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RIJEČ UREDNICE / A WORD FROM THE EDITOR-IN-CHIEF

Institut za historiju Univerziteta u Sarajevu novim brojem časopisa *Historijska traganja* nastavlja *potragu* za povijesnim činjenicama iz bliže ili dalje prošlosti, novim saznanjima i kontekstualizacijom. Neupitna kvaliteta članaka i široka plejada tema koje su se našle u ovom broju obogaćuju naše dosadašnje znanje, a istovremeno, u svojoj suštinskoj nedovršenosti, potiču na daljnji naučni razgovor, pa i polemičku raspravu koja će, sigurni smo, dovesti i do značajnih reinterpretacija u našoj historiografiji.

Dvadeset i prvi broj *Historijskih traganja* zadržao je već utemeljene rubrike i pred sud javnosti predočava šest izvornih naučnih radova. Pored toga, ovaj broj donosi trinaest prikaza najnovijih izdanja koja su objavljena u Bosni i Hercegovini i pri tome, na naše posebno zadovoljstvo, nekoliko značajnih monografija Instituta za historiju, ali i knjiga objavljenih u inostranstvu (Londonu, Berlinu, Slavanskom Brodu, Zadru).

Prvi članak je rezultat višegodišnjeg istraživanja Enesa Dedića u Državnom arhivu u Dubrovniku i predstavlja kompletnu transkripciju, do sada neobjavljenih, odluka Velikog vijeća Dubrovačke Republike koje se odnose na Srpsku Despotovinu u periodu od 1415. do 1506. godine.

Kasnim srednjovjekovljem bavi se i Marko Rimac, ukazujući na specifičnu situaciju sitnoplemičke općine Poljice koja koncem XV i početkom XVI stoljeća nastoji balansirati između dvije sredozemne imperijalne sile, što je rezultiralo podjelom plemstva i dvostrukom hijerarhijom unutar općine: jednom koja je bila lojalna Osmanlijama i drugom odanom Mletačkoj republici.

O sarajevskoj porodici Despić, njenim trgovačkim poslovima i saradnji od sredine XVIII do konca XIX stoljeća piše Hana Younis. Ona se ovom

prilikom posebno osvrnula na deftere kućnih troškova koji u značajnoj mjeri oslikavaju društvene i statusne promjene ove ugledne porodice i otkrivaju svakodnevni život njenih članova i njihove međusobne odnose.

Rad Muhameda Nametka i Tomasza Jaceka Lisa govori o elaboratu Karla Stefanowskog, austrougarskog činovnika, u kojem je, zaduženjem zajedničkog ministra finansija Benjamina Kallaya, pomno zabilježio finansijske tokove i kreditno poslovanje u Bosni i Hercegovini i koji nudi djelimična saznanja i o bosanskohercegovačkoj svakodnevnici i teškoćama njenih stanovnika.

Oslanjajući se na građu nekoliko arhiva, posebno onu koja se čuva u njemačkom Saveznom arhivu (Freiburg), Gaj Trifković piše o personalnoj politici Wermachta na Balkanu, analizirajući biografije šezdesetak komandanata krupnih operativnih jedinica njemačke vojske i posebno ukazujući na mehanizme po kojima su birani na dužnosti i slati na ovo ratište.

U fokusu članka Hamze Karčića je, do sada u značajnoj mjeri nepoznat, navodni sporazum Richarda Holdbrooka i Radovana Karadžića iz jula 1996. godine kojim je, prema kasnijim tvrdnjama iznesenim pred Haškim tribunalom, američki diplomata garantirao Karadžiću da će biti pošteđen hapšenja i sudskog procesuiranja ako odstupi sa javnih i političkih funkcija.

Ovogodišnji broj časopisa, kao što je već rečeno, donosi i trinaest prikaza vrijednih naučnih publikacija, pri čemu su se iskazali iskusni, afirmisani historičari, ali i mlađi autori: Dženana Kurtović, Esad Kurtović, Enes Dedić, Amina Abaspahić, Dražen Janko, Amer Maslo, Omer Merzić, Nedim Pustahija, Amina Šehović, Ajdin Muhedinović i Nedžad Novalić.

S osobitim zadovoljstvom preporučujem ovogodišnji broj *Historijskih traganja*, uvjerena u njegov značajan doprinos saznanjima o prošlosti koja se, po prirodi stvari, neprestano mijenjaju i dopunjuju. Ostajemo otvoreni za daljnju saradnju, za dograđivanje postojeće mreže autora i saradnika, za *stare i nove* teme, reinterpretaciju *poznatog* i otvaranje *nepoznatog* stalno prisutnog i neminovnog u historijskoj nauci.

Dr. Dženita Sarač-Rujanac

ČLANCI / ARTICLES

DELIBERATIONS OF THE MAJOR COUNCIL OF THE REPUBLIC OF RAGUSA ON THE SERBIAN DESPOTATE (1417-1478)*

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Abstract: The paper contains a complete transcription of the unpublished deliberations of the Major Council of the Republic of Ragusa that are related to the Serbian Despotate, prominent people, and various events from this state. Considering the fact that the courts of the Lazarević and Branković families were often visited as part of the same diplomatic missions, deliberations concerning Đurađ Branković and his possessions before he began to govern Despotate were also recorded. The period from 1415, when the Ragusan authorities made decisions on recording the deliberations of the Major Council separately, and the end of the 15th century were taken into account. It is a fund of the Dubrovnik State Archives called *Acta Consilii Maioris*. For the purposes of this paper, an analysis of 17 volumes of this fund covering the period from 1415 to 1506 was conducted. The first deliberation related to the Serbian Despotate and prominent people from this state dates from 1417, and the last from 1478. The fact that the Serbian Despotate, as a state organization, ceased to exist from 1459, was also taken into account, however, certain prominent people from the ruling family were mentioned in later times through the deliberations of this council. The paper outlines the competences of the Major Council, and provides a brief analysis of the nature of the deliberations related to the Serbian Despotate. The analysis that was carried out indicates that the largest number of deliberations refer to diplomatic missions from Ragusa

*The paper is the result of work on the project “Medieval Bosnian Nobility” financed by the Ministry of Science, Higher Education and Youth of Sarajevo Canton.

sent to Serbian despots Stefan Lazarević and Đurađ Branković, giving gifts to despots and their wives, permits for renting boats when traveling across the sea, and the import of certain products through Ragusa.

Keywords: Dubrovnik State Archives, the Major Council, Republic of Ragusa, 15th century, Serbian Despotate, Serbian despots, deliberations

Apstrakt: U radu je donijeta kompletna transkripcija neobjavljenih odluka Velikog vijeća Dubrovačke Republike koje su vezane za Srpsku Despotovinu, ličnosti i događaje iz ove zemlje. Također su ispisane odluke koje se tiču Đurđa Brankovića i njegovog posjeda prije nego je počeo upravljati Despotovinom, s obzirom na činjenicu da su dvorovi Lazarevića i Brankovića učestalo posjećivani u okviru istih diplomatskih misija. U obzir je uzet vremenski period od 1415. godine, kada su dubrovačke vlasti donijele odluke o zasebnom bilježenju odluka Velikog vijeća, te kraj 15. stoljeća. Radi se o fondu Državnog arhiva u Dubrovniku pod nazivom *Acta Consilii Maiorioris*. Za potrebe ovog rada izvršen je pregled 17 svezaka ovog fonda koji obuhvataju vremenski period od 1415. do 1506. godine. Prva odluka vezana za Srpsku Despotovinu i ličnosti iz ove zemlje potiče iz 1417, a posljednja iz 1478. godine. U obzir je uzeta činjenica da Srpska Despotovina kao državna organizacija ne egzistira od 1459. godine, međutim, pojedine ličnosti iz vladarskog roda su se spominjale i u kasnijem vremenu kroz odluke ovog vijeća. U radu su u osnovnim crtama navedene kompetencije Velikog vijeća te izvršena kraća analiza karaktera odluka vezanih za Srpsku Despotovinu. Izvršena analiza ukazuje na to kako se najveći broj odluka odnosi na dubrovačka diplomatska poslanstva upućena srpskim despotima Stefanu Lazareviću i Đurđu Brankoviću, dodjeljivanje poklona despotima i njihovim suprugama, dozvole za unajmljivanje barki prilikom putovanja preko mora te uvoz određenih proizvoda preko Dubrovnika.

Ključne riječi: Državni arhiv u Dubrovniku, Veliko vijeće, Dubrovačka Republika, 15. stoljeće, Srpska Despotovina, srpski despoti, odluke

The Dubrovnik State Archives is the starting point for researching the history of Serbia in the Middle Ages. The reason for that was to a large extent the branched Ragusan trade activity with the states in the interior of the peninsula, but also with more distant states. The most significant funds of this archive for the history of the states in the immediate hinterland of

Ragusa are the records of the three councils of the Republic of Ragusa, which represented the basis of the Ragusan political system at that time. These are the Major Council, the Minor Council, and the *Consilium Rogatorum*. The preserved series of these councils cover the period from the beginning of the 14th century until the collapse of the Republic of Ragusa in 1808. From 1301 at the latest, the deliberations of the three Ragusan councils were recorded together in the *Reformationes* series, which consists of 34 volumes. Deliberations were recorded chronologically as they were adopted. In 1378, the Ragusan authorities decided that, for a better overview, the deliberations of the Major Council should be recorded in a separate segment of the volume. From 1415, there was a complete separation of the recording of the deliberations of all councils. From that period, the deliberations of the Major Council were recorded in the series *Acta Consili Maioris* (1415–1808), which includes 67 volumes. The deliberations of the Major Council are short statements in which the deliberations of the councilors were defined on the question raised or the problem that has arisen. The Major Council session could be held if a minimum of 60 council members were present. At the beginning of each session, the number of councilors present was recorded. Voting was done by inserting balls into boxes. A certain proposal was considered adopted if it received the majority of votes of the councilors present. Most often, two suggestions were highlighted, rarely more, and all suggestions were written down. The result of the vote was recorded with the adopted deliberation, while the rejected proposal was crossed out. During the election of officials for certain positions, three candidates were proposed, and each councilor voted for or against each of the candidates. In those deliberations, zero was written next to the names of candidates who had more negative votes, and the number of positive votes was written next to the names of candidates who would receive more than half of the support. Next to the name of the selected candidate, it was written whether he accepted or refused the position, paid a fine, and the like. The Major Council represented the highest authority, it decided on the election of officials (of various functions in the political system of the

Republic of Ragusa and envoys), gave consent for the import and export of goods and the provision of various services, passed a large number of details regarding diplomatic missions, determined the number of diplomatic gifts to rulers and nobles at the courts to which they would be sent. In some cases, the members of the Major Council decided to delegate a certain issue to another council, and over time the jurisdiction of individual councils changed. Thus, over time, the most important competences of the Major Council were transferred to the *Consilium Rogatorum*.¹

The deliberations of the Major Council were written in Latin using abbreviations common to medieval Latin scribal practice. The preserved documents from this series are in good condition and quite legible. A part of the deliberations of the Major Council, related among other things to the Serbian history of the Middle Ages, was previously published in the publications from the *Reformationes* series edited by Ivan Tkalčić, Josip Gelcich, Mihailo Dinić, Zdravko Šundrica, and Nella Lonza.² Certain deliberations of the Major Council from the 15th century were published in the works of Nicola Iorga, Danko Zelić, and Ana Plosnić Škarić.³ The deliberations of the Minor Council on the territory of the Serbian Despotate from the period 1415–1460 were edited by Andrija Veselinović.⁴

For centuries, mines and squares in Serbia represented extremely important centers for the Ragusan merchants, artisans, lease-holders of

¹ Josip Gelčić, “Dubrovački arhiv”, in: *Glasnik Zemaljskog muzeja*, 1910, no. 22, 545-555; Михаило Динић, *Одлуке већа Дубровачке републике I*, Београд: Српска академија наука, 1951, 3-6; Nella Lonza – Zdravko Šundrica, *Odluke dubrovačkih vijeća 1390–1392*, Zagreb – Dubrovnik: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, Zavod za povijesne znanosti u Dubrovniku, 2005, 7-13.

² Ivan Tkalčić – Josip Gelcich, *Monumenta Ragusina. Libri reformationum I–V*, Zagreb: Jugoslovenska akademija nauka i umjetnosti, 1879–1897; М. Динић, *Одлуке већа Дубровачке републике I*; Михаило Динић, *Одлуке већа Дубровачке републике II*, Београд: Српска академија наука и уметности, 1964; Lonza – Šundrica, *Odluke dubrovačkih vijeća 1390–1392*; Nella Lonza, *Odluke dubrovačkih vijeća 1395–1397*, Zagreb – Dubrovnik: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 2011.

³ Nicola Iorga, *Notes et extraits pour servir a l'histoire des croisades au XV siècle II*, Paris: Ernest Leroux, 1899; Danko Zelić – Ana Plosnić Škarić, *Dubrovnik: Civitas et Acta Consiliorum 1400–1450*, Zagreb: Hrvatska zaklada za znanost – Institut za povijest umjetnosti, 2017.

⁴ Андрија Веселиновић, *Дубровачко Мало веће о Србији (1415–1460)*, Београд – Краљево – Чачак: Историјски Институт САНУ – Историјски архив Краљево – Историјски архив Чачак, 1997.

customs duty and mining pits, and business people in general who saw the potential for their own business in the development of the economy in these places. Colonies of Ragusans were also formed in larger and more important places. Their stay and activities in these regions were regulated by documents between the Ragusan authorities and the rulers. To the greatest extent, it was about trading privileges, privileges in general, freedoms, and guarantees of inviolability of life and property. Legal frameworks were not always consistently implemented in practice, and the Ragusan merchants, lease-holders, and artisans often submitted complaints to their authorities about various forms of difficulties and damages they experienced. On the other hand, the Ragusans in the urban settlements on the territory of the Serbian Despotate, in their ambition for the highest possible profit, often broke the law and the established business rules.⁵ Business brought financial benefits to both parties, and therefore diplomatic contacts, various concessions, and various forms of showing respect were frequent. The deliberations of the Ragusan Major Council in the 15th century also moved in the context of the character of the presented relations between the Republic of Ragusa and the Serbian Despotate.

At the assemblies of the Major Council, from 1417 to 1478, a wider range of deliberations, related to diplomatic missions sent to the courts of Serbian despots Stefan Lazarević and Đurađ Branković, was made. During the 1420s, through the deliberations of the council, envoys were chosen that were to visit the despot Stefan and Đurađ Branković during the same trip. Taking that into account, as well as the fact that Đurađ Branković ruled the Serbian Despotate from 1427, this paper also contains the deliberations of the Major Council related to Đurađ from the earlier period. When making deliberations about sending these envoys, the Ragusan councilors initially chose the nobles who would lead the diplomatic mission, and usually, two

⁵ About the Ragusans in Serbia, see: Михаило Динић, *За историју рударства у средњовековној Србији и Босни I*, Београд: Српска краљевска академија, 1955; Михаило Динић, *За историју рударства у средњовековној Србији и Босни II*, Београд: Српска академија наука и уметности, 1962; Десанка Ковачевић-Којић, *Градски живот у Србији и Босни (XIV-XV)*, Београд: Историјски институт, 2007.

envoys were elected. Sometimes these missions lasted for three or four months, were a dangerous and tiring undertaking, and for such reasons some nobles decided to refuse to participate. In order to prevent refusals, the Ragusan authorities introduced fines for unjustified refusals. In crises, the Ragusans had permanent envoys at the courts of Serbian despots. Through the deliberations on sending envoys, the councilors discussed the amount of their salary, the time they will spend on the diplomatic mission, the number of servants they will have at their disposal, horses as a means of transport, the amount of money that the envoys can spend during the mission, and the amounts they have at their disposal for honoring despots, members of their families and courtiers. Missions were most often sent due to agreements, difficulties, malfeasance, illegal confiscation of goods, malfeasance by local officials, or other non-compliance with agreed or established rules that the Ragusans reported to their authorities as problems they faced on the territory of the Despotate. Through the deliberations of the Major Council, it is reflected that silver, as an object of special importance, was to the greatest extent a subject of dispute. Given that the Ragusans exported the most silver from Srebrenica and Novo Brdo, a deliberation was occasionally voted on sending the local nobles and merchants to the court of the Serbian rulers in order to present, as precisely as possible, the problems that the despot's administrators in these places caused to them. In addition to the mentioned places, through the deliberations of the council, certain information can be found about Priština and Bar as places of interest for the Ragusan merchants. Councilors occasionally made deliberations on the withdrawal of the Ragusan merchants from the territory of the Serbian Despotate due to danger, most often due to wartime circumstances in this state.

The range of the competences of the Major Council also concerned various permits issued to Serbian despots, such as permits for the purchase and export of weapons, wine, and grain, and allowing the Ragusan musicians and entertainers to go to the Despotate. Often, the import of things for the despot's needs, most often from Venice, was exempted from customs duties. Several deliberations deal with the issues of the despot's envoys that

went to diplomatic missions in Venice, Ancona, Split or other places via Ragusa. The Major Council made deliberations on the permission to assign boats and crews for their voyage across the sea, it was usually decided that these costs would be financed by the funds of the Republic. These were also occasions to exchange information and the council voted to present gifts to foreign envoys as a sign of hospitality and courtesy.

Statistically by years, the largest number of deliberations comes from the period 1440–1442. During this period, the despot Đurađ, due to the Ottoman conquest of his country, stayed in Ragusa on two occasions. During 1441, Đurađ stayed with his wife and courtiers in Ragusa for several months, and then a wider range of deliberations related to hospitality, support, gifts, and fulfilling various needs of the despot, such as providing armed galleys for the transport of his envoys, were made. As part of the activities of the Major Council, proposals were also voted on various concessions and services to family members of two despotic families, such as Olivera, sister of despot Stefan, and members of the Branković family: Jerina, Kantakuzina, Jelena, and the blind despot Stefan. Gifts and honors as diplomatic means were often voted on. Most often, it was about gifts in fabrics, clothes, money, or other things. Within this council, gifts of up to 500 ducats were awarded to the despot Stefan. During their arrival in Ragusa, Stefan's envoys were also rewarded, such as Duke Vitko, who received a gift worth 150 perpers. Despot Đurađ was awarded several times through the deliberations of the Major Council, and the value of the gifts usually amounted to several hundred ducats. The councilors also sent gifts of slightly lesser value to his wife, Jerina. Through the deliberations of the Major Council, the names of Đurađ's envoys such as Nikola and Prince Stefan have been preserved. It was a common practice to gift envoys with cloth worth 30 perpers and more. In the framework of the selected deliberations of the Major Council, those deliberations which, from the Ragusan perspective, refer to the Slavs in general, without specifying a clearer definition, are also included.

The presented and transcribed deliberations of the Major Council from the point of view of credibility represent the primary sources for the

reconstruction of the relations between the Republic of Ragusa and the Serbian Despotate. Although these are short statements that do not show the full breadth of the processes that took place in the background, this information combined with the data of other Ragusan councils allows for a clearer picture of the relations at that time. These deliberations also offer basic information about the political and economic situation in the area of the Serbian Despotate during the 15th century.

ACTA CONSILII MAIORIS I (1415–1419)

4. 10. 1417, f. 80v-81v.

On the side: “Pro ambasiata mittenda ad dominum despoth.”

“Prima pars est de mictendo ambasiatam ad dominum despoth pro istis nouitatibus Sclauonie.” Captum per LXIII, contra VII.

“Secunda est de non mictendo. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Pro eodem.”

“Prima pars est de mictendo duos ambasiatores.” Capta per LX, contra XI.

“Secunda est de mictendo unum. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Pro pena ambasiatoribus in ponenda.”

“Prima pars est de acrescendo penam dictis ambasiatoribus digendis ultra penam statuti ituris pro dicta ambasiata et quod vadit per plateam nullam habet excusationem.” Captum per LXVIII, contra III.

“Secunda est de non acrescendo penam. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Pro eodem.”

“Prima pars est de dando penam dictis ambasiatoribus yperperorum quadringentorum pro quolibet ipsorum.” Captum per LIII, contra XVII.

“Secunda pars est de dando eis penam yperperorum tringentorum pro quolibet ipsorum. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Pro salario dictis ambasiatoribus dando.”

“Prima pars est de dando dictis ambasiatoribus salarium pro viagio predicto unicuyque ipsorum yperperorum ducentos.” Captum per LVIII, contra XI.

“Secunda pars est de dando yperperis centum quinquaginta pro unoquoque ipsorum. [Crossed out]”

“Prima pars est de dando dictis ambasiatoribus eligendis et ituris equos quatuordecim videlicet pro famulis octo pro albergo quatuor pro suis personis duos.” Capta per XXXVIII, contra XXVIII.

“Secunda pars est de dando eis sexdecim equos videlicet ut habuerant pro respectu qui supra sint pro suis personas equos duos in dexam. [Crossed out]” [80v]

On the side: “Pro eodem.”

“Prima pars est quod dicti ambasiatores habere debeant quatuor pedestres famulos. [Crossed out]”

“Secunda pars est quod debeant habere quinque famulos pedites.” Captum per XXXVI, contra XIII.

On the side: “Pro eodem.”

“Prima pars est de dando dictis famulis tam equestribus quam pedestribus pro eorum salario pro uno quoque ipsorum in mense yperperis quatuor et expenditori duplum. [Crossed out]”

“Secunda pars est de dando eis yperperis quatuor et grossos sex et expenditori duplum.” Captum per XL, contra XXX.

On the side: “Pro eodem.”

“Prima pars est de taxando expensam dictis ambasiatoribus ituris.” Captum per XLIII, contra XXVII.

“Secunda pars est de non taxando. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Pro eodem.”

“Prima pars est de taxando dictis ambasiatoribus pro expensis oris famulorum et equorum in yperperis decem pro quolibet die quo steterint

in dicta ambasiata et si minus expenderent quod illud [Crossed out: minus] plus teneantur restituere comuni nostro cum redierint.” Capta per XXXVII, contra XXIII.

“Secunda pars est de taxando eis in yperperis octo modo supradicto. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Pro eodem.”

“Prima pars est quod dicti ambasiatores habeant pro massaritiis sibi opportunis portantes de suis et que sint sue yperperis duodecim pro quolibet.” Capta per XL, contra XXX.

“Secunda pars est quod habeant yperperis X pro quolibet dicta de causa. [Crossed out]” [81]

On the side: “Pro eodem.”

“Prima pars est quod dicti ambasiatores possint donare dicto domino despoth valorem yperperis triginta pro quolibet [Crossed out: ex] de denariis nostri comunis ex parte ipsorum et non plus in confectionibus et aliis rebus [Crossed out: ut] comestibilibus ut eis melius videbiter.” Captum per LX, contra X.

“Secunda est de non donando dicto despoth. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Pro eodem.”

“Prima pars est de dando libertatem et arbitrium domino Rectori et Minori consilio cum Consilo rogatorum faciendi comissionem dictis ambasiatoribus in ea forma quia eis videbitur. Et pro expeditione dictorum ambasiatorum inueniendi et accipiendi pecunias oportunas unde cunque melius habere et inuenire poterunt dando de prode ad rationem de quinque pro centenario annuatim. Et dicta de causa obligando comune nostrum et bona sua cum scripturis sollempnitatibus et renunciatoribus opportunis et prout dictis consiliis videbitur. Et in predictis omnibus et pro dicta ambaxiata et dependentibus ab ea in omnibus et per omnia faciendi tantum quantum facere poterit et possit presens Maius consilium.” Captum per LXI, contra VIII.

“Secunda est de non dando. [Crossed out]” [81v]

5. 3. 1418, f. 104v.

On the side: “Ser Nicola M. de Goze.”

“Prima pars est de faciendo gratiam ser Nicole M. de Goze ambassiatori nostro ad dominum despotum quod propter infirmitatem suam coaptatis seruiis comunis nostri ad que missus fuit possit remanere in sua libertate suis expensam ad partes illas.” Captum XLVII, contra XXIII, extra X.

“Secunda pars est de non faciendo dictam gratiam. [Crossed out]”

ACTA CONSILII MAIORIS II (1419–1423)

6. 11. 1420, f. 42.

On the side: “Pro ambassiata ad dispoth Sclauonie mittenda.”

“Prima pars est de mittendo ambaxiatores parte domini ad dispoth Sclauonye occasione spoliationis per eum nuper facte ciuibus Raguseis.” Captum per LXXV, contra VIII.

“Secunda pars est de non mittendo ambaxiatam predictam. [Crossed out]”

9. 11. 1420, f. 42v.

On the side: “Quia ambaxiatores vadant ad Juragh.”

“Prima pars est quod ambaxiatores qui eligentur ituri ad dominum dispoth Sclauonie postquam ab eo dispoth expediti erunt ire debeant ad dominum Juragh Volchoui cum his que comittentur eis.” Captum per LXXXVIII, contra I.

“Secunda pars est quod ad dominum Juragh non vadant. [Crossed out]”

12. 12. 1420, f. 45-46.

On the side: “Pro ambassiata ad dispothum et Jurach.”

“Prima pars est quod pro ambassiata mittenda ad dominum dispothum Sclauonie et Jurachum prout alias captum est eligantur ambassiatores duo.” Captum per omnes.

“Secunda est quod pro dicta ambassiata unus tantum ambassiator mittatur. [Crossed out]”

On the side: "Supra eodem."

On the side below: "Pro dono."

"Prima pars est de mittendo donum per dictos ambaxiatores supradictis dominis dispotho et Juracho. Captum per LXXXVIII, contra I."

"Secunda est de non donando. [Crossed out]"

On the side: "Supra eodem facto."

"Prima pars est de mittendo dispotho donum yperperorum mille ducentos."

Captum per LXIII, contra XXVI.

"Secunda est de mittendo ei donum yperperorum mille tamen. [Crossed out]" [45]

On the side: "Supra eadem ambaxiatorum."

"Prima pars est de mittendo donum per ambaxiatores ultrascriptos Jurach Volchouich yperperorum sexcentorum." Captum per LXXVII, contra XIII.

"Secunda pars est de mittendo dictum donum yperperorum quingentorum tantum. [Crossed out]"

On the side: "Supra eodem pro salario ambaxiatorum."

"Prima pars est de dando dictis ambaxatoribus ituris ad dominum dispothum et comitem Jurach pro mensibus tribus yperperos ducentos quinquaginta pro quolibet et grossos duodecim pro qualibet die qua steterint de pluri." Captum per LXVII, contra XXIII.

"Secunda est de dando eis yperperos ducentos pro quolibet pro tribus mensibus et grossos XII pro die singulo quo de pluri steterint ut supra. [Crossed out]"

On the side: "Pro eadem causa pro pena."

"Prima pars est de acrescendo penam dictis ambaxiatoribus ultra penam dictis ambaxiatoribus ultra penam in statuto contentam et que per plateas excusationem non habeat." Captum per LXXXVI, contra III.

"Secunda est de non acrescendo dictam penam. [Crossed out]"

On the side: "Pro ipso eodem negocio."

“Prima pars est de acrescendo penam dictis ambaxiatoris yperperorum quadringentorum pro quolibet ultra contentam in statuto et qui vadit per plateas excusationem non habeat.” Captum per LXXII, contra 18.

“Secunda est de acrescendo dictam penam yperperorum quingentorum et cetera in omnibus prout supra. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Pro eodem.”

On the side below: “Pro equis.”

“Prima pars est de dando dictis ambaxiatoribus ituris ut supra equos quatuordecim videlicet octo pro famulis pro albergo quatuor et pro personis eorum duos. [Crossed out]”

“Secunda est de dando eis equos sexdecim videlicet ultra dictos quatuordecim duos alios qui pro respectu personarum ipsorum ambaxiatorum ducantur ad dexteram.” Captum per LII, contra XXXVIII. [45v]

On the side: “Pro eadem ambaxiata pro famulis.”

“Prima pars est de dando dictis ambaxiatoribus famulos quatuor ituros cum eis pedes. [Crossed out]”

“Secunda est de dando eis famulos quinque ituros cum eis ut supra.” Captum per LIII, contra XXXVI.“

On the side: “Pro eodem.”

On the side below: “Pro salario famulorum.”

“Prima pars est de dando supradictis omnibus famulis ituris cum dictis ambaxiatoribus eam equestribus quam pedestribus yperperos quatuor mensuatim pro quolibet et expenditori duplum. [Crossed out]”

“Secunda est de dando dictis famulis yperperos quatuor cum dimidio et expenditori duplum ut supra.” Captum per XLVIII, contra XLII.

On the side: “Pro eodem.”

On the side below: “Pro expensam limitanda.”

“Prima pars est de limitando expensam ambaxiatoribus antedictis.” Captum per LVIII, contra XXXII.

“Secunda est de non limitando eis dictam expensam. [Crossed out]”

On the side: "Pro eodem."

"Prima pars est de taxando dictis ambaxiatoribus pro expensa oris famulorum et equorum yperperos decem pro die qualibet qua steterint in dicta ambaxiata. Et si minus expendiderint illud de pluri restituere teneantur comuni." Captum per LXXVI, contra XIII.

"Secunda est de taxando eisdem yperperos octo die singula et in omnibus prout supra. [Crossed out]"

On the side: "Supra eodem."

On the side below: "Pro massaricis."

"Prima pars est de dando dictis ambaxiatoribus pro supellectilibus quas de suis secum portent yperperis duodecim." Captum per LVIII.

"Secunda est de dando eisdem pro supellectilibus quas de suis portent ut supra yperperos decem tamen. [Crossed out]" [46]

On the side: "Libertas pro ambaxiata ad dominum dispothum et Giurach ituram."

"Prima pars est de dando libertatem domino Rectori, Minorique consilio et Consilio rogatorum presentibus et futuris ac plenum arbitrium faciendi commissionem ultrascriptis ambaxiatoribus ituris ad magnificum dominum dispothum et comitem Jurach in ea forma que eis videbitur. Et pro expeditione dictorum ambaxiatorum inueniendi et accipiendi pecunias oportunas undecumque melius habere et inuenire poterunt dando prode ad rationem quinque pro centenario annuatim. Et dicta decausa obligandi comune nostrum et bona sua cum scripturis solemnitatibus et renunciationibus opportunis et prout dictis domino Rectori et consiliis videbitur. Et quod in predictis omnibus et pro dicta ambaxiata et dependentibus ab ea in omnibus et per omnia faciendi quantum facere potet et possit presens Maius consilium." Captum per LXXXIII, contra VI.

"Secunda est de non dando dictam libertatem. [Crossed out]"

On the side: "Pro ambaxiata ad dominum dispoth."

"Electio ambaxiatorum iturorum ad dominum despothum facta in Maiori consilio per scrutineum more solito."

“Ser Theodorus de Prodanello ballotte XLVII, contra XXXVIII, extra V.”

Below: “Die II januari 1420. Coram domino Rectore et Paruo consilio predictis ser Theodorus refutauit et soluit penam ut patet in libro intratarum camerariorum comunis de mense februaryi 1421. ad carta 234.” [46v]

3. 1. 1421, f. 53.

On the side: “Pro ser Theodoro de Prodanello.”

“Prima pars est de faciendo gratiam ser Theodoro de Prodanello ambassiatori electo ad dominum dispothum qui refutauit ambaxiatam quod yperperos quatringsentos qui sibi deficiunt ad soluendum penam pro dicta refutatione limitatam soluere possit in douana maiori.” Captum per LXVI, contra II.

“Secunda pars est de non faciendo dictam gratiam. [Crossed out]”

13. 1. 1421, f. 53v.

“Electio duorum ambaxiatorum iturorum ad dominum despothum et dominum Georgium facta per scrupineum more solito.

Ser Michael de Resti si habuerunt terminum V dierum ad deliberandum.” Ballotte XXXIII, contra XXX, extra III.

On the side: “Refutauit ser Marinus.”

“Ser Marinus J. de Gradi ballotte XXXII.” contra XXXI, extra VII.

Below: “Solut penam yperperum quingentorum ut patet in libro introitus camerariorum negro ad carta 223 de mensis Januari.”

24. 1. 1421, f. 54.

On the side: “Ser Marino J. de Gradi.”

“Prima pars est de habendo quod ser Marinus J. de Gradi qui pridie fuit electus ambaxiator ad dominum despothum remansit et firmatus fuit in Maiori consilio non obstante errore ballotarum quem ipse allegat.” Captum per LVI, contra XXXVIII.

“Secunda pars est de habendo quod in numero ballotarum est summa et propterea quod iterato debeat ballotari in presenti consilio. [Crossed out]”

8. 2. 1421, f. 55v.

On the side: “Die XII februari 1421 dictus ser Nicola acceptauit.”

“Ser Nicola Petri de Poça electus fuit per scrupitineum ambaxiatorum ad dominum despothum simul cum ser Michaelae de Resti electo nuper qui habuit terminum dierum quinque ad deliberandum.” Ballotte LII, contra XLVIII, extra VII.

7. 5. 1421, f. 90v.

On the side: “Pro donando voyuode Vitcho ambaxiatori domini despothi.”

“Prima pars est de donando voiuode Vitcho ambaxiatori magnifici domini despothi qui venit de Venetis.” Captum per LXXXIII, contra VII.

“Secunda pars est de non donando. [Crossed out]”

”Prima pars est de donando eidem de denaris nostri comunis in illis rebus que videbuntur domino Rectori et Paruo consilio valorem yperperorum centum quinquaginta.” Captum per XLVIII, contra XXXVIII.

“Secunda pars est de donando valorem yperperorum ducentorum. [Crossed out]”

ACTA CONSILII MAIORIS III (1423–1428)

11. 3. 1424, f. 15.

On the side: “Gratiam ser Mattei de Gradi pro maluasia domino dispot.”

“Prima pars est de faciendo gratiam ser Matteo de Gradi quod non obstantibus ordinibus in contrarium possit mittere in Ragusium quartas tres maluasiae pro mittendo domino dispot Sclauonie.” Captum per omnes.

“Secunda pars est de non faciendo dictam gratiam. [Crossed out]”

29. 4. 1424, f. 18v.

On the side: “Pro domino despotho gratia maluasiae.”

“Prima pars est de faciendo gratiam domino despotho quod mittere possit in Ragusium tres quartas maluasiae et illas inde extraere non obstante aliquo ordinis in contrarium loquente.” Captum per LXXXI, contra I.

“Secunda pars est de non faciendo dictam gratiam. [Crossed out]”

26. 7. 1425, f. 76.

On the side: “Pro Nicolao voyuode domini Georgi.”

“Prima pars est de dando Nicolao voyuode domini Georgi pro paregio pro eundo Venetias barcham unam cum personis nouem expensis nostri comunis.” Captum per LXVIII, contra I.

“Secunda pars est de non dando. [Crossed out]”

21. 9. 1425, f. 81.

On the side: “Pro dono ambaxiatorum domini Georgi Volcouich.”

“Prima pars est de donando ambaxiatoribus domini Goergi Volcouich et dando eis barcham pro reditu suo.” Captum per LXXX, contra III.

“Secunda pars est de non donando eis et de non dando barcham. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Pro eodem.”

“Prima pars est de donando ipsis ambaxiatoribus yperperos quinquaginta in illis rebus de quibus domino Rectori et Minori consilio videbitur. [Crossed out]”

“Secunda pars est de donando eis yperperos centum in dictis rebus prout videbiter domino Rectori et suo consilio predicto.” Captum per LXXVIII, contra XV.

10. 10. 1425, f. 83v.

On the side: “Pro domino despotho de Rassia donum.”

“Prima pars est de donando domino despotho de Rassia.” Captum per LXXXVIII, contra VI.

“Secunda pars est de non donando eidem. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Pro eodem.”

“Prima pars est de donando eidem yperperos trecentos et ab inde infra prout Rogatorum consilio videbitur.” Captum per LXXXIX, contra VI.

“Secunda pars est de donando eidem yperperos ducentos quinquaginta ut supra. [Crossed out]”

10. 7. 1426, f. 120.

On the side: “Gratia pro Giucho Castrath.”

“Prima pars est de faciendo gratiam Giucho Castrath quod conduci facere possit quartas duas maluasiae pro mittendo ipsam in Sclauoniam non obstantis ordinibus in contrarium soluendo gabellam ordinatam.” Captum per LX, contra VI.

“Secunda pars est de non faciendo ipsam gratiam. [Crossed out]”

2. 8. 1426, f. 122v.

On the side: “Pro vino vendendo.”

“Prima pars est de incipiendo vendere vinum quod venit de Cataro et de Antibaro die martis proxime VIa presentis mensis.” Captum per XXXVI, contra XXVI.

“Secunda pars est de incipiendo vendere illud die mercurei VIIa presentis. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Pro eodem vino vendendo.”

“Prima pars est de vendendo vinum predictum in punctis quinquaginta. [Crossed out]”

“Secunda pars est de vendendo illud in punctis sexaginta.” Captum per XXXI, contra 29, extra IIII.

15. 8. 1426, f. 123.

On the side: “Pro ambaxiata ad dominum Georgium.”

“Prima pars est propter aduentum domini Georgi de offerendo ambaxiatam ad ipsum.” Captum per LXVII, contra VI.

“Secunda pars est de non offerendo. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Pro eadem re.”

“Prima pars est de offerendo ad eum duos ambaxiatores.” Captum per LXVI, contra VII.

“Secunda pars est de offerendo unum ambaxiatori. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Pro vino vendendo.”

“Prima pars est de vendendo illas trecentas quinguas vini de quibus dixerunt officiales dubitare in punctis sexaginta. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Pro barcha mittenda in Zentam.”

“Prima pars est de dando libertatem domino Rectori Minori consilio suo faciendo expensam mittenda in Zentam unam barcham armatam cum uno ex nostris de populo ad dominum Georgium. Et hac ex causa faciendi id omne quod possit facere presens consilium.” Captum per LXVIII, contra III.

“Secunda pars est de non dando dictam libertatem. [Crossed out]”

20. 8. 1426, f. 123v-124v.

On the side: “Pro donando domino Georgio.”

“Prima pars est de donando domino Georgio per ambaxiatores nostros mittendos ad eum.” Captum per LXXX, contra I.

“Secunda pars est de non donando. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Pro donando consorti dicti domini Georgi.”

“Prima pars est de donando similiter consorti ipsius domini Georgi.” Captum per LXXXIII, contra VII.

“Secunda pars est de non donando. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Pro dono ipso.”

“Prima pars est de donando ipsis ambobus dominis Georgio et eius consorti in pannis ducatos quadringentos.” Captum per LXXVIII, contra XII.

“Secunda pars est de donando ut supra in pannis ducatos trecentos. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Pro eidem dono.”

“Prima pars est de donando ipsi domino Georgio ut supra in pannis yperperos sexcentos et eius consorti yperperos quadringentos. [Crossed out]”

“Secunda pars est de donando ipsi domino Georgio ut supra yperperos septingentos et dicte eius consorti yperperos trecentos.” Captum per LXXI, contra XX.

On the side: "Pro salario ambaxiatorum."

"Prima pars est de dando de salario pro uno mense cuilibet ex ambaxiatoribus qui ibunt yperperos sexaginta. Et pro quolibet die quo de pluri stabunt yperperum unum pro quolibet eorum." Captum per LXXI, contra XX.

"Secunda pars est de dando sibi pro salario pro quolibet eorum pro uno mense yperperos octuaginta et yperperum unum pro quolibet pro quolibet die quo stabunt de pluri. [Crossed out]"

On the side: "Pro pena augenda ipsis ambaxiatori."

"Prima pars est de augendo penam ipsis ambaxiatoribus ultra penam contentam in ordinibus nostros. Et qui vadit per plateam non habeat excusacionem." Captum per LXXX, contra XI.

"Secunda pars est de non augendo. [Crossed out]"

On the side: "Pro ipsa pena."

"Prima pars est de augendo ipsam penam de yperperis centum. [Crossed out]"

"Secunda pars est de augendo ipsam de yperperis centumquingenta." Captum per XLVI, contra XLV [123v]

On the side: "Famuli ambaxiatorum predictorum."

"Prima pars est de dando ipsis ambaxiatoribus ituris octo famulos computato uno expeditore." Captum per LXXV, contra XVI.

"Secunda pars est de dando sibi sex famulos computato ut supra expeditore. [Crossed out]"

On the side: "Pro salario ipsorum famulorum."

"Prima pars est de dando de salario cuilibet ex famulis ad rationem mensis ad yperperos quatuor et expeditori duplum." Captum per LXXI, contra XX.

"Secunda pars est de dando ad yperperos quatuor cum dimidio ut supra et duplum expeditori. [Crossed out]"

On the side: "Pro itu ipsorum ambaxiatorum."

"Prima pars est quod ipsi ambaxiatori ire debeant in duabus barchis ad remos octo pro quolibet." Captum per LXVI, contra XXV.

“Secunda pars est quod ire debeant in una barcha ad remos decem. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Pro limitacione expensarum ipsorum ambaxiatorum.”

“Prima pars est de non limitando expensas ipsis ambaxiatoris. [Crossed out]”

“Secunda pars est de limitando.” Captum per LV, contra XXXVI.

On the side: “Pro massaricis portandis per ipsos ambaxiatoris.”

“Prima pars est de dando ipsis ambaxiatoris pro massaricia que secum ipsi portare debeant ad yperperos sex pro quolibet eorum.” Captum per LVI, contra XXXV.

“Secunda pars est de dando ad yperperos quinque pro quolibet eorum pro dicta massaricia portando. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Non posita fuit.”

“Prima pars est de dando libertatem domino Rectori cum consilio suo Rogatorum expediendi scriptos ambaxiatores et faciendo sibi commissionem ac repperiendi denarios pro expeditione ipsorum. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Limitacio expensarum dictorum ambaxiatorum.”

“Prima pars est quod ipsi ambaxiatori qualibet die expendere possint ad yperperos septem absque expensa equorum si oporteret ipsos equos reperire. Et si minus expendiderunt sit comunis nostri. [Crossed out]”

“Secunda pars est quod qualibet die expendere possint ad yperperos sex cum modis et condicionibus scriptis.” Captum per LVI, contra XXXVIII. [124]

On the side: “Libertas pro expeditione ambaxiatori et pecunias repperiendo.”

“Prima pars est de dando libertatem domino Rectori cum consilio suo et Rogatorum [Crossed out: plenam libertam] expediendi scriptos ambaxiatori et faciendo sibi commissionem. Et denarios repperiendi pro expensis et expeditione ipsorum ambaxiatorum. Et obligando comune nostrum si opus fuerit pro ipsis denariis repperiendi ad prode de 5 pro centenario

in anno [~~Crossed out: cum~~]. Et deindeque pro predictis omnibus omnia faciendo que opportuna fuerunt. Et que presens Maius consilium facere possit.” Captum per LXXVII, contra XII.

“Secunda pars est de non dando ipsam libertatem. [~~Crossed out~~]”

“Electio suprascriptorum duorum nobilium ambaxiatorum more solito per scrupineum facta.”

On the side: “Ambaxiatores.”

“Ser Marinus Si. de Resti, ser Marinus Ja. de Gondola] quibus datus fuit terminus ad acceptandum per totam diem jous proximum XXII presentis mensis augusti.”

Below: “Die XXII augusti 1426. scripti ambaxiatori acceptauerunt et iurauerunt.” [124v]

25. 8. 1426, f. 125.

On the side: “Pro barcis duabus armatis mittendis Zentam ad dominum Georgium Volcouich.”

“Prima pars est de dando libertatem domino Rectori et Minori consilio faciendi expensas necessarias pro mittendo duas barcas armatas ad dominum Georgium nepotem domini despothi in Zenta armatas unaqueque ipsarum [~~Crossed out: ordinata~~] ad octo remos et quatuor balistarios.” Captum per LXI, contra XXII.

“Secunda pars est de non dando dictam libertatem. [~~Crossed out~~]”

12. 9. 1426, f. 125v.

On the side: “Libertas pro armando galleam et faciendo expensas pro mittendo acceptum dominum Georgium.”

“Prima pars est de dando libertatem domino Rectori et consilio suo cum Consilio rogatorum quod promittendo acceptum dominum Georgium Volchouich qui cum sua consorte acceptauit in vitum veniendi Ragusium possint armare unam galleam brigentinum et barchas oportunas. Et facere omnes expensas necessarias excepto expensas doni quod reseruatum sit Maiori consilio. Et inuenire [~~Crossed out: inueniendo~~] denarios opportunos pro predictis ad

prode consuetum 5 pro centenariorum in anno et obligare ipsa ex causa comune nostrum cum cartis et cautelis opportunis.” Captum per LXXXVI, contra IIII.
“Secunda pars est de non dando ipsam libertatem. [Crossed out]”

23. 9. 1426, f. 126v.

On the side: “Pro donando domino Georgio et eius consorti.”
“Prima pars est de donando domino Georgio et eius consorti huc venturis.”
Captum per LXXII, contra II.
“Secunda pars est de non donando. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Pro eodem dono.”
“Prima pars est de donando ipsi domino et eius consorti computo dono alias empto et quod portauerunt ambaxiatori ducatos mille ducentos in pannis.” Captum per LXIII, contra XI.
“Secunda pars est de donando ut supra et in pannis ut dictum est ducatos mille. [Crossed out]”

12. 11. 1426, f. 130v.

On the side: “Pro tubetis dimittendo domino dispoth.”
“Prima pars est de dimittendo domino dispoth Sclauonie Teodorum et Johannem fratres tubetas nostros [Crossed out: pro quatuor mensibus].”
Captum per LXVII, contra XIII.
“Secunda pars est de non dimittendo. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Pro eisdem.”
“Prima pars est quod de ipsi tubete liurare debeant soldum.” Captum per LXXIII, contra VIII.
“Secunda pars est quod liurare non debeant soldum. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Pro eisdem.”
“Prima pars est de dimittendo ipsos tubetas pro quatuor menses proxime futuris a die quo hinc recedent.” Captum per LVIII, contra XXII.
“Secunda pars est de dimittendo eos pro eo tempore quod restat ex firma eorum. [Crossed out]”

27. 4. 1427, f. 163.

On the side: "Pro ambasiata ad dominum despothum dirigenda."

"Prima pars est de mittendo ambasiatam nostram ad dominum despotum de Rassa pro nobilibus et mercatoribus nostris qui sunt ibidem." Captum per CVI, contra VIII.

"Secunda pars est de non mittendo ambasiatam predictam. [Crossed out]"

On the side: "Pro eadem ambasiata."

"Prima pars est de mittendo duos nobiles ambasiatores nostros ad dictum dominum despothum." Captum per CIII, contra XI.

"Secunda pars est de mittendo unum ambasiatorem. [Crossed out]"

8. 4. 1427, f. 163-164.

On the side: "Pro ambasiata predicta."

"Prima pars est de dando ambasiatoribus ituris ad dominum despotum pro mensibus tribus yperperos ducentos quinqueginta pro quolibet et grossos duodecim pro qualibet die qua steterunt de pluri. Et de dando eis equos quatuordecim et duos alios ultra dictos quatuordecim qui pro respectu personarum ipsorum ambasiatorum ducantur ad destiam et de dando eis videlicet cuilibet eorum famulos quinque ituros cum eis et de dando cuilibet ex dictis famulis yperperos quatuor cum dimidio et expeditori duplum. Et de limitando dictis ambasiatoribus pro expensa oris famulorum et equorum yperperos decem pro qualibet die quia steterunt in dicta ambasiata. Et si minus expendiderunt illud de pluri restituere teneantur comuni. Et de dando dictis ambasiatoribus pro suppellectilibus quas de suis secum portent yperperos duodecim pro ut hic omnia data fuerunt ser Michaeli de Restis et ser Nicole Pe. de Poza ultimus ambasiatoribus qui fuerunt ad dominum despoth ut patet in libro Maioris consilii sub die XII decembris 1429." Capta per LXXXVIII, contra VII.

"Secunda pars est de non dando predicta dictis ambasiatoribus si de corrigendo ea. [Crossed out]"

On the side: "Pro eadem ambasiata."

“Prima pars est de accrescendo penam dictis ambasiatoribus ituris ad dominum despothum ultra penam statuti. Et qui vadit per plateam non habeat excusam.” Captum per LXXXXV, contra X.

“Secunda pars est de non accrescendo eis dictam penam. [Crossed out]” [163]

“Prima pars est de acrescendo penam predictam dictis ambaxiatoribus ituris ad dominum despotum de yperperis quingentis pro quolibet anno predicto.” Captum per LXXXVII, contra XVIII.

“Secunda pars est de acrescendo de yperperis quadringentis. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Pro donis de fiendis.”

“Prima pars est de donando domino despotho et domino Georgio.” Captum per LXXXXVIII, contra VII.

“Secunda pars est de non donando. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Pro eisdem donis.”

“Prima pars est de donando dictis domino despotho et domino Georgio ducatos sexcentos in pannis videlicet ducatos quingentos domino despotho et ducatos centum domino Georgio si presens fuerit cum domino despotho idem dominis Georgius et si presens ibidem dominis Georgius non foret totum donum predictum dari debeat domino despotho.” Captum per LXXXVII, contra XVIII.

“Secunda pars est de donando domino despoto in pannis ducatos quingentos videlicet ducatos quatringentos despotho et ducatos centum domino Georgio cum condicionibus supradictis. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Pro eisdem donis.”

“Prima pars est quod ambasiatores predictis donare possint ipsorum parte et domino despotho et aliis quibus ipsis visum fuerit in speciebus et confectionibus [Crossed out: valorem yperperorum centum].” Captum per LXXXXVI, contra VIII.

“Secunda pars est quod ipse ambasiatores [Crossed out: non] possint ipsorum parte donare [Crossed out: valorem yperperorum octuaginta]. [Crossed out]”

“Prima pars est de dando libertatem domino Rectori et Minori consilio expediendi ambasiatam ituram ad dominum despotum ut. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Libertas pro ambasiata predicta expedienda.”

“Prima pars est de dando libertatem domino Rectori et Minori consilio cum Consilio rogatorum [Crossed out: presenti] ac plenum arbitrium faciendi comissionem suprascriptis ambasiatoribus ituris ad dominum despotum et Georgium si fuerit presens ut supra in ea forma que eis videbitur. Et pro expeditione dictorum ambasiatorum inueniendi et accipiendi pecunias [163v] oportunas undecimque melius habere inuenire poterunt dando de prode ad rationem quinque pro centenario annuatim et dicta decausa obligandi comune nostrum et bona sua cum scrupulis sollempnitatibus et renunciationibus opportunis pro ut dictis domino Rectori et consiliis videbitur. Et quod in predictis omnibus et pro dicta ambasiata et dependentibus ab ea in omnibus et per omnia faciendi quantum facere potest et posset presens Maius consilium.” Captum per LXXXVI, contra VIII.

“Secunda pars est de non dando dictam libertatem. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Recessus ambasiatorum.”

“Prima pars est quod ambasiatores predicti ituri ad dominum despotum ut supra recedere de Ragusio teneantur et ire ad viagium suum ipse ambasiata die XXV instantis mensis pena yperperorum centum. [Crossed out]”

“Secunda pars est quod ambasiatores predicti ituri ut contra teneantur de Ragusio recederi et sequi suum viagium ut supra die XXI mensis presentis pena yperperorum centum similiter.” Captum per LXII, contra XLIII.

“Electio duorum ambasiatorum iturorum ad dominum despotum et Jurag ut supra facta per scrutinium more solito.”

On the side: “Ambasiatores ad dominum despotum.”

“Dominis Pasqualis de Restis ballotte L, contra XLVIII, extra V
Ser Junius Mat. de Gradi ballotte LVI, contra XLII, extra VI.”

On the side below: “Datum fuit eis terminus unius diey ad acceptandum vel respuendum eadem die in Dei nomine acceptauerunt.” [164]

10. 5. 1427, f. 167v.

On the side: “Pro Maroe Pasquiçich.”

“Prima pars est de faciendo gratiam Maroe Pasquiçich quod non obstantibus ordinibus in contrarium possit facere unum caricum grani forensis leuando ultra Antibarum versus Leuantem aut de partibus Apulee conducendo Venetias una vice.” Captum per CXIII, contra VI.

“Secunda pars est de non faciendo ipsam gratiam. [Crossed out]”

31. 5. 1427, f. 170.

“Electi duorum procuratorum Monasteri sancti Dominici loco ser Clementis de Resti qui iuit comes Stagni et ser Iuan de Gradi qui ambaxiator iuit ad dominum despotum.

Ser Elias de Criuea ballotte 000

Iurauit. Refutauit. Ser Andreas de Babalio ballotte LIIII, contra XLIIII, extra XI

Ser Blasius de Georgio ballotte LII, contra XL, extra XII

Ser Nicola Jo. de Caboga ballotte 000

Ser Iuanus Lu. de Bona ballotte 000

Iurauit. Refutauit. Ser Marinus de Prodanello ballotte LIII, contra XLI.”

30. 8. 1427, f. 177.

On the side: “Pro donando domino Georgio Volcouich.”

“Prima pars est de faciendo inpensam pro donando domino Georgio Volcouich et super hoc dando libertatem domini Rectori et Minori consilio.” Captum per LXIII, contra II.

“Secunda pars est de non faciendo dictam inpensam. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Pro eodem negocio.”

“Prima pars est de faciendo inpensam ut supra yperperorum centum dicta decausa.” Captum per LX, contra III.

“Secunda pars est de [Crossed out: non] faciendo inpensam yperperorum nonaginta. [Crossed out]”

28. 2. 1428, f. 202v.

On the side: "Pro tutoribus filiarum Bogich Cagnos."

"Prima pars est de faciendo gratiam tutoribus filiarum Bogich Caliga quod vendere possint possessiones dictarum filiarum Bogich tam eius que nupta est quam eius que non est nupta que sunt in Antibaro prout eis melius videbitur cum conditione quod denarii exinde extrahendi stare debeant in camera comunis usque quo expendentur in rebus stabilibus nomine dictarum ambarum filiarum ipsius Bogich." Captum per CXL, contra V.
"Secunda pars est de non faciendo ipsam gratiam. [Crossed out]"

26. 6. 1428, f. 215-216.

On the side: "Pro ambaxiata mittenda ad dominum Georgium Volcouich."

"Prima pars est de mittendo ambaxiatam ad dominum Georgium Volchouich." Captum per LXXVIII, contra XX.

"Secunda pars est de non mittendo. [Crossed out]"

On the side: "Pro eadem."

"Prima pars est de mittendo duos nobiles ad dictam ambaxiatam." Captum per LXXXV, contra III.

"Secunda pars est de mittendo unum nobilem. [Crossed out]" [215]

On the side: "Pro ambaxiata ultrascripta."

"Prima pars est de dando dictis ambaxiatoribus ituris ad dominum Giurach pro mensibus tribus yperperos ducentos quinquaginta pro quolibet et grossos duodecim pro qualibet die qua steterunt de pluri pro quolibet eorum. Et de dando eis equos quatuordecim et duos alios ultra dictos quatuordecim qui respectu personarum ipsorum ambaxiatorum ducantur ad dextram. Et de dando cuilibet eorum famulos quinque ituros cum eis et de dando cuilibet ex dictis famulis ad yperperos quatuor cum dimidio et expenditori duplum. Et de limittando ipsis ambaxiatoris pro expensa oris famulorum et equorum yperperos decem pro quolibet die qua steterunt in dicta ambaxiata. Et si minus expendiderint illud de pluri restituere teneantur comuni. Et dando ipsis ambaxiatori pro supelectilibus quas

secum portent de suis yperperos duodecim prout hic omnia alias in 1420 die 12 decembris data fuerunt ser Michaeli de Resti et ser Nicole Pe. de Poza. Et postea dominus Pasquali de Resti et ser Junio de Gradi ambaxiatori ad dispoth in 1427 die 7 aprilis.” Captum per LXXXXV, contra III.

“Secunda pars est de non predicta modo predicto secundum corrigendo ea. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Pro pena augenda.”

“Prima pars est de acrescendo penam ipsis ambaxiatori ultra penam statuti. Et qui vadit per plateam non habeat excusacione.” Captum per LXXXI, contra VII.

“Secunda pars est de non acrescendo. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Pro eadem pena.”

“Prima pars est de acrescendo penam predictam dictis ambaxiatori modo predicto de yperperis quingentis pro quolibet.” Captum per LXXXIII, contra XIII.

“Secunda pars est de acrescendo ut supra de yperperis quadringentis pro quolibet. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Pro donis.”

“Prima pars est de mittendo ipsos ambaxiatori cum donis.” Captum per LXXXVI, contra II.

“Secunda pars est de mittendo sine donis. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Pro donando.”

“Prima pars est de donando dicto domino Georgio solummodo. [Crossed out]”

“Secunda pars est de donando eidem domino Georgio et domine consorti sue.” Captum per LXXXV, contra XIII.

On the side: “Pro eadem re.”

“Prima pars est de donando et faciendo donum ipsis ambobus simul. [Crossed out]”

“Secunda pars est de donando cuilibus eorum de per se in separatum.” Captum per LII, contra XLVII. [215v]

On the side: "Pro eisdem donis."

"Prima pars est de donando in pannis eisdem ducatos sexcentos." Captum per LXXXIII, contra V.

"Secunda pars est de donando ut supra in pannis ducatos quingentos. [Crossed out]"

On the side: "Pro eisdem."

"Prima pars est de donando domino Georgio ducatos quadringentos et eius consorti ducatos ducentos." Captum per LXIII, contra XXXVI.

"Secunda pars est de donando domino Georgio ducatos quadringentos quinquaginta et eius consorti ducatos CL. [Crossed out]"

On the side: "Libertas pro expeditione dicte ambaxiate."

"Prima pars est de dando libertatem domino Rectori et Minori consilio suo cum Consilio rogatorum faciendo commissionem dictis ambaxiatoris ituris ad dominum Georgium prout eis videbitur. Et pro expeditione ipsorum ambaxiatorum inueniendo et accipiendo pecunias undecumque melius habere et inueniri poterunt ad prode consuetum de 5 pro centenario in anno. Et dicta decausa obligando comune nostrum et bona sua cum cautelis et obligationibus consuetis et opportunis prout dicto domino Rectori et consiliis videbitur. Et in predictis omnibus et pro dicta ambaxiata et dependentibus ab ea in omnibus et per omnia faciendo prout faciendo possit et potet presens Maius consilium." Captum per LXXXV, contra III.
"Secunda pars est de non dando dictam libertatem. [Crossed out]" [216]

14. 10. 1428, f. 225v.

On the side: "Pro ambaxiata."

"Ellectio unus ambaxiatorum ad dominum Georgium Volcouich ellecti per scrutinium more solito.

Datum fuit terminus quinque dierum ad deliberando die XVI octobris suprascripti.

Acceptauit. Ser Johannes Jacobi de Gondola habuerunt ballotte XXXII, contra XXX."

16. 10. 1428. f. 225v.

“Ellectio secundi oratoris ad dominum Georgium suprascriptum more solito per scrutinum.

Die XVI octobris suprascripti datum fuit terminus ad deliberando quinque dierum.

Acceptavit. Ser Marinus Si. de Resti ballotte XLVI, contra XXXVI.”

ACTA CONSILII MAIORIS IV (1428–1433)

29. 4. 1429, f. 32v.

On the side: “Die XXIII mai 1429. infrascriptis Nixa portavit infrascriptis maluaxiam in Ragusium ipsam monouasie pro Nixa Tuerchi.”

“Prima pars est de faciendo gratiam Nixe Tuerchi quod possit conduci facere in Ragusium quartam tres monouasie et conducendi extra Ragusium ad dominum Georgium Volchouich absque aliqua solutione gabelle non obstantibus ordinibus in contrarium.” Captum per omnes.

“Secunda pars est de non faciendo. [Crossed out]”

28. 10. 1429, f. 55.

On the side: “Maluasia pro Ziucho Castrati.”

“Prima pars est de faciendo gratiam Ziucho Castrati de portando in Ragusium quartas quatuor maluasia causa portandi illam in Sclauoniam soluendo datum nostro comuni non obstantibus ordinibus in contrarium.” Captum per LXXXVII.

“Secunda pars est de faciendo. [Crossed out]”

On the side below: “Die XXVII decembris 1430 portata per barcam Bogone.”

4. 1. 1429, f. 68.

On the side: “Pro ser Marino de Resti.”

“Prima pars est de faciendo gratiam ser Marino Si. de Restis de restituendo

sibi iperperis quadraginta vel circa in quibus condemnatis fuit per officiales rationum pro ambasiata quam fecit ad dominum dispotum dummodo ipse iuret per sacramentum quod dictos denarios expendit in equis et aliis seruicis sue ambaxiata ultra aliam expensam quam fecit.

Die suprascripto. Ser Marinus suprascriptus constitutus coram domino Rectori et suo Minori consilio iuravit et sacramento eius affirmavit se expendisse in equis et seruiciis ambassiate ultra alias expensis yperpero 39 grossos 8 in quibus condemnatus fuit ut parte suprascripta continentur.” Captum per LX, contra XXXIII, extra VII.

“Secunda pars est de non faciendo dictam gratiam. [Crossed out]”

18. 2. 1430, f. 75.

On the side: “Pro nuncio mittendo dispoto pro rata assignationis exigenda.”
“Prima pars est cum mercatores qui reperiuntur et sunt Ragusii damnificati in Vidna per magna parte per se et eorum procuratorum venerint ad regimini nostrum petentes cum per dominum Georgium dispot eas non dentur nec soluatur rata sua secundum assignationem eis alias factam. Quia pro habendo et recuperando ipsam ratam mittere possint ad ipsum dispot ad expensis omnium ipsorum damnificatorum nuncium unum de dando plenam libertatem ipsis damnificatis dato quod omnes non fecerint dictam petitionem mittendi pro ipsis omnibus damnificatorum et expensis ipsorum damnificatorum nuncium predictum causa sollicitandi et procurandi solutionem rate predictae eis assignate. Ita tamen quod nuncio ituro per Consilium rogatorum fieri debeat superinde commissio opportuna.” Captum per LXXI, contra 10.

“Secunda pars est de non dando. [Crossed out]”

8. 4. 1430, f. 85.

On the side: “Gratia maluasiae pro Nicole Forti.”

“Prima pars est de faciendo gratiam Nicole Forti quia possit conducere Ragusium quartas octo maluasiae causa mittendi illam domino dispotto Georgio soluendo duanam ordinariam. Que maluasia dum conducta fuerit

reponi debeat de per se in uno stragno et in ipsa tangi non possit nisi in mittendo illam domino Georgio.” Captum per LXXX, contra I.
“Secunda pars est de non faciendo. [Crossed out]”

28. 11. 1430, f. 113.

On the side: “Pro barcha danda ambassiatori domini despoth pro Venetiarum.”

“Prima pars est de dando libertatem domino Rectori et suo minori possendi ad expensas nostri comunis dare pro viagio Venetiarum ambassatoribus domini despotti Georgi unam barcha armatam remorum octo.” Per omnes.
“Secunda pars est de non dando. [Crossed out]”

17. 7. 1431, f. 144v.

On the side: “Ciuilitas Andree et Michaelis de Antibaro.”

“Prima pars est de creando et faciendo ciues nostros Andream Georgi Natalis et Michaellem de Menze de Antibaro et quemlibet ipsorum cum illis honoribus, prerogatiuis, franchiciis, immunitatibus, oneribus et aliis emolumentis quilibet alii nostri ciues originarii venitur pociuntur et gaudent.” Capta per LXII, contra VIII.
“Secunda pars est de non creando. [Crossed out]”

31. 7. 1431, f. 147v-148.

On the side: “Pro faciendo gratiam ambasiatori dispotus de conducendo unum barile maluasiae.”

“Prima pars est de faciendo gratiam ambasiatori dispoti Georgii de conducendo intra ciuitatem barille unum maluasiae per ipsum portatam de Venetiis pro dicto domino dispoto non soluendo dacium aliquod pro dicta maluasia non obstantibus ordinibus in contrarium disponentibus.” Captum per omnes.

“Secunda pars est de non faciendo gratiam. [Crossed out]” [147v]

On the side: “Pro faciendo gratiam ser Andree de Bonda de conducendo unum barille maluasiae.”

“Prima pars est de faciendo gratiam ser Andree de Bonda possendi conducere intra ciuitatem barille unum maluasia soluendo doanam non obstantibus ordinibus in contrarium disponentibus.” Captum per LV.

“Secunda pars est de non faciendo gratiam. [Crossed out]”

On the side below: “Die X augusti 1431. ser Andreas de Bonda conduxit inter quartam maluaxie scripte.” [148]

24. 9. 1431, f. 153v.

On the side: “Gratia ser Joannes de Gondola liberati a condemnati sibi facta per V rationum.”

“Prima pars est de faciendo gratiam ser Johanni Ja. de Gondola ex condemnatione sibi facta videlicet de liberando eum ab ipsa condemnatione per quinque rationum quoniam fuit ambaxiator ad dominum dispotum una cum ser Marino Si. de Restis videlicet de liberando eum a dicta condemnatione prout liberatus fuit dictus ser Marinus eius socius.” Captum LII, contra X.

“Secunda pars est de non faciendo dictam gratiam. [Crossed out]”

30. 3. 1432, f. 268.

On the side: “Pro mittendo ambaxiatam domino dispotu Sclauonie.”

“Prima pars est pro bono ciuitatis nostre et mercatorum nostrorum ac conseruatione bone amicicie que inter nos et dominum Georgium dispotum Sclauonie est de mittendo ambaxiatam nostram dicto domino dispotu.” Captum per LXXXIII.

“Secunda est de non mittendo. [Crossed out]”

21. 4. 1433, f. 272-273.

On the side: “Pro ambaxiatoribus ituris ad dominum dispotum Georgium.”

“Prima pars est de dando ambaxiatoribus nostris ituris ad dispotum Georgium pro mensibus tribus yperperos ducentos quinquaginta pro quolibet et grossos duodecim pro qualibet die qua steterunt de pluri pro quolibet eorum. Et de dando eis equos quatuordecim et duos alios ultra dictos quatuordecim et duas alias ultra dictos quatuordecim qui respectu

personarum ipsorum ambasiatorum ducantur ad dexteram. Et de dando ipsis ambasiatoribus famulos duodecim ituros cum eis videlicet octo equites et quatuor pedites. Et de dando cuilibet ex dictis famulis ad yperperos quatuor cum dimidio pro quolibet et expeditori duplum. Et de limitando ipsis ambasiatoribus pro expensa oris famulorum et equorum yperperos decem pro quolibet die quo steterut in dicta ambasiata. Et si minus expendiderunt illud de pluri restituere teneantur comuni. Et dando ipsis ambasiatoribus pro suppellectilibus quas secum portent de suis yperperis XII.” Captum per LXVIII.

“Secunda pars est de non predicta modo predicto sed corrigendo ea. [Crossed out]” [272]

On the side: “Pro pena augenda ambasiatoribus.”

“Prima pars est de acrescendo penam ipsis ambasiatoribus ultra penam statuti. Et qui vadit per plateam non habeat excusationem.” Captum per LXXXII.

“Secunda pars est de non acrescendo dictam penam. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “De pena predicta.”

“Prima pars est de acrescendo penam dictis ambasiatoribus modo predicto de perperis quingentis pro quolibet.” Captum per LXXVIII.

“Secunda pars est de acrescendo ut supra de yperperis quadringentis pro quolibet. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Pro donis.”

“Prima pars est de mittendo dictos ambasiatores cum donis.” Captum per LXXXIII.

“Secunda pars est de mitendo sine donis. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Pro donis.”

“Prima pars est de donando dicto domino dispoto solummodo. [Crossed out]”

“Secunda pars est de donando ipsi domino dispoto et domine dispotesse consorti sue.” Captum per LXXII.

On the side: “Pro donis.”

“Prima pars est de mittendo per dictos nostros ambassiatores dicto domino dispoto in pannis ducentos quadringentos et domine consorti sue ducatos ducentos.” Captum per LXVI.

“Secunda pars est de mitendo dicto domino dispoto in pannis ducatos trecentos et domine dispotisse ducatos centum quinquaginta. [Crossed out]” [272v]

On the side: “Pro pecunis inueniendis pro dicta ambasiata.”

“Prima pars est de dando libertatem domino Rectori et eius Minori consilio cum Consilio rogatorum faciendi comissionem dictis ambasiatoribus ituris ad dominum dispotum prout eis videbitur et pro expedicione ipsorum ambasiatorum inueniendi et accipiendi pecunias undecunque melius haberi et inueniri poterunt ad prode consuetum de quinque pro centenario in anno et dicta de causa obligandi comune nostrum et bona sua cum cautelis et obligationibus consuetis et opportunis prout dictis domino Rectori et consiliis videbitur. Et in predictis omnibus et pro dicta ambasiata et dependitibus ab ea in omnibus et per omnia facienda prout facere possit et potest presens Maiori consilium.” Captum per LXXXX.

“Secunda pars est de non dando dictam libertatem. [Crossed out]” [273]

24. 4. 1433, f. 274v.

“Jurauit. Ser Paladinus de Gondola et ser Andreas de Babalio] Ellecti fuerunt ambassiatores per scrutinum ituros ad dominum dispotum Georgium.”

11.8. 1433, f. 295.

On the side: “Pro recuperatione argenti in Vidna et Antibaro.”

“Prima pars est quia occaxione exactionis assignamenti facti et fiendi per dominum dispotum Georgium argenti accepti alias ciuibus et mercatoribus nostris in Vidna et Antibaro de dando libertatem domino Rectori et suo Minori consilio cum Consilio rogatorum quod idem dominus Rector cum dictis consiliis possit et valeat elligere officiales cum libertate et prouisione expendendo de ipso argento pro recuperatione illius assignamenti eo modo

quo posset Maius consilium prout eidem domino Rectori et suis consiliis scriptis videbitur.” Captum per omnes.

“Secunda pars est de non dando dictam libertatem. [Crossed out]”

ACTA CONSILII MAIORIS V (1434–1435)

20. 2. 1435, f. 24v.

On the side: “Pro duobus nobilibus ex illis qui sunt in Sreberniza mittendis ad dominum despotum.”

“Prima pars est de dando libertatem domino Rectori et Minori consilio suo cum Consilio rogatorum possendi pro nouitatibus que fuit in gabellis Srebrnize in damnum mercatorum nostrorum elligere et mittere ad dominum dispot Sclauonie duos ex nostris nobilibus qui conuersantur in Srebrniza cum pena ducatos quinquaginta pro quolibet eorum.” Captum per ballotte LXXX, contra XII.

“Secunda pars est de non dando. [Crossed out]”

25. 2. 1435, f. 24v.

On the side: “Pro duobus nobilibus cum pena eligendis ad dominum dispotum in Schiauonia.”

“Prima pars est de dando libertatem domino Rectori et cum suo Minori consilio et cum Consilio rogatorum pro nouitatibus que fuunt in Nouaberda per dominum dispotum in damnum mercatorum nostrorum quia comittere possint nobilibus nostris mercatoribus in Nouaberda a XVIII annis supra quia ut elligere possint duos ex [Crossed out: dictis] nobilibus nostris tam in Nouaberda quam in Pristina conuersantibus et cum pena ducatos L^a pro quolibet ituros ad prefato dominum dispotum secundum comissionem eis dandam.” Per LXXVIII.

“Secunda pars est de dando dictam libertatem. [Crossed out]”

14. 5. 1435, f. 35v.

On the side: “Pro Antibaranis.”

On the side below: “Corectio ordinis.”

“Prima pars est de declarando quod decetero Antibarani pro illis mercantiis et mercimoniis quas [Crossed out: cum] huc cum nostris sine aliis nauigiis conducerent et hic non expedirent sed ad alias partes conducerent vel mitterent soluere solummodo teneantur pro transitu sine pro tracta unum pro centenario scilicet pro pannis lane quos ipsi Antibarani hic faciunt et facirent tractari debeant secundum modum et formam artis lane.” Captum per CV, contra IIII.

“Secunda pars est de stando prout stamus. [Crossed out]”

30. 5. 1435, f. 37v-39.

On the side: “Pro ambaxiatori domini dispoti Sclauonie.”

“Prima pars est de mittendo ambaxiatam nostram ad dominum dispotum Sclauonie.” Per ballotte CVII, contra VII.

“Secunda pars est de non mittendo. [Crossed out]”

“Prima pars est de mittendo ad dictam ambaxiatam duos nostros nobiles.” Captum per CVIII, contra VI.

“Secunda pars est de mittendo solummodo unum nostrum nobilem. [Crossed out]” [37v]

On the side: “Pro eadem ambaxiatori.”

“Prima pars est de dando dictis ambaxiatoribus pro tribus mensis [Crossed out: pro] ad iperperis ducentos quinquaginta pro quolibet et pro qualibet die qua steterint de pluri ad grossos duodecim pro quolibet eorum.” Captum per LVI, contra LI.

“Secunda pars est de dando cuilibet ipsorum ut supra ad iperperis centos viginti et iperperis unum in die pro quolibet et qualibet die qua de pluri steterint. [Crossed out]”

“Secunda pars est de dando cuilibet ipsorum ambaxiatorum pro ipso toto viagio ambaxiate eorum ad iperperis trecentos. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Augmentatio pene.”

“Prima pars est de accrescendo penam dictis ambaxiatoribus ituris ad

dominum dispotum ultra penam statuti. Et qui vadit per platheam non habeat excusam.” LXXXVI, contra VIII.

“Secunda pars est de non accrescendo eis dictam penam. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Pro eadem.”

“Prima pars est de accrescendo dictis ambaxiatoris ituris ad dispotum ut supra penam predictam de iperperis quingentis pro quolibet modo predicto.” LXXXVIII, contra VI.

“Secunda pars est de accrescendo de iperperis quadringentis. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Pro equis ambaxiatoris.”

“Prima pars est de dando ipsis ambaxiatoribus equos XIII et alios duos ducendos [Crossed out: ab] ad dexteram respectu personarum ipsorum ultra dictos quatuordecim.” LXXX, contra XVI.

“Secunda pars est de dando solummodo ipsis ambaxiatoris equos quatuordecim. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Pro famulis et expensis.”

“Prima pars est de dando dictis ambaxiatoris famulos XII inter quos sit unus expendor.” Per ballotte LXXXVI.

“Secunda pars est de dando eis famulos X inter quos sit unus spenditor ut supra. [Crossed out]”

“Prima pars est de dando cuilibet ipsorum famulorum ad ratam mensis pro eorum salario ad iperperis quatuor cum dimidio et expensam duplum. [Crossed out]”

“Secunda pars est de dando modo quantitas ad iperperis quatuor et expensis duplum.” Per ballotte LXXVI, contra XVIII. [38]

“Prima pars est de limitando expensis dictis ambaxiatoris.” Ballotte CII, contra III.

“Secunda pars est de non limitando. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Limitatio expensis.”

“Prima pars est de dando eis pro limitatione ad iperperorum decem pro quolibet die quo steterunt in dicta ambaxiata pro expensis oris

famulorum et equorum et si minus expendiderunt illud plus quod super erit restituere teneantur comuni per sacramentum more solito.” Per LXVI, contra XLIII.

“Secunda pars est de dando ad iperperis octo modo predicto. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Pro massariciis.”

“Prima pars est de dando dictis ambaxiatoris pro massariciis quas pro eorum usu secum de suis defferre debent ad iperperis duodecim. [Crossed out]”

“Secunda pars est de dando ut supra pro dictis massaricis iperperis decem.” Per ballotte LX, contra XLVI.

On the side: “Pro donis defferendis.”

“Prima pars est de mittendo dictos ambaxiatores cum donis ad dictum dominum despotum.” Per ballotte CVI, contra II.

“Secunda pars est de mittendo sine donis. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Pro eisdem.”

“Prima pars est de donando etiam domine dispotisse.” Per ballotte CII, contra III.

“Secunda pars est de non donando. [Crossed out]”

“Prima pars est de donando domino dispoto predicto in pannis perperis mille.” Per ballotte LXX, contra XXXV.

“Secunda pars est de donando ut supra noningentos. [Crossed out]”

“Prima pars est de donando domine dispotisse in pannis perperis quingentos.” Per ballotte LXXXI.

“Secunda pars est de donando ut supra perperis quadringentos. [Crossed out]” [38v]

On the side: “Libertas expediendi in omnibus ambaxiatores.”

“Prima pars est de dando libertatem domino Rectori et eius Minori consilio cum Consilio rogatorum pro expedicione dictorum ambaxiatorum inueniendi et accipiendi denarios undeconque et a quibusconque melius videbitur eis ad prode de quinque pro centenario in anno et ipsa decausa

obligandi comune nostrum et bona sua cum solemnitatibus et cautelis opportunis. Et faciendo comissionem ipsis ambaxiatoribus et ipsos hinc expediendo in omnibus et per omnia cum ea plena auctoritate et libertate qua posset facere presens Maius consilium.” Per ballotte CII, contra IIII.
“Secunda pars est de non dando dictam libertatem. [Crossed out]” [39]

4. 6. 1435, f. 39.

“Ellectio duorum ambaxiatorum destinandorum ad dominum dispotum de Sclauonia facta per scrutinum more solito
Jurauit. Refutauit. Ser Johannes de Gondola remansit ballotte LIII, contra XLVIII, extra 24
Jurauit. Refutauit. Ser Jacobus de Georgio ballotte LIII, contra XLVIII.”

9. 6. 1435, f. 40.

On the side: “Pro isdem officialibus.”

“Prima pars est de dando libertatem officialibus auaree de Vidna quod ipsi officiales possint et valeant se concordari cum ser Jacobo de Sorgo tam pro argetis sibi ser Jacobo acceptis per dominum olim dispotum in Vidna et vel in Antiuaro et [Crossed out: vel] per ipsam exactis quam pro eo quod predictus ser Jacobus de predictis argenti nunquam petere posset cum illis pactis, modis, condicionibus et cautelis de quibus ipsis officialibus auaree Vidne melius videbitur faciendum pro utilitate officii eorum.” Captum per LIII, contra III.

“Secunda pars est de non dando. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Pro isdem officialis.”

“Prima pars est quod ipsi officialis auaree Vidne possint et valeant deponere in capsula eorum officii ratam argenti que tanget argentum accepta in Antibaro donec scient dominos ipsius argenti acceptis in Antibaro. Et in manibus suis retinere usque ad libras X argenti predicti causa faciendi expensas oportunas dicti officii. Et residuum dictorum argenti ipsi officii possint diuidere et unicuique habere debent suam rectam ratam exhabere.” Captum per LVIII, contra III.

“Secunda pars est de non dando. [Crossed out]”

24. 4. 1438, f. 192v.

On the side: “Gratia facta Nicole Chudilinouich.”

“Prima pars est quod cum Nicola Cuddinouich venerit de Nouaberda qui locus dicitur infectus peste qui Nicola ut dicitur habet vulnus graue in oculo et indiget medico pro curandi oculi [Crossed out: de] quod non possit habere ad locum confinis de dando libertatem domino Rectori et eius Minori consilio cum officiales cazamortuorum quia parendo ipsis quod non possit curari et liberari dicto vulnere sine medico quod possint differre terminum suorum confinium per tot dies quot eis videretur necessarium mittendo illum extra Ragusium in districtum ubi eis melius videbitur pro conseruanda sanitate sua ponendo illas etiam custodias quas sibi videbitur. Qui Nicola possit secum ducere et tenere unum famulum quem sibi placebit pro seruiendo sibi.” Captum per LXXXI, contra XVI. “Secunda pars est de non donando dictam libertatem. [Crossed out]”

ACTA CONSILII MAIORIS VI (1440–1442)

15. 3. 1440, f. 12.

On the side: “Non fuit posita ad partitum quod in melius et breuis reformata.”

“Prima pars est cum heri in Minori consilio fuerunt condemnatis nobilis conciuus noster ser Pasqualis de Sorgo in ducatos auri mille dandis et soluendis comuni Ragusii pro eo quod tanquam ambaxiator magnifici domini Georgi dispoti Rascie in exponendo ambaxiatam suam inter cetera habuit exponere Minori consilio quia contra ordines reformationes comunis submenta de tributis non petendis pro Raguseorum cum impetrandis per se vel pro aliqua persona cum idem dominis dispotus mutuauerunt contra serenissimo domino nostro regi Alberto et baronibus Hungarie ducatos auri XL^m. Ideo in causa quo esset de beneplacito et voluntate dominii Ragusii procuraret tributam quod annuatim debetur per Ragusium corone

Ungarie in solutis et ad contum solutionis dicti mutui ducatos XL^m. Igitur de faciendo gratiam dicto ser Pasquali de Sorgo quod sit liber et totaliter franchus ad causa sui condemnatis attento quod pure et ignorantis huiusmodi partem tributi exposuerit et quod dictum ordinem ipse ser Pasqualis totaliter ignoravit ac pluribus aliis bonis et honestis respectis et seruis ipsius ser Pasqualis nostro comuni collitis. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Gratia facta ser Pasquali de Sorgo.”

“Prima pars est de faciendo gratiam nobili conciuo nostro ser Pasquali de Sorgo quod sit totaliter liber et franchus a sui condemnationem ducatos mille facta contra eum per Minus consilium et lecta in presenti consilio considerati quod ignoravit totaliter [Crossed out: ignoravit] ordinem lectum et aliis pluribus bonis et honestis respectis de quibus arregatum fuit in presenti consilio.” Per CXXVII, contra III.

“Secunda pars est de non faciendo dictam gratiam. [Crossed out]”

22. 6. 1440, f. 37v.

On the side: “Pro dando unam barcam aulico domini dispotti ituro Venetis.”

“Prima pars est de dando expensis nostri comunis nobili uno vraio aulico domini dispotti Rascie unam gondolam ad sex remos que illum Venetis ad suum postam conducat pro ardius agendis eiusdem domini sui dispotti.” Ballote, contra II.

“Secunda pars est de non dando. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Pro yperperis CCC expensis pro honorando dominum dispotum.”

“Prima pars est de dando libertatem domino Rectori et eius Minori consilio cum Consilio rogatorum expendendi de denaris nostri comunis ab yperperis CCC infra pro honorando dominum Georgium dispotum Seruie si in hoc suo futuro aduentu declinabit Ragusium in illis rebus comestibilibus de quibus et prout sibi melius videbitur.” Per omnes.

“Secunda pars est de non dando dictam libertatem. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Pro eodem.”

“Prima pars de dando libertatem domino Rectori et eius Minori consilio cum Consilio rogatorum expendendi de denaris nostri comunis ab yperperis CC infra pro honorando dominum prefatum dispotum Seruie in hoc futuro suo aduentu in causa quo transitum istac fuerit et non spedonauerit Ragusium in illis rebus de quibus videbitur dictis domino Rectori et suis predictis consiliis.” Per omnes.

“Secunda pars est de non dando dictam libertatem. [Crossed out]”

27. 6. 1440, f. 39v.

On the side: “Pro dando I^{am} barcham nobilebus dispotti ituris Venetis.”

“Prima pars est de dando nobilebus aulicis domini dispotti Sclauonie unam barcham ex nostris expensis nostri comunis cum qua ire possint obinam dicto domino suo dispoto versus Venetis.” Per CIII, contra V.

“Secunda pars est de non dando. [Crossed out]”

26. 7. 1440, f. 41v-42.

On the side: “Pro donando domino dispoto et eius consorti.”

“Prima pars de donando illius domino dispotto et illius domine uxori sue.” Per ballotte LXX, contra I.

“Secunda pars est de non donando. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Pro eodem.”

“Prima pars est de donando dictis domino dispoto et eius contorali suo in pannis et in rebus comestibilibus.” Per LXVIII, contra III.

“Secunda pars est de donando solummodo in rebus comestibilibus. [Crossed out]” [41v]

On the side: “Limitatio doni.”

“Prima pars est de donando ut supra in pannis yperperis mille et in rebus comestibilibus yperperis ducentos. [Crossed out]”

“Secunda pars est de de donando ut supra in pannis yperperis mille trecentos [Crossed out: quingentos noningentos] et in rebus comestibilibus yperperis [Crossed out: centum] ducentos.” Per XLIII, contra XXVIII.

On the side: “Pro dando unam galeotam domino dispoto suis expensis.”
“Prima pars est de dando libertatem domino Rectori et eius Minori consilio cum Consilio rogatorum dandi et consentiendi magnifico domino Georgio dispoto Sclauonie, unam ex nostris galleotis magnis armandam suis expensis iuxta requisitionem ipsius domini dispoti factam nostro dominio et prout ipsi domino Rectore et eius Minori consilio cum Consilio rogatorum. Ita tamen quod supra ipsa galeota ire debeat pro capitaneo unus ex nostris nobilibus cum illa comissione que sibi dabitur per Minus consilium cum Consilio rogatorum.” Per LXVIII, contra II.
“Secunda pars est de non dando dictam libertatem. [Crossed out]” [42]

18. 8. 1440, f. 46.

On the side: “Gratia trium de Umbla.”
“Prima pars est cum Maroie Mirchouich, Nicola Radouanouich et Giuchus eius frater die XXI augusti 1438 fuerunt sententialiter condemnati pro certis eorum delictis et excessibus quia venientibus ipsis in forciam [Crossed out: comunis] nostri domini fustigari debeant et ligari ad currum stando ibidem per horas XVI et in carceribus per duos menses. Et per illustrem dominum Georgium dispotum suplicati fuerit ut eius contemplatione dicti condemnati de gratia speciali liberarentur. Ideo de faciendo gratiam ipsis condemnatis quod sint liberi et franchi a dicta eorum condemnatione et sententia condemnatione contemplatione prefati domini dispoti excepto quam a pena II mensium carceris que firma et rata per maneat in suo robare.” Per ballotte LXXIII, contra 9.
“Secunda pars est de non faciendo dictam gratiam. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Gratia Mirossauui Cuzetich.”
“Prima pars est cum Mirossauus Cuzetich alias sententialiter condemnatione fuerit per tunc regimen Ragusium ad cruendum sibi ambos oculos de capite propter delictum et excessum pro cumpetraum ut eius condemnatione contentur. Et intercessione efficacissime domino nostro facta per illustrem dominum dispotum Georgium recta liberationem ipsius Mirossauui mediamine quinque nobilium qui cortizauerunt prefatum dominum. Ideo

contemplatione prefati domini de faciendo gratiam ipsi Mirossauo quod sit totaliter liber et franchus a dictam condemnacione. Ita tamen et cum hoc quod loco ipsius condemnacione et pene idem Mirossauus stare debeat per mensis sex in carceribus nostris ad quos se presentare debeat per totum mensem octobris proxime futurum.” Per ballotte LXIII, contra XX.

“Secunda pars est de non faciendo dictam gratiam. [Crossed out]”

On the side below: “Die primo octobris 1440. contrascriptus Mirossauus se presentavit in carcerem Ragusium in executione contrascripto gratie ut retulit Benedictus custos carcerus.”

12. 10. 1440, f. 55.

On the side: “Gratia facta domino despoto pro grano.”

“Prima pars est de dando libertatem domino Rectori et suo Minori consilio de offerendo illustri domino dispotto Rascie quod possit extrahere de Ragusio usque staria CCL grani et alios staria C vene pro suis denariis.” Per ballotte omnes.

“Secunda pars est de non dando dictam libertatem. [Crossed out]”

7. 3. 1441, f. 87v.

On the side: “Pro mittendo unum nobilem ad dominum dispotum.”

“Prima pars est de dando libertatem domino Rectori et eius Minori consilio cum Consilio rogatorum possendo expendere de denariis nostri comunis usque yperperis LXX pro mittendo ad dominum Georgium dispotum unum nostrum nobilem ac eius voluntate et [Crossed out: pro honorando ipsum] unam gondolam piscariciam pro honorando eum.” Per LXXXXVII, contra VI.

“Secunda pars est de non dando dictam libertatem. [Crossed out]”

8. 3. 1441, f. 88.

On the side: “Fida datam mercatorum Ragusinis unius spetialiter.”

“Prima pars de affidando omnes et singulos mercatores nostros Ragusinos existentes tam in partibus Bosne, Rassie et Sclauonie quam in tenutis Turchorum veniendi Ragusium et eius districtum cum omnibus suis rebus,

mercantiis, bonis et auere ibique standi, morandi et pernoctandi, indeque discedendi tute, libere et secure cum impedimento et molestia reali et personali omnino cessante. Et hoc usque per totum mensem maii proxime futurum non rumpendo primum viagium. Et hanc fidam non intelligantur habere mercatores illi qui sunt in Ragusium scilicet solummodo illi eam habeant qui decetero ab hodierna die venient.” Per LXXXXVII, contra VII.
“Secunda pars est de non dando dictam fidam. [Crossed out]”
On the side below: “Die dicto. Cridatus per Luxam riuerium.”

7. 4. 1441, f. 96v.

On the side: “Pro I^a galea danda domino dispoto.”
“Prima pars est de concedendo magnifico domino dispoto unam galeam nostram ad eius expensas pro quindecim diebus prout petiit domino nostro.” Per C, contra VIII.
“Secunda pars est de excusando nos pro ipsa galea. [Crossed out]”

8. 4. 1441, f. 97.

“Ellectio unius capitanei gallee armande pro magnifico domino dispoto iuxta formam et cum salario et tempore in parte rogatorum hodie superinde capta. Refutauit: Ser Georgius de Goze ballotte L^a, contra XXXI
Ser Pasqualis de Sorgo ballotte 000
Ser Johannes de Mençe ballotte 000.”
On the side: “Terminus datum fuit sibi ad acceptandum et refutandum per totam diem crastinam. Die termini predicti videlicet domenica acceptauit et iurauit contrascriptus ser Georgium.”

13. 4. 1441, f. 97.

On the side: “Gratia domini despotti.”
“Prima pars est de faciendo gratiam quod certam quantitatem vini que in aduentu illustris domini despotti delata est ex vino quod super fuit pro mensa prefati domini et certorum aliorum subditorum prefati domini qui cum ipso venerunt quod intrare possit in portam ciuitatis nostre et poni in Ragusio non obstantibus ordinibus nostris in contrarium cum hoc tamen

quod pro ipso vino solui debeat per comune nostrum dohanerio dohana.”
Per ballotte omnes.

“Secunda pars est de non faciendo dictam gratiam. [Crossed out]”

20. 4. 1441, f. 97v.

On the side: “Pro yperperis 180 expenditi in honorando dominum dispotum.”

“Prima pars est de habendo pro bene expenditos yperperos centum et octuaginta quos dominus Rector cum suo Minori consilio et Consilio rogatorum expensis in honorando magnificum dominum dispotum in rebus comestibilibus [Crossed out: muneribus] in hoc suo aduentu Ragusium.”
Per LXXIII, contra II.

“Secunda pars est de non. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Pro honorando dominum dispotum.”

“Prima pars est de honorando dominum dispotum.” Per LXXIII, contra II.

“Secunda pars est de non honorando. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Pro donando bis in ebdomadam domino dispoto ad yperperis 30 in ebdomada.”

“Prima pars est de dando libertatem domino Rectori et eius Minori consilio donandi bis in ebdomada prefato domino dispoto in rebus comestibilibus prout videbitur dictis domino Rectori et consilio ad summam in totum yperperorum XXX.” Per LXIII, contra XII.

“Secunda pars est de donando ut supra ad sumam yperperorum XX. [Crossed out]”

29. 5. 1441, f. 110v.

On the side: “Fida datam nostris mercatoribus.”

“Prima pars est de affidando omnes et singulos mercatores nostros Ragusinos qui a die saluiconductis [Crossed out: dati] et fide date et concessa die VIII marcii proxime preteriti venerunt huc Ragusium tam de partibus Bossine, Rassie et Sclauonie quam de tenutis Turchorum quod cum personis et arnuxiis eorum tantum tute et libere et sine impedimento

aliquo sibi aliquo aliter inferend possint et valleant, stare, morari et pernoctare in Ragusio et eius pertinentiis et ab hinc ad libitum suum discedere usque per totum mensem septembris proxime futurum. Et similiter de affidando omnes et singulos mercatores nostros in dictis partibus existentes possendi venire Ragusium et eius districtum et pertinentias cum personis et arnuxiis suis tamen. Et ibidem stare, morari et pernoctare et ab hinc discedere tute, libere et secure et sine impedimento usque per totum dictum mensem septembris proxime futurum.” Per ballotte omnes, contra I.

“Secunda pars est de non dando dictam fidam. [Crossed out]”

On the side below: “Proclamatus in locis solitum die 30 maii 1441.”

20. 6. 1441, f. 115.

On the side: “Pro dando parigium domine Despinae.”

“Prima pars est de dando paregium expensis comunis nostri ab hinc usque Buduam domine Despinae.” Per ballotte LXXX, contra III.

“Secunda pars est de non dando. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Determinate una barcha pro dicto paregio.”

“Prima pars est de dando unam barcham magnam armatam ad decem remos pro paregio suprascripto.” Per ballotte XLVIII, contra XXXII.

“Secunda pars est de dando unam barcham armatam solum ad octo remos. [Crossed out]”

12. 7. 1441, f. 120v.

On the side: “Pro galea danda domino dispoto.”

“Prima pars est de dando libertatem domino Rectori et eius Minori consilio [Crossed out: cum Consilio rogatorum] dandi et concedendi magnifico domino dispoto unam ex nostris galeis armandam suis expensis ut eum asociet et deferat quo voluerunt in hoc suo discessu.” Per omnes.

15. 7. 1441, f. 121.

On the side: “Galea armanda pro comitiua domini dispoti.”

“Prima pars est ultra illam galeam que captum est armari ad petitione domini dispotti de armando unam aliam gaelam ex nostris et expensis

comunis nostri que sotiare debeat prefatum dominum quando ab hinc credet.” Per ballotte LXXIII, contra XXII.

“Secunda pars est de non armando. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “De donando prefato domino.”

“Prima pars est de donando prefato domino despoto in rebus comestibilibus.”

Per ballotte omnes, contra IIII.

“Secunda pars est de non donando. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Limitatias doni.”

“Prima pars est de donando prefato domino in rebus comestibilibus de quibus videbitur domino Rectori et suo Paruo consilio yperperis sexaginta.”

Per ballotte omnes, contra VI.

“Secunda pars est de donando prefato domini in rebus comestibilibus et de quibus videbitur ut supra yperperis quin [Writing discontinued]. [Crossed out]”

20. 7. 1441, f. 121v.

On the side: “II nobiles elligendi in Sclauoniam pro ambaxiata exponenda basse cum Petri de Primo.”

“Prima pars est de dando libertatem domino Rectori et suo Paruo consilio cum Consilio rogatorum quod possint elligere duos ex nobilibus nostris in partibus Sclauonie existentibus cum quibus Petrus de Primo ellectus ambaxiator esse debeat ad exponendum ambasiatam nostram basse Romanie.” Per ballotte LXXXVIII, contra VII.

“Secunda pars est de non dando dictam libertatem. [Crossed out]”

31. 7. 1441, f. 124.

“Prima pars est de dando libertatem domino Rectori et suo Paruo consilio cum Consilio rogatorum quod possint illos duos nobiles nostros mittere cum Petro de Primo de Sclauonia ad bassam Romanie sicut captum est aut illos deponere et non mittere prout et sicut ipsi domino Rectori et suo Minori consilio cum Consilio rogatorum melius videbitur. Et quod

etiam facere possint et dare illam comissione superinde que ipsis domino Rectori et suo Paruo consilio cum Consilio rogatorum videbitur. Et quod etiam mittendo dictos duos nobiles cum dicto Petro in ipsa ambaxiata quod dictus dominus Rector cum dicto Minori consilio ac cum Consilio rogatorum prouidere possint ipsis de expensa oris famulorum et equorum fienda pro ipsis nobilibus prout ipsis dominus Rectori et suo Paruo consilio cum Consilio rogatorum videbitur.” Per ballotte CVI, contra VIII.

“Secunda pars est de stando prout stamus. [Crossed out]”

28. 9. 1441, f. 135.

On the side: “Fida mercatorum.”

“Prima pars est de affidando omnes et singulos mercatores nostros Ragusinos tam qui a die VIII marci proxime preteriti citra venerunt Ragusium quam qui omnia venient deinceps usque per totum mensem januari proxime futuris tam de partibus Bossine, Rasie, Zente, Sclauonie quam etiam de tenutis Turchorum quod cum personis et arnixiis eorum tamen tute et libere et sine impedimendo aliquo possint et valleant venire, stare, morari et pernoctare in hac ciuitate nostra Ragusii et eius pertinentiis et ab hinc ad libitum suum discedere durante tempore presentis fide. Et hoc non rumpendo presens viagium.” Per ballotte LXVII, contra XXVIII.

“Secunda pars est de non fidando. [Crossed out]”

On the side below: “Die XXVIII septembris 1441 cridatis in locis consuetis.”

5. 2. 1442, f. 167v.

On the side: “Fida data mercatoribus.”

“Prima pars est de affidando omnes et singulos mercatores nostros Ragusinos tam qui a die VIII martii proxime preteriti citra venerunt Ragusium quam qui etiam venient deinceps usque per totum mensem marcii proxime futurum tam de partibus Bosne, Rasie, Zente quam quam [Original] etiam de tenutis Turchorum quia cum personis, equis et arnisiis eorum tamen tute, libere et sine aliquo impedimento possint et valeant venire, stare, morari et pernoctare in hac ciuitate nostra Ragusii et eius pertinentiis et ab hinc pro libito eorum voluntatis discedere durante tempore presentis fide.

Et non rumpendo presentis viagium. Ita tamen et cum hoc quod creditis predictorum affidatorum possit cartas et instrumenta contra ipsos suos debitores affidatos summare scilicet nequaue eos artare nec molestare.” Per LXXVII, contra XXVII.

“Secunda pars est de non dando dictam fidam. [Crossed out]”

ACTA CONSILII MAIORIS VII (1442–1445)

31. 3. 1442, f. 7v.

On the side: “Fida mercatoribus.”

“Prima pars est de prorogando affidam alias factam nostris mercatoribus videlicet de de [Original] affidando omnes et singulos mercatores nostros Raguseos tam qui Ragusium venerunt et affidati fuerunt per totum mensem martii presentem quam qui etiam venient per totum mensem aprilis proxime venturis de partibus Bosine, Rasie, Zente et de tenutis Turchorum quia cum personis, equis, arnixiis quam eorum tamen tute libere et sine aliquo impedimento possint et valeant venire, stare, morari et pernoctare in ciuitate nostra Ragusi et eius pertinentiis et ab hinc pro libito eorum voluntatis discedere durante tempore presens fide. Et non rompendo presentis viagium. Ita tamen et cum hoc quod creditores predictorum debitorum affidatorum possint cartas et instrumenta suorum debitorum contra et supra ipsos suos debitores summare scilicet nequaue eos artare nec molestare.” Per LXXXV. “Secunda pars est de prolongando dictam fidam per medium mensem maii proxime futurum ut supra. [Crossed out]” Per XVIII.

“Secunda pars est de prolongando dictam fidam per medium [Crossed out: totum] mensem maii proxime futurum ut supra.” Per CXVIII. [Crossed out]

“Prima pars est de prorogando affidam alias datam mercatoribus nostris Ragusium que spirat per [Crossed out: totum] mensem presentem.” Per CXVIII.

“Secunda pars est de non prorogando. [Crossed out]”

5. 5. 1442, f. 16.

“Prima pars est quod Petrus de Primo ambaxiator noster dum se repperiret in presenti viagio visitare debeat bassam Romanie cum donis si idem bassa veneat in partibus Sclauonie.” Per ballotte LVI, contra XLI.

“Secunda pars est de visitando cum sine donis. [Crossed out]”

4. 3. 1443, f. 90.

On the side: “Pro donando comiti Giuray.”

“Prima pars est de donando comiti Giuray nobili dispoti pro subuentione et auxilii eius parigii ituro Spaletum.” Per omnes.

“Secunda pars est de non donando. [Crossed out]”

On the side: “Pro eodem.”

“Prima pars est de donando dicto Giuray yperperis treginta dicta occaxione.” Per LXXIII, contra XV.

“Secunda pars est de donando sibi yperperis XXV. [Crossed out]”

6. 3. 1444, f. 161bis.

On the side: “Pro I^a barcha danda I calugiero.”

“Prima pars est de dando libertatem domino Rectori et suo Minori consilio quod dare possint et debeant unam barcham calugiario nuntio filie domini despoti que ipsum ire volente ad dominum despotum conducere debeat usque Spaletum ad expensis comunis videlicet ab yperperis XXX inferius.” Per LXXXX.

“Secunda pars est de non dando dictam libertatem. [Crossed out]”

11. 9. 1444, f. 200v.

“Prima pars est de donando cursoribus qui venerunt a domino despoto cum nouis pacis in pannis et vestibus.” Per ballotte omnes.

“Secunda pars est de non donando. [Crossed out]”

“Prima pars est de donando suprascriptis in pannis et vestibus yperperis LXXX.” Pro XLVII, contra XV.

“Secunda pars est de donando in pannis et vestibus iperperis L. [Crossed out]”

7. 4. 1445, f. 260v-261.

“Prima pars est de dando libertatem domino Rectori et suo Paruo consilio cum Consilio rogatorum dando unam barcham armatam ad octo remos ambaxiatori domini despotti Rassie que cum defferat Venetias et a Veneciis huc Ragusium repportet expensam comunis nostri.” Per ballotte omnes.

“Secunda pars est de non dando dictam libertatem. [Crossed out]” [261]

“Prima pars est de mittendo ambaxiatam nobilium nostrorum ad illustrem dominum despotum Rassie.” Per ballotte omnes.

“Secunda pars est de non mittendo. [Crossed out]”

“Prima pars est de mittendo duos nobiles in ipsa ambaxiata.” Per ballotte omnes.

“Secunda pars est de mittendo unum nobilem solum. [Crossed out]”

“Prima pars est de mittendo ipsam ambaxiatam cum donis.” Per ballotte omnes, contra I.

“Secunda pars est de mittendo sine donis. [Crossed out]” [261v]

5. 5. 1445, f. 268v-269v.

“Prima pars est de faciendo donum mittendum per ambaxiatorum missuros domino despoto Rassie solommodo ipsi domino despoto.” Per ballotte LVII, contra XXXV.

“Secunda pars est de faciendo ipsum ipsi domino despoto, domine despotisse et filiis insimul. [Crossed out]”

“Prima pars est de donando prefato domino despoto in pannis yperperis duos milie.” Per ballotte LXXVIII, contra XV.

“Secunda pars est de donando in pannis ut supra iperperis mille quingentos. [Crossed out]”

“Prima pars est de dando de sallario predictis ambaxiatorum pro tribus mensibus ad yperperis ducentos quinquaginta pro quolibet eorum. Et iperperum unum [Crossed out: de pluri] pro qualibet die [Crossed out: et] qua de pluri starent et quolibet eorum.” Per ballotte LVI, contra 37.

“Secunda pars est de dando cuilibet eorum pro dicto tempore ad yperperis CCXX et iperperum unum pro qualibet qua de pluri starent ut supra dictum est. [Crossed out]”

“Prima pars est de augendo penam ipsis ambaxiatori ultra penam statuti. Et qui vadit per plateam non habeat excusacione.” Per ballotte LXXVII, contra XXVII.

“Secunda pars est de non augendo. [Crossed out]”

“Prima pars est augendo penam ipsius ambaxiatoris de yperperis quatringsentis dicto modo.” Per ballotte LXXVIII, contra XVI.

“Secunda pars est de augendo penam iperperis CCC. [Crossed out]” [268v]

“Prima pars est de dando ipsis ambaxiatoris equos XIII et ultra ipsos XIII alios duos ducendos ad dexteram respectu personarum ipsorum ambaxiatorum.” Per ballotte LXXXIII, contra X.

“Secunda pars est de dando solummodo equos XIII. [Crossed out]”

“Prima pars est de dando ipsis ambaxiatoris famulos XIII inter quos sit unus expenditore.” Per ballotte LXXX, contra III.

“Secunda pars est de dando solummodo famulos X inter quos sit expenditor. [Crossed out]”

“Prima pars est de dando cuilibet ipsorum famulorum de salario ad rationem mensis iperperis quatuor et duplum expenditori.” Per ballotte LXI, contra XXXIII.

“Secunda pars est de dando cuilibet ipsorum famulorum de salario ad rationem mensis iperperis III et duplum expenditori. [Crossed out]”

“Prima pars est de limitando expensam ipsis ambaxiatorum.” Per ballotte LXXXI, contra III.

“Secunda pars est de non limitando. [Crossed out]”

“Prima pars est de dando ipsis ambaxiatori pro expensam oris eorum famulorum et equorum ad iperperis decem singulum die qua stabunt in

ipsa ambaxiata et si minus expenderent illud quod superisse restituere debeant per sacramentum.” Per ballotte LXXVIII, contra XV.

“Secunda pars est de dando dictis ambaxiatoris modo supradicto ad yperperis octo singulum die. [Crossed out]”

“Prima pars est de dando ambobus ambaxiatorum pro massariciis quas pro eorum usu secum de suis deffecere debeant iperperis X.” Per ballotte XLVII, contra XLIII.

“Secunda pars est de dando iperperis XII. [Crossed out]” [269]

“Prima pars est de dando libertatem domino Rectori et suo Paruo consilio cum Consilio rogatorum pro expedicione suprascriptorum ambaxiatorum iturorum ad dominum despotum Rassie possendi inuenire et acipere denaris undeconque et a quibusconque eis melius videbitur ad prode de quinque pro centenario in anno et pro ipsa decausa obligando comune nostrum et bona eius cum clausulis et cautelis opportunis. Et etiam acipiendi de quibusconque denariis depositorum comunis nostri excepto quam dicti depositi mortalitatis. Et etiam faciendo comissionem ipsis ambaxiatoris et ipsos ab hinc expediendo in omnibus et per omnia cum ea plena libertate qua possit facere presens Maius consilium.” Per ballotte LXXXI, contra III.

“Secunda pars est de non dando ipsam libertatem. [Crossed out]” [269v]

11. 5. 1445, f. 270v.

“Ellectio alterius ambassatoris ituri ad dominum despotum fieri restantis loco ser Zupani de Bona qui refutauit

Ser Nicola Mat. de Georgio ballotte LX, contra LIII.”

ACTA CONSILII MAIORIS VIII (1445–1447)

22. 6. 1445, f. 4v.

“Prima pars est de faciendo gratiam comiti Stipano ambaxiatori domini despoti venienti de Venecis quod possit ponere et trahere pro portando

dicto domino despoto quartas VI maluasiae in obstantibus ordinibus nostris in contrarium.” Per ballotte omnes, contra I.

“Secunda pars est de non faciendo. [Crossed out]”

ACTA CONSILII MAIORIS IX (1449–1453)

21. 4. 1449, f. 24.

On the side: “Gratia ser Nicole de Restis.”

“Prima pars est de faciendo gratiam ser Nicolao domini Pasqualis de Restis alias sentenciato per Consilium rogatorum ad standum inclusus in thuri supra carcerre per unum mensem. In qua thuri stetit primo V et modo quatuor dies quia attentis secretus rogationibus quas illustris despotus Rassie per suas literas facit domino nostro. Idem ser Nicolaus sit liber et franchus ab ipsa sententia videlicet a residuo temporis quod restat ad standum in ipsa thuri iuxta formam ipsius sententiae.” Per LXXXI, contra XV.

“Secunda pars est de non faciendo dictam gratiam. [Crossed out]”

20. 6. 1449, f. 44-45v.

“Azo che li merchadanti nostri i quali usano a portar de li pani et altre merchantie ale parte de Schiauonia e Bossina se vegna a dar habilitade de poter usar con le merchantie nelle dete prouintie cum qualche lor utilidade et scuto pare alli officiali azo che se debia prouder in questo muodo et forma zoe:

1 Prima che doue li merchadanti nostri Ragusei per auanti pagauano per lo tene deli pani et altre merchantie che se traуano per terra ferma quatro pro cento de quello che vigneуano esse stimati essi panni et merchantie per lo officiali nostri de la stima che ora et damo auanti chadaun deli merchadanti nostri Ragusei el qual vegnera a trar alguna quantitate de li panni et merchantie per terra ferma solamente pagar debia tre per cento per quanto modo iera la stima deli pagni et merchantie che vignera a trare. Et simelmente che la doana schiaua doue per auanti pagaua sei per cento de la stima de li panni et altre merchantie che vigneua esser tante ora et damo

in auanti pagar debia dodexe per cento quanto modo iera la stima deli panni et merchantie che se trare. Et per cessare dele differentie soleuano esser tra li merchadanti et ufficiali nostri per lo stimar de li panni che damo inanzi chadauno panno cinquantino el qual vignera esser trato se intenda esser stimato ducatos XIII et chadauna peza de panno de LX simelmente se intenda esser stimata ducatos XVIII. Et se caso fosse che alguna peza de panno vignesse ad esser trata la qual fosse de piu portade che de LX allora li ufficiali nostri de la stima habiano libertade de possit stimare quela quanto ala lor discretion paresse. Dechiando che Ragusei nostri quanto al beneficio del presente [44] ordene solamente se intendano quelli che hano le lor habitation et fameglie in Ragusa ouer in la tegnuta de Ragusa. Et simelmente li Narentini et altri Ragusei che non hano le loro habitation et fameglie in Ragusa ouer in la soa tegnuta se intendano esser sotoposti al pagamento dela deta doana schiaua firmata. Per ballotte CVI, contra XL.

2 Item azo che cum alguna arte ne dolo non vegna ad esser fraudata la sopradeta gabella schiaua per lo trare de li panni et altre merchantie che se algun Raguseo nostro da mo inanzi sera trouato che tragesse per soa alguna quantita de li panni et altre merchantie la qual fosse de raxon de pagar la doana schiaua che tal Raguseo cussi trouato pagar debia de pena al comun nostro per ogni fiata che fosse contrafato a raxon de XXV per cento per la valluta et stima de li deti panni et altre merchantie cum li quali fosse fraudata la deta gabella de la qual veramente pena una terza parte sia delo accusator per la accusa del qual se trouasse la veritade un'altra terza parte delli doanieri dela doana nostra grande et de li ufficiali della stima l'altra terza parte delo comun nostro. Et pur mente de mancho oltra la deta pena la deta gabela de XII pro cento pagare ancora se debia per tal quantitate de panni o altre merchantie trouate in fraude. Et tanto li ufficiali nostri doanieri dela doana grande quanto quelli della stima quante fiate hauesseno sospitione sopra de algun nostro Raguseo che hauesse contrafato allo presente ordene possano intrometer li libri et quaderni, carte e ogni altra scrittura de chadaun talle de chi hauesseno sospitione per trouane et inquire la vertiade. Per ballotte CXXXI, contra XV.

3 Item passati che serano mesi tre dalo di che lo presente prouidimento et ordene sera fermato in grande consiglio [44v] che delli in auanti [~~Crossed out: alguna~~] obliga nessuna ne cautella publica ouer priuata che se trouasse esser sopra de algun de li schiaui della terra ferma tanto in la notaria o cancelaria nostra quanto etiamdio per scritto de mano in presentia delli guarenti non voglia ne tegna ne possa esser de algun vallor ne sopra de quela possa esser ministrata iusticia ne fato raxon alguna. Per ballotte CVIII, contra XXXVII.

4 Item che algun nostro Raguseo o chi per Raguseo se appella el qual damo inanzi vignisse a trare per terra ferma alguna quantitate delli panni o delle altre merchantie non possa per modo ne ingegno algun de tal quantitate de panni o altre merchantie che hauesse trato suora vendita translatione ne pato cum algun se prima tal quantitate de panni o d'altre merchantie trate non hauera trapassato [~~Crossed out: lo luogo et territorio de Zemerno~~] zoe quele che anderano la via de Schiauonia lo luogo et territorio de Zemerno. Et quele che anderano la via de Bossina lo luogo et territorio de Chogniz soto pena a chadaun tal che contrafacesse de pagar de pena allo comun nostro per chadauna volta se contrafacesse a raxon de XXV pro cento per la valuta et stima delli deti panni et altre merchantie per le qual se vignisse a contrafare alli presente ordene della qual pena la mitade sta dello accusator per la accusa del qual se trouasse la veritade. Et l'altra mitade sia del comun nostro. Et simelmente che algun Raguseo o chi per Raguseo s'appella lo qual vignisse a trar per mar alguna quantitate delli panni o d'altre merchantie non possa quele condur ne far condur per mare ad algun luogo vicino alla citade nostra per miglia cento per caxon de vender quelli alli Schiaui soto quela medema pena a chadaun che contrafacesse et per chadauna volta fosse contrafato la qual pena partir et esser debia come de sopra nelo presente capitolo e dechiarito. Dechiarando sempre [45] che zaschadun Raguseo che andasse per bestiame alla via de Schiauonia possa portar et vender et baratar in qualuncha luogo li piasera da qua dello deto luogo de Zemerno per fina a peze quatro de panni per zascaduna persona d'essi si veramente che per la montanza dessi panni che hauesse portado sia

tegnudo a condur de qua tanto bestiam che sia per la deta montanza. Et non condugando che allora se intenda hauer contrafato et resti sotoposto alla pena del presente ordene. Per ballotte CXXX, contra XVI.

5 Et questi ordeni durare debiano anni doi da sia computadi dallo di che serano firmati in grande consiglio. Et sempre in questo mezo se possan zontar sminuir reformar et corezer per la mazor parte delli nostri consigli. Et che misser lo Retor cum lo pizol consiglio che in quela sera per tre mesi auanti lo compire deli deti doi anni sian tagnuti a portar li presenti ordeni in consiglio grande per consigliar et deliberar de refermar quelli ouer quelli azontar sminuir et refermar et defineter in tuto o in parte secondo che allo deto grande consiglio paresse soto pena de iperperi vinticinque tanto allo Retor quanto a chadaun delli consiglieri che in quela se trouarseno. Per ballotte CXXXVIII, contra VII.” [45v]

At the beginning on the side: “Eodem die proclamatis in habia comunis Ragusi publice et altra voce Luxam Cranchouich riuerius comunis.” [44]

On the side: “Ordo sine prouidimentum supra dohana Ragusii et sclaba captum ut ante apperet ad capitulum ad capitulum.”

On the side next to the decision number 4: “Die XXVI february 1450. Captum fuit quod qui facit mercantias cum dominiis possit eis vendere omnes mercantias soluendo dohanam a Cemerno et Cogniç citra non obstante presenti ordine.” [45]

At the bottom: “Nota quod presens ordo fuit firmatus inperpetuum prout apperet per partem captam sub die XVIII junii 1451.” [45v]

16. 5. 1450, f. 114.

“Prima pars est quod ambassiator domini despoti possint extrahere et portare illas raubas quas emit in Venetiis pro prefato domini despot libere et sine solutione alicuius gabelle.” Ballotte CXVIII, contra XVIII.

“Secunda est quod non possit portare sine solutione. [Crossed out]”

15. 5. 1451, f. 192-193.

On the side: “Pro ambassiatam mittenda ad dominum despotum Rassie.”

“Prima pars est de mittendo ambassiatam ad dominum despotum Rassie.”

Per LXXXVIII, contra VI.

“Secunda pars est de non mittendo. [Crossed out]”

“Prima pars est de dando libertatem domino Rectori et eius Minori consilio leuandi a depositum comunis saluo quam a depositum mortalitatem yperperis mille pro necessitatibus comunis nostri.” Per LXXXI, contra III.

“Secunda pars est de non dando. [Crossed out]”

“Prima pars est de mittendo duos nobiles in dicta ambassata ad prefatum dominum despotum.” Per LXXXII, contra III.

“Secunda pars est de mittendo unum. [Crossed out]”

“Prima pars est de mittendo eos cum donis.” Per CXXXI, contra VI.

“Secunda pars est de mittendo eos sine donis. [Crossed out]”

“Prima pars est de mittendo eos cum donis iperperorum mille in pannis et aliis rebus prout domino Rectori et Consilio videbitur.” Per LXXXXVIII, contra XVII.

“Secunda pars est de mittendo eos cum donis iperperorum 800 ut supra. [Crossed out]” [192]

“Prima pars est de dando de salario dictis ambassiatoris qui ibunt pro tribus menses ad iperperis CCL^{ta} pro quolibet eorum et iperperum unum pro qualibet die qua de pluri steterint.” Per C, contra XXXII.

“Secunda pars est de dando cuilibet eorum pro dicto tempore ad iperperis CCXX et iperperum unum pro qualibet die qua de pluri steterint ut supra. [Crossed out]”

“Prima pars est de dando ipsis ambassiatoribus equos XIII et ultra ipsos 14 alios duos ducendos ad manum pro personis dictorum ambassiatorum.” Per CXXIII, contra XVI.

“Secunda pars est de dando eis solummodo equos XIII. [Crossed out]”

“Prima pars est de dando ipsis ambassiatoribus famulos XII inter quos sit unus expeditor.” Per CXXXII, contra VII.

“Secunda pars est de dando eis solummodo famulos X inter quos sit expeditor. [Crossed out]”

“Prima pars est de dando cuilibet ipsorum famulorum de salario iperperis quatuor in mense et duplum expeditori.” Per CXXVIII, contra X.

“Secunda pars est de dando cuilibet ipsorum famulorum de salario iperperis IIII cum dimidio in mense et expeditori duplum. [Crossed out]”

“Prima pars est de limitando expensam ipsis ambassiatorum.” Per CXXXVI, contra III.

“Secunda pars est de non limitando. [Crossed out]”

“Prima pars est de dando ipsis ambassiatorum pro expensis oris eorum famulorum et equorum ad iperperis X pro singula die qua stabunt in ipsa ambassata. Et si minus expenderent illud quod superisse restituere debeant comuni nostro per sacramentum.” Per CVII, contra XXXII.

“Secunda pars est de dando eis solummodo iperperis VIII in die ut supra. [Crossed out]” [192v]

“Prima pars est de dando ambobus ambassiatoribus pro massariciis quas pro eorum usu secum de suis portabunt iperperis decem.” Per CXXII, contra XVII.

“Secunda pars est de dando eis iperperis XII dicta de causa. [Crossed out]”

“Prima pars est de augendo penam ipsis ambassiatoris ultra penam statuti. Et qui vadit per plateam non habeat excusationem.” Per CXXIII, contra XV.

“Secunda pars est de non augendo. [Crossed out]”

“Prima pars est de augendo penam ipsis ambassiatoris de iperperis CCCC dicto modo.” Per CXXIII, contra XV.

“Secunda pars est de augendo penam de iperperis CCC.

”Prima pars est de dando libertatem domino Rectori et eius Minori consilio cum Consilio rogatorum possendi leuare de depositis comunis nostri

excepto quam de depositis mortalitatis denarios opportunos pro expeditione dictorum ambassiatororum et faciendi et dandi eis comissionem que dictis domino Rectori et consilio [~~Crossed out: et consilio~~] suo cum Consilio rogatorum videbitur.” Per CXXXVII, contra III.

“Secunda pars est de non dando. [~~Crossed out~~]” [193]

25. 5. 1451, f. 194.

“Ellectio duorum ambassiatorum ad illustrem dominum dominum Georgium despotum Rassie Ser Blasius de Ragnina.” Ballotte LXXIII, contra LVIII, extra VII.

26. 5. 1451, f. 194.

“Ellectio unius ambassiatoris fieri restantis ad illustrissimum dominum despotum Rassie Ser Jacobus Mar. de Gondola.” Ballotte LXXIII, contra LVIII, extra XIII.

28. 4. 1452, f. 240.

“Prima pars est de firmando additionem ordinis supra mercantiis allatam et lectam in presenti consilio.” Per omnes, contra I.

“Secunda pars est de non firmando. [~~Crossed out~~]”

“Perche l'ordene posto in libro viride a capitoli 216 dixè che ogni Raguseo che chargasse et portasse merchantie comenzando da Durazo fin a Spalato debia pagar la gabella come in Ragusa. Et hoc a par che siano alcuni che vedendo lo deto ordene non se stender pui oltra seno da Durazo a Spalato conduseno li arzenti et altre loro merchantie de Bosna et Schiauonia et quele tal loco merchantie deschargano a tenguta et altri luogi piu oltra de Spalato. Et poi delle conduxeno a Venexia et in la Marche et altri luogi in danno del nostro comun per tanto vorando obuiar a tal danni et manchamenti dela nostra republica par alli officiali a zio deputadi de azontar al deto ordene che come dixèua da Durazo a Spalato che ora diga.

Che chadauno Raguseo o chi per Raguseo se appella el qual dal primo de zenaro proximo passato fina mo hauesse conducto et damo in auanti

conduce o fara condur de qualonche luogo o parte che se voglia arzenti et altre merchantie et quelli ouer quele dischargere o fata dischargar de Durazo inclusiue in fina a Segna et da Segna inclusiue in fina a Durazo siano tignuti denuntiar infra uno mexe alli nostri officiali de la stima et pagar la doana de tal arzenti et altre merchantie in Ragusa eo modo et forma che se contrey in lo deto ordine.

Lo qual in tute altre cosse et capitoli reste fermo et rato come in quello se contien.”

On the side below: “Eodem die proclamatus per Luxam riuerium comunis in locis publicis.”

10. 10. 1452, f. 259v-260.

“Prima pars est de firmando prouidimentum allatum et lectum in presenti consilio supra mercantiis Schiauorum et Vlacorum.” Per LXXXXVIII, contra VIII.

“Secunda pars est de non firmando. [Crossed out]”

“Voiano obuiar alle malicie et proueder che la terra nostra habia habondantia et quel merchantia de le cosse che se conuien par a messer lo Rector cum el suo consiglio.

Chel se debia far crida in loga al usato che nissuno Raguseo o chi per Raguseo s’apella ne altri abitanti in Ragusa sia chi se voie damo auanti olsano ne preummano per algun modo ouer ingegno azetar in recomandatia ouer deposito in caxa, stazon ouer magazen ne altro luogo alguno boturo caxo schiauine sachi lane et caxe fosseno portate auender a Ragusa per alguno Schiau o Vlacho soto pena de iperperi XXV per chadaun che contrafacesse et chadauna uolta [259v] dela qual pena la mita debia esser del comun nostoro et l’altra mita del accusator se per la soa accusa se hauera la veritade et sia tegnuto de credenza. Et questo si fa azio li deti Vlachi o Schiaui che adduxeno tal merchantie habiano caxon de venderle publicamente in piazze per lo ben comun et non in particularite et beneficio de alcuni.” [260]

On the side: “Cridatum in logia per Luxam riuerium comunis die X octobris 1452.”

ACTA CONSILII MAIORIS X (1453–1456)

12. 7. 1453, f. 28.

“Prima pars est de dando heredibus quondam ser Blasii de Ragnina pro salario ipsius ser Blasii qui fuit ambassator noster apud illustrem dominum despotum Seruie tantum quantum habuit ser Jacobus de Gondola eius socius ac pro tanto tempore quanto habuit dictus ser Jacobus non obstante quod dictis ser Blasius mortuus fuerit ante.” Per LXX, contra XXV, extra VIII.

“Secunda pars est de non dando. [Crossed out]”

5. 12. 1453, f. 50v.

On the side: “Quia non possit fieri aliqua donatio nisi in notaria aut in cancellaria in Ragusio et extra Ragusium nisi cum scripto manus et cum quinque testibus.”

“Per obuiar alle malicie et schiauar li danum inconuenienti et schandali li quali poriano occorrere et intrauegnir per mezo delli catiui par a misser lo Rettor et suo consiglio de proueder.

Che da mo auanti nessuno Raguseo ni che per Raguseo se appella cossi maschio como femena sia de che stato grado et condition se voglia possa far donation ad algun inter viuos de cossa stabele saluo che per notaria o cancellaria de Ragusa siando in Ragusa o suo destritto ma se fosseno fora in algun logo doue non podesseno hauer notaro como e in Bosna et in Schiauonia et simel luogi ben possano far ogni donatione vorano di mente sia fatto el scritto de man propria de co’lui fara la donatione sapiano scriuer et non sapiano scriuer per man de uno altro de chi si sidera et sottoscritto per man de cinque boni et idonei guarenti cossi se fosse scritto de man propria como per man de altri. Et alguna donatione la qual fosse fatta per algun modo contra el presente ordine non sia valida ma totalmente sia de nessun valore. Non intendandi in questo quelli li quali hano li heredi li quali non pono far donation secondo l’ordine del statuto posto in libro quarto a capituli 48 al qual per questo prouedimento non sia algun preiudicio.

Et questo ordine sempre in tuto et in parte se possa zontar, corezer et in meglio reformar o cassar per la mazor parte delli nostri conseglii.”

6. 8. 1454, f. 113v.

“Perche el paexe de Romanie, de Albanie et lo paexe de Schiauonia sotoposti al signor despoth per le nouita soprauegnono alla zornata e in grandissimo barbuglio la qualcosa torna in grandissimo danno et senestro alli merchadanti nostri. Impero volendo proueder che li merchadanti nostri li quali sono in li ditti paexi possano liberamente vignir a Ragusi [Crossed out: per] par alli officiali a zio deputadi de proueder in questo modo et forma zoe:

Che tuti li merchadanti li quali sono venuti delli ditti paexi de Romania, Albanie et del paexe de Schiauonia sotoposta al signor despoth da di XX luglio proximo passato fin al presente a Ragusi et li quali vignerano a Ragusi per tuto el mese de decembris proximo futuro habiano alle loco persone, caualli et arnixe quela medema fida et franchicia la qual se ha alla festa de misser San Biasio del mese de febraro per tuto el ditto mese de decembris proximo futuro excepto [Crossed out: che] che cadaun chi vora posse sentenciar le carte de notaro sopra li ditti merchadanti et loco beni ma non possano esser astreti li ditti merchadanti in le loro persone ne in loro arnixe et caualli. Et che per la presente fida et franchicie non se intenda esser toto el presente viazo.”

On the side: “Proclamatus eodem die per Johannem Vrtich.”

Below: “Prolongata per totum mensem maii proxime futurum de 1454 prout apparet sub die XII decembris 1454.”

10. 10. 1454, f. 125.

“Prima pars est de dando fidam et saluumconductum Xoucho Zeglubinouich videlicet persone et arnisis suis pro omnibus et singulis debitis per totum decembris proxime futurum attento si dictus Xouchus non esset egrotus et fuisset in Sclauonia tempore fide date aliis mercatoribus nostris sub die 6 augusti proxime preteriti ipse Xouchus vereretur beneficio dicte fide date mercatoribus se venisset de Sclauonia.” Per LXXXVIII, contra XXIII.

“Secunda pars de non dando. [Crossed out]”

28. 10. 1454, f. 129-129v.

“Prima pars est de mittendo unum ex nobilibus nostris pro oratore [Crossed out: personam] ad illustres et magnificos dominos despotum et gubernatorem et alios dominos baronos Hungarie futuros cum ipsis.” Per CLXXV, contra III.

“Secunda pars est de non mittendo. [Crossed out]”

“Prima pars est de [Crossed out: mittendo] dando dicto nobili ituro ambassatori ut supra [Crossed out: in totum equos quinque et famulos tres et] pro dicto viagio in totum iperperos quingentos cum hoc quod post-- [Indiscernible] ibi applicuerit stare ibidem debeat per unum mensem continium et si de pluri ibi stabit hinc debeat iperperos quatuor singula die. Et quod dictis nobilis non possit refutare sub pena iperperorum CL. Et quod teneatur recedere hinc usque ad sex dies postquam electus fuerit et quod dictus nobilis expensis suis teneatur conducere secum equos quinque et famulos tres.” Per CLXVI, contra VII.

“Secunda pars est de faciendo aliter. [Crossed out]”

“Prima pars est quod suprascriptis nobilis teneatur recedere hinc postquam fuerit ut electus infra dies sex sub pena ipsorum centum.” Per CLXVIII, contra V.

“Secunda pars est de faciendo aliter. [Crossed out]” [129]

“Prima pars est de dando libertatem domino Rectori et eius Minori consilio cum Consilio rogatorum mittendi unum ex nobilibus nostris pro oratorem ad illustres et magnificos dominos gubernatorem, despotum et alios duos et baronos Hungarie futuros cum ipsis. Et possendi leuare de depositis comunis nostri exceptis depositis mortalitatem denarios opportunos pro expeditione ipsius ambassatoris. Et dando ipsi ambassatori commissionem prout ipsis Rectori et minori consilio cum Consilio rogatorum videbitur. [Crossed out]”

“Secunda pars est de non dando.” Per CXXXIII, contra XLIII.

“Prima pars est de dando libertatem domino Rectori et eius Minori consilio cum Consilio rogatorum leuando de depositis comunis nostri exceptis

depositum mortalitatem denarios opportunos pro expeditione suprascriptis ambassatoris et donorum et dandi ipsi ambassiatori commissionem prout ipsis domino Rectori et eius Minori consilio cum Consilio rogatorum videbitur.” Per CLXXII, contra VI.

“Secunda pars est de non dando. [Crossed out]” [129v]

30. 12. 1454, f. 146.

“Prima pars est de prorogando fidam Xoucho Zeglubinouich per totum mensem maii proxime futurum cum illis modis et condicionibus quibus data fuit fida mercatoribus nostris qui venerunt de Sclauonia, Seruia, Zenta et Romania.” CXII, contra XXV.

“Secunda pars est de non prorogando. [Crossed out]”

24. 10. 1455, f. 209-210.

“Forma ordinis capti in presenti Maiori consilio de contrafacientibus dohanis nostris etc.”

“A zio chel se vegna ad obuiar quanto se puo alle malicie de quelli nostri cittadini li quali in preiudicio del comun nostro contrafano ale dohane nostre in cauar de Ra- [209] -gusi in nome suo le mercantie de li Schiaui per tansar che essi Schiaui non vegnano a pagar el [Crossed out: dito] dicto limetado per le doane nostre par ali oficiali a zio deputadi chel se debia proueder in questo modo et forma zoe:

Che damo auanta tuti li Ragusei o chi per Ragusei se appellano li quali vorano trar de Ragusi panni o altre mercantie debiano dar in nota alla stima in qual luogo vorano condur et portar tal panni ouer mercantie li quali officiali dela stima debiano in le pollice notar tali luogi doue li merchadanti dirano voler condur et portar tal panni ouer altre merchandantie. Et essi merchadanti siano tenuti tal ponni ouer altre merchandantie portar in quelli luogi li quali serano specificadi in le pollice soto pena de pagar la dohana schiaua al comun nostro per essi panni ouer altre merchandantie oltra quello hauesse no pagato como Ragusei. Et a zio chel se possa hauer noticia che tali merchadanti portarano li diti panni ouer altre mercantie in li luogi specificadi in le pollize che essi merchadanti se debiano guarentar cum li cintilhomini nostri

li quali serano in diti luogi et non essendo cintilhomini cum li pluy vechy de puouolo [~~Crossed out: ouer~~] li quali se trouarano in tal luogi et sollicitar che tal cintilhomini o pouolani infra doy mesi per lor litera fazano fede alli dohaneri nostri como tal merchadante hauera in tal luogo conduto tanti pani ouer altre merchadantie zoe quello sera. Et questo soto la pena predicta saluo et reseruato sempre che li nostri merchadanti in ogni luogo senza in corso di alguna pena possano merchantar cum li signori. [209v]

Item che alguno Raguseo o chi per Raguseo se appella non possa qua a Ragusi ne fuori in Bossina, Seruia et Rassia ne altro luogo far acordio et compositione cum alguno Schiauo de portar a tal Schiauo alguna summa de pani ouer merchandantie in algun luogo per che se tali acordii se potesseno far seria aperta la via a contrafar alle dohane nostre de quello ouer quelli el qual ouer li quali constasse hauer fato tal acordio o compositione per da tuta quella summa de panni ouer altre merchandantie per la qual fosse fato tal acordio et de pluy star debia mexi tre in prexon. Et se accusator sera per la cuy accusa se habia la uerita esso accusator debia hauer la mitade de la pena pecuniaria. Item quando alguno de li merchadanti nostri voglia trar alcuni panni per portarli dala fuimera de Lim in qua li officiali nostri doaneri debiano hauer liberta de lassar fin a una salma per pigoloti, ma se algun volesse trar piu che una salma non possano essi dohanerii far la poliza de tali panni se non denuntiarano de zio a misser lo Rector et consiglio. In liberta de li quali misser lo Rector et con sia ad examinar la condition de li homini et la quantita de li panni. Et li deti panni over parte de essi lassar o non lassar a lor voler et discretione. Et questi ordeni in tuto et in parte se possano zuntare, minuire, coregere, refformare et cassare per la mazor parte de li consigli.” [210]

ACTA CONSILII MAIORIS XI (1457–1460)

30. 12. 1457, f. 20v.

“Prima pars est de concedendo ser Helie Pe. de Bona quod possit complire suum confine quod complebit die sexta januari in domo Marini

fornarii aurificis ad Plocias attento quod sunt dies XL ex quo discessit ex Nouomonte.” Per omnes, contra III.

“Secunda pars est de non concedendo. [Crossed out]”

14. 11. 1460, f. 205.

“Prima pars est de donando Stiepano despoto factiero his diebus nuptias qui inuitauit dominum nostrum ad ipsas nuptias.” Per CLXV, contra XXVIII.

“Secunda pars est de non donando. [Crossed out]”

“Prima pars est de donando sibi in pannis et aliis de quibus domino Rectori et Minori consilio videbitur iperperis ducentos.” Per CXL, contra LIII.

“Secunda pars est de donando sibi iperperos trecentos. [Crossed out]”

ACTA CONSILII MAIORIS XII (1460–1466)

30. 3. 1462, f. 69v.

“Prima pars est de affidando ab omnibus debitis omnes mercatores et subditos nostros qui fuerunt per totam diem 28 presentis in Bosna, Sclauonia, Romania et aliis tenitis Turchorum et eorum hauere quod portabit per totum mensem septembris proxime futuris. Cum hoc quod creditores dictorum mercatorum possint uti eorum iuribus contra ipsos eorum debitores ad lites et sententiam consequendam. Sed tamen non possint cum sententia nec aliter cogere ipsos debitores nec eorum hauere mobile quod secum portassent Ragusium contra alia vero bona debitorum uti possut jure suo prout melius poterunt.” Per CX, contra VIII.

“Secunda pars est de non affidando. [Crossed out]”

18. 5. 1463, f. 126.

“Prima pars est de faciendo gratiam domine Helene despotisse quod possit ponere in ciuitatem nostram unam bottam maluasia a quingua 25 infra pro medicina non obstantibus ordinibus soluendo tamen dohanam consuetam.” Per C, contra X.

“Secunda pars est de non faciendo. [Crossed out]”

ACTA CONSILII MAIORIS XIII (1466–1472)

3. 3. 1469, f. 139v.

“Prima pars est de dando confine in domo Marini Pau. de Butcho in Grauso Nicole Ste. de Nale qui venit de partibus Seruie cum hoc quod custodia ponatur expensis ipsius Nicole per officiales cazamortos.” Per omnes.
“Secunda pars est de non dando. [Crossed out]”

29. 8. 1469, f. 156v-157.

“Prima pars est de dimittendo intrare in Ragusium quingua circa XXII vini que cherzech Vlatcho misit dono domine Cathacusine. [Crossed out]”
“Secunda pars est de non dimittendo.” Per XXXVII, contra LXVI. [156v]

“Prima pars est de dimittendo in Ragusium quingua circa 22 vini que cherzech Vlatcho misit dano domine Cathacusine cum hoc quod teneatur ad solutione dohane.” Per LXXXII, contra XXI.
“Secunda pars est de non dimittendo. [Crossed out]” [157]

28. 9. 1469, f. 158.

“Prima pars est de faciendo gratiam ser Junio de Tudiso qui venit infirmus de partibus Sclauonie et est confirmatus per officialis cazamortos quod habeat suum confine in Ragusio in domo sua pro complemento dierum triginta attento quod medicus grauat eum de dicta infirmitate cum hoc quod durante tempore dicte confinis aliquis non possit ire ad eum preter medicum barberium et sacerdotem et unus de famulis aut riueriis comunis debeat custodire expensis suis.” Per CXL, contra VII.
“Secunda pars est de non faciendo. [Crossed out]”

ACTA CONSILII MAIORIS XIV (1477–1483)

24. 5. 1478, f. 81.

“Prima pars est de firmando capitula additionis dohanarum sine additionis solutionis mercantiarum lecta in presenti consilio.” Per LXXXX, contra

LXXVII.

“Secunda pars est de non firmando. [Crossed out]”

“Prima pars est de firmando capitula additionis temporis officialium de foris et salariatorum.” Per CXVI, contra LI.

“Secunda pars est de non firmando. [Crossed out]”

“Per poter al meglio che se puo dar modo de acrester le intrate nostre azo che se possa supplir al pagamento de la grande quantita de denari che ne bisogna pagar ogni anno ad Turchi et ad altre spexe le qual ha el comun nostro par alli proueditori de la terra che se debia proueder in questo modo zoe.

Primo che li panni forestieri al intrar debiano pagar pui del usato una per cento.

Item che tute altre robe et mercantie al ussir per terra ferma excepto li panni Ragusei ultra el consueto debia pagar una per cento. Et etiam in questo siano inclusi quelli li quali per mare andasseno alla via de la Auallona o ad altri luogi per andar in Schiuuonia o Romania.

Item de tuti li veluti et panni de seta excepto quello che se portasse per suo uso al intrar debia pagar ultra el consueto una per cento.”

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ODLUKE VELIKOG VIJEĆA DUBROVAČKE REPUBLIKE O SRPSKOJ DESPOTOVINI (1417-1478)

Sažetak

Najkasnije od 1301. godine započeto je bilježenje odluka triju vijeća Dubrovačke Republike. Prvobitno su odluke sva tri vijeća bilježene zajedno u seriju *Reformationes*. Od 1378. godine odluke Velikog vijeća su zapisivane u poseban dio sveske, a 1415. godine su dubrovačke vlasti donijele odluku da potpuno razdvoje bilježenje odluka svih vijeća. Od tog perioda odluke Velikog vijeća zapisivane su u seriju *Acta Consili Maioris* (1415–1808), koja obuhvata 67 svezaka. Veliko vijeće je predstavljalo najviši organ vlasti Dubrovačke Republike. Kompetencije ovog vijeća bile su vezane za odabir dužnosnika na razne funkcije, pitanja diplomatskih poslanstava, izdavanje različitih dozvola za uvoz i izvoz, odlučivanje o dubrovačkim građanima na teritoriju susjednih država, određivanje oblika i iznosa diplomatskih poklona. Karakteristika odluka Velikog vijeća jeste da se radi o kratkim navodima u kojima su definirane odluke vijećnika o postavljenom upitu, odnosno o problemu koji je iskrsnuo. Pred vijećnike su najčešće bila istaknuta dva prijedloga, rijetko ih je bilo više, a svi prijedlozi su zapisivani. Rezultat glasanja bilježen je uz usvojenu odluku, dok je odbijeni prijedlog prekršten. Odluke Velikog vijeća o Srpskoj Despotovini i ličnostima iz ove zemlje posmatrani su u vremenskom intervalu od 1417. do 1478. godine. Iz perioda poslije 1459. godine, kada su prostor Srpske Despotovine osvojile Osmanlije, transkribiran je manji broj odluka u kojima se tretiraju ličnosti sa ovog prostora. Odluke Velikog vijeća o Srpskoj Despotovini u naznačenom periodu nude podatke o dubrovačkim diplomatskim poslanstvima upućenim na srpske dvorove, o poslanicima srpskih vladara u Dubrovniku, o dolasku i boravku despota Đurđa u Dubrovniku, raznim dozvolama za izvoz namirnica i oružja, srpskim poslanstvima koja su se preko Dubrovnika kretala prema Veneciji, Splitu, Ankoni. Pored toga od

posebnog su značaja podaci o diplomatskim poklonima upućenim despotu Stefanu Lazareviću, Đurđu Brankoviću, članovima njihovih porodica i poklisarima. Na dnevnom redu Velikog vijeća nalazila su se i pitanja vezana za probleme koje su dubrovački građani imali u trgovačkim i rudarskim centrima u Despotovini uslijed nepoštivanja sporazuma i otimanja imovine od strane tamošnjih činovnika.

EARLY OTTOMAN EXPANSION TO POLJICA: SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND POLITICAL DIVERSIFICATION OF THE ELITE

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Abstract: The late medieval Croatian community of lesser nobility in Poljica found itself in the middle of a struggle between Mediterranean empires and powers. Changing sides and the recognition of Venetian, Hungarian (latter Hasburg), or Ottoman suzerainty was used to affirm the power and position of the ruling elite within the community and to gain an advantage in disputes with neighbouring urban communes of Split and Omiš. The early composition of the ruling elite within Poljica and the relation between the two complementing legitimization platforms of *didici* and *vlasteličici* nobility is not fully deductible from the existing sources. When Venice became the suzerain of Poljica in 1444 the customary law was recorded in a written statute (*Poljički statut*) but it does not inform us about the legal procedures and hierarchical relations that were undisputed. This debate strives to deduct some of those relations from the specific situation that emerged at the turn of the 15th and 16th centuries when the community of Poljica balanced between Venetian and Ottoman rule. When compared with sources of Venetian origin the data about the *nahiye* of Poljica from the *defter* of *vlaachs* in Hercegovina from 1497/8 (TD 987) show many unexpected discrepancies. It is possible to conclude that this *defter* encompassed only a part of the population within Poljica and that there were two parallel hierarchies within the commune, one loyal to the

Ottomans (with Radoš Kostanjić as *veliki knez*) and another loyal to Venice (with Marijan Gregolić as *veliki knez*). Venetian sources confirm this on many occasions in the following two decades. One part of the nobility had maintained good relations with the Ottoman frontier elite within the *Sanjak* of Hercegovina. They were relatives of many high-ranking officials including some *sanjak-beys* and certain nobles from Poljica that converted to Islam and reached the ranks of *vojvodas*. On the other hand, Poljica were essential for the defense and security of the area between Split and Omiš so the Venetians sent repeated gifts and salaries to the elite in Poljica in order to control them. Such attempts had only a temporary effect because the territory of Poljica was very exposed to the Ottoman attacks and harassment. The littoral part of the community of Poljica seems to have been more inclined toward Venice while the hinterland was more inclined towards making arrangements with the Ottomans. Around 1514, Poljica fully accepted Ottoman suzerainty. Subsequently, attempts to change allegiance were repeatedly made but after the Ottoman conquest of Klis in 1537 and the end of hostilities between Venice and the Ottomans in 1540, Poljica remained under the Ottoman rule for a longer period of time. The Ottomans had no (political or religious) interest to interfere in social relations within Poljica and tax exemptions were applied to those members of the elite that performed duties within the hierarchy of the *nahiye* of Poljica. The population, in general, was obliged to pay *resm-i filori*, and in that way, vlach status was applied to Poljica in accordance with the Ottoman practice of *istimalet* that allowed flexibility between expansion, defense, and control for the expanding Ottoman Empire.

Keywords: Poljica, lesser nobility, elite, suzerainty, Venetian Republic, Ottoman Empire, double allegiance.

Apstrakt: Kasnosrednjovjekovna hrvatska sitnoplemićka općina Poljica zatekla se je usred odmjeravanja snaga sredozemnih imperija i sila. Prilikom mijenjanja strana, priznavanje mletačkoga, ugarskog (kasnije habsburškog) ili osmanskog sizerenstva korišteno je za učvršćivanje moći i položaja vladajuće elite unutar te općine, kao i za stjecanje prednosti u sporovima sa susjednim gradskim komunama Splita i Omiša. Postojeći izvori ne omogućavaju nam da u potpunosti dokučimo rani sastav vladajuće elite unutar Poljica i odnose između dviju plemićkih legitimizirajućih platformi “didića” i “vlasteličića”. Prilikom uspostave mletačkog sizerenstva nad Poljicima običajno pravo zabilježeno je u pisanom statutu (Poljički statut

iz 1444. godine), ali nas taj izvor ne informira o pravnim postupcima i hijerarhijskim odnosima oko kojih nije bilo nikakvih prijevora. Ova rasprava nastoji dokučiti te odnose iz specifične situacije koja je nastala na prijelazu s 15. u 16. stoljeće kada je poljička općina balansirala između mletačke i osmanske vladavine. Usporedba podataka o nahiji Poljica iz deftera vlaha Hercegovačkog sandžaka iz 1497/8 (TD 987) s mletačkim izvorima otkriva mnoge neočekivane proturječnosti. Može se zaključiti kako je ovaj defter obuhvatio samo dio stanovništva Poljica te da je u tom trenutku postojala dvostruka hijerarhija unutar općine, jedna lojalna Osmanlijama (s Radošem Kostanjićem kao velikim knezom) te druga lojalna Veneciji (s Marijanom Gregolićem kao velikim knezom). U mnogim situacijama kroz sljedeća dva desetljeća mletački izvori upućuju na takav zaljučak. Jedan dio plemstva održavao je bliske odnose s osmanskim pograničnom elitom iz Hercegovačkog sandžaka. Bili su u rodbinskim odnosima s više visokopozicioniranih dužnosnika uključujući neke sandžakbegove, a određeni plemići iz Poljica preobratili su se na islam i dosegli rang vojvoda u sandžačkoj hijerarhiji. S druge su strane Poljica bila ključna za obranu i sigurnost područja između Splita i Omiša, tako da su Mlečani opetovano slali darove i plaće poljičkoj eliti radi održavanja kontrole nad njima. Takvi su pokušaji imali samo privremen učinak zato što su Poljica bila posve izložena osmanskim napadima i uznemiravanju. Čini se da je primorski dio općine Poljica bio naklonjeniji Veneciji, a da je zaleđe bilo naklonjenije nagodbi s Osmanlijama. Poljica su oko 1514. godine u potpunosti prihvatila osmansko sizerenstvo. Iako su i kasnije postojali čak i donekle uspješni pokušaji promjene pripadnosti konačno je poslije osmanskog osvajanja Klisa 1537. godine i mletačko-osmanskog mirovnog sporazuma iz 1540. godine nastupilo razdoblje dugotrajne osmanske vlasti nad Poljicima. Osmanlije nisu imali (političkog ili vjerskog) interesa da se miješaju u društvene odnose unutar Poljica tako da su pripadnici lokalne elite, koji su obnašali dužnosti u hijerarhiji nahije Poljica, bili izuzeti od plaćanja poreza. Preostalo stanovništvo dobilo je dužnost plaćanja filurije te su time Poljica dobila (poluprivilegirani) vlaški status, u skladu s osmanskim politikom istimaleta, koja je omogućavala fleksibilnost između ekspanzije, obrane i kontrole za rastuće Osmansko Carstvo.

Ključne riječi: Poljica, sitno plemstvo, elita, sizerenstvo, Mletačka Republika, Osmansko Carstvo, dvostruka odanost.

Poljica is one of the historical regions in Croatia that has drawn the attention of subsequent historiographical generations. It was located in the southern part of medieval Croatia¹ in the County of Klis.² During the early and high Middle Ages, it was attached to various emerging feudal powers with an unknown status but it finally emerged as a separate commune of lesser nobility in the late medieval period. The exact process is not fully documented and is still a matter of debate.³ Customary law must have had a great role in the process, and the final recording of it in a statute in 1444 is regarded as the peak of indigenous social development.⁴ The Statute of Poljica (*Poljički statut*) codified a wide range of relations between individuals and groups, and the way in which regulations should be applied. It was a fusion of two legitimization platforms, one from a group of indigenous noble clans (Croatian term is *rodovsko plemstvo*) called *didići* and another from a group of indigenous lower nobility called *vlasteličići* or *ugričići* descended from Juraj Dražojević⁵

¹ Bear in mind that medieval Croatia had a different geographical position and shape compared to modern Croatia. The fact that the Ottomans conquered the center and the major part of medieval Croatia resulted in the shift of the political center towards the north to Zagreb and the final integration of medieval Croatia and Slavonia into one political unit. This is the most important fact in Croatian history but it is, alas, often neglected or forgotten even in the school curriculum in Croatia. Usage of the stretchable term Croatian lands, which encompasses all the historic regions of Croatia, augments this problem because it generates a false impression of a unified historic development and fate. That is a problem present in many works done from national perspectives in various European countries for their respective narratives.

² Lovre Katić, “Veza primorske Dalmacije kroz kliški prolaz od prehistorije do pada Venecije,” *Starine*, Zagreb: HAZU, 1962, n. 51, 267-434; Michael Ursinus: “From Pre-Conquest Klis to Post-Conquest Landholding Issues,” *Südost-Forschungen*, Regensburg: Leibniz-Institut für ost- und südost- Europaforschung, 2018, no. 77, 236-252.

³ The best reviews of this problem are in: Ivan Božić, “Plemeniti ljudi Poljičani u XV veku,” *Glas SANU*, Beograd: SANU, 1971, vol. CCLXXX, book 15, 67-102; Ante Nazor, *Splitsko-poljički odnosi u XIV. i XV. stoljeću*, Split: Književni krug, 2013; and Mihovil Barada, *Starohrvatska seoska zajednica. Rasprava o nekim odredbama Poljičkog statuta*, Zagreb: HAZU, 1957.

⁴ <https://www.enciklopedija.hr/Natuknica.aspx?ID=49322> last access on 19th March 2021.

⁵ <https://www.enciklopedija.hr/natuknica.aspx?id=16213> last access on 19th March 2021; Radoslav Tomić, “Baština poljičko omiške obitelji Dražojević Jelić,” *Peristil: zbornik radova za povijest umjetnosti*, Zagreb: Društvo povjesničara umjetnosti, 1984, vol. 27-28, no. 1, 185-192; Žarko Domljan, “Plemeniti rod Dražojevića-Jelića poljičkih,” *Omiški ljetopis*, Omiš: Župa sv. Mihovila arkanđela u Omišu, 2008, vol. 4, 168-185.

and Juraj Rajčić. The Dražojević kindred is most likely descended from one branch of *didići* nobility that received royal grants while the Rajčić kindred migrated to Poljica after receiving a royal grant.⁶ Two groups of nobility jointly performed all the duties in the administration and the judicial system but the leading role of *veliki knez* (i.e. the great count) usually remained in the hands of *vlasteličići*.⁷ When in 1444 the community of Poljica accepted Venetian rule the Statute was diplomatically accepted and became the basis of all future arrangements regarding the community's autonomy.⁸ Venetian supreme rule seems to have remained stable but it did not sever all the relations between Poljica and the Hungarian crown or the neighbouring Croatian kingdom within it.⁹

The development of society in Poljica was much researched but is still not fully clarified partially due to the fact that the Statute of Poljica was made through a compilation of texts and with subsequent extensions.¹⁰ The

⁶ Ante Laušić, *Postanak i razvitak Poljičke kneževine (do kraja XV. stoljeća)*, Split: Književni krug, 1991, 94-99.

⁷ I. Božić, "Plemeniti ljudi", 77-81; Miroslav Pera, *Poljički statut*, Split: Književni krug, 1988, 185-198; A. Laušić, *Postanak i razvitak*, 141-147.

⁸ I. Božić, "Plemeniti ljudi", 81-90; A. Laušić, *Postanak i razvitak*, 162-174; A. Nazor, *Splitsko-poljički odnosi*, 119-130; Alfons Pavić, *Prinosi povijesti Poljica*, Omiš-Priko: Društvo Poljičana "Sv. Jure", 2003, 9-22 and 37-39.

⁹ The Community of Poljica is not mentioned in the Hungarian tax register for the Kingdom of Croatia from around 1500, but various grants have been made to members of nobility from the Community by the Hungarian crown in that period. The family of Žarko Dražojević is a good example for it had several possessions mentioned in that tax register. The royal grant made by king Mathias Corvin in 1480 is a great example of an attempt to attract the nobility of Poljica back to the rule of the Hungarian Crown. Vjekoslav Klaić, "Prilog za povijest Poljica u XV. stoljeću," *Vjesnik kraljevske hrvatsko-slavonsko-dalmatinskog zemaljskog arhiva*, Zagreb: KHSDZA, 1914, no. XVI, 40-44; Josip Adamček-Ivan Kampuš, *Popisi i obračuni poreza u XV i XVI stoljeću*, Zagreb: Sveučilište u Zagrebu – Institut za hrvatsku povijest, 1976, 1-3; I. Božić, "Plemeniti ljudi", 67-76 and 87-90.

¹⁰ The bibliography for this question is abundant. Here are some basic titles: M. Pera, *Poljički statut*; Vatroslav Jagić, *Statuta lingua croatica conscripta. Hrvatski pisani zakoni*, in: *Monumenta historico-iuridica Slavorum Meridionalium*, Zagreb: HAZU, 1890, no. 1, vol. IV; A. Laušić, *Postanak i razvitak*; A. Nazor, *Splitsko-poljički odnosi*; Stipe Kaštelan, *Povijesni ulomci iz bivše slobodne općine – republike Poljica*, Split: Leonova tiskara, 1940; Boris Dimitrijevič Grekov, *Die Alt-kroatische Republik Poljica. Studien zur Geschichte gesellschaftlichen Verhältnisse der Poljica von 15. bis 17. Jahrhundert*, Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 1961; M. Barada, *Starohrvatska seoska zajednica*; M. P.

paragraphs of the Statute are organized thematically and not chronologically so it is impossible to know how old certain regulations are or whether they were a part of the original text. The analysis done by Ivan Božić shows that there were substantial variations in practice and such variations continued later.¹¹

It is essential to analyse the evolution of the social order of the Community of Poljica and to note that the self-government of the Community of Poljica was not unusual within the lands of the Hungarian crown. In a land, without general legislation, closed communities lived according to customary law, acquired privileges, and general legal rules of the kingdom. Communities of lesser nobility had the right to make statutory provisions and exercise administrative authority (*ius statuendi*), to elect judges (*ius eligendi*) for their seats i.e. court (*sedes*). During the Angevin era, they were controlled by local or regional royal representatives (*župan* and *ban*), and when in the 15th century that power diminished their autonomy increased. But at the same time dangers increased because they were torn away from the inherited order and they were threatened to become prey to stronger neighbors. It is because of this threat that statutes were formally compiled in order to record potentially dangerous situations while the undisputed procedures, such as the election of village counts, were not formulated at all.¹² Even under Venetian rule, the Statute of Poljica was considered to be a part of Croatian judicial customs (*li observano el zudicar suo secondo Chervacia*).¹³ Similarly, in the case of Ottoman rule over Poljica, the new suzerains accepted and affirmed the existing medieval order¹⁴ while in other

Aleksejev, "Thomas More i Poljički statut. Odlomci iz rasprave "Slavenski izvori Utopije Thomasa Morea," *Poljički zbornik*, 1968, no. 1, 165-180; I. Božić, "Plemeniti ljudi".

¹¹ Ibid., 67-102.

¹² Ibid., 96-100; Martyn Rady, Nobility, *Land and Service in Medieval Hungary*, Houndmills: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2000.

¹³ I. Božić, "Plemeniti ljudi", 97-98; M. Barada, *Starohrvatska seoska zajednica*, 11.

¹⁴ This was a representation of a general Ottoman policy. See: Mariya Kiprovskva, "Ferocious Invasion or Smooth Incorporation? Integrating the Established Balkan Military System into the Ottoman Army", in: *The Ottoman Conquest of the Balkans* (ed. Oliver Jens Schmidt), Wien: Verlag der Osterreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2016, 79-102. The Ottomans usually accepted the

regions of Croatia it was generally obliterated and it was only by a bizarre fact that the custom was translated to the terminology used by the Vlachs¹⁵ in the medieval and Ottoman era.

The origin of noble organization in Poljica and Ottoman adaptation of Vlach status to Poljica

This article intends to investigate the relation between lesser noble structures and the introduction of the so-called vlach hierarchy that followed the establishment of Ottoman rule over Poljica. Ivan Božić analyzed the question of “noble people” in Poljica and, even today, the composition of the elite remains an important question. The hierarchical structure of Poljica municipality was accepted by the supreme state rule of the Venetian Republic, Hungarian Kingdom, and Ottoman Empire so that through the process of acknowledging suzerainty the elite acquired the recognition of their position by gaining formal privileges. With time the differences between the two noble groups melted and remained clearly visible only in the elections for the *veliki knez* of Poljica who had to belong to the *vlasteličići* group with rare exceptions. The mythic origin of *vlasteličići* and *didići* groups from Hungarian and Bosnian nobility is not attested by the terminology used in the documents from the 15th century.¹⁶

established prequest legal regulations except in the cases where they were directly interfering with the sharia regulations and Ottoman legal principles. Nenad Moačanin, *Turska Hrvatska, Hrvati pod vlašću Osmanskog Carstva do 1791. Preispitivanja*, Zagreb: Matica hrvatska, 1999, 23-24; Halil Inalcik, *Osmansko Carstvo. Klasično doba 1300-1600*, Zagreb: Srednja Europa, 2002, 87-88.

¹⁵ Compare: Neven Isailović, “Legislation concerning the vlachs of the Balkans before and after Ottoman conquest: an overview”, in: *State and society in the Balkans before and after establishment of Ottoman rule*, Belgrade: The Institute of History Belgrade – Yunus Emre Enstitüsü – Turkish Cultural Centre Belgrade, 2017, 25-42 VS. Vjeron Kursar, “Being an Ottoman Vlach: On Vlach Identity(ies), Role and Status in Western Parts of the Ottoman Balkans (15th-18th Centuries),” *OTAM*, Ankara: Ankara Üniversitesi Osmanlı Tarihi Araştırma ve Uygulama Merkezi Dergisi, 2013, no. 34, 137-142 and Dana Caciur, “Considerations Regarding the Status of the Morlachs from the Trogir’s Hinterland at the Middle of the 16th Century: Being Subjects of the Ottoman Empire and Land Tenant of the Venetian Republic,” *Res historica*, Lublin: Uniwersytet Marii Curie-Skłodowskiej, 2016, no. 41, 95-110.

¹⁶ I. Božić: “Plemeniti ljudi”, 67-69.

The first formal appearance of the whole noble structure is detectable in the charter from 1433 that settled the delimitation of the border between the Community of Poljica and the City of Split. It mentions 3 Dražojević brothers and 7 other members of the Tišimirić tribe, 5 members of the Limići tribe including Pavao Novačić from Rajčić¹⁷ kindred, and 11 members of the Kremenićani tribe. The members of *vlastela* nobility were not given any priority or special status in the charter and were simply mentioned as members of 3 tribes.¹⁸ The difference between *vlasteličići* and *didići* nobility came to the fore only in matters of electing representatives to communal functions and bodies. With time the difference between the two groups blended and the whole society became more and more democratic. The descendants of Juraj Rajčić and Juraj Dražojević evolved into several different branches that started using separate surnames. When addressed by the outsiders only members of this group were called nobles but the internal structure of Poljica recorded in the Statute did not include any special rights or status of *vlasteličić* nobility in relation to *didići* nobility. They seem to have had larger estates and were entitled to the right to represent the Poljica community in affairs with the outside world.¹⁹

¹⁷ Pavao Novačić was the son of Novak Rajčić and the founder of Pavići branch of this kindred (Pavić means the descendant of Pavao).

¹⁸ I. Božić, "Plemeniti ljudi", 74-5; M. Pera, *Poljički statut*, 255-266 and 422-425.

¹⁹ A. Pavić, *Prinosi*, 1-34; R. Tomić, "Baština", 185-192.

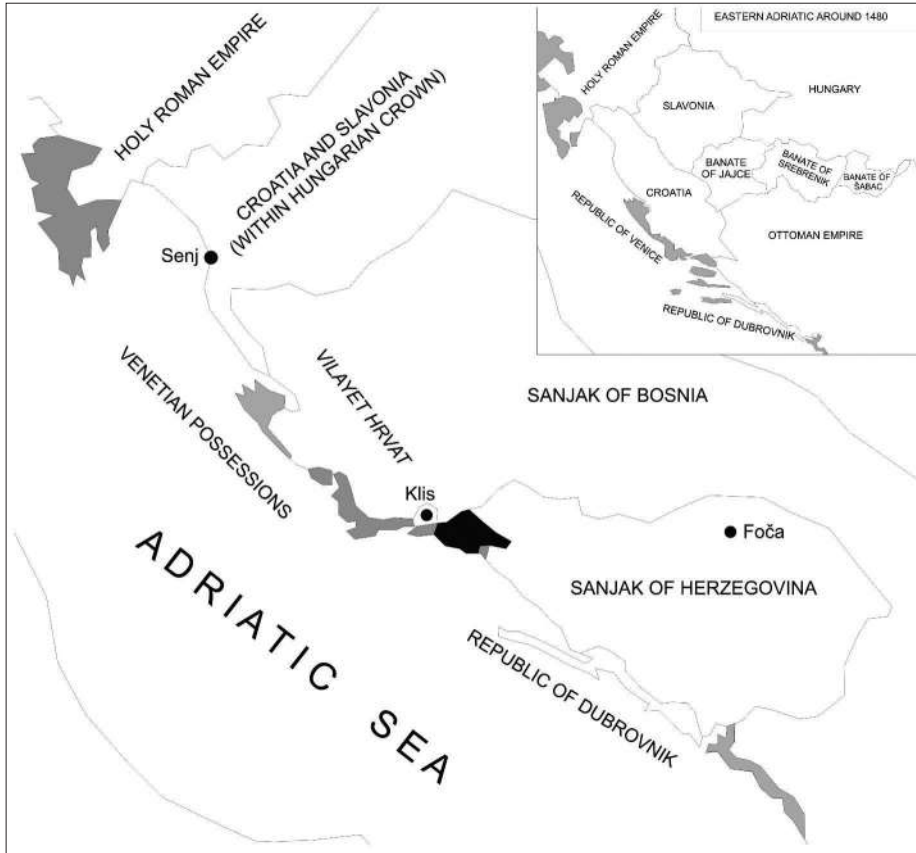


Figure 1 – The *nahiye* of Poljica around 1533 within the Eastern-Adriatic Ottoman possessions

The number of nobles and commoners in Poljica was a matter of debate based on the distribution of wheat sent as help from Venice in 1496 and 1503.²⁰ There was no doubt that there were 500 houses or families of commoners (*patrimoniali*; regardless of who were those commoners i.e. did this number include only commoners or also the *didići* nobility) but the documents give a different number for nobles. The first document said that there were 200 noble houses and the second, given by the *patrimoniali*, said

²⁰ I. Božić, “Plemeniti ljudi”, 76; Yves Edouard Boeglin, “Pučki kotarevi u Dalmaciji”, *Istorijski časopis*, Beograd: SANU, 1958, no. VIII, 56 and 60-61.

there were only forty. It is unclear who were the nobles but it was decided to divide the wheat as if there were 200 noble houses. If it was the *vlasteličići* nobility, 200 houses was not a realistic number. It might have been that there were 200 houses of both noble groups, but it also could have been that there were 200 houses of nobles and other dependant (i.e. commoners) houses. In the latter case, the number could have included the whole population of 4 village districts inhabited by commoners that were in large part owned by *vlasteličići* (Podstrana, Jesenice, Srinjine and Duće). Somewhat similar numbers were present in the late 18th century with 52 noble houses (*famiglie nobili*), 617 *didići* houses (*famiglie cittadine*), and 427 houses of commoners (*famiglie plebee*).²¹ The different proportion of commoners is, most likely, due to the fact that at the beginning of the 16th century a large portion of the Podstrana village community was under the jurisdiction of the city of Split. It is more plausible to conclude that around the year 1500 there were 40 houses of *vlasteličići* nobility (this number might have included those members of *didići* nobility that served as village chiefs etc. at that time) with 160 or more dependant houses of serfs (*kmetići* and *vlašići*) and that the 500 “*patrimoniali*” were, in fact, the members of *didići* nobility and their dependant serfs. This division was probably connected to the territorial organization so that there were 500 houses in the village districts inhabited and governed by *didići* (i.e. middle and upper Poljica) and 200 houses in the village districts owned or governed by *vlasteličići* group (i.e. lower Poljica). The data from the *defter* TD 174 (1533) confirm the general ratio of nobility (40-50 houses that were exempted from taxation) to *patrimoniali* (400 houses).

A wide portion of the population in Poljica was involved in the election of officials so the local administration and jurisprudence had a democratic note. It seems that just slightly above one third of the population, the group of people called *kmetići* and *vlašići*, did not have electoral right nor the right to be elected to any duty in the Poljica hierarchy. With time the

²¹ Danica Božić-Bužančić, “Dvije anagrafske tablice a područje Dalmacije iz druge polovice 18. stoljeća”, *Arhivski vjesnik*, Zagreb: HDA, 1969, vol. 11-12, no. 1, 43-53.

society became more and more democratic so that the commoners were able to participate in the decisions and elections concerning their own village district.²² It is worth mentioning that the majority of the population of commoner's village districts were legally free men and that many of them owned their land. The differences between village districts were a residue of the process of establishment of borders between the Community of Poljica and the municipalities of Split and Omiš in the 15th century. The original group of 8 village districts formed the Community of Poljica prior to that process while the latter group only became a part of that community through a series of judiciary disputes with the neighboring municipality of Split. Good relations with the new suzerain were essential for the process and the community managed to get the best deal due to the military and strategic worth they had. The border was finally set in 1433 and 1444 at the location of Mutogras hill and Bila Peć (near Podstrana) but former possessions of the citizens and church institutions from Split were protected even beyond that point.²³ Possessions and claims that the nobility of Poljica had in the area west of that line had to be abandoned and returned to Split municipality as it is seen in the case of the dispute concerning the village of Katići. The whole area of Podstrana, Jesenice, Srinjine and Duće was in permanent dispute and a condominium between Split, Omiš and Poljica. The nobility of Poljica had full jurisdiction to the east of the demarcated line. Village districts with commoner's status were excluded from the electoral process with the argumentation that outsiders from Split and Omiš could influence the process.²⁴

Those two aspects, the disputed control over land possessions and the disputed border, must be considered when we interpret the data from the *defters* and the possible influence of Ottoman incursions into Poljica. The first *defter* TD 987 (1497/8) registered only 4 households in the large villages of Podstrana and Jesenice and it registered 14 households in the villages of

²² I. Božić, "Plemeniti ljudi", 96-100; Y. E. Boeglin, "Pučki kotarevi", 47-68.

²³ A. Nazor, *Splitsko-poljički odnosi*, 90-130.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 75-87; Y. E. Boeglin, "Pučki kotarevi", 47-68; M. Pera, *Poljički statut*, 133-172.

Žrnovnica, Katići, and Gorica.²⁵ Both facts are in collision with the demarcation line between Split and Poljica because Podstrana and Jesenice were not under full control of Poljica (i.e. the part that was not controlled by the Community did not accept the Ottoman rule or, according to the indications presented in the following text, because one part of the Community remained fully loyal to Venice) and because the Community of Poljica effectively controlled villages to the west of demarcation line. The village of Katići was returned to the municipality of Split in 1433 only to emerge again as a part of the Community of Poljica under Ottoman rule in 1497/8. Latter *defters* confirmed that the border was shifted at expense of the municipality of Split and that Podstrana and Jesenice gradually came under full control of the Community of Poljica. The number of households in Podstrana and Jesenice increased tenfold in the *defters* MAD 159 and MAD 569 from 1547/8 and 1551/2 and even more up until the *defter* from 1632.²⁶ That could not have only been a question of demography or devastation done by Ottoman raids²⁷ but also a question of establishing control, especially when we consider that the same happened with the mentioned village of Katići etc.

Ottoman expansion reached Croatian borders in the second half of the 15th century and according to the *defter* TD 5 (1475/7), it spread up to the eastern bank of the river Cetina.²⁸ The area, including Ljubuški, Imotski, Proložac, Gorska župa, and Radobilja, was immediately added to the existing *Sanjak* of Hercegovina and organized according to Ottoman principles into *nahiyes*. The majority of the population in this *Sanjak* obtained the status of *filurîci Eflakân* and in many *nahiyes* there was no other population

²⁵ TD 987, 52-54.

²⁶ TD 174, 12, MAD 159, 42r and 43v, MAD 569, 70 and 72, NAST Kaptolski arhiv - fascikl 494.

²⁷ A. Pavić, *Prinosi*, 45.

²⁸ Ahmed Aličić, *Poimenični popis sandžaka vilajeta Hercegovina*, Sarajevo: Orijentalni institut, 1985, 81-95; Jusuf Mulić, *Hercegovina. Drugi dio: Vojna i upravna jedinica Osmanskog Carstva 2.1. (XV i XVI stoljeće)*, Sarajevo: vlastita naklada, 2004, 17; Aleksandar Jakovljević i Neven Isailović, *Petrovo polje u vrelima osmanskog razdoblja (1528.-1604.)*, Šibenik: Državni arhiv u Šibeniku i Javna ustanova nacionalni park Krka, 2019, 124-139.

but vlach.²⁹ Transhumance gave vlach population the possibility to adapt to any political and economic threat. Although this name was of ethnic origin it was now already transformed into a fiscal, social, economic, and paramilitary category in the wider region of the western Rumelia.³⁰ The name vlach remained in use for the new, expanded role, sometimes even retaining the old ethnic meaning, but their role was now similar to that of *martolos* and other Ottoman semi-privileged groups.³¹ Ottoman authorities broadly gave or confirmed vlach status to inhabitants in *serhat* regions because it allowed them flexibility between expansion, defence, and control.³²

²⁹ J. Mulić, *Hercegovina*, 97-144. Classical historians from the Yugoslav period have looked at the vlachs as a social group and have therefore written them with a small letter in order to differentiate them from the ethnic Vlachs. Some contemporary historians started using the capital letter again as a result of a view that they had been an ethnic group that was gradually assimilated into modern ethnic Croatian or Serbian (etc.) groups. Our debate takes the third direction in which we analyze the sources not to their face value. This has led us to the conclusion that the Ottoman vlachs were indeed a social and fiscal category comprised of former ethnic Vlachs and other ethnic groups that have obtained the fiscal vlach status. Avdo Sućeska: "O položaju Poljica u osmanskoj državi", *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju*, Sarajevo: Orijentalni institut, 1970, no. 16-17, 80-82; Nada Klaić, "Položaj vlahu u XIV i XV stoljeću u hrvatskim zemljama", *Simpozijum – Vlasi u XV i XVI vijeku* (Sarajevo, 13-16. XI 1973), *Radovi ANUBiH*, Sarajevo: ANUBiH, 1983, no. 73, 107-111; V. Kursar, "Being an Ottoman Vlach", 115-119, 121-127 and 130-133; Zef Mirdita, *Vlasi u historiografiji*, Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2004; Mirdita, Zef, *Vlasi: starobalkanski narod (od povijesne pojave do danas)*, Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2009; Romanian historians sometimes use this homonymy to emphasize the existence of a vast Romanian diaspora in the western Balkans. Such stretched hypotheses can easily be refuted by the mere fact that ethnic Vlachs in Rumelia (present-day Greece, Albania, Northern Macedonia, Serbia, and Bulgaria) did not pay *resm-i filori* at all and were not vlachs in Ottoman eyes. See: Nicoară Boldiceanu, "Sur les Valaques des Balkans Slaves à l'époque Ottomane (1450-1550)," *Revue des études Islamiques*, Paris: Collège de France, 1966, no. XXXIV, 83-132; Dana Caciur, "Considerations regarding the Morlachs migrations from Dalmatia to Istria and the Venetian settlement policy during the 16th Century," *Balkanica Posnanensia*, Poznań: Adam Miskiewicz University, 2015, no. XXII/1 *Ius Valachicum* no. I, 58-70; Dana Caciur, "Considerations Regarding the Status"; Cristian Luca, "The Vlachs/Morlaks in the Hinterland of Trau (Trogir) and Sebenico (Šibenik), Towns of the Venetian Dalmatia, during the 16th century," (Valeriu Sirbu, Cristian Luca eds.) *Miscellanea Historica et Archaeologica in Honorem Professoris Ionel Cîndea*, Brăila: Muzeul Brăilei and Editura Istros, 2009, 311-332.

³⁰ N. Isailović, "Legislation", 25-42.

³¹ V. Kursar, "Being an Ottoman Vlach", 137-144; N. Isailović, "Legislation", 33-40.

³² Hazim Šabanović: *Krajište Isa-bega Ishakovića. Zbirni katastarski popis iz 1455. godine*, Sarajevo: Orijentalni institut u Sarajevu, 1964; Dušanka Bojanić, "Vlasi u severnoj Srbiji i njihovi prvi kanuni",

Vlach population was not unknown to medieval Croatia. Quite contrary it formed a substantial part of the rural population in the late medieval period. Their presence prior to 1322 is not attested in documents and they even seem to suddenly emerge in some sudden unknown migration.³³ An important legal monument from the County of Cetina in 1436 known as *Zakon za cetinske Vlahe* (i.e. The Law for the Vlachs of Cetina)³⁴ describes their legal status as very similar to the one known for Ottoman vlachs. Each Vlach who had a “village” (i.e. croft or virgate, the equivalent of Ottoman çift) had to pay a gold coin and the ones without a village had to serve the lord as militiamen. They had their own chiefs with judicial, i.e. *knez*, and military power, i.e. *vojvoda*. Their names and surnames were not particularly different than the ones that were usual in medieval Croatia and the process of assimilation was developed enough that we can say that the shift from ethnic to social meaning was at an advanced stage prior to the Ottoman conquest.³⁵ Taxes and feudal obligations were generally transformed

Istorijski časopis, Beograd: Istorijski institut, 1971, no. XVIII, 255-269; Dušanka Bojanić, Šta znače podaci o sjeničkim vlasima u popisu iz 1455. godine, *Istorijski časopis*, Beograd: Istorijski institut, 1987, no. XXXIV, 97-112; Kornelija Jurin-Starčević, *Srednjodalmatinsko zaleđe za vrijeme osmanske vladavine u 16. i 17. stoljeću* (Zagreb: Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu – MA Thesis 2005).

³³ Mladen Ančić, “Gospodarski aspekti stočarstva cetinskog komitata u XIV stoljeću,” *Acta historico-oconomica Iugoslaviae*, Zagreb: Školska knjiga, 1987, no. 14, 69-98; Ante Milošević, *Stećci i vlasii*, Split: Regionalni zavod za zaštitu spomenika kulture, 1991; Ivan Botica, “Vlah i vlah – nekoć i danas”, in: *Jezik i identiteti* (ed. Jagoda Granić), Zagreb – Split: Hrvatsko društvo za primjenjenu lingvistiku, 2007, 61-69; Ivan Mužić, *Vlasii u starijoj hrvatskoj historiografiji*, Split: Muzej hrvatskih arheoloških spomenika, 2010; Gordan Ravančić, “Neka razmišljanja o prvom spomenu Vlaha u izvorima hrvatske provenijencije”, in: *Poeta nascitur, historicus fit – ad honorem Zef Mirdita*, St. Gallen – Zagreb: Albanisches Institut & Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2013, 115-124.

³⁴ N. Klaić, “Položaj vlaha”, 107-111; I. Botica, “Vlah i vlah”, 61-69; N. Isailović, “Legislation”, 32-34.

³⁵ N. Isailović, “Legislation”, 32-34 and 39-40. “Despite some regional and local differences and specificities, it is, therefore, quite possible to assume that Ottoman legislation concerning the vlachs was adapted and revised legislation of previous periods. It was a well-exploited institution of conquered states, put to purpose of the Ottoman Empire, although, in the past, it may have been directed against its expansion. Trends which were already ongoing, such as turning an ethnic, social or professional category into a category of status measured by taxation and military obligation, were only brought to perfection by the new rulers.” quoted from N. Isailović, “Legislation”, 39-40. Concerning the Vlach community in Cetina at 1436 one must note that the law differentiates Vlachs, Croats, and Serbs as legal categories. In the context of Vlachs and Serbs, one might say

to pecuniary equivalents in late medieval Croatia (and Hungary for that matter) even in the areas where the Vlach population was not present as can be easily seen from e.g. *Urbar modruški* (i.e. Manorial roll for the County of Modruš) from 1486.³⁶ So *resm-i filori* was a tax that could have seemed almost natural to people or individuals changing allegiance from Hungarian to Ottoman suzerainty.

It is best to say that Ottoman rule was established gradually so that the exact dates of Ottoman conquest for many areas are not only unknown but also unimportant for the understanding of the process. When the Kingdom of Bosnia fell in 1463 the Ottomans were temporarily pushed back and king Matthias Corvinus established fortified areas south of Sava in order to defend the core of his Hungarian Kingdom.³⁷ The Kingdom of Croatia and the remains of the Duchy of Saint Sava were shambly encompassed by

that it is a transfer of legal practice introduced by emperor Dušan's law Code. The legal distinction between Vlachs and Serbs, taken as social groups, spread to medieval Hum undoubtedly due to migrations of Vlachs to this western neighboring country. There it managed to survive even under the Ottomans and it was recorded in the *defter* TD 174 from 1533. Such usage in the *defter* and the attached *kanunnama* is the best evidence that ethnic names were used to represent legal status by the Ottoman administration and that their ethnic meaning was irrelevant in the new context. Compare: Mladen Ančić, "Registar Splitskog kaptola," *Fontes*, Zagreb: HDA, 2014, no. 20, 40-41; Neven Isailović, "Pomeni srpskog imena u srednjovekovnim bosanskim ispravama", in: *Srpsko pisano nasljeđe i istorija srednjovekovne Bosne i Huma*, Banja Luka – Istočno Sarajevo: Filološki fakultet Univerziteta u Banjoj Luci – Filozofski fakultet Univerziteta u Istočnom Sarajevu – Filozofski fakultet Univerziteta u Banjoj Luci, 2018, 261-282; and Neven Isailović, "Trgovinski ugovori između Bosne i Dubrovnika u srednjem veku: diplomatički osvrt", in: *Zbornik radova u čast akademiku Desanki Kovačević Kojić*, Banja Luka: Akademija nauka i umjetnosti Republike Srpske, 2015, 235-258; and V. Kursar, "Being an Ottoman Vlach," for a different opinion.

³⁶ Josip Adamček, *Agrarni odnosi u Hrvatskoj od sredine XV do kraja XVIII stoljeća*, Zagreb: Sveučilišna naklada Liber, 1980; Radoslav Lopašić, *Urbar modruški od godine 1486.*, Ogulin: Ogranak Matice hrvatske, 1997; Neven Isailović even calls the pre-Ottoman pecuniary obligations of the Vlachs of Cetina *filuria* see: N. Isailović, "Legislation", 33-34.

³⁷ Borislav Grgin, *Počeci rasapa. Kralj Matijaš i srednjovekovna Hrvatska*, Zagreb: Ibis grafika, 2002; Davor Salihović, "For a different catastrophe: A fruitful frontier on the southern edges of the Kingdom of Hungary after 1463. An initial inquiry," *Inicijal. Časopis za srednjovekovne studije*, Beograd: Istorijski institut, 2017, no. 5, 73-107; Davor Salihović, "The process of Bordering at the Late Fifteenth-Century Hungarian-Ottoman Frontier", *History in Flux*, Pula: Sveučilište Jurja Dobrile u Puli, 2019, no. 1, 93-120.

this system and had to be defended separately. Since it was impossible to fortify such a long border, the resistance was focused on strongpoints. One of them was Počitelj on the lower Neretva³⁸ and after it fell in 1471 Knin and Klis became the centers of resistance until they fell in 1522 and 1537, respectively (there were other smaller forts important to mention such as Koš in the delta of the river Neretva which fell in 1490/1, and Sinj and Čačvina, north of Klis and Poljica, which fell in 1513 with great impact on the position of Poljica towards the Ottomans). It proved almost impossible to defend and control the area between the stronger forts for a longer period. We could probably assume that the rural population was even sometimes forced to pay taxes to both belligerent sides in order to stay alive and keep the property.³⁹ Pretensions to unconquered areas were a part of *akıncı* tactics and were supported by the search for *mülk çiftlik*s. Outlying taxation units deep inside the Croatian kingdom were recorded in the vlach *defter* for the part of the *Sanjak* of Hercegovina TD 987 (1497/8). In that year the ban of Croatia and Slavonia controlled the forts of Knin, Vrlika, Sinj, Nutjak, and Klis but villages of Maovice, Otišić, and Suhovare were recorded in that *defter* regardless of them being 10-30 km behind enemy controlled forts.⁴⁰ This *defter* was traditionally dated to around 1516 but

³⁸ King Matthias writes to the council of Dubrovnik: "...ad conservacionem castril Pochitel vocati in regno nostro Croacie predicto..." see: *Diplomatarium relationum republicae Ragusanae cum regno Hungariae* (Budapest 1887) from <https://opacplus.bsb-muenchen.de/title/BV013827095> last access on 25th March 2021.

³⁹ One such example was detected by Michael Ursinus in the area of Klis. Inhabitants of the *varoš* (i.e. suburb) of Klis became Ottoman subjects before the fort above it. How did this work and with what problems one can only imagine, compare: Michael Ursinus, "From Pre-conquest Klis"; Michael Ursinus, "From *defter* entries to landmarks on the ground: cooperative research in Cleune (Gorica, Livno, Bosna Hercegovina) on Ottoman perambulations from the 16th century," *Osmali Üzerine Konuşmalar* (Fuat Aydan ed.), Istanbul: OSAMER, 2016, 103-123; Michael Ursinus, "Ottoman Çiftlik / Zemin Holdings in the Grounds of Ancient Salona and the Ager Salonicus before the fall of Klis (1537)," *Tusculum*, Solin: Javna ustanova u kulturi Zvonimir, 2020, no. 13, 83-89; Fahd Kasumović, "Osmanska agrarna politika i nadmetanje za zemlju u jugoistočnoj Europi", *Anali Gazi Husrev-begove biblioteke*, Sarajevo: Gazi Husrev-begova biblioteka, 2014, no. 36, 93-150; H. Šabanović, *Krajište*.

⁴⁰ A. Jakovljević and N. Isailović, *Petrovo polje*, 123-124 and 141.

the latest research has pointed out that it should be dated to 1497/8.⁴¹ This is important for our topic because this *defter* includes the *nahiye* of Poljica. The fact that Poljica was now an Ottoman *nahiye* did not change the local perception that it was still the Community of Poljica governed by its own *veliki knez* (all the documents written in Croatian language used the term *Poljička knežija* i.e. area governed by the *veliki knez* of Poljica or sometimes just *Poljička daržava* i.e. the Territory of Poljica).⁴² Furthermore, recent research has revealed some new evidence of Ottoman rule in Poljica before 1514. Michael Ursinus has identified an inscription from Sita in Poljica dated 1508 which mentions an *emin* for the salt pans in that place.⁴³

Poljica between danger and opportunity

According to the treaty by which the Community of Poljica accepted the Venetian suzerainty a nobleman from Split was to be elected as the *veliki knez*. He had to be accepted by the Venetian count of Split. This ensured that the community would remain loyal to the Venetian state but had a negative effect on the autonomy of Poljica.⁴⁴ According to some opinions, the office of *vojvoda* became a permanent part of the Poljica's hierarchy in order to compensate for the loss inflicted by the foreign *veliki knez*.⁴⁵ At

⁴¹ Ibid., 123-124, 141, 165-166, 217-229, 351-357, 407-410; Neven Isailović and Aleksandar Jakovljević, "Neka razmatranja o Vlatkovićima, Krajini i Zaostrugu," (Manuscript 2022) and Neven Isailović and Aleksandar Jakovljević, "Nahija Posušje – primjer povijesnog diskontinuiteta," (Manuscript 2022); Dating of the *defter* TD 987 to 1497/8 is further augmented by the amount of *cizye* in that *defter*. The *cizye* was 52 *akçe* which corresponds perfectly with the exchange rate of Venetian ducato to *akçe* in 1490-ies.

⁴² Marko Mišerda, *Spomenici Gornjih Poljica*, Omiš-Priko: Udruga Poljičana "Sveti Jure" – Priko, 2003, passim; Jusuf Mulić has a similar view towards the question of vlach nahiyes which he sees as vlach knežinas, see: J. Mulić, *Hercegovina*, 100-101.

⁴³ Based on the public lectures by Michael Ursinus. Compare: <http://poljica.hr/prof-dr-michael-ursinus-islamist-i-orijentalist-svjetskog-glasa-istrazuje-poljicke-dokumente-iz-osmanskog-razdoblja/> last accessed on 19th March 2021 and <https://slobodnadalmacija.hr/split/jeste-li-culiza-nbsp-rustem-pasu-velikog-vezira-koji-je-upravljao-cak-i-podrucjima-kile-i-visoke-ali-se-nije-spustio-u-split-537126> last accessed on 19th March 2021.

⁴⁴ A. Nazor, *Splitsko-poljički odnosi*, 119-130.

⁴⁵ I. Božić, "Plemeniti ljudi", 77-81.

the same time when the Ottoman expansion began to threaten Poljica and Split, there was a shift in the practice of electing the *veliki knez* occurred. The lack of data does not allow us to know how they elected them, but the first known *veliki knez* indigenous to Poljica was Ivan Petrović in 1499 followed by Marijan Gregolić in 1500.⁴⁶ They broke the tradition, established in 1444, that the *veliki knez* had to be a nobleman from Split. We have to note that the *defter* TD 987 (1497/8) states *knez* Radoš son of Kostanjčić as the head of the *cema'at* of Poljica which probably implies that he was the *veliki knez* under Ottoman suzerainty.⁴⁷ That could lead us to the conclusion that the shift of allegiance from the Venetian Republic to the Ottoman Empire was used by the Community of Poljica to get rid of the *veliki knez* from Split. From 1502 till 1509 the *veliki knez* was again a nobleman from Split (Augustin Maričić) and after 1511 all the known office holders were noblemen from Poljica. The traditional date of the first acceptance of Ottoman suzerainty by Poljica was, according to Marino Sanudo, 1514.⁴⁸

⁴⁶ Jozo Novaković Bepo, "Knezovi u poljičkoj povijesti", *Poljica*, Gata: Poljički dekanat, 2017, no. 32, 322-323.

⁴⁷ TD 987, 51; Mate Gojsalić, "Isprave o Gojsalićima iz Kostanja", *Poljica*, Gata: Poljički dekanat, 2007, no. 32, 14-18; In a report by Marino Mussura, the Venetian castellan of Omiš, from 10th December 1512, Rados Costagnich is mentioned as one of the nobles in Poljica who were principal seducers of his people to accept the Ottoman rule. *Pisma i poruke rektora Korčule, Brača, Omiša, Makarske i Klisa. Epistolae et communicationes rectorum Corzulensium, Brachiensium, Almissensium, Macarensium et Clissiensium* (prepared by: Lovorka Čoralić, Damir Karbić i Maja Katušić) part of: *Pisma i poruke rektora Dalmacije i Mletačke Albanije. Epistolae et communicationes rectorum Dalmatiae et Albaniae Venetae*, sv. 2, *Monumenta spectantia historiam Slavorum meridionalium*, vol. 56, Zagreb: Hrvatska akademija znanosti i umjetnosti, 2012, 240-241.

⁴⁸ S. Kaštelan, *Povjesni ulomci*, 63-65; Ivan Pivčević, *Sabrani radovi o Poljicima*, Omiš-Priko: Društvo Poljičana "Sv. Jure", 2008, 121-122; Ivan Kukuljević Sakcinski, "Marina Sanuda odnošaj i skupnovlade mletačke prema južnim Slavenom. Rapporti della republica veneta coi Slavi Meridionali. Brani tratti dei diari manoscritti di Marino Sanudo," *Arkiv za povjestnicu jugoslavensku* vol. VI, Venice: Društvo za jugoslavensku povjesticu i starine, 1863, 344-345; Jusuf Mulić believes that the first Ottoman rule over Poljica was established between 1477 and 1502 and that it lasted until 1530 or 1531 when Poljica were temporarily returned to the Venetian Republic only to be reincorporated in 1541, see: J. Mulić, *Hercegovina*, 68-69. The first contact with the Ottomans was actually made in 1479 when the Community of Poljica paid a tribute to the *sanjak-bey* of Hercegovina. Sultanlic charter from 1481 explicitly forbade this practice and guaranteed territorial integrity of Venetian possession over Poljica. A. Pavić, *Prinosi*, 40-42, and I. Pivčević, *Sabrani*

That obviously was not a coincidence and although we do not know all the details we can assume that the Ottoman suzerainty helped, intentionally or coincidentally, in the process of affirming the autonomous position of the community towards the Venetian Republic and the municipality of Split.

This issue is, so far, only superficially researched as can be seen from the following examples⁴⁹ unknown to present historiography. On 5th January 1498, the Venetian Senate reinstated the privileges of the Community of Poljica. According to the document the Community received a sword for each house, 200 measures of wheat, and one standard of Saint Mark. The leaders of the Community received salaries, primarily *knez* Marijan (together with his 3 brothers), son of late *knez* Stipan Gregolić, who maintained his father's salary of 125 *liras*. *Knez* Ivan Ivanišević received 5 ducats per year just as he has received before. Three envoys, two of which represented the nobles and one which represented the *patrimoniales*, received 12 ducats each.⁵⁰ This document is a strong indication that the Community of Poljica was either in a double allegiance with the Ottomans and Venice or, more probable, one part of the Community was under Venetian rule and the other under Ottoman rule. According to that Senate decision from early 1498 Marijan Gregolić was *veliki knez* of Poljica and according to the *defter* TD 987 from 1497/8 the leader of Poljica hierarchy and therefore *veliki knez* was Radoš son of Kostanjić. From that, we must conclude that there were two persons serving as *veliki knez* at the same time, one governing the

radovi, 207-208. It becomes more and more obvious that scarce historic data collide and that an alternative interpretation is necessary. This text brings a hypothesis that this was actually due to the fact that only one part of the Community accepted the Ottoman rule while the other part remained loyal to Christian suzerains. The charter given by king Mathias Corvinus in 1480 to one part of the nobility from Poljica confirms that such a split in loyalty actually happened in a different context. I. Božić, "Plemeniti ljudi", 87-95; V. Klaić, "Prilog", 40-44.

⁴⁹ The material is located in the National library of Serbia in Belgrade. Late historian Jorjo Tadić has left his archive to this institution. In his notes made in the State archive in Venice one can find many useful information about early modern history of the eastern Adriatic region. Since the history of Poljica was not his main topic we presume that many other valuable information could still be found in Venice.

⁵⁰ IT ASVe Senato, Deliberazioni, Mar, reg. 14, f. 142r (according to note in: National library of Serbia – The legacy of Jorjo Tadić, notebook 8).

part of the community loyal to Venice and the other loyal to the Ottomans. Presently we do not have an explicit confirmation of this conclusion⁵¹ but there are several similar incidents of the disloyalty of people from Poljica towards Venice.

A report about relations of some people from Poljica and Turks sent from Split on 13th February 1500, in the time of war between Venice and the Ottoman Empire, confirms this doubt.⁵² Historiography knew that the *sanjak-bey* of Hercegovina, Mehmed Bey (Obrinović according to other sources), who according to Sanudo was by origin from Poljica,⁵³ wrote at the end of 1500 to his countrymen that they must remain loyal to the Ottomans under the threat of imposing them a fine for disobeying mobilization orders. He has written to the *conte Marian Gregolich* and *conte Jvanis Nenadich* to come to him, under *salvus conductus*, in order to make a deal about things of mutual interest. The count of Split found out about this development and called upon *veliki knez* Marijan Gregolić to justify himself. Gregolić and the advisers finally decided not to go to Mehmed Bey and the count of Split ended the investigation but the next report from 28th December 1500 reported that Gregolić and Nenadić, together with *uno patrimonial Iurai Sotoriza*,⁵⁴ did go to see Mehmed Bey so that they had

⁵¹ Unfortunately, Kukuljević's excerpt from Sanudo's diaries does not cover the first half of 1498. Ivan Kukuljević, "Odnosaji skupnovlade mletačke prema južnim Slovenom priobčeni u izvadcih iz rukopisnih ljetopisih Marina Sanuda. Od godina 1496. do 1533.", *Arhiv za povjestnicu jugoslavensku*, vol. V, Zagreb: Društvo za jugoslavensku povjesticu i starine, 1859, 1-159.

⁵² IT ASVe Capi del Consiglio dei Dieci. Lettere di Rettori ed altre Cariche, Busta 281; according to Tadić's note.

⁵³ Modern historiography has discarded news about his origin from Poljica as false. His origin was from the nahiye of Neretva where he had possessions inherited from his father Petar Obrinović. He probably originated from Poljica by his maternal ancestry. See: Behija Zlatar, "Neki podaci o sandžak-begu Mehmed-begu Obrinoviću", *Prilozi instituta za istoriju u Sarajevu*, Sarajevo: Institut za istoriju, 1974, vol. 10, no. 2, 341-346; Toma Popović, Spisak hercegovačkih namjesnika u XVI vijeku, *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju*, Sarajevo: Orijentalni institut, 1970, vol. XVI-XVII, 93-99; Hazim Šabanović, *Bosanski pašaluk: postanak i upravna podjela*, Sarajevo: Oslobođenje 1973, 191 after I. Pivčević, *Sabrani radovi*, 112.

⁵⁴ Juraj Sotoriza is indeed mentioned in TD 987 from 1497/8 in the village of Srinjine.

to justify themselves again.⁵⁵ On 22nd June 1502 certain member of *didići* nobility Matij Desić (*Matija Desich patrimonialis Police*) was brought to Venice under the accusation of treason and sent to jail in Toricella.⁵⁶ The removal of a pro-Ottoman agitator must have been an important stimulus for the election of Augustin Maričić, a nobleman from Split, to the position of *veliki knez* of Poljica and, hitherto, the affirmation of Venetian suzerainty over the Community.⁵⁷

In September 1508 the count and captain of Split reported that the Community of Poljica had decided to abandon the loyalty to Venice and that, even after his request, they had refused to come to justify themselves in his presence.⁵⁸ The leader of this disloyalty was the aforementioned *knez* Ivaniš Nenadić who has escaped from Verona and became the main pro-Ottoman protagonist in Poljica.⁵⁹ During 1508 and 1509 he changed allegiance and became an Ottoman plunderer. He has even raided two villages in Poljica. But in September 1510 he became a *condottiere* for Venice with a company of 500 Turkish light horsemen. His services were so effective that on 30th December 1510 he was in Venice where he was made a cavalier and was given a golden vest worth 70 ducats.⁶⁰ His services were now essential to Venice because of the raging war in Italy. His previous actions have made some Venetian officials wary of him. On 4th December 1510, the new castellan of Omiš Marino Mussuro sent a letter to Venice in which he stressed his opinion that a Venetian professional soldier i.e. *vojvoda* Ivaniš (Nenadić), who was to lodge during the winter in the area near to Poljica and Omiš, was a threat to the security and stability of the area. His cousin was the *sanjak-bey* of Hercegovina (obviously the already mentioned Mehmed Bey Obrinović)⁶¹ and two of his brothers were in *sanjak-bey's* service, one of which was the

⁵⁵ A. Pavić, *Prinosi*, 40-41; I. Pivčević, *Sabrani radovi*, 112-113.

⁵⁶ IT ASVe Consiglio di dieci; Misti; reg. 29 (1501-1503) f. 135 v; according to Tadić's note.

⁵⁷ I. Kukuljević, *Odnosaji*, 237; I. Pivčević, *Sabrani radovi*, 114.

⁵⁸ I. Kukuljević, *Odnosaji*, 310; I. Pivčević, *Sabrani radovi*, 116.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 116-120.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, 118; I. Kukuljević, *Odnosaji*, 317-318 and 321.

⁶¹ J. Mulić, *Hercegovina*, 10-11.

vojvoda of Mostar i.e. one of the most important people in the whole *sanjak*. *Vojvoda* Ivaniš has only recently returned from the Ottoman territory where he was the leader of incursions to the territory of Poljica. He had another brother living in Poljica along with many relatives and friends and placing him near them was, in castellan's opinion, like placing fire near hay.⁶² The castellan of Omiš had reported on 9th December 1512 that he received news from Poljica about their decision to agree to pay the tribute to the Ottomans through direct contact with the Ottoman *vojvoda* of Imotski.⁶³ Another report written on 11th December 1512 clarifies that this was not the first time that the Community of Poljica made an agreement with the Ottomans and that the defense of the area was weakened due to this action.⁶⁴

The count and captain of Split sent an order on 10th December 1512 to the castellan of Omiš to invite or bring certain people from Poljica to his presence in Split concerning a rebellion in the Community. Their names can all be found in the *defter* TD 987 from 1497/8 (*Conte Andrea Nouacouich* was Andrija son of Novak from Dolac, *Petris Nouacich* was Petrič son of Novak who was at the head of a *cema'at* in 1497/8, *Hieronimus Gojacouich* was Jeronac, son of Gojak from Kostanje, while *Rados Costagnich* was *knez* Radoš son of Kostanjić who was at the head of the whole *nahiye* in 1497/8)⁶⁵ and their rebellion was indeed linked with the plan to pay the tribute to the Ottomans for that year.⁶⁶ The principal causes of this rebellion were the mentioned *Hieronimus Goiacouich* as well as *Rados Costagnich* and it is obvious that they were the leaders of the pro-Ottoman party in Poljica for longer than a decade. It is obvious that, at that period, Ottoman rule over Poljica was very loose and depended on the ability of the *serhat* elite to enforce the payment of tribute.

⁶² L. Čoralić- D. Karbić-M. Katušić, *Pisma i poruke*, 199-200 and 237-239.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, 239-240.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, 241-242.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, 240-241.

⁶⁶ That letter was written the next day after the castellan of Omiš informed the count and captain of Split that the assembly of the Community of Poljica decided to pay the tribute to the Ottomans, *Ibid.*, 239-240.

Marino Sanudo reported that Poljica accepted Ottoman suzerainty in 1514⁶⁷ and on 27th July 1519 the Senate instructed the Bailo of Constantinople to see if it would be possible to accept the offer of the Community of Poljica who wanted to become Venetian subjects again. The argument was that they would continue to pay annual tribute to the Sultan and that they were always under the jurisdiction and within the territory of Split.⁶⁸ That property and jurisdiction disputes with owners from Split were a burning issue we can see from the complaint from 1st May 1513 about a youngster from Poljica who was, together with his 2-3 companions, a cause of much distress for Split. He was blamed for a past incursion of a larger group of people from Poljica, whom he persuaded to plunder the villages belonging to Split (*le ville di questa comunita*), and for the destruction of a vineyard in Mirča belonging to Papali family from Split.⁶⁹ Two other unnamed people from Poljica were blamed in a letter from 3rd April 1514 for the occupation of villages belonging to the Community of Split during the government of count Andrea Basegio.⁷⁰

Conclusion

Venetians managed to keep Poljica in control with repeated gifts and salaries to the elite. It was essential for the defense and security of the area between Split and Omiš. But the results were always temporary because the threat of Ottoman attack forced the Community of Poljica to get to terms with *serhat* elite of the *Sanjak* of Hercegovina. Such arrangements

⁶⁷ I. Pivčević, *Sabrani radovi*, 121-122; I. Kukuljević, *Odnosaji*, 409. A more recent article about the status of Poljica within the Ottoman state was published by Michael Ursinus dealing mainly with the situation after the final establishment of Ottoman rule after 1540; compare: Michael Ursinus, *Christian rule under the Ottoman Sultans: The Nahiye of Poljica, Living in the Ottoman Lands: Identities, Administration and Warfare* (ed. Burhan Çağlar, Ömer Faruk Can, Hacer Kılıçarslan), Istanbul: Kronik Books 2021, 66-75.

⁶⁸ IT ASVe Consiglio di dieci, Misti, reg. 43 (1519), fols. 48 v-49r; according to Tadić's note.

⁶⁹ IT ASVe Capi de Consiglio di Dieci, Lettere di Rettori ed altre cariche, busta 281. According to Tadić's note.

⁷⁰ Ibid.

were facilitated by the fact that part of that *serhat* elite were members of nobility from Poljica that went into Ottoman service and became Muslims. Their contacts with their relatives in Poljica remained strong and presented a nuisance to Venetian plans on the role of Poljica in their domain. From the aforementioned examples of pro-Ottoman agitation in Poljica we can see that the villages closer to the Ottoman border were more open to such influences while the villages closer to the sea were more inclined to remain loyal to Venice.

Ottoman rule was used to establish and expand the outer borders of the Community of Poljica and to affirm the privileged position of *vlasteličići* nobility in relation to the Ottoman authorities through tax exemptions. The whole community was incorporated into the Ottoman administrative system as a *nahiye* and village districts as *cema'ats*. The inner structure of the community remained the same. The population remained the same but it received the status of vlachs visible in their obligation to pay *resm-i filori*. In the *defter* TD 987 (1497/8) it is even formulated with such a meaning “*nahiye* Poljica, belongs to the fortress of Nutjak, in the *Sanjak* of Hercegovina; *Cema'at* of *knez Radoš veled-i Kostanik*; the afore-mentioned vlachs appeared /in front of the Ottoman authorities and the surveyor/ from the mentioned *nahiye* through *istimalet* so that they were given a sultanic charter and they have to pay one Frankish *filori* each year.” It is important to notice that it is not the Vlach population but the vlach status that moved to Poljica as Sućeska has stressed in his work half a century ago.⁷¹ The titles of

⁷¹ M. Gojsalić, “Isprave o Gojsalićima”, 14; TD 987, 51-56; A. Sućeska, “O položaju Poljica”, 77-91. “Iako u osnovi sličan, specifičan status imali su carski hasovi u našim zemljama koji su obuhvatati skupine stanovništva koje je imalo status vlahu (filurdžija), koji su, umjesto raznih feudalnih i državnih dadžbina, plaćali određeni novčani iznos (filuriju) odsjekom. Obično su filurdžije bili obavezni da daju izvjesnu količinu novca (aqče, aspre) sultanu na ime harača (ğizye = glavarina) i izvjesnu količinu novca svome neposrednom gospodaru na ime feudalne rente. Ukoliko je takvo stanovništvo obavljalo izvjesne radove (npr. rad u solanama) ili obavljalo određene službe (npr. knezovi) za tursku državu, ono je još bilo oslobođeno od posebnih nameta u korist države avâriz-i divâniye i tekâlîf-i örfiye, to jest uživalo je tzv. mu’afiyet i bilo mu’af i müselleme. Pošto su takvi posjedi (kao hasovi) bili serbest, a njihovo stanovništvo mu’af, oni su imali specifičan položaj u sistemu organizacije turske vlasti. Obično je tu turska vlast bila zastupljena samo posredstvom

the nobility were transformed to those used by the Ottoman administration for vlach population. Croatian documents used the term *knez* for every village headman and the title of *katunar* obviously did not exist in Poljica prior to the Ottoman rule. It appears relatively late e.g. in the documents from Poljica as in 1699,⁷² and for all we know, it was first introduced in article number 91 of the Statute of Poljica from 1623.⁷³ Chiefs (*knez, vojvoda, katunar, primićur* etc.) were responsible for administration, first-degree judiciary trials, collecting taxes, mobilization, police duties etc.⁷⁴ It was a joint function of representing internal self-government to imperial authority and performing duties for the Ottoman Empire in order to exercise the power of the state. Soon after vlach groups changed allegiance they became active protagonists of Ottoman expansion and not only subjugated “victims of the Ottoman yoke”.⁷⁵ Such complex phenomena must be interpreted from an evolutive view as has been shown by this debate.

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određenih funkcionera (vojvoda, subaša, emin) koji su bili ovlašteni da posredstvom organa domaće samouprave (knezova) ubiru dadžbine od stanovništva (filurija) ili da od njega traže radne usluge. Na toj osnovi je u nekim našim zemljama pod turskom vlašću postojala samouprava čitavih oblasti (Crna Gora npr.), čije je stanovništvo imalo status filurdžija.” Quoted after Sućeska, *ibid.*, 79.

⁷² M. Mišerda, *Spomenici*, 77.

⁷³ M. Pera, *Poljički statut*, 494-495.

⁷⁴ N. Isailović, “Legislation,” 29-39; V. Kursar, “Being an Ottoman Vlach,” 137-142.

⁷⁵ Halil Inaldžik, “Od Stefan Dušana do Osmanskog Carstva. Hrišćanske spahije u Rumeliji u XV vijeku i njihovo porijeklo,” *Prilozi za orijentalnu filologiju*, Sarajevo: Orijentalni institut, 1953, no. 3-4, 23-54.

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RANA OSMANSKA EKSPANZIJA U POLJICIMA: RAZMATRANJA O DRUŠTVENOJ STRUKTURI I POLITIČKOJ DIVERZIFIKACIJI ELITE

Sažetak

Hrvatska kasnosrednjovjekovna plemićka općina Poljica zatekla se usred borbe sredozemnih imperija i sila. Promjena strana i priznavanje mletačkog, ugarskog (kasnije habsburškog) ili osmanskog vrhovništva koristilo se za učvršćenje položaja vladajuće elite unutar općine te kako bi se odnijela prevaga u sporovima sa susjednim gradskim komunama Splita i Omiša. Rani sastav vladajuće elite u Poljicima, kao i odnos dviju legitimizacijskih platformi didičkog i vlastelićičkog plemstva, nije do kraja dokučiv iz postojećih izvora. Kada je Venecija 1444. godine postala sizeren Poljica običajno je pravo zapisano u pisanom statutu (Poljički statut), ali nas on ne obavještava o pravnim procedurama i hijerarhijskim odnosima koji nisu bili sporni. Ova rasprava nastoji rasvijetliti te odnose iz specifične situacije koja je nastala na prijelomu 15. i 16. stoljeća kada su Poljica balansirala između mletačke i osmanske vlasti. Nakon usporedbe s izvorima mletačke provenijencije podaci o nahiji Poljica iz deftera vlaha u Hercegovini iz 1497/8. godine (TD 987) pokazuju mnoge neočekivane nepodudarnosti. Može se zaključiti da je taj defter obuhvatio samo dio stanovništva Poljica te da su postojale dvije paralelne hijerarhije unutar općine, jedna lojalna Osmanlijama (s Radošem Kostanjićem kao knezom) te druga lojalna Veneciji (s Marijanom Gregolićem kao knezom). Mletački izvori to potvrđuju i u sljedeća dva desetljeća. Jedan dio plemstva održavao je dobre odnose s osmanskom pograničnom elitom u sandžaku Hercegovina. Bili su u rodu s više visoko pozicioniranih dužnosnika uključujući neke sandžakbegove, a određeni poljički plemići preobratili su se na islam i dosegli položaje vojvoda. S druge strane, Poljica su bila ključna za obranu i sigurnost područja između Splita i Omiša tako da su Mlečani uzastopno

slali darove i plaće poljičkoj eliti nastojeći ih tako kontrolirati. To je imalo privremen učinak jer su Poljica bila izrazito izložena osmanskim napadima i uznemiravanju. Čini se da je priobalni dio poljičke općine bio naklonjeniji Veneciji dok je zaleđe bilo sklonije nagodbi s Osmanlijama. Poljica su u potpunosti priznala osmansku vlast oko 1514. godine. Nakon toga bilo je više opetovanih pokušaja da se ponovno promjeni strana, ali nakon osmanskog osvajanja Klisa 1537. godine i prekida neprijateljstava između Venecije i Osmanlija 1540. godine Poljica ostaju pod osmanskom vlasti na duže razbolje. Osmanlije nisu imali nikakav interes u mijenjanju društvenih odnosa unutar Poljica tako da su pripadnici elite, koji su obnašali dužnosti unutar hijerarhije u nahiji Poljica, bili oslobođeni plaćanja poreza i time očuvali svoju privilegiranost. Ostatak stanovništva je bio dužan plaćati filuriju te je na taj način vlaški status primijenjen i na Poljica u skladu s osmanskom praksom istimaleta koji je omogućavao fleksibilnost između ekspanzije, obrane i kontrole za rastuće Osmansko Carstvo.

CRTICE IZ PROŠLOSTI TRGOVAČKE KUĆE DESPIĆ S POSEBNIM OSVRTOM NA PRIVATNE TROŠKOVE 1870-1882. GODINE

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Apstrakt: U radu se daje uvid u historiju porodice Despić od sredine 18. stoljeća pa sve do kraja 19. stoljeća. To je period u kojem se porodica postepeno bogati trgovinom i dostiže svoj vrhunac u materijalnom i statusnom položaju. U radu se navode osnovni trgovački smjerovi koje su oni koristili te firme sa kojima su najčešće poslovali. Autorica također na osnovu originalnih izvora analizira samo prezime Despić po kojem je porodica prepoznata te donosi podatke od kada se njeni članovi tako i potpisuju. Posebna pažnja u tekstu usmjerena je na analizu deftera kućnih troškova koje je tokom osmanske uprave vodio Aleksa, a nakon austrougarske okupacije njegov sin Jeftan. Na osnovu tih podataka oslikava se život porodice, njihov međusobni odnos, ali i društvene i statusne promjene jedne ugledne sarajevske porodice.

Ključne riječi: Despići, Nikolići, kućni troškovi, prehrana, luksuz, trgovina

Abstract: The paper provides insight into the history of the Despić family from the middle of the 18th century until the end of the 19th century. This is the period in which the family gradually became rich through trade and reached its peak in financial and social position. The paper lists the basic trade routes they used and the companies they most often did business with. Based on the sources, the author also analyzes the surname Despić, by which the family was recognizable, and provides information on when its members began to sign themselves that way. Special attention in the text

is given to the analysis of the *defter* of household expenses that was kept by Aleksa during the Ottoman administration, and by his son Jeftan after the Austro-Hungarian occupation. On the basis of these data, the life of the family, their mutual relationship, but also the social and status changes of a respectable Sarajevo family is depicted.

Keywords: Despić family, Nikolić family, household expenses, groceries, luxury, trade

Nastanak i razvoj trgovačke kuće Despić

Porodica Despić jedna je od rijetkih bosanskohercegovačkih porodica koje su iz više perspektiva bile predmet naučnih istraživanja.¹ To je djelimično zahvaljujući sačuvanoj arhivskoj građi, ali i činjenici da je jedan dio njihove nepokretne imovine pretvoren u depadans Muzeja Sarajeva. Time je ne samo naučna nego i šira javnost dobila uvid u postojanje ove porodice te je postala prepoznatljiva u širem okruženju.

Doseljavanje porodice Despić u Sarajevo iz Samobora, u blizini Gatačkog polja, datira iz sredine 18. stoljeća.² Autori navode da je prezime Despić dobilo korijen baš u tom periodu nakon što je Risto doselio u Sarajevo, gdje je oženio Despu, nakon čega je porodica prozvana Despić.³ Međutim,

¹ Ibrahim Tepić, "Trgovina Despića u prvoj polovini XIX vijeka (prilog proučavanju nastanka buržoazije u Bosni i Hercegovini)", u: *Godišnjak Društva istoričara Bosne i Hercegovine*, Sarajevo: Društvo istoričara BiH, god. 20, 1972–1973, 65–100; Ljubica Mladenović, "Stara Despića kuća", *Oslobođenje*, Sarajevo, 7. april 1953, 7; Josip Lešić, *Pozorišni život Sarajeva (1878. – 1918.)*, Svjetlost: Sarajevo, 1973; Vladislav Skarić, *Izabrana djela II*, Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1985; *Despića kuća*, Sarajevo: Muzej Sarajeva, 2009; Hana Younis, *Od dućana do pozorišta, Sarajevska trgovačka elita 1851–1878*, Sarajevo: Institut za historiju UNSA, 2017; Dragana Tomašević, *Despić Makso, Zapis starog Sarajlije*, Sarajevo: SPKD Prosvjeta, 2019.

² Vidi: Vladislav Skarić, *Izabrana djela I*, Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1985, 161; Vladislav Skarić, *Srbski pravoslavni narod i crkva u Sarajevu u 17. i 18. vijeku*, Sarajevo: Državna štamparija, 1928, 68; I. Tepić, "Trgovina Despića u prvoj polovini XIX vijeka", 72.

³ Svaka generacija se nazivala u dokumentima prema ocu pa je i Nikola najčešće potpisivan kao Ristić, s obzirom na to da je bio sin Riste. Tek u drugoj polovini 19. stoljeća Despići se u svojoj ličnoj korespondenciji sporadično potpisuju kao Despić. Da su ovo prezime koristili dokazuje i popis uzajamnog jamčenja stanovnika Sarajeva iz 1841. godine u kojem je porodica bila jedna od rijetkih uz koju je upisano i prezime, i to Despić. Vidi: Muhamed Mestvica, *Popis uzajamnog*

potrebno je istaći da se Despići najčešće potpisuju na lične dokumente i korespondenciju kao Nikolići, po Nikoli, sinu Riste i Despe, sve do kraja osmanske uprave.⁴

Prema pisanim izvorima Nikola, sin Riste i Despe, kupio je kuću u Latinluku 1780. godine.⁵ On je prvi član porodice Despić koji se aktivno počeo baviti trgovinom. Nikola se oženio početkom 19. stoljeća i dobio četiri sina i jednu kćerku: Maksima, Aleksu, Jovu, Ristu i Savku. Godine 1804. Nikola posjeduje dućan i magazu.⁶

Nikolini sinovi su se sve do druge polovine 19. stoljeća nazivali Nikolić. Na svojim defterima, na samom početku, obavezno su kao znak raspoznavanja upisivali velikim slovima prezime Nikolić, isto su se oslovljavali i u međusobnoj korespondenciji, iako ima nekoliko pisama koja su bila adresirana na oba prezimena Nikolić – Despić.⁷ Prezime Despić članovi ove porodice počeli su redovno koristiti u poslovnoj korespondenciji tek pred kraj osmanske uprave, tačnije u sedmoj deceniji 19. stoljeća. Po prvi put 1870. godine Makso, sin Alekse, u jednom od deftera za ličnu upotrebu, račune potpisuje sa Makso Alekse Despić. Oba prezimena Nikolić i Despić ostaju dosta dugo u upotrebi. Godine 1872. Aleksa dobiva pozivnicu od mitropolita Poisije koja je adresirana na Aleksu Nikolića Despića.⁸ U

jamčenja u Sarajevu iz 1841. godine, Sarajevo: Muzej grada, 1970, 350.

⁴ Vidi: Historijski arhiv Sarajevo (dalje HAS), Fond porodice Despić (dalje FD), kutija br. 1, pismo 1. 8. 1854. i pismo 1. 4. 1856.

⁵ Despići su živjeli u istoj kući i 1841. godine, jer su u popisu uzajamnog jamčenja u mahali Latinluk u kući broj 6 i popisani. M. Mestvica, *Popis uzajamnog jamčenja u Sarajevu iz 1841 godine*, 350.

⁶ Tepić navodi da je magazu iznajmljivao s obzirom na to da je u defteru zapisano kako za nju kiriju plaća Imaretliću. Podatak potvrđuju i kasniji defteri iz kojih vidimo da Despići za tu magazu i 1852. godine plaćaju kiriju. Vidi: I. Tepić, "Trgovina Despića u prvoj polovini XIX vijeka", 73: HAS, FD, kutija br. 10, Defter dužnika 1851–55.

⁷ Kao prvo spominjanje prezimena Despić Tepić navodi pismo "Mehmeda Hadžibegovića (Ačibegović) iz Fojnice upućenog 21. XI 1858. godine". Ovo svakako nije prvi put da se Despići spominju kao takvi u korespondenciji. Navedeno pismo Despić je dobio od Mehmed-age Agovića iz Fojnice, međutim, prilikom kucanja je najvjerovatnije došlo do štamparske greške pa je umjesto 1848. upisana 1858. godina. Uporedi: I. Tepić, "Trgovina Despića u prvoj polovini XIX vijeka", 73, fusnota 35; HAS, FD, kutija br. 1, pismo 21. 11. 1848.

⁸ HAS, FD, kutija br. 3, Pismo 1. 8. 1872.

privatnim porodičnim pismima sve do 1878. godine porodica se u većini slučajeva međusobno oslovljava i potpisuje sa Nikolić.⁹

Dok su Nikolini potomci sebe potpisivali sa Nikolić, sam Nikola je najčešće, ukoliko je pisao nešto, osim imena upisivao Ristić, po svom ocu. On je bio izuzetno vješt trgovac, a posao je širio postepeno. Osnovni pravac trgovine u prvim decenijama 19. stoljeća usmjerio je prema Istanbulu i obratno. Trgovina s Istanbulom se najvećim dijelom odvijala kroz partnerski odnos Nikole sa Perom i Lazarom Galićem.¹⁰ Njihov ortakluk je bio reguliran tako što su Pero i Lazar kupovali robu u Istanbulu, a onda je Nikola prodavao u Sarajevu. Pored toga, jedan od njih, onaj koji putuje za Istanbul, obično je sa svojom robom dovezio naručene artikle ostalim sarajevskim trgovcima poput: Feizage Vlainića, mula Huseina Memišagića, Husage Smailovića, Muhamedage Zildžića, Avdage Hadžimusića, Mehage Hadžirustemagića, Adil-efendije Fočića i dr.¹¹

Međutim, to ne znači da je Nikola robu u Istanbul slao samo preko ortaka – godine 1826. robu je poslao sa hadži Mustafom Salihagićem iz Gračaniće.¹² Vremenom, a s obzirom na važnost Istanbula, Nikola šalje najstarijeg sina Ristu u Istanbul. Nikola je to uradio tek nakon što je bio siguran da je Risto stekao dovoljno trgovačkog iskustva.¹³ On je u glavnom gradu Carstva otvorio filijalu i uspostavio veoma žive trgovačke odnose sa velikim brojem istambulskih trgovaca.¹⁴ Interesantno je da se nakon toga ortački odnos

⁹ Vidi: HAS, FD, kutija br. 12, Aleksin trošak od januara 1870. za kućne troškove, kutija br. 13, Tefter brze veresije (konat korenti) Alekse Nikolića, 1871–1874.

¹⁰ HAS, FD, kutija br. 7, Tefter veresije, naručene i prodavane robe 1810–1830.

¹¹ Svi navedeni trgovci su naručivali velike količine robe, što upućuje na njihovu važnost u trgovačkom esnafu u navedenom periodu. Međutim, o njima nemamo nikakvih detaljnijih podataka. Vidi: HAS, FD, kutija br. 7, Defter veresije, naručene i prodane robe za period 1810–1830.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Despići su trgovali u Istanbulu sa trgovcima u raznim dijelovima grada, pa se u defterima pored imena trgovaca spominju i dijelovi grada i više čaršija poput donje i gornje. Kapital uložen u robu koja se prodavala u Istanbulu godine 1844. iznosio je 186.536 groša. Vidi: HAS, FD, kutija br. 9, Defter Istanbulske veresije iz 1844. godine.

¹⁴ To se desilo najvjerovatnije oko 1840. godine. U jednom defteru iz 1845/46. upisana je roba koju je Risto kada je otišao za Istanbul ponio sa sobom. Vidi: HAS, FD, kutija br. 10, Defter robe 1845/46.

Nikole i braće Galića više ne spominje. Na raskid partnerskih odnosa su se najvjerojatnije odlučili jer nije bilo potrebe za ortakom kada je porodica mogla unutar sebe obavljati sve poslove. To je inače bila osnova razvoja trgovine u tom 19. stoljeću: trgovinu držati unutar porodice koliko je to moguće.

Godine 1837. umro je Nikola Ristić, a njegova trgovačka kuća u Sarajevu je u toku njegovog života izrasla u veliku i uglednu trgovačku kuću koja je poslovala sa trgovačkim centrima širom Osmanskog carstva, ali i s italijanskim i austrijskim centrima. Iako su ovi centri bili izuzetno važni, a uspostavljanje veza s njima u posljednjim decenijama osmanske uprave bit će ključno za velike trgovačke poslove, moramo istaći da je trgovačka kuća Despića svoj prvobitni kapital akumulirala trgovinom sa Rumelijom i Istanbulom.¹⁵

Nakon Nikoline smrti njegova djeca nasljeđuju kapital u iznosu od 317.820,20 groša¹⁶ Naslijeđeni novac nije podijeljen na jednake dijelove, niti su nasljednici imali mogućnost da dobiju novac u gotovini. Kako se kapital ne bi dijelio, a samim time i oslabila trgovačka kuća, glavnica je ostala unutar trgovačke kuće. Napravljen je interni ugovor u kojem je regulisano koji postotak kome u porodici pripada. Od braće koji su nastavili sa radom u dućanima, porodica je dobivala dobit od 8% na godišnjem nivou.¹⁷ Njihova majka naslijedila je 1/8 iza muža i 1/8 u ime sina Maksima, koji je sigurno bio malodoban u vrijeme očeve smrti pa nije mogao samostalno preuzeti svoj dio. Maksim ili Maksimilijan, kako se još spominje u dokumentima, ne spominje se niti u poslovnoj niti u privatnoj korespondenciji u kasnijim godinama, pa možemo pretpostaviti da je vrlo brzo nakon oca i on preminuo.¹⁸ Odmah nakon očeve smrti 3. 10. 1837. godine Jovo i Aleksa

¹⁵ Samo jedna od isporuka Despića za Ušćup (Skoplje) obavljena u aprilu 1827. godine sastojala se od: 400 zerdeva, 230 semsara bosanskih, 180 mačaka mrkih, 141 ćučen i 1471 vjeverice. Vidi: HAS, FD, kutija br. 7, Defter veresije, naručene i prodane robe za period 1810–1830.

¹⁶ Ibrahim Tepić je najvjerojatnije sumu zaokružio te naveo da je ona "oko 320.000 groša". Uporedi: I. Tepić, "Trgovina Despića u prvoj polovini XIX vijeka", 74; HAS, FD, kutija br. 8, Defter dućanskih troškova 1836–1870, kutija br. 3, temesuč Savki.

¹⁷ Vidi: HAS, FD, kutija br. 1, Potvrda o dugu; kutija br. 3, Temesuč 1. 5. 1841; kutija br. 8, Tefter Jove i Alekse Nikolić te Makse Despića 1836–1870.

¹⁸ Tepić navodi da Maksim nije nadživio oca, ali ga u tom slučaju ne bi mogao naslijediti. Vidi: I. Tepić, "Trgovina Despića u prvoj polovini XIX vijeka", 73.

su kupili udio brata Riste u dvije kuće u Sarajevu koje su označili kao “velika i mala”.

Braća Risto, Jovo i Aleksa u dućanu su radili kao ortaci, dobit su dijelili na jednake dijelove, a Risto je bio zadužen za prodaju robe, posebno koža, u Istanbulu. Zbog obima posla nešto prije 1845. godine Risto je odlučio da bi za posao najbolje bilo da se preseli u Istanbul. Prema dostupnoj građi jasno se vidi da je Risto, prije nego što se preselio, prodao svoj dućan i kuću nekom muli Murizu.¹⁹ Iz Istanbula je Risto primao i slao robu ne samo braći nego i ostalim sarajevskim trgovcima.²⁰ Međutim, Risto vrlo brzo, dosta mlad, umire, a iza njega ostaju supruga Ana i četvero djece.²¹

Od 1844. pa sve do 1852. godine Jovo i Aleksa su kao ortaka u trgovačkim poslovima imali Luku Nikolića. On je dobivao robu koju je prodavao u Istanbulu, a dobit su dijelili tako da je Luka dobivao pola, a Despići pola. Ovaj ortakluk prekinula je Lukina smrt 1852. godine. Nakon toga novac koji su ostali dužni Luki predali su njegovoj supruzi, koja je jedan dio ostavila kod njih u obrt sa godišnjom kamatom od 7%.²² Nakon Lukine smrti Despići su u Istanbulu imali momka koji je preprodavao njihovu robu, a bio je tamo stalno nastanjen.²³

U drugoj polovini 19. stoljeća trgovačka kuća Despića poslove polako prebacuje ka Zapadu i tako glavnici trgovačkog kapitala ulaže u trgovinu sa zapadnim centrima. Artikli ove trgovačke kuće su se još od 1840. godine redovno nalazili i na Lajpciškim sajmovima.²⁴ Poseban poticaj za življu trgovinu sa Bečom Jovo i Aleksa dobivaju nakon otvaranja filijale u Beču od strane sarajevske trgovačke kuće Jeftanović. Sa tom porodicom Despići su bili u izuzetno dobrim poslovnim, ali i privatnim odnosima.

¹⁹ U defteru piše “kada se Risto prestanio u Istanbul prodao je mula Murlisu kuću i dućan”. Vidi: HAS, FD, kutija br. 10, Defter robe 1845/46.

²⁰ HAS, FD, kutija br. 10.

²¹ Vidi: Rodoslov Despića, u: *Despića kuća*.

²² HAS, FD, Kutija br. 9, Defter istanbulske veresije.

²³ Plata ovog momka bila je 400 groša na godinu dana. HAS, FD, kutija br. 9, Defter iz 1844.

²⁴ HAS, FD, kutija br. 1, Konto robe Alekse Nikolića iz Lajpciga.

Artikli kojima ova kuća trguje polovinom 19. stoljeća su dosta raznovrsni – pored koža, tu je kafa, šećer, svijeće i razni drugi prehrambeni artikli. Navest ćemo samo da su u prvih šest mjeseci 1849. godine Despići, preko Jeftanovića, izvezli robe u Beč u vrijednosti od 6.728,52 srebrenih forinti,²⁵ dok su 1854. godine preko njih iz Beča uvezli robe u vrijednosti od preko 3.500 srebrenih forinti.²⁶

Trgovačka kuća Despića je u drugoj polovini 19. stoljeća bila jedna od najvažnijih sarajevskih trgovačkih kuća, a količina robe kojom su trgovali svrstava ih u sami vrh trgovačke elite.²⁷ Koliko je bilo važno poslovati s njima i imati ih kao komitente govori podatak da je jedan od trgovaca komisionara koji se bavio *ekspedicijom* iz Beograda u augustu 1852. godine izrazio Despićima pismeno svoju spremnost da im vrši komisionarske usluge jeftinije od bilo kojeg komisionara s kojim oni posluju. Ponuda se posebno odnosila na trgovinu zvjerkama, voskom, lojem, masti i šljivama, te na svu robu iz Beča i Trsta.²⁸

Kako su muški potomci porodice Despić odrastali, tako su se i uvodili u porodični posao. Godine 1860. Makso, sin Jove, dobio je od oca poseban dućan, a kako bi provjerili njegove trgovačke sposobnosti, njegov otac i amidža Aleksa poslali su ga u nabavku robe u Beč. S njim je krenuo Simo Odović i njegov mlađi brat Mića. Mića je poslan u Beč na studiranje u trgovačkom institutu, i to “radi njihove budućnosti radi i sreće”, kako piše Makso.²⁹ U toku ovog putovanja Makso se pokazao kao vješt trgovac pa je kupio robe u Beču u vrijednosti od 1000 dukata. Tri godine nakon toga Makso je u Beču pazario robu za 3000 dukata, a na veresiju je nabavio robe

²⁵ HAS, FD, kutija br. 1, račun.

²⁶ U defter je upisana suma u dukatima, međutim, ako dukate računamo po 54 groša, koliko je bila vrijednost u tom periodu, a 1 groš po 12 forinti, dobit ćemo sumu od oko 3.512,5 srebrenih forinti. HAS, FD, kutija br. 1, veliki račun.

²⁷ Vidi: H. Younis, *Od dućana do pozorišta*, 94-118.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 130-131.

²⁹ Simo Odović je bio poznati sarajevski trgovac, njemu je Jovo povjerio oba sina ne samo kao iskusnom trgovcu nego i zetu, suprugu njegove kćerke. Vidi: HAS, FD, paket, rukopis Makse Despića.

u vrijednosti od 20.000 forinti ili prema tadašnjem kursu 4000 dukata.³⁰

Od godine 1860. kada Makso Jove Despić počinje raditi u trgovačkoj kući Despića, sa ocem i amidžom, glavnica se počela dijeliti tako što je Aleksa učestvovao sa pola, a Makso i Jovo po $\frac{1}{4}$. Za razliku od glavnice, dobit se dijelila na pola između Alekse i Jove.³¹ Godine 1863. umro je Jovo, otac Makse i Miće. Trgovačka kuća Despića nastavlja poslove bez diobe, a nju vode tada Makso i njegov amidža Aleksa.

Na to koliki je bio obim trgovačkih poslova ukazuje podatak da su u tri godine, tj. od 1857. do 1860. godine, Despići ostvarivali profit od 186.704 forinte,³² dok je njihov kapital uložen u robu i veresiju u periodu od 23. 9. 1860. do 4. 8. 1864. u oba dućana iznosio u srebru 56.729,26 forinta. U isto vrijeme robe kod drugih trgovaca imale su vrijednost 414.147 forinta, a dukati koje su posudili uz kamatu bili su u iznosu od 5.786, tj. 300.872 forinte.³³

U toku 1866. godine prodali su robe u jednom dućanu u Sarajevu u iznosu od 547.342,39 groša.³⁴ U periodu nakon augusta 1867. godine u obračun troškova ulazi i Mića i dobit se nakon toga dijeli na dva dijela – Aleksi pola, a Mići i Maksu druga polovica. Godina 1871. bila je veoma važna u historiji ove trgovačke kuće. Te godine došlo je do podjele unutar nje nakon čega su nastale dvije trgovačke kuće – Alekse Nikolića i druga Makse i Miće Nikolića. U obavještenju ostalim trgovcima o podjeli trgovačke kuće Nikolići su naveli da su se razišli sporazumno.³⁵ Takva obavijest trebala je uliti povjerenje trgovcima i komitentima da je njihova trgovina stabilna te da će sve već preuzete obaveze biti sigurne i isplaćene.

Nakon podjele trgovačke kuće u Aleksinu trgovinu uključuje se 1872. godine njegov sin Jeftan. Da se porodica zaista podijelila na miran način govori i podatak da iste godine kada Jeftan počinje da se bavi trgovinom i

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ HAS, FD, kutija br. 2, Dokument zarada Alekse i Makse Nikolića 1864–1867.

³² HAS, FD, Dokument zarada Alekse i Makse Nikolića 1864–1867.

³³ HAS, FD, kutija br. 9, Defter šta kome dajemo pod fajdu novaca 1845–1862.

³⁴ HAS, FD, kutija br. 10, Teftar prodane robe za 1866. g.

³⁵ Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine (dalje ABiH), Fond Jelića (dalje FJ), kutija br. 7a, Pismo podjele.

kreće u Beč u nabavku robe sa njim ide i Makso kao iskusan trgovac.³⁶ Trgovačke odnose sa Bečom u sedmoj deceniji 19. stoljeća najvećim dijelom obavljaju preko trgovačke kuće Mose f. Finzi, a njihov međusobni promet na godišnjem nivou iznosi oko 7.500 forinti. Najveći dio novca koji su Despići zarađivali u Beču stavljali su direktno u austrijske banke.

Prava proširenja poslovnih prostora Despići su napravili još u prvoj polovini 19. stoljeća. Tako su 1846. godine unutar porodične kuće izgradili veliku magazu. Godine 1848, pored već postojeća dva dućana, izgradili su jedan veliki dućan, najvjerovatnije u Ćurčiluku, kao i još jednu magazu. Naredne godine kupili su još jednu kuću, 1855. još jednu magazu, a 1856. godine kupuju nekretninu od Mustafe Prele i još jednu magazu.³⁷ Godine 1858. u porodičnu imovinu dodaju još jednu magazu u Aščinicama i kuću od Nike Skarića.³⁸

Pored ulaganja u trgovačku robu i kupovinu nekretnina, Despići dio kapitala ulažu i u bankovne transakcije. Prema sačuvanim dokumentima možemo reći da od 1844. godine Despići organizovano posuđuju novac uz mjesečnu kamatu. Kamata je varirala zavisno od osobe kojoj je novac posuđivan, ali i vremena. Tako se kamata kretala od 2% na mjesečnu posudbu, dok je na godišnjem nivou uglavnom iznosila 9%. Poznatim i povjerljivim novac su davali i sa kamatom od 1% mjesečno.³⁹ Kreditiranje je bio posao kojim su se Despići bavili sve do austrougarske okupacije, a s obzirom na to da je bankarstvo bilo tek u začecima, taj posao je bio izuzetno važan ne samo zbog njihovog profita nego i mogućnosti posudbe novca onima koji su bili u potrebi.⁴⁰

Pored davanja novca na kamatu, Despići se u drugoj polovini 19. stoljeća redovno bave i mijenjanjem novca, dakle sarafskim poslovima, posebno u

³⁶ HAS, FD, kutija br. 15, kopije pisama Jeftana Despića.

³⁷ Jednu od magaza Despići su iznajmljivali trgovačkoj kući Jelića za godišnje 900 forinti od augusta 1858. do augusta 1863. godine. HAS, FD, kutija br. 9, Tefter Alekse i Jove Nikolića 1845–1862.

³⁸ HAS, FD, kutija br. 8, Defter troškova 1836–1870.

³⁹ HAS, FD, kutija br. 9, Defter Alekse i Jove Nikolića 1845–1862.

⁴⁰ Trgovačka kuća Despića jedina ima sačuvanu građu, deftere, o davanju novca na kamatu. Njihova klijentela su, pored uglednih trgovaca Jelića, Hadžiavakumovića, Kumašina, bili i ugledni osmanski administrativni službenici poput dr. Ketcheta, sarajevskog mule i drugih. Vidi: HAS, FD, kutija br. 9, Defter šta kome dajemo pod fajdu novaca 1845–1862.

Istanbulu i Beču. U Istanbulu kupuju pored ostalog i banknote. Godine 1853. kupili su banknote u vrijednosti od 3000 forinti koje su osigurali ažijom i prodali u Beču.⁴¹ Kapital su sticali i uzimanjem kredita iz bečkih banaka u domaćoj valuti koju su poslije mijenjali u groše i forinte i na tome imali priličnu zaradu, nikada manju od 8% na ukupnu sumu.

O tome koliko je trgovačka kuća Despića u posljednjim decenijama osmanske uprave postala materijalno jaka i ugledna govori i podatak da su na pismima koja šalju svojim komitentima imali, u lijevom uglu papira na vrhu lista, utisnut žig na kojem piše Giov. Alex Nikolich, a ispod ovog žiga pisalo je Sarajevo.⁴²

Budući da je bila jedna od vodećih porodica, njeni članovi su obnašali i razne administrativne funkcije. Tako je Makso Despić jedno vrijeme radio u osmanskoj državnoj blagajni, dok je dućan preuzeo njegov brat Mića. Nakon smrti Alekse Despića njegov dućan je nastavio voditi njegov sin Jeftan.⁴³

Privatni troškovi porodice Despić

Njihov privatni život bio je odraz napredovanja u društvu i materijalne stabilnosti, ali i uticaja zapadnoevropskog života koji je sve više postajao dio stanovnika Sarajeva građa. To se posebno može pratiti kroz njihove “kućne troškove”. Defteri koje su redovno vodili pod tim imenom ukazuju na stil života, promjene u društvenom statusu, ali i njihov međusobni intimni odnos unutar porodice. S obzirom na to da su sačuvani defteri pred kraj osmanske i početak austrougarske uprave, njihovo poređenje može ukazati na promjene i koliko su one bile vidne u privatnom aspektu u prvim godinama nakon višestoljetne promjene vlasti.

U defteru koji je Aleksa vodio dnevno od godine 1870. svaki trošak je upisivan tokom dana, a račune je spravnavao mjesečno. U defter su upisivani

⁴¹ O tome više vidi: H. Younis, *Od dućana do pozorišta*, 210.

⁴² HAS, FD, kutija br. 10, knjiga kopija pisama Alekse i Jove Despića 1859–1860.

⁴³ Despići su u doba Austro-Ugarske pored ostalog bili vlasnici i zavoda za plakatiranje. Vidi: HAS, FD, kutija br. 4.

svi troškovi, bez obzira na to koliko bili mali. Njegova analiza ukazuje na to da je novac uglavnom trošen na osnovne prehrambene artikle poput masla, zobi, jaja, mesa, loja za pravljenje sapuna, zejtina, mliiva, pšenice i šećera.⁴⁴ Povremeno, ne češće od jednom u pola godine, kupovali su rahatlokume i vino.⁴⁵ Iako se ovi artikli čine dosta skromni, oni su zapravo predstavljali luksuz koji su sebi rijetki mogli pa i nekoliko puta godišnje priuštiti. Činjenica da su hljeb kupovali te da ih je to koštalo mjesečno oko 120 groša, još jedan je pokazatelj luksuza koji su sebi dozvoljavali. Despići su imali ugovor sa ekmekčijom – pekarom o redovnom snabdijevanju hljebom.

Analiza ostalih troškova otkriva i intimni život porodice. Aleksa je od redovnih izdataka najviše novca davao amidžinoj supruzi. Skoro svakodnevno je dobivala iznos između 50 i 105 groša za dnevne troškove.⁴⁶ Pored nje kao najstarijeg člana porodice, ali direktnog vlasnika nakon Jovine smrti, novac za lične potrebe je jedino još dobivao Aleksin sin Jeftan. Aleksine kćerke nisu niti jednom dobile određeni iznos za troškove. Možemo samo pretpostaviti da su pojedini kupljeni artikli poput kundura, papuča, čarapa, materijala za šivanje bili za njih.⁴⁷

S obzirom na to da je ogrjev bio ključni ne samo zimi za grijanje već i za kuhanje tokom cijele godine, on se nabavljao redovno i u velikim količinama. Despići su se u julu snabdijevali ćumurom za narednu zimsku sezonu, ali i za svakodnevne potrebe kuhanja. Drva za loženje su se kupovala dva do tri puta godišnje, najvjerojatnije zbog svakodnevne potrebe za njima, ali i zbog prostora koji su zauzimala. Povremeno se u troškovima spominje i sijeno, što ukazuje na to da su Despići imali domaće životinje, ali je teško utvrditi koje s obzirom na to da su redovno kupovali mlijeko.

Sve imućnije sarajevske porodice imale su poslugu u kući, pa su i Despići 1873. i 1874. godine imali Dašu koja je za 1873. godinu dobila platu u

⁴⁴ HAS, FD, kutija br. 12, Aleksin trošak od januara 1870. za kućne troškove.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Ibid.

iznosu od 738 groša.⁴⁸ Međutim, Daša nije uvijek dobivala godišnju platu iz jednog dijela, niti je iznos ostao isti. Godine 1874. je dobila godišnju platu u više nejednakih obroka, a mjesečno joj je plata povećana na 184 groša. Za teže poslove plaćali su Stjepu koji je imao platu 1845 groša.⁴⁹ Iako su bili dosta imućni, u izdacima se izuzetno rijetko spominje davanje sirotinji. Tačnije, jednom tokom 1870. godine, pa ponovno i 1874. godine, ubilježen je izdatak od 104, odnosno 61 groša datog za sirotinju.⁵⁰ S obzirom na to da je davanje sirotinji upisano u mjesecu januaru, možemo pretpostaviti da se najvjerovatnije radilo o davanju za Božić.

Kroz detaljnu analizu deftera vidimo da su ljeti porodično putovali u Kiseljak, ali i da su posjećivali banje. S obzirom na to da je bolest bila dosta česta, odlazak u banju je bio redovan, ali i posjete ljekara. U privatne kućne vizite porodici su dolazili dr. Ali Efendi i dr. Joseph Ketchet, ali i apotekar. Ti pregledi su bili veliki trošak za porodicu, što vidimo iz deftera.⁵¹ Jovina je supruga bila bolesna u julu 1874. godine i pop je dolazio u kućne posjete, što je porodicu koštalo 12 groša.⁵²

Kroz deftere troškova jasno se uočava modernizacija koja je sedamdesetih godina 19. stoljeća već uveliko postala sastavni dio sarajevske svakodnevnice. Fotograf je bio jedan od njih pa su Despići u porodičnim troškovima povremeno imali i tu stavku: za fotografa. Pored toga, garderobu, koja je najvjerovatnije bila po ala-franka modelu, nakon otvaranja radnje za “skidanje fleka” Aleksa je slao “flekeru Jeftanu”. Inače je za pranje veša bila zadužena Daša, a nakon okupacije, kako se vidi iz kućnih troškova za 1882. i 1883. godinu, taj je posao obavljala Nura.⁵³

Ako pogledamo ukupne troškove Alekse Nikolića i njegove porodice za godinu 1870, možemo zaključiti da je najviše potrošeno u aprilu –

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid.

⁵³ HAS, FD, kutija br. 6, Knjiga troškova Jeftana Despića 1876–1882.

5640 groša, a najmanje u julu – 1848 groša. Ukoliko pogledamo mjesečni prosjek, onda je porodica trošila oko 3200 groša. Interesantno je da tri godine poslije mjesečni prosjek iznosi oko 1950 groša, što je značajno manja suma. Ni naredne godine troškovi nisu bili mnogo veći i kretali su se između 1468 groša u junu do 5760 groša koliko je iznosio trošak u januaru iste godine. Međutim, treba imati u vidu da je Aleksa u januaru 1874. godine sravnio sve račune koje je bio dužan tokom protekle godine, zbog čega je trošak bio više nego duplo u odnosu na druge mjesece. Dakle, porodični troškovi tokom prvih godina osme decenije 19. stoljeća nisu se povećali, čak su u prosjeku bili manji.⁵⁴

Teško je utvrditi koliki je bio prihod od ukupnog pazara u dućanima Despića. Međutim, ako uzmemo ukupnu prikazanu sumu, vidimo da je mjesečni pazar tokom 1873. godine u prosjeku bio oko 14.560 groša, što bi značilo da je kućni trošak iznosio oko 12% od ukupnog pazara koji su ostvarivali.⁵⁵

Defter troškova vodio je i Aleksin sin Jeftan, počevši od posljednjih decenija osmanske uprave, a onda i prvih godina nakon okupacije. Dok se Aleksa na defterima potpisivao samo sa Nikolić, Jeftan se potpisuje isključivo sa Despić.⁵⁶

Komparacijom dnevnih troškova možemo zaključiti da je porodica nakon okupacije dosta više trošila na “luksuzne” stvari poput mesa, vina, slatke rakije. Također, voće i povrće, koje su do okupacije kupovali samo u sezoni, i to veoma rijetko, nakon okupacije se spominje dosta češće. Tako su *krumpir* kupili u julu 1882. godine čak šest puta, pa ponovno u augustu isto toliko puta.⁵⁷ Po prvi put se spominju i “makarune” koje su Despići kupili u julu 1882. godine. Jeftan također povremeno upisuje i troškove za kola, koja su Despići očito nabavili za lične potrebe.

⁵⁴ Uporedi: HAS, FD, kutija br. 12, Aleksin trošak od januara 1870. za kućne troškove; kutija br. 6, Knjiga troškova Jeftana Despića 1876–1882.

⁵⁵ HAS, FD, kutija br. 8, Tefer kućnih troškova Alekse Nikolića Despića 1873. godine.

⁵⁶ Vidi: HAS, FD, kutija br. 6, Knjiga troškova Jeftana Despića 1876–1882.

⁵⁷ Ibid.

Kupovina hljeba kod ekmekčije nastavljena je i nakon okupacije, a ugovor koji je Jeftan napravio 1882. godine bio je na iznos od 12 groša mjesečno.⁵⁸ Međutim, pored toga, u dnevnim troškovima vidimo da se pojavljuju i kifle, koje su se plaćale posebno, a kupovale ipak samo povremeno.

Daša više nije radila kod Despića nakon okupacije, ali su za to posebno plaćali ženu “za potiranje”, a neku Nuru za pranje veša. Ni Stjepo se više ne spominje, ali se poseban trošak unosi za momka koji je cijepao drva.

Ukoliko pogledamo detaljno sume koje su trošene, bez obzira na veliki broj artikala koji je kupovan tokom 1882. godine, zbir se u prosjeku tek malo povećao i iznosio je oko 3600 groša mjesečno.⁵⁹

Sve navedeno jasno ukazuje na to koliko su sačuvani defteri posebno važni za sagledavanje historije ove porodice, ali i promjena u društvu u tom periodu. Oni nam otkrivaju jednu posebnu sliku života unutar privatnog prostora, istovremeno ukazujući na odnose unutar porodice, ali i stvari koje su im bile važne i za koje su htjeli odvojiti novac te one koje nisu smatrali vrijednim. Njihov status i bogatstvo jasno se oslikava kroz sitne nabavke koje porodica sebi može priuštiti, ali i odlaske u banje, kućne posjete ljekara i poslugu.

Zaključak

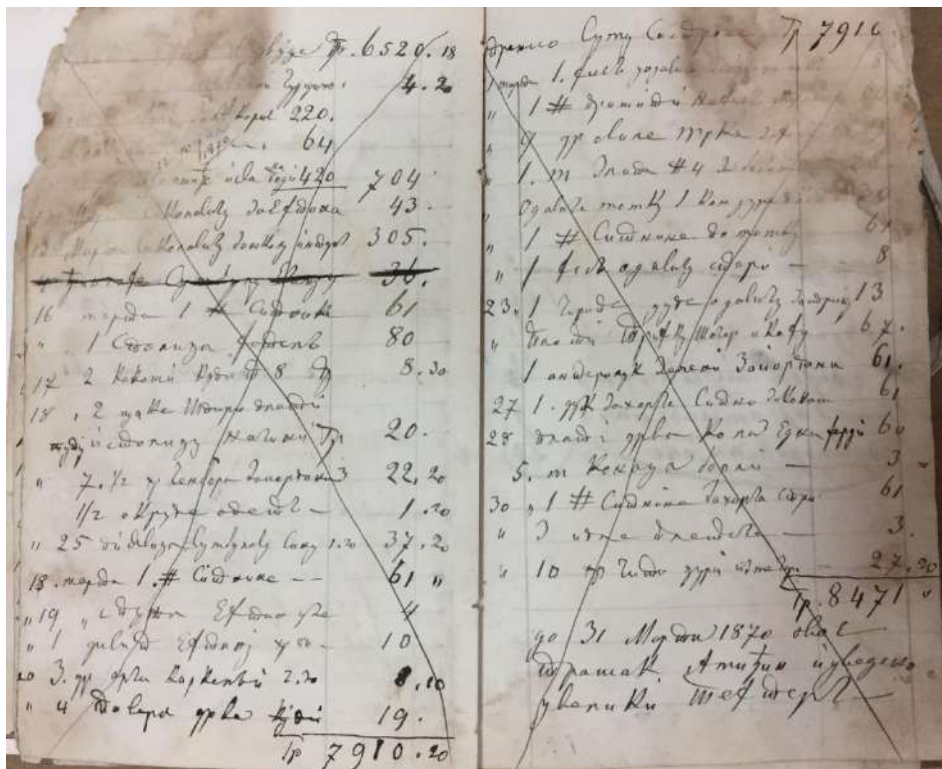
Porodica Despić bila je predmet mnogih naučnih i publicističkih radova. I pored toga, mnogi detalji o njoj ostali su neotkriveni. Posebno je važno ukazati na razvoj njihove trgovačke kuće koja je u osnovi bila razlogom njihovog napredovanja kako u materijalnom tako i u društvenom aspektu. Prvi spomeni porodice datirani su iz 18. stoljeća, međutim, prezime po kojem su prepoznatljivi oni sami nisu koristili do druge polovine 19. stoljeća. Iako se porodica širila, trgovina se nije dijelila sve do 1871. godine. Poslovne veze Despići su do tada već uspostavili sa Habsburškom Monarhijom i centrima u Italiji. I pored rasprostranjene trgovine, osnova

⁵⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

njihovog kapitala je dolazila od trgovine sa Rumelijom i Istanbulom. Despići su jedno vrijeme imali i filijalu u Istanbulu. Pored trgovine bavili su se i sarafskim poslovima, kao i davanjem novca na kamatu. Od tih poslova također su imali značajne dobitke.

S obzirom na bogatstvo koje su stekli trgovinom, njihov društveni status se promijenio te su počeli zauzimati važne administrativne pozicije, posebno nakon austrougarske okupacije. Koliko je ta promjena uticala na svakodnevnicu porodice jasno se oslikava kroz njihove deftere kućnih troškova. Iako je suma koju troše prije i poslije okupacije veoma slična, artikli koji se kupuju relativno su drugačiji. Porodica je sebi i posljednjih godina osmanske uprave znala priuštiti pojedine luksuzne artikle poput lokuma i badema. To što su hljeb kupovali, a ne pravili, govori o njihovom položaju, ali isto tako posluga koja je redovno isplaćivana ukazuje na to da je porodica imala mnogobrojne pogodnosti zahvaljujući materijalnom bogatstvu. To se nastavilo i nakon okupacije, s tim da su novi artikli po uzoru na trpezu ala franka postali češći.



Fotografija 1. List deftera kućnih troškova Alekse Nikolića Despića iz februara 1870. godine⁶⁰

⁶⁰ HAS, FD, kutija br. 12, Aleksin trošak od januara 1870. za kućne troškove.

002

Trošci u nozi od Mjeseca 1. Marna 1873

za ogrevo u stariju	4	52
u stariju Eff. u stariju		120
za uo. Kob		12
za gaja		5
za mico		24
u stariju u stariju. p. uo. Kob.		132
za mico		26
Bedriju		2
Bedriju		10
Atlu u za mico		30
u stariju u stariju u stariju		21
Atlu za apra.		91
Sojafju		225
za mico		66
Bedriju		42
u stariju u stariju za apra.		30
za mico		42
Atlu za apra.		41
za mico u stariju u stariju		235
Bedriju u Atlu za apra.		75
		1437.10

Fotografija 2. List deftera kućnih troškova Alekse Nikolića Despića iz marta 1873. godine⁶¹

⁶¹ HAS, FD, kutija br. 8, Teftar kućnih troškova Alekse Nikolića Despića 1873. godine.

Мошо сѣрѣхуи са рѣтѣ
Семе Ноносу Лѣтѣ рѣтѣ 1881. год

3a. Месо	1	1.00
3a. Мѣсо		1.00
60. рѣтѣ во 14. рѣтѣ		1.75
3a. Ке 170. рѣтѣ на мѣтѣ	1	4.60
3a. Месо		1.10
11. оѣтѣ мѣтѣ рѣтѣ	1	1.10
2. оѣтѣ мѣтѣ рѣтѣ	1	1.40
22. рѣтѣ рѣтѣ рѣтѣ	1	50
3a. рѣтѣ рѣтѣ	1	10
3a. Месо		1.40
3a. рѣтѣ рѣтѣ		11
4. мѣтѣ рѣтѣ рѣтѣ	1	1.65
22. оѣтѣ мѣтѣ рѣтѣ	1	8.40
3a. рѣтѣ		21
3a. рѣтѣ		16
3a. оѣтѣ мѣтѣ	1	1.40
24. рѣтѣ рѣтѣ рѣтѣ	1	5
3a. Месо рѣтѣ	1	1.45
3a. рѣтѣ рѣтѣ	1	50
3a. рѣтѣ рѣтѣ	1	10
3a. рѣтѣ рѣтѣ	1	1.45
3a. рѣтѣ рѣтѣ	1	20
3a. Месо	1	1
3a. рѣтѣ рѣтѣ	1	30
рѣтѣ рѣтѣ рѣтѣ	1	3.75
6. рѣтѣ во 13. рѣтѣ		1.50
107. оѣтѣ мѣтѣ рѣтѣ	1	44
3a. рѣтѣ рѣтѣ	1	55
3a. рѣтѣ рѣтѣ	1	30
3a. рѣтѣ рѣтѣ	1	35
4. оѣтѣ рѣтѣ	1	2

250
6405
8910

Fotografija 3. List deftera kućnih troškova Alekse Nikolića Despića iz februara 1881. godine⁶²

⁶² Ibid.



Fotografija 4. Obavijest za Gavru Jelića da se trgovačka kuća Despić podijelila⁶³

⁶³ АБиН, FJ, kutija br. 7a, Pismo podjele.



Fotografija 5. Aleksa Despić sa porodicom pored kovčega umrle majke⁶⁴

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Arhivski izvori

Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine, Sarajevo

Fond porodice Jelić

Historijski arhiv Sarajevo, Sarajevo

Fond porodice Despić

⁶⁴ Fotografija objavljena u: H. Younis, *Od dućana do pozorišta*, 337 (original se nalazi u HAS, FD, kutija br. 3).

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SKETCHES FROM THE PAST OF THE DESPIĆ TRADING HOUSE WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO PERSONAL EXPENSES, 1870-1882

Summary

The Despić family was the subject of many scientific works and publications. Despite this, many details about this family remained undisclosed. It is especially important to point out the development of their trading house, which was basically the reason for their progress both in financial and social aspects. The first mentions of the family date from the 18th century, however, they did not use the surname by which they are recognizable until the second half of the 19th century. Although the family expanded, the business was not divided until 1871. By then, the Despićs had already established business ties with the Habsburg Monarchy and centers in Italy. Despite widespread trade, the basis of their capital came from trade with Rumelia and Istanbul. The Despićs also had a branch in Istanbul for a period of time. In addition to trade, they also engaged in foreign currency exchange business, as well as lending money at interest. They also made significant profits from those businesses.

Considering the wealth they acquired through trade, their social status changed and they began to occupy important administrative positions, especially after the Austro-Hungarian occupation. How much this change affected the family's daily life is clearly visible in the *defter* of their household expenses. Although the amount they spent before and after the occupation was very similar, the items they bought were relatively different. Even in the last years of the Ottoman administration, the family was able to afford certain luxury items such as Turkish delight and almonds. The fact that they bought bread instead of making it speaks of their position, but also the servants that were paid regularly indicate that the family had many benefits thanks to their wealth. This continued even after the occupation, with new items, modeled on the service *à la française*, becoming more common.

KARL RITTER STEFANOWSKI AND HIS WORK ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF MODERN BANKING IN AUSTRO-HUNGARIAN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

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Abstract: After the fall of Bosnia and Herzegovina under Austria-Hungary in 1878, the new government soon began to form its administration. Bosnia and Herzegovina lacked both the staff and modern institutions required for the progress of modern agriculture and business. One of the fundamental preconditions for this progress, capital, was not institutionally and practically developed. The new administration in an attempt to make progress brought in specialists from Austria-Hungary to study conditions and propose improvements. One of the specialists was Karl Stefanowski. He spent most of his working life employed in state administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina. In 1886, he was commissioned by the common minister of finance Benjamin Kallay to make a study concerning the state of credit operations and the possibility of improving the conditions in this area. This paper deals primarily with this study and its effect on Bosnian credit operations.

Keywords: credit, agriculture, peasants, serfs, Bosnia and Herzegovina, mortgage

Apstrakt: Nakon pada Bosne i Hercegovine pod Austro-Ugarsku, nova vlast je ubrzo pristupila formiranju svoje administracije. Bosni i Hercegovini je falilo kadra neophodnog za napredak u sferi poljoprivrede i poduzetništva. Jedan od temeljnih preduslova za taj napredak, kapital, nije bio institucionalno i u praksi razvijen. Pokušavajući da ostvari napredak, austrougarska administracija dovela je stručnjake iz Monarhije poput Karla Stefanowskog. Veći dio svog radnog vijeka on je proveo u Bosni i Hercegovini. Tokom 1886. bio je zadužen od strane zajedničkog ministra finansija Benjamina Kallaya da izradi studiju koja će analizirati stanje kredita u zemlji i predložiti mjere za njegovo ozdravljenje. Ovaj rad se bavi tim elaboratom i njegovim efektom na razvoj bosanskohercegovačkog kreditnog poslovanja.

Ključne riječi: kredit, poljoprivreda, seljaci, kmetovi, Bosna i Hercegovina, hipoteka

Bosnia and Herzegovina, as is well known, welcomed the nineteenth century as part of the Ottoman Empire, which has been going through numerous challenges for its survival throughout this period. The revolts of Christian-populated areas, the collapse of Ottoman state institutions, and the aggressiveness of neighbors made the future of the Ottoman Empire uncertain. In this light, it was difficult or almost impossible to expect that Bosnia and Herzegovina, as part of the Empire, would successfully embrace the achievements of the rapidly changing and advancing modern world. Within that, banking should be viewed as one of the pillars of the modern development of European countries. The circulation of money in the Ottoman period was extremely slow and hampered primarily by poor road infrastructure, the absence of industry and outdated methods of work in all branches of the economy. All this led to the fact that the value of the economy of Bosnia and Herzegovina was quite low, which directly affected the amount of capital in circulation in the country. In addition, until the end of the Ottoman period in Bosnia and Herzegovina, taxes were paid in kind, which is a commodity way of doing business, which in European countries has long been surpassed by the commodity-money economy.

Due to the different structure of society and cultural differences, modern banking operations in Bosnia and Herzegovina occur later than in the rest of Europe and its neighbourhood. At this time, there were no modern banking institutions that dealt with credit in the entire territory of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which is primarily a consequence of the overall political and economic development of this area in that period. Of course, this does not mean that credit as a source of money did not exist, because historical sources from the Ottoman period testify that credit existed, but the forms of credit were different than in developed European countries. During this period, moneylenders also borrowed money, and gave loans to anyone who would offer them valid guarantees. As their name suggests, the interest on their money was astronomical, for one florin they charged ten kreuzers a week, which was about 520% per year. Russian consul Gilferding noted that Orthodox wholesalers in Sarajevo gave merchandise on loan with an interest of 3–5% interest rate per month.¹

The greater need for money arose after the Safer Order, which enabled the possibility of buying out serfs. In order to enable the peasants to get a cheap loan, the state organized menafi-boxes (useful treasury, foundation) by order of the Vilayet government in 1866. Bosnian *valija* (administrator) Topal Osman Pasha took the idea of menafi-boxes from the Danube Vilayet (Bulgaria), where similar institutions already existed. The first menafi-box was founded in 1867, and until the Austro-Hungarian occupation, 38 menafi-boxes were founded in 46 districts with the task of helping the population of the region with loans, improving the economy, etc. According to the rules, the loan from the menafi-box could be obtained by anyone who requested them, and the interest rate was 1% on a monthly basis. However, in the order on the menafi-boxes, it was stated that merchants and craftsmen could get loans, but only when the peasants' needs were settled. The explanation for this policy was that the capital of the foundation was created by peasant labour, i.e. the sale of agricultural

¹ Aleksandar Gilferding, *Putovanje po Hercegovini, Bosni i Staroj Srbiji*, Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1972, 58.

products, so it is fair that this money is used primarily for agricultural development purposes. The minimum loan duration was three months and the maximum was one year. Before the Austro-Hungarian occupation, these institutions had assets of 2,658,000 groschen, or about half a million gold Kronen. The menafi-boxes proved to be a successful step towards overcoming poverty and improving agriculture, so the Austro-Hungarian government took them over and continued to use them after 1878,² and as we will see continued to rely on them in the future.

The initial need for the work of monetary institutions was conditioned by the need of the state administration to entrust these institutions with the collection of some state revenues, such as salt and tobacco. However, the Habsburg administration had the principle to impede the development of national banking in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Their policy was to promote foreign, preferably Austro-Hungarian capital financial investment in Bosnia and Herzegovina. That principle was in place for more than half of the entire period of Austro-Hungarian occupation and administration. American historian Sugar noted that Minister Kallay was adamant to prevent forming of any bank with the prefix “Serb”, “Muslim”, or “Croat”.³

Nevertheless, it is not sufficient to say that the Austro-Hungarian financial policy in Bosnia and Herzegovina was harsh and hindered domestic development. During the period of the occupation and administration 1878–1918, many renowned specialists took part in probing the Bosnian economy with a particular interest in finance and banking. The National government and the Ministry of finance often tasked trustworthy to write elaborates, reports and guidelines on how to solve a certain problem. This practice was always a good way to solve problems. One interesting recall of this practice came after the dissolution of the Monarchy from the pen of one Slav who wrote: “All this post-war work with regard to livestock breeding

² Hamdija Kreševljaković, “Menafi-sanduci (poljodjelske pripomoćne zadruge) u Bosni i Hercegovini (1866–1878)”, in: *Izabrana djela*, vol. 3, Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1991, 383-395.

³ Peter F. Sugar, *Industrialization of Bosnia-Herzegovina 1878–1918*, Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1963, 243.

is marked with dilettante experimenting. Austrian administration at least worked in tandem with university professors. Currently, this practice is unknown to us”⁴

Elaborates on financial policy are known to historiography. One such report was written in 1882 and submitted to minister Kallay. This report was published in 1969 by Ferdo Hauptman.⁵ At the time of writing this report, Plenker was the head of the financial department in the National Government of Bosnia and Herzegovina. Another known report concerning financial matters was the report of Hermann Sauter, the president of the Austrian trade Union from 1910. This report was presented by Dževad Juzbašić in 1970.⁶ Common ground for both works is the depth in which their authors go to explain the problem and then to propose the solution. It is safe to say that these papers could be labelled as case studies and examples on how to solve certain problems in the country.

In this paper, another such case study is presented to the historiographical community. The paper was written in 1886/7 by a member of the Austro-Hungarian administration, Karl Stefanowski, who was Polish by nationality.

Karol Tadeusz Stefanowski Ritter von Syrokomla was sent to Bosnia and Herzegovina during the war, i.e. in 1878. We learn a little about his story from the documents left behind, which can be found in the Archives of the Federation of Bosnia and Herzegovina in Sarajevo.⁷ In the collection

⁴ Milan Janković – Josip Džuverović, “Stočarstvo i stočarska proizvodnja u Bosni i Hercegovini”, in: *Bosna i Hercegovina kao privredno područje*, Sarajevo: Bosanska pošta, 1938, 56.

⁵ Ferdo Hauptman, “Memorandum šefa finansijskog odjeljenja bosanskohercegovačke Zemaljske vlade Plenker o finansijskoj problematici Bosne i Hercegovine u prvim godinama austrougarske okupacije”, in: *Glasnik Arhiva i Društva arhivskih radnika Bosne i Hercegovine*, Sarajevo: Arhiv BiH, vol. VIII–IX, 1969, 511-574.

⁶ Dževad Juzbašić, “Izveštaj Hermanna von Sautera o odnosima Bosne i Hercegovine i monarhije u svjetlu austro-ugarskih ekonomskih suprotnosti”, in: *Politika i privreda u Bosni i Hercegovini pod austrougarskom upravom*, Special editions, book CXIV, Department of Social Sciences, book 35, Sarajevo: ANUBiH, 2002, 87-120.

⁷ Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine (hereinafter: ABiH), fond Personalni dosje (hereinafter: PD), Karol Stefanowski

Personalni Dosje, two of his biographies have been preserved, which he wrote in August and November 1918, when Austria-Hungary – the state he served for over 30 years – collapsed. He was then already a 65-year-old man. The reason for the creation of biographies was a request to the authorities to include in the pension paid to him the period of work from 1910 to 1915 when he prepared a manual for officials for the Austro-Hungarian authorities, which was to help them prepare for service in Bosnia and Herzegovina.⁸

One biography was addressed to the National Government, and the other to the new post-war authorities. From these biographies, we learn that Stefanowski, born in 1853 in the Galician town of Narol,⁹ shortly after his studies at Law faculty in Lviv and then in Vienna, went to practice in the capital of the monarchy, and then in August 1878, he was employed in Bosnian office and immediately went to the occupied territories with soldiers. Thus, he was one of the first civil servants, of the new administration, to be there. In May of the following year, he moved to the Balkans where he started working in the police in Sarajevo and Banja Luka. Therefore, he had to create the structures of new offices from scratch. However, he managed to do this very well, as evidenced by his subsequent promotions and decorations. In 1881, he was briefly transferred to the district of Žepče, and a year later he returned to Sarajevo.¹⁰ Such reorganizations of young officials were on the agenda in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The lack of a permanent, sufficiently large staff meant that they were moved from place to place even several times a year. This lack of stability was often criticized by officials, which led to the reform in 1885, which somewhat stabilized the situation.

In 1882 Stefanowski returned to Sarajevo, where he managed to achieve considerable success, because by using a trick he managed to catch two of

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Archiv der Universität Wien, Juridischen Fakultät Nationale, 1874 S–Z, ref. no. 100, 146.

¹⁰ According to the diary of British Consul Edward Bothamley Freeman, Stefanowski was a frequent visitor to the British embassy in Sarajevo during the first period of the occupation. British Library, Collection of Manuscripts, FREEMAN JOURNALS: Journals of Edward Bothamley Freeman (1 Jan 1875 – 19 Jan 1880), sign. MS 59750, 8. 6. 1879, p. 65.

the most dangerous criminals in the city; Tardović and Zekanović.¹¹ For this success, he was awarded the Cross of Franz Joseph (Franz Joseph-Kreuz).¹² During his career, he was not only involved in the police. In Gradiška, where he worked, he was responsible for infrastructure; road construction and administration, while in Derventa he paid special attention to the development of agriculture, in particular, he spread the cultivation of sugar beets. In the latter biography, written to the new provisional authorities that took over the government in Bosnia and Herzegovina after the collapse of Austria-Hungary, he did not mention his achievements as a police officer but wrote: *Throughout the whole period of my ministry – I was, as is well known – zealous, conscientious, fair and impartial regardless of nationality and religion [...]*.¹³

In 1893 he joined the National Government, where he worked for 15 years until his retirement in 1908. Karl Ritter von Stefanowski was a widely respected person in Sarajevo. He belonged to the local elite, a new social group, which with the arrival of the masses from outside Bosnia and Herzegovina dominated the local culture, art, and science. Stefanowski loved both music and science, for some time he was the president of the Men's Music Society (*Muško pjevačko društvo u Sarajevu*).¹⁴ He had an impressive library, in which, in addition to books, he also stored valuable documents. From his personal form, we learn that he had two children – daughter Karolina born in 1878, and son Rudolf in 1881.

Stressful work was one of the causes of his heart disease, which he began to complain about as early as 1905. Since then, he went on leave several times to stay healthy and finally left the service in 1908 with the rank of Court Counselor. It was then that he moved to the seaside Opatija, then called Abbasia. It was the most important resort on this side of the Adriatic,

¹¹ More about Zekanović's crime: *Wiener Allgemeine Zeitung*, no. 718 (26. 2. 1882), p. 3; *Wiener Zeitung*, no. 143 (23. 6. 1882), p. 2.

¹² ABiH, PD, Karol Stefanowski.

¹³ Ibid.

¹⁴ "Desetogodišnjica Muškog pjevačkog društva u Sarajevu", *Nada*, no. 12, 1897, 238-239.

where the Austro-Hungarian middle class, including Poles from Galicia,¹⁵ rested. Nevertheless, Stefanowski did not completely abandon the capital. His library remained in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and probably also an apartment to which he returned in the summer – while the winters he spent by the Adriatic Sea.¹⁶

The last trace of Stefanowski that has been established is the aforementioned application from November 1918, so it is not known whether his request was granted. However, this is doubtful, especially since the new authorities were reluctant towards people who worked for the previous “regime.” Cases when officials were removed from their previous positions, and even repression by the new authorities, were common.¹⁷

Context of Stefanowski’s paper

The first eight years of the Austro-Hungarian occupation was a period of consolidation of its power in the occupied provinces. During this time, new authorities founded modern administration and brought into practice new laws which regulated the occupation. With regards to finance, it should be noted that both economic development and the influx of state capital from the Monarchy were somewhat constrained by Governing law from February 22nd, 1880 which stipulated that Bosnia and Herzegovina will cover all governing costs with domestic sources of revenue. In practice, this meant that it was very difficult for Bosnia and Herzegovina to obtain credits and subsidies from the state treasury from both sides of the Habsburg monarchy. This law remained in force during the entire period of Austro-Hungarian rule and it constrained the development of the Bosnian

¹⁵ Kazimierz Karolczak, “Moda na Abację. Polacy na Istrii w drugiej połowie XIX wieku”, in: Bożena Popiołek (ed.) *Człowiek w teatrze świata. Studia o historii i kulturze dedykowane Profesorowi Stanisławowi Grzybowskiemu z okazji osiemdziesiątych urodzin*, Krakow: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Uniwersytetu Pedagogicznego, 2010, 286-296; Christian Rapp – Nadia Rapp-Wimberger, *Österreichische Riviera: Wien entdeckt das Meer*, Wien: Verlag, 2014.

¹⁶ ABiH, PD, Karol Stefanowski.

¹⁷ Enes S. Omerović, *Političko nasilje u Bosni i Hercegovini (1918–1921)*, Sarajevo: Institut za historiju, 2015, 69-70.

economy, especially with regards to constructing railroads and solving numerous socio-economic problems that required large sums of money to be solved properly, first of which is the agrarian question.¹⁸

When Benjamin Kallay became common minister of finance in 1882, he quickly realized the problem which occupied provinces had. His first move was to form a professional administration, such as in the rest of the Monarchy. Prior to him, all employers in the provincial administration were promoted to their posts provisionally, without regulations regarding their retirement, legal status etc. Kallay believed that successful and competent administration will solve many of Bosnia's predicaments without much investment. This is best illustrated by the fact that in the year of Kallay's death, in Provincial administration, 70 employers had a PhD degree level of education.¹⁹

With regards to economic policy, it had its main driving force in fact that minister Kallay, and other prominent members of the administration believed that the only way that Austro-Hungarian rule in Bosnia and Herzegovina can be solidified is by improving the standard of living of the majority of the population. In his speech in front of Hungarian delegations in 1882 he reiterated that: "people whose well-being is in a state of growth is not likely to be seduced by propaganda or (to) rebel".²⁰ In one letter written in 1895 Isidor Benko, Head of the administrative department of the National government mentioned that investment of two million florins in the occupied provinces would do more to distance it from Montenegro than any administrative measures.²¹ With this in mind, it is quite simple to see how on one hand the need for development that was dictated both by political and economic reasons was hampered by the handicap that was

¹⁸ Dževad Juzbašić, "O nastanku paralelnog austrijskog i ugarskog zakona o upravljanju Bosnom i Hercegovinom", in: *Politika i privreda u Bosni i Hercegovini pod austrougarskom upravom*, Special editions, book CXIV, Department of Social Sciences, book 35, Sarajevo: ANUBiH, 2002, 37-40.

¹⁹ Tomislav Kraljačić, *Kalajev režim u Bosni i Hercegovini 1882-1903*, Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1987, 443.

²⁰ Ibid.

²¹ Ibid., 484.

placed on the Provincial administration by the Governing law from 1880. The only possible solution for this problem was the introduction a strong source of credit. In that regard, an attempt was made by forming the Branch of Union Bank from Vienna in Sarajevo in 1883.²² However, due to the unresolved status of Bosnia and Herzegovina, legal uncertainties, and the high risk of conducting business in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Union bank focused its business primarily on dealings with State and neglected credit operations with the general population. From 1884 to 1887, the Union bank authorized only 88,640 florins in the form of mortgage loans.²³ Therefore, minister Kallay found himself in a position to look for other banks willing to invest in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but that could not be done without identifying the problems that lay in the credit system in the occupied provinces, because without making amends to the existing system he faced the risk of another failure similar to that of Union bank. In that regard, the paper of Karl Stefanowski is clearly a way of finding a solution to the Bosnian credit problem that occurred in the first years of Kallay's regime.

Stefanowski's paper on credit business

The paperr that is analysed in this article was hand-written in German language on 54 pages which testifies to its author's ambition to explain the problem in detail and propose an adequate solution. It has three distinct parts: the current state of credit, problems with the credit system, and proposals for the solution of problems. The document is preserved in Bosnian State Archives, Fund of Common ministry of finance (Arhiv Bosne i Hercegovine, Fond Zajedničkog ministarstva finansija) no. 3183/87 BH.

At the onset of the paper, the author admits that the paper itself was written on demand from Reich minister of finance Benjamin Kallay. He writes

²² On forming and work of Branch of Union Bank in Bosnia and Herzegovina consult: Muhamed Nametak, *Bankarstvo Bosne i Hercegovine u periodu austrougarske uprave, Privilegovana zemaljska banka za Bosnu i Hercegovinu na prekretnici*, Sarajevo: Univerzitet u Sarajevu – Institut za historiju, 2020, 31-36.

²³ T. Kraljačić, *Kalajev režim*, 504.

that the writing took some time because he had to collect the data necessary for the paper. He starts the paper by explaining how credit is important for the development of industry and agriculture and continues to write that credit exists in occupied provinces but on “an unhealthy basis” which in the long term cannot bring any benefit to the country. He also notes that the most significant form of credit at the time was the form of usury. It was a common case in spring for most peasants to buy seeds on credit from merchants, and to agree to return the seeds in autumn in double or even triple amount. The even greater problem was that these kinds of arrangements were not conducted under the auspices of courts, but often on a promissory basis with witnesses. Any arrangements between the two parties were conducted in a way that only the obligations of a peasant were mentioned, and the original sum of the loan was not on paper to avoid the horrendous price of the loan. Stefanowski continues arguing that the contributing factor to this situation is the poor level of education of Bosnian peasants, their recklessness, naivety, ignorance of laws and especially their state of need. All these factors were skilfully abused by usurers. It seemed to the author of this paper that Bosnian peasants were born to be in debt for the entirety of their lives. Considering the fact that Stefanowski was a government official he often travelled to oversee tax collections in rural parts of Bosanska Gradiška county. There he witnessed that many peasants are in the hands of usurers, that had the opportunity to inflict serious material damage on their debtors, but they in most cases exercised leniency for two reasons. The first one was to extend the loans and collect the interest, and the second was to ensnare the rural population into the political schemes of the usurers. He argues that in Bosnia and Herzegovina there are many thousands of usurers who use merchant business as a cover, but at the same time their entire stock of goods does not exceed the amount of 10–50 florins. He rhetorically asks how it is possible that in one country that is relatively poor, thousands of work-shy families live a good life and sporadically even acquire wealth.

The local usurers, however, were only a part of the usury scheme and were dominated by usurers of higher categories that were mostly large

merchants. There was also one other category of users, foreign adventurers. These merchants arrived in Bosnia and Herzegovina together with the Habsburg army. They had little or no capital with them and were quite unsuccessful in their country of origin. Stefanowski writes the example of August Jancik, who was expelled from Gornji Podgradci in Bosanska Gradiška district, by district offices with the permission of the National government. Jancik came to Bosnia in 1880 or 1881 and applied for a dispensing license, and after he got it, he was granted credit on the spirit by the Gradiška merchants. Jancik started with such working capital, and by 1885 he already had two houses of his own, two inns and a merchant's shop, a considerable cash fortune, and about 4,000 florins given as loans to the rural population and to the sawmillers. Stefanowski was appalled that spirit loans were the way most of the local merchants acquired their fortune. He gives credit to merchants who were very skilled at exploiting the naivety of peasants in a way that they were always profitable but at the same time presented themselves, both in courts and in the eyes of peasants as lenient. Another example is presented in the case of merchant Isak Danon, that allegedly destroyed many free peasants in the village of Sjenina, district of Gračanica. A peasant named Adem Okić was indebted to Danon for the amount of 720 florins. As he was unable to pay the debt, court execution was carried out in 1885, but Danon showed mercy and reached a new settlement where Okić was to supply him with plums worth 1220 florins over the following two years. As Okić was unable to meet the production quotas he was forced to become a serf-kmet of Danon. According to Stefanowski, in 1885 at least 100 peasant families were ruined in this way in the district of Bosanska Gradiška alone. He came to this number by tracing the decrease in tax revenue of 10,000 florins. This revenue was written off because of the "total impoverishment" of those families. Therefore, not only peasant lives were ruined, but the state also lost a source of revenue.

The state had recognized the issue with drinking spiritus and its adverse effects for those who consumed it. The regulation no 3366/1 was issued by the National government on 24th March 1885, regarding the suppression of

drunkenness and the restriction of the retail and wholesale of spiritus.²⁴ It also directed that the usury business is reduced by the unenforceability of the claims for spiritual beverages. Point 7 of the envisaged regulation explicitly stated: “The ... Restrictions and other orders apply only to the retail and wholesale of spiritus and not also to those of distilled liquids produced from fruit.” The consequence of this was that usurers simply changed the drink of preference from cheap spiritus to slightly more expensive Slivovitz (Bosnian schnapps made of plums). The Regulation stated in point 2 that claims against customers of spiritus in hospitality and pubs are not enforceable if the borrower has not yet paid an earlier debt of the same kind to the same creditor.

The number of schnapps stands and slivovitz cabinets compared to the population was enormous, and it shows how lucrative the tavern-loan business in Bosnia was. According to Stefanowski in Bosanska Gradiška, which had around 4,500 inhabitants, more than 200 inns existed. When Stefanowski took the administration of the district in the first semester of 1885, he increased the tax paid by the innkeepers by 100% hoping that this would curb tavern-loan business. However, all the innkeepers paid the increased tax without appeal and continued the business.

After a lengthy introduction on the state of credit, the author explains his perception of the importance of credit and a belief that the state itself should interfere in current conditions and offer some kind of solution for the shortage of money. He saw inspiration from the Ottoman government that founded institutions called “menafi-sanduk” and “hambar.” These institutions were agricultural lending institutions whose capital was formed by the compulsory contribution of the district’s agrarian producers. Hambar, on the other hand, was a district storage magazine that gave loans in form of seeds. Both institutions functioned on the principle of savings. After famine struck Bosnia and Herzegovina in the winter of 1879/80 the

²⁴ In 1885, the government published a law regarding drunkenness and also a law regarding the quality of alcoholic beverages. For details concerning these laws consult: *Zbornik zakona i naredaba za Bosnu i Hercegovinu*, Sarajevo, 1885, law no. 3366, p. 37, law no. 14219, p. 127.

National government with a series of regulations reintroduced these institutions but according to Stefanowski in the wrong direction, because they worked on a humanitarian basis instead of economic principle, that would enable these institutions to grow and increase the scope of their influence on the economy.

One of the principal problems of Bosnia and Herzegovina, that impeded the growth of credit was the unresolved question of proprietary rights. In other words, there did not exist a court register containing the information of who owned what land. Proprietary rights were registered only on papers called “tapija” that were issued to the owner by the previous Ottoman administration. These documents were mostly accepted by the authorities but there were cases when parts of them or their entirety were disputed by a third party. In such cases lending party was at risk if its money was secured by faulty “tapija.” Therefore, mortgage credit practically did not exist in Bosnia and Herzegovina.²⁵

An important issue in considering the possible improvements of the current situation was the inactivity of the Union bank, which established its branch office in Bosnia in 1883. Minister Kallay put big hopes in this bank, but his hopes proved to be of short breath because Union bank focused primarily on big deals that involved the National government and its tobacco monopoly which constituted most of its business operations. Stefanowski argues that authorities made every effort to alleviate

²⁵ Apart from the proprietary rights regulations that Stefanowski mentioned in this paper, one should not ignore another important consideration, the legal status of Austro-Hungarian presence in Bosnia and Herzegovina. According to article XXV of Berlin Congress, the Habsburg monarchy got rights only to occupy and administer Bosnia and Herzegovina, but it did not get these lands as permanent parts of the Monarchy, i.e. the occupation was perceived by contemporaries as temporary. Therefore, banks were reluctant to invest their money in Bosnia and Herzegovina. When the Joint Ministry of finance negotiated in 1880, the loan for the construction of the Zenica–Sarajevo railway with the banks Bodencreditanstalt and Österreichisches Escomptgesellschaft, the banks mentioned, and even questioned, the right of the Ministry to withdraw the loan, but were ready to give it if they were tax-exempt and if the contract would not mention Bosnia and Herzegovina or the purpose of the loan at all; Dževad Juzbašić, “Problemi austrougarske saobraćajne politike u Bosni i Hercegovini poslije okupacije i izgradnja željezničke linije Bosanski Brod – Sarajevo”, in: *Godišnjak Društva istoričara Bosne i Hercegovine*, Sarajevo, year 19, 1973, 122.

the concerns bank may have had in lending more money to rural areas by going case-by-case protocol and probing the diligence of debtors. The government also enforced bank claims in events such as low liquidity of debtors, but to no avail as Stefanowski reports that the bank withdrew from the lending business. Ministry had no other option but to entrust the mortgage credit operation to a completely new institution called Pensionsfond, which was an institution that serviced pensions to government officials.

In his further analysis, Stefanowski argues that Bosnia needs development of credit on modern principles, but adapted to its specific circumstances, that is, to its predominant agrarian population and underdeveloped industry. He claimed that all previous regulations that had a goal for improvement in this sector benefited primarily large enterprises, which was not necessarily bad, but failed to do what the government hoped for – general improvement of the economic situation, improved standard of living of the majority of the population. Another issue with credit at the time was the complicated procedure for obtaining credit. In a few examples, Stefanowski explains that both peasants and merchants had to wait for several months to get the credit, and even if they got it, it cost them much more than what was nominally the price of credit because they had to pay expensive insurance for their property, court, and lawyer fees. It all contributed to the fact that people were much more inclined to take loans from usurers than from Union bank or Pensionsfond. He claimed that: “In agriculture and even more so in trade and commerce, economic progress is very often tied to the moment, favourable constellations cannot always be determined months in advance, and if you catch them, then you have to use them economically immediately... and any default in lending is usually more pernicious – than a prompt loan at usurious interest. For this reason, despite the relative willingness of the Pensionsfond, usury in the occupied provinces is thriving more than ever, and seldom does a borrower decide to embark on the long and costly path of obtaining credit from the Pensionsfond.”

Proposal for strengthening the local sources of credit

In the final part of his essay, Stefanowski elaborates on the possibilities for improvement of the current situation. He concludes that apart from speeding the process of obtaining the credit, the Government must do more to increase the amount of money available to small debtors, such as peasants. In that, he also touches on one painful spot in Bosnian society and that is the social problem of serf absolutism. As is well known, resolving the agrarian issue was one of the burning issues of the state administration in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Although Austria-Hungary has not officially committed itself to resolving the agrarian issue, it has, in a way, morally committed itself to doing so. At a session of the Berlin Congress dedicated to Bosnia and Herzegovina, Austro-Hungarian Foreign Minister Andrassy said: "Turkey should resolve the agrarian issue, the main source of occasional quakes that have put unrest in these lands and are full of obstacles created by a population torn by religious hatred and social hatred, this issue can only be resolved by a strong and impartial force in these lands..."²⁶ Thus, the occupation of Bosnia and Herzegovina found its justification, to some extent, in resolving the agrarian issue. The percentage of serfs in the total population of Bosnia and Herzegovina at the beginning of the Austro-Hungarian occupation was 38.25%.²⁷ The agrarian question meant finding exclusively ways to liquidate feudal relations in agriculture, which at the beginning of the occupation included 52.5% of rural households.²⁸

Stefanowski argued that for resolving these problems capital of at least 3 million florins is needed. It is interesting that he saw the possibility of obtaining this money from inside the country and that is from two main sources. The first source of capital was in the state-administered funds, which were both public and private. These included the above mentioned

²⁶ Luka Đaković, "Privilegovana agrarna i komercijalna banka za Bosnu i Hercegovinu", in: *Glasnik Arhiva i Društva arhivskih radnika Bosne i Hercegovine*, Sarajevo: Arhiv BiH, vol. 6, 1966, 143.

²⁷ *Bericht über die Verwaltung von Bosnien und Herzegovina*, Vienna: Common ministry of finance, 1913, 48-49.

²⁸ Milivoje Erić, *Agrarna reforma u Jugoslaviji 1918-1941*, Sarajevo: Veselin Masleša, 1958, 63.

Menafi-boxes, Mearif funds, orphan funds, district funds, and savings deposits. In Menafi-boxes alone, Stefanowski thought that between 300 and 500 thousand florins of capital existed that was poorly administered without a clear purpose. A similar case was with the Mearif funds, which were Muslim endowments (waqfs) taken under the state control allegedly to avoid poor management practices. Stefanowski did not know the exact amount of money that Mearif funds had, but data from 1905 shows that the property of waqfs, which were the source of Mearif funds, amounted to 6 million Kronen (3 million florins).²⁹ The waqfs have been managed by the National Waqf Commission since 1883, and from 1894 by the newly established National Waqf Foundation. The waqfs were under the control of the government, which kept their revenues in Mearif funds under similar conditions as the land revenues were kept. According to the decision of the Foundation, every year one fifth of the surplus income was invested, among other things, in banks.³⁰ This information is of fundamental importance for this paper because it shows that government, not long after this elaborate, was made to put into practice what was proposed by it.

For orphan money funds he proposed a similar solution. Orphan money was under the control of courts until beneficiaries became of age. It was theoretically possible to lend this money at interest to someone and make a profit during this period. A similar situation happened with the state deposits. By these Stefanowski considered judicial deposits, court, and penalties funds. He did not specify the amount of money that was available in these funds, but it is safe to estimate that these funds were the lowest of all numbered. Lastly, Stefanowski proposed the promotion of savings in government-warranted institutions, as ordinary people would not entrust their savings to privately owned banks.

²⁹ Ferdinand Schmid, *Bosnien und die Herzegovina unter der Verwaltung Österreich-Ungarns*, Leipzig: Verlag von Veit&Comp, 1914, 685.

³⁰ Abduselam Balagija, *Uloga vakufa u verskom i svetovnom prosvjećivanju naših muslimana*, Beograd, 1933, 25-29.

The above-mentioned sources of capital were sufficient in Stefanowski's opinion to grant every district (kotar) 65 000 florins for loans. The primary users of capital were supposed to be peasants, and second in line artisans and industrial entrepreneurs. Agriculture, in particular, was a priority, because Stefanowski argued that it was the obligation of authorities to help remedy the hard conditions in which peasants and serfs lived. Furthermore, he claimed that these loan businesses in these cases should be made without regard to profit. Concerning the process of getting credit, all procedures were to be made as simple as possible, and small amounts of money should be given with very little paperwork. He argued that an interest of 9% would still be profitable for taking parties, since usury interest was much higher at the time. He finished his paper with the Latin proverb *Bis dat, qui cito dat*, that could roughly be translated as "He who gives promptly, gives twice as much." In this proverb is the entire philosophy of his credit business, and also a clue at what he saw as the most harmful part of contemporary credit business in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Assessment of Stefanowski's paper

Stefanowski's work was warmly welcomed by minister Kallay. Kallay, himself was deeply interested in the successful development of the state he administered, and most industry that was built in Bosnia and Herzegovina in two decades of his administration (1882–1903) was his direct achievement.³¹ This conclusion is based primarily on the events that followed. Immediately after this paper was written the National government tried to implement some of Stefanowski's proposals. The obvious fruition of his ideas was the creation of the Bosnian Hypothecary Institution which was founded in 1888 and started working in 1889.³² When it was founded, the statute enabled it to issue bonds, which meant that it could thus borrow on

³¹ Ferdo Hauptman, "Bosanske financije i Kallayeva industrijska politika", in: *Glasnik Arhiva i Društva arhivskih radnika Bosne i Hercegovine*, Sarajevo: Arhiv BiH, vol. 12–13, 1973, 59–83.

³² *Statuten der bosnisch-herzegovinschen Hypothekar-Creditanstalt*, Sarajevo: Selbstverlage der Anstalt, 1889.

the capital market in the Monarchy, and thus provide money for lending in the country. The government has also decided to deposit all money in the form of coupons, guarantees and securities to the institution, in order for it to receive coverage for the issuance of bonds. This money was deposited mainly by economic entities, and to a lesser extent by private individuals. This was absolutely in line with Stefanowski's ideas. However, this institution instead of 3 million florins collected only 922,072 florins in this way.³³ In the legal sphere, some changes also occurred. Most notable is that new law concerning agricultural credit was passed. Loans were divided into two categories regarding their purpose and if a mortgage was placed on the property. Loans were given for a duration of up to 10 years. When the Bosnian Hypothecary Institution was formed this time was extended to 20 years.³⁴ At the same time when Stefanowski was writing his study, menafi-boxes that he mentioned several times in his study were incorporated into newly established institutions called District support collectives that gave loans on similar conditions.³⁵ This happened in 1886, which makes it somewhat unclear if this change happened on the basis of his proposals to include menafi-boxes in solutions for agricultural credit, but the fact that he mentioned menafi-boxes often in his paper, and he did not mention the newly-formed institutions, makes it quite possible that his proposal either existed before or that forming of new institutions was only formal and has not yet come to be realized in everyday life.

State administration also tried to mobilize domestic sources of capital, which was not necessarily Stefanowski's idea, but it also was a remedy for the poor state of credit. In that regard, in 1888, with the support of the government group of domestic large merchants and landowners founded the Bosnian Herzegovinian People's Shareholder Bank. Its founding capital was 100 000 florins.³⁶ Over the course of the following eight years, this

³³ ABiH, Common ministry of finance (hereinafter: ZMF), Opći akti 8737/1888.

³⁴ *Izvještaj o upravi*, Zagreb: Carsko i kraljevsko zajedničko ministarstvo financija, 1906, 346-347.

³⁵ H. Kreševljaković, "Menafi-sanduci", 383-395.

³⁶ *Izvještaj o upravi* (1906), 346-347.

institution worked successfully. It opened a branch in Mostar, making it the first bank office in Herzegovina in history.³⁷ It also doubled its capital to 200,000 florins in 1894 which proves that domestic capitalists had a perspective of creating successful money-lending institutions.

However, not all intentions of the government brought successful results. For example, in the case of agricultural credit, there are numerous sources that indicate that the government failed with its measures to alleviate problems in agriculture with credit. Bosnian author Božidar Nikašinić wrote in 1900 about futility of agricultural credits. He claimed that the average peasant needs approximately 40 florins each summer for sowing, but at the same time district officials approved loans of only 8–10 florins at 4% interest. Loans were due in the autumn of the same year. Money from these loans could be used only for the purchase of seeds, but there were times when that was not the case. Nikašinić gave the example of one serf from Sarajevo district who got a loan of 8 florins. From that loan, according to Nikašinić, this man bought flour worth 4 florins, and the remaining amount of money he spent in a tavern on schnapps. For this transgression the man was severely punished. Nikašinić claimed that around 500,000 florins of such agricultural credit was given. He claimed that these loans were proof of a terrible state of living among the peasant population, and that these credits didn't make any positive impact on their livelihoods.³⁸ Realizing the limitation of these credits, the government abandoned loan operations in money and from 1898 it initiated the so-called "real credit" which meant that loans were given exclusively in kind, most often in grains, seeds and tools for agricultural cultivation. This credit proved to be a lot more successful. For example in 1908, 6.7 million crowns (3.35 million florins) were given.³⁹

³⁷ ABiH, ZMF, Opći akti, 2108/1892.

³⁸ Božidar Nikašinić, *Bosna i Hercegovina pod Austro-Ugarskom upravom i austro-ugarska balkanska politika*, Beograd: Štamparija Zadruge štamparskih radenika, 1901, 77, 79-80.

³⁹ Nikola Jarak, *Poljoprivredna politika Austro-Ugarske u Bosni i Hercegovini i zemljoradničko zadugarstvo*, Material, book I, Department of Economic and Technical Sciences, book 1, Sarajevo: Naučno društvo NR BiH, 1956, 65-69.

Conclusion

Karl Stefanowski was one of the few Austro-Hungarian officials that stayed for almost all of his professional career in Bosnia and Herzegovina. He came following the footsteps of imperial hussars and remained in active service until 1908. His work on credit and loan business in Bosnia and Herzegovina is the first such undertaking during the Austro-Hungarian rule, and two conclusions can be drawn. Firstly, his research of the topic and knowledge of legislature concerning all aspects of loans and everyday life connected to it made him an expert who earned respect in eyes of people such as minister Kallay. The second conclusion is that Stefanowski was keenly interested to improve the situation of impoverished citizens of Bosnia with modern achievements in banking by enabling them to reach out to cheap sources of capital that could improve their livelihoods. Stefanowski's proposals were tailored specifically according to Bosnia's possibilities and needs, which proves that the author had sound knowledge of the country's requirements but also of its limitations. His awareness of limitations is particularly visible when he considers the sources of capital in the country. Therefore, his proposals were close to the ground and realistic. Many of Stefanowski's proposals came to fruition in one way or another. Perhaps the longest-reaching change he considered is the use of public funds to increase the liquidity of banking institutions that offered mortgage loans. His ideas were realized very quickly and remained in power not only for a short period of time but during the entire Austro-Hungarian period. A few years after writing this study, Wiener Bankverein with help of the government founded the Privileged State bank of Bosnia and Herzegovina which was a sort of state-private enterprise that worked on many of Stefanowski's ideas.

Needless to say, Stefanowski's paper had certain limitations primarily because he ignored the state of awareness and preparedness of the country's population, especially its rural population, for the modern banking. That is visible in the later development of the situation when big banks such as

Wiener Bankverein established their operations in order to facilitate the voluntary redemption of serfs. Many serfs (kmets) failed to meet their obligations and were evicted from their properties. Therefore, one could say that they overestimated their potential for taking big loans. Stefanowski also failed to correctly predict the amount of money available for investment in the country. In his paper, he claimed that up to 3 million crowns can be collected from various sources, but not even a third of that sum was collected. Therefore, it is sufficient to say that Stefanowski, in a certain way, overestimated the preparedness of Bosnia and Herzegovina for the modern banking system but his work was of fundamental importance for the further development of banking.

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KARL RITTER STEFANOWSKI I NJEGOV RAD NA RAZVOJU MODERNOG BANKARSTVA U AUSTROUGARSKOJ BOSNI I HERCEGOVINI

Sažetak

Rad Karla Stefanowskog o stanju kredita u Bosni i Hercegovini je po sadašnjem poznavanju historiografije jedinstven primjer razmatranja problema kreditnog poslovanja u Bosni i Hercegovini za vrijeme austrougarske uprave Bosnom i Hercegovinom. Elaborat predstavlja plod dužeg istraživanja problema, koji su mučili razvoj kredita, ali i način života tadašnjih stanovnika Bosne i Hercegovine. Rad Stefanowskog je ogledalo metoda Kalleyevog režima u rješavanju problema koji su mučili zemaljsku upravu. Prepuštanje problema obrazovanim i sposobnim pojedincima u administraciji bio je osnovni kvalitet te uprave, čiji je domet ostao uskraćen prije svega zbog ograničenosti sredstava kojima je raspolagala. Najveći značaj ovog elaborata je što autor promatra utjecaj svakodnevnog života ljudi na stanje kredita. Prije svega se tu misli na pojam tzv. špiritnog kredita i zelenaške zamke u koju je slabo obrazovani bosanski seljak upadao svojom lakomislenošću i naivštinom. Mnogobrojni primjeri koje Stefanowski navodi u suštini mijenjaju percepciju razvoja agrarnog pitanja u Bosni i Hercegovini, jer daje primjere kako su ljudi svojim pogrešnim potezima sami sebe dovodili u situaciju da postaju objektima tuđe eksploatacije. Mnoge prijedloge autora ovog rada Zemaljska uprava je razmotrila i u kasnijem razvoju uključila u rješenja koja je ponudila svojim bosanskohercegovačkim podanicima. Tu se prije svega misli na osnivanje Bosanskohercegovačkog hipotekarnog zavoda, koji je počeo sa radom 1889, a koji je predstavljao nadogradnju u odnosu na sistem u kojem su dominirali Činovnička mirovinska zaklada i Union banka. Stefanowski je također predlagao šire zahvatanje domaćih finansijskih izvora, poput vakufskih fondova, menafi-sanduka i drugih javnih fondova s ciljem da se obezbijedi više novca za kreditiranje. To je

također bila nadogradnja u odnosu na dotadašnji sistem, gdje su novčane ustanove raspolagale isključivo državnim monopolima, kao sredstvom za obezbjeđivanje poslovanja.

Naravno, rad Stefanowskog imao je i određene nedostatke, koji se ogledaju u onim stvarima koje autor nije mogao predvidjeti, poput realnih finansijskih mogućnosti bosanskohercegovačkog društva, ali i njegove spremnosti da prigri tekovine modernog bankarstva. Kasniji razvoj finansijskih tokova u Bosni i Hercegovini demonstrirao je da je pored dotoka jakih izvora kapitala nužno raditi i na podizanju svijesti građana o vlastitim obavezama i mogućnostima, jer čak i kad su osnovane moćne novčane institucije poput Privilegovane zemaljske banke, praksa je pokazala da mnogi korisnici kredita preuveličaju svoje finansijske mogućnosti prilikom uzimanja kredita, što je kasnije nužno vodilo do problema.

NEDOSTAJE MU ČVRSTINE: NJEMAČKI GENERALI U JUGOSLAVIJI 1941-1945.

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Apstrakt: U regionalnoj istoriografiji Drugog svjetskog rata u Jugoslaviji, pisanoj kako u socijalističkom tako i u post-socijalističkom periodu, generali Wehrmachta se spominju gotovo isključivo u kontekstu ratnih zločina. O njihovom porijeklu, ličnom životu i vojničkoj karijeri se ne zna gotovo ništa. Oslanjajući se uglavnom na podatke iz ličnih dosijea čuvanih u njemačkom Saveznom arhivu, ovaj članak će analizirati biografije šezdesetak komandanata krupnih operativnih jedinica (divizija i korpusa) te pokušati utvrditi mehanizme po kojima su visoki oficiri dolazili na jedno tako specifično ratište kakvo je bilo balkansko. Osnovna teza rada je da presudni kriteriji nisu bili lični *background*, poznavanje podneblja, ili posebna obuka, već praktični razlozi i potrebe velikih frontova.

Ključne riječi: Drugi svjetski rat, Wehrmacht, generali, biografija, Jugoslavija, Balkan

Abstract: In the regional historiography of World War II in Yugoslavia, written in both the socialist and post-socialist periods, Wehrmacht generals are mentioned almost exclusively in the context of war crimes. Almost nothing is known about their origin, personal life, and military career. Relying mainly on data from personal files kept in the German Federal Archives, this article will analyze the biographies of about sixty commanders of large operational units (divisions and corps), and try to determine the mechanisms by which high-ranking officers came to such a specific battlefield as the Balkans. The basic thesis of the paper is that the

crucial criteria were not personal background, knowledge of the region, or special training, but practical considerations and needs of the main fronts.

Keywords: Second World War, Wehrmacht, generals, biography, Yugoslavia, Balkans

Cilj, opseg, izvori

Usprkos činjenici da je zauzimao neprikosnoveno centralno mjesto u historiografiji socijalističkog perioda, Drugi svjetski rat u Jugoslaviji tada ipak nije doživio sveobuhvatnu obradu. Tako je izostalo i sistematsko proučavanje oružanih snaga sila Osovine i ljudi koji su ih predvodili. Oni bi najčešće bivali stopljeni u amorfnu masu “fašističkih okupatora”, čime bi se dodatno naglašavala dehumanizovanost ideologije koju su zastupali. Tek prilikom spominjanja ratnih zločina i zločina protiv čovječnosti bi se, pored imena, mogao čuti i pokoji biografski podatak o njemačkim generalima koji su služili na Balkanu. U ovom kontekstu su postali poznati i široj jugoslovenskoj javnosti. “Čovek koji je bombardovao Beograd”, klasik dokumentarne drame u režiji Save Mrmka (Radio-televizija Beograd, 1976), tematizira vjerovatno najpoznatije domaće suđenje visokim vojnim dužnosnicima Trećeg Reicha, ono general-pukovniku Alexanderu Löhru i još šestorici njegovih kolega. Knjiga “Vješala za generale” Jove Popovića (Zagreb: Stvarnost, 1986) predstavlja romansirani prikaz istog događaja, a pisana je na osnovu sudskih zapisnika.

Raspadom Jugoslavije, u akademskoj zajednici gotovo da nestaje interesa za klasičnu vojnu istoriju onoga što je nekoć bilo poznato kao “Narodno-oslobodilački rat”. Osim skromnog potencijala za korištenje u dnevno-političke svrhe, na pad popularnosti ove grane uticala su i globalna stremljenja u historiografiji. Jedan od rijetkih iznimaka predstavlja knjiga Nikole Anića “Njemačka vojska u Hrvatskoj 1941.–1945.” (Zagreb: Hrvatski institut za povijest, 2002) koja, osim podataka o jedinicama i operacijama, sadrži i osnovne podatke o njihovim zapovjednicima. Hvalevrijedno je i objavljivanje dva toma presuda jugoslovenskih vojnih sudova, koje su priredili

Đorđe Lopičić i Jelena Đ. Lopičić-Jančić (“Nemački ratni zločini 1941–1945.: presude jugoslovenskih sudova”, odnosno “Ratni zločini nemačkih okupatora u Jugoslaviji 1941–1945. godine: presude jugoslovenskih sudova”; Beograd: Muzej žrtava genocida, 2009–10). Iako tematski spadaju u već spomenuti narativ o zločinima, ovi tomovi predstavljaju važan istorijski izvor za rekonstrukciju ratnog puta pojedinih njemačkih oficira. Od stranih autora treba navesti Walthera Manoschecka, koji se prvenstveno bavio ulogom Austrijanaca u Holokaustu i drugim zlodjelima počinjenim na teritoriju nekadašnje Jugoslavije. Za našu problematiku je značajna i knjiga Bena Shepherd a “Terror in the Balkans: German Armies and Partisan Warfare” (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012; prijevod na srpski objavljen 2014. u izdanju Magelan Pres, Beograd). Pored ostalog, autor nastoji utvrditi da li su, i uolikoj mjeri, porijeklo i formativna iskustva iz Prvog svjetskog rata uticali na ponašanje jedne grupe njemačkih generala u uslovima gerilskog sukoba, poglavito na sklonost ka činjenju ratnih zločina.

Koristeći osnovne biografske podatke većine njemačkih generala koji su makar i djelić svoje ratne karijere proveli u okupiranoj Jugoslaviji, ovaj članak predstavlja pokušaj raspetljavanja zamršenog klupka zvanog personalna politika Wehrmachta na Balkanu. Cilj je utvrditi ko su bili ljudi koji su se obrel i u ovom kutku ratom poharane Evrope, te mehanizme po kojima su baš oni, a ne neki drugi, izabrani na ove dužnosti. Istraživanjem će biti obuhvaćeni samo komandanti krupnih operativnih jedinica kopnene vojske, divizija i korpusa, te privremenih formacija istog ranga. Studijom neće biti pokriveni nosioci najviših funkcija – zapovjednici armija i grupa armija i njihovi načelnici štabova u činu generala – kao ni šefovi teritorijalnih komandi i administrativnih tijela te pomoćnih, odnosno pozadinskih službi. Isto važi i za generale policije i raznih branši SS-a (*Schutzstaffel*) te drugih paravojnih organizacija nacističkog carstva.

Glavni izvor za ovu studiju su lični dosijei koji se čuvaju u fondu PERS 6 vojnog odjeljenja njemačkog Saveznog arhiva. Gotovo svi sadrže

jedan list sa osnovnim personalnim podacima (datum i mjesto rođenja, detalji o najbližim srođnicima), kao i hronološki pregled karijere, obično popunjavani i dopunjavani rukom. Stepenn ažuriranosti dosijea varira: u neke su podaci unošeni sve do 1945, a neki ne sežu dalje od 1942. Ovo se odnosi i na opseg: od sedam pa sve do 277 listova različitog materijala. U nekima se čak mogu naći originalni patenti kojima se određeni oficir proizvodi u svoj prvi čin u carskoj armiji Wilhelma II, kao i spisi iz Prvog svjetskog rata. Većina fascikli sadrži prepisku iz međuraća o raznim temama: o smjenama i postavljenjima, zdravstvenom, porodičnom i finansijskom stanju i slično. Za period 1939. i nadalje preovladavaju, nimalo začuđujuće, dokumenti vezani za oficirovu ratnu službu. Imajući u vidu broj dosijea i obimnost prepiske, neizbježno je moralo doći i do grešaka. Jedan primjer: u dosijeu Wolfganga Hausera, koji će zapovijedati 41. pješadijskom divizijom (PD) na Sremskom frontu,¹ nalazimo i dopis u kojem štab Armijske grupe (AG) "Južna Ukrajina" predlaže "generalmajora Hausera" za unapređenje, navodeći da je on vodio 13. tenkovsku diviziju (TD) šest mjeseci na Istočnom frontu. Poznato je da su na čelo oklopnih i motorizovanih formacija – koje su, inače, smatrane cvijetom vojske – postavljeni samo odabrani oficiri, pa bi tako gorenavedeni podatak imao značaja i za našu problematiku. Provjerom se, međutim, dolazi do zaključka da se zapravo radi o jednoj drugoj osobi (Eduardu) istog prezimena.²

Drugi glavni izvor je takozvana "generalska kartoteka" (*Generalskartei*), odnosno njena mikrofilmovana verzija pripremljena od strane Nacionalnog arhiva Sjedinjenih Američkih Država još u drugoj polovici 20. vijeka.³ Kartoteka je vjerovatno nastala u ljeto 1944. godine kao pomoćno sredstvo s ciljem da obezbijedi rukovodstvu Personalne uprave Kopnene vojske brz

¹ Radi lakšeg snalaženja, u nastavku teksta će pored prezimena generala u zagradi stajati oznaka formacije kojom su komandovali u Jugoslaviji, u ovom slučaju "Hauser (41. pješadijska divizija)".

² Bundesarchiv-Militärarchiv, fond PERS 6, fascikla 610 (Hauser), list 23, AG "Južna Ukrajina" za Personalnu upravu Kopnene vojske (10. 9. 1944) [u nastavku: BA-MA/fond/fascikla(prezime kandidata)/list/dokument].

³ United States National Archives and Records Administration, fond 242, mikrofilm serija T-78, rolne 883-95 [u nastavku: NARA/mikrofilm serija/rolna/(prezime kandidata)].

uvid u stanje nekih posebno važnih kategorija oficira. Tu se, osim 2.500 kartica sa podacima gotovo svih generala kopnene vojske, nalazi još i oko 1.000 kartica mlađih starješina, uglavnom kandidata za komandanta divizije ili više ađutantske pozicije.⁴ Za razliku od ličnih dosijea, kartoteka ne sadrži ništa osim generalija, tabelarnih pregleda karijere i kratkih zapažanja o kandidatu (o čemu će biti više riječi u nastavku teksta). Njena osnovna prednost je to što nudi sve bitne informacije u zgusnutoj formi, i to što su one mnogo konsekventnije ažurirane od onih u ličnim dosijeima.⁵

Prije nego što pređemo na biografije generala,⁶ riječ-dvije o vrsti formacija kojima su komandovali. Osim korpusa (viših komandi sačinjenih od dvije i više divizija), tu su još i divizije, koje su za svrhe ove studije podijeljene u sedam kategorija:

1. Posadne (704, 714, 717, 718. pješadijska divizija): one su se, osim malom brojčanom jačinom i slabom opremljenošću, odlikovale i time što su bile popunjene vojnicima i oficirima starijih godišta;
2. Rezervne (173, 187. rezervna [RD] i 188. rezervna brdska [RBD]): trenažne formacije sačinjene od permanentnog jezgra nastavnog personala i rotirajućeg regrutskog kontingenta; osim obuke, vrše i zadatke osiguranja teritorije;
3. Legionarske (162. “turkestarska”, 369, 373. i 392. “hrvatska” pješadijska divizija te 1. konjička kozačka divizija [KKD]): formacije čiji je komandni kadar njemački, a gro ljudstva sačinjen od stranih državljana;

⁴ Viši ađutanti (raspoređeni u jedinicama ranga brigade pa na više), kao i njihove mlađe kolege, bili su zaduženi za personalna pitanja. Od kraja 1942, ovoj kategoriji oficira je bila namijenjena i uloga “političkih ratnika” u duhu nacionalsocijalizma: Reinhard Strumpf, *Die Wehrmacht-Elite: Rang- und Herkunftsstruktur der deutschen Generale und Admirale 1933–1945*, Berlin: Militärgeschichtliches Forschungsamt, 1982, 330-332.

⁵ Tobias Schmitt, “Vom Generalfeldmarschall bis zum Oberfeldveterinär. Zur Genese der ‘Generalskartei’”, u: *Newsletter des Bundesarchivs*, 2014, 1-11.

⁶ Pregledna tabela sa osnovnim podacima o svih 66 generala obrađenih u ovoj studiji dostupna je u digitalnom formatu na autorovoj profilnoj stranici na akademskim mrežama poput “Academia” i “Researchgate”.

4. Lovačke (104, 114, 117, 118. LD): formacije nastale podmlađivanjem posadnih jedinica i njihovim osposobljavanjem za borbe na brdovitom terenu;
5. Statične (41, 181, 237. i 264. pješadijska divizija): formacije predviđene za osiguranje obale, slabijeg kvaliteta od lovačkih i frontovskih; iako formacijski drukčija, 11. vazduhoplovna poljska divizija se također može uračunati u ovu kategoriju;
6. Frontovske (1. BD, 22, 44, 71, 113, 277, 278, 297, 342, 367, 371. pješadijska divizija, kao i specijalna divizija “Brandenburg”): dobro opremljene i/ili iskusne formacije sposobne za službu na velikim frontovima;
7. Privremene: ad hoc, heterogene formacije veličine divizije, nazvane po svojim komandantima (“Böttcher”, “Fischer”, “Geiger”).

“Ispodprosječan, prosječan, natprosječan”

Srž kako ličnih dosijea tako i generalske kartoteke predstavljaju ocjene pretpostavljenih (jd. *Beurteilung*).⁷ Praksa da se oficiri pruske vojske redovno pismeno očituju o svojim potčinjenima seže do početka 18. vijeka i kralja Friedricha Wilhelma I. Glavna svrha ovog sistema je bila da pruži tačan uvid u ljudske i profesionalne odlike starješina i time osigura da “pravi čovjek” bude postavljen “na pravo mjesto” u svako vrijeme. Ocjene su predstavljale “i putokaz i miljokaz” za sve njemačke oficire “od regruta pa do feldmaršala”. Sadržaj ocjena se mijenjao u skladu sa prilikama. Prema odredbama Versajskog sporazuma, vojska Vajmarske republike (*Reichswehr*) nije smjela brojati više od 100.000 ljudi, a njen oficirski kor ne više od 4.000. Ovo je uslovalo uvođenje vanredno visokih standarda u personalnu politiku. Osim čisto vojničkih vrlina, od oficira se očekivalo da posjeduje

⁷ Opšti podaci o sistemu ocjenjivanja potiču iz jedne poslijeratne studije naručene od strane Armije Sjedinjenih Američkih Država: Rudolf Hofmann, *German Efficiency Report System. Foreign Military Studies # P-134*, Historical Division HQ, U.S. Army Europe, 1952, 1-97. Autor studije je bivši general Wehrmachta, koji je rat završio kao načelnik štaba jedne armijske grupe. Dodatni izvori će biti navedeni posebno.

i one “tradicionalne pruske”, odnosno da bude dobar hrišćanin, skroman, pošten, častan i nesebičan. Nagla ekspanzija oružanih snaga sredinom tridesetih godina neminovno vodi popuštanju kriterija i napuštanju traganja za idealom savršenog starješine; od ovog momenta, poznavanje zanata dobija primarni značaj pri formiranju personalne politike.⁸

Mirnodopske ocjene su bile veoma opširne, i kao takve nepodesne u uslovima totalnog rata. U cilju rasterećivanja oficira i smanjenja birokratije, sredinom novembra 1942. uvode se nova pravila za njihovo pisanje. Osim generalija, one su sadržavale tek opšte utiske o karakteru i sposobnostima potčinjenog, kao i preporuke za njegovu daljnju upotrebu. Svi kandidati, bez obzira na čin i status, mogli su biti vrednovani samo sa “ispodprosječan”, “prosječan”, i “natprosječan”, uz kratko obrazloženje. Ocjene bi se sastavljale redovno jednom godišnje, a po potrebi i češće (recimo, prilikom prekomande). Autor je morao poznavati potčinjenog barem šest mjeseci da bi o njemu smio iznijeti svoje utiske; ukoliko to nije bio slučaj, navodili bi se utisci ranijeg pretpostavljenog. Tradicionalna pravila vezana za pripremu ocjena su ostala nepromijenjena: tražila se maksimalna iskrenost i objektivnost, kako eventualni lični animoziteti, ali i prijateljstva, ne bi stali na put opštem dobru. Stariji po činu je mogao obavijestiti potčinjenog o svojim zapažanjima pismenim ili usmenim putem, kako bi ovaj stekao svijest o svojim nedostacima i dobio priliku ispraviti ih.

Što se forme tiče, vrline je trebalo naglasiti, a mane iznijeti na odmjeren način, bez likovanja. Analizirajući ocjene, nemoguće je oteti se utisku da se generalska kasta uglavnom vodila onom starom narodnom “ruka ruku mijē”. Ovo bi se ponekad manifestovalo na bizaran način. Tako je Albrecht Beier (budući komandant 297. pješadijske divizije, koja se jedva izvukla iz Crne Gore u kasnu 1944), povrh svih svojih vojničkih i ljudskih kvaliteta, jednom prilikom bio ocijenjen i kao “duhovita osoba sa smislom za humor”; kao jedina zamjerka je navedeno to “da bi ponekad mogao biti malo svježiji”.

⁸ Dirk Richhardt, *Auswahl und Ausbildung junger Offiziere 1930–1945. Zur sozialen Genese des deutschen Offizierkorps* (odbranjena doktorska disertacija – neobjavljena), Marburg: Philipps Universität Marburg, 2002, 142-143.

General Rudolf Geiger, koji će voditi nekoliko privremenih združenih sastava u međurječju Save i Drave 1945. godine, označen je kao “višebran sportista i dobar jahač”. Ponekad bi nemile crtice iz biografije bile potpuno izostavljene iz zvanične dokumentacije, kao što ilustruje slučaj Waltera Hinghofera. On je novembra 1941, zbog pomanjkanja ofanzivnog duha i grešaka u operativnom rukovođenju, smijenjen sa položaja komandanta jedne relativno kvalitetne formacije (342. pješadijske divizije) i postavljen na čelo drugorazredne 717. pješadijske divizije. Ocjena koja je morala biti sastavljena tim povodom je izostavljena sa liste ocjena na njegovoj kartici.⁹

U ovom kontekstu treba spomenuti još jedan aspekt ličnih dosijea, odnosno Generalske kartoteke, a to je potpuno odsustvo bilo kakvog pomena ratnih zločina. Takav pristup je svojstven bezmalo svakoj vojsci, no primjer Wehrmachta je ipak poseban. U ovom slučaju, šutnja – ili, bolje rečeno, paralelna stvarnost konstruisana putem sanitizovanih ocjena i patetičnog priziva na viteške ideale – imaju izrazito zlokoban prizvuk. I pored činjenice da su masovna zvjerstva počinjena od strane 342. pješadijske divizije u Mačvi septembra–oktobra 1941. bila umnogome plod njegove lične inicijative, Hinghofera pretpostavljeni nazivaju “više naučnikom nego trupnim oficijom”, “besprijekornog karaktera [...] otvorenog i časnog”. Neposluh se, sa druge strane, nije tolerisao. Karijera Paula Hoffmanna – generala s kojim je Hinghofer zamijenio mjesta na čelu 342, odnosno 717. pješadijske divizije – praktično je okončana 1943, kada je odbio provesti decimiranje jedne kolaboracionističke jedinice u Ukrajini. Ipak, treba istaći da je isti Hoffmann dosljedno sprovodio drakonsku kvotu 1:100 za vrijeme svog službovanja u Srbiji.¹⁰

Ocjene bi mogle biti sastavljene i posthumno, obično u skladu sa devizom “o mrtvima sve najbolje”. Nekoliko takvih panegirika postoji za generala Waltera Stettnera Rittera von Grabenhofena, koji je poginuo

⁹ BA-MA/PERS-6/427 (Baier)/51, Ocjena (29. 12. 1942); NARA/T-78/886 (Geiger), Ocjena (5. 6. 1944); B. Shepherd, *Terror*, 135; Klaus Schmider, *Partisanenkrieg in Jugoslawien 1941–1944*, Hamburg: Verlag Mittler & Sohn GmbH, 2002, 72.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 139-140; NARA/T-78/887 (Hinghofer), Ocjena (1. 4. 1942).

na prilazima Beogradu 18. oktobra 1944. Von Grabenhofen je od marta 1943. komandovao 1. BD i sa njom uzeo učešća u nizu operacija protiv Narodnooslobodilačke vojske Jugoslavije (NOVJ). I pored svoje reputacije elitne jedinice, činjenica je da 1. BD u ovom periodu nije ostvarila neku zaista značajnu pobjedu, a pretrpila je bar jedan neuspjeh koji je imao krupne posljedice na operativnom nivou (sudar na Ibru avgusta 1944). Njegov štab je poznat po slanju isuviše optimističnih i samodopadnih izvještaja, što bi znalo rezultirati u stvaranju pogrešne slike o stanju na terenu u višim komandama. U svojoj posljednjoj bici, general je, po svemu sudeći, ispustio kontrolu nad improvizovanim korpusom sa kojim se uz velike poteškoće izvukao iz Istočne Srbije. Umjesto da organizuje i vodi proboj kroz sovjetsko-partizanske linije pod Avalom, von Grabenhofen izdaje parolu “spasavaj se ko može”, napuštajući pritom sve teške ranjenike.¹¹

Po jedna kopija svake ocjene bi završavala u već spomenutoj Personalnoj upravi Kopnene vojske (orig. *Heerespersonalamt*). Na njenom čelu do oktobra 1942. stoji Bodewin Keitel, brat bolje poznatog načelnika Vrhovne komande Oružanih snaga (VKOS). Njega nasljeđuje Rudolf Schmundt, osoba od posebnog Hitlerovog povjerenja i ujedno najstariji vojni ađutant pri njegovom glavnom stanu. Personalna uprava Kopnene vojske je bila posljednja instanca i glavni arbitar u svim personalnim pitanjima. Kako se polazilo od premise da su ocjene pisane objektivno, tim nije ni bilo potrebe za stalnim sistemom provjera. Ipak, ako bi kandidat koji je u toku svoje karijere dobijao samo komplimente odjednom bio ocijenjen negativno, ili ako bi upadljivo naglašene pohvale bile propraćene preporukom za prekomandu, to bi bio dovoljan povod da se pobudi interes “odozgo”. Isti efekt bi imala pisma na personalne teme koja bi pojedinci (obično visoki oficiri) slali upravi. Komandant 4. armije tako sredinom 1942. iznosi primjedbu na činjenicu da je pukovnik Alexander Bourquin – koji će od oktobra 1943. do januara 1944. vršiti dužnost komandanta čak tri divizije na Balkanu –

¹¹ NARA/T-78/886 (von Grabenhofen), Ocjene (10 i 13. 11, 8. 12. 1944); Gaj Trifković, “The Key to the Balkans: The Battle for Serbia 1944”, u: *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies*, 2015, sv. 28, br. 3, 540-41; BA-MA/RW-49/663/135 [Konrad Steidl, Istorijat divizije “Brandenburg”].

predviđen je za unapređenje iako se u nedavnim borbama protiv Crvene armije pokazao kao nervozan i nedovoljno čvrst zapovjednik. Nakon što se lično pozabavio slučajem, šef Personalne uprave Kopnene vojske odgovara da je dotičnog sam Erwin Rommel (čuvena “Pustinjska lisica”) još prije rata preporučio za unapređenje te da je u svim dotadašnjim ocjenama označen kao “natprosječan”. Samim tim, nastavlja Keitel, cijela afera je posljedica malicioznih glasina, kojima u pravilu treba stati u kraj prije nego što mogu nauditi karijeri obećavajućih oficira kakav je Bourquin.¹²

Jednom napisani, negativni utisci o karakteru bi pratili oficira godinama i mogli imati negativnog efekta na njegovu karijeru. Ovo se pogotovo odnosi na već spomenute zamjerke o nedostatku “čvrstine”, koja je, čini se, smatrana vrhunskom vojničkom vrlinom. Njemačka riječ *Härte* znači još i “otpornost”, “okrutnost”, “žestina”, “strogost” te “nesmiljenost”. Jednu, ili kombinaciju ovih osobina je general Wehrmachta imao u svim prilikama dosljedno primjenjivati i na sebe, i na svoje vojnike, i na neprijatelje svih boja i oblika (uključujući i civile). Primjera radi, Josefu Reichertu – koji će voditi 714. pješadijsku diviziju u prvoj fazi operacije “Weiss”/“Četvrte neprijateljske ofanzive” – još početkom septembra 1941. bio je spočitan nedostatak čvrstine. Malo potom je razriješen dužnosti komandanta 30. pješadijske divizije na sjevernom sektoru sovjetsko-njemačkog fronta i prekomandovan u Dopunsku armiju (*Ersatzheer*), gdje se dobro snašao i radio na otklanjanju naznačene mane. Ipak, ona se još u martu 1944. spominje u ocjenama, doduše uz napomenu da se ne manifestuje u uslovima posadne službe na koji je Reichert u međuvremenu bio prebačen.¹³

“Optimizam”, odnosno vjera u konačnu pobjedu, bila je karakterna osobina koja je sve više dobijala na težini kako je rat odmicao. Friedrich-Wilhelm Müller, koji je krajem 1944. bio zapovjednik XXXIV armijskog korpusa (AK)¹⁴ i glavni arhitekt odbrane Kraljevačkog mostobrana, djelomično i na osnovu ove značajke postavljen je na mjesto vršioca

¹² BA-MA/PERS-6/468 (Bourquin)/40-41, [prepiska Keitel – Gothard Heinrici] (15. 6. i 29. 7. 1942).

¹³ BA-MA/PERS-6/834 (Reichert)/46-47, 49, 53 (Ocjene, 2. 9. i 12. 10. 1941, 1. 4. 1942. i 1. 3. 1944).

¹⁴ Članak će pratiti onovremenu njemačku praksu po kojoj su korpusi označavani rimskim ciframa.

dužnosti komandanta 4. armije u Kurlandskom džepu u ranu 1945. Eugen Bleyer je još kao pukovnik početkom 1943. bio ocijenjen kao “zdravi optimista”. Nakon perioda doškolovanja i službe pri višim štabovima, primio je komandu nad jednom pješadijskom divizijom na južnom krilu Istočnog ratišta krajem iste godine. U oktobru 1944. preuzima uzdrmanu 181. pješadijsku diviziju, koja je najveći dio rata provela na okupacionim dužnostima u Crnoj Gori, i vodi je sve do kapitulacije. Za Augusta Wittmanna – zapovjednika 117. LD u borbama za Srbiju i na Sremskom frontu – njegov pretpostavljeni u jednoj vanrednoj ocjeni iz marta 1944. izričito kaže da u karakteru dotičnog “ni u najmanjoj mjeri” nije primjetio pesimističku crtu. Iskazivanje “pesimizma” ili “nervoze” je koštalo mnoge generale njihovih pozicija. Alexander von Pfuhlstein, koji je predvodio specijalnu diviziju “Brandenburg” u operacijama protiv NOVJ 1943–1944, u toku svoje karijere bio je nazivan “svoje glavim”, “osornim”, “nezdravo ambicioznim”, “sarkastičnim”, ali ono što ga je na kraju koštalo komande je bio pesimizam “i nedostatak vjere u nacionalsocijalističku ideju”.¹⁵

Pitanje stava njemačkog oficirskog kora, a napose generaliteta, prema Hitlerovoj ideologiji i dalje predstavlja aktuelnu temu u historiografiji. Zahvaljujući hladnoratovskoj atmosferi, bivši generali su bili vrlo uspješni u širenju mita o “čistom Wehrmachtu” i o samima sebi kao apolitičnim profesionalcima. Zvanični dokumenti, opet, pružaju dijametralno suprotnu sliku. Već pomenuta izmjena pravilnika o sastavljanju ocjena od 10. novembra 1942. uvodi kategoriju zvanu “stav prema nacionalsocijalizmu [NS]”. Nakon toga, gotovo da nema kandidata koji nije označen barem kao simpatizer vladajuće partije; najčešće se koriste floskule poput “besprije korno NS držanje”, “primjeran odgajač u duhu NS”, “ubijeđeni nacionalsocijalista” i slično. S vremenom postaje jasno da autori ocjena, vođeni osjećajem cehovske solidarnosti, nastoje izbjeći inkriminisanje kolega, odnosno prika-

¹⁵ BA-MA/PERS-6/284 (Müller)/41, Ocjena (2. 4. 1945); BA-MA/PERS-6/453 (Bleyer)/109 i 113, Ocjene (11. 2. 1943. i 18. 3. 1944); BA-MA/PERS-6/1008 (Wittmann)/8, Vanredna ocjena (31. 5. 1944); NARA/T-78/891 (von Pfuhlstein), Ocjene (7. 3. i 25. 11. 1942, 1. 11. 1943. kao i nedatirana ocjena generala Weidlinga). O von Pfuhlsteinovom navodnom defetizmu vidjeti i Bogdan Krizman, *Ustaše i Treći Reich*, II svezak, Zagreb: Globus, 1983, 54.

zati ih u što povoljnijem svjetlu. Personalna uprava Kopnene vojske stoga 1. jula 1944. nalaže da se ubuduće ocjene o političkoj podobnosti imaju navoditi samo u slučaju da kandidat pokazuje neprijateljska stremljenja ili upadljivo indiferentan stav, ili ako se pokaže kao gorljiv pristalica vladajuće ideologije.¹⁶

I pored svega, za nekoliko “naših” generala možemo sa priličnom sigurnošću reći da su spadali u ovu drugu grupu. Helmuth von Pannwitz je bio izdanak drevnog pruskog plemstva (*Uradel*) koji je slavu i odlikovanja stekao drskim “husarskim” poduhvatima na Istočnom frontu, a smrtnu kaznu kao komandant 1. kozačke, u Slavoniji, Srijemu i šire po zlu upamćene, konjičke divizije. On je u međuratnom periodu zapovijedao jednim pukom Jurišnih odreda (*Sturmabteilungen*, SA), a obnašao je i dužnost šefa štaba te iste formacije u Šleziji. Za Willibalda Utza, koji će na proljeće 1943. zapovijedati 100. LD u Slavoniji, jedan pretpostavljeni piše da je on ne samo “utjelovljenje njemačkog vojnika” već i da je u međuraću “značajno pridonio” obuci partijskih jurišnika. Otto Lüdecke je imao najkraći mandat od svih generala obrađenih u ovoj studiji: samo jedan dan nakon što je preuzeo 264. pješadijsku diviziju u Dalmaciji u aprilu 1944, njegov štabni automobil je naletio na partizansku minu, pri čemu biva teško ranjen i premješten s mjesta komandanta te divizije. Znajući da je poglavaru SS-a Heinrichu Himmleru stalo do pronalaženja “politički pouzdanih saradnika iz redova Wehrmachta”, državni sekretar Ministarstva pravde skreće pažnju na Lüdeckea u jednom pismu s početka avgusta iste godine. Tu stoji da je general još u mirnodopskom periodu nastojao odgojiti svoje potčinjene u ideološkom smislu, a ističe se i to da mu je sam Hitler ukazao posebnu čast posijedajući ga desno od sebe na jednom svečanom prijemu.¹⁷ Sve u svemu, za generale u Jugoslaviji je vjerovatno važno isto što i za njemački

¹⁶ R. Hofmann, *German Efficiency*, 35-36. O odnosu prema nacizmu najviših trupnih komandanata na Istočnom frontu vidi: Johannes Hürter, *Hitlers Heerführer: Die deutschen Oberbefehlshaber im Krieg gegen die Sowjetunion 1941/42*, München: Oldenbourg Verlag, 2007, 123-142.

¹⁷ BA-MA/PERS-6/791 (von Pannwitz)/34 (von Kamptz Ministarstvu unutrašnjih poslova, 27. 7. 1934), 83 (Ocjena, 5. 3. 1943); BA-MA/PERS-6/972 (Utz)/31, Ocjena (26. 2. 1943); BA-MA/PERS-6/726 (Lüdecke)/26, Herbert Klemm Maximilianu von Herffu (3. 8. 1944).

generalitet uopšte. Najveći dio nije bio politički aktivan, ali je bez pogovora služio režimu i za to bio izdašno nagrađen statusnim i materijalnim povlasticama, dok je mali dio iz ubjedenja slijedio *Führera*. Daleko najmanji – gotovo zanemarljiv – broj otpada na one koji su pokazivali bilo kakvo neraspoloženje prema vlastodržcima u Berlinu.

Karijera, brak, porodica

Za početak treba reći da su u Jugoslaviji služili ljudi koji su se profesionalno bavili vojničkim zanatom: od 66 generala obuhvaćenih studijom, njih 57 je praktično cijeli život provelo u aktivnoj službi. Šest budućih generala je provelo međuratne decenije u policiji, što je bila preferirana alternativa za sve one za koje više nije bilo mjesta u vojsci, dok su se samo trojica bavili civilnim zanimanjima. To što neki pojedinac nije preuzet u ekskluzivni klub kakav je bio oficirski kor Reichswehra nije nužno indikator za eventualno odsustvo vojničkih kvaliteta. Dva od 13 komandanata korpusa – osim Müllera (XXXIV AK), još i Ernst von Leyser (XXI brdski korpus, BK) – su izbijanjem rata u aktivnu službu preuzeti iz policije. Von Pannwitz (1. KKD), iako tek upravitelj imanja i pilane, bio je predložen za zapovjednika neke tenkovske divizije. Bez obzira na to što je bio “civil”, Hermann Schulte-Heuthaus se u prvih pet godina rata pokazao toliko sposobnim da je u oktobru 1944. postavljen na čelo prestižne, netom reorganizovane tenkovsko-grenadirске divizije “Brandenburg”.¹⁸

Da su u njemačkoj vojsci vladali ustaljeni obrasci ponašanja kao i u svakoj drugoj organizaciji, potvrđuju i sljedeći primjeri. U jednom pismu poluprivatnog karaktera iz 1928. godine, predstavnik jednog oficirskog udruženja moli svog “cimera i školskog druga”, koji je također lični prijatelj šefa Personalne uprave Kopnene vojske, da se izvjesni Hellmuth Friebe postavi za komandira čete u 7. pješadijskom puku. Potonji će biti unaprijeđen u čin

¹⁸ BA-MA/PERS-6/939 (Stephan)/24, [Pismo komandanta 7. pješadijskog puka] (26. 2. 1934); BA-MA/PERS-6/791 (von Pannwitz)/33, 35 [Preporuke od barona Schaumberga i W. Osmana] (1. 4. i 1. 3. 1933); BA-MA/PERS-6/255 (von Leyser), Karijera (10. 9. 1920); NARA/T-78/893 (Schulte-Heuthaus), Karijera (30. 4. 1920, 1939-1944).

kapetana 1929. (na koji je, doduše, čekao skoro pola decenije), a petnaestak godina kasnije će biti jedan od najboljih trupnih komandanata Wehrmachta na Balkanu. Pretjerano povoljne ocjene koje je Wittmann (117. LD) dobijao u svojoj karijeri do sredine 1944. njegov tadašnji nadređeni objašnjava time da on “nikad nije gubio vrijeme kad [je trebalo lobirati] za vlastite interese”. U redovima generaliteta ambicije nije manjkalo: Benignus Dippold, koji je ugostio visoku delegaciju NOVJ u Gornjem Vakufu na prvoj rundi Martovskih pregovora 1943, nije dobro reagovao na vijest o svom premještanju iz Jugoslavije. “Pitao me jednom usmeno i dvaput pismeno [...] zašto mu je divizija [717. pješadijska] oduzeta. Šta da mu odgovorim?” piše neimenovani uposlenik Personalne uprave Kopnene vojske. Generali sebe možda jesu doživljavali prvenstveno kao domoljube, ali ostaje fakt da su oni živjeli od svog posla. Kao gotovo karikaturalan primjer za ovu tvrdnju, ali i za stereotip o funkcionisanju njemačke vojne birokratije, može poslužiti sljedeći događaj. Wilhelm Raapke se sa 71. pješadijskom divizijom borio u Istri i Primorskoj u kasnu 1943. te kod Batine godinu dana nakon toga. Dvadesetšestog aprila 1945. – dan nakon što su se sovjetska i američka armija spojile na Elbi kod Torgaua – on dolazi u svoj matični vojni ured u Rostocku sa zahtjevom za isplatu jednog zaostalog mjesečnog dohotka u visini od 1.238 maraka, što mu istom prilikom biva i odobreno.¹⁹

Vojska je bila poslodavac koji se aktivno interesovao, i po potrebi direktno miješao u sve aspekte života svojih uposlenika. Bleyer (181. pješadijska divizija) je početkom dvadesetih godina zapao u nevolje kada se njegova sestra vjerala za jednog Francuza, što je i među njegovim kolegama, i u njegovom tada okupiranom rodnom gradu Mainzu, izazvalo veliko negodovanje. Osim što se sa istim Francuzom sreo nekoliko puta u prisustvu svoje sestre, policijski nadzor i interna istraga nisu dali nikakvih dokaza o Bleyerovoj eventualnoj neprijateljskoj djelatnosti. Nakon što je

¹⁹ BA-MA/PERS-6/563 (Friebe)/6-7, Mnogopoštovani, dragi Bussche! (15. 8. 1928); BA-MA/PERS-6/1008 (Wittmann)/15, Ferdinand Schörner, Ocjena (22. 6. 1944); BA-MA/PERS-6/524 (Dippold)/8, Personalna uprava Kopnene vojske, Zabilješka (n. d.); BA-MA/PERS-6/809 (Raapke)/7, General artiljerije za specijalnu namjenu br. 3, Rasprava (26. 4. 1945).

pristao prekinuti kontakte sa svojom porodicom, ovaj mladi poručnik se izvukao samo uz opomenu izrečenu od strane svog pretpostavljenog. Von Grabenhofen (1. BD) je jednom prilikom u Münchenu iz razloga “kojeg se više ne sjeća” vozio lijevom stranom ulice. Kako je bio pripadnik Reichswehra, policija mu nije izrekla opomenu, a stvar je dospjela pred vojni sud. Ipak, sud obustavlja postupak smatrajući da nije “u javnom interesu”, te poziva von Grabenhofenove pretpostavljene da odluče da li je dotični ovim činom okaljao čast vojske i da li zbog toga treba biti disciplinski kažnjen. Lüdecke (264. pješadijska divizija) je također učestvovao u jednoj saobraćajnoj nezgodi, u kojoj je lakše povrijeđena jedanaestogodišnja djevojčica. I u ovom slučaju sud odlučuje da ne nastavlja postupak, i to uslijed nepostojanja elemenata krivice.²⁰

Udaja za oficira značila je udaju za njegov puk, odnosno vojsku u cjelini. Da bi dobio dozvolu za brak, budući par je morao ispuniti nekoliko uslova. Mlada je morala biti besprijekorne reputacije i njemačkog (od sredine tridesetih “arijevskog”) porijekla te potjecati “iz dobre kuće”; ni ona ni mladoženja nisu smjeli imati dugova (što je predstavljalo sigurnosni rizik), a sredstva za uredno vođenje domaćinstva su morala biti obezbijedena. Sudeći po čisto spoljašnjim značajkama, devet desetina generala obrađenih u ovoj studiji su bili porodični ljudi. Samo petorica su bili neženje; iz nekog razloga, svi osim jednog su bili porijeklom iz južnih provincija (Bavarske i Austrije). Oni nisu imali “legitimnih” potomaka, a bez djece je bilo još sedam oženjenih generala. Svi ostali su imali potomstvo, u pojedinim slučajevima veoma brojno. Hans von Graevenitz, čija će 237. pješadijska divizija kapitulirati kod Ilirske Bistrice krajem rata, 1935. postaje samohrani otac sa troje djece, za čije mu uzdržavanje vojska pruža dodatnu finansijsku pomoć. Do 1944. on će dobiti još troje djece sa suprugom iz drugog braka.²¹

²⁰ BA-MA/PERS-6/453 (Bleyer)/61-64, Ponašanje poručnika Bleyera iz 15. PP (30. 3. 1926); BA-MA/PERS-6/940 (von Grabenhofen)/13, Vojni sud pri artiljerijskom vođi br. VII, Dispozicija (6. 8. 1935); BA-MA/PERS-6/726 (Lüdecke)/7, Vojni sud 3. divizije, Dispozicija (24. 6. 1936).

²¹ Hürter, *Heerführer*, 52; BA-MA/PERS-6/935 (Stahl)/10, Komanda motorizovanih trupa Berlin Inspektoratu motorizovanih trupa (7. 9. 1935); BA-MA/PERS-6/609 (Hauser)/9, Zahtjev za brak

Friedrich Stephan, budući komandant “Tvrđave Beograd” i posljednji zapovjednik 104. LD, služio je kao aktivni oficir sve do 1927. Te godine napušta vojsku radi čvrste riješenosti da stupi u brak koji je, po svemu sudeći, bio ocijenjen kao kontroverzan. Kada je preveden u redove “dopunskih oficira” (jd. *Ergänzungsoffizier*) 1933/34., Stephan traži premještaj iz Šlezije, gdje je sjećanje na aferu još živo. Dvije godine kasnije dolazi do razvoda, a sud svu krivicu pripisuje ženi. Poljska kampanja jedva da je završila, međutim, kada Stephan opet traži dozvolu za stupanje u bračnu zajednicu i to sa – bivšom suprugom. Kako se smatralo da čast niti jednog od bivših, odnosno budućih supružnika nije bila ukaljana u periodu njihovog ranijeg poznanstva, vojska na kraju pozitivno rješava zahtjev. “Kaljanje časti”, odnosno odstupanje od ustaljenih normi ponašanja, u ovom kontekstu je moglo imati neugodne posljedice po vinovnika. Hermann Niehoff je zapovijedao 371. pješadijskom divizijom praktično od njenog obnavljanja proljeća 1943. (“originalna” divizija je bila uništena kod Staljingrada). Sa njom je učestvovao u operacijama “Panther” i “Weihnachtsmann” protiv NOVJ na Kordunu i Pokuplju u decembru iste godine. Početkom marta 1945, general-pukovnik Heinrici (AG “A”) ga smjenjuje sa dužnosti komandanta divizije zbog nedoličnih odnosa sa Ruskinjama koje su služile kao tumači u njegovom štabu. Ipak, zbog svojih nedvojbenih vojničkih kvaliteta, Niehoff je dobio komandu nad tvrđavom Breslau (danas: Wrocław), koju je branio sa velikom upornošću.²²

Porijeklo, starost, vokacija

Nakon što smo stekli osnovni uvid u modalitete interakcije između vojske i oficira, vrijeme je da se pozabavimo mehanizmima njihovog dolaska u Jugoslaviju. Najprije nekoliko riječi o porijeklu. Postoji percepcija da su Austrijanci igrali naročito prominentnu ulogu u okupacionom sistemu, navodno zbog historijskih veza sa Balkanom i poznavanja lokalnog mentali-

(15. 9. 1937); BA-MA/PERS-6/583 (von Graevenitz)/9, Personalna uprava Kopnene vojske /P2 blagajni Ministarstva vojske (10. 4. 1935).

²² BA-MA/PERS-6/939 (Stephan)/24-27, 34, 45 [prepiska vezana za brak, 1934–1939]; NARA/T-78 /891 (Niehoff), Ocjena (4. 3. 1945).

teta i kulture. Ona se također temelji(la) na činjenici da su oni a) sačinjavali tri četvrtine prvog Vermahtovog kontingenta koji je došao u zemlju nakon Aprilskog pohoda 1941. i b) bili disproportionalno jako zastupljeni na najvišim vojnim funkcijama, i to u toku cijeloga rata. Tako je od četvorice glavnokomandujućih jedan bio Austrijanac, i to u dva mandata (Alexander Löhr); oba komandanta najjače okupacione formacije, 2. tenkovske armije (TA), bili su njegovi zemljaci (Lothar Rendulic, Maximilian de Angelis). Slično važi i za sigurnosno-represivni aparat: od pet prominentnih viših SS i policijskih vođa, trojica (Odilo Globocnik, Konstantin Kammerhofer, August Meyszner) su rođeni kao podanici habsburške krune.²³

Među “običnim” generalima obuhvaćenim ovim prilogom dominacija Austrijanaca nije bila izražena u tolikoj mjeri, mada je postojala. Prema posljednjem prijeratnom cenzusu, Njemački Reich je imao 79.375.281 stanovnika, od čega je na bivšu austrijsku republiku otpadalo 6.972.269 ili 8,78%. Od 66 visokih oficira obuhvaćenih ovom studijom, 12 ih je bilo porijeklom upravo odavde (18,18%). Ipak, ono što zaista čudi je visok udio Bavaraca (14 = 21,21%), pri čemu treba imati u vidu da je u njihovoj rodnoj pokrajini živjelo tek malo više od jedne desetine ukupnog stanovništva (8.222.982). Međutim, ako bi se generalskom kontingentu u cjelini tražila geografsko-administrativna odrednica, onda bi ga morali nazivati sjevernonjemačkim, odnosno pruskim: čak 25 (37,87%) njegovih članova su dolazili iz ove ubjedljivo najveće i najmnogoljudnije (41.655.252) savezne države. Sve ostale pokrajine (uključujući i Elsaß-Lothringen) su dale samo 15 rukovodilaca (22,72%).²⁴

Što se starosti generaliteta tiče, stanje je sljedeće. Kako nisu bile predviđene za aktivne operacije, rezervnim formacijama su dodjeljivani

²³ Walter Manoscheck, “Opfer, Helden, Kriegsverbrecher? Österreichische Wehrmachtsgeneräle auf dem Balkan”, u: *Österreichische Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaften*, 1994, sv. 5, br. 1, 54-77; Martin Moll, “Vom österreichischen Gendarmerie-Offizier zum Höheren SS- und Polizeiführer Serbien, 1942–1944. August Meyszner: Stationen einer Karriere”, u: *Danubiana Carpathica*, 2011, sv. 5, 239-308.

²⁴ Statistički podaci preuzeti iz: *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich. 58. Jahrgang 1939/40*, Berlin: Statistisches Reichsamt, 1940, 22.

najstariji zapovjednici (u prosjeku 58 godina). Posadne divizije su gurnute pravo “u vatru” ustanka 1941/42. iako su bile potpuno nespremljene za takvo šta: njihovi komandanti su imali u prosjeku 53 godine. Legionarske i privremene formacije su stajale slično, mada je bilo izuzetaka: von Pannwitz (1. KKD), na primjer, bio je najmlađi od svih svojih kolega (rođ. 1898). Komandanti i statičnih i frontovskih divizija bili su dvije do tri godine mlađi od kolega iz manje prestižnih jedinica (1893). Možda najveće iznenađenje predstavljaju lovačke divizije (1894), što je bio direktan rezultat eksplicitne Hitlerove želje za podizanje borbene gotovosti bivših “posadnjaka”. Za izuzetno odgovorno mjesto rukovodioca korpusa birani su uglavnom zreli oficiri (u prosjeku 1889. godište), mada su, na primjer, Müller (XXXIV AK) i Hubert Lanz (XXII BK) bili neobično mladi ljudi (rođ. 1896/97).

Treba istaći to da podmakla životna dob ili komanda nad divizijom slabije kvalitete nije uvijek bila indikator za to da je kandidat “zreo za penziju”. Najstariji general iz naše grupe, Hans von Hößlin primio je komandu nad 188. RBD raspoređenom u Istri i Primorskoj kad su mu bile 63 godine. I pored toga, radilo se o veoma energičnom starješini koji se brzo snašao u uslovima protivgerilskog ratovanja. Njegovi nadređeni ga čak smatraju prikladnim za komandanta neke frontovske formacije, ali u isto vrijeme mole da ih se ne lišava jednog tako sposobnog oficira. Još jedan od “skrivenih dragulja” je bio već pomenuti Reichert. U zamjenu za mjesto zapovjednika 714. pješadijske divizije/114. LD, koju je krajem zime 1942/43. morao prepustiti jednom mlađem kolegi, preuzeo je posadnu 711. pješadijsku diviziju raspoređenu u okupiranoj Francuskoj. Njegov trenutak slave dolazi u teškim borbama na jesen 1944. u Mađarskoj, gdje za pokazane liderske sposobnosti i iznenađujuće dobru performansu svoje formacije biva odlikovan najvišim njemačkim vojnim priznanjem, Viteškim krstom željeznog krsta (*Ritterkreuz des Eisernen Kreuzes*).²⁵

Imajući u vidu šaroliki sastav okupacionog kontingenta u Jugoslaviji, lako bi se moglo pomisliti da su ga predvodili oficiri koji se nisu naročito istakli na

²⁵ NARA/T-78/887 (von Hößlin), Ocjene (15. 3, 13. 7, 7. 8. 1944); BA-MA/PERS-6/834 (Reichert)/54, Ocjena (28. 12. 1944).

bojnom polju. Podaci o broju dobitnika Viteškog krsta i Njemačkog krsta u zlatu, odnosno srebru (*Deutsches Kreuz in Gold/Silber*)²⁶ stoga mogu djelovati iznenađujuće. Od 66 generala, 35 su bili nosioci osnovne inačice Viteškog krsta, dok su sedmorica bila odlikovana i sa sljedećim stepenom, Hrastovim listom (*Eichenlaub*); dvadesetdvojica su bili odlikovani Njemačkim krstom u zlatu, a četvorica njegovom srebrnom inačicom. Treba istaći da je ovo ordeње gotovo u potpunosti stečeno na velikim frontovima; učešće u operacijama protiv NOVJ/Jugoslovenske armije nije bilo nagrađivano na ovaj način sve do sredine 1943, a i nakon toga je ostalo rijetkost.²⁷ Raspodjela po kategorijama divizija govori ponešto o kvaliteti njihovog komandnog kadra. Tako je od pet zapovjednika posadnih formacija samo jedan bio odlikovan nekim od ovih ordena, a od osmorice “legionara” tek svaki drugi. Interesantno je da statične divizije u ovom pogledu stoje bolje i od frontovskih i od lovačkih: od devetorice njihovih generala, čak osmorica su bili nosioci visokih ordena. Martin Gareis (264. pješadijska divizija) je povrh svega bio i nosilac rijetke Zlatne ranjeničke značke (*Verwundetenaabzeichen in Gold*), koja se dodjeljivala za pet i više ranjavanja u borbi.

Što se tiče matičnog vida/roda vojske kandidata, najzastupljeniji su bili pješadini (40), zatim artiljerci (devet), pripadnici brdskih trupa (šest), inženjerci (četiri), oficiri brzih trupa/tenkisti (četiri), te po jedan iz redova vezista, konjice i ratnog vazduhoplovstva. Prisustvo velikog broja pješadijskih oficira ne čudi zbog činjenice da se radilo o najvećem vidu kopnene vojske. Nazočnost specijalista drugih vidova bi na prvi pogled mogla djelovati zbunjujuće. Ona je, međutim, bila plod Reichswehrove politike kreiranja “univerzalnih oficira”, odnosno starješina koji bi posjedovali dovoljno znanja i iskustva za ispunjavanje zadataka i van njihove vlastite oblasti. Mala veličina oficirskog kora u međuratnom periodu omogućila je (a i nametala potrebu) da bezmalo svaki njegov član prođe raznovrsnu

²⁶ Njemački krst u zlatu/srebru je bio osmišljen krajem 1941. kao stepenica između osnovnog (Željezni krst I i II reda) i najvišeg ordena za hrabrost, odnosno vojničke podvige (Viteškog krsta).

²⁷ Otto Kumm, *Vorwärts, Prinz Eugen! Geschichte der 7. SS-Freiwilligen-Division “Prinz Eugen”*, Dresden: Winkelried, 2007, 79.

obuku pri ustanovama i jedinicama različitih vidova i službi. Tako stečena profesionalna svestranost i visok stepen doktrinarnog jedinstva su odgovorni za uspjeh koncepta improvizovanih, izrazito heterogenih borbenih grupa (*Kampfgruppe*), kojima je Wehrmachtova balkanska grupacija velikim djelom dugovala svoj opstanak 1944/45. Kolokvijalno rečeno, njemačka vojska je nalikovala na popularni “Lego”, gdje se svaka kockica – bio to puk pješadije, baterija poljskih topova, vod inženjeraca, par tenkova, ili odjeljenje protivavionskih oruđa – mogla kombinovati sa svakom drugom kockicom u neku suvislu i funkcionalnu cjelinu.²⁸

Posebna obuka za specifičnu vrstu rata kakav se vodio na Balkanu nije postojala: najviše što je vojska mogla učiniti u tom smislu je da tamo pošalje ljude vične planinskom ratovanju. Ludwiga Küblera (LXXXXVII AK), kojeg će vojni sud u Ljubljani 1947. osuditi na smrt zbog zločina počinjenih u Istri i Primorskoj, zvali su “ocem njemačkih brdskih trupa”. Krajem jula 1943, Personalna uprava Kopnene vojske odlučuje da njegovog talentovanog kolegu Lanza (XXII BK) opozove iz južne Rusije i “trajno stavi na raspolaganje” Löhrovoj armijskoj grupi na Balkanu. Lingvistički ili diplomatski talenat, važni faktori za jedno ratište koje se odlikovalo snažnim prisustvom drugih osovinjskih i satelitskih armija, također su mogli uticati na izbor kandidata. Austrijski oficiri su već zbog svog odrastanja u višenacionalnom carstvu imali izvjesnu prednost nad svojim njemačkim kolegama. Franz Böhme (XVIII BK), glavni arhitekta krvavog gušenja ustanka u Srbiji 1941, govorio je čak sedam jezika, uključujući i srpski. Osim toga, on je pet godina ranije uzeo učešća u italijanskoj invaziji na Abisiniju kao posmatrač; ostaje da se utvrdi koliko je ovo iskustvo uticalo na radikalizaciju njegovih vlastitih stavova po pitanju borbe protiv nepriznatih/neregularnih protivnika. Za njegove zemljake Josefa Braunera (187. RD), Emila Zellnera (373. pješadijska divizija) i Juliusa Ringela (LXIX RK)

²⁸ D. Richhardt, “Auswahl”, 81-82. Za više informacija o konceptu borbene grupe vidi sljedeće članke Gaja Trifkovića: “‘The German Anabasis’: The Breakthrough of Army Group E from Eastern Yugoslavia 1944”, u: *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies*, 2017, sv. 30, br. 4, 626; “Carnage in the Land of Three Rivers: The Sarmian Front 1944–1945”, u: *Militär-geschichtliche Zeitschrift*, 2016, sv. 75, br. 1, 114.

isticalo se da su posebno vični ophođenju “sa stranim narodima” i “vlastima u Zagrebu”, odnosno “pregovorima o osjetljivim personalnim i spolj-nopolitičkim temama”.²⁹

Mnoge “diplomate” iz *Altreicha* (“Starog Reicha”, odnosno Njemačke u granicama iz 1937) imali su živopisna iskustva sa inostranstvom. Hellmuth Felmy se kao mladi oficir vazduhoplovstva u Velikom ratu borio na strani Osmanskog carstva u Palestini. Vjerovatno zbog toga je još na proljeće 1941. bio izabran za komandanta jedne specijalne jedinice koja se trebala boriti na Bliskom istoku. Kako od predviđene invazije Levanta nije bilo ništa, Felmy je ostavljen na Jugoistoku, gdje se s vremenom pokazao kao talentovan vođa velikih kopnenih formacija (LXVIII AK). Heinrich von Behr je 1914–18. služio u Kamerunu kao oficir kolonijalnih trupa, a 1942–44. je, kao stručnjak za obuku, vodio 173. RD u okupiranoj Srbiji i NDH. Fritz Neidholdt je godine 1935–37. proveo u svojstvu vojnog savjetnika pri Čang Kaj-Šekovoj vladi u Nankingu, gdje je predavao taktiku i priređivao propise iz raznih grana vojne struke. Već spomenuti Raapke (71. pješadijska divizija) je zbog poznavanja jezika (kojeg je u julu 1939. usavršavao u Portugalu o trošku vojske) bio predviđen za vojnog atašea u Rio de Janeiru. Do postavljenja ipak nije došlo uslijed izbijanja rata i oskudice u artiljerijskim oficirima.³⁰

U prvoj polovini rata se na poziciju komandanta divizije dolazilo penjanjem uz hijerarhijsku ljestvicu, plus sticanjem odgovarajućeg iskustva na frontu. Sredinom novembra 1942, Personalna uprava Kopnene vojske se obraća jednim dopisom štabovima armija na Istočnom frontu, tražeći

²⁹ BA-MA/PERS-6/250 (Lanz)/47, Personalna uprava Kopnene vojske za AG “A” (22. 7. 1943); NARA/T-78/889 (Lanz), Ocjene (26. 2. 1943, 1. 3. i 10. 7. 1944); BA-MA/PERS-6/85 (Böhme), Karijera (1936); NARA/T-78/884 (Böhme), Personalije; BA-MA/PERS-6/474 (Brauner)/11-12, Ocjene (1. 3. i 27. 5. 1944); BA-MA/PERS-6/1021 (Zellner)/18, Ocjena (18. 3. 1943); NARA/T-78/892 (Ringel), Ocjena (7. 8. 1944).

³⁰ BA-MA/PERS-6/135 (Felmy)/17 (Karijera 1917–18), 202 (Ocjena, 1. 1. 1944); BA-MA/PERS-6/438 (von Behr)/6 (Karijera, 1914–18), 23 (Ocjena, 1. 3. 1943); BA-MA/PERS-6/773 (Neidholdt)/11, Neidholdt Ministarstvu rata (27. 4. 1937); BA-MA/PERS-6/809 (Raapke)/29 (Usavršavanje jezika u inostranstvu, 28. 6. 1939), 32-33 [Prepiska Generalštab KV – Personalna uprava Kopnene vojske, 6. i 13. 2. 1940).

od njih mišljenje o ideji da se organizuju posebni kursevi za komandante divizija (*Division-Führer-Lehrgänge*). Svi su smatrali da se radi o izvrsnoj inicijativi te su ponudili svoje savjete u vezi s organizacijom i izvođenjem nastave. Program je zaživio u januaru 1943. i trajao praktično do posljednjeg dana rata. U Berlinu, Hirschbergu, Bad Neustadtu i Bad Wiesseeu održano je ukupno 18 kurseva, svaki sa po 10–20 polaznika (interesantno je to da su kandidati morali spakovati stvari tako da u svakom trenutku budu u stanju oputovati na front). Na kursovima koji su trajali tri do četiri sedmice, perspektivni pukovnici i generalmajori, kako iz trupe tako i iz pozadinskih službi i štabova, podučavani su tajnama zanata rukovođenja velikim združenim formacijama. Po završetku nastave, šef kursa bi izrekao svoju ocjenu za svakog polaznika ponaosob; ukoliko je ona bila zadovoljavajuća, formalne prepreke do pozicije komandujućeg bi bile uklonjene.³¹

Ipak, apsolviranje kursa nije značilo automatsko postavljanje na dužnost. Von Graevenitz (237. pješadijska divizija) je na 7. kurs za komandante divizija (6. septembar – 2. oktobar 1943) došao direktno iz Generalštaba KV, gdje je bio šef Odjela za ratne zarobljenike. Pošto mu je, i pored “dobrog taktičkog pregleda i osjećaja za bitno” manjkalo praktičnog iskustva u trupnoj službi, on je poslat na dodatno usavršavanje. Nakon sedam sedmica provedenih u štabu 305. pješadijske divizije u Italiji, von Graevenitz je ocijenjen kao sposoban za samostalnu komandu, ali samo na nekom mirnom odsjeku (tako je i dospio u Istru). Kandidati bi prošli i detaljan ljekarski pregled. Gerhard Kühne je proveo gotovo čitav rat kao štabni oficir u raznim komandama i ustanovama. Još dok je bio slušalac posljednjeg kursa, doktori su zaključili da bi ovaj “vanredno snažan” četrdesetpetogodišnjak “bio u stanju izdržati i veće psiho-fizičke napore”, pa je 29. aprila 1945. postavljen za komandanta 22. pješadijske divizije. Kako je tačno prevalio put iz južne Njemačke do prilaza Zagrebu u haotičnim uslovima koji su vladali u posljednjoj sedmici

³¹ Centralni arhiv Ministarstva odbrane Ruske federacije, fond 500, opis 12454, delo 120, list 32-47 [prepiska GŠ KV – štabovi armija i armijskih grupa na istočnom frontu, 12-26. 11. 1942]; NARA/T-78/39/6000541, 551-52, 554-58 [Kursevi za više trupne rukovodioce, materijali, 13. 3. – 3. 4. 1945]; BA-MA/PERS-6/453 (Bleyer)/90, Personalna uprava Kopnene vojske za IX vojni okrug (21. 4. 1943).

rata – nije poznato. Zna se samo da se Kühne predao sa svojom divizijom u Sloveniji te da je ustrijeljen od strane stražara 1948. godine u zarobljeničkom logoru u Zrenjaninu, navodno zbog toga što se isuviše primakao prozoru.³²

Uspjeh, neuspjeh, stagnacija

Na osnovu svega prethodno iznijetog, teško se može prepoznati mehanizam po kojem je neki trupni rukovodilac slat na Balkan: bilo ih je i starih i mladih, i pješadinaca i tenkista, i odlikovanih i neodlikovanih, i učesnika kolonijalnih ratova i veterana velikih fronti. Neosporno je da je Personalna uprava Kopnene Vojske nastojala, kad god je to bilo moguće, da prilagodi izbor zadatka profilu kandidata. Tako su oficiri brdskih trupa dolazili na čelo novoformiranih lovačkih divizija, dok je Austrijancima bila povjeravana komanda nad hrvatskim novacima, baš kao u vrijeme Franza Josepha. U iznimnim slučajevima, specijalni talenti bi čak imali prednost nad vojničkim sposobnostima i karakternim osobinama. Oskar von Niedermayer je bio orijentalista, koji je proveo godine 1912–14. putujući po Bliskom Istoku i Centralnoj Aziji kao agent vilhelmske Njemačke. Zbog svog poznavanja kulture, običaja i jezika, on je 1942. bio postavljen za zapovjednika 162. pješadijske divizije, sastavljene u velikoj mjeri od sovjetskih građana sa Kavkaza i srednjeazijskih republika. Kao trupni vođa, međutim, von Niedermayer se pokazao neiskusnim i nesigurnim, čak i u operacijama protiv neregularnog protivnika u Istri i Sloveniji, pa je smijenjen polovinom 1944.³³

Pomnijim uvidom u dostupnu dokumentaciju ipak se može nazrijeti osnovni princip kojim se Personalna uprava Kopnene vojske rukovodila pri formiranju personalne politike: svi oni koji iz bilo kojeg razloga ne zadovoljavaju zahtjeve službe na glavnim frontovima se šalju na Balkan. Dippold je kao

³² BA-MA/PERS-6/583 (von Graevenitz)/33 i 43 (Ocjene, 7. 10. 1943. i 12. 6. 1944), 44 ([Albert von Kesselring, Dopis, 19. 6. 1944); BA-MA/PERS-6/697 (Kühne)/29 i 33 (Personalna uprava Kopnene vojske, Dopisi, 20. 3. i 29. 4. 1945), 32 (Ljekarski nalaz, 16. 4. 1945). August von Metzsch, *Die Geschichte der 22. Infanterie-Division 1939–1945*, Kiel: Verlag Hans-Henning Podzun, 1952, 91.

³³ NARA/T-78/891 (von Niedermayer), Karijera (1942–44), Kursevi (1912–14), Ocjene (1. 5. 1942, 8. 10. 1943, 5. i 8. 3. te 29. 4. 1944).

jedan od rijetkih (ako ne i jedini) iz “naše” grupe uzeo učešća u Aprilskom ratu kao komandant 183. pješadijske divizije. Istu formaciju je vodio i u Sovjetskom Savezu sve do početka decembra 1941, kada biva ranjen u nogu. Nakon što ljekari sredinom oktobra 1942. utvrđuju da nije sposoban za “zimsku kampanju na istoku”, Dippold prima komandu nad 717. pješadijskim divizijom. Njegov budući neposredni nadređeni, Rudolf Lüters, za svoje podvige u Velikom ratu bio je nagrađen najvišim pruskim odlikovanjem, *Pour le Mérite*. Iako je i pored svojih poodmaklih godina i teške rane stečene u mladosti i dalje vanredno žustar, smatra se da mu komanda aktivnim korpusom i još jedna ruska zima ne bi godili. Zbog ovoga, kao i zbog svog organizacionog talenta, krajem 1942. postaje “Zapovjednikom njemačkih četa u Hrvatskoj”. Martin Gareis se, prvo sa svojim pukom, a onda i divizijom (98. pješadijskom), tukao na istoku od prvog dana rata. Za vrijeme treće bitke za Kerč u drugoj polovici januara 1944, ovaj iskusni oficir je dobio tešku gripu “koja ga je fizički veoma iscrpila”. Personalna uprava Kopnene vojske smatra da bi mu boravak u Dalmaciji na poziciji zapovjednika statične 264. pješadijske divizije pružio dovoljno mogućnosti za oporavak. Nakon pet mjeseci (maj–oktobar 1944) provedenih tako na “lakim dužnostima”, Gareis se vraća u rezervu, da bi na kraju komandovao tenkovskim korpusima. Ratovanje u Sovjetskom Savezu je “dokrajčilo” nemilosrdnog Küblera (LXXXXVII AK), koji je proveo preko godinu i po dana u rezervi poslije traumatičnih iskustava iz decembra 1941. i januara 1942. Sve do ljeta 1943. činilo se da je Willi Schneckengerber imun na ove uticaje. Dramatične borbe na rijeci Mius u julu te godine, međutim, u potpunosti iscrpljuju “njegove fizičke i psihičke snage”, što se djelomice ogleda i u teškom oboljenju bubrega. On gotovo cijelu godinu provodi u rezervi, pod stalnim ljekarskim nadzorom; tek u junu 1944. biva postavljen na mjesto šefa vojne misije u Bugarskoj. Nedugo potom, Istočni front stiže na Balkan: ironijom sudbine, Schneckengerber gine u jednom njemačkom vazдушnom napadu na prilazima Beogradu sredinom oktobra 1944. kao zapovjednik improvizovane korpusne grupe nazvane njegovim imenom.³⁴

³⁴ BA-MA/PERS-6/524 (Dippold)/4 (Karijera, 1942), 18, 23 (Ljekarski nalazi 23. 3. i 14. 10. 1942); NARA/T-78/889 (Lüters), Ocjene (30. 10. 1941, 25. 4, 5. 9. i 13. 10. 1942); BA-MA/PERS-6/153

U Jugoslaviji je završilo i nekoliko afričkih veterana. Karl Böttcher, koji je unatoč astmi i svojim zrelim godinama (1889) preuzeo komandu nad 21. TD na vrhuncu operacije “Crusader” u Kirenajci, služio je i kao zapovjednik ostataka beogradskog garnizona u ranoj fazi sremske kampanje. Dvije sedmice nakon poraza kod El Alameina, Rommel telegrafiše Schmundtu: “Najskoriji dolazak [Gustava] Fehna hitno potreban”. Potonji je, kao iskusen poznavalac brzih trupa, postavljen na čelo proslavljenog Afričkog korpusa. Sredinom januara 1943, međutim, gotovo potpuno gubi sluh uslijed detonacije bombe. Kao takav više nije dorastao izazovima velikog fronta, pa ga Personalna uprava Kopnene vojske šalje u Jugoslaviju, gdje obnaša dužnosti komandanta XXI i XV BK sve do kapitulacije. Za vrijeme posljednjih 11 mjeseci rata, on je u ovom svojstvu bio nadređeni i Johannu Micklu. Mickl je bio njegov mlađi kolega iz istog vida vojske, a proslavio se u bitkama kod Sidi Rezega u Sjevernoj Africi i Rževa u Sovjetskom Savezu. Nakon teških borbi na jugu Rusije u ljeto 1943, pretpostavljeni ipak dolaze do zaključka da “ne vidi veliku sliku” i da je isuviše “tromoga duha” da bi komandovao tenkovskom divizijom. Kao Austrijanac, preuzima najmlađu legionarsku diviziju, 392, od koje brzo stvara efikasnu antigerilsku formaciju. U martu 1945. Fehn ga čak preporučuje za komandanta korpusa, što General Wilhelm Burgdorf (posljednji šef Personalne uprave Kopnene vojske) odbija sa obrazloženjem da je Mickl na trenutnoj poziciji dosegao limit svojih vojničkih sposobnosti.³⁵

Svaki ambiciozni oficir nastojao je izbjeći službu na Balkanu. Princip senioriteta je izgubio primat u kasnu 1942; od tada, napredovanje je imalo zavisiti isključivo od učinka na bojnopolju. Definicija “bojnopolja” varirala je u zavisnosti od perspektive: komande u Jugoslaviji su, recimo,

(Gareis)/8, Ocjena (8. 4. 1944); BA-MA/PERS-6/243 (Ludwig Kübler)/10, Ocjena (29. 1. 1942); NARA/T-78/893 (Schneckenburger), Karijera (1944), Ocjene (3. 9. 1943. i 21. 3. 1944); NARA/T-501/257/217, Armijski odred “Srbija”, Dnevni izvještaj (14. 10. 1944).

³⁵ NARA/T-78/884 (Böttcher), Karijera (1941–44), Ocjene (14. 2. i 1. 3. 1942, 9. 12. 1943); BA-MA/PERS-6/132 (Fehn)/4 (Karijera 1940–44), 36 (Rommel za Schmundta, 19. 11. 1942), 38 (VKOS za Personalnu upravu Kopnene vojske, 15. 1. 1942), 52 (Ljekarski nalaz, 20. 1. 1942); NARA/T-78/890 (Mickl), Karijera (1940–44), Ocjene (30. 7. i 3. 9. 1943, 5. 3. 1945).

svoju zonu odgovornosti smatrale aktivnim bojištem. Iz vizure Personalne uprave Kopnene vojske radilo se o jednom, doduše neugodnom dijelu okupirane Evrope, ali koji se ipak nije mogao porediti sa Sovjetskim Savezom ili Italijom. U zahtjevu za unapređenje generalmajora Raapkea (71. pješadijska divizija), jedan uposlenik Personalne uprave je olovkom podvukao stavku “Pet mjeseci na frontu sa borbenim dejstvima (Hrvatska)” i dopisao broj “3”, što je značilo da se mjesec proveden u NDH računao tek kao malo više od pola mjeseca provedena na nekom velikom ratištu. Isto se desilo i Niehoffu (371. pješadijska divizija), uz opasku da mu je potrebna bar jedna “probna” godina prije nego dobije čin general-poručnika. Ipak, on biva unaprijeđen već nepuna četiri mjeseca kasnije (1. april 1944).³⁶

U zavisnosti od znanja, zalaganja i vojničke sreće, služba na Balkanu je mogla i da koristi i da šteti jednom generalu. Bilo je i onih na čije se karijere boravak u okupiranoj Jugoslaviji nije naročito odrazio, poput Hansa von Roosta (44. pješadijska divizija), Friedricha Zickwolfa (113. pješadijska divizija), Helmutha Huffmanna (277. pješadijska divizija), Harrya Hoppea (278. pješadijska divizija) i Georga Zwadea (367. pješadijska divizija). Od onih kojima se isplatio, možemo, za početak, navesti Karla Eglseera. Kao iscrpljeni veteran Istočnog fronta, on je postavljen za prvog zapovjednika 114. LD. Zbog velikih uspjeha na polju antigerilske borbe i obuke, kao i uspjeha u pregovorima o predaji italijanskih jedinica u Dalmaciji, krajem 1943. povjerena mu je komanda nad XVIII BK. Friebe (22. pješadijska divizija) je zbog vođenja deblokade XXI BK u Crnoj Gori predložen za dodjelu Hrastovog lista, a sredinom aprila 1945. i sam postaje komandantom jednog armijskog korpusa na Zapadnom frontu. Werner von Erdmannsdorff (LXXXXI AK) je u prvoj polovini sovjetsko-njemačkog rata vodio 18. motorizovanu diviziju. Kao i kod Eglseera, dugi boravak na istoku nije ostao bez posljedica, pa je u avgustu 1943. prisiljen preći u “pozadince”. Za

³⁶ BA-MA/PERS-6/809 (Raapke)/50, Personalna uprava Kopnene vojske, Unapređenje Raapke (31. 3. 1944); BA-MA/PERS-6/791 (von Pannwitz)/75, Prijedlog za unapređenje (13. 1. 1944); BA-MA/PERS-6/288 (Niehoff)/75 (Personalna uprava Kopnene vojske za 14. armiju, 19. 12. 1943), 85 (Personalna uprava Kopnene vojske za AG “Sjeverna Ukrajina”, 24. 4. 1944).

vrijeme povlačenja AG “E” sa istočnog Balkana, njegove liderske sposobnosti opet dolaze do punog izražaja i početkom 1945. biva unaprijeđen u čin armijskog generala.³⁷

Mada bi bilo pretjerano okupiranu Jugoslaviju nazvati “grobnicom karijera”, analizirani personalni dosijei sadrže nekoliko interesantnih primjera u ovom smislu. Hermann Fischer, osim što je bio sklon da pravda vlastite greške i preporučuje nepodobne oficire, nije se pokazao dovoljno energičnim u antipartizanskoj borbi, pa je smijenjen sa položaja zapovjednika 181. pješadijske divizije početkom jeseni 1944. Wilhelm Kohler je u prvih 18 mjeseci rata prešao put od komandanta bataljona do komandanta divizije i bio odlikovan za svoje podvige u Rusiji. Također, značajno je pridonio podizanju borbene gotovosti novoformirane 11. vazduhoplovne poljske divizije raspoređene u Grčkoj. Ipak, prva faza povlačenja AG “E” sa istočnog Balkana, otkrila je njegove nedostatke kao trupnog oficira. Kohler se nije snašao “u veoma teškim borbama u šumovitim brdima protiv nadmoćnog protivnika”, a izgleda da se uspio i zavaditi sa svojim pretpostavljenim, pa je vraćen u Njemačku, kao uposlenik Vrhovnog vojnog suda. Smjena je mogla imati i pozitivne posljedice. General Eduard Aldrian je u novembru 1944. razriješen dužnosti zapovjednika 373. pješadijske divizije zbog reume, pesimizma i nedovoljne aktivnosti. Nakon toga postao je komandant artiljerije pri 6. armiji na sjevernom krilu Istočnog fronta, što mu je, kao “izvršnom poznavaoču” ovog vida vojske, zasigurno više odgovaralo.³⁸

Krajem jula 1944, novi komandant 2. TA Maximillian de Angelis traži izjašnjenje podređenih po pitanju velikih razlika u performansama Aldrianove 373. i Neidholdtove 369. s jedne, te Micklove 392. legionarske

³⁷ NARA/T-78/885 (Eglseer), Karijera (1940–44), Ocjena (16. 9. 1943); BA-MA/PERS-6/563 (Friebe)/46 (Personalna uprava Kopnene vojske, Telegram, 16. 4. 1945), 47c-47d (Preporuke, 25. 12. 1944); NARA/T-78/885 (von Ermannsdorff), Karijera (1941–44), Ocjene (30. 5. 1943, 20. 12. 1944. i 8. 1. 1945).

³⁸ BA-MA/PERS-6/551 (Fischer)/34, von Leyser za Fischera (25. 9. 1944); BA-MA/PERS-6/677 (Kohler)/38, 42-43 (Ocjene, 13. 1. 1943. i 1. 3. i 5. 11. 1944); Vojni arhiv Beograd, Fond Nemačka okupatorska vojska 1941–1945, kutija 72, fascikla 1, dokument 3, list 1, Izjava Gerhard Henke (n. d.); BA-MA/PERS-6/409 (Aldrian)/3 (Karijera 1944–45), 27 i 29 (Ocjene, 31. 5. 1943. i 8. 11. 1944).

divizije s druge strane. SS general Arthur Phleps, komandant V SS BK, smatra da je Neidholdt isuviše “mekan” i još mu spočitava servilan odnos prema vlastima NDH. Upravo iz obzira prema zvaničnom Zagrebu, 2. TA isprva odlučuje da ga zadrži na toj funkciji, odbijajući oštro njegov zahtjev za prekomandu van zemlje (“niste prikladni za komandanta divizije ni na drugim bojištima”). De Angelis također ne uvažava Neidholdtovo objašnjenje po kojem je loš učinak njegove divizije u istočnoj Hercegovini posljedica razočaranosti hrvatskih vojnika u njemačku politiku savezništva sa lokalnim četnicima. Porazi koje je tokom oktobra 369. pješadijska divizija pretrpjela na Pelješcu, kod Trebinja, i naročito kod Vukovog Klanca, dovode do generalovog konačnog pada. Njegov novi nadređeni iz V SS BK, SS general Friedrich-Wilhelm Krüger (pod kojim, inače, Neidholdt nije htio služiti), sada piše upravo uništavajuću ocjenu. Komandant 2. TA se pridružuje kritici, ponavljajući da se sa svim Slavenima, pa tako i sa hrvatskim legionarima, treba postupati sa “sovjetskom žestinom”, za šta bivši Čang-Kaj-Šekov savjetnik očito nije sposoban. Krajem decembra, Personalna uprava Kopnene vojske odbija njegovu žalbu, čime se stavlja tačka na cijeli slučaj. Tokom 1945. Neidholdt biva izabran na nekoliko nevažnih pozadinskih funkcija, a rat završava u rezervi.³⁹

Na samom kraju, treba spomenuti i slučaj Aloisa Windischa. Sudeći po čak 24 ocjene koje sadrži njegova lična kartica, radilo se o osebujnoj ličnosti punoj kontradiktornosti. S jedne strane, ovog samca ocjenjuju kao veoma hrabrog, brižnog prema potčinjenima, primjernog frontovskog oficira sa razvijenim taktičkim talentom i “prirodom beskompromisnog vođe”. S druge strane mu predbacuju flegmatičnost, nedostatak okretnosti i nesnalaženje u kriznim situacijama; spočitava mu se i to da, kao Austrijanac, ima malo razumijevanja za “prave” Nijemce. Karijera mu je bila podjednako šarolika: u periodu 1941–44. komandovao je brdskim i legionarskim pukom, dvjema divizijama za osiguranje, jednim utvrđenim mjestom, bio aktivan u štabu korpusa i odgovoran za ratne zarobljenike

³⁹ BA-MA/PERS-6/773 (Neidholdt)/70-75, 93-108 [Prepiska o “ aferi Neidholdt”, juli–decembar 1944], 76-81 [Personalna uprava Kopnene vojske, depeše o postavljenjima, februar–april 1945]

u nekoliko pozadinskih komandi, a u oficirsku rezervu je prelazio ravno sedam puta.

Nakon posljednjih neuspjeha na Istočnom frontu, Personalna uprava Kopnene vojske ga početkom oktobra 1944. šalje na Balkan i daje mu dva mjeseca da se dokaže kao komandant divizije. Napoleon je jednom primijetio da general, osim znanja, mora imati i sreće. Windisch je, međutim, nije imao: njegovo postavljenje na čelo 264. pješadijske divizije je uslijedilo upravo u trenutku kad je 8. korpus NOVJ otpočeo svoju veliku ofanzivu u Dalmaciji. Na dan isteka roka (1. decembar), Windisch se borio za život zajedno sa ostacima svoje i Aldrianove bivše divizije u kninskom obruču. U ovom odsudnom momentu, general pada na ispitu. Pored svih gorespomenutih mana i uobičajene zamjere o nedostatku čvrstine, pretpostavljeni navode da se on (opet) odao alkoholu, što se tumači kao kumulativna posljedica "popuštanja nerava". Fehnova preporuka o razrješenju sa dužnosti stoga biva prihvaćena, doduše gotovo dva mjeseca poslije bitke: Windisch opet prelazi u rezervu, a odatle u jednu tvrđavsku komandu. Interesantno je da Löhr, vjerovatno vođen osjećajem solidarnosti sa kolegom iz prijeratne austrijske vojske, odbija da decidno podrži Fehnov prijedlog: "[Windisch] mi je odranije poznat kao hrabar i vrlo odlučan oficir, iako sklon alkoholu. O njemu kao zapovjedniku 264. pješadijske divizije ne mogu dati čvrst sud zbog kratkog perioda u kojem mi je bio podređen."⁴⁰

Zaključak

O porijeklu, privatnom životu, ličnim i profesionalnim karakteristikama te političkim stavovima njemačkih generala koji su za vrijeme Drugog svjetskog rata služili u Jugoslaviji se zna vrlo malo. S jedne strane, to je posljedica činjenice da se historiografija socijalističke ere koncentrisala prije svega na proučavanje NOP-a. Drugi razlog je opšti pad interesa za čisto vojne teme, koji je nastupio u periodu nakon raspada zajedničke države. Istraživanje, čiji su rezultati sadržani u ovom članku, pokazalo je da, na prvi pogled, nisu

⁴⁰ NARA/T-78/885 (Windisch), Karijera i ocjene (1941-45).

postojala jasna pravila po kojima su komandanti krupnih formacija dolazili na ovo područje. Tako se među njima nalaze predstavnici gotovo svih vidova i rodova vojske (čak i vazduhoplovstva), sa najrazličitijim biografijama. Ipak, proces odabira nije bio nasumičan. Tako su Austrijanci i Bavarci bili disproporcionalno zastupljeni, što je bio rezultat istorijskih okolnosti (služba u vojsci Habsburške carevine, odnosno njemačkim brdskim jedinicama). Osnovni motiv, međutim, bio je praktične prirode. Svaki general koji nije smatran dorašlim za izazove velikih bojišta iz bilo kojeg razloga (starost, narušeno zdravlje, nedostatak iskustva itd.) imao je dobru šansu da bude poslat u ovaj nemirni kutak okupirane Evrope.

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„HE IS LACKING IN FIRMNESS“: GERMAN GENERALS IN YUGOSLAVIA 1941-1945

Summary

In the regional historiography of World War II in Yugoslavia, written in both the socialist and post-socialist periods, Wehrmacht generals are mentioned almost exclusively in the context of war crimes. Almost nothing is known about their origin, personal life, and military career. Using the previously unpublished personal files kept in the German Federal Archives, the article at hand tries to redress this imbalance. It contains an analysis of biographies of altogether 66 generals who served as divisional and corps commanders in the Balkans. The main question it seeks to answer is how an officer came to be assigned to this particular posting. At a first glance, there were no strict rules regulating this matter: the generals came from all branches of service and had vastly different personal and professional backgrounds. Their numbers included individuals with uninspiring careers, but also heroes of the Great War, daredevil tank commanders, pioneer airmen, former colonial officers, advisers to foreign governments, renowned scholars, and peacetime policemen. Nevertheless, the choice did not fall on them randomly. For instance, the fact that the Austrians and Bavarians were over-represented was directly caused by historical circumstances. The former had long-standing ties to the region thanks to the Habsburg Empire, while the latter were regarded as foremost practitioners of German mountain warfare. One consideration, however, outweighed all others: whoever was not deemed fit for service on one of the major fronts for whatever reason – inadequate performance on the battlefield, impaired health, advanced age, or lack of experience – stood a good chance of being posted to this unruly part of Nazi-occupied Europe.

A KARADŽIĆ-HOLBROOKE DEAL OF 1996: MYTH OR REALITY?¹

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Abstract: The purpose of this paper is to examine the currently public and accessible evidence on the alleged 1996 immunity deal between Richard Holbrooke and Radovan Karadžić. Using primarily archival materials of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia in the case of Radovan Karadžić, this paper seeks to shed light on how the alleged agreement featured in the trial. While Karadžić claimed that Holbrooke promised him immunity in exchange for withdrawing from public life in 1996, the American diplomat steadfastly rejected such a notion. The issue dogged Holbrooke for years. After Karadžić's arrest in July 2008, the former Bosnian Serb leader put forth several motions in The Hague claiming that the alleged deal protected him from prosecution. This paper will review the archival documents filed before the tribunal in The Hague and cross-reference them with other sources. In doing so, this paper will try to offer insights into what transpired in July 1996.

Keywords: Richard Holbrooke, Radovan Karadžić, Alleged Immunity, Yugoslavia, Balkans

Apstrakt: Cilj ovog rada je istražiti trenutno javno dostupne arhive o navodnom sporazumu između Richarda Holbrookea i Radovana Karadžića iz 1996. godine. Koristeći arhivsku građu Međunarodnog krivičnog tribunala

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za bivšu Jugoslaviju u slučaju Radovan Karadžić, ovaj rad će nastojati da objasni kako je optuženi pokušao navodni sporazum koristiti pred Haškim tribunalom. Dok je Karadžić tvrdio da mu je Holbrooke obećao da neće biti procesuiran ako se povuče iz javnog života 1996, američki diplomata je tu tvrdnju odlučno odbacivao. Ta tvrdnja o navodnom imunitetu pratila je Holbrooke sve do njegove smrti. Nakon Karadžićevog hapšenja u julu 2008. on je nekoliko puta pred Haškim tribunalom pokrenuo pitanje navodnog sporazuma. Ovaj rad će analizirati njegove podneske pred Haškim tribunalom i izvršiti poređenje sa drugim izvorima. Na taj način će se pokušati saznati više o tome šta se dogodilo u julu 1996. godine.

Ključne riječi: Richard Holbrooke, Radovan Karadžić, Navodni sporazum, Jugoslavija, Balkan

On 21 July 2008, media outlets across the world reported that the former Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadžić was arrested. He was arrested in Belgrade thirteen years after being indicted by the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY). The Hague tribunal charged Karadžić with genocide, crimes against humanity and violations of the laws or customs of war in Bosnia and Herzegovina.² However, for thirteen years he had been evading justice, supported by a network of enablers within the Serbian state.

Karadžić led the Bosnian Serb separatists through a statelet – officially known as Republika Srpska – who committed genocide and other major crimes in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Along with his military commander Ratko Mladić, Karadžić is responsible for spearheading mass atrocities and destruction across Bosnia and Herzegovina from 1992 until 1995.³ The war ended with the Dayton Peace Accords in November 1995.

Soon after this arrest, Karadžić was transferred to the ICTY. He refused to enter a plea and his trial began in late October 2009. The Trial Chamber

² Julian Borger, “Radovan Karadzic, Europe’s most wanted man, arrested for war crimes”, *The Guardian*, 22 July 2008, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2008/jul/22/warcrimes.internationalcrime>

³ See Edina Bećirević, *Genocide on the Drina River*, New Haven – London: Yale University Press, 2014; Hikmet Karčić, *Torture, Humiliate, Kill: Inside the Bosnian Serb Camp System*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2022.

handed down its judgment on 24 March 2016 finding Karadžić guilty of genocide, crimes against humanity and violations of the laws or customs of war. He was sentenced to 40 years in prison.⁴ Following the appeal, Karadžić's sentence was changed to life imprisonment.⁵

An Immunity Deal?

Before the trial began, one intriguing allegation surfaced which captured the attention in the Balkans and beyond. Though rumours persisted for some time, Karadžić alleged in 2008 that he stepped down from politics and public life back in 1996 in exchange for an immunity agreement that was promised to him by US diplomat Richard Holbrooke. He was adamant that the pledge was made and he claimed that the alleged agreement protected him from prosecution in the ICTY. The essence of his argument was that he abided by the deal by withdrawing from public life while Holbrooke failed to uphold his promise. The former US diplomat steadfastly rejected such claims which dogged him until his death in 2010.⁶ Karadžić persisted in making this claim which then generated media coverage and, in turn, generated widespread interest in the Balkans and beyond as to what actually transpired.

Responding to Karadžić's allegations, the State Department issued a statement on 31 July 2008 stating: "Ambassador Holbrooke and we have repeatedly made clear that no agreement was ever made in which Radovan Karadžić was provided immunity from prosecution or arrest. Ambassador Richard Holbrooke and other U.S. officials engaged in Balkan negotiations have re-affirmed this on numerous occasions. In July 1996, U.S. officials

⁴ Case Information Sheet: Radovan Karadžić, Case No.: IT-95-5/18, International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, https://www.icty.org/x/cases/karadzic/cis/en/cis_karadzic_en.pdf

⁵ Julian Borger, "Radovan Karadžić war time sentence increased to life in prison", *The Guardian*, 20 March 2019, <https://www.theguardian.com/law/2019/mar/20/radovan-karadzic-faces-final-verdict-in-bosnia-war-crimes-case>

⁶ Joshua Keating, "What did Holbrooke tell Karadzic?", *Foreign Policy*, 23 March 2009, <https://foreignpolicy.com/2009/03/23/what-did-holbrooke-tell-karadzic/>

negotiated with Serb leaders to obtain Karadžić's signed pledge to withdraw from politics and public life. No commitments granting Karadžić immunity were offered in return.”⁷

Now that Karadžić's trial and the appeal process have ended, the ICTY's archive is open for research. As for the alleged Karadžić-Holbrooke agreement, two questions arise: (i) What do the publicly accessible documents say? And (ii) How has a historical distance of 22 years shaped our knowledge of the events from 1996?

This paper will seek to analyse The Hague tribunal's archive pertaining to the alleged agreement and compare it with other sources now accessible for research. Based on primary and secondary sources related to the 1990s, this paper will attempt to shed light on the alleged agreement and how it featured in the Karadžić trial. Finally, the paper will offer two possible explanations as to what happened in 1996.

Karadžić's Motions

Once in The Hague tribunal, Karadžić set about claiming that an alleged immunity deal protected him from prosecution. He filed a series of motions in 2008 and 2009 seeking to prove that such a deal existed. For the purpose of this paper, a chronology and a description of the most significant motions filed by Karadžić and Trial Chamber decisions will be provided.

On 6 August 2008, Radovan Karadžić filed an “Official submission regarding my first appearance and my immunity agreement with the USA” to Pre-Trial Chamber. Karadžić wrote that “In 1996, in the name of the USA, Richard Holbrooke made the statesmen and ministers who were my authorized representatives an offer which I will outline in brief... The offer was as follows: I must withdraw not only from public but also from party offices and completely disappear from the public arena, not give interviews

⁷ Statement of ICTY Fugitive Radovan Karadzic to Withdraw From Public Life, Press Statement Sean McCormack, Washington, DC, July 31, 2008, <https://2001-2009.state.gov/r/pa/prs/ps/2008/07/107615.htm>

and not even publish literary works, in a word, become invisible long enough for the Dayton agreement to be implemented in full... In the name of the USA, Holbrooke promised that the Serbian Democratic Party would not be prohibited from taking part in the elections and that no more of our officials would be removed from the electoral lists... As for me, Mr. Holbrooke undertook on behalf of the USA that I would not be tried before this Tribunal and that I should understand that for a while there would be very sharp rhetoric against me so that my followers would not hamper the implementation of the Dayton agreement. The USA kept its promise to ease the pressure on the SDS and Mr. Holbrooke himself boasted in the press that he had persuaded me to withdraw not only from public but also from party offices.”⁸

Karadžić stated that the agreement has been breached and that he now sought to challenge the legality of the proceedings in The Hague. He asked the Pre-Trial Chamber to order “that Richard Holbrooke appear before you and declare under oath whether or not there was such an agreement and whether the USA complied with its obligations from that agreement”. Karadžić requested that the Pre-Trial Chamber consider this motion before proceeding further.⁹

On 20 August 2008, the Prosecution filed its response to Karadžić’s submission regarding the alleged immunity agreement. The Prosecution opposed Karadžić’s submission: “Even if it existed (and the Prosecution does not accept that it does), the alleged agreement between Karadžić and Holbrooke (on behalf of the USA) granting Karadžić immunity from this Tribunal (“alleged agreement”) would be devoid of legal effect before this Tribunal because (1) the alleged agreement would violate a peremptory norm of international law; (2) any grant of immunity purportedly made by the USA could not bind this Tribunal; (3) the only body with the power

⁸ ICTY, “Official Submission Concerning My First Appearance and My Immunity Agreement with the USA”, 6 August 2008, IT-95-5/18-I, Exhibit no.: D11370-D11364, <https://www.icty.org/x/cases/karadzic/custom1/en/080805.pdf>

⁹ Ibid.

to limit prosecutions is the Security Council, which has never exempted Karadžić from Prosecution.”¹⁰

The Prosecution further stated in B. (8): “Even if the USA had purported to enter into an international agreement granting Karadžić immunity from prosecution before this Tribunal, it had no power to do so. Accordingly, any such undertaking by the USA could not bind this Tribunal.” It added that (10) “The USA cannot enter into international agreements that impose obligations on third parties, such as other UN member states, a collection of such states or the Security Council. At most, the USA could confer upon Karadžić immunity from prosecution within its own jurisdiction.” The Prosecution further added in C. (12) that “the Security Council of the United Nations (UN) is the only body that has the power to limit the Tribunal’s jurisdiction. However, the Security Council has never specified that Karadžić, or any other named individual, will be exempted from prosecution by this Tribunal.” The Prosecution then noted that “In his Submission, Karadžić does not claim that the Security Council exempted him from prosecution. He relies exclusively on his allegation that the USA granted him immunity before this Tribunal. That argument is of no legal relevance to this Tribunal’s capacity to prosecute him.”¹¹

On 6 October 2008, Karadžić filed a Motion for Inspection and Disclosure: Immunity Issue requiring the prosecution to disclose “(A) all information in the possession of the prosecution concerning the agreement made with Radovan Karadžić on or about 18–19 July 1996 by Richard Holbrooke, (B) all information in the possession of the prosecution between July 1996 and the present concerning requests that the prosecution of Radovan Karadžić not be pursued, (C) all information in the possession of the prosecution concerning the failure to arrest Radovan Karadžić after

¹⁰ ICTY, *Prosecutor v. Radovan Karadžić*, Case No. IT-95-5/18-I, Prosecution’s Response to Karadžić’s Submission Regarding Alleged Immunity Agreement, 20 August 2008, <https://www.icty.org/x/cases/karadzic/custom1/en/080820.pdf>

¹¹ ICTY, *Prosecutor v. Radovan Karadžić*, Case No. IT-95-5/18-I, Prosecution’s Response to Karadžić’s Submission Regarding Alleged Immunity Agreement, 20 August 2008, <https://www.icty.org/x/cases/karadzic/custom1/en/080820.pdf>

18 July 1996 and/or the reasons therefore.” In his motion, Karadžić stated that “the documents described above are material to the preparation of this defence. It is part of his defence that (1) he was promised on 18–19 July 1996 by Richard Holbrooke that he would not have to face prosecution in The Hague if he agreed to withdraw completely from public life; and (2) that this promise is attributable to the ICTY because it was made on behalf of, or in consultation with the member States of the United Nations Security Council, or was reasonably believed to be made so.” He added that the purpose of this request was “In order to pursue a motion to dismiss the indictment on these grounds.”¹² On 9 October 2008, the Trial Chamber handed down its decision in response to Karadžić’s 6 October motion. The Trial Chamber dismissed and denied the motion.¹³

Then on 6 November 2008, Karadžić filed a motion in Trial Chamber for inspection and disclosure of an alleged Holbrooke agreement. He specifically requested “all information in the possession of the prosecution concerning the agreement made with Radovan Karadžić on or about 18–19 July 1996 by Richard Holbrooke including ... (3) any contemporaneous notes, recordings or memoranda or correspondence reflecting what took place during the meeting on 18-19 July 1996 in Belgrade among Richard Holbrooke, Slobodan Milošević and others (4) any other document or recording which tends to show the existence of a promise, representation, or suggestion that Radovan Karadžić not be arrested, transferred or prosecuted at the ICTY.” He further requested (B) all information in the possession of the prosecution concerning the actual or apparent authority of Richard Holbrooke to make representations to Radovan Karadžić on behalf of the international community on 18–19 July 1996. Karadžić also requested (C) all information in the possession of the prosecution showing the relationship between the United

¹² ICTY, *Prosecutor v. Radovan Karadžić*, Case No. IT-95-5/18-PT, Motion for Insection and Disclosure: Immunity Issue, 6 October 2008, <https://www.icty.org/x/cases/karadzic/custom1/en/080923b.pdf>

¹³ ICTY, *Prosecutor v. Radovan Karadžić*, Case No. IT-95-5/18-PT, Decision on Accused Motion For Inspection and Disclosure, 9 October 2008, <https://www.icty.org/x/cases/karadzic/tdec/en/081009.pdf>

States of America and the Office of the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia as of 18–19 July 1996.”¹⁴

The Trial Chamber handed down its decision on 17 December 2008. The Trial Chamber noted that Karadžić put forth the new motion to the Chamber after his direct request to the Prosecution to share documents on the alleged 1996 deal with Holbrook was rejected. The 6 November motion was Karadžić’s effort to seek an order from the Trial Chamber to the Prosecution to share the aforementioned documents arguing that these were crucial for his defense. The Trial Chamber decided to order the Prosecution to disclose to Karadžić “any written agreement made at the alleged meeting in Belgrade on 18–19 July 1996, and any notes taken or recordings made on 18–19 July 1996 of proceedings at the alleged meeting in Belgrade on those days which are within the custody or control of the Prosecution”. The Trial Chamber rejected all other aspects of the motion.¹⁵

After this decision, Karadžić filed an “Appeal of Decision Concerning Holbrooke Agreement Disclosure” on 28 January 2009. In the twenty-three page document, Karadžić contested the Trial Chamber’s 17 December 2008 decision and put forth his appeal.¹⁶ On 6 April 2009, the Appeals Chamber dismissed Karadžić’s appeal entirely.¹⁷

The following month, on 25 May 2009, Karadžić filed a “Holbrooke Agreement Motion”. The objective of this motion was to “dismiss the indictment on the grounds that the Tribunal lacks jurisdiction, or, alternatively,

¹⁴ ICTY, *Prosecutor v. Radovan Karadžić*, Case No. IT-95-5/18-PT, Motion for Inspection and Disclosure: Holbrooke Agreement, 6 November 2008, <https://www.icty.org/x/cases/karadzic/custom1/en/081106.pdf>

¹⁵ ICTY, *Prosecutor v. Radovan Karadžić*, Case No. IT-95-5/18-PT, Decision on Accused’s Second Motion For Inspection and Disclosure: Immunity Issue, 17 December 2008, <https://www.icty.org/x/cases/karadzic/tdec/en/081217.pdf>

¹⁶ ICTY, *Prosecutor v. Radovan Karadžić*, Case No. IT-95-5/18- AR73.1, Appeal of Decision Concerning Holbrooke Agreement Disclosure, 28 January 2009, <https://www.icty.org/x/cases/karadzic/acdec/en/090128.pdf>

¹⁷ ICTY, *Prosecutor v. Radovan Karadžić*, Case No. IT-95-5/18-AR73.1, Decision on Appellant Radovan Karadžić’s Appeal Concerning Holbrooke Agreement Disclosure, 6 April 2009. <https://www.icty.org/x/cases/karadzic/acdec/en/090406.pdf>

should decline to exercise jurisdiction, as a result of the agreement made with Richard Holbrooke that Dr. Karadžić would not face prosecution at this Tribunal”. Karadžić repeated his earlier claims that he relinquished all his political positions and withdrew from public life in exchange for immunity. He claimed that Holbrooke refused to put his own commitment to paper. Karadžić requested the Trial Chamber to establish facts by calling witnesses. He claimed that Momčilo Krajišnik and Aleksa Buha represented Republika Srpska at the meeting with Holbrooke and that they testified that Holbrooke made the representation that Karadžić would not be prosecuted. However, Holbrooke refused to make this pledge in writing.

In this motion, Karadžić asked that the Trial Chamber hold an evidentiary hearing to establish the facts about the Holbrooke-Karadžić agreement. At the end of the sixteen page document signed by Karadžić, he stated “it is respectfully requested that the Trial Chamber hold an evidentiary hearing and, after such a hearing, dismiss the indictments on the grounds that the Tribunal lacks jurisdiction, or, alternatively, should decline to exercise jurisdiction, as a result of the agreement made with Richard Holbrooke that Dr. Karadžić would not face prosecution at this Tribunal.” He attached a number of annexes to this motion purporting to prove the existence of the alleged agreement including statements by Momčilo Krajišnik and Aleksa Buha.

It is interesting that several former high-ranking Bosnian Serb and Serbia’s officials refused to meet Karadžić’s counsel and back up his client’s case. Milan Milutinović’s counsel replied to Karadžić’s lawyer Peter Robinson on 16 April 2009 stating that Milutinović stated that the document on Karadžić’s withdrawal from politics bears his name but he claimed that he was not present in negotiations and was therefore unable to confirm the existence of an alleged agreement. Biljana Plavšić who in 2009 was serving her sentence refused to meet Karadžić’s counsel. Lawyers for Jovica Stanišić stated that their client was seeking medical treatment and was unavailable for an interview with Karadžić’s counsel.¹⁸

¹⁸ ICTY, *Prosecutor v. Radovan Karadžić*, Case No. IT-95-5/18-PT, Holbrooke Agreement Motion, 25 May 2009.

After this May 2009 motion was filed, several media outlets reported on this motion and this again generated public interest in the alleged deal.¹⁹ The State Department released public documents from that period showing that the US supported the trial of Karadžić at the ICTY. Daniel Serwer, who worked on America's Bosnia policy in the 1990s, stated: "I am delighted to see these documents, which clarify the US Government's position in 1996 and refute Karadžić's 'immunity' claims."²⁰

In a letter from then-Secretary of State Warren Christopher to Slobodan Milošević in August 1996, Christopher wrote that there are "indications that Karadžić is still maintaining contacts with the SDS and is otherwise intent on clinging to power. Such developments raise doubts about Pale's commitment to the July 18 agreement. Ultimately Karadžić must leave Bosnia and face trial before The Hague tribunal."²¹ A cable from the US embassy in Belgrade to Washington, DC at the time summarized the conversations of Stanišić, Holbrooke and others in the wake of Karadžić signing the document on stepping down. The cable states that "Holbrooke conveyed our appreciation of Stanišić's efforts in this process, but underlined that we remained convinced that both Karadžić and Mladić must leave the country, as well as power, destination being The Hague where their legal rights will be protected."²² The letter and the cable indicated that the US remained committed to seeing Karadžić face trial at the ICTY.

Two months earlier, *The New York Times* reported that a new study published by Purdue University in the US and co-edited by Charles W. Ingrao found that three senior officials of the State Department and several

¹⁹ "Former Bosnian Serb leader Radovan Karadzic immune from prosecution, claim lawyers", *The Guardian*, 25 May 2009, <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2009/may/25/karadzic-claims-immunity-deal>

²⁰ New State Department Documents Refute Karadzic Claims, US Institute of Peace, 26 June 2009, <https://www.usip.org/publications/2009/06/new-state-department-documents-refute-karadzic-claims>

²¹ Secretary's Letter to President Milosevic on Karadzic Follow-Through, Public Documents Regarding Radovan Karadzic's May 25, 2009 Filing before the ICTY, <https://2009-2017.state.gov/documents/organization/126020.pdf>

²² Serbian Security Service on Karadzic and Holbrooke Agreement, Public Documents Regarding Radovan Karadzic's May 25, 2009 Filing before the ICTY, <https://2009-2017.state.gov/p/eur/rls/or/c31889.htm>

others told him that Holbrooke did in fact make such a promise back in July 1996. In interviews conducted by *The New York Times* with two sources cited in the study, both spoke on the condition that they remain anonymous. Both had knowledge of Holbrooke's activities and confirmed that such a promise was made. The anonymous State Department official was quoted as saying "Holbrooke told the Serbs, 'You can give him my word he won't be pursued,' but Holbrooke refused to sign anything". Holbrooke vigorously denied making such a deal with Karadžić.²³ This study was cited in the motion filed by Karadžić as purporting to prove his claims about the deal.

On 8 July 2009, the Trial Chamber handed down its decision and denied the motion.²⁴ Soon thereafter, Karadžić filed an Appeal of the Decision on the Holbrooke Agreement on 27 July 2009. On 12 October 2009, the Appeals Chamber handed down its decision in which it found that "even if the alleged Agreement were proved, it would not limit the jurisdiction of the Tribunal, it would not otherwise be binding on the Tribunal, and it would not trigger the doctrine of abuse of process." The Appeals Chamber dismissed Karadžić's appeal.²⁵

In its judgement in the case of Karadžić handed down on 24 March 2016, the Trial Chamber found that: "For the purpose of sentencing, the Chamber is only concerned with the established fact that the Accused indeed resigned from all public and party offices as of 19 July 1996 and that he refrained from making public appearances from then on. The reason or reasons behind his decision to step down and withdraw from public life are not relevant. What is relevant is the fact that his decision had a positive influence on the establishment of peace and stability in

²³ Marlise Simons, "Study Backs Bosnian Serb's Claim of Immunity", *The New York Times*, 21 March 2009; Charles Ingrao – Thomas A. Emmert (eds) *Confronting the Yugoslav Controversies: A Scholars' Initiative*, West Lafayette, Indiana: Purdue University Press, 2009, 187.

²⁴ ICTY, *Prosecutor v. Radovan Karadžić*, Case No. IT-95-5/18-PT, Decision on the Accused's Holbrooke Agreement Motion, 8 July 2009, <https://www.icty.org/x/cases/karadzic/tdec/en/090708.pdf>

²⁵ ICTY, *Prosecutor v. Radovan Karadžić*, Case No. IT-95-5/18-AR73.4, Decision on Karadžić's Appeal on Trial Chamber's Decision on Alleged Holbrooke Agreement, 12 October 2009, <https://www.icty.org/x/cases/karadzic/acdec/en/091012.pdf>

BiH and the region in the wake of the Dayton Agreement. The Chamber, therefore, considers the decision of the Accused to resign from public and party offices in July 1996 to be a mitigating factor in determining the sentence to be imposed.”²⁶

In appealing his sentence, Karadžić once again raised the alleged Holbrooke agreement. He filed his appeal on 23 December 2016. Karadžić claimed, among others, that the Trial Chamber erred when rejecting mitigating circumstances for violation of his rights arising from the alleged agreement with Holbrooke. He repeated, as in previous motions, that he resigned in exchange for the non-prosecution agreement. “He complied with this agreement, and had a reasonable expectation that it would be honoured. In prosecuting him regardless, and breaching its terms, President Karadžić’s rights were violated, warranting a remedy,” stated Karadžić in his appeal.²⁷

The Appeals Chamber found that the Trial Chamber made no error in its deliberations. It held that the Trial Chamber “correctly did not take into account any purported non-prosecution agreement when assessing the mitigating factors. The Appeals Chamber finds that Karadžić does not demonstrate any error on the part of the Trial Chamber in this respect.”²⁸

American Sources

While Karadžić kept insisting on the alleged deal from his arrest in 2008 through his appeal in 2016, what is Holbrooke’s version of what happened on 18–19 July 1996? What do other currently accessible US sources say on this?

²⁶ ICTY, *Prosecutor v. Radovan Karadžić*, Case No. IT-95-5/18-T, Public Redacted Version of Judgement Issued on 26 March 2016, https://www.icty.org/x/cases/karadzic/tjug/en/160324_judgement.pdf

²⁷ ICTY, *Prosecutor v. Radovan Karadžić*, Case No. IT-95-5/18-T, Radovan Karadžić’s Appeal Brief, 23 December 2016, <https://www.irmct.org/sites/default/files/casedocuments/mict-13-55/appeal-briefs/en/karadzic-radovan-karadzics-appeal-brief.PDF>

²⁸ ICTY, *Prosecutor v. Radovan Karadžić*, Case No. MICT-13-55-A, Judgement, 20 March 2019, <https://www.irmct.org/sites/default/files/casedocuments/mict-13-55/appeals-chamber-judgements/en/190320-judgement-karadzic-13-55.pdf>

In the literature on the US policy in the Balkans in 1990, the alleged immunity deal is not mentioned.²⁹ Memoirs of top figures in the Clinton Administration similarly do not mention this.³⁰

In *To End a War*, Holbrooke recalled that he was called back by the Clinton Administration and asked to visit the Balkans. “The Administration’s goal was to remove Karadžić from power or significantly weaken him through diplomatic pressure...” Before departing Holbrooke met with Deputy National Security Adviser Sandy Berger. Holbrooke recalls that there was no appetite in Washington for the threat of reintroduction of sanctions on Bosnian Serbs or Serbia. “Just go out there and do what you can. We know you will make it sound better than it is,” Berger told Holbrooke. In a telephone conversation, Deputy Secretary of State Strobe Talbott told Holbrooke “Just use that old creative ambiguity.”³¹

Holbrooke recalled negotiations with Milošević in Belgrade starting at 4 pm on 18 July 1996. These talks lasted for ten hours. Holbrooke recalls presenting Milošević with a draft document declaring Karadžić’s resignation from the posts of President of Republika Srpska and as president of the SDS. He recalls the presence of Krajišnik and Buha as Karadžić’s representatives. Holbrooke further recalls that after much negotiations, Bosnian Serbs signed a document which pledged Karadžić’s withdrawal from “all public and private activities”. These included any activities in the run-up to the September 1996 elections. Biljana Plavšić would become the president of Republika Srpska and Aleksa Buha acting chief of SDS. Holbrooke further recalled that Milošević sent his spy chief Jovica Stanišić by helicopter to Pale to get Karadžić’s signature on the document. Holbrooke

²⁹ Samantha Power, *“A Problem From Hell”: America and the Age of Genocide*, New York: Harper Perennial, 2002; Ivo H. Daalder, *Getting to Dayton: The Making of America’s Bosnia Policy*, Washington, DC: Brookings Institution Press, 2000; David Halberstam, *War in a Time of Peace: Bush, Clinton, and the Generals*, New York: Scribner, 2001.

³⁰ Warren Christopher, *Chances of a Lifetime: A Memoir*, New York: Scribner, 2001; Strobe Talbott, *The Russia Hand*, New York: Random House, 2003; Wesley K. Clark, *Waging Modern War*, New York: Public Affairs, 2001.

³¹ Richard Holbrooke, *To End a War*, New York: The Modern Library, 1998, 340-343.

recalls that all the negotiators met again at 2 am the next day after Stanišić returned from Pale with the document bearing Karadžić's signature.³²

Apart from Holbrooke's account, an alleged deal is not mentioned in a recent biography of Holbrooke by George Packer. A staff writer at *The Atlantic*, Packer unpacked the former diplomat's life and career and unearthed how Holbrooke had bluffed and used falsehoods including in the Balkans in the mid-1990s. Yet, he makes no mention of the July 1996 meeting nor of any deal with Karadžić. For a biography that deconstructs Holbrooke on several levels, Packer makes no mention of the one issue that dogged Holbrooke until his death – the alleged deal with Karadžić.³³

What Do We Know?

Based on different accounts – that of Holbrooke and Karadžić – what do we know about the 18–19 July 1996 meeting? Both concur that there was a meeting in Belgrade between a US delegation led by Holbrooke and Milošević. Bosnian Serbs Momčilo Krajišnik and Aleksa Buha were present. Holbrooke's objective was the removal of Karadžić from public life before the Bosnian elections that were scheduled for September 1996. After intense negotiations, Krajišnik and Buha signed a document. Then, Jovica Stanišić took the document by helicopter to Pale to get Karadžić's signature.

Where the two accounts differ is on the *quid pro quo*. Holbrooke does not mention it and has consistently denied there was a *quid pro quo*. On the other hand, Karadžić insisted that he decided to withdraw from politics and public life precisely in exchange for immunity. He alleges that this immunity was represented by Holbrooke.

³² Ibid.

³³ George Packer, *Our Man Richard Holbrooke and the End of the American Century*, New York: Knopf, 2019.

Karadžić's Allegation

Radovan Karadžić's allegation was vehemently denied by Holbrooke until his death in 2010. Holbrooke was a skilled diplomat adept at using creative ambiguity. He was seasoned enough not to commit anything controversial to paper. Since the minutes of the 18–19 July, 1996 meeting are unavailable, it is impossible to surmise the exact wording used by Holbrooke in the negotiations. It is possible that the Bosnian Serb officials may have read into Holbrooke's expressions what they thought they were hearing. And, this could have been different from what Holbrooke was saying. But, the essence of the allegation that there was an immunity deal is Karadžić's version of the story supported by his associates Krajišnik and Buha.

The Case Against a Deal

There are several factors that disprove the existence of the alleged Karadžić-Holbrooke deal.

First, no written agreement bearing Holbrooke's signature has been unearthed nor is likely to be. This was conceded by Karadžić's counsel Peter Robinson in one of his client's filings.

Second, Karadžić had a pattern of outright lies in the 1990s. As his rebel forces committed the worst crimes across Bosnia, Karadžić denied them. He consistently denied the genocide in Bosnia and the brutal siege of Sarajevo that his henchmen conducted. Why should Karadžić be a credible source on the alleged immunity deal?

Third, several key former Bosnian Serb and Serbian officials refused to issue statements in May 2009. This included Biljana Plavšić, Milan Milutinović and Jovica Stanišić. They refused to support Karadžić's claim.

Fourth, US officials have steadfastly rejected Karadžić's claims. No US official – current or former – is on the record as confirming the existence of such a deal.

Fifth, George Packer's extensive biography of Holbrooke uncovered a number of less savoury aspects of the diplomat's life and career. However, Packer does not mention the allegations or the alleged agreement.

Sixth, Holbrooke had many political rivals but none brought this up in an effort to bring him down.

In sum, based on the currently accessible archival materials, there is no evidence to prove Karadžić's claim that an alleged deal was reached in July 1996.

Conclusion

Though twenty-two years have passed since the alleged deal was hammered out, public interest in the issue persists.

The key question remains: was there, and if so, what was the *quid pro quo* for Karadžić stepping down?

Karadžić's defence was clinging to an alleged unwritten pledge. The alleged immunity deal was brought up by Karadžić throughout 2008 and 2009 in an attempt to claim that (i) he should not have been arrested and (ii) that the proceedings before the ICTY were unfounded. He filed a series of motions arguing that the alleged deal was breached. The Trial Chamber and the Appeals Chamber rejected Karadžić's motions. In handing down its verdict in 2016, the Trial Chamber found that Karadžić's withdrawal from politics and public life in 1996 was a mitigating factor in its sentencing. However, the motive behind his decision to step down was deemed irrelevant. Karadžić also referred to the alleged deal in his appeal of the 2016 verdict. This, too, was rejected by the Appeals Chamber in its 2019 verdict.

The essence of the decisions handed down by the Trial Chamber and the Appeals Chamber was that even if the deal existed, it had no relevance for the legal proceedings against Karadžić. In other words, no private individual or official could have made a pledge or a promise that would be binding on the ICTY. Unlike 1995, Holbrooke was no longer US Assistant Secretary of State for European and Eurasian Affairs in July 1996. He was a private citizen.

Perhaps more light will be shed on what transpired on 18–19 July, 1996 in the years ahead as more archives become open for research and additional documents are declassified. Direct participants in the negotiations and individuals with direct knowledge of the talks may come forward to share their recollections.

Finally, the issue of the alleged deal raises an obvious but neglected question: should the public believe a convicted *genocidaire* known for a pattern of outright lies or a diplomat who brought peace to the Balkans?

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DOGOVOR KARADŽIĆ-HOLBROOKE IZ 1996: MIT ILI STVARNOST?

Sažetak

U ovom radu je istražena arhiva Haškog tribunala u vezi s tvrdnjom Radovana Karadžića da je 1996. godine postigao dogovor s Richardom Holbrookom. Nakon hapšenja 2008. godine, Karadžić je Haškom tribunalu uložio nekoliko podnesaka tvrdeći da je prekršen navodni dogovor s nekadašnjim američkim diplomatom. Karadžić je tvrdio da se povukao iz političkog i javnog života 1996. te da mu je zauzvrat obećano da neće biti procesuiran. On je nastojao da na taj način ospori nadležnost Haškog tribunala.

U presudi Karadžiću iz 2016. godine, Sudsko vijeće je navelo da razlozi za Karadžićevo povlačenje iz politike i javnog života nisu relevantni. U presudi Apelacionog vijeća iz 2019. godine potvrđeno je da Sudsko vijeće nije napravilo grešku. Karadžićeva tvrdnja o navodnom sporazumu s Holbrookeom ostala je samo to – tvrdnja.

PRIKAZI / BOOK REVIEWS

Amra Šaćić Beća, *Sjeverna Bosna u okvirima rimske Panonije / Northern Bosnia within the bounds of Roman Pannonia*, Sarajevo: Udruženje za proučavanje i promoviranje ilirskog naslijeđa i drevnih i klasičnih civilizacija "BATHINVS", 2022, 567 str.

Bazirana na historijskim izvorima, a primarno natpisima na epigrafskim spomenicima, dvojezična monografija, na bosanskom i engleskom jeziku, autorice Amre Šaćić Beća *Sjeverna Bosna u okvirima rimske Panonije / Northern Bosnia within the bounds of Roman Pannonia* predstavlja nemjerljiv doprinos u razvoju historiografije o "panonskoj povijesti" područja sjeverne Bosne. Zbog malobrojnosti građe tek je nekoliko naučnika koji su se posvetili izučavanju ove tematike, uglavnom parcijalno. Spomenuta publikacija je dopunjena i proširena verzija autoricine doktorske disertacije odbranjene u Ljubljani 2016. godine, a izdavač je Udruženje za proučavanje i promoviranje ilirskog naslijeđa i drevnih i klasičnih civilizacija "BATHINVS". Recenzenti su akad. prof. dr. Rajko Bratož, doc. dr. Milan Lovenjak i dr. sc. Alka Domić Kunić. Obogaćena mapama koje potiču iz pera Emira Durmiševića, a utemeljene na historijskim izvorima, monografija čitaocima pruža uvid u prostor današnje Bosne i Hercegovine u antičko doba. Autorica je ponudila i katalog epigrafskih spomenika koji se vežu za spomenutu tematiku. Pored fotografija, uza svaki spomenik se nalazi historijat spomenika, dimenzije, izvorni natpis i transkripcija, tj. moguće čitanje natpisa. Koristeći tematsku, hronološku, kvantitativnu i kvalitativnu metodu, unutrašnju i vanjsku kritiku izvora, autorica nastoji približiti život ilirskog stanovništva koje je naseljavalo područje današnje sjeverne Bosne i ukazuje na njihov historijski razvoj. U uvodnom poglavlju Šaćić Beća je predstavila historijat istraživanja područja sjeverne Bosne u periodu rimske vladavine te naglasila da su joj glavni pomoćnici kroz cijelu knjigu bili natpisi na epigrafskim spomenicima, koji predstavljaju vrijedno svjedočanstvo ilirske i rimske povijesti. Svakako, Šaćić Beća se referiše i na grčko-rimske pisce i literaturu koja se bavi spomenutom tematikom.

U fokusu je kulturnohistorijski razvoj prostora sjeverne Bosne u periodu principata.

“Rimsko osvajanje južne Panonije” je naziv prvog poglavlja gdje je autorica oslikala najvažnije političke i vojne događaje, počevši od Oktavijanovog pohoda, potom *Bellum Pannonicum*, odnosno Tiberijevog rata, i na kraju Velikog ilirskog ustanka. Prvu fazu osvajanja sjeverne Bosne autorica prepoznaje upravo u Oktavijanovom pohodu, koji se dijeli u nekoliko etapa i zahvaljujući ovom ratu formirana je civilna provincija Ilirik. Tokom Panonskog rata sjeverna Bosna je postala dio rimske provincije Ilirik. Ipak, rimski nameti, eksploatacija ruda i regrutovanje u vojsku doveli su do Batonovog ustanka. Šaćić Beća pod pojmom Panoni ne vidi jedan narod, nego naglašava da se iza tog imena krije čitav dijapazon različitih zajednica. Na kraju poglavlja ponuđena je karta na kojoj se mogu vidjeti prikazane peregrinske civitates u periodu ranog Carstva.

U dijelu pod nazivom “Administrativno uređenje” Šaćić Beća se bavi razvojem provincije Ilirik i njegovom podjelom. U vrijeme vladavine cara Tiberija Ilirik je podijeljen na dvije provincije – *Illyricum Superius* i *Illyricum Inferius*. Još uvijek u historiografiji nije precizno definirana granica spomenutih provincija, ali je ona većim dijelom prolazila kroz današnju sjevernu Bosnu. Također, još uvijek nije definirano kada je Ilirik tačno postao provincija, ali se to svakako desilo između 33. god. pr. n. e. i 27 god. pr. n. e. Autorica pravilno prepoznaje da širenjem je rimske vlasti Ilirik počeo predstavljati administrativnu jedinicu. Uz pomoć izvorne građe, Šaćić Beća naglašava da se o Panoniji i Dalmaciji kao provincijama u administrativnom smislu ne može govoriti prije vremena cara Vespazijana. Povlačenje legija iz gornjeg Ilirika za posljedicu je imalo i određene administrativne promjene. Uz ovo poglavlje se nalazi i karta na kojoj su prikazane granice Panonije i Dalmacije na tlu današnje Bosne i Hercegovine u I st. n. e., a koja je nastala na temelju istraživanja koje je Šaćić Beća prezentirala u ovoj knjizi.

Na početku novog poglavlja “Teritorijalno i administrativno uređenje prostora sjeverozapadne Bosne u okvirima rimske provincije Panonije

Superior” autorica postavlja nekoliko ključnih pitanja, koja su joj vodilja kroz nastavak teksta. Detaljno se bavi pitanjem granica i naroda koji su naseljavali ovo područje. Faza etnogeze kroz koju su prolazile autohtone zajednice odrazila se i na etnografsku sliku sjeverne Bosne. Autorica s oprezom prilazi problematici panonskog identiteta, navodeći da je proces etnogeneze lakše upratiti kroz prizmu arheologije. U fokusu su joj tri značajna centra – *municipium Faustinianum*, *ager coloniae Flaviae Siscie* i *Servitium*. Za *municipium Faustinianum* je utvrđeno da se nalazila na teritoriji Oserijata, ali naučnici još uvijek nisu ponudili rješenje koji je danas to tačno grad. Zbog nedostatka izvora teško je utvrditi u vrijeme kojeg je vladara *Faustinianum* postao municipij. Administrativno središte ovog municipija se najvjerojatnije nalazilo u blizini ušća Une u Savu. Šaćić Beća predstavlja i granice *Ager coloniae Flaviae Sisciae*. Kada je riječ o Serviciju, ne zna se koji je njegov administrativno-pravni status. Spomenuti centar je predstavljao važno čvorište koje je povezivalo Panoniju i Dalmaciju. Servicij (*Servitium*) se, najvjerojatnije, nalazio na prostoru Bosanske Gradiške, u blizini ušća Vrbasa u rijeku Savu. Poglavlje je obogaćeno katalogom epigrafskih spomenika koji se tiču rimske provincije Panonije Superior.

Prilikom proučavanja ilirske prošlosti, nemoguće je ne osvrnuti se na rudarstvo, kao jednu od najznačajnijih privrednih grana antičkog Ilirika. U poglavlju pod nazivom “Rudarski distrikt sjeverozapadne Bosne” autorica je predstavila čitav niz rimskih termina koji se vežu za rudarsku djelatnost, objašnjavajući na razumljiv način šta su oni predstavljali. Područje sjeverozapadne Bosne je bilo izuzetno bogato rudama, a u predrimskom periodu ovo područje su naseljavale zajednice naroda Mezeja. Autorica Mezeje promatra kao savez zajednica. Bazeni Japre i Sane su nepresušan izvor željeza za Sirmium, Domaviu, Sisciu i druge centre na ovom prostoru. Nakon Batonovog ustanka, mezejske zajednice su objedinjene u peregrinsku civitas Mezeja. Rudarski distrikti su pripadali javnom zemljištu, a u vrijeme dinastije Flavijevaca rudarski distrikt sjeverozapadne Bosne bio je u sastavu rimske provincije Panonije. U odnosu na raniju historiografiju, Šaćić Beća ističe da se u teritorijalnom smislu rudarski distrikt sjeverozapadne

Bosne protezao između planine Kozare na sjeveru, Grmeča na jugozapadu, Manjače na istoku i Vlašića na jugoistoku. U nastavku poglavlja fokus je na *municipium Splonistarum (Splonum)* i *municipium Baloie*. U kontekstu Germanikovog osvajanja Ilirika, Dion Kasije spominje *Splonum*, koji se vjerovatno nalazio u blizini Unca. Arheološki nalazi potvrđuju spomenutu tezu. Ipak, jedan dio naučnika ovaj grad locira u Komine kod Pljevalja, od kojih je posebno značajna Miroslava Mirković, koja je posvetila detaljno istraživanje ovoj tezi. Kad je riječ o *municipiumu Baloie*, zahvaljujući Ivi Bojanovskom došlo se do rješenja da se spomenuti municipij nalazio na prostoru današnjeg Šipova. Kao u prethodnom poglavlju, ovaj je dio obogaćen epigrafskim spomenicima, koji služe za teritorijalnu i administrativno-pravnu historiju rimskog rudarskog distrikta s prostora današnje sjeverozapadne Bosne. Kartografski je predstavljen prostor sjeverne Bosne koji je pripadao rimskoj provinciji *Pannonia Superior*.

Naziv narednog poglavlja je “Administrativno uređenje prostora sjeveroistočne Bosne u okvirima rimske provincije Panonije inferior”. Odmah na početku poglavlja Šaćić Beća naglašava da je istočni dio Panonije sporo ušao u proces municipalizacije i urbanizacije u odnosu na zapadni. Zbog prirode tla na ovom području nije bilo većih naselja. U periodu rimskog cara Trajana, Panonija je podijeljena na dvije provincije – Gornju (*Superior*) i Donju (*Inferior*). U fokusu istraživanja su Marsonia, koja se locira na područje Slavenskog Broda i koja je predstavljala jedno od središta zajednice Breuka. Drugi centar koji je predmet istraživanja je ager *colonia Flavia Sirmium*, koji je najvjerovatnije pripadao breučkom savezu do okončanja ustanka. Poglavlje je obogaćeno kartom na kojoj je prikazano administrativno i teritorijalno uređenje provincije *Pannonia Inferior* na tlu današnje Bosne i Hercegovine i katalogom epigrafskih spomenika, kao izvorom za administrativno-pravnu historiju bosanskohercegovačkog dijela *Panonije Inferior*. U zaključnim razmatranjima autorica sumira osnovne podatke o sjeverozapadnoj Bosni u sastavu rimske provincije Panonije. Na kraju knjige se nalazi bibliografija – popis skraćénica, korištenih izvora i literature.

Monografija Amre Šaćić Beća predstavlja veliki doprinos izučavanju rimske provincijalne historije i epigrafije. Po prvi put na jednom mjestu su objedinjena saznanja o sjevernoj Bosni u okvirima rimske provincije Panonije. Držeći se pravila historijske nauke, autorica je ponudila nova tumačenja određenih pojava, svakako uz uvažavanje starije historiografije. Ipak, ovom knjigom je ukazano na nužnost revidiranja postojećih saznanja i zaključaka. Zahvaljujući prevodu na engleski jezik, knjiga je dostupna i široj čitateljskoj publici, što će omogućiti bolje razumijevanje i znanje o zajednicama koje su naseljavale teritorij današnje Bosne i Hercegovine u periodu rimske uprave.

Dženana Kurtović

Enes Dedić, *Bosansko kraljevstvo i Srpska despotovina (1402-1459)* [*Bosnian Kingdom and Serbian Despotate (1402-1459)*], Sarajevo: University of Sarajevo – Institute of History, 2021, 482 p.

The history of modern and contemporary Southeast Europe, in which Bosnia and Herzegovina went through various international contexts, pressures, appropriations, divisions, and attacks, created burdens in all aspects, including in the definition and interpretation of earlier history. Although Bosnia and Serbia represent two separate medieval organisms developed in different feudal frameworks and which in certain periods in specific situations had points of contact that recognize their neighborly relations, modern and contemporary literature was not able to sufficiently free them from their daily political projections. The set thematic framework in the treatment of Bosnian-Serbian relations in the 15th century is the first comprehensive and serious attempt to confront historiography with modern projections. Pioneers come from Bosnia and Herzegovina, although the scientific machinery of Serbian historiography is traditionally stronger, more numerous, and financially and organizationally far more involved. The book before us has its starting point in the PhD thesis defended in January 2017 at the History Department of the Faculty of Philosophy in Sarajevo.

Analyzing the communication between two neighbors implies knowing their history. In the case of the Bosnian Kingdom and the Serbian Despotate (hereinafter: Bosnia and Despotate), it is a demanding but inevitable precondition. In that sense, Dr. Enes Dedić (hereinafter: the author) has proven himself, from a research point of view, not only as an expert in older publications, with classic, indispensable approaches that historiography has used for decades and even centuries, but also in numerous newer publications that are difficult to grasp, and literature from the wider region. In reviewing the historiographical endeavors, the author is recognizably

guided by a set and maintained assessment of the relevance of the publications, carefully observing the literature that is based on sources, critically singling out the observed excesses in the written work, sometimes even hypercritically, probably wanting authors to confront their time, partially condemning the literature and not the time in which it was created. On the other hand, sometimes encouraging newer specialized synthetic and fragmentary publications, the author has a clear intention to present fresher approaches as models of contemporary historiography which, in far more difficult conditions with fewer new sources but with more tact and consideration, achieve small but significant developments in knowledge of the medieval times.

The modest domestic medieval sources for the treatment of this topic, poorly preserved, especially in the Bosnian context, were supplemented with data from foreign archives through a large number of published collections consulted by the author. Thanks to the published and especially unpublished materials of the State Archives in Dubrovnik, the proverbially more modest fund of sources from the Middle Ages for the time frame treated in this book, proved to be relatively rich and crucial for the topic of the relationship between Bosnia and the Despotate. General political developments in the context of the politics of Hungary and the Ottoman Empire, full of turning events that were reflected on the internal relations of the two small countries, found their reflection in Ragusa as well. Although they existed on some different and similar feudal, political, social, economic, religious and cultural bases, Bosnia and the Despotate, as the author shows, are two separate feudal subjects with different and sometimes the same suzerain. From the Ragusans' point of view, in their economic and political strategy towards the hinterland, Bosnia and the Despotate represented the same economic space. Therefore, the Ragusans registered everything that was problematic and that often, on the Drina river, or in Srebrenica, or on the caravan route across Bosnia towards the rich in ore areas in the Despotate, indicated a political or economic disturbance, i.e. what threatened their present and future. By recognizing the quality of the sources

for deepening the knowledge on this topic, the author, it turns out, made a crucial but not an easy choice, because archival materials, after all, like older publications based on them, have never been prepared or adapted for this newly-chosen topic.

The author overcame the scarcity of sources by utilizing numerous small fragments that can be found in the decisions of certain Ragusan councils. In a sea of mostly unpublished, sometimes unidentified, unclear, and non-contextualized information, the author managed to achieve enviable control and to successfully arrange it in a methodologically well-planned and established chronological and thematic framework of his work. Although there were longer letters and wider communication in Ragusan correspondence with Hungary, Turkey, the Despotate, and Bosnia, the author did not have the opportunity to encounter more concrete correspondence that was suitable for his topic, but remained condemned to smaller, incidental indicators that were even more difficult to detect in letters. In this sense, the author showed an enviable research endeavor and with the achieved results *de facto* once again emphasized and encouraged archival work as an essential basis for further research in the modern age.

In addition to the analysis of the historiography and the sources, in the introductory part, the author also offered an informative overview of the history of Bosnia and Serbia until the end of the 14th century, in order to provide a starting point for his topic. And it turns out that, with a short demonstration, he showed the profession how much new, more detailed insights into the history from the time of Stjepan II and Tvrtko I Kotromanić, on the one hand, and the Nemanjić era Serbia, on the other, are needed.

The author's methodological framework begins with an overview of political history, combined with observing the situation in Bosnia and the Despotate. The presented material is divided into four large chapters with numerous subchapters, in which the quantity varies, and is arranged in accordance with the found and processed sources and elaborations of the

literature. The author clearly conceptually finds and follows the relations of Bosnia and the Despotate according to the general trends that dictated the history of Southeastern Europe. First, in the problematic foundations of Hungarian internal and foreign policy until 1415, when their relationship was predetermined, and in which the Despotate, perforce, found the place of a vassal and was in a better position than Bosnia. Then, in the action of the Ottomans in Bosnia and against Hungary and the supremacy of the Ottomans in the Despotate until 1459, especially emphasizing the time of mutual conflict that was in a peculiar way limited by the Wars of Konavle (1430-1454). Finding themselves in different situations, the Bosnian king and the Serbian despot react differently or in the same manner pressed by the hammer and anvil between the alternating polarities of the Hungarians and the Turks. The author successfully recognizes the different models that the Hungarians apply to Bosnia and the Despotate, according to their interests, by adjusting other people's possessions along the Hungarian border towards the Ottomans. Through exhaustive analysis of the fragmented archival material from Dubrovnik, the author succeeds in bringing to light numerous episodes and in them recognizing the reasons why kings and despots agreed, disagreed, or clashed. The despot Đurađ Branković maneuvered relatively successfully in the general currents. By changing sides and entering into risky arrangements with the Ottomans, he lost and regained possessions, remained on the remnants of despotism, but failed to avoid attacks and being the opposing side to the Bosnian rulers and nobles. As well as the Bosnian rulers and nobles the other way around.

All of them relied only on their estimates and tried to secure and preserve their possessions, depending on the situation, with the Hungarian or Ottoman ruler. The actions of the Kosačas, Zlatonosovićs, Dinjičić-Kovačevićs, and Pavlovićs, who mainly lived near the Despotate, were described in episodes of numerous Ottoman incursions and conflicts or joint actions with the despot, problems in Zeta where Venice appeared as a stable factor, and above all in the two Wars of Konavle in which the Ragusans found a counterbalance to the Bosnian nobles and rulers in the Despotate. Calling

the Bosnian episode of the rule of the Bosnian heir to the throne, despot Stjepan Tomašević, and the collapse of the Despotate in 1459, a kind of climax and finale in the treatment of his topic, the author does not consider it the epilogue of long-term relations, excessive ambition or Bosnian guilt, but the usual continuation of the implementation of the Hungarian plan to protect the southern borders and in those circumstances the Despotate began to live but also to decay.

The common framework in which Bosnia and the Despotate are located appear under the Hungarian auspices at the beginning of the second decade of the 15th century, as it turns out, by following the later development, having different Hungarian standards and unresolved possessions problems in the border area from the start. The silver-rich mining area of Srebrenica was transformed by Hungarian interference into a continuous basis of problems for its neighbors almost until the collapse of the Despotate, thus shaking otherwise not too complex or significantly nurtured mutual communication. Therefore, in the author's methodological framework there is a distinct chapter dedicated to Srebrenica, which the author aptly calls the bone of contention in the relations between Bosnia and the Despotate, and a separate connecting chapter on the economy and the mutual communication of the neighbors. The author opens up a series of problems related to the activity of the local nobility, for example Dinjičićs, in the wider area of Srebrenica which is still insufficiently clearly contextualized, and therefore can be an inspiration for further work. Basically, the silver ore of the Srebrenica area and economic circulations are the core that remains a recognizable feature of this thematic framework. The author undertook an enviable research endeavor in the presentation of large and small fragments of the political and economic history of Srebrenica and the rich economic circulations on the route the Despotate – Bosnia – Ragusa. The essence of the success of the author's patiently laid out presentation lies in the recognition of the levers that the participants used in their economic policy. The Ragusan interests in continuous and lively economic circulations produced a reflexively dependent correlation of raw material-rich

areas and possessions in the hinterland. Novelties (Bosnian: *Novoštine*) as additional measures of enrichment threatened the existing laws of economics. The pressure was exerted by banning the movement of merchants and capital, controlling roads, changing trade routes and channels, increasing customs duties, introducing new taxes and similar changes to established rules that protected the centuries-old tradition and historical right of business on the eastern Adriatic coast. The author finds these levers in all the participants, finding numerous episodes in which the primacy and winning position in the face of the natural force of economic flows was of deceptive and changeable fortune for all the participants, even for discerning Ragusans.

The Ragusan observation of political and economic conditions in the hinterland is rich in the true sense compared to information related to religious aspects. This is the essence of the Ragusan reality: the absence of a religious organization in its own political bodies and the mapping of such a profile to the foreign policy orientation towards the Slavic hinterland. This was significantly reflected in the ability of the author, as well as earlier researchers of Dubrovnik archival materials, to treat this issue equally. The author points out the general religious currents in which the traits of the Bosnian Church, Catholicism and Orthodoxy are recognizable, but he finds the most problems in following the church organization of Orthodoxy in Bosnia The Serbian Orthodox Church, with the loss of its political support on the possessions incorporated by the Bosnian state during the 14th century, withdrew its organization into the contours of the new borders of the Serbian state. Such moves in the new environment, in Bosnia, which was left to a less recognizable local church organization and the Orthodox population, predetermined the strong competition and influence of more organized Catholicism, above all in the activities of the Franciscans, but also of the Bosnian Church, which was favored by the nobility. The author is not satisfied with numerous foreign and domestic approaches (Boris Nilević's, first of all), because they did not define the problems in cognition that had been and remained unresolved for a long time in religious issues in

medieval Bosnia. On the contrary, moving along the beaten path of Mihail Dinić's work, the author easily solved, in a dedicated chapter, the issue of the borders between Bosnia and the Despotate. More recent approaches, which unilaterally posed numerous unresolved issues, were more subject to questioning. This is the border that went through the most changes in the 15th century. The author especially emphasizes the instability of the border around Srebrenica, Zvornik, and Višegrad.

The relationship between the Bosnian kingdom and the Serbian Despotate is like a typical sinking river, which in some places gives a sparkling surface image of its flow. Such are the sources for studying the history of the Middle Ages, but the picture of mutual relations between these two neighbors in the 15th century is not only like that because of the archival materials, but because, it turns out, it really was like that. The sources show that those are two different entities that have their own points of contact, distributed more in the places of general movements than in the structure of mutual interpenetration. With the presented views, the author shows that numerous connections and observations of the common development, and comparative observations of the history of Bosnia and the Despotate in literature were not objective, because they mostly refer to the commonality of goods, economic procedures or foreign merchants, primarily of Ragusans.

Dr. Enes Dedić's book, *Bosnian Kingdom and Serbian Despotate (1402-1459)*, enriched historiography in the research and knowledge of the history of medieval Bosnia. The gap in the study of relations between Bosnia and its neighbors during the 15th century was significantly filled and attention was drawn to the analysis of mutual communication between Bosnia and Serbia in earlier periods. Enes Dedić undertook an enviable research endeavor in working on unpublished archival material and published collections, he also made use of existing literature, elaborated a huge number of fragmentary and abundant starting points necessary for the elaboration of his topic, and in the methodological sense, he showed an exemplary framework by

solving insufficiently known issues by supporting and confirming solved, and highlighting unresolved episodes. With his approach, starting from sources of information and being unburdened by daily political projections, Dedić successfully presented a demanding thematic framework. With numerous metaphors and parallels, in the recognizable writing style of his professor and role model Dubravko Lovrenović, Dedić successfully avoided the dry academic style of writing with which books of this type usually have to be written. Before us is a book that is deservedly considered a professional and scientific work because it contains elements of literary durability, and it represents a kind of methodological model thanks to the definitions of solved and unsolved questions and good initial elements of ubiquity in future elaborations. In addition to the professionals, the presented book and current thematic framework will justifiably deserve interest among lovers of antiquity and a wider readership.

Esad Kurtović

Adis Zilić, *Radivojevići - Vlatkovići: vlastela Humske zemlje i Krajine [Radivojevićs - Vlatkovićs: Noblemen of Hum and Krajina]*, Sarajevo: University of Sarajevo-Institute of History, 2021, 468 p.

Adis Zilić's book entitled *Radivojevići - Vlatkovići vlastela Humske zemlje i Krajine*, was published at the end of 2021 by the Institute of History of the University of Sarajevo. The book is a partially revised and updated master's thesis of this author, defended in June 2012 at the Faculty of Philosophy in Sarajevo. Adis Zilić is an associate professor at the Faculty of Humanities, Džemal Bijedić University in Mostar, where he teaches subjects from the history of the Middle Ages. The book is divided into three thematic units, and covers a chronological period of more than two centuries from the beginning of the 14th to the middle of the 16th century in which the author genealogically follows the participation of this family in the political life of medieval Bosnia through the prism of activities in economic, cultural and religious circumstances. The author based his research of this thematic framework, common in the history of medieval Bosnia, on data from archives on the Adriatic coast in Dubrovnik, Zadar and Venice.

Through the first chapter entitled "Ime, vrijeme i prostor" (21-29) the author positions this noble family in the area bounded by the rivers Neretva and Cetina, and the basic core of their estates is concentrated in neighboring Gorska Župa, Primorje Veljaci, and Biokovo, in the basin of the Trebižat and the Neretva delta, and on the Makarska littoral. After the conflict with Duke Stjepan Kosača and the loss of inheritance, this family inherited new estates from King Stjepan Tomaš in the Livno area, and after the Duke's death, with Hungarian help, they returned to their native estates. Members of this family are traced from the period of expansion of Ban Stjepan II and the occupation of Hum and the Neretva region in the 1320s, all until the 1530s. During this period, the author follows the development and role of this family through eight generations with minor interruptions.

He also draws attention to the fact that during this period in which data on members were recorded, this family did not keep a permanent surname in a longer interval, which was not uncommon in other Bosnian noble families. From generation to generation, the surname was changed in such a way as to bear the father's name. The oldest known member of the Bogavac family passed on his name as an identification determinant only to his sons. His son and heir Radivoj also passed on his name in the form of a patronymic surname to his sons Juraj and Vukić. Juraj's heirs bore his father's name on the same principle as his son Vlatko's heirs. According to this pattern, there were a number of surnames within this family Bogavčić-Radivojević-Jurjević-Vlatković. The author initially notes several examples when Juraj's heirs are listed with the same surname as his father Radivojević, but this phenomenon would be more frequent for the heirs and descendants of Vlatko Jurjević who were identified as Vlatković.

“Hronologija ličnosti i događaja” (31-276) is the most extensive and comprehensive chapter in the book. Through it, the author follows the political activities of eight generations and dozens of members of this family, analyzing all the preserved original material about these individuals who left a big mark on the political life of the medieval Bosnian state. The author begins his analysis of individuals by identifying the oldest known member and ancestor of Bogavac who lived and worked at the beginning of the 14th century. Previous historiography has derived his name from the patronymics of his sons Mrdeša and Radivoje Bogavčić, the author offers a potential thesis that the possible ancestor is Alen Bogavac, who is mentioned as a participant in an event in May 1306. Radivoje's son Juraj was the first prominent representative of this family, present on the historical scene for almost four decades - during the last three decades of the 14th and the first decade of the 15th century. A new and important episode of their history begins with his work. During this period, the Radivojevićs emerged from relative anonymity and became an important factor in the country's political life. Juraj began his political career in 1371, when he was mentioned in a royal charter, and in the following years he was recorded as

a diplomat of King Tvrtko.

Before November 1385, Juraj became related to the ruling family of Kotromanić, he married Vladika, daughter of Stana, granddaughter of the later King Dabiša. It was Dabiša who in 1395 donated the estate of Veljaka in Hum to his daughter Stana to own while she was alive, and after her death the estate was to become the property of her son-in-law Prince Juraj. In August 1395, together with members of his family, Juraj became a citizen of Ragusa, and at the end of 1407 he received the hereditary honor of a Venetian citizen. The presence of Radivojevićs in the very important economic center of Drijeva dates back to the period of Queen Jelena's rule, where customs duties were collected and sales were made. In turbulent times from the end of Queen Jelena's reign, the Radivojevićs remained loyal to the Bosnian queen and were forced to withdraw, but immediately after King Ostoja came to power, they reconciled with him, to which the king confirmed their previous possessions. However, there was soon a new rearrangement of political relations within Bosnia, the most prominent nobles replaced Ostoja, and in his place came King Tvrtko II. Along with the most prominent nobles, the Radivojevićs also took part in these events, profiting from the fact that the leader of the family Juraj received the title of duke no later than August 1404, thus entering among the most prominent nobles in the country. However, their position did not last long, they were soon forced to accept vassalship towards the Hrvatinićs, and then the Kosačas. The new orientation of the Radivojevićs provided them with new territorial estates confirmed by the charter of King Ostoja in December 1408, but also a quick attack by their former suzerain, Duke Hrvoje Vukčić, who pushed them off most of their estates.

The next stage in the history of this family began after the end of Hrvoje's attacks in 1409 and the death of the leader of the family, Juraj Radivojević. He is succeeded by his sons Stjepan, Pavle, Nikola and Vlatko, of whom Pavle initially stands out. The following data indicating the return of family members to their estates dates from the end of 1413. Members of

this family appear on the charters of Kings Stjepan Ostojić and Tvrtko II, which shows that at that time they were direct subjects of Bosnian rulers. From the summer of 1422 at the latest, they were again subject to the Kosačas. Their presence in the three-part distribution of income from the very important Drijeva square has been monitored since 1419, and they lost it in the action of Duke Stjepan Vukčić in 1439 at the latest. In the conflict between Hrvatinićs and Kosačas in the 1430s, the Jurjevićs sided with Hrvatinićs and thus again came out from under Kosača's rule, accepting Hrvatinićs as nominal suzerain, which suited them much better, given the fact that they were politically and militarily a weaker family. However, like many things in the history of this family, this status was not maintained for a long time, because as early as 1440, they were followed again as vassals of the Kosačas.

From the 1430s onwards, the author followed the activities of the new leader of the family, Pavle's son Petar Jurjević. Petar died very young in 1446, and Vlatko's son Ivaniš took over the family leadership and the title of duke, thus beginning the era of Vlatkovićs. At the time of taking over the family leadership, Ivaniš's personality had already been fully formed, and in the turbulent times in which he found himself in the following period he proved to be a capable and skilled diplomat and leader. The central event in which the author follows the activities of Vlatkovićs is related to the conflict between Duke Stjepan and the Ragusans. The Vlatkovićs saw this event as suitable for getting independence, and in March 1452 they signed an alliance agreement with the Ragusans, while the Ragusans undertook to pay them an annual income of 600 perpers, and if this family was expelled from their estates they would have to provide financial assistance in the same amount. On this occasion, all members of this family became Ragusan nobles and citizens. The failure of the Ragusan coalition, which included the duke's son Vladislav, had an unfavorable effect on Vlatkovićs. Although by the charter from July 1453, Duke Stjepan amnestied the renegade members of his family and other subordinate families, already at the beginning of 1456 he persecuted Vlatkovićs from their estates. With

the help of King Stjepan Tomaš, the Vlatkovići acquired new estates in the Livno area and thus once again became directly subject to the Bosnian crown. In this area, in a kind of exile, the Vlatkovići remained for ten years.

After the Ottoman conquest of Bosnia and the death of Duke Stjepan Kosača in 1466, the Vlatkovići, with the help of the Hungarian army, managed to return to their ancestral estates and regain influence on Drijeva square. In this way, they became subject to the Hungarians, who managed to occupy certain territories in Hum after the collapse of the Bosnian state. Regardless of the return to the old estates, the Vlatkovići did not have peace, they clashed with Duke Vladislav Kosača, and then they were attacked by the Ottomans. In the late 1460s and early 1470s, the family was led by Duke Ivaniš and his brother Prince Žarko. At the beginning of the seventies, there was an intense conflict between Vlatkovići and the Ottomans, which required large financial expenses. With the Ottoman conquest of the important Hungarian stronghold of Počitelj in 1471, the pressure on the territory of Vlatkovići increased. In the final showdown with the Ottomans, they were defeated in 1473, and withdrew to the area along the Cetina and the surroundings of Makarska, and the province of Primorje was established in most of their territories. Some members of the family, such as Tadija and Augustin, entered the Ottoman service. From this period, the family no longer had a significant political role, and the data on them are mainly related to their stay in the territory of Ragusa or Venice and the raising of the annual tribute from the Ragusans. Duke Ivaniš died before October 1483, and his brothers Žarko and Tadija, who in the meantime left the Ottoman service, are mentioned in 1492 in the westernmost parts of Hum along Croatian lands. Tadija died in 1494, and his brother Žarko in 1498. The next generation consists of Žarko's son Mikleuš, Ivaniš's daughters Barbara and Anica, Tadija's daughters Barbara, Marina and Ana, and Augustin's son Juraj. From the next generation are known Petar, son of Pavle, Anica's children, son Pavle and daughter of unknown name, and children of Mikleuš Petar and Juraš. The last generation includes the sons of Petar Pavlović Luka and Pavle. One of the last prominent representatives

of the family was Petar Pavlović, who at the beginning of the 16th century took a leading role within this already branched family. He enjoyed this position thanks to his adherence to the Ottomans, which was a practice that some of his older relatives also did.

Within the chapter “Strukture” (277-391), the author deals with the framework of the feudal hierarchy of medieval Bosnia, of which this noble family was an integral part. From the end of the 14th century, when the beginnings of the enlargement of the territorial estates of prominent nobles are traced, until the collapse of the Bosnian state. Members of this family moved between belonging to the group of the most important Bosnian nobility, the so-called “rusaška gospoda”, and recognizing vassalship to the most prominent noble families such as Hrvatinićs and Kosačas. Over a long period of time, the author follows the occasional appearance of representatives of this family in the role of witnesses in government charters, which leads to the conclusion that these examples indicate that in those time intervals Radivojevićs-Vlatkovićs were in direct submission to the Bosnian crown. Within this chapter, the author deals with the issue of vassals and representatives of this family who, according to the analysis, came from the ranks of the lower nobility, and there are people with different secular and spiritual titles. Radivojevićs vassals can only be traced back to the end of the 14th century, and the author’s research indicates that there is a noticeable tendency to mention a larger number of vassals from the wider area around the Cetina in the last decades of the 15th century. Economic activities of this kind are reflected in segments such as the collection of feudal rents, the collection of customs revenues and the issuance of real estate, the transit of goods through manorial estates, and examples such as robberies are represented. More advanced commodity-money jobs were reserved for the higher noble class, while Vlatkovićs vassals were engaged in the basic economic branches, agriculture and livestock, while members of this family, as seniors, collected rent. Drijeva square was especially important for revenues of this kind, where they had a share in the collection of customs duties at certain time intervals. The cultural life in

the courts of members of this family is evidenced by the data on how their artists, musicians and other entertainers were hired by the Ragusans for the celebrations there. The Radivojevićs-Vlatkovići, like other Bosnian rulers, had their own chancery, with professional chancellors in their service, as evidenced by the preserved charters, letters and various certificates. It is difficult to draw a common conclusion about the religious orientation of members of this family. The author's analysis indicates that since the period when the family was led by Juraj Radivojević, the affiliation to Catholicism has been observed, while the same affiliation was definitely confirmed in the first half of the 15th century from the time when the family was ruled by his successors.

The Radivojevićs-Vlatkovići are an extremely important noble family that remained on the line between belonging to the largest nobility and accepting the vassal status towards one of the strongest families at that time. The strength of this family is evidenced by the fact that they have survived as one of the longest-lived family that emerged in medieval Bosnia. Guided by preserved sources through the knowledge of neighboring countries, the author revives the history of one family and dozens of its members after half a millennium. By unpretentiously trying to offer potential frameworks of events and processes that are not significantly described in the preserved medieval sources, the author demonstrates the maturity as a medievalist. Through his work, the author points out the extraordinary knowledge of political, economic and social conditions in Bosnia over a very long period of time. Adis Zilić's study is one of the few attempts to understand the complete political, economic and cultural activities of a Bosnian noble family. With his approach, the author offered an example that could be an excellent methodological model for research and presentation of data on the activities of Bosnian noble families. Bosnia and Herzegovina's historiography has been significantly enriched by this successful history of one family.

Enes Dedić

Valentina Šoštarić, *Dubrovački poklisari: u potrazi za novim teritorijima [Ragusan Envoys: in Search of New Territories]*, Zadar: University of Zadar, 2021, 287 p.

The book *Dubrovački poklisari: u potrazi za novim teritorijima* by Valentina Šoštarić was published in 2021 by the University of Zadar. The author is an associate professor at the Department of History of the University of Zadar. Valentina Šoštarić is the author of a number of scientific papers focused on the history of Dubrovnik's diplomatic practice, and to a lesser extent on certain problems in the field of medieval history of religion. The starting points for the creation of this book are contained in a doctoral dissertation entitled "*Uloga poklisara u širenju teritorija Dubrovačke Republike na zaleđe (krajem 14. i početkom 15. stoljeća)*" defended at the University of Zagreb in 2012. Within the dissertation, the author analyzed the activities of envoys who stood out in the process of acquiring new territories for the Republic of Ragusa. The book covers a wide range of Ragusan diplomatic practice in the last years of the 14th and the first half of the 15th century. The study is chronologically bounded by the negotiations of the Ragusan authorities with the Bosnian king Stjepan Ostoja over the ceding of Primorje in 1399 and it stretches until the end of the war between the Republic of Ragusa and Duke Stjepan Kosača in 1454. It is important to point out that even before this period, during the 14th century, there were ambitions, attempts and successes in expanding the Ragusan state territory inland. The book is based on the sources of the Dubrovnik State Archives, especially on the funds that contain the decisions of the three Ragusan councils, letters and instructions to the Ragusan envoys, and the book of the Ragusan notary. This publication is a refreshment on the regional historiographical scene with regard to the methodological approach to the presentation of the planned thematic framework that follows modern medievalist methodological principles.

The book is divided into eight thematic sections that describe a wide range of activities of envoys such as the selection of an adequate person for a

mission, the selection of diplomats, instructions, reports, scope of authority, costs, entourage, time limits of missions, ceremonies and rituals, receiving gifts, courier services, sending information, moral values, and expressions of emotions. The thematic chapter entitled “Poklisari - Pandan vlasti” (31-77) describes diplomats as authorized representatives of the Ragusan authorities in the negotiations on the acquisition of new territories. In this segment, the author seeks to determine the methodology for selecting envoys for a particular type of diplomatic mission. These decisions were made in the Grand Council, the most prominent nobles were elected for important missions, while commoners could be elected for the less important ones. The councilors proposed nobles who held a considerable social and political reputation at that time. The envoys progressed from less important to more important and complex functions, such as the one of an envoy. It was expected that a potential envoy is a good connoisseur of the circumstances in which he lives, political situation, history, traditions and customs of the state to which he is sent, that he knows human psychology, diplomatic ceremonies, that he has strong oral skills, and that he is adorned with wisdom, prudence, diligence, loyalty, determination, and readiness. The listed elements ultimately make an ideal envoy from the perspective of the Ragusan authorities. The average age of envoys, entrusted with the task of holding missions related to the acquisition of new territories, was 51. For refusing certain diplomatic missions there was a fine higher than the salary for this job, while in certain cases, for refusing to go on a mission, exile from Ragusa to Mljet or Ston was envisaged. The families Gundulić, Rastić, Đorđo, Gučetić, Sorkočević, Bunić were the most represented in the diplomatic missions of the territorial expansion of the city, while the others didn't participate as much. There have been cases in which important missions, such as activities for the purchase of territories in the hinterland, frequently repeat the election of the same persons and their successors, as well as the established practice that only one person leads missions for a certain ruler and noble for many years. All these principles were created gradually and purposefully, so that the diplomatic efficiency of the Republic of Ragusa would be at the highest possible level.

The chapter “Razvoj službe” (79-99) describes the transition of procurators, which clearly defined the framework of action towards orators and ambassadors who had a much greater degree of autonomy in deciding how to achieve results in a given job. The autonomy of the envoys’ activities grew over time. The analysis of decisions on missions related to the expansion of Ragusan territory leads to the conclusion that the initial short-term missions with only one goal became longer, and meant that the envoy stays or accompanies the ruler or noble for a longer period of time and reports to the authorities during the mission while receiving new instructions. This process certainly led to the fact that later envoys became more expensive, sometimes even additional money was sent to the envoys from Ragusa. The number of envoys and entourage in one mission did not change over time, it was defined from case to case, and the parameters that decided on it depended on the importance of the ruler or noble to whom they were sent, the importance of the mission, the distance of the court.

Through the chapter “Ceremonijalni značaj poslanstva” (101-114) the author determines the elements of ceremonial practice which is reflected in the composition and number of members, equipment, clothing of envoys, their farewell and return obligations, culture of behavior at home, gifts sent, the official speech of the envoy, non-verbal communication, and the place of reception of the foreign envoy. Available sources enable monitoring of the process from the preparatory actions for the departure of the mission to the moment of dismissal and gratitude for the duty performed. The chapter “Jezik poklona” (115-137) discusses the gift giving practice that conveyed numerous and multi-layered messages about the relations between the parties in the negotiation, the importance of the goal and diplomatic mission, the relationship between the gift giver and the receiver, it also served as a special means of persuasion, showing special respect and ambition to achieve the planned state and diplomatic results. Gift giving has been established in European diplomatic practice to the extent of obligation. Diplomatic gifts were divided into status benefits such as granting Ragusan aristocratic and civic status, and numerous material items such

as real estate, silverware, expensive fabrics, groceries or money. Gifting in Ragusan diplomatic practice included a wider range of people who could in any way influence the reaching of an agreement that was in their interest.

In the chapter “Komunikacija” (139-169), the author states that various forms of communication have become the most important activity in the process of diplomatic negotiations on the expansion of Ragusan borders. The most important information in the process of communication was transmitted verbally and those for historical science represent lost sources. The letters and instructions of the authorities to the envoys are the basis for studying their communication, but also diplomatic activities in general. Written reports of the authorities to the envoys have not been preserved, their reflection has been preserved through the authorities’ response, so in this case we are talking about one-way communication. The instructions were written in vernacular Italian, while the decisions on compiling the instructions were recorded in Latin. In this chapter, the author discusses the issues of the courier service established for the needs of diplomatic missions, couriers were the basic chain in communication and timely supply of authorities and missions with new information and instructions. Their journeys were demanding, difficult, time consuming and dangerous. Sometimes, due to various reasons, there was a delay in providing information, sometimes the chain was forcibly interrupted by foreigners, and sometimes the Ragusan authorities themselves delayed providing instructions to resolve the current confusing situation on the ground.

The chapter “Vrijednost informacija” (171-181) tells us that the value of information was extremely high for adequate instructions to the envoys who were negotiating the expansion of the territory. The authorities often stressed to the elected envoys the importance of as comprehensive reports as possible. In this regard, they advised the envoys to stay close to the ruler or noble at whose court they were staying, and to attend all the meetings and talks that would take place there. The frequently collected information was shared by the Ragusan authorities with their allies, creating a kind of

communication network. Envoys had to have a pronounced sense of lying and hiding information in the courts to which they were referred. The great importance of information is also indicated by the examples when the most important information was encrypted, stolen from envoys, bought and sold.

The chapter “Društvene mreže” (183-211) gives us information about social networks. In the context of this study, the author views social networks as complex, single or multiple connections among members of a defined group whose connection differs in the degree of formality. The Ragusan diplomatic network developed at the beginning of the 15th century, with the aim of expanding state territories, it included their suzerain King Sigismund, Bosnian kings Ostoja and Tvrtko II, and nobles Radič Sanković, Hrvoje Vukčić, Sandalj Hranić and Radoslav Pavlović. These were people who, with their position and strength on the ground, could be adequate factors for the realization of the Ragusan expansion plans. The author analyzes the diplomatic approach of the Ragusan authorities towards these political figures, which they try to present as friendly connections, and often in their statements they point out to one of them that they are doing business with him out of love, and with others for their own survival. Especially good places for building a communication network were the centers where the largest amount of information was accumulated, such as the courts of the Bosnian and Hungarian kings and the Ottoman sultan. Participation in the wider communication network sometimes led the Ragusan nobles and envoys to enter the service of certain hosts after learning about the opportunities there. The authorities viewed such nobles as a valuable source of information from a particular territory. It was also not uncommon for envoys of a ruler and noble to be engaged in a mission together with the Ragusan envoys to help them understand the customs, traditions and current political situation of the ruler to whom they were addressed.

The chapter “Emocije u diplomatiji” (223-243) tells about emotions in diplomacy. The author sees emotions in diplomacy through various factors such as who, when, where, to whom and why expresses feelings, and how

these expressions of emotions influenced the behavior of the parties involved in the negotiations. These are so-called diplomatic emotions that did not have much contact with the real human feelings of the party that expresses them, but the goal was to somehow soften the other side in the negotiations. This practice was often used by the Ragusan authorities in their instructions to their envoys, but there is a lack of knowledge about the effect of these expressions of emotions. Some of the basic emotions expressed in the instructions to the Ragusan envoys are: hope and faith in a certain person, gratitude, love, contentment, happiness, joy, jealousy, dissatisfaction, anger, fear, shame, pain, hopelessness, sadness, compassion, envy and anxiety.

Professor Valentina Šoštarić's book is not only a study of envoys who were engaged in diplomatic missions related to the territorial expansion of the Republic, but this is an approach that offers a large amount of hitherto unknown and scattered information about the diplomatic practice of the Republic of Ragusa. It is a book that was missing and for which every medievalist in this part of Europe had a blank space on its shelf. The author tries to compare the Ragusan model of envoy missions with those principles witnessed in Venice and Florence, she uses extensive literature to follow the established principles of European diplomatic practice at the time and thus brings readers closer to the basic lines from the research of many scholars. For the purposes of this study, a large number of archival documents were used, which required special effort, commitment and skills inherent in working on medieval sources. The successfully processed thematic framework of data processing on Ragusan envoys who aimed to negotiate the expansion of Ragusan territories became the basic starting point for a comprehensive study of Ragusan diplomacy in the Middle Ages.

Enes Dedić

Adis Zilić, *Radivojevići – Vlatkovići, vlastela Humske zemlje i Krajine*, Sarajevo: Univerzitet u Sarajevu – Institut za historiju, 2021, 468 str.

Srednjovjekovna Bosna, ili barem neki njeni aspekti, zauvijek će ostati fragmentarni zbog nedostatka izvora koji bi mogli razotkriti mnogo više od trenutnih spoznaja. Međutim, mnogo toga je ostalo neistraženo zbog slabog naučno potkovanog bavljenja srednjim vijekom. Do sada nije objavljeno mnogo radova koji su se bavili problematikom vlasteoskih rodova u srednjovjekovnoj Bosni pa svaki doprinos navedenom pitanju pruža priliku za dalje rasvjetljavanje stanja stvari. Zahvaljujući monografiji *Radivojevići – Vlatkovići, vlastela Humske zemlje i Krajine* utaban je put ka rasvjetljavanju povijesti jedne od važnijih vlasteoskih porodica unutar srednjovjekovne Bosne, koja je obnašala važne poslove i kao takva često bila predmetom notarskih zapisnika Dubrovnika. Navedena monografija predstavlja djelomično korigiranu i dopunjenu verziju magistarskog rada dr. Adisa Zilića, docenta sa Fakulteta humanističkih nauka Univerziteta “Džemal Bijedić” u Mostaru, a odbranjenu 2012. godine na Filozofskom fakultetu Univerziteta u Sarajevu. Objavlivanjem druge monografije u toku 2021. godine iz oblasti medievalistike, Institut za historiju nastavlja davati prostor i poticaj za istraživanje i proučavanje na polju srednjega vijeka. Strukturu djela čine, pored predgovora i uvoda, tri tematske cjeline, koje su dalje raspoređene na više potpoglavlja, zaključak na bosanskom i engleskom jeziku, potom prilozi, popis izvora i literature, kao i spisak ilustracija i karata, indeks ličnih imena i indeks toponima.

Ime, vrijeme i prostor naziv je prvog poglavlja koje obuhvata preglednu historiju vlasteoske porodice Radivojevića – Vlatkovića, vremenski okvir i prostor njihovog djelovanja. Na samom početku, autor je pojasnio zašto dolazi do korištenja više naziva za isti rod. Naime, Radivojevići – Vlatkovići nisu zadržali trajno prezime koje je trajalo u dužem vremenskom intervalu, već su mijenjali prezime iz generacije u generaciju na način da su očevi

svojim imenom ostavljali prezime svojoj djeci. U stručnoj terminologiji, navedena pojava se naziva jednokratnim prezimenima i karakteristična je za srednji vijek. Kroz dalji tekst, autor se kratko pozabavio poznatim članovima vlasteoske porodice te pokazao na koji je način vršeno nasljeđivanje patronima. Kroz prve poznate predstavnike i njihove patronime dolazi se do niza Bogavčić – Radivojević – Jurjević – Vlatković, koji se mogu pratiti kontinuirano kroz više generacija. Jedan od velikaša Ivaniš Vlatković počeo se nazivati humskim vojvodom kako bi istakao svoje humske posebnosti. Navedena pojava nije jedinstvena i usamljena, već je odraz političke situacije tokom XV stoljeća, kada dolazi do slabljenja Bosanskog Kraljevstva, te je karakteristična i za druge vlasteoske rodove. Autor se osvrnuo i na vremenski okvir u kojem su Radivojevići – Vlatkovići djelovali te istakao da se njihova aktivnost u političkom životu srednjovjekovne Bosne može pratiti duže od dva stoljeća. Područje nad kojom se protezala njihova vlast okvirno je omeđeno rijekama Neretvom i Cetinom. Shodno dobrom geografskom položaju svojih posjeda, održavali su diplomatsku korespondenciju s Dubrovačkom Republikom i Mletačkom Republikom pa se zahvaljujući tome njihove aktivnosti u velikoj mjeri mogu pratiti kroz dubrovačke izvore.

Naslov drugog poglavlja je *Hronologija ličnosti i događaja* i raspoređeno je u osam potpoglavlja. Autor se najprije osvrnuo na rodonačelnika porodice, izvjesnog Bogavca, koji je živio i djelovao na samom početku XIV stoljeća, a njegovo ime u historiografiji se izvodilo najprije iz patronimika njegovih sinova Mrdeše i Radivoja Bogavčića. U vezi s rodonačelnikom Bogavcem autor je doveo u pitanje podatak od 1305. godine prema kojem je mogući rodonačelnik pod imenom Alen Bogavac naveden kao akter pljačke. Ako se Alen Bogavac uzme kao vrlo izvjesni rodonačelnik, onda se na osnovu vremenskog perioda njegovog djelovanja može reći da je riječ o zatečenom plemstvu koje je integrirano u novu državu. Prema autorovom mišljenju, u prilog tome svjedoči Bogavčeva djelatnost u pljačkaškim aktivnostima, početkom XIV stoljeća, odnosno prije uspostave bosanske vlasti. Vremenom, shodno političkim strujanjima, mijenjao se i položaj

Bogavčića, njegovih nasljednika. Tako je 1357. godine ban Tvrtko ustupio određenu teritoriju Ugarskoj kao miraz za svoju rodicu Elizabetu, ugarsku kraljicu. Na taj način su Bogavčići došli pod ugarsku vlast pod kojom su bili sve do 1382. godine, kada je preminuo ugarski kralj Ludovik, a kralj Tvrtko vratio u svoj posjed ustupljenu teritoriju.

Kao početak uspona Radivojevića, autor označava rodbinsku vezu s vladarskom dinastijom Kotromanića, odnosno ženidbu Jurja Radivojevića s Vladikom, unukom kralja Stefana Dabiše. Sklapanje braka se desilo između oktobra 1382. i novembra 1385. godine, tj. nakon smrti ugarskog kralja Ludovika i ponovnog bosanskog zaposjedanja Krajine. Tako je politički utjecaj Radivojevića bio dodatno osnažen za vrijeme vladavine kralja Stefana Dabiše. Uspon Radivojevića se ogleda i u tome što su 1395. godine dobili dubrovačko građanstvo, koje su Dubrovčani dodjeljivali samo u slučaju nečijih zasluga ili eventualne koristi koju bi mogli imati. U narednom periodu Radivojevići poprimaju sve veću društvenu važnost, koja se manifestirala kroz njihovu podršku kraljici Jeleni, zatim kroz početak njihove prisutnosti na drijevskom trgu, te na koncu kroz njihovu ulogu u svrgavanju kralja Stefana Ostoje. Međutim, hronološkom metodom autor je ustvrdio da se Radivojevići nisu dugo zadržali u uskom krugu najvažnije vlastele. Na osnovu podatka s početka aprila 1405. godine, autor pronalazi indirektni pokazatelj novouspostavljenih vazalnih odnosa Radivojevića prema Hrvatinićima, a krajem 1413. godine i prema Kosačama. Zilić navodi da je tek tokom tridesetih godina XV stoljeća, usljed nestabilnog vremena za Bosansko Kraljevstvo, došlo do ponovnog jačanja roda Radivojevića.

Najveći broj dostupne arhivske građe autor je iskoristio prilikom pisanja o ulozi porodice Vlatkovića u sklopu Dubrovačke koalicije za vrijeme rata protiv hercega Stefana (1451–1454). Sa završetkom rata, Vlatkovići su protjerani sa svojih baština pod optužbom hercega Stefana da su počinili nevjeru. Nakon izmirenja s kraljem Stefanom Tomašem, Vlatkovići su dobili nove posjede u zapadnoj Bosni, sa sjedištem u Livnu. Zbog dodjeljivanja novih posjeda od strane bosanskog kralja, oni su postali

direktno podložni instituciji krune, te su u tom položaju ostali sve do smrti posljednjeg bosanskog kralja Stefana Tomaševića. Autor obrađuje i položaj Vlatkovića nakon pada Bosanskog Kraljevstva 1463. godine, ističući da su Vlatkovići status velmoža zadržali u okviru Ugarske, pružajući otpor Osmanlijama. Međutim, nakon 1473. godine, kada su definitivno izgubili većinu starih posjeda, Vlatkovići su se podijelili. Ivaniš i Žarko su pružali pomoć Ugarskoj, a uskoro im se pridružio Tadija, dok je Augustin stupio u osmansku službu.

Posljednje poglavlje pod nazivom *Strukture* tematizira okvire feudalne hijerarhije, posjede i gradove vlasteoske porodice Radivojevića – Vlatkovića, njihove privredne aktivnosti, kulturne prilike i vjerska opredjeljenja. Prilikom pisanja o vazalitetu prema kruni i drugim velmožama, kao i pokušajima emancipacije Radivojevića – Vlatkovića, autor je sumirao sva previranja i turbulencije koje su se dešavale tokom XIV i XV stoljeća, a koje su utjecale na to da Radivojevići izgube kontinuitet direktnih veza s vladarskom dinastijom. Na osnovu povremenih pojava Radivojevića – Vlatkovića na poziciji svjedoka u vladarskim poveljama, autor je ispratio intervale njihove direktne podložnosti bosanskoj kruni. Privredne aktivnosti su, napose u srednjovjekovnoj Bosni, bile usko povezane s društveno-političkim okolnostima, pa je način ostvarivanja prihoda zavisio od političkog i društvenog statusa. Ova velikaška porodica je ostvarivala prihode od feudalne rente, naplatom zakupa svog udjela u carini na Drijevim, naplatom tributa i kirija od zakupa nekretnina u Dubrovniku. S tim u vezi, na osnovu načina privređivanja bi se moglo zaključiti da su Radivojevići – Vlatkovići zaista spadali u red važnije vlastele, iako nikada nisu bili dijelom rusaga bosanskoga. Kada su u pitanju kulturne prilike, u pogledu načina života na dvoru nisu odstupali od ostalih vlasteoskih porodica. Na njihovom dvoru je bila prisutna dvorska kancelarija sačinjena od profesionalnih dijaka. Također, na dvoru su bili zastupljeni razni umjetnici, lakrdijaši i muzičari, što govori u prilog autorovoj tezi da je ambijent na njihovom dvoru sličio onome na drugim velikašim dvorovima u Bosni i šire. Specifičnost Vlatkovića jeste da su imali privilegiju koristiti

vosak crvene boje, a pravo na upotrebu takvog voska dodjeljivao je vladar. Autor na tom mjestu osobito akcentira njihovu rodbinsku povezanost s vladarskom dinastijom Kotromanića putem braka Vladike i Jurja kao moguću osnovu za upotrebu takvog voska. Naposljetku, autor se bavi vjerskim opredjeljenjima poznatih generacija za koja smatra da nisu potpuno identična kako se do sada smatralo u historiografiji. Za naklonost katoličanstvu Zilić smatra da je potvrđena indirektno tek od vremena Jurja Radivojevića kroz njegovo prisustvo na području pod ugarskom upravom, što je prijelomni trenutak s aspekta opredjeljenja za konfesionalnu orijentaciju. Autor također navodi da se prvi konkretni izvorni podatak o pripadnosti katoličanstvu nalazi u povelji od 1434. godine, kada je religijsko opredjeljenje kod njih definitivno učvršćeno.

Knjiga dr. Adisa Zilića *Radivojevići – Vlatkovići, vlastela Humske zemlje i Krajine* prati prisutnost ove vlasteoske porodice u historijskim izvorima od 1306. do 1536. godine, što predstavlja period od 230 godina. Usprkos svojoj dugoj prisutnosti u političkom i društvenom životu srednjovjekovne Bosne, nisu spadali u krug rusaške gospode, ali su se tokom XIV i XV stoljeća nastojali uvrstiti u red najvažnije vlastele. Vjerovatno je činjenica da nisu pripadali rusaškoj gospodi utjecala na njihovu slabiju zastupljenost u historiografiji sve do sada. Pored hvatanja ukoštac s nedovoljno istraženom temom, autor je kroz upotrebu suvremenih izvora uspio obuhvatiti i propitati političku, društvenu i kulturnu historiju srednjovjekovne Bosne kroz prizmu jednog vlasteoskog roda. S tim u vezi, monografija dr. Zilića predstavlja nemjerljiv doprinos bosanskohercegovačkoj medievalistici koja je u posljednjim decenijama sve više narušena.

Amina Abaspahić

Fra Anđelko Barun, *Franjevci među svojim pukom, Kratka povijest Bosne Srebrene*, Sarajevo: Svjetlo riječi, 2021, 179 str.

Fra Anđelko Barun, franjevac Bosne Srebrene, do sad je napisao četiri knjige, s petom koju prikazujemo. Inače fra Anđelko Barun je u svome bogatom životu obnašao službe kapelana, župnika, gvardijana i ekonoma Provincije Bosne Srebrene te odgojitelja novaka i bogoslova. Na Franjevačkoj teologiji u Sarajevu predavao je Povijest reda i provincije, Katehetiku i Metodologiju. Za člana Uprave Provincije (definitor) biran je četiri puta. Objavio je niz radova, časopisa, zbornika, od čega treba istaknuti ciklostil 1985. godine pod nazivom *Pregled povijesti provincije Bosne Srebrene za uporabu studentima Franjevačke teologije u Sarajevu*. Od knjiga valja istaknuti *Svjedoci i učitelji: povijest franjevac Bosne Srebrene* (2003), *Franjevci u Bosni* (2006), *Franjevački samostan u Gorici – turistička monografija* (2011), *Stazom Frane Asiškog* (2008). Trenutno živi i radi u samostanu na Gorici kod Livna.

Pišući članke za mjesečnik *Svjetlo riječi* od siječnja 2018. do prosinca 2020. o povijesti Bosne Srebrene, u izdavaštvu istoimene medijske kuće 2021. godine objavljena je knjiga *Franjevci među svojim pukom, Kratka povijest Bosne* kao zbir svih članaka na jednom mjestu. Knjiga je nastala kroz kontinuiran rad od 34 mjeseca i u njoj je autor fra Anđelko Barun predstavio kronologiju franjevaštva, pišući o povijesti sv. Franje i franjevačkog reda, potom povijesti reda u Bosni i Hercegovini te naposljetku završavajući članke sa suvremenim dobom i kulturno-graditeljskim baštinama Bosne Srebrene. Predgovor knjizi napisao je fra Marko Semren, pomoćni banjolučki biskup, koji je na poseban način istaknuo doprinos fra Anđelka Baruna pisanju o Bosni i Hercegovini i franjevcima praveći paralele s karizmom i ulogom sv. Franje koju je on ostavio na čitav svijet. U nastavku predstavljamo djelo fra Anđelka Baruna *Franjevci među svojim pukom – kratka povijest Bosne Srebrene*.

U uvodu prvoga članka autor ističe kako je na molbu urednika *Svjetla riječi* nastojao ukratko opisati nazočnost i djelovanje franjevaca među pukom u našim krajevima od najstarijih vremena do danas. Tijekom proteklih osam stoljeća franjevci su na ovim prostorima nastojali ostvariti ideal evanđeoskog života povezan s apostolskom djelatnošću. Odigrali su veliku ulogu u našoj Crkvi i narodu. “Bili su u hrvatskom narodu stvaraoci vjerskog života, graditelji Crkve, pregaoci kulture, pomoćnici, a često i branitelji i tješitelji naroda” (Uredništvo zbornika *Franjo među Hrvatima 1226. – 1976.*). U svom su djelovanju uvijek imali pred očima lik svoga Utemeljitelja koji je postao *forma minorum* – oblik života i djelovanja, uzor i otac svojoj braći, ističe autor. Stoga, prije svega, autor fra Anđelko Barun svoj prvi članak, odnosno knjigu, započinje pričom kroz ulogu koju je imao Franjo u svom imenu.

Kao što je već rečeno, knjiga sadrži 34 članka koja predstavljaju povijesni pregled franjevačkog reda. Prvi članak napisan u siječnju 2018. godine (19 str.) nosi naslov *Trubadur iz Asiza* i opisuje život svetoga Franje i njegovu odlučnost za osnivanje novoga reda, ponukan Božjim riječima: “Idi, Franjo, popravi Crkvu koja se ruši.” Na početku sv. Franjo je to shvaćao doslovno i podizao je crkve, ali Bog je mislio na duhovnu obnovu naroda i svećenstva. Nekoliko prvih članaka, koje je autor pisao s posebnom emotivnošću, vezani su za dolazak sv. Franje na hrvatsko tlo 1219. godine kada je putovao prema Palestini. Ista godina se uzima i za osnivanje provincije u Hrvatskoj. Za dolazak franjevaca u Bosnu uzima se datum 23. ožujak 1291. godine, kada su dvojica franjevaca fra Marin i fra Ciprijan poslani kao misionari u Bosnu u borbu protiv krivovjerja (23 str.). S posebnom pažnjom autor, član Bosne Srebrene, ističe i pripovijeda *Osnutak bosanske vikarije* (27 str.), koji je otpočeo 5. listopada 1339., a pravno je uspostavljena 4. lipnja 1340. godine. Također fra Anđelko Barun ističe imena bosanskih vikara, od kojih treba spomenuti fra Peregrina Saksonca, fra Bartola Alvernskog i fra Jakova Markijskog, koji su na poseban način svojom kreativnošću, ali i vodstvom vikarije, utjecali na donošenje odluka vezanih za katoličku crkvu, kao i za srednjovjekovnu bosansku državu. Nekoliko redaka autor je posvetio *Srednjovjekovnoj vikariji* (31 str.), gdje ističe posebno dušobrižništvo franjevaca u srednjovjekovnoj

Bosni. Isti članak donosi i podatke o podjeli vikarije 1444. godine, kada se ugarska vikarija odvojila od bosanske, a zvanično ju je potvrdio papa Nikola V. 1448. godine, od kada se bosanska vikarija pružala od Save do Jadrana.

Kao poseban članak u moru događaja koji su zadesili srednjovjekovnu Bosnu, kao npr. njezin pad pod Osmanlije, autor s posebnim intenzitetom, na primjer i ponos svih fratara Bosne Srebrene, piše o legendarnom fra Anđelu Zvizdiću i čuvenoj Ahdnami. Poglavlje nosi naziv *Legendarni fra Anđeo Zvizdić* (35 str.) i u njemu se ističe posebnost dobivanja Ahdname, čuveni susret sultana Mehmeda II Osvajača i fra Anđela Zvizdića na Milodražu 28. svibnja 1463. godine. Kao što je kronološki i očekivano uslijedilo, broja katolika na prostoru Bosne i Hercegovine opada u počecima vladanja Osmanlija, o čemu autor posebno piše. Kako su fratri Bosne Srebrene od Osmanlija načelno dobili dozvolu širenja vjere, tako su oni ostali i jedini dušobrižnici katoličke vjere na prostoru BiH. S tim je uslijedilo i širenje Bosne Srebrene prema Bugarskoj, Transilvaniji i Srbiji, pa autor opisuje stanje područja koje i danas opslužuje provincija Bosna Srebrena, sve do sredine XX. stoljeća.

S velikim žalom i činjeničnim primjerima fra Anđelko Barun posebno izdvaja naslov poglavlja *XVI i XVII stoljeće* (51. str) u kojem predstavlja progone katolika od strane sultana Sulejmana Veličanstvenog i njegovog namjesnika u Bosni Gazi Husrev-bega. Isto poglavlje donosi niz progona koje su provodili i sultani Osman II. i Murat IV. O teškom stanju katolika u doba Osmanlija Barun govori u posebnom poglavlju u kojem opisuje borbe katolika s teškim nametima, uvođenje džulusa, posljedice Bečkog rata i Banjalučkog rata. Tako teško stanje dovelo je i do diobe provincije u kojoj se Dalmacija odvojila od Bosne Srebrene 1733. godine i jednostavnih razloga koji su vezani za očuvanje broja katolika na prostoru Hercegovine i zapadne Bosne. S velikim žalom, ali jedinim mogućim rješenjem, došlo je i do podjele, ovoga puta *Napuštanje Prekosavlja Bosne Srebrene* (67 str.), odnosno odvajanja Slavonije, Srijema, Banata i južne Ugarske 1735. godine. Razlog je okončanje Bečkoga rata i stavljanje nove granice između Osmanskog Carstva i Habzburške Monarhije na rijeci Savi. Konačna dioba

opisana je u trinaestom članku, kada nastupa *Odvajanje Hercegovine* (71 str.) 19. svibnja 1844. godine od Bosne Srebrene. S tom posljednjom podjelom granice Bosne Srebrene sačuvane su u istoj mjeri i dan-danas. S ovim poglavljem autor je završio kronologiju povijesti Bosne Srebrene koju možemo pratiti u navezivanju svakoga članka jedan na drugi. Sljedeća poglavlja autor je tematizirao i bavio se pojedinim akterima iz bogate prošlosti Bosne Srebrene.

Simboličan naslov poglavlja jeste *Razgraničenje provincije* (75 str.) koje je završilo 1919. godine. Unutrašnja dioba i nekonzistentnost obilježile su povijest Bosne Srebrene, stoga autor posvećuje tri članka osobama koje su ostale upamćene u povijesti franjevacca Bosne i Hercegovine po svom predanom radu, karizmi, poslušnosti i siromaštvu. Tri spomenuta članka govore o apostolskom vikarijatu u Bosni, kao i o istaknutim apostolskim vikarima poput Augustina Miletića i Paškala Vujića.

Autor se bavi i političkom povijesti o kojoj piše u nekoliko članaka u izdavaštvu *Svjetla riječi*, a odnose se na političke odnose unutar Bosne i Hercegovine. Tako autor fra Anđelko Barun govori o *Glagoljašima u Bosni i Hercegovini* (97 str.). Glagoljaši su se posebno školovali na prostoru Dalmacije, odakle su postepeno ulazili u unutrašnjost prostora BiH, a služili su se glagoljicom i slavenskim jezikom, što im je omogućilo brzo prodiranje do katoličkog puka, za razliku od ostalih katoličkih redova ili pokreta, ističe dr. Srećko M. Džaja. Glagoljaši su u Bosni djelovali zajedno s franjevcima od 1664. do 1840. godine. Razlog njihovog nestanka po autoru jeste loša naobrazba koja je uslijedila vremenom, zastarjele glagoljaške knjige te jezik koji više narodu nije bio razumljiv. Fra Anđelko Barun također piše o teškom položaju katolika kad je riječ o pravoslavcima s obzirom na to da je ove druge štitila Porta te da su imali poseban položaj u Osmanskom Carstvu. Najteže po katolike je bilo ubiranje nameta i od strane pravoslavnog svećenstva po pokrštavanju i masovnom prijelazu s katoličke na pravoslavnu vjeru zbog nerijetko slabog prisustva katoličkog svećenstva.

Austrougarsko razdoblje (105 str.) naslov je posebnog poglavlja koje nastavlja kontinuirani povijesni pregled stanja Bosne Srebrene. Autor sentimentalno i empatično “negativno” opisuje dolazak nove vlasti za koju se nadao kako će više “dati fratrima, a ne uzet im”, misleći ponajviše na župe i položaj fratara u novoj “katoličkoj” državi koja dovodi do uspostave nove redovite hijerarhije na čelu s prvim vrhbosanskim nadbiskupom dr. Josipom Stadlerom. Dvadeseto stoljeće je zasigurno obilježilo povijest kao jedno od najmračnijih stoljeća po smrtnosti ljudi. Dolazak fašističkih, nacističkih i komunističkih vlasti ostavio je traga i na tlu BiH. Stoga fra Anđelko Barun piše članke o franjevcima u ratovima XX. stoljeća u kojima opisuje statistička stradanja katoličkog puka u dva svjetska i jednom domovinskom ratu. Posebno ističe autor svoje djelo *Svjedoci i učitelji* u ovom članku objavljenom 2002. godine, gdje na strani 45 daje opis značenja Dejtonskog sporazuma i njegovog “nerješenja” sukoba u BiH. Poseban članak koji treba izdvojiti autor piše, odnosno posvećuje, *Bosni Srebrenoj u Jugoslaviji* (113 str.). U njemu autor iznosi činjenicu kako su se fratri Bosne Srebrene “snašli”, okupili oko Udruženja Dobri pastir, koje je podržavala komunistička vlast, i tako sačuvali materijalna dobra.

Autor ponovo u idućim člancima pa sve do kraja knjige piše tematske članke vezane za društvenu djelatnost fratara Bosne Srebrene. Nekoliko članaka autor posvećuje naslovima poput: *Socijalni rad, Zdravstvena djelatnost i Prosvjetna djelatnost franjevacu*. U *Franjevačkoj periodici u Bosni* (131 str.) autor donosi časopise koje su pisali neki od najvećih umova XIX. stoljeća u Bosni Srebrenoj, poput Ivana Frane Jukića i fra Antuna Kneževića. Također piše o periodici do suvremenog doba, ističući glasilo fra Lovre Milanovića koje je počelo izlaziti 2015. godine.

Fra Anđelko posvećuje nekoliko poglavlja i franjevcima danas i njihovom vjersko-duhovnom radu. Tako piše članak o izobrazbi franjevačkih kandidata, u kojem opisuje obrazovanje mladih fratara u osnovnim i srednjim školama (gimnazijama) koje također pripremaju kandidate za novicijate. U istoimenom poglavlju autor opisuje zadaće i uloge jednogodišnjeg

trajanja novicijata, koji je duhovna, ali i psihička priprema za buduće franjevačke bogoslove. U članku *Studij franjevačkih bogoslova* (145 str.) autor iznosi povijesni pregled izobrazbe fratara u obrazovnim jedinicama i slanje kandidata na sveučilišta/veleučilišta u Đakovo, Mađarsku i Sarajevo.

Posljednja četiri članka nisu koherentna i navezana jedan na drugi kao nekoliko prethodnih. Stoga autor, kako bi kompletirao akademsku godinu i zaključio okončanje revije za 2020. godinu, piše članke o *Književnosti franjevacu Bosne Srebrene, Katoličkoj obnovi u Bosni i Bosanskim franjevcima u Albaniji i na Kosovu*. Posljednje, 34. poglavlje, odnosno članak u *Svjetlu riječi* za mjesec prosinac 2020. godine s kojim završava i objavljena knjiga autora fra Anđelka Baruna, nosi naslov *Promicatelji umjetnosti i kulture* (163 str.). U istoimenom posljednjem poglavlju autor piše o likovnoj umjetnosti, muzeju i galeriji, arhivu te knjižnici, iz čega se vidi kako su franjevci Bosne Srebrene jasno dali veliki doprinos promicanju umjetnosti i kulture među svojim pukom.

Poput poznatih franjevačkih kronologija, tako i fra Anđelko Barun na pet stranica teksta ističe najvažnije događaje. Knjigu popunjava tzv. *Slijedom važnih događaja iz povijesti provincije Bosne Srebrene* u kojem pravi povijesni pregled od 1182. godine kada se rodio sv. Franjo pa sve do 1995. godine kada je potpisan Dejtonski mir u BiH koji je zaustavio krvavi rat i od kojeg je otpočela mirna reintegracija čitave domovine. Naposljetku knjiga sadrži kazalo imena te biografiju autora fra Anđelka Baruna.

Kao zaključak prikaza knjige može se istaknuti "pitkost" tijekom njezina čitanja jer je prvenstveno i bila namijenjena za širu javnost. Tako se sama svrstala u "lako probavljivo štivo" koje i ima za cilj upoznavanje svakog čovjeka koji živi u Bosni i Hercegovini sa širom povijesti Bosne Srebrene, franjevcima koji čuvaju katoličku vjeru preko 700 godina.

Dražen Janko

Popisi Pakračkog sandžaka 1565. i 1584., prevela i priredila Fazileta Hafizović, Slavonski Brod: Hrvatski institut za povijest – Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje, 2021, 448 str.

U drugoj polovini 2021. godine Podružnica za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje, regionalne jedinice Hrvatskog instituta za povijest, objavila je publikaciju *Popisi Pakračkog sandžaka 1565. i 1584.* Izvore je priredila i s osmansko-turskog jezika prevela dugogodišnja istraživačica historije južnoslavenskog područja pod osmanskom upravom Fazileta Hafizović. Publikacija koja je predmet ovog prikaza predstavlja nastavak suradnje ove osmanistkinje s Podružnicom za povijest Slavonije, Srijema i Baranje koja je već ranije, 2016. godine, rezultirala objavljivanjem knjige *Požeški sandžak i osmanska Slavonija: sabrane rasprave*, gdje su na jednom mjestu objavljeni članci koje je tokom svog radnog vijeka ova autorica napisala i objavila o slavonskoj regiji. Potrebno je spomenuti da je za vrijeme rada u Orijentalnom institutu u Sarajevu, koji je trajao od 1976. do 2018. godine, Hafizović prevela i za štampu priredila *Popis sandžaka Požega 1579. godine* (Osijek: Državni arhiv u Osijeku, 2001, 423 str.), *Opširni popis timara mustahfiza u tvrđavama Kliškog sandžaka iz 1550. godine* (Sarajevo: Naučnoistraživački centar Ibn Sina, 2014, 620 str.), *Popis sela sandžaka Krka, Klis i Hercegovina, oslobođenih od Mletačke Republike 1701. godine* (Zagreb – Sarajevo: Srpsko kulturno društvo Prosvjeta – Filozofski fakultet Sveučilišta u Zagrebu – Orijentalni institut u Sarajevu, 2016, 517 str.). Na taj način Hafizović je brojne izvore osmanske provenijencije učinila lako dostupnim velikom broju istraživača i za ovu vrstu izvora itekako zainteresiranom širem čitalačkom auditoriju, pri tome zasluživši da se o njoj, uz Ahmeda Aličića, govori kao najznačajnijem i najproduktivnijem osmanisti u poslovima priređivanja i prevođenja izvorne građe s osmansko-turskog jezika u našem regionu u posljednjih nekoliko decenija.

Centralno mjesto u ovoj publikaciji zauzimaju dva osmanska katastarska popisa Pakračkog sandžaka, oba iz druge polovine 16. stoljeća. Riječ o popisima *Tapu tahrir defterleri* iz arhiva u Istanbulu koji trenutno ima službeni naziv *T.C. Cumhurbaşkanlığı Devlet Arşivleri Başkanlığı*. Prvi je iz 1565. godine, nastao kao rezultat popisa sandžaka koji su u to vrijeme provodeni u Rumelijskom ejaletu, a čuva se pod signaturom BOA TTD No. 335. Drugi, koji se čuva pod signaturom BOA TTD No. 612, datira iz 1584. godine, kada je Pakrački sandžak bio dio novoformiranog Bosanskog ejaleta (1580. godine). Hafizović je napomenula da ova dva deftera ne predstavljaju potpune popise ovog sandžaka, nego da je riječ o “popisu dijela stanovništva, djelomično zemljoradničkog, a najvećim dijelom vlašskog statusa”.

Knjigu *Popisi Pakračkog sandžaka 1565. i 1584.* otvara “Predgovor” (str. 7-10) koji je napisao Stanko Andrić, historičar i urednik ovog izdanja. Nakon toga, slijedi “Uvod za prijevode pakračkih deftera” (11-18) u kojem se Hafizović ukratko osvrnula na povijest ovog sandžaka, osmanske prakse popisivanja, poteškoće s kojima se susretala prilikom priređivanja deftera za objavljivanje, dok je veću pažnju posvetila podacima o dva deftera na čijoj je obradi radila. Osim toga, autorica je pozvala i na dalja istraživanja i traganja za popisima koji se odnose na Pakrački sandžak, pri tome spomenuvši da se u arhivi Orijentalnog instituta u Sarajevu čuvaju fotokopije *Idžmal deftera zeameta i timara Bosne, Klisa, Pakraca i Hercegovine* koji još nije obrađen. Na tome mjestu je spomenula i zasluge Nenada Moaćanina, koji je svojom knjigom *Slavonija i Srijem u razdoblju osmanske vladavine* i brojnim člancima slične tematike, prema njenim riječima, čitateljima ponudio najpotpuniji pregled historije ovog područja pod osmanskom upravom. Hafizović nije propustila navesti ni istraživanja turskog historičara Selçuka Urala, koji je svoj magistarski rad, a kasnije i knjigu posvetio proučavanju historije Pakračkog sandžaka u 16. stoljeću oslanjajući se prije svega na defter iz 1565. godine. Čitateljima je radi boljeg snalaženja ponuđen “Tumač korištenih simbola i kratica” (str. 19). Centralno mjesto zauzimaju “Popis 1565.” (21-194) i “Popis 1584.” (195-375), u kojima se nalaze popisi sljedećih nahija: Cernik, Drenovci, Pakriče (Pakrac), Bela Istina

(Bila Istina), Kutinovci, Šagovina, Podbučje, Sirče (Sirač), Dobrokuća (Dobrokućani), Čaklovci, Istubčanica (Istupčanica), Pakarska Srdel, Kontovac i Podvrški. U dijelu “Preslici rukopisa (izbor)” (377-400) nalaze se faksimili pojedinih stranica iz popisa, dok od izuzetne koristi čitateljima može biti i bogat rječnik manje poznatih termina (401-414). Na kraju se nalaze pobrojani izvori i literatura koje je Hafizović koristila prilikom obrade popisa (415-417), sažetak na engleskom jeziku (418-422), indeks geografskih imena (423-447) i bilješka o autorici knjige (448).

Još je 2018. godine Nenad Močanin skrenuo pažnju na rasprave koje se u historiografiji vode o značaju *tapu tahrir* deftera kao izvora za proučavanje prošlosti. Rasprave, koje se kreću od glorificiranja do minimiziranja značaja ove vrste izvora, vjerovatno će nastaviti da izazivaju suprotstavljena mišljenja među historičarima u budućnosti. Ipak, ovu vrstu izvora ne bi trebalo u potpunosti potcijeniti jer njihovo korištenje, uz odgovarajući kritički odnos, može biti od koristi prilikom izučavanja brojnih tema iz prošlosti. Pri tome bi svakako bilo važno napustiti trend, zadržan do danas, a primjetan u pojedinim knjigama u našoj državi i regionu, čiji autori u većem dijelu svojih knjiga prepričavaju defter, bez konkretne i korisne analize te promišljanja koja bi ukazivala na to zbog čega je neki prepričani podatak iz deftera koristan. Ako bi neki istraživač odlučio svoju karijeru, između ostaloga, posvetiti obradi i priređivanju deftera, mišljenja sam da publikacija *Popisi Pakračkog sandžaka 1565. i 1584.* može predstavljati jedan od boljih primjera na koji način je moguće javnosti prezentirati konačan rezultat rada na nekom defteru.

Amer Maslo

Mary Wortley Montagu, *The Turkish Embassy Letters, with an afterword by Dervla Murphy*, London: Eland Publishing Ltd, 2021, 262 p.

The Turkish Embassy Letters written by Lady Mary Wortley Montagu are one of the most famous examples of epistolary travel texts from the 18th century. While her works were first published more than two centuries ago new editions and redactions are constantly published quite regularly. Along with dozens of editions of her writings, there is a large number of articles and books written about Lady Mary and her work. The latest edition of the Turkish Embassy Letters was published in 2021 by Eland Books with a new biographical afterword by Dervla Murphy and text annotations by Barnaby Rogerson.

Lady Mary Wortley Montagu born Pierrepont in 1689 and died in 1762 was a famous English aristocrat, traveller, poet, and writer. She is mostly recognized in today's society as one of the first female travel writers as well as one of the best historical accounts of the Ottoman Empire, especially the everyday life in the court of the Ottoman Sultan and the Grand Vizir. Her openness and sincerity towards the Ottoman way of life and their culture were not present in other contemporary writers of Lady Mary's era. She was the wife of Sir Edward Wortley Montagu, a prominent politician, businessman, and Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire during their rising conflicts with the Habsburg Empire. He became Ambassador of King George I in 1716 and spent the next couple of years living in the Ottoman Empire. On this trip, he was accompanied by his wife and young children. Since he was tasked to be the Ambassador this meant that he did not have a lot of time to devote to his wife and children. As a consequence, Lady Mary was left with an abundance of free time to spend in the capital of the Ottoman Empire, Constantinople, with other wealthy and aristocratic wives from the West, as well as the wives of the Ottoman dignitaries. This meant that she was able to observe and relay the intimate details of the Ottoman private life, especially that of the everyday life that the wealthy Ottoman women lived.

While she did in some cases write about politics, her main focus was the everyday life in the Ottoman Empire and the interconnectedness of their society. Lady Mary was especially interested in learning more about the lifestyles, architecture, manners, and customs, and she based her research on different sources, most of which were inaccessible to other writers of the time. One key element of her book is the constant comparison between the Ottoman Empire and the British Empire, more precisely the comparison between the Ottoman and the British. In Lady Mary's writing, she is almost exclusively fonder of the Ottomans than she is of the British. This can be attributed to two factors. The first one is her growing affection towards the 'Turks' as time passed by and her keen interest in constantly exploring the unfamiliar and learning new things, especially those uncommon for her and nonstandard for women of that time. She was one of the main proponents of smallpox inoculation in England. The second reason for this can also lie in the format of the book.

The distinct feature of her book is the fact that it is an epistolary travel text composed exclusively of private letters which Lady Mary sent to her closest family members and friends. Because of this, she was keen on representing either familiar events and customs which her readers were accustomed to, or quite the opposite those events and customs they were quite unfamiliar with, and which were by the standards of Lady Mary quite superior. For example, the treatment for smallpox disease in the Ottoman Empire.

This format of Lady Mary's writings also meant that the tone and narrative, as well as the focus of the writings, and the content of the letters changed depending on who the receiver was. This meant that we are sometimes given an incomplete overview of certain events and cannot follow them chronologically. Nevertheless, her attention to detail and ability to write meant that the most interesting elements of Ottoman society could not be omitted in the fifty-eight letters which comprise the book. The book can be also divided into three distinct parts. The first part of the book focuses on the travels of Lady Mary and her family through continental Europe to

Constantinople. In these letters, Lady Mary talks about her travels as well as how she perceived the Habsburg Empire and its social elites. The second, and largest part of the book covers the stay of Lady Mary in Constantinople and the life of her family in the Ottoman Empire. The last part is composed of the letters written by Lady Mary on her return voyage from the Ottoman Empire back home to England.

As previously mentioned, Lady Mary was one of the first modern female travel writers who explored the everyday life and practices of her hosts and people she got acquainted through her travels. Her work represents one of the pinnacles of travel literature on the Ottoman Empire. Primarily because of her openness towards new experiences and secondly because of her stature as the wife of an English Ambassador to the Ottoman Empire. In the two years she stayed in the Ottoman Empire she carefully observed their society and even participated in local events without any prejudice.

Besides the fifty-eight letters written by Lady Mary, the book ends with a fascinating and detailed biographical afterword by Dervla Murphy and with a comprehensive text annotation by Barnaby Rogerson. Similarly, as her travel writings were quite interesting and intriguing, Lady Mary's life is also quite fascinating. Murphy points out that while Lady Mary was a free spirit and an early feminist, who was a self-educated intellectual, she was at the same time a member of the high society with numerous friends at court and was an entitled aristocrat.

All in all, the life and writings of Lady Mary are of great interest to any scholar who is interested in studying the Ottoman Empire, especially the everyday life and social interactions in the upper class. While Lady Mary lived and wrote 300 years ago her letters still have a great impact on our perception of the Ottoman Empire. This work is also a key source that openly questions and refutes earlier writings that viewed and observed the Ottoman Empire as an exotic and rather uncivilized realm.

Omer Merzić

Amila Kasumović, *Zatočene: Žene u zatvorskom sustavu Bosne i Hercegovine 1878–1914.*, Sarajevo: Centar za historijska istraživanja, 2021, 165 str.

Centar za historijska istraživanja Univerziteta u Sarajevu objavio je 2021. godine knjigu prof. dr. Amile Kasumović naslovljenu *Zatočene: Žene u zatvorskom sustavu Bosne i Hercegovine 1878–1914.* Riječ je o detaljnoj i ozbiljnoj studiji u kojoj autorica analizira pitanje tretmana žena u zatvorskom sustavu Bosne i Hercegovine pod vlašću Austro-Ugarske Monarhije. Uopćeno gledajući, historiografija je prepuna radova kojima se tretiraju razna pitanja bosanskohercegovačke povijesti u periodu austrougarske vladavine, ali je jako malo, gotovo nikako, radova koji tretiraju pitanja koja se odnose na neke posebne skupine unutar bosanskohercegovačkog društva, naročito žena. Povrh toga, iako se određeni zaključci o svakodnevnom životu žena u bosanskohercegovačkom društvu toga vremena mogu iznijeti na osnovu dosadašnjih historiografskih dostignuća, istraživanje pitanja zatvorskog sustava i tretmana žena koje su prolazile kroz taj sustav predstavlja jedan pozitivan presedan i “dašak” evropskih i svjetskih trendova u bosanskohercegovačkoj historiografiji općenito.

Knjiga je podijeljena u pet glavnih cjelina, od kojih svaka cjelina ima nekoliko manjih potpoglavlja kojima se dodatno rasložnjava pitanje kojim se autorica u toj cjelini bavi. Prva cjelina ili poglavlje jesu *Uvodne napomene* (9-38) u kojemu autorica najprije prati transformaciju samog krivičnog zakona i poimanja kazne, ističući da je do druge polovine 18. stoljeća dominantan oblik kazne bila ona kazna koja je usmjerena na imovinu, ugled ili tijelo pojedinca, dok se zatvor koristio uglavnom u istražne svrhe. Značajan zamah reformi krivičnog zakonodavstva dolazi s djelom *Dei delitti e delle pene* Cesara Bonesana di Beccarije, koji je propagirao da svrha kazne nikako ne smije biti mučenje, te da je mučenje u toku istrage neprihvatljivo. Stav Beccarije bio je da najteža kazna treba biti lišavanje slobode s prinudnim radom za najteže zločine. Na tragu Beccarije,

autorica konstatira kako neki autori smatraju da je njegova uloga, ili bolje rečeno zasluga, u transformiranju krivičnog zakona i zatvorskog sustava predimenzionirana, ali da je nemoguće pročitati neki tekst o povijesti kazni, a da se ne spomene ovaj čuveni italijanski filozof. Kao posljedica spore modernizacije krivičnog zakonodavstva, zatvori postaju “otužna” mjesta, kako ih autorica naziva, u kojima nije bilo razdvojenosti zatvorenika po dobu, spolu, težini krivičnih djela i slično. To dovodi do ozbiljnijeg razmišljanja o ideji popravljanja posrnutih pojedinaca i John Howard začinja ideju o reformi zatvorskog sustava knjigom *The State of Prisons*. Takav iskorak Howarda potakao je i mnoge druge mislioce na vlastiti doprinos ovom pitanju, poput Elizabeth Fry, koja je svemu tome dodala i “gender notu”. Autorica također predstavlja različite teorije kažnjavanja, poput retributivne teorije koju su zastupali Hegel i Kant, utilitarističke i pozitivističke teorije. Autorica ističe kako je razvoj statistike otvorio nove dimenzije u izučavanju kriminaliteta i da je interesovanje za kriminalitet žena karakteristično tek za nekoliko posljednjih decenija. Na kraju ovog velikog poglavlja, autorica prezentira i svoje ciljeve, koji su između ostalog bili da “popuni postojeće historiografske lakune”, ali i da kroz analiziranje administrativnog diskursa austrougarske uprave u BiH doprinese pitanju ne samo tretmana zatvorenica nego i odnosa centra prema periferiji. Također, autorica ističe kako se glavno istraživačko pitanje ticalo spremnosti vlasti da prizna specifične potrebe zatvorenica, s obzirom na to da se zbog malobrojnosti žena u zatvorskom sustavu njima bavilo “usputno”.

Sljedeće poglavlje u knjizi naslovljeno je *Kamo sa tijelom koje treba zatvoriti?: Problem nedostatka centralne kaznionice za žene u Bosni i Hercegovini 1878–1914*. (39-84) u kojem autorica prvenstveno analizira načine rješavanja problema s kojim se susrela austrougarska vlast dolaskom u Bosnu i Hercegovinu, a to je bio problem smještaja svih prijestupnika u zatvorski sustav koji nije imao kapaciteta da primi sve. Nezavidna finansijska situacija je potakla Zemaljsku vladu u Sarajevu na slanje zatvorenika i zatvorenica van BiH na odsluženje zatvorskih kazni, što je dakako bilo privremeno rješenje. Već godinu po okupaciji napravljen je

plan za slanje zatvorenika u Lepoglavu i Zagreb i održani su intenzivni pregovori između Zemaljske vlade u Sarajevu i Zagrebu. Usljed enormnih troškova, od kojih je većina otpadala na muške zatvorenike, Zemaljska vlada u Sarajevu najprije počinje razmišljati o gradnji zatvora za muškarce, a novi problem za Zemaljsku vladu biće prekid slanja zatvorenica u Zagreb 1903. godine. Nakon Zagreba dogovoreno je slanje zatvorenica u Vigaun i Maria Nosztru, što pokazuje i izvještaj zajedničkog ministarstva finansija o upravljanju Bosnom i Hercegovinom. Ideja o gradnji zatvora postoji od dolaska austrougarske vlasti u BiH, ali tu zatvorenice nisu razmatrane i autorica ističe da u opširnom elaboratu o reformi zatvora, preko 200 stranica, tretmanu zatvorenica nije posvećena ni rečenica. Tek kad je zatvor u Zenici počeo s radom, počelo se govoriti o gradnji ženske kaznionice i tražena su sredstva u više navrata od Zajedničkog ministarstva finansija, ali je to svaki put odbijeno. Zemaljska vlada je čak i radila na zakonskom aktu koji bi ozakonio izgradnju jednog takvog objekta i on je usvojen i 1913. godine objavljen u *Glasniku zakona i naredaba*. Autorica ističe kako pitanje zašto je centralna vlast to odbijala ostaje neodgovoreno i da je argument vlasti da nema sredstava jako slab, jer se u zatvor u Zenici kontinuirano ulagalo. U izvještaju za Bosnu i Hercegovinu iz 1906. godine ističe se kako zatvorenice muslimanke služe svoje kazne u zatvorima okružnih sudova bez obzira na dužinu kazne, ali autorica kroz građu pokazuje kako su u prvim vremenima od uspostavljanja aranžmana sa Zagrebom, sve zatvorenice slane tamo bez obzira na vjeroispovijest. Za obustave te prakse bila je ključna posjeta Saliha ef. Dizdarevića koji je utvrdio da su zatvorenice muslimanke odvođene u crkvu, da ishrana nije bila prilagođena njima i Zemaljska vlada iz straha od političkih implikacija zbog toga odustaje od slanja muslimanki tamo. Strah vlade i nezadovoljstvo zatvorenica muslimanki doveli su do odredbe 1895. godine kojom im je omogućeno da služe kazne u okružnim zatvorima u BiH. Na tragu toga autorica se dotiče diskriminacije ženskih zatvorenica u zatvorskom sustavu, ponajviše kroz pitanje prava na uvjetni otpust zatvorenika u svojstvu irskog zatvorskog sustava koji je imao četiri faze provedbe kazne, od kojih je posljednja bila uvjetni otpust. Dodatni vid

diskriminacije bio je i treći stepen kazne, odnosno međuzatvor, koji nije mogao biti realizovan u Zagrebu, dok je ta instanca postojala u Zenici, što je otvaralo pitanje ne samo različitih uvjeta za žene i muškarce u zatvorima nego i različitog položaja između žena u zavisnosti od toga gdje služe kazne. Dodatni problem bile su zatvorenice muslimanke koje su kazne služile u BiH i samim tim nisu mogle nikako tražiti uvjetni otpust.

Priču o ženama u zatvorskom sustavu autorica nastavlja kroz svoje treće poglavlje pod naslovom *Zatvorenice u decentraliziranom zatvorskom sustavu Bosne i Hercegovine: Tretman u kotarskim i okružnim zatvorima* (85-118). Autorica ističe kako su okupacione vlasti odlučile iskoristiti postojeće okružne i kotarske zatvore, te da to nije zahtijevalo ozbiljnije napore zbog njihove veličine, ali je ipak povedeno računa o njihovom dodatnom osiguravanju. Međutim, tek 10 godina od okupacije počinju se graditi moderni okružni zatvori u Tuzli, Mostaru, Travniku i sl. Iako su tokom dugog 19. stoljeća veliki napori ulagani u to da zatvori budu bolja mjesta za zatvorenike, kako bi rehabilitacija bila uspješna, autorica ističe kako su zatvori nerijetko bili mračna i sumorna mjesta, gdje je nehigijena predstavljala tek jedan dio problema. Također, edukacija je igrala ogromnu ulogu u shvatanju preobrazbe karaktera prijestupnika, pored rada i discipline. Autorica ističe kako žene često nisu bile uključene u obrazovne programe zbog shvatanja da je ženama svakako mjesto u kući i da im edukacija nakon izlaska iz zatvora ne bi bila od velike pomoći. U nekim drugim sredinama to nije bila tabu-tema, kako ističe autorica, navodeći primjer pojedinih ustanova u Austro-Ugarskoj Monarhiji, koje su usvojile irski progresivni sustav. Prvi sustavni koraci na tom polju poduzeti su tek 1906. godine, kada je Zemaljska vlada poduzela korake za organizovanje nastave iz osnovnih predmeta. Autorica naglašava kako dokument počinje elevacijom ideje o važnosti obrazovanja, ne samo iz humanitarnog nego i iz ugla da je nedostatak edukacije ostavljao prostor duhovnoj zatupljenosti i moralnoj degradaciji. Predviđena nastava imala bi tri nivoa, i to analfabetski kurs (čitanje i pisanje), osnovno obrazovanje i napredni kurs, te da je učiteljica bila odličan izbor za nastavu, ne samo kao mentorica nego i kao uzor tim zatvorenicama. Još

jedno važno pitanje bio je i zatvorski rad, koji je viđen kao dobar za discipliniranje zatvorenika, ali i za osiguravanje lakše integracije zatvorenika nakon izlaska iz zatvora. Kada su u pitanju okružni sudovi, osobe koje su tu bile radi istražnog postupka nisu smjele biti korištene za rad bez posebnog odobrenja, dok tamo gdje je bilo moguće, okružni zatvori su mogli uvesti zanatski rad uz odobrenje Zemaljske vlade te su za to mogli biti nagrađeni. “Gender prostor” unutar zatvora postao je vrlo važno pitanje penologije s kraja 19. stoljeća, gdje se pored pitanja posebnog prostora za zatvorenice raspravljalo i o potrebi uvođenja čuvarica koje bi nadzirale zatvorenice. Autorica konstatira kako se u izvornoj građi o nadzornom osoblju u zatvorima govori dominantno u muškom rodu, ali da to ne znači da nije bilo ženskih nadzornica, samo da takve pojedinosti nisu isticane. U izvornoj građi autorica je pronašla i dva primjera u kojima se spominju ključarice, ali da opet ostaje okolnost da su ih do zatvora pratili žandari. Autorica kritizira argumentaciju da javni prostor nije trpio preveliku prisutnost žena te da je zbog toga bilo teško pronaći osoblje, jer su u ostatku Austro-Ugarske Monarhije postojala jasna pravila ko su mogle biti čuvarice zatvora. Zdravlje i ishrana bili su važan segment u kontekstu priče o reformi zatvorskog sustava i Zemaljska vlada je imala jasna pravila o pitanju vođenja i bilježenja zdravstvenog stanja zatvorenika, imajući u vidu da su poticali iz siromašnih sredina i da su nerijetko stizali sa zdravstvenim tegobama. Zatvorenici, kao i zatvorenice, imali su pravo na šetnju i svjež zrak, mogli su tražiti posjetu doktora, tamničar je morao voditi brigu o tome da li se neko razbolio i nizu drugih stvari, a svaki zatvor imao je svoga ljekara koji je obavljao besplatne ljekarske preglede.

Kradljivice, prevarantice, čedomorke: Ko su i odakle su ? (119-132) naslov je četvrtog poglavlja ove knjige, te već na samom početku autorica ističe da, iako je jasno naglasila da njen cilj nije bio analizirati počinjene zločine, smatra da je potrebno ukratko predstaviti saznanja o ženama unutar zatvorskog sustava sa željom da podigne svijest o bavljenju ovakvim i sličnim temama. Autorica predstavlja nekoliko tabela u kojima prati brojnost zatvorske populacije u zatvorskom sustavu u Bosni i Hercegovini godinu za

godinom, kao i omjer muškaraca i žena u tom sustavu. Podaci iz tih tabela jasno pokazuju da je stopa kriminaliteta kod žena značajno niža nego kod muškaraca, ali da je primjetan trend rasta te stope kod žena sve do 1905. godine, nakon čega dolazi blagi pad. Početak Prvog svjetskog rata mijenja donekle sliku o kotarskim i okružnim zatvorima te se primjećuje opadanje broja muškaraca i porast broja žena u zatvorskom sustavu. Autorica to tumači povećanom mobilizacijom muškaraca za potrebe rata, dok sve veći broj žena usljed toga postaje glavom porodice i primorane su da na razne načine prehrane svoje porodice. Pored toga, autorica ističe kako je još jedan uzrok tome, a to je proširenje vojne jurisdikcije na civile. Drugi segment ovog poglavlja jeste “predstavljanje” samih zatvorenica, odnosno podataka o njihovom porijeklu, zanimanju, porodičnom statusu, te takve podatke autorica vidi kao dragocjene, jer su dosta malobrojni i raštrkani. Prikazana je i tabela koja se odnosi na 1889. godinu, u kojoj se jasno vidi frapantna statistika, a to je da je u osam od deset slučajeva zločin čedomorstvo. Na osnovu izvorne građe, autorica smatra da je moguće rekonstruirati sljedeća važna pitanja poput: ko je prijavljivao zločin, da li je dijete nužno rezultat vanbračne zajednice, kakav je bio društveni status porodice i slično. Podaci iz dokumenta otkrivaju kako su te zločine najčešće prijavljivali članovi uže ili šire porodice, te da je u pet od osam slučajeva dijete bilo vanbračno. Dokumenti otkrivaju kako su djeca ili ugušena ili bačena u rijeku ili potok, te autorica ističe kako takvi činovi ukazuju na krajnji očaj i postporođajnu depresiju majke. Iako su okrivljenice bile različite životne dobi, različitih porodičnih statusa, dodirne tačne su im ruralno porijeklo, nezaposlenost i neobrazovanost.

Na kraju se nalazi *Zaključak* (133-140) i *Summary* (141-149), zatim *Skraćenice* (150-151), *Izvori i literatura* (151-158), te *Registar imena* (159-162) i *Registar geografskih pojmova* (163).

Knjiga prof. dr. Amile Kasumović ne samo da se hvata ukoštac s temom kojom se do sada niko u bosanskohercegovačkoj historiografiji nije bavio nego i problematizira mnoga pitanja vezana uz tu temu. S jedne strane,

autorica izvrsno predstavlja sve značajke zatvorskog sustava u Bosni i Hercegovini za vrijeme vlasti Austro-Ugarske Monarhije, čime čitalac stječe odličnu predstavu stanja i funkcioniranja zatvorskog sustava u to vrijeme. Međutim, ono što je još važnije i što daje knjizi jednu sasvim novu dimenziju, jeste hvatanje ukoštac s problemima koje su čimbenici tog sustava, zatvorenici i zatvorenice, doživljavali i koji su jako utjecali na njih, što se naročito vidi kroz primjer zatvorenica. Knjiga ne samo da predstavlja presedan u bosanskohercegovačkoj historiografiji u kontekstu teme koju obrađuje nego zapravo prati i donosi dašak savremenih trendova u historiografskim istraživanjima iz Evrope i svijeta.

Nedim Pustahija

Husnija Kamberović, *Historija porodice Alibegović – transformacija iz begovske zemljoposjedničke u modernu građansku porodicu*, Sarajevo: Udruženje za modernu historiju / Udruga za modernu povijest UMHS, 2021, 182 str.

Udruženje za modernu historiju objavilo je 2021. godine knjigu Husnije Kamberović pod nazivom *Historija porodice Alibegović – transformacija iz begovske zemljoposjedničke u modernu građansku porodicu*. Riječ je o knjizi koja prati razvoj jedne begovske porodice od najstarijih dana do najnovijih vremena. Prof. dr. Husnija Kamberović bosanskohercegovački je historičar koji se bavi historijom društvenih promjena u Bosni i Hercegovini. Kamberović je redovni profesor na Filozofskom fakultetu Univerziteta u Sarajevu.

Kroz ovu monografiju prikazuje se kako je porodica Alibegović uvrštena u modernu građansku porodicu krajem 19. i početkom 20. stoljeća. Članovi porodice Alibegović obavljali su dužnost kapetana Kobaške kapetanije, a sredinom 19. stoljeća počeli su se baviti trgovinom. Na njihovom primjeru može se pratiti fenomen transformacije muslimanske zemljoposjedničke elite u građansko društvo. Bavljenje trgovinom omogućilo je Alibegovićima da se njihov život između dva svjetska rata umnogome razlikuje od života mnogih velikih begovskih porodica koje su doživjele pad. Knjiga prati razne aspekte života i djelovanja ove porodice. Podijeljena je u dva dijela. Prvi dio se bavi porijeklom porodice Alibegović, njihovom ulogom kapetana, položajem za vrijeme austrougarske uprave u Bosni i Hercegovini, životom u Derventi, trgovačkim poslovima, zemljišnim posjedima, sudjelovanjem u političkom životu i, uopće, položajem i djelovanjem porodice. Drugi dio donosi biografije pojedinih pripadnika porodice Alibegović.

U *Predgovoru* (7-11) autor objašnjava čitaocima kako je došlo do ideje za pisanje knjige o navedenoj porodici i do njene realizacije, koji je cilj djela, koji su osnovni izvori (a to su prepiske članova porodice, a potom i druga arhivska građa), te naglašava da je porodica Alibegović zahvalna za istraživanje i zbog toga što pokazuje koliko su begovske porodice bile u

čvrstoj mreži porodičnih veza – Alibegovići su bili u porodičnim vezama s Gradašćevićima, bijeljinskim Pašićima, dubičkim Cerićima, travničkim Ibrahimpašićima. Članovi porodice pružili su autoru veliku pomoć prilikom pisanja monografije.

Prvo poglavlje nosi naziv *Porijeklo porodice Alibegović* (11-15). Porodica Alibegović uspjela je kroz nekoliko generacija sačuvati izvjesnu porodičnu arhivu, koja je dominantno trgovačka. Tako je ona u značajnoj mjeri izuzetak od pravila da su se begovske porodice nemarno odnosile prema vlastitoj arhivskoj građi. Ipak, ključni problem je nedostatak informacija o historiji porodice. Predanja koja su sačuvana ne razlikuju se mnogo od predanja o porijeklu drugih begovskih porodica. Kamberović pokušava rasvijetliti predanja o porijeklu, no zaključuje da je i dalje nemoguće precizno govoriti o porijeklu ove porodice. Jedan dio Alibegovića se iz Kobaša, gdje su bili kapetani, odselio u Derventu, i to će postati najznačajniji ogranak porodice koju je moguće dosta dobro pratiti od sredine 19. stoljeća do najnovijih vremena.

Drugo poglavlje jeste *Kapetani kobaške kapetanije* (15-17) i počinje pojašnjenjem da je Kobaš mjesto na obali Save koje je dobilo ime po majstorima koji su pravili lađe (kobe), te se govori o nastanku i razvoju ovog mjesta. Pažnja je posvećena prvom pouzdanom kapetanu Kobaške kapetanije iz porodice Alibegović – Ali-begu. U sljedećem naslovu *Isprepletenost historije i legende – zagonetne sudbine pojedinih pripadnika porodice* (17-21) Kamberović govori o problemima u vezi s genealogijom porodice, gdje za 19. stoljeće jedino nije sporno da je Rustan-beg imao brata Derviš-bega, jer postoje sačuvana njihova pisma. Njihovi nasljednici su poznati, ali zabunu mogu izazvati nasljednici Reuf-bega Alibegovića, za kojeg se ne može u potpunosti odrediti mjesto u genealogiji porodice. Pored toga, nepoznanicu predstavlja i sudbina ogranka čiji su pripadnici Almaz-beg i njegovi nasljednici. Autor donosi priču lista *Zastava* iz Novog sada iz 1873. godine, gdje se prenose neki članci iz lista *Politika*, u kojima se nalazi i priča o smrti Ali-bega Alibegovića.

Slijedi poglavlje *Dolazak u Derventu* (21-25). U njemu se govori o vremenu i okolnostima preseljenja Rustan-bega u Derventu, 1876. godine. Njegovi posjedi našli su se na udaru pobunjenih seljaka. Autor detaljno opisuje i kuću Rustan-bega u Derventi. U naslovu *Austro-Ugarska okupacija Bosne 1878. godine* (25-27) govori se o ulozi pripadnika porodice u vrijeme okupacije. Rustan-beg, kao i ostali pripadnici porodice, bili su lojalni novom režimu. Braća Rustan-beg i Derviš-beg bavili su se trgovinom, ali su imali i zemljišne posjede, od kojih su također dobijali određeni prihod. O tome da su Alibegovići, mada nisu dovodili u pitanje svoju lojalnost novoj upravi, ipak najviše računa vodili o vlastitom statusu, govori se u poglavlju *Između lojalnosti prema upravi i vlastitih interesa* (27-29).

U narednom poglavlju *Neslaganja sa lokalnim vlastima u Derventi* (29-33) pojašnjavaju se neslaganja koja je Rustan-beg imao s kotarskim predstojnikom u Derventi krajem 19. stoljeća, a za šta je razlog bio, prema mišljenju Rustan-bega, svrstavanje kotarskoga predstojnika na stranu Jusuf-bega Begovića, koji je bio najvatreniji protivnik Rustan-bega. Drugi razlog neslaganja bio je odnos vlasti prema njegovom sinu Fehim-begu Alibegoviću (s kojim je ubrzo i sam Rustan-beg došao u sukob). Poglavlje *Odnosi u lokalnoj zajednici: "preko vode do kafane"* (33-43) bavi se odnosima Alibegovića i porodice Begović. Izgradnja tzv. Prkos kuće dovela je do velikog neslaganja između porodice Alibegović i porodice Begović, ali su ta neslaganja imala dužu historiju koju Kamberović ovdje opisuje. Rustan-beg je pokušavao na razne načine spriječiti gradnju kafane Jusuf-bega Begovića pred svojom kućom, u čemu na kraju nije uspio. Autor donosi sadržaje pisama kojima je Rustan-beg pokušavao spriječiti gradnju.

Naslov *Rustan-beg gradi poštu i bolnicu – izgradnja Prkos kuće* (43-51) govori o izgradnji nove kuće Rustan-bega koja je dovela do novih neslaganja s Jusuf-begom Begovićem. Na prvom spratu te nove kuće nekoliko godina nalazila se pošta, a drugi sprat izdavan je ljekaru. Kuća je, dakle, izgrađena da bi se izdavala pod kiriju. Izgradnjom ove kuće Rustan-beg je pokrenuo sujetu kod komšija Begovića koji su odmah naredne godine počeli gradnju

tzv. Prkos kuće. U ovom poglavlju autor je i fotografijama potkrijepio pojašnjenja gdje se nalazila koja građevina. Gradnja Prkos kuće, koju je gradio Šemsi-beg Begović, bila je veliki udarac Rustan-begu. Kuća je kasnije nazvana Prkos kućom zbog toga što je napravljena iz inata i prkosa jer je Rustan-beg napravio veliku kuću i počeo je rentirati i tako modernizovati način privređivanja. Šemsi-beg je Prkos kuću izdavao, ali izgleda ne tako uspješno kao Rustan-beg i autor daje objašnjenja za šta se sve kuća koristila.

Poglavlje *Trgovački poslovi* (51-65) pokazuje kako su Alibegovići najbolji primjer transformacije begovskog, zemljoposjedničkog u građanski sloj i prati se razvoj njihovih trgovačkih poslova od začetaka, koliko se to može, s obzirom na to da je korespondencija sačuvana tek za razdoblje nakon 1878. godine, ali se iz nje može zaključiti da su i ranije postojali razvijeni kontakti s trgovcima s prostora Austro-Ugarske monarhije. Prikazuje se, preko sačuvanih pisama, kako su funkcionisali trgovački poslovi Alibegovića, a govori se i o čestim trgovačkim sporovima i nesporazumima. Zatim slijedi naslov *Zemljišni posjedi porodice Alibegović* (65-69) u kojem se prikazuju njihovi posjedi i prihodi koje su donosili – iako su sredinom 19. stoljeća započeli trgovačku aktivnost i ugled temeljili na trgovačkim poslovima, porodica je kraljem osmanske i sve vrijeme austrougarske uprave pripadala krugu krupnih zemljoposjedničkih porodica. Kako je nakon Rustan-begove smrti 1900. godine svoj naslijeđeni dio Fehim-beg prodao Uzeir-begu koji je naslijedio trgovinu i preuzeo najveći dio zemljišnih posjeda, Uzeir-begovi poslovi razmatraju se u poglavlju *Uzeir-beg Alibegović: I beg i trgovac* (69-81). Uzeir-beg je bio veoma uspješan trgovac, ali se pokazao uspješnim i u širenju zemljišnih posjeda. Govori se i o udaru na zemljišne posjede porodice Alibegović, posebno nakon Prvog svjetskog rata, kada je agrarnom reformom zemlja oduzimana od velikih zemljišnih posjednika i dodjeljivana bivšim kmetovima. Dio posjeda porodice Alibegović oduzet je i u socijalističkoj Jugoslaviji. Poglavlje je opremljeno i tabelama, kao i fotografijama.

Posljednje poglavlje prvog dijela knjige jeste *Sudjelovanje u političkom životu* (81-93). Politička aktivnost porodice vezana je najznačajnijim dije-

lom za razdoblje između dva svjetska rata, a najaktivniji politički djelatnik bio je Asim-beg Alibegović, koji je u vrijeme pred Drugi svjetski rat bio izabrani senator u Senatu Kraljevine Jugoslavije. Ipak, pored toga, i u vrijeme austrougarske vladavine pripadnici porodice Alibegović su se uključili u politički život. Autor ovdje izlaže najznačajnije političke poteze i aktere iz porodice Alibegović od pokreta muslimana za vjersku i vakufsko-meari-fsku autonomiju do vremena poslije Drugog svjetskog rata, kada politička aktivnost porodice zamire.

Drugi dio knjige, kao što je već rečeno, posvećen je biografijama značajnih ličnosti porodice Alibegović (93-178). Prva od njih jeste *Ali-beg Alibegović (?)*, najveća zagonetka sa stanovišta historijskih izvora, za kojeg se pretpostavlja da je brat Rustan-bega, zatim slijedi Ali-begov sin, *Almas-beg Alibegović (oko 1849-1888)*, koji je također velika zagonetka. Nakon biografija ove dvije misteriozne ličnosti slijedi biografija najznačajnijeg pripadnika porodice, a to je *Rustan-beg Alibegović (oko 1830 - 23. oktobra 1900)*, potom dolazi biografija njegovog brata *Derviš-bega Alibegovića (?-1886)*. Poglavlje o *Reuf-begu Alibegoviću (?)* je kratko jer o njemu ne postoji mnogo pisanih informacija, za razliku od poglavlja o Rustan-begovom rasipnom i kontroverznom sinu *Fehim-begu Alibegoviću (oko 1856 - 18. 4. 1908)*. *Uzeir-beg Alibegović (?)* bio je Rustan-begov drugi sin i njegov najbliži pomoćnik u trgovačkim poslovima. Dalje se donose biografije Uzeir-begovih sinova *Asim-bega Alibegovića (1886-1938)* i *Esad-bega Alibegovića (1889-1986)*, koji se pored trgovine i unapređenja imanja bavio i kulturnom-prosvjetnim, humanitarnim i vjerskim radom.

Slijede biografije *Ismet-bega Alibegovića (1917-2004)*, koji je bio finansijski stručnjak, hirurga *Asima Alibegovića (1954)*, doktorice stomatologije *Melihe Alibegović (1950)*, doktorice *Amire Alibegović (1951)*, Esad-begovih sinova *Rešada Alibegovića (1919-1945)*, *Seada Alibegovića (1917-1996)* i *Dževada Alibegovića (1923-1981)*, te Dževadovih sinova: doktora *Derviša Alibegovića (1953)*, doktora *Rešada Alibegovića (1955)*, doktora patologa *Vedata Alibegovića (1960)* i ekonomiste *Samira Alibegovića (1968)*. S ob-

zirom na to da se radi o biografijama znamenitih ličnosti, ovaj dio knjige obiluje fotografijama. Na kraju knjige se nalaze *Izvori i literatura* (178-181) te porodično stablo, odnosno *Rodoslovlje porodice Alibegović*.

Napisati knjigu o jednoj porodici svakako je izazovan zadatak. Prof. dr. Kamberović je na sveobuhvatan način predstavio historiju porodice Alibegović, prikazavši čime su se bavili, čime su trgovali, koji su to bili njihovi posjedi, kakva je bila njihova politička aktivnost, ali i prativši privatni život pojedinih članova porodice, kao i mrežu odnosa s ostalim begovskim porodicama Bosne i Hercegovine. Tako je autor prikazao različite aspekte života i djelovanja navedene porodice. U većini poglavlja umetnuti su dijelovi iz pisama članove porodice, fotografije, kako ljudi tako i građevina i mjesta, kao i neki od bitnijih dokumenata. Sve u svemu, knjiga se može preporučiti kako onima koje zanima sama historija porodice Alibegović tako i onima koje zanima fenomen transformacije muslimanske zemljoposjedničke elite u građansko društvo, jer ova monografija baš to prati na primjeru porodice Alibegović.

Amina Šehović

Stefan Petke, *Muslime in der Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS. Rekrutierung – Ausbildung – Einsatz*. Berlin: Metropol Verlag, 2021, 581 str.

Pitanje muslimanskih vojnika u službi nacističke Njemačke tokom Drugog svjetskog rata postalo je, naročito u posljednje vrijeme, izuzetno privlačna istraživačka tema u određenim evropskim i svjetskim historio-grafskim krugovima. Stoga ne čudi da se pojavilo više studija i autora koji su o ovim temama objavili monografije i niz radova, a u kontekstu bosanskohercegovačkih muslimana vrijedi istaći imena poput Franziske A. Zaugg, Xaviera Bougarela i Stefana Petkea. Otvaranje pitanja vojnog učešća muslimana u jedinicama *Wehrmachta* i *Waffen-SS*-a u uskoj je vezi s povećanjem općeg interesa za istraživanje položaja, uloge i učešća muslimana u Drugom svjetskom ratu, ali i muslimana i islama u cjelini.

Monografija Stefana Petkea *Muslime in der Wehrmacht und Waffen-SS. Rekrutierung – Ausbildung – Einsatz* predstavlja njegovu doktorsku disertaciju kojom je nastojao prikazati poglavito vojne postrojbe *Wehrmachta* i *Waffen-SS*-a u kojima su služili vojnici muslimanskog porijekla. Konceptijski, knjiga je podijeljena na dvije veće cjeline, pri čemu se u prvoj autor fokusirao na proučavanje oblika nasilja i iskustava različitih “muslimanskih” društava do početka Drugog svjetskog rata, a za koja se u kasnijoj fazi vežu određene vojne jedinice u službi nacističke Njemačke. Petke je detaljnije analizirao područja Magreba, sjeverne Afrike, Bliskog Istoka, muslimane Sovjetskog Saveza i jugoistočne Evrope, te na osnovu političkog razvoja i iskustva muslimana u navedenim područjima pokušavao kreirati uvod u priču o muslimanskim borbama u njemačkim vojnim snagama. Kada su u pitanju muslimani Bosne i Hercegovine, Petke navodi neke od najznačajnijih momenata, od austrougarske okupacije zemlje i otpora okupaciji, do razvoja muslimanskih institucija u Austro-Ugarskoj imperiji, zatim Balkanske ratove i Prvi svjetski rat, fenomen iseljavanja muslimanskog stanovništva kao paralelni proces u ovom periodu, te položaj muslimana u

Kraljevini Jugoslaviji. Autor detektira Džemaludina Čauševića kao nosioca modernizacijskih procesa među muslimanima, dok Mehmeda Handžića predstavlja kao lidera konzervativizma i drugih komplementarnih ideja. Potrebno je istaći da se i u ovoj studiji “Mladi muslimani” prezentiraju kao važan faktor u cjelokupnoj idejno-političkoj sceni muslimana u tretiranom periodu iako su njihov utjecaj i domet bili izuzetno marginalni. Uz to, Petke je u osnovnim crtama predstavio njemačku percepciju kolonijalnih društava te zaokret Hitlera u vezi s pitanjem prostora Bliskog Istoka i Sjeverne Afrike, koje je u osnovi prepuštao kao italijansku zonu interesa, ali od proljeća 1941. godine, zbog usložnjavanja vojno-političke situacije, ovi prostori, kao i muslimansko stanovništvo u cijelosti, ulaze ozbiljnije u njegovu zonu interesa.

U drugom, obimnijem dijelu knjige, Petke se fokusirao na “muslimanske” vojne postrojbe unutar njemačkih oružanih snaga. Fokus je stavljen na rekonstrukciju procesa nastanka i djelovanja “muslimanskih” vojnih postrojbi te analizu odnosa vojnog i političkog vrha nacističke Njemačke prema “muslimanskim društvima” u smislu njihove eksploatacije u vojne svrhe, odnosno težnji za masovnom mobilizacijom muslimana. Ukupne odnose nacističke Njemačke i boraca iz “muslimanskih” zajednica u službi *Wehrmachta* i *Waffen-SS-a*, koje analizira u svojoj knjizi, Petke je podijelio u tri faze. Prva faza je, prema autoru, obilježena novoodređivanjem njemačke politike prema mediteranskom području, naročito prema onim dijelovima naseljenim dominantno muslimanskim stanovništvom. Tada se formiraju prve vojne postrojbe, u sastavu *Wehrmachta*, sačinjene dominantno od muslimanskih regruta.

U drugoj fazi koja, prema Petkeu, počinje krajem 1941. godine, posvećuje se mnogo više pažnje muslimanskim vojnicima u službi Trećeg Rajha. U fokusu autora je osnivanje tzv. Istočnih legija (njem. *Ostlegionen*), odnosno promjena politike prema ovim formacijama, koja se ogledala u generalno poboljšanom pristupu i tretmanu. Tada dolazi do povećanja u brojkama ovih postrojbi, ali i njihovom naoružanju, obuci i drugim faktorima koji

su trebali osigurati bolju eksploataciju regrutiranih “muslimanskih” vojnika. Veliku promjenu Petke je uočio u kontekstu prisutnosti religije. Prema njegovom shvatanju, upravo u ovoj fazi nastupa period upotrebe religije među “muslimanskim” vojnim postrojbama nacističke njemačke, s obzirom na to da dolazi do uvođenja vjerskih službenika. Pored toga, autor ističe da je u vojnim snagama nacističke Njemačke duhovna opskrba imala tendenciju slabljenja kako je rat prolazio, osim u “muslimanskim” postrojbama. Tu se prisustvo duhovnih lica i sadržaja u vojnoj službi povećavalo do završne faze rata, kada dolazi do sloma sistema.

Prema Petkeu, treća faza procesa obilježena je u najvećoj mjeri unutrašnjim “sukobom” *Wehrmachta* i *Waffen-SS*-a u vezi s regrutiranjem i popunjavanjem svojih redova u fazi rata kada je nedostatak ljudstva postajao sve veći problem. U tom smislu pokazuje se da je *Wehrmacht* imao mnogo bolje i nadasve prilagodljivije strukture za jedan takav proces kao što je inkorporiranje muslimanskih boraca u svoje redove. S druge strane, *Waffen-SS* našao je plodno tlo na prostoru Balkana, gdje su se nalazili muslimani Albanije i Bosne i Hercegovine koji nisu imali veliki značaj za *Wehrmacht*. Kada je u pitanju konkretno 13. *Waffen-SS* divizija (hrvatska, br. 1), koja je djelovala uglavnom na prostoru sjeveroistočne Bosne, donosi se zaključak da je divizija imala punu kontrolu i vlast nad teritorijom koja joj je bila povjerena, prvenstveno za borbu protiv jugoslavenskih partizana. Petke smatra da koncept ove divizije snažno podsjeća na tzv. kolonijalne trupe iz perioda Njemačkog Carstva s obzirom na to da su i jedne i druge jedinice bile popunjene domaćim stanovništvom, ali da su bile rukovođene njemačkim oficirskim kadrom. Određenu pažnju autor je posvetio i analizi propagandne eksploatacije 13. SS divizije koja je predstavljana kao izuzetno uspješna, a na drugim teritorijama naseljenim muslimanima širili su se leci, poster i drugi propagandni materijali kako bi se lokalno stanovništvo upoznao, pridobilo i lakše regrutiralo za službu u oružanim jedinicama nacističke Njemačke. Pored navedenog, Petke ukazuje na to da je u trećoj fazi vidljiva promjena i u vezi s pitanjem utjecaja i značaja vjerskih službenika, naročito u *Waffen-SS*-u. Za ove jedinice, a posebno

13. SS diviziju, iznesen je podatak da su SS-imami imali ulogu koja je nadilazila duhovni, a sve više poprimala politički karakter.

U suštini, proces inkorporiranja muslimana u oružane strukture nacističke Njemačke Petke ocjenjuje kao neuspjeh. Ključni faktori za takav zaključak proizlaze iz izuzetno haotične politike Trećeg Rajha prema “muslimanskim” zemljama i narodima, koja se mijenjala u skladu sa situacijom na terenu, s vrlo malo konzistentnosti. Ne manji značaj autor pripisuje i postojećem rasizmu, kolonijalnim predodžbama, kulturnim razlikama, te možda i najvažnijem faktoru, tj. različitom tretmanu “muslimanskih” boraca u odnosu na njemačke. Takve okolnosti dovodile su do toga da većina vojnih postrojbi, pojedinačno, ali i u cijelosti, nije ispunila očekivanja koja su njihovim osnivanjem zamislili čelni ljudi nacističkog sistema. S ovakvim zaključcima Petke je ponudio određene novitete u posmatranju “muslimanskih” vojnih postrojbi, koji se prvenstveno ogledaju u analizi kolonijalnog aspekta ovih jedinica, a koji nije bio prisutan samo u njihovom vizuelnom identitetu nego i u dubljoj analizi pozicije ovih jedinica u njemačkom vojnom sistemu. Također, veliki značaj studije leži upravo u tome što nudi širi pogled na različita “muslimanska” društva koja su u periodu Drugog svjetskog rata bila zahvaćena i imala određenu vrstu odnosa s vojnim strukturama nacističke Njemačke.

Ajdin Muhedinović

Dženita Sarač-Rujanac, *Branko Mikulić: politička biografija 1965-1989* [*Branko Mikulić: political biography 1965-1989*], Sarajevo: University of Sarajevo - Institute of History, 2020, 557 p.

Dženita Sarač-Rujanac's doctoral dissertation on the political biography of Branko Mikulić, one of the most important members of the leadership of the socialist period of Bosnia and Herzegovina, was published by the Institute of History of the University of Sarajevo in late 2020. However, given the modest resources at the Institute's disposal, from material support to the already small number of researchers of publishing capacities, the publication of this book represents a significant contribution to the historiography of Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Book *Branko Mikulić. The political biography: 1965-1989* is divided into two major sections. In the first part, the author Sarač-Rujanac follows the political rise of Branko Mikulić from the very end of World War II, and especially since 1965, when Mikulić gradually became one of the most important politicians in Bosnia and Herzegovina and then in Yugoslavia. Born in 1928 in a family that moved from Široki Brijeg to the area between Gornji Vakuf and Bugojno in the previous generation, Branko grew up with a father who was a trade union and party activist before the war, one of the organizers of the uprising in that area and a prominent fighter and post-war official at the local and regional level. Branko also joined the National Liberation Struggle at an early age, and between his military and political career he chose the latter, far surpassing his father.

Biographies are useful because on a personal example you have the opportunity to see how one system is reflected and how what is general and personal, social and individual permeates. Branko Mikulić's career corresponds unusually to the general development of the Socialist Republic of BiH. Until 1965, Mikulić performed party and state functions at the local or regional level, slowly but surely climbing in the hierarchy or geographically moving from the periphery to the center, from Bugojno and Livno, through

Zenica to Sarajevo. From 1965, Mikulić climbed from local to regional level and became the center of political processes in the Republic, where he held a number of prominent and leading positions in the CKSK BiH (Central Committee of the League of Communists of BiH), the Assembly and the Presidency of SR BiH, from where he was delegated to the highest federal institutions – CKSKJ (Central Committee of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia), Presidency of SFRY and SIV (Federal Executive Council).

For both Mikulić and SR BiH, the 1960s were a turning point. In the second part of the book, starting from the 1960s, the author follows the most important political issues during Mikulić's work. As he performed the most important political and state functions, trying to contextualize his activities, the second part of the book actually presents the most important socio-political issues in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Yugoslavia of that period.

Exactly from the middle of the 1960s, Yugoslavia entered a completely new phase of its development, which Dejan Jović called the period of the “fourth Yugoslavia”. In a fierce struggle between the two currents in the political leadership, the so-called reformers and dogmatizers, the current, which was often at the federal level personified as Kradelj's, prevailed. With the complex process of constitutional changes and the “federating the Federation”, the republics and republican leaders gained primacy over the federal level, and among the new generation in the Bosnian leadership, which faithfully supported the new direction, was Branko Mikulić. For Mikulić and others, this was an opportunity to insist on real political and economic equality of SR BiH within the Yugoslav framework, to open or continue unfinished processes such as the attitude towards Western Herzegovina and Croats in BiH in general (Mostar Conference in 1966) or the issue of recognizing Muslims as a nation in 1968.

It is especially interesting to follow how Branko Mikulić, depending on current issues and his own position at that moment, moved along a sensitive political pendulum between two poles, which, conditionally speaking, could be called reformist and dogmatic-conservative. Thus, in the mid-1960s,

Mikulić was part of the reformist current that insisted on substantial changes not only in the functioning of the state but also in the League of Communists, which since that period became a kind of loose alliance of eight almost completely independent republican leaders. When the Croatian and Serbian political leaders, led by Savka Dabčević-Kučar in Croatia and Marko Nikezić and Latinka Perović in Serbia, were removed in 1971 and 1972, Branko Mikulić and the rest of the Bosnian leadership supported such developments and from the perspective of the dismissed leadership, they sided with the *dogmatizer* part of the party, which stopped the process of democratization that had begun earlier after 1972.

The adoption of the 1974 constitution legally completed the transformation of Yugoslavia, which began in the mid-1960s, but this was not the end of a kind of constitutional crisis, given that the issue of amending the constitution was raised immediately after its adoption. Here, too, Branko Mikulić, together with the rest of the SR BiH leadership, sided with the ombudsman against the constitutional reformers led by the SR Serbia's leadership. In addition to the already existing real and imaginary enemies such as nationalism, bureaucracy, and statism, Mikulić often referred to centralism as one of the threats to the survival of Yugoslavia.

In this period of Mikulić's activity, Bosnia and Herzegovina experienced a significant transformation and full economic momentum. The construction of schools, roads, large economic systems was symbolically crowned with the organization of the Winter Olympic Games in Sarajevo in 1984. Mikulić was one of the key figures in all these processes, and he was especially credited for the Olympics as the head of the organizing committee. As the Bosnian leadership took great care of national parity for the entire period of Mikulić's political activity, Rato Dugonjić, Milenko Renovica, Nikola Stojanović, Hamdija Pozderac, Džemal Bijedić and others performed equally important functions.

In this period, it is especially interesting to follow two topics that were directly reflected in Mikulić's work. The first is the role of Tito, who was,

in fact, a kind of supreme arbiter since the mid-1960s, with the fact that he was not at the top of the system but, in a way, outside or above it. In the increasingly frequent and fierce conflicts of the republican leadership, Tito was used as a last resort and someone who was called to judge in moments when there was no way out, and prominent officials considered Mikulić especially close to Tito. Such a role of Tito can be seen in the example of difficult negotiations on the extent to which the federal level and other republics helped Bosnia and Herzegovina after the devastating earthquake that hit Krajina in 1969. When negotiations come to a standstill, a supreme arbiter warned both sides that he would not take an official position and that it is up to them to reach a compromise.

Regarding the previous question, it is also interesting to follow the intensity and frequency of conflicts between party leaders while Tito was still alive. Even then, there was trench warfare that at times completely went beyond the party-political framework. Thus, in the late 1970s, Mikulić asked the leadership of the BiH State Security Service to escort him on a trip to Belgrade, fearing for his own safety.

After Tito's death, the struggle of the party leaders intensified to the point that it significantly blocked the entire system. From the perspective of later events and wars during and after the disintegration of Yugoslavia, it is simply impossible to ask whether the war would have taken place if a multi-party system had not been introduced in the 1990s with the victory of national parties. After all, back in the mid-1980s, Mikulić spoke about a kind of "nationalization" of the republican party leaderships and the factual situation that Yugoslavia was not a one-party but an "eight-party" state. Although he remained a faithful defender of the constitutional principles from 1974 until the end of his career, Mikulić, especially as the leading man of the SIV, saw how paralyzed the system was. Continuing to warn against centralism, and remaining faithful to the ideological foundations of Yugoslavia, Mikulić advocated significant changes in the economic system, which again in some way classified him with the reformist current.

In addition, it shows how difficult it is to overcome oneself, regardless of the circumstances: Mikulić never surpassed the ideological and political foundations on which he grew up and worked, although circumstances in the late 1980s obviously demanded something like that.

The end of Mikulić's political career is connected with the fate of SR BiH. At the end of the 1980s, through various processes, an entire generation of the SR BiH political leadership was replaced, so Mikulić, Pozderac, Renovica and Stojanović left the political scene. Until his death in 1994 in besieged Sarajevo, Mikulić remained strongly attached to the idea of Bosnia and Herzegovina as a multinational country equal to its neighbors. Until the end, he remained the example of the permeation of a Bosnian by birth and a Herzegovinian by origin, Croat by national affiliation, but again equally Bosnian and Herzegovinian. He remained a Yugoslav until the end, considering Yugoslavia the best framework for all its people.

Although this is a doctoral dissertation, which can often burden a book with a scientific apparatus and style that is not very useful to ordinary readers, the author managed to avoid such a trap and make the book *passable* and exciting. Along with the previously published book *The Relation of the Religious and the National in the Identity of Bosniaks from 1980 to 1990*, Dženita Sarač-Rujanac affirmed herself as a significant researcher and historian of the younger generation whose special focus is the socialist period of Bosnian history.

Nedžad Novalić

Simon Sebag Montefiore, *Written in History: Letters That Changed the World*, London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 2018, 272 p.

In the last couple of years, numerous works of popular history in the form of epistolary literature have been published in the English-speaking world. Some of these works are *Letters of Note*, *More Letters of Note*, written by online blogger Shaun Usher and *Letters to Change the World*, by journalist Travis Elborough, just to name a few. Also, there are innumerable published letters of famous individuals. The book which is the topic of this review is called *Written in history: Letters That Changed the World* by the famous historian Simon Sebag Montefiore, who is more famous for his works such as *Jerusalem: The Biography* and *The Romanovs 1913-1918*. Even though Montefiore is a Cambridge-educated historian he is keener on writing popular history books and novels which made him famous. *Written in history* is another example of such a work, while not strictly an academic book it still has strong methodological elements that historians employ in their research and writing.

In this book, the author is primarily oriented on giving a brief overview of the letter that, according to him, changed the world. He establishes a template with which he sets up all of the hundred or so letters. At the beginning of his work, in the introduction, Montefiore reflects on the importance of letters in everyday life, as well as their importance to historians. He reflects on the character of letters, especially those before the modern era since they were the main means of communication between distant areas and people. Montefiore also considers the appeal the readers have in reading such types of historical sources and literature. While to a historian a letter in most cases is a primary source with which he can get a better understanding of the writer, recipient, and the event to which they relate. On the other hand, this type of literature is appealing to an everyday reader since letters tend to be shorter and more condensed in content, which is easier and quicker to read.

This tendency to write concisely propped the creation of the saying “If I had more time, I would have written a shorter letter”.

Sebags collection of letters was arranged in thematic groups and sections. These letters were sorted into the next sections: love, family, creation, courage, discovery, tourism, war, blood, destruction, disaster, friendship, folly, decency, liberation, fate, power, downfall, and goodbye. Similar to the short length of letters the sections are also short, on average, all of them are about 10 to 20 pages long. The length of these sections is long enough to convey a variety of ideas in a single message within each section and at the same time, the shortness of the sections helps the reader in holding their attention.

Besides that, all the sections follow a concise template that consists of a short historical introduction regarding the sender and receiver, if applicable, as well as the historical context in which the letters were made. In most cases, this contextualization outweighs the amount of text written in the letter, and even in some instances it dwarfs the letters. Also, it has to be noted that while the contextualization of the letters is great and the author did go to great lengths to give an insightful and concise representation of the events and people involved in the letter, in essence, the reader will not learn that much about these events solely based on these letters.

As far as the authors of the letters are concerned, they varied from men such as Augustus, Harun al-Rashid, Henry the VIII, and Churchill, to Hadrian, Abraham Lincoln, Stalin, and George Bush. Besides that, the author showcases letters of female authors such as Catherin the Great, Frida Kahlo, Ada Lovelace, and Rosa Parks. One big problem, which is only extirpated by the title of the book is that these letters did not in fact change the world. It is better to say that the letters were written by people who changed the world in a certain time period and in a certain area. This is important to point out seeing that the majority of letters included in the book were written by Europeans living in modern or contemporary times. Little to no attention is given to letters from Asia and Africa, as well as the letters of antiquity and the Middle Ages. There are some sporadic letters

from different famous rulers Augustus, Ramses the II, Babur, Saladin, just to name a few. Nevertheless, their mentions are quite sporadic, and minute compared to the number of letters that were included which originated in Europe during the last couple of centuries. In that respect, the title which is given to the book is perhaps a little misleading.

This work is a fascinating book in many ways. Sebag Montefiore has collected letters of mixed quality and interest, which by his way of grouping and sorting form coherent and interesting thematic sections. While there are numerous negative remarks which can be said about this book, especially from a historian's point of view, this work cannot be solely judged by a "standard" historian's approach. The reason being is that Sebag's approach is not one of a standard academic since he is a strong proponent of popular history and so far, he has found great success. His works have been sold in thousands and he is constantly and regularly writing and publishing new books. He has found a steady and steadfast following and supporters, which is more than we can say about most historians. Maybe this has to do with his approach and sorting of subjects that are of keen interest to the public as well as his way of formulating and expressing his views in a clear and comprehensible manner. His approach seems to be in opposite contrast to today's historical approach and literature which in essence became a means by which academics tend to go into depths of their research and on paths very few, besides their fellow academic and some enthusiasts, can follow.

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