2021

Accepted: December 29<sup>th</sup>, 2021

*In the Roman Empire, there were several functions that were performed at the time of the death of the deceased. It all begins with funeral preparation, a ritual that was of particular importance to the inhabitants of the Roman Empire. The importance of funerals in all cultures comes from the human need to be able to say goodbye to their loved ones. After the body of the deceased was prepared, that is, washed in warm water, anointed with oils, and decorated with flowers, it would be exposed in the atrium of the house. Afterwards, a pomp or funeral procession starts, accompanied by musicians, mourners, and actors, which leads the deceased to his eternal resting place where the rite of cremation or inhumation will take place. After the funeral, it was obligatory to perform a purification ritual because it was believed that the dead were polluted. With the advent of Christianity, there was a slow change in tomb architecture, and early communities of Christians and Jews began to be buried in underground catacombs. According to the Code of Twelve Tables, burial within the city is prohibited and the cemetery is located outside the city walls. To the Romans, tombs were an eternal home in which they lived after death. The most common tombs of the Roman world were shapeless holes in which either vessels with ashes and burnt bones or a skeleton were placed. It all depended on the material possibilities and tradition of the family, the appearance of graves and grave sites could vary, and some patrician families could even have private graves. The construction of the mausoleums was also established, but they were more often built by the ruling families. All this information related to the burials of the ancient Romans can be read from two valuable sepulchral reliefs: the relief of the tomb of the Haterii family and the relief of the tomb from Amiternum on which we have depictions of funeral preparations and processions.*

**Keywords:** Roman Empire, death, funeral ritual, funeral custom, funeral preparation, funeral procession, cremation, inhumation

## Introduction

As is known, the area of the Apennine peninsula offers a rich historical opus which dates to ancient times. In this paper, events and customs in the Roman Empire will be described and scrutinized in more detail. It will approach the topic of death during the Roman



Empire and describe the funeral rites and customs that were custom back then. The topic is primarily based on funeral rites and customs in the Roman Empire which are explained in detail over multiple chapters. For starters, it is described what the funeral preparations after the death of the deceased looked like, in other words, what was done with the body of the deceased, who took part in them, and where the funeral preparation took place. Furthermore, the *pomp*, i.e., the funeral procession, is described, which can differ greatly, depending on the financial situation of the deceased and his family. In the following chapters, attention will be given to imperial funerals, burials of soldiers, and children, and one chapter will be dedicated to the description of a Christian funeral. The paper also gives insight into the ways in which ancient Romans were buried, more precisely, if they preferred cremation or inhumation, where the cemetery was located, and what the types of tombs were. On the very end of the paper, funerary monuments in the Roman province of Dalmatia will be singled out.

## **FUNERAL RITES AND CUSTOMS**

### **About funeral rites in the Roman Republic**

During the Republic, funeral practice was largely dictated by society. Mutual rivalry in society can primarily be precepted on the example of tombs. Except for their primary functions, tombs also served as a symbol of luxury and individuality. As examples, there are: the tomb of Caesarius in the shape of a pyramid, and the tomb of Eurysaces in the shape of a hearth oven, which will be written about in the following chapters. Precisely these two highlight the individualism that was aimed for with tombs. A lot of citizens did not have the financial possibilities for the construction of such monumental tombs, which is why they were most probably buried without funeral monuments. Only basic biographical information of the person would be highlighted so that it would be known that human remains are present at the location.<sup>1</sup>

The cemeteries of the late Republic were made up of cemetery plots located one next to the other, with strict inscriptions about the prohibition of burying mortal remains on a plot belonging to some other person. That is why it is thought little possible that modest burials of the lower classes and the remainder of the population were made

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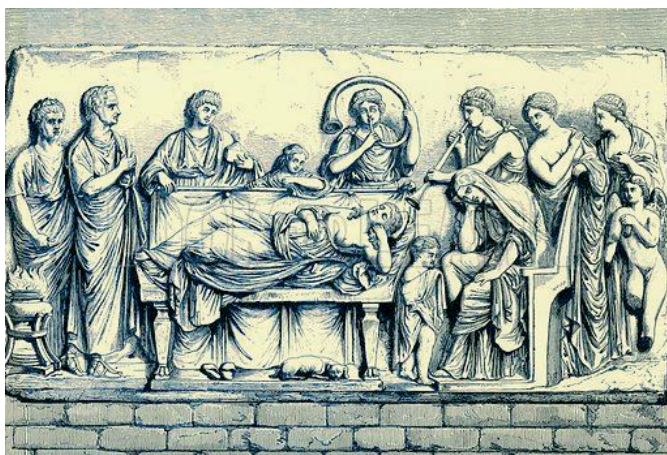
1 E.-J. Graham 2006, 113



next to monumental tombs. A huge influence on the formation of funerary activities was the need for the mortal remains to be secured with an appropriate burial and certain ceremonial rituals. The lower classes had relatively similar beliefs to the affluent part of the population, which is especially notable in the attention given to burial. The burial was also very important for maintaining a certain social status of a person. This refers to the fact that the funeral, this referring to the activities during the funeral and the amount and type of grave goods, was used to indicate one's personal socio-economic status. In that way, they wanted to be on the same level with the upper classes.<sup>2</sup>

### Funeral preparations

For the population of the Roman Empire, the funeral was deemed one of the most important rituals. It is funerals that enable humans in all cultures to say farewell to their loved ones.<sup>3</sup> There were certain conditions for "a better death" of the dying person. Some of the requirements are that the dying need to be at home or at least with their loved ones, they need to be determined and brave, and say something wise or witty at the moment of departure. The last breath of the dying was caught via kiss, which was usually done by someone close to the dying, ideally the mother or spouse. The name of the deceased was invoked loudly (*conclamatio*) the moment before the dying closed their eyes.<sup>4</sup>



Picture 1 Depiction of the invocation of the deceased (*conclamatio*) at the moment of death

2 *Ibid.*, 113

3 V. M. Hope 2009, 66

4 *Ibid.*, 50



The salute exclaimed was *Have* or *Vale*.<sup>5</sup> The body was then washed in warm water, anointed with oils, and decorated with flowers. Symbolically, a coin was placed inside the mouth of the deceased, which was the money the deceased was supposed to give to Charon, the ferryman in Hades, for the ride across the river.<sup>6</sup> This custom was present all across the Empire, and it is thought that it is taken from Greek religious life, and in that way introduced to Rome.<sup>7</sup> As for the preparation of the body, it was traditionally a woman's task, but special workers called *pollinctores* could also be hired. It is thought that they got the name after a powder, pollen, applied to the face of the deceased to hide the change of colour at the time of death.<sup>8</sup> With the death of a loved one, the family becomes a *familia funesta*, meaning that it conducts the process of the funeral, but were not allowed to perform some of the usual and daily activities. Because of the presence of a corpse, a sense of filthiness, both physical and spiritual, was also present in the house, and the rituals which were performed attempted to suppress this "pollution".<sup>9</sup>

The ancient Romans believed that death polluted both in a religious and in a cultural way. When someone died, the pollution lasted throughout the whole mourning period, which usually meant nine days, during which it would contaminate the living. They thought that only a special process of purification could stop that pollution. According to their beliefs, the pollution leads to a negative effect on interhuman relationships, but also to a disruption of the contact with the gods. Also, the ones deemed polluted were not in the position to do certain chores or make sacrifices, and would in that way endanger their own civil functions.<sup>10</sup> Priests and other spiritual leaders must not come into contact with the dead to not get contaminated, the contamination spreading mostly via touch, although, in the case of priests, it could happen in an indirect way, meaning if they saw a dead person.<sup>11</sup> It is also very important that priests do not eat beans, not even touch them, because some philosophical sects thought that the souls of the dead

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5 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 40

6 V. M. Hope 2009, 71

7 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 40

8 V. M. Hope 2009, 71.

9 *Ibid.*, 71-72

10 F. P. Retief - L. Cilliers 2010, 129-130

11 *Ibid.*, 130



were located in beans.<sup>12</sup> Of course, there were certain exceptions, for example if the death occurred in the houses of priests or magistrates. Also, the death of prepubescent children was not deemed as cause for pollution if the bodies were buried quickly or cremated at night. It was precisely pollution that affected the funeral practice, because people of certain professions, such as all members of the funeral home, were deemed permanently polluted, so they had to live in isolation.<sup>13</sup>

Furthermore, regarding the preparations for the funeral, deceased of a less favourable financial situation were wrapped in black fabric, although a white toga was preferred if they were able to afford it. The body was decorated with various emblems and honours earned by the deceased during his lifetime. As a warning regarding the corpse inside the house, most frequently cypress or mountain pine twigs were rammed into the ground in front of the entrance door.<sup>14</sup> After the body was ready for the funeral, the body of the deceased was put, i.e., displayed, in the atrium of the house (*exposition*). The body would be put in the burial position (*lectus funebris*) with the feet being supposed to face the door.<sup>15</sup> In fact, that position indicated that the death was not a violent one.<sup>16</sup> The funeral bed (*letto funerario*) was typical for the more affluent part of the Roman population. In the case of the ritual of incineration, the custom was taken from the Greeks, i.e., the custom of being burned together with the funeral bed.<sup>17</sup> Furthermore, flowers and incense were put around the deceased, and while the household would mourn and grieve over the dead, the guests would give their condolences.<sup>18</sup>

The mourning relatives would intonate sorrowful songs accompanied by the sounds of a tibia (*tibia*). It was customary that the first to start singing the song was the mother or sister of the deceased, along with loud exclamations of lamentations. In some cases, it would be accompanied by beating against one's chest or scratching of the cheeks with fingernails, but in the end, that was deemed inappropriate behaviour, and was prohibited by *The Laws of The Twelve Tables*<sup>19</sup>, which is

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12 *Ibid.*, 130

13 *Ibid.*, 130

14 *Ibid.*, 138

15 V. M. Hope 2009, 72

16 F. P. Retief - L. Cilliers 2010, 138

17 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 89

18 V. M. Hope 2009, 72

19 *The Laws of The Twelve Tables (Leges duodecim tabularum)* is the first codification of



why mourners were hired. Sometimes, even actors or jesters (*scurrae, histriones*) were hired, one of the actors being the deceased and imitating his words and deeds. Such actors were called *archimimus*. In some cases, before death, the deceased would order the liberation of some of their slaves via their testament as to increase their funeral, and, at the same time, those liberated slaves would wear freedmen-caps on the funeral (*pileati*).<sup>20</sup> While the corpse was displayed, the funeral was being planned. In richer families, heralds, who promoted the death in the city streets to get more people to attend the funeral, were used. A funeral announcement was painted on the wall of a house in Pompeii. The period ranging from the death to the funeral differed depending on the family, but for the families, which lived plainly, the funeral followed soon after the death, for they thought that the display of the body was unhygienic and unpractical. Regarding the upper classes of society, i.e., the elite, it could be displayed up to a week. Through their contacts with Egypt, the Romans got to know another custom, embalming or mummification, but it was never widely accepted in Rome.<sup>21</sup>

### Funeral procession

In ancient Roman times, nocturnal funerals were mainly reserved for children and the poor, who did not have enough financial resources to afford a funeral procession.<sup>22</sup> Before the start of the funeral procession (*pompa funebris*), which went from the house of the deceased all the way to the necropolis, the dead of the more affluent were brought out on a bed (*feretrum*).<sup>23</sup> Meanwhile, the corpses of the poorer classes were brought out on plain biers called *sandapilla*, while the carrying was the task of the *vespae*, or carriers, who got their name because it was customary to bring out the dead during the night.<sup>24</sup> Of course, the funeral procession and everything tied to it was a certain luxury which was an unnecessary financial loss to the poor. The members of the funeral col-

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Roman law, put together by twelve members of a committee in 451-450 BCE., called like that because it was published on the Roman forum on twelve tables. The Laws of The Twelve Tables. Taken from: P. Lisičar, 1971, 297

20 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 43

21 V. M. Hope 2009, 73-74

22 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 42

23 J.M.C. Toynbee 1971, 46

24 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 44



legium enabled basic burial equipment to those in need.<sup>25</sup> The funeral procession was accompanied with mournful singing and music made by different musicians such as: cornicine, liticines, tibicines. Sad songs in the honour of the deceased, called naenia, were sang, performed by hired mourners (praeificae).<sup>26</sup> The closest male members of the family or newly liberated slaves were given the task of carrying the bier during the procession.<sup>27</sup> All members of the funeral were dressed in dark clothes, predominantly black in colour (atra).<sup>28</sup>



Picture 2 Depiction of a funeral procession

Most persons who came to the funeral were not there to just mourn and give their condolences to the family, but to be entertained. That is why the more affluent citizens had spectacular parades with actors wearing masks made from the cast of the face of the rich deceased, so-called *imagines*, representing the ancestors of the dead, in their processions. In that way, the actors wearing the mask of the deceased had the ability to bring the deceased and their ancestors to life and in that way honour the glory of the family, if only via representation and acting. Because of the intertwining of all those parts, the procession could be somewhat dark, but with the elements provided by the musicians and actors it would achieve the effect of a carnival.<sup>29</sup>

25 V. M. Hope 2009, 76

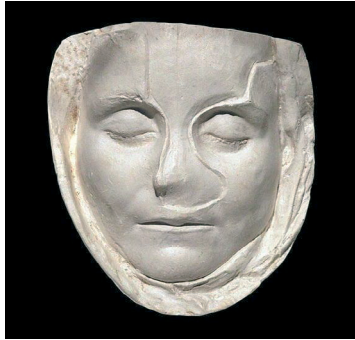
26 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 42

27 J.M.C. Toynbee 1971, 46

28 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 44

29 V. M. Hope 2009, 74





Picture 3 Depiction of a mask (*imagines*) used by the actors

There was also another element, especially beloved by the participants, and those were funeral speeches in the honour of the deceased (*laudation*), given in front of the podium (*rostra*) in the Forum, in case the deceased was a person of greater importance.<sup>30</sup> Those speeches had the power to elicit the compassion and sadness of not only the family members, but all the guests attending the funeral.<sup>31</sup> After the speech was held, the deceased would be brought to the resting place, and the process of cremation or inhumation would start there. Sacrifices to *Ceres*<sup>32</sup> would be held in the cemetery. Animals were sacrificed, the most common being a pig, i.e., *porca presentanea*, part of which would be cremated together with the deceased, while the second part was for Ceres. The second part would be set on the altar and burnt. The remainder would serve as a meal for the family and attendants of the funeral. Naturally, not everyone was in the financial situation to have such a big and plentiful sacrifice, which is why they offered wine, incense, and wheat as a sacrifice instead of it, that ritual being called *libatio*.<sup>33</sup>

The deceased needed to have grave goods put into their tombs after the funeral because it was thought that they would have the same needs underground as they had while among the living. That is why many objects were set next to them such as: clothes, jewellery, bowls,

30 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 45

31 V. M. Hope 2009, 89

32 Ceres is one of the oldest Italian deities, which was confirmed by inscriptions from the late 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE. Tellus (Terra Mater) is tied to her as a deity of agricultural fertility. In days of yore, they were worshipped during the celebrations on *Feriae Sementivae* and *Savrum Cereale*. She completely matches the depiction of the Greek goddess Demeter, which can be seen in the depictions of Ceres from the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE. I. Matijević, A. Kurilić, 2011, 134–135, taken from: [https://hrcak.srce.hr/index.php?show=clanak&id\\_clanak\\_jezik=112053](https://hrcak.srce.hr/index.php?show=clanak&id_clanak_jezik=112053), (23<sup>rd</sup> of August, 2021)

33 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 45



and food. Of course, it all depends on the occupation of the deceased, for if the deceased were craftsmen, their tools would be buried with them. Women had toilet accessories with them, and children had toys. As protection against harmful and evil forces, charms were put in together with the other accessories of the deceased.<sup>34</sup> On the same day the funeral ended, a funeral feast (*silicernium*) was held on the grave of the deceased, which was one of the rituals, and the food and drink would be left on the grave for the deceased to enjoy.<sup>35</sup> After the burial, a period of cleansing, called *suffitio*, would ensue, which was prescribed by Law because Romans, as I already stated earlier, believed that death brings pollution. Cleansing was mandatory to all those present at the funeral that day, the procedure consisting of sprinkling themselves with laurel water and jumping over fire. Regarding their homes, they were supposed to clean and swipe them using a special broom.<sup>36</sup>

There was also the *cena nevendialis*, i.e., a feast held on the ninth day after the burial, which at the same time marked the end of the mourning period. Of course, the end of mourning did not mean that the dead are now completely forgotten, on the contrary, the birthdays of the deceased were celebrated, as well as two important religious festivals *Parentalia* and *Lemuria*. During the festivity of *Parentalia*, people would visit the graves of their deceased loved ones, bring food and flowers as a gift to the grave, and would feast afterwards. For that purpose, some more luxurious tombs had a built-in kitchen and well.<sup>37</sup>

*Lemuria* was a celebration dedicated to the cult of Lemurs, i.e., the wandering shadows of people who departed from this world too soon, who visited the world of the living during that period. The festivity was allegedly originated in by Romulus for killing his brother Remus, wanting to calm his spirit in that way.<sup>38</sup> The funeral was disbanded by the mourner or some other person exclaiming the words *Ilicet, Ire licet*, and the deceased was greeted with *Vale!* at the end.<sup>39</sup>

As an example of monuments with preserved characteristics of funeral processions, the relief of the tomb of family Hateria and the relief from the Amiternum tomb should be mentioned. The relief of the

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34 F. Cumont, 1922, 49

35 J Wachter, 2002, 813

36 F. P. Retief - L. Cilliers 2010, 141

37 J Wachter, 2002, 813-814

38 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 33

39 *Ibid.*, 47

tomb of the family Hateria is an important monument of sepulchral art made from marble, dating to the late Flavian or early Traianian era of Rome. A woman is depicted on the relief, which is recognizable by the fact that she is not wearing a toga. She is depicted lying on her back on two mattresses set on a long bed. The deceased wears rings on her left hand and is covered from her neck to her feet.<sup>40</sup> The front part of the bed is covered with a curtain, while the bed itself is surrounded by big torches. Also, around the bed are hired mourners (*praeficae*) with messy hair, hands raised as if they were beating their chest. A woman playing a flute is standing at the foot of the bed and another woman with a vail and folded hands next to her. There are four persons in front of the curtain (two men and two women), probably the relatives of the deceased woman. Three women are at the head of the bed, and we can see a depiction of a man walking to the left and carrying something on a plate. We can also see two big censers in the foreground and a big acanthus leaf, which probably stands there to indicate that a corpse is inside the house.<sup>41</sup>



*Picture 4 Depiction of the relief from the Hateria family tomb*

40 J.M.C. Toynbee 1971, 44-45

41 *Ibid.*, 44-45



The relief from the Amiternum tomb, nowadays located in the Abruzzo region of Italy, is made of limestone, dating to the late 1<sup>st</sup> century CE. It is easy to notice that it is a monument depicting a *pompa*, i.e., a funeral procession. The deceased is a man who rests on a funeral bed.<sup>42</sup> A flute player, who is the leader of a procession followed by another three players, is depicted in the lower right corner, alongside the deceased. More grieving persons are depicted above them, among them: three horn players and two mourners. The funeral director (*designator*) is below them. Eight persons are carrying the bed with the deceased, lying on a double mattress, on their shoulders. A group of nine people is located next to the bed with the first three people, the ones closest to the deceased, representing his wife and two daughters. Female slaves mourning over the deceased are also depicted on the relief, and on the bottom we have a figure of a man carrying palm leaves and a box of incense.<sup>43</sup> The incomplete inscription found in the vicinity of the relief is cause for speculation that the tomb was maybe ordered by a family of slave descendants because the relief has characteristics typical for the art of the “liberated”. That is a category used by former slaves.<sup>44</sup>



Picture 5 Relief of the Amiternum tomb

42 Dr. L. Taylor 2015, <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/ancient-art-civilizations/roman/beginners-guide-rome/a/roman-funeral-rituals-and-social-status-the-amiternum-tomb-and-the-tomb-of-the-haterii> (13<sup>th</sup> of August, 2021)

43 J. Bodel 1999, 264-265

44 Dr. L. Taylor 2015, <https://www.khanacademy.org/humanities/ancient-art-civilizations/roman/beginners-guide-rome/a/roman-funeral-rituals-and-social-status-the-amiternum-tomb-and-the-tomb-of-the-haterii> (13<sup>th</sup> of August, 2021)





## Imperial burial (*funus imperatorum*)

“In the time of the Empire, public funerals in Rome were reserved almost exclusively for emperors and the members of their family.”<sup>45</sup> After the proclamation of the death of the emperor, the *Iustitium* would ensue, which was a law demanding total abolition of all public and private affairs in the city of Rome. Imperial funerals took inspiration from the way elite members of society were buried during the time of the Republic, meaning that imperial funerals also consisted of festive speeches on the Forum and a parade with masks, i.e., *imagines*. Later, these rituals gradually ceased to be performed by the members of the elite because they did not want to be elevated above the imperial families in that way. The emperor was not thought to have died but to be immortal.<sup>46</sup>

The burial would start by the couch/bier being carried along the *Via Sacra* street and would be displayed on the Forum. The place reserved for a group of young people, who sang festive hymns and songs in honour of the late emperor, was on the stairs on one side of the couch, while the other side was reserved for one of the nobler women. On the Field of Mars, where the body was carried over, a huge quadrangular pyre was raised. The pyre was filled with bundles of twigs and decorated with various images, little ivory statues, and gold on the outside. A picture of the emperor was on the couch located on the second story of the pyre, and all kinds of spices, fruit, fats, herbs, and juices were put there. Everybody would bring presents in honour of the emperor to the funeral. Furthermore, when everything was filled with presents, an equestrian parade, marching in a steady rhythm around the pyre, was held.<sup>47</sup> Special gladiators, classified under the common denominator *bustuarii*, were hired to fight around the pyre. In the end, the honour of setting fire to the pyre was given to the new emperor, while other people were lighting the pyre up from the other sides. It was also customary to release an eagle from the topmost story of the pyre, symbolically meaning that the bird was carrying the soul of the emperor towards “heaven”.<sup>48</sup>

Emperor Augustus (14 CE) left Livia and her son Tiberius instructions for the organisation of his funeral, which was supposed to be tra-

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45 J. M. C. Toynbee 1971, 56

46 V. M. Hope 2009, 91

47 J.M.C. Toynbee 1971, 60

48 V. M. Hope 2009, 92



ditional, but also impressive. The bier had to be made from ivory and gold, covered with purple curtains. Everything was decorated with the portraits of the emperor made from gold and wax, while the numerous masks represented the ancestors of the family of the emperor. When the body was carried over to the Forum, two speeches were to be held, after which the body was transported to the Field of Mars, where it would be cremated. Livia, the widow of Augustus, would stand for five days next to the pyre, after which horsemen were to pick up the remainder of the bones and put them in the imperial mausoleum. Of course, an eagle was released from the pyre at the funeral of Augustus as well, as to carry his soul to heaven. That element was called *apotheosis* and marked the idea of the transition from man to god. Naturally, emperors had to be good rulers during their lifetime to deserve an adequate and impressive funeral. A good and adequate funeral, and even the possibility of declaring that specific ruler a deity, was earned by a good reign. On the other hand, a bad reign meant a shameful death, which included the mistreatment of the corpse and a funeral without any privileges.<sup>49</sup>



Picture 6 Depiction of the imperial cremation, and the releasing of the eagle

49 *Ibid.*, 91-92



## Christian funeral

With the emergence of Christianity, changes in funeral architecture in Roman villages and cities also slowly emerged. The most common place where early communities of Christians and Jews, who practiced individual inhumation rather than cremation, were buried were the catacombs. Catacombs were located underground and outside the city walls and varied in their origin. Catacombs are a very complex system of underground hallways and could have been more than a thousand kilometres long, stretching underneath the suburbs of Rome. Around six million people could be buried inside them.<sup>50</sup> Pagans, not Christians, started the practice of hollowing or digging out underground tombs in Rome for burial purposes. What was typical for Christians and Jews was the creation of vast underground sepulchral spaces set on multiple stories. The digging was done by *fossores*, i.e., manual workers, “miners”. After the completion of a certain cubicle or gallery, the bodies would be wrapped in bandages or festive clothing, depending on the financial circumstances. For the disinfection of the space, a layer of lime would be made and the niches would get closed using plates or baked bricks. Engraved inscriptions were frequent. Of course, the name of the deceased would be inscribed, but the graves could contain some other phrases as well, for example: *dormit in pace, in pace Domini, in pace Christi, vivas cum Sanctis, vivas vivas in Deo* etc.<sup>51</sup>

Christians in Rome, and across the Empire, did not have their own cemeteries during the first century because of the prosecution of Christians during that time. That is why they were buried on shared cemeteries located on the open, together with pagans. On the other hand, those Christians who had a private estate buried their dead in family tombs located on the surface of the earth.<sup>52</sup>

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50 J. Davies 1999, 192

51 Ž. Tolić 2016, 140-142

52 *Ibid.*, 143-144



Picture 7 Depiction of Roman catacombs

Regarding their appearance, Jewish and Christian galleries in catacombs were very similar and traditional. From the end of the 2<sup>nd</sup> to the beginning of the 5<sup>th</sup> century CE, the dead were buried in *loculi*, i.e., niches which were engraved in the catacombs or in chambers for two or more burials. Arcs were used For decoration, creating an *arcosolium*.<sup>53</sup> Still, surely the most widely used form of burial both for Christians and Jews were the *loculi*, then *arcosoliums*, the form of burial directly into the ground, sarcophagi, and amphoras.<sup>54</sup> Regarding Christians, the catacombs were decorated with biblical motifs, whereas for the Jews there were no decorations, besides graffiti and engraved messages left by the mourning, until a relatively late period. They were not allowed to cremate their dead, so they practiced burials of the whole body. The burial locations were divided, i.e., the Jews were buried in their own graves, and Christians in their own graves.<sup>55</sup> For Christians, death was *dies natalis* or the day of their birth into eternity, meaning they did not fear death but awaited the next world with joy, while pagans feared

53 *Arcosolium* (ital. Arcosolio  $\approx$  lat. Arcus: arch + solium: grave) is in architecture and art a name for graves set in niches and vaulted with semicircular arches. Most often, they are located in Roman catacombs. They were used by Christians, but they were not unknown to pagans either. Taken from: <https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/arcosolio/> (22<sup>nd</sup> of August, 2021)

54 J. Davies 1999, 192-193

55 *Ibid*, 193



the afterlife. The Christians did not think of the dead as polluting and had a positive outlook on funerals in the sense that they gave reason for hope, not fear.<sup>56</sup>

With regards to funerals, psalms were sung. The body was washed, anointed, in some cases even embalmed. The time between death and the burial was prolonged to three or four days because of the belief that the body does not pollute. Sometimes, the priest or bishop would carry the body to the graveyard, accompanied by prayer and songs, where the deceased was buried after the celebration of the Eucharist. The positioning of the body in the grave was face-up, legs facing the east, representing the hope for a new life, with the sun rising in the east. In certain occasions, the family would gather and enjoy food and prayer for their loved ones.<sup>57</sup> With the invasion of Alaric's Visigoths, and the "Sack of Rome" in 410 CE, burials in catacombs on the territory of Rome cease to be and burials begin to be practiced in the open, i.e., on the grounds above the catacombs, where it all started. It was only many years later that burials would be held inside the city walls.<sup>58</sup>

## **TYPES OF BURIALS**

### **Burial of children**

The death of children, especially new-born ones, was a very frequent occurrence in ancient Roman times, so frequent that there was simply no point in mourning every child. Regardless, there is plenty of evidence which indicate that parents still often grieved for their children. The philosophical standpoint towards the death of children was that death is supposed to be accepted as the choice of nature, and that parents should focus on their other children and future babies. Another point was that deceased children do not have their share in the land, so there was no need for them to be mourned for.<sup>59</sup> The souls of children and innocent people who died a violent death are excluded from the underworld until their natural moment of death comes. Precisely because of that, their burials had to be held at night, quietly and quickly under the light of torches (*funus acerbum*). Children who have

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56 *Ibid*, 196

57 *Ibid*, 199

58 Ž. Tolić 2016, 145. Taken from: [https://hrcak.srce.hr/index.php?show=clanak&id\\_clanak\\_jezik=249653](https://hrcak.srce.hr/index.php?show=clanak&id_clanak_jezik=249653) (22<sup>nd</sup> of August, 2021)

59 V. M. Hope 2009, 137





just been born are considered polluted and still not belonging to the family. It is only after a couple of days of living that a ritual called *primordia* is performed. It is a ritual of cleansing the newly born child done by bathing the child in water. With girls, the ritual would be practiced on the eighth day after birth, and with boys on the ninth day. The ritual of bathing in water is called *lustratio*. This custom of cleansing could be compared to the Christian ritual of Baptism in which one is freed of the Original sin. There is a practice at the funeral of children called *suggrundaria*. According to that practice, children, i.e., infants, would be buried inside or in the vicinity of the walls of houses, and the body would be put in some sort of jar. Romans differentiated between *arpagi* and *rapti*. *Arpagi*, for which funerals would not be held, are children who died in the cradle, and their bodies would not be cremated nor buried. Also, funeral monuments would not be raised for them, which is in contrast with the *rapti*, i.e., children of forty or more days of age, who could get both buried and cremated.<sup>60</sup>

Children who died before being four days of age could be buried at home.<sup>61</sup> Regarding older children, especially those children who were on the brink of maturity who got already much care invested into them, it was more acceptable to mourn them. That can be read from the funeral monuments which were far more numerous than those for small children and infants. Funeral monuments more often depict boys, indicating that boys were more admired than girls.<sup>62</sup>



Picture 8 Relief depicting the death of a child

60 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 48-49

61 F. P. Retief - L. Cilliers 2010, 131

62 V. M. Hope 2009, 139





## Funeral of soldiers (*funus militare*)

Soldiers who lost their lives in battle were buried or cremated together. Soldiers would also get contributions designated for paying for the funeral expenses of their fallen comrades.<sup>63</sup> Even more precisely, there existed a fund in military camps (*castra*) across the Empire which served exactly for funeral expenses, it being gathered from parts of the payment of all soldiers, respectfully. These included: ritual feast, funeral, and commemoration.<sup>64</sup>

It can be said that the cult of the dead was of special importance for soldiers precisely because of their profession, where they were exposed to a possible premature death. Soldiers wanted to respectfully say their farewells to their tragically fallen colleagues, but the conditions on the battlefield did not always allow this. That is why soldiers who died during war in a foreign land were cremated or buried together. When time would allow it, i.e., when there was at least a short standstill on the battlefield, they could be cremated individually, after which their ashes would be stored in jars later being transported to the permanent burial site. There are a lot of funeral monuments across the Empire showing military personnel and units in specific camps. Roman citizenship of some soldiers is emphasized on these monuments, them being depicted in military or civil clothes, the inscriptions also including the name of the soldier, his rank, birthplace, the unit in which he served, his age, and how long he served in the army, and sometimes also other data.<sup>65</sup>

## WAYS OF BURIALS Cremation and inhumation

Two kinds of burials were practiced in Antiquity. The first ritual was the burning on a pyre, cremation or the ritual of incineration, and the ritual of inhumation or the burying of the complete body.<sup>66</sup> Cremation was one of the frequent practices in Rome way back in the 8<sup>th</sup> to 7<sup>th</sup> century BCE, becoming the predominating ritual during the Republic. It was deemed a luxury, mostly because of the materials used during

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63 J.M.C. Toynbee 1971, 55

64 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 50

65 *Ibid*, 49-50

66 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 77



the ritual. Nevertheless, Roman society still preferred the ritual of cremation.<sup>67</sup> Cremation is a type of practice in which the body is set on a pyre (*rogus*) and burnt. Pyres are usually built from logs, while papyrus may be added for increasing the fire and faster burning. Also, incense was added to mask the unpleasant smell of the burning and decomposition of the body of the deceased.<sup>68</sup> Especially impressive was the pyre of the Roman emperor Pertinax in the shape of a triangular tower.<sup>69</sup> It is thought that bodies were burned<sup>70</sup> because it was deemed the more appropriate way of burials regarding the protection against disease.<sup>71</sup>

When the dead body was set on the pyre, the eyes were closed, and the deceased's personal belongings and various gifts from loved ones were set around the pyre. In some cases, because it symbolized sending off the soul to the afterlife, pets were killed around the pyre. The pyre was lighted with torches while family and friends invoked the name of the dead for the last time. After the body of the deceased has burned out, wine would be poured over the ashes. Then the family would gather the ashes and put it into special jars made from various materials.<sup>72</sup> Namely, it was tradition that a small part of the body, most often a finger (*os resectum*), would be cut off from the deceased, and traditionally be buried into the ground (*ossilegium*). The exact place where the bodies of the deceased would be burned was called *ustrina (ustrinum publicum)*. The burial place, i.e., the shallow grave where the body would be burned, was called *bustum*. The body of the deceased would be put above the *bustum*, which was filled up with dried tree-branches, followed by the cremation ritual.<sup>73</sup> The family of the deceased took part in the initial ceremony of lighting up the pyre, whereas some sources point out that the family would stand on the

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67 Isto, 37

68 Taken from: <https://archaeology.co.uk/articles/features/the-fragrant-dead-how-to-treat-your-dead-the-roman-way.htm> (19<sup>th</sup> of December, 2021)

69 V. M. Hope 2009, 82

70 The information gathered on the basis of experiments done by a group of archaeologists says that: "The process of cremating the body on a pyre lasted for about seven to ten hours, including the time the pyre took to cool off. A body of a pig was used for the experiment. The temperature was kept on a steady 800 to 900 degrees so that only the bones would remain after the body was burned. 24 hours is needed for the pyre to completely cool down, the part cooled off with water requiring somewhat less than an hour to cool down." Taken from: K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 81-82

71 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 78

72 J.M.C. Toynbee 1971, 50.

73 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 86



grounds of the necropolis as long as the pyre needed to burn out and the embers cool off. After the pyre burnt out completely, the family would gather all the ashes and the remainder of the bones. Also, according to the ancient sources, the very next day after the pyre has burnt out, the family would gather the ashes and pour milk and wine over the remains of the bones (*cineres*), symbolizing the refreshment of the deceased. All our knowledge is still based on written sources only because there is no precise information and evidence of what really happened during the incineration.<sup>74</sup> Somewhere around the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE, the ritual of inhumation started emerging in Rome and across Italy, largely replacing the process of cremating the dead common until then. That is when inhumation spread to those parts of the Empire where cremation was an already common and traditional phenomenon.<sup>75</sup> During the Roman Empire, cremation was not as common of a way of disposing of the dead as was inhumation. What the turning point towards this change was, we do not know, but it is thought of having probably occurred because of religious influences.<sup>76</sup>

Regarding inhumation, the body was wrapped in covering or put in a coffin, which could be made out of various materials, such as: wood, lead, stone, or some combination of materials. Afterwards, the body would be laid directly into the ground, with the possibility of the body or coffin getting set inside a tomb existing too.<sup>77</sup> Sarcophagi positioned in various ways were used, be it on the open on the burial grounds, set in *arcosoli*, set next to the inner walls of the tomb, or standing all alone. There were cheaper and more expensive ways of inhumation, but they were adapted according to someone's possibilities, resources, and circumstances.<sup>78</sup> During the last century of the Roman Republic, both cremation and inhumation rites were used simultaneously, inhumation being deemed the older custom than incineration or cremation. After some time, the rite of cremation got commonplace even in those parts of Italy where initially inhumations were held.<sup>79</sup> Even though the rite of cremation was widespread, Jews and Christians held onto the ritual of inhumation.<sup>80</sup> Romans did not think of cremation as a primitive

74 *Ibid*, 79-80

75 J.M.C. Toynbee 1971, 33-34

76 A. D. Nock 1932, 321

77 E.-J. Graham 2006, 32-33

78 *Isto*, 32-33

79 A. D. Nock 1932, 322

80 V. M. Hope 2009, 82



burial custom, but inhumation. Still, the *Sepulcretum*, i.e., the cemetery on the Roman Forum, dated 8<sup>th</sup> till 6<sup>th</sup> century BCE, contains traces of both rituals. Those two customs were practiced simultaneously in the 5<sup>th</sup> century BCE, as can be seen in The Laws of The Twelve Tables.<sup>81</sup> There existed three kinds of burials in the later Republic. Those three kinds were: cremation, inhumation, and embalmment. The dominant rite then was incineration, but *Gens Cornelia*<sup>82</sup> held onto the old tradition of inhumation.<sup>83</sup> Cornelius Sula was the first member of the family to be cremated in fear that his enemies would purposefully desecrate his grave.<sup>84</sup> During the reign of Hadrian (117-138 CE), the art of carving sarcophagi suddenly flourished, a sign of gradual transition from cremation to inhumation finished in the middle of the third century.<sup>85</sup> Regarding the ritual of embalmment, it was regarded an Egyptian practice and was not typical for the area of Italy and Rome. There are few cases of embalmment in Rome and the Empire, one of the more famous ones being Poppaea, the wife of emperor Nero.<sup>86</sup>

### Position of the cemetery

*The Laws of The Twelve Tables* forbid burial or cremation in the territory of the city. Such prohibitions were introduced because it was thought that cremation, i.e., burning, could lead to the potential peril of setting fire to buildings. Also, according to *The Laws*, the dead should get separated from the living as quickly as possible via hastily burial.<sup>87</sup> The strict adherence to this law meant that all the cemeteries in the Roman world were outside of the walls along the roads leading out of town, this being the way the graves were stacked in front of the gates of cities such as: Rome, Ostia, and Pompeii.<sup>88</sup> Of course, there were exceptions, although rare ones. These exceptions were mostly for the

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81 J.M.C. Toynbee 1971, 39

82 In ancient Rome, *gens* was the name for a community of multiple families with the same name. *Gens Cornelia* was one of the most famous patrician families in ancient Rome. Taken from: [https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/gens\\_%28Dizionario-di-Storia%29/](https://www.treccani.it/enciclopedia/gens_%28Dizionario-di-Storia%29/) (22<sup>nd</sup> of August, 2021)

83 G. Davies 1977, 17

84 V. Vukelić – M. Stuparić 2017, 22

85 J.M.C. Toynbee 1971, 40

86 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 39

87 V. M. Hope 2009, 154

88 L'archeologia delle pratiche funerarie. Mondo romano in "Il Mondo dell'Archeologia" (treccani.it) (12<sup>th</sup> of August, 2021)



most important citizens, in general emperors. In that case, monumental tombs were situated inside the city walls, meaning that the wealthy citizens had the rights to a special burial. These exceptions were more common in the Western Empire, while burials inside the city were still a strange occurrence in the East. The so-called holy border of the city of Rome was *pomerium*, i.e., a zone around the walls of the city. No construction was permitted in it, while burials were granted only under special permission. Cemeteries were some of the more prominent characteristics of Roman suburbs, most of the burials being done outside the *pomerium*. Tomb areas had no demarcations, and villas, gardens, and shops could be located next to tombs. Romans did not use the term “graveyard”, instead opting for the Latin equivalent *co-emetarium*, which was not used as a name for burial places until the Christians started using it in the 3<sup>rd</sup> century CE.<sup>89</sup>

### Types of tombs

The most important thing to be done after death is to dispose of the dead body, i.e., to burn or bury it, and lay it in a grave afterwards. Tombs to Romans were eternal homes where they would be living after death. Since the earliest of days, the Egyptians and Semites thought of tombs as the eternal homes of the deceased, which was later taken over by the Romans. The Latin name *domus aeterna*, meaning “eternal home”, can often be seen on funeral inscriptions from the period of the Empire. Tombs to Romans were eternal homes where they will live after death.<sup>90</sup> The simplest, and most ordinary tombs of the Roman world were shapeless holes in which either the jar with the ashes and burnt bones or the skeleton were laid in. Those kinds of graves were marked, in the case of the poorest graves probably by an upright stone or a ceramic jar. The ashes and burnt bones were set in a jar made from terracotta or glass, and a few, less expensive, funeral items would be put next to them. Later, the terracotta jars would be put in boxes made most often from *tegulae* or big stone plates. When the body was inhumated, it was done in the simplest way possible, by setting the body in a dug-out hole, after which the body would be covered with *tegulae*.<sup>91</sup> Furthermore, another example of simple tombs were the so-called *tombe a cassone*, where

89 V. M. Hope 2009, 154-155

90 F. Cumont 1922, 49

91 J.M.C. Toynbee 1971, 101







Bodel: "It is estimated that up to 1500 such corpses were found annually on the streets of Rome, which would cause great problems to the government."<sup>96</sup> On the streets, the bodies would get destroyed by wild dogs, wolves, and birds, which is confirmed by a story by Suetonius in which he claims that "one time, a dog interrupted the meal of Vespasian and dropped a human hand in front of his feet."<sup>97</sup> According to the luxuriousness of a certain tomb, it was evident if a family was well-off or not, i.e., what the social status of that family was. In that way, it was evident that the difference between the rich and the poor continues even after death.<sup>98</sup> The building of monumental tombs was very widespread during the time of the Empire. Those families that were financially less well-off, i.e., the middle class, built shared tombs with multiple decorated rooms. There is a central room in those tombs, the *sepulcrum*, located just below the surface of the earth, which is why it was necessary to descend along small steps. If the deceased was inhumated, he was put on the podium, i.e., a raised platform in the tomb, in a casket.<sup>99</sup> If the deceased was cremated, his urn could be put either on the *podium* or *columbarium*, i.e., dove cot. The columbarium was a big tomb located partially or completely underground.<sup>100</sup> That was the accommodation for urns later set in niches on walls. Columbaria were built rectangularly, consisting of a large number of niches which could be set horizontally (*gradus*) or vertically (*ordines*). Certain columbaria could harbour up to 1000 urns. There was the possibility of somebody who was not part of the family being buried in the columbarium if they paid for their burial place. That could become a lucrative job, for there were always those in need of a burial place. Usually, every niche could harbour two urns (*ollae, ollae ossuariae*), a plate containing the name of the owner of a certain niche (*titulus*) being above every niche. The names of the deceased were written on the urns. Urns could be made from various materials such as marble, clay, stone.<sup>101</sup>

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96 J. Bodel, 2000, 129

97 F. P. Retief - L. Cilliers 2010, 134

98 H. Lewandowski 2007, 77-78

99 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 53-55

100 J.M.C. Toynbee 1971, 113

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*Picture 10 Depiction of a Roman columbarium*

Alongside simple tombs, there were also more advanced ones, which could usually be purchased by the wealthier citizens. As an example, we have a huge family tomb, the burial place of Cornelius Scipio. It is located inside the Porta Appia and is dated to the 3<sup>rd</sup> century BCE. The façade of the tomb is decorated using simple architectural elements and pictures. There are two entrances to the tomb located inside the rock. The western entrance has access to the main gallery containing niches on both sides, while the eastern entrance leads to a big rectangular chamber with a main gallery and galleries on every side of the chamber. Also, funeral niches are engraved in the walls of the gallery.<sup>102</sup>

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102 J.M.C. Toynbee 1971, 104





Picture 11 The mausoleum of Augustus

It was also common to build mausoleums, but they were usually built by members of the ruling families or affluent Roman citizens. One of the more famous examples is the mausoleum of Augustus. The dome-like artificial hill made of earth is located on the Field of Mars, its diameter being 87 m and height around 32 m. It rises over a twelve-meter-high cylindrical wall. After the emperor died, it was decorated with his image. The mausoleum was to be for the burial of all the future members of the Julian dynasty. The Julian believed they originated from the goddess *Venus*, the cypress trees surrounding the museum being dedicated to her. As we can see even today, planting cypress trees on cemeteries became a tradition. Regarding the interior of the mausoleum, parts of the funeral core and five concentric rings of fortified walls were preserved. The inner ring contained a tholobate (*epithema*) on which the crown was put. The entrance to the tomb, a hall 3,5 m wide, was to the south side. Also, the entrance was fortified with two obelisks, and the sides had plates with texts about the deeds of Augustus (*res gestae Divi Augusti*). The construction of this mausoleum started in 27 BCE, the first burial being that of the nephew of Augustus, Marcus Claudius Marcellus, in 23 BCE.<sup>103</sup>

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103 K. A. Giunio - T. Alihodžić 2019, 55-57



*Picture 12 Depiction of the tomb of Gaius Caestius in the unusual shape of a pyramid*

Furthermore, we have the tomb of Gaius Caestius, unique for its pyramid-shape, being more than 36 metres tall. Of course, the design was taken from Egypt.



*Picture 13 Depiction of the tomb of Eurysaces*

Another unusual tomb is the one of baker Eurysaces, taking on the unusual design of a hearth oven or a dough kneading machine to present his profession, i.e., shop, in a unique way.

The look of the tombs changed over the years, which can be best noted on the example of the cemetery in Pompeii (eruption of Vesu-





vius in 79 CE) and the necropolis *Isola Sacra*, dated to the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE. There were circular tombs, high altars, and temples in Pompeii, while *Isola Sacra* is characteristic for its numerous household tombs with built-in niches for the insertion of the mortal remains of several people. Later, underground hypogea and catacombs developed.<sup>104</sup>

### **Monuments with funeral content in the Roman province of Dalmatia (Salona site)**

The capital city of the Roman province of Dalmatia was Salona, a city which developed in the eastern part of the Kaštela field. The development of Salona happens somewhere in the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century BCE. Three main roads existed even before the city itself. In Antiquity, city cemeteries developed on the sides of these roads. Tombs are built, the deceased are buried, and funeral monuments raised. The most important city necropolises are situated along roads, and out of all the necropolises of Salona, the west necropolis, or so-called *Hortus Metrodori*, whose name is based upon an inscription lost today, can be singled out as the most famous one. It is speculated that the necropolis was built on the location of the former garden of some Metrodorus, allegedly a colonist from Issa or Tragurion, because of which it kept the name even later.<sup>105</sup>

It is not completely clear what the name for the cemetery plots in Salona was, but the inscriptions name two terms: *hortus* and *locus*. Regarding funeral monuments in Salona, stelae prevail in earlier times. What is not certain is if the stelae were used as a mark for the main grave on bigger cemetery plots. An exemplar was found in Salona in the vicinity of the western necropolis, with the dimensions of the plot being mentioned on it, indicating that it was possible for the stelae to be in the grave area, but of smaller dimensions. Later, starting somewhere from the middle of the 1<sup>st</sup> century CE, arae start appearing as the main funeral monuments in fenced plots. They appear during the entire 2<sup>nd</sup> century, with sarcophagi starting to appear in the 2<sup>nd</sup> and 3<sup>rd</sup> century.<sup>106</sup>

Members of the nuclear family of the owner and his extended family were buried on larger cemetery plots. As an example of both nuclear and extended family being buried, we have a sarcophagus and a stele with the same *nomen gentile*, *Albucii*, being written on them. Father, mother,

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104 V. M. Hope 2009, 162-163

105 N. Cambi 1986, 61-65

106 *Ibid*, 68-69



sons, members of the aristocracy of Salona and Issa, former lords, and later the patrons of freedmen on the aforementioned stele, were buried in that sarcophagus. In the 1840's, a stele and a sarcophagus were found close to each other in the western necropolis. It is possible that the deceased on the sarcophagus and those on the stele were buried together on the same plot. The family belonging to the upper class of citizens gave the right to being buried on their cemetery plot to their freedmen. The burial of other people, who were not part of the family, could be granted in different ways. It was possible to buy, get or in some other way acquire a so-called *loci concessionem*. Members of different social groups were often buried together. The formula *adito libero* was common in inscriptions, indicating that the tomb or plot was located in the second row, behind the first row of burials, regarding the road, so an unhindered passage was sought. *Aditus liber* was, of course, important because of the rituals held on the commemoration days. Many tombs took damage in the 2<sup>nd</sup> century CE, when the walls were being built. That is when lots of fragments of funeral monuments were found in the walls. It is worth mentioning that high-quality funeral monuments, such as the ara of Pomponia Vera and the stele of Gaius Utius, were found. Those two funeral monuments were typical representatives of funeral monuments of the first two centuries CE made in the stonecutter workshops in Salona.<sup>107</sup>



Picture 14 Stele of Gaius Uti



Picture 15 Ara of Pompenia Vera

107 *Ibid*, 70-71



The upper classes slowly abandon the western necropolis during the second and third decade of the 4<sup>th</sup> century because they are gradually transitioning to Christian cemeteries. Only a couple of more affluent families and humble members of the new religion remain. Regarding the inscriptions found on the western necropolis, they paint a colorful picture of the society buried there. Namely, Roman citizens, peregrines, freedmen, slaves, and others were buried there. Of course, only the richer members of society could have larger cemetery plots. Naturally, there were also simpler graves, but they were situated on the plot of some more affluent family which enabled burials to others as well. It is also interesting to note that not far from the amphitheater, in the vicinity of the necropolis, ten urns with the inscriptions about gladiators were found. Those inscriptions indicate that some smaller cemetery, intended as the last resting place of the gladiators fighting in the arena, must have been located next to the amphitheater.<sup>108</sup>

## Conclusion

In this paper, the goal was to achieve a broader and better inspection of the death of humans during the Roman Empire, as well as funeral rituals and customs Romans abided by. No one can escape, death is one of the things inevitable to every living thing. In general, the Romans did not pay much heed to thinking about death, but they were convinced that the soul becomes divine when it leaves the body.

When the persons would leave the world of the living, their loved ones would show their grief with black clothes, which is tradition today as well, while being excluded from some public events in society. There were many rules to be abided, such as, for example, the prohibition of the burial of the dead inside the city, as was written in *The Laws of The Twelve Tables*. That is why the dead had to be buried outside the city walls. The family of the deceased was responsible for the preparation of the funeral and the procession. After the procession, the body would get carried to the eternal resting place, where it would be cremated or inhumated. Cremation was practiced in the beginning, inhumation afterwards. Grave goods, e.g., clothes and food, would be put inside the grave because it was thought that the dead would need it in the afterlife. Also, the Romans thought of the dead as “polluted”, so

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108 *Ibid*, 73-74



a whole procedure of cleansing ensued after the funeral.

According to the descriptions of the rituals and customs in this paper, it may be concluded that, in some segments, the funerals remained the same until today. The loved ones of the deceased always participate together in the funeral preparation of the body for the burial, dress in black as a display of mourning and grief, and the grave is decorated with flowers. There still are musicians leading the procession and playing sad songs, but, unlike the more affluent citizens did in the past, no “spectacle” is made from the funeral. Of course, the time we spend in mourning with our loved ones is not defined by a temporal limit, unlike the rule that existed in the Roman Empire, but every person has the right to mourn as much as they like.

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# ODNOS FRANKAPANA I HABSBUROVACA KRAJEM 15. I POČETKOM 16. STOLJEĆA

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Stručni rad  
Primljeno: 20. 11. 2021.  
Prihvaćeno: 8. 12. 2021.

*Hrvatska velikaška obitelj Frankapana našla se početkom 16. stoljeća suočena, kao i cijelo Ugarsko-Hrvatsko Kraljevstvo, sa sve intenzivnijim osmanlijskim provalama. U nastojanju da zaštite svoje posjede, Frankapani nisu mogli računati na pomoć ugarsko-hrvatskih kraljeva, čija je vlast sve više slabila, već su se morali pouzdati u vlastite snage i pomoć koju mogu pronaći u stranih vladara. Bernardin i Krsto Frankapan ostvarili su početkom 16. stoljeća intenzivne veze s Habsburgovcima, u kojima su vidjeli pomoć u obrani od Osmanlija. Frankapanско-habsburški će odnosi imati vrlo važnu ulogu u kasnijim političkim prilikama sredinom 20-ih godina 16. stoljeća.*

**Ključne riječi:** Bernardin Frankapan, Krsto Frankapan, Habsburgovci, ozaljska loza Frankapana

## Uvod

Sredinom 15. stoljeća obitelj Frankapana podijelila se na nekoliko grana. Iz ozaljske su loze potekli Bernardin i Krsto Frankapan, otac i sin, koji su kao najmoćniji hrvatski velikaši na prijelazu 15. u 16. stoljeće značajno obilježili to razdoblje hrvatske povijesti. Njihova je politika obilježena nastojanjem da vrata izgubljene posjede i održe postojeće uslijed sve češćih osmanskih provala. Taktika kojom su se koristili bilo je pristajanje uz onu stranu koja je u pojedinom trenutku bila najjača na hrvatskom povijesnom prostoru, što je rezultiralo turbulentnim odnosima s ugarsko-hrvatskim kraljevima i približavanjem stranim vladarskim kućama, prvenstveno Habsburgovcima. Veze Frankapana s habsburškim vladarima u prvim desetljećima 16. stoljeća imat će značajnu ulogu za kasnija razdoblja hrvatske ranonovovjekovne povijesti.

Ovaj rad nastoji ukratko prikazati frankapansko-habsburške odnose za Bernardina i Krste Frankapana i posljedice tog odnosa za Hr-



vatsko-Slavonsko Kraljevstvo. Sadržajno je rad organiziran tako da najprije ukaže na razloge zašto su se Frankapani krajem 15. i početkom 16. stoljeća sve više okretali Habsburgovcima, potom slijedi prikaz odnosa dviju kuća do izbora Habsburgovaca na ugarsko-hrvatsko prijestolje dok se na kraju prikazuje frankapansko-habsburško neprijateljstvo tijekom građanskog rata u Ugarsko-Hrvatskom Kraljevstvu.

Iako postoji mnogo literature o rodu Frankapana, veći dio te literature otpada na odnose Frankapana s kraljem Matijom Korvinom i na sudjelovanje u velikaškoj pobuni sredinom 17. stoljeća. Literatura koja obrađuje problematiku frankapansko-habsburških odnosa krajem 15. i na početku 16. stoljeća nije toliko opširna, ali su postavljeni temelji za daljnja istraživanja, u čemu najznačajnije mjesto pripada istraživanjima Milana Kruheka o Bernardinu i Krsti Frankapanu, izloženim u monografiji *Knezovi Modruški Bernardin i Krsto Frankopan – mačem i govorom za Hrvatsku* (Modruš: Katedra Čakavskog sabora Modruše, 2016).

### **Povjerenje u Habsburgovce**

Glavni cilj Frankapana od druge polovice 15. stoljeća bilo je očuvanje obiteljskih posjeda spram sve ozbiljnijih osmanskih prodora i zamršene političke situacije u Ugarsko-Hrvatskom Kraljevstvu. Frankapani su u takvim okolnostima bili primorani ne samo na suradnju s ugarsko-hrvatskim kraljevima nego i na traženje pomoći izvana. Dinastija Habsburg bila je i više nego očigledan izbor za mjesto na kojem su mogli tražiti i dobiti potrebnu pomoć.

### **Razlozi okretanja Habsburgovcima**

Glavni razlozi okretanja Habsburgovcima bili su problemi koji su prijeli frankapanskim posjedima izvana – osmanske provale, a dijelom i mletačka posezanja, i iznutra – jačanje kraljevske vlasti za Matije Korvina i, kasnije, nepostojanje djelotvorne obrane Kraljevstva, a time i frankapanskih posjeda.

Povremene osmanske provale na hrvatski teritorij postale su u drugoj polovici 15. stoljeća sve učestalije. Posjedi svih hrvatskih plemića postaju poprištima čestih sukoba, pljačke i odvođenja stanovništva u roblje. To je teško pogađalo Frankapane, čiji su se posjedi prostirali na širokom području od Trsata, preko Like pa sve do Ozlja, a pritom od 1449. godine nisu više bili u vlasništvu jedne, već osam frankapanskih



obiteljskih grana, što je dodatno otežavalo obranu.<sup>1</sup> Unutar same obitelji često je dolazilo do sukoba i trzavica zbog nezadovoljstva podjelom imetka. Druga je prijatna frankapanskim posjedima dolazila od Mletačke Republike, kojoj je bilo u interesu zaposjesti kvarnerske posjede, posebno otok Krk, što joj je 1480. godine i uspjelo uslijed političkih trzavica u Kraljevstvu. Centralizacija vlasti Matije Korvina bila je posebno uperena protiv velikaša, pa tako i Frankapana, kojima je kralj naročito zamjerao bliske veze s Mlečanima i njegovim protivnikom u borbi za prijestolje, njemačkim carem Fridrikom III. Kraljevska je vojska 1469. godine zauzela Senj radi osnaživanja protusomanskog sustava obrane, a kralj je Frankapanima uskoro oduzeo i Vinodol. Povratak ovih posjeda postao je glavni motiv frankapanske politike sve do gašenja ozaljske loze sredinom 16. stoljeća, a posebno će biti snažan za Bernardina i Krste Frankapana. Odnos Frankapana i kralja uskoro je popravljen višestrukim ženidbenim vezama, ali su međusobni odnosi uvijek bili na granici pucanja, što se vidjelo u ponovnom sukobu kralja s Fridrikom III. 80-ih godina 15. stoljeća. Smrt Matije Korvina donijela je kraj vladarskog pritiska na velikaše, ali Frankapanima nije vratila izgubljene posjede.<sup>2</sup> Poraz na Krbavskom polju pokazao je plemstvu, naročito Frankapanima kao tada najjačim velikašima u Hrvatskoj, nužnost financijske i vojne pomoći izvana pošto ona nije dostatno dolazila od Jagelovića.

Svi navedeni izazovi s kojima se frankapanski rod susretao da bi očuvao stečenu baštinu i privilegije nagnao ih je na traženje jakog saveznika među stranim vladarima, a najvažniji saveznik Frankapana početkom 16. stoljeća postat će Habsburgovci.

## Prvi kontakti

Do prvih kontakata s Habsburgovcima došlo je uslijed borbi za ugarsko-hrvatsko prijestolje između pristaša malodobnog Matije Korvina i Fridrika III., kojeg su podržavali i Frankapani.

Osmanske su provale 60-ih godina 15. stoljeća po prvi put ozbiljnije ugrozile frankapanske posjede. Stjepan II. Frankapan, otac Bernardina i djed Krste Frankapana, već nakon pada Bosne odlazi po kraljevoj naredbi na diplomatsku misiju u Veneciju i Rim kako bi ishodio pomoć za obranu, a privatno je pomoć pokušao pronaći i na dvoru ferrarskog

1 Kruhek, *Knezovi Modruški Bernardin i Krsto Frankopan – mačem i govorom za Hrvatsku*, 19 (dalje: *Knezovi Modruški*).

2 Budak, *Hrvatska i Slavonija u ranom novom vijeku, 14-16* (dalje: *Hrvatska i Slavonija*).





i modenskog markgrofa.<sup>3</sup> Očekivanu pomoć nije dobio, a frankopanski su posjedi trpjeli sve veće štete osmanskim upadima i pljačkama, koji su 1468. godine došli i do Modruša, jednog od frankapanskih najvažnijih posjeda po kojemu su se od Stjepana II. potomci njegove loze nazivali i *Modruški*. Stoga je Stjepan II. odlučio pomoć potražiti kod Habsburgovaca, tj. kod njemačkog cara Fridrika III., na čiji je dvor u Grazu 1469. poslao svoga sina Bernardina, tada mladića od 16 godina, kao zalog za traženu pomoć. Bernardin Frankapan je na carskom dvoru dobio priliku vidjeti tada najvišu europsku politiku i steći, za kasnija razdoblja njegova života, izuzetno važno diplomatsko iskustvo, a zabilježeno je da nekoliko puta prisustvovao carskim audijencijama.<sup>4</sup>

Povezivanje s Habsburgovcima i lobiranje za pomoć na duždevu dvoru, doveli su Frankapane u kraljevu nemilost. U novom sukobu Matije Korvina i Fridrika III., početkom 80-ih godina, Frankapani su zbog ženidbnih veza morali biti na kraljevoj strani. Preuzevši kormilo obitelji, Bernardin Frankapan posvetio se jačanju veza s kraljem, ali je nastavio i obiteljsku tradiciju mogućeg oslanjanja na Mlečane i Habsburgovce u slučaju promjena političkih okolnosti u Kraljevstvu. Promjene su nastupile vrlo brzo smrću Matije Korvina pa su Frankapani nakratko obnovili veze s Habsburgovcima, koji su pretendirali na ugarsko-hrvatsku krunu. Frankapansko-habsburške su veze ovog puta bile kratke jer prijestolje u konačnici nije pripalo Habsburgovcima. Budući da je Ugarsko-Hrvatsko Kraljevstvo bila izborna monarhija, plemstvo je za novog vladara izabralo Jageloviće, poljsku dinastiju koja je tada vladala i češkim zemljama. Glavni razlog izbora Jagelovića bio je strah plemstva od ponovne uspostave jake kraljevske vlasti kao za Matije Korvina, a veličina države kojom su novoizabrani vladari vladali onemogućavala je centralizaciju. Stanje nakon Krbavske bitke opet je ponukalo Frankapane, na čijim leđima sada počiva velik dio obrane gotovo cijelog Hrvatskog Kraljevstva, da se kod Habsburgovaca žešće zauzimaju za pomoć pri obrani.<sup>5</sup>

Prvi frankapansko-habsburški odnosi u drugoj polovici 15. stoljeća rezultat su uglavnom dinastičkih sukoba ugarsko-hrvatskih kraljeva s njemačkim carevima. Potreba za potporom u suprotstavljanju osmanskim napadima na obiteljske posjede postaje prioritet što vodi sve jačem približavanju Habsburgovcima.

3 Kruhek, *Knezovi Modruški*, 30-32.

4 Ibid.

5 Budak, *Hrvatska i Slavonija*, 15-16.



## Odnos do Mohačke bitke

Frankapansko-habsburški su odnosi u prvoj četvrtini 16. stoljeća doživjeli svoj vrhunac, što se poklapa s razdobljem najveće ugroze frankapanskih posjeda. Vojna služba najistaknutijih pripadnika roda u carskoj vojsci i diplomatska aktivnost Frankapana odrazi su snažnih veza dviju obitelji. Frankapani postupno postaju najveći zagovornici dolaska Habsburgovaca na čelo Ugarsko-Hrvatskog Kraljevstva.

### Bernardin Frankopan

Dok je njegov sin Krsto izbivao iz Hrvatske, Bernardin Frankopan morao se u potpunosti posvetiti obrani posjeda, a time ujedno i Hrvatske, u čemu mu na kraju nije preostalo ništa drugo nego pouzdati se u sebe i dijelom u potporu Habsburgovaca.

Početak 20-ih godina 16. stoljeća Bernardin je već bio u poodmakloj dobi i sve manje sposoban za aktivnu vojnu i političku službu, ali činio je sve da obrani obiteljske posjede. Pad Beograda 1521. godine bio je posebno zabrinjavajuć događaj jer je to osvajanje pokazalo ozbiljnost sultanove namjere pokoravanja Kraljevstva, tj. skori veliki napad.<sup>6</sup> Hrvatsko plemstvo u nastupanju spram Osmanlija nije bilo jedinstveno zbog raznoraznih međusobnih razmirica, koje je s pojedinim plemićima imao i Bernardin pa je, kao daleko najmoćniji velikaš, uglavnom sam istupao u obrani. To ga je nagnalo da pomoć, već tradicionalno, traži od stranih vladara. Posjet Veneciji 1522. godine nije donio očekivan rezultat,<sup>7</sup> stoga se uputio na sabor njemačkog plemstva u Nürnbergu gdje je pred nadvojvodom Ferdinandom i carem Karlom V. održao jedan od najznamenitijih hrvatskih protuosmanskih govora. Nadao se da bi kod Habsburgovaca, s kojima su Frankapani imali već desetljećima razvijene odnose, mogao naići na razumijevanje i dobiti potrebnu potporu u borbi s Osmanlijama. Svoj je govor pred njemačkim staležima iznio u tri navrata u studenome 1522. godine.<sup>8</sup> U govoru je istaknuo nužnost obrane hrvatskih zemalja, koje predstavljaju bedem prema Europi, što je iskazano u tvrdnji da je Hrvatska „štit i vrata kršćanstva“. Željeni odgovor cara i nadvojvode, a time i potrebnu pomoć, nije dobio jer su Habsburgovci bili više zaokupljeni jača-

6 Kruhek, „Bernardin Frankopan krčki, senjski i modruški knez – posljednji modruški Europejac hrvatskoga srednjovjekovlja, 1453. – 1529.“, *Modruški zbornik* Vol. 3 No. 3 (2009), 214-216.

7 Ibid.

8 Bernardin Frankopan Modruški, *Govor za Hrvatsku (1522.)*, 90-93.



njem Lutherova nauka, nego sve jačoj osmanskoj prijetnji. Ipak, nadvojvoda je pojačao nazočnost vojnika na granicama Kranjske i u utvrdama koje je uzeo pod zaštitu od hrvatskih plemića.<sup>9</sup>

Zalaganje Bernardina Frankapana kod njemačkog cara i nadvojvode Ferdinanda dovelo je do jačanja prisnijih veza s Habsburgovcima, ali istovremeno pokazalo nespremnost Habsburgovaca da u potpunosti odgovore na njima tada drugorazredne zahtjeve.

### Krsto Frankapan

Krsto Frankopan ušao je početkom 16. stoljeća u vojnu službu njemačkog cara Maksimilijana, koja je u mnogočemu odredila njegov kasniji životni put. Odnos s Habsburgovcima kasnije je, kao i u slučaju Krstina oca Bernardina, većim dijelom išao diplomatskim putem.

Rat Mletačke Republike i njemačkog cara pružio je Krsti priliku da se osveti Mlečanima za otuđenje Krka, ali i za mogući povratak otoka pod frankapansku vlast. Kraha ovih nastojanja pokazao se vrlo mogućim prilikom sklapanja primirja Mletačke Republike i cara, ali ono nije potrajalo pa je Krsto nastavio sa svojim angažmanom na bojištu u Furlaniji i Istri. Dokazavši se kao iskusan i vješt ratnik i zapovjednik, Krsto je dobio zapovjedništvo nad carskim snagama za oslobođenje nekih istarskih gradova od mletačke vlasti, što je vrlo uspješno odradio.<sup>10</sup> Ovim je uspjesima Krstin prestiž kod cara sve više rastao pa je 1513. godine, nakon nekoliko uspješnih napada i odbijenih opsada prethodnih godina, Krsto postao vrhovni vojni zapovjednik carske vojske u novom ratu protiv Republike. Krsti je u ratu pomagao otac Bernardin, posebno u prvim godinama, ali je težište Bernardinova djelovanja u tom razdoblju bilo na obrani obiteljskih imanja, posebno u Lici i Pounju.<sup>11</sup> U isto su se vrijeme dogodila dva značajna događaja u Krstinu životu koja su dvojako utjecala na odnos s Habsburgovcima. Boraveći često s ljudima carskog dvora, Krsto je upoznao Apoloniju Lang, mladu udovicu i sestru Matije Langa, krškog biskupa i salzburškog nadbiskupa i kardinala, a ujedno i jednog od najbližih i najutjecajnih carevih savjetnika. Krsto i Apolonija vjenčali su se 1513. godine, a ovim je brakom Krsto značajno ojačao svoje veze na Maksimilijanovu dvoru i ušao u krug najprivilegiranijih caru odanih ljudi. Žena mu je u miraz donijela Pazin i Goricu, čime su posjedi Frankopana nakon dugo

9 Ibid.

10 Kruhek, *Knezovi Modruški*, 110-111.

11 Ibid.



vremena prošireni i učvršćeni.<sup>12</sup> Vojne su zasluge dodatno proširile fran- kapanske posjede nakon što je car Krsti dodijelio još Novigrad i Postojnu u Istri zajedno s pripadajućim posjedima postojnskog vlastelinstva.<sup>13</sup>

Drugi važan događaj bio je boravak u mletačkom zarobljeništvu od 1514. do 1519. godine. Naime, Krsto se nadao da će, kao visoki vojni časnik carske vojske, biti brzo oslobođen carevim posredstvom. Diplomatskim su se putem za Krstu zalagali i njegov otac Bernardin, koji je u jednom trenutku ponudio Veneciji u zamjenu i neke svoje posjede, ugarsko-hrvatski kralj te rođak Matija Lang, ali je car bio najveća nada u oslobođenje. Prilike su se pokazale drukčijima pa se Krstino zatočeništvo protegnulo na pet dugih godina, tijekom kojih je ponajprije shvatio da su Habsburgovcima njihovi interesi daleko ispred svih ostalih stvari. Maksimilijan nije u potpunosti napustio Krstu, za čije se oslobođenje ipak djelomično zalagao diplomatskim putem, a povremeno je Krsti slao pisma potpore i novčanu pomoć, ali vanjskopolitička situacija nije dopuštala popuštanje Veneciji koje je moglo dovesti do Krstina oslobođenja. Kada je konačno došlo do primirja između zaraćenih strana, koje je naglago puštanje zarobljenika na obje strane, Mlečani su svojeg najdra- gocjenijeg zatočenika iz toga isključili.<sup>14</sup> Do boljih prilika došlo je 1519. godine kada Mlečani puštaju Krstu iz Venecije u Milano, gdje boravi kao zatočenik francuskog kralja. Careva skora smrt označila je kraj nade da bi carevim posredovanjem mogao izaći na slobodu, koju je na kraju iz- borio sam bijegom iz Milana.<sup>15</sup> Jedna od prvih stvari koju je napravio na slobodi bila je povezivanje s novim njemačkim carem, Karlom V. koji je Krstu 1521. godine imenovao „kapitanom od Raspa i Krasa“, tj. dodijelio mu zapovjedništvo nad istim teritorijem kojim je zapovijedio i pod pret- hodnim carem. Prilika da u habsburškoj službi ponovno pokaže svu svo- ju ratničku vještinu nije stigla jer je s Venecijom sklopljeno višegodišnje primirje, stoga se Krsto tada okrenuo domaćim, hrvatskim prilikama.<sup>16</sup>

Krsto se nije odmah vratio u domovinu, nego je još neko vrijeme pro- veo u carskim političkim krugovima, nadajući se što većem učvršćivanju veza s carem Karlom i nadvojvodom Ferdinandom. U Linzu je prisustvo- vao vjenčanju nadvojvode Ferdinanda i Ane, sestre ugarsko-hrvatskog kralja Ludovika, a potom se vratio u Hrvatsku gdje su vladale sve teže

12 Ibid., 112-113.

13 Ibid.

14 Kartelo, „Bernardin i Krsto Frankopan“, 30-31.

15 Ibid., 32-35.

16 Kruhek, *Knezovi Modruški*, 135.



prilike izazvane osmanskim napadima i padom ključnih utvrda na jugu, što je Osmanlijama omogućavalo gotovo nesmetane napade na Hrvatsku, a time i na frankapanske posjede. Prije nego što se vratio, uvidjevši da mu više vojna služba ne koristi onako dobro kao prije, zatražio je otpust iz habsburške vojne službe, što mu je odobreno, ali je uz Habsburgovce ostao vezan posjedima koje je dobio za zasluge u ratu protiv Mlečana.<sup>17</sup> Krsto se zalagao za jačanje protuosmanske obrane koliko je mogao i kod kralja Ludovika, a održao je i znameniti govor pred papom 1523. godine.<sup>18</sup> Do potpunog razočaranja u kraljevu obrambenu politiku došlo je nakon uspješnog probijanja opsade Jajca koju je izveo u lipnju 1525. godine, a nakon koje je, unatoč kraljevoj zahvali, bio javno ponižen jer nije imenovan hrvatsko-slavonskim banom što su hrvatski staleži zahtijevali od kralja. Za Krstu je mnogo veća uvreda bila što je kralj odbio vratiti Senj Frankapanima. Vođena frankapanskim primjerom, većina se hrvatskih plemića u nadi za vojnu i financijsku pomoć počela okretati prema Ferdinandu Habsburškom, koji je već ranije uzeo pod zaštitu neke utvrde koje plemstvo nije moglo braniti.<sup>19</sup> Zajedno s dijelom plemstva, Krsto je u proljeće 1526. godine otišao do nadvojvode u Augsburg staviti se pod njegovu zaštitu. Unatoč tome što je odbio molbu, Ferdinand je imenovao Nikolu Jurišića vrhovnim kapetanom svoje vojske u Hrvatskoj, a Krsto je ponovno ušao u vojnu službu habsburške kuće, u nadi da će tako najviše pripomoći u obrani od Osmanlija.<sup>20</sup>

U prva su se dva desetljeća 16. stoljeća frankapansko-habsburški odnosi značajno pojačali. Iako su postojala određena neslaganja, Habsburgovci su postali glavna uzdanica Frankapana u nastojanju očuvanja obiteljske moći.

### Frankapani protiv Habsburgovaca

Bernardin i Krsto Frankapan postali su vođe hrvatskog plemstva u razdoblju nakon pogibije Ludovika II. Jagelovića, a svojim su utjecajem značajno doprinijeli da Ferdinand Habsburški stekne podršku hrvatskog plemstva. Takve će prilike u drugoj polovici 1526. godine označiti vrhunac prisnih odnosa Frankapana i Habsburgovaca, ali će istovremeno, zbirom okolnosti, doći do njihovog naglog prevrata.

17 Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, sv. 4., 394-395.

18 Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, sv. 4., 360-361.

19 Kruhek, *Knezovi Modruški*, 143-145.

20 Ibid.; Kartelo, „Bernardin i Krsto Frankopan“, 41; Budak, *Hrvatska i Slavonija*, 18.



## Pristajanje uz Ivana Zapolju

Mohačka je bitka ostavila Ugarsko-Hrvatsko Kraljevstvo bez vladara, a podijeljenost plemstva između nadvojvodinih pristaša i pristaša Ivana Zapolje dodatno je otežavala cijelu situaciju.

Frankapani su od početka čvrsto držali nadvojvodu stranu, i to ne samo ozaljska grana već i drugi rodovi. Ferdinandu je bilo izuzetno važno da Krsto Frankapan, kao najmoćniji hrvatski velikaš, a ujedno i najbolji hrvatski vojskovođa, bude na njegovoj strani. Krsto je zajedno s kapetanom Nikolom Jurišićem i Ivanom Puchlerom, zapovjednikom Mehova, tvorio Ferdinandovo poslanstvo koje je trebalo privoliti hrvatsko plemstvo na izbor Habsburgovaca za kralja.<sup>21</sup> Krstin je ugled još porastao kada su ga i hrvatski i slavonski plemići proglasili, u rujnu 1526. godine na Saboru u Koprivnici, svojim *glavnim vođom i braniteljem*, čime je postao jedan od središnjih ličnosti Kraljevstva, bez čije potpore nije mogla nijedna od sukobljenih strana. Iako privržen Ferdinandu, a usto i u njegovoj službi, još se nije potpuno opredjelio za nadvojvodu, što se vidi u odbijanju poziva kraljice Ane, Ludovikove udovice i Ferdinandove sestre, da dođe na sastanak u Heinburg. Glavni razlog neodlučnosti bio je taj što Ferdinand nije dao jasnu garanciju glede vraćanja Senja, a Krsto je imajući u vidu svoju snažnu poziciju i moć, koja je potrebna objema stranama, želio iz toga izvući što više.<sup>22</sup>

Početkom studenoga 1526. godine sastao se s Ferdinandom u Požunu, koji tada obećaje da će Senj vratiti Frankapanima, a Krsto će postati vrhovnim ugarskim zapovjednikom, no tek kada Ferdinand bude okrunjen krunom sv. Stjepana. Jasne garancije opet nije bilo jer je sukob sa Zapoljom mogao potrajati.<sup>23</sup> Zapolja je imao podršku većine ugarskog i slavonskog plemstva, a ugarski su ga plemići početkom studenoga okrunili krunom sv. Stjepana u Stolnom Biogradu, pa je stekao veliku prednost u odnosu na habsburšku stranu. U takvim se okolnostima Krsto odlučio na promjenu strane te je krajem studenoga 1526. godine, zajedno sa zagrebačkim biskupom Šimunom Erdödyjem, priznao Zapolju za svog kralja.<sup>24</sup> Uskraćivanje podrške Ferdinandu bilo je uvjetovano ranijim iskustvom s neispunjenim habsburškim obećanjima, ali najviše činjenicom da je Zapolja ispunio sve zahtjeve u pogledu vraćanja oduzetih frankapanskih

21 Kruhek, *Knezovi Modruški*, 150.

22 Ibid., 151; Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, sv. 5, 74; Ferdo Šišić, „Izbor Ferdinanda I. hrvatskim kraljem“, *Starohrvatska prosvjeta* Vol. 1 No. 1-2 (1927): 22-24 (dalje: „Izbor Ferdinanda I.“).

23 Andreja Kartelo, „Bernardin i Krsto Frankopan“, 44.

24 Kruhek, *Knezovi Modruški*, 153; Šišić, „Izbor Ferdinanda I.“, 28-30.



posjeda i traženih službi. Krsto je tako postao hrvatsko-slavonski ban i vrhovni ugarski kapetan između Drave i Dunava, a dobio je i novac kako bi opremio vojsku za rat protiv Ferdinanda. Otac Bernardin slijedio je sinov izbor dok su ostale grane obitelji ostale na nadvojvodinoj strani.<sup>25</sup>

Obiteljski i staleški zahtjevi doveli su Krstu na Zapoljinu stranu, pozicionirajući ga tako u narednom građanskom ratu kao jednog od glavnih habsburških neprijatelja.

## Građanski rat

Građanski rat dvojice pretendenta za ugarsko-hrvatsko prijestolje postao je početkom 1527. godine neizbježan, a Krsto Frankapan imao je u njemu vrlo važnu ulogu.

Slavonsko je plemstvo, predvođeno Krstom, na Saboru u Dubravi 6. siječnja 1527. godine pristalo uz Ivana Zapolju dok je hrvatsko plemstvo ranije potvrdilo odluku manjeg dijela ugarskih plemića krajem 1526. godine o izboru Ferdinanda Habsburškog. Zapolja je isprva bio u boljem položaju zbog veće potpore plemstva i priznanja od strane vodećih europskih država, ali to nije iskoristio najbolje. Krstini savjeti da se odmah vojno djeluje dok je protivnik slabiji nisu uzeti u obzir, pa je s vremenom odnos snaga postajao sve ravnopravniji te na kraju prešao u Ferdinandovu korist.<sup>26</sup> Neprijateljski odnosi s Habsburgovcima Krsti nisu donijeli očekivani uspjeh jer je, zbog obveza na dodijeljenim mu položajima i okupljanja Zapoljine vojske, bio sve manje u mogućnosti braniti svoje posjede, a u oskudici s novcem bio ih je dijelom primoran i založiti. Iako svjestan da je prelazak na Zapoljinu stranu bio loš taktički potez, Krsto je ostao u Zapoljinoj službi i nastavio pripreme za sukob s Ferdinandovim snagama.<sup>27</sup>

Do prvih većih sukoba došlo je početkom rujna 1527. godine, kada je dio Ferdinandovih snaga došao do Varaždina. Nakon nekoliko uspjeha u otvorenim okršajima, Krsto je odlučio osvojiti varaždinsku utvrdu, koju su, iako se ostatak grada predao, još držali Ferdinandovi pristaše. U isto je vrijeme Zapolja bio teško pritisnut u Ugarskoj pa je pozvao Krstu da dođe s vojskom, ali Krsto nije želio otići neobavljena posla. Međutim, tijekom priprema za opsadu, pogođen je topovskom kuglom, a umrijet će od posljedica ranjavanja 27. rujna 1527. godi-

25 Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, sv. 5, 78.

26 Šišić, „Izbor Ferdinanda I.“, 40-43; Kruhek, *Knezovi Modruški*, 153.

27 Kruhek, *Knezovi Modruški*, 153-154.



ne.<sup>28</sup> Krstina je smrt olakšala Ferdinandovu pobjedu u Slavoniji, dok je ozaljska grana Frankapana dovedena gotovo pred izumiranje. Ostarjelom i onemoćalom Bernardinu Frankapanu nije preostalo ništa drugo nego priznati Ferdinanda za kralja. Nadživjevši sinove, istovremeno je kralju oporučno ostavio na čuvanje sve obiteljske posjede do punoljetnosti unuka Stjepana, što je kralj prihvatio i imenovao Nikolu Jurišića upraviteljem frankapanskih posjeda nakon Bernardinove smrti.<sup>29</sup> Ovime su frankapansko-habsburški odnosi ponovno normalizirani, ali nikada više neće imati onu snagu i ulogu kao prije građanskog rata.

Sudjelovanje u građanskom ratu donijelo je Frankapanima naglo slabljenje moći i gubitak mnogih posjeda, što je rezultiralo gubitkom primata među hrvatskim plemstvom u narednim desetljećima.

### Zaključak

Frankapansko-habsburški odnosi krajem 15. i početkom 16. stoljeća, posebno izraženi u vojno-političkim pitanjima u prvoj četvrtini 16. stoljeća, nastali su kao rezultat složenih procesa koji su hrvatski povijesni prostor zahvatili u kasnom srednjovjekovlju. U prvom je redu to sve izraženija osmanska prijetnja koja hrvatskom plemstvu, posebno magnatima poput Frankapana, ugrožava posjede i samim time njihovu egzistenciju te jačanje kraljevske vlasti za Matije Korvina, potom slabljenje Jagelovičke kraljevske vlasti, što usporedno slabi obranu Ugarsko-Hrvatskog Kraljevstva. Frankapani su primjer velikaške obitelji koja je prisiljena, u nemogućnosti da se sama djelotvorno nosi s tim prijetnjama, potražiti vanjsku pomoć, koju u frankapanskom slučaju predstavljaju Habsburgovci. Od prvih i slabijih veza s Habsburgovcima u drugoj polovici 15. stoljeća, odnosi dvaju obitelji u prvim desetljećima 16. stoljeća postupno dostižu svoj vrhunac. Bernardin i, posebno Krsto Frankapan, glavni su protagonisti sve jačeg pozicioniranja uz Habsburgovce, koje se ostvaruje vojnom službom i diplomatskim traženjem pomoći u obrani posjeda. Frankapanski primjer postupno preuzimaju i ostali hrvatski plemići pa Habsburgovci postaju glavna nada hrvatskih staleža u zaštiti od Osmanlija. Odnos Frankapana i Habsburgovaca postaje posebno značajan za Hrvatsko-Slavonsko Kraljevstvo u trenutku izbora novoga kralja sredinom 20-ih godina 16. stoljeća, kada se Frankapani, u liku Krste Frankapana, nalaze i u ulozi glavnih zagovaratelja izbora Ferdinanda Habsburškog za kralja, ali ubrzo i glavnih

28 Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata*, 100-102; Budak, Strecha, Kušelj, *Habsburzi i Hrvati*, 45.

29 Kruhek, *Knezovi Modruški*, 81-82.



pristaša Ivana Zapolje. Kratkotrajno sudjelovanje u građanskom ratu za ugarsko-hrvatsko prijestolje ostavilo je teške posljedice na Frankopane koji ostaju bez nasljednika i velikog dijela prijašnje moći, ali i na Hrvatsko-Slavonsko Kraljevstvo koje postaje puno lakša meta za osmanska osvajanja. Gledajući u cjelini, frankopansko vezivanje za Habsburgovce imalo je u konačanici negativne posljedice za prvospomenute, ali je onim drugim olakšalo put do prijestolja.

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## SUMMARY

*At the beginning of the 16th century, the Croatian noble family, the Frankapans, found itself, like the entire Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom, facing increasingly intense Ottoman invasions. In an effort to protect their possessions, the Frankapans could not count on the help of Hungarian-Croatian kings, whose power was weakening, but had to rely on their own strength and the help they could find in foreign rulers. Bernardin and Krsto Frankapan established strong ties with the Habsburgs in the early 16th century, in which they saw help in defending against the Ottomans. Frankapan-Habsburg relations would play a very important role in later political circumstances in the first half of the 16th century.*

**Keywords:** Bernardin Frankapan, Krsto Frankapan, the Frankapans, the Habsburgs, the Ozalj's branch of the Frankapans



# THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE FRANKAPANS AND THE HABSBURGS AT THE END OF THE 15<sup>TH</sup> AND THE BEGINNING OF THE 16<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY

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Submitted: November 20<sup>th</sup>, 2021  
Accepted: December 8<sup>th</sup>, 2021

*At the beginning of the 16th century, the Croatian noble family, the Frankapans, found itself, like the entire Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom, facing increasingly intense Ottoman invasions. In an effort to protect their possessions, the Frankapans could not count on the help of Hungarian-Croatian kings, whose power was weakening, but had to rely on their own strength and the help they could find in foreign rulers. Bernardin and Krsto Frankapan established strong ties with the Habsburgs in the early 16th century, in which they saw help in defending against the Ottomans. Frankapan-Habsburg relations would play a very important role in later political circumstances in the first half of the 16th century.*

**Keywords:** *Bernardin Frankapan, Krsto Frankapan, Habsburgs, the Ozalj branch of the Frankapan family*

## Introduction

In the middle of the 15th century, the Frankapan family had split into several branches. Bernardin and Krsto Frankapan, father and son, came from the Ozalj branch, who, as the most powerful Croatian nobles at the turn of the 15<sup>th</sup> century, significantly marked this period of Croatian history. Their policy was marked by efforts to restore lost possessions and maintain existing ones due to the increasing number of Ottoman invasions. The tactic they used was to side with the side that was strongest in Croatian history at one point, resulting in turbulent relations with the Hungarian-Croatian kings and rapprochement with foreign rulers, primarily the Habsburgs. Their ties with Habsburg rulers in the first decades of the 16th century will play a significant role in later periods of early modern Croatian history.





This paper seeks to briefly present the Frankapan-Habsburg relations for Bernardin and Krsto Frankapan and the consequences of this relationship for the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia. In terms of content, the paper is organized in such a way as to first point out the reasons why the Frankapans turned more and more to the Habsburgs at the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century, then comes an analysis of their relationship up to the crowning of the Habsburgs as Croatian-Hungarian rulers, finally examining their animosities during the civil war in the Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom.

Although there is much literature on the Frankapan blood line, much of that literature falls on their relations with king Matthias Corvinus and their participation in an uprising of noblemen in the mid-17th century. The literature dealing with Frankapan-Habsburg relations at the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century is not so extensive, but the foundations for further research have been laid, the most important being Milan Kruhek's research on Bernardin and Krsto Frankapan, presented in the monograph *Krsto Frankopan - with Sword and Speech for Croatia* (Modruš: Chair of the Čakavian Parliament of Modruš, 2016).

### **Trust in the Habsburgs**

The main goal of the Frankapans from the second half of the 15th century was to preserve their family estates in the face of increasingly serious Ottoman invasions and the complicated political situation in the Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom. In such circumstances, the Frankapans were forced not only to cooperate with the Hungarian-Croatian kings but also to seek outside help. The Habsburg dynasty was also more than an obvious choice for a position that could secure them the help they needed.

### **Reasons for turning to the Habsburgs**

The main reasons for turning to the Habsburgs were the problems that threatened Frankapan possessions from the outside – the Ottoman invasions, and in part the Venetian invasions, and from within – the strengthening of royal power during the reign of Matthias Corvinus and, later, the lack of effective defence of the kingdom and hence the Frankapan possessions as well.



Occasional Ottoman invasions of Croatian territory became more frequent in the second half of the 15th century. The estates of all Croatian nobles became the scene of frequent conflicts, pillaging and the enslavement of the population. This hit the Frankapans hard, whose estates stretched over a wide area from Trsat, through Lika all the way to Ozalj, and from 1449 they were no longer owned by one, but eight Frankapan family branches, which further complicated their defence.<sup>1</sup> Conflicts and quarrels often arose within the family itself due to dissatisfaction with the division of property. The second threat to the Frankapan estates came from the Venetian Republic, which had an interest in occupying the Kvarner estates, especially the island of Krk, which it succeeded in 1480 due to political turmoil in the Kingdom. The centralization of the power of Matthias Corvinus was especially directed against the nobles, including the Frankapans, whom the king especially resented for his close ties with the Venetians and his opponent in the fight for the throne, the German Emperor Frederick III. In 1469, the royal army occupied Senj to strengthen the anti-Ottoman defence system, and the king soon took Vinodol from the Frankapans. The return of these estates became the main motive of Frankapan politics until the extinction of the Ozalj lineage in the middle of the 16th century, and will be especially strong for Bernardin and Krsto Frankapan. The relationship between the Frankapans and the king was soon repaired by multiple marital ties, but the mutual relations were always on the verge of breaking up, which was seen in the re-conflict of the king with Frederick III in the 1480s. The death of Matthias Corvinus brought an end to the ruler's pressure on the nobles, but it did not return the lost possessions to the Frankapans.<sup>2</sup> The defeat at the Krbava Field showed the nobility, especially the Frankapans, as the strongest nobles in Croatia at the time, the need for financial and military assistance from outside, as it did not come enough from King Vladislaus II Jagiello.

All these challenges that the Frankapan family faced in order to preserve their acquired heritage and privileges prompted them to seek a strong ally among foreign rulers, and the most important ally of the Frankapans in the early 16th century would be the Habsburgs.

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1 Kruhek, *The Counts of Modruš, Bernardin and Krsto Frankopan - with Sword and Speech for Croatia*, p. 19 (hereinafter: *The Counts of Modruš*).

2 Budak, *Croatia and Slavonia in the Early Modern Age*, p. 14-16 (hereinafter: *Croatia and Slavonia*).



## First contacts

The first contacts with the Habsburgs came as a result of the struggle for the Hungarian-Croatian throne between supporters of the underage Matthias Corvinus and Frederick III, who was also supported by the Frankapans.

Ottoman invasions in the 1460s seriously threatened Frankapan possessions for the first time. Stephen II Frankapan, Bernardin's father and Krsto Frankapan's grandfather, went on a diplomatic mission to Venice and Rome, after the fall of Bosnia, on the king's orders to obtain defence aid, but also privately tried to find help at the court of the Margrave of Ferrara and Modena.<sup>3</sup> He did not receive the expected help, and the Frankapan estates suffered increasing damage from Ottoman incursions and looting, which in 1468 reached Modruš, one of Frankapan's most important estates, according to which the descendants of Stephen II also called themselves "Frankapans of Modruš". Therefore, Stephen II decided to seek help from the Habsburgs, i.e. from the German Emperor Frederick III, to whose court in Graz in 1469 he sent his son Bernardin, then a young man of 16, as a pledge for the help sought. Bernardin Frankapan was given the opportunity to see the then highest European politics at the imperial court and to gain, for later periods of his life, extremely important diplomatic experience, and it was recorded that he attended imperial audiences several times.<sup>4</sup>

Connecting with the Habsburgs and lobbying for help at the doge's court, brought the Frankapans into the king's disfavour. In the new conflict between Matthias Corvinus and Frederick III in the early 1480s, the Frankapans had to be on the king's side due to marital ties. After becoming the head of the family, Bernardin Frankapan devoted himself to strengthening ties with the king, but also continued the family tradition of possible reliance on the Venetians and Habsburgs in the event of a change in political circumstances in the kingdom. The changes came very quickly with the death of Matthias Corvinus, so the Frankapans briefly renewed ties with the Habsburgs, who set their sight on the Hungarian-Croatian crown. Frankapan-Habsburg ties were short this time because the throne did not ultimately belong to the Habsburgs. Since the Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom was an electoral monarchy, the nobility chose Jagiello, the Polish dynasty that

<sup>3</sup> Kruhek, *The Counts of Modruš*, p. 30-32

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*



ruled the Czech lands at the time, as the new ruler. The main reason for the election of Jagiello was the fear of the nobility of re-establishing a strong royal government under Matthias Corvinus, and the size of the state ruled by the newly elected rulers prevented centralization. The situation after the Battle of Krbava Field again prompted the Frankapans, on whose back now rested a large part of the defence of almost the entire Kingdom of Croatia, to appeal even more to the Habsburgs in order to secure support in organising their defence.<sup>5</sup>

The first Frankapan-Habsburg relations in the second half of the 15th century were mainly the result of dynastic conflicts between Hungarian-Croatian kings and German emperors. The need for support in countering Ottoman attacks on family estates became a priority that ultimately led to a growing rapprochement with the Habsburgs.

### **Attitude towards the Battle of Mohach**

Frankapan-Habsburg relations reached their peak in the first quarter of the 16th century, coinciding with a period of greatest threat to Frankapan possessions. The military service of the most prominent members of the family in the imperial army and the diplomatic activity of the Frankapans, reflect the strong ties between the two families. The Frankapans gradually became the greatest advocates of the Habsburgs as the new rulers of the Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom.

### **Bernardin Frankopan**

While his son Krsto was away from Croatia, Bernardin Frankopan had to devote himself entirely to the defence of his estates, and thus also of Croatia, in which he could do nothing but rely on himself and partly on the support of the Habsburgs.

By the early 1420s, Bernardin was already in an advanced age and less and less capable of active military and political service, but he did his best to defend the family estates. The fall of Belgrade in 1521 was a particularly worrying event because this conquest showed the seriousness of the sultan's intention to conquer the kingdom, i.e. the imminent great attack.<sup>6</sup> The Croatian nobility was not united in its ap-

5 Budak, *Croatia and Slavonia*, p. 15-16.

6 Kruhek, *Bernardin Frankopan, The Prince of Krk, Senj and Modruš - the Last European of Modruš of the Croatian Middle Ages, 1453 - 1529.*, The Modruš Almanac Vol. 3 No. 3



proach to the Ottomans due to various quarrels, which Bernardin had with some nobles, so, as, by far, the most powerful nobleman, he most-ly stood out in preparing the defence. This prompted him to seek help, traditionally, from foreign rulers. A visit to Venice in 1522 did not bring the expected result<sup>7</sup>, so he went to the Assembly of the German Nobility in Nuremberg, where he gave one of the most famous Croatian anti-Ottoman speeches before Archduke Ferdinand and Emperor Charles V. He hoped that the Habsburgs, with whom the Frankapans had had developed relations for decades, would be understanding and give him the necessary support in the fight against the Ottomans. He delivered his speech before the German classes on three occasions in November 1522.<sup>8</sup> In his speech, he stressed the need to defend Croatian lands, which are a bulwark of Europe, which was expressed in the claim that Croatia is “the shield and door of Christianity”. He did not receive the desired response from the emperor and the archduke, and thus neither the necessary help, because the Habsburgs were more preoccupied with the strengthening of Luther’s teachings than with the growing Ottoman threat. However, the archduke increased the presence of soldiers on the borders of Carniola and in the fortifications he took under the protection from the Croatian nobles.<sup>9</sup>

The intercession of Bernardine Frankapan with the German Emperor and Archduke Ferdinand led to the strengthening of closer ties with the Habsburgs, but, at the same time, showed the unwillingness of the Habsburgs to fully respond to, what were, in their eyes, at the time, second-class demands.

### Krsto Frankapan

Krsto Frankopan entered the military service of the German Emperor Maximilian at the beginning of the 16th century, which in many ways determined his later life. The relationship with the Habsburgs later, as in the case of Krsto’s father Bernardin, was largely maintained through diplomacy.

The war between the Venetian Republic and the German emperor gave Krsto the opportunity to take revenge on the Venetians for the alienation of Krk, but also for the possible return of the island to Franka-

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(2009), p. 214-216

7 *Ibid.*

8 Bernardin Frankopan of Modruš, *A Speech for Croatia (1522)*, p. 90-93

9 *Ibid.*





pan rule. The collapse of these efforts proved to be very possible during the armistice between the Venetian Republic and the emperor, but it did not last, so Krsto continued his engagement on the battlefield in Friuli and Istria. After proving himself to be an experienced and skilled warrior and commander, Krsto was given command of the imperial forces to liberate some Istrian towns from Venetian rule, which he did very successfully.<sup>10</sup> With these successes, Krsto's prestige with the emperor grew more and more, so in 1513, after several successful attacks and repulsed sieges in previous years, Krsto became the supreme military commander of the imperial army in the new war against the Republic. Krsto was assisted in the war by his father Bernardin, especially in the first years, but the focus of Bernardin's activities in that period was on the defence of family estates, especially in Lika and Pounje.<sup>11</sup> At the same time, two significant events in Krsto's life took place that affected the relationship with the Habsburgs in two ways. Frequently visiting the people on the imperial court, Krsto met Apollonia Lang, a young widow and sister of Matthias Lang, Bishop of Krk and Archbishop and Cardinal of Salzburg, and one of the emperor's closest and most influential advisers. Krsto and Apollonia were married in 1513, and with this marriage Krsto significantly strengthened his ties at Maximilian's court and entered the circle of the most privileged people loyal to the emperor. His wife bequeathed Pazin and Gorica to him, thus expanding and consolidating the Frankapan estates after a long time.<sup>12</sup> Military merits further expanded the Frankapan estates after the emperor granted Krsto the cities of Novigrad and Postojna in Istria together with the corresponding estates of the Postojna estate.<sup>13</sup>

Another important event was a period spent in Venetian captivity, from 1514 to 1519. Namely, Krsto hoped that, as a high military officer of the imperial army, he would be quickly released through the emperor's mediation. His father Bernardin, who at one point offered Venice some of his estates in exchange, the Hungarian-Croatian king and their cousin Matthias Lang, also worked to release him through diplomatic channels, but the emperor was the greatest hope for his liberation. The situation turned out to be different, so Krsto's captivity lasted for five long years, during which he first realized that, to the Habsburgs,

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10 Kruhek, *The Counts of Modruš*, p. 110-111

11 *Ibid.*

12 *Ibid.*, p. 112-113

13 *Ibid.*



their interests were above all other matters. Maximilian did not completely abandon Krsto, whose liberation he partly advocated through diplomacy, and occasionally sending letters of support and financial aid to Krsto, but the foreign policy situation did not allow concessions to Venice, which could lead to Krsto's liberation. When a truce was finally reached between the warring parties, which required the release of prisoners on both sides, the Venetians excluded their most precious prisoner from it.<sup>14</sup> Better opportunities came in 1519 when the Venetians released Krsto from Venice to Milan, where he stayed as a prisoner of the French king. The emperor's imminent death marked the end of a hope that he could be released through the emperor's mediation, which he eventually won by fleeing Milan.<sup>15</sup> One of the first things he did at liberty was to connect with the new German emperor, Charles V, who in 1521 named Krsto "Captain of Rasp and Kras". That is to say, he gave him command over the same territory he commanded under the previous emperor. The opportunity to show all his warrior skills again in the service of the Habsburgs did not arrive because a long-term truce was made with Venice, so Krsto then turned to domestic, Croatian circumstances.<sup>16</sup>

Krsto did not return to his homeland immediately, but spent some more time in imperial political circles, hoping to strengthen ties with Emperor Charles and Archduke Ferdinand. In Linz he attended the wedding of Archduke Ferdinand and Anna, the sister of the Hungarian-Croatian king Louis, and then returned to Croatia where there were increasingly difficult circumstances caused by Ottoman attacks and the fall of key fortifications in the south, which allowed the Ottomans almost unhindered attacks on Croatia and hence on the Frankapan estates. Before returning to Croatia, after realizing that his military service was no longer as good as before, he asked to be discharged from Habsburg military service, which was granted, but he remained connected to the Habsburgs via the estates he had received for his services in the war against the Venetians.<sup>17</sup> Krsto advocated strengthening the anti-Ottoman defences as much as he could with King Louis, and he gave a famous speech before the pope in 1523.<sup>18</sup> Complete disappointment in the king's defence

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14 Kartelo, *Bernardin and Krsto Frankopan*, p. 30-31

15 *Ibid.*, p. 32-35

16 Kruhek, *The Counts of Modruš*, p. 135

17 Klaić, *The History of Croats*, vol. 4., p. 394-395

18 Klaić, *The History of Croats*, vol. 4., p. 360-361



policy came after the successful siege of Jajce in June 1525, after which, despite the king's gratitude, he was publicly humiliated for not being appointed Ban of Croatia and Slavonia, as demanded by the Croatian nobility. It was a much bigger insult for Krsto that the king refused to return Senj to the Frankapans. Guided by the Frankapan example, most Croatian nobles, in the hope of military and financial assistance, began to turn to Ferdinand of Habsburg, who had previously taken under his protection a fortress that the nobility could not defend.<sup>19</sup> Together with a part of the nobility, Krsto went to the Archduke in Augsburg in the spring of 1526 to place himself under his protection. Despite refusing the request, Ferdinand appointed Nikola Jurišić supreme captain of his army in Croatia, and Krsto re-entered the military service of the House of Habsburg, believing it to be the best way of aiding the fight against the Ottomans.<sup>20</sup>

In the first two decades of the 16th century, Frankapan-Habsburg relations intensified significantly. Although there were some disagreements, the Habsburgs became the main hope of the Frankapans in their efforts to preserve family power.

### **Frankapans against the Habsburgs**

Bernardin and Krsto Frankapan became the leaders of the Croatian nobility in the period after the death of Louis II of Hungary, and with their influence they significantly contributed to Ferdinand of Habsburg gaining the support of the Croatian nobility. Such circumstances in the second half of 1526 will mark the peak of the close relations between the Frankapans and the Habsburgs, but, at the same time, due to a combination of circumstances, their sudden coup will take place as well.

### **Siding with John Zápolya**

The Battle of Mohács left the Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom without a ruler, and the division in the nobility between the Archduke's supporters and the supporters of John Zápolya, further aggravated the whole situation.

From the beginning, the Frankapans firmly held the Archduke's side, not only the Ozalj branch but also other branches of the fami-

<sup>19</sup> Kruhek, *The Counts of Modruš*, p. 143-145

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*; Kartelo, *Bernardin and Krsto Frankopan*, p. 41; Budak, *Croatia and Slavonia*, p. 18



ly. It was extremely important to Ferdinand that Krsto Frankapan, as the most powerful Croatian nobleman, and at the same time the best Croatian military leader, be on his side. Together with Captain Nikola Jurišić and Ivan Puchler, the commander of the city of Mehovo, Krsto formed Ferdinand's delegation that went to Croatia to persuade the Croatian nobility to elect the Habsburgs to the throne.<sup>21</sup> Krsto's reputation grew even more when both Croatian and Slavonian nobles proclaimed him, in September 1526 at the Parliament in Koprivnica, their *supreme leader and defender*, making him one of the central figures of the kingdom, without whose support none of the conflicting parties could do anything. Although loyal to Ferdinand, and also in his service, he had not yet fully committed himself to the Archduke, as evidenced by the rejection of the invitation of Queen Anne, Louis' widow and Ferdinand's sister, to come to a meeting in Heinburg. The main reason for his indecision was that Ferdinand did not give a clear guarantee regarding the return of Senj, and Krsto, having in mind his strong position and the power needed by both sides, wanted to get as much out of it as possible.<sup>22</sup>

At the beginning of November 1526 he met with Ferdinand in Bratislava, who then promised that Senj would return to the Frankapans and that Krsto would become the supreme commander of Hungary, but only when Ferdinand was crowned with the crown of Saint Stephen. Again, there was no clear guarantee because the conflict with John Zápolya could last.<sup>23</sup> Zápolya had the support of most of the Hungarian and Slavonian nobility, and the Hungarian nobles crowned him with the crown of Saint Stephen in early November in Székesfehérvár, so he gained a great advantage over the Habsburg side. In such circumstances, Krsto decided to change sides, and at the end of November 1526, together with the Bishop of Zagreb, Šimun Erdödy, he recognized Zápolya as his king.<sup>24</sup> The refusal to support Ferdinand was conditioned by previous experience with unfulfilled Habsburg promises, but mostly by the fact that Zápolya fulfilled all the demands regarding the return of confiscated Frankapan possessions and requested serv-

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21 Kruhek, *The Counts of Modruš*, p. 150

22 *Ibid.*, p. 151; Klaić, *The History of Croats*, vol. 5, p. 74; Ferdo Šišić, *The Election of Ferdinand I as Croatian King*, Old Croatian Enlightenment Vol. 1 No. 1-2 (1927): 22-24 (hereinafter: *The Election of Ferdinand I*).

23 Andreja Kartelo, *Bernardin and Krsto Frankopan*, p. 44.

24 Kruhek, *The Counts of Modruš*, p. 153; Šišić, *The Election of Ferdinand I*, p. 28-30



ices. Krsto thus became the Ban of Croatia and Slavonia and the supreme captain of Hungary between the Drava and the Danube rivers, and he also received money to equip the army for the war against Ferdinand. Bernardin followed his son's choice, while the other branches of the family remained on the archduke's side.<sup>25</sup>

Family and class demands brought Krsto over to Zápolya's side, positioning him in the next civil war as one of the main enemies of the Habsburgs.

### Civil war

The civil war between the two contenders for the Hungarian-Croatian throne became inevitable by the beginning of 1527, and Krsto Frankapan played a very important role in it.

The Slavonian nobility, led by Krsto, sided with John Zápolya at the Parliament in Dubrava on January 6, 1527, while the Croatian nobility had previously confirmed the decision of a small number of Hungarian nobles at the end of 1526 to elect Ferdinand of Habsburg. Zápolya was initially in a better position due to greater support from the nobility and recognition by leading European states, but he did not make the most of it. Krsto's advice to immediately act militarily while the opponent was weaker was not taken into account, so over time the balance of power became more and more equal and eventually turned in Ferdinand's favour.<sup>26</sup> The hostile relations with the Habsburgs did not bring Krsto the expected success because, due to the obligations assigned to him and the gathering of Zápolya's army, he was less and less able to defend his possessions, and in lack of money he was forced to mortgage them. Although aware that the transition to Zápolya's side was a bad tactical move, Krsto remained in Zápolya's service and continued preparations for a conflict with Ferdinand's forces.<sup>27</sup>

The first major conflicts occurred in early September 1527, when part of Ferdinand's forces reached Varaždin. After several successes in open skirmishes, Krsto decided to conquer the Varaždin fortress, which, although the rest of the city surrendered, was still held by Ferdinand's supporters. At the same time, Zápolya was under heavy pressure in Hungary, so he invited Krsto to come with the army, but Krsto

25 Klaić, *The History of Croats*, vol. 5, p. 78

26 Šišić, *The Election of Ferdinand I*, p. 40-43; Kruhek, *The Counts of Modruš*, p. 153.

27 Kruhek, *The Counts of Modruš*, p. 153-154





did not want to leave unfinished business. However, in preparation for the siege, he was hit by a cannonball and died of his wounds on September 27, 1527.<sup>28</sup> Krsto's death facilitated Ferdinand's victory in Slavonia, while the Ozalj branch of the Frankapan was brought almost to extinction. The aged and disabled Bernardin Frankapan had no choice but to recognize Ferdinand as king. Surviving his sons, in his will, he bequeathed all the family estates to the king, until the grandson of Stjepan reached the age of majority, which the king accepted and appointed Nikola Jurišić as the manager of the Frankapan estates after Bernardin's death.<sup>29</sup> With this, Frankapan-Habsburg relations were normalized again, but they will never have the same strength and role as before the civil war.

Participation in the civil war brought the Frankapans a sudden weakening of power and the loss of many estates, resulting in the loss of primacy among the Croatian nobility in the following decades.

## Conclusion

Frankapan-Habsburg relations at the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th century, especially expressed in military-political issues in the first quarter of the 16th century, arose as a result of complex processes that affected the historic Croatian lads in the late Middle Ages. Firstly, it was the increasingly larger Ottoman threat that threatened the Croatian nobility, especially magnates like the Frankapans, their possessions and thus their existence, and the strengthening of royal power of Matthias Corvinus, then the weakening of Jagiellonian royal power, which weakened the defence of the Hungarian-Croatian Kingdom. The Frankapans are an example of a noble family that is forced, unable to effectively deal with these threats on its own, to seek outside help, which in the Frankapan case is represented by the Habsburgs. From the first and weakest ties with the Habsburgs in the second half of the 15th century, the relations of the two families in the first decades of the 16th century gradually reached their peak. Bernardin and, in particular, Krsto Frankapan, are the main protagonists of the increasingly strong positioning alongside the Habsburgs, which is achieved through military service and diplomatic seeking of help in

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28 Klaić, *History of the Croats*, p. 100-102; Budak, Strecha, Kušelj, *The Habsburgs and the Croats*, p. 45

29 Kruhek, *The Counts of Modruš*, p. 81-82



defending their estates. The Frankapan course of action was gradually accepted by other Croatian nobles, so the Habsburgs became the main hope of the Croatian classes in their protection from the Ottomans. The relationship between the Frankapans and the Habsburgs became especially important for the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia at the time of the election of the new king in the mid-1520s, when the Frankapans, embodied by Krsto Frankapan, were in the role of the main advocates and later the main supporters of John Zápolya. Short-term participation in the civil war for the Hungarian-Croatian throne left severe consequences on the Frankopans, who were left without heirs and much of their former power, but also on the Kingdom of Croatia-Slavonia, which became a much easier target for Ottoman conquests. Taken as a whole, the attachment of the Frankapans to the Habsburgs ultimately had negative consequences for them, but made it easier for the latter to ascend the throne.

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# THE TWO VICTORIAS – THE CONSTRAINED AND THE STRONG-WILLED

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Submitted: March 1<sup>st</sup>, 2021  
Accepted: April 25<sup>th</sup>, 2021

*The life of the most depicted and written about monarchs, Queen Victoria, was full of twists that set her life on a path that she would never walk by herself, but always accompanied by shadow figures such as her mother, Sir Conroy or even her own husband, in the game of power, dominance and even love. Her life could be divided into two parts. One that depicts a disturbing portrayal of her as the most powerful woman of her times who was also controlled by the aforementioned figures, and the other of a woman finally liberated from all the ties constraining her freedom. This article traces and analyses events in Victoria's life that shaped her character and constituted the feeling of constraint, and events that inevitably led her to being liberated from them and allowing to show her strong will and character.*

**Keywords:** *Queen Victoria, the Kensington System, Prince Albert, John Brown, Munshi*

## Introduction

The role of a monarch is not an easy one. It requires much strength and a well-balanced mind that will be able to hold the responsibilities of the tasks that lie ahead. Within royal families, when the succession is set and the next in line is determined there is no surprise as to what to expect and which way the royal education should be carried out. However, when looking back to times of Queen Victoria and her predecessor, William IV, this was not as obvious state matter as one might expect. The legacy of the British monarchy was not so easily decided and the next in line was yet to be appointed. Such was the air of Victoria's birth. From the very moment of her birth on 24<sup>th</sup> May 1819, her life was to be decided by others. This article aims to analyse different moments from Queen Victoria's life that influenced her as a person, as well as to show how the conditions she was raised in and that were also predominant during her marriage shaped her and led Victo-



ria to being more dominant and strong-willed in her later years. Only by understanding the constraints that were prevalent in Victoria's life are we able to understand how important it was for her to feel liberated, no longer controlled or even manipulated later on.

Depending upon which aspect the historians focus on, they can look for works referring to Victoria's political achievements and struggles, relationship with Prince Albert, her children, John Brown or Abdul Karim. The published works, both modern findings and those contemporary to Victoria, provide the reader with various angles from which her life is analysed. There are indeed some works which tend to evade particular aspects of Victoria's life by merely mentioning certain uncomfortable moments or even omitting them. This approach, common in early years after Victoria's death, was taken simply to glorify the persona of a perfect monarch. When reading Longford's *Victoria R.I.*, one receives a detailed description of almost every single day in Victoria's life. The more modern book by Lucy Worsley, *Queen Victoria, Daughter, Wife, Mother, Widow* has a very approachable style, making it easy to take in the history without being overwhelmed by the excessive number of facts and data that at times do not bring much to the general understanding of the discussed topic. Yet, it is the reader who, in the end, must draw the conclusion rather than be presented with the findings of the author.

This article does not focus on what one commonly understands as biography but rather on certain aspects, moments, events from Victoria's life that shaped her character. The many widely available accounts describing the Queen's life and addressing numerous events allow the close analysis of factors that turned a young, vivacious, yet controlled girl into a monarch who had to find her own way to liberate herself from various limits set by the morals of the time or by her own family. The aim of this article is to present selected moments that allow the understanding of how dominated the life of young Victoria was and on top of that how this controlled environment affected her later decisions.

### **Victoria - the constrains of family**

The very first, and perhaps the most important, event that led to irreversible change in Victoria's character was the death of Prince Edward, her father. This unfortunate circumstance created a situation





that left a mother and an infant in a very perplexing setting. This left them prone to influence and the ambitions of others such as John Conroy - a man who sought social advancement all his life. The Duchess, a German, remained quite unpopular in Britain and grew very close with Conroy. She depended on him in all aspects concerning her life – from being her private secretary, counsellor, political agent, confidant, even to, as some rumoured, being her lover. Together they designed a rather adverse way of raising Victoria called “the Kensington System” or simply “the System”.<sup>1</sup> It was a vast, refined and quite hostile set of rules that were to oppress and control the life of Princess Victoria in every possible manner. The System assumed a complete isolation from her surroundings, even the family. It allowed only a select few to be around the young Victoria. The aim was to mould the Princess into a person utterly weak and dependent on her mother and subsequently on Conroy himself.<sup>2</sup> Victoria’s every step was closely monitored, her every action controlled. If it were possible, her thoughts would have been subjected to strict scrutiny as well. Once it became apparent that she would eventually inherit the throne, Conroy implemented an even more vile approach trying to force his appointment as her personal secretary and treasurer. The System introduced a rigorous regime consisting of day-long studies in decorum, reading, writing, as well as learning languages such as Greek, Latin, Italian, French and German. It also aimed to create a specific public image of Victoria. Conroy, aware of the unpopularity of the previous kings, wanted young Victoria to be perceived as pure, devoted, and modest.<sup>3</sup> Thus, together with the Duchess, they would set out on the so-called tours around Britain with a main goal to make the nation grow fond of their future Queen – the Nation’s Hope.<sup>4</sup> The outside observer might perceive the System as a clever strategy. However, Victoria, unlike any other girl of her age, was subdued to public scrutiny, especially during her social debut. She spent the summer of 1835 on one of the perfectly staged tours meant to introduce the Princess to the affection of the English people. Meanwhile, behind closed doors, Victoria suffered great physical and mental pain. She found it difficult to cope with the hormonal chan-

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1 Vallone, Lynne (2001) *Becoming Victoria*. New York: Yale University Press. p. 47.

2 Ibid, p. 59.

3 Ibid, p. 61-62.

4 Worsley, Lucy (2018) *Queen Victoria: daughter, wife, mother, widow*. London: Hodder & Stoughton. p. 58.



ges, as well as the constant observation of her person and manner. She suffered from migraines and exhaustion; always on display, on duty, never left alone.<sup>5</sup>

When holidaying at Ramsgate, Victoria felt too sick and unable to leave her bedroom for two days. Nonetheless, the illness was not the worst that would happen to Victoria. The most dramatic and poisonous blow fell upon her from the sight of her mother, and Conroy himself who wanted to use this situation and have her agree to make him Private Secretary and chief advisor. Conroy even threatened to lock up Victoria if she did not agree to follow his instructions.<sup>6</sup> Yet, she resisted. With the support of the devoted Baroness Lehzen, Victoria did not succumb to the bullying and eventually, after three long weeks, managed to overcome the illness. The historians do not agree whether Victoria suffered from typhoid fever, which was common at that time, or from salmonella. Nevertheless, the ultimate treatment of quinine gave the anticipated results and Victoria finally resumed writing her journal. The disastrous holidays in Ramsgate showed not only how malignant the System was, but also made Victoria completely change her view of her mother. She had always despised Conroy, but now, seeing how he had poisoned her mother, Victoria turned against the Duchess and never regained trust in her. She could not understand how her own mother “did nothing without Conroy’s advice & whatever was told by him”.<sup>7</sup> Through the above description of Victoria’s early to teenage years, it is easy to observe how manipulative and controlling her surrounding was. Even people who were supposed to be the loved ones, closest to her, had an underlying agenda in their actions that was to create a future queen dependent on them so they could, in time, profit from having a marionette sitting on the throne. Indeed, the constrained environment did not allow any space for a healthy development of the young girl. Sadly, such a limited space continued to exist later in Victoria’s life, even within the marriage to Prince Albert.

Victoria, for whom marriage was a shocking alternative<sup>8</sup> to living in a proximity of her mother, married Albert of Saxe-Coburg and Gotha at the age of 21. Indeed, unlike other royal marriages, this one was based on actual affection they shared and not only political ambitions. Vic-

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5 Ibid, p. 60.

6 Ibid, p. 65.

7 RA VIC/ADDA/12, part three 8-13 June 1837 as found in Worsley, Lucy, op. cit., p. 69.

8 Woodham-Smith, Cecil (1972) *Queen Victoria*. New York: Black Five Books, p. 175.



toria was in love. When reading her diaries she had kept throughout her whole life, we see a woman completely submissive, reliant on her Angel, as she called her husband. The quote below perfectly depicts the emotions the two shared and how Victoria herself described the love she had for him. which also indicates the blinding affection the Queen had.

we embraced each other over and over again, and he was so kind,  
So affectionate; oh! To feel I was, and am, loved by such an Angel  
As Albert, was too great delight to describe! He is perfection; perfection  
In every way, - in beauty - in everything! I told him I was  
Quite unworthy of him and kissed his dear hand.<sup>9</sup>

The above passage that was recorded before the wedding depicts young love, but it is already visible how Victoria saw herself – as unworthy. This belief and attitude will be perceived till the very end. Even in her marriage vows, contrary to suggestions, when “the archbishop asked Victoria if she promised to ‘obey’ her husband, he got a strong, loud, positive response”.<sup>10</sup>

Albert was Victoria’s Angel. However, as a man of knowledge and strong character, it was difficult for Albert to find himself a position within the household that would not be diminutive. In his letter to William von Lowenstein, Albert wrote that indeed he was “very happy and contented; but the difficulty in filling my place with the proper dignity is that I am only the husband, not the master in the house”.<sup>11</sup> With this dissatisfaction of his position held, Prince Albert tried to overtake some of Victoria’s duties as he felt himself to be better acquainted with matters concerning ruling. This was a predominant case as two months into their marriage, Victoria became pregnant. She found this new state extremely difficult to bear as she did not have quite the appeal towards raising children. For her, having offspring was a burden, an unwelcome consequence of the passionate moments she had with her husband. It was during her first pregnancy when Victoria fell dependant on Albert and allowed him to share the heaviness of daily dealing with the boxes, ministerial visits and many other issues connected with governing the country. Albert found this new position welcoming and slowly began overpowering his wife in her duties. He made Victoria completely dependent on him. When he was

9 As quoted in *The life of Queen Victoria and Prince Albert* [online]; <https://www.goethe.de/ins/gb/en/kul/ser/arc/vll/21618114.html>

10 Worsley, Lucy, op. cit., p. 145.

11 Albert to William von Lowenstein, May 1840, as quoted in Hobhouse, Hermione (1983) *Prince Albert: His Life and Work*. London: SN Books Ltd. p. 26.



away, she could hardly bear it. Quite often she noted in her memoirs: “I feel lonely without my dear Master”, “I pray God never let me to survive him”.<sup>12</sup> “He is King to all intents and purposes... while she has the title he is really discharging the function of the Sovereign”; “Formerly the Queen received the Ministers alone, but now husband and wife did it together, and both of them always said We – We think, or wish, to do so and so”.<sup>13</sup> Politically and domestically she leant on him completely. This only proves how deeply the control was engraved in her. She moved from one source of constraint, which was her mother and Conroy, to another one – her husband. With time, he managed to gain such a great impact on the Queen that he was referred to as a “king-in-all-but-name”.<sup>14</sup> Under his guidance “the crown constantly desired to be furnished with accurate and detailed information about all important matters”.<sup>15</sup> He wanted to make sure he could hold the ministers to account in every aspect. It was he who devised a complicated system of filing all notes. Albert believed he could not delegate his work to anyone else and he fully devoted himself to running the country apart from running his family and participating in many duties he was chosen to or he himself had undertaken. With this vision in mind, he also found a role for his wife – a role that was far from being what Victoria was – a mother rather than a queen. Even though Victoria detested being pregnant and simply could not bear looking after the children, he felt that they kept her occupied enough for him to assume more duties.<sup>16</sup> During a decade of pregnancies, Victoria’s mental state underwent dreadful changes with instances of postnatal depression. Seeing the state of disintegration that Victoria was in, the surrounding people treated her with a mixture of toxic concern and control. This was especially visible in Albert’s attempts to control her emotions when commenting on her behaviour “You have again lost your self-control quite unnecessarily”, “I do my duty towards you even though it means that life is embittered by scenes”.<sup>17</sup> Such situations led to Victoria slowly checking her feelings to avoid any further clashes with Albert. In times when the arguments between Victoria and Albert were over

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12 Martin, Theodore (1880) *The Life of His Royal Highness the Prince Consort 1819-1861* Cambridge University Press. Vol. 1-5. p. 276.

13 Greville, Charles (1885) *The Greville Memoirs: A Journal of the Reign of Queen Victoria from 1837 to 1852*, London. Vol. 2/3. p. 323. [online]; <https://archive.org/details/cu31924088004225>

14 Worsley, Lucy, op. cit., p. 167.

15 Weintraub, Stanley (1997) *Uncrowned King: The Life of Prince Albert*. New York: The Free Press. p. 352.

16 Worsley, Lucy, op. cit., p. 171.

17 RA VIC/MAIN/Z/140/60-3 as found in Worsley, Lucy, op. cit., p. 172.



their children, he could be extremely bitter, unfair and devastating, commenting that he “shall have nothing more to do with it; take the child away and do as you like and if she dies you will have it on your conscience”.<sup>18</sup> These are obviously not words of a loving, devoted, kind man that Victoria described in her journals. It is obvious that Victoria saw only what she wanted to see and thus, she pictured a life of love, devotion and generosity. She did not see that her personal desires at one point became subordinate to his. “My chief and great anxiety is – peace in the House...”<sup>19</sup> – she wrote after one of Albert’s outbursts. One can easily claim that Victoria submitted herself to her husband in the very same way her mother submitted herself to Conroy, thus continuing the life of constraint and control.

Another example showing the conflicted and quite restrained environment Victoria was in relates to her beloved governess, Baroness Lehzen, who was the only person that Victoria could relate to in her young days. She took care of her, literally raised her and was the only counterweight to the System. However, she was highly detested by Prince Albert as he had always perceived Lehzen as a rival for Victoria’s love, as the one who attracted all the attention. According to Hibbert, there could be no question of Lehzen’s devotion and love for the Queen. Nonetheless, with time, this admiration grew to extreme jealousy and conviction that “no one but she could take proper care of the Queen as she had done in the past”.<sup>20</sup> The constant disagreement over the person of Baroness Lehzen caused many arguments between Prince Albert and the Queen. As Albert noted, “All the disagreeableness I suffer comes from one and the same person and that is precisely the person whom Victoria chooses for her friend and confidante... Victoria is too hasty and passionate for me to be able often to speak of my difficulties. She will not hear me out but flies into a rage and overwhelms me with reproaches and suspiciousness, want of trust, ambition, envy etc. There are therefore, two open ways to me: (1) to keep silence and go away... (2) I can be still more violent (and then we have scenes...)”.<sup>21</sup> Thus, at the end of 1842 he designed Lehzen’s departure from Windsor and albeit very sad and broken, Victoria had to again bend her character to the dominant’s will.<sup>22</sup>

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18 RA VIC/ADD/U2/4 18 January 1842 as found in Worsley, Lucy, *op. cit.*, p. 173.

19 RA VIC/ADD/U2/4 19 January 1842 as found in Worsley, Lucy, *op. cit.*, p. 174.

20 Hibbert, Christopher, *op. cit.*, p. 155.

21 RA/ADD U2/2, 16 January 1842 as found in Worsley, Lucy, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

22 Hibbert, Christopher, *op. cit.*, p. 155.





In all this, Victoria always declared herself grateful to Albert for all his work and relieving her from the tiresome duties. For this reason, it felt easy for Victoria to succumb to the many changes that Albert introduced in the royal household. The manner of Albert's behaviour stemmed from his German upbringing, his love for order and sense in everything that was done. He did not enjoy being close to the household, thus, he distanced himself and his family from those who surrounded them as much as possible. He was claimed to be cold, stiff, even unpleasant. He introduced self-control and regime, not only in regard to himself, but also to Victoria and the children. He made Victoria keep a notebook where she recorded her tempers and other behaviours he deemed as unwelcome and which he would later read and issue comments. He dealt with Victoria the very same way he would deal with his children in terms of behavioural correctness. Even though the constant adoration toward her husband is visible in Victoria's journals, it is certain he made her feel inferior to him in terms of intellect and morals. It was far from a marriage of equals. Indeed, Victoria was the Queen, however, in all other aspects, she was made to feel inadequate and subordinate. In moments of ill-temper, Albert would punish Victoria with withdrawal to his rooms where he would devote himself to even more work.<sup>23</sup> Despite being treated by him in such a harsh way, in her own words to her daughter, Vicky, Victoria stated "no one could be as blessed as she with such a husband: he was her father, protector, guide, adviser in all and everything; she might even say her mother as well as her husband."; "no-one was ever so completely altered in every way as she had been by her dearest husband's blessed influence".<sup>24</sup>

Taking into consideration all of the above presented facts, one receives quite an unusual portrayal of Victoria. On one hand, the Queen of a vast empire, successful in many fields and on the other hand, a woman completely overpowered and governed, initially by her own mother and her accomplice, and later cast into a blind submission by her controlling and authoritative husband. Astonishingly enough, even after Albert's death, Victoria remained, in the eyes of the nation, devoted and loyal to the memory of her late husband who died December 14, 1861 to typhoid fever. Albert died in the Blue Room, in the presence of the Queen and five

23 Ridley, Jane (2017) *Victoria and Albert: a marriage of misery?* [online]; <https://www.historyextra.com/period/victorian/queen-victoria-marriage-prince-albert-unhappy-husband/>

24 Fulford, Roger (1968) *Dearest Child: Letters Between Queen Victoria and the Royal Princess 1858-1867*, p. 44. [online]; <https://archive.org/details/dearestchildpriv0000vict>



of their nine children. This death left Victoria extremely devastated and made her close herself off. She wore black for the rest of her life becoming known as “the Widow of Windsor”.<sup>25</sup> During the time after Albert’s death, her weight increased significantly as the result of comfort eating which she turned to once there were no watching and controlling eyes from her husband. This secluded her even more from the public eye.<sup>26</sup>

The constrain that accompanied Victoria through her life shaped her relationship with her children. The limited and strict upbringing Victoria was subjected to created a web of oppression and restraint that came to life with the birth of her children and continued to overshadow her decisions. It is widely acknowledged and agreed upon by many historians such as Hibbert, Longford, or even Worsley, that the Queen, even though she gave birth to nine children, was not a fond and dotting mother, as she considered pregnancy as an unwanted, sad result of an intimate relationship with Prince Albert. She very much enjoyed this relationship as she often proved herself to be passionate and ultimately devoted to her Angel. As a result of this great affection, she conceived distressingly soon after the wedding. Once Victoria realised this she remarked “I was in for it at once & furious I was”; “the greatest horror of having children and would rather have none”.<sup>27</sup> She described herself when pregnant as “ugly & enormously fat, more like a barrel than anything else”<sup>28</sup>.

Within seventeen years, Victoria gave birth to nine children – five girls: Victoria (1840), Alice (1843), Helena (1846), Louise (1848), and Beatrice (1857); and four boys: Albert (1841), Alfred (1844), Arthur (1850), and Leopold (1853). When Vicky was born, Victoria was greatly disappointed by the child being a girl, as she knew that now she would have to get pregnant again to produce a male heir to the throne. According to her “it would have been better politics to have produced a male heir straight away, as she and Albert had so hoped and wished for. We were, I am afraid, sadly disappointed”.<sup>29</sup>

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25 Hobhouse, Hermione (1983) *Prince Albert: His Life and Work*. London: SN Books Ltd. p. 150-151.

26 Ridley, Jane (2017) *Forty years of comfort-eating* [online]; <https://www.spectator.co.uk/article/forty-years-of-comfort-eating>

27 As quoted in Pakula, Hannah (1997) *An Uncommon Woman*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson. p.104.

28 RA VIC/MAIN/QVLB/ 10 November 1840 as found in Worsley, Lucy (2018) *Queen Victoria: daughter, wife, mother, widow*. London: Hodder & Stoughton. p. 151.

29 As quoted in Woodham-Smith, Cecil (1972) *Queen Victoria*. New York: Black Five Books. p. 216-217.



To Victoria, her children were those who kept her dear Albert away from her. At one point she stated, “all the numerous children are as nothing to me when he is away; it seems as if the whole life of the house and home were gone”.<sup>30</sup> “I find no special pleasure or compensation in the company of children, I only feel properly a *mon aise* & quite happy when Albert is with me” as she carried on expressing her feelings.<sup>31</sup> After each pregnancy, Victoria retreated from the politics more and more, becoming more dependent on her husband. When she gave birth to Vicky, she did return to her state quite swiftly. However, after giving birth to Bertie, she suffered rather severe postnatal depression, “my poor nerves were so battered... I suffered a whole year from it”.<sup>32</sup> The Queen experienced vision impairment “spots on people, which turned into worms”, “coffins floated before her eyes”.<sup>33</sup> Victoria understood that her mental state was an illness that came and went but was distinctly connected with pregnancies. She clearly addressed the discomfort of being pregnant so quickly, however, Albert persisted on having more children. He also hoped that they would occupy the Queen to such an extent that they would allow him to assume more power and responsibility, moving the Queen away from these duties at the same time.<sup>34</sup>

All of the above paints Victoria in a completely different light to what the readers of common works or commercial film viewers are accustomed to. In a more recent ITV Series *Victoria*<sup>35</sup>, the Queen is presented in a more approachable way. This created a vision of a lost girl controlled in every step by her mother and her accomplice, and later on by Albert who, albeit quiet, was able to make Victoria more compliant with his opinions and wishes. Nevertheless, with time, she emerged as a woman driven by physical passion towards her husband, willing of her own accord, to become submissive and agreeing to ascend to an inferior role to that of her husband’s. Still a Queen in name,

30 Benson, Arthur Christopher, Esher, Reginald Brett (1908) *The Letters of Queen Victoria. A selection from Her Majesty's correspondence between the years 1837 and 1861*. Vol.1-3/3. London. p. 240. [online]; <https://archive.org/details/lettersqueenvic00bensgoog>

31 As quoted in Ponsonby, Frederick, edited by Welch, Colin (1951) *Recollections of Three Reigns: Prepared for the Press with Notes and an Introduction by Colin Welch*. London: Staples Printers, p. 85. [online]; <https://archive.org/details/recollectionsoft0000pons/page/n7/mode/2up>

32 Weintraub, Stanley, op. cit., p. 137.

33 Worsley, Lucy, op. cit., p. 172.

34 Ibid, p. 171.

35 *Victoria*, (2016-2018), Created by Daisy Goodwin, ITV



but more often a Hausfrau to her Albert. Throughout the years of their marriage, she showed herself to be extremely emotional and vivacious which had to be trimmed down by her husband. She enjoyed his company. However, she did not so much enjoy the company of their children. The constant control she had been subjected to as a child in later years turned into resentment of her own children and, after Albert's death, an obsessive control of them that lasted till Victoria's death in 1901. She made sure that her children always remembered she was not only their mother but also their Sovereign, so while they could rebel against their mother they could not do so against their Queen. The constraints, if no longer having a human face, were still there and were never to fully cease.

It is quite visible to even those who are not well read, and to those who share a keener eye into the life of the glorified Queen, that her life up to the death of her husband was subjected to different forms of control - her mother and sir Conroy, Lehzen, Prince Albert, and even Lord M. Thus, it is not a surprise that once Victoria was left without the guidance of her beloved husband, to whom she submitted so willingly, she was lost, as if she were a small child without parental guidance. However, faced with this new, solitary situation, the Queen had to accept it in some way. She no longer felt the need to be told what to do, reminded what is right or should be done. As always, headstrong, she was more eager now to express her own will and whims, her passions and wants, her acceptance or disapprovals. She did remain faithful to the memory of her beloved husband, adorning herself in black. However, as the words below will show, she became liberated, free, more expressive of herself. Her constraining knots were no longer there - only the memory of the past people looming in her head were able to limit her, but that too was to fade away.

### **Victoria - the strong-willed woman**

With time passing and the sorrow overwhelming her after Albert's death diminished, Victoria set her mind onto one thing vital for her - to continue in an unchanged way the life's work of her husband. In her work, she continued to idolise Albert and remained obedient to the idea that her husband had represented. She would be restless, even furious at the sole thought of any kind of intrusion to her plan, stron-



gly expressing herself - "I am anxious to repeat one thing and that one is my firm resolve, my irrevocable decision, that his wishes – his plans – about everything, his views about everything are to be my law! And no human power will make me swerve from what he decided and wished".<sup>36</sup> Thus, she became restless and unbreakable. Once she set her mind upon something, she was unwilling to change. Nevertheless, this glorified devotion separated her immensely from her nation - a nation that was undergoing changes and needed their Queen.

With time, and with all her children somehow settled in somewhat convenient marriages, Victoria regained her balance and optimism. The devastating loss of her husband dwindled down to a permanent ache. She was now ready to enter what would later be known as the Golden Age, a new stage in her life; a stage that was accompanied by new companions and new emotions. One such new companion who assisted the Queen with her everyday life in more of a behind the scenes way rather than an openly public way, was one of Albert's ghillies, John Brown, who accompanied the couple on many visits to Balmoral, Scotland. They were simply charmed by the marvellous and magical scenery of the woods and hills, and Victoria developed a strong emotional connection with the Scottish people.<sup>37</sup> For the Queen, John Brown became more than just a servant – a confidant or a partner to the prosaic life, someone who shared her passions and was truly devoted to her. With time, Brown's name began dominating Victoria's journals and he became known as the Queen's Highland Servant. He was to take orders only from the Queen herself and no one else could interfere.<sup>38</sup> His appearance and character were domineering as he was quite direct and confident in his manners. He often addressed the Queen with the word *woman*, ordering her to sit still while he was fastening her in her saddle.<sup>39</sup> On one occasion, a passer-by heard Brown shouting at the Queen while pinning her cloak to hold her head up. However, Victoria did not seem to mind. On the contrary, she felt admired and cherished, protected, and comforted by this honest and open man. He

36 RA VIC/Letters, III, 1908, p. 474-5. as found in Benson, Arthur Christopher, Esher, Reginald Brett (1908) *The Letters of Queen Victoria. A selection from Her Majesty's correspondence between the years 1837 and 1861*. Vol.1-3/3. London, [online]; <https://archive.org/details/lettersqueenvic00bensgoog>

37 Ashdown, Dulcie (1975) *Queen Victoria's Family*, London: Robert Hale & Company p. 76-77.

38 Ibid, p. 130.

39 Longford, Elizabeth (1966) *Victoria R.I.* London: Pan Books. p. 406.





was sympathising, understanding and unselfish. He was a friend that Victoria needed at that time.<sup>40</sup> It is noticeable that Brown's presence helped to improve Victoria's wellbeing. She did feel a bit uncomfortable in the beginning, but she came to terms with the fact that she needed a man to lean on, not to marry; a man, not a machine; someone who would share her worries and could take care of her.<sup>41</sup> It was more than obvious that the Queen was perhaps infatuated with Brown. There was gossip circulating that stated Victoria had secretly married her servant and was referred to in elegant drawing-rooms as Mrs Brown.<sup>42</sup> Even though the public was widely commenting on the character of Brown, Victoria remained naïve and oblivious to all the gossip and even kept providing fresh evidence supporting the stories. Many scholars would agree that she did share some warm feelings towards him in her own way, however, it is difficult to state whether she loved him or not. He treated her as a woman whereas everyone else treated her as a queen. All this kept her further away from her family. The closer she was with John Brown, the more distant she became from her children. The fact that he had such an immense impact on the Queen was quite disturbing for the family and the closest circle. In her letter to the Queen, Mrs M.A. Murray writes asking her 'dear Queen' to step down and let her beloved son act as a regent as long as Victoria is alive. The criticism was vast and seemed never-ending. It was unthinkable that a servant would come before any member of the family – whether in a royal household or otherwise. The Queen's advisers were desperate. No one could force her to change her mind. No one could force her to sacrifice Brown in order to put an end to the rumours and the storm within her family.<sup>43</sup> Indeed, Brown spoke freely to Victoria's children and oftentimes ordered them the very same way he ordered the Queen to keep her composure. He quarrelled with Prince Alfred, ministers, and Private Secretaries; however, he was never the one to apologize the first. Victoria knew of all this, but she preferred to turn a blind eye.<sup>44</sup> She was finally free from the conveniences created by her controlling mother and her husband. Victoria no longer had to abide by the opinions and wishes of those who surrounded her. Finally, no

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40 Ashdown, Dulcie, *op. cit.*, p.130.

41 Longford, Elizabeth, *op. cit.*, p. 409.

42 *Ibid*, p. 409.

43 *Ibid*, p. 413.

44 Hibbert, Christopher, *op. cit.*, p. 326.



one was trying to manipulate her into acting in a certain way or take over the power in her hands. She had someone by her side who did not wish any of the power or influence. It is true that John Brown helped Victoria go through the unhappy years after Albert's death. However, he rooted himself quite deeply within the Queen's life. On the rare occasions when she would drive out in London, the people could see the same man constantly occupying the driver's seat. He would even attend the more important public outings. On one occasion, when the ministers asked the Queen to be present at a review in Hyde Park, she insisted much to the ministers' dismay, to be accompanied by Brown. The Queen declared that she would not be dictated or made to alter any of her plans.<sup>45</sup> This perfectly depicts the change that happened in the character of the Queen. She no longer blindly agreed to the decisions made by others, but finally, freely made her own choices whether liked by others or not. Brown was seen by others as a coarse animal behaving quite roughly towards the Queen. However, she felt perfectly comforted around him. In the book written by the Queen herself, *Leaves from the Journal of Our Life in the Highlands*, published in 1868, she depicts Brown quite prominently. She states at one point that "his attention, care and faithfulness cannot be exceeded, and the state of my health, which of late years has been sorely tried and weakened, renders such qualifications most valuable and indeed most needful".<sup>46</sup> In March 1883 John Brown got infected with erysipelas which made him unable to attend to the Queen for the first time in eighteen years. Two days later he died, leaving Victoria heartbroken, what she described in her journal: "The comfort of my daily life is gone – the void is terrible – the loss is irreparable".<sup>47</sup>

Victoria, with her strong character unwilling to bend or follow someone's expectations, had the extraordinary gift of enjoying unique relationships with her servants. Her journals, later transcribed by her daughter Beatrice, bear many names of servants such as dressers and

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45 Ibid

46 RA/QV, note to entry for 16 Sept. 1850 as found in Victoria, Queen of Great Britain, edited by Helps, Arthur (1868) *Leaves from the journal of our life in the Highlands, from 1848 to 1861 [microform]: to which are prefixed and added extracts from the same journal giving an account of earlier visits to Scotland, and tours in England and Ireland, and yachting excursions*. New York: Harpers and Brothers Publishers [online]; <https://archive.org/details/leavesfromjourna0000vict>

47 Baird, Julia (2016) *Victoria the Queen: An Intimate Biography of a Woman*. London: Random House. p. 406.



maids Singer, Peneyvre, Skerret, and Dehler<sup>48</sup> who became more than just regular servants, but rather enjoyed the position of confidants. That is why it was only natural for the Queen that a few years after the death of her John Brown another servant appeared next to her. This time, however, it was even more difficult for the family to stomach their mother's choice for she found closeness and understanding, or even shared maternal feelings towards an Indian male servant, Abdul Karim. With time they grew quite close, and Karim was bestowed the title of 'Munshi'. She showered him with trinkets, gifts and even land. Her zest for life was again awoken by this new figure in her life and she was unwilling to give in to the constant allusions of her family regarding the conduct of Munshi. Victoria felt free again and was willing to pursue new passions, especially when she became known as the Empress of India in 1876. In August 1887, Karim started teaching Hindustani to the Queen – "I am learning a few words in Hindustani. It is a great interest to me for both the language and the people, I have naturally never come into real contact with before".<sup>49</sup> Indian curries cooked for the Queen by Munshi expanded her interest in the culture and people of India in a most delightful way. In the craze of the coming Golden Jubilee, this slim and clever character again stirred the imagination of the royal environment with the same if not a bigger magnitude than John Brown had done years earlier. It is applaudable that the Queen brought dark-skinned people to the court, hence banishing any racial prejudice. However, Karim's person became more than just an example of racial equality. Victoria arranged for him to have a seat among her ladies-in-waiting, entrusted him with private correspondence and even some confidential papers which raised serious concerns among the ministers and the family. Her behaviour again showed more of her character rather than the suggested approach of such a conservative family. She was no longer willing to stand the insinuations or even open attacks on her servant and reacted with fierce anger, thus expressing her emotions and unbreakable character even more sternly.<sup>50</sup> She desperately needed someone to love, and, in Karim, she found a substitution of a son that would love her no matter what, unlike her real children.<sup>51</sup> Victoria expressed her love as well as

48 Worsley, Lucy, *op. cit.*, p. 278.

49 Hibbert, Christopher, *op. cit.*, p. 446.

50 *Ibid.*, p. 451.

51 Worsley, Lucy, *op. cit.*, p. 313.



her need to be loved and understood instead of being constantly ordered and subjected to the power struggle around her.


## Conclusion

The life of Queen Victoria presents a variety of fields upon which one could focus their research. Even though her life was full of dominating people, submission and strong willingness, Victoria was not willing to fully give herself up and let herself be controlled, especially in her later life, and managed to survive in many different conditions. The turbulence of Victoria's life, both political as well as private, gives food for more than just a short analysis. Studying different aspects of her life, the attitude towards her ministers, the intricate and difficult relations she had with her own children, the intimacy of her relationship with Albert and even the ill mother-daughter relationship she shared with the Duchess of Kent can be the source of many more academic as well as non-academic publications. The available works of major names as Hibbert, Longford, Worsley, Strachey and many more, create a world that allows the reader to learn and meet Victoria not only as a Queen but also as a passionate woman, educated female opposing the feministic movements yet giving grounds to the same movements by her own work and strength. Through the available sources emerges a picture showing how certain events affected Victoria and her character. It is also easy for the reader to see how the conditions in which the Queen was raised shaped her and later in her life affected the many relationships she had. First part of Victoria's life was filled with control, submissiveness, and dysfunctional family relationships. Her later life depicts her as a woman driven by her strong will, a woman that is ready to follow her own comfort, to be the controlling one now rather than subdue herself to the control of the new generation.

As the Grandmother of Europe<sup>52</sup>, even in her final hours she was surrounded by her family, children, grandchildren. She outlived her beloved Albert, she outlived two of her nine children, Alice and Affie, and even some of her grandchildren. But she had the numerous Houses of Europe surrounding her. The Kaiser was resting her in his arms.

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52 Queen Victoria was given the sobriquet 'Grandmother of Europe' as many of her children married into European royal households and subsequently also did her grandchildren. Queen Victoria's line survived in such countries like Denmark, Sweden, Romania, Greece, Russia, Germany, and Spain.



Victoria died on January 22, 1901. As her final wish she was dressed in a white dress and her wedding veil. Before passing, she ordered a few mementos to be put alongside her in the coffin. These included one of Albert's dressing gowns, a plaster cast of his hand, a lock of John Brown's hair and a picture of him which were placed in her left hand and concealed with the veil. This little secret of hers was the final act of her personal freedom she enjoyed so much. A strong sovereign, she tried to remain in charge of her private life as much as possible and openly opposed her children who wanted to subject her to control again.

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# KULT LIČNOSTI JOSIPA BROZA TITA

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Primljeno: 29. 8. 2021.  
Prihvaćeno: 8. 2. 2022.


*Kult ličnosti je povijesna i sociološka, vječito aktualna tema. Rad donosi glavne elemente kulta ličnosti Josipa Broza Tita, lidera Jugoslavije i jedne od najistaknutijih povijesnih ličnosti uopće. Objasniti će se značenje pojma kulta ličnosti, glavni elementi za njegovu uspostavu te će se navesti neki od elemenata i na koji su način iskorišteni za uspostavu Titove nedodirljive vlasti, odobrene od strane većeg dijela naroda Jugoslavije.*

**Ključne riječi:** *kult ličnosti, Josip Broz Tito, Dan mladosti, Štafete, Jugoslavija*

## Uvod

Moderna povijest obilježena je najkrvavijim ratovima u povijesti čovječanstva. Stoga, nije uopće začuđujuće da se oko ključnih osoba, odnosno istaknutih i povijesno relevantnih pojedinaca, izgrađuju kultovi ličnosti s ciljem kreiranja idealne predodžbe koju će narod usvojiti kako bi mu pružio nadu u bolju budućnost. Također, nije pogrešno tvrditi da posebna zanimljivost i bogatstvo navedenog povijesnog perioda leži u isticanju individue koja preuzima ulogu nositelja društvenih promjena, nažalost, više puta loših nego dobrih. Kako je već spomenuto, oko istaknutog pojedinca kreira se kult ličnosti koji se preciznije može definirati kao „umjetno stvoren koncept koji služi prvenstveno stvaranju i naglašavanju legitimiteta vodstva kao takvog“<sup>1</sup>. S obzirom da je navedeno povijesno razdoblje prožeto raznim političkim procesima, kultovi ličnosti najčešće su se gradili oko političkih lidera. Tema rada je nastanak i izgradnja kulta ličnosti Josipa Broza Tita, jednog od najpoznatijih i najutjecajnijih aktera 20. stoljeća. Brojni su faktori utjecali na stvaranje kulta ličnosti, no nijedan od njih nije bio prepušten slučaju već je detaljno izrežiran od strane KPJ, još za vrijeme trajanja Drugog svjetskog rata. Kroz poglavlja u radu prikazat će se glavni

1 Miljan, Goran. „„Karizmatični“ Poglavljenik? Poglavljenik i formiranje karizmatičke zajednice – primjena i korisnost Weberova koncepta karizme.“ *Historijski zbornik* 66, br. 1 (2013): 126.



elementi kulta ličnosti Josipa Broza Tita uz pomoć kojih se 35 godina zadržao na vlasti i bio omiljen među narodom.

### Kult ličnosti i karizmatički tip vlasti

Pojam kult ličnosti, tj. kult osobnosti označava javno nekritičko glorificiranje određene osobe s ciljem izgradnje cjelokupne slike navedene osobe kao nepogrešivog političkog vođe. Također, može se definirati i kao specifičan oblik autokratske vladavine uspostavljene na temelju birokratizacije političke i društvene sfere.<sup>2</sup> O samom fenomenu kulta ličnosti raspravljali su mnogi znanstvenici, pa tako i sociolog Max Weber koji ga je definirao kao sredstvo za osnaživanje dominantnog položaja osobe oko koje se kult ličnosti gradi, najčešće diktatora. Učestali alati postizanja navedenog cilja su obredno obožavanje, neprekidna vidljivost, razvijanje herojskih mitova, uklanjanje kritičkog razmišljanja i kreiranje distance između vođe i puka.<sup>3</sup> Termin „kult ličnosti“ ulazi u širu uporabu nakon što ga je prvi iskoristio Nikita Sergejevič Hruščov na zatvorenom 20. kongresu Komunističke partije Sovjetskog Saveza, u noći s 24. na 25. veljače 1956. godine. Termin je iskorišten u svrhu Hruščovovog osvrtnja na svog prethodnika Josifa Visarionoviča Staljina čiju je vladavinu, od 1929. do 1953. godine, između ostalog, nazvao i razdobljem vladavine kulta ličnosti.<sup>4</sup>

Uz pojam kulta ličnosti često se veže i pojam karizme te vlasti koja se na njoj temelji, iako Kallis tvrdi da fenomen „kulta ličnosti“ ne mora nužno slijediti iz već uspostavljene karizmatične zajednice.<sup>5</sup> Pojam karizme dobio je na važnosti u povijesnim periodima koja su nastojala razjasniti koncept totalitarnih pokreta i vlasti, a razjašnjenja su tražila znanstvenu osnovu društvene pojave koja se može okarakterizirati kao zavedenost širokih masa od strane karizmatičnog vođe koji ih je upravio prema, uglavnom radikalnom cilju. Pojam karizme je prošao kroz više faza transformacije, a izvorno dolazi od sv. Pavla koji karizmu poima kao pokazatelj specifične kvalitete pojedinca. U srednjem vijeku se navedeni pojam nije koristio, barem prema dostupnim izvorima, no u 19. stoljeću Rudolph Sohm ponovo ga uvodi u upotrebu, a od njega ga preuzima

2 kult ličnosti. Hrvatska enciklopedija, mrežno izdanje. Leksikografski zavod Miroslav Krleža, 2021.

3 Overy, Richard. *Diktatori (Hitlerova Njemačka i Staljinova Rusija)*, Naklada Ljevak, Zagreb, 2005., 124-125.

4 Rabrenović, Andrijana. „Politički plakat i kult ličnosti.“ *MediAnali* 7, br. 13 (2013): 74.

5 Miljan, Goran. „„Karizmatični“ Poglavljenik? Poglavljenik i formiranje karizmatičke zajednice – primjena i korisnost Weberova koncepta karizme.“ *Historijski zbornik* 66, br. 1 (2013): 126.



i obrazlaže Max Weber koji ga izvodi iz religijskih okvira, ali zadržava značajku misije pojedinca.<sup>6</sup> Parafrazirajući Webera, karizma predstavlja osobinu koja određenu ličnosti izdvaja od drugih, čini je natprirodnom i iznimnom u odnosu na druge.<sup>7</sup> Karizmatični vođa posjeduje posebne vrline koje su, kako Weber navodi: „takve da nisu dostupne običnim osobama, već je njihovo ishodište božansko ili uzorno i na takvim temeljima pojedinac je smatran vođom.“<sup>8</sup> Karizma je najveličanstveniji izraz legitimnosti. Osoba s karizmom se smatra „Božjim darom“ i samim time prirodnim izborom za vođu. Karizmatički tip vlasti temeljen je na emocionalnoj predanosti karizmatičkom vođi i njegovim natprirodnim osobinama te se nerijetko javlja i neka vrsta opčinjenosti vođom. Vođa nije ograničen zakonima već je iznad njih, a ostali ga respektiraju zbog njegovih iznimnih osobina koje rabi u svrhu napretka zajednice kojoj stoji na čelu. Češće se ovaj oblik vlasti javlja u društvima koja nisu zahvaćena modernizacijom, no to nije pravilo. Također je moguće pojavljivanje karizmatičke vlasti i u demokratskim društvima gdje karizmatični lider zna biti krucijalan u određenim društvenim događanjima. Ipak, može se sa sigurnošću tvrditi da je navedeni oblik vlasti revolucionaran i da će se najčešće javiti u vrijeme društvenih promjena kada vlada stanje neizvjesnosti pa čak i straha. Prirodno je da narod u takvom stanju traži oslonac i sigurnost kojeg mu može pružiti karizmatični vođa koji tada postaje centralna osoba i oko koje se počinje graditi kult ličnosti. Vladavina karizmatika prestaje u trenutku kada više nije u „Božjoj milosti“, odnosno kada narod prestane vjerovati u njegove kvalitete. Period 20. st., upravo zbog svoje nestabilnosti i stalnih političkih promjena je iznjedrilo mnoge karizmatike kao što su Franklin Delano Roosevelt, J. F. Kennedy, Winston Churchill, Benito Mussolini, Josif Visarionovič Staljin i naravno, Josip Broz Tito koji je središnja osoba ovog rada.<sup>9</sup>

### **Titov kult ličnosti**

Navedene karakteristike pojma kulta ličnosti, primjenjive su, dakako, i na kult ličnosti Josipa Broza Tita. Tito, kao simbol jednog vremena i jednog režima, iz Drugog svjetskog rata izlazi kao pobjednik i uzročno

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6 Isto, 123.

7 Blažević, Robert. „Stigma i karizma.“ *Politička misao* 40, br. 3 (2003): 129.

8 Miljan, Goran. „„Karizmatični“ Poglavnik? Poglavnik i formiranje karizmatičke zajednice – primjena i korisnost Weberova koncepta karizme.“ *Historijski zbornik* 66, br. 1 (2013): 124.

9 Blažević, Robert. „Stigma i karizma.“ *Politička misao* 40, br. 3 (2003): 128-131.



posljedično postaje lider komunističke Jugoslavije koji se na vlasti zadržao 35 godina. S obzirom na njegova postignuća u navedenom ratu, reputaciju koju je izgradio među suborcima i narodom te razočaranost naroda u prethodnog vladara, Titu kao heroju koji je porazio okupatora, tj. propagandnom aparatu KPJ-e nije bilo teško izgraditi kult личности.<sup>10</sup>

Kroz period njegove vladavine izgradnja kulta личности bila je toliko intenzivna, što nije začuđujuće zbog organizacije države i zbog činjenice da je u svakoj od jugoslavenskih republika jedan grad nosio njegovo ime, isto kao i glavne ulice nekih gradova te škole, vojarne itd. S vremenom je on kao osoba postao važniji od države koju je vodio te je paralelno sa slabljenjem njegovog kulta личности slabila i sama Jugoslavija. Kao posljedica uspješne izgradnje kulta личности među narodom može se izdvojiti emocionalna vezanost jugoslavenskog naroda za svog predsjednika, koja je bila posebno izražena prilikom objave njegove smrti i o kojoj svjedoči citat Pere Simića i Zvonimira Despota: „Sa suzama i jaucima ispratili su ga milijuni Jugoslavena. Mnogi su za njim više i bolnije patili nego za svojim najrođenijima. Ni slutili nisu da time oplakuju i sebe i Jugoslaviju.“ Pokopan je u Kući cvijeća u Beogradu.<sup>11</sup>

### **Dolazak Josipa Broza Tita na vlast**

Nakon Titovog dolaska na vlast, veći dio njegovog života je mistificiran u svrhu propagande. Nije mu točno utvrđen datum rođenja, no između mnoštva datuma dva se uzimaju kao najpouzdanija. Jedan od njih je 7. svibnja 1892. godine, koji je prema biografu V. Vinterhalteru najvjerodostojniji jer se temelji na prijepisu iz matice rođenih katoličke župe u Tuhlju, a drugi, poznatiji datum je 25. svibnja 1892. godine koji je kasnije postao državni praznik poznat kao Dan mladosti. Sam je Tito djelomičan krivac za neutvrđenost njegovog datuma rođenja jer je kroz svoje djelovanje unutar komunističke partije, do kraja Drugog svjetskog rata koristio razna kodna imena i datume rođenja i tako izazvao konfuziju.<sup>12</sup>

Josip Broz rođen je u Kumrovcu u Hrvatskom Zagorju kao sedmo dijete Hrvata Franje Broza i Slovenke Marije Broz, rođene Javeršek. Prema publicistu Vladimiru Dedijeru, smatra se da je obitelj Broz štovala „kult predaka“ i veličala lik i djelo Matije Gupca kao borca za prava seljaka.

10 Nemet, Dražen. „Povijesni mitovi o Josipu Brozu Titu kao sredstvo manipulacije narodima na prostoru bivše SFRJ.“ *Pro tempore*, br. 3 (2006): 109.

11 Simić, Pero, Despot, Zvonimir. *Tito-Jedna biografija*, Zagreb: Despot Infinitus, 2017., 25.

12 *Isto*, 26-27.





Veličanje Gupca kasnije se dovodi u vezu s Titovim komunizmom, no to je produkt tadašnje vladajuće ideologije jer se isticanje Gupca koristilo kao sredstvo komunističke propagande u svrhu jačanje ideologije među narodom te se čak išlo toliko daleko da su neki prezime Broz tumačili kao kraticu od Ambroz (Matija Ambroz Gubec). Njegovo djetinjstvo ne razlikuje se puno od djetinjstva ostale djece Hrvatskog Zagorja. Paralelno sa školom, kao i sva ostala djeca, bio je prisiljen pomagati u obiteljskim poslovima. Ni u školi se nije posebno isticao, varirao je između dobrog i vrlo dobrog učenika, sudeći po njegovim svjedodžbama.<sup>13</sup> Prilikom ministriranja u mjesnoj župi, u dobi od dvanaest godina, doživio je neugodnu situaciju s župnikom. Naime, zbog nespretnosti prilikom skidanja odore župnik, koji je bio u alkoholiziranom stanju, pljusnuo ga je te je sam Tito o toj epizodi i Crkvi uopće naveo slijedeće: „Nedeljom sam doduše još odlazio na misu jer je majka tako željela, no mislim da sam tada s Crkvom raskrstio.“<sup>14</sup> U rodnom Kumrovcu je završio četiri razreda pučke škole, a kasnije i bravarski zanat u Sisku. Za vrijeme izučavanja zanata prvi put se upoznae s idejama socijalističkog pokreta, a 1910. godine učlanjenjem u Savez kovinarskih radnika u Radničkom domu u Zagrebu direktno postaje i član Socijaldemokratske stranke Hrvatske i Slavonije. Zbog težnje za boljim životom, potaknut motivom gladi iz djetinjstva kojeg je sam znao spomenuti u svojim intervjuima i motivom lijepe odjeće, Tito odlazi raditi u inozemstvo.<sup>15</sup> Od 1910. do 1913. godine, u potrazi za poslom i privremenom obavljanju istog prošao je rutu od Zagreba, Trsta, Kamnika, Čenkova, Münchena, do Beča i Bečkog Novog Mjesta. U spomenutom periodu Josip Broz znatno je napredovao u vlastitom zanatu. Bio je vješt u popravljanju bicikli, motora i automobila, ali je također savladao dva jezika, njemački u većoj i češki u manjoj mjeri. Ivo i Slavko Goldstein navode: „okusio je čari dobrih namještenja i zarada, ali i gorčinu nezaposlenosti, uzaludnog obijanja vrata u potrazi za poslom, i krajnju neimaštinu kada se u tuđem svijetu potroši mala uštedevina, a novog posla još nema na vidiku. Sudjelovao je u nekoliko velikih štrajkova, borio se protiv štrajkbrehera i s masama radnika slavio I. svibanj. Kad je doslovce bio gladan u Trstu i u Beču, dobio je

13 Blažina, Boris. „Djetinjstvo i mladost Josipa Broza Tita 1892. - 1920. kroz prizmu biografija: kontradikcije, nedosljednosti, politizacija, pedagogizacija.“ *Povijest u nastavi XIII*, br. 26 (2) (2015): 84-86.

14 Pirjevec, Jože. *Tito i drugovi*, Zagreb: Mozaik knjiga, 2012., 27.

15 Blažina, Boris. „Djetinjstvo i mladost Josipa Broza Tita 1892. - 1920. kroz prizmu biografija: kontradikcije, nedosljednosti, politizacija, pedagogizacija.“ *Povijest u nastavi XIII*, br. 26 (2) (2015): 86-93.



novčanu pomoć svojeg kovinskog sindikata, koji mu je bio od pomoći i pri traženju zaposlenja.“ Iz navedenog je jasno da je period od 1910. do 1913. imao veliki utjecaj na pojačanje Titove privrženosti radničkoj organizaciji, solidariziranju s narodom koji je u sličnoj situaciji i dodatnom razvijanju socijalističkih ideja.<sup>16</sup> Na početku Prvog svjetskog rata mobiliziran je u 10. satniju 25. pukovnije 42. divizije domobranstva. Ubrzo je shvatio da njemu nije mjesto u navedenoj vojsci te ju je godinama nakon okarakterizirao kao zaglupljujuću i tromu. Bio je zarobljenik u Petrovaradinskoj tvrđavi iz koje je prebačen na bojišta u Galiciju i Karpate. Kao zarobljenik odveden je na prisilni rad u selo Kalasijevo iz kojeg preko Kungura gdje je također radio, 1917. godine bježi u Petrograd i ubrzo u Finsku u kojoj će biti ponovo uhićen i odveden u Omsk gdje se učlanjuje u jugoslavensku sekciju Ruske komunističke partije. Vrijeme u zarobljeništvu i izbjeglištvu koristi za učenje jezika i savladavanja što većeg broja literature. Članom Komunističke partije Jugoslavije postaje povratkom u Zagreb 1920. godine, a godinu nakon rad je stranke zabranjen što ih je prisililo na ilegalno djelovanje. Uhićen je 1928. godine i osuđen na 5 godina zatvora, a kaznu je odrađivao prvo u Lepoglavi, pa u Mariboru i naposljetku u Ogulinu. Nakon izlaska iz zatvora počinje djelovati pod imenom Tito i u ime KPJ-e djeluje u inozemstvu te 1934. godine dobiva titulu generalnog sekretara Centralnog komiteta Komunističke partije Jugoslavije. U vrijeme Drugog svjetskog rata, Tito staje na čelo NOP-a i predvodi ustanak. Zahvaljujući prvim ratnim postignućima u borbi protiv okupatora, 1942. godine osniva se Narodnooslobodilačka vojska Jugoslavije koja iz Drugog svjetskog rata izlazi kao pobjednička, a Tito kao maršal i narodni heroj, 7. ožujka 1945. godine, u Beogradu, ustrojava vladu Demokratske Federativne Jugoslavije kojoj staje na čelo.<sup>17</sup>

## O Titu u medijima i literaturi

Kako je već navedeno, mediji su glavno sredstvo za izgradnju i održavanje kulta ličnosti. Sveprisutnost u medijima, uz zadržavanje doze mističnosti, i kontrola tiska bile su ključne. Kao i u svim ostalim režimima, nužno je bilo kontrolirati što se objavljuje o ideološkom vođi jer bi u protivnom, njegov imidž mogao biti narušen, a samim time i

16 Goldstein, Ivo, Goldstein, Slavko. *Tito*, Zagreb: Profil, 2015., 34.

17 Blažina, Boris. „Djetinjstvo i mladost Josipa Broza Tita 1892. - 1920. kroz prizmu biografija: kontradikcije, nedosljednosti, politizacija, pedagogizacija.“ *Povijest u nastavi XIII*, br. 26 (2) (2015): 98-112.



kult ličnosti koji je, u slučaju Josipa Broza, toliko dugo građen. Još za vrijeme trajanja Drugog svjetskog rata Titovo ime postaje sve poznatije među narodom zahvaljujući njegovim suborcima, a komunistička propaganda pazila je na svaki detalj vezan uz njega u svrhu kreiranja bespriekorne slike o partijskom vođi i budućem čelniku države.<sup>18</sup> Goldstein navodi da se prvi put Josip Broz Tito u medijima spominje 1942. godine, kao „komandant Tito“, u novinama *Vjesnik* te je od tada sve prisutniji u tisku, a po završetku navedenog rata, njegovo ime i slika bili su sveprisutni.<sup>19</sup> Spominje se npr. u *Slobodnoj Dalmaciji* koja je često prenosila njegove govore puku, a za primjer se može navesti br. 74 *Slobodne Dalmacije* izdan 1. studenog 1944. godine koji navodi: „Maršal Tito pozvao je sve građane Jugoslavije na učvršćenje bratstva i jedinstva, pa je rekao: „Svaki poštenu građanin treba da bude spreman da sarađuje s nama na podizanju i obnovi naše porušene domovine.““

<sup>20</sup> Nakon formiranja komunističke Jugoslavije, KPJ-e je pro forma promovirala slobodu tiska iako je u stvarnosti bilo u potpunosti drugačije, a sam je Tito kontrolirao sve medije koji su o njemu izvještavali. Svaki njegov pokret bio je budno praćen od strane novinara i nametnut kao glavna vijest u svim medijima.<sup>21</sup> Također, za vrijeme borbe protiv okupatora, u Titovu čast skladaju se pjesme, a paralelno s jačanjem kulta ličnosti, rastao je njihov broj. Neke od poznatijih pjesama su „Ide Tito preko Romanije“, „Druže Tito, mi Ti se kunemo“, „Uz maršala Tita“, „Uz Tita i Staljina“, te mnoge druge. Analizirajući svaku od spomenutih pjesama, može se primijetiti da ga jugoslavenski narod slavi zbog ratnih postignuća i na taj način odobrava kao svog vođu koji će im osigurati bolju budućnost.<sup>22</sup> Režiraju se i brojni filmovi koji veličaju borbu Partizana i njihovog predvodnika, a općepoznati su npr. „Bitka na Sutjesci“ i „Bitka na Neretvi“ o čijoj veličini i uspjehu u filmskom svijetu govore brojne filmske kritike i recenzije, kao i nominacija za Oscara za najbolji film na stranom jeziku, a neki od svjetski poznatih istaknutih glumaca iz navedenih filmova su Yul Brynner, Orson Welles i Richard Burton u ulozi Tita u Bitci na Sutjesci.<sup>23</sup> Također, treba spomenuti i njegovu

18 Despotović, Ljubiša, Šljukić, Srđan, Gavrilović, Darko, Perica, Vjekoslav, Velikonja, Mitja. *Mitovi epohe socijalizma*, Novi Sad: Fakultet za evropske pravno-političke studije, 2010., 20- 21.

19 Goldstein, Ivo, Goldstein, Slavko, *Tito*, 480.

20 *Slobodna Dalmacija*, Split, br. 74., 1. studenog 1944.

21 Goldstein, Ivo, Goldstein, Slavko, *Tito*, 486.

22 Isto, 480.

23 Zvijer, Nemanja. „Presenting (Imposing) Values through Films. The Case of the Yugoslav Partisan Films.“ *Images 2*, br. 2 (2014): 1-12.



prisutnost, tj. idealiziranje Tita u školskim udžbenicima s ciljem odgajanja mladosti koja će biti podobna Jugoslaviji. Uz Tita, isticalo se bratstvo i jedinstvo i pobjeda Partizana nad okupatorom.<sup>24</sup>

## Štafete

Ideja o prenošenju štafete u Titovu čast službeno je potekla od Josifa Prohaske, gimnazijskog profesora iz Kragujevca, a s vremenom je prerasla u sveobuhvatnu jugoslavensku manifestaciju koja je težila ujedinjenju svih društvenih slojeva, dobnih uzrasta i geografski gledano, svih teritorija Jugoslavije, te na taj način pridonosila izgradnji zajedničkog nacionalnog identiteta novonastale države. Često je interpretirana kao simbol zajedništva što ne čudi jer je na određen način ujedinjavala sve one koji su sudjelovali u navedenoj manifestaciji, bilo da su prenosili štafetu, ispunjavali ju pismima ili samo pasivno promatrali.<sup>25</sup> Formalno je štafeta u Jugoslaviji uspostavljena u Zagrebu, u kolovozu 1945. godine na drugom zasjedanju Fiskulturnog odbora Jugoslavije. Važno je spomenuti da je ideja trčanja štafete preuzeta od vremena Petra 2. Karađorđevića u čiju se čast također trčala.<sup>26</sup>

U prvim godinama navedene manifestacije, naglasak je prvenstveno bio na veličanju narodnooslobodilačke borbe s Titom na čelu što je pridonijelo odobravanju njegove vlasti od strane naroda i poticanju jedinstva jugoslavenskog naroda, a od 1957. godine službeni naglasak se stavlja na omladinu koja je, sudeći po Titovim govorima, trebala dalje nastaviti tradiciju jugoslavenskog jedinstva koju su 1945. godine utemeljili tadašnji vladajući ljudi. Opća podjela štafeta bila je na glavne i lokalne, a prisutne su bile i štafete većih jugoslavenskih gradova te štafete Armije kojih je bilo više s obzirom na to da je svaki sektor vojske imao svoju. Sam put štafete bio je strogo definiran kako bi se obišla sva povijesno važna mjesta, a građani su se posebno veselili glavnoj štafeti koju su pozdravljali zastavama, transparentima i cvijećem. S vremenom štafeta je imala sve veći broj sudionika, a prema izvorima od 1950. godine broj je sudionika bio veći od milijun. U periodu od 1945. do 1956. godine štafeta se nazivala „Titova štafeta“ te je, kako je prethodno navedeno, bila usmjerena prvenstveno

24 Koren, Snježana. *Politika povijesti u Jugoslaviji (1945.-1960.)*, Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2012., 118.

25 Panić, Ana, „Štafeta-simbol zajedništva“ u: katalog Štafete 1945-1987, Beograd: Muzej istorije Jugoslavije, 2008., 13.

26 Goldstein, Ivo, Goldstein, Slavko. *Tito*, 496.



na veličanje Titove osobe i pobjede u Drugom svjetskom ratu, uz spominjanje mladih u svečanom govoru Josipa Broza Tita ispred Bijelog dvora gdje se održavao završni dio manifestacije od 1946. do 1956. godine. Od navedene 1956. godine, završna svečanost je prebačena na novu lokaciju, stadion Jugoslavenske narodne armije, a promjenom lokacije, uvela se promjena i među štafetama, točnije uručivala se samo savezna štafeta, odnosno „Štafeta mladosti“, umjesto više glavnih kako je inače bio slučaj. Od pojave „Štafete mladosti“ fokus je službeno prebačen na mlade i njihovu važnost te se u okviru navedene manifestacije razvija praznik „Dan mladosti“. Mladi su bili izrazito angažirani u tom periodu te je bila velika čast među omladinom nositi štafetnu palicu. Stoga su prvi i posljednji nositelji palice pažljivo birani s obzirom na njihova postignuća u obrazovanju, sportu ili radu. Posljednjim nosačima štafetne palice sam je Tito poklanjao zlatne satove, a nerijetko su bili objavljivani u novinama.<sup>27</sup> Posljednji je put štafeta Titu, koji je bio lošeg zdravstvenog stanja, uručena 1979. godine, ispunjena porukama za brzo ozdravljenje, a godinu nakon, zbog predsjednikove smrti 4. svibnja 1980. godine, manifestacija je otkazana s izjavom „Utakmica je odgođena“.<sup>28</sup>

### **Titov pogreb kao odraz uspješnog kulta ličnosti**

Josip Broz Tito preminuo je 4. svibnja 1980. godine u Ljubljani, u 87. godini života, a njegov posljednji ispraćaj i način na koji je jugoslavenska javnost primila vijest o njegovoj smrti, jasni su pokazatelji jačine njegovog kulta ličnosti. Nekoliko sati nakon njegove smrti, Predsjedništvo SFRJ i CK SKJ održalo je izvanrednu sjednicu i proglasilo smrt predsjednika Tita što je cijelu Jugoslaviju „zavilo u crno“ te se na osam sati obustavio svaki rad. Vlakom je njegovo tijelo prebačeno iz Ljubljane u Beograd gdje se održao posljednji ispraćaj, a jugoslavenski narod dolazio je na željeznice kako bi mu odao počast. Na dan sahrane, 8. svibnja 1980. godine, izaslanstvo Saveza socijalističke omladine Jugoslavije položilo je Štafetu mladosti na Titov lijes u Skupštini SFRJ. Sahrana Josipa Broza Tita, održana na Dedinju u Kući cvijeća, prema mnogim povjesničarima jedna je od najvećih državničkih sahrana u povijesti te jedno od najvećih sastajanja svjetskih političara ikad, a prijenos sprovoda bio je emitiran u 58 zemalja. Prisutnost najviših političkih dužnosnika iz 128 zemalja

27 Panić, Ana, „Štafeta-simbol zajedništva“ u: katalog Štafete 1945-1987, Beograd: Muzej istorije Jugoslavije, 2008., 15-17.

28 Ridley, Jaspers. *Tito (Biografija)*, Zagreb: Prometej, 2000., 23.





dovoljan je dokaz koliko je Tito bio poštovan u svijetu. Također, sudeći po dostupnim izvorima, posebno snimkama, evidentno je da je tuga jugoslavenskog naroda zbog predsjednikove smrti bila iskrena i velika te su oplakivanjem Tita oplakivali i Jugoslaviju kojoj se bližio kraj.<sup>29</sup>

### „I poslije Tita, Tito!“

Suprotno očekivanjima mnogih, nakon Titove smrti nastavljeno je obilježavanje Dana mladosti i prenošenje štafete koja se od 1980. godine uručivala predsjedniku Saveza socijalističke omladine Jugoslavije. Manifestacija je poprimila novi karakter, točnije nostalgično se prisjećala Tita i održavala sjećanje na njega, stoga je nazvana „I poslije Tita, Tito!“. Narednih sedam godina održavani su razni događaji kao što su koncerti, sportska natjecanja i kvizovi o Titu kako bi se zadržala svijest o preminulom predsjedniku, a samim time i svijest o Jugoslaviji što više među stanovništvom.<sup>30</sup> Služeći se arhivom *Slobodne Dalmacije*, može se kao primjer koncerta navesti koncert na stadionu JNA pod nazivom „S Titom u nama“ iz 1982. godine na kojem je, prema navedenom izvoru nastupilo više od sedam tisuća izvođača.<sup>31</sup> Također je, 1984. godine, na Dan mladosti zaplovio brod pod imenom Josip Broz Tito.<sup>32</sup> Mediji su i dalje izvještavali kako uoči Dana mladosti mladi svoje uspjehe posvećuju Titu kao svom vrhovnom autoritetu, iako je u stvarnosti bilo drugačije. Mladi su bili sve udaljeniji od ideje proslave Dana mladosti te su je mnogi smatrali besmislenom. Središnja proslava i dalje se odvijala na stadionu JNA u Beogradu, no kritike su iz godine u godinu rasle. Posebno nezadovoljstvo među stanovništvom je izazvala proslava iz 1983. godine jer se Titova statua od gotovo 10 metara nadvila nad navedenim stadionom. Postavljalo se pitanje: „Trebali li nam Tito u natprirodnoj veličini?“<sup>33</sup>

Štafeta je bila ispunjena pesimističnim porukama, mladi su tražili promjene te je s vremenom važnost štafete potpuno nestala, a koristile su je samo vlasti kako bi zataškali realne probleme. Zbog skandala koji se dogodio 1987. godine, štafeta je trajno ukinuta. Naime, grupa „Novi kolektivizam“ izradila je plakat po uzoru na nacistički plakat

29 Isto, 23-26.

30 Panić, Ana, „Štafeta-simbol zajedništva“ u: katalog Štafete 1945-1987, Beograd: Muzej istorije Jugoslavije, 2008., 18.

31 *Slobodna Dalmacija*, Split, 25. svibnja 1982.

32 *Slobodna Dalmacija*, Split, 25. svibnja 1984.

33 Panić, Ana, „Štafeta-simbol zajedništva“ u: katalog Štafete 1945-1987, Muzej istorije Jugoslavije, Beograd, 2008., 33-34.



iz 1936. godine, koji je odobren kao idejno rješenje za proslavu Dana mladosti, što je izazvalo veliko nezadovoljstvo među stanovništvom i potaknulo kampanju „Štafeta, ne hvala.“ Bilo je evidentno da jugoslavensko stanovništvo, posebno mlađe generacije, nema namjeru održati emocionalnu vezu prema Titovo Jugoslaviji i samom Titu nostalgичnim slavlјima, kako su se vladajući nadali da će održati, već je tražilo poboljšanje životnih uvjeta, a stanje u navedenom periodu najbolje opisuje citat iz rada Ane Panić: „Novo idejno rešenje nije vratilo duhove u bocu. Štafeta koja je na vrhu imala osam crvenih kapljica nije bila poziv na pomirenje. Sa priličnom malodušnošću štafeta je prošla poslednji put kroz Jugoslaviju. Poruka koju je nosila bila je, zapravo, upozorenje.“<sup>34</sup>

## Zaključak

Josip Broz Tito bio je jedan od najpoznatijih i najvažnijih političara u svijetu. Pobjedom u Drugom svjetskom ratu, stao je na čelo Jugoslavije koju je vodio do svoje smrti. Njegova vladavina obilježena je elementima kulta ličnosti koji su kroz rad navedeni, a njemu i KPJ koja je stajala iza njega navedeni elementi omogućili su da relativno vode politiku Jugoslavije uz jasno obožavanje od strane naroda. Elementi kulta ličnosti su bili izrazito važni u kriznim vremenima kao što je bio sukob s Informbiroom 1948. godine. Svim manifestacijama u Jugoslaviji Tito je bio dugi niz godina zajednička veza, a njegov je kult bio toliko snažan da su ga nazivali „najboljim vođom i prijateljem naroda i mladih“. Komplimente je uživao od svjetskih političara i naroda pa su ga tako stanovnici SAD-a nazivali dominantnom figurom svjetske scene, Afrikanci patrijarhom nesvrstanih, Englezi simbolom 20. stoljeća, a Nijemci darom sudbine. On je držao sve narode u Jugoslaviji na okupu, a nakon njegove smrti, pokazalo se da navedena država nema budućnost. Prema Simiću i Despotu, Titova smrt nije samo Jugoslaviju zavila u crno nego i cijelu svjetsku političku scenu koja ga je poštovala te navedeni autori pišu: „Kad biološki zakoni ni njega nisu mimoišli, Titovi su nasljednici govorili kako je njegovom smrću svjetska povijest ostala udovica, a svoje sunarodnike su tješili prisegom: „I poslije Tita Tito.““<sup>35</sup>

34 Isto, 35.

35 Simić, Pero, Despot, Zvonimir, „Tito-Jedna biografija“, 21.-23.



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Mrežne stranice:

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## SUMMARY

*A cult of personality is an eternally relevant historical and social topic. This paper will showcase the main elements of the cult of personality of Josip Broz Tito, the leader of Yugoslavia, and one of the most prominent historical figures in general. The meaning of the term “cult of personality” will be explained, as well as the main elements that led to its establishment. Some of the elements, which were approved by most of the population of Yugoslavia and used for the establishment of Tito’s untouchable reign, will also be provided, as well as the ways in which they were used to achieve said reign*

**Keywords:** *The cult of personality, Josip Broz Tito, Youth Day/Day of Youth, Relays of youth, Yugoslavia*



# THE CULT OF PERSONALITY OF JOSIP BROZ TITO

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Submitted: August 29<sup>th</sup>, 2021  
Accepted: February 8<sup>th</sup>, 2022

*A cult of personality is an eternally relevant historical and social topic. This paper will showcase the main elements of the cult of personality of Josip Broz Tito, the leader of Yugoslavia, and one of the most prominent historical figures in general. The meaning of the term "cult of personality" will be explained, as well as the main elements that led to its establishment. Some of the elements, which were approved by most of the population of Yugoslavia and used for the establishment of Tito's untouchable reign, will also be provided, as well as the ways in which they were used to achieve said reign.*

**Keywords:** *Cult of personality, Josip Broz Tito, Youth Day, Relay races, Yugoslavia*

## Introduction

Modern history is rife with the bloodiest of wars in all of human history. Therefore, it is not surprising at all that cults of personality are built around key people, that is, prominent and historically relevant individuals, with the goal of creating an idealized perception which will be accepted by the population, with the intention of giving hope of a better future to the people. Also, it is not wrong to claim that the special interest and wealth of the aforementioned historical period lie in the prominence of an individual who takes upon himself the role of the bearer of social change, unfortunately, more often bad, than good. As was mentioned, a cult of personality, more accurately defined as an "artificially created concept, with its primary purpose being creation and accentuation of the legitimacy of leadership as such"<sup>1</sup>, is created around a distinguished individual. Considering that the aforementioned historical period is full of various political processes, cults of personality were most often built around political leaders. The topic of this paper is the creation and construction of the cult of persona-

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1 Miljan, Goran. „„Karizmatični“ Poglavnik? Poglavnik i formiranje karizmatičke zajednice – primjena i korisnost Weberova koncepta karizme.” *Historijski zbornik* 66, br. 1 (2013): 126.



lity of Josip Broz Tito, one of the most famous and influential actors of the twentieth century. Numerous factors influenced the creation of his cult of personality, none of them accidental, rather, they were carefully orchestrated by The Communist Party of Yugoslavia while World War 2 was still going on. Through the chapters of this paper, the main elements of the cult of personality around Josip Broz Tito will be showcased. It was thanks to these elements that he was able to remain in power for 35 years, all the while enjoying a high degree of popularity among the population.

### **Cult of personality and the charismatic type of rule**

The term “cult of personality”, that is to say, a personality cult, denotes a public, uncritical glorification of a certain person with the goal of painting a complete picture of the said person in which he is presented as an infallible political leader. It can also be defined as a specific form of autocratic rule based on the bureaucratization of the political and social spheres.<sup>2</sup> Many scientists debated on the phenomenon of the cult of personality, including sociologist Max Weber, who defined it as a tool for strengthening the dominant position of the person around whom the cult of personality is constructed, most often a dictator. Tools frequently used in order to achieve said goal are ritual worship, unending visibility, the development of heroic myths, the removal of critical thinking and creating distance between the leader and the populace.<sup>3</sup> The term “cult of personality” begins to enter widespread usage after first being used by Nikita Sergejevich Khrushchev at the twentieth closed congress of The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, on the night between the 24<sup>th</sup> and the 25<sup>th</sup> of February 1956. The term was used with the purpose of Khrushchev’s retrospection on his predecessor Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin, whose rule between 1929. and 1953., among other things, he called a period of the rule of the cult of personality.<sup>4</sup>

The term “charisma” is often tied to the term “cult of personality”, and the reign based upon that, even though Kallis claims that the phe-

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2 kult ličnosti, The internet edition of The Croatian Encyclopedia. Miroslav Krleža Institute of Lexicography, 2021.

3 Overy, Richard. Diktatori (Hitlerova Njemačka i Staljinova Rusija), Naklada Ljevak, Zagreb, 2005., 124-125

4 Rabrenović, Andrijana. „Politički plakat i kult ličnosti.” *MediAnali* 7, br. 13 (2013): 74.





nomenon of the “cult of personality” does not necessarily come from the preestablished charismatic community.<sup>5</sup> The term “charisma” started gaining popularity in historical periods that tried to explain the concept of totalitarian movements and regimes, while the explanations sought a scientific basis for a societal occurrence which could be characterized as an infatuation of the wider masses with the charismatic leader who directed them towards a, more often than not, radical goal. The term “charisma” went through multiple phases of transformation, originating from St. Paul, who perceived charisma as an indicator of an individual’s specific quality. The aforementioned term was seldom used, at least according to the available sources, but in the 19<sup>th</sup>. century, Rudolph Sohm reintroduces it, and Max Weber adopts it from him, explaining and removing it from its religious confines, although preserving the trait of an individual’s mission.<sup>6</sup> Paraphrasing Weber, charisma represents a trait that separates a certain persona from others, making it supernatural and exceptional when compared with others.<sup>7</sup> A charismatic leader possesses qualities which are, as Weber states: “These are such as are not accessible to the ordinary person, but are regarded as of divine origin or as exemplary, and on the basis of them the individual concerned is treated as a leader”.<sup>8</sup> Charisma is the most glorious expression of legitimacy. A person with charisma is considered “a gift from God”, and by that virtue a natural choice for a leader. The charismatic type of rule is based on emotional dedication to the charismatic leader and his supernatural traits, and some form of infatuation with the leader is often present. The leader is not bound by laws, but is above them, and the others respect him for his extraordinary abilities which he uses for the betterment of the community he heads. This form of rule appears more often in societies unaffected by modernization, but that is not the norm. The appearance of charismatic authority is also possible in democratic societies where the charismatic leader can be crucial in certain societal events. Even still, it can be claimed with certainty, that the aforementioned form of rule is revolutionary, and will most often appear in times of

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5 Miljan, Goran. „,Karizmatični“ Poglavnik? Poglavnik i formiranje karizmatičke zajednice – primjena i korisnost Weberova koncepta karizme.” *Historijski zbornik* 66, br. 1 (2013): 126.

6 *ibid.*, 123.

7 Blažević, Robert. „Stigma i karizma.” *Politička misao* 40, br. 3 (2003): 129.

8 Miljan, Goran. „,Karizmatični“ Poglavnik? Poglavnik i formiranje karizmatičke zajednice – primjena i korisnost Weberova koncepta karizme.” *Historijski zbornik* 66, br. 1 (2013): 124.



social changes when uncertainty, even fear, is prevalent. It is natural that in such a state, the people look for support and safety that can only be provided by a charismatic leader, who then becomes a central persona around whom a cult of personality is constructed. The rule of the charismatic ends when he is no longer in "God's graces", that is, when the population stops believing in his qualities. The period of the 20<sup>th</sup>. century, precisely because of its instabilities and constant political upheavals, has given rise to many charismatics such as Franklin Delano Roosevelt, J. F. Kennedy, Winston Churchill, Benito Mussolini, Joseph Vissarionovich Stalin, and of course, Josip Broz Tito, who is the central persona of this paper.<sup>9</sup>

### **Tito's cult of personality**

The aforementioned characteristics of the term "cult of personality" are applicable, of course, to the cult of personality of Josip Broz Tito, as a symbol of a time and a regime. He emerges from World War 2 victorious, and causally becomes the leader of communist Yugoslavia, remaining in power for 35 years. Taking into consideration his achievements in said war, the reputation he built amongst his fellow fighters and the people, as well as the disappointment of the people in the previous ruler, it was not difficult for Tito as a hero who defeated the occupier, that is, the propaganda machine of The Communist Party of Yugoslavia, to build a cult of personality.<sup>10</sup>

Throughout the period of his rule, the construction of a cult of personality was very intense, which is not surprising considering the organization of the country and the fact that in each of the Yugoslav republics one city bore his name, as well as the main streets of some cities, schools, barracks, and so forth. In time, he, as an individual, became more important than the country he led, which meant that, consequently, with the waning of his cult of personality, Yugoslavia waned as well. The emotional connection of the Yugoslav people to their president can be singled out as a consequence of a successful construction of a cult of personality. The connection was especially prominent during the proclamation of his death, to which the quote by Pero Simić and Zvonimir Despot can attest to: „ With tears and wails millions

9 Blažević, Robert. „Stigma i karizma.” *Politička misao* 40, br. 3 (2003): 128-131.

10 Nemet, Dražen. „Povijesni mitovi o Josipu Brozu Titu kao sredstvo manipulacije narodi-  
ma na prostoru bivše SFRJ.” *Pro tempore*, br. 3 (2006): 109.



of Yugoslavians saw him off. Many cried for him more painfully than they did for their own kin. They could not even foresee that they were crying for themselves and Yugoslavia.” He was buried in the House of Flowers in Belgrade.<sup>11</sup>

### **Josip Broz Tito’s rise to power**

After Tito rose to power, most of his life was mystified with the express purpose of propaganda. His date of birth was never precisely determined, but in the myriad of dates, two stand out as most probable. One of them is the 7<sup>th</sup> of May 1892., which is the most probable one due to it being based on a transcript from the register of births of the Tuhelj catholic parish, according to biographer V. Vinterhalter. The other, more well-known date is the 25<sup>th</sup> of May 1892., which later became a national holiday known as Youth Day. Tito himself is partially to blame for the uncertain date of his day of birth because he has, throughout his activity in the Communist Party, until the end of World War 2, used various code names and birth dates causing confusion.<sup>12</sup>

Josip Broz was born in Kumrovec in the Croatian Zagorje as the seventh child of the Croat Franjo Broz and a Slovenian Marija Broz, nee Javeršek. According to publicist Vladimir Dedijer, it is thought that the Broz family worshipped an “Ancestor cult”, glorifying the character and work of Matija Gubec, as a fighter for peasant rights. The glorification of Gubec is later brought into connection with Tito’s communism, but that is a product of the contemporary ruling ideology, because the showcasing of Gubec was used as a tool of communist propaganda with the purpose of consolidating said ideology among the people. Some even went as far as to say that the surname Broz is a shortened form of the surname Ambroz (Matija Ambroz Gubec). His childhood does not differ much from the childhoods of other children of the Croatian Zagorje. Like all other children, he was forced to help with family business while simultaneously attending school. Even in school he was not especially prominent, varying between a good and a bad student, according to his school reports.<sup>13</sup> While ministering in his local parish,

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11 Simić, Pero, Despot, Zvonimir. Tito-Jedna biografija, Zagreb: Despot Infinitus, 2017., 25.

12 ibid., 26 - 27.

13 Blažina, Boris. „Djetinjstvo i mladost Josipa Broza Tita 1892. - 1920. kroz prizmu biografija: kontradikcije, nedosljednosti, politizacija, pedagogizacija.” *Povijest u nastavi* XIII, br. 26 (2) (2015): 84-86.



at the age of twelve, he experienced an uncomfortable situation with his parishioner. Namely, due to his clumsiness while taking off his uniform, the parishioner, who was alcoholised, slapped him. Tito himself had this to say about that situation and the Church in general: "Admittedly, I kept going to Sunday mass because my mother willed it, but I believe that that was the moment that the Church and myself went our separate ways."<sup>14</sup> In his birth town of Kumrovec he finished four grades of elementary school, and later learned the locksmith's trade in Sisak. During his studies to become a locksmith he is first introduced to the ideas of the socialist movement, and in 1910., by becoming a member of the Association of metallurgy workers at the Worker's House in Zagreb, he directly became a member of the Social Democratic Party of Croatia and Slavonia. Due to his aspirations for a better life, motivated by the hunger he experienced in his childhood, a motivation he mentioned in his interviews, as well as motivated by nice clothes, Tito went abroad for employment.<sup>15</sup> From 1910. do 1913., both seeking employment and being temporarily employed he travelled the route from Zagreb, Trieste, Kamnik, Čenkov, Munich, to Vienna and Wiener Neustadt. In the above-mentioned period Josip Broz developed significantly within his own trade. He was skilled in bicycle, motorbike, and car repair, but he also mastered two languages, German to a larger, and Czech to a lesser extent. Ivo and Slavko Goldstein state: „ He tasted the allure of good earnings and employments, but also the bitterness of unemployment, fruitless hovering over doors, searching for work, and the utter poverty which arises when in a foreign land you spent your modest savings, and no new jobs are in sight. He participated in several great strikes, fought against strike-breakers, and celebrated May 1<sup>st</sup> with the masses of workers. When he was literally hungry in Trieste and Vienna, he received monetary aid from his metallurgy union, which helped him with seeking employment, among other things.” From the above, it is clear that the period from 1910. to 1913. had great influence on the amplification of Tito's affection towards the organization of workers, empathizing with the people who were in a similar situation, and on the further development of his socialist ideas.<sup>16</sup> At

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14 Pirjevec, Jože. Tito i drugovi, Zagreb: Mozaik knjiga, 2012., 27

15 Blažina, Boris. „Djetinjstvo i mladost Josipa Broza Tita 1892. - 1920. kroz prizmu biografija: kontradikcije, nedosljednosti, politizacija, pedagogizacija.” *Povijest u nastavi* XIII, br. 26 (2) (2015): 86-93.

16 Goldstein, Ivo, Goldstein, Slavko. Tito, Zagreb: Profil, 2015., 34.



the onset of World War I., he was conscripted into the 10<sup>th</sup>. company of the 25<sup>th</sup>. regiment of the 42<sup>nd</sup>. home guard division. He quickly realized he had no place among the said army, and in the following years he characterized it as stupefying and torpid. He was a prisoner in the Petrovaradin fort, from whence he was transferred to the battlefields of Galicia and the Carpathians. As a prisoner he was taken to the village of Kalasijevo to perform forced labour, from whence he escaped through Kungur, where he also laboured, to Sankt Petersburg, and soon after to Finland, in 1917. There, he would once again get arrested and taken to Omsk, where he joined the Yugoslav section of the Russian Communist Party. His time in captivity and exile was spent learning languages and mastering a great number of literary works.

He became a member of The Communist Party of Yugoslavia when he returned to Zagreb in 1920., and only a year after, all party activity was prohibited, forcing them to operate illegally. He was arrested in 1928. and sentenced to 5 years in prison, he first served his sentence in Lepoglava, then Maribor, and finally, Ogulin. After getting out of jail he starts operating under the name of Tito, and in the name of The Communist party of Yugoslavia, he operates abroad, which in 1934. netted him the title of the General Secretary of the Central Committee of The Communist Party of Yugoslavia. During World War II., Tito headed the National Liberation Movement and led an uprising. Owing to his initial wartime achievements in the battle against the occupiers, in 1942. the People's Liberation Army of Yugoslavia is formed, coming out victorious from World War II, and Tito, as a marshal and a people's hero, on the 7<sup>th</sup> of March 1945., in Belgrade, formed the government of the Democratic Federal Yugoslavia, taking the highest office of the newly formed country as his own.<sup>17</sup>

### **Tito in literature and media**

As was previously stated, the media were the main instrument in constructing and maintaining the cult of personality. The omnipresence in the media, while maintaining a dose of mysticism, along with controlling the press, was instrumental. As in all other regimes, it was necessary to control what was published about the ideological leader,

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17 Blažina, Boris. „Djetinjstvo i mladost Josipa Broza Tita 1892. - 1920. kroz prizmu biografija: kontradikcije, nedosljednosti, politizacija, pedagogizacija.” *Povijest u nastavi* XIII, br. 26 (2) (2015): 98-112.





because otherwise, his image could be undermined, and by that very same virtue, the cult of personality itself, which was in the case of Josip Broz constructed over a long period of time. Even while World War II was still raging on, the name of Tito grew in popularity among the people thanks to his fellow fighters, while the communist propaganda kept a watchful eye over each and every detail pertaining to him, with the purpose of creating a spotless image of the Party leader, and the future head of state.<sup>18</sup> Goldstein remarks that Josip Broz Tito is first mentioned in the media in 1942. as “commandant Tito”, in the newspaper “Vjesnik”, and since then became ever more present in the press, and after the aforementioned war ended, his name and image were ever-present.<sup>19</sup> It is mentioned in “Slobodna Dalmacija” (The Free Dalmatia), which often relayed his speeches to the populace, using nr. 74 of “Slobodna Dalmacija” published on the first of November 1944. as an example, that : “ Marshal Tito has invited all citizens of Yugoslavia to consolidate brotherhood and unity, saying: ‘Every honest citizen should be prepared to cooperate with us on the upbringing and restoration of our destroyed homeland.’”<sup>20</sup> After the formation of communist Yugoslavia, The Communist Party of Yugoslavia promoted the freedom of the press pro forma, while the reality was completely different, and Tito himself controlled all of the media that was reporting on him. His every move was carefully observed by journalists and was touted as headline news in all of media.<sup>21</sup> Likewise, during the fight against the occupiers, songs were made in Tito’s honour, and simultaneously with the growing of the cult of personality, the number of songs grew as well. Some of the more well-known ones are “Tito goes over Romanija”, “Comrade Tito, we swear to you”, “With marshal Tito”, “With Tito and Stalin”, and many others. By analysing each of the mentioned songs, it becomes noticeable that the Yugoslav people celebrate him for his wartime achievements, and in that way approve him as their leader who will lead them towards a better future.<sup>22</sup> Numerous movies which glorify the struggle of the Yugoslav Partisans and their leader were also being made, with the most well-known being “The

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18 Despotović, Ljubiša, Šljukić, Srđan, Gavrilović, Darko, Perica, Vjekoslav, Velikonja, Mitja. *Mitovi epohe socijalizma*, Novi Sad: Fakultet za evropske pravno-političke studije, 2010., 20- 21.

19 Goldstein, Ivo, Goldstein, Slavko, Tito, 480.

20 Slobodna Dalmacija, Split, br. 74., 1. studenog 1944.

21 Goldstein, Ivo, Goldstein, Slavko, Tito, 486.

22 *ibid.*, 480.



Battle of Sutjeska”, and “The Battle of Neretva”, with numerous film reviews speaking volumes about its magnitude and success, as well as an Oscar nomination for the best foreign language film. Some of the world-famous actors from the mentioned movies are Yul Brynner, Orson Welles, and Richard Burton as Tito in “The Battle of Sutjeska”.<sup>23</sup> Tito’s presence, more specifically his idealisation in school textbooks, with the purpose of raising youth fit for Yugoslavia, should also be mentioned. Along with Tito, brotherhood, unity, and the victory of the Yugoslav Partisans over the occupiers was also highlighted.<sup>24</sup>

### Relay races

The idea of doing relay races in Tito’s honour officially came from Josif Prohaska, a gymnasium professor from Kragujevac, and in time it grew into an all-encompassing Yugoslavian manifestation which sought to unite all strata of society, age groups, and from a geography standpoint, all territories of Yugoslavia, and in that way, contribute to the construction of a shared national identity of the newly formed country. It was often interpreted as a symbol of unity, which is not surprising, because, in a certain way, it united all who took part in said manifestation, be it by relaying the baton, filling it with letters, or by simply passively observing.<sup>25</sup> The relay race was formally established in Zagreb, in August of 1945., during the second assembly of the Gymnastics board of Yugoslavia. It is important to mention that the idea of relay racing was taken from the time when Petar II. Karađorđević was the ruling monarch, in whose honour relay races were also being held.<sup>26</sup>

In the formative years of the aforementioned manifestation, the emphasis was primarily put on the glorification of the People’s Liberation struggle with Tito at its forefront, which brought the approval of the people to his rule, while simultaneously fostering the unity of the Yugoslav people. Starting in 1957., the official emphasis is put on the youth, who were supposed to continue the tradition of Yugoslav unity

23 Zvijer, Nemanja. „Presenting (Imposing) Values through Films. The Case of the Yugoslav Partisan Films.” *Images 2*, br. 2 (2014): 1-12.

24 Koren, Snježana. *Politika povijesti u Jugoslaviji (1945.-1960.)*, Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2012., 118.

25 Panić, Ana, „Štafeta-simbol zajedništva“ u: katalog *Štafete 1945-1987*, Beograd: Muzej istorije Jugoslavije, 2008., 13.

26 Goldstein, Ivo, Goldstein, Slavko. *Tito*, 496.



established in 1945. by contemporary officeholders, judging by Tito's speeches. The general distribution of the relay races was on the main ones, and the local ones, with larger Yugoslav cities having relay races of their own, as well as the relay races of The Yugoslav People's Army which were more numerous, considering that every sector of the Army had its own relay race. The path that the relay races took was strictly defined in order to pass through all of the places which held historical significance, while the citizens especially looked forward to the main relay race which was greeted by flags, banners, and flowers. In time, the number of participants in the relay races grew, according to the sources from 1950., the number of participants was upwards of a million. In the period between 1945. and 1956., the relay race was called "Tito's relay race", and was, as was previously mentioned, primarily aimed at glorifying the persona of Tito and his victory in World War II., along with the mention of the youth in the ceremonial speech of Josip Broz Tito in front of the White palace, where the final part of the manifestation was being held between 1946. and 1956. Starting with the mentioned 1956., the final ceremony was transferred to a new location, the stadium of the Yugoslav People's Army, and by changing the location a change among the relay races was also implemented, more specifically, only the federal baton was handed in, that is to say, "The Baton of youth", instead of multiple main ones, as was the case before. Since the appearance of "The Baton of youth", focus was officially shifted to the youth and their importance, which led to the development of a holiday within the said manifestation, called "Youth Day". The youth was exceptionally engaged in that period, and carrying the baton was a great honour among the young of Yugoslavia. Therefore, the first and final carriers of the baton were carefully selected based on their achievements in education, sports, or work. Tito himself gifted gold watches to the final carriers of the baton, and the carriers often appeared in the newspapers.<sup>27</sup> The final time that the baton was handed in to Tito was in 1979., who was in poor health at the time, with the baton filled to the brim with letters wishing him a full and speedy recovery, and only a year later, due to the president passing away on the 4<sup>th</sup> of May 1980., the manifestation was cancelled with the statement "The match is postponed."<sup>28</sup>

27 Panić, Ana, „Štafeta-simbol zajedništva“ u: katalog Štafete 1945-1987, Beograd: Muzej istorije Jugoslavije, 2008., 15-17.

28 Ridley, Jaspers. Tito (Biografija), Zagreb: Prometej, 2000., 23.



## **Tito's funeral as a reflection of a successful cult of personality**

Josip Broz Tito died on the 4<sup>th</sup> of May 1980., in Ljubljana, at the age of 87, and his final farewells, and the way in which the Yugoslav public took in the news of his passing, are clear indicators of the power of his cult of personality. Several hours after his death, the presidency of The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and the Central Committee of The League of Communists of Yugoslavia held an emergency session, declaring the death of the president Tito by “enshrining all of Yugoslavia in black”, suspending all types of work in the following eight hours. His body was transferred by train from Ljubljana to Belgrade, where the final farewells were held, with the people of Yugoslavia arriving at the train stations to commemorate him. On the day of the funeral, the 8<sup>th</sup> of May 1980., the delegation of The League of the Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia laid a Baton of youth on Tito's coffin in the Assembly of The Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The funeral of Josip Broz Tito, held on Dedinje in The House of flowers was, according to numerous historians, one of the most important governmental funerals in history, as well as one of the largest meetings of world politicians ever, with the funeral being broadcast in 58 countries. The presence of some of the highest-ranking statesmen from 128 countries was proof enough of the level of respect Tito commanded all around the world. Also, judging by the available sources, especially recordings, it was evident that the sadness of the Yugoslav people due to their president dying was honest and grand, and that by lamenting Tito, they lamented Yugoslavia whose end was approaching.<sup>29</sup>

### **“And after Tito, Tito”**

Contrary to the expectations of many, the commemoration of “Youth Day” continued after Tito's death along with the relaying of the baton, which was handed in to the president of The League of the Socialist Youth of Yugoslavia since 1980. The manifestation took on a new disposition, more accurately, it nostalgically remembered Tito and maintained a memory of him, which is why it was called “And after Tito, Tito!”. For the following seven years various events were held including concerts, sports competitions and quizzes concerning Tito in order to maintain awareness of the deceased president among the

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29 *ibid.*, 23-26.



populace, and by that same virtue, awareness of Yugoslavia, as much as it was possible.<sup>30</sup> Utilizing the archive of "Slobodna Dalmacija", the concert at The Yugoslav People's Army's stadium called "With Tito within us" from 1982. can be used as a good example, with there being over seven thousand performers present, as the source claims.<sup>31</sup> Also, in 1984., on "Youth Day", a ship named Josip Broz Tito set sail.<sup>32</sup> The media still reported how on the eve of "Youth Day", the youth still dedicated their accomplishments to Tito as their supreme authority, even though the reality was different. The youth were growing more distant from the idea of celebrating "Youth Day", with many considering it redundant. The central celebration was still held at The Yugoslav People's Army's stadium in Belgrade, but criticism grew year after year. Particular dissent among the population was caused by the 1983. celebration due to an almost 10 metre statue of Tito looming over the said stadium. A question was asked: "Do we need Tito in supernatural size?"<sup>33</sup>

The baton was filled with pessimistic letters, the youth asked for changes, and in time, the importance of the relay race disappeared completely, the relay race was now only being used by the government to sweep real problems under the rug. Due to the scandal that happened in 1987., the relay race was permanently abolished. Namely, a group called "New collectivism" made a poster modelled after a 1936. Nazi poster, which got approved as a conceptual solution for the "Youth Day" celebration, causing widespread discontent among the population, prompting the campaign "Relay race, no thank you." It was evident that the Yugoslav population, especially the younger generations had no intention of maintaining an emotional connection with Tito's Yugoslavia and with Tito himself with nostalgic celebrations, a connection the people in power hoped they would maintain. Instead, they asked for the improvement of living conditions, and the state was best described by a quote from the paper of Ana Panić: "The new conceptual solution did not put the genies back in the bottle. The baton that had eight red droplets on its top was not a call for reconciliation.

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30 Panić, Ana, „Štafeta-simbol zajedništva“ u: katalog Štafete 1945-1987, Beograd: Muzej istorije Jugoslavije, 2008., 18.

31 Slobodna Dalmacija, Split, 25. May, 1982.

32 Slobodna Dalmacija, Split, 25. May, 1984.

33 Panić, Ana, „Štafeta-simbol zajedništva“ u: katalog Štafete 1945-1987, Muzej istorije Jugoslavije, Beograd, 2008., 33-34.





With considerable despondency the baton passed through Yugoslavia for the last time. The message it carried was, in fact, a warning.”<sup>34</sup>

### Conclusion

Josip Broz Tito was one of the most important and well-known politicians all over the world. By emerging victorious from World War II., he stood at the forefront of Yugoslavia which he led until his death. His rule was marked by elements of a cult of personality which were stated throughout the paper, and the aforementioned elements enabled him and The Communist Party of Yugoslavia who stood behind him to direct the politics of Yugoslavia relatively, with clear adoration from the people. The elements of the cult of personality were especially important in times of crises, as was the conflict with The Soviet Information Bureau in 1948. For many years, Tito linked all of Yugoslavia’s manifestations, and his cult was so powerful that he was called “the best leader and friend of peoples and the young ones”. He enjoyed compliments from both politicians and nations of the world, by that virtue, the citizens of the United States called him a dominant figure of the world scene, the Africans a patriarch of the non-aligned, the English a symbol of the 20<sup>th</sup>. century, and the Germans a gift of fate. He held all nations of Yugoslavia together, and after his death, it was clear that the stated country had no future. According to Simić and Despot, Tito’s death did not enshroud only Yugoslavia in black, but the entire global political scene as well, a scene that respected him greatly, which is why the aforementioned authors say: “ When the laws of biology failed to overlook even him, Tito’s successors said that with his death the global history became a widow, and they consoled their compatriots with the oath: ‘ And after Tito, Tito.’”<sup>35</sup>

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34 *ibid.*, 35.

35 Simić, Pero, Despot, Zvonimir, „Tito-Jedna biografija“, 21.-23.



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# SPORAZUM CVETKOVIĆ - MAČEK I USPOSTAVA BANOVINE HRVATSKE

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Primljeno: 24. 7. 2021.  
Prihvaćeno: 26. 9. 2021.

*Središnja je tema rada sklapanje Sporazuma Cvetković-Maček, odnosno stvaranje Banovine Hrvatske. Autor u uvodnom dijelu rada prikazuje događaje koji su prethodili pregovorima između Dragiše Cvetkovića i Vladka Mačeka, a u središnjem se dijelu rada pobliže objašnjava tijekom pregovora s naglaskom na okolnosti koje su utjecale na ishod Sporazuma. Predstavlja se i ustrojstvo Banovine Hrvatske, neke njezine bitne odrednice i hrvatske i srpske reakcije na uspostavu Banovine Hrvatske. Naposljetku, autor iznosi vlastiti osvrt na iznesene događaje.*

**Ključne riječi:** *Sporazum Cvetković-Maček, Banovina Hrvatska, hrvatsko pitanje, Kraljevina Jugoslavija*

## Uvod

Nakon pada vlade Milana Stojadinovića početkom 1939. godine, a u sve napetijem vanjskopolitičkom okruženju, rješavanje nacionalnog pitanja Kraljevine Jugoslavije, napose hrvatskog nacionalnog pitanja kao najvažnijeg, pokazat će se neodgodivim. U državi u kojoj su tinjala, latentno ili otvoreno, etnička previranja, knez Pavle povjerit će mandat za sastavljanje nove vlade Dragiši Cvetkoviću s glavnim ciljem da se sporazumije s Vladkom Mačekom i HSS-om, odnosno da riješi hrvatsko nacionalno pitanje. Pregovaralo se i taktiziralo više mjeseci što je kulminiralo uspostavom Banovine Hrvatske 26. kolovoza 1939. godine (Matković 1998: 205).

Korištena se literatura sastoji od općenitih povijesnih sinteza, koje su i u najvećoj mjeri citirane u radu, te članaka koji se bave nekom specifičnom temom vezanom za Banovinu Hrvatsku. Valja istaknuti i da se gotovo svi korišteni historiografi prilikom formuliranja svojih teza koriste i pozivaju na radove Ljube Bobana koji se između ostalog uvelike posvetio tematici HSS-a i međuratne Jugoslavije, osim Horvata, koji je umro puno prije Bobanovih monografija, i Čulinovića, koji je



svoje djelo napisao nekoliko godina prije Bobanovih. Dapače, Boban je napisao svoju doktorsku disertaciju naslovljenu *Sporazum Cvetković-Maček* u kojoj je opširno objasnio gotovo sve bitnosti Sporazuma. Međutim, koliko je god navedena tema bitna za hrvatsku povijest 20. stoljeća, jer predstavlja najvažniji pokušaj rješavanja akutnog problema monarhističke Jugoslavije tj. hrvatsko pitanje, ona nije u novijoj historiografiji zadovoljavajuće obrađena što je razvidno nedostatkom suvremenih radova koji se bave Sporazumom. Budući da se većina korištene literature poziva na Bobana zaključke, zaključci će i ovog rada također proizlaziti iz njih.

### **Okolnosti i zbivanja prije uspostave Banovine Hrvatske**

Atentat na kralja Aleksandra u Marseilleu 1934. godine dupkom će izmijeniti unutrašnjopolitičke odnose, ali i vanjskopolitičku orijentaciju Kraljevine Jugoslavije. Tradicionalno prijateljstvo i savezništvo između Francuske i Jugoslavije polagano će početi kopnjeti, slabjeti zbog Aleksandrova približavanja Njemačkoj nakon dolaska Hitlera na vlast (Matković 1998: 184). To taktičko približavanje Jugoslavije i Njemačke trebalo je poslužiti kralju Aleksandru kao podrška protiv talijanskih pretenzija, a Hitlerovoj Njemačkoj kao ekonomsko podčinjavanje dijelova jugoistočne Europe, ali zamaskirano u dobronamjerne ekonomske odnose. Približavanje Jugoslavije i Njemačke koincidiralo je s francuskim nastojanjima obuzdavanja „probudene“ Njemačke, stoga francuska diplomacija nije blagonaklono gledala na takve poteze, što će biti razlog posjete francuskog ministra vanjskih poslova Louisa Barthoua Beogradu 1934. godine i tada dogovorenog novog posjeta kralja Aleksandra Parizu (Matković 1998: 184). Kraljevo će putovanje pogubno završiti jer će ustaše na čelu s Antom Pavelićem i u suradnji s Unutrašnjom Makedonskom revolucionarnom organizacijom (VMRO) izvršiti atentat na njega u Marseilleu 9. listopada 1934. godine u kojem je uz kralja Aleksandra smrtno stradao i Louis Barthou. Oporučno je kralj Aleksandar odredio da će državom upravljati tročlano namjesništvo u kraljevo ime jer je prijestolonasljednik Petar II. tada imao 11 godina. Namjesnici su bili knez Pavle, kraljev bratić, Radenko Stanković i Ivo Perović.

Nakon preuzimanja vlasti, namjesništvo je izjavilo da „ostaje na braniku narodnog i državnog jedinstva“, odnosno na ideji jugoslaven-



skog unitarizma, a iako je bilo kolektivni organ, glavna je osoba ipak bio knez Pavle (Matković 1998: 185). No, unatoč izjavama u kojima se podržava dotadašnje državno i političko uređenje, namjesništvo, odnosno knez Pavle, bit će primorano promijeniti svoje stavove i učiniti ustupke nezadovoljnoj opoziciji. Tadašnjeg šefa vlade Nikolu Uzunovića zamijenit će knez Pavle Bogoljubom Jeftićem koji će svoju vladu predstaviti kao „vladu pomirljivosti i novog duha“ (Matković 1998: 185). Ova izjava bila je nagovještaj mogućih promjena u unutarnjopolitičkom životu države koje su trebale demokratizirati postojeće stanje, a kao potvrda toga pušten je na slobodu Vladko Maček i raspisani su prijevremeni izbori na kojima je dopušteno sudjelovanje opozicije izmjenom Izbornog zakona. Stvorena je Udružena opozicija 1935. godine sačinjena od Seljačko-demokratske koalicije (dalje SDK), Demokratske stranke, Saveza zemljoradnika i Jugoslavenske muslimanske organizacije (dalje JMO). Cilj je udruživanja bio oboriti Jugoslavensku nacionalnu stranku (dalje JNS) na čelu s Bogoljubom Jeftićem kao šefom vlade. Vladina će lista pobijediti na izborima, ali će Udružena opozicija ipak ostvariti izvjesne uspjehe: vladina lista dobila je 1.746.982 glasova, tj. 60.6 % glasova, a opozicijska lista 1.076.345 glasova, tj. 37.4 % glasova (Matković 1998: 187). Međutim, bizarnim zakonom po kojem stranka koja dobije većinu glasova automatski dobiva 3/5 svih mandata, a zatim sudjeluje i u diobi preostalih mandata, bit će zakinuti podjelom mandata s obzirom na broj glasova (Matković 1998: 187).

Iako je pobijedila na izborima, JNS na čelu s Bogoljubom Jeftićem bit će zamijenjena s Jugoslavenskom radikalnom zajednicom (dalje JRZ) jer je knez Pavle smatrao da je potrebna promjena vladajuće garniture. JRZ je nastala uključivanjem predstavnika Slovenske ljudske stranke, s Antonom Korošcem, Jugoslavenske muslimanske organizacije, s Mehmedom Spahom, i radikala, s Milanom Stojadinovićem na čelu. Oni su istupili s jedinstvenim programom i vodstvom ostajući na temeljima Oktroiranog ustava iz 1931. godine i njegovih unitarističko-centralističkih koncepcija, a knez Pavle dat će mandat za sastavljanje vlade Milanu Stojadinoviću (Matković 1998: 197). Stojadinović je zamijenio Jeftića jer je više odgovarao očekivanjima kneza Pavla. On je podržavao održavanje tješnjih veza s Hitlerovom Njemačkom za razliku od Jeftića koji je bio pristalica profrancuske orijentacije u vremenu sve očiglednijeg jugoslavenskog distanciranja od Francuske i Male Antante (Čulinović 1961: 99). Također, Jeftić se kompromitirao pro-





vođenjem terora i politikom gušenja opozicijskih glasova i mišljenja navukavši na sebe ogorčenje javnosti, kojoj su trebali dati zadovoljštinu u vidu Jeftićeve smjene pokazujući time spremnost na promjene (Čulinović 1961: 97). Ova, nova režimska stranka ipak je naznačivala veću liberalizaciju političkog života, odnosno namjeru kneza Pavla da obnovi stranačko-politički život zemlje, a još će indikativniji biti Stojadinovićev nastupni govor u Skupštini. On je u svom nastupnom govoru izjavio da će novostvorena vlada stvoriti „atmosferu međusobnog povjerenja u kojoj će se ipak lakše moći riješiti i hrvatsko pitanje“ (Matković 1998: 188). Ova Stojadinovićeva izjava važna je iz dva razloga. Prvi je razlog što su beogradski vladajući krugovi prvi put javno i službeno izjavili da postoji problem nacionalnog tj. hrvatskog pitanja u državi, ali drugi razlog, još važniji, jest to da su ga voljni riješiti. Stojadinovićeva je izjava očigledno odražavala i stajalište kneza Pavla jer bi u protivnom Stojadinović snosio posljedice za izjave „bez pokrića“. Također, ova izjava prkosi odrednicama Oktroiranog ustava jer raspravljanje o rješenju hrvatskog pitanja, odnosno o položaju hrvatske nacije unutar Kraljevine Jugoslavije negira postojanje jedne, jugoslavenske nacije, kako se to i naznačivalo u ustavu (Matković 1998: 188). Upravo će ovakvo postupanje koje je protivno bitnim odrednicama ustava i omogućiti stvaranje Banovine Hrvatske tj. zasebnog hrvatskog teritorija unutar Kraljevine Jugoslavije.

### **Vlada Milana Stojadinovića i njegova smjena**

Časopis *Nova Evropa* raspisala je 1935. godine anketu o pitanjima unutarnje politike Kraljevine Jugoslavije. U njoj su javni djelatnici bili pozvani odgovoriti koji su glavni problemi unutarnje politike Jugoslavije i kako ih riješiti (Matković 1998: 192). Popis sudionika pokazuje da su bili iz različitih središta države, ali svi su se složili u tome da je hrvatsko pitanje najveći problem unutarnjeg života države kojeg treba što hitnije riješiti (Matković 1998: 193). Međutim, Stojadinović, a to znači i indirektno knez Pavle, neće htjeti stvoriti „atmosferu međusobnog povjerenja“, kako je to kazao u skupštini, dapače izbjegavat će se konkretno baviti hrvatskim pitanjem. Posljedice takva izbjegavanja objasniti će Maček češkom diplomatu kazavši mu da mobilizacija u Hrvatskoj, u slučaju rata, neće uopće biti moguća, a ako kojim slučajem bude moguća, velika većina Hrvata borila bi se protiv Jugoslavije (Bi-



landžić 1999: 103). Realnost postojanja hrvatskog pitanja prisilit će kneza Pavla i Stojadinovića na barem prividne korake u njegovu rješavanju, stoga će se Stojadinović sastati s Mačekom u Brežicama 1937. godine. Stojadinović je tada ponudio Mačeku ulazak u vladu, no Maček je to odbio zahtijevajući ukidanje Oktroiranog ustava. Pregovori će biti neuspješno okončani nakon što je Stojadinović odbio mijenjanje ustava prije negoli stupi na prijestolje kralj Petar II. (Matković 1998: 189). Neuspjeh pregovora nagnat će Mačeka na jače povezivanje sa srpskom oporbom. Srpsku su oporbu tada činile Demokratska stranka, Savez zemljoradnika i dio radikala koje će se ujediniti u Udruženu opoziciju (Matković 1998: 189). Sporazum između SDK i Udružene opozicije zaključit će se u Farkašiću 8. listopada 1937. godine stvorivši Blok narodne demokracije, a sporazumom se tražilo ukidanje Oktroiranog ustava i donošenje novog ustava koji bi se isključivo prihvatio pristankom većine Slovenaca, većine Hrvata i većine Srba (Matković 1998: 189). Provođenje tog prijedloga povjerilo bi se novoj vladi, a sve je trebao odobriti i knez Pavle koji to, dakako, nije odobrio zbog zahtijeva da se dokine Oktroirani ustav.

Međunarodna situacija 1938. godine postat će sve napetijom, posebice priključenjem Austrije Njemačkoj, odnosno sve većim revanšističkim težnjama pojedinih europskih država. U tim zbivanjima, Kraljevina Jugoslavija pronaći će se okružena izrazito neprijateljski nastrojenim susjedima, pogotovo s obzirom na novonastalu granicu s Hitlerovom Njemačkom, a izbjegavanje rješavanja hrvatskog pitanja u takvim okolnostima moglo je ozbiljno ugroziti cjelovitost države. Susjedne su zemlje, a pogotovo Italija i Mađarska, otprije podržavale različite organizacije, zbog vlastitih nacionalnih ambicija, kojima je u cilju bilo razbijanje jugoslavenske države, kao primjerice ustašama (Regan 2007: 219). Jačanje nezadovoljne hrvatske oporbe na čelu s Mačekom, a koja će s vremenom dobiti karakter sveopćeg hrvatskog pokreta, značilo je u napetim vanjskopolitičkim odnosima i mogućim novim ratom manjak želje i spremnosti obraniti jugoslavensku državu koja se percipirala, u očima mnogih Hrvata, ali i drugih naroda, kao država u kojoj jedan narod ima nepravednu prevagu nad svim drugim narodima. Valja istaknuti kako je HSS otprije počeo stvarati vlastite organizacije, udruge gospodarskog, političkog, prosvjetno-kulturnog, paravojnog karaktera koje su za cilj imale „nabolje“ preobraziti društvo. Smatrale su se „granama hrvatskog seljačkog pokreta“ preko ko-



jih je HSS utjecao na stanje na terenu (Leček 2014: 35). Okupljale su tisuće seljaka i građana pod paskom HSS-a koji su se udruživali kako bi nastojali riješiti vlastite, tekuće probleme na terenu. Osnivanjem je takvih različitih organizacija HSS priskrbio toliku podršku naroda da je praktički stvorio „državu u državi“ (Leček 2014: 35). U ovom kontekstu, posebno se ističe *Hrvatska seljačka i građanska zaštita* koja je nastala 1936. godine kao odgovor na državno nasilje, njezino prešutno odobravanje nasilja velikosrpskih organizacija i kao protuteža širenju utjecaja ustaša među Hrvatima (Leček 2014: 41, Ramet 2011: 145). Postojanje takvih paravojskih postrojbi koje su brojale nekoliko desetaka tisuća ljudi (Leček 2014: 41) značilo je da Maček iza sebe ima respektabilnu „stranačku“ vojsku, odnosno da može odvažnije nastupati prilikom iznošenja zahtjeva HSS-a. Mačekovi su zahtjevi dodatno dobivali na težini kada su iza njih stajale postrojbe *Hrvatske seljačke i građanske zaštite*, stoga njegova izjava da „godine 1918. nismo imali ništa, pa su zato s nama radili što su htjeli“, a sada „zato imamo Seljačku zaštitu“ aludira na upotrebu *Zaštite* u obrani hrvatskih nacionalnih interesa (Goldstein 2008: 172). Osim oporbe drugih naroda, Stojadinović će si nedemokratskim i diktatorskim ponašanjem i metodama priskrbiti oporbu Srba koji će zbog sve većeg nezadovoljstva početi osporavati Stojadinovićevo pravo da predstavlja srpski narod (Matković 1998: 200). Također, počeo se stvarati jaz između Stojadinovića i kneza Pavla jer je Stojadinović nastojao, u fašističkim manirima, nastupati kao samostalni činitelj u vanjskoj i unutrašnjoj politici države sve više ističući svoju ličnost, a izmičući tako kontroli i prkoseći knezu Pavlu (Matković 1998: 201). Organizirao je i svoje odrede zelenih košulja koji su mu klicali da je vođa po uzoru na Hitler i Mussolinija zbog čega se knez Pavle pribojavao da će Stojadinović zauzeti mjesto u Jugoslaviji kakvo je imao Mussolini u Italiji, a tako zasjenjujući kralja (Matković 1998: 201).

Sve će to navesti kneza Pavla na provjeru biračkog tijela, stoga će zatražiti prijevremene izbore, a što će Stojadinović prihvatiti vjerujući u pobjedu i želeći stvoriti Skupštinu koja će ga bespogovorno podržavati u njegovim naumima. Izbori su raspisani za 11. prosinca 1938. godine, a postavljene su tri liste: JRZ sa Stojadinovićem kao nositeljem, opozicijska s Mačekom kao nositeljem i Zbor s Dimitrijem Ljotićem kao nositeljem. Vladina će lista opet pobijediti, no opozicijska će lista dobiti znatno više glasova negoli 1935. godine: vladina lista dobila je



1.643.738 glasova, tj. 54 % glasova, a lista opozicije 1.364.524 glasova, tj. 44 % glasova (Matković 1998: 200). Očigledno je da je Stojadinovićev položaj, unatoč pobjedi, bio uzdrman, a to će poslužiti knezu Pavlu da se riješi Stojadinovića, a i sam će Maček uvjetovati nastavak pregovora oko rješavanja hrvatskog pitanja uklanjanjem Stojadinovića (Matković 1998: 201). Knez Pavle će tako početkom 1939. godine odlučiti ukloniti Stojadinovića, a za to će se poslužiti njegovim tadašnjim suradnicima Anton Korošcem i Mehmedom Spahom. Glavnu će ulogu preuzeti Dragiša Cvetković, tadašnji ministar socijalne politike, koji će s još četvoricom ministara na sjednici vlade podnijeti ostavku ističući potrebu što skorijeg sporazuma s Hrvatima, a da glavnu prepreku vide u Stojadinovićevoj vladi (Matković 1998: 201). Stojadinović će prihvatiti ostavke svojih ministara nakon čega odlazi knezu Pavlu s prijedlozima novih ministara, no knez Pavle zatražit će ostavku cijele vlade. Stojadinović je tada shvatio da se radi o njegovu uklanjanju i podnosi ostavku cijele vlade, a knez Pavle daje mandat za sastavljanje nove vlade Dragiši Cvetkoviću.

### **Stvaranje preduvjeta početnim pregovorima**

Stojadinović, naravno, neće biti zadovoljan smjenom, stoga će i pokrenuti aktivnu kampanju žigosanja i omalovažavanja svojih protivnika, posebice Cvetkovića, za kojeg će kazivati da je „srpski izdajica“, i njegovih pristaša (Regan 2007: 221). Cvetkoviću, koji je formirao vladu 6. veljače 1939. godine, glavni cilj bio je što skorije rješavanje hrvatskog pitanja. Novoformirana vlada bila je uglavnom sastavljena od pristalica JRZ-a, ali i dijelom onih za koje se smatralo da ne pripadaju nijednoj stranci. Opći je dojam bio da je nova Cvetkovićeva vlada mnogo više voljna uhvatiti se u koštac sa SDK-om tj. krenuti u rješavanje hrvatskog pitanja, pogotovo ako se uzme u obzir da su u novu vladu ušli pojedini ministri koji su bili podnijeli ostavku u Stojadinovićevoj vladi zbog neslaganja s njegovom politikom glede hrvatskog pitanja (Boban 1974: 9). Knez Pavle sastavio je preko Cvetkovića novu vladu koja je trebala biti izvršiteljem njegovih zamisli. Više je djelovala kao prijelazna, nego stabilna vlada jer je knez Pavle htio direktno pregovarati s Mačekom, stoga će se Cvetković pretvoriti u svojevrsnog kneževog emisara (Boban 1974: 10). Iako su Stojadinovićeva smjena i formiranje nove vlade bili pozitivni pomaci, Maček i HSS će s razlogom rezervirano dočekati



promjene. Konstatirat će da novu vladu svejedno čine pristalice JRZ-a kao što su činile i Stojadinovićevu vladu, da je i Stojadinovićeva vlada jednako kao i Cvetkovićeva istaknula da joj je rješavanje hrvatskog pitanja posebna zadaća i da nova vlada stoji na tekovinama Ustava iz 1931. godine kojeg nisu podržavali (Boban 1974: 11). Međutim, nova vlada pokazat će stanovitu promjenu stajališta i metoda. Naznačili su da se mora voditi računa „o važnim momentima naše istorijske prošlosti“, a i istaknuta je vladina želja „da odlučno ostave na stranu sve metode prošlosti“ čime se nagovještava vladino, a time i kneževo, usvajanje novih ideja i metoda suprotnih državnom centralizmu i unitarizmu (Boban 1974: 10). Kasnije Cvetkovićeve izjave u kojima priznaje Hrvatima nacionalnu posebnost i ističe želju „da Hrvatima stvori i formalnu i stvarnu ravnopravnost“ dodatno su išle u prilog blagom optimizmu glede novog smjera vlade, odnosno Dvora na čelu s knezom Pavlom (Boban 1974: 15). Udružena je opozicija negativno ocijenila Cvetkovića i njegovu vladu. S obzirom na njihovu dotadašnju borbu protiv JRZ-a, sastavljanje nove vlade iz redova JRZ-a kao i mimoilaženje Udružene opozicije koja je željela postati nezaobilaznim političkim faktorom u zemlji, bilo je dovoljno da se zauzme negativni stav spram Cvetkovića (Boban 1974: 19). Međutim, nisu htjeli opstruirati mogući sporazum između Cvetkovića i Mačeka jer su se nadali da će i sami sudjelovati prilikom sklapanja sporazuma (Boban 1974: 19). Smatrali su kako rješavanje hrvatskog pitanja mora proći kroz dvije faze: prvu u kojoj bi se donijeli politički zakoni koji bi omogućili slobodniji politički život i drugu u kojoj bi se započelo cjelovito državno preuređenje (Boban 1974: 19). Njihovo negodovanje novom vladom bilo je još i veće kada su shvatili da se ona ne namjerava zadržati samo na prvoj, pripreмноj fazi (Boban 1974: 20). Znajući da zbog malog broja zastupnika u Skupštini nisu bitan politički faktor, zalagat će se za svoja stajališta više iz načelnih razloga, nego iz uvjerenja da će se ona provesti.

Okolnosti pregovora između Mačeka i kneza Pavla bit će umnogome promijenjeni nakon Stojadinovićeva pada. Maček je bio svjestan da je Stojadinovićev nasljednik popustljiviji, odnosno znao je da može odvažnije djelovati. Mačekov prelazak u „ofenzivu“ sarkastično je komentirao knez Pavle u razgovoru s američkim poslanikom prilikom čega mu se požalio na Mačekovu prevrtljivost (Boban 1974: 30). Knez Pavle povući će se sredinom ožujka iz prvog plana u pregovorima čemu je pridonijela Mačekova tvrdoglavost, ali i Cvetkovićevo konsolidiranje





pozicije u Skupštini izglasavanjem državnog proračuna. Maček je bio nezadovoljan kneževim povlačenjem. Htio je i dalje direktno pregovarati s najvažnijim političkim čimbenikom u državi, dakle s knezom Pavlom jer je to značilo da će eventualni sporazum prihvatiti najbitniji politički faktor u državi. Maček će zbog toga uputiti Ivana Šubašića knezu Pavlu sa zahtjevom za direktnim pregovorima, a na što je knez Pavle i pristao. Proglasio je Cvetkovića opunomoćenikom Krune što je značilo da prestaje biti samo predstavnikom neke političke stranke ili vlade, nego postaje predstavnik Krune. Dakle, knez Pavle je ustupio pred Mačekovim zahtjevom stvorivši tako preduvjete konkretnim pregovorima.

Osim što je djelovao na unutrašnjem planu radom na terenu haesesovskim organizacijama, Maček je istovremeno nastojao stupiti u kontakt s velikim silama preko svojih pouzdanika. Time je nastojao ispitati njihove stvarne stavove, shvatiti kakvi su odnosi među velikim silama i kako percipiraju stanje u Jugoslaviji, a posebno njihove stavove prema hrvatskom pitanju. Raspitivao se u Londonu i Parizu, ali su od posebne važnosti bili njemačko-talijanski odnosi prema hrvatskom pitanju, što je razumljivo ako se uzme u obzir njihova neposredna blizina i sve veće zanimanje za stanje u Jugoslaviji. Maček je Berlinu ponudio stvaranje „hrvatske neovisne države“ koja bi bila spremna surađivati s Njemačkom i pristupiti silama Osovine (Boban 1965: 106). Međutim, njemački su stavovi bili rezervirani prema hrvatskom pitanju uopće jer im je odgovaralo postojeće stanje u Jugoslaviji i jer nisu htjeli izazvati talijansko negodovanje, koji su smatrali Jadran i Sredozemno more svojom interesnom zonom (Boban 1965: 108). Dapače, Berlin je dao garancije Rimu da će se njemačka politika u Sredozemlju provoditi u skladu s talijanskim interesima, stoga da se neće miješati u jugoslavensku politiku. Kako je Berlin rezervirano odgovorio, Maček se obratio Rimu. U tim je razgovorima također predložio stvaranje neovisne hrvatske države koja bi zatim stupila u tješnje veze s Italijom, ali jedino ako se hrvatsko pitanje ne bi moglo riješiti unutar granica Jugoslavije (Boban 1965: 108). No, talijanski je odgovor bio jednako suzdržan kao njemački. Nije naišao na razumijevanje ni u Parizu ni u Londonu. Francuski i engleski odgovori sastojali su se od priznavanja hrvatskih teškoća, ali unatoč tome podržavali su cjelovitu Jugoslaviju (Boban 1965: 115). Maček je ove akcije u inozemstvu bio poduzeo prije početka pregovora s Cvetkovićem kako bi mogao procijeniti svoj



položaj u budućim pregovorima, odnosno koliko odlučan može biti u zahtjevima ovisno o međunarodnoj situaciji (Boban 1965: 116).

### **Pregovori Cvetković-Maček**

Prvi susret između Mačeka i Cvetkovića dogodio se 2. travnja 1939. godine u Zagrebu jer se time htjela naglasiti ravnopravnost Zagreba i Beograda. Razgovori su potrajali nekoliko dana tijekom kojih su se sporazumjeli o načelnim stvarima. Cvetković je potvrdio da je predstavnik Dvora, što je i bio uvjet za početak pregovora, i iskazao spremnost da pregovara na osnovi Mačekovih gledišta, odnosno da će njihovim sporazumom isprva odrediti teritorij buduće hrvatske teritorijalne jedinice, njezin položaj unutar Jugoslavije i njezine ovlasti. Razgovaralo se, dakle, o ozemlju Hrvatske, ali tek načelno, odnosno kao izmjena različitih ideja. Odlučili su i da će biti sastavljena nova vlada koja bi sporazum provela u djelo. Na Mačekov prijedlog, pregovori su obustavljeni, ali njihovim je prvim sastankom bio utrt put konkretnim pregovorima na idućim sastancima. U isto vrijeme kada su trajali pregovori, nekolicina je studenta saznala da Srbi preko Cvetkovića traže da se Hrvati odreknu Bosne i Hercegovine i samo zadovolje spajanjem Hrvatske, Slavonije i Dalmacije (Horvat 1992: 605). Nezadovoljni time donijet će *Deklaraciju o Bosni i Hercegovini* u kojoj će istaknuti hrvatsko prirodno i povijesno pravo na Bosnu i Hercegovinu smatrajući je sastavnim dijelom Hrvatske, a pritom se pozivajući na adresu Hrvatskog državnog sabora iz 1878. godine, kojom se tražilo pridruživanje Bosne i Hercegovine Banskoj Hrvatskoj, kao i na tri saborske adrese iz 1917. godine u kojima su ponovljeni isti zahtjevi (Horvat 1992: 605-606). Budući da je deklaracija bila cenzurirana, jedino će je objaviti ustaški list *Ustaše* koji je tada izlazio u tajnosti (Horvat 1992: 607). Razvidno je iz sadržaja studentske deklaracije da se nije priznavalo postojanje bošnjačke nacije, odnosno da su tvorci *Deklaracije* smatrali da u Bosni i Hercegovini žive samo Hrvati različite vjeroispovijesti (Horvat 1992: 606). Međutim, studenti su bili Pavelićevi simpatizeri, podupiratelji ustaškog pokreta na što upućuje činjenica da su njihovu deklaraciju i jedino objavili proustaški listovi, i to uglavnom u inozemstvu (Horvat 1992: 607), i da su neki od protagonista cijele manifestacije, kao npr. Grga Ereš i Branko Rukavina, kasnije bili u službi Nezavisne Države



Hrvatske.<sup>1</sup> Svi će ti proustaški orijentirani pojedinci i skupine na koncu ustati protiv Sporazuma smatrajući da je Maček njime izdao Hrvatsku. Ovaj događaj može biti primjerom kompleksnosti nacionalnog pitanja u Jugoslaviji jer pokazuje kako su se nacionalne ideologije često sukobljavale pritom zanemarujući sve one nacije koje su smatrale nepostojećima. Tako su navedenom deklaracijom proustaški orijentirani studenti zaniijekali bošnjačku nacionalnost, a veliki dio Bosne i Hercegovine pripojili Hrvatskoj jednako kao što su srpski intelektualci i vodeći krugovi nijekali crnogorsku i makedonsku nacionalnost, a njihovu zemlju prisvojili Srbiji. Vidljivo je, dakle, da su političke stranke u višenacionalnoj Jugoslaviji gotovo isključivo okupljale pripadnike samo jedne nacije, stoga su se i pretvorile u nacionalne stranke, a sva politika u sukob različitih nacionalnih interesa u državi koja je proklamirala postojanje samo jedne nacije: jugoslavenske.

Zbog početnih pregovora između Cvetkovića i Mačeka, nastat će jaz između SDK i Udružene opozicije. Umjesto da je, sukladno sporazumu u Farkašiću i očekivanju Udružene opozicije, tražio prvo političke reforme u smislu slobodnijeg političkog života, Maček je ponajprije zahtijevao utvrđivanje teritorijalnog opsega hrvatske jedinice i njezine ovlasti. Dakle, Udružena je opozicija bila dojma da je izigrana, odnosno da Maček nije korektno postupao i da nije dovoljno obavještavao Udruženu opoziciju o pregovorima (Boban 1974: 39). Slično Mačekovu taktiziranju i izbjegavanju, i knez Pavle će nastojati mimoići Udruženu opoziciju. Naime, strahovao je od reakcija Berlina i Rima koji zasigurno ne bi blagonaklono gledali na ulazak Udružene opozicije u vladu kako su oni zahtijevali, s obzirom na to da nisu odobrali dotadašnju vanjskopolitičku orijentaciju Jugoslavije koja se sve više približavala osovinskom poretku (Boban 1974: 40). Ni njihova zahtijevanja za što većom demokratizacijom političkog života ne bi naišla na odobravanje autoritarnih režima Rima i Berlina koji su okruživali Jugoslaviju. Treći se razlog tiče samog Sporazuma Cvetković-Maček. Sporazum je trebalo požuriti, a proceduru skratiti, a u cijeloj stvari Udružena opozicija djeluje kao heterogena, neodlučna i razjedinjena skupina stranaka koja kao takva ne odgovara hitnosti situacije.

1 Opširnije u: Jonjić, Tomislav, „O pokušaju osnivanja Hrvatskoga komiteta u Švicarskoj 1943. godine: diplomatska izvješća Senjanina Josipa Milkovića“, *Senjski zbornik*, vol. 38, br. 1, 2011. i Kovačić, Davor, „Represivne mjere redarstvenih vlasti Nezavisne Države Hrvatske prema pripadnicima Hrvatske seljačke stranke u Drugom svjetskom ratu“, *Radovi*, vol. 46, br. 1, 2014.



Novi susret između Cvetkovića i Mačeka dogodit će se 15. travnja u Zagrebu. Budući da se na prethodnom susretu sporazumjelo oko načelnih ideja i metoda, započet će posve konkretno pregovarati o gabaritima buduće hrvatske jedinice unutar Jugoslavije. Cvetković je bio predložio spajanje Savske i Primorske Banovine te grada i kotara Dubrovnik nadodajući da će se prilikom konačnog državnog preuređenja izvršiti dodatne korekture granica (Boban 1974: 44). Maček će odbiti Cvetkovićevu ponudu, smatrajući da bi Hrvatska dobila pre malo teritorijalnih ustupaka, predloživši 3 protuprijedloga razgraničenja (Boban 1974: 46). Najproblematičnijim će se pokazati pitanje „Turske Hrvatske“ i Srijema koje je Maček zahtijevao jer su to prostori i s velikim udjelom srpskog stanovništva, a koji se također bili u posebnom interesu srpske nacionalne ideologije. Iako se ni na ovom susretu neće donijeti konkretni zaključci, usuglasili su se da će ovlasti pojedinih ministarstava biti prenese na buduću hrvatsku jedinicu, no o samim se ovlastima nije razgovaralo, kao i da će biti sastavljena nova vlada koja će sprovesti sporazum i učiniti pripreme za konačno preuređenje države (Boban 1974: 44). Dok se čekao Cvetkovićev odgovor na prijedloge, Maček je nastojao pridobiti suglasnost i podršku Udružene opozicije. Tražio je da mu ona odobri pregovarati u njihovo ime s Cvetkovićem kao i da prihvate Mačekove prijedloge razgraničenja (Boban 1974 45). Udružena je opozicija odgovorila da se hrvatsko pitanje pogrešno uzdiže iznad cjelovitog državnog preuređenja za kojeg se zalažu, stoga ne mogu i neće podržati Mačekove prijedloge. Jaz koji se stvorio između njih zbog Mačekova oportunitizma, neće moći premostiti.

Cvetković dolazi treći put u Zagreb 22. travnja donijevši odgovore na Mačekove prijedloge o teritorijalnom razgraničenju: usuglasili su se da će se provesti plebiscit u spornim područjima koje je Maček zahtijevao. Zaključili su odmah provesti spajanje Savske i Primorske Banovine s gradom i kotarom Dubrovnik u jedinstvenu cjelinu imena Banovina Hrvatska na temelju članka 116. Ustava. Prenijet će se ovlasti središnje vlasti na Banovinu Hrvatsku tako da će zajednički poslovi biti vanjska politika, vojska i vrhovna državna uprava. Kako bi se izvršilo konačno državno preuređenje, složili su se sastaviti novu zajedničku vladu koja bi trebala to provesti. Iako se činilo da je samo pitanje vremena kada će sporazum donijet 27. travnja biti sankcioniran, Namjesništvo ga ipak odbija, pravdajući se da još proučavaju odrednice sporazuma. Osim dijela o plebiscitu, Namjesništvo je mora-



lo uzeti u obzir protivljenje Mehmeda Spahe, vođe JMO-a koja je bila dio vladajuće garniture tj. JRZ-a, kao i onih političkih stranki koje su Bosni i Hercegovini okupljale Srbe jer su oni negodovali zbog učinjenih prevelikih koncesija hrvatskoj strani (Boban 1974: 49). Također, i vojni su se krugovi negativno izjasnili glede sporazuma smatrajući da on previše slabi obrambenu sposobnost zemlje. Naime, za trajanja pregovora između Cvetkovića i Mačeka Hitlerova Njemačka upravo je vodila okupaciju Čehoslovačke, a Mussolinijeva Italija okupaciju Albanije. Vojni je vrh zbog toga smatrao da usvajanje takvog sporazuma, koji potencijalno nagovještava federalizaciju Jugoslavije tj. komadanje u njihovim očima, slabi obrambenu snagu zemlje (Matković 1998: 204). Kneza su upozoravali i na to da bi ustupanje stanovitog broja kotareva koji nisu isključivo hrvatski, u smislu nacionalnog sastava, stvorilo veliki revolt Srba i uzročno-posljedično srpsko pitanje u državi (Boban 1974: 50-51).

Razgovori između Mačeka i Cvetkovića nastavit će se, ali preko posrednika tako čineći pripreme za nove direktne pregovore koji će se i dogoditi krajem lipnja 1939. godine. Na njemu će se konačno dogovoriti o teritorijalnom opsegu Banovine Hrvatske, a na idućim susretima složit će se oko prijenosa ovlasti s državnih organa, kada je Cvetković pristao da Banovina Hrvatska upravlja vlastitom policijom. Knez Pavle, koji nije bio prihvatio prijašnji sporazum, pobliže će se upoznati s međunarodnom situacijom nakon posjeta Rimu, Berlinu i Londonu, odnosno shvatit će neposrednu blizinu novog rata te će bezrezervno prihvatiti sporazum kako bi koliko-toliko stabilizirao državu riješivši hrvatsko pitanje (Boban 1974: 64). Cvetković i Maček bit će primljeni 24. kolovoza 1939. godine na zajedničku audijenciju kod kneza Pavla na Brdu kod Kranja gdje će Pavle prihvatiti predloženi tekst Sporazuma, poznatiji kao Sporazum Cvetković-Maček, a koji će zatim potpisati 26. kolovoza 1939. godine (Matković 1998: 205). No, Sporazum je bio politički akt bez državnopravne snage, jer ga nije potvrdilo nijedno zakonodavno tijelo, stoga je knez Pavle morao nakon potpisivanja Sporazuma izdati i Uredbu o Banovini Hrvatskoj koja se temeljila na članku 116. Oktroiranog ustava, a koji je predviđao da kralj, u ovom slučaju knez Pavle, može u trenutcima koji ugrožavaju javni interes privremeno djelovati neovisno o ustavu ili zakonskim propisima, a hrvatsko je pitanje toliko opterećivalo državu da je njegovo ne rješavanje predstavljalo ugrozu za opstanak Jugoslavije (Perić 2007: 94). Uredbu





su potpisali Namjesništvo i svi članove vlade, a nakon toga, knez Pavle raspustio je Skupštinu ukinuvši mandate svim narodnim zastupnicima (Šlabek 1991: 41). Stvaranjem Banovine Hrvatske prekinulo se s praksom unitarizma i centralizma kao i s tradicijom nazivlja Trojedne Kraljevine Hrvatske, Slavonije i Dalmacije zamijenivši je s etničkom sastavnicom (Šlabek 1991: 83).

### **Banovina Hrvatska**

Uredbom o Banovini Hrvatskoj utvrđeni su teritorij, ovlasti i ustrojstvo Banovine Hrvatske. Teritorij je obuhvaćao dotadašnju Savsku i Primorsku banovinu kojoj su pridruženi kotarevi u kojima je bilo više od polovine hrvatskog stanovništva: Dubrovnik, Travnik, Fojnica, Brčko, Gradačac, Derventa, Šid i Ilok (Perić 2007: 95-96). U uredbi se spominje samo onaj teritorij koji je trenutno činio Banovinu Hrvatsku jer je u Sporazumu Cvetković-Maček bila dodana napomena da će se njezin konačni opseg odrediti prilikom konačnog državnog preuređenja, upućujući na daljnja teritorijalna i upravna preuređenja unutar Jugoslavije, ali do kojih neće doći zbog izbijanja Travanjskog rata (Perić 2007: 95-96). Međutim, teritorijalne koncesije bile su učinjene nauštrb muslimanskog stanovništva koje se nije priznavalo kao naciju prilikom sklapanja Sporazuma, što bi dugoročno otvorilo muslimanskog pitanje unutar Banovine Hrvatske (Goldstein 2008: 190). Banovinske su ovlasti izričito utvrđene: poljoprivreda, trgovina, industrija, šume, rudnici, građevine, socijalna politika i narodno zdravlje, fizički odgoj, pravda, prosvjeta i unutarnji poslovi. Svi ostali poslovi, koji nisu nabrojani, potpali su pod središnju vlast, međutim nije detaljno definirana ovlast u području financija, a dodano je također da se ovlasti i položaj Banovine Hrvatske neće moći mijenjati bez pristanka Banovine Hrvatske (Perić 2007: 96). Zakonodavnu vlast iz banovinske nadležnosti obavljali su kralj i Hrvatski sabor, a sve zakonodavne tekstove koje izglasuje Sabor trebao je uz bana potpisati i kralj. Saborski zastupnici birali su se „općim, jednakim i neposrednim tajnim glasanjem“ na mandat u trajanju od tri godine, a glasanju su mogli pristupiti svi muškarci s navršениh 24 godine (Perić 2007: 96). Međutim, za postojanja Banovine Hrvatske neće se održati niti saborski izbori, a niti se sastati Hrvatski sabor. Zakoni koji se izglasaju u Skupštini vrijede i u Banovini Hrvatskoj, a ako bi interferirali zakoni banovinskog i središ-



njeg zakonodavstva, rješavali bi se na posebno uspostavljenom ustavnom sudu (Matković 1998: 207). Vrhovnu upravnu vlast u Banovini imao je ban, kojeg imenuje kralj, u ovom slučaju knez Pavle, a prvi i jedini ban postao je, na kneževo inzistiranje, Ivan Šubašić (Perić 2007: 96). Banska vlast podrazumijevala je i 11 odjela na čelu sa šefovima koje postavlja ban, a koji su imali u banovinskim pitanjima potpunu neovisnost (Perić 2007: 96). Sudstvo je također bilo potpuno samostalno, a osim banovinskih sudova, nisu postojali sudovi viših instanci.

Banovina je Hrvatska bila administrativno-teritorijalno podijeljena na gradove, kotareve i općine od kojih je sveukupno bilo 25 gradova, 99 kotareva s četiri ispostave i približno 700 općina (Regan 2008: 399). Iako se izbori za Hrvatski sabor neće provesti, SDK je odlučio provesti općinske izbore kako bi izmijenio sastave općinskih vijeća koji su često bili osloncem režima (Matković 1999: 412). Izbori će biti održani u 625 općina, ali samo u onim seoskim, u kojima će HSS dobiti većinu u 425 općina, a Samostalna demokratska stranka (dalje SDS) 133 općine. Sveukupno će SDK pobijediti u 564 općine (Matković 1999: 413-414).

Što se tiče političke i gospodarske situacije, Banovina Hrvatska, i Kraljevina Jugoslavija, bit će pod sve većim njemačkim utjecajem. Nakon ekonomskih sankcija Italiji, u kojima je sudjelovala i Kraljevina Jugoslavija, Njemačka će postati najveći jugoslavenski trgovački partner, a što će se samo povećati nakon Anschlusa i komadanja Čehoslovačke. U tom trgovinskom „partnerstvu“ nerazvijena Jugoslavija pružala je sirovine i poljoprivredne proizvode, a razvijena Njemačka industrijsku robu. Bio je to smišljeni njemački plan kojim bi se, preko gospodarskih veza, moglo utjecati na vanjske politike država (Goldstein 2008: 194). Njemačka je sačinjavala 40 % jugoslavenskog izvoza i 50 % uvoza, a preko gospodarskih veza, odnosno pod prijetnjama njenih prekidanja, počela je utjecati i na banovinsku i jugoslavensku politiku (Kolar-Dimitrijević 1990: 172-173). Njemački je utjecaj očigledan ako se uzme u obzir zabrana zapošljavanja Židova koji su se doselili u Jugoslaviju bježeći pred progonima Hitlerove Njemačke, zabrana Židovima da trguju hranom (Kolar-Dimitrijević 1990: 188) kao i ograničavanje Židovima upise na fakultete i škole (Goldstein 2008: 194). Nationalsocijalističku propagandu vodit će i *Kulturbund*, društvo njemačke narodne manjine u Jugoslaviji. U njezinim podružnicama polagala se zakletva vjernosti zastavi s kukastim križem i obećavalo da



se Nijemci neće ženiti s Mađaricama, Židovkama i Srpkinjama (Goldstein 2008: 194-195). Nacistički sentiment bit će još izraženiji nakon Anschlusa i Münchenskog sporazuma pa će se sve otvorenije moći čuti parole *Ein Volk, Eine Wille, Ein Weg* („Jedan narod, jedna volja, jedan put“) (Goldstein 2008: 195).

### **Reakcije na stvaranje Banovine Hrvatske**

Sporazum Cvetković-Maček i uspostava Banovine Hrvatske izazvat će burne reakcije većine srpskih političara i nekih hrvatskih političara. Srpske će stranke koje su sudjelovale u sporazumu u Farkašiću uglavnom izrazito negativno ocijeniti Sporazum Cvetković-Maček smatrajući kako je on utanačen protivno duhu sporazuma u Farkašiću jer se nije uzelo u obzir mišljenje većine Slovenaca i većina Srba, kako je bilo dogovoreno (Matković 1998: 209). Smatrali su, nadalje, da je Maček napustio dogovor surađujući s JRZ protiv koje se borio, a da je plod njihove suradnje ugrozio srpske nacionalne interese i interese cijele zemlje zaključivši da znatni teritorijalni ustupci koji su Hrvati dobili potiču hrvatski nacionalizam potičući zauzvrat i srpski nacionalizam što sve šteti ideji jugoslavenske države (Matković 1998: 211).

Demokratska je stranka bila najaktivnija u kritikama Sporazuma. Isprva je njihova kritika bila umjerena: prihvatili su Sporazum kao „svršen čin“, ali izrazili negodovanje što je hrvatsko pitanje izdvojeno iz cjelovitog državnog preuređenja, a otvorilo pitanje sličnih uređenja drugih dijelova države (Boban 1965: 220). Isticali su nužnost raspisivanja izbora za Skupštinu što bi dovelo do demokratizacije političkog života stvaranjem „istinskog narodnog predstavništva“ (Boban 1965: 220). Međutim, njihovi će se stavovi dupkom izmijeniti. Glavni razlog njihove promjene stava prema Sporazumu bila je mogućnost da će Banovina Hrvatska proširiti na područja koja su smatrali u cijelosti srpskima. Njihove su se bojazni mogle obistiniti jer je u tekstu Sporazuma napomenuto da će se konačni opseg Banovine Hrvatske tek naknadno utvrditi. Stoga, iako nisu napustili zahtjev za raspisivanjem novih izbora, demokratima će prioritet postati stvaranje posebne, srpske jedinice u Jugoslaviji smatrajući da su srpski nacionalni interesi dvostruko ugroženi. Optuživali su Cvetkovića i njegovu stranku da više ne predstavljaju srpski narod, a k tome da su uzrokovali neizvjestan položaj Srbije u državi (Boban 1965: 222). Tako će u svojoj brošuri *Demokrati*



o današnjem stanju u zemlji oštro napasti Sporazum Cvetković – Maček, zahtijevati stvaranje posebne srpske jedinice unutar Jugoslavije i nakon toga raspisivanje novih izbora za Skupštinu (Matković 1998: 211). Demokrati će postati najaktivniji u širenju pokreta *Srbi na okup*, protubanovinskog pokreta koji je nastojao na velikosrpskim temeljima urediti zasebnu srpsku jedinicu u Jugoslaviji (Regan 2007: 218). Međutim, protiv velikosrpskih ideja Demokratske stranke ustat će dio vodstva stranke okupljen oko Ivana Ribara smatrajući da stranka izražava hegemonističke ideje (Matković 1998: 211).

Protiv utanačenog Sporazuma ustao je i Stojadinović. Naime, on je nakon smjene uspio okupiti dio JRZ koji se protivio Cvetkovićevoj politici i njegovom dolasku na čelo stranke. Isticao je kako je Sporazum protivan ustavima iz 1921. i 1931. godine te da je uspostavom Banovine Hrvatske stvorena država u državi, odnosno da su ugroženi srpski interesi u državi, stoga da treba zaštititi interese ugroženih Srba i ujediniti sve Srbe u jednu političku jedinicu (Matković 1998: 213). Okupio je oko 80 poslanika iz Skupštine i 20 senatora koji će se 1940. godine ujediniti u Srpsku radikalnu stranku, iako stranka neće biti formalno odobrena (Boban 1965: 247). U programu stranke napisali su da je Sporazumom „izvršen (...) državni udar“, da je napuštena ideja državnog i narodnog jedinstva, za koje su se samo formalno zalagali, da ne priznaju granice Banovine Hrvatske i da je potrebno raditi na ujedinjenju svih Srba (Boban 1965: 247). Iako su radikali okupljeni oko Stojadinovića formalno isticali jugoslavenstvo, isključivo su djelovali kao velikosrpska nacionalna stranka. Jugoslavenstvo su isticali kao program za buduća, „bolja“ vremena, a u trenutnom, „prelaznom razdoblju“ treba zaštititi srpske interese koji su ugroženi Sporazumom, odnosno treba ujediniti sve srpske oblasti i krajeve jer oni navodno čine jezgru jugoslavenstva iz kojih će opet niknuti ideja državnog i narodnog jedinstva (Boban 1965: 248). Međutim, njihovo jugoslavenstvo bilo je uvjetovano centralizmom i unitarizmom, odnosno njihovo se jugoslavenstvo pretvara u velikosrpsstvo onda kada treba omogućiti državopravnu jednakost i drugim nacijama u Jugoslaviji (Boban 1965: 248). Stojadinović će predstavljati realnu državnu opasnost zbog svojih aktivnosti koje su ometale nastojanja Vlade i Dvora da konsolidiraju državu, ali i zbog njegove naklonosti prema Njemačkoj i Italiji, stoga će isprva biti konfiniran, a zatim izručen Englezima 1941. godine (Boban 1965: 249).



Protiv Sporazuma ustat će i Komunistička partija Jugoslavije (dalje KPJ) nepovoljno ga ocijenivši. Budući da je bila protivnik Cvetkovićeve vlade zbog njegovih „protudemokratskih i reakcionarskih metoda“, prirodno je da je KPJ ustao protiv Cvetkovića kao nositelja Sporazuma (Boban 1965: 277). Smatrali su manom Sporazuma što je bio ograničen samo na hrvatsko pitanje, a ne i na ostala nacionalna pitanja i kako je „pravo“ hrvatskog pitanje ustvari „seljačko pitanje, pitanje zemlje, pitanje potpune narodne demokratije“ ostalo neodgovoreno (Boban 1965: 277). Unatoč tome, zaključili su kako Sporazum može biti podlogom dublje demokratizacije cijelog sustava, a da HSS, kojeg su tada podržavali, u tome ima ključnu ulogu. Međutim, procijenivši kako je razvoj događaja nakon Sporazuma pokrenuo još reakcionarniju politiku ne samo srpskih nego i hrvatskih stranaka, zauzeli su borbeniji stav. Osudili su cjelokupni politički sustav i objavili „rat“ hrvatskim i srpskim građanskim strankama, a Sporazum opisali kao zaštitu hrvatske i srpske buržoazije i njihovih interesa od „mogućih revolucionarnih potresa“, odnosno da se „ispoljio kao prevara radnih masa i ugnjetavanih naroda“ (Boban 1965: 278).

Najglasniji protivnici Sporazuma okupit će se u Srpskom kulturnom klubu, koji je imao znatnu ulogu u promoviranju pokreta *Srbi na okup*. Klub je nastojao okupiti sve srpske nezadovoljnike nastalim stanjem nakon Sporazuma. Htio je ujediniti razjedinjene srpske stranke usmjeravajući ih prema zajedničkom neprijatelju, Sporazumu. Tvrđilo se da je ugrozio srpske nacionalne interese, stoga da ga treba odbaciti i vratiti prijašnje stanje ili ako to nije moguće, povesti borbu za spašavanje Srbije i srpstva (Boban 1965: 250). Zahtijevali su da Banovina prizna Srbima političku autonomiju u 19 kotareva ili dopusti pripojenje drugim banovinama koje bi ušle u sastav srpske jedinice (Regan 2008: 405). U tu svrhu, pokrenuli su glasilo *Srpski glas*, koji je izlazio u Beogradu, a u njihovoj djelatnosti pružat će im pomoć Srpska pravoslavna crkva (Regan 2008: 414). Predsjednik kluba bio je Slobodan Jovanović, a jedan od zamjenika Dragiša Vasić, koji će se prometnuti u jednog od ideologa četničkog pokreta i bliskog suradnika Draže Mihailovića (Regan 2008: 401). Također, Srbi nezadovoljni Sporazumom osnovat će i 1939. godine *Krajinu – udruženje za kulturno i privredno podizanje naroda* (Goldstein 2008: 196). Cilj je udruge bio da se stvori nova administrativno-teritorijalna jedinica Krajina koja bi se sastojala od 25 kotareva Vrbaske, Savske i Primorske Banovine gdje Srbi čine većinu, a u njoj će se uglavnom okupljati članovi zabranjenih četničkih organizacija (Goldstein 2008: 196).





Svakako treba istaknuti da iako je srpsko protivljenje bilo veliko, Sporazum ne bi bio postignut bez podrške prečanskih Srba. Oni su uglavnom bili članovi SDS-a, stoga je ona počela predstavljala najveći dio Srba u Banovini Hrvatskoj. Kako je nekadašnji osnivač i predsjednik stranke, Svetozar Pribićević na koncu prihvatio federalizam i priznao Hrvatima nacionalnu posebnost, razumljiva je njihova podrška Sporazumu. Štoviše, SDS je bio u stabilnoj koaliciji s HSS-om od 1927. godine postavši jedinom strankom koja je dosljedno branila hrvatsku nacionalnu samobitnost i pravo da je izrazi, ali isključivo unutar Jugoslavije (Goldstein 2008: 191). U svom su glasilu, nedugo nakon utanačenja Sporazuma, napisali da je „Srbima u Hrvatskoj bolje nego što im je bilo ikad pod režimom diktature“ (Ponoš 2020: 319). Također, treba spomenuti i da je SDS, zajedno s HSS-om, ušao u sastav nove vlade, a da je njezin kadar počeo dolaziti na položaje u Banovini na kojima su dotada bili članovi JRZ-a postajući time najutjecajniji politički faktor među Srbima u Banovini, stoga je i više nego jasan razlog njihove podrške Sporazumu (Ponoš 2020: 319).

Negodovanja su se mogla čuti i od JMO-a. Odnosi su između Spahe i Cvetkovića isprva bili dobri, no pogoršat će se Cvetkovićevim koncesijama Mačeku u Bosni i Hercegovini (Boban 1965: 258). Spaho se odlučno protivio Mačkovim zahtjevima u Bosni i Hercegovini, a istovremeno je Maček nastojao što više ukloniti utjecaj JMO-a, odnosno Spahe prilikom sklapanja Sporazuma. Spahina iznenadna smrt u lipnju 1939. godine otupila je oštricu JMO-a protiv Mačkovih zahtjeva u Bosni i Hercegovini jer su stranku, nakon Spahine smrti, potresali unutrašnji sukobi oko njegova nasljednika. Naslijedit će ga Džafer Kulenović koji će zauzeti umjereniji stav prema Cvetkovićevim koncesijama. Iako je prihvatio granice Banovine Hrvatske naglašavao je njihov privremeni karakter, kao što je i u tekstu Sporazuma napisano. Zalagao se da se Bosna i Hercegovina formira kao četvrta jedinica u Jugoslaviji, pored hrvatske, srpske i slovenske, i da joj se pripoje pojedini krajevi koji su ušli u sastav Banovine Hrvatske zbog toga što se nisu uzele u obzir želje tamošnjeg, muslimanskog stanovništva za stvaranjem zasebne, četvrte jedinice (Boban 1965: 259). Međutim, budući da su se Sporazumom stvorili relativno dobri odnosi između Cvetkovića i Mačeka, Cvetković nije morao činiti velike ustupke Kulenoviću. Štoviše, JMO je u kontekstu približavanja HSK-a i JRZ-a gubio politički značaj što je rezultiralo Kulenovićevim hladnijim držanjem prema Cvetkoviću i čak dovelo u pitanje suradnju JMO-a s JRZ-om (Boban 1965: 260).



Negodovali su i političari iz redova HSS-a, odnosno njegova desna krila predvođena Jankom Tortićem. Smatrali su da je Hrvatska Sporazumom dobila premalo, a da je Maček bio isuviše popustljiv prema srpskoj strani (Šlabek 1991: 27). To će desno krilo HSS-a, koje je bilo nezadovoljno onim što je Hrvatska dobila Sporazumom, u velikom broju i pristupiti ustašama nakon formiranja Nezavisne Države Hrvatske. No, najveće zamjerke u Hrvata izrazit će ustaše pod vodstvom Mile Budaka i ustaškim tiskom. Isticali su da ne samo da Maček nije uspio objediniti sve hrvatske zemlje Sporazumom nego da je izdao ideju neovisne hrvatske države: govorili su da se „prodao Srbima“ i da je „kapitulirao“ pred srpskim interesima (Ramet 2011: 151). U svojem su tisku ustaše u potpunosti odbacili Sporazum i pejorativno pisali o tadašnjim političkim akterima pa su tako Šubašiću zamjerali što je bio solunski dobrovoljac, Mačeka su pogrдно zvali Kranjcem (Slovencom), Cvetkovića ciganinom itd. Pišući o Sporazumu, ustaški list *Nezavisnost* ističe da je Maček „umjesto uspostave i priznanja hrvatskog suvereniteta (...) ostvario minijaturnu upravnu autonomiju, pri čemu nije dobio nikakva stvarna ili formalna jamstva da će ta autonomija biti održana“ (Ramet 2011: 151) Iako je bilo negodovanja s hrvatske strane, uglavnom je bilo ograničeno na radikalne skupine poput ustaša jer su Hrvati u najvećem broju s odobravanjem dočekali uspostavu Banovine Hrvatske smatrajući je ponovnom afirmacijom hrvatske nacionalne posebnosti, a koja se manifestirala u vlastitoj administrativno-teritorijalnoj jedinici unutar Jugoslavije. Bit će i ispunjene želje ujedinjenja Dalmacije s Banskom Hrvatskom, želje koje su bile konstanta hrvatske politike devetnaestog i velikog dijela dvadesetog stoljeća, a koje će se ostvariti spajanjem Savske i Primorske Banovine u jedinstvenu cjelinu pod hrvatskom autonomnom upravom.

### **Zaključak**

Nesrpski narodi Kraljevine Jugoslavije bili su, između ostalog, sustavno zanemarivani u smislu političke zastupljenosti i sloboda, a njihova se nacionalna posebnost pokušavala zatrti što se manifestiralo u državnom centralizmu i jugoslavenskom unitarizmu tj. integralizmu. Hegemonija jednog naroda, u ovom slučaju srpskog, u višenacionalnoj državi dugoročno uzrokuje nestabilnost političkog sustava, koja onda metastazira i u sve druge sfere državnog života. Kako je isprva među-



narodna situacija bila povoljna u smislu pobjede sila Antante u Prvom svjetskom ratu, u čije je redova spadala i Kraljevina Srbija i čiju će podršku dobivati, sustav hegemonije bit će donekle održiv u Kraljevini SHS, kasnije Jugoslaviji. Međutim, Jugoslavija će se ubrzo zateći okružena neprijateljski nastrojenim državama radikalnom promjenom međunarodne situacije dolaskom Mussolinija i posebice Hitlera na vlast kao i jačanjem njihovih simpatizera u državama poput Mađarske. U tom su trenutku vladajuće garniture gotovo dva desetljeća zanemarivali nacionalne probleme države, a takva će atmosfera postati plodnim tlom raznoraznim organizacijama koje će nuditi brza, radikalna rješenja nacionalnih problema pa će tako pokreti poput ustaša i četnika postati sve popularniji. Sporazumom se upravo nastojao riješiti taj problem tj. hrvatsko pitanje unutar šireg nacionalnog pitanja. Njegovo rješavanje uspjelo bi donekle otupiti oštricu hrvatskog nezadovoljstva koje se moglo iskoristiti u napetoj međunarodnoj situaciji protiv cjelovitosti Kraljevine Jugoslavije što je i razvidno iz Mačekovih razgovora s Berlinom i Rimom u kojima je predlagao stvaranje neovisne hrvatske države. Stoga, Mačekov razgovor s češkim diplomatom 1937. godine zvuči kao zloslutno proročanstvo. Maček mu je tada kazao da „seljaci dolaze (...) i pitaju kada ćemo im dati oružje da krenu na Beograd“ (Goldstein 2008: 172), odnosno da će se u slučaju rata boriti protiv opstanka Jugoslavije (Bilandžić 1999: 103).

Sporazum je svojim sadržajem najjasnije pokazao neuspjeli nacionalni projekt tvoraca prve Jugoslavije. Njezini su tvorci vjerovali u ideju da su južnoslavenski narodi ustvari samo jedan narod, ali s tri različita plemena i imena, dakle u ideju jugoslavenstva koja im je bila podlogom djelovanja. Smatrali su da su razlike između plemena povijesno uvjetovane, da su ishod različitih povijesnih datosti i okolnosti, odnosno da su „umjetne“ i da se mogu zajedničkim životom u državi otkloniti, ispraviti. Dakle, nisu priznavali postojanje različitih južnoslavenskih nacija. Njihove zamisli neće polučiti željene rezultate, neće uspjeti stvoriti jugoslavensku naciju što će stvarno stanje na terenu eklatantno dokazivati. U tom kontekstu, Sporazum je jasno naznačio raskid s jugoslavenskom idejom službeno priznavši Hrvatima njihovu nacionalnu samobitnost i davši im veliki stupanj autonomije unutar države. Dakle, ne samo da je Sporazumom Hrvatima dodijeljena autonomija i priznata nacionalna posebnost nego su to učinili beogradski vladajući krugovi, Dvor i Vlada, u dogovoru s hrvatskim političarima.



Unatoč tome, Sporazum su kritizirali i hrvatske i srpske organizacije i stranke. Najviše su se kritizirale utanačene granice i dogovorene autonomije Banovine Hrvatske: dok su hrvatski kritičari smatrali da je Hrvatska premalo dobila u smislu granica i autonomija dotle su srpski kritičari smatrali da je Hrvatskoj dodijeljena prevelika autonomija i teritorij. Također, nitko nije smatrao Sporazum gotovim činom, štoviše u samom se tekstu Sporazuma ističe njegova privremenost, a i njegovi su tvorci očekivali preinake: Cvetković je kanio stvoriti srpsku jedinicu koja bi bila pandan Banovini Hrvatskoj, a Maček se nadao proširivanju ozemlja i autonomija u odnosu na Beograd. Dakle, obje su se strane nadale naknadnim preinakama nauštrb one druge, a malo je vjerojatno da bi se u tom novom sukobu hrvatska strana dobrovoljno odrekla stečenih granica i autonomija, a jednako je malo vjerojatno da srpska strana ne bi nastojala što više ograničiti ozemlje i autonomije Banovine Hrvatske. Takva je nedorečenost Sporazuma dodatno raspirivala tenzije između hrvatskih i srpskih političara i intelektualaca. Umjesto da je Sporazum stvorio pogodnu klimu za daljnje rješavanje nacionalnog pitanja on je paradoksalno stvorio još gore političko ozračje u kojem je Sporazum postao metom raznoraznih napada zbog svoje parcijalnosti, nedorečenosti i privremenosti. Međutim, valja istaknuti kako se, unatoč svim manama, Sporazum ne bi mogao utanačiti bez podrške velikog dijela prečanskih Srba HSS-u. Oni su u najvećoj mjeri bili članovi SDS-a, srpske stranke koja je bila dugogodišnji koalicijski partner HSS-u. Njihova koalicija nastala je kao rezultat postizanja hrvatsko-srpskog političkog konsenzusa, a upravo se on može smatrati bitnom sastavnicom Sporazuma, a koji se jasno može uočiti ako se uzme u obzir da je jedina srpska stranka koja je decidirano branila Sporazum bila SDS. Dakle, Sporazum, odnosno njegov raskid s jugoslavenstvom naznačio je novi, mogući smjer državne politike. Mogao je poslužiti kao predložak budućim sporazumima s drugim narodima na putu federalizacije Jugoslavije, što će i biti slučaj s drugom Jugoslavijom nastalom na ruševinama Drugog svjetskog rata, ili barem kao predložak onakvim rješenjima kojima bi se osigurala što veća politička i kulturna autonomija narodima monarhističke Jugoslavije. No, treba imati na umu da postojanje crnogorske, makedonske i bošnjačke nacije nije bilo priznato, stoga je i za pretpostaviti da ukoliko bi se postigli slični sporazumi kao Cvetković-Maček, utoliko bi bili ograničeni na još slovensku i srpsku naciju.



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## SUMMARY

*The paper presents the topic of creation of Banovina of Croatia created on 26. august 1939. Author tries to explain the events that led up to the Cvetković-Maček Agreement, negotiations themselves and the circumstances that influenced the outcome of the Agreement. Afterwards the author explains in more detail the organization of Banovina of Croatia, Serbian and Croatian reactions towards its creation and lastly gives his opinion of the presented events.*

**Keywords:** *Banovina of Croatia, Cvetković-Maček Agreement, Kingdom of Yugoslavia, Croatian question*



# THE CVETKOVIĆ- MAČEK AGREEMENT AND THE FOUNDING OF THE BANOVINA OF CROATIA

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Professional review

Submitted: July 24<sup>th</sup>, 2021

Accepted: September 26<sup>th</sup>, 2021

*This paper will explore the conclusion of the Cvetković-Maček Agreement and the founding of the Banovina of Croatia. The introduction will cover the events leading up to the negotiations between Dragiša Cvetković and Vladko Maček, followed by a closer examination of the negotiation process, particularly the circumstances that influenced the outcome of the Agreement. Additionally, the structure and main features of the Banovina of Croatia, as well as Croatian and Serbian responses to its founding will be analyzed. For the final segment of the paper the author will provide their own commentary with regards to the aforementioned events.*

**Keywords:** *the Cvetković-Maček Agreement, the Banovina of Croatia, the “Croatian Question”, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia*

## Introduction

Following the collapse of Milan Stojadinović’s government in early 1939, amid strained foreign policy relations, the conclusion of the issue of nationality within the Kingdom of Yugoslavia, especially that of Croats, was a matter of utmost urgency. In a country rife with both latent and open hostilities between ethnic groups, Prince Paul (Pavle) entrusted Dragiša Cvetković with the mandate for forming a new government, and with the primary task of reaching an agreement with Vladko Maček and the HSS (Croatian Peasant Party). This task was to resolve the “Croatian Question”. Negotiations and strategizing spanned several months, finally resulting in the founding of the Banovina of Croatia on August 26<sup>th</sup> 1939 (Matković 1998: 205).

The majority of works cited in this paper are general historical overviews, while other sources include articles discussing certain topics related to the Banovina of Croatia. It is important to note that nearly all historiographers cited here often draw on the work of Ljubo



Boban who, among else, dedicated a significant amount of time to the HSS and inter-war Yugoslavia. Horvat, however, had died long before the publication of Boban's monographies, and Čulinović's work also preceded Boban's by several years. In fact, Boban's dissertation, titled *The Cvetković-Maček Agreement*, is a detailed overview of the Agreement. However, despite the importance of this topic in the context of 20<sup>th</sup> century Croatian history, as the Agreement was the most notable attempt at resolving the pressing issue of monarchist Yugoslavia (or the "Croatian question"), in recent historiography it has not been given adequate attention, and there have been no recent works studying the Agreement. The conclusive part of this paper will, much like the main body, rely on Boban's own conclusions.

### **Circumstances and events leading up to the founding of the Banovina of Croatia**

The 1934 assassination of King Alexander in Marseille thoroughly changed both domestic political relations and the foreign policy alignment of the Kingdom of Yugoslavia. The traditionally amicable alliance between France and Yugoslavia gradually faded, weakening due to Alexander's leaning towards Germany after Hitler's rise to power (Matković 1998: 184). This strategic relationship between Germany and Yugoslavia was to aid King Alexander in resisting Italian claims, while Hitler's Germany would benefit from it through economic subjugation of Southeast Europe on the pretext of benevolent economic relations. The growing amity of Yugoslavia and Germany coincided with French attempts at subduing the "awakened" Germany, which is why France was against the formation of such relationships. For this reason, in 1934 the French Minister of Foreign Affairs Louis Barthou visited Belgrade, where it was established that King Alexander would visit Paris (Matković 1998: 184). The King's visit, however, turned out to be fatal, as the *ustashe*, led by Ante Pavelić in cooperation with the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (VMRO), carried out an assassination in Marseille in 1934, killing both King Alexander and Louis Barthou. King Alexander's will stated that a tripartite regency was to rule the country in the name of the king, as his rightful heir Peter II was only 11. The regents were the king's cousin Prince Paul (Pavle), Radenko Stanković and Ivo Perović.



Upon taking over, the new regency declared that they would “remain on the bulwark of national and civic unity” and stay with the notion of Yugoslav unitarism. Despite the new regency being a collective authority, Prince Paul was at the head of it (Matković 1998: 185). Even though announcements were made supporting the social and political status quo, the regency, namely Prince Paul, was forced to change their minds and appease the dissatisfied opposition. Nikola Uzunović was replaced as head of government by Bogoljub Jeftić as per order of Prince Paul, and this new government was described by Jeftić as one of “conciliation and peace” (Matković 1998: 185). This statement was indicative of possible changes to the country’s internal political structures that would democratize the current state. To further confirm this, Vladko Maček was released and elections were called wherein the opposition was allowed to participate following an amendment of the electoral law. In 1935 a United Opposition was formed, comprising the Peasant-democratic Coalition (hereinafter “SDK”), the Democratic Party, the Farmers Association and the Yugoslav Muslim Organization (hereinafter “JMO”). The opposition’s aim was to overthrow the Yugoslav National Party (hereinafter “JNS”) led by Bogoljub Jeftić as head of government. The government’s list ultimately won the election, but the United Opposition was not without success: the government’s list won 1 746 982 votes, or 60,6 %, while the opposition won 1 076 345, or 37,4 % of all votes (Matković 1998: 187). However, due to an unusual law allowing for the party with the majority of votes to automatically win 3 out of 5 total seats, as well as to participate in the assignment of the remaining seats, the opposition was at a disadvantage (Matković 1998: 187).

Despite winning the elections, the JNS led by Bogoljub Jeftić was replaced by the Yugoslav Radical Union (hereinafter “JRZ”), as Prince Paul believed a change in leadership was necessary. The JRZ was formed through joining together of the members of the Slovenian People’s Party, with Anton Korošec, the Yugoslav Muslim Organization, with Mehmed Spaho, and the radicals led by Milan Stojadinović. They proposed a unique plan and leadership, keeping in line with the fundamentals of the 1931 Granted Constitution (Oktroiirani Ustav) and its unitarist-centralist concepts, while Prince Paul handed Milan Stojadinović the mandate for forming a new government (Matković 1998: 197). Stojadinović replaced Jeftić, being a better fit for Prince Paul’s expectations – he supported maintaining a close relationship



with Hitler's Germany, whereas Jeftić was notably pro-French in a time when Yugoslavia was clearly distancing itself from France and the Little Entente (Čulinović 1961: 99). Furthermore, Jeftić compromised his integrity by terror reigning and suppressing the opposition's votes and opinions, which brought him public scorn. The public was to be appeased through recalling Jeftić, signaling thus the government's willingness to change (Čulinović 1961: 97). This new regime party heralded greater liberalization of politics and Prince Paul's intent to reinstate the party system. Stojadinović's inaugural speech at the Parliament further confirmed this; Stojadinović noted that the newly formed government would create "an atmosphere of mutual trust that shall enable a swift resolution to the Croatian question" (Matković 1998: 188). The importance of this statement is twofold: firstly, the governing body in Belgrade had, for the first time, publically and officially recognized the issue of nationalities, or the Croatian question, and secondly and most importantly, they were willing to resolve it. Stojadinović's statement clearly reflected Prince Paul's stance, otherwise he would suffer serious consequences for making such statements without prior "clearance". The statement also goes directly against the Granted Constitution, as discussing the resolution of the Croatian question and the position of the Croatian nation within the Kingdom of Yugoslavia was contrary to the idea of a single, united Yugoslavian nation, as per the constitution (Matković 1998: 188). Such actions that oppose the fundamentals of the constitution were what paved the way for the founding of the Banovina of Croatia, a separate Croatian territory within the Kingdom of Yugoslavia.

### **The Rule and Downfall of Milan Stojadinović**

In 1935, the magazine *New Europe (Nova Europa)* published a survey on the topic of Kingdom of Yugoslavia's domestic politics. Public officials were called to name the main problems of Yugoslavian domestic politics and to propose solutions to these problems (Matković 1998: 192). The list of participants reveals that they were from all over the country, yet they all agreed that the Croatian question was the most pressing political issue that requires a swift resolution (Matković 1998: 193). However, Stojadinović, and therefore Prince Paul as well, proved unwilling to "create an atmosphere of mutual trust" as was



promised in his inaugural speech – in fact, he avoided dealing with the Croatian question altogether. Maček explained the consequences of such behavior to a Czech diplomat, saying how in the event of war recruitment would be impossible in Croatia, and those Croatians that would be recruited would probably fight against Yugoslavia (Bilandžić 1999: 103). The reality of the Croatian question ultimately forced Prince Paul and Stojadinović to at least feign handling the issue, and so in 1937 Stojadinović met with Maček in Brežice, where he asked him to join the government, but was refused. Maček in turn asked for a repeal of the Granted Constitution. Finally, the negotiations were unsuccessful, as Stojadinović refused to amend the constitution before Peter (Petar) II takes the throne (Matković 1998: 189). The failed negotiations urged Maček to strengthen his connections with the Serbian opposition, then comprising the Democratic Party, the Farmers Association and a number of radicals that would join together to form the United Opposition (Matković 1998: 189). On October 8<sup>th</sup> 1937 an agreement was concluded between SDK and the United Opposition, forming the Bloc of National Democracy. The agreement required a repeal of the Granted Constitution and an adoption of a new constitution that would only be adopted if the majority of Slovenians, Croatians and Serbs agreed (Matković 1998: 189). The new government was to be tasked with its implementation with the approval of Prince Paul, who refused to consider repealing the Granted Constitution.

By 1938 international relations had become tense, especially following the joining of Germany and Austria and the growing revanchist tendencies of certain European countries. Amid these events, and having found itself bordering Hitler's Germany, the Kingdom of Yugoslavia found itself surrounded by extremely hostile neighbors. Failing to resolve the Croatian question in such circumstances had the potential of harming the country as a whole. The neighboring countries like Italy and Hungary had already voiced their support of various nationalist organizations such as the *ustashe*, aiming to bring about the collapse of the Yugoslav country (Regan 2007: 219). The dissatisfied Croatian opposition led by Maček was gradually evolving into a general Croatian movement, which meant that – in the atmosphere of tense foreign policy relations and facing the threat of a new war – the Croatians would be unwilling to defend a country wherein one nation seems to dominate all other. Other nations perceived the Yugoslav country in





much the same way. It is important to note that the HSS had previously begun forming their own economic, political, cultural, and paramilitary organizations that had the objective of transform society “in the best way”. They were considered “branches of the Croatian peasant movement”, used by the HSS to control the field (Leček 2014: 35). Thousands of peasants and citizens gathered under the watch of the HSS, hoping to resolve their own burning issues. By forming these organizations, the HSS garnered so much support that it could be said that a “country within a country” was created (Leček 2014: 35). The most noteworthy of these organizations was the *Croatian Peasant and Civil Defense*, formed in 1936 as a response to state violence and the state’s tacit approval of Serbian extremist violence as well as a counterbalance to the *ustashe*’s growing influence among Croatians (Leček 2014: 41, Ramet 2011: 145). The fact that such paramilitary organizations with tens of thousands of members even existed meant that Maček had a respectable “party” army at his disposal and could make his demands more confidently. Maček’s demands gained more gravitas with the backing of the *Croatian Peasant and Civil Defense*, and thus his statement that “in the year 1918 we had nothing, so they did whatever they wished with us (...) and now we have the Peasant defense” implies the use of *Defense* as defending Croatian national interests (Goldstein 2008: 172). In addition to other nations’ opposition, Stojadinović employed undemocratic and dictatorial methods to win the Serbian opposition. Their increasing dissatisfaction with Stojadinović led to the opposition’s refusal to recognize him as the nation’s representative (Matković 1998: 200). Additionally, Stojadinović and Prince Paul were growing apart due to the former’s glorification of his own image and political role, in a rather fascist manner, defying thus Prince Paul’s authority (Matković 1998: 201). Stojadinović also formed his own green-shirt force who chanted his name, in the style of Hitler and Mussolini. Prince Paul feared that Stojadinović would rise to a position within Yugoslavia akin to the one Mussolini held in Italy, overshadowing the King (Matković 1998: 201).

For these reasons Prince Paul decided to consult the electorate, leading to a snap election. Stojadinović did not oppose this, as he firmly believed he would win and form a parliament that would support all his decisions unconditionally. The elections were held on December 11<sup>th</sup> 1938, with the following candidates: the JRZ, headed by Stojadino-



vić, Maček's opposing party and the Yugoslav National Movement headed by Dimitrije Ljotić. The government's list won yet again, but the opposition received a lot more votes than in 1935: the government's list won 1 643 738, or 54% of all votes, and the opposition won 1 364 524, or 44% of all votes. It was obvious that, despite winning the election, Stojadinović's position was compromised, which was reason enough for Prince Paul to remove him from power. This act was also one of Maček's conditions in order to proceed with negotiations regarding the Croatian question (Matković 1998: 201). Prince Paul decided to terminate Stojadinović in early 1939, trusting Anton Korošec and Mehmed Spaho with the task. Dragiša Cvetković, then Minister of Social Politics, resigned along with four other ministers, stating that Stojadinović's government was hindering the urgent resolution of the Croatian question (Matković 1998: 201). Stojadinović accepted his ministers' resignations and had plans to nominate their replacements, but Prince Paul requested a resignation of the entire government. Stojadinović then realized he was being pushed out, and the entire government resigned. Prince Paul then gave Dragiša Cvetković the mandate for forming a new government.

### **Preliminary negotiations and establishing conditions**

Naturally, Stojadinović was not satisfied with the outcomes, so he started a campaign of branding and belittling his opponents and their followers, namely Cvetković, whom he called a "Serbian traitor" (Regan 2007: 221). Upon forming the new government on February 6<sup>th</sup> 1939, Cvetković's main goal was to resolve the Croatian question as soon as possible. The new government was mostly made up of JRZ supporters, while some members were considered as non-partisans. Cvetković's government seemed more eager to tackle the SDK and the issue of the Croatian question, especially due to the fact that many of the newly joined ministers had previously resigned due to disagreements with Stojadinović over this issue (Boban 1974: 9). Prince Paul had formed this new government with Cvetković so that his ideas would be carried out duly. It seemed more like a transient than a permanent government, as Prince Paul wanted to directly negotiate with Maček, and so Cvetković ultimately served as the prince's emissary (Boban 1974: 10). Even though removing Stojadinović and forming a new government had



been clear steps forward, Maček and the HSS were wary of these changes. They were aware that the new government had as many followers of JRZ as the previous did, and that Stojadinović's government had also claimed that the Croatian question was of high priority, as well as that this new government relied on the values of the 1931 constitution they did not support (Boban 1974: 11). However, the new government eventually displayed a significant change in opinions and approaches. They made it clear that it was necessary to handle "important moments in our history's past", and that they wished to "part with the methods of the past", signaling thus the government's and the prince's willingness to adopt new ideas and methods that steer away from state centralism and unitarism (Boban 1974: 10). Later statements from Cvetković, in which he particularly emphasizes the Croatian national identity, contributed to the optimism regarding the new government's intentions, or those of Prince Paul and the court (Boban 1974: 15). The United Opposition did not approve of Cvetković's government. Considering their joint efforts against the JRZ, they viewed the government still made up of JRZ members and disregarding the United Opposition as a legitimate political factor in the country as reason enough to renounce the new leadership (Boban 1974: 19). They did not, however, wish to disrupt a potential agreement between Cvetković and Maček, as they had hoped to be included in the proceedings (Boban 1974: 19). The United Opposition had believed that there were two stages to resolving the Croatian question: the first stage would entail the passing of laws that would reduce the restraints of political life, while the second would bring about a thorough social restructuring (Boban 1974: 19). They knew that they were not as politically relevant, with not enough seats in the parliament, but they maintained their positions, more out of principle than out of faith in their realization.

The circumstances of the negotiations between Maček and Prince Paul were significantly altered following Stojadinović's downfall. Maček was aware that Stojadinović's successor was more compliant and that he could now make his demands more confidently. Prince Paul commented sarcastically on Maček's "offensive" approach while in conversation with an American ambassador, complaining about the politician's fickleness (Boban 1974: 30). Prince Paul stepped back from the negotiations mid-March, partially due to Maček's stubbornness, but also due to Cvetković's consolidating his position in



the parliament by voting the state budget. Maček was dissatisfied with Prince Paul's withdrawal; he wished to keep negotiating directly with the highest political authority in the country, as that would mean that the highest authority would in fact ultimately approve the agreement. For this reason, Maček sent Ivan Šubašić to deliver a request for direct negotiations to Prince Paul, who accepted the request. Prince Paul named Cvetković as a plenipotentiary of the Crown; Cvetković was no longer a representative of a party or government, but a representative of the Crown. Prince Paul had therefore given in to Maček's demands, developing conditions for further negotiations.

In addition to his involvement with HSS organizations and their in-state work, Maček was trying to make contact with greater forces through his confidantes. He wanted to discover their plans, the nature of their mutual relationships, and their perception of the current state of Yugoslavia, especially the Croatian question. He contacted London and Paris, but German and Italian views on the Croatian question were arguably of greater significance, considering their immediate vicinity and their growing interest in the state of Yugoslavia. Maček offered to create a "Croatian independent state" that would cooperate with Germany and join the Axis powers (Boban 1965: 106). Germany, however, was reserved on the matter of the Croatian question, as they wished for the status quo in Yugoslavia to remain unchanged, and they preferred not to rouse the Italians, who were famously interested in the Adriatic and Mediterranean territories (Boban 1965: 108). In fact, Germany made promises to Italy to conduct their politics in the Mediterranean in accordance with Italian interests, and that included staying out of Yugoslav politics. Following Germany's reserved response, Maček turned to Italy, once again proposing to create an independent Croatian state that would maintain close relationships with Italy, but only if the Croatian question proved to be insoluble within Yugoslav borders (Boban 1965: 108). Alas, the Italian response was not unlike Germany's, with London and Paris sharing their views. The French and English responses showed that they recognized the difficulties Croats faced, but they chose to support a united Yugoslavia (Boban 1965: 115). This international communication took place before Cvetković-Maček negotiations, as Maček wanted to gauge his position for future negotiations, or how determined he could be in his requests considering the international situation (Boban 1965: 116).



## Cvetković-Maček negotiations

Maček and Cvetković first met in Zagreb on April 2<sup>nd</sup> 1939. The meeting location was carefully selected to emphasize the equality between Zagreb and Belgrade. Negotiations lasted several days, and main points were agreed upon. Cvetković confirmed he was a representative of the Crown, which was one of the conditions for the negotiations to take place. He also expressed his willingness to conduct the negotiations with careful consideration of Maček's viewpoints; hence the agreement was to determine future Croatian territory, its position within Yugoslavia and its authority. The territorial aspect was discussed merely as an exchange of ideas. A new government was to be formed that would carry out the agreement. Maček suggested a conclusion of this first meeting that paved the way for future, detailed negotiations. While negotiations were taking place, several students discovered that the Serbs were using Cvetković to get Croatia to give up Bosnia and Herzegovina and settle for the joining of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia (Horvat 1992: 605). To express their discontent, they published the *Declaration on Bosnia and Herzegovina*, wherein they highlighted Croatian natural and historical right to Bosnia and Herzegovina as part of Croatia. This was supported by an 1878 Croatian National Parliament address requesting a joining of Bosnia and Herzegovina and Croatia, as well as by three 1917 parliament addresses repeating the request (Horvat 1992: 605-606). The declaration was censored, and the only magazine that would publish it was *Ustaše*, published in secret at the time (Horvat 1992: 607). The content of the declaration showed a clear disregard of the existence of the Bosnian nation, and a belief that the population of Bosnia and Herzegovina were simply Croatians of a different religion (Horvat 1992: 606). The students were, however, supporters of Pavelić and the *ustashe* movement, evident from the fact that their declaration was only published by pro-*ustasha* magazines, most of them abroad (Horvat 1992: 607). Furthermore, Grga Ereš and Branko Rukavina, who were some of the protagonists of these events, would later serve the Independent State of Croatia.<sup>1</sup> All pro-*ustasha* individuals and organizations eventually turned against the Agreement, calling it Maček's betrayal of Croatia. This shows the complexity of the issue of nationality

1 See more: Jonjić, T. (2011). About the Attempt to Establish a Croatian Committee in Switzerland in 1943: The Diplomatic Reports of Josip Milković of Senj. *Senjski zbornik*, 38 (1), 217-332; Kovačić, D. (2014). The Repressive Measures of the Police Authorities of the Independent State of Croatia towards Members of the Croatian Peasant Party in WWII. *Radovi*, 46(1), 305-323.





within Yugoslavia, as national ideologies frequently clashed, disregarding all other nations they considered to be non-existent. The aforementioned student declaration blatantly negated the existence of the Bosnian nation, claiming a large part of the territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina much like Serbian intellectuals and leaders denied the existence of Montenegrin and Macedonian nationalities, claiming their territories. It is evident that in multinational Yugoslavia each political party was mostly made up of a single nation, which made them national parties, turning all politics into a clash of different national interests in a country that claimed to have one single, Yugoslav nationality.

The initial Cvetković-Maček negotiations caused a rift between the SDK and the United Opposition. Maček failed to, as had been agreed in Farkušić and as the United Opposition had expected, ask for reforms that would enable a more lax political life. Instead, his primary request was defining Croatia's territory and authority. The United Opposition took this as an affront, believing they were not probably informed about the negotiating process and that Maček acted unfairly (Boban 1974: 39). Maček's avoiding tactic was employed by Prince Paul as well; he feared the Germans and the Italians would not support the United Opposition joining the government, as it famously opposed the foreign politics of Yugoslavia at the time and its leaning towards the Axis powers (Boban 1974: 40). Also, asking for a greater democratization of the political life would not bode well with German and Italian authoritarian regimes surrounding Yugoslavia. Moreover, the Cvetković-Maček Agreement was supposed to hurry things along, and the United Opposition's heterogeneous, indecisive and disjointed character proved a hindrance.

Cvetković and Maček's next meeting was held in Zagreb on April 15<sup>th</sup> the same year. As the previous meeting had centered on general ideas and methods, this time specific negotiations regarding the future Croatian territory within Yugoslavia took place. Cvetković suggested the joining of the Sava (Savska) Banovina, the Littoral (Primorska) Banovina and the Dubrovnik city and district, adding that border details would be settled during the final restructuring (Boban 1974: 44). Maček refused, dissatisfied with the territorial concessions, and suggested three counteroffers (Boban 1974: 46). The most problematic territories Maček sought to claim were "Turkish Croatia" and Srijem, as these regions had a significant number of Serbs, and the Serbian national ideologies also claimed them. The second meeting once again





yielded no final results, although an agreement was reached that the powers of certain ministries, still unspecified, would be transferred to the future Croatian unit. It was also agreed that a new government would be formed to carry out the Agreement and create an environment for a final restructuring (Boban 1974: 44). While waiting for Cvetković to address the proposals, Maček sought the support and approval from the United Opposition. He asked to negotiate with Cvetković in their name and for them to approve his territorial suggestions (Boban 1974: 45). The United Opposition responded that the Croatian question was being raised above the total restructuring they were advocating, which is why they could not support Maček's proposals. Maček's opportunism created an unbridgeable gap.

Cvetković arrived in Zagreb for the third time on April 22<sup>nd</sup>, having made a decision regarding Maček's territorial proposals, and they agreed to conduct a plebiscite in the claimed regions. The Sava Banovina, Littoral Banovina and Dubrovnik city and district would immediately be unified pursuant to Article 116 of the constitution. The Banovina of Croatia would take over as executive authority, while foreign politics, military and the supreme council would be a shared domain with the central government. In order to perform a final restructuring, a new government was to be formed to carry out the task. Even though it had seemed as if the agreement would be sanctioned by April 27<sup>th</sup>, the Committee rejected it, claiming they were still studying the determinants of the agreement. In addition to the plebiscite segment, the Committee had to consider Mehmed Spaho's disagreement, as he was leader of the JMO, a constituent of the ruling JRZ, as well as those parties in Bosnia and Herzegovina with Serbian members opposing the proposed territorial claims (Boban 1974: 49). The military circles also expressed dissatisfaction with the agreement as they deemed it harmful for the country's defense powers. While negotiations were taking place, Hitler's Germany was in the process of occupying Czechoslovakia, and Albania was falling under Italian occupation. For military leaders, the Cvetković-Maček Agreement was potentially a sign of federalization, or disintegration of Yugoslavia, making the country an easy target (Matković 1998: 204). The prince was warned of a possible Serbian revolt in a significant number of counties that were to be annexed to the Croatian unit, as they were not entirely populated by Croats, which would raise the Serbian question in the country (Boban 1974: 50-51).



Negotiations proceeded, albeit through intermediaries, setting the scene for new, direct negotiations in late June of 1939. This meeting was to finalize the matter of territory of the Banovina of Croatia, while the following meeting would concern the transfer of powers. It was in this meeting that Cvetković agreed that the Banovina of Croatia would be an autonomous region. After rejecting the previous agreement, Prince Paul had become aware of international relations during his visits to Rome, Berlin and London and, realizing the looming threat of war, accepted the latest agreement to settle the Croatian question and stabilize the country (Boban 1974: 64). Cvetković and Maček were granted an audience with the prince on August 24<sup>th</sup> 1939 at Brdo kod Kranja, where the agreement known as Cvetković-Maček Agreement was approved. The agreement was signed on August 26<sup>th</sup> 1939 (Matković 1998: 205). Because this was a political act not confirmed by a legislative body, Prince Paul had to issue a decree on the Banovina of Croatia pursuant to Article 116 of the Granted Constitution, which requires that the king (in this case, Prince Paul) can act independently of the constitution or the law in those situations where the public interest is harmed. The Croatian question was thus presented as such a pressing issue that not resolving it could jeopardize the entire country of Yugoslavia (Perić 2007: 94). The degree was signed by the regency and all government members, after which Prince Paul dissolved the Committee, terminating all national representatives (Šlabek 1991: 41). The founding of the Banovina of Croatia marked the end of unitarism and centralism, replacing the name of the Triune Kingdom of Croatia, Slavonia and Dalmatia with an ethnic title (Šlabek 1991: 83).

### **The Banovina of Croatia**

The Decree on the Banovina of Croatia determined its territory, powers and structure. The Sava Banovina and the Littoral Banovina were joined with those counties where Croats made up over half of the total population: Dubrovnik, Travnik, Fojnica, Brčko, Gradačac, Dervenda, Šid and Ilok (Perić 2007: 95-96). The decree only mentioned the territory that was agreed on at the time, as the addendum to the Cvetković-Maček Agreement stated that the final decisions would be made during the final restructuring. This addendum implied further territorial and administrative adjustments that would never be realized due to the breakout of the April war (Perić 2007: 95-96). It was the Muslim community who suf-



ferred as a result of territorial changes, as they were not considered a nationality per Agreement, and this posed a long-term question of Muslims within the Banovina of Croatia (Goldstein 2008: 190). The Banovina had autonomous powers over agriculture, commerce, manufacturing, forests, mines, buildings, social politics and national health, physical education, justice system, education and internal affairs. Domains not included in this list fell under central government authorities, although the financial domain was not clearly assigned, while another addendum stated that neither the authorities nor the territory of the Banovina of Croatia cannot be altered without the Banovina's approval (Perić 2007: 96). Legislature powers were executed by the king and the Croatian parliament, and all legislative texts voted in by the parliament required both the ban's and the king's signature. Members of Parliament were elected through a "general, equal and direct secret vote" for 3-year terms, and voting rights were reserved for all men over the age of 24 (Perić 2007: 96). However, no parliament elections or even meetings were held during the life of the Banovina of Croatia. Laws passed in the Committee were enforced in the Banovina of Croatia, and in case of interference between laws of the Banovina and of central legislation, the dispute would be resolved at a special constitutional court (Matković 1998: 207). The ban, named by the king (in this case, Prince Paul), was the supreme administrative authority. The first and the only ban was Ivan Šubašić, on the king's insistence (Perić 2007: 96). There were 11 departments under the ban's authority; chiefs of departments were instituted by the ban and were completely independent (Perić 2007: 96). The judiciary was also independent, and there was no higher instance than the banovina courts.

The Banovina of Croatia was, in an administrative and territorial sense, divided into 25 cities, 99 districts with four branch offices and around 700 municipalities (Regan 2008: 399). Even though there were no elections for the Croatian parliament, the SDK had decided to hold municipal elections to change the composition of the municipal councils, often the backbones of regimes (Matković 1994: 412). The elections were held in 625 rural municipalities; the HNS won the majority in 425 municipalities, and the Independent Democratic Party (hereinafter "SDS") won in 133 municipalities. In total, the SDK won in 564 municipalities (Matković 1999: 413-414).

As for politics and economy, the Banovina of Croatia and the Kingdom and Yugoslavia were under growing German influence. Following the eco-



conomic sanctions on Italy, Germany had become Yugoslavia's biggest trading partner, and this was even more prominent after the Anschluss and the dissolution of Czechoslovakia. In this trading "partnership", the underdeveloped Yugoslavia was the source of raw materials and agricultural products, while the advanced Germany provided manufactured goods. This was a carefully crafted German plan to influence countries' foreign politics through trading relations (Goldstein 2008: 194). Germany was responsible for 40% of Yugoslav import and 50% export, and threatening to end these relations helped influence the politics of the banovina and Yugoslavia (Kolar-Dimitrijević 1990: 172-173). The German influence was evident, especially considering the fact that Jews who had fled to Yugoslavia were banned from employment and from food trade (Kolar-Dimitrijević 1990: 188). They were also prohibited to enroll in colleges and schools (Goldstein 2008: 194). The Nationalist Socialist propaganda was led by *Kulturbund*, the society of the German minority in Yugoslavia. Joining *Kulturbund* required pledging allegiance to a swastika flag and vowing never to marry Hungarian, Jewish or Serbian women (Goldstein 2008: 194-195). The Nazi sentiments became more pronounced following the Anschluss and the Munich Agreement, and slogans such as *Ein Volk, Eine Wille, Ein Weg* ("One people, one will, one way") became commonplace (Goldstein 2008: 195).

### **Reactions to the founding of the Banovina of Croatia**

The Cvetković-Maček Agreement and the founding of the Banovina of Croatia provoked heated reactions from the majority of Serbian politicians and some Croatian politicians as well. Those Serbian parties that had participated in the Farkušić Agreement reacted negatively to the Cvetković-Maček Agreement, stating it went against the Farkušić Agreement since it never considered the opinions of most Slovenes and Serbs (Matković 1998: 209). Furthermore, they viewed Maček's collaboration with the JRZ whom he had previously fought against was a violation of the agreement, and that this collaboration would jeopardize Serbian national interests. Yugoslav interests would also be in danger, as Croatian territorial gains would spur Croatian nationalism, therefore spurring Serbian nationalism, ultimately harming the idea of the Yugoslav country (Matković 1998: 211).

The Democratic Party was the most vocal in criticizing the Agreement. At first, their criticism was moderate: they had accepted the



Agreement, expressing at the same time their dissatisfaction with the Croatian question being separated from the total state restructuring and the creation of other such questions in other parts of the country (Boban 1965: 220). They stressed the importance of parliament elections that would lead to the democratization of the political life by creating a “true national representation” (Boban 1965: 220). However, their stance changed entirely, and the main reason was the possibility of the Banovina of Croatia spreading into the areas they considered Serbian. These concerns were valid, as the Agreement did mention that the final territory of the Banovina of Croatia was yet to be determined. Now that Serbian national interests were doubly jeopardized, the democrats – still intent on new elections – made it their priority to establish a special Serbian unit within Yugoslavia. They accused Cvetković and his party of no longer representing the Serbian people and causing the position of Serbia within Yugoslavia to become precarious (Boban 1965: 222). Their brochure *Democrats on the state of the country* was a fierce attack on the Cvetković-Maček Agreement, containing a request for the creation of a special Serbian unit, and a call for new parliament elections (Matković 1998: 211). The democrats became the most active in spreading the *Serbs United* (“Srbi na okup”) movement, an anti-banovina movement that demanded an establishing of a special Serbian unit within Yugoslavia, built on extremist foundations (Regan 2007: 218). However, Ivan Ribar and some other members of the Democratic Party stood against the extremist ideas, deeming them hegemonic (Matković 1998: 211).

Stojadinović was also against the Agreement. After he had been dismissed, he managed to bring together those members of the JRZ who opposed Cvetković’s politics and his role as party leader. Stojadinović stressed how the Agreement went against the 1921 and 1931 constitutions, and how the founding of the Banovina of Croatia had created a state within a state, jeopardizing Serbian interests, which is why all Serbs should be united into a single political unit to protect these interests (Matković 1998: 213). He was joined by around 80 parliament delegates and 20 senators who formed the Serbian Radical Party in 1940, but the party was never formally approved (Boban 1965: 247). Their program stated that the Agreement had been a “performance of (...) a coup d’etat”, that the idea of unity – only formally supported – had been abandoned, that they didn’t agree with the borders of the Banovina of Croatia, and that all Serbs should be united (Boban 1965: 247). Even





though the radicals gathered around Stojadinović claimed to stand for Yugoslavism, they acted as an extremist Serbian national party. They believed Yugoslavism was ideal for “future, better times”, while presently the focus should remain on protecting Serbian interests jeopardized by the Agreement and on uniting all Serbian regions and areas, as they were supposedly the core of Yugoslavism and the future source of a renewed Yugoslav unity (Boban 1965: 248). However, their Yugoslavism relied on centralism and unitarism, morphing into Serbian extremism when state equality and other Yugoslav nations were concerned (Boban 1965: 248). Stojadinović’s actions hindering the attempts of the government and the court to consolidate the country made him a real threat, as did his leaning towards Germany and Italy. He was therefore confined, and in 1941 extradited to the English (Boban 1965: 249).

The Communist Party of Yugoslavia (hereinafter “KPJ”) also opposed the Agreement. This came as no surprise, as the KPJ had been against Cvetković’s government on account of his “anti-democratic and reactionary methods” (Boban 1965: 277). They believed that the Agreement being limited only to the Croatian question and not including other nations was its main flaw, and that the “real” Croatian question – the question of “the peasant, the land, and of complete national democracy” – remained unanswered (Boban 1965: 277). They did, however, conclude that the Agreement could serve as a foundation for a more thorough democratization of the entire system, and that the HSS, whom they supported, could lead the process. But, seeing how the events following the Agreement led to even more reactionary politics of both Serbian and Croatian parties, they took a more assertive approach. They condemned the entire political system, declared a “war” on Croatian and Serbian civil parties, and described the Agreement as a protection of the Croatian and Serbian bourgeoisie and their interests from “possible revolutionary upheavals”, accusing it of “deceiving the working masses and the oppressed people” (Boban 1965: 278).

The most vocal opponents of the Agreement were the members of the Serbian culture club, the leading body of the *Serbs United* movement. The club wanted to gather all Serbs who were unhappy with the post-Agreement status quo and to unite the divided Serbian parties to confront the common enemy, the Agreement. They claimed the Agreement jeopardized Serbian national interests and should therefore be discarded and everything should go back to how it was prior to the Agreement; if that was not





possible, a fight to preserve Serbia and Serbdom would be necessary (Boban 1965: 250). They demanded of the Banovina to recognize the political autonomy of Serbs in 19 districts or to allow them to join other banovinas that would be part of a Serbian unit (Regan 2008: 405). For this purpose, a newsletter titled *The Serbian Voice* ("Srpski glas") was started and distributed in Belgrade, aided by the Serbian Orthodox Church (Regan 2008: 414). Slobodan Jovanović was president of the club, and one of his substitutes Dragiša Vasić would later become one of the lead ideologists of the *chetnik* movement and a close associate of Dražo Mihajlović (Regan 2008: 401). Additionally, in 1939 the dissatisfied Serbs founded *Krajina – the society for cultural and economic rise of the people* ("Krajina – udruženje za kulturno i privredno podizanje naroda") (Goldstein 2008: 196). The aim of the society was to establish a new administrative and territorial unit called Krajina ("frontier") made up of 25 districts of the Vrbaska, Sava and Littoral Banovina with a Serbian majority. The society were mostly members of various banned *chetnik* organizations (Goldstein 2008: 196).

Even though the Serbian opposition was significant, it is important to note that the Agreement never would have happened without the aid of *prečanski Srbi* ("Serbs outside of Serbia"). They were mostly SDS members, and so the party represented the majority of Serbs in the Banovina of Croatia. As the founder and president of the party Svetozar Pribićević had ultimately accepted federalism and acknowledged the Croatian national identity, it came as no surprise that they would support the Agreement. Moreover, the SDS had been part of a stable coalition with the HSS since 1927, becoming the only party to consistently defend the Croatian national identity and the right to express it, although solely within Yugoslavia (Goldstein 1998: 191). Not long after the Agreement was concluded, they published in their newsletter that "the Serbs in Croatia have it better than they ever did under the dictatorship" (Ponoš 2020: 319). Another noteworthy fact is that the SDS entered the new government together with the HSS, and that their members began taking over the positions in the Banovina previously occupied by members of the JRZ. This made the SDS the most influential political factor among Serbs in the Banovina, which makes their support of the Agreement understandable (Ponoš 2020: 319).

JMO also had some complaints. The relations between Spaho and Cvetković were at first stable, worsening when Cvetković gave concessions to Maček in Bosnia and Herzegovina (Boban 1965: 258). Spaho was extremely against Maček's demands in Bosnia and Herzegovina, while Maček



was trying to diminish the JMO's and Spaho's influence during the conclusion of the Agreement. Spaho's sudden death in June of 1939 took the edge off JMO against Maček's demands in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as the party was rife with internal conflicts regarding its successor. Spaho was ultimately succeeded by Džafer Kulenović, who did not take Cvetković's concessions as seriously. He accepted the borders of the Banovina of Croatia, but he emphasized their temporary nature that was stated in the Agreement. Kulenović demanded that Bosnia and Herzegovina, like Croatia, Serbia and Slovenia, be established as a separate unit within Yugoslavia, joined by those regions that were added to the Banovina of Croatia because their Muslim population's wish for a separate unit was never considered (Boban 1965: 259). However, due to very good relations that had been established between Cvetković and Maček, the former did not have to appease Kulenović as much. On the contrary, the JMO was losing its political significance amid the bonding of the HSK and the JRZ, resulting in Kulenović taking a colder approach to Cvetković and even jeopardizing the collaborative relationship between the JMO and the JRZ (Boban 1965: 260).

Among those disagreeing with the Agreement were right-wing HSS politicians gathered around Janko Tortić. They believed Croatia had been short-changed, and that Maček had been too lenient with the Serbian side (Šlabek 1991: 27). This section of the HSS, dissatisfied with Croatia's gains, would later join the *ustasha* movement in the Independent State of Croatia. The *ustashe* led by Mile Budak and the press were the sources of the majority of objections, though. They emphasized that Maček failed to unite all Croatian lands with the Agreement, betraying thus the idea of an independent Croatian state; they called him a "sell-out to the Serbs" and accused him of "capitulating" to Serbian interests (Ramet 2011: 151). In their press, the *ustashe* completely rejected the Agreement and wrote pejoratively about current politicians: Šubašić was criticized for being a volunteer in Thessaloniki, Maček and Cvetković were described in derogatory terms, etc. On the topic of the Agreement, the *ustasha* magazine *Independence* ("Nezavisnost") stated that Maček "instead of establishing and acknowledging Croatian sovereignty, realized a miniature administrative autonomy, having no real or formal guarantee that this autonomy would be recognized" (Ramet 2011: 151). Even though there were complaints from the Croatian side, they were limited to radical organizations such as *ustashe*, as most Croatians welcomed the founding of the Banovina of Croatia, considering it a reaffirmation of Croatian national uniqueness manifested



in an administrative and territorial unit within Yugoslavia. The wish to unite Dalmatia and the Banovina of Croatia would also be granted, as well as the wishes that had been perpetuated throughout 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century Croatian politics, now granted by way of joining the Sava Banovina and the Littoral Banovina into a separate unit under autonomous Croatian administration.

## Conclusion

All nations besides the Serbs within the Kingdom of Yugoslavia had been perpetually neglected in terms of political representation and freedoms, and their national identities trampled, as was manifested through state centralism and Yugoslav unitarism or integrationism. One nation's hegemony – in this case Serbian – in a multinational country would ultimately lead to an unstable political system, spreading to other spheres of state life. The hegemonic system survived in the Kingdom of Serbs, Croats and Slovenes – later Yugoslavia – due to international relations that seemed as if the Axis powers, meaning the Kingdom of Serbia as well, would win the First World War. However, Yugoslavia was soon surrounded by hostile countries as international dynamics shifted, and Mussolini and Hitler rose to power, their supporters in countries like Hungary becoming more influential. At that point in time, the governing bodies had been neglecting the issues of nationality within the country, which contributed to the formation of various organizations offering quick, radical solutions to national issues; organizations such as the *ustashe* and *chetniks* were growing in popularity. The Cvetković-Maček Agreement was an attempt at solving this issue – the matter of the “Croatian question” – within a wider national context. Resolving this issue would soothe the growing dissatisfaction that could be used against the Kingdom of Yugoslavia amid tense international relations, as was evident from Maček's communication with Berlin and Rome, wherein he suggested the formation of an independent Croatian state. Maček's conversation with the Czech diplomat in 1937 thus seems like a bad omen. Maček told the diplomat that “peasants are coming up (...) and asking when we will give them weapons to take Belgrade” (Goldstein 2008: 172) or, in other words, that in the case of war, the battle would be against the survival of Yugoslavia (Bilandžić 1999: 103).

The contents of the Agreement brought to light the failed national attempt by the creators of the first Yugoslavia, who believed in the idea that



South Slavic nations are one nation with three different tribes and names. They believed in this idea of Yugoslavism and modeled their actions from it. According to them, the difference between the tribes were historically conditioned and a result of different historical circumstances; in short, that they are “artificial” and can be resolved or erased through a life together in one country. They did not recognize the existence of different South Slavic nations. Their ideas did not yield desired results, and it was evident that a Yugoslav nation could not be created. In this context, the Agreement represented a clear break with the idea of Yugoslavia, acknowledging the Croatian national identity and awarding them a great deal of autonomy within the country. Not only did the Agreement recognize Croatian autonomy and national identity – so did the government and the court, in agreement with Croatian politicians.

Despite this, the Agreement was criticized by Croatian and Serbian organizations and parties. The majority of the criticism was directed at territorial decisions and the agreed autonomies of the Banovina of Croatia. While Croatian critics considered Croatia was short-changed in the Agreement, Serbian critics argued that Croatia was awarded too much autonomy and territory. Moreover, nobody considered the Agreement a finished deal – even the Agreement itself emphasizes its temporariness. Cvetković expected to create a Serbian unit not unlike the Banovina of Croatia, and Maček hoped for territorial expansion and a rise in autonomies compared to Belgrade. Therefore, both sides expected alterations to the Agreement that would be detrimental to the other side, and it was equally unlikely that either side would willingly abandon their hopes. These uncertainties stemming from the Agreement added to the growing tensions between Croatian and Serbian politicians and intellectuals. Instead of creating a suitable atmosphere for a further resolution of the question of nationality, the Agreement had paradoxically created an even worse environment wherein it became the target of various attacks due to its partiality, vagueness and temporariness. It is, however, important to note that, despite all its flaws, the Agreement would not have happened without Serbs outside of Serbia (“prečanski Srbi”) and their support of the HSS. The *prečanski* Serbs were mostly members of the SDS, a Serbian party that was a long-time coalition partner of the HSS. This coalition was formed as a result of reaching a Croatian-Serbian political consensus – an important factor in the Agreement that is easily identifiable if one considers the fact that the only Serbian party that defended the Agreement decidedly had been the



SDS. Therefore, the Agreement and its break with Yugoslavism marked a new possible direction of state politics, serving as a potential blueprint for future agreements with other nations on the way towards the federalization of Yugoslavia (as would be the case with the other Yugoslavia, built on the ruins of WWII), or at least a blueprint for those solutions that would guarantee more political and cultural autonomy to the nations of monarchist Yugoslavia. It is crucial to keep in mind, though, that the existence of Montenegrin, Macedonian and Bosnian nations was not recognized, so any agreements resembling the Cvetković-Maček Agreement would still be limited to Slovenian and Serbian nations.

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# OSVRTI / REVIEW

OSVRT NA KNJIGU / BOOK REVIEW







## HRVOJE SPAJIĆ, *KRIŽARSKI RATOVI* – *TEMPLARSKI POGLED*

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Primljeno: 13. 7. 2021.  
Prihvaćeno: 11. 9. 2021.

U izdanju Despot infinitusa, 2020. godine objavljena je znanstveno-popularna knjiga Hrvoja Spajića, *Križarski ratovi – Templarski pogled*. Hrvoje Spajić objavio je već neke knjige vojne tematike (*Waffen-SS: Mračne sile zločinačke politike* 2010.; *Velika islamska osvajanja 632. – 750.*, 2019.; *Bizant i rat. Temeljna vojna i ratovodstvena obilježja bizantskoga društva 600. – 1453.*, 2019.), kao i niz brojnih znanstveno-popularnih članaka (*Hrvatski vojnik, Vojna povijest*), a objavom ove knjige, u kojoj je razmotrio tematiku križarskih ratova stavljajući naglasak na templarsko viđenje ratova, samo je nastavio uspješan put aktualizacije tema vojne povijesti u hrvatskoj historiografiji. Knjiga broji 403 stranice, a s obzirom na to da je sadržajno veoma opsežna, u nastavku će redom biti iznesen njen pregled po poglavljima i dijelovima.

### Sadržaj

Poglavlje *Alarmiranje Zapada* (str. 27–46), kao uvodno poglavlje, daje opći pregled svih ključnih događaja koji su prethodili križarskim pohodima, a koji su nezaobilazni za razumijevanje tematike križarskih ratova kao jedne velike epizode crkvene i vojne povijesti. U tom smislu, posebno je važno razumjeti identitet onoga što se poima kao „Zapad“, koji je ujedno imao i specifičan pogled na svoju kršćansku „subraću“ u Bizantu. Također, važno je razumjeti i papinski autoritet, s obzirom na to da je papa uputio poziv za prvu križarsku vojnu, a u gradnji svojega autoriteta, koji je možda bio i najveći na Zapadu, došao je i u sukob za investituru s njemačkim carem Henrikom IV. (1084. – 1105.). Za uspjeh križarskih pohoda, neizostavno je bilo prvo izgraditi koheziju „Zapada“, a ovdje to autor neizravno obznanjuje odabirom naslova za potpoglavlja (npr. *Razjedinjenost Zapada*, str. 27; *Feudalni sustav na Zapadu*, str. 28; *Posljedice raspada carstva Karla Velikoga*, str. 29).



Poglavlje *Intervencija Zapada i Bitka za Jeruzalem* (str. 47–68) drugo je u nizu, a kao što je vidljivo i iz naslova potpoglavlja na početku (*Sveta Zemlja – omiljeno odredište kršćanskih hodočasnika*, str. 47; *Hodočašće kao oblik mučeništva*, str. 48), započinje raspravama o hodočašću kao jednom od srednjovjekovnih životnih ideala. Važno je istaknuti i da su redovnici iz poznatoga Clunyja isticali hodočašće u Jeruzalem kao vrhunac čovjekova duhovnoga života (str. 48), a sprječavanje je kršćana u ispunjavanju te obveze jedan od motiva pokretanja križarskih vojni. U ovom poglavlju piše se i o koncilu u Clermontu (1095.), kada je papa Urban II. (1088. – 1099.), imajući u vidu nevolje s kojima se susreću kršćanski hodočasnici u Jeruzalemu, a imajući vjerojatno u glavi i postupke „fanatičnoga“ egipatskog kalifa al-Hakima (985. – 1021.), koji je naredio uništenje crkve Svetoga groba u Jeruzalemu, uputio kršćanima poziv na križarsku vojnu obećavši im pritom oprost grijeha iz prošlosti i oprost od zemaljskih pokora koje nameće Crkva (usp. str. 48–50). Suprotno očekivanju pape, taj poziv okupio je prvenstveno siromašne, a ne vitezove, odnosno vojno sposobnu populaciju, što je rezultiralo i prvim križarskim „pohodom“ pod vodstvom Petra Pustinjaka (tzv. *narodni* križarski rat, 1096., str. 55) koji je neslavno završio. Tek dva mjeseca nakon toga pohoda počela se okupljati „prava“ križarska vojna u Konstantinopolu, kakvu je papa očekivao, a koja je ubrzo izborila i pobjede – kod Nikeje (1097.), u Antiohiji (1098.) i u Jeruzalemu (1099.), što je rezultiralo i sramotnim pokoljem velikoga broja nevinih (str. 62). Važno je zamijetiti da autor određene opsade temeljito analizira, a neke od tih analiza sadrže i naizgled „fiktionalne“ elemente koje valja uzeti s oprezom. „Monotonija“ opisa opsada i ratova dokida se i nekom „intelektualnom“ idejom ili mišlju (npr. da su križari, kad ih je spopala glad i hladnoća, počeli sumnjati da ih Bog napušta i kažnjava zbog nedjela, usp. str. 58), no iščitavajući ovo poglavlje čitatelj će spoznati i metodologiju kojom je autor prikazao križarske ratove.

Poglavlje *Utemeljenje Outremera i templara* (str. 69–80) treće je u nizu, a iako je sadržajno kraće, zapravo je jedno od važnijih. U ovom poglavlju autor, naime, prvo objašnjava ime koje će se koristiti u ostatku knjige – *Outremer* (tj. *Prekomorje*), a koje je zapravo bilo skupno ime za osvojena križarska područja gdje je onda uspostavljeno i nekoliko država (usp. str. 69). Ono što je također bitno, autor u ovom poglavlju obrađuje i nastanak vitezova templara (kao projekta Huga de Payensa;



1070. – 1136.), kao i njihovu prvotnu ulogu koja je mogla uključivati zaštitu svetih mjesta i/ ili obranu hodočasnika (usp. str. 72). Možda je i jeruzalemski kralj Balduin II. (1118. – 1131.), kako bi održao red u svojoj državi, uvjerio Huga u nužnost tog projekta (str. 76). Od ovoga, trećeg poglavlja nadalje, razmatrat će se i uloga templara u križarskim pohodima.

U idućem poglavlju, *Zapad i Outremer* (str. 81–96), autor dalje iznosi kronološki slijed događaja u *Outremeru*, detaljnije obrazlaže neka viteška pravila templara, a propitkuje i moralnost križarskih pohoda uzevši u obzir Kristov nauk. U vezi s kronološkim slijedom događaja, prethodno spomenuti Balduin II. poslao je u zapadnu Europu Huga de Payensa i Williama od Buresa, princa Galileje, kako bi, kao prvo, uvjerio Fulka od Anjoua (o. 1189. – 1143.), moćnoga veleposjednika iz srednje Francuske, da se oženi s Melisendom (1105. – 1161.), njegovom kćerkom i tako postao nasljednikom Jeruzalemskoga Kraljevstva, ali i, kao drugo, okupio vojsku za napad na Damask, strateški važnu utvrdu koja se nalazila na islamskome području, a čije bi osvajanje otvorilo mogućnost utemeljenja novoga principata te osiguralo Latinima bogat plijen (usp. str. 83–84). Što se tiče templarskih pravila, primjerice, bilo im je zabranjeno nositi šiljaste cipele i vezice, zlatne i srebrne ukrase, platnene ili vunene vrećice za hranu kao i dičiti se nekim svojim junaštvom iz prošlosti (str. 90). Time autor ujedno problematizira viteški ideal, ali i templarski načina života, bez kojeg nije moguće u potpunosti razumjeti ni tijek križarskih pohoda, a ni njihovu svakodnevicu. Kako bi se iz vojno-strateškoga aspekta templarska uloga u križarskim pohodima razumjela, važno je izdvojiti i vrijednu autorovu tezu prema kojoj se, čini se, templarska *Pravila* više odnose na spasenje duše vitezova, negoli na učinkovitost vojničke snage (usp. str. 91). Detaljno analizira lik i djelo Bernarda iz Clairvauxa (1090. – 1153.; str. 83) koji je, primjerice, osuđivao redovničku zajednicu u Clunyju, stavljajući naglasak na njihovu lagodnost i raskošnost (usp. str. 81), ali i koji je često svojim fenomenalnim nastupima i govorima po Europi (primjerice koncil u Troyesu 1129., str. 85, 87, 91; kada je i Crkva primila templarski red) davao veliku potporu križarima. Križarske ratove bez detaljne analize karaktera istaknutih ličnosti također nije moguće razumjeti na kvalitetan način.

Poglavlje *Vjera i mač* (str. 97–112) iduće je u nizu, a s obzirom na sadržaj nadovezuje se na prethodno poglavlje nastavljajući opis tem-



plarskog načina života kao i još nekih stavki iz njihovih *Pravila*. Autor detaljno obrađuje i razna doniranja diljem Europe templarskom redu (primjerice posjedi koji su im pripali u Lincolnshireu i Yorkshireu, str. 97; donacija Alfonsa Jordana, grofa Toulousea i Tripolija, str. 98; oporuka aragonskoga kralja Alfonsa, str. 100–101; isto tako, grof Barcelone Ramon Berenguer, kao i neki njegovi vazali, obvezali su se u Kataloniji 1134. da će godinu dana služiti templarima, str. 98). Ironična je činjenica da su templari, iako ih je međusobno vezivao osnovni zavjet siromaštva, svojevremeno bili jedna od najbogatijih institucija u Europi, koja je nerijetko određenim vladarima financirala troškove križarskih pohoda. Osim toga, moguće im je pripisati i ulogu bankara. Također, bulom *Omne datum optimum* (1139.) papa ih je oslobodio plaćanja desetine, iako su je mogli prikupljati (str. 108). Imajući u vidu naslov ovoga poglavlja (*Vjera i mač*), te uzevši u obzir njegov sadržaj, moguće je reći kako se ovim poglavljem nastojalo prikazati svojevremenu neodvojivost dvaju naizgled suprotnih ideala – vjere i mača – te kako su, uzevši u obzir taj kontrast, onda „razumljivi“ i neki crkveni postupci koji su u svojoj suštini u suprotnosti s osnovnim kršćanskim vrednotama. Zatim se navodi i daljnji tijek zbivanja u *Outremeru*, kao što je neuspjeli napad na ranije spomenutu važnu utvrdu Damask (str. 105–106), obrađuje se i osnivanje hospitalaca tj. drugoga važnog viteškog reda (str. 99–100), a autor isto tako iznosi i slijed zbivanja na Iberijskom poluotoku, gdje su vladari također tražili templarske usluge i pomoć u pokušaju provođenja rekonkviste (usp. str. 98). Međutim, važna teza koju pritom treba izdvojiti je da je templarska djelatnost, prije svega, bila orijentirana na Svetu Zemlju, a ne na Iberijski poluotok (usp. str. 98).

U poglavlju *Templari i Palestina* (str. 113–126) autor je stavio naglasak na daljnji tijek zbivanja u *Outremeru*, točnije Drugi križarski rat, koji je započeo nakon pada grofovije Edese (1144.) u ruke upravitelja Mosula Imada al-Dina Zengija (1085. – 1145.). Prema autoru, iako bi napad na Alep, kojim je vladao Zengijev sin Nur al-Din (1146. – 1174.) stvorio kod križara nužnu pripremu za napad na Edesu, križari su se, zbog velikoga plijena, ponovno odlučili napasti Damask, odnosno grad koji je čak bio spreman pridružiti se Francima u borbi protiv Nur al-Dina. U konačnici, poražena je križarska vojska kod Damaska 1148. godine (str. 120–121). U ovom poglavlju obrađuje se i profil poznate ličnosti Eleonore Akvitanske (1122. – 1204.), supruge francuskoga



kralja Luja VII. (1137. – 1180.), a poglavlje se dotiče i sukoba križara i Bizantinaca, koji je uvelike rascjepkao križarsku vojsku prije nego li je uopće i došla do „pravoga“ odredišta. Osim toga, u ovom poglavlju moguće je uvidjeti i neke dublje čimbenike koji zainteresiranom pojedincu možda i nisu na umu prilikom prosudbe uzroka (ne)uspjeha križarskih vojni, kao što je razilaženje križarske elite i lokalnih baruna oko toga koje mjesto treba napasti (usp. str. 120). Ono što je temeljno, ovo poglavlje, kroz nekoliko elemenata, čitatelju neizravno obznanjuje koliko je templarska uloga bila značajna u *Outremeru* i koliko su njihove intervencije, izravno ili neizravno, utjecale na ishode određenih sukoba kao i nagodbi. Zbog toga je i autor vjerojatno poglavlje odlučio nasloviti *Templari i Palestina*.

Sedmo poglavlje *Latini u Svetoj Zemlji* (str. 127–144) iduće je, a s obzirom na to da je jedna od nezaobilaznih stavki prilikom razmatranja križarskih vojni svakako i razumijevanje društvene svakodnevice na ratom zahvaćenom području, autor se time odlučio temeljitije pozabaviti upravo ovdje. Uostalom, jedna je od posljedica križarskih ratova svakako bila i upoznavanje Zapada s istočnjačkom kulturom (vidi neke primjere na str. 127), a u kojim se detaljima to upoznavanje očituje, posebno je prikazano u ovom poglavlju. I u ovom poglavlju iznose se još neki aspekti templarskoga života, poput zavjeta poslušnosti (str. 135), važnosti konja (str. 134), ali i, primjerice, posjedovanja privatnoga vlasništva (str. 134). Zaintrigirani pojedinci moći će saznati i nešto o raznoraznim stereotipima koji se, nažalost, i danas vezuju uz tematiku križarskih ratova, kao i u njima zaraćenim stranama.

Poglavljje *Politika u Outremeru* (str. 145–156) iduće je u nizu, a primarno se bavi daljnjim kronološkim slijedom događaja u *Outremeru*, među kojima posebno valja izdvojiti sukob Melisende i njezina sina, Balduina III. (1143. – 1162.) oko vlasti, u kojem je Balduin izišao kao pobjednik (usp. str. 145). Ipak, u daljnjem razvoju događaja, veliku ulogu odigrat će i Melisendina rođakinja Konstanca (1127. – 1163.), princeza Antiohije kojoj se, nakon smrti njezina supruga Raymonda od Poitiersa (o. 1115. – 1149.), ponovno nametnulo pitanje udaje. Iako se smatralo da će se Konstanca udati za udovca i šurjaka bizantskoga cara i Normana, Johna Rogera, Konstanca se u konačnici udala za Raynalda od Châtillona (o. 1125. – 1187.), francuskoga viteza koji je bio „okrutan, drzak, vrlo hrabar i vjerojatno iznimno naočit čovjek“ (str. 148). U srži je ovoga poglavlja upravo Raynaldovo djelovanje. Raynald je prvo





dobio naslov princa Antiohije od Balduina III., nakon toga zamjerio se bizantskom caru, smjestio patrijarha Antiohije Aimerika iz Limogesa u zatvor te s armenskim kraljem Thorosom teško opljačkao Cipar, zbog čega se u konačnici morao i pokajati pred bizantskim carem (str. 148–150). Obraduje se i odnos Amalrika (1162. – 1174.), jeruzalemskoga kralja koji je naslijedio Balduina III. i templara, koji je zahladnio nakon što su templari bez borbe predali Nur al-Dinu jednu utvrdu u špilji u Transjordaniji, a ujedno rezultirao odbijanjem templara da sudjeluju u Amalrikovu planu invazije na Egipat (str. 153). Tim odnosom vidljivo je i da se na templare, a u čemu leži i bit naslova knjige (*Križarski ratovi. Templarski pogled*), može gledati i kao na samostalan, bilo vojni, bilo politički, čimbenik tijekom križarskih pohoda.

Iduće poglavlje, naslova *Odgovor islama* (str. 157–172), detaljnije nas upoznaje s profilom prethodno spomenutoga Raynalda, ali isto tako i vrlo poznatom ličnošću Saladina (1138. – 1193.), o kojem historiografija ostavlja relativno pozitivan sud. Ako je čitatelj mogao steći dojam dezorijentiranosti i neorganiziranosti križarskih vojski koje su, kako je prethodno u jednom paragrafu spomenuto, često zapadale u nevolje prije nego li bi uopće i došle do Svete Zemlje, čitajući ovo poglavlje moguće je i steći dojam kako je podjednako važnu ulogu za nepovoljan ishod križarskih vojni imala i razjedinjenost križarskih državnica u *Outremeru*, ali i izostanak veće potpore Zapada. Razjedinjenost Franaka, primjerice, vrlo je dobro koristila Saladinu koji je pokušao osvojiti Jeruzalem, iako to tada (1177.) u konačnici nije uspio, dijelom i zbog junaštva Raynalda (str. 164).

Poglavlje *Saladin: Alahov mač* (str. 173–188) deseto je u nizu. Ovo poglavlje još dodatno rasvjetljava Saladinovu ličnost kao važnoga političkog faktora, ali isto tako dodatno neizravno obznanjuje koliko je razjedinjenost križarskih državnica pomogla suparničkoj strani. Također, čitatelj se upoznaje i s osobom Guida Lusignanskoga, novim i „omraženim“ jeruzalemskim kraljem (1186. – 1192.) te zaručnikom Sibile, sestre Balduina IV. (1174. – 1185.). U međuvremenu, Raynald od Châtillona, koji je podržavao Guida, postao je Saladinov glavni protivnik, a pokušao je čak i oteti Muhamedovo tijelo (str. 174). U takvom je spletu okolnosti, grof Tripolija, Raymond (1152. – 1187.), čak tražio i savezništvo sa Saladinom u borbi protiv Guida, što je bila kobna pogreška za grofa koja će ga etiketirati kao „izdajicu“ (usp. str. 176, 179). Također, iako su za kompletan ishod križarskih vojni zasigurno veću



ulogu odigrali neki dublji politički čimbenici, zaključivanje o ishodima križarskih vojni bilo bi nepotpuno ako se ne bi uzeli u obzir i ishodi nekih bitaka na terenu. Jedna od zasigurno najistaknutijih bitaka križarskih pohoda odigrala se kod Hattina (3. – 4. srpnja 1187.), u kojoj su se pomireni Guido i Raymond, s ogromnom vojskom, sukobili sa Saladinom i doživjeli veliki poraz (str. 178–180). Ovo poglavlje donosi i detaljan opis navedene bitke, s kobnim posljedicama za kršćane, među kojima je bilo i Saladinovo zauzeće Jeruzalema (1187.), ali i zarobljavanje Guida te pogubljenje Raynalda.

Poglavlje *Rikard Lavljeg Srca: kralj i križar* (str. 189–204) iduće je u nizu, a u srži je ovoga poglavlja, kao što i naslov aludira, ličnost Rikarda Lavljeg Srca (1189. – 1199.), koji se nametnuo u vodeću figuru narednoga križarskog pohoda. Nakon braka s Lujem VII., ranije spomenuta Eleonora udala se za engleskoga kralja Henrika II. (1154. – 1189), a njihov treći sin bio je upravo Rikard, „briljantni strateg“ (str. 190) te, uz Fridrika II. Hohenstaufovca (Barbarossu) (1152. – 1190.) i francuskoga kralja Filipa II. Augusta (1180. – 1223.), pokretač Trećega križarskog rata. Podrobno se razmatra i ličnost Fridrika II., kao i Rikardovo i Filipovo razilaženje zbog kojeg je zakazala i koordinacija napada. Kronološki, ovo poglavlje obrađuje prvi dio Trećega križarskog rata, u kojem je Rikard osvojio Cipar (koji je kasnije prodao templarima), ali i u kojem su križarske snage osvojile vrlo vrijedan plijen, Akru (1191.). Valja napomenuti i kako je tijekom ovoga križarskog pohoda kraljeve Rikarda i Filipa pogodila bolest (*arnaldia* ili *leonardie*), koja je, prema sudu autora, uvelike utjecala i na uspješnost Rikardove diplomacije i ratova (usp. str. 198–199).

Nakon toga slijedi poglavlje *Diplomacija i rat u Palestini (1191. – 1192.)* (str. 205–226). Ovo poglavlje upotpunjuje ličnost Rikarda Lavljeg Srca, a s obzirom na to da je i diplomacija važan dio ratovanja, autor je ovim poglavljem, odnosno nekolicinom primjera nastojao skrenuti pozornost i na to. Na važnost je diplomacije u ratu Spajić osobito ukazivao i u svojoj drugoj knjizi, *Bizant i rat* (2019.), kada je diplomaciju prikazao kao jedan od važnih faktora zbog kojeg je Bizant i opstao toliko dugo, a o važnosti diplomacije, računa su vodili i križari. U ovom poglavlju razmatra se drugi dio Trećega križarskog rata, tj. bitka kod Arsufske šume (7. rujna 1191.), marš na Bajt Nubu te bitka za Jaffu (28. srpnja – 5. kolovoza 1192.). Poglavlje završava Rikardovom pogibijom, a valja napomenuti i kako je Cipar u međuvremenu bio vraćen Rikardu, koji ga je ubrzo onda opet prodao.



Naredno poglavlje nosi naslov *Unutarnji neprijatelji i katastrofa 1204. godine* (str. 227–246). Ovo poglavlje dotiče se i za hrvatsku povijest važnoga Četvrtoga križarskog rata, kada je Mletačka Republika, umjesto plaćanja za prijevoz do Svete Zemlje, od križara zatražila osvajanje Zadra (1202.), a u ovom je pohodu zauzet i Konstantinopol (1204.), što se podrobno opisuje. Također, u ovom poglavlju templari ponovno dolaze u širi krug autorova razmatranja, a obrađuje se i negativna percepcija (pa i zavist) javnosti prema templarima, koja je izazvana prvenstveno njihovim velikim bogatstvom (usp. str. 229). Neki su templarima pripisivali i pohlepu, što je sve bilo u suprotnosti s osnovnim vrlinama siromaštva i milosrđa Huga de Payensa, njihovog ranije spomenutog osnivača. Autor u ovom poglavlju iznosi i drugu stranu priče predstavljajući templare u pozitivnom svjetlu, a koja čitatelja odvraća od toga da odmah, nekritički, prihvati negativnu percepciju javnosti prema templarskom redu.

Nakon toga slijedi poglavlje *Križarski rat protiv albigenza* (str. 247–266). Križarski ratovi, naime, ne podrazumijevaju samo invaziju na prostor Levanta pod islamskom vlašću; križarski ratovi podrazumijevaju i borbu protiv raznih frakcija, odnosno hereza unutar kršćanstva. U ovom poglavlju, autor se osvrće na križarske pohode na katare i albigenze u pokrajini Languedoc, a razmatra i potencijalne motive poduzimanja takve križarske vojne. Razmatra, dakako, i templarski pogled na albigenški križarski pohod.

Poglavlje *Neuspjeh Petoga križarskog rata (1217. – 1221.)* (str. 267–284) iduće je u nizu, a obrađuje Peti križarski rat, koji je također osobito važan za hrvatsku povijest s obzirom na to da je jedan od njegovih inicijatora bio i hrvatsko-ugarski kralj Andrija II. (1205. – 1235.). Cilj Petoga križarskog rata bio je osvajanje Egipta, a u tu svrhu istaknutu ulogu imala je utvrda Damietta, čija se opsada detaljno opisuje. Poglavlje završava analizom posljedica Petoga križarskog rata, a autor zaključuje da je on posljedično destabilizirao islamsko Ajubidsko Carstvo (usp. str. 280).

Poglavlje *Sveta Zemlja u 13. stoljeću* (str. 285–300) šesnaesto je u nizu, a u njemu se podrobnije razmatra društveno-ekonomski status *Outremera*, tj. pitanje kontinuiteta (usp. str. 286) nakon sporazuma u Jaffi (1192.) i Saladinove smrti (1193.), kao i njegovi pravni aspekti. Razmatra se značaj Cipra, koji je kraljevstvom postao 1197. godine, a čija sudbina nije ovisila o sudbini kopna (u *Outremeru*) ili obratno



(str. 285). Sentimentalni i komercijalni epicentar kopnenoga *Outremera* činili su ili Jeruzalem ili Akra, a s obzirom na to da u ovom periodu kršćani kontroliraju uglavnom samo Akru (Jeruzalem je bio u periodu između 1229. i 1244., no čak je i tad prijestolnica ostala u Akri, usp. str. 286), posebno se analizira i njezin značaj. Navodi se tako i da je, prema nekim izvorima, Akra godišnje ostvarivala i do 50 000 funti sterlinga, odnosno „golem iznos usporediv sa svim kraljevskim prihodima u zapadnoj Europi“ (str. 286), kao i da je zauzimala stožerno mjesto u unosnim trgovačkim putovima istok-zapad te da je njezino bogatstvo podupiralo i opstanak kršćanskih enklava (usp. str. 287). Autor propitkuje je li i pojava Mongola uzrokovala financijsko propadanje *Outremera* (str. 288), kao i prijetnju *Outremeru* koja je uslijedila dolaskom na vlast mameluka u Egiptu 1250. godine (str. 289). Navodi da je slika *Outremera* u očima Zapada bila prepuna „izazova, krize i prijetnje“ (str. 290) dok je pravo stanje ipak bilo bitno drukčije – Franci su konsolidirali kontrolu nad obalnom ravnicom od Tortoze do utvrde Aškelon (str. 290). Podrobno obrađuje i Lombardski rat (1228. – 1243.) i Rat sv. Sabe (1256. – 1270.). Poglavlje završava unutarnjim previranjima u *Outremeru*, koja su samo pojačala nadolazeću opasnost od egipatskih mameluka (usp. str. 299). Manjak je ovoga poglavlja što autor iznosi neke kronološke događaje koji su uslijedili mnogo kasnije od onih iznesenih u prethodnim poglavljima, zbog čega je u nekim navratima poglavlje i nešto teže pratiti.

Iduće poglavlje u nizu nosi naslov *Križarska vojna Fridrika Hohenstaufovca (1227. – 1229.)* (str. 301–314). U srži je ovoga poglavlja križarski pohod koji je ponovljen nakon neuspjeha kod Damiette, a pod vodstvom Fridrika II. Hohenstaufovca (1194. – 1250.). Podrobno se razmatra i ličnost Fridrika II. koji je, naime, imao i jedno specifično shvaćanje vjerskih tumačenja, a koje se iz današnjega stajališta može tumačiti „ateističkim“. Sumnjao je, primjerice, u djevičansko rođenje Isusa i euharistiju, a Muhameda i Mojsija smatrao je „prevarantima“ (usp. str. 303). Nakon što je papa Honorije III. (1216. – 1227.) okrunio Fridrika za cara, Fridrik II. obvezao se na križarski pohod, motiviran vjerojatno i time da sebe predstavi kao vrhovnoga vladara kršćanskoga svijeta. Međutim, od samoga polaska u križarski pohod, uslijedile su nevolje – Fridrik se razbolio i bio je prisiljen usidriti se u Otrantu zbog čega ga je papa Grgur IX. (1227. – 1241.) ekskomunicirao (1227. i 1228.) jer nije ispunio svoj zavjet. Nakon što je stigao u Akru, bila mu



je oduzeta i ovlast zapovijedanja križarskom vojskom. S obzirom na to da križarska vojska ionako nije bila velika, glavno sredstvo borbe bila mu je diplomacija, gdje mu je na ruku išla i promjena okolnosti u Ajubidskome Carstvu (str. 306–309). U daljnjem tijeku ovoga poglavlja razmatra se diplomatski odnos između Fridrika i al-Kamila (1177. – 1238.) koji je u konačnici rezultirao sporazumom u Jaffi 18. veljače 1229. godine (str. 308), kada je Jeruzalem vraćen kršćanima. Međutim, taj sporazum nije daleko odjeknuo, a Fridrik je, zbog događaja u Italiji, bio prisiljen brzo napustiti Svetu Zemlju. I u ovom poglavlju, dakle, još je jednom stavljen naglasak na važnost diplomacije kao sredstva borbe.

Nakon toga slijedi poglavlje *Aktivnosti za opstanak Svete Zemlje* (str. 315–324). U ovom poglavlju obrađuje se daljnji tijek događaja u *Outremeru*. Naime, 1239. godine istekao je sporazum između Fridrika II. i al-Kamila (prema kojem je Jeruzalem pripao kršćanima), a iako je i damašćanski sultan Ismail predložio Francuzima sporazum protiv njegova rođaka, al-Kamilova sina Ajjuba, koji je tada bio sultan u Kairu, to nije urodilo željenim plodom. Javila se razjedinjenost među križarima; hospitalci su, s druge strane, sklopili sporazum s Ajjubom u Kairu, a kako bi osvojio Jeruzalem, Ajjub je u pomoć pozvao i plemo plaćeničkih nomada – horezmijske Turke, tada naseljene pokraj Edese. Jeruzalem je pao 1244., a poglavlje završava bitkom kod Forbieja (17. – 18. listopada 1244.), gdje se egipatska vojska sukobila s udruženom vojskom Damaska i Akre i porazila križare. Posljedično, prema navodima autora, kršćani više nikada nisu posjedovali moć u križarskim državama, a križari i križarski ratovi izgubili su svoju popularnost i privlačnost (usp. str. 322).

*Kralj Luj i Bitka za Egipat (1248. – 1250.)* (str. 325–336) iduće je poglavlje u nizu, a u središtu je ovoga poglavlja križarski pohod koji je poduzeo kralj Luj IX. (1226. – 1270.), koji je ujedno pospješio slom Ajubida potaknuvši uspon vojne elite profesionalnih turskih ratnikarobova tj. mameluka na političku vlast (str. 325). Podrobno se analizira ličnost Luja IX., kao i način poduzimanja pohoda za Sedmi križarski rat, za koji je propovijedao legat Odo od Châteauroux, kardinal biskup Tuskula (1244. – 1273.). U prosincu 1248., u Nikoziji, Luj je čak i pregovarao s mongolskim poslanstvom, a 5. lipnja 1249. usidrio se kod Damiette, koju je i osvojio. Međutim, u daljnjem tijeku rata, Luj nije slušao savjete baruna *Outremera* da krene prema luci Aleksandri-





ji, već brata Roberta, grofa Artoisa da se krene na jug uz istočnu obalu Nila prema Mansuri, a u tom maršu prema jugu, Robert je bio brzoplet zbog čega su križari upali u zamku kod Mansure. Ubrzo je u islamsko zarobljeništvo došao i kralj Luj, a u čijem su spašavanju templari pomogli (usp. str. 331–332). Iz toga je moguće zaključiti i kako su „sitnice“ itekako igrale bitnu ulogu u ishodima križarskih ratova.

Iduće, dvadeseto poglavlje, naslovljen *Neuspjeh Lujeve politike i uspon mameluka* (str. 337–346), obrađuje daljnji kronološki tijek događaja. Nakon vojnih pohoda u Egiptu, Luj IX. još neko vrijeme ostaje u Svetoj Zemlji, a neočekivanu diplomatsku priliku dobio je kada su mameluci u Egiptu došli u sukob s Ajubidima koji su ostali na vlasti u Siriji. Dok su s jedne strane, a bez znanja Luja IX., templari pregovarali sa sultanom u Damasku, Luj je sklopio nagodbu s mamelucima koja je rezultirala oslobađanjem kršćanskih zatočenika, a pregovarao je još i s Mongolima. Prije nego li se vratio u Francusku (1254.), dao je utvrditi obalne gradove – Akru, Cezareju, Jaffu i Sidon. Nakon Lujeva odlaska, nije bilo suglasja među Francima; Bohemund VI. Antiohijski i Tripolij-ski (1252. – 1275.) prihvatio je mongolsko vrhovništvo dok Franci iz Akre nisu vidjeli nikakvu prednost u tom podvrgavanju (usp. str. 339–340). Nedugo nakon toga, mamelučka pobjeda protiv Mongola u bitci kod Ain Džaluta (1260., str. 341) stvorila je novu prijetnju *Outremeru*, koja je rezultirala padanjem Cezareje, Haife, Safeta, Antiohije i drugih gradova. Luj IX. čak je ponovno poduzeo križarski pohod, no njegova nenadana smrt 1270. godine prekinula je križarsku vojnu.

*Pad Akre 1291. godine* (str. 347–356) pretposljednje je stožerno poglavlje u knjizi, a iako je već u prethodnom poglavlju nagoviještena potpuna katastrofa kršćana, ovo poglavlje obrađuje završne operacije u *Outremeru*. Već je ranije spomenuto koliko je važnost imala Akra, a s njezinim je padom (1291.) autor zaključio ovaj povijesni pregled.

*Korijeni križarskoga rata i velikoga džihada* (str. 357–369) posljednje je poglavlje knjige. U njemu autor raznoraznim propitkivanjima, a što je vidljivo i iz naslova potpoglavlja (npr. *Karolinzi: Novi Izrael*, str. 357–358; *Karlo Veliki: otac Europe*, str. 358; *Popularnost svetačkih relikvija kao nadomjestak straha od nesigurnoga svijeta*, str. 359; ...), „uspoređuje“ križarske pohode s džihadom. Od teza iznesenih u *Zaključku*, svakako valja izdvojiti da su križarski ratovi bili prvi imperijalni pothvat kršćanskoga zahvata, da je utemeljenim križarskim državama (bilo ih je pet) bila potrebna stalna vojska, da je bogaćenje





templara izazvalo veliki otpor javnoga mnijenja, posebice iz razloga što je nestankom križarske vlasti na Bliskome istoku „nestao“ i razlog njihovog postojanja, ali i da su, primjerice, križarski ratovi doveli do procvata trgovine između Europe i *Outremera*. Isto tako, valja izdvojiti i da je interakcija zapadnih kršćanskih i islamskih kultura utjecala na razvoj europske civilizacije i buđenje renesanse (usp. 367–368).

Nakon glavnih poglavlja, na kraju knjige nalaze se i još neki „tehnički“ dijelovi koji upotpunjuju sadržaj knjige. To su *Kronologija* (str. 371–381; s dijelovima *Prvi dio postanak*, str. 371; *Drugi dio judaizam*, str. 371–372; *Treći dio poganstvo*, str. 372; *Četvrti dio kršćanstvo*, str. 372–373; *Peti dio islam*, str. 373–376; *Šesti dio križari*, str. 376–381), *Rječnik* (str. 383–385), *Vladari* (str. 387–391; s dijelovima *Papinstvo*, 387–388; *Njemačka*, str. 388; *Bizantsko Carstvo*, str. 388; *Francuska*, str. 388; *Engleska*, str. 388–389; *Sicilija*, str. 389; *Kastilja*, str. 389; *Léon*, str. 389; *Aragon*, str. 390; *Ugarska*, str. 390; *Osmansko Carstvo*, str. 390; *Jeruzalem*, str. 390–391; *Antiohija*, str. 391; *Tripoli*, str. 391; *Edesa*, str. 391; *Burgundija*, str. 391), *Literatura* (str. 393–394), *Kazalo* (str. 395–402) i *Bilješka o autoru* (str. 403).

## Zaključak

Knjiga Hrvoja Spajića *Križarski ratovi – Templarski pogled* nedvojbeno je aktualizirala tematiku križarskih ratova u Hrvatskoj, koji su itekako imali značaj i za hrvatsku povijest, pritom posebice misleći na Četvrti križarski rat, ali i na Andriju II. koji je bio jedan od pokretača Petoga križarskog rata. Također, Hrvatska se nalazila i na važnom geostrateškom položaju, odnosno na putu prema Svetoj Zemlji, a već je i bilo znanstvenih radova<sup>1</sup> u kojima se nastojalo pokazati da su templarski posjedi u Hrvatskoj bili smješteni uz putove koji su vodili prema Svetoj Zemlji, s obzirom na to da je jedna od templarskih zadaća, kao što je izdvojeno u ovom prikazu, bila „nadzirati ceste“ hodočasniciima. Sve u svemu, ne sumnjam da će se nakon iščitavanja ove knjige pronaći i istražiti i neki novi aspekt koji vezuje križarske ratove i hrvatsku povijest.

Ukoliko je netko čitao i ranije Spajićeve knjige, poput *Velikih arapskih osvajanja* ili knjigu *Bizant i rat*, utoliko će uvidjeti da je ova knjiga pisana na sličnom tragu. Spajićeve knjige uvijek teže raspravljajčkoj

1 Npr. rad Tomislava Matića, *Balkanski križonoše: ekonomska i politička uloga templara na hrvatskom prostoru*, Radovi: Radovi Zavoda za hrvatsku povijest Filozofskoga fakulteta Sveučilišta u Zagrebu, sv. 41, br. 1, 2009, str. 367–394.



prirodi, stoga je uvijek zanimljivo kad čitatelj uspoređi zaključak do kojega je došao s onim autorovim. Mogu reći da se ono što sam procijenio bitnim definitivno poklapa s autorovim zaključcima, a dojma sam i da je nejedinstvo križarskih državnica, s čestim dinastičkim previranjima, samo ubrzalo križarski „fijasko“ koji je, uzevši u obzir i još brojne druge čimbenike, bio neminovan. Također, činjenica da je Spajić razmatrajući tematiku križarskih ratova obradio i profile istaknutih povijesnih ličnosti (npr. Fridrika II.), kao i društveno-ekonomski aspekt ratova te analizirao i istaknute bitke, samo pokazuje s koliko je predanosti i znanja autor pristupio glavnoj problematici. Spajićeva knjiga, bez obzira na znanstveno-popularni profil, mogla bi postati obveznom polazišnom točkom svakome za bavljenjem križarskim ratovima. Iako se može steći dojam da je obrađujući tematiku križarskih ratova, dao možda „premalom“ onoga templarskog pogleda, a koji je naznačen u naslovu ove knjige, Spajić je zapravo ponudio i više nego li je mogao. Prije svega, iščitavajući ovu knjigu, čitatelj ima dovoljno poglavlja i potpoglavlja koji jasno predočavaju kako je templarski red tijekom križarskih ratova djelovao kao jedna neovisna „institucija“. I već je takvom percepcijom Spajić opravdao naslov djela. A osim toga, tematika je templara u hrvatskoj historiografiji vrlo malo zastupljena – osim Ivana Kukuljevića Sakcinskoga, Lelje Dobronić i u novije vrijeme Jurja Belaja, koji su se zapravo prvenstveno bavili ostavštinom templara na hrvatskom prostoru, zanimacija za templare u općem smislu, odnosno u kontekstu svjetske povijesti, u nas je vrlo slaba. Možda bi se još tu moglo dodati ime Krešimira Kužića, koji je objavio knjigu *Hrvati i križari*, no u toj je knjizi zapravo naglasak na križarskoj ideji, a ne na templarima. Iz tog je moguće zaključiti i da je Spajić prvi hrvatski autor koji je u jednoj knjizi u hrvatskoj historiografiji, u onom općem smislu, razmotrio templarski red, iako postoje neki prijevodi stranih autora (npr. knjiga autorice Regine Pernoud *Templari*). Uzevši to u obzir, naravno, nije začuđujuće što je Spajićeva knjiga temeljena prvenstveno na stranoj, sekundarnoj literaturi. A osim što je stavio naglasak na templare, ostavio je i dovoljno prostora zaključiti da je drugi značajni viteški red, hospitalci, također kroz križarske ratove djelovao kao neovisna „institucija“. No, tematiku hospitalaca u pravom smislu tek treba podrobno razmotriti.

Uzevši u obzir sve spomenuto, ovu knjigu preporučio bih prvenstveno svima koji se zanimaju za vojnu i crkvenu povijest, srednji vijek



i križarske ratove. Knjiga je, dakako, i bogat izvor znanja opće kulture, a u konačnici, vjerujem da će imati pristojan odjek i da će se mnogi drugi uključiti u istraživanja križarske tematike.



# HRVOJE SPAJIĆ, *THE CRUSADES* – *A TEMPLAR VIEWPOINT*

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Book review

Submitted: July 13<sup>th</sup>, 2021

Accepted: September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2021

Hrvoje Spajić's popular science book, *The Crusades. A Templar Point of View*, was published by Despot Infinitus in 2020. Hrvoje Spajić has already published some books on military issues (*The Waffen-SS: Dark Forces of Criminal Policy* 2010; *Great Islamic Conquests 632 - 750*, 2019; *Byzantium and War. Basic Military and Warfare Features of Byzantine Society 600 - 1453*, 2019), as well as a number of popular science articles (*Croatian Soldier, Military History*), and the publication of this book, in which he discussed the subject of the crusades, emphasizing their vision from a Templar point of view, only continued the successful path stopped with the actualization of topics from military history in Croatian historiography. The book has 403 pages, and since it is very extensive in content, its overview by chapters and sections will be presented in the text below.

## Content

The chapter *Alarming the West* (p. 27–46), as an introductory chapter, provides an overview of all the key events that preceded the Crusades, which are indispensable for understanding the subject of the crusades as a major episode in church and military history. In this sense, it is especially important to understand the identity of what is understood as the “West”, which also had a specific view of its Christian “brethren” in Byzantium. It is also important to understand the papal authority, given that the pope called for the First Crusade, and in building his authority, which was perhaps the greatest in the West, he came into conflict for investiture with the German emperor Henry IV (1084 - 1105). For the success of the crusades, it was necessary to first create a cohesive “West”, and here the author indirectly announces this with his choice of titles for subchapters (e.g. *Disunity of the West*,



p. 27; *Feudal System in the West*, p. 28; *Consequences of the Collapse of Charlemagne*, p. 29).

The chapter entitled *The Intervention of the West and the Battle of Jerusalem* (p. 47-68) is the second chapter of the book and, as can be seen from the subchapter at the beginning (*The Holy Land - A Favorite Destination of Christian Pilgrims*, p. 47; *Pilgrimage as a Form of Martyrdom*, p. 48), begins with discussions of pilgrimage as one of the medieval ideals of life. It is also important to point out that the monks of the famous Cluny emphasized the pilgrimage to Jerusalem as the culmination of man's spiritual life (p. 48), and preventing Christians from fulfilling this obligation is one of the motives for starting the crusades. This chapter also deals with the Council of Clermont (1095), when Pope Urban II (1088-1099), bearing in mind the troubles faced by Christian pilgrims in Jerusalem, and probably bearing in mind the actions of the "fanatical" Egyptian caliph al-Hakim (985-1021), who ordered the destruction of the Holy Sepulcher in Jerusalem, called Christians to the crusades, promising them forgiveness of past sins and full forgiveness of earthly penances imposed by the Church (cf. p. 48-50). Contrary to the pope's expectations, this call gathered primarily the poor, not the knights or the able-bodied population, which resulted in the First Crusade, led by Peter the Hermit (the so-called *People's Crusade*, 1096, p. 55), which ended ingloriously. It was not until two months after this campaign that the "real" Crusade began to gather momentum in Constantinople, as the pope had expected, and which soon won several victories - at Nicaea (1097), Antioch (1098) and Jerusalem (1099), which also resulted in the shameful massacre of a large number of innocent people (p. 62). It is important to note that the author thoroughly analyzes certain sieges, and some of these analyses contain seemingly "fictional" elements that should be taken with caution. The "monotony" of descriptions of sieges and wars is broken by an "intellectual" idea or thought (e.g., that the crusaders, when afflicted with hunger and cold, began to suspect that God was abandoning them and punishing them for their iniquities, cf. p. 58), but by reading this chapter the reader will also get to know the methodology by which the author presented the crusades.

The chapter *The Foundation of the Outremer and the Templars* (p. 69-80) is the third chapter of the book, and although it is shorter in content, it is actually one of the most important. In this chapter, the author



first explains the term that will run through the rest of the book – the *Outremer* (i.e. *the Overseas*), which was actually a collective name for the conquered areas of the crusaders, where several states were then established (cf. p. 69). What is also important, secondly, in this chapter is that the author deals with the emergence of the Knights Templar (as a project of Hugo de Payens; 1070 - 1136), as well as their original role, which may have included protection of holy places and / or defense of pilgrims (cf. p. 72). Perhaps King Baldwin II of Jerusalem. (1118-1131), in order to maintain order in his country, convinced Hugo of the necessity of the project (p. 76). Therefore, from this chapter onwards, the role of the Templars in the crusades will also be considered.

In the next chapter, *The West and the Outremer* (p. 81–96), the author goes on to describe the chronological sequence of events in the *Outremer*, explains in detail some of the Knights Templar's rules of chivalry, and questions the morality of the crusades, taking into account Christ's teaching. Regarding the chronological sequence of events, the previously mentioned Baldwin II sent Hugo de Payens and William of Bures, Prince of Galilee, to Western Europe, in order to persuade Fulk of Anjou (c. 1189-1143), a powerful landowner from central France, to marry Melisend (1105. - 1161), his daughter, and thus he became the heir of the Kingdom of Jerusalem, but also, secondly, gathered an army to attack Damascus, a strategically important fortress located in Islamic territory, whose conquest would open the possibility of establishing a new principality and provide a rich prey to the Latins (cf. p. 83–84). As for the Templar rules they were, for example, forbidden to wear pointed shoes and laces, gold and silver ornaments, linen or woolen food bags, or to boast of some of their heroism from the past (p. 90). In this way, the author also opens the question of the knightly ideal, but also the Templar way of life, without which it is impossible to fully understand the course of the crusades or their daily lives, in which the Templars played a prominent role. In order to understand the Templar role in the crusades from a military-strategic point of view, it is important to single out the author's valuable thesis that the *Templar Rules* seem to be more about saving the souls of knights than the effectiveness of military force (cf. p. 91). He analyzes in detail the character and work of Bernard of Clairvaux (1090-1153; p. 83), who, for example, condemned the monk community in Cluny, emphasizing their easy lifestyle and opulence (cf. p. 81), but who, with his pheno-





menal performances and speeches throughout Europe (for example, at the Council of Troyes in 1129, p. 85, 87, 91; when the Church also ratified the Templar order), gave great support to the crusaders. The crusades, without a detailed analysis of the characters of prominent figures, cannot be fully understood.

The chapter *Faith and the Sword* (p. 97–112) is the next chapter, and with regard to its content, this chapter builds on the previous one - the description of the Templar way of life continues, as well as some other passages from their rulebook. However, in this chapter the author details the various donations to the Templar order made throughout Europe (for example, the estates of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire, p. 97; the donation of Alfonso Jordan, Count of Toulouse and Tripoli, p. 98; the will of King Alfonso of Aragon, p. 100–101, while the Count of Barcelona, Ramon Berenguer, vowed, as well as some of his vassals, in Catalonia in 1134, to serve the Templars for a year, p. 98). It is ironic that the Templars, although bound by the basic vow of poverty, were once one of the richest institutions in Europe, which often knew how to finance certain needs of certain rulers for the crusades. In addition, the role of bankers can be attributed to them. Also, with the bull *Omne datum optimum* (1139) the pope exempted them from paying tithes, although they could collect it (p. 108). Given the title of this chapter (*Faith and the Sword*) and taking into account its content, it is possible to say that this chapter sought to show the inseparability of two seemingly opposite ideals - faith and the sword - and how, given this contrast, some church practices that are inherently contrary to their basic Christian values can be seen as “understandable”. This chapter also mentions the further course of events in the *Outremer*, such as the failed attack on the previously mentioned important Damascus fortress (p. 105–106), and the establishment of the Knights Hospitaller, i.e. another important knightly order (p. 99–100), and the author also brings a sequence of events on the Iberian Peninsula, where the rulers also sought Templar services and assistance in trying to carry out a Reconquista (cf. p. 98). However, an important thesis that should be singled out is that the Templar activity was, above all, centered on the Holy Land, and not on the Iberian Peninsula (cf. p. 98).

In the chapter *The Templars and Palestine* (p. 113–126), the author emphasized the further course of events in the *Outremer*, namely the Second Crusade, which began after the fall of the County of Edessa



(1144) into the hands of Imad al-Din Zengi (1085 - 1145), the governor of Mosul. According to the author, although the attack on Aleppo, ruled by Zengi's son Nur al-Din (1146-1174), would create the necessary preparations for the crusaders to attack Edessa, the crusaders, because of a large booty, decided to attack Damascus again, that is to say the city which was even ready to join the Franks in the fight against Nur al-Din. Eventually, the Crusaders were defeated near Damascus in 1148 (p. 120–121). This chapter also deals with the profile of the famous persona of Eleanor of Aquitaine (1122-1204), the wife of the French king Louis VII (1137-1180), and the chapter also deals with the conflict between the crusaders and the Byzantines, which greatly split the crusaders, before they even reached the “right” destination. Furthermore, in this chapter it is possible to see some deeper factors that may not be in the mind of the interested individual when judging the cause of the failure of the crusades, such as the disagreement between the crusader elite and local barons over which place to attack (p. 120). Also, what is fundamental, this chapter, through several elements, indirectly reveals to the reader how important the Templar role was in the *Outremer*, and just how much their interventions, either directly or indirectly, affected the outcomes of certain conflicts and settlements. This is why the author probably decided to title the chapter *The Templars and Palestine*.

The chapter *Latins in the Holy Land* (p. 127–144) is the next, seventh chapter of the book, and since one of the unavoidable aspects, when considering the crusades, is certainly the understanding of social everyday life in the war-torn area, the author decided to deal with it more thoroughly in this chapter. After all, one of the consequences of the crusades was certainly the acquaintance of the West with Eastern culture (see some examples on p. 127), and in what details this acquaintance was manifested, is shown in detail. In this chapter as well, some aspects of Templar life are presented, such as the vow of obedience (p. 135), the importance of the horse (p. 134), but also, for example, the possession of private property (p. 134). Intrigued individuals will be able to learn something about various stereotypes that are, unfortunately, still related to the topic of the crusades, as well as the warring parties.

The chapter *Politics in the Outremer* (p. 145–156) is the next chapter, and primarily deals with the further chronological sequence of events



in the *Outremer*, among which the conflict over power between Melisenda and her son, Baldwin III (1143-1162), should be singled out, in which Baldwin emerged victorious (cf. p. 145). However, in the further development of events, a great role will be played by Melisenda's cousin Constance (1127-1163), Princess of Antioch, to whom, after the death of her husband Raymond of Poitiers (c. 1115-1119), the question of remarriage arose. Although it was thought that Constance would marry the widower and brother-in-law of the emperor of the Byzantine Empire, the Norman John Roger, Constance eventually married Raynald of Châtillon (c. 1125-1187), a French knight who was "cruel, impudent, a very brave and probably an extremely handsome man" (p. 148), and at the heart of this chapter is Raynald's work. From Baldwin III, Raynald first received the title of Prince of Antioch, entering thus into conflict with the Byzantine emperor, imprisoned the patriarch of Antioch Aimerico of Limoges and plundered Cyprus with the Armenian king Thoros, for which he eventually had to repent before the Byzantine emperor (p. 148-150). The relationship between Amalric (1162-1174), the King of Jerusalem who succeeded Baldwin III and the Templars, is also discussed, who grew cold after the Templars surrendered a fortress in a cave in the Transjordan without a fight to Nur al-Din and which also resulted in the Templars refusing to participate in Amalric's plan to invade Egypt (p. 153). Through this relationship, it is evident that the Templars, and what is the essence of the title of the book (*The Crusades. A Templar Point of View*), can be seen as an independent factor during the crusades, both a military and a political one.

The next chapter is entitled *The Answer of Islam* (p. 157-172), which introduces us, in more detail, to the profile of the aforementioned Raynald, but also to the well-known figure of Saladin (1138-1193), about whom historiography leaves a relatively positive judgment. If through the previous chapters the reader could get the impression of disorientation and disorganization of the crusaders, which, as mentioned in one paragraph, often got into trouble before they even reached the Holy Land, through this chapter it is possible to get the impression that the disunity of the crusader states in the *Outremer*, as well as the lack of greater support from the West, played an equally important role in the completely bad outcome of the crusades. The disunity of the Franks, for example, benefited Saladin very well, who tried to



conquer Jerusalem, although he did not succeed in doing so at the time (1177), partly because of Raynald's heroism (p. 164).

The chapter *Saladin: The Sword of Allah* (p. 173–188) is the tenth chapter of the book. This chapter sheds further light on Saladin's personality as an important political factor, but also further indirectly reveals how much the disunity of the crusaders helped the other side. Also, the reader gets acquainted with the person of Guido Lusignan, the new and "hated" King of Jerusalem (1186-1192) and the fiancé of Sybil, sister of Baldwin IV (1174 - 1185). Meanwhile, Raynald of Châtillon, who supported Guido, became Saladin's main opponent, and even tried to abduct Muhammad's body (p. 174). In such circumstances, the Count of Tripoli, Raymond (1152-1187), even sought an alliance with Saladin in the fight against Guido, which was a fatal mistake for the Count that will label him as a "traitor" (cf. p. 176, 179). Also, although some deeper political factors certainly played a greater role in the overall outcome of the crusades, any conclusion on the outcome of the Crusades would be incomplete without taking into account the outcome of some battles. One of the most prominent battles of the crusades took place near Hattin (July 3-4, 1187), in which the reconciled Guido and Raymond, with a huge army, clashed with Saladin and suffered great defeat (p. 178-180). This chapter also provides a detailed description of this battle, with fatal consequences for Christians, including Saladin's capture of Jerusalem (1187), but also the capture of Guido and the execution of Raynald.

The chapter *Richard the Lionheart: King and Crusader* (p. 189–204) is the next chapter, and at the heart of this chapter, as the title alludes to, is the person of Richard the Lionheart (1189–1199), who imposed himself as the leading figure in the next crusade. After her marriage to Louis VII, the aforementioned Eleanor married King Henry II of England. (1154-1189), and their third son was Richard, a "brilliant strategist" (p. 190) and, along with Frederick II Hohenstauf (Barbarossa) (1152 - 1190) and King Philip II August of France (1180 - 1223), the instigator of the Third Crusade. The personality of Frederick II is also considered in detail, as well as the disagreement between Richard and Philip, due to which the coordination of the attack failed. Chronologically, this chapter deals with the first part of the Third Crusade, in which Richard conquered Cyprus (which he later sold to the Templars), but also in which the crusaders conquered the very valuable booty of



Accra (1191). It should also be noted that during this crusade, King Richard and King Philip were struck by a disease (*arnaldia* or *leonardie*), which, according to the author, greatly influenced the diplomacy and wars of Richard (cf. p. 198-199).

This chapter is followed by the chapter *Diplomacy and the War in Palestine* (1191-1192) (p. 205-226). This chapter completes the personality of Richard the Lionheart, and since diplomacy is an important part of warfare, the author tried to draw attention to this as well, through several examples. Spajić also pointed out the importance of diplomacy in the war in his second book, *Byzantium and War* (2019), when he presented diplomacy as one of the important factors (not the only one) due to which Byzantium survived as long as it did as a state and it seems that the crusaders also took notice of the importance of diplomacy. This chapter discusses the second part of the Third Crusade, i.e. the Battle of the Arsuf Forest (September 7, 1191), the March on Byte Nuba, and the Battle of Jaffa (July 28 - August 5, 1192). The chapter ends with the death of Richard, and it should be noted that in the meantime, Cyprus was returned to Richard, who soon sold it again.

The next chapter is entitled *Internal Enemies and the Disasters of 1204* (p. 227-246). This chapter also touches on the important Fourth Crusade, which is important to Croatian history as well, when the Venetian Republic, instead of paying for transport to the Holy Land, asked the crusaders to conquer Zadar (1202), and during this campaign Constantinople would fall (1204), which is described in great detail. Also, in this chapter the Templars again come to a wider circle of the author's considerations, and the author deals with the negative perception (and even envy) of the public towards the Templars, which is caused primarily by their great wealth (cf. p. 229). Some also attributed greed to the Templars, all of which contradicted the basic virtues of poverty and mercy of Hugo de Payens, their aforementioned founder. In this chapter, the author brings another side of the story, which presents the Templars in a positive light, and which discourages the reader from immediately, uncritically, accepting this negative public perception of the Templar order.

This is followed by the chapter *The Crusades Against the Albigensians* (p. 247-266). The crusades, in fact, do not only mean an invasion of the Levant under Islamic rule; the crusades also meant fighting various factions, or heresies, within Christianity. In this chapter, the





author deals with the crusade of the Cathars and Albigensians in the province of Languedoc, and discusses the potential motives for undertaking such a crusade. He also considers, of course, the Templar view of such a crusade.

The chapter *The Failure of the Fifth Crusade* (1217–1221) (p. 267–284) is the next chapter in the book, and this chapter deals with the Fifth Crusade, which is also particularly important to Croatian historiography as one of its instigators was also the Croatian-Hungarian king Andrew II (1205 - 1235). The key to the Fifth Crusade was the conquest of Egypt, and for this purpose a prominent role was played by the fortress of Damietta, whose siege is described in detail. The chapter concludes with an analysis of the consequences of the Fifth Crusade, and the author concludes that it consequently destabilized the Islamic Ayyubid Empire (cf. p. 280).

The chapter entitled *The Holy Land in the 13th Century* (p. 285–300) is the next, sixteenth chapter of the book, and this chapter discusses in more detail the socio-economic status of the *Outremer*, i.e. the question of continuity (cf. p. 286) after the Jaffa Agreement (1192) and Saladin's death (1193), as well as its legal aspects. The significance of Cyprus, which became a kingdom in 1197, and whose fate did not depend on the fate of the mainland (in the *Outremer*) or vice-versa (p. 285), is considered. The sentimental and commercial epicenter of the mainland *Outremer* was either Jerusalem or Accra, and given that in this period of the crusades only Accra was mostly in Christian hands (Jerusalem was between 1229 and 1244, but even then the capital remained Accra, cf. p. 286), its significance is also analyzed in detail. It is also stated that, according to some sources, Accra earned up to 50,000 pounds a year, or “a huge amount comparable to all royal revenues in Western Europe” (p. 286), and that it occupied a central position in lucrative trade east-west roads and that its wealth also supported the survival of Christian enclaves (cf. p. 287). The author also questions whether the emergence of the Mongols also caused the financial decline of the *Outremer* (p. 288), as well as the threat to the *Outremer* that followed the coming to power of the Mamluks in Egypt in 1250 (p. 289). He states that the image of the *Outremer* in the eyes of the West was full of “challenges, crises and threats” (p. 290), while the real situation was significantly different - the Franks consolidated control over the coastal plain from Tortosa to the fortress of Ashkelon (p. 290).





He also elaborates on the Lombard War (1228-1243) and the War of St. Sabe (1256 - 1270). The chapter ends with the internal turmoil in the *Outremer*, which only intensified the impending danger from the Egyptian Mamluks (cf. p. 299). The disadvantage of this chapter is that the author presents some chronological events that followed much later than those presented in previous chapters, which makes the chapter somewhat more difficult to follow.

The next chapter is entitled *The Crusades of Frederick Hohenstauf* (1227-1229) (p. 301-314). At the heart of this chapter is the crusade, which was repeated after the failure of Damietta, under the leadership of Frederick II Hohenstauf (1194 - 1250). The person of Frederick II is also considered in detail, who had a specific understanding of religious interpretations, which from today's point of view can be interpreted as "atheistic". He doubted, for example, the virgin birth of Jesus and the Eucharist, and considered Muhammad and Moses "deceivers" (cf. p. 303). After Pope Honorius III (1216-1227) had crowned Frederick emperor, Frederick II undertook a crusade, probably also motivated by presenting himself as the supreme ruler of the Christian world. However, from the very beginning of the crusade, trouble ensued - Frederick fell ill and was forced to anchor in Otranto, and then Pope Gregory IX (1227-1241) excommunicated him (1227 and 1228) because he did not fulfill his oath. After he arrived in Accra, he was deprived of the authority to command the crusaders. Since the crusader army was not that large, his main means of struggle was diplomacy, where he was helped by the changing circumstances in the Ayyubid Empire (p. 306-309). The further course of this chapter discusses the diplomatic relationship between Frederick and al-Kamil (1177-1238), which ultimately resulted in the Jaffa Agreement of February 18, 1229 (p. 308), when Jerusalem was returned to the Christians. However, that agreement did not resonate far, and Frederick, due to the events in Italy, was quickly forced to leave the Holy Land. In this chapter, too, the emphasis is once again on the importance of diplomacy as a means of struggle.

This is followed by the chapter on *Activities for the Survival of the Holy Land* (p. 315-324). This chapter deals with the further course of events in the *Outremer*. Namely, in 1239 the agreement between Frederick II expired and al-Kamil (according to which Jerusalem belonged to the Christians), and although the sultan of Damascus Ismail



proposed to the French an agreement against his cousin, al-Kamil's son Ayyub, who then ruled the sultanate in Cairo, it did not bear the desired outcome. There was disunity among the crusaders; the Hospitallers, on the other hand, made an agreement with Ayyub in Cairo and, in order to conquer Jerusalem, Ayyub called in a tribe of mercenary nomads - the Khorezmian Turks, then settled near Edessa. Jerusalem fell in 1244, and the chapter ends with the Battle of Forbie (October 17-18, 1244), where the Egyptian army clashed with the combined army of Damascus and Accra and defeated the crusaders. Consequently, according to the author, the Christians never again possessed power in the crusader states, and both the crusaders and the crusades lost their popularity and appeal (cf. p. 322).

*King Louis and the Battle of Egypt* (1248–1250) (p. 325–336) is the next chapter of the book, and at the heart of this chapter is the crusade undertaken by King Louis IX (1226 - 1270), which also accelerated the collapse of the Ayyubids, encouraging the rise of the military elite of professional Turkish slave warriors, i.e. the Mameluks, to political power instead (p. 325). The personality of Louis IX is analyzed in detail, as well as the manner in which the campaign for the Seventh Crusade was undertaken, for which the legate Odo of Châteauroux, Cardinal Bishop Tuscula (1244-1273), preached. In December 1248, in Nicosia, Louis even negotiated with the Mongol embassy, and on June 5, 1249, he anchored near Damietta, which he had conquered. However, in the further course of the war, Louis did not listen to the advice of the barons of the *Outremer* to head toward the port of Alexandria, rather he took the advice of his brother Robert, Count of Artois, to head south along the east bank of the Nile towards Mansoura, and in that march southwards, Robert was hasty, and the crusaders fell into a trap near Mansura. King Louis soon came into Islamic captivity, and the Templars played a role in his rescue (cf. p. 331-332). From this, it is possible to conclude that the "little things" really played an important role in the outcome of the crusades.

The next, the twentieth chapter of the book, is entitled *The Failure of Louis's Politics and the Rise of the Mameluks* (p. 337-346), and deals with the further chronological course of events. After military campaigns in Egypt, Louis IX remained in the Holy Land for some time, and was given an unexpected diplomatic opportunity when the Mamluks in Egypt came into conflict with the Ayyubids, who remained in power



in Syria. While, on the one hand, and without the knowledge of Louis IX, the Templars negotiated with the sultan of Damascus, Louis made a settlement with the Mamluks that resulted in the release of Christian captives, and he also negotiated with the Mongols. Before returning to France (1254), he had the coastal cities - Accra, Caesarea, Jaffa and Sidon - fortified. After Louis' departure, there was no consensus among the Franks; Bohemund VI of Antioch and Tripoli (1252–1275) accepted Mongol rule, and the Franks in Accra saw no advantage in this submission (cf. p. 339–340). Shortly afterwards, the Mamluk victory against the Mongols at the Battle of Ain Jalut (1260, p. 341) created a new threat to the *Outremer*, which resulted in the fall of Caesarea, Haifa, Safet, Antioch, and some other cities. Louis IX even undertook a crusade again, but a sudden death in 1270 interrupted everything.

*The Fall of Accra in 1291* (p. 347–356) is the penultimate pivotal chapter of the book, and despite a complete Christian catastrophe has already been foretold in the previous chapter, this chapter deals with the final operations in the *Outremer*. It has already been mentioned how important Accra was, and with its fall (1291), which is also present in the title of the chapter, the author concluded this historical review.

*The Roots of the Crusades and the Great Jihad* (p. 357–369) is the last chapter of the book. In the concluding chapter of the book, the author uses various inquiries, as can be seen from the title of the subchapter (e.g. *Carolingians: The New Israel*, p. 357–358; *Charlemagne: Father of Europe*, p. 358; *Popularity of Saintly Relics as a Substitute for Fear of an Uncertain World*, p. 359;...), to “compare” the crusades with jihad. Of the theses presented in the Conclusion, it should be noted that the crusades were the first imperial venture of Christian intervention, that the established crusader states (there were five in all) needed a standing army, that the enrichment of the Templars provoked great resistance from public opinion, especially because, with the disappearance of the crusader rule in the Middle East, the reasons for their existence “disappeared” as well, but also that, for example, the crusades led to a boom in trade between Europe and the *Outremer*. It should also be noted that the interaction between Western Christian and Islamic cultures influenced the development of European civilization and the awakening of the Renaissance (cf. 367–368).

After the main chapters, at the end of the book there are some more



“technical” parts that complement the content of the book. These are *Chronology* (p. 371–381; the first part *Genesis*, p. 371; the second part *Judaism*, p. 371–372; the third part *Paganism*, p. 372; the fourth part *Christianity*, p. 372–373; the fifth part *Islam*, p. 373–376; sixth part *The Crusaders*, p. 376–381), *Dictionary* (p. 383–385), *Rulers* (p. 387–391; with the following parts *Papacy*, 387–388; *Germany*, p. 388; *Byzantine Empire*, p. 388; *France*, p. 388; *England*, p. 388–389; *Sicily*, p. 389; *Castile*, p. 389; *Léon*, p. 389; *Aragon*, p. 390; *Hungary*, p. 390 ; *Ottoman Empire*, p. 390; *Jerusalem*, p. 390–391; *Antioch*, p. 391; *Tripoli*, p. 391; *Edessa*, p. 391; *Burgundy*, p. 391), *Literature* (pp. 393–394), *Index* (p. 395–402) and *Author’s Note* (p. 403).

## Conclusion

Hrvoje Spajić’s book *The Crusades. The Templar Point of View* undoubtedly brought to attention the topic of the crusades in Croatia, which were very important for Croatian history, especially if we keep in mind the Fourth Crusade, but also King Andrew II, who was one of the initiators of the Fifth Crusade. What’s more, Croatia was in an important geostrategic position, that is to say, on the way to the Holy Land, and there have been scientific papers<sup>1</sup> that tried to show that the Templar estates in Croatia were located along the roads leading to the Holy Land, given to the fact that one of the Templar’s tasks, and as is highlighted in this overview, was to “supervise the roads” for the pilgrims. All in all, I have no doubt that after reading this book, someone will find and explore a new aspect that connects the crusades and Croatian history.

If someone has read Spajić’s books before, such as *The Great Arab Conquests* or the book *Byzantium and Warfare*, they will see that this book was written on a similar basis. Spajić’s books always aim to be debatable, and it is always interesting when the reader compares the conclusion he came to with that of the author. I can say that what I considered important definitely coincides with the author’s conclusions, and I have the impression that the disunity of the crusaders, with frequent dynastic turmoils, only accelerated the crusade “fiasco” which, taking into account many other factors, the tactical ones as well

1 E.g. the paper by Tomislav Matić, *Balkan Crusaders: Economic and Political Role of the Templars in Croatia*, Papers: Papers of the Institute of Croatian History, Faculty of Philosophy, University of Zagreb, vol. 41, no. 1, 2009, p. 367–394.



(haste, for example), was inevitable. Also, the fact that Spajić, considering the topic of the crusades, processed profiles of prominent historical figures (e.g. Frederick II), as well as the socio-economic aspect of wars and analyzed prominent battles, only shows with what commitment and knowledge the author approached the main issue. Spajić's book, regardless of its popular scientific profile, could become a must-have starting point for anyone interested in dealing with the crusades. Although one may get the impression that Spajić, while dealing with the subject of the crusades, gave perhaps "too little" of the Templar point of view, which is indicated in the title of this book, Spajić actually offered more than he could. First of all, reading this book, the reader has enough chapters and subchapters through which he will clearly see how the Templar order functioned as one independent "institution" during the crusades. Even through such a perception, Spajić justified this title of the work. In addition, the subject of the Templars is inadequately represented in Croatian historiography - apart from Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, Lelja Dobronić and more recently Juraj Belaj, who in fact primarily dealt with the legacy of the Templars in Croatia, interest in the Templars in general in the context of world history, is very weak in our country. Perhaps the name of Krešimir Kužić, who published the book *Croats and Crusaders*, could be added, but in that book the emphasis is actually on the idea of the crusaders, and not on the Templars. From this, it is possible to conclude that Spajić was the first Croatian author to consider the Templar order in one book in our country, in general, although there are some translations of foreign authors (e.g. the book *Templars* by Regina Pernoud). Considering that, of course it is not surprising that Spajić's book is based primarily on what he came across in foreign secondary literature. And in addition to emphasizing the Templars, he left enough room to conclude that another important order of knights - the Hospitallers - also acted as an independent "institution" during the crusades. But the topic of hospitals, in great detail, has yet to be considered.

Considering everything that has been mentioned, I would recommend this book primarily to anyone interested in military and church history, the Middle Ages and the crusades. The book is, of course, a rich source of knowledge of general culture, and ultimately, I believe that this book will be decently accepted and that many others will begin to research the subject of the crusades.



**MÁTÉ ÁGNES AND OBORINI TERÉZ – ISABELLA JAGIELLON,  
QUEEN OF HUNGARY (1539-1559)**

Máté, Ágnes and Oborni, Teréz (eds), *Isabella Jagiellon, Queen of Hungary (1539-1559)*, (Budapest: Research Centre for the Humanities, 2020), ISBN: 978-963-416-214-8, 362pp.

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Book review

Submitted: February 5<sup>th</sup>, 2021

Accepted: June 10<sup>th</sup>, 2021

This book deals with Isabella Jagiellon (1519-1559), queen consort of Hungary when the kingdom was partitioned as a theatre of war between the Habsburg and Ottoman empires. Isabella was the first child of Sigismund I of Poland-Lithuania, and his Milanese wife, Bona Sforza. In 1539, she married John I (Zápolya) of Hungary. Zápolya was a ruler of the eastern half of the country, supported by Sultan Suleiman I, and contested by his Habsburg rival, Ferdinand I. Since neither of them succeeded in consolidating power, the 1538 Treaty of Nagyvárad recognised them as rulers of different parts of Hungary, and Ferdinand as Zápolya's heir. However, Prince John Sigismund was born in July 1540, shortly before Zápolya's death, and thus began Isabella's two-decade-long struggle to secure her son's reign. The bulk of the volume's papers were presented at the *Isabella Jagiellon, Queen of Hungary (1519–1559) – A Memorial Conference* in 2019 in Budapest.

The three authors of the first chapter persuasively demonstrate the political significance of Isabella's wedding and coronation as the establishment of a future dynasty. Péter Molnár highlights circumstances of the festivities in the context of former royal ceremonies. Ágnes Máté looks at epithalamia (poems addressed to the bride), and analyses how historical and mythological female figures were portrayed as role models for the new queen. György Palotás points out the dominance of laudatory elements in the Latin literary works produced in Kraków on the occasion of the wedding.

The second chapter's topic is remembrance. Karolina Mroziewicz argues that Isabella's contemporary depictions served her dynasty's propagandistic purposes, while her nineteenth-century Polish and





Hungarian illustrations portrayed her as a nationalist heroine without displaying much of her personal characteristics. The thirteen attached figures lend this study an enjoyable 'exhibition experience'. Gábor Petneházi and Péter Kasza investigate the perception of Isabella's role in the 1541 Ottoman capture of Buda in narrative memory. By looking at the naming traditions of Isabella's sister, Catherine and her husband, John III of Sweden, Susanna Niiranen states that the Jagiellons considered themselves superior to other dynasties in their kinship.

The third chapter turns to foreign relations. Zoltán Korpás and János B. Szabó state that Ferdinand's main military priority was the unification of Hungary, with significant support from his brother, Holy Roman Emperor Charles V. By examining Isabella's Italian family and court connections, Mónika F. Molnár concludes that her network was more complex than stated in previous scholarship. Stanislava Kuzmová points out the great extent to which Isabella had to rely on her family's diplomatic support after she temporarily gave up her territories in 1541. Szymon Brzeziński claims that the queen succeeded in preserving her son's reign, despite her political dependence on the Jagiellons and Friar George, an influential statesman and one of John Sigismund's guardians.

The fourth chapter's theme is governance. In one of the most thorough studies of the volume, Teréz Oborni convincingly argues that Friar George managed to act as the *de facto* ruler of Isabella's lands and unify Hungary under Habsburg reign thanks to his chief state offices. Zsolt Bogdándi analyses two institutions of judiciary and authentication reestablished during the formation of the new semi-independent state of Transylvania. Emőke Gálfi argues that Isabella reformed her urban policy when her decision-making influence was not limited by Friar George anymore. Liviu Cîmpeanu maps how the Habsburg arsenal in Sibiu surrendered to Isabella during her second reign (1556-1559) due to financial isolation from Ferdinand's administration.

In the final chapter concerning Isabella's most influential supporters, Mihály Balázs explores the activities of Giorgio Biandrata, an Italian physician, advisor and religious reformer at the court. In her study of Isabella's 'most trusted' counselor, János Szalánczy, Klára Jakó argues that education, language skills and diplomatic service offered an entry to Transylvania's political, social and economic elite. Szabolcs Varga investigates the career of Péter Petrovics as John Sigismund's



guardian and Transylvania's governor, and emphasises his exceptional loyalty to the Zápolya family.

*Isabella Jagiellon, Queen of Hungary (1539-1559)* is an illuminating volume for scholars and students of early modern Central European history since it sheds new light on a highly interesting queen consort who has not been studied extensively in English-language literature. It opens a new question regarding the leeway and realities of a pre-modern female royal's political agency, whose individual aspirations and activities are yet to be examined. Thus, it fills a crucial gap in the period's historiography by highlighting novel aspects of Isabella's reign, perception, personal and diplomatic relations. Additionally, the literary, art and legal historical, onomastic, and diplomatic approaches surely benefit a broad readership. Nonetheless, this book's main limitation is its predominantly political focus which leaves room for considerable questions regarding the economic, social, cultural and religious conditions of the territories she reigned over. The essays complement well each other, but the second chapter titled 'Memory' should have been better placed at the end. In general, the three existing monographs on Isabella concentrated on different respects, so this book provides the most comprehensive overview of her as a political subject. As the editors propose, a new monograph on Isabella would be highly worthwhile, to which this volume offers a promising contribution.



# OSVRT NA IZLOŽBU / REVIEW OF THE EXHIBITION



## RAD, TEKST, KONTEKST (JER GREŠKA JE DIO SVIJESTI)

Barbara Čatipović  
Matea Krivić  
Mia Miošić  
Blaženka Miše  
Željka Vuko

Kraj 2021. i sami početak nove, 2022. godine obilježila je izložba *Rad, tekst, kontekst (jer greška je dio svijesti)* na kojoj su se u Splitu i Zagrebu predstavili studenti dvaju splitskih fakulteta, Filozofskog fakulteta i Umjetničke akademije. Svoje radove izlagalo je petnaest studenata Odsjeka za slikarstvo UMAS-a u kustoskoj suradnji s pet studentica Odsjeka za povijest umjetnosti FFST-a.

Treće izdanje izložbe *Rad, tekst, kontekst (jer greška je dio svijesti)* održano je u splitskoj Palači Milesi te na dvije zagrebačke lokacije: Galerija SC i Francuski paviljon. Izložba predstavlja svojevrsan kontinuitet suradnje pokrenute 2017. godine naslovljene *Rad, tekst, kontekst (oblici kolaborativnih praksi)* i suradnje iz 2019. godine *Rad, tekst, kontekst (izložba koja vas čuje)*. Projektom se namjeravalo povezati studente dvaju fakulteta i pokrenuti praksu zajedničke bijenalne izložbe.



Instalacija umjetnika Maka Hubjera na Palači Milesi u Splitu povodom izložbe *Rad, tekst, kontekst (jer greška je dio svijesti)* (izvor: Galerija SC, 7. siječnja 2022. godine)





Inicijalni okidač recentnoj suradnji i izložbi bio je razgovor o Gorkom Žuveli. Gorki je svojim umjetničkim, akademskim i društvenim doprinosom trajno obogatio kulturnu povijest Splita i u njoj će, između ostaloga, ostati upisan kao jedan od važnih pokretača i osnivača Umjetničke akademije u Splitu i njezina programa. Nadalje, apostrofirani dijalog umjetnika i publike bio je polazišnom točkom njegove prve samostalne izložbe održane u Galeriji suvremene umjetnosti u Zagrebu 1976. godine kada se kao jedna od ključnih sastavnica njegova diskursa artikulirala greška. Etabliranjem greške kao važne umjetničke materije, autor provodi svojevrstan eksperiment koji rezultira kreativnim dijalogom i neminovnim propitivanjem općeprihvaćenih pojava i postupaka. Greška predstavlja spektar stvaralačkih mogućnosti, pluralitet životnih iskustava, neizbježnu i dobrodošlu posljedicu izražavanja. Ona je konkretizacija prijestupa koji kod Gorkog Žuvele ipak odolijeva isključivosti negativnog određenja i umjesto toga predstavlja neizvjestan i neiscrpan izvor plodne konceptualne umjetničke prakse.

jer greška je dio svijesti  
jer greška je dio poruke  
jer greška je dio rada  
jer greška je naivna dobra stvar  
jer greška je načelo angažiranosti  
jer greška je nepoznata  
(GŽ, 1976.)

Tako su izložbe u Splitu i Zagrebu iz 2021/2022. godine, kao polazišnu točku umjetničkih i kustoskih istraživanja imale fenomen greške i njegovo promišljanja u najširem spektru mogućnosti. Svoje su radove izlagali u različitim medijima: Marija Bebić, Mihael Frančić, Ana Heski, Mia Hrzić, Mak Hubjer, Marija-Ana Miše, Marina Mužinić, Anna Perlain, Marija Petrović, Matea Rančić, Palmina Roglić, Anamaria Totić, Fani Vidović, Kristijan Vrdoljak i Marieta Vulić, a kustoski posao odradile su: Barbara Ćatipović, Matea Krivić, Mia Miošić, Blaženka Miše i Željka Vuko.



*Izložba Rad, tekst, kontekst (jer greška je dio svijesti) unutar Palače Milesi u Splitu;  
radovi (s lijeva na desno) umjetnica Marije Petrović i Marije Bebić  
(izvor: UMAS Slikarstvo, 21. studenog 2021. godine)*



*Rad umjetnice Marine Mužinić na izložbi Rad, tekst, kontekst (jer greška je dio  
svijesti) u Palači Milesi u Splitu  
(izvor: UMAS Slikarstvo, 21. studenog 2021. godine)*



Malobrojnost studentica Odsjeka za povijest umjetnosti također je značila da će suradnju ostvariti sa čak tri mlada umjetnika, koji su u svojim različitostima kroz razgovore i zasebna ostvarenja svaki za sebe predstavljali poseban izazov, a time i svojevrsan uvid u buduće izazove struke. Komunikacija koja se odvijala za pisanja popratnih tekstova o radovima, kao i za vrijeme čitavog održavanja izložbi, istaknula je važnost simultano ostvarenih ciljeva i generiranje zajedničkih ideja. Ovakvom suradnjom, studentice Filozofskog fakulteta u Splitu dobile su jedinstvenu priliku da primjene dosad naučeno teorijsko znanje, a sama suradnja sa studentima UMAS-a dala je novo svjetlo i perspektivu za promišljanje o djelu i umjetničkom djelovanju.

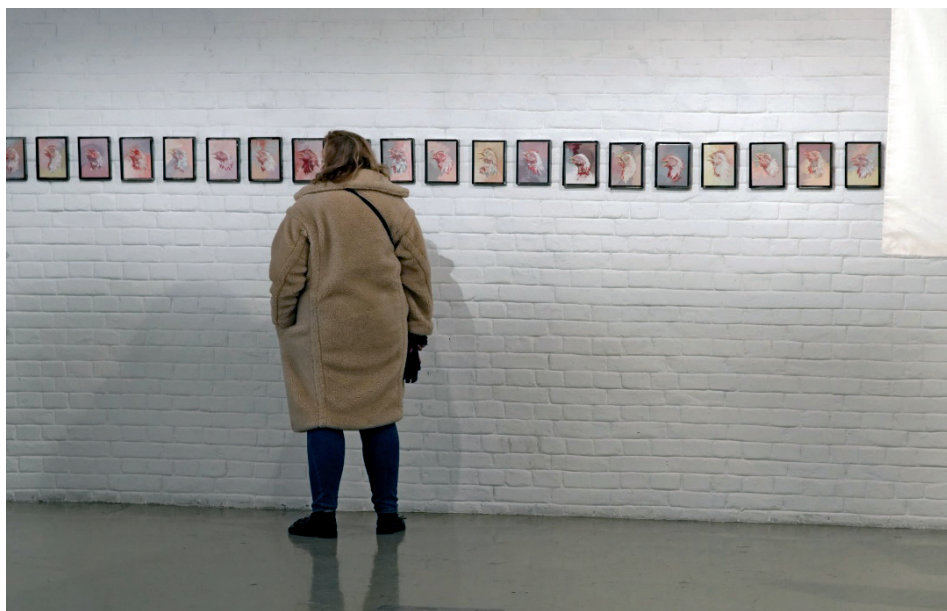


*Dio izložbe Rad, tekst, kontekst (jer greška je dio svijesti) održane u Francuskom paviljonu u Zagrebu 2022. godine (izvor: Viktor Popović, 13. siječnja 2022. godine)*





*Rad umjetnice Mariete Vulić na izložbi Rad, tekst, kontekst (jer greška je dio svijesti) održane u Galeriji SC u Zagrebu 2022. godine (izvor: Viktor Popović, 13. siječnja 2022. godine)*



*Rad umjetnika Mihaela Frančića u Galeriji SC u Zagrebu povodom izložbe (izvor: Viktor Popović, 13. siječnja 2022. godine)*



Radni proces izložbe mentorirali su profesori Nina Ivančić, Vedran Perkov, Viktor Popović i Neli Ružić uz asistente Sonju Gašperov, Petra Katavića, Anitu Miloš i Josipa Šurlina sa Umjetničke akademije – Odsjeka za slikarstvo te profesor Dalibor Prančević s Filozofskog fakulteta – Odsjeka za povijest umjetnosti. Vrlo je važno istaknuti kako su svi mentori i profesori uključeni u ovu izvrsnu suradnju dvaju fakulteta, kao i jedne odlične prilike i iskustva za sve studente koji su sudjelovali, bili izuzetno suradljivi te obogatili i studente UMAS-a i studentice FFST-a novim saznanjima, korisnim savjetima i svime onim potrebnim za daljnje, nadamo se, brojne uspjehe. Također, potrebno je zahvaliti i svima koji su financijski podržali ove izložbe i suradnju, a to su Ministarstvo kulture i medija RH i Služba za društvene djelatnosti Grada Splita – Odsjek za kulturu te Gradski ured za kulturu Grada Zagreba.

Za kraj se svakako nadamo da će budućnost Filozofskog fakulteta i Umjetničke Akademije u Splitu biti ispunjena s još brojnim i uspješnim suradnjama, kao i ova iz 2021/2022. godine.

**WORK, TEXT, CONTEXT**  
**(BECAUSE ERROR IS A PART OF CONSCIOUSNESS)**

Barbara Ćatipović  
Matea Krivić  
Mia Miošić  
Blaženka Miše  
Željka Vuko

The end of 2021 and the very beginning of the new year, 2022, was marked by the exhibition *Work, Text, Context (because Error is a Part of Consciousness)*, where students from two Split faculties, the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences and the Academy of Arts, presented themselves in Split and Zagreb. Fifteen students of the Department of Painting of the Split Art Academy exhibited their works in curatorial collaboration with five students of the Department of Art History of Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Split.

The third edition of the exhibition *Work, Text, Context (because Error is Part of Consciousness)* was held in the Milesi Palace in Split and at two locations in Zagreb: the SC Gallery and the French Pavilion. The exhibition represents a kind of continuity of cooperation launched in 2017 entitled *Work, Text, Context (Forms of Collaborative Practices)* and cooperation in 2019 entitled *Work, Text, Context (Exhibition that Hears You)*. The project was intended to connect students from the two faculties and launch the practice of a joint biennial exhibition.



*Installation by the artist Mak Hubjer at the Milesi Palace in Split on the occasion of the exhibition *Work, Text, Context (because Error is a Part of Consciousness)**  
*(source: SC Gallery, January 7, 2022)*





The initial trigger for the recent collaboration and exhibition was a conversation about Gorki Žuvela. With his artistic, academic and social contribution, Gorki has permanently enriched the cultural history of Split and will, among other things, remain enrolled in it as one of the important initiators and founders of the Academy of Arts in Split and its program. Furthermore, the emphasized dialogue between the artist and the audience was the starting point of his first solo exhibition held at the Gallery of Contemporary Art in Zagreb in 1976, when *error* was articulated as one of the key components of his discourse. By establishing *error* as an important artistic material, the author conducts a kind of experiment that results in a creative dialogue and the inevitable questioning of generally accepted phenomena and methods. An *error* represents a spectrum of creative possibilities, a plurality of life experiences, an inevitable and welcomed consequence of expression. It is a concretization of transgression, which in Gorki Žuvela still resists the exclusivity of negative determination and instead represents an uncertain and inexhaustible source of fruitful conceptual artistic practice.

because error is a part of consciousness  
because the error is a part of the message  
because error is a part of work  
because error is a naive good thing  
because error is a principle of engagement  
because error is unknown  
(GŽ, 1976)

Thus, the exhibitions in Split and Zagreb in 2021/2022, as a starting point for artistic and curatorial research had the phenomenon of *error* and its reflection in the widest range of possibilities. They exhibited their works in various media: Marija Bebić, Mihael Frančić, Ana Heski, Mia Hržić, Mak Hubjer, Marija-Ana Miše, Marina Mužinić, Anna Perlain, Marija Petrović, Matea Rančić, Palmira Roglić, Anamaria Totić, Fani Vidović, Kristijan Vrdoljak and Marieta Vulić, and the curatorial work was done by: Barbara Ćatipović, Matea Krivić, Mia Miošić, Blaženka Miše and Željka Vuko.



*Exhibition Work, Text, Context (because Error is a Part of Consciousness) inside the Milesi Palace in Split; works (from left to right) by artists Marija Petrović and Marija Bebić (source: Academy of Arts in Split Department of Painting, November 21, 2021)*



*The work of the artist Marina Mužinić at the exhibition Work, Text, Context (because Error is a Part of Consciousness) in the Milesi Palace in Split (source: Academy of Arts in Split Department of Painting, November 21, 2021)*



The small number of students of the Department of Art History also meant that they would collaborate with as many as three young artists, who in their diversity through conversations and separate achievements each posed a special challenge and thus a kind of insight into their future challenges. The communication that took place during the writing of the accompanying texts about the works, as well as during the entire holding of the exhibitions, emphasized the importance of simultaneously achieving the goals and generating common ideas. With this collaboration, the students of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences in Split were given a unique opportunity to apply the theoretical knowledge learned so far, and the collaboration with the students from the Academy of Arts in Split gave new light and perspective for thinking about work and artistic activity.



*Part of the exhibition Work, Text, Context (because Error is Part of Consciousness) held at the French Pavilion in Zagreb in 2022 (source: Viktor Popović, January 13, 2022)*





*The work of the artist Marieta Vulić at the exhibition Work, Text, Context (because Error is a Part of Consciousness) held at the SC Gallery in Zagreb in 2022 (source: Viktor Popović, January 13, 2022)*



*The work of the artist Mihael Frančić in the SC Gallery in Zagreb on the occasion of the exhibition (source: Viktor Popović, January 13, 2022)*



The work process of the exhibition was mentored by professors Nina Ivančić, Vedran Perkov, Viktor Popović and Neli Ružić with assistants Sonja Gašperov, Petra Katavić, Anita Miloš and Josip Šurlin from the Academy of Arts - Department of Painting and Professor Dalibor Prančević from the the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences - Department of Art History. It is very important to point out that all mentors and professors who were involved in this excellent cooperation between the two faculties have been extremely cooperative and that the great opportunities and experiences for all students who participated, have enriched the students of the Academy of Arts in Split and the students of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences with new knowledge, useful advices and all that is needed for further, hopefully numerous, successes. We would also like to thank all those who financially supported these exhibitions and cooperation, namely the Ministry of Culture and Media of the Republic of Croatia and the Department of Social Affairs of the City of Split - Department of Culture and the City Office of Culture of Zagreb.

Finally, we certainly hope that the future of the Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences and the Academy of Arts in Split will be filled with numerous and successful collaborations, as was this collaboration in 2021/2022.